ASSIMILATION AND SURVIVAL: COUNTER HEGEMONIC PERSPECTIVE IN SELECTED NATIVE AMERICAN DRAMA

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Assimilation and Survival: Counter Hegemonic Perspective in Selected Native American Drama

Throughout the history of the United States of America, the social relations between Euro-Americans and Native Americans remained unpleasant and uninviting. The investigation has brought forth the striking grievances of the Native Americans against the mainstream White American society in response to the underestimation of power of the Native American culture, identity and history. The factual data consulted and analyzed during this qualitative research has invariably confirmed the execution of the U.S. government's policies of the Native Americans' removal such as forced assimilation and Congressional Acts during the 19th and 20th centuries. Meanwhile, the blend of historical references and the chosen text of the selected Native American playwrights proved that the Native Americans went through the unappealing phase of forced assimilation through Indian boarding school education that started in 1879. It made the survival of Native identity and culture difficult, influencing the Native American drama to seek respectful way of acculturating the Native Americans. In the light of 1990s theory of Survivance that establishes intimate relationship between literary and non-literary texts, the researcher found it convincing that the selected plays of the last quarter of 20th century are based on the Natives' historical struggle of survival amidst White Americans' desperation for assimilation. Going through the plays like "Body Indian" and "The Indolent Boys," the sufferings of the Native Americans demand the White American' political, social and financial generosity in order to win the Natives who are found to be engaged in preserving effectively their native culture and identity. In the meantime, the findings of the present research summon the dejected Native Americans to honor their ever-present instinct of survival and steadfastness during perplexing scenarios.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my loving parents and family whose sacrificial care and prayer for me made it possible for me to complete this work. I hope that this accomplishment will add to the honor of my parents who worked strenuously throughout their life to give me the best education.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Native Americans are the original or the descendants of the original residents of the American continent. These original inhabitants live on their ancestral territories or reservations, also called Indian Reservations. The creation of the reservation is a result of various treaties, Acts of Congress and the executive orders of the US Presidents at different times. The United States, in 1786, established the first reservation for Native Americans under the principle of preservation of sovereignty for the Native people (Weaver 11). The purpose of the establishment of reservations was to accept the Native Americans as a sovereign and distinct community. However, the allocation of distinct area for Native Americans within their native country gives an unpleasant impression of their relationship with the U.S. federal government and vice versa. Further, the gap between the Native Americans and the White Americans began to widen long back in the American history. For instance, the US President Richard Nixon (1969-1974), in his "special message on Indian affairs" admits that "the first Americans- the Indians- are the most deprived and most isolated community group in our nation" (Prucha 256). This statement is vital to understand the nature of the Natives' historical struggle for *Survival*. Meanwhile, the Nixon's words recognize the Native Americans as the original people of America.

The Native Americans, despite their differences with the White Americans, dwell as a distinct nation in the American continent. However, in the past, very few people knew about the history and identity of Native Americans owing to the fact that their presence and existence attracted only the professionals, for there were less available resources of information about them (Murphree xiii). Plainly, the knowledge about the Native Americans and their past, from early sixteenth century to the late twentieth century, was confined to scholars, scientists and readers of fiction; resultantly, these people were known very little by most of the Whites or Euro-Americans (Murphree xiii). However, the knowledge about Native Americans has seen great

increase during the last fifty or sixty years. Daniel S. Murphree, in the "Introduction" to *Native America: A State-by-State Historical Encyclopedia*, claims that historians, anthropologists and literary scholars have collected mountains of data on the history of 'American Indians' (xiv). In this context, "researchers are learning how to conduct research by honoring and respecting Native culture, values, beliefs, and traditions" (Patterson and Gong 243). It also involves great struggle on the part of the Native American individuals, particularly the Native literary figures such as Gerald Vizenor, N. Scott Momaday and Hanay Geiogamah.

As discussed in the present study, the selected Native American literati, through their works, have gained significant status in promoting the Native culture and identity. Adding to the growing sources of information about the Native Americans, in recent years, the economic and political situation of Native North Americans has improved as a result of successful campaign for sovereignty and land rights since 1960s (Wilmer 2). Collectively, today, many people around the world have knowledge about the Native Americans and their past than any other time in history (Murphree xiii). Consequently, they seek more independence and authority to exercise their native traditions and beliefs as the sovereign nation. In the context of the Native Americans, sovereignty refers to "the right of Native communities to actualize their status as independent nations" (Lundquist 309). However, as the current study finds, "to actualize" means the acceptance of the historical presence of diverse Native cultures and ways of life. It also refers to the recognition and survival of the Native Americans' identity and existence as respectable distinct residents of the United States of America. For the Native Americans, in the light of this research, survival [henceforward *Survival*] also means the continuation of Native Americans' historical rights to live according to their traditional beliefs in line with their cultural history, oral tradition and a Native identity.

The Native Americans' desire for their respect as the flourishing US community involves the historical fear of losing the Native identity. For instance, Hilary N. Weaver, in her book *Social Issues in Contemporary Native America: Reflections from Turtle Island*, fears that the promotion of true sovereignty for Native Americans in contemporary American society seems impossible (19). Similarly, the Native Americans' struggle for justice [to their status as a separate nation] is still not meeting the success (Saurman xi). This situation indicates that the current relations between the Native Americans and the White Americans do not portray a pleasant

picture. For the Native Americans, the more pessimistic scenario appears in the following lines:

> It is not difficult to understand why Native Americans have the problems they do— they live in a country that stole everything from them and has refused to give anything back. Indians were remanded to barely inhabitable land and left there because politicians don't care enough to do anything about it, because their relationship with the federal government is complicated, because they don't have mandated representation in congress, because they don't vote in appreciable numbers, and thus have great difficulty entering into any political arena to negotiate for their needs or advocate for themselves. (Dail 95-96)

This statement is the vivid description of the unsatisfactory political participation of the Native Americans in the mainstream American society. Furthermore, the unsatisfactory status of Native Americans' life in the United States, as reported by Dail, Saurman, and Weaver, do not encourage the Natives' efforts for their cultural and social survival. For them, the same challenging scenario appears in the analysis of the Native American plays during the present research. Likewise, under such circumstances, the White Americans' struggle for assimilating the Native Americans into the mainstream American society has also seen the rare success.

The consulted historical references, in the current research, bring forth considerable examples of the United States' Congressional Acts and policies which reveal the unplanned treatment of the US government towards the Native Americans' sovereign status. Meanwhile, reporting the historical issue of assimilation of the Native Americans and the Native cultural degradation and poor outlook, the reputed American newspapers such as *The Atlantic* and *New York Times* draft thought provoking headlines in their editions of the last seven years. They include "How the Legacy of Native Americans' Forced Assimilation Lingers Today" and "Pain on the Reservation" as published in *The Atlantic* on September 30, 2016 and in *The New York Times* on July 12, 2013 respectively (Ajaka, "*theatlantic.com"*). These captions, vividly, indicate that the issues of the *Survival* and assimilation are still unresolved. The presence of various organizations working for the Native Americans' rehabilitation also indicates ongoing hurdles in the Native Americans' journey of *Survival*. The cultural institutions such as the Phoenix Indian Center, the Chicago Indian Centre, and the Inter-tribal Friendship House, provide support, services, and advocacy to Native Americans who are facing different obstacles in American Indian city life (Hanson 19). Similarly, Native

American literature carries themes about the Native Americans' resistance against their forced assimilation. To the Native Americans, as the current study has examined, the forced or imposed assimilation nullifies the Native identity, culture and sovereignty, henceforth used as *Assimilation* in the subsequent work. As a result, in a White-dominated society, it is the search for identity that preoccupies and drives the Native American writers such as Momaday (a Kiowa), Leslie Marmon Silko (a Pueblo), and Louise Erdrich (an Oglala) (Otfinoski 07). Such efforts indicate the serious concern of Native American literature about the pertinent issues of *Assimilation* and *Survival* in Native American history, for "all pieces of literature are arguably products of their time and place" (Malburne-Wade 14). Thus, Native American literature seeks an earnest attention of the literary researchers towards the historic relationships between the Natives and the White Americans, particularly, in the context of the U.S. government's policies of *Assimilation* and the Native Americans' struggle for *Survival*.

1.1 The Use of the Term 'Native American' Instead of 'Indian'

The researcher in this study intends to use the term 'Native Americans' for the indigenous population, the anciently dwelling people of the American content. For these people, there are various other designated names in use such as Red Indians, Indians, aborigines and blacks. All these terms relate and add to prolonging the colonial legacy as propagated by whites in America. The written records show that Christopher Columbus was the first one to use Indians for the people of these tribes. For instance, "Broad agreement exists that the term Indian," in the context of the Native Americans, "originated in… Columbus's mistaken idea that he had discovered a new route to India when he arrived in this hemisphere" (Warrior 132). In more elaborating terms, Columbus named Native Americans 'Indios' on his first glimpse of the indigenous Americans in 1492; gradually, the word 'indios' became 'Indian' because of the variety of dialects and pronunciation of the white men or the Europeans (Pauls, "Tribal Nomenclature").

The current study has, therefore, used, except in the direct references, the terms 'the Native American/s,' 'the Native/s' and the 'First Nations' while referring to the indigenous people of America. This selection, primarily, results after an unauthentic and suspicious title 'Indian' while describing these indigenous Americans. For example, Professor Suzanne Lundquist contests that "Columbus's goal was India, so the people on this newly "discovered" continent collectively became known as Indians"

(Lundquist 17). Elaborating the same argument, Scott Richard Lyons is also convinced that "Indian…is a misnomer having nothing to do with tribal peoples encountered by European explorers"; instead, it is the result of "World–historic navigational error" of Columbus (04). Consequently, the impression of the Natives as 'Indians' "continued in Europe" for very long time (Lundquist 17- 18). This cause of the spread of the label 'Indian' across the other parts of the world, evidently, refers to the historical biased treatment of the Native Americans as the colonized and uncivilized communities. The damage to the Natives' identity because of such label is multiplied as it fades out the historic "diversity and cultures" of the Native Americans (Lyons 04). Lundquist and Lyons' belief in 'Indian' as a fabricated term incorporates the view of Bill Ashcroft, Halen Tiffin and Gareth Griffiths who state that "Terms such as 'Indian and later 'Amerindian', which like Aboriginal in Australia, accrued derogatory connotations, were employed by settler-invaders (and their descendants)" (03). Hence, the use of the term Native Americans instead of Indians, in general, serves as the negation of the legacy of colonialism where the powerful have authority to name the colonized people and their places.

The selected theorist for the present research, Gerald Vizenor, being a Native American himself, brings to limelight the counter argument of Native American people against the use of Indians and the use of Native American in show casing their identity. Vizenor implies that the purpose of such deprecating associations discourage the presence of the comparatively less powerful communities such as the Native Americans in the dominant society like that of the mainstream American society. Therefore, he narrates that his "father was native, an *anishinaabe* by reservation ancestors, and an *indian* by simulation. The census counted him an Indian, the absence of a native presence…these representations of the anishinaabe in national documents are exclusions of a native sense of presence" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 18-19). Vizenor's "insistence that the word *Indian* be spelled lowercase and italicized reflects" the confusion, on his part, about the "identity" of the Natives "who have been burdened by names" which "the dominant society" has "invented" for them (Pulitano 153). More emphatically, and as a staunch believer of the Natives' strength to survive as a distinct nation, Vizenor claims that "the word *Indian* ……is a colonial invention, an absence in literature because it is a simulation without reference" (*Native Liberty* 23). The preference for the term 'Native American' in the current study, thus, is an attempt to

achieve the objectives of the study in the light of theory of Survivance which views the very presence of the Native American stories in their literature as important component of the survival of the socio-cultural history of the Native people; this survival, as Vizenor views, is possible through resistance to the false image of the Native Americans as portrayed in the American society. Hence, the refutation of using 'Indian' by the researcher also incorporates the outcome of *Survival* through resistance to hegemonic policies instead of bearing or enduring the burden of this puzzling term: "In the twentieth century, terms generated by indigenous peoples themselves, such as 'First Nations', 'Native Americans', have replaced the older settler-invader nomenclatures" (Ashcroft et al. 03). Such an impression also indicates the power of literature to build an image of any society.

1.2 Background to the Selected Works and Their Authors

The current study investigates the selected plays written by the Native American established playwrights, N. Scott Momaday and Hanay Geiogamah. The study also includes a play that is written by the female Native playwrights, Howe and Gordon, in order to collect more evidences and examples of the Native American playwrights who tend to base their plays on the concept of the survival of the identity and sovereignty of the Native Americans amidst their historical complaints against the White Americans.

The selected plays fall in two categories in terms of their thematic patterns which emerge after comprehensive investigation of these works. The first category highlights the wide range of different aspects of survival of the Native Americans' identity, culture and history. For this purpose, the current study has investigated that how Geiogamah's three plays depict the survival of Native American identity and culture. These include "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49". The plays were published in 1980, in *New Native American Drama: Three Plays*, and turned out to be the first published collection of the Native plays in the United States as well as in Canada (Haugo 46). In this section, the researcher has also examined the play "Indian Radio Days" by Leanne Howe and Roxy Gordon, which was published in *Seventh Generation: An Anthology of Native American Plays* (1999), to survey the historical relationships of the Native Americans' *Survival* with the White Americans' power. Moreover, this very selection adds the voice of female literary figures in the study. The second category of the selected Native plays explores the theme of the Native Americans' assimilation into the White American society. This theme is also related to

the possibility of *Survival* under all circumstances. In this regard, the study has scrutinized Momaday's "The Indolent Boys" and "The Moon in Two Windows" to examine the story of the Natives' forced assimilation through Indian boarding school education. His third play, "Children of the Sun," is also the part of this section. This play depicts the author's effort to portray the Native Americans' historical strength and commitment for *Survival*. Momaday's these plays were published in 2007 as *Three Plays: The Indolent Boys, Children of the Sun, the Moon in Two Windows* [henceforth *Three Plays*]. All the selected works, in the current study, have been thematically analyzed with the application of Vizenor's theory of Survivance,

1.2.1 A Brief Overview of Geiogamah's Selected Works

Geiogamah's published anthology *New Native American Drama: Three Plays* deals explicitly with social, cultural and political issues of the Native Americans with an appeal for the survival of the Native traditions, identity and sovereignty. The anthology includes "Body Indian," "Foghorn," and "49," which were premiered by Geiogamah's organized theatre The Native American Ensemble in 1972. In the context of Native American drama, these plays "earn good reputation among the Native as well as the non-Native literary circles in the last quarter of the 20th century" (Hougo 46). The plays reveal power of the Native American drama to address the prolonged complications in the Native history. Geiogamah makes several proclamations in the selected plays that indicate the author's great concern for the dejected Native American characters.

Each play included in the anthology portrays the Native Americans' issues pertaining to *Survival* under hardships, and speaks of a single aspect of the Natives' life to incorporate various challenges to the survival of their culture and identity or *Survival*. For example, "Body Indian," depicts the discouraging effects of alcoholism that is threatening for *Survival*, while "Foghorn" represents the disappointing history of relationships between Euro-Americans and Native Americans by including the historical events such as Alcatraz in 1969. Meanwhile, the third play, "49", included in the anthology, exposes Native American youth who, through the Native dancing traditions, is in search of the survival of Native culture and history. Therefore, though Geiogamah has produced many works, his "three plays 'Body Indian', 'Foghorn', and '49' are the most important works by him" (Maufort 145). Each facet of the Native Americans' life, discussed in these plays, is connected with the Native Americans'

struggle for maintaining their native approach of ensuring the strength of their culture and identity that is *Survival*.

The significance of the selected Geiogamah's plays lies in the fact that their themes revolve around the Native Americans' existing issues that affect their efforts for *Survival*. For instance, ranging from alcoholism and poverty, as in "Body Indian," to the disintegration of the Native culture and land by the White Americans, as in "Foghorn and "49," the plays ultimately focus on the challenges to the Native Americans' *Survival*. As a minority group in the United States, the Native people receive significant attention of Geiogamah in the selected plays: " Dating from the early 1970s, Geiogamah's first plays, "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49", represent the emerging theatrical voice of minority which has already devised compelling modes of artistic expression in song, poetry, prose, painting and sculpture"(Wagter 124). Thus, the selected plays are an addition to the Native Americans' diverse ways of showing their presence in the mainstream American society.

In the broader aspect, this attempt of Geiogamah is similar to that of other Native literati, such as Erdrich. She also bases her works on themes concerned with "the complexities of individual and cultural identity, and the exigencies of marginalization, dispossession, and cultural survival" (Rainwater 271-282). The Native Americans, by expressing their problems in a literary form, share and extend their struggle for *Survival*. In any society, the spirit of sharing provides a sense of protection to people against any attack on their personal identity and independence. Similarly, Native American literary figures challenge the hegemonic policies of the US governments. For example, "Resistance to colonialism of various kinds [such as the policies of relocation and termination, and poor condition of Native Americans] and in varying degrees marks a good deal of Native American fiction" (Krupat and Elliott 128). Similarly, Native American drama, in general, refers to the Native Americans' resistance to the uninviting policies of the federal US government: "Native drama is labeled as a literature of resistance, for it is struggling against the dominant culture and ideology [of White Americans]" (Huhndorf 291). However, the theme of resistance, as explored in the selected plays of Geiogamah, invites the Native Americans to conduct the unbiased evaluations of the causes of their resistance against White Americans. Overtly, Geiogamah links, in the selected plays, the *Survival* of the Native Americans with the survival of their self-realization, resistance to Whites' hegemony, and adherence to their Native culture. Moreover, these works are the blend of the Native

American history, the historical relationships between Natives and the mainstream American society, and the tribal and family life of the Native Americans.

1.2.2 Momaday's Reputation as a Native American Playwright

Navarre Scott Momaday enjoys good reputation as a playwright, a poet, a novelist, a storyteller, a painter, and as a professor of English in American literature. He is also the first professor to teach American literature in Russia in 1974 at the University of Moscow (Otfinoski 24), Born in Lawton, Oklahoma in 1934, Momaday grew up in the Native American society in Oklahoma, which has influenced his works through the first-hand knowledge about the Native Americans' life. Momaday's recognition in American literary circles comes from not only his achievements in the shape of awards, but also from his productive contribution to Native American literature. In this regard, there is an extended list of his achievements. He is one of the all-time great Native American writers who "brought to the literary scene in late 1960s through the 1980s ...a creative blast of talent that burst onto the existing literary landscape" (Jacobs 144). Scholars rank Momaday among other Native American literary writers such as James Welch, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Louise Erdrich as the 'founder' of the era of Native American Renaissance (144). This 'Renaissance' period "is usually said to begin with the publication of….Momaday's novel *House Made of Dawn* in 1968" along with the growing interest of the Native literati in publishing their works (Krupat 399). In this way, Momaday contributes to the Native American literary history that initiates the significance rise in the production of the Native literary works in the period of 1960s onwards.

Significantly, Momaday earns the recommendation for his work from the mainstream US society in the shape of the Pulitzer Prize in 1969 for his novel, *House Made of Dawn*. The honor refers to the fact that "for the first time, the dominant culture in the United States formally acknowledged that twentieth-century American Indians could have a written literature that was intellectually demanding and "serious" (Allen 207). Meanwhile, Momaday's recognition as the leading Native American writer is the acceptance of the Native Americans' literary efforts to promote the Native identity and intellect. His *House Made of Dawn* depicts the socially-alienated Indian protagonist who desperately needs "to recover a viable identity within his community" (Allen 207). And it was his "first and most celebrated novel" (Otfinoski 24). The Pulitzer Prize award brings enthusiasm for other Native American writers such as "Joy Harjo and

Leslie Marmon Silko" to create more stories, poems and plays ("Session author"). Plainly, "after Momaday was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for *House Made of Dawn* in 1969, awareness grew of the talents of American Indian writers of fiction, poetry, plays, essays and criticism"(Jacobs 144). In this way, Momaday has substantially contributed to the growth of Native American literature in the last quarter of the 20th century.

Momaday has particular concern for the survival of Native culture and identity. For instance, as the founder and chairman of a non-profit foundation, The Buffalo Trust that aims at "restoring the Native American heritage", Momaday strives for the preservation and promotion of Native American history, art, story and song, ultimately helping the Natives to restore their identity (Carroll 597). Therefore, besides a Pulitzer Prize winning novelist, Momaday earned the award for Peace from UNESCO in 2003. The list of his awards includes The Golden Plate Award, Guggenheim Fellowship, Mondello, a National institute of Arts and Letters Award, the Pzemio Fronterizo and The Saint Louis Literary Award. This international acknowledgment of Momaday's works is also evident from the fact that his books have been translated into Italian, French, German, Swedish, Russian, Spanish and Japanese (Wiget 463). With such a high profile, Momaday offers a comprehensive portrayal of the Native Americans' life in the selected works which show the Natives' journey to *Survival* in response to *Assimilation* policies of the US government.

Momaday's selected plays, in the current study, serve as the tool of preserving the Native American identity and culture through the depiction of Native characters who struggle to survive under all circumstances, particularly, during the phase of Indian Boarding School education. "The education of American Indians is a central theme in each of these three plays and in each Momaday offers a different lens through which we may understand what it means to be educated, civilized, and human" (Teuton 79). In this way, these plays preserve the history of *Assimilation* and Native Americans' struggle for *Survival*. Therefore, "N. Scott Momaday's book *Three Plays* honors American Indian cultural memory, events, and people, some of whose stories have been known and some of whose, as Momaday writes" have appeared now (Haladay 95). Here, to honor the Native American cultural history means to produce the stories of Native Americans' resistance against the Euro-Americans' dealings with the Native culture during the *Assimilation* through education. Hence, Momaday's selected plays show the impact of the US governments' policy of imposed education for the Native Americans. "In both "The Moon in Two Windows" and "The Indolent Boys",

Momaday's dramatic interpretations of the Native students' subversion and creative resistance within the genocidal regimes of federal boarding-school education close with a focus on hope for the future (Haladay 97). However, as the present research has evaluated, the Momaday's selected works offer to unearth the efforts of the US government to assimilate the Native children through boarding school education in the late 19th century. At the same time, this study has explored the nature and causes of the Native American students' resistance against their cultural loss at the Indian boarding schools as Momaday portrays in the selected plays.

1.3 The Statement of Problem

The history of the relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans, in the light of the historical references, rarely presents the expected scenario of harmony, mutual understanding and respect between the two communities after living together for more than five centuries. The situation is more complex when many American scholars, statesmen and historians are also convinced that the Natives and the White Americans are not on the same page, particularly, on the matter of the former's smooth integration into the latter's mainstream society during the 18th and 19th centuries. Therefore, the US government's assimilative policies such as the Congressional Acts, laws, and official educational policies gain rare popularity among the Native Americans who, contrarily, prioritize their separate and sovereign status as the American citizens. In this context, Native American literature incorporates the recurrent themes which view the White Americans' assimilative policies as hegemonic and the Native Americans' life as helpless in promoting the distinct Native American culture and identity. Meanwhile, the Native American literature, in the absence of a Native theoretical perspective, continues to restrict the Native stories to the response of the perpetually colonized people with the mere instinct of *Survival*. Likewise, the selected Native American plays, even more profoundly, portray the grievances of the Native Americans against the historical conduct and policies of the US government. The present research, thus, explores the concept of the terms 'Assimilation' and 'Survival' in the context of Native Americans' life and history, preferring the Native theoretical lens to redefine the purpose of Native American stories such as the Native published drama.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The study has the following objectives:

1- To analyze selected Native American dramas and their focus on the survival of Native American culture and identity.
2- To investigate efforts for the assimilation of Native Americans in the light of Theory of Survivance.
3- To examine the role of the selected Native American playwrights in highlighting the struggle of survival.

1.5 Research Questions

The hypothesis gives rise to the following research questions:

1- In what manner are the selected Native American dramas related to themes about Native American culture?
2- How does Vizenor's theory of Survivance view the selected works as well as the assimilation and survival of Native Americans in mainstream society?
3- Why do the Native American playwrights base their plays on the historical struggle for their existence in the wake of U.S. federal government's policies?

1.6 Vizenor's Status as Native American Theorist and Theory of Survivance

Gerald Vizenor, born in 1934, is a prolific contemporary Native American literary figure. He has written "more than 30 books, novels and poetry collections," covering the various fields of knowledge such as historical fiction, critical theory, and autobiography (DePalatis, "Author and Native."). Vizenor "is, without doubt, among the most distinguished, widely recognized, and best known contemporary Native writers, philosophers, and researchers" (Dawes and Hauke 02). This praise for Vizenor's intellect as the Native theorist appears in the recent book *Memory, and Futurity: The Gerald Vizenor Continuum*, claiming that, besides his earlier reputation as "one of the most prolific" Native American authors, Vizenor also enjoys the reputation as the pioneer of "introducing and….establishing methodologies and concepts" such as the "postindian," and "survivance," in "the discipline of Native American studies" (Dawes and Hauke 02). These concepts also add Vizenor's ideas of

'Manifest Manners' and 'victimry' that are found in his books such as *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* and *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*, and also explored in the present study. These terms, "Vizenor's terminology," are very "important because they represent at least one language created by a Native scholar for the very purpose of reading Native discourse" (Miles 36). Therefore, 'Vizenor's terminology' is the basis of theory of Survivance. For instance, Pulitano views Vizenor as a Native American writer who does not rely on "borrowed" literary theories [from west], and, instead, develops "discursive strategies concerning Native American culture and literature; these are the "strategies that suggest a theory" to incorporate "Native American cultural and intellectual traditions"(2-3). Collectively, it creates Vizenor's theory of Survivance which the current research has used as its theoretical framework.

The term 'survivance' incorporates survival and resistance as the Native Americans' reaction to the White Americans' efforts for their *Assimilation* by discrediting the Native culture and authority. Vizenor views such efforts as "manifest manners" which "have flourished for centuries," and caused "the most unsure representations of the Native "tribal culture" in the US dominant literature (*Manifest Manners* 23-24). For example, the Native Americans' depiction, in the dominant American literature, as "naked Indians" and "primitive people" causes the "manifest manners" (*Manifest Manners* 03). Vizenor, here, refers to the letter of Lieutenant William Reynolds, from the US Navy, that he wrote to his "sister" in "1841, after a survey of the Columbia River" (03). Historically, "Reynold" also "used phrases such as "savage," "native," and "Indian" interchangeably in his lengthy diary…….and it was not rare at the time for Americans more broadly to suggest an equivalencies among those several terms" (Rouleau 229). To Vizenor, these negative connotations for the Native Americans negate their historical presence in the American continent. Therefore, he terms them the "inventions," the "simulations of dominance;" these "simulations are the absence of [Native] tribes" (*Manifest Manners* 05-06). Meanwhile, Vizenor, besides indicating the historical troubles with the Native Americans' image, encourages the Natives to celebrate their visibility in the American society by resisting and replacing the very unpleasant titles for them. Such replacement through resistance, as Survivance incorporates, is less likely in the presence of the mere trait of endurance or an ability to "adapt" to stressful time periods (Sleamaker and Browning 100). Therefore, "Vizenor's notion of survivance signifies a state of being

beyond…endurance" or "a response to colonization"; instead, Survivance is the "active presence" and "active" refutation of accepting the state of victimhood by enduring the unfavorable circumstances (Grande 205). For example, even "the word Indian" is a simulation "in the literature of dominance" (10). Therefore, he presents the idea of "Postindian Warriors" who "bear the simulations of their time and counter the manifest manners of domination" (*Manifest Manners* 04). However, he elucidates that these 'postindian warriors' also include the Native American literati such as "Luther Standing Bea-----r," Momaday, Silko, and Glancy who "have created a literature of humor, tragic wisdom, and survivance" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 23). In this way, Vizenor avoids the physical confrontation of the Native Americans to ensure their *Survival*.

Vizenor's term 'victimry' is also an attempt to reduce physical resistance of the Native Americans against the White Americans for their past unfavorable policies like that of the Indian Boarding School. In popular sense, 'victimry,' refers to the word 'victimhood' or "the state of being a victim" as in the oxford dictionary ("Victimhood"). And in the context of Native American literature, this state relates "victimry" to "the idea that some peoples who have been deeply oppressed and marginalized for the long periods of time come to think of themselves constantly as victims and begin to behave in ways that are constantly self-defeating" (Villegas et al. 340). For example, Geiogamah's alcoholic Bobby in "Body Indian" is the victim of social oppression, while Howe and Gordon's "Indian Radio Days" paradises social and historical concerns including White Nation's repeated incursions of North America (McClinton-Temple and Velie 315). However, in the light of Vizenor's theory of survivance [Survivance in the current study], the selected plays such as Geiogamah's "Body Indian" and Momaday's "The Indolent Boys" portray the protagonists' resolve to quit alcoholism and defy *Assimilation* respectively; it also shows these Native playwrights' focus on *Survival* through resistance. Vizenor, proudly, associates himself with his Native ancestry, proclaiming that his "father was native [Native], and his "grandmother" was a Native who "never lost her soul to victimry" (*Native Liberty* 18, 20). Therefore, he proclaims that "I'm not a victim of Columbus" (McCaffery et al. 50). In this way, Vizenor undermines the notion of 'endurance' or 'adjusting to the situation' in terms of the Native Americans' struggle of *Survival*: the survival of Native culture and identity. Vizenor's confidence in the Native Americans' historical existence, regardless of the arrival of Euro-Americans in the continent, reflects in Silliman's

account of the relationship between 'victimry' and Survivance in the context of Native Americans' historical struggle of *Survival*:

> Despite being victimized by variety of colonial and settler forces, many Indigenous peoples do not want their existence to be defined solely or primarily in terms of victimhood and certainly not always in reference to being colonized. In contrast, survivance emphasizes creative responses to difficult times…through struggle. (59)

This indicates that Vizenor's theory of Survivance promotes the resistance through those Native stories which include not only the unpleasant historical Native memories such as 'Trail of Tears' and Indian boarding schools era but also portray the Native characters whose responses are not mere nostalgic and regretful. For instance, the selected play "Indian Radio Days" depicts the courage of 'First Twin' and 'Second Twin' to remember the spirit of survival despite the scarcity of 'Indian Buffalo' and 'antelope' that serve as the sources of survival for the Native Americans. (See 4.3)

Survivance as a theory of Survivance meets certain criticism. For instance, "Survivance is a resistance in the blood. You can find it everywhere. It confronts victimry, but survivance is not theory……Survivance is a metaphor and the meaning must remain open and adaptable in any context" (Tuck 113). However, Tuck does not refute the significance of revoking the one's feelings of victimhood: "Anything that suggests a sense of presence and survivance has to be better than the burdens of victimry" (Tuck 113). Meanwhile, Vizenor himself admits that "Survivance is a practice, not an ideology…or theory"; however, he expresses that "the theory is earned by interpretations, the critical construal of survivance in creative literature..." (*Native Liberty* 89). For this purpose, he, convincingly, relates the word 'survivance' with the continuity of the Native Americans' state of "existence" through active resistance; therefore, he views survival as 'relic' and the suffix '-ance' with 'action' as defined in the dictionaries of "The Robert &Collins and "The American Heritage" respectively (*Native Liberty* 99-100). According to The Collins dictionary, the word "Survivance" stands for "relic" that refers to the object, a tradition, or a system that has survived from the past ("English Translation."). Similarly, the *American Heritage dictionary* views '–ance' in the context of "continuance" ("Houghton"). Resultantly, "survivance means the right of succession or reversion of an estate" (*Manifest Manners* 21). Thus, Vizenor's choice of language plays a key role, as one of the discursive strategies, in defining Native literary works. Resultantly, "Vizenor employs an analytical framework

that is open rather than authoritative, one in which language opens up infinite possibilities to imagine" (Pulitano 147). Therefore, in the context of theory of Survivance, "a Native American critical theory" is a "valid contribution to the field of Native American studies" (3).

1.7 Delimitation

The current study focuses on the selected Native American plays written by the selected Native American playwrights of the 20th century. The works include Geiogamah's *New Native American Drama: Three Plays,* Momaday's *Three Plays: The Indolent Boys, Children of the Sun, and The Moon in Two Windows*, and *Seventh Generation: An Anthology of Native American Plays* edited by Mimi D'Aponte. The study, however, selects only Howe and Gordon's "Indian Radio Days" from the *Seventh Generation* for the detailed analysis in an attempt to incorporate the most relevant material required to achieve the desired objectives of the research. Meanwhile, this research is delimited to the exploration of themes of *Assimilation* and *Survival,* as portrayed in the selected works, in the context of historical interactions between the Native Americans and the White Americans.

1.8 Context of the Study

Historically, the U.S. federal government views the policy of assimilation, particularly, in the form of the Native Americans' detachment from their lands under the acts such as the Dawes Act 1887 and Pratt's initiative of Indian Boarding School Education that witnessed the peak between 1887 and 1933, as a solution to the Native Americans' pertinent issues such as poverty, unemployment, poor health, and illiteracy. To Dawes and Pratt, the "Native Americans were not only a race but also a culture…… that could be pictured in the most depreciating terms and singled out for deliberate extinction" (Holm 03). The Dawes Act promotes the concept of individual property ownership for the Native Americans instead of their tribal whay of protecting the Native lands. And this concept of "private property" forms the basis of the "concept of assimilation" in the start of 19th century when "President Jefferson" advised the Native people "to secure individual family farms and work" like their "white neighbors" (Holm 03). These white manners also involve the element of a 'loyal Christian' Americans (03). Similarly, the story of *Assimilation* through boarding school education is a story worth remembering and worth reading, as it reveals "the use of

education as a weapon of war, a method of domination" (Straus and Delgado 328). The White proponents of the Natives' assimilation into the mainstream American society, therefore, term this mission as their responsibility, implying that the Native Americans are an inferior and neglected race in the United States whose survival of identity and culture is linked to their complete absorption into the White American society. For instance, Klug and Whitfield believe, "Five hundred years after contact, many of those misperceptions subsequently color our relationships with American Indians" (09). These misconceptions reflect in the White Americans' stated purpose of the Natives' assimilation through boarding school education. For instance, in practice, the assimilation process requires Native Americans to wear Western cloths, speak English language, and to convert to Christianity in order to become as much like White Americans as possible (Boxer 2). Understandably, the Native Americans' compliance with these demands is the rejection of the Native culture, language, religion and history. Therefore, they view this process as the forced or imposed assimilation that invalidates the Native identity and culture.

Historically, the federal US government has made many efforts for the *Assimilation*, which have major impact on the Native Americans' *Survival*. Since *Assimilation* into the mainstream American society demands the Native Americans to quit their Native culture, identity, and traditions, the Native people have less regard for even sincere thoughts of some White Americans who tend to raise the social status of the Native Americans. There are the instances of the US federal government's serious concerns for the miserable plight of the Native Americans. For example, the "declaration of policy for Indian affairs," in 1917, states that "during the past four years the efforts of the administration of Indian affairs have been largely concentrated on the…fundamental activities" such as "the betterment of health conditions of Indians, the suppression of the liquor traffic among them" and the "protection of the Indians' property" (Prucha 214). However, in the context of the White Americans' *Assimilation* policy, this official report of the 'Indian Commissioner', Cato Sells, is highly significant. Sells, in 1917, sets the criteria for the Native Americans to become the US citizens with this "central thought" that "an Indian who is as competent as an ordinary white man to transact the ordinary affairs of life should be given untrammeled control of the property and assured his personal rights…." (215). This statement clearly endorses not only the conditional favor of the Native Americans' sovereignty, but also the very low status of the Natives' existence as compared to the white people of the

United States. Meanwhile, this report has still some tangible concerns for the survival of Native languages, for it views English language as mandatory for becoming the part of the mainstream society. The report contends, "…about 40 percent of the Indians of the country speak the English language and the large majority of this latter class [with one-half Indian blood] still greatly need the protecting arms of the government" (215). As here, the less interest of the Natives in English language is the recognition of the Native Americans' historical practices of their native languages. However, the capability of Natives to exercise their own abilities receives demotivating picture by the US government representatives. Therefore, Sells' report is the significant example of viewing the Natives' *Survival* in the context of their *Assimilation* into the American culture, as it adds that "the competent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen" means "more self-respect and independence for the Indian. It means the ultimate absorption of the Indian race into the body politic of the Nation. It means, in short, the beginning of the end of the Indian problem" (214-215). Historically, "'the Indian Problem'" is a "term many Americans used to describe their relationship with the first occupants [Native Americans] of the land" (Faragher et al. 392). For the White Americans, "Indian Problem" also refers to the growth in the Native population in the last quarter of the 19th century despite of the poor living standard of the Native Americans (Banner 263). This is another indication of the historical confusion in the mutual relations between the mainstream Americans and the Native Americans.

Many American anthropologists and historians support the confidence and belief of the Native Americans in their way of life and strength to fight against any effort for the extinction of Native culture. Therefore, the Native tribes still preserve their distinct entity despite the conscientious efforts of the policy makers in USA to ultimately make them non-existent (Weaver 20). Moreover, they "remain; many continue to raise their children embracing traditional indigenous perspectives and practices, despite ongoing challenges" (Barta et al. 148). These statements, vividly, challenge the state of normalcy in the context of the Native Americans' historical sufferings. More threatening situation, in this regard, results after the Natives' distorted image that the majority of White Americans create by believing that Native Americans are wild, uncivilized and war-hungry people who need to be looked after constantly (Marr 33). Such indecent titles for the Native Americans and their culture undermine the sincere efforts for Natives' assimilation into the comparatively prosperous

mainstream American culture. “Of course, whites believed that Indians would assimilate successfully when all vestiges of their old life were destroyed” (Dorsey 75).

Many contemporary historians and critics believe that the Native Americans live an unpleasant life in the modern times. For instance, in the 21st century, the Native Americans are economically underprivileged, and they live below the poverty level (Tighe 1). From health perspective, they also suffer from tremendous issues which include the posttraumatic stress disorder, alcohol dependence, and major depressive episodes among their populations (Beals et al. 1723). Obviously, such a poor condition demands more mental health services for the Native Americans as compared to the general public in the United States (1723). This disparity also makes Charles Marr believe that Native Americans are still fighting their battle for the survival of Native culture, identity and history (32). Similarly, Native American literature paints the fainted picture of the Native Americans in their works. For instance, Louise Erdrich’s *Love Medicine* depicts the drab sight of Native reservations when she writes that “All along the highway that early summer the land was beautiful. The sky stretched bare. Tattered silver windbreaks bounded flat, plowed fields that the government had paid to lay fallow. Everything else is dull ----the dry ditches, the dying crops, [and] the buildings of towns and farms (Erdrich 10). This desolate landscape, created by the Native writer, shows the power of the unpleasant circumstance to influence a literary work. Meanwhile, Native American authors introduce and direct the readers, encouraging their thoughtful reactions, to the crucial Native American issues such as the issue of Indian boarding school education (Coulombe 6).

Not only do the Native American historians and literary figures inform about historical tensions between the Native people and the American government, but the government officials like the Former Republican member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, George E. Saurman also recall this unpleasant scenario. In his book, *We’ve Done Them Wrong!: A History of the Native American Indians and How the United States Treated Them*, Saurman strongly condemns the US government for their handling of the Native Americans’ issues:

> As a nation we have defeated greedy anarchies, power hungry dictators, potential invaders in many parts of the world, and in every case we have rebuilt what we destroyed. In our dealings with the Native Americans, however, we have been less than fair, certainly not compassionate, and in many instances cruel and downright dishonest. (ix)

This documentation of the unhealthy relations between US governments and the Native Americans is very significant and worth considering in the context of the authenticity regarding the historical uneasy terms between the Natives and the US government. For instance, Saurman's inspiration for writing the book reflects the sensitivity of the issue under discussion, as he, in one of his interviews, confesses that the speech made by Kevin Gover, the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs, compelled him to conduct a research on the historic problematic relationships between the federal governments and natives; moreover, he was shocked to remain unaware of these issues for so long despite serving for 33 years in government service ("Excerpt of Interview"). Saurman's regard for the Natives' status as the people of the United States is also an indication of the awareness, among the White American circle, about the unsatisfactory circumstances of the Natives as the US citizens. The similar mindfulness, on the part of the US federal government, reflects in the President Nixon's affirmation of his commitment to cooperate with the Native Americans regarding their survival:

> The Indians of America need Federal assistance – this much has long been clear. What has not always been clear, however, is that the Federal government needs Indian energies and Indian leadership if its assistance is to be effective in improving the [social and economic] conditions of Indian life. It is a new and balanced relationship between the United States government and the first Americans that is at the heart of our approach to Indian problems. ("President Nixon", *epa.gov*)

Though this statement motivates the Native Americans to continue their struggle of Survival, there is a vivid indication of the unhealthy historical relationships between the Natives and the White Americans.

More than hundred years before Saurman's alarming observation about the plight of the Native Americans, in 1896, a congressman John Sebastian Little from Arkansas had also reprimanded the then US government for not treating the Native Americans accordingly; in front of the House of Representative, Little reminds the Congress of its negligence in bringing the Natives to the mainstream American society, challenging the role of the US Congress in the Natives political status: "If you want a man to love a government, he must have some interest in it. There you have 250,000 people without the right to vote, without a sense of allegiance to the government under which they live" (Ellinghaus 563). Though, "the full U.S. citizenship and the right to vote" for the Native Americans came after "the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924," Little's

reminder to the federal US government reveals the historical reluctance of the majority of the mainstream Americans in accepting the genuine independent status of Native Americans (Shelley 208). It also indicates that the Native Americans have regularly faced infringement upon their Indigenous autonomy by the government despite their legal status as the sovereign nations in the United States of America (Weaver 8-9). Therefore, the struggle of the Native Americans for achieving true sovereignty is yet not over. Meanwhile, though in the form of speeches instead of an unconditional legislation for the Natives' demands of *Survival*, the statements of Saurman and Little embody some serious concern about the Native Americans' *Survival* and their *Assimilation*.

Contextually, the US government's negligence about the Native Americans' social, economic and identity crises relates to the forced assimilation in the context of the present study. For instance, more importantly, "the attempt at assimilation resulted in the Native Americans suffering through innumerable outrages, which included forced pedagogical and religious training and prescribes career paths of which they could not succeed" (Dorsey 75). This impact of *Assimilation* refers to the hegemonic Indian boarding school education and the acts such as Dawes Act, which impose non-Native culture and the profession of farming on the Native people respectively. Therefore, in this context of the Native and White Americans' historical relationships, the term hegemony refers to "the power of ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all" (Ashcroft et al. 134). In more strict sense, this hegemony views the historical "domination" of the US government as the "subtle [elusive] and inclusive power over economy and over state apparatuses such as education and the media, by which the ruling class's interest is presented as the common interest" of Native Americans (134). Since, "the only freedom Native people have is in the expression of their culture….and the only political position they have is as citizens of the United States," Native American literati base works on the Natives' perspective on the White Americans' policy of assimilation that affects *Survival* (Konkle 33).

The Native literature produced in the wake of troublesome historical relationships between the Natives and the White Americans, as explored in the context of the study, meets with the confused response of the literary theorists. Elvira Pulitano, for instance, while attempting to formulate the literary theory for the Native literature, argues that there is, "to date," "no monograph-length theoretical account" nor "a school or circle" that "might indicate the development of a Native American critical theory"

(2). Similarly, in the context of the current study, the portrayal of hegemonic official policies in Native American works, at times, is a literary reaction that is limited to respond to the historical sufferings, confining these works to the "sad panorama produced by genocide and cultural amnesia" (qtd. in Pulitano 194). Such perspective about the Native American literature, however, adds to the already complex representation of the Natives in the American history.

1.9 Significance of the Research

The current study stands vital in the scenario of the United States of America, for the US has a very important role in contemporary society. Pakistan has also notable political and social relationships with the US government. In this context, the study of the US governments' political, social and cultural engagement with the Native Americans brings forth the various strategies of overcoming the challenging phases in the course of mutual relationships between two the two nations. As a land that has a very long history, Pakistan and Pakistanis have studied many contemporary issues and challenges in all fields. As such it is important to study the literature produced in the US also. This study focuses on little known facts within Pakistan and Pakistani academia regarding the Native Americans whose representation occupies a significant place in American studies.

The attention to the life, history and culture of the Native Americans is a part of world-wide concern about the recognition of the dignity of those native people who turn into the minority such as the Native Americans in the US mainstream society. One example of such efforts comes from the recently held The Lowitja Institute International Indigenous Conference on Health and Wellbeing 2016 from 8-10 November in Melbourne, Australia. The very theme of the conference- Identity, Knowledge, and Strength - focuses on the acceptance and recognition of Indigenous peoples' identity with distinct yet a diverse culture, valuable wisdom and thinking, and promise for bright future of Indigenous people with their right of self-determination. Such an elevated theme of an international conference which witnessed eminent professors and scholars from different countries offers an opportunity to add literary themes, on the subject in future.

The study of Native American drama brings forth the glimpse of the depressed life of the Native Americans as perceived by them in the selected works. However, the study also explores various strategies of the selected Native writers which contribute to

ease the Native Americans' grievances and complaints about their historical sufferings. The current study, for instance, has explored the themes regarding Native Americans' wisdom, broadmindedness, and self-realization which, collectively, contradict the notion of the Native Americans as the victims of White Americans' hegemonic policies such as various Congressional acts and policies. In this context, the researcher has applied Vizenor's theory of Survivance that determines the course for not only the future Native American writings but also for the literature of other dejected societies which still lament their oppressive and colonial past through literary works. For example, besides depicting the poor outlook of the Native Americans in the wake of the White Americans' hegemonic policies, the selected Native American authors observe that the Native Americans have the strength to survive as a distinct nation. For this purpose, besides the investigation of the selected works, the study has also explored the White American voices such as those of the US Presidents who recognize the historical presence of the Native Americans in the United States. Further, the inclusion of factual data, while interpreting the selected works, highlights the significance of literature as an authentic source of history.

This effort, through the study of Native American drama, invites the readers to view literature as an equal partner with the non-literary sources to collect information about human history, traditions, and life. For instance, the readers of the selected plays require critical approach, knowledge of Native history and traditional Native concepts of culture, ideology and identity to fully understand the struggle of the Native writers in keeping the Indigenous identity alive through their works. Moreover, this present study has involved the US federal government with the inclusion of the statements of US Presidents such as Trump, Obama, and Nixon, which promotes the inclusive investigation to find the primary sources for the authenticity of the findings of a research in the discipline of social sciences. At the same time, the inclusion of these authoritative American voices, in the current study, is vital in terms of US Presidents' acceptance of the Native Americans' status as the original inhabitants of the American continent.

1.10 Organization of the Study

The current study follows the following organization in terms of the chapter breakdown:

Introduction sheds light on the status of the Native Americans as the original inhabitants of the American continent. It also sets the tone of the study by contextualizing the terms, 'Indian,' 'survival,' and 'assimilation,' and by signifying that how these concepts attract the Native American literati. This part also encloses the objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, background to the selected works, the delimitation of the study, and the discussion on the selected theory of Survivance. In this chapter, the section on the select theorist has investigated the status of Vizenor as the Native American theorist besides the examination of the implications of the theory of Survivance.

Chapter 2 discusses the concept of *Assimilation* and *Survival* in the context of Native American history. This literature review part of the research explores the historical references through the policies of the US government regarding the assimilation of the Native Americans into the mainstream American society and their impact on the Native Americans' culture and identity. The major policies include the Acts of the US congress, formation of certain organization, and working of Indian boarding schools. It further explores the Native Americans' view about the Euro-Americans' discovery of America, as it changed the life of the Native Americans. The inclusion of the material linked to the history of sufferings of the Native Americans and supported with the historical evidences paves the way for justifying the significant attention of the Native American literati to base their writings on themes of the survival of Native identity, culture and traditions. The chapter offers the discussion on the various motivating facades of *Survival* of the Native Americans. The factors include the Native identity, religion, and land. The review of the related literature, in this section, also includes the popular approaches and themes in Native American literature and Native American drama. This effort determines the research gap for the current study.

Chapter 3 titles itself as Research Design, and it incorporates the introduction, significance, and justification of the selected theory, the selected Textual Analysis Method, and the conceptual framework for the current study. The chapter adds to the significant features of Vizenor's theory of Survivance and the relevance of their application on the selected Native works. Therefore, this chapter has focused on the

five key concepts of Vizenor's idea of Survivance. This effort aims at achieving the targets of the present study.

Chapter 4 presents in-depth analysis of Momaday's *Three Plays*. The chapter investigates, in the light of Vizenor's view of Survivance, "The Indolent Boys," and "The Moon in Two Windows" to analyze the portrayal of the US policy of *Assimilation* through education at the Indian boarding schools which were established during the last quarter of the 19th century. Historical evidences related to the working of these schools prove as the supporting material during the investigation. The significant terminology of Survivance, such as 'Simulations of Survivance' and 'postindian warriors,' counters the hegemonic polices of the boarding schools. The chapter has also related Vizenor's concept of 'Manifest Manners' and 'Simulations of Dominance' to the hegemonic stance of Pratt who attempts to implement the campaign of Indian boarding schools. Meanwhile, the chapter also examines Momaday's "Children of the Sun" to explore the author's intention of creating the 'simulations of survivance' through the Native characters' memory of the Native history.

Chapter 5, titled as 'Survivalist Approach in Native American Selected Plays,' presents a comprehensive analysis of the selected plays of Geiogamah in respect of theme of *Survival*. Three selected plays come under investigation in this chapter to find the various aspects of the Native Americans' *Survival* in relation to the survival of their culture, identity and sovereignty. Meanwhile, the interpretation of the selected plays, in the light of theory of Survivance, brings forth various challenges to the *Survival* including the authority of the White Americans, self-realization on the part of Native Americans, and preservation of Native cultural practices. Some of the key terms of Survivance are the analytical framework by which the Native characters counter their state of pessimism and helplessness. At the same time, Geiogamah's focus on the theme of *Survival* in these plays pops up quite significantly. The chapter also finds the support of the play "Indian Radio Days" by Howe and Gordon in order to determine the focus of Native American drama on theme of survivance.

Conclusion finds the evidences worth considering to conclude that the Native American playwrights meaningfully base their plays on the struggle of *Survival*, as the history of the relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans documents the policies of *Assimilation* that do not fulfill the Natives' demands of sovereignty. The conclusion chapter has reviewed the historical evidences to support the results of the analysis of the selected text which prove that the U.S. government,

despite their utmost efforts in the 19th and the 20th centuries, fails to disaffiliate the Natives from their strong native cultural values. Meanwhile, this chapter reassembles and relates the key terminology of the selected theory of Survivance before presenting the findings and recommendations of the study in the same chapter.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature reviewed in this chapter relates the concept of assimilation with the forced assimilation, or *Assimilation*, of the Native Americans by the White Americans (the federal US government). For this purpose, the chapter focuses on the history and philosophy of Indian Boarding School System that targets the Native culture, identity and traditions, that is, *Survival*. This chapter has incorporated historical references to authenticate the objectives of the *Assimilation*, which includes the complete integration of the Native Americans into the mainstream society after the disintegration of the Native American culture. The chapter, therefore, incorporates the Native American history in the context of the federal US government's time and again efforts to popularize the idea of the Natives' assimilation into the mainstream American society. For this purpose, the chapter incorporates the significant US policies such as the Indian Removal Act, the Dawes Act, the Indian Citizenship Act and the Relocation Policy. However, in the context of the *Survival*, these policies have certain conditions which do not fulfill the expectations of the Native people to ensure the Native identity, culture and sovereignty. Meanwhile, the unbalanced and unequal power relation between Native Americans and the White American society allows the US government to impose certain policies such as the land acts which meet the resistance of the culturally-bonded Native Americans. Since literature is reflection of life in its simplest terms, the writings of the Native American literati, as explored in this chapter, are based on the sufferings and struggle of the Native Americans in their pursuit of *Survival* by resisting *Assimilation*. Collectively, this literature portrays the Natives' resistance to maintain their presence in their ancestral land. With the support of the historical data on as well as the contributions of Native American literary figures to the life of the First Nations,

the current review of literature explores the possibilities of the Native Americans' assimilation into the mainstream society while keeping their sovereignty alive at the same time. Thus, *Assimilation* and the concept of the term 'Assimilation' finds substantial attention of the researcher in the context of Native Americans' life in the United States.

2.1 Assimilation, Cultural Assimilation, and Forced Assimilation

In its popular sense, the term 'Assimilation' refers to the process of taking new information and experience and incorporating them into the existing knowledge. In social terms, 'Assimilation' is a process whereby groups or individuals of opposing heritage are immersed into the prevailing culture of the society; the prevailing culture has dominance and power to attract those with comparatively small number of sources (Pauls, "Assimilation"). Assimilation also refers to the state that socially equalizes an individual, who enters an existing community, to the others in the same community (Dencik 138). However, mere entry into the dominant society does not guarantee assimilation of minority groups. For instance, it is pertinent to understand that the assimilation process has no fixed time table for its completion, though the experiences of the early twentieth century's Europeans, who came to the United States, propose that full assimilation takes place within three to four generations (Brown and Bean, "policy.org").

Assimilation, as a process, falls into different categories in accordance with the needs and priorities of its adherents. *Native People of the World: An Encyclopedia of Groups, Cultures and Contemporary Issues*, for example, names these classes as voluntary, coercive, and forced assimilation; voluntary assimilation occurs through consistent interaction between two societies over a long period of time, and coercion assimilation results after adoption of another society's cultural norms for protection of one's business and other means of survival such as defined territory or trade; whereas, forced assimilation shows its presence in the society (minority) that is conquered by the other (Abidogun 708). Similarly, the factors like education, economy and social structure of a society and ethnic /racial discrimination lead to the blocked assimilation (Brown and Bean, "policy.org"). As the term implies, blocked assimilation predicts more time for its success.

In the context of the Native Americans, 'Assimilation' refers to the 'Cultural Assimilation' as defined by the anthropologists and sociologists. For instance, cultural assimilation or acculturation, as the American sociologist Milton Gordon puts in his book *Assimilation in American Life*, refers to the learning of the culture and ways of the dominant group by the minority group (Gordon 71). It implies that mainstream culture receives the primary focus as the civilized culture. Gordon, further, elaborates cultural assimilation in the context of the United States by taking this type of assimilation as learning Anglo-American cultural aspects such as English language, different eating habits and new value system etc. (71). This understanding of *Assimilation*, vividly, demands change in Native Americans' life style prior to considering them an integral part of the socio-political process of the White American society. Meanwhile, it advocates the superiority of White culture. Thus, the idea of *Assimilation* refers to the absorption of an individual or a group with different ethnic heritage into the dominant mainstream American society at the cost of extinction of the culture and identity of the assimilated group, as, in the current study, it refers to the forced assimilation of the Native Americans.

The Native people of America underwent the process of forced assimilation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the context of life on reservations and life in Indian boarding schools. During this period, Native Americans had to accept the terms and conditions of the dominant White society that had the power to interfere in the Natives' social, cultural, and educational affairs, making them the victims of *Assimilation*. This situation is evident from the fact that, historically, the US "Government officials and missionaries agreed on education as the best method to Americanize through eliminating native cultures" (Weber 77). Forced assimilation or imposed assimilation, as Lars Dencik puts in *A Road to Nowhere? Jewish Experiences in Unifying Europe*, occurs when the dominant society [such as the White Americans] compels the individual through education, upbringing, threats or violence to follow the existing norms of the society (138). As the ethnic group in the U.S., the Native Americans suffer this type of assimilation in the light of the historical policies such as those of land acts and forced boarding school education, as reviewed in this chapter. Disaphol Chansiri, in the book *The Chinese Émigrés of Thailand in the Twentieth Century*, also defines forced assimilation as the situation when the minority population is forced by the host country to submit their identity, which the host country does

through laws that stop ethnic groups to use and practice their culture and language (133). Though, such assimilation has no official definition, it appears to be the opposite of 'natural' assimilation or 'osmotic' assimilation as categorized by Chansiri and Dencik respectively (Chansiri 124 and Dencik 138). In osmotic or automatic assimilation, the individuals of an ethnic group or minority are gradually absorbed into the other society.

Historically, the dominant White Americans have the authority to define the way of assimilation for the less powerful Native Americans. The federal government of the United States, also perceived as the White Americans by the Natives, tried to assimilate the Native Americans through different policies like House Concurrent Resolution 108 (1953) which sought equal rights for the Native Americans as the American citizens (Faragher et al. 873). Meanwhile, the Relocation Policy, in 1950s, was "designed to move the Native people from reservations to cities" (Weaver 13). Among these periodic attempts, the government's policy of Indian boarding schools is also the most prominent one in the context of the Native Americans' *Assimilation*. The Native people view it as the forced assimilation through education, since it attacks their culture. Therefore, for the White Americans, it was a great challenge to spread the American system to the Native Americans through education because it needed to eradicate all the traces of tribal culture and identity with replacement of White ways of civilization (Adams 335).

The U.S. federal government, historically, defend the policies related to *Assimilation* by proclaiming that America is place of single identity. Therefore, "there can be no divided allegiance here [in America]. Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all" (Mikkelson, "snopes.com"). For instance, in 1907, continuing his statement about the immigrants to the U.S., President Theodore Roosevelt articulates the tough criteria for the non-Americans to enjoy the equal life standard in the US culture: "the immigrant who comes here in good faith becomes an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else (Mikkelson, "snopes.com"). Though these words are not meant for the Native Americans, the statements of the high rank officials of the US government prove as a historic fear for the less authoritative Natives to lose their personal identity. The chief cause of this fear stems from the fact that such threatening demands favor the complete absorption of any other ethnic or minority group into the

mainstream American culture without any option for the partial acceptance of American ways by them.

Historically, the Native Americans have been the main target of *Assimilation* or Americanization in the United States. For example, the advocates of this proposition, including educators and politicians, focused mainly on Native Americans instead of African or Asian Americans while instituting the practices of Americanization or *Assimilation* (Dorsey 15). The specific focus on the Native Americans' *Assimilation* does not necessarily indicate the special care for them on the part of the U.S. government. Conversely, the process and efforts towards Native Americans' *Assimilation* vanished their distinct entities, as their integration into the mainstream American society meant to free land and related sources for American use (Weaver 10). Moreover, it was a policy of forced acculturation on the part of Pratt (a symbol of Euro-Americans' system of *Assimilation*), who wanted to use schools in order to solve the issue of the "Indian Problem" (Adams 44). More clues related to the forced assimilation appear in the observation that, historically, the activists of *Assimilation* like Thomas Jefferson wanted forced assimilation of the Native Americans by compelling them to reject their nomadic hunting culture in favor of farming (Dorsey 15). Likewise, the process of the forced assimilation, in the name of the Native Americans' relocation and removal, also refers to the implementation of certain laws and Acts by the U.S. federal government. And Native Americans, for most of the part, remember the acts such as Indian Removal Act 1830 and Dawes Act 1887 as the unpleasant part of their history.

2.2 Native Americans and the U.S. Policies of Assimilation

Historically**,** the U.S. government has introduced certain polices, acts and laws which aim at assimilating the Native Americans into the mainstream American society. The power of the government to decide the Natives' social outlook is evident from the creation of 'Indian reservations' as the assigned territory for the Native Americans. The Indian reservations are the "clearly defined zones" such as Pine Ridge Reservation and the Turtle Mountain Reservation (Faragher et al. 517). In simple words, "The Indian reservation system established tracts of land called reservations for the Native Americans to live on as white settlers took over their land," bringing the Native people "under U.S. control," minimizing "conflict between Indians and settlers," and encouraging the "Native Americans to take on the ways of the white man" ("History.com Editors").These purposes of the Native reservations indicate the whites'

desire for *Assimilation* that requires the Native Americans to accept the White Americans' way of life. Meanwhile, the prediction of the clash between the Natives and the Whites, in case of a shared region, reveals that the creation of Native reservations is not necessarily the demand of the Native Americans.

The background of the establishment of separate territory-reservations- receives an ambiguous entry in the historical references. For instance, Banner defines 'Indian' reservations as "a boundary" that was "drawn between the settlers [Euro Americans] and the Indians [the Natives]" to remove the "the major cause [land purchasing] of friction between the English and the Indians" in the last half of the 18th century (89). This documentation indicates the Natives' fear regarding the exploitation of their ancestral lands. For example, "In New York, the Indians of Canajoharie [a village] expressed their grievances "against the white settlers" who were "aggressive in grabbing their land" (90). In this way, the U.S. government seems to satisfy both its white population and the Natives. However, the creation of these reservation also refers to the forced assimilation of the Native Americans: "by the end of the 1850s eight western reservations had been established where Indian people were induced to speak English, take up farming, and convert to Christianity" (Faragher et al.517). In this context, though with separate dwellings, the Native Americans' *Survival* faces the challenging scenario. Meanwhile, the establishment of more reservations continued in the 19th century. For instance, "The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1967 assigned reservations" to the Native tribes such as Comanches, Kiowas, and Sioux (518). Though, "Modern Indian reservations" exist in the US, they do not present satisfactory socio-economic scenario ("History.com Editors"). The indication of an unsatisfactory situation of the Native Americans' life on their reservation poses a potential threat to the Natives' *Survival*, for the struggle of ensuring the historical presence and identity of a modern society demands the stable economy.

In the American history, there are various acts passed by the US Congress, such as the Indian Removal Act and Dawes Act, which target the Natives' ancestral lands as the strategy of the forced assimilation of the Native Americans. At the same time, however, the Indian Reorganization Act and Religious Freedom Act recognize the historical attachment of the Native Americans' culture and identity. Similarly, there are the examples of the treaties, such as the Treaty with the Choctaws 1830, which also hint the recognition of the Natives' distinct way of life. Therefore, as discussed in the

proceeding part, theme of *Assimilation* and *Survival* incorporates the historical context of the relationship between the Native Americans and the White Americans.

2.2.1 Indian Removal Act and Trails of Tears

The Indian Removal Act 1830 and Trail of Tears are significant events in understanding the nature of the uninviting history of the mutual understanding between the Native and the White Americans. Meanwhile, these two are interlinked with each other. In a careful historical evidence, "in 1830, at President Jackson's urging, the U.S. Congress passed the hotly debated Indian Removal Act, which appropriated funds for relocation by force, if necessary" (Faragher et al. 281). The Act aimed at forcing the five southeastern Native tribes "to leave their homelands in the Southeast and live in Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma" ("National Geographic Society"). At the outset, the purpose of the act involves the Native Americans' unsettlement in a native country. In the more exasperating tone, the removal Act threw Native Americans into the Wilderness of barren west of Mississippi River, snatching the fertile eastern lands. (Bo 1666).

Meanwhile, in the light of some more evidences, Jackson's move of dislocating the Natives implies that all the White Americans, in the American history, do not favor the Natives' outright exploitation in the country, connecting this act with the personal step of the President Jackson (1829-1837). For instance, *Out of Many: A History of the American People* relates the Removal Act to the president's lack of sympathy with "a hardened Indian fighter" who rarely neither considered the outcome of this act nor regarded the Supreme Court's decision in favor of Native Cherokees who had challenged this legislation, and got favor from the Court in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) (Faragher et al. 281). Meanwhile, the personal role of Jackson is evident from his support for the white people while making the fertile land available for them. For example, "the forced relocation" of the Natives……freed more than 25 million acres of fertile, lucrative farmland to mostly white settlement in Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas" ("National Geographic Society"). Additionally, Jackson's policy of the 'Indian Removal' fails to represent all the US Presidents in the context of the government's realization about the problems of the Native Americans. President Nixon, for instance, confesses that "the Indian people" rank "at the bottom" in the United States in terms of their condition in the sectors of education, health, and employment ("President Nixon", *epa.gov*). With such a poor

standard of life, the plan of removing the Natives from their long dwelled places adds to their sufferings during the effort for self-determination.

The Indian Removal Act refers to the Jackson's underestimation of the Natives' status that these people need a separate territory for developing themselves as the civilized people; therefore, by relocating Native tribes to this area, "there, it believed, they might live undisturbed by whites and gradually adjust to "civilized" ways. (Faragher et al. 516-517). However, later, it proves the political move which is beneficial for the whites only. For example, "the onslaught of white settlers, railroad entrepreneurs, and prospectors rushing for gold pressured tribes to cede millions of their acres to the United States", and the opening, "in 1854", of the new Native location "the Kansas and Nebraska Territories for white settlement" failed the removal plan through the Act" (Faragher et al. 516-517). In the light of some more evidences, it turns out that the Indian Removal Act meets some opposition by the US congress. "A surprising number of Americans opposed Indian removal. (The first bill in Congress passed by only 103 votes to 97)" ("National Geographic Society"). Similarly, "Indian removal was a deeply divisive national issue", as the "northern…Protestant missionaries and reform groups"… opposed… the "Removal Act" (Faragher et al. 282). At the same time, "[b]y late 1840s it became clear that the systemic removal of the 1830s would provide no more permanent a solution to the conflicts between settlers and Indians" (Banner 228). However, despite this futile effort to stop the implementation of the Removal Act, it adds an unpleasant incident to the history of Native Americans: Trail of Tears.

The impact of the forced removal of Native tribes within their native country remains highly prominent while determining the future prospects of the relationship between the Native Americans and the federal government. This fear reflects in the reporting on the impact of the Indian removal Act of 1830: Trail of Tears. For instance, "Today, the Trail of Tears is a National Historic Trail stretching from Tennessee to Oklahoma. It specifically chronicles the removal of the Cherokee in 1838-1839, the largest contingent on the Trail of Tears" ("National Geographic Society"). The history books documents very horrible picture of the suffering Native tribes during their relocation in the second quarter of the 19th century. Factually,

> Most of the Choctaws moved west in 1830; the last of the Creeks were forcibly moved by the military in 1836, and the Chickasaws a year later. And in 1838, in the last and most infamous removal, resisting Cherokees were driven west to

> Oklahoma, along what came to be known as "the Trail of Tears." A 7,000-man army escorting them watched thousands (perhaps a quarter of the 16,000 Cherokees) die along the way. (Faragher et al. 282)

Thus, the very title 'Trail of Tears' refers to the physical pain that the forced removal of the Natives inflicts upon them. More significantly, such painful account of the Native Americans' relocation creates a historical memory in the US history. This memory, in turn, has the tendency of creating uneasy relationships between the Natives and the White Americans, inviting Native American writers to depict the stories of the Natives' sufferings in their works.

2.2.2 The Dawes Act 1887

The Dawes Act remains a significant attempt of the US federal government to assimilate the Native Americans into the mainstream society by introducing the legal access of the White Americans to the Native lands. The act, also called "The General Allotment Act of 1887 … empowered the president of the United States to divide Indian reservations into 160-acre allotments, assign one to each family, and open remaining lands to white settlers" (Carlson 274). More specifically, named after the Senator Henry L. Dawes, this Act authorized the president to determine "the suitability of the recipients" before granting the "160 acres (65 hectares)" land to the Native family head while "80 acres (32 hectares) to each unmarried adult" (The Editors of Encycl. Brit., "Dawes General"). These provisions of the Dawes Act indicate the element of encouragement for the contemporary Natives to increase their farming business for better living. However, the act implies the distrusting approach of the U.S. representatives towards the Native Americans' ability of flourishing their economic developments without the support of the Whites, promoting the need for their assimilation. Meanwhile, the individual grant, under the Dawes Act, also foresees the weak Native tribal system as the help for successful assimilation, which endangers the *Survival* of Native culture. Therefore, Dawes Act faces the serious concerns in historians' analysis of failure, for this "law was repealed in 1934" (Carlson 274).

The major controversy about The Dawes Act 1887 refers to the perception of conditional sovereignty and forced assimilation of the Native Americans through this Act. For instance, "Reformers in the 1880s were convinced that allotting land to Indians would encourage each family to farm its own land and ….acquire the habits of…industry and individualism needed for assimilation into white culture (Carlson

274). Similar conditioned assimilation and a threat to the survival of the Native culture are evident in the Act's purpose "to assimilate native people to national domestic order" by breaking up their "tribal and cultural traditions" through the conversion of "reservation [Native property] lands into a system of private property" that was also open "for settlement by non-Indians" (Washburn, "*oxfordbib.com*"). Though it also provides a chance to the Natives for proving their ability as the active and hardworking people, The Dawes Act has already denied these positive outcomes. For instance, the section 6 of the law clearly states that " every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United Sates" who "voluntarily" takes up "his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indian therein" and adopts "the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be the citizen of the United States" (Prucha 172). This statements verifies that The Dawes Act, in the last decade of the 19th century, defined the criteria of civilization for the Native Americans as the farmers to have the eligibility for the US citizenship. Meanwhile, the whole "allotment process reveals" the non-participation of the Native Americans, as "Indians were denied a voice in the decision making" (Carlson 274). The respect for all the parties involved in the sensitive land related matters is mostly crucial in achieving the desired targets.

Contextually, lack of understanding and mutual cooperation between the US government and the Native Americans overshadows Dawes' earlier assumption about the Natives' land rights. For instance, " the original supporters of the act were genuinely interested in the welfare of the Native Americans, but there were not enough votes in Congress to pass it until it was amended" to make the Native land "available for the public sale" (The Editors of Encycl. Brit., "Dawes General"). This implicates the acquisition of the Native land by the Euro-Americans later on. Though the "law was amended to allow Indians to lease or sell their allotments to non-Indians," it still requires the official permission to stop the Natives from their desired action; meanwhile, the amendment causes further loss of Native land when "an Indian family" chooses "to lease some land to whites and work for a wage" owing to the lack of interest in farming (Carlson 274). Hence, collectively, The Dawes Act, in the Native American history, stands highly unfavorable for the Native people in terms of its failure to assimilate the Native people as well as depriving them of their ancestors' lands. Its impact is unpromising: "the Dawes Act undermined indigenous forms of community and cultural practices and ultimately led to tribal land loss of 90 million acres"

(Washburn, "oxfordbib.com"). It also indicates that land is an important part of the Native culture, similar to any society in the world.

2.2.3 The Indian Citizenship Act 1924

The year 1924, as the date of The Indian Citizenship Act, reflects the long delay of the government to grant the US citizenship to all the Native Americans, though it was not the very first step in this regard. "The majority of Native Americans were already citizens before 1924" (Bauerkemer 168). However, such earlier steps impose certain conditions which demand the abandonment of Native traditional ways of life. For instance, the General Allotment Act of 1887 "conferred U.S. citizenship upon those Indians who accepted land allotments" and developed "civilized lifestyle" (168). This effort refers to the Natives' forced assimilation into the mainstream society. Similarly, in the context of Native Americans' desire for achieving the self-determination, the Citizenship Act of 1924 is also the rejection of this dream. Therefore, Joseph Bauerkemer includes this policy in the list of the federal government's efforts for the Natives' *Assimilation* into the white culture, viewing the Citizenship Act as "the culmination of federal assimilationist Indian policy" in the form of "imposed" status (168). Bauerkemer's observation incorporates the fact that the grant of citizenship to the Native Americans is the denial of their distinct status which they have been struggling for more than a century. Meanwhile, "yet even after the Indian Citizenship Act, some Native Americans weren't allowed to vote," as "until 1957, some states barred Native Americans from voting" (Congress granted, "americas"). For "Women Indians," there was "often non-extent voting access" (Bauerkemer 168). This discrimination adds to the historical fears of the Native Americans to lose their sovereign status after attaining the U.S citizenship. Thus, the passage of Citizenship Act for the Native Americans involves the conflict of perceptions between the Natives' historical struggle for *Survival* and the Whites' efforts for *Assimilation.*

2.2.4 Indian reorganization act 1934

The very description of the Wheeler-Howard Act or Indian Reorganization Act 1934 connects it with the U.S government' earlier decisions of the Natives' removal and the allotment policies through The Indian Removal Act 1830 and The Dawes Act 1887 respectively (see 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). These efforts of the government, mainly, underestimate the Natives' strength and capability to survive without the Whites' support. However, The Reorganization Act reverses these misconceptions about the

Native Americans, though for a short period. For instance, the Act intends "to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes" (Prucha 223). It has very promising prospects for the Natives' sovereignty. For instance, through this Act "the U.S. Congress, aimed at decreasing federal control of American Indian affairs and increasing Indian self-government and responsibility" (The Editors of Encycl. Brit. " *Indian Reorganization Act*"). However, this Act does not get much appreciation from the later U.S. official documents as well as from the Native Americans' circle. For example, in "Senator Watkins on Termination Policy May 1957," the Native Americans still remain in search of their identity and sovereignty (Prucha 239). However, this report starts with the hopeful expressions for Natives' sovereignty: "Virtually since the first decade of our national life the Indian, as tribesman and individual, was accorded a status apart. Now, however, we think constructively and affirmatively of the Indian as a fellow Americans. We seek to assure that in health, education and welfare, in social, political, economic, and cultural opportunity, he or she stands as one with us in the enjoyment and responsivities of our national citizenship" (239). According to *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, it further admits, "Unfortunately, the major and continuing Congressional movement toward full freedom was delayed for a time by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934……Amid the deep social concerns of the depression years, Congress deviated from its accustomed policy under the concept of promoting the general Indian welfare" (Prucha, 240). These statements by the U.S. official document do not reveal the much sincere historical status of the Natives in the United States.

2.2.5 The Policy of Termination and Relocation in1950s

The Indian Reorganization Act 1934, which accepts the Natives' sovereignty and self-determination, finds revocation in the US policy of termination and relocation for the Native Americans in the mid-20th century. The termination policy, through House Concurrent Resolution 108, 1953, refers to conclude the Native Americans' recognition as the people with the capability of running their state affairs. For instance, this policy of termination "allowed Congress to terminate a tribe as a political entity by passing legislation specific to that tribe" (Faragher et al. 873). It clearly reverts the promise made earlier in the Reorganization Act that encouraged the sense of the self-

government for Native American tribes. Decrease in self-control of the Native territories results in the opportunity of the Whites to get benefit from the Native lands in case of referring to the viewpoint that "Mining and other economic interests wishing to exploit the resources on Indian reservations" pressured the U.S "Congress" to adopt "a policy known as "termination" (873). However, irrespective of the impact of such motif behind the enactment of the House Concurrent 108, this termination policy adds to the efforts for the Native Americans' assimilation through their relocation to the urban areas of the mainstream: Along with termination, the federal government gave great emphasis to a relocation program aimed at speeding up assimilation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs encouraged reservation Indians to relocate to cities where they were provided houses and jobs (Faragher et al.873).

The focus on convincing the Native Americans to live in the mainstream Americans is evident from the fact that many Natives relocated to urban America after this policy. For instance, according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, " during the 1954 fiscal year, 2163 Indians" got the assistance for relocation, and "Los Angeles and Chicago metropolitan areas" remained the "chief centers of relocation" (Prucha 238). These figures indicate that the U.S. officials, instead of creating more opportunities for the Natives at their reservations, promoted the idea of *Assimilation*. However, this method of assimilation does not prove fruitful for all the Native Americans. Though some Native tribes "consented their own termination," "many Indian people became dependent on state social services and slipped into poverty and alcoholism" besides homesickness and their adjustment with the "alien culture," maintaining the "tribal identity" (Faragher et al. 873). It indicates that these relocated people have little option to earn their living at the reservation. Meanwhile, the termination of their sovereignty brings them directly dependent on the U.S. government in case of no substantial development on the reservation.

Conclusively, the termination policy of 1953 faces resistance of the Natives as well as the criticism of the later mainstream Americans. In the Native Americans' opinion, this policy hurts their "right to remain Indians" (Faragher et al. 874). Similarly, "President Johnson," in 1970, prefers "self-determination" to "termination" (Prucha, 247). Hence, the policy's claim of freeing the Natives' from the " Federal supervision" with the intentions of considering them as equal "citizens" clashes with the Native Americans' special status of a distinct nation" (234). Consequently, "the termination policy ended in the early 1960s" (Faragher et al. 874).

2.2.6 Indian religious freedom act 1978

American Indian Religious Freedom Act 1978 (AIRFA) is significant step by the U.S. government in the context of the regard for Native Americans' cultural and religious traditions. Its significance lies in the recognition of the Native Americans as the people with some religious affiliations. For instance, the act recognizes that "the religious practices of the American Indian…are an integral part of their culture, traditions and heritage;" and these practices form "the basis of Indian identity and value system" (United States. "Goinfo.com"). Meanwhile, the Act also recognizes that "American Indian religions" are "irreplaceable" (Public Law). However, it is significant to mention that the Native religion carries no specific definition. "Native American people themselves often claim that their traditional ways of life do not include "religion," for "they find the term difficult, often impossible, to translate into their own languages" (Jocks and Sullivan, "britannica.com").This impossibility refers to the Natives' belief in the diverse cultural practices that are difficult to incorporate in a single phrase. Therefore, "for native communities religion is understood as the relationship between living humans and other persons or things, however they are conceived" (Jocks and Sullivan, "britannica.com"). Though such religious affiliation offers no specific religion, this respect for a human society views the Native Americans as the people with their faith in humanity. In this context, AIRFA has much importance for the Native Americans to ensure their presence as a distinct community in the United States of America.

The Religious Freedom Act 1978 is the indication of the past restrictions on the free exercise of the Natives religious beliefs. "In 1883," for instance, "the U.S. secretary of interior" declared "the Plains Sun Dance and many other rituals" as crimes (Pauls, "*brit.com*"). "Sun Dance", in terms of the Native religious freedom, is the "most important religious ceremony of the Plains Indians of North America" (The Editors of Encycl. Brit. "Sun Dance."). Similarly, "before 1978, the terms of the Endangered Species Act prohibited the possession of eagle feathers, which are an integral part of many indigenous rituals" (Pauls, "*brit.com*"). In the broader aspects of *Assimilation* and *Survival,* the Religious Freedom Act holds much considerable status in the history of the Native Americans:

> This was necessary in 1978 because Native peoples were still suffering the ill effects of sorry policies of the past intended to ban traditional religions, to

> neutralize or to eliminate traditional religious leaders, and to force traditional religious practitioners to convert to Christianity, to take up English, and to give up their way of life. (Harjo, "*muse.jhu*")

Though the statement echoes the past unfavorable religious scenario for the Native Americans, it also incorporates the White Americans' realization of the delay in giving this freedom of religious expression to the Natives. In recent times, the US President Barack Obama, in Proclamation on "Establishment of the Katahdin Woods and Waters National Monument," extends the similar support for the Native Americans' rights to continue their association with historic religious and cultural sites:

> Nothing in this proclamation shall be deemed to enlarge or diminish the rights of any Indian tribe. The Secretary shall…ensure the protection of Indian sacred sites and cultural sites in the monument and provide access to the sites by members of Indian tribes for traditional cultural and customary uses. (Obama, "*federalreg.gov*")

Obama, in this statement, values the Native Americans' historical attachments with the rivers, scenery, "flora and fauna", and "night skies" which are part of the area Katahdin Woods and Waters (located in the US state of Maine), and "Native Americans still cherish these resources" (Estab, "*federalreg.gov*"). Historically, such understanding about the Native Americans' rights as the American citizens is also evident from the US government's deliberation, in 1919, over the abandonment of the policy of forced education through Indian boarding schools: "The government is gradually putting the Indian on the same basis as the white man, which means that the old Indian boarding schools are being abandoned one by one" (The Topeka State, *loc.gov*)

2.2.7 Recognition of the Native Americans' Existence through Treaties

The process of treaty-making between the two entities implies the equality of power and understanding between the engaged parties. Similarly, in the context of the Native Americans' history of relationships with the White Americans, the evidences about the happenings of treaties between these two communities is significant. Therefore, Colin G. Calloway, in *Pen and Ink Witchcraft: Treaties and Treaty Making in American Indian History*, believes that the study of the Native treaties with the Whites is essential for understanding the Native American history; his voice over the issue of treaties finds its worth in his consistency in studying the "Indian" treaties for forty years since his time as a graduate (2). According to Calloway, the Native

Americans have suffered as the victims of such treaty making process, for the Euro-Americans continued to influence the Natives' sovereignty (2). However, there are the worth considering Native treaties which recognize the Native Americans as peace-loving and strong people.

Contextually, Treaty of Portage des Sioux 1815 and Treaty with the Choctaw Indians 1830 are the significant examples to understand the White Americans' efforts for recognizing the Native Americans' existence in USA. For instance, the Treaty of Portage stands as one of the "treaties of peace" that was "signed… with one group of Sioux" Natives (Prucha 25). The very description of the treaty incorporates the respect and care for the Native tribes by involving the major official representatives in the process: "A treaty of peace and friendship…between William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Choutean", the "commissioners…on behalf of…the United States… and the chiefs and Warriors of the Siouxs of the river St. Peter's."(25). This treaty clearly states that "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the individuals of the United States of America and" the "individuals of the…Siouxs", which means that the U.S. government has displayed its willingness, in this way, to accept the role of the Native Americans in developing the peaceful relations with the Native People (Prucha 25). It also motivates the Natives to continue their struggle of *Survival*.

The White Americans' willingness of the equal partnership with the Native Americans, through the treaties, also reflects in their Treaty with the Choctaws in 1830. Though, this is one of the "removal treaties" at "Dancing Rabbit Creek" [after the Indian Removal Act]," the treaty "guaranteed protection for the Indians" besides its purpose of ensuring the "perpetual friendship" with the "Choctaw" Natives (Prucha 53). This example also stands vital in the context of the Natives' *Survival* and *Assimilation*, as the success of the efforts, in their context, depends upon the mutual cooperation between the Whites and the Natives. For instance, the treaties made between the Natives and the US authorities guarantee the tendency of the Native Americans to live in today's world as independent cultural entity (Holm viii). This historical understanding about the Native Americans' capacity of existence is still part of the US government. For instance, in the 'Presidential Proclamation' of 2018, the US President Donald Trump advocates, "We remain committed to preserving and protecting Native American cultures, languages, and history, while ensuring prosperity and opportunity for all Native Americans" (Trump). Trump, further, comforts the

Native Americans that his "Administration is committed to the sovereignty", and "the right of self-determination" of "Indians Nations" (Trump).

2.2.8 The Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The American Congress created BIA in 1834, encouraging the Native Americans to participate more freely with their issues. However, "an office of Indian affairs had already been created by the war department in 1824 without the authority of congress" (Buck 216). However, seemingly favorable bureau for Indians, BIA also advocated for assimilation of the Native Americans into the mainstream American society. BIA, as Diana Kendall reports in *Sociology in Our Times*, backed the forced assimilation of Native American children into the dominant American culture at Indian boarding schools after 1871 (Kendall 282). Buck goes for even more bitter comments for BIA with reference to its role for the Native Americans. According to Buck, BIA failed in the intended task of assisting the Native people in the creation of trust relationship between 'American Indians' and the federal government, instead it depended more on the government, and turned out to be an instrument of forced assimilation and land appropriation in reality (Buck 216).

2.3 Resistance to Forced Assimilation

The resistance, to any attempt of forcibly assimilating one small community to a more powerful community, is often visible in a human society. The native culture of a society is one of the significant factors that motivates such a society to adopt the ways and norms of any other culture. Meanwhile, in the world history, attempts of forced assimilation [*Assimilation*] have occurred commonly (Pauls, "*Brit.com*"). Similarly, the Native Americans' opposition to their forced assimilation by the White Americans has a long history (Reyhner and Eder 09). In fact, the word 'opposition' used by Reyhner and Eder stands for 'defense' in their later observation that the Native Americans simultaneously strive for the protection and maintenance of 'native' tribal cultures and languages (09). It shows that Native Americans have strong belief in their traditional knowledge and Native language. Historically, however, the Euro-Americans take it simple to integrate the Native Americans through education and missionary White people. Therefore, the reformers, missionaries, and teachers underrated the power of the Native peoples and their opposition to assimilation (Reyhner and Eder 04). This underestimation of the strength of the Native culture causes less favorable setting for *Assimilation* and *Survival* of the Native Americans. Hardly planned by these

assimilating forces, Native tribes always made the efforts to revitalize their language and reclaim their Native culture (White 632). These efforts by the Native Americans are the main features of *Survival*. To ensure their *Survival*, the Natives show resistance to their forced assimilation. Therefore, Reyhner and Eder, in *American Indian Education: A History*, agree that efforts at quick *Assimilation*, on the part of White Americans, often resulted in failure (05). For rapid *Assimilation* process, Indian boarding schools played a major role during the 19th and 20th centuries. However, in the history of the Native Americans' *Assimilation* [forced assimilation] through education, the Euro-Americans never succeeded in replacing the native culture despite submerging the native students in English departments in Indian Boarding schools (Reyhner and Eder 05). This indicates the Native students' strong cultural bonding, which prohibits them from assimilating into the White American society. The historical study of the effort of assimilating the Native Americans, through the imposed education, shows that the US federal government could not successfully wipe out the language and culture of the Native Americans (Stout ix). It also refers to the fact that the White American's attempt of forced assimilation has failed.

The failure of *Assimilation*, despite forcing the Native Americans for adopting the Whites' cultural and educational models, and compelling them to follow the federal government's course, is evident from Meriam Report 1928. Many social scientists and historians confirm the validity and the findings of this report. For instance, the feminist anthropologist and archaeologist, Alice Beck Kehoe, states that "The 1928 Meriam Report confirmed the failure of the United States' long-standing policy of removal or assimilation"(19). Similarly, Professor Joseph E. Illick is convinced that "the anthropologist Lewis Meriam in 1928" confirmed that the "relocation was a failed attempt at assimilation which added to the continuity of "the deplorable living conditions of American Indians" (17). These conditions, according to Illick, involve "alcoholism…suicide, poverty and unemployment" (17). This situation is the vivid description of the fact that *Assimilation* of the Native Americans does not provide the solution to their problems by disaffiliating them from Native culture. The findings of the Report are mainly based on the fact that the Native Americans are not ready to accept any attack on their culture, and language; hence, the Report criticized the policy of *Assimilation* through education, which had promoted the White culture only. Hence, not only did the report challenge the assumption of assimilating the Natives through education, but it also acknowledged the significance of multicultural impacts in Native

American education, recommending the provision of bilingual and bicultural education in Indian reservation schools (Barta et al.148). These recommendations indicate that the Natives' education at the Indian boarding schools such as the Carlisle, in the early 19th century, ignored the Native students' strong cultural affiliations.

2.4 Critical overview of Indian Boarding Schools and Forced Assimilation

The story of the establishment of Indian boarding school starts with the idea of Army captain and the first director of Carlisle Indian School, Richard Henry Pratt who functioned Carlisle Indian Boarding School in 1879. The movement of Indian boarding schools was at peak during the last quarter of 19th century. Twenty five boarding schools for American Indian children were opened by the federal government between 1879 and 1902 (Dominguez 701). The story, however, finds its roots back in 1875 when Lt. Richard H. Pratt, from 10th US cavalry, closely observed Native Americans while escorting 72 'Indian prisoners' in military prison at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida (Stout 27). In his book titled *Native American Boarding Schools*, Mary A. Stout presents Pratt's sincere intention of establishing boarding school for the Native Americans. Stout states that Pratt believed education was the biggest hurdle between 'American Indians' and their active participation in the mainstream American society (27). However, Stout, too, like many other scholars, is convinced that Pratt did not care or regard for the culture and traditions of Native Americans while advocating zealously for their education (29). Such carelessness for the Natives' culture advocated the forced enrollment of Native American children in Pratt's system of 'Indian' education. The purpose behind the detachment of Native American from their native environment was to minimize or cut their connection with traditional native way of communication. Therefore, Native students were often forced to attend far-off boarding schools that resulted in the decline of Native American languages and loss to many generations (White 632). These efforts, thus, indicate that, to Pratt and the US government, Native American culture and tribal system are considered inferior, and they need replacement with the Whites' designed system of education at purposefully-established boarding schools.

Historically, as in Pratt's comparison between Native culture and Indian boarding school education, the civilized Native Americans were the assimilated Natives. And the residential schools were the chief example of White Americans'

policy that promoted *Assimilation* (Weaver 11). This policy, however, falls in the category of forced assimilation. Based on the philosophy of Pratt, Kill the Indian: Save the Man, the boarding schools forcibly admitted young Native Americans who underwent harsh punishments for using their Native religious expressions and languages (Weaver 11). The purpose of these schools such as the Carlisle Indian Boarding School was to accept 'American Indian' children as the aboriginal Americans only in the Euro-American context (Haller 66). However, such a motive found reactionary response from the Native Americans who considered the boarding school policy as an attack on their cultures. Therefore, the Natives' reaction is understandable because these schools aimed at eradication of cultural knowledge and tribal languages (Murphree 287). Resultantly, the *Assimilation* meets the rare success.

In the context of Indian boarding School education, the critics like Mary Stout show extreme stance. Stout compares the Indian boarding school experience with the cultural genocide or ethnocide (Stout ix).Though unpleasant, the terms 'ethnocide and genocide' refer to the White Americans' attempt to fully detach the Native American children from their cultures by punishing them for practicing the native traditions that included their physical appearance and native languages. The utmost efforts to complete this mission reflect in the fact that 'a large number of Indigenous American children were separated from their homes, mounting the enrollment to 21,568 children in the year 1900 in the boarding schools' (Ellinghaus 565). These figures reveal the popularity of the idea of Native Americans' *Assimilation* through education. There are significant sources that validate this historical issue. Besides the Native American plays, 'the government reports, institutional records, oral histories and letters reveal the history of Indian boarding schools (Stout xi). Various books have been published in USA, in 21st century alone, on the issue of forced assimilation of the Native Americans through Indian boarding schools system. For example, besides many other, the list of these books includes *Assimilation's agent: my life as a superintendent in the Indian boarding school system* by Edwin L. Chalcraft (2004), *The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School* by Hayes Peter Mauro (2011), *The students of Sherman Indian School: education and Native identity since 1892* by Diana Meyers Bahr (2013). *Pipestone: my life in an Indian boarding school* by Adam Fortunate Eagle (2010), *Children left behind: the dark legacy of Indian mission boarding schools* by Tim A. Giago (2006). This extended list of the books is significant in terms of the impact of the boarding school era on the Native students.

The tremendous coverage of the period of the working of Indian boarding schools, mainly, terms Native American students as the victims of this school system, for the purpose of the government-run boarding schools was the forced assimilation, not education, of the Native American students into the mainstream Euro- American society in the US (Stout xiii). Beth A. Haller, in the article "Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?: Publications of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1918", also relates the philosophy and intention of Pratt with the concept of forced assimilation of the Native students. According to Haller, Pratt was interested in mere absorption of Native Americans into the mainstream American society; he wanted to destroy the 'Indian' identity along with extraction of all 'Indian' behaviors and beliefs from Native American students at Indian boarding schools (Haller 69). The examples of forced assimilation through education include the use of English language to Christianize and civilize the Native students, isolation from 'Indian' culture, and retributive boarding school approach (Tippeconnic III Fox 842). In this way, Pratt aims at zero tolerance for the Native Americans' traditions. For him, a dead Indian was the only good Indian, when he used the phrase "kill the Indian; save the man" in 1892 (Haller 69). With such philosophy of its originator, the mission of *Assimilation* through the boarding schools leaves a tangible impact on Native American history. In fact, all studies regarding the federal Indian policy of forced assimilation must cope with the reality of its lasting and harmful effects on Native American communities and population (Collins 294). The major impact involves the underestimation of the value and strength of Native American culture as well as the failure of the possibility of voluntary assimilation on the part of the Native people.

The policy of *Assimilation* with the slogan of "kill the Indian" converts the term 'Assimilation' into 'Forced Assimilation' for the Native Americans. The idea of this *Assimilation* prevails consistently in Pratt's philosophy. For instance, unreasonably, the *Assimilation* through education demanded extinction of the Native American values, for Pratt insisted upon the complete eradication of the Native American culture and languages through boarding schools (Stout xiii). To understand the influence and power of Pratt's motto, it is important to remember that the idea was fully supported and promoted by the Federal US government. During 1870s and 1880s, the federal government focused on the education of Indigenous youth which led to the removal of Native American youth from their tribal communities (Murphree 287). In this regard, the role of the US government is also understandable by reviewing the beginning of the

Indian boarding school period. Officially, the government –run boarding school era started in 1879 with the establishment of an experimental Carlisle Indian school initiated by Colonel Richard Pratt for Native American students (Stout xii). However, the seed for Carlisle school was planted in Florida in 1876-79, where Pratt, as a jailor, believed to transform seventy-two Native Americans into enlightened Americans (Haller 69). This history indicates that Pratt was an influential proponent of the *Assimilation* policy with a planned strategy. Carlisle boarding school was meant to serve as a model for Indian boarding school system, and it was designed to destroy not only the tribal nations but also to deprive the Native children of their languages, cultures and religions (Katanski 02). For the Native Americans, thus, the resistance remains the only option for *Survival*.

Historically, the full implementation of the Pratt's idea of *Assimilation* involves the full time presence of Native American students in the boarding schools. For instance, *New-York Tribune*, published March 7, 1883, states that the Indian boarding school are graded according to the length of the pupils' stay in the institution instead of the age of children ("New-York"., *loc.gov*). The unwillingness of Native Americans for joining these schools is evident from the fact that Pratt conscripted the Lakota Native American children to join Carlisle Indian boarding school in Pennsylvania (Haladay 97). In Pratt's view, Native Americans required to avoid a tribal influence in order to become civilized which was not possible on Indian reservations (Haller 69). Pratt's fear is very obvious, for these Native American reservations have the presence of Native stories and traditions. Therefore, the US social policy, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, emphasized assimilation of Native Americans through removal of the children from their communities and families, and focus on Christianity- based education, besides prohibiting the indigenous spirituality and vanishing communal possession of native land (Weaver 12). Resultantly, between 1879 (the start of Carlisle) and mid-1960s, Native children in thousands were detached from their families for the purpose of educating them at boarding schools (Weaver 11-12).

There is much agreement, in the historical documents, about the objectives of Indian boarding schools which target the Native Americans' identity by removing them from their ancestral dwellings. Therefore, Native children were brought out of their homes and retained in boarding schools where they were forced to speak English and were banned to practice their traditional spiritual beliefs ("Native Americans," *Youthmagazine.com*). Similarly, the boarding school education was an effort to grasp

the sovereignty and power from 'American Indians' by assimilating them into White men (Katanski 216). The commentary of historians, on this anti-*Survival* mission through *Assimilation*, continues with the conviction that White Americans use education as a tool to represent the Natives' historical identity as a weak trait of their lives. Hence, the US government officials and missionaries took education as the most effective way of Americanization of Native Americans, which was possible through the elimination of native cultures (Weber 77). Americanization and *Assimilation* are similar in terms of their objectives; both the terms, Americanization and Assimilation, revolve around the idea of coercing an individual (often forcibly) to abandon his or her native culture (Dorsey 15). With this show of power, the chances of successful use of education are very rare.

Unacceptance and non-recognition of the Native Americans' identity and cultural integrity reveal the White Americans' sense of superiority as the savior of Native Americans. Historically, the White or Euro-American reformers found 'American Indians' without any culture, so needed the White people for their safety and survival (Weber 77). With such a strong belief in their authority, the US government found it simple to promulgate the policy of Indian Boarding schools for assimilating the Native people through education. However, it met with great resistance on the part of the Native Children who had always seen their *Survival* in the survival of Native culture. Consequently, they never showed their will to engage in an undesirable and unattractive form of Americanism's assurance of liberty and life (Dorsey 15). The rejection of the White Americans' concept of freedom, by the boarding school Native children, indicates their historical respect and care for the Native identity.

David Wallace Adams, in his book *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, also links the Pratt's system of 'Indian' education, which began in 1875, with the historical White Americans' efforts of *Assimilation* through education. Adams compares the boarding schools with a prison that has no guards, and the third approach to educate the Natives in order to assimilate them (Adams 38). Historically, as a first attempt in this regard, the federal government established reservation day schools which failed in the assimilationist project because the students spent less time at schools than that spent at homes (Adams 38). Though, by 1900 the Reservation day schools existed , the majority of Native children was present in boarding schools; 17,708 Indian children were present in boarding schools: out of 21,568 of total number of the students (Adams 58). In the second phase, on-

reservation boarding schools, which were federally funded missionary schools, also failed to promote *Assimilation*. In this context, the Carlisle was an effort to keep the children away from their culture, and to bring them closer to the White ways. Reviewing Adams' *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928,* Straus and Delgado call the book a sturdy lesson about the potential of education as becoming part of a cultural and political arsenal; further, the book encourages a critical attitude towards conventional policies and curricula in the present era of multiculturalism (333). In the light of the historical focus of the White Americans on the imposed education, however, it seems less likely that the US policy of 'Indian' education frees from the aim of assimilating Native American through education in the mainstream society.

The staunch belief of White Americans in the utility of their way of education, the forced education through boarding schools, meets the Native Americans' resistance during the early 20th century. Native Americans, one way or the other, kept on resisting forced assimilation through education at the Indian boarding schools, though the policymakers and reformers of *Assimilation* attacked the Native American family units by keeping the children at Indian Boarding schools (Dominguez 701). The concept of family, in many societies, is linked with the collective welfare of the future generations. Meanwhile, the sense of protection, through family gatherings, ensures *Survival*.

The beginning of tribally controlled universities (TCUs) is a part of Native Americans' effort for their *Survival* and resistance in response to White Americans' forced ways of education in Indian boarding schools. Professor Tippeconnic III and Fox believe that TCUs are very significant in terms of Native American higher education, as these tribally controlled colleges and universities tend to support and integrate tribal culture, traditions, values and sovereignty into the educational systems designed for Native Americans (844). Historically, TCUs are the result of sense of self-determination, the political unrest of 1960s and the educational needs of Native American communities (Tippeconnic III& Fox 844).This context, along with objectives of TCU's as observed by Tippeconnic III and Fox, reveals the spirit of *Survival* among the Native Americans.

2.5 Survival and Native Americans' Struggle for *Survival*

The matter of *Survival*, the survival of the Native culture, identity and sovereignty, for the Native Americans, has been very sensitive in the history of the United States of America. For many centuries, the Native Americans have been complaining against the White Americans for snatching the former's identity, culture and land. To the Native Americans, any interference in their traditional norms and beliefs stands as an obstacle to *Survival*. Consequently, they view White Americans as the occupiers of valuable 'Indian' reservations, as reported by the historians and critics. Euro Americans or White Americans, who are termed as colonizers by Native Americans, intentionally destroyed the Indian culture, and brought destructive changes in the lifestyle of the Indigenous people (A.Tamburro and Tamburro 54).The complaints of the Native Americans, regarding White Americans' unconcerned attitude towards the Natives' distinct status, extend to the US legislative institutions. For instance, the US Congress, throughout the history, did not pass any legislation that could effectively protect powerful and dynamic Native American culture (Tighe 7). The Native Americans' struggle, in this context, refers to the continued existence of their culture, traditions, beliefs and distinct identity under all circumstances. It also asks for the survival of Native history and sovereignty instead of mere physical presence of Native Americans in the United States of America. This concept of *Survival* corresponds to the literal meaning of the word 'survival': a state of continuous existence or living in spite of all difficulties ("Survival," *Lexico.com*). In this context, it is pertinent to debate that the minorities and less authoritative communities undergo more efforts for their survival, particularly *Survival*, by resisting and challenging the authority of the majority. For instance, in the case of the US, Native Americans are less powerful than White Americans in terms of the Natives' political, educational, and economic background. Consequently, they tend to ensure *Survival* through resisting White Americans' attempts of *Assimilation*, the forced assimilation by undermining the Native culture and identity.

Hilary N. Weaver, in her book *Social Issues in Contemporary Native America*, traces the ups and downs in the relationships between the Native Americans and the US government in terms of *Survival*, sovereignty and *Assimilation* of Native Americans. She argues that Native Americans have suffered tremendously in terms of protection of

their ancestral lands, as, factually, it is not hard to consider that the Native people lost a lot of their land between 1800 and 1934 till the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 that encouraged Native Americans to maintain their cultural distinctiveness and retain their land (Weaver 10). Weaver's report on the losses of the Natives' land and the White Americans' effort to compensate this cultural damage, however, does not suggest the victory of the Native Americans in their battle for *Survival*. The 21st century's US government still seems to soothe the Native Americans with the compassionate words about their poor condition. For instance, it is because of the long awaited unresolved matter of rights and respect for the Native Americans that compels Barack H. Obama, in 2014, to pacify the Native Americans that they have the right to live, to work and to remain in their forefathers' land; Obama's realization of the US governments' indifferent and carless attitude towards the Native Americans indicates the confession of the unfulfilled promises made with Native Americans at the government level in the history of the United States (Bratu, "Obama"). Resultantly, Native Americans continue their struggle for *Survival*.

The concept of *Survival*, in the context of the Native Americans, relates to the Natives' plea for the equal rights to flourish as a historical community. Though they live on their very native land, Native Americans have been deprived of the most of their historical traditional practices and past rights (Krasner 177). Even more threatening is the Euro Americans' view of 'Indians' as fragments of the past with an odd status in the US history as well as in the contemporary times (Cox and Justice 10). Under this unpromising scenario for the *Survival*, Native Americans' struggle for the effective visibility of their historical presence, in the US, faces more challenges in future. Meanwhile, the history of Native Americans records many battles and wars over the native land. For example, the list of some wars over Native American lands enters the Pequot War in 1636-37, Kind Philip's War of 1675, and the French and Indian War (1754 to 1763) (Coulombe 20). However, the battle of *Survival* for Native Americans remains unfinished, as every time, during these fights, the Native American tribes suffered badly, and lost their lands in the hands of American colonists (Coulombe 20). The loss of land adds to the sufferings of Native Americans, proving to be a bigger challenge to their concept of *Survival*. The removal of Native Americans from their traditional lands does not mean a mere loss of land but loss of the Natives' identity and faith (Wilmer). It indicates that the Native land, for them, does not mean a mere small

or a big area on a plain or a mountain. Conversely, land serves as the Native Americans' identity and strong faith in the *Survival*.

Native Americans' struggle for *Survival* faces more challenges in the wake of White Americans' preference of restricting the Native people to particular venues such as 'Indian' reservations and Indian boarding schools. Therefore, from 1800 to 1933, the significant policies of the US government towards Native Americans included their placement on reservations, forced education at boarding schools, and restrictions on Indian religious freedom (Weaver 10). The intention of limiting Natives to these federally established dwellings reveals the power of the White Americans. However, revealing the fear about the unwillingness of Native Americans to accept these policies leads more strict actions on the part of the US government. The Native Americans' strong attachment with their cultural values is evident from the historical fact that, the obvious solution to the Indian problem, as suggested by the then commissioner for Indian affairs in 1867, was the forced removal of Native children from their families (qtd. in Weaver 11). The commissioner's suggestion refers to the forced assimilation of Native American children through boarding school education of the late 19th century. However, the words of the commissioner do not indicate sudden reaction to the Natives' persistence with their culture. In other words, this policy of removal was not confined to the Native children, instead, it dates back to the mid-1820s when the issue of 'Indian' removal from their lands in different regions had opened national debate in American history (Littlefield Jr.and Parins XIII). It indicates the historical efforts of the White Americans to minimize the Natives' interaction with their culture.

The White or the Euro-American policy of forced removal of Native Americans from their ancestral lands has a long history. According to *Encyclopedia of American Indian Removal [2 volumes]*, the discussion on 'Indian' removal from certain American lands had started in the beginning years of 19th century, which later turned into a federal policy that emerged from political deliberations. The US President Thomas Jefferson, for instance, in 1803, proposed to encourage the American 'Indians' to move voluntarily to Louisiana Purchase from their lands east of Mississippi, which majority of the Indian tribes rejected (Littlefield Jr.and Parins XIII). It was that ideology of removal which resulted in The Indian Removal Act 1830 which also caused relocation and dispossession of thousands of contemporary Native Americans (Bowes 01). Thus, the Native Americans' dissatisfactory reaction to the US policies was again on the cards. Resultantly, The Indian Removal Act 1830 and its signatory President Andrew

Jackson (1829- 1837), both, received unfavorable welcome on the part of Native Americans, as seen by John Egbeazien Oshodi in *A Glance at American Presidents in Black Life: George Washington to George W. Bush A to Z*. Oshodi maintains that Jackson was hot tempered, unfriendly, and unforgiving person who signed the unjust removal act that forced the Indigenous Americans to move further westward (17). Besides Oshodi's criticism on Jackson and his policies, Andrew Denson, while reviewing Robert V. Remini's book *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars* (2001), also believes that Jackson contributed to the campaign of removal of the 'Indians' from the eastern United States; it was the removal that did not solve the 'Indian Problem' for White Americans (246-248).

The Native Americans' struggle of *Survival*, and their sufferings continue in the 20th century, as the Whites' policy of 'Indian removal' was not the only attempt to detach the Native Americans from their culture. In addition, the shift in the federal policies in the shape of relocation and termination, by the 1950s, put the Native people in trouble to continue their distinctiveness. The commissioner William Brophy, in 1948, initiated the policy of relocating 'Indians,' that resulted the presence of 30% of Native Americans in cities by 1960 as compared to mere 8% in 1940 (Boxer, "*History Review*"). Though meant for boosting the process of assimilation of Native Americans, the relocation causes difficulties for the Natives in adjusting them into the modern urban life, making *Survival* more difficult for them. Resultantly, many Native Americans suffered alcoholism, poor living and unemployment, and they moved back to the reservations (Boxer, "*History Review*"). And these problems seem to be unending even in the 21st century in accordance with the study of recent scholars, historians and researchers. Statistics show that the Native Americans living in cities suffer from variety of problems such as high unemployment rate and poverty rates, health and housing concerns, and issues of discrimination (Hanson 19). Similarly the discouraging impact of the termination policy, which had been initiated in 1946 in the light of the first termination bill titled House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953, still echoes in the writings of the 21st century scholars. However, this policy of termination [the reduced Natives' self-control] further enhanced the difficulties of the native population. Therefore, the dramatic increase in poverty among the Native Americans caused abandonment of the termination policy (Weaver 14). Thus the Native Americans' struggle to survive continues amidst such measures, though, both, the relocation and the termination programs were started by the US federal government to assimilate the

Native Americans into the mainstream American society. One of the obvious reasons for the Natives' denunciation to such policies involves their fear of losing the Native traditional culture after assimilating completely into the White American society through the relocation to the mainstream cities. Meanwhile, the US government counts these policies as some of their efforts to assimilate the Native Americans, for the purpose of Relocation was to bring the Native people to cities from their reservations, while the termination policy allowed Native Americans to integrate themselves socially, economically and legally into mainstream America (Weaver 13).

2.6 Native Americans' *Survival* after Euro-Americans' arrival

The Native Americans' urge and battle of the *Survival* begins with their early interaction with the European explorers after the arrival of Columbus at the American Continent. This historical exploration leaves the major impact on the continuity of their skills to live as an independent nation. Native Americans, long before the arrival of Columbus, had the sovereign government that operated their possessed territories (Indian lands), which later went under the occupation of Europeans through the law of quest (Buck 216). However, with the arrival of Europeans, all Native American cultures and peoples, either indirectly or directly, were threatened (Coulombe 20). The impact of the Euro-Americans' advent on Native Americans' life spreads to other aspects of the Native society. Historically, the Indigenous people had flourishing economies and social systems before the European colonizers introduced alcohol, guns and diseases in their lives (A.Tamburro and Tamburro 54). In the field of education, too, it is wrong to say that there were no educational practices among the traditional Native tribes (Stout xi). Later, with the introduction of Indian boarding schools, however, the White Americans labels the Native Americans as the uncivilized people whose traditions culture and language have no worth (see 2.4). Thus, the arrival of Euro-Americans affects the Native Americans' social, cultural, political, and economic spheres.

Most of the historians extend the list of threatening influence of White Americans' earlier contact on the overall image of the Native American society. For instance, the Euro Americans' introduction of alcohol to the Native territories leaves them as alcoholic. Historically, however, Europeans, as they stretched their dominion over the whole of North America during the 1800s, sold and traded spirits to the Native people (Philips 216). Gradually, Native Americans felt that they had become the true victims of Euro-Americans' treatment. This impression of the weaker Native people is

evident from the fact that many Native tribes became susceptible to colonization, as they had to endure numerous waves of illnesses (Coulombe 20). For example, from 1617 to 1620, ninety to 96 percent of 'American Indian' population died in New England due to a virus that possibly travelled from Europe with the wishing vessels (Coulombe 20). These figures indicate that Native Americans of the early 17th century had started the struggle of their physical survival after their contact with the Euro-Americans.

The Native American history praises the Native Americans for their capability of ensuring the survival of their own communities as well as the European people who came to conquer them. This capacity of the Natives relates them with their instinct of self-sufficiency, therefore the history credits them for their generosity in human relations. For instance, in terms of social welfare, Native Americans continued to fulfill the needs of their communities for 300 years (about 1500 to 1800) after their contact with Europeans, and they also, in the beginning, assisted newly arrived European Colonists who found Native Americans wealthy people with dynamic social set up (A.Tamburro and Tamburro 45). However, a brief overview of the historical sources reveal that the original inhabitants of Americas, the Native Americans, had to suffer at the unfair treatment of White Americans. For instance, Christopher George Buck refers to the non-enforcement of the US Supreme Court's decision on Worcester v. Georgia (1832) case; this decision "procured a favorable ruling for the Cherokees (a Native American tribe)," but it was ignored by the President Andrew Jackson (Buck 216). Buck calls Jackson's resistance to the court's decision an intentional and deliberate act, when he refers to Horace Greely, the editor New York Tribune. Greely reports Jackson's challenging remarks on the decision of the Supreme Court's judge: "Marshall has made his decision: let him enforce it now" (Buck 216). Jackson's threatening remarks reflect that Native Americans suffer at large scale in terms of making their voices effective. Meanwhile, the evidences, regarding White Americans' indifferent attitude to the Natives, are not documented by the Native authors alone. The story of historical sufferings of Native Americans find the place in the views of other US officials such as George E. Saurman, the former Member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives (1981–1994). He also reprimands the US government for treating Native Americans unethically, unkindly and dishonestly without any compassion at all (ix). These comments also expose the history of uninviting relationships between White Americans and Native Americans.

The survey of the unpromising relationships, between the Whites and the Native Americans, produces some more historical evidences to reveal that the Euro-Americans' effort to diminish the Native culture involves different ways. These factors range from forced occupation of the Native land to the exploitation of Native Americans' resources, for colonization, environmental damages and cultural degradation are the tools of the US government to harm the Native Americans (Marr 32). Throughout a painful and a long history of colonization, Native Americans have experienced a continual erosion of their rights and well-beings (Prue 272). Even in 2013, as Bob Prue, from University of Missouri-Kansas city, believes in the article *Indigenous Supports for Recovery from Alcoholism and Drug Abuse: The Native American Church,* the effect of colonization on North American indigenous people is an unending reality, resulting cultural loss to Native Americans (271). Unacceptable to the Native Americans, the Whites' effort to erase the Native identity starts after the historic adventure of the Euro-Americans in 1492. However, the Native Americans' strong desire to maintain the Native distinctiveness is also a historical fact which involves various motivational factors such as the love for Native identity, religion, land and Native culture.

2.7 Survival as an Identity for Native Americans

Throughout their history, the Native Americans have exhibited their resilience and power against any attempt of cultural hegemony and forced assimilation. Behind such resistance, their chief concern has been unique Native identity. For Native Americans, the term identity does not refer to the mere physical or genetic traits that recognize someone. Instead, an Indigenous or a Native identity is the product of Native culture, blood, language, spirituality, and 'Indian' geographical movement in the 21st century as it was in the previous centuries (Smithers and Newman 14-15). Thus, the Native Americans' identity refers to their centuries' old practice of Native traditions and beliefs. They view these traditional practices as means of *Survival*.

In terms of a Native identity, one of the major features of *Survival* of Native Americans is their active connection with the tribal and family system, and care for nature. Care for tribes and family ,on the part of Native Americans, creates a difference between the Euro-Americans' and Native Americans' concept of identity, according to the research paper *Invited Commentary: Fostering Resilience Among Native American Youth Through Thereuptic Intervention* by Garrett, Parrish, Willams,

Grayshield, Portman, Rivers and Maynard. The Paper maintains that the mainstream American society base their status on the personal profile and achievements of an individual, whereas the 'American Indians' identify themselves in relation with their tribe, clan or family (Garrett et al. 474). For Natives, "who you are is where you come from," as they like to describe the Native tribal heritage while introducing themselves (474). This much attachment of Native Americans with their traditional life style indicates that a Native identity involves the preference for a combined family system and the company of nature.

Going through the study of some other renowned Native scholars, it turns out that the Native American parents trust and train their children with an intention of carrying on the native traditions and family connections. For this purpose, treating them as adults and showing respect, the Native parents leave their children unsupervised at traditional Indian gatherings such as basketball tournaments, a powwow, or any other ceremony (Alexie viii). The perspective of Native parents about the freedom of Native children strongly recommends the early participation of the individuals in the Native cultural events, for these traditional gatherings are sources of the Natives' strong visibility in the American society. It does not mean, however, that the Native Americans are least concerned and less careful about their children. More accurately, seven percent of Native Americans aged 30 and older live with their grandchildren as compared to just two percent of Euro-Americans or White people (Wightman 09).

In the context of the White Americans' efforts for *Assimilation* of the Natives, the efforts for the preservation of the historical Native identity are significant. Despite the constitutional recognition of Native American tribes as sovereign nations, there is still interplay between assimilation of the Native Americans and maintenance of their distinctiveness (Weaver 78). The *Survival* of Native Americans seems very difficult in the scenario of different social problems that strangle them even in the observation of 21st century's scholars. These problems range from very basic such as illiteracy to the serious ones like poor health and accommodation issues, as the study reveals. Less educational opportunities, unemployment, homelessness, geographic isolation and mental illness are the realities in the lives of Native Americans (Tighe 1). This highly unpleasant picture of the Natives' life results after constant suppression of their basic rights by the Euro-Americans, as Euro-Americans, consistently, suppressed and devalued Native Americans' institutions of religion, health, knowledge and social support (Prue 275). The institution like these show the identity of any society. It also

adds language as the essential part of a culture. However, the process of devaluation of the Native Americans' culture and traditions reflects in the US government's policies of suppressing the traditional religious practices, separating the Native American children from their parents in the name of education, forcing the 'Indian' students to speak English, and compelling them to learn the mainstream American culture (Bo 1666). These are the challenges to the survival of Native identity. However, they have always fought back for the sake of their distinctiveness, as the battle of *Survival* for Native identity has a tragic and tiresome history. For instance, though, for five centuries, Native Americans have been steadily dispossessed and humiliated, they have generally resisted and overruled European culture (Frederick 26).

2.8 Religion as the Native Identity

The Native American religion is as an integral part of their identity. In other words, the element of the religion has notable place in defining the identity of the Native Americans. The efforts, on the part of Euro-Americans, to target the Natives' religious practices had begun very early in the history of Native Americans. Europeans, almost from the times of interaction with Native Americans, started the efforts to force Native people to quit their identifiable religious beliefs and traditions, and to follow European representations of Christianity instead (Mello and Owen 302). This underestimation of the Native religious beliefs presents them as the historically uncivilized people. Therefore, the religious missionaries who accompanied the early explorers (later the Euro-Americans) of America were given the missionary tasks for civilizing the 'Indians' (Mello and Owen 302-303). The task of replacing the Native religions, however, rarely meet with success owing to the partial attitude of Euro-Americans towards the Native spiritual beliefs. They take Native Americans as uncivilized people without any religion, and the image of Native Americans proves more threatening for the native identity. For instance, this discriminatory attitude leads the White American elected people, such as missionaries, military officers, reformed minded citizens, and local 'Indian' agents, to remain unsuccessful in recognizing the authority and legitimacy of Native religious practices; therefore, they harass the Native Americans stubbornly for permanent annihilation (Leavelle 165). The very purpose 'civilizing the Indians' of White religious authorities is itself indicative of their perception about the Natives as the uncivilized creatures. Historically, the missionaries seemed to be demoralizing the religious trends of the Native Americans. These missionaries labeled

the Native religious traditions with negative titles such as primitive, childish, demonic, pagan, and devil worship (Mello and Owen 303). Weaver also traces out overtly that the religious restrictions on the Indigenous people of America became part and parcel of the Whites' struggle to make the Native Americans civilized (as they were considered savages) along with aim of assimilating them into the mainstream American society (12). Since, Native American religion involves the traditional and spiritual belief, such as dancing and hunting, White Americans find little room to accept it as a universal religion. Therefore, the White reformers justify their opposition by assuming that the Natives' religious and spiritual practices offer no addition to civilized world of America; the assimilationists regarded these practices like the Indian Ghost Dance as irrational and possibly dangerous, which halted the journey to civilization (Leavelle 165). However, the Natives see their identity in such practices.

Referring to O'Brien (1991), Weaver supports her own argument by documenting that the ban on Native Americans' spirituality officially remained active until the 1930s (12). More accurately, Professor Joseph L. Coulombe informs in his book *Reading Native American Literature that* the Native Americans were given the right to worship uninterruptedly in 1978 after the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was passed (04). The Act of religious freedom reflects the success, on the part of Native Americans' struggle, in preserving their religion. Meanwhile it predicts, reasonably, the failure of the White Americans' effort to suppress the Natives' spiritual identity. Kenneth Mello and Suzanne Owen, in *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, believe that Euro- American missionaries, historically, failed in their determinations to convert and eliminate the Native American religious systems (303). It is one of the examples of Native Americans' resistance to any measure against their native identity. Most of them showed great resistance to accept Christianity as the ultimate truth if it did not match with the Native cultural beliefs (Mello and Owen 303). Mello and Owen further reveal the ongoing efforts of the Native people for keeping their religion flourishing in the modern world. Therefore, Native Americans have approached their demand for religious authority in more civilized manners in the form of various legal battles which continue in America to make the US government realize and recognize the validity of Native religions (Mello and Owen 312).

2.9 Euro-Americans' Colonial Advancements and Native Americans' Resistance

In the context of the resistance of Native Americans against any encroachment of their land and native identity, the history books document ample evidences of the Natives' prolonged struggle of keeping their distinct Native culture and identity alive. Identity crises, in the life of Native Americans, means the same as Irem Seklem, from Philip-Marburg University Germany, defines in the research paper *Abel's Identity Crises and his Journey to his self in 'House Made of Dawn': A Critical Analysis Perspective* published in 2014. Seklem states that the phrase 'identity crises' refers to a time of confusion and uncertainty in which an individual's sense of identity becomes doubtful due to change in their anticipated roles and aims (22). Convincingly, this confusion among Native Americans originates from their historical sufferings that resulted through *Assimilation*. In *Encyclopedia of American Indian Issues Today*, for example, Russel M. Lawson has discussed the miserable plight of Native Americans with reference to historical context (Lawson 04). Lawson is convinced that resistance of Native Americans to cultural assimilation is a reaction to the process of Euro-Americans' violation of Native lands (04).

Culturally, the Native Americans have mostly found themselves in significant contrast to the Euro-Americans. In general perception, such contradictions also refer to diversity of various cultures. However, the power and authority of White Americans pose a serious threat to the continuity of the Native culture. Historically, the limited hunting, fur trade, and farming based Indian economy were challenged by Europeans with their different tools, weapons, worldviews and institutions (Lawson 04). Meanwhile, Native Americans continue to resist this challenge, fearing to lose their native political, social and cultural set-up. Thus, politically, any advancement by Europeans to Native American lands faced historical resistance of the latter. For instance, the Natives of California, Gulf Coast and Mexico fought the Spanish conquerors who attacked the native lands and communities (Lawson 04). Similarly, during the eighteenth century, the Native Americans showed their resistance to political and cultural intrusions upon the native lands in Ohio River Valley, or in the eastern foothills of the Appalachian Mountain Chain (Lawson 05). One more evidence regarding such resistance comes from the failure of Pratt's idea of forced assimilation through education at Indian boarding schools. The dream of Pratt to *Assimilate* Native Americans into American society remained unrealized despite establishing twenty five

Indian boarding schools till the closure of Carlisle boarding school and enrolling twenty five thousands Indian students (Gamache 32). In the light of such a history of Native Americans' resistance to the White' hegemonic motifs, Native Americans show their strength to defend Native land and Native culture. This approach is evident from the fact that the Indian tribes first joined French to stop British infiltrations upon their lands, and later, after 1763, combined with British to fight the American encroachment of Native American lands (Lawson 05).

2.10 Historical Approach to Native American Literature

A critical approach, while studying and comprehending literature, serves as a lens to bring forth different perspective of a literary text. As one of the critical approaches to literary studies, historical approach speculates that every literary piece of work is a creation of its time and biosphere. Tracing out the origin of this idea, early Historicism emerged in the 19th century as an approach to study literature by taking the context into account, and by studying literary works with respect to their social, historical, political and cultural contexts (Sievers 07). In its attempt to analyze a piece of literature, the historical approach investigates the intellectual, cultural and social contexts that produced a certain poem, novel or drama. It examines a text by including the place and time in which the text was created by the author. Giving sufficient attention to the contemporary material, Historical approach/criticism insists on understanding the author's biography and social background with focus on the prevailing ideas of the time of the production of a text. In return, the historical critics view literary works as the reflection of the times, of the life of an author, and life of the characters. Thus the approach verifies the common fact that economic, political and sociological contexts of the authors' time play a key role in understanding literature. For instance, John Milton's sonnet *On the Late Massacre in Piedmont* memorializes the slaughter of the members of a Protestant sect, the Waldensian, in 1655, in the valleys of Northern Italy (Guerin 51). Milton's biographic touch, to his other sonnets such as *On His Blindness* and *On His Deceased Wife,* is best felt after knowing the context of his getting blind at forty five or his paying of the tribute to his second wife Katherine Woodcock in these sonnets respectively. Thus, to approach the context of a literary text, it requires an access to biographies (like the biography of an author) as well as the sources like the contemporary films and newspapers. The critic, who uses historical approach to understand literature, keeps an eye on intellectual levels, cultural events

and social implications that resulted the production of a specific literary text. Therefore, the works of the prolific writers such as that of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, and Charles Dickens' *Tale of Two* Cities require the readers' familiarity with the American Depression from 1929 to about 1933, the French and Indian War, and the French Revolution respectively (Guerin 52).

In the context of Native American literature, the knowledge and information about the establishment of Indian boarding schools or the enactment of The Indian Removal Act 1830 provide understanding of the prolonged Natives' sufferings as portrayed in Native American works. Simply, the context of a Native play or novel demands some historical background of a certain event. Resultantly, this particular event reflects in the work. For instance, the Removal Act influences a Native writer to include the sufferings of the Native Americans of the 19th century. Thus, Historicism investigates social, historical, and cultural life of the authors as these elements are interconnected with the contemporary literature.

2.11 Literary Perspectives on Themes in Native American Literature

It is beyond any imagination that the readers of literature have freedom to view literature, along with authors' message, in the light of individuals' level of understanding and expertise. This impression is evident form the fact that literary figures base their works on the variety of themes which incorporate social, political, religious, and economic concerns of people. "Different readers," therefore, "often arrive at different conceptions of what authors mean; nonetheless their common intent is to interpret" (Lundquist 201). However, the interpretation of literary texts gives rise to more diverse themes. Likewise, in the case of Native American literature, variety of themes emerge through the investigation of the Natives' works. Lundquist, for instance, explores the works of three notable Native authors, and reaches the conclusion:

> " Ortiz, Gunn Allen, and Alexie delineate a composite of concerns among Native authors – a rejection of imposed Native identities (there are no Indians); a recognition of the diverse cultures and languages that make up Native America; an understanding that commonalties exist despite that diversity; a recognition of the particular nature of individual Native experience; an acknowledgment of the basic humanity of Native people; and a conscious exploration of the meaning of place (reservation/urban) in shaping identity. This

range of concerns, coupled with the ethics involved in such determinations, demonstrates the difficulties surrounding thematics" (201).

Though, as Lundquist believes, the themes in Native American Literature offer a challenging approach to fully explore the message of the Native American writers, it is quite convincing that "Attitudes and approaches to common concerns in Native American literary texts are interactional" (Lundquist 201). Hence, the proceeding part of this section presents a synopsis of the repeated outcomes of the interpretation of Native American literature by various literary critics.

2.11.1 Implications of the Term 'Indian'

Since Native American literary figures confront the use of the word 'Indian' for their people, many Native and non- Native critics theorize the Native works as means of their strong retaliation to subvert the very term. This much emphasis gives an insight that **"**One of the most enduring themes in Native literatures might more readily be posed as a question: Who is an Indian?" (Lundquist 196). Lundquist, in *Native American Literatures: An Introduction*, refers to the poem "Greatest Believers Greatest Disbelievers" by Ortiz. This poem "addresses the problem of "Indian" identity and the reductive nature of the term *Indian*" (Lundquist 196). Ortiz's complete rejection for the image of Native Americans as Indians is evident from his repeated assertion that "There were never any Indians/There were never any Indians…… "None/Never" (Lundquist 196). Ortiz, in these line, forcefully, rejects the concept of Native Americans as 'Indians', and he also uses the word "never" to challenge the historical practice of White Americans to view the Natives as the primitive people without any wisdom.

The very purpose of the Native literati's disliking for the term 'Indian' is the result of its power to generate more contradicted images for Native Americans. For example, Lyons, in *The World, the Text, and the Indian: Global Dimensions of Native American Literature*, states that the "image of the Indian, which has taken different forms overtime (as savage, as biological race, as degraded, as nobel, as vanishing, as alternative subjectivity against "the West", etc.) has been the overriding theme that native writers have always had to contend with" (Lyons 13). The association of 'Indian' with variety of other derogatory terms is the continuation of the production of Indian stereotypes in the mainstream American society. Therefore, these stereotypes rarely view Native Americans capable of coping the challenges of modern life. Therefore, these are "problematic" and "myths" (Ladino, "A Limited Range of Motion?").

Vizenor, while propagating his concept of Survivance, also contests that the use of word "Indian", in the context of the Native Americans, results into "elusive [puzzling] native presence" in the American continent (Liberty 18). Consequently, 'many non-Native Americans believe that Native Americans are still wearing headdresses, living in tipis in perfect harmony with animals and plants in a prehistoric world'(Ladino, "A Limited Range of Motion?").

The implications of the image of 'Indian' are manifold, for its association with further humiliating realization such as 'a degrading and vanishing race' creates the sense of a colonized community in Native Americans. Therefore, the literary figure, Suzanne Evertsen Lundquist views the literature of Native Americans as the struggle against colonization. For example, she believes that Native American authors "do demonstrate that the loss of self-determination, lands, and life-ways has been and continues to be detrimental to the ongoing psychic life of five hundred nations of North American peoples" (Lundquist 202). Similarly, Deborah L. Madsen is also convinced that Native American literature motivates the Natives to ensure their attachment with the Native culture. She, however, mixes the reflection of the Natives' culture with theme of the impact of White Americans' influence on the Native literature:

> The tribes of Native North America continue to constitute distinct social and cultural communities, each of which has been slapped in particular ways by the impact of European colonization. The interplay between the indigenous cultures that endure and these colonial impact form a framework of illusions and references that characterize Native American literary texts (Madsen 02).

Madsen's observation generates the fear that the influence of the Natives' historical sufferings on Native American writers is very strong, and, it leads to the misunderstanding of Native American works. Therefore, it is vital for Native American literati to affiliate them with tribal culture that reflects the diversity and strength of the Native people to continue their struggle for *Survival*. Lundquist, also, determines the role of Native American authors in facing as well as resisting the Native Americans' stereotype image:

> In order to survive or overcome virtually insurmountable trauma or obstacles, Native authors posit the need to either maintain or reclaim particular ethnic identities – identities, however, that are dynamic or in constant flux. Native characters must overcome the complex of influences that have produced *Indians* in favor of a restoration to specific tribal ancestries and inheritances as well as

ancestral homelands--- Hopi, Navajo, Sioux, Chippewa, Iroquois, and so forth. (Lundquist 202)

2.11.2 Native American Literature and Struggle of *Survival*

Native American Literature refers to "the traditional oral and written literatures of the indigenous people of the Americas" (Gunther, "Britannica.com"). "The plural nature of Native American literatures stems from the plurality of Native American cultures and the multiplicity of types of oral and written literature (genres) that comprise the artistic expressions of Native peoples within the United States" (Lundquist 01). The very definitions imply that the chief components of Native Literature include myths, folktales and oral histories. Native American writers have transformed the centuries' old oral tradition of storytelling into the works of literature, with a unique understanding of the idea of traditions (Gunther, "*Britannica.com*"). Denotatively, "Traditions" are taken as cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors that have been passed on from generation to generation (Tighe 4). To the Native Americans, however, the word 'Tradition' implies more than mere "the transmission of customs and beliefs from generation to generation" (qtd. in Manfredi 131). According to Rifkin, traditions hold a strong place in the self-representation of the Indigenous people, which connects their past and present. Native Americans' traditions maintain a sense of collective identity for them in their time of eradication, dispossession and violence (Cox and Justice).

Native Americans' life, as portrayed in the works of Native American Literature, appears isolated with their struggle for *Survival* and the appeal for their recognition as free citizens of the United States of America. For this purpose, Native American authors, over the last forty years, have instructed their goodly numbered and growing audiences, and the Native publications tend to educate the White Americans about the opinions and experiences of 'American Indians' (Coulombe 10). This quest for the public support and awareness about Native American literature indicates that the voices of Native literati continue to search for the venue where the Natives' problems receive due attention. The purpose behind exploration of such readers is to seek their support for the Native crises. Native writers see the solution to Native Americans' grave problems and social issues in the unity with the readers, and this unity of readers appears through engagement of readers and establishment of their connection with the writings of Native authors (Coulombe10). The Native American Literature, including drama, also includes historical evidences to support miserable plight of

Native Americans. It is one of the noticeable features of Native American drama to be politically engaged in North American history (the history of Native Americans) along with the addition of metaphysical, spiritual and mythical elements in contemporary native plays (Dawes 427).

Native American literature, in general, revolves around themes related to the preservation of the Native American history, culture and identity, portraying sometimes the state of homelessness for the Indigenous Americans. One example in this regard appears when Li Ping Chang, while finding "(Re) location of Home in Louise Erdrich's *The Game of Silence,*" perceives reconstruction of a space for the religion, culture, continued survival and traditions of Native Americans, besides observing the representation of, on Erdrich's part, the silent history of displacement of Erdrich's forefathers due to White Americans' encroachment of Native lands (Chang 132-147). Broadly speaking, her (Erdrich's) writing incorporates in it the themes of healing, storytelling, historical consciousness, environmental issues and cultural survival of Native Americans as found in contemporary Indian literature (Rainwater 271-282). Similarly, Sherman Alexie (b.1966), a reputed Native American poet, screenwriter and a fiction writer, portrays sufferings of Native people in his works. Alexie's writings reflect his childhood period and historical facts about the anguishes of Native Americans; he develops awareness about Native Americans' sufferings, in terms of injustices, hardships and genocide, on the basis of his childhood experience at the tribal lands of the town Coeur d' Alen besides the influence of his Spokane mother (Axelrod 514). Historically, the U.S. government split up the areas along Spokane River and falls where Spokane tribes were settled, and it built The Grand Coulee Dam on their lands (Axelrod 514). The influence of this historical fact in Alexie's writing shows that Native American literature is not forgetful of their sufferings in the way of *Survival* of the Native culture and identity.

The concept of Native identity as the power of *Survival* reflects well in the works of Native American writers. In other words, Native American literature respects the family values and traditions of Native Americans, which are essentials of Native identity. For instance, Luci Tapahonso intends to share the empathy and concern of the Native people about their parents, children, land, and for those in misery (Tapahonso xiv). Maintenance of such tribal values has been a common theme in Native American writings. Therefore, the Native writers such as Louise Erdrich and Leslie Marmon Silko usually resist missionaries, social workers and the US government officials who inflict

their own values upon native tribal values (Rosenberg 528). In broader perspective, the chief purpose of Native American writers is to print, from a Native perspective, their history of colonization and encroachment by Whites (Chang 132-147). Here, it is significant to understand the meaning of the word 'perspective' in the Natives' sense who see things in different way than that of the mainstream American society. Donald L. Fixico, in *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*, observes more responsibility and accountability on the part of Native Americans by taking care of their relationships with not only human beings but also with animals and natural environment (Fixico 02). In fact, "Native people clearly possessed vast knowledge of their environment. They understood relationships among living things in the environment" (Krech III 212).

The influence of Native Americans' sufferings, the resistance to the Euro Americans policies, and their effort for the preservation of Native American identity, collectively, motivate the Native literary figures to create their writings. Therefore, the Native literature leaves the impression that Native Americans have been using different literary genera such as novels, poetry, short stories and plays to convey their strong literary Indignity in a political manner despite threats by the State (Cox and Justice 10). However, such combined effort, on the part of Native American writers, including the playwrights, shows their interest in the survival of Native American culture and identity. Therefore, *Survival* is one of the intellectual traditions in the Native drama (James 221). Since *Survival* also refers to the survival of Native traditions of valuing the forests, trees, and animals, the love for nature reflects in Native American writings. For instance, Doug Boyd's *rolling thunder* and *Mad Bear*, Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* sustain that nature has been made equipped with its healing power. Therefore, the people living on Native reservations rely on natural habitats, but they don't kill animals without necessity. They even utilize every part of an animal. They utilize trees, herbs and plants for curing diseases, revealing their trust in taking Nature. More specifically, "American Indians were also close to the land in a physical sense, befitting dependence on it" (Krech III 211).

Native American writings, including plays, incorporate many native issues of identity, *Survival* and *Assimilation*, and become the source of information for those (including the Euro-Americans) who wish to consider the Native Americans' grievances more earnestly. This function of Native American literature is obvious, for Native Americans, for centuries, have used their writings to express themselves and to

defend the Native cultures, lands and sovereignty (Coulombe 18). Meanwhile, thematically, the Native literary figures tend to base their writings on historical events and cultural conflicts between Native Americans and Euro-Americans. For example, the Native Americans' novels- *Poor Sarah* (1823) by Elias Boudinot (a Cherokee) and *Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta* (1854) by John Rollin Ridge- are based on cultural conflict between the Euro-Americans and the Native Americans; similarly, Wynema: *A Child of the Forest* (1891) by the first Native American woman novelist Sophia Alice also describes the cultural and social influence of the policy of allotment and the memory of Wounded Knee (Rosenberg 527).

2.12 Thematic Patterns in Native American Drama

There are visible commonalties between thematic patterns of Native American literature in general and Native American drama. However, the impression about the emergence of Native drama relates Native American playwrights with the favorable circumstances of "ethnic and cultural awaking of the 1960s and 1970s" (Murphree 424). For instance, Shari Huhndorf views the popularity of Native American theater in the context of certain ease in the opportunity of expression during the last quarter of the 20th century. Prior to this period, according to Huhndorf, there were "the few Native playwrights", and Native American drama was "almost exclusively white" owing to the uneducated and less privileged "Indians" (290). He also elaborates.

> Native writers and actors began to organize their own theater groups in the 1960s and 1970s, a project made possible in part by the resurgence of Indian activism and the changing U.S. political climate of the period. For these groups, contesting conventional images of Indians, their histories, and their relationships with the dominant society constituted a primary goal. (Huhndorf 290)

Though, "The 1960s was a time of dramatic social changes in the United States" (Weaver 14), this limitation of the visibility of Native American drama reduces the intellectual and creative ability of Native American playwrights.

Maria Lyytinen, in her essay "The Pocahontas Myth and Its Deconstruction in Monique Mojica's Play", also assesses the rise of the Native drama in the contexts of the specific period in the history of Native American literature. She refers to some encouraging measures of the US federal government, which included return of land to one of the Native tribes and promotion of self-determination for the Native Americans

(85). For instance, President Nixon, in 1970, reimbursed land to Taos Pueblo, and, later in 1975, the Indian tribes got a chance, through the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act, to share the administration of federal programs (Weaver 14). Lyytinen relates these circumstances with the popularity of Native drama. She believes, "There were significant developments in Native American civil rights in the 1970s and 1980s in the form of legal victories in land claims and increased tribal rights. This political and cultural process has also inspired writers and artists to critically evaluate the past and present of their people after five hundred years of colonial occupation "(Lyytinen 85). Stephen Elliot Wilmer, in *Native American Performance and Representation,* also chronicles the same response on the emergence of Native American drama. Referring to the Native American theater, Wilmer argues that, "often, Indigenous peoples have used performative strategies to further their visibility and achieve their political ambitions" (02).

Wilmer compares the Native Americans' circumstances with the native people of Australia. Therefore, while elaborating the "political ambitions" of dramatists, he states that, "in 1972, in Australia, Aboriginals demanded the restoration of land rights and a respect for their culture; these people tried to achieve the targets by erecting an "Aboriginal Tent Embassy" outside the National Parliament in Australia" (Wilmer 02). The comparison between the settings of the Native Americans and the Australian Aboriginals, in the context of Native American drama, connects the political goals with the themes in the Native plays. Julie Pearson – Little Thunder also identifies the political objectives of Native American drama when she views the theme of alcoholism, in Geiogamah's "Body Indian," as the reflection of "political causes of alcoholism," which implies that the play blames White Americans for the introduction of alcohol among the Native people (119). Professor Thunder also criticizes Geiogamah for representing Native Americans as the perpetual victims of alcoholism. According to her, "Body Indian presents an Indian community in which the tribal values of generosity and reciprocal caretaking have been twisted and perverted by the dynamics of addiction (Thunder 119). Geiogamah, in this play, depicts highly alcoholic Native American characters. However, the author also tends to create the Natives' awareness about the harmful effects of alcoholism for the survival of Native American traditions of mutual respect and care.

Native playwrights, through their themes in the works, have incorporated the Native Americans' struggle of *Survival* by exploring the sufferings of the Native

people. More knowledge with growing concern about Native American issues is the result of the involvement of Native playwrights to the Natives' struggle for *Survival*. However, this contribution of Native drama has also the link with non-native Americans' increasing awareness about Native Americans (Dawes 448). Native American playwrights have benefited from refining conditions with increased number of venues and more organizational support (Dawes 448). The recent years have seen emergence of various new venues, theater and dance companies such as Spiderwoman, The Native American Theatre Ensemble, Native Earths, and Red Earth, as well as significant raise in the number of Native American playwrights such as Geiogamah, Drew Hayden Taylor, Tomson Highway, William S. Yellow Robe and Diane Glancy (Wilmer 4-5). The role of these literary figures is more significant as they tend to base their writings on contemporary themes with good reception. Significant number of Native American playwrights brought their concerns to the stage throughout the twentieth century, and their works kept on circulating in regional, local, national and international academic and theatrical venues (Underiner 38). The popularity of Native drama attracts many people, particularly Native Americans, to attend theatres. So today, the indigenous plays are being celebrated in festivals such as the Tulsa Indian Art Festival, Native Voices at Autry, and the Native Theater Festival at New York's Public Theater (Dawes 448). Practical and theatrical arrangements at museums like the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian and the Native American Women Playwrights Archive in Miami, Ohio, and in universities such as the Native American Playwright Website at Haskell Indian Nations University secure firmly the Native American drama in the American cultural setting of the 21st century (Dawes 448). It also indicates that Native American drama has attracted the modern audiences.

The reputation of Native American drama has been increasing since the dawn of the twenty first century. Between 1999 and 2009, nine anthologies (comprised of three or more plays) published by Native American dramatists (Dawes 425). These anthologies have been edited by different editors in different years. The list of the names of the editors of the anthologies of Native American drama includes Mojica and Knowles (2009), Huston-Findley and Howard (2008), Mojica and Knowles (2003),Darby and Fitzgerald (2003), Hodgson (2002), Kane, Daniels, and Clements (2001), Geiogamah and Darby (1999), D'Aponte (1999). Further, *The Routledge Companion to Native American Literature*, published in 2016, informs about twenty eight more published general anthologies of North Native American drama along with

many other collections of Native plays by Native American playwrights such as N. Scott Momaday, Hanay Geiogamah, Diane Glancy, Lynn Riggs, Bruce King and William S. Yellow Robe Jr (Dawes 432). Significantly, the plays included in the anthologies deal with the themes of Native American identity and the struggle to resist the White Americans' hegemony. These and other Native playwrights share the deep concern and commitment to Native Americans' resistance, retrieval and futurity, besides the emphasis on healing and humor (Dawes 431-432). These thematic patterns reveal the depiction of Native Americans' historical sufferings through the works of Native literature. For instance, the theme of 'Healing', in Native drama, refers to the remembrance of unique historical efforts of the native people to show the benefits of Indigenous cultures. Healings of injured Native American identity and culture occur when a good Native American play is written (D'Aponte 40). Therefore, the ultimate aim of Geiogamah's "Body Indian" is to strengthen self-esteem and identity of Native Americans (Wilmer 12). Moreover, contemporary political and social issues are inevitably confronted by the contemporary Native American playwrights, which need to be listened carefully by the mainstream American society (D'Aponte 41). For example, the Native play "Indian Radio Plays" depicts tussles against colonial hegemony of the United States (Squint 115–138). In this way, the play depicts the historical sufferings of the Native Americans.

Native American drama includes the historical unpleasant relationships between White Americans and Native Americans. Therefore, Geiogamah's "Foghorn," opened on October 18, 1973 at the Reichskabaret in Berlin, stages unyielding concerns deeply rooted in a particular historical moment (Wagter 268). This refers to the play's portrayal of the occupation of Alcatraz Island, a US prison, in 1969. Similarly, in the essay "N. Scott Momaday's Indolent Boys: A Matter of Balance", Annamarie Pinazzi descibes the story of "The Indolent Boys" as a historical fact that was documented in the National Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society (88). Momady's play, "The Indolent Boys" depicts a tragic story of three Native American students who flee the Indian boarding school. Thus, the Native American writers' construction of past Native history, and persistence with Native cultural memory through their literary works (such as Native drama) perform the two functions: educating the young Native people about generation to generation survival of their culture, and providing the new generation with an understanding of sad Indian past with indication of hope for the better future of Indian culture (Chang 132-147). Themes of Native American plays revolve repeatedly

around the missionary and colonial history, violence, inequality and racism (Dawes 431). Therefore, Native theaters help Native Americans recuperate from the effects of colonialism, aiding in the recovery of Native spiritual identities (Haugo 42). This insistence of Native drama on the revival of Native American culture indicates that the unappealing Native past influences the works of Native playwrights.

2.12.1 Young Native Playwrights and Themes of Native Americans' Sufferings and *Survival*

Native American drama, traditionally, portrays the historical suffering and the struggle of the survival of Native American culture (see 2.11). In this context, the young Native American playwrights are also aware of the existing native issues of identity and *Survival*. Many young prolific American voices such as Vickie Ramirez (Tuscarora), Larissa Fasttlorse (Sicangu Lakota) and Emily Johnson (Yup'ik), over the past three years, have arisen on the theatrical scene (Dawes 429). Among such young contemporary playwrights, Mary Kathryn Nagle, who is a Cherokee playwright and lawyer based in New York City, is the most prolific one with her plays such as *Miss Lead*, *To the 7th Degree* and *Waaxe's Law* (Dawes 429). Like her predecessors, Kathryn's plays are also influenced by the Natives' suffering, and, at the same time, are praised in the literary circles. For example, Kathryn's *Welcome to Chalmette* (2011), a play on Hurricane Katrina, serves as an example of her recognition as a successful Native playwright, after the play's becoming an award winning one. Meanwhile, her *Manahatta* deals with the issues of Native American historical sufferings as well as community issues. Manahatta's fresh entry into the circle of Native American drama receives the confirmation by stating that "Manahatta, as reading, was first presented at the public Theater New York in March 2013 before its full production in May 2014 in Oklahoma City (Dawes 429). *Manahatta* portrays a young Lenape (Native Indian) woman Jane Snake from Oklahoma City. The theme of Native Americans' poverty, discrimination, and identity emerges from *Manahatta*, and the scenes in the play also depict the setting of Anadarko, Oklahoma. Native Americans still face hindrances while maintaining their identity when, in Kathryn's *Manahatta*, the application of Snake's sister for a grant to start a Lenape Language Program is rejected. Meanwhile, Snake's father fails to pay his medical bills, which is an evidence of the portrayal of poor Native life in Native American drama. Such theme of poverty in a Native American play shows the continuation of Native American playwrights' portrayal of the struggle of *Survival* through depicting the challenges in this regard.

Inclusion of historical events and issues as the prominent feature of the play, *Manahatta*, serves as the continuation of the influence of Native American unpleasant history on Native playwrights. For instance, the plot of *Manahatta* shifts from the Seventeenth century to the Twenty first century. Therefore, based on revisionist historical agenda, like many other Native American plays, *Manahatta* finds lack of intercultural respect by Europeans while their selling of Manahatta to the Dutch in 1626 (Dawes 429). In this way, *Manahatta* has the resemblance, in the theme, with the play "Body Indian" in terms of the chief purpose of Native American drama: the portrayal of the issue of land loss. In the performative sense, Geiogamah's "Body Indian", and Kathryn's *Manahatta* demonstrate that Native American theater is an ideal laboratory for sociopolitical criticism with the promotion of the Native Americans' identity, traditions and sovereignty (Dawes 431).

The recent studies on the function of Native American theater and drama reveal that the Native playwrights continue to portray the Native Americans' struggle of *Survival* in their plays. For instance, Robert Barton and Annie McGregor describe, in *Theatre in Your Life*, published in 2015, the general characteristics of Native American theater and the features which show that Native American playwright use their plays to highlight the Natives' sorrows as well as the Native cultural values: in terms of themes, Native American drama deals with variety of conflicts, and aspects such as rites, dance, celebrations, and with exploration of spiritual beliefs (Barton and McGregor 381). Native American playwrights' attempt of highlighting the endangered identity of Native Americans is a visible feature of their plays, as Native plays put a strong emphasis on such community that favors the principles of connection and inclusion instead of individual interest or self-rule (Dawes 426). Hence, the plays, poetry, and other literary writings by the Indigenous writers lead the readers to better understanding of Native American history, rights and ideas, and they help the readers to interpret the past and present of the Native people (Coulombe 19). In this way, these publications present the information and data about Native history, culture and rights. Meanwhile, it is pertinent to enclose that, in terms of the quality of Native plays, as Professor Alexander Pettit believes, they meet the standards of some of the best works of the most renowned US and European playwrights- O'Neill, Brecht, Pirandello- of the twentieth century (Cox and Justice 9).

2.12.2 Oral Storytelling Tradition and Native American Drama

The impetus for exhibiting oral storytelling technique, by Native American playwrights, lies in the understanding of the point that Native American Literature has its roots in traditional songs and folktales well before their contact with the Europeans. "Folktales, myths, and oral histories that were transmitted for centuries by storytellers"… "live on in the language works of many contemporary American Indian [Native American] writers" (Gunther, "Britannica.com"). Storytelling tradition in Native American writings lies in the center of Native American literature (Schorcht 16). There is a significant value of storytelling tradition in Native American culture. Therefore, "within Native circles, storytelling is a daily act of transfer of values, social identity, and ways of being" (Thunder 113). In the Native American perspective, storytelling is a kind of oral literature or oral tradition, for this oral tradition affects Native American writings (Chang 132-147).

Modern Native American literature that started in the last quarter of twentieth century, as most of the critics argue, exhibits quite obviously the elements of storytelling technique. N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968), for instance, incorporated many landscapes of traditional Native storytelling (Otfinoski 08). This novel "blends traditional Navajo tribal elements of storytelling and the importance of storytelling to the continuing ritual tradition and myth held by the tribes" (Dunn 140). In terms of the functions of storytelling, Native American storytellers remember stories that include religious beliefs and important events, and, in spirit, serve as the libraries and books for their people (McClinton-Temple and Velie 315). The power of storytelling technique, also called the oral tradition of the Native Americans, promote a pleasant Native perspective about Native history. The stories are mean of *Survival* for Native Americans (Chang 132-147). In other words, these are the stories through which the Native American culture and identity may survive. Native Americans' connection to each other and to their geographical surroundings occurs through their memory and tradition, in which the role of stories is similar to that of an experienced source. This function of the Native oral stories reflects in the fact that Native "oral tradition is a "collective creation," not simply by virtue of its genesis, but also because the storyteller is not alone in learning and storing his /her material" (Thunder 113). This brings credulity through sharing any historical and cultural event.

In general terms, the significance of storytelling or the tradition of oral storytelling is natural to cultures around the world. The greatest literary classics of the world such as *Beowulf*, *El Cid* or the *Odyssey*, with unknown authors and with modification during the course of transmission, were originally transmitted in oral way, and these stories are still taken as primary testaments for history, culture, language and people of the past (Walther 01). In the same context, the function of Native Americans' storytelling technique in their literature is to transfer their history from one generation to the other, as the Native culture, religion and traditions are passed down through oral storytelling and memory (Vizenor 185).

The Native American drama, like the other forms of Native American literature, is a product of folktales and the talented Native American storytellers. An Ojibwe (one of Native American tribes) award winning playwright Drew Hayden Taylor (1962-) thinks himself in the role of a carrier of the tradition of storytelling, and finds himself as a source of taking stories from the Indian campfire to the stage (theatre) (D'Aponte 1999). These native storytellers have worked laboriously to preserve the Native history; despite the disruption of traditional Native tribal culture, 'American Indians' maintained their oral literatures, and later, in the nineteenth century, started developing written ones (Rosenberg 527). Similarly, Native American drama is also one of the written forms of Native Americans' oral literatures, for the foundations of Native American Drama are the ceremonies that have been, for the most part, sustained orally (Pettit 266). Storytelling technique finds significant place in Native American drama, as the Native plays include themes of Native culture and identity. The Native story teller and a novelist, Richard Wagamese, believes that understanding and cultural identity occur through story, and the story also functions simultaneously as both catalyst and catharsis (Schorcht 75). As carriers of their traditions, the Indian storytellers used certain gestures and postures while narrating their social and cultural histories. The story of the Native American drama on the stage is very recent, as it starts with the foundation of the Institute for American Indian Arts (IAIA) in 1962 in New Mexico. Later, IAIA, in 1969, established a performing arts program. The purpose of the establishment of IAIA seemed to be an attempt to highlight Indians' political and tribal history which travels by oral stories. An instructor at IAIA, Lloyd K. New, sought the formation of a pure and traditional form of Indian theatre in 1969 (Valentino 304-305). From the very beginning of Native American drama, it is meant as an extension of tribal customs, and is fashioned from ceremonial practices (304-305). For example,

Momaday's play "The Indolent Boys", which shows the playwright's great concern for the preservation of the Native culture and identity through resisting forced assimilation, builds its plot on the Native tradition of storytelling. Therefore, Pinnazi believes that Momaday's main source in the play, "The Indolent Boys," is Kiowa oral tradition that remembers and saves the unpleasant story of Indian boarding schools (88). Similarly, Geiogamah's plays, "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49", also blend artistically the Western and Native Americans' dramatic technique of traditional story telling technique (Maufort 145).

2.12.3 Confrontation of Stereotyping of Native Americans

Survival of individuals and a society is in serious jeopardy in the wake of fixed and widely held negative image, that is stereotypes, about them. The Native Americans have faced this dilemma of possessing the stereotypical view in the eyes of the mainstream American society. The history of Euro-American hegemony creates popular stereotypes of Native Americans with their depiction as noble savages or wicked heathens who are destined to be vanished from the pages of history (Scheiding 141). These harsh titles for the First Nations reveal the distorted image of a nation that claims their historical attachment with the American continent. Moreover, such labels, undoubtedly, cause much damage to the identity of a community. Understandably, the Native Americans also suffer from their stereotypical representation in the White-American society. Their stereotypical depiction finds its space in the American art and films, and also in the fiction mostly written by the White Americans. More threatening is the long history of the creation of negative 'Indian' stereotypes in the Euro-American minds. Mass media in USA, from the early nineteenth century, played a significant role in creating and sharing those stereotypes (Marger 189). This adds to the Native Americans' historical sufferings.

The trend of creating negative images of Native Americans continues even in the twenty first century. Martin N. Marger, in *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspective*, explores that the recent times have witnessed the portrayal of negative stereotypes of American 'Indians' in motion pictures (156). Historically, since the introduction of films during the early part of the twentieth century, the common movie theme has been moving around the depiction of a Native American as the hostile, savage Indian who is always confronting with White settlers; these films have been consistently portraying the Native Indians with a set of humiliating stereotypes (156).

The depraved impact of stereotype interpretation of Native Americans has added difficulties to their already tiring struggle of *Survival*. More alarming, many Americans as well as the people of world perceive the stubborn and primitive image of Native Americans through the films that portray the Natives as stereotypes (Marger 189). Such a depiction has far reaching impact on Native Americans to save the spread of their stereotyping in other sectors of the mainstream American society. Therefore, not only films, the use of 'Indian names' by sports teams in the US in recent years has also complicated the issue of Native Americans' stereotype image. For example. the names of different teams such as "Chiefs,' "Braves", and "Redskins" are viewed by many people as disparaging, which contributes to the eternity of the Indians' image as warlike or savage (Marger 189). So fixed a negative image of Native Americans is understandably threatening, as it rarely results in softening the historical tensions between the US government and Native Americans. Meanwhile, this situation leads to inculcate more Natives' resistance against the White Americans by considering that the prolonged period of the Whites' creation of negative image of Native Americans reflects in the fact that Euro-Americans have been the major producers of Indian stereotypes in fiction, films, as well as in ethnographic, anthropological and historical texts since twentieth century (Berglund xxxiii). So, the extension of Native Americans' tribal traditions demands extinction of the Natives' stereotypical representation in American art and literature for which the Native American playwrights seem to fight through Native American drama.

Native American playwrights resist to the Native Americans' stereotypical representation in the mainstream American art. The playwrights like Geiogamah, Luis Valdez, EI Teatro, and William Yellow Robe Jr. show their resistance against the negative stereotypes of Native Americans. Geiogamah's plays, for instance, combine satirical characters, real or serious historical reference and acting styles in order to spot-on the common negative images of Native Americans deep-rooted in the cultural imaginary of USA (Mohler 244). However, as an attempt at *Survival*, Geiogamah continues with themes of the sufferings of Native Americans by challenging stereotypical representation of Native Americans. Therefore, besides the interrogation of harmful effects of centuries' old colonialism on contemporary Native American life, Geiogamah also attempts to topple 'Indian' stereotypes created by White Americans (Huhndorf 299). For instance, Geiogamah's plays tend to subvert the alcoholic Native image, for, historically, the stereotypical image of American Indians has been a drunken

Native American for Euro or White- Americans (Seklem 22). Geiogamah, through his plays, trusts theater to effectively address the issues of Native Americans' representation as uncivilized or savage races. Resultantly, to Geiogamah, a Native theatre is not a mere venue for bringing the native artists together, but also a place in relation with the collective examination of the issues of Native audiences and the performing artists (Haugo 338). Another Native American playwright William Yellow Robe Jr. (an Assiniboin) also challenges the stereotypes of Native mericans' alcoholism in the play *Independence of Eddie Rose* (1986) (Huhndorf 291).

Some more Native American playwrights, through their works, show the resistance to the 'Indian stereotypes'. For example, Dr. Courtney Elkin Mohler, in his article *We are not Guilty!: The Creation of an Indigenous Theatrical Praxis*, explains that Geiogamah's "Foghorn", and Valdez and Campesino's *Bernabe* illustrate the confrontation and rejection of prevalent power structures by the minority communities such a Native Americans (Mohler 244). The play *Bernabe* shows the resistance of one of the Native American communities, Chicano, to the mental, cultural and economic oppression. Similarly, the theme of "Foghorn" revolves around the historical struggle of Native Americans to maintain their identity through unity. The production of '*Foghorn'* refers to a symbolic space for Native Americans where they find a chance of refreshing their identity, and developing new understanding about their present with more poised vision of future (Wagter 278). The inclusion of the scene of historical event, Alcatraz' occupation in Geiogamah's "Foghorn", serves as source of inspiration for the Native Americans to exist independently. The worth of this scene lies in the observation that the occupation of Alcatraz elevated awareness and created a pan-Indian consciousness around the world (Wagter 278). The history of America witnesses the lasting effect of Native Americans' effort to retain Alcatraz, for they claimed the island as their own territory in 1969 with the hope of creating educational complex and a cultural center on the island; however, the failure of such aims led to their removal from Alcatraz in 1971 (Fritscher, "*usatoday.com*"). This removal joins the historic efforts of White Americans to exterminate the Native American identity, which chiefly arises from the stereotypical image of Native Americans. Historically, from the ancient time of European settlers' claim of North American land to the 19th century, Indigenous people faced the policy of removal and annihilation by Europeans and later by Americans (Weber 77). More noticeably, the removal of Native Americans, such as those from Miami, shows its impacts even in the twenty first century, as John P. Bowes

puts in his essay "Indian Removals" published in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*; Bowes tends to prove that Miami people were removed forcibly in October 1846 from Indiana, which divided their families (Bowes 12). In this context, Native American drama faces more challenges to portray the balanced view of the Native Americans' resistance and struggle of *Survival*. Therefore, Richard Gray, in *A Brief History of American Literature*, explores that the notable Native American writers such as D'Arcy McNickle (1904-1977), Thomas. S. Whitecloud (1914-1972), and John Joseph Mathews (1894-1979) were deeply interested in debating over tribal identity and highlighting the White Americans' pressure of assimilating and acculturating the Native Americans (229). Meanwhile, Native American plays are an effort to highlight the dignity of the Native people despite their historical sufferings (Cox and Justice 9).

2.12.4 Alcoholism among the Native Americans

Jame K Perrin Jr, in *The Encyclopedia of North American Indian Wars 1607-1890: A Political, Social, and Military History*, justifies the Native American playwrights' consistency with themes of alcoholism in their plays, exploring the devastating history and effects of alcohol on Native Americans' struggle of *Survival*. Perrin traces out liquor as a major harmful trading commodity during the Native American wars, as he states that the history of wars between Native Americans and Europeans or American settlers confirms the crucial role of alcohol in devastation of Native American society (443). Historically, the White Americans and British officials supplied alcohol to Native Americans at the time of Westward expansion in the 19th century, the movement of the US governments to move to the West in order to hold more land. Therefore, the purpose of these officials was to seek agreement of the Native Americans on ceding vast stretches of Indian land with minimal compensation (Perrin 443). This attempt proved to be successful, as Euro-Americans continued to supply the alcohol to seek concessions from the Native people. For example, in 1809, William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana territory, was successful in persuading the alcoholic Native American leaders to cede their millions of acres of land by paying them just $7,000, and a meek annuity (Perrin Jr. 443).

The deprivation of native land, often, affects the continuation of the particular culture of a society. Therefore, alcohol caused not only the loss of land for Native Americans, but it also damaged their culture, and intensified violence between the Natives and White Americans (Perrin Jr. 443). Meanwhile, the monetarily purposes of

Euro-Americans behind the promotion of alcohol among the Native people add to the White Americans' indifferent attitude towards the social welfare of Native American communities. In *Alcohol: A History*, Roderick Philips reports that Europeans transported alcohol to their overseas empires like North America as trading commodity along with beads, textiles and guns (216). However, the availability of variety of brands for the Native American indicates the keen interest of Europeans and Euro-Americans to use alcohol which added to the sufferings of Native Americans. Brandy, rum, or whiskey, and other different forms of alcohol available during the American- Indian wars were massively disruptive to Native Americans, increasing violence between the American Indians and Euro-Americans (Perrin Jr.442,443).

2.12.5 Native American Playwrights on Boarding School Education

The Indian Boarding School policy of the late 19th century occupies a central attention in the history of Native Americans' forced assimilation through the White Americans' imposed education. Louellyn White, in *Encyclopedia of American Indian History,* claims that the history of Native America is incomplete without referring to the assimilation of Native children through education; the kind of education in which communication in one's Native language was prohibited (632). Language and culture are interlined with each other, therefore, the ban on the use of Native language for Native Americans is a tangible hurdle in promoting their traditions and identity. In this context, 'the story of boarding schools constitutes an appalling episode in the long and tragic history of relationships between Natives and Whites (Adams 336). This unpleasant scenario is the result of the Native American students' resistance to the philosophy of this boarding school policy that damages the Native American identity (see 2.7). Resultantly, Native playwrights such as Geiogamah, Momaday and Tapahonso view Indian boarding-school students as keepers of tribal and 'Indian' identities (Katanski 201). Meanwhile, the depiction of the struggle of *Survival* of the Native students of these school, in Native drama, shaped it as 'a literature of resistance' (Huhndorf 291).

Katanski provides certain evidences regarding the unpleasant story of Indian boarding schools. For example, Amelia V. Katanski's book *Learning to Write "Indian": The Boarding- School Experience and American Indian Literature* published in 2005 takes the readers to the era of Indian Boarding Schools, and the book also challenges the motifs and actions of federal American administrators of boarding

schools (Collins 294). The physical description of Carlisle school also proves the harsh treatment of Native American students in the school as depicted in Momaday's plays (see chapter 4 of the current study). Carlisle school was one of the former barracks of U.S. Army with a cell-house for imprisoning the truant students, and a bandstand in the center of the grounds as a symbol of White control of the school (Gamache 15). Reviewing Katansi's book, Collins states that she has exposed Pratt's ways of controlling and manipulating the Indian students at Carlisle Indian School (295). Geiogamah also includes the boarding-school scene at the center of his play "Foghorn". The central location of boarding school scene in the play highlights the impact of such kind of education for the lives of Native people, and it also shows the strong desire of American Indian revolutionaries to expel this evil (Katanski 197). Meanwhile, it refers to the Native playwright's preference for including theme of forced education in the Native play.

2.12.6 Native American Women Playwrights as Healers

Native American women playwrights have their significant contribution in the effectiveness of Native American drama. Therefore, D'Aponte, in *Women and Performance in Intercultural Contexts*, claims that the plays, written and performed by the Native women writers surfeit with the stuff of *Survival* and endurance (39). In this context, the Native women playwrights, such as LeAnne Howe, Roxy Gordon, Diane Glancy and Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl, included in *Seventh Generation: An Anthology of Native American Plays* (1999), show the power of the Native American drama while claiming to heal the injuries of their people received during the effort of *Survival*. As the significant collection of contemporary Native American plays, *Seventh Generation* includes seven Native plays with themes of alcoholism, historical suffering of the Native Americans and the Native traditions of storytelling. These themes reflect that this anthology covers important aspects of the Native Americans' social and historical life through the traditional technique of storytelling. For example, "Power Pipes" (1973) by Spiderwoman Theater, uses traditional music, dance and storytelling techniques to tackle issues of identity (Favorini 253). Meanwhile, this play also conveys the Native Americans' message that the amalgam of story and ritual with dance and song has power to generate tears, laughter, and strong healing (D'Aponte 40). Therefore, *Seventh Generation* is a call for future activity and a platform of Native Drama (Temple and Velie 315). Stanlake, in her review of the anthology, maintains that

the strongest connection among different plays included in the anthology finds its roots in the togetherness of theater and storytelling which has the power to heal the Native Americans (145). More appreciation, in this regard, originates through The Native Women playwrights' works such as LeAnne Howe's "Indian Radio Days" and Spiderwoman's "Power Pipes" which are among the examples of power of laughter to teach, and to heal (D'Aponte 40).

Growth of the Native American culture and Native healing strategies, often, go together. For instance, the Indigenous North American cultures, in spite of many social changes, continue to grow, and Indigenous people continue to heal (A.Tamburro and Tamburro 54). However, for the continuation of a particular culture, the role of its female population is equally important. Therefore, the reflection of women voices in the Native plays, as in *Seventh Generation*, is the symbol of laborious journey of Indigenous Americans, in the United States, from silence to voice (D'Aponte 42). For this purpose, these Native playwrights use the traditional and cultural Native American style [Storytelling] to bring forth the Native American issues in their plays. For instance, Spiderwoman Theater, Glancy and Taylor, all, view theatre as storytelling (Stanlake 145). Similarly, Yellow robes' plays such as *Sneaky* (1982) and *The Council* (1990), too, focus on the role of traditions while discussing the various features of the identity and social issues within Native communities (Huhndorf 305). Adding to this, Howe and Gordon, in *Indian Radio Days*, seek the participation of the audience by employing a radio show format to link commercial exploitation and suppressed history [of the Native Americans](Favorini 253). In this way, Native American playwrights, mainly, center on the revival of Native traditions through the recovery of cultural traditions and analysis of the effects of colonialism; therefore, these were the major themes for the playwrights of 1960s and after, who viewed theater as a mean of attainment of self-determination (Huhndorf 290). Such perspective about the Native playwrights' contribution, mainly, views the Native drama as the repeater of the Native unpleasant history of relationships with the White American U.S. government.

2.13 Geiogamah's Historic Role in the Introduction of Native American Theater

According to *Encyclopedia of American Indian Literature*, Geiogamah is the first Native American writer to publish a collection of plays which includes "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49". His plays have earned significant popularity. For instance, in the Native canon, "Body Indian" (1972) is among the most influential plays (Pettit 267). Through his plays, Geiogamah discusses the Native Americans' shortcomings which serve as hindrance in the way of their *Survival*. For instance, his "Body Indian" condemns the Native Americans for their excessive use of alcohol (see chapter 5). As one of the best known Native American playwrights, Geiogamah has written uncompromising plays about self-destructive lifestyles and dysfunctional families (Wilmer 12). He uses theater as an effective tool of conveying themes of his plays, highlighting the significance of drama. He believes that theatre is a real source of stirring up communication among Native Americans, and this function cannot be performed effectively even by novels or debate (McClinton-Temple and Velie). As a performing art, Native American theater provides a chance to its communities for expressing their grievances and showing their appearance. Thus the significance of theater for the Native Americans is immense under the scenario that performativity strategies used by the Indigenous people are meant for them to achieve their political ambitions and enhance their visibility (Wilmer 4).

Jeffrey Huntsman, in "Introduction" for *New Native American Drama-Three Plays,* comments on the motifs behind Geiogamah's plays, seeing in them the power of Native drama to preserve the Native culture. He is of the view that Geiogamah's purpose of writing plays is to preserve living Native traditions and to explain their true life that is free of the degrading views of White Americans regarding the Native people: "These plays [Geiogamah's "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49"] grew out of their author's desire to present Native Americans to Native Americans in ways that are vivid and compelling and free of the Euro-American stereotype of Indians" (Huntsman ix). This purpose of Geiogamah' plays, in the light of Huntsman's commentary, indicates that Native drama is a source of motivation for Native Americans. Gisolfi, the editor of *Seventh Generations,* also views Geiogamah as star of the history of American theatre.

Geiogamah is possibly the most prolific contemporary Native American playwright who has no match in terms of his involvement in production of American 'Indian' theater (Katanski 194). His significant role as Native playwright also emerges out when 'he is regarded as the originator of the modern Native drama' (Pettit 267). It refers to the publications and performances of Native plays during the past fifty years. In terms of themes, as a playwright, teacher, director, and scholar of Native American drama, Geiogamah's work has been revolutionary and has expressively defined the genre and its connections (Katanski 195).

The prolific profile of Geiogamah as the Native playwright is significant in selecting his plays to examine the life and culture of Native American society. For instance, the use of traditional elements of Native American culture in "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49" [*Three Plays*] is significant, for such artistic expression occupies a central place in Natives' lives in the form of ceremonial practices such as costumes, music, dance, face painting, masks and storytelling (Wilmer 4). Meanwhile, in terms of themes, the collection (*Three Plays*) deals with the loss of identity and belongings within closely-knit communities and families (Maufort 145). The focus on the loss of Native identity refers to *Survival*. The production of "Body Indian", "Foghorn", and "49" is revolutionary, for these plays paved the way for the birth of contemporary Native American theater and drama, and challenged the colonial supremacy through theatrical performance (Wagter 275).

Geiogamah also gets the credit of the introduction of contemporary Native American drama in the early 1970s with the launch of his production company, Native American Theatre Ensemble (NATE), and the play "Body Indian". More accurately, the modern Native drama emerged in the mid-1960s as a result of collaborative initiative by the institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) and Geiogamah's NATE (1972) (Pettit 266). The very purpose of NATE was to take an initiative as the savior of Native culture. Geiogamah's grant proposal (grant from the National Indian Youth Council), in this regard, proposes how significant it is to portray the Natives' culture to stop the extinction of the Native Americans. The proposal also condemns Euro-Americans for humiliating portrayal of the Natives in films and television. Their belittle depiction in films and television, by the White Americans, is one of the significant factors in damaging 'American Indians' culturally and spiritually (Valentino 304-304). NATE motivated and accelerated the production of Native American drama from 1972 to 1974, producing Geiogamah's "Body Indian" and "Foghorn". Later, in 1980, the

University of Oklahoma Press published these plays in the name of *New Native American Drama: Three Plays* (The first collection by any Native Playwright).

Geiogamah has played the vital role in promoting the worth of Native American drama through the Native Theater. For example, contributing more significantly to the growth of Native American theater and drama, NATE's several members went on to form theater companies throughout the United States (Valentino 304-305). These include Navajo-Land Outdoor Theater in 1973, the Red Earth Performing Arts company in 1974, and Spiderwoman Theater in 1975 (304-305). The purpose of theater companies of Native Americans was not only to minimize the effect of their misrepresentation by Euro-Americans, but also to highlight the Native problems in Native plays. Consequently, both, NATE and Spiderwoman Theater, represent the effort of bringing Native Americans' issues to stage (Valentino 304-305). These challenging issues include the endangered Native American identity and culture. So, the performances by the Indian theater companies, like Spiderwoman and Coatlicue Theater, focused on testing circumstances in the lives of Native Americans (Richards and Nathans 415).

Historically, the rise and function of Native Theater companies was not temporary, for they gave birth to some future forums for the promotion and development of Native American drama. For instance, as the "oldest continuous run women's theater", Spiderwoman Theater still enjoys good reputation in North America (Valentino 304-305). It has paved the way for the formation of the Native American Women Playwrights Archive (NAWPA) in 1996. The NAWPA carries on the practice of a collective Native heritage for the Native community and activism that started with NATE in 1970's (Valentino 304-305). The purpose of NAWPA is to collect the original plays written by the Native American women besides the inclusion of many sources online. Geiogamah also welcomes and cherishes the use of modern technologies in preserving and promoting American 'Indian' drama in the 21st century (Valentino 304). The use of modern technology such as video conferences, and workshops, and the implementation of the 21st century technologies by Native dramatic artists are the means of carrying on the spirit of Native American drama. It also refers to the Native Americans' ability to survive under tragic periods, and to continue caring attitude for the Natives' community (Valentino 304). As a result, Native issues find prominent space in Native American drama, and these issues are highlighted on theater. Historically, Native Americans used theater to protest against Euro-Americans

unpleasant attitude, bringing out their grievances over land rights, broken treaties, and racism (Richards and Nathans 415). For example, the plays of Native playwrights such as Geiogamah' *Body Indian* and Yellow Robe's *The Independence of Eddie Rose* address the contemporary difficult and challenging living conditions of Native Americans (Richards and Nathans 415). The major focus of Native plays on the depiction of unpleasant Native Americans' life also relates them to the perception of using theater for political purposes to ensure their *Survival* by remembering unjust actions of U.S. federal government against them.

Chapter Conclusion

The literature review has introduced the readers of the study with the concept of the anthological terms 'Assimilation 'and 'Survival' in the context of the relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans. The elaboration of the terms is significant, as they pave the way to include, in the chapter, the history of the Native Americans' resistance to their forced assimilation [*Assimilation*] into the mainstream American society. In fact, this resistance refers to the Native Americans' attempt to preserve their land, identity and culture [*Survival*] amidst the US federal government's implementation of certain Acts, such as Indian Removal Act 1830, and policies such as Indian Boarding school system that was introduced in the last quarter of the 19th century. The comprehensive analysis of such policies, through the reviewed literature, has indicated that there exists a historical controversy regarding the impact of Euro-Americans' efforts to assimilate the Native Americans. Among various motivating factors behind the Native Americans' persistence with their cultural adherences, the chapter has included the discussion on the Native Americans' great love for their traditions, identity, land and religion. All these, collectively, fail the US government's efforts (at times recognizing the Natives as the distinct nation) to assimilate the Native Americans into the mainstream American society.

The chapter has further presented an inclusive note on the foundations of Native American literature and Native American drama, by discussing the critical and theoretical perspectives regarding the Native American writings. In this regard, the themes of alcoholism, stereotypical image of the Native Americans, efforts for *Survival*, and *Assimilation* through Indian boarding school education occupy a significant space in Native American drama. For the sake of an elaborated review of Native American drama, the chapter has also included the overview of the 21st century young Native

American playwrights and their works, besides highlighting the role of Native American Women playwrights.

Research Gap

The Native Americans have the historical instinct of preserving their culture, identity and traditions, as they have shown this tendency through their resistance to the White Americans' efforts of forced assimilation. Many history books, official reports and the U.S. federal governments' various policies and acts clearly remember this resistance of the Native Americans. A large body of Native American literature joins these sources to name such efforts as the historical sufferings of the Native Americans owing to their unwillingness to detach them from Native American culture. Furthermore, the Native American literature, including Native American drama, arouse either sympathy for the Native Americans or disliking for the White Americans, offering very rare fresh dimension and approach to view the efforts of the Native literati in the broader aspects. For instance, Vizenor's theory of Survivance, that combines 'survival' and 'resistance,' is the less explored perspective about the themes in Native American drama, particularly, in relation to the terms such as 'Postindian Warriors,' 'victimry, 'and 'Manifest Manners'. In the context of the view of Native American drama as the counter hegemonic stance of the Native literati, the existing interpretations explore, in Native plays, the Native Americans' troublesome history and the historical data about the Natives' spirit of *Survival* through resistance. As discussed in the next chapter, the theory of Survivance also encourages the parallel study of the literary (Native American drama) and non-literary sources (history books, official correspondence, interviews etc.) for accumulating the credible evidences; however, Vizenor's concept relates with the propagation of the Native Americans' historical presence in the Native stories. This is also significant in connection with the overall worth of the study of literature.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

This qualitative analysis is descriptive in nature, and it applies the hallmarks of the theory of Survivance, as conceptualized and propagated by Gerald Vizenor in 1990s, on the selected literary works. This chapter has presented the key concepts of this theory, and explored their application on the selected works. For its analysis, the study focuses on the depiction of the spirit of survival and resistance by the selected Native American playwrights.

3.1 Research Methods

The research comprehensively investigates the content of the text using textual analysis that allows the study to convey the meanings and ideas embedded in the text, and recognizes how the readers of the chosen text for current study view the world depicted in these works. In the present study, "when we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text;" it is the collection of "information about how other human beings make sense of the world" from text (McKee 01). Since this study explores the Native American culture that includes the Natives' identity, religion, and history, it finds textual analysis an effective tool for the interpretation of its selected plays that reflect these cultural aspects. As a methodology, textual analysis in a qualitative research as this is significant to "understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live" (McKee 01). Catherine Belsey views textual analysis necessary for research in cultural criticism. In her essay 'Textual Analysis as a Research Method,' Belsey finds no 'pure' reading and focuses on extra textual knowledge for interpretation of text (163). She, clearly, does not restrict the meaning of any culture to the manifestations of a specific custom or a tradition of a particular society.

Textual analysis, as research method, is useful in cultural studies, thus relates itself with the concepts of *Assimilation* and *survival*. After all, the purpose of literature is not only to portray the contemporary world in the text, but also to offer "an immersive record of…past and emerging collective experience" (Kusch 03).

Contextually, collective experience means impressions that are visible in the written text, as in Native American plays the Native Americans appear as marginalized, suppressed and neglected communities. At the same time, the characters in these selected plays perform acts of survival of their native culture and show resistance to underestimation of their cultural traditions. However, in literature, such impressions emerge after the text is interpreted methodically and purposefully. Hence, it requires "a systematic practice like literary analysis to allow… to understand how literature is written, why it is written that way, and what effects these details have on meaning as a whole" (Kusch 06).

Thus, the study triangulates the selected theory with the historical data in order to verify the authenticity of the events as portrayed in the selected works and strengthen its research findings.

3.2 Framework of Analysis

The present study establishes its theoretical framework on the basis of Vizenor's theory of Survivance. Vizenor, as the contemporary Native American author, has gained the attention in literary circles for his contribution in theorizing Native American studies with less dependency on the non-Native interpretation of the Native literary works. In this context, Pulitano challenges that "critical theory" does not mean "the elite language of the socially and culturally privileged" (2). Vizenor's theory of Survivance, therefore, is a significant effort to add the Native perspective in the field of Native American literature. This theory developed during the last decade of the 20th century after Vizenor had coined the term 'Survivance' in his book titled *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance* in response to the general perception of Native American literature as the body of stark criticism on White American policies towards the Native Americans. Meanwhile, the theory also contests that the White Americans' perception of the Native Americans as uncivilized, less competent, and primitive people is the result of non-promotion of Native oral stories by Native American writers. This situation turns the Native American spirit of *Survival* into the violent history of confrontation between the Natives and the White Americans' U.S.

government. Therefore, the concept of Survivance emerged from dissatisfaction over literary criticism of Native American stories, which exclusively focused on the features of the Native text by relating the depiction of historical and intellectual spirit of survival and resistance to the response of the suppressed Native people. This view of the interpretation affirms, in a usual way, that Native American playwrights frequently use their works to contribute to Natives' struggle of *Survival* by portraying the historical sufferings through oral stories in their plays.

The concept of Survivance, in the context of Native American drama, broadens the scope of literary texts as it maintains the historical facts about the relationships between the Natives and the White Americans on the one hand, and brings new insights to the interpretation of Native American literature on the other hand. Thus, the rest of the current chapter lays out five-part theoretical framework, providing intertwined ways of viewing and interpreting the selected works as cultural works with meaningful and substantial contribution to understand the Native Americans' resistance to *Assimilation* as well as their struggle for *Survival*.

3.2.1 Ensuring Native American Presence: Vizenor's Concept of 'Survivance'

The term 'Survivance,' in the context of the study of the Native Americans' life, indicates a reinvigorated perspective on the interpretations of Native American published stories. In more plain terms, Vizenor's concept of Survivance "reflects a shift in study of Native American culture" (Groesbeck 117). In his book *Manifest Manners*, which is "appealing in its creative freedom," Vizenor attempts "to confound our preconceived ideas about Native American literature and criticism" (Brown 219). Instead of viewing the Native stories solely as the accounts of explicit representation of the Native Americans' resistance to the White Americans' hegemonic policies, the perspective of Survivance interprets the Native stories as the source of the Native Americans' presence as a sovereign nation in the United States of America. According to Vizenor, "Survivance is an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name" (*Native Liberty* 100). This understanding of Vizenor accentuates the realization that "Survivance suggests an active effort by Native Americans to reclaim their various cultures and determine the direction of their future" (Groesbeck 117).

The concept of Survivance primarily views the Native Americans as the flourishing and ever-present nation that has undergone a significantly long process of

resistance. Vizenor, while extending the scope of Survivance, elaborates the grounds of the Natives' resistance, viewing those causes as the White Americans' attempt to vanish the identity of the Native Americans. He is of the view that "Native survivance is an active sense of presence over historical absence, the dominance of cultural simulations, and manifest manners" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 01). Here, the obvious purpose of Vizenor is to disseminate Survivance in order to identify considerable grievances of the Native Americans against the policies of the federal US governments. However, the Native Americans' resistance, in the light of 'an active sense of presence,' is not only the reaction against the dominant White American culture, but also an indication of the visibility of the Native people in their native country. Such visible Native culture and identity, according to Vizenor, is Survivance, as Survivance is "the heritable right of succession or reversion of an estate;" it is also a reminder for the White Americans to recognize their responsibilities towards giving "human rights" to Native Americans as the citizens of the United States of America (*Native Liberty* 85-86).

Vizenor expands Survivance by defending and motivating Native American literati to continue with themes of survival of the Native culture that protects and cares for natural objects. According to Vizenor, "the presence of animals, birds, and other creatures in native literature is a trace of natural reason by the heartfelt practice of survivance" (*Native Liberty* 89). This belief in non-human creatures is a clear indication of construing Native American literature in the light of the Native Americans' historical beliefs in the vitality of both human beings and nature as means of survival; it, further, indicates that why Native American writers include the stories of the Natives' resistance against any effort to exploit their land. Expounding his idea further, Vizenor believes that "the creation of animals and birds in literature reveals a practice of survivance, and critical interpretation of that literary practice is theory, a theory of irony and native survivance" (*Native Liberty* 90). Meanwhile, he believes in the tendency of Native American authors to view the concept of Survivance as the combination of the Natives' *Survival* in their presence as the Native Americans who resist to the dominant American culture that shows the absence of the Natives: "The native author must bear the eternal nature of the unnamable, the chance of names, the ironies of simulations and contested cultural histories, and create a sense of presence in stories, a sense of survivance over dominance and victimry" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 24).

Vizenor, further, elaborates this 'sense of survivance' by relating the Natives' resistance to White Americans' dominance and the resultant Natives' feelings of

'victimry' to the continuity of the Native culture and identity besides enduring the historical sufferings. For instance, he relates, "My grandmother …endured many seasons of poverty…but she never lost her soul to victimry" (Vizenor, *Liberty* 20). It implies that the notion of 'resistance' in Survivance is more than endurance, as such resistance for survival is not the static strength of bearing the unpleasant situations. Vizenor, therefore, continues to praise her grandmother by informing that her grandmother, "in her late sixties, married a generous, sightless, younger man"; and she acted as a "mighty healer" who was "on the move with her blind husband" (*Liberty* 20).

3.2.2 Survivance as a hybrid phenomenon

Theory of Survivance has the capacity to view the Native American drama in the wider aspect. For instance, Vizenor terms Survivance as "the union of active survival and resistance to cultural dominance" (*Native Liberty* 24). Such an amalgamation allows to view the Native stories and the Native literary figures as the active participants in depicting resistance against the policies of the U.S. government as the sources of motivation and optimism for the future Native American generations to protect their native culture. In this way, survivance transforms into "an obvious spirit of native sovereignty" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 24). Lorin Groesbeck, in the article "The Sun Dance Opera: A Call for Native Survivance," also describes Vizenor's coined term "survivance" as "a portmanteau of "survival" and "resistance" (117). Harry Brown views such a merger as a source of power for the Native Americans to continue their existence as a sovereign nation: Survivance merges survival with resistance, transforming the image of the 'Indian' from one of weakness to one of strength and endurance (218). However, such transformation, in the light of Vizenor's concept of Survivance, is not limited to the one's "ability to withstand stress over prolonged periods", that is endurance (Sleamaker and Browning). Therefore, Vizenor proclaims that his "words", such as "survivance", find "new connotations" in his work; "for instance, survivance, in sense of native survivance, is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active presence" (*Fugitive Poses* 15). This understanding of Survivance focuses, primarily, on the role of Native American writers as the sources who promote the strength of Native stories to ensure the Natives' historical existence as a distinct nation instead of the people with the mere strength to bear hegemonic policies of the US government.

Vizenor's insistence to view Survivance as 'more than survival' is an attempt to reject the inclusion of the Native Americans into the group of weak people who become the victims of colonization. Stephen W. Silliman also believes that Survivance, in the case of mere "Native survival is rendered as the victimized remnants of an oppressed people, a diminution that hardly ever grants…continuity" and "authenticity" (59). The sense and impression of a victimized society is even more unpromising. For instance, Eve Tuck, in *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change*, cautions that "victimry leaves people breathless" (113). And in case of the Native Americans, "[v]ictimry leaves Native young people with nothing to imagine" (Tuck 11)

Survivance, thus, incorporates at least three fundamental insights about understanding of the nature of unpleasant history of relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans as portrayed in the selected Native American Drama. First, it assumes that the Native American stories in the form of Native dramas and novels keep the record of the US government's assimilative policies such as those of the working of Indian boarding schools, congressional acts, and historical events including Wounded Knee and Alcatraz occupation. In addition, the incorporation of these aspects of Native history, in Native American literary works, motivate the Native Americans to value their historical presence in the American continent. Furthermore, the rejection of the notion of 'victimized people' softens the image of the Native stories as the panorama of sad past. Second, it undertakes that the stories included in Native American writings are true which invite a researcher to unearth historical sources about the authenticity of historical sufferings of the Native Americans. Third, the blend of the word Survivance, as envisioned by Vizenor, Groesbeck and Brown, offers to investigate such Native American stories which include the resistible features of White American dominant culture such as the efforts of the US federal government to stop the Native Americans from celebrating their cultural festivals or using their traditional languages. In addition, the hybridity in the meaning of Vizenor's Survivance alludes that the Native American writers strongly resist the cultural hegemony through their characters' rejection to disaffiliate them from their ancestral culture. Vizenor's pride in Native American authors for their inclusion of these themes in their works reflects practical approach towards the survival of the Native American culture and identity.

3.2.3 Indian vs. "Postindian:" Vizenor's theory of Survivance as a reaction and resistance to manifest manners

Historically, as discussed in the Literature Review, Native American culture received biased and subjective treatment of the White American dominant culture. However, Vizenor does not want to restrict himself and the Native Americans to repeat the unpleasant history in ambiguous manner with passive approach. Therefore, he, while propagating the idea of Survivance, defines the history of uninviting relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans by creating room for the researchers to view the scenario in broader terms. In this context, "survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, detractions, obtrusions, the unbearable sentiments of tragedy, and the legacy of victimry" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 24). This statement elaborates the function of Native American literature in terms of the Native authors' rejection of the dominant mainstream American culture, as it indicates the power of Native literary figures to react against any effort that harms or brings reductions to the Natives' image by imposing non-Native culture on the Native people such as the forced assimilation through boarding school education and the Relocation Policy of the 20th century. In this way, Survivance implies that the production and the publication of the Native works are the symbols of powerful Native Americans. Vizenor repeats the same idea when he claims that the Native American oral stories "create narratives of resistance and denounce manifest manners, racist literary tragedy and revoke victimry" (*Native Liberty* 2).

The ideas of "Manifest Manners" and "Postindian Warriors" offer even a greater insight about the causes of unfriendly relationships between the Whites and the Natives with the suggestions for the later to survive under all circumstances. Meanwhile, these terms provide the practical vocabulary for elaborating the concept of 'resistance' and 'survival'. Therefore, the phrases such as 'survivance', 'manifest manners', and 'postindians' have the tendency to define the resistance of the Native Americans for Survival. For instance, to Vizenor, manifest manners are "the simulations of dominance" or "the notions and misnomers that are used authentic and sustained as representations of Native American Indians" (*Manifest Manners* 5-6). Vizenor, here, refers to the dominant and powerful White American culture that produces false beliefs (simulations) about the Native Americans who in turn show resistance. 'Simulations' as a term refers to "poses, inventions, and false images manufactured to sell what audiences expect or want"; however, in the context of Vizenor's phrase 'Simulations

of dominance,' the word 'simulation' implies the White Americans' production of "the images of the noble savage or vanishing race" for the Native Americans (Lundquist 309). In this way, the term "Manifest Manners" conforms to the historically held belief in the nature of power relations between the White Americans and the Native Americans, resulting into the Natives' resistance against the forced policies of the US government. However, Vizenor's attaches the idea of 'Manifest Manners' with the proposition of active but non-violent resistance on the part of the Native Americans in the role of postindian warriors. He refers to postindian warriors as the "new indications of a narrative recreation, the simulations that overcome the manifest manners of dominance" (Vizenor, *Manifest Manners* 6). Therefore, Vizenor views the Native stories, such as the selected plays in the present study, as the 'Simulations of Survivance.' Thus, he names the resistant Native characters as 'postindians' in the Native stories.

Vizenor's introduction of the term 'Postindian' is an effort to reject the term 'Indian' for the Native Americans as used by the dominant American culture, for his two books *Manifest Manners* and *Native Liberty* view the term 'Indian' as the Whites' construction with their effort to deprive the Native Americans of their rights as the First Nations. At the same time, "the postindian represents the personification of survivance" (Brown 218). According to Vizenor, the word 'Indian' is an "archive "as well as an "institutive" effort of the dominant culture to show "elusive native presence in literature and history" (*Native Liberty* 18). He reiterates that the "word Indian…..is a colonial enactment" and "occidental invention" (Vizenor, *Manifest Manners* 11). In this context, the 'postindian' is the Native invention to counter further degradation of the Native Americans in the name of 'Indian.' Vizenor differentiates and compares 'Indian' and 'postindian' in plain words: "The Indian became the other of manifest manners, the absence of the real tribes, the inventions in the literature of dominance. The postindian simulations of survivance, on the other hand, arose with a resistance literature" (*Shadow* 162). Thus, he presents the idea of hegemony and counter hegemony in Native works.

3.2.4 Survivance through Indian Boarding schools by Restructuring Native American history of victimization

Vizenor, unlike other Native American writers, avoids to view the Native people as the victims of the White American policy of assimilation through Indian boarding school education (*Assimilation*).To him, the Native students who suffer cultural annihilation in Indian boarding schools are not merely the victims but the survivors,

and later the survivalists, in the course of their efforts for the preservation of the Native American culture. Moreover, he maintains that the stories of such students create the elements of Survivance in Native American literature. Through these stories, the Native Americans keep their identity, sovereignty and oral story tradition alive. In *Manifest Manners*, Vizenor's description of Luther Standing Bear as a "postindian Warrior" (04) is the vivid elaboration of his viewing Indian boarding school students as the defenders of the Native culture as the American citizens instead of the victims and the avengers. Vizenor is of the view that the Native students like Bear have the courage to survive amidst White Americans' insistence on adopting non-Native ways of life. Therefore, Vizenor, first, quotes Standing Bear's willingness to learn "White man's ways" against the desire of Bear's father (*Manifest Manners* 04). Later, he uses Bear's own words to inform about the 'postindian' perspective of resistance for the *Survival*: "Now, after having had my hair cut, a new thought came into my head. I felt that I was no more Indian, but would be an imitation of a white man" (Vizenor, *Manifest Manners* 04)

Vizenor's quoted words of Bear, the student who was there "in the first class to attend the federal school at Carlisle"(04), are indications that Survivance incorporates the methods of Indian boarding schools to prohibit the Native students from continuing their cultural practices as well as the students' resistance to keep themselves alive in the Native stories without being violent. Vizenor does not provoke the future Native American generations to fight the White Americans in order to save their culture; instead he promotes the phrase 'postindian warriors' for Native American literary figures who ensure the survival of the Native American culture through the stories of Indian boarding schools. In broader terms, the theory of Survivance determines the challenging scenario for those Native Americans - the postindians - who believe in the continuity of Native stories through literature, for "the postindian warriors encounter their enemies with the same courage in literature as their ancestors once evinced on horses, and they create their stories with a new sense of survivance" (Vizenor, *Manifest Manners* 04).

Thus, Survivance implies that Native American literature tends to include those Native stories which are significant in understanding the Native Americans' resistance to assimilate into such mainstream American society that underestimates the culture and identity of the Native people. Therefore, "instead of appearing as the victims, the Native authors demonstrate pride in their heritage and a refusal to assimilate through language, art, religious experience, and so on to White expectations" (Groesbeck 117).

This effort of Native American authors, understandably, refers to the idea of restoring the Natives' cultural loss, for "cultural healing is critical" in case of a suppressed society "that have lost or been forced to suppress languages, religions, and other practices as a result of a dominating, colonized culture" (Squint 108).

3.2.5 Depiction of Native Americans' Sufferings and Stereotypical Image in Native Literature

Vizenor, while propagating his idea of Survivance, accepts that the Native Americans have gone through challenging circumstances which motivate the Native writers to report the stories of those Native Americans who struggle to keep their native identity alive; the most noticeable among such puzzling conditions include the stereotypical image of the Native Americans, denial of the inherent right of the existence of Native Americans,' and the White Americans' insistence on dominating the Native Americans through the governmental policies. Vizenor, plainly, endorses the enclosure of these historical sufferings in Native American literature; however, he again provides a Native theoretical lens that responds actively and effectively: "Native Americans were cursed by racialism and separatism on federal reservations in a constitutional democracy, and the stories of that time necessitate new words" (*Native Liberty* 32). For instance, Vizenor's forefathers, resisting to the "arbitrary authority of federal agents," published their Native literature such as "*The Progress*, the first newspaper on the White Earth Reservation" (Vizenor, *Native Liberty* 32). This motivation for the creation of the weekly newspaper clearly indicates the practice of Survivance: Native Americans' struggle for *Survival* through resistance against the efforts of dominant federal US government to occupy the Native lands. Therefore, *The Progress* "published reservation stories, state, and national stories" as well as it "opposed the federal act that allotted collective native land to individuals" (Vizenor *Native Liberty* 68). In this way "The *Progress* honored the stories of survivance and liberty" (Vizenor *Native Liberty* 32).

The key terms such as 'manifest manners' and 'postindian' in Vizenor's theory of Survivance, as understood by Vizenor and elaborated by other theorist like John D. Miles, suggest that the *Survival* of Native American culture requires the removal of the Native American image as uncivilized Indians or an absent community in the US national culture. Miles, in the article "The Postindian Rhetoric of Gerald Vizenor," explains that Vizenor completely rejects the term 'Indian' for Native Americans: "at the heart of Vizenor's work is the proposition that there is no such thing as an *Indian*"

(36). Miles observation- "In fact, Indian, in Vizenor's view, is nothing more than the accumulation of various simulations that shape thinking and writing about Native people"- conforms to Vizenor's belief that Native Americans are the victims of their misrepresentations in the dominant American culture (36). Harry Brown also believes that Vizenor's idea of 'manifest manner' reflects Native Americans' grievances against their biased treatment by the White Americans whose stereotypical thought is a threat to Native American culture:

> His term manifest manners describes representations of the Indian that perpetuate racist assumptions and cooperate with the political ideology of "manifest manners," or the concept that European-American settlers were destined to move ever westward in their march across the North American Continent……In Vizenor's view the confusion of image and reality constitutes a direct threat to Native American culture. (218)

The role of Native American literature, thus, becomes very crucial to practice Survivance that motivates the Native authors to diminish the misconceptions and preconceived ideas about the history of the Native Americans through their creative stories. Therefore, in *Manifest Manners*, "Vizenor identifies contemporary Indian activists and writers such as Russell Means, GuNN ALLEN, and Ed MoGaa as the primary practitioners of this creative resistance" (Brown 218). Vizenor adds the works of N. Scott Momaday, James Welch and Alexander East in the same context (Brown 218). According to Vizenor, Native American stories have the power to subvert and reshape the Euro-centric view of Native Americans that considers the Native people as savages and uncivilized instead of the distinct sovereign communities: "I write to create a memory and to change the cockeyed views and simulations of the anishinaabe, Ojibwe or Chippewa, and Native American Indians" (Vizenor *Native Liberty* 5). This spirit of change implies that Vizenor believes in the power of Native American literary works to create influential stories that promote the Natives' identity and culture.

Conclusively, the current study has delimited Vizenor's theory of Survivance by approaching the selected texts through the analysis of the depicted resistance of the Native Americans to the White Americans' policies of *Assimilation* [manifest manners] such as those of Land leasing and Indian boarding school. Concurrently, the researcher has critically investigated the inclusion of historical Native American stories in the selected plays as part of the selected writers' struggle for the survival of the Native culture through resistance – Survivance. Vizenor's belief - White Americans tend to

make the Native Americans absent by using stereotypical language for them - is also central to the examination of the selected plays. Additionally, non-literary sources such as survey reports, history books, interviews and newspapers find their relevant space in the analysis to unearth the facts about Native Americans' historical sufferings and the Native memories which have demanded the practice of Survivance. In this context, the interpretation through textual analysis focuses on Vizenor's concept of Native American writers as the practitioners of Survivance who depict the Native Americans' love for nature as well as commemorate the Natives' tradition of storytelling in their works. Therefore, the selected theory has viewed the selected works as the Native Authors' contribution to highlight the Native Americans' historical presence in the American continent. Meanwhile, the plays in the proceeding chapters have been assessed as cultural works that were influenced not only by the power relations between White Americans and the Native Americans, but also by the Natives' spirit of *Survival* among the Native American people.

CHAPTER 4

Momaday's Selected Works and Native American Children in Assimilative Education System

INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to interpret the efforts of the White Americans to assimilate the Native Americans through education, this chapter uncovers the story of Indian boarding schools with the focus on the Kiowa and the Carlisle boarding schools as portrayed in Momaday's *Three Plays: The Indolent Boys, Children of the Sun, and The Moon in Two Windows* [*Three Plays*]. These plays connect the strict policies of the Indian boarding schools with the ideology of Pratt, referring to the complete absorption of the Native Americans into the mainstream American society. And it eventually decelerates the White Americans' process and efforts to materialize the visibility of the Native Americans as the fully assimilated entities in the American society. For this purpose, the chapter incorporates historical references during the textual analysis of the selected text to state that the concept of *Assimilation* (Forced Assimilation) through education is a half-hearted effort, as it ignores the strong affiliation of the Native students before deciding to integrate them into the mainstream American society. Therefore, as the analysis of the selected plays brings forth, this attempt fails to achieve the targets: the Native Americans' disaffiliation from their native culture in favor of the White Americans' standards of civilization such as English language and non-Native hairstyle. The vastness of the issues of forced assimilation through education and the Natives' concern for the *Survival* have been discussed in the chapter through three separate headings besides the subheadings. Thus the chapter tends to explore not only the theme of *Assimilation* but also that of *Survival*.

4.1 Forced Assimilation and the 'Invented' Pai

One of the effective strategies of *Survival*, Vizenor states, is the attempt of the Native Americans to show their sense of presence as the protectors of the Native culture and identity. In this context, Momaday views the forced assimilation ineffective owing to the White Americans' assumption that the Native Americans would accept the undue motivation to quit their native culture. This gratuitous incentive reflects in "The Indolent Boys" in the demonstration of the White teachers' method of the selection of the Native boys for *Assimilation* at the Kiowa Indian boarding school. In this context, the role of Carrie, the school teacher, is very significant when she seduces and encourages Pai to become an assimilated Native student. Therefore, being "accepted at seminary" as "the first from the Kiowa school," Pai receives much of encouragement by his teacher Carrie who wishes to show her success in assimilating the Native American boys at boarding schools (Momaday 27). The ambiguous criterion of selection for a Native to go to New York speaks itself of the intentions of the federal government. More than seeking the government's appreciation, Carrie tends to fulfil (by showing Pai's inclination to *Assimilation*) the larger agenda of the reformers in terms of producing the Native assimilated children for their Native community. Historically, "American reformers and politicians, it appears, expected Native American children, once sufficiently acculturated, to return to their communities to teach their families to be assimilated" (Ellinghaus 570). It requires that the students like Pai are supposed to "serve as a vanguard for progress and civilization" (Adams 275). Thus, sometimes the White teachers at boarding schools give undue credit to the targeted students in order to motivate them for adopting the mainstream system of education. Further investigation of Pai's character, in "The Indolent Boys," confirms that the Kiowa boarding school administration also believes in false praise of the Native students in order to assimilate them. For example, despite the confession of Pai for setting only Carrie's "words down on the paper," Carrie motivates him for showing "originality," "command of the language," and "eloquence" in his application, which show signs of *Assimilation* in him (Momaday 27). It leads Pai to appear as the invented Native American, which implies Vizenor's belief in the White Americans' tendency of inventing 'Indians' and 'simulations of dominance'. For instance, the use of the word "Indian" is a "colonial invention", and "a simulation in sound and transcription" (Vizenor, *Shadow* 239). Hence, Carrie fabricates Pai to reveal the frustration of the

White teachers at the school, for they need to spread the message of their success in the process of *Assimilation* of the Native American students at the school. Moreover, the production of Pai with such an image could compensate the incident of runaway.

In the White American community of Momaday's "The Indolent Boys", the idea of *Assimilation* is popular and a matter of interest for the mainstream society. However, this fame is not in the favor of the Native Americans, as they still retain the stereotype image in the mainstream American society. Therefore, when Carrie shares the news of Pai's selection with her mother, she attacks the Natives' spiritual and religious ways: "John Pai is going to be a wonderful preacher, mother, and he is going to put the Kiowas on the Jesus way" (Momaday 35). However, her observation about this conversion seems amateur for her being forgetful of the impact of the harsh treatment on the Native students at the boarding school. It is unreasonable, on the part of Carrie, to view the conversion an unambiguous outcome, as she ignores the strong cultural values of the Natives who resist any attack on their culture. Resultantly, despite Carrie's satisfaction with Pai's inclination towards *Assimilation*, he remembers the punishment and humiliation at Kiowa school what Momaday calls an indication of forced assimilation of the Native American children. The portrayal of the Natives' disgrace through force, in "The Indolent Boys," is evident from the highly unpleasant treatment of Pai. For instance, he, after the haircut, "had to stand naked with the new students" (33). As one more sign of forced assimilation, the play depicts Pai's inability to forget that he "had to choose again" his "name from a list on the blackboard, pointing with a stick" (33). His painful condition, during the selection of the new name, is the result of his fear of losing the Native identity. Momaday also explains that the title 'Kiowa' has been derived from the word "Kwuda" which means "coming out" from a hollow log, thus telling the significance of name for the Native Americans who believe "there is no being without names" (60). Meanwhile, in response to Carrie's appreciation of Pai about his skill over gaming wheel, he still remembers his traditional Sun Dance and hates the ways of teaching at Kiowa Boarding school, saying, "Physical pain was not inflicted upon me. It was symbolic. It was merely the pain of humiliation" (34).

For the Native Americans, humiliation occurs when they are forced to forget their traditional activities like Sun Dance, and to change their Native names with new haircut, as Pai feels in "The Indolent Boys". It refers to the Momaday's attempt of portraying the historical struggle of the Native Americans to prove their existence as the First Nations with distinct identity. This depiction is also the continuation of the

Natives' stories of *Survival* that does not hug warmly the policy of *Assimilation*. The resistance of Native Americans against their merger into the mainstream society speeds up when they are forced to abandon their Native identity. This kind of situation leaves them in a perplexed state. Momaday, who is not oblivious of the disgrace of the Native Americans, connects Pai's feeling of humiliation with his courage to revoke the legacy of historical dominance of White Americans. The courage of reminding the Whites of their historical biased treatment with the Natives reflects in the talk to the photograph of the US President Lincoln; Pai criticizes the course of *Assimilation* by saying that "our existence begins with the cutting of our hair and the taking of a Christian name" (24). These words reveal the conditional criterion of the White Americans for accepting the Native Americans as the civilized section of the mainstream society. Resultantly, the Natives' *Assimilation* requires complete disappearance of the Native culture, which is a highly expensive for the Natives. Julie Davis names these measures by the boarding schools' administration as a "Cultural Assault," adding that the Native students were introduced to "unfamiliar conceptions of time and space" besides their subjection to "militaristic regimentation and discipline" (20). This type of schooling uses education as a tool to disaffiliate the Native Americans from their traditional culture. Having their tribal languages and cultural practices suppressed, the Native American students face replacement of these native sources of communication with English language and receive non-serious attitude by the boarding school management for making them the part of the mainstream American society (20). Wherritt, in "The Indolent Boys," shares the same wishes with Gregory regarding the future of Native students who are suitable only for serving as field laborers; thus he, defines his limited role as the teacher while exclaiming that he wants "to teach them [the Native students] to paint and carpenter and husband and farm" (Momaday 20). He, thus, predicts the physical work for Native students. This underestimation of Native Americans' wisdom becomes prominent in the ideology of White American teachers at Indian boarding schools, for they "instructed students in the industrial and domestic skills appropriate to European American gender roles and taught them manual labor"(Davis 20).

4.1.1 'Postindian Warriors' at Kiowa Boarding School and "The Indolent Boys"

The first play in Momaday's *Three Plays* describes the story of three young Native American school boys, namely Seta (or Sailor), Jack and Arch, who run away from The Kiowa Indian Boarding School, Oklahoma, after Barton Wherritt, the White American teacher, punishes the oldest among them. Momaday presents them as the warriors who have the capability of resistance against the efforts of boarding schools which aim to alienate the Native American students from their native culture. Vizenor's theory of Survivance labels these Native American teens as 'postindian warriors,' for their death ,during the struggle for *Survival*, survives as a memory in "The Indolent Boys" and challenges the White Americans' perception of 'vanishing race' for the Native Americans.

Postindian warriors, according to Vizenor, recreate the new stories of resistance against the dominant White American policies such as that of Indian Boarding Schools. In "The Indolent Boys", Momaday tends to create the postindian warriors by describing them the mature people at very early age. For instance, Seta is not only the most senior among the three students but also a wise "fifteen years old" Native American; therefore, he is "an old man" (Momaday 11). He is, at the same time, "brave" and a "warrior" (11). The author's use of these adjectives is the negation of the Natives' image of the victims of the Whites' forced education as well as the rejection of any effort to mark the Natives absent in history. Conversely, these attributes of this Native boy (Seta) turn him into a postindian warrior in the light of Vizenor's concept of Survivance, for "postindian warriors of survivance" are the "embodiment of a Native presence" (Pulitano 152). At the same time, to Vizenor, such warriors "overturn the tragic notion" of perpetual "victimry" (Pulitano 152). In addition, the depiction of Seta as the sufferer of physical penalty is indicative of the all-time preparation of the Native American students for resisting any corporal punishment by the administration of Indian boarding schools. Momaday, therefore, selects the incident that dates back in 1891 when three young boys face death due to a terrible storm and their bodies are found by the relatives in the South of Carnegie, Oklahoma (05). Known as 'the frozen boys,' this more than hundred years old incident "is marked in the pictographic calendars of the Kiowas, and it remains fixed in their cultural memory" (5). This cultural memory reaches the present

Native generations via "The Indolent Boys" with the technique of storytelling that holds a significant role in the Native American culture.

Contextually, the oral tradition of Native American tribes functions as the culture transmitter and as a source of courage in case of the theme of Natives' resistance to any attempt of *Assimilation*. More convincingly, the tradition is "a way of record keeping among Indian communities, accounting for the past and often providing direction for the future" (Fixico 57). Likewise, Momaday's "The Indolent Boys" records an old tragic incident with the message of more expected trials and tribulations in the way of the Native Americans' struggle for keeping their distinct culture alive in future. The tragic demise of Seta, Jack and Arch, in the play, reminds the Native Americans of their historical struggle of *Survival* which aims at achieving and maintaining the Native identity. Therefore, it incorporates Pinazzi's claim that "The play enacts a story based on historical facts that Momaday found documented in the National Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, but…….his main source is Kiowa oral tradition, in which this story is deeply and ever more dimly embedded (88). Momaday, therefore, selects "Mother Goodeye," an old Kiowa woman, to introduce the story of the young sufferers of Wherritt's punishment (10).

In "The Indolent Boys," the physical punishment of Seta does not match with the common practice or a day to day matter of the school life as in many parts of the world. For instance, "corporal" or physical "punishment persists as a disciplinary practice in schools throughout the U.S" with the exception of thirty one states which "have banned the practice" (Gershoff et al., 1). In contrast, the Native students at the Kiowa school receive such treatment under a particular strategy of *Assimilation* of the Native Americans into the mainstream American society. This specific plan, besides the focus on the Native students' withdrawal of their culture, refers to "a morally comfortable reason for Indian subjugation" in the name of White Americans' assistance for "the Natives" (Dorsey 75). For instance, "the Kiowa Boarding School was one in a nationwide network of Indian schools based upon the ideas and methods of Richard Henry Pratt" (Momaday 05). And in the context of the strict policy of this school, as analyzed through "The Indolent Boys" in the proceeding discussion, it refers to the Vizenor's idea of "arbitrary authority" which the federal U.S. representatives use to discredit the Native culture through the boarding school education (*Liberty* 32). Vizenor's belief in such power of the dominant and mainstream culture, further, associates Pratt's philosophy with the simulations of dominance that views the Native

American students as ignorant, savages, and uncivilized people who desperately need the Whites' guidance.

As a response to the underestimation of the Native Americans' existence as a civilized nation, "The Indolent Boys" predicts Momaday's strong belief in the significance of storytelling technique in the Native American culture. Through this technique, he creates the piece of literature, as the play under scrutiny, to validate the Native stories by making them accessible for the readers across the globe. It corresponds to the job of a 'postindian warrior' who, as the Native American writer, knows the significance of Native American stories which hitherto are unknown in the mainstream American literature: "postindian warriors create a new tribal presence in stories" (*Manifest Manners*12). Therefore, "The Indolent Boys" mirrors the considerable impact (the death of Kiowa students) of *Assimilation* through education that Momaday determines to pass on through this play. According to him, "After thinking of the boys for many years," he decides "to commemorate them in a play" with the help of "Kiowa Kinsmen" and "others who knew of the story" along with "the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society and of the National Archives" (Momaday 5-6)." Momaday's consultation with these sources indicates his attempt to authenticate the tragic incident at Kiowa boarding school in 1891. This authentication brings more power to "The Indolent Boys" for adding themes of resistance and *Survival* in the play. It also relates to the Vizenor's belief that "tribal names and stories are real histories, not discoveries" (*Manifest Manners* 09). Through this belief, the outright rejection of the plot of the play "The Indolent Boys" does not occur. Moreover, in this context, Momaday's first-hand experience as a Native individual and playwright is a significant addition:

> Like all great writers, Momaday provides readers entrée into a unique world. His happens to be a world made unique on the basis of race, culture, history, and experience. Momaday's world is one shaped by his experience as a Kiowa who grew up among the Puoblo peoples and Navajo. His world is one in which his teacher parents emphasized language, storytelling, literature, art and education. And his is a world of one who has successfully negotiated the drastically different experiences of both American Indians and non- Indians. (Charles 8)

Thus, Momaday performs the role of such a Native playwright who, in the light of the Vizenor's theory, recreates, in his play, the Native memory of Survivance, that is,

resistance for *Survival*, as Vizenor believes that "tribal stories…are heard and remembered as Survivance" (Shadow 177). This way of viewing the Natives' resistance, therefore, refers to a purpose of securing the Native Americans' culture on the part of the Native people.

4.1.2 "The Indolent Boys" as the Story of Survivance Through renunciation of dominance

In the light of Vizenor's idea of Survivance, the stories which show the Native Americans' resistance for the survival of their culture reject the US policy of dominating and assimilating the Native students through the White Americans' system of boarding schools. In this context, "The Indolent Boys," as written by the culturally and traditionally familiar Native American playwright, develops into a story that incorporates the history and the spirit of Indian boarding schools which prove highly unfavorable for *Survival* and *Assimilation*. The unpleasant feature of this school system is evident from its demand of disintegration of Native Americans' traditional family gatherings. For example, "Officially, the US government, during the nineteenth century, hugged policies which aimed at forced assimilation of Native Americans and the break-up of Indian families" (Weaver 11). This historical evidence clearly states that, backed by the US government, the contemporary Indian boarding schools become the center of *Assimilation* with the demand for the removal of the Native children from their ancestral and cultural homes. In this regard, the play imprints Gregory's instructions that set very hard criteria for the Native Americans' presence in America: "Give them [Native American students at Kiowa school] the English language, Christian names, and gainful employment. Inform them politely that their gods have forsaken them and that their way of life is unacceptable, uncivilized, and poof!" (Momaday 22). Conversely, this statement reveals that Gregory is well familiar with the Native students' love for their traditional languages and names. Contextually, the play suggests that the launch and purpose of this method of education is the part of the overall effort to assimilate the Native people by weakening the Native culture. It also requires more scrutiny of the historical facts about the White Americans' efforts for the assimilation of the Native Americans into the mainstream society.

Among various policies of *Assimilation*, The Appropriation Act of 1892 holds a significant contribution to the efforts by the federal US government to force the Native children to attend the boarding schools. For example, in 1893, "the Appropriation Act contained another provision that authorized the Secretary of the Interior to deny rations

or subsistence to the head of any Indian family whose children were not attending school" (Ellinghaus 572). The threat of the non-provision of essential food to a dependent individual leads to the loss of physical strength of a human. Meanwhile, the law, thus, clearly infers the unwillingness and confrontation of the Native Americans against their forced assimilation. Responsively, "The Indolent Boys" portrays the disagreement of the Native students to *Assimilation*, creating the story of Survivance in the form of the "Memorial" that "honors the names" of Seta along with his two friends who resist to their native cultural disaffiliation (Vizenor, *Shadow* 157). Hence, the cause of runaway of these students from Kiowa Boarding school is not the mere retaliation of Seta, Arch and Jack after the disciplinarian and teacher of the school, Barton Wherritt whips fifteen year old Native American Seta (Momaday 12). On the contrary, this situation leads to explore the overall working and philosophy of the Kiowa school, as portrayed in the play.

Contextually, in "The Indolent Boys," Wherritt's act of beating Seta for his misbehavior relates to the impolite and disrespectful attitude of the school administration that follows the official instructions in this regard. For example, referring to his duty as the disciplinarian of the Kiowa school, Wherritt believes that the physical punishment of the troublesome Native students is necessary "according to the rules" and "according to the manual" (Momaday 17). The superintendent, Gregory, also favors the same treatment, relating it to the "matter of Boarding School policy" (18). This policy refers to the challenging scenario for *Survival*, for "the Indian boarding schools led by Carlisle, brought together children from many tribes, who were forbidden to speak native languages, wear traditional clothing, or practice ancestral religions" (Katanski 04). Therefore, these imposed conditions and the harsh attitude of the school administration with the Native students are the simulations of dominance: the representations of the Native Americans as the uncivilized creatures, and the invitation for more resistance on the part of the Native Americans.

According to Vizenor, the depiction of "resistance" stories in literature generates "simulations of survivance," which encounter the dominance (*Shadow* 162). For instance, Momaday's "The Indolent Boy", besides the physical torture of the Native student, depicts some more Native characters who resist the boarding school policy that endangers their identity while staying at the Kiowa. John Pai, for instance, dislikes Pratt's initiative to introduce these "schools" where "we learn how to slough our red skins, forget our languages, forget out parents and grandparents, our little brothers and

sisters, and our dead ones" (Momaday 24). Momaday, through these words, equips Pai with the power of expression. Equally, it depicts this Native American character's belief in his native culture that features the unity during the journey to *Survival.* This sense of Native unity concludes that Seta and Pai are brothers without any blood relation (24).

"The Indolent Boys," in the context of forced assimilation of the Native Americans, incorporates the themes of survival and resistance, that is, Survivance, by offering the very unpleasant scenario for the Native students to carry on their identity. Therefore, the resistance is inevitable. For instance, even Wherritt, the staff member, confesses that the Kiowa and Carlisle Boarding schools are "real" prisons with the aim of forced conversion of the Native American young students (22-23). In "The Indolent Boys, "through this image of non-conducive school environment, Momaday determines the tragic way of the students' resistance when the three boys lose their lives during the struggle of *Survival*. Resultantly, Seta and company is a memory of Survivance in the words of Emdotah, the Native character of the play:

> Children: I want to speak to you. I want to place my words upon you now, now that you have gone away, into the darkness. That darkness is a world I do not know, though I shall know it. I have heard the old people are there, and my mother and father are there, and my grandfathers, and theirs, and theirs. It must be a wonderful place…..In my mind's eye, and in my heart, I see you moving into the camps… the camps of Gaigwa [Kiowa], the coming-out people, in their gladness, in their dignity, in their glory. (Momaday 39)

The address of the Native Kiowa man, vividly, terms the dead students as brave Native Americans who choose resistance as the best means of the survival of their culture and identity. Consequently, these Native children remain present in the work of a Native American playwright. Meanwhile it involves no nostalgia on the part of Emdotah who believes that the dead Native students have directed their efforts to stick to their own culture instead of welcoming the forced assimilation. Hence, their action is a part of the popular attitude of the resistance of the Native American students during the era of the Indian boarding school movement, for "the most common form of resistance was running away: some students did so repeatedly and from more than one school" (Straus and Delgado 330).

The frequency of an event, particularly in the social and moral context, determines the success and failure for that particular act. And this supposition is relevant in the context of the efforts of the White American staff at the Kiowa with the

proponents of forced assimilation through education as explored in "The Indolent Boys". For instance, Wherritt believes that such incidents [the Native students' flee] recurrently occur in the Kiowa boarding schools (Momaday 44). Moreover, he shares with Gregory that "judging from the frequency with which the boys in question ran away," he considers "the principal incentive that led to their departure was identical with former instances; that is, they wanted to go to camp" (44). Here "camp" refers to the students' native houses, linking the retaliation to *Assimilation* as a part of *Survival*.

"The Indolent Boys," as an example of Survivance, reveals that the resistance of the Native students to follow the rules of the boarding school is the result of the white administration' underestimation of the Native strength and presence as sensible people. Such intentions, for instance, are visible in the post runaway scenario of the Native boys from Kiowa Boarding school. Having no solid answer, for instance, to stop the escapees from the school, Wherritt believes in punishment as the only solution to the problem. In this regard, he resolves, "We can't prevent them, Mr. Gregory. We can only punish them" (Momaday 17). It reveals the helplessness of the White characters towards the students' *Assimilation*. This suggestion, obviously, lacks the vision to perceive the situation which predicts more resistance from the Native students in "The indolent Boys." Meanwhile, the outright solution-the physical punishment-refers to the Hunderestimation of the power of Native culture. Wherritt, in contrast, sets he target of acculturating the Native students in no time by exposing them to the White ways of Indian boarding schools despite the Natives' persistence with their native culture. Momaday, by creating this situation, refers to the historical attempts in the mission of *Assimilation*:

> In its zeal to "civilize and Christianize" American Indians, the government and the agencies it sub-contracted to do the job (the various Christian denominations) mistakenly thought that a boarding school education would hasten the process of assimilation of Indian men into agrarian life and Indian women into domestic life. (Charles 10)

In an agreement with Charles' opinion, "The Indolent Boys," expands the meaning of 'resistance,' as in Survivance, to the "conflict" between the Native Americans and White Americans over the issue of *Assimilation*. Meanwhile, this statement infers that the government representatives of *Assimilation* such as Wherritt and Gregory are unable to view the Native Americans beyond their image of uncivilized people. Therefore, the impression of the proponents of forced assimilation of the Native children through

boarding school education leads to hegemony, for "[a]n idea is hegemonic when you cannot think outside of its box" (Klages 36).

Momaday displays an unpleasant outcome of the confrontation between the Native people and the Kiowa administration in "The Indolent Boys." For example, "the Kiowa Boarding School was attacked….and its superintendent assaulted" after the reports of missing students (Momaday 64). This magnitude of resistance, however, creates an image of the 'violent Native' who, in the eyes of the White teachers, is an uncivilized 'Indian'. Therefore, Wherritt's proposal of punishment to the Native students raises the issue of the Native Americans' distorted image that portrays them as uncivilized people in the mainstream American society. Resultantly, to Wherritt, the Native Americans are coward, crazy and savage (47). These serious charges against the Natives refer to the Vizenor's understanding of the term 'Manifest Manners;' that is, the simulations of dominant White American culture (*Manifest Manners* 05). Here simulations, in the light of Vizenor's concept, are the false and unauthentic representation and image of the Native people in the mainstream society. Hence, the prolonged practice of the manifest manners weakens the Native Americans' identity as the diverse nation.

According to Vizenor, the simulations of dominance are the unreal representations and untruthful beliefs about the Native Americans, which require replacement, through the Native stories, with the real Native image of strong and wise people. These simulations also appear in case of the non-adjustment of the unverified facts about Native American culture and history, for the phrase 'simulations of dominance' also refers to the "sustained" misnomer notions such as that of the term 'Indians' to report the identity of the Native Americans (Vizenor, *Manifest Manners* 5-6). Meanwhile, this reversion is a challenge, for, historically, the White Americans' discriminatory attitude towards the Natives as the uncivilized creatures has its roots in the ideas of early European explorers who "viewed the Indigenous peoples of the Americans as savages" who live without any government, law, or religion by European standards at least (Nash and Strobel 15). Making this Western ideology visible, Momaday uses the word 'Indolent,' for the Native American children from Euro-American perspective, as Wherritt uses it with the meaning of "insensitive to pain, slow to develop, indulging in ease, lazy" (Momaday 57). However, the subversion of these negative connotations, in "The Indolent Boys," occurs through the White teacher Carrie's recognition of the Native students' general skills in maintaining their strong

cultural affiliations. Carrie accepts that Pai and Sailor are "very skillful" in playing with the "gaming wheel…rolling it on the grass and thrusting sticks at it" during "the Sun Dance" (34). In this way, the play records an influential memory of historical Native spirit of *Survival* where the Native student characters appear as the practitioners of their cultural values in the play. These Native cultural practices are the simulations of survivance which counter the inactive and lazy representations of the Native Americans in the White Americans' society.

Momaday's "The Indolent Boys" produces more instances of the authoritative attitude of the US representatives who lead the mission of *Assimilation* through Indian Boarding schools. For instance, the Native children at the school represent the whole Native Americans as children in the eyes of Wherritt who is one of the most influential representatives of the boarding school administration: "Indians are children. Children all—Sailor, John Pai, Rachel, Emdotah---children! Why, those indolent thieves and beggars, those dreamers out there in the camps, those poor, befeathered, war-painted Ghost Dancers are children!" (19-20). Wherritt's description of the Native students creates an "other" or an "illiterate…abnormal" Native as well as a "literate", "normal…white" (Klages 61). Apart from the portrayal of this poor understanding of the Natives' mental capabilities, Wherritt also shows his disliking about the physical appearance of the Native students at the school. Therefore, he believes that these students are "the old, pathetic ones with their rheumy eyes and running sores---those "wise men" are nothing but children" (19-20). This implies that Wherritt, once again, not only condemns the domestic training of the Native children, but also teases the Native Americans in general for their distinct physical appearance. Consequently, the state of 'diminution' emerges when the overall image of the Native Americans reduces from a distinct nation to the entities of less importance. The play, thus, creates an understandable reason for the Natives' response, through the Native stories, to their misrepresentation in the dominant society.

Theory of Survivance assembles the dismal picture of the Native American students, in "The Indolent Boys," with racialism and separatism which add more serious threats to the survival of Native culture and identity. In this context, Gregory and Wherritt discuss the miserable plight of the Native Americans in a descriptive manner in the play. For example, Gregory believes that Native Americans can never achieve the higher social status, as "sickness is their natural state," indicating the low stature of the Native people to progress and survive (Momaday 21). Similarly, the statement, "to

them [the Native Americans] a horse is a difference between rich and poor" is also the denial of the trust in the Natives by a White man (21). This representation of the Natives by Gregory categorizes the Native Americans as the lower race that should stay separate from the civilized world. Meanwhile, the play brings forth some more uninviting notions about the Natives when Wherritt makes fun of their spiritual beliefs while saying that the Native Americans "still believe that their dead will rise from their graves, that buffalo will come back, that we whites will go away and leave them alone"(21). Putting aside the exaggeration about the Natives' belief in the physical return of their people, Wherritt's statement implies the fear of the White people regarding the Natives' strong memory of their past losses in the form of extinct buffalo and land encroachment. Further investigation of this account highlights Momaday's role, as the Native playwright, of preserving the Native culture that prefers harmony with nature.

"The Indolent Boys," through Wherritt's devaluation of the Native Americans' historical belief in buffalo, relates the history of the extinction of this animal to the White Americans' hegemony. For instance, historically, the process of making leather from skins of Indian buffalo had started in a New York tannery by the early 1870s which impacted, tremendously, the daily life of the Native Americans on Great Plains (Nash and Strobel 227). This impact hinders the effort of *Survival* because, for North Americans, buffalo were lifeline and mean of sovereignty (Adrian, "*Genocide*"). It also indicates that the annihilation of these buffaloes is depressive for those Native Americans who attach their existence with the existence of the animals. Similarly, "the mass killing conducted by white hunters, and enabled by the railroad, had destroyed what the Native people saw as the natural balance of their world in the Great Plains" (Nash and Strobel 227).The historical and traditional association of Native Americans with the natural creature is part of their efforts to preserve their native culture.

Contextually, "The Indolent Boys" shows the strong affiliation of the Native Americans with their culture and history. The attachment with their traditions symbolizes power of the Native Americans to protect their life styles. For example, the love and concern for *Survival* make John Pai, the Native student at Kiowa boarding school, utter complaints and criticize the policy of Indian boarding schools launched by the U.S. federal government. Pai challenges Mr. Lincoln, the then US president: "He [Mr. Lincoln] has provided us with schools, schools in which we learn how to slough our red skins, forget our language, forget our parents and grandparents, our little

brothers and sisters, and our dead ancestors" (Momaday 24). Lincoln, here, holds the position of a chief assimilationist and the indication of the arrogant attitude, from the highest US authorities to the level of White teachers at Kiowa school, towards the Native Americans. Consequently, Pai almost shouts at Mr. Lincoln for considering the Natives as non-existent creatures until they readily accept the ways of mainstream American society:

> School here, Mr. Lincoln, is a camp where the memory is killed. We must forget our past. Our existence begins with the cutting of our hair and the taking of a Christian name. Here at the Kiowa Boarding School at Anadarko, Oklahoma, on the banks of Washita River, I am taught not to remember disremember myself .(24)

Momaday, using Pai as his mouthpiece, paints the repulsive image of Indian boarding schools. Pai, in this statement, is highly critical about the destruction of the Natives' cultural values of remembering and transferring of the Native past from one generation to the other. Therefore, the resistance to the ban on such communication is highly effective for *Survival.* Vizenor refers it to Survivance in the shape of "Native resistance of dominance" in process of assimilation of Native Americans (*Native Liberty* 97).

In "The Indolent Boys," Pai's unpleasant observation, regarding the function of Indian boarding schools, imprints the White Americans' attempt of *Assimilation* as the display of extreme power of the U.S. government to destroy the Native Americans' sense of distinct community. The intention is evident from the fact that the primary function of the federal government and missionaries, in the 1870s and 1880s, was the education of Indigenous young Americans which caused detachment of Indian youths from their tribal communities (Murphree 287). In this context, the removal of the Native students from their families, as meant by the administration of boarding schools, is the strategy of minimizing the chance of interaction between the Native children and their parents in order to halt the influence of the overall Native thinking. Under the scenario, the placement of the students in the Indian boarding schools provides an opportunity to the White Americans to change the minds of the Native Americans as well as assimilate them under the influence of "teachers and officials" who "worked hard to instill mainstream ways of thinking and living into the children's world view.": a practice that was perceived as "central to assimilation policy in ……the United States" (Ellinghaus 565). The involvement of influential White Americans to the process of making the Natives forgetful of their culture indicates the use of power during the phase of

assimilating the Native Americans. In addition, this whole procedure smells the resistance to any motivation for the less powerful Natives.

4.1.3 Native American Traditional Names as Simulations of Survivance

In "The Indolent Boys," Momaday promotes the significance of names in the Native American culture while explaining the meanings of the names of those Native American students who receive the new names at the Kiowa school. This replacement occurs in the play in the context of *Assimilation* of the Native students in the Indian boarding schools. However, the value of names in the Native culture is tremendous in Momaday's view who believes that "names are of extreme importance for Kiowa culture" (Otfinoski 30). For instance, Mother Goodeye, in the play, praises the Name "Mosatse," instead of the White Americans' chosen name Jack, for a ten years old Native student; she believes that Mosatse is "nicer than Jack," for the former is "a name like laughter" and the latter is "a name like a tree cracking" (Momaday 10-11). Similarly, "Koi-khan-hodle," who is called Arch at the boarding school, stands for "shield" and "a warrior" (11). The pride in possessing the Native names by resisting the Whites' efforts to change them at Kiowa boarding school is reflection of the Native Americans' struggle to maintain their attachment with the native families. Vizenor also applauds the Native American literary figures and remembers them as the 'postindian warriors' for simulating their Survivance through ensnaring the contrivances of Native Names" (*Manifest Manners* 11). It is also the part of an effort to preserve the Native culture through the subversion of the invented names as well as the creation of Native names in the Native stories. Overall, this strong cultural memory indicates that the Native Americans' "cultural identity is rooted in tribal membership, community, and culture rather than in personal achievements, social or financial status, or acquired possessions" (Garrett et.al 474). Though the 21st century-Native Americans wish to choose the names from the mainstream American society, they hardly forget the significance of their traditional Native names. Resultantly, not forcibly, the modern Native Americans have deliberately chosen the option of changing their Christian names. It indicates the steadiness of their battle for *Survival* for the Native American culture as portrayed in Native American drama:

> While born with a Christian name, many modern Native Americans follow the tradition of their people and undergo a naming ceremony when they are given, as Momaday was, an Indian name. The two names help modern Indians to deal

> with the two cultures they straddle-----modern White-dominated society and the traditional society of their ancestors. (Otfinoski 30)

This modern practice indicates Survivance through the display of the Native choice instead of showing regret for the past compulsion of attaching the White Americans' invented names. This effort, on the part of the Native Americans, also contributes to ensure the Native identity.

4.1.4 "The Indolent Boys" and Survivance through Rejection of 'Victimry' and 'Invention"

Vizenor's theory of Survivance implies that Native American authors are proud of creating the stories which do not instantly portray the Native Americans as the victims of the U.S. policy of forced assimilation such as that of the establishment of Indian boarding Schools. In this context, "The Indolent Boys" tends to exhibit the Momaday's artistic and somewhat impartial effort to portray the process of forced assimilation through education. For instance, besides portraying the failed *Assimilation* due to the Native students' strong cultural bondage, the play also exhibits the slight indication of the short-term success of *Assimilation* owing to the tiring efforts of the White teachers to absorb the Native American students into the White culture. The hopeful signal, in this regard, appears at Kiowa Boarding school when the assimilationists (the school staff) see in the 'invented' Pai the hope of victory of their mission. Carrie, for example, articulates this accomplishment by considering Pai as a "wonderful preacher" with the ability of putting "the Kiowas on the Jesus way" (Momaday 35). However, the fear and uncertainty about the success of Carrie are obvious when her "zeal" to assimilate the Native students "declines" (36). This dubiety motivates the Native students to show more resistance to the forced method of teaching. Therefore, "The Indolent Boys" documents the confusion and disturbance of the White American teachers through their restlessness at the Kiowa school. This dilemma is considerably visible in Carrie's words to her mother in the letter. Here, she reveals the misery of the White assimilative forces who carry on the process with less motivation (though Pai shows some inclination towards mainstream American education). Carrie reports the whole situation as, "We are sitting on pins and needles. But there is a good news, too. John Pai, of whom I have written you before, has been accepted at seminary" (Momaday 35). Carrie's confession about her miserable life at the school refers to the Momaday's effort for showing the Native students' unacceptance of any effort to their

forced assimilation. It also informs about the partial success of White Americans to impose their ideology on the Native Americans. The restlessness at Kiowa Boarding school, meanwhile, pictures more unfavorable and challenging scenario for the U.S. government regarding *Assimilation* of the Native American children, as the government's agents suffer from their personal confusion and misperception. The confused state of mind indicates dissatisfaction of these white characters regarding the method of forced assimilation of the Native students. As Carries continues the letter to her mother:

> And then, mama, there is a part of me that is, how shall I say, sometimes excited. Do you know what I mean? I'm sure you do, though we have never talked about it. I am grown woman, and I am hale and alone and restless. Mr. Gregory looks at me sometimes. Barton Wherritt and John Pai look at me sometimes. (Momaday 36)

The non-fulfillment of the psychological and emotional demands of the staff of Kiowa school indicates the indecisive approach of the White administration regarding their mission of *Assimilation*. It also discovers, as depicted in "The Indolent Boys," the Native students' steadfastness to resist the cultural hegemony of the U.S. representatives at Indian boarding schools. Thus, the confusion among the agents at the school is not restricted to Carrie, for Wherritt also seems confused and restless while sharing with Carrie that he is "on edge" and "under a certain amount of stress" (50). The situation for Wherritt is worse as he starts "thinking of leaving the Indian school service by and by".." at the end of term" (35). His intention for the withdrawal from the duty of *Assimilation* through education is indicative of failure of the task as well as the success of the efforts for *Survival*.

Apparently, the attitude of the Kiowa school administration (punishment to the Native students) and that of the U.S. government with its intentions of complete destruction of the Native culture are the factors behind this failure. However, critically, the actions of the Native American students, such as Seta and Pai, indicate the homesickness and an unease with culturally irrelevant material at the boarding schools where Native languages are inferior to the English language. Historically, the culturally relevant curriculum for other students, especially for the Native Americans, has not been the preference of White Americans (Barta et.al 148). This reluctance, on the part of the mainstream society, reveals the power of dominant culture along with the notion of an attempt to assimilate the Native Americans through education. However, it is

significant to trace the Native students' ability and intelligence to comprehend the content of any education, provided they do not experience any cultural dissention in the schools as in Indian boarding school. In this context, Klug and Whitfield emphasize the cultural relevancy for the Native students before expecting some success in their education: Content knowledge is no more difficult for the majority of American Indian [the Native American] students to master than the students of other ethnicities; however, "the cultural dissonance" existing in classrooms with Indigenous students appear to prohibit optimal learning levels (09). It shows the strength of the Native American children as the good learners. However, the non-realization of this strength by the white teachers in the Kiowa school, as portrayed in "The Indolent Boys", "is a crucial feature of imperial hegemony" that fails "to acknowledge or value cultural difference" (Ashcroft et al 268).

Momaday, while depicting the White American characters in the play under study, provides substantial examples of the power of the White American society to fearlessly deal the Native Americans. In this regard, "The Indolent Boys" reflects strong influence of the essence of Pratt's motto "kill the Indian and save the man" when the representative teachers and administration at Kiowa school act daringly to deal with the matters of punishing the Native children in the case of the runaways (Momaday 53). Wherritt, for instance, instead of feeling guilty or showing fear, accuses Seta of "cowardice, craziness and blame and savagery" (47). This understanding about the Native student character produces a weaker and unwise human being who has less power and ability to remain the part of the civilized world. Similarly, with nothing to worry about, he sees no chance of any reprisal on the issue of runaways: "Reprisal? Whose? Against whom? Don't be ridiculous" (48). Later, Mr. Gregory repeats the same valiant approach towards the Native Americans while forcing them to assimilate. Therefore, he, too, feels no uneasiness on the issue of runaways. For example, replying to Carrie's observation about anger in the camp of the Native Americans on the issue of the Native students' death, Gregory's confidence is at peak: "Nonsense, Reprisal? Whose? Against whom? Believe me, my dear, that sad affair is finished. We have put it to rest once and for all" (53). Thus, Wherritt and Gregory deal confidently with their Native students at the boarding school, which reflects the supremacy of the Pratt's policy of *Assimilation*. It also echoes the authority of Mr. Pratt who, as the initiator of this policy, claims to control the boarding school students without much interference. For instance, in response to the question of using his authority to hire out "two Indian

girls…as the domestics in the service of …Commissioner of Indian Affairs" in 1890, Pratt rules out any possibility of hiring out the Native American students without his permission: "He [the commissioner Morgan] nor no one else could get help without my authority" (The Daily, "*loc.gov*")

Dauntless expressions of Wherritt and Gregory, the key White administration at Kiowa boarding school, link them to the Native Americans' historical suppression through their constructed, assumed and 'invented' image as an uncivilized race. For instance, David Wallace Adams, in the chronicle of Indian boarding schools in *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding school Experience, 1875-1928,* has the same opinion; Adams, according to Julie Davis' review of the book, outlines intellectual and political contexts which formed the assumptions and attitudes of reformers, politicians and American educators and ultimately found the reflection in the US federal educational policy for the Native Americans (20). This policy not only ignores the significance of the culturally relevant syllabi for the Native students but also overlooks the conducive learning environment for the young children. Therefore, it is important to find that Momaday does not restrict "The Indolent Boys" to the only one 1891 sad story of the Native American children's runaway from Kiowa school. Instead, towards the end of the play, he informs the readers about the next year's break out of measles at the school, and the expulsion of the effected Native students from the school. Highlighting more problems for the students at the school, Momaday factually describes that "more than three hundred children died" due to measles (71). Though it was an epidemic, the superintendent of Kiowa boarding school "did not want them [the sick Native children] in the school, and he sent them home to the camps. And there the disease ran wild" (Momaday 70). This measure by the school administration does not value the sick Native child for the assimilation with the perception of victimhood.

The depiction of the overall non-conducive study environment at Indian Boarding schools, however, does not restrict Momaday to portray Native Americans as weak people. Therefore, "The Indolent Boys" resists the attack of the White Americans on the image of the Native Americans. The response appears by showing the Natives as the people of wisdom and courage instead of a forgotten race. Momaday tends to protect his people from the titles such as "savage" which they have received by the non-Natives during their struggle of *Survival*. In other words, it is an effort to instruct the non-natives about the misconception behind the Natives' construction as 'savages', 'uncivilized,' or dull creatures. For this purpose, the play first includes the story of the

attack of the Native Americans on Kiowa Boarding school to compel the White teachers to view the Natives as barbarians. Mr. Gregory, therefore, articulates that "the savages were bent on revenge" (65). However, later in the Epilogue, the play counters this negative connotation through Mother Goodeye who reports about the attack on the superintendent: "He was found and beaten up. But later it was decided among our chiefs that he was not so much to blame, and so, you see, the man who beat him up had to give him a horse" (70). This revelation by the Native American character creates the simulation of Survivance through displaying the learning and leadership skills of the Native parents of the Native American children at the Kiowa Boarding School.

The words of Mother Goodeye also reveal the intentions of Momaday to portray a balanced, civilized and culturally strong impression of the Native Americans, who not only target the actual culprit but also obey their leaders. To give the horse to a mistakenly beaten up White American is an act of generosity and compensation on the part of the Native American characters in "The Indolent Boys", and it also reflects Momaday's attempt of creating refined Natives. This generous act, on the part of the angry Native characters, serves an indication for the possibility of the success of assimilation. Contrarily, in the presence of the stereotypes, the Native Americans' resistance shapes rebellion that forces the White Americans like Carrie to utter "What are what's left. We are the Kiowa Boarding School. How shall we endure?" (Momaday 66). Meanwhile, this helplessness of the assimilative forces at the Kiowa reflects the achievement of the Native students in the form of maintaining their culture through resistance to the White ways. This spirit of Survivance is more evident from Pai's unwillingness, when he "did not like the train" and "ran away to the camps," to finally shatter the dreams of assimilating forces, proclaiming that the Native Americans' detachment from their culture, language and history will rarely happen through force (70). It also reveals Momaday's focus on revealing the strength of the Native American culture as a source of motivation for the Native students to turn to their own cultural values despite the exposure of the Indian boarding schools. That is why, Pai, ultimately subverts his teachers' dreams to become their "civilized" showpiece by returning to his people's camps in place of "the frozen boys"(69). Through his act of preferring the Native American culture, Momaday commemorate the spirit of *Survival* of the Kiowa Native Americans in "The Indolent Boys". Hence, Momaday, like Vizenor, creates the memory of Survivance through the story of Native Americans' resistance in the shape of Pai's rejection of his invented image as the assimilated Native. Overall, Momaday's

"The Indolent Boys" relates the White teachers' effort for *Assimilation* with the historical unplanned efforts by the U.S. government in this regard: "The objective of assimilation was doomed to fail from the start because the U.S. government and the reformers [like teachers and administrators at boarding schools] have always failed to consider Indians in their diversity" (Leforestier 66). Historically, the assimilationists, as Wherritt and Gregory in "The Indolent Boys" misunderstand the process of cultural change as an easy process. Therefore, one of the important reasons of their (the assimilationists) failure was the presupposition and misconception about the acculturation process, viewing it as a simple matter of exchange of cultural skin between two communities, and they(the reformers) also took it for- granted that the Natives only needed the exposure to the White man's cultural superiority (Adams 336). Adams' observation of superiority complex in Euro-Americans' approach to *Assimilation* receives the support of Mary A. Stout, in *Native American Boarding Schools*:

> The Native American children and families involved in the boarding school movement were not passive vessels to be filled or broken during the boarding school assimilation and acculturation process. They were not dolls, and they did not necessarily fulfill the program of turning them into White Americans. (ix)

Hence, Momaday involves historical misunderstanding of the U.S. assimilative forces about the strength of the Native American intellect.

Recapping, the play "The Indolent Boys" is an example of the Native American playwrights' effort to counter the grim Native past through the portrayal of the culturally bound Native students who have strong belief in the traditions of Native American tribes such as the Kiowa tribe. In the context of the forced assimilation through education, the purpose of reflection of the Indian Boarding School education in this this play is to keep the past alive for the Natives before they accept their present and future. In this way, the play acts as a guide for the Native readers who wish to recap the history of the boarding school education through the memory of the Native students. Momaday's characters in the play unravel the story of the keen desire of all the White American teachers at Kiowa boarding school to assimilate the Native children despite the profound resistance by the latter. In this regard, the characters of the White teacher, Carrie, and the Native (Kiowa) student John Pai are worth mentioning. Carrie's wish remains unfulfilled when Pai, who seems ready to be assimilated, subverts. Through Pai's refusal to accept *Assimilation,* the play challenges the White Americans' effort of

converting the Natives' attachment with their culture into the Natives' likeness for the dominant American culture. Such conversion, in Vizenor's conceptualized Survivance, refers to "Transmutations" or the conversion of the Natives into the admirers of the mainstream culture; and the "Native stories" as "The Indolent Boys" "tease…transmutations" (*Liberty* 2). This act of 'tease', in the play, is evident from the shattered hopes of Pai's white teacher to produce an assimilated Native student. Momaday does not restrict the idea of the forced assimilation to only one play; his "The Moon in Two Windows" also extends the theme of forced assimilation of the Native students through Indian boarding school education.

4.2 Henry Pratt as the Embodiment of Manifest Manners in "The Moon in Two Windows"

With reference to the Native American boarding school students, Momaday's dedication "to all the brave children" for his play "The Moon in Two Windows" incorporates 'Manifest Manners' (Momaday108). Manifest manners, according to Vizenor, are the false beliefs about the Native Americans' capability of surviving without the support of the dominant White Americans (*Manifest Manners* 05). In this context, "The Moon in Two Windows", in the light of Survivance, explicitly deals with Pratt's notion of the Native Americans' forced assimilation through education. The play informs about the story of the Carlisle Indian Industrial school (1879-1918) set up by the U.S. government as the first Indian boarding school (Momaday 109). The very unpleasant aspect of this initiative reflects through the unusual and unpleasant slogan of the policy of the boarding school education for the Natives. For instance, the threating motif of this education is evident from the fact that "Carlisle was founded by a career soldier, Richard Henry Pratt……whose motto was" to "kill the Indian, and save the Man" (109). By killing the 'Indian,' here, does not necessarily mean the physical death; however, this conception of Pratt clearly undermines the place of the Native American culture in the civilized world. Therefore, Pratt "meant that the school curriculum should immerse its young learners in non- Indian things" (Adams 243).

Manifest manners are the historically "sustained" misrepresentations of Native Americans (*Manifest Manners* 6). Therefore, Momaday's "The Moon in Two Windows" portrays the period of the last quarter of the 19th century, informing that the children at Carlisle "were forced to pass from one world to another across a cultural distance" (Momaday 109). In such an attempt of forced conversion of the Native

students into the White American culture, "hegemony describes the kind of cultural power wielded by the dominant ideas of a [white] culture or society" (Klages 35). The very purpose of the Pratt's idea refers to the *Assimilation* of the Native Americans into the mainstream American society. Historically, "Education has been and continues to be a powerful tool to change individuals from who they are to what others want them to be; this is true in the education of American Indians as forced assimilation into mainstream America was the goal" (Tippeconnic III 842). Adams also reports about the phrase used by Pratt as his motto behind the establishment of boarding schools for the children of Native Americans, claiming that, "Founded by Richard Henry Pratt in 1879, the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania stood as a model for others to imitate" (243). He also verifies that the "superintendent" of this school "spoke of having to "to kill the Indian to save the man" (Adams 243). Thus, the establishment of the Carlisle school was the beginning of the forced assimilation through education with the clear hint for the extension of this policy. Therefore, in "The Moon in Two Windows," the depiction of the historic character of Pratt," is Momaday's obvious technique of highlighting the history, structure, philosophy and purpose of the Native American Education through boarding schools.

4.2.1 Pratt as the Simulation of Dominance

In Vizenor's view, the simulations of dominance allow the authoritative forces, such as Pratt in the history of Indian boarding school policy, to use any means while inflicting their personal beliefs and dearly held notions about the less powerful as the depicted Native Americans in "The Moon in Two Windows". The play adds considerable evidences to show Pratt's tactful approach to enroll the Native Americans in the boarding schools. For instance, the endurance of Pratt during Tail's speech, later, proves as an act of the temporary patience on his part. Earlier, in response to the Pratt's intentions for enrolling the Native children in the boarding school, "Chief Spotted Tail" reacts very harshly by blaming the federal U.S. government for killing the Native "buffalo" and taking "gold" from the Native lands (Momaday 116). Tail goes on to insult the Pratt's idea of education as "ways of shame" which the Native children should not learn (116). Momaday, in this way portrays the grievances caused by the dominant White Americans in the Native hearts. And Pratt, in the wider perspective, digests the Tail's remarks, for he has to take the Native children for the boarding school one way or the other. Therefore, he knows that "he must show proper respect" to the "spoken

words" in "the Indian world" (116). However, his polite expressions to convince the chief lack sincerity. Resultantly, in response to offensive speech of the Chief, Pratt's sympathetic words for the Native Americans, who, in Pratt's view, need to be "educated in the ways of the White man" to "avoid the mistakes of their elders," do not match with Pratt's language used later for the Native children once they are at the school (117). Pratt's pride in the White man's ways emerges from the feeling of superiority of non-Natives or Euro-Americans to the Native Americans. "Historically, White Americans have been quick to claim knowledge and control of Indian cultures," and it creates a situation that produces more problems for the *Survival* of the Natives (Coulombe 04). Apart from their feeling of superiority, Euro-Americans appear as cunning in Momaday's view when he portrays Pratt's suppression of "his tendency to preach, to convey urgency in his tone," and digestion of the harsh words of Spotted Tail (Momaday 117).

"The Moon in Two Windows" relates the manifest manners of Pratt to his underestimation of the Native languages. To Pratt, Native Americans' inability of understanding English language has made them the victims of false treaties with Euro-Americans as the Natives do not know "what is contained in the treaties" (Momaday 117). This convincing tactic, seeking the Native chief's permission for sending their children to Indian boarding schools, also implies that White Americans have historically promoted English language as the only criteria for communication with the Native people. This effort also implies that language plays an important role in the representation of one's culture and identity. However, Pratt's insistence on recommending English as the only language for the Native Americans' education, according to the educational researches, does not ensure the success of Pratt's idea of *Assimilation* in the wake of the culturally irrelevant language for the Native children. For instance, in 1994, the results of Mathews and Smith's study, which was based on examining the effects (interest, performance, and attitude) of culturally relevant study of science and language arts, indicate higher level of achievement with more positive attitudes among those Native students who are taught with their Native cultural material than those without culturally appropriate insertions (Gay 168). Similarly, the realization for the need of this approach appears in the last quarter of the same century in the form of the Indian Self-determination and Education Act of 1975 which "acknowledged the unique educational needs of Native students, by recommending the adoption of culturally relevant curriculum materials and Native language components" (Barta et.al

148). In the light of these measure, Pratt's underestimation of the Native languages and culture refers to the feelings of superiority on the Part of boarding school assimilation policy of Pratt and the federal U.S. government.

In "The Moon in Two Windows", the underestimation of Native languages and identity by Pratt reflects throughout his attempt of preparing Tail to enroll the Native children in the Carlisle boarding school. His views, such as "you cannot read or write" and "you cannot speak the language of this country," openly exclude the Natives from their due share in the US mainstream society (Momaday 117). More degradation of the Natives' oratory happens in Pratt's expression when he disqualifies Luther's arguments incomprehensible for him "no matter how eloquent" they are in the Native tongue (117). Together with these negative remarks for the Native Americans' communication skills, Pratt carries on praising Tail as "a great man, a great warrior, a great chief" and a popular figure in the tribe (117). This simultaneous use of the harsh and the polite language for convincing the Native parents to enroll their children in boarding schools reflects Pratt's authority as a White man to dictate the Native people. Meanwhile, such tactics find their relation with the attempt of removing the Native children from their cultural places of the Native reservations in the name of education. This attempt is opposite to the Natives' traditional way of learning. Historically, the traditional Native perspective of education focused, primarily, on self-knowledge or knowledge about the tribal system of life; however the forced education compelled them to learn alien ways in alien context from irrelevant teachers who had little knowledge about the Native culture as well as the cultural influence on Natives' learning (Barta et.al 148).Therefore, Ellinghaus believes that the U.S. "government officials and reformers were more circumspect" who blanketed "their child removal policies in a discourse of educational opportunity and the possibilities of assimilated children helping to "advance" their communities" (583). In this context, Pratt starts the process of taking the Native American children from their homes by convincing the Native chief, despite the Chief Spotted Tail's harsh words for a White American who, in Tail's words, is a "thief," a "liar," and a 'killer' (Momaday 116). Pratt hears and bears these bitter comments, revealing the less worth of Natives' voice in the dominant culture of Pratt.

"The Moon in Two Windows" incorporates 'manifest manners' through the depiction of the White Americans' invented Natives. In the play, Momaday raises this issue through Pratt's rules of giving the "first name, a Christian name" to all the Native children at Carlisle Indian School (159). The enthusiasm of the school administration,

in following this rule, reveals the organized system of such 'invention' as depicted in "The Moon in Two Windows". For example, Miss Mather overjoys for giving "Miss Looking," the Native girl, her first name "Margaret": "Margaret, Margaret, Maggie!, Oh splendid" (130). Similarly, "Mr. Standing Bear" becomes "Luther" at the school (143). More concern of the Carlisle school administration, about the change of the Native name, reflects through Mather's hard work on the correct pronunciation of the word "Loo ther.LOO THER" (148). This much focus on replacement of the Native names or 'transmutation' is an attempt of changing their identity, for names hold a significant status in any society in terms of the identity of individuals. For instance, people often recognize the religious affiliations of each other through the particular names such as Kumar for Hindu and Ahmad for a Muslim. Meanwhile, the practice of invented names, as in "The Moon in Two Windows," adds to the disappearance of one's past by giving one the new name. This assumption is noticeable when people replace their particular religious affiliation with a new religion. In such cases, the previously held name by an individual converts into according to the newly accepted faith. It also refers to the general belief that forgetting the past by someone means forgetting their culture and identity or at least avoiding to reveal the intense past affiliation publically.

In the context of the terminology for the Native Americans, Momaday's "The Moon in Two Windows" terms 'Indian' as an image that deepens the problems of the Native Americans' identity, as this title relates the Natives with the image of the uncivilized and irresponsible people in the US. For example, Pratt informs the Native children about the purpose of the Carlisle school by stating his "conviction" that, to civilize "the Indian," means to create "a responsible citizen of the United States" and "a productive member of society" (Momaday 132). By relating the Native Americans with the non-productive creatures, Pratt shows the power and the superiority of his American culture as well as the impact of the title 'Indian' on the Native Americans. Meanwhile, this exhibition of such an authority incorporates Antonio Gramsci's idea of "inferior rank" which means "those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes" (Ashcroft et al 244). Pratt also relates the term 'Indian' with the absence of the Native Americans as the useful members of the mainstream American society. Vizenor, therefore, views "Indian" as an "intuitive" term that the dominant American culture uses to obscure the Natives' presence (*Liberty* 18). The impact of manifest manners, in the form of 'Indian', invites resistance as well as it challenges to the forced assimilation of the Native Americans into the mainstream

society. Additionally, it affects the survival of Native American culture, identity and sovereignty. Therefore, Vizenor coins the idea of "Postindian" who not only bears the manifest manners but also counters the dominant Pratt in "The Moon in Two Windows."

4.2.2 'Postindian Warriors' in "The Moon in Two Windows"

The depiction of Pratt's authoritative role, as discussed in the previous section, leaves the Native American students of the Carlisle boarding school as the victims of *Assimilation*, which affects *Survival*. However, Momaday restructures this Native image from the sufferers to the strong 'Postindians' who believe in Survivance: the spirit of the Native resistance for the survival of the Native identity. For this purpose, Momaday's "The Moon in Two Windows" has included the instances and strong Native characters such as Luther and Tail who continue their cultural affiliations amidst Pratt's dominance. Significantly, for the Native students, the Carlisle school is a horrific place where "eighty-one" Native children "were driven [,] like lambs to the slaughter," into the "empty rooms in the middle of the winter nights" (Momaday 128). However, instead of the violent resistance, the stories of postindian warriors convey the message of the Native students' cultural practices, wisdom and responsibility while their stay at the Carlisle. For instance, in the "Boys' dormitory" of the school, the Native students continue to practice secretly their traditional and cultural attachments such as camping, praying in "native languages, and making "the sound of a bird warbling" (133). The expressions of the Native culture keep the spirt of *Survival* alive in these students. Similarly, instead of cursing the life at the Carlisle, Luther enables himself to realize that "he did not know" that the life as an "Indian" was "poor" and full of "hardship and misery" before he experiences the life of Carlisle school" (119). This shows that Luther is still able to describe the Native life after bearing the hardships of the boarding school, though he does not agree with Pratt's idea of forced assimilation.

In "The Moon in Two Windows", Luther reveals his qualities of Vizenor's postindian warrior when he encourages the fellow students to bear the tough period of their life at the Carlisle boarding school. Recalling the memory of his tribal identity, Luther wants the students to "understand each other" and act like a "brave" Native "warrior," for he also wants "to be a warrior" as a son of a "chief" (Momaday 134). Luther, as a strong character - a postindian warrior - provides a memory of Survivance to Momaday for his "The Moon in Two Windows". For instance, despite of completing

his tenure at the Carlisle, he, later, shatters Pratt's expectations of "transformation" from "a savage" to "a carpenter," proclaiming that he is "still a Native" (153-154). By displaying Luther's unflinching and unchanged faith in his inborn identity, Momaday counters the 'obstrusions' and 'detractions' which happen while imposing the White American culture on the Native Americans. In this way, "The Moon in Two Windows" possess the feature of a story of Survivance that denounces "obstrusions" and detractions" (*Liberty* 24). Thus Luther resists at equal terms with Pratt in terms of his confidence and belief in the Native identity, though he has spent a "troublesome time" at "the Carlisle Indian Industrial School" under his supervision (158). In this way, Luther's this act of Survivance combines the resistance and survival. In this context, he also adds by sharing his experience at the Carlisle school: "We sat on the cold floor for a long time, even after the lantern had gone out. …..We were close together in our hearts. We had all broken the rules of the school, but it was not dishonorable. There was bravery in it- and new respect for each other" (145). Thus, Luther creates a memory of the Native presence and strength to survive through "The Moon in Two Windows." Similar to the Luther's response, the resistance to the underestimation of the Natives' affiliation with their Native identity reflects in Tail's sense of strength and pride, as depicted in the play. For instance, Tail's repetition of his name "Spotted Tail" three times, despite Pratt's insistence on his school name "Pollack," shows strong reaction and the spirit of *Survival* against any attempt of *Assimilation.*

Momaday's "The Moon in Two Windows" preserves *Survival* of the Carlisle students in the similar fashion as Vizenor "writes to create a memory" of resistance to the devaluation of the Natives' cultural bonding (*Liberty* 5). Therefore, towards the end of the play, Luther reminds Pratt of the significance of those Native students who died during the hardships at the school: "At the school. The graves of the children. Many people go there now. They bring flowers and ribbons-sometimes tobacco and cornmeal, pollen." (Momaday 175). He further shocks Pratt that those who survived like him are "civilized" (175). Through this very expression of Luther, Momaday subverts Pratt's understanding of the word 'civilized,' that refers to the Whites only, to the Native American protectors of their Native civilization. With more focus on the reconstruction of the image of Indian boarding school students, "The Moon in Two Windows" relates them with the adventurers who are familiar with the hurdles and challenges during their struggle for *Survival*.

Contextually, Luther exhibits the spirit of a brave and confident Native American. As Luther says,

> The Indian Industrial School at Carlisle was a kind of laboratory in which our hearts were tested. We were all shaped by that experience. Some of us were destroyed, and some were made stronger……it was a passage into darkness. It was a kind of quest, not a quest for glory, but a quest for survival…We were children who ventured into the unknown. And if again my father told me to go…..I would go, as all of us did, with all the love and courage in my heart, I would do a thing again. (Momaday 176-177)

The highly motivating and daring display of power by Luther stands for his active presence, instead of a victim, in the Native American society, celebrating the stories of White American Pratt as the memories of Survivance. Moreover, it is the reclamation of Native identity through resistance and recreation of a postindian who is determined to resist as well as survive in the cold world of Pratt which he creates in the form of the Carlisle School in "The Moon in Two Windows." However, this resistance is not simple, requiring a warrior like Luther to accomplish the task. For instance, according to Gamache, Pratt had found the solution of sufferings of Natives only in demolished-Native Americans' cultural heritage and their tribal identity (08). Similarly, in one of his speeches published in 1882 in Eadle Keatah Toh (a Carlisle school newspaper), he suggested to break the Native tribal relations and reservation systems, and to send the Native American children to boarding school in order to make them human beings, rather than 'Indians' (Gamache 08). This indicates the practice of superiority or hegemony on the part of Pratt, as the word hegemony "derives from the Greek hegemon" which means "leader or dominant force" (Klages 35). Thus Pratt tends to lead the Native students at Carlisle with less understanding about the cultural affiliations of these Native American children as depicted in "The Moon in Two Windows". With this historical context of the *Assimilation* through education, the Indian Boarding School movement relates to one of the hegemonic policies of Natives' assimilation into the mainstream American society. Therefore, Momaday, creates the 'postindian warriors' such as Luther as a memory of *Survival* in his selected plays.

4.3 Historical Presence as the Native Identity in "Children of the Sun"

The very setting of the play "Children of the Sun" is reflective of the author's belief in the promotion of the Native culture and identity through oral storytelling technique. "A Kiowa camp at early morning," the "sounds of birds" and Grandmother Spider's announcement of telling "a story" - "activity"-, are the indications of the peaceful environment for passing on the traditions of the Native Americans (Momaday 80). In the play, the selection of Grandmother Spider, as a story teller, is significant in performing the function of a kind of tutorial for the young Native people to learn the ways of *Survival*. And, Momaday, materializes this aim by highlighting the manners of viewing, rearing, and protecting a baby in the Native American society. For example, the parents and the Spider, unambiguously, announce that the newborn is "beautiful" and "perfect child" with "clear" skin" and "bright"… "eyes" (80). Though, these early sensations for a newborn kid are very common, their depiction in a Native drama fulfills the writer's purpose of promoting the sense of pride and confidence in the Natives' existence. It reveals that Momaday involves very young characters in his story. Meanwhile, the description of such physical appearance prepares the listeners, in a storytelling manner, to expect extraordinary role of this new child in the future.

Since Survivance is active presence, Momaday's Spider views the Native babies as strong, healthy and capable creature who has the right to struggle for *Survival* even at an early age. Therefore, she dislikes the idea of strapping the child "in her cradle" or keeping her "indoors," comparing the child with "held captive" as well as "a kind of prisoner" (Momaday 81). However, the play does not relate Spider's these instructions with the unproductive measures for a very small baby. Instead, Momaday presents the Native Americans' way of seeing the future in this child, for "she will become the woman" (81). This instant trust in the role of a new born reveals that, to Momaday, the survival of children means the survival of Native culture and history. Besides the saviors, the Native children are the carriers of the Native traditions and stories, according to the historical book *American Indian Stories* by Zitkala Sa- which originally published in 1921. For example, in one of the stories "My Mother," the childhood memory of a Native American reads, "I was a wild little girl of seven….I was as free as the wind and no less spirited than a bounding deer. These were my mother's pride- my wild freedom and overflowing spirits" (Sa 8). Such significance of the children motivates Momaday's Spider, in "Children of the Sun", to see "a little

warrior" in a new born Native baby (Momaday 91). The reflection of a warrior, in Spider's mind, shows the fear of the difficult times and unfavorable circumstances which demand defenders such as this baby. In this way, the author brings forth the significance of the early installation of sense of responsibility in the minds of Native children unlike many other societies where children are rarely trusted for any social activity. In contrast, Spider, in "Children of the Sun", encourages The Twins to follow their grandfather: "Just as I am the grandmother of your people, so was he the grandfather. He was the wisest among us. We depended on him for our well-being. And now, grandsons, the people will have to depend on you. Now you must be the grandfathers (94)" The grandmother, here, determines the roles of wise elders in a Native Society.

The role of grand Native Americans as saviors, well-wishers and the wise people, as Spider highlights in the last paragraph, helps continue the Natives' struggle of *Survival*. Evidently, the Native elders are the protectors, teachers, counsellors, support-givers, keepers of the sacred Native ways, and keepers of the wisdom, hence they receive the respect as learned and experienced lot (Garrett et al. 474). With such a significant task in her mind, Spider continues to teach how to ensure the healthy growth of a child in "Children of the Sun." For example, assuming her role as a babysitter, she vows to serve the Native child by giving her "good things to eat," "handsome clothes to wear;" besides, she mentions the "house rules" which include "No smoking. No bad language. Regular times for meals and naps" (Momaday 91). The description of these widely conceived wise steps in the early phase of child's life relates Momaday's this play to the attempt of showing the composed and wise Native American society that has a tendency to contribute to the modern world.

"Children of the Sun," besides its focus on the Native children, reveals the Native Americans' love with nature, particularly, with the non- human creatures such as animals and reptiles. Vizenor relates such inclusion in Native stories as the "practice of Survivance" (*Liberty* 90). It refers to the inclusion of the animals such as bear and dogs as the part of Native culture in Native stories like "Children of the Sun". For instance, in this play, the grandmother (Spider) appears once again as a tutor to inform about the historical attachment of the Native people with "dogs" who "could talk" and "they still do" (Momaday 80). By attributing the quality of talking to a dog in human sense, Spider, presumably, refers to the role of dogs as the helpers and informers in any society, Meanwhile, "many Native American folktales" emphasize the "proper

treatment of dogs" when the "people who are kind and generous to their dogs are often rewarded;"…"while people who abuse, disrespect, or even annoy dogs are harshly treated" ("Native American Dog"). It shows the Native Americans' great concern for the protection of such valuable animal. Spider's respect for snakes in the play "Children of the Sun" is another indication of Momaday's intentions to reveal the Natives' care for the non-human creatures. For instance, her dubbing the Twin's unnecessary killing of a "large snake" with the killing of their "grandfather" is the height of her concern for the protection of wild life (Momaday 94). At the same time, the grandmother is successful to teach the same lesson to her "grandsons" who, later, "laid" the snake on the "river" bank and "covered him with leaves" (94). Momaday, here, presents these characters' civilized and caring manners which are highly appreciable around many people in the world, and these qualities are also the negation of any negative connotation for such Native characters.

Momaday's "Children of the Sun" also includes the theme of the historical struggle as well as the determination of the Native Americans for the *Survival*, incorporating the characters' quality of bearing the hardships. In this context, First Twin and Second Twin serve as the mouth pieces of the author. In the history-telling style, First Twin defines the fruitful period in the Native history: "there were times when buffalo and deer and antelope were plentiful, and no one was hungry" (Momaday 97). Through this expression by a Native character, Momaday not only emphasizes the value of these animals in the Natives' *Survival* but also hints that, historically, "Buffalo provided the people's main food - buffalo liver, brain and nose gristle were a treat" for them ("Why were,"*bbc.com*). With this significance of buffalo for the Native Americans, Momaday creates an unpleasant memory of the Native past in the play, reflecting the impact of 'manifest manners.' Such regretful feelings of First Twin also include the unavailability of the natural landscape where the Native children "grew strong" while playing "in the fields of wildflowers" (Momaday 97). Similarly, Second Twin, in the play, also mentions the scarcity of animals: "There were times when buffalo and deer and antelope were scarce, and our people [Native Americans] nearly starved" (97). However, Momaday uses these nostalgic expressions of the Native characters to bring more force into his narrative of the Native Americans' historical resistance and steadfastness for *survival*, that is, Survivance, Therefore, the narration of good times and bad times, in the play, "can move backwards and forwards through space and time, and stories create different realities depending on whose point of view

is being expressed in a particular version of any telling" (Schorcht 16). For example, First Twin and Second Twin, later, vow to remain resolute during all unfavorable circumstances. Hence, they sum up the history of good times and bad times by appreciating and showing the tendency of their people to survive every time, exchanging, "There were good times. There were bad times" (Momaday 97). And "in all of these times," the Native Americans remained "brave,' "Steadfast," "generous", and "good" (97). Momaday's selection of these words overpowers the previous lamenting tone in Twins' feelings about the loss of buffalo and vast field grounds, creating a 'simulation' of *Survival*.

In "Children of the Sun," Momaday uses circular form of discussion to bring more force into the spirit of *Survival* when First Twin and Second Twin express their thoughts without any beginning and ending that conventional dialogues follow. The use of circular method is reflective of circular philosophy of Native Americans which focuses and illustrates a single point with familiar examples (Fixico 15). This technique also refers to the general social practice that the people gathered in a circle receive equal attention and prominence. More specifically, "the circular approach assures that everyone understands, and that all is considered, thereby increasing the chance for harmony and balance in the community and with everything else" (Fixico 16). Momaday, therefore, focuses on this method of storytelling in "Children of the Sun," as the First Twin and Second Twin bring repetition and flow while describing 'good times' and 'bad times': "First Twin: There were good times. ….. "Second Twin: There were bad times" (Momaday 98).

Contextually, it brings unity and support when the twin characters talk about good times and bad times individually, shaping the dialogues into a story. Besides, the repetition affirms the characters' attention towards past challenging history of the Native Americans. It ultimately creates more pride among the future generations of the Native Americans for defending their culture and identity under all circumstances. Thus, these characters associate "Children of the Sun," though a short play, with the story of the resoluteness and persistence, which the Native characters preserve in their minds. That is why, even towards the end of the play, the twin characters again repeat the words of "good times" and "bad times," associating these with the words of "brave", "generous", "steadfast" and "good" (Momaday 103-104). These positive connotations that the twins create are the 'simulations of survivance. For instance, survival of any culture depends on the bravery and steadfastness of its people to resist the obstructions

in the way of practicing any particular cultural act. Similarly, generosity, as a human trait, creates sense of sharing and broadmindedness among its possessors.

Thus, collectively, the Twins and Grandmother Spider are the manifestations of an active and wise Native society in Momaday's "Children of the Sun". Both of these characters ensure the continuity of Native American stories that teach the manners of survival and resistance to the Native people, responding to the manifest manners' creation of uncivilized 'Indians.' For instance, grandmother shares the significance of every new born baby in Native communities, whereas the Twins view the historical sufferings of the Native Americans as part of life. Meanwhile, they relate the extinction of buffalo and other animals with the ups and downs of human life. With this dynamic theme, the play "Children of the Sun" performs the function of celebrating the Native Americans' courage and spirit of *Survival* through the Native stories.

Chapter Conclusion

In an attempt to evaluate the history of Assimilation through the Indian Boarding School policy of the last decades of the 19th century, this chapter has comprehensively analyzed Momaday's two plays, "The Indolent Boys" and "The Moon in Two Windows," which find their settings in the Kiowa Boarding School and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879-1918) respectively. The historical significance of the issue incorporates the references from historical sources to authenticate the portrayal of the Native history of *Assimilation* in the wake of the Indian boarding schools initiative. Thorough investigation of the selected works, in the light of theory of Survivance, has convincingly traced the purpose of these school as well as the response of the Native students to this assimilative education, relating the failure of the *Assimilation* efforts with the Native students' consistent resistance for the *Survival.*

Though both the plays, "The Indolent Boys" and "The moon in Two Windows," share the same philosophy of the boarding school policy, theory of Survivance has categorized the scenario and the characters' reactions into various dimensions. For instance, "The Indolent Boys" links Survivance with the recreation of the memory of the Kiowa School students' renunciation of dominance through sacrificing their lives as well as shattering the hopes of assimilationist. Meanwhile, in this play, Survivance, which is the simultaneous act of resistance and survival, lies in the united effort of the Native students to maintain their Native identity. Therefore, the death of Seta, Arch and Jack as well as Pai's rejection to assimilation indicate the ways and methods of *Survival* and resistance. On the other hand, "The Moon in Two Windows" views Henry Pratt as

the embodiment of ‘Manifest Manners’ with his image of the most dominant figure in carrying out the philosophy of Indian boarding schools.

In terms of the similarities, the analysis has found *Assimilation* as the set of the strict measures to detain the Native students in the boarding schools. For instance, the Native American students find it mandatory to stay at school with the least exposure to their families. Meanwhile, the method of textual analysis coupled with the historical references has linked the philosophy of Indian boarding school with the preconceived idea of Pratt, the originator of this policy. In terms of Survivance, the Native American students such as Pai and Luther act as the ‘postindian warriors’ of Vizenor to defeat Pratt by denouncing ‘victimry’ and displaying self-belief that, collectively, result into the failed *Assimilation* process in the discussed plays. Similarly, Mother Goodeye and Pai are the simulations of Survivance, for Goodeye’s explanation of the Native names and Pai’s preference for his Native community indicate the Natives’ attachment with their culture. This theme is more explicit in Momaday’s “Children of the Sun” that brings the wise, brave and steadfast Native American characters by displaying the Native domestic values for their children and motivation in remembrance of the difficult times in the Native history. Momaday, in this play, highlights the spirit of *Survival* and the Natives’ historical presence through his twins’ articulated expressions of enduring the historical hurdles in the form of the extinction of the sources of living such as their buffaloes. This theme of *Survival* has been explored, in more articulated manner, with the help of another selected Native playwright, Geiogamah, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

SURVIVALIST APPROACH IN NATIVE AMERICAN SELECTED PLAYS

INTRODUCTION

The selected Native American playwrights, in this chapter, focus on restoring and ensuring the survival of the Native American culture and identity not only by depicting the use of power by the White Americans as a dominant society but also reminding the Native Americans of their self-created issues as well as the traditional cultural values which contribute to *Survival*, that is, the survival of the Native American culture and identity. Accordingly, the chapter explores the causes which inspire Native American drama to preserve the Native culture and distinct Native identity in the challenging circumstances. In the light of the theory of Survivance, the analysis of the selected plays views the Native stories as the facilitators of historical presence of the Native Americans in their native land. Meanwhile, the chapter explores various aspects of Survivance through the textual analysis of the characters' expressions. Thus, analyzing Geiogamah's plays "Body Indian," "Foghorn," and "49", the chapter incorporates various possibilities of *Survival* and the motifs behind the Natives' resistance against the White Americans. Collectively, these factors invite the White Americans' realization about the worth of the Native values and culture as well as emphasize the sense of responsibility on the part of the Native Americans to protect their culture and traditions. Meanwhile, Howe and Gordon's selected play, "Indian Radio Days", is also included in the later part of the current chapter to produce more evidences about the historical sufferings of the Native Americans and their resistance to ensure *Survival*. This play also shows the playwrights' focus on subverting the stereotype image of the Native Americans by exhibiting the Native characters' moral strength and

understanding about the Native issues, which incorporates the theory of Survivance. As a whole, the study of the selected plays in this section explores, besides the Native Americans' self-created problems, the confusion between the White Americans and the Native Americans' historical relationships. Consequently, the plays display the resistance of the Native Americans to maintain their identity and sovereignty.

The current chapter forms the main headings along with the sub-headings to organize its themes and the theoretical framework. Hence, it proceeds through the main headings accordingly, which includes '*Survival* in self-knowledge: theme of alcoholism, poverty, unemployment and mutual respect in "Body Indian," "Foghorn": *Survival* in resistance to Stereotyped 'Indian' and the Whites' Hegemony,' 'Native Americans' Troubled Life in "Indian Radio Days": A Historical Survey of Challenges to Survivance,' and "49": Survival in cultural Preservation and Resistance through Active Presence.

5.1 *Survival* in self-knowledge: themes of alcoholism, poverty, unemployment and mutual respect in "Body Indian"

Knowing oneself involves exploring the world of consciousness that determines the future actions of an individual. And in the context of the Native Americans' comparatively poor and unpleasant life history, self-awareness is doubly significant; it either directs them to resist the White Americans' authority or assimilates them into the mainstream American society. Besides, the Natives' cognizance to their troublesome social life, as described in the Native stories, is an indication of the Native spirit of *Survival* and historical presence. Geiogamah, therefore, ensures the Native Americans' visibility, in their native land, through his "Body Indian" that appears to be a story of not only sufferings of the Native American characters but also their steadfastness and capability to exist under puzzling situations.

With a setting focused on a one-room apartment, "Body Indian" bluntly exposes the Native characters as the victims of the depressed social life which is characterized by poverty, unemployment and alcoholism. In the wake of these problems, the survival of the Native American culture and identity or *Survival* faces serious obstructions. However, as portrayed in the play, the hindrances to *Survival* also add White Americans' hegemony and discriminatory attitude during the Natives' land-leasing deals. In Vizenor's term, this influence of the power refers to 'manifest manners'. Consequently, "Body Indian" invites both, the Native Americans and the White

Americans, to examine the multiple challenges to *Survival* with a focus on the former's personal endeavors in this regard. The use of the excessive alcohol by the characters, in the play, is one of the major indications to understand how the Native Americans have been portrayed as the sufferers and victims in "Body Indian". For instance, the depiction of the alcoholic protagonist, Bobby Lee, and the other similar characters sets the escapist tone of the play, for these characters surrender to their poor state in favor of alcohol. Their escape leads to the image of a weak character who neither survives nor resists. However, an appeal and courage to face the reality, later on, uncover the survivalist approach of the author, incorporating Survivance in the play.

5.1.1 'Manifest Manners' and the state of 'Victimry'

Besides its reference to the White Americans' historical unacceptance of Native Americans' sense of wisdom, the term "manifest manners" also represents the Native Americans as the "wild alcoholics" (*Manifest Manners* 29). Vizenor, further, believes that such perception about the Native people is a burden that they carry while exhibiting their power of existence. Geiogamah, in the similar way, puts an emphasis on the theme of alcoholism to the extent that "Body Indian", from scene 1 to scene v, finds the Native American characters immensely alcoholic and helpless to quit this habit. This situation is highly challenging for the characters, for the overuse of alcohol results into loss of senses in most of the cases. This impression of the Native characters, as the victims of intoxication, lasts till they get befuddled because they drink continuously. Lee, for instance, drinks many bottles of alcohol, and "sits almost stupefied" (Geiogamah13). Through such confused state of the protagonist of the play, the story focuses, in a straightforward manner, on the issue of alcoholism without creating any suspense in the plot of the play.

By involving all the other characters in drinking of alcohol, Geiogamah's "Body Indian" plainly draws the attention of the Native characters towards their actions as the community. Therefore, in the start of the play, Howard, an elderly character, and Ethel lay on the floor. This state of inactive posture generates the feelings of hopelessness among these characters who are unable to perform any constructive task in this situation. The play shows more impact of alcoholism by engaging these characters in their discussion about alcohol all the time. For example, Eulahla informs Lee that "he (Howard) and Ethel been drinkin' for few days now, but he's not passed out now" (10). Though the characters are not dead, this description of an excessive alcohol intake and

the characters' collective act of drinking depict their helplessness and the state of Vizenor's sense of 'victimry' that reflects the self-defeat.

However, Geiogamah keeps these vulnerable victims of alcohol alive to indicate the spirit of *Survival* among the Native Americans. Therefore, neither Lee, who has already lost one leg in a train accident, nor Howard nor any other highly drunk character dies in "Body Indian". Instead, they all survive throughout the play, strengthening Geiogamah's conviction about the Native Americans' ability to survive under all the circumstances caused by the manifest manners. In this case, the 'manifest manners' face resistance through the Native story in the form of the Native drama. Meanwhile, the chance of *Survival*, as an underlying theme of the play, demands the controlled alcohol consumption, self-realization and active resistance on the part of the Native people to ensure their existence. This message of Survivance, in the play, generates the argument that, "overall, *Body Indian* is starkly naturalistic, a somber warning" (Wilson 85). In the play, theme of *Survival* indicates that Geiogamah believes in the Native Americans' tendency to overcome the burden and problem of their misrepresentation as inactive people.

"Body Indian" convincingly documents the Native American characters' resistance and spirit of *Survival* through the character of Lee who later shows his personal strength to avoid alcohol. However, in order to reveal this practice of Survivance, Geiogamah, first, links the theme of alcoholism with the manifest manners which, according to Vizenor, refer to the White Americans' hegemonic power of representing the Natives as drunk. The image of a drunken Native harms the Natives' struggle of *Survival*. Therefore, the play speaks more loudly about the disproportionate use of alcohol by the Native Americans, as "empty bottles clutter the floor", establishing a symbolic relation between the Natives' insensitivity to the harmful effects of alcohol (Geiogamah 17). Geiogamah, here, creates extremely bad picture of the alcoholic environment that dumps any other voice in the noise of the bottles of alcohol. Therefore, this setting of the play, "Body Indian," shapes into 'the burden of manifest manners.' And this burden causes more harmful scenario for the Native characters in the form of leasing their lands at cheap rates in their native territory; this unpleasant situation adds more disorder to the characters' intake of alcohol. Therefore, many characters, loudly, express that lease-deals result major cause of alcoholism among them. For instance, Howard has "been drinking l-----ots since he made his lease", and "he got sick from drinkin' too much wine" (Geiogamah 10). Howard's

regret and confusion after abandoning his native land reveals his helplessness against the power of his white lessee.

"Body Indian" extends the side effects of the 'burden of manifest manners' for the Native people in the play, incorporating an unfair way of Native land-leasing deals. In this context, Lee's statement, after leasing his land, is significant. Informing Eulahlah about his lease, Lee laments and frowns: "I just made mine this mornin'. But my damn lease man didn't want to pay me what I wanted. I was too broke to hold out, so I just signed it" (Geiogamah 11). Such helplessness of Lee and Howard, in saving their native lands, reveals the burden of 'manifest manners' that discourages the characters to display sovereignty and resistance, besides indicating the sense of exploitation of their native lands. In Vizenor's view, this whole situation is one of the significant simulations of dominance, as it refers to the power of the White Americans while using the Native Americans' personal lands (*Manifest Manners* 12). Collectively, the depressed scenario in "Body Indian", over the land dealings, relates to the Native Americans history of leasing their lands. For example,

> The entire city of Salamanca in Western New York was built on lands leased in the late nineteenth century from the Haudenosaunee. The leases were for 99 years, at very low rates. Frequently, the lease payments were never made, and over the years the land was bought and sold by non-Indians without consideration of the leases. (Sutton 343)

'Manifest manners', besides causing the devaluation of the Native land as this historical reference and Lee reveal, appear as the hindrance to *Survival* in the form of high poverty level among the Native characters in "Body Indian". This connection reflects, in the play, when Geiogamah's characters relate the lease of the Native lands with the last solution for them to continue their physical existence; however, the deals rarely meet with the expected return for them. Lee, for instance, clarifies, the purpose of leasing his land as well as the unfair act on the part of White American lessee: "My damn white lease man wouldn't give me what I wanted. I was gonna hold out, but I needed the money. I had to sign for what he wanted to give me. I couldn't help it" (Geiogamah 19). Lee's regretful expression and his helplessness in leasing the land convey the impact of White Americans' 'arbitrary authority, as Vizenor perceives, over this Native character. The influence of such power refers to the hegemonic stance of the Lee's white lessee for not allowing the former to exhibit the 'self' which refers to "the ability to speak…, individuality, autonomy, and self-determination" (Klages 61). Moreover,

this post-lease statement of Lee reveals that the protagonist does not want to lease his land without the genuine reason, that is, the shortage of sufficient money to survive.

Through Lee's vulnerability to lease his native land, by accepting the meager amount, Geiogamah raises the issue of poverty among the Native American communities in "Body Indian." The same situation also generates the discussion about the power structure in the Native American society that reflects in the play. Geiogamah's Lee, as an alcoholic Native, appears as the victim, reflecting the historic loss of the Native American lands: one hundred and thirty eight million acres of reservation land that Native Americans held in 1887 was reduced to mere 52 million by 1934 (Buck 217). The significant loss of the Native Americans' land, in the Native history, is the outcome of 'manifest manners' which Geiogamah commemorates in his "Body Indian" in the shape of the characters' state of 'victimry'. More comprehensively, the play presents a tragic picture of poverty among its Native American communities, justifying their act of leasing the lands as well as presenting victimhood. For example, Marie, in a single statement, incorporates variety of the Native American issues such as extreme poverty, unfair leasing deals, and lack of basic needs of life:

> I don't have any groceries, I tried to borrow some from Howard the other day, but he didn't even have any rations left. Thompson and his wife stay here nearly all the time now. He just barely gets by on that lease money of his. Jobs are hard to find.' Especially for Indians' round here. You know it is Money's sure scarce. (Geiogamah 19- 20)

Marie's simple language in this long statement indicates Geiogamah's preference for an easy way of communicating his message through the Native drama. This technique is useful in the context of the play, as it appeals to ordinary people to understand the value of necessary foods for the sake of survival. Meanwhile, the choice of everyday language by Geiogamah elucidates the focus of his play on the Native American pertinent issues that are related to their social and economic conditions.

The poor financial situation of the Native characters occupies a phenomenal space in "Body Indian". The poverty- devastated Native characters keep struggling to fulfill their domestic needs. Therefore, besides Marie's desire of buying the groceries, Martha, Fina and James also openly express their wishes for money. Martha, for instance, wants twenty dollars to "get a case and some gas," and Fina and James are grown up to have "a living bra" and "to go to school" respectively (Geiogamah 30).

The unfulfilled wishes of these Native characters arouse the feelings of sympathy for them. Geiogamah, however, depicts more perplexed scenario for his Native characters by adding theme of unemployment in "Body Indian." The insufficient sources of income, as revealed in Lee's cheap land-lease deal, reflect unemployment among the Native characters who find no other solution except leasing their lands in order to meet the daily expenses. Subsequently, Lee and other Natives, in the play, mainly rely on the money which they get after letting their lands in the hands of the White people. This situation, in "Body Indian," shows the influence of some recent statistics which reveal that there is "22 percent" annual "official unemployment" rate "on some Indian reservations," and "60 percent" annual "seasonal unemployment" rate on some other Indian reservations (Taylor and Kalt 28). Officially, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs) during the 2016–18 period" have "a higher unemployment rate, and a lower labor force participation rate than the overall U.S. population" (Allard and Brundage Jr., "*doi.org*"). This drab picture of the Natives' reservations indicate that the U.S. government has rarely focused on creating the job opportunities for the Native Americans at their doorsteps. Historically, the creation of these reservation demands more freedom and self-determination of the Native Americans.

Meanwhile, Geiogamah also relates this poor plight of his characters with the official reports on poverty level among the Native communities. For instance, "The National Academy of Public Administration reported, in 1999, that 31 percent of all Indians lived below the poverty line, compared to 13 percent within the US population as a whole" (Porter 39-68). This poverty level, among the Native Americans, stands higher than that of the mainstream American population. Another dismal picture, in this regard, appears in the US Census Bureau's 2002 report which reveals that the 'Indian reservations' like Crow Creek reservation had "the lowest US median household income" (39-68). These figures relate to the Native character Marie, in "Body Indian," who shares the burden of 'victimry' with the Native population in these reports. And such situation demoralizes people to move forward in the course of life. With its more alarming consequences, the state of 'victimry' often induces individuals either to opt for violent resistance for their survival against the creators of such circumstances or to perish and resign to the fate.

As Survivance combines resistance and survival, it denies the notion of the victimized society as depicted in the poor financial condition of the Native characters

in “Body Indian”. Geiogamah’s effort to merge the both components of Survivance shapes into the theme of resistance to self-‘victimry.’ Such resistance involves self-realization and self-assessment, which ultimately relives the Native characters from the touching acute victimhood after consuming alcohol. In “Body Indian,” this theme is visible through Geiogamah’s depiction of the Native characters’ preference to spend money for alcoholism. For instance, the issue of scarcity of money, at times, is more important for the characters in the context of the availability of alcohol than their demand of the basic necessities of life. Therefore, majority of the characters in “Body Indian” spend a lot of money in buying wine. For example, Betty informs, “We bought a lot of bottles when we stopped at the liquor store on the way here in the taxi. I know we bought a lot of them. Two sacks full” (Geiogamah 34). Their desire to buy more alcohol leaves them befuddled. Therefore, firmly gripped by the longing for alcohol, they skeptically ask one another for more money to buy more wine; the episode, in this regard, runs as,

> Howard: Thompson, go get us another drink.
>
> Thompson: (trembling, sweating) Okay, Okay! Give me money and I’ll go.
>
> Howard: You have money to buy it.
>
> Thompson: I don’t have any money. I’m broke.
>
> Eulahlah: Me and Thompson don’t have any more money. (38)

Geiogamah, here, involves more than two characters to reveal their restlessness that results after the shortage of money for buying alcohol. The intoxication has made these characters the victims of poverty through their own act of drinking. Through the characters’ desperate longing for alcohol, Geiogamah constructs a poor Native character who is forgetful of the already endangered existence in the play. Therefore, this conversation demands that these Native characters sense their self-created situation of victimhood that arises from their self-defeat that results after the poor evaluation of the situation. “Body Indian” brings more such instances, highlighting the impact of alcoholism on the characters’ lack of understanding about their financial position. Therefore, Geiogamah engages many other Native characters such as Ethel and Alice who insist upon alcohol by debating the need of money for this purpose:

> Ethel: (joining Howard, to Eulahlah) we don’t have any money. Howard’s broke.
>
> (Pointing to Betty and Alice)

Alice: I don't have any money. I've been broke for the past two weeks.

I wish I had some money.

Betty: (sadly, to Bobby) I don't have ….any….money.

Thompson: No money, no drinks! (39).

This conversation clearly relates the money with alcohol, which further enhances the effect of 'victimry' on *Survival*. However, this association of money with alcohol defines their victimhood as the self-defeat that requires self-assessment for its revocation. The continuity of 'victimry', in the light of Vizenor's Survivance, damages the spirit of Survival among the Native Americans.

5.1.2 "Body Indian" as the Story of Survivance

Vizenor's theory of Survivance propagates that the core of Survivance is the creation of stories of the Native Americans' courage and sensation to maintain their active presence as culturally distinct nation despite of their representation as the ruined alcoholic 'Indians' (*Manifest Manners* 4-5). In this context, Geiogamah builds his narrative of self-realization by depicting the Native characters' lack of motivation to practice the social values, mutual cooperation, and self-respect in "Body Indian." For instance, these fundamental human morals disappear when Lee's friends "go over his entire body, leaving his clothes disheveled," in search of money for alcohol (Geiogamah 21). This situation is more alarming, in the play, for the protagonist receives such humiliation by his own companions who "lift his body from the chair with drunken eagerness and carelessness and carry him to the bed" (14). The inclusion of this poor moral standards of the characters, in the play, seems intentional on the part of the author because, the less privileged community, as depicted in the play, requires stronger character and morals to avoid the cultural loss. Geiogamah, therefore, relates self-realization with the review and evaluation of the self-created hurdles to create a progressive society.

5.1.3 Bobby Lee as the Simulation of Survivance and denunciation of victimry

Contextually, Geiogamah associates himself with the Vizenor's practitioner of Survivance by depicting the strength of the alcoholic Native characters to overcome 'victimry' through their resistance to self-created problem of the overuse and over-possessiveness regarding alcohol. Contrarily, *Survival* remains in jeopardized. Thus, the reaffirmation of the hope of survival for the Native American culture and identity emanates in "Body Indian" through the visibility of the instinct of *Survival* in Bobby

Lee, the protagonist, when he resolves to quit alcohol. Lee turns into Vizenor's "character of Survivance" as he "creates a sense of native presence and actuality" instead of continuing his existence as the victim of alcohol (*Native Liberty* 85). Therefore, Lee's denial to remain in the state of 'victimry' refers to his resistance for survival as a sensible Native, conforming to the 'simulation of survivance'. This simulation stands as the Native author's creation of a strong Native character who resists the temptation of alcohol in favor of his survival in the community. For instance, despite alcoholic landscape around him, Lee expresses his earnest desire to resist the temptation. And for this purpose, his wish to invest his money in rehabilitation program is significant in terms of returning to life through a proper way. Therefore, he expresses thoughtfully, "I want to use my lease money to get in program at Norman. It's an A-A deal for alcoholics. That preacher in the city told me they could dry me out in 'bout six weeks. I wanna go over there (Geiogamah 20). Lee's preference for a proper guide to quit alcohol shows the author's realistic approach towards the impact of the story, for an alcohol addicted like Lee needs moral and psychological support for returning to normalcy. Therefore, Lee's decision of asking for such support reveals the determination and commitment on his part. Moreover, through his determination and resolution, Geiogamah creates the Native story that denounces victimhood in the context of Native Americans' resistance to the hegemonic policies such as that of the Indian Removal Act.

The intention of quitting alcohol by Lee, in the play, is the denunciation of the view that 'theme of alcoholism in "Body Indian" is an indicative of degeneration of the Native Americans as Darby views it (Darby 161). Instead, Lee's commitment is the recreation of a simulation of survivance, for he frees himself from the state of regret for his past land-lease dealings with the White Americans. In this way, the story of "Body Indian" defeats the "simulations" of "nostalgia" (*Liberty* 06). Such simulations may refer to the impression of Native literature as the Native Americans' compiled works which are full of grievances against the White Americans. Meanwhile, Geiogamah, in this play, counters the impact of 'wild alcoholic' by involving Lee in the economic matters of the Native people. In this regard, despite his dizziness, Lee presents the budget for the Native American communities to meet their money requirements:

> Every Indian needs to have a government cheque for $25 thousand. They could give you womens $50 thousand. Then you could buy all your kids shoes, clothes, bicycles, pay rent, pay fines, buy shawls and earrings, and put the

> money you have left in the bank to live on. That's the only way you'd ever have the money you need. (Geiogamah 24)

This budgetary statement reflects the author's creation of the voice of a wise individual who is aware of the poor condition of the fellow beings. Through this wisdom, Lee compensates his alcoholic image. Naturally, the absence or scarcity of the basic commodities of life such as shoes and clothes not only makes the survival difficult but also forces human beings to act against their ethical values and moral obligations sometimes. However, through his vigilance in the financial matters, Lee ensures *Survival* for his people, defeating the image of disrespectful and irresponsible 'wild' Native American.

5.2 "Foghorn": *Survival* in resistance to Stereotyped 'Indian' and the Whites' Hegemony

The first impression of Geiogamah's play "Foghorn", published in 1980, is of a history book, for it includes vital historical references such as Alcatraz Occupation 1969 and Wounded Knee which describe the history of relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans. This focus on the history is significant in the context of the Native Americans' resistance and challenges to *Survival* despite their historical existence in the American continent. The unpleasant picture of the Natives' presence is evident from the statement that "American Indians [Native Americans] have been systematically dispossessed and demeaned for five centuries. Throughout this period native people have generally resisted and rejected European culture" (Frederick 26). However, as Vizenor holds, the Native literary figures promote "creative resistance" that attempts at removing the misconceptions about the reasons of the Natives' resistance to the White American policies (Brown 218). In this context, "Foghorn," subsides in the realm of a piece of literature in the light of the function of literature as reflection of life, portraying the history of Natives' sufferings and their resistance for *Survival* through the historical events that influence profoundly the Native Americans' struggle for *Survival*. The play also incorporates the practice of Survivance through the author's effort of portraying the Native Americans' historical presence as the U.S. native people. Geiogamah, for this purpose, selects the significant event of Alcatraz occupation in 1969.

The focus of "Foghorn" on the historical presence of the Native Americans is evident through the plot and the selection of the characters. For instance, the play "has

eleven scenes presenting a historical overview of Native Americans since the arrival of Columbus" (Wiget 433).This view about the play asserts that the Native drama promotes the study of the Native American history. The knowledge about the history of a nation is very valuable to determine the course of the future correspondence by another society. Meanwhile, the information about historical relationships builds up a logical narrative in judging the nature of the existing issues between any two communities. Similarly, Geiogamah shows the strength of a Native playwright to include the 'First Lady of The United States' and 'U.S. Government Spy' in the characters list of "Foghorn" (Geiogamah 47). This outlook of the play reflects the author's interest in exhibiting the power of the Native American drama to inform about the historical relationships between the White Americans and the Native Americans.

Geiogamah's selection for Alcatraz as well as the title of the play "Foghorn" is an attempt of indicating Survivance through the portrayal of the violent phase of the Native-White history. Therefore, Katanski holds that "Foghorn" incorporates in it the warning for the Native Americans to vacate the Alcatraz Island, for "the title of the play refers to the disruptive foghorns that the US government blasted continually at Indian occupiers of Alcatraz in 1969" (196). Similarly, Scheiding connects the play with the theme of colonization while stating that "In Foghorn,…..,Geiogamah retraces the violent history of the Indian-White relationship in eleven scenes that shift from major events of colonization to the Native population of the Americas" (141). Overall, this interpretation of the play leads to the more confusion about the Native Americans' struggle for the survival and continuance of their culture and identity. However, Survivance as "the heritable right of succession" relates the Natives' claim on Alcatraz, as depicted in the play, with the right of the Native Americans to exist anywhere in the US as the Indigenous people (*Liberty* 85).

Indicative of Native Americans' determination to resist and defend their identity, NARRATOR [Narrator], the main voice in "Foghorn," proclaims the nativity of the Native Americans: "we, the Native Americans, reclaim this land [Alcatraz], known as America, in the name of all American Indians, by right of discovery" (Geiogamah 55). These words of the Native character serve as the motivation, instead of the hint of 'victimry,' for those Natives who wish to continue their struggle of *Survival* through love for the land and the Native traditions. The noticeable feature of the Natives' historical presence, in "Foghorn", is the author's promotion of non-violent approach in the Natives' resistance to preserve their identity. This "sense of presence"

as a nation mirrors in the speech of Narrator who provides a clue of the broadmindedness in the Native American culture. Therefore, with an uncomplaining attitude, Narrator accepts the non-Native Americans as "the majority inhabitants of this country" (56). This realization indicates the sense of "a responsible presence" as a minority (Vizenor, *Liberty* 99). At the same time, it counters the 'elusive' presence of the Natives. Meanwhile, the Narrator exhibits the power of Native American culture and religion with a clear indication of nonviolent approach towards the solution of the Native Americans' complaints against the White Americans. As Survivance terms it the "resistance to absence" (99), the Narrator's invitation to the White Americans reveals the faith of his people as a sovereign nation: "We will further guide the majority inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our way of life" (Geiogamah 56). This expression of the Natives' capability of existence in the dominant White American society ensures the visibility of the Native people and convinces the White Americans to stop viewing the Native culture as the inferior one. Meanwhile, Geiogamah conveys the clear meaning of *Survival* through the Narrator's claim of being confident about the Native American ways of living, education and religious practices. At the same time, the confidence in the Native culture and traditions, as emerges out in the words of Narrator, serves as the reiteration of historical existence of the Native Americans' cultural values in their native country.

Geiogamah, through "Foghorn", presents Narrator as the representative of the Native Americans to prove their identity as the Indigenous people of America. This very purpose is obvious from Narrator's "fair and honorable" reminder for the Euro Americans whose "majority wrongfully claim" the land of Alcatraz "as theirs" (Geiogamah 55). It also indicates that the inclusion of this subject of Alcatraz Island engages the history of unpleasant relationship between the Native Americans and the White Americans. However, the use of the expression "majority", by the Native character, is also a sign of the character's soft image, for Narrator does not involve all the White Americans in the debates. However, historically, "between the time when European settlers started claiming land in North America and the late nineteenth century, the Europeans' (and subsequently the American's) policy towards indigenous peoples often centered around removal and, in some cases, annihilation" (Weber 77). In this context, Geiogamah's response counters the devaluation of the Native Americans' 'victmry' by reshaping the purpose of the Native Americans' resistance against the White Americans. Thus, "Foghorn" contributes to the simulations of

Survivance such as the values of generosity and self-confidence, as exhibited by the Narrator in the play. Meanwhile, the presence of these basic human values in the Native character demands the resistance in case of their devaluation through stereotypes such as 'Indian', and 'vanishing race.'

5.2.1 Survivance through Subversion of Stereotypes

Theory of Survivance maintains that the Native American stories have the power of subverting the "cockeyed' image of the Native Americans. This image refers to the Natives' judgment as unwise, uncivilized, and lazy people, discouraging the Native Americans in their struggle of *Survival* and reducing the chance of their assimilation into the mainstream American society. Overall, it creates a hegemonic scenario, for such unpleasant titles for other human beings result after the use of power by the other powerful community. As the counter response, "Foghorn" is a significant example, as the play focuses on the appropriation of the Native Americans' image of uncivilized and savage people. However, for this purpose, the play creates a reason for the subversion. Therefore, besides remembering the historical event of the occupation of Alcatraz, Geiogamah arranges the class of the Native American students, in the play, where they face humiliation by the white school teacher. Her sarcastic remarks such as "savages," "stupid children", and "lousy Indians" are the simulations of dominance (Geiogamah, 59-60). The portrayal of this highly indecent scene, in "Foghorn", continues to prepare more ground for the need of the subversion of these negative connotations. Resultantly, the teacher finds herself in the company of "totally ignorant" as well as "deaf and dump" Native American boys and girls (59). The list of bitter titles extends when she adds the words "half-naked," "filthy," and "a bunch of worthless things" for these children (59-60). As a whole, these simulations obscure the visibility of the Native Americans and make them absent from the civilized world. It also refers to "the history of White hegemony" that "reproduced well-known stereotypes of Native Americans, depicting them as either noble savages or as immoral heathens whose fate is simply to vanish from the annals of history" (Scheiding 141). Hence, the Native Americans appear as the 'victims' of "white" analysts (Coulombe 03). Naturally, the continuance of such an unpleasant, sometimes very hostile, scenario hinders the way of progress and *Survival*. Particularly, besides creating divisions between the two societies, "cultural stereotypes negatively portraying other cultures hinders the process of learning and education" (Fixico 12).

Geiogamah is well aware of the misrepresentation of the Native Americans while writing his "Foghorn." Therefore, the White teacher is devoid of the leniency towards the Native children as depicted in the play. She keeps them in "the dark room" with "no food! [No] water! And no toilet" until they completely forget their culture, language and traditions (Geiogamah 61). The purpose of putting these students in complete isolation is very threatening in the backdrop of the Native Americans' struggle of *Survival*. More explicitly, the purpose of such treatment turns into an exhibition of power and authority when the teacher warns the Native students, in commanding manner, that they "are going to forget all of your Indian ways, all of them," and they should erase those from their "mind right now, right here, right this instant" (61). The White teacher, here, treats the Native students as her rivals in case of not following the ways which the teacher demands. This display of the white character's power to reject the Natives' approach to life creates a sense of hegemony, for "[h]egemony is established…when a particular way of seeing and explaining the the world appropriates all rival or oppositional modes of thinking" (Klages 36). Resultantly, instead of influencing the students through the impartial way of teaching, the White American teacher's creation of an unpleasant teaching methodology is not praiseworthy. Meanwhile, the teacher expands her unacceptable attitude with the students to their homes, comparing those with the most deserted places: "these stupid children should be left on their reservations and forgotten about" (Geiogamah 59). The Native culture and traditions, in these harsh remarks of the White teacher, indicate the threatening scenario for the flourishing future.

In "Foghorn," as an attempt to justify the subversion of the Native stereotypes, Geiogamah brings forth the sense of superiority in the remarks of NUN [the nun] with the religious exploitation of the native population by making fun of the Native beliefs and imposing her religious attachments on the Native children. The nun resembles the character of the White teacher in terms of her bitter and hostile use of language for the Native American students in "Foghorn". Both of them claim to be the sources of knowledge, civilization and redemption for the Native Americans, scarcely considering the Natives as the human beings; they assume that the Native Americans have rare wisdom to live a civilized life. For example, the nun addresses the native children as,

> My blessed savages
> Children of the unknown, of the wilderness
> You are most fortunate that we have found you. (Geiogamah 56)

The Nun's pride in the White civilization undervalues the religious, political, social and economic affiliation of the native people. Meanwhile, this pride shows Geiogamah's effort to prepare the Native American characters for countering their inferior image through the spirit of *Survival*. Additionally, her rude and offensive language highlights the underestimation of the Natives' cultural outlook. Therefore, the Nun continues to discredit the Native Americans' religious affiliations:

> You do not have religion
>
> You do not have an all-forgiving father like ours.
>
> You are heathens
>
> Pagans.
>
> Poor, miserable, ignorant, uncivilized, NAKED! (Geiogamah 57)

This display of dominance by the White American characters of "Foghorn" provokes the sense of helplessness and 'victimry' among the readers of this story. Geiogamah, through Nun's these lines, uses his "Foghorn" to highlight the example of a hegemonic stance of the white American religious character, indicating that how "hegemony is created and maintained" by the "institutions" of religion (Klages 36). However, "Survivance stories are renunciations of dominance" (Vizenor, *Liberty* 85). Therefore, Geiogamah, instead of showing the verbal response from the mouths of his Native children, subverts this situation by undermining and challenging the political ideology of the US government. In this context, the two powerful American characters, Spy and Voice expose the ill wills of the federal government to get favors of the Native Americans for the next presidential elections.

"Foghorn," with the depiction of Spy and Voice, develops into the story of strong rejection of the Native stereotypes that the White Nun and the teacher create in the play, exposing the White characters as the dishonest and the opportunists. For instance, their plan to "bribe" the Natives in "hard cash" negates the concept of their existence in the civilized world (Geiogamah 72). More weaknesses of these two characters as good human beings appear in the form of their negotiations to determine the amount of the reward for Spy who finds it a "dangerous work" to win the Natives' favors through monetary temptations (73). Therefore, exposing his own selfish nature, he insists that "my fee….will be $250,000, in cold, cold, hard, hard cash, of course" (73). Voice, presumably the representative of the U.S government, also reveals the distasteful features of insincerity and exploitation in his character, for he agrees to bribe the Natives for political purposes: "Giving them [the Native people] money is a

wonderful way to show them and the voters how much this administration cares" (Geiogamah 74). Thus, "Foghorn" depicts these two White American characters to assert that human beings, the Native or the White, lack perfection and command in all the matters. Similarly, it indicates that every civilization has shortcomings, and challenges to the survival of its culture and identity. Collectively, Geiogamah's attempt, through the Native American play, to counter the Natives' image of comparatively less civilized people refers to Gramsci's demonstration of "a full awareness of drama as social form of art" that not only manipulates " minds by expressing the values of those who control society, but also, potentially," challenges and subverts "those values" (Dombroski 34).

Contextually, through the morally weak character of Spy and Voice, the theme of "Foghorn" incorporates Survivance as the resistance through Native drama to the cultural dominance of the White Americans. Meanwhile, the play undermines the key demands of 'manifest manners': "simulations of absence and cultural dominance" (*Liberty* 05). Geiogamah overcomes these simulations such as the reproductions of the Native students as 'lousy Indians' and 'naked' by the Nun and the White teacher through the tribal names and cultural affiliations. This description of the names of Native tribes creates the understanding about Geiogamah's concern and pride in the Native identity as the people of diverse native tribes. For instance, the dialogue between Narrator and the various Native performers, in the last scene of the play, identifies them with the tribal names of "Winnebage," "Sioux," "Apache," and "Ojibwa" who all "move on" (Geiogamah 81). It indicates that they find real happiness in the loyalty to their culture and tribal identity, creating the sense of *Survival*. However, the expression of tribal identity through the titles of the Native American tribes is revision of the Native terminology for the future generation. Therefore, it is not limited to the concept of Charlotte Leforestier who believes that the "tribal identity is the most important one: Indians first belong to a specific tribe with its culture, language, and traditions" (62).

Geiogamah's portrayal of the strength of the Native American spirit of *Survival* as a reaction to the White Americans' domination is not restricted to the passive presence of the Native students in the White teacher's class and in the Nun's lecture. His "Foghorn", instead, motivates their struggle of *Survival* by challenging the White Americans' political conduct and the hegemonic stance on Alcatraz. hThis theme also incorporates that "Foghorn" depicts active and enthusiastic characters who struggle against strong colonial powers, and try to improve their lot in contemporary America

(Wagter 275). Moreover, story of the play commemorates this historical memory of the loss of lives by the Native Americans during their fights against the Euro-Americans. Therefore, the symbolic killing of the 'Indian' drummer refers to the killing of numerous Native Americans during the siege of Wounded Knee (1890), and it also indicates that the Native American lot continues to suffer injustice and discrimination in the USA at the close of the 20th century (Wagter 278). At the same time, this killing symbolizes the real killing of Lakota Indians in 1890 for their devotion to Ghost Dance, a contemporary new religion that contained many Native American belief systems. As Grua records, "The US Seventh Cavalry killed more than two hundred Lakota followers of the Lakota Chief Big Foot on Dec 29, 1890, ostensibly for their adherence to the Ghost Dance Indigenous religion" (01). Theory of Survivance views this apparently horrible story as the transmission of the Natives' historical presence through a Native drama. Contrarily, the references to such historical events carry the 'legacy' of the unpleasant Native history that affects their struggle for *Survival.*

5.3 Native Americans' Troubled Life in "Indian Radio Days": A Historical Survey of Challenges to Survivance

"Indian Radio Days," co-authored by Howe and Gordon, incorporates in it the history of Native Americans' problems of maintaining their status as the sovereign nation. It raises variety of pertinent issue that surround *Survival*. The play, therefore, incorporates, from the Native perspective, the historical injustices to the Native Americans' identity and colonialism that the Natives experience at their native land. The perspective of Native Americans' *Survival*, in Fixico's words, "involves human beings, animals, plants, the natural environment, and the metaphysical world of vision and dreams:" a perspective that sees things "in more than a human-to-human context" (02). The Natives' equally strong affiliation with human and non-human phenomenon of nature reduces the chances of the Native Americans' absence from participating in process of living as civilized human beings. In this context, one of the authors of "Indian Radio Days" states that "American Indian playwrights and writers tend to create stories from the experiences of our people" (Howe 104). Meanwhile, she accepts the outcome of such writing in the form of "the intellectual" asset of the Native culture (104). Therefore, Vizenor relates Howe and Gordon's attempt of writing the play with the effort of publishing 'state and national' stories as well as opposing the authority of the federal U.S. government by the Native literati (*Liberty* 32). With these wide prospects,

the authors of "Indian Radio Days" use the technique of introducing a Narrator for integrating multiple Native issues in different time periods, covering many historical events with the help of the witnesses and participants of a particular event in the history of Native Americans. The possibility of this mega task of involving many characters with such a wide coverage of the Natives' events reflects in the very title of the play that suggests that the play is a "radio show, and the narrator interviews numerous Native and non-Native figures engaged in key historical moments" (Squint 115–138). Resultantly, "Indian Radio Days" reviews the history of the Native Americans with supporting evidences from American history, bringing forth the Native viewpoint to define *Survival* and justifying the resistance. Convincingly, in the wider perspective, the play "works as a teaching tool to retell history from a Native perspective to both Native and non-Native people" (Stanlake144).

Signaling to the possibilities of *Assimilation* and *Survival*, "Indian Radio Days" portrays Eugenia to enlist the reasons of her disliking for the Whites, as she refers to her father's grievances against the White Americans. Eugenia's father believes that the Native Americans have been "unearthed, underrepresented, considered uncivilized," besides being "distilled, dissuaded, disbanded" and ploughed up (Howe and Gordon 117). These harsh attributes, generated in Eugenia's utterance, indicate the author's focus on the impact of the power of White people over the Natives. Howe and Gordon, in this way, dismiss the possibility of the Native Americans' assimilation into the mainstream American society. At the same time, the reasons for this dismal response emerge through the dejected Eugenia's father who views the Whites' atrocities as the cause of his grievances against the White Americans. For example, he explicitly complaints, "Because I won't surrender, I've been lied to, lied about, worked over, robbed, and damn near ruined" (117). Vizenor's terminology views this unwelcoming behavior as the "obstrusions," which, in the context of the Congressional assimilative policies, refer to the Indian Removal Act (1830) and Indian Boarding school movement (1879-1930). Historically, "the unfair policies made by the White government like the Indian Removal Act and the Allotment policy" have contributed significantly to the miserable plight in the Natives' *Survival* (Bo 1667). Eugenia's father, thus, referring to the same unpleasant situation, remains perturbed in his life as reported by his daughter in the play. He believes that the Whites are responsible for robbing and ruining the Natives in response to their resistance, as the Natives never seem to surrender despite their sufferings.

"Indian Radio Days" depicts some more Native characters who reveal the authors' insistence on the inclusion of the historical sufferings of the Native Americans in their history of *Survival*. The authors define and elaborate the allegations and reasons of hatred of Eugenia's father through the conversation between the Narrator and the 'Indian' chief Greenwood Leflore regarding the historical event of Trail of Tears (the narrator announces his location of Mississipi in 1850 with the chief). Remembrance of this event by the authors invites the readers of "Indian Radio Days" to explore and authenticate the causes and effects of Trail of Tears (1838-1839). Meanwhile, the selection of the name Leflore is also significant in terms of the history of Native American literature. The name, Leflore, stands high in the history of Native Americans, for "Leflore, as principal chief of Choctaw Nation in 1830, had been pivotal in negotiating the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Greek," and the treaty was seen in favor of Choctaw's land rights (Squint 115-138). The relation of Leflore with this historical event in Native American history creates a memory of Survivance, for it ensures the historical engagement of the Native Americans with the U.S. government on the issue related to the protection of the Native land.

Howe and Gordon focus on the historical sufferings of Native Americans, in "Indian Radio Days," which, at times, presents the Native people as the true victims of the White American policies. For instance, Leflore terms "the forced relocation on the Trail of Tears of people out of Florida, Tennessee, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Louisina" as "Indian ethnic cleansing" (Howe and Gordon 120). Leflore's disgust for the forced removal of the Native people from their lands, openly, labels the Native Americans, in the play, as the struggling race with no power to reorganize. However, "Indian Radio Days", at the same time, renounces this 'victimry' through Leflore's reminder to the White Americans for the Natives' loyalty to the U.S. government. For example, referring to the War of 1812, Leflore regrets for trusting the US President, Andy Jackson, for not respecting him and his people despite Leflore's participation in the war and support for the Whites (Howe and Gordon 120). This outcome, according to Leflore, resulted into Trail of Tears that killed more than four thousand Choctaws (120). Using Leflore as their mouthpiece, Howe and Gordon term the policy of Indian Removal from their lands as the cruel and unforgettable owing to the dislocation of many Native American tribes such as the Choctaws. Leflore believes that Trail of Tears made Choctaws' fall down from exhaustion day after day in the rain, snow," besides making "babies cry"(120). Some historical references, in this regard,

favor Leflore by referring to the Jackson's decision that the "members of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole tribes would be removed from their homes in the Southeast" (Schwartz 04). Moreover, Native American lands, as Jackson maintained, "in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee would be given to White Americans instead" (Schwartz 04). Meanwhile, the terrible condition of Leflore along with his disliking for the White Americans, as portrayed in "Indian Radio Days," refers to what Little, the congressman, states while reminding the U.S. government of its legal and moral responsibilities towards the Native Americans. (Ellinghaus 563). Such realization adds to the motivation of the Native Americans to maintain their status as a distinct nation.

The depiction of this highly unpleasant picture of the Native Americans in the Native drama, in the light of theory of Survivance, is an attempt of the authors of "Indian Radio Days" to explore the implications of the word 'Indian' which reflects absence of the Native Americans' rights as the US citizens. Howe and Gordon, therefore, sum up the conversation between the Narrator and the Chief by showing their concerns about the Euro-Americans' construction of 'Indian' as the reference to the people who have little or no room for their entry into the White American society (120) This realization of insecurity comes from the Leflore's utterance that "being Indian is a very complicated matter," as he has not always been accepted, which ultimately makes him pull "a bottle of liquor out of his pocket" and drink it "to the last" (Howe and Gordon 120-121). This helplessness reveals the severe impact of the image of 'Indian' that provokes Leflore to embrace death as the ultimate solution to the identity crises of the Native Americans. In the same way, the character of Anolitubby believes, "the government didn't think we were U.S. citizens' cause we are Indians"; therefore, "[t]he Navajo or the Hopi boys didn't receive any medals for code talking either" (125). Hence, Leflore and Anolitubby are the symbols that "Indian Radio Days" uses to represent the non-recognition of the Native Americans, which seeks the spirit of *Survival* in the light of theory of Survivance.

As Survivance seeks the Native Americans' presence in the Native stories as the active contributors to the American history, "Indian Radio Days" depicts the Natives' active participation in World War 1(WW1). Through the character of Simon Anolitubby, "a Choctaw from Oklahoma," the play mentions Native Americans' participation in World War 1 and their flying high the American flag (Howe and Gordon 124). This recreation of a loyal Native American is the negation of the

'uncivilized Indian' who, in Vizenor's view, is the simulation of dominant American culture. Moreover, Anolitubby's role as a "code talker" in WW 1 produces a wise Native in "Indian Radio Days" (Howe and Gordon). For example, Anolitubby claims that, during WW1, the Native Americans started communicating in their own language which the German could not understand and "the tide of battle had turned" (125). Similarly, Anolitubby also remembers the praise of the Native "code Talkers" by the" company commanders as well as the undelivered "medals" (125). This announcement of rewards for Anolitubby and his fellows is the memory of the Natives' strength and credibility. And, in the light of Survivance, the Native authors' creation or inclusion of such memories in their works preserve Native Americans' historical contribution to their native country.

5.3.1. 'Simulations of Survivance' in "Indian Radio Days"

"Indian Radio Day," as a source of motivational story in the context of the Native Americans' struggle of *Survival*, includes the historical references to promote the peaceful relationships between the Natives and the White Americans. This feature of the play refers to one of the significant strategies of theory of Survivance that reduces the burden of grim past. In Vizenor's view, the Native stories which celebrate peace are the 'simulations of survivance', for they add to the wise resistance to "overcome to morose remembrance" of past sufferings (*Shadow Distance* 160). Here, Vizenor suggests that the Native writers' inclusion of the historical events, in their stories, has the tendency to motivate the Native Americans in their struggle of survival. In this context, the reference to the Indian Citizenship year "1924" is significant in "Indian Radio Days" (Howe and Gordon, 126). Historically, this refers to the "Indian Citizenship Act 1924" that grants American citizenship to all the US born Native Americans who are without this right (Prucha 218). Regardless of the political and constitutional implications of the Act, such as the denial to the Natives' "vote in many Western states," the authors of "Indian Radio Days" celebrate it as the victory as well as the step towards harmony in the society ("Boxer," *History Review*). For example, Narrator, while tendering the confusion regarding the Act, articulates that, "Mr. Seedbox, being an American citizen doesn't mean you're going to make more money, it means you can be a participant in the American political process" (Howe and Gordon, 126). Besides promoting harmony between the two differing societies, as the Native and White American societies, the equal participation in political matters brings more

democratic values in the culture. Meanwhile, the Narrator's words show his trust in the prospects and values of an American society. Consequently, Howe and Gordon's celebration of this broadmindedness of the Narrator, through the storytelling technique, reveals the power of Native stories to depict the wisdom and confidence in the struggle of *Survival.* Moreover, the propagation of these qualities, by the Native authors, refers to the 'simulations' or the recreation of the Native stories of Survivance in response to the 'simulations' or the false beliefs about the Native Americans in the form of simulations of dominance.

Contextually, the depiction of the struggle of *Survival* through the resistance to the underestimation of the Native social values remains the priority in "Indian Radio Days". For instance, Red Wings, the female character in the play, believes that the survival of Native culture and identity emerges through the belief in humanity and mutual respect. Therefore, Wings prefers her Native American people to her personal interest and life when she ignores her husband and lover who comes under an attack by the Colardo Militia while 'he was hunting antelope for his community' (Howe and Gordon 122). Through this very act of Wings, Howe and Gordon highlight the trait of selflessness in that plays significant role in achieving the target of mutual interest such as those of the Native Americans' struggle for the survival of Native culture and identity. Moreover, Wing's concern for the whole Native community creates a sense of unity which is prerequisite for any society to overcome injustices and hardships. This collective effort for survival of Native American community is visible when Wings, instead of worrying about her endangered husband, proclaims, "I'm worried about the hunt. We worry about the people's survival. That's the Indian way" (122).

The survival of Native American culture, identity and history is linked with the remembrance of the stories of resistance in "Indian Radio Days", highlighting the Natives' historical presence as a distinct nation, in the light of theory of Survivance. Vizenor, the chief proponent of this theory, recommends that Native "presence' at international level is an important step to the sovereignty of the Native Americans (*Shadow Distance* 218). Howe and Gordon, for example, show their Narrator at "Cattaraugus Indian Reservation in Western New York"on July 1992, where "a conflict between the Seneca and the state of New York has become very tense as Indian protesters drop burning tires off a highway overpass"(133). Though, the protesters, here, are highly charged up with grievances against their "dug up" lands and treatment as "farm animals," Narrator creates the situation for the realization of a peaceful

presence: “Doesn’t this protest seem a bit extreme?”(134). Here, Narrator further elaborates ‘presence’ as the non-violent presence that has more power of resistance and *Survival* (the survival of Native American culture and identity).

The Native American stories of Survivance, in Vizenor’s view, depict active resistance to the misrepresentations of the Native Americans in the dominant American society. His view recounts that “Historically, [American] films have presented Indians not as individuals or even as members of different tribes but as faceless parts of the collectivity labeled Indians” (Marger 156). Resultantly, the Native Americans become the victims of such derogatory image (Miles 36). As the practitioners of Survivance, the Native American authors of “Indian Radio Days” report Jane Fonda’s practical way of resisting the misrepresentation of the Natives through her “filming” a Native movie “*Lakota Women*” (Howe and Gordon 137). Fonda’s purpose of having “the Indian [Native] people telling their own stories” and her belief “the Indian people have been so misunderstood” indicate that *Survival* of the Native American culture and identity lies in their resistance by highlighting the civilized image of active people in the Native stories (137-138). It also implies that the creation of the Native stories with the Native setting plays a significant role in conveying the effective Native voice to the dominant culture. For instance, Fonda is committed “to work for the rights of those who are oppressed” and to make “Indian issues” visible to the public (138). This pledge by the Native character, in “Indian Radio Days,” incorporates the solution to the problems of peoples’ misrepresentation in any society, suggesting the effective transmission of the problems to other communities. In this way, the play adds to the Fonda’s image as the wise and active Native American in the play. Hence, Howe and Gordon, through “Indian Radio Days,” are convinced regarding the power of Native drama to resist the Native American stereotypes. This understanding of the work also holds the value to respond, for example, the fears of Klug and Whitfield’s who, even in the 21st century, hardly see the Natives in complete harmony with the mainstream society or the Whites in their readiness to forget stereotypical image of the Natives (09). In case of the insistence on Klug and Whites’ viewpoint, the challenges to the *Survival* increase with the power of stereotypes that prolong the victimhood in the society.

Victimhood is detrimental to the extension of the human values of love, wisdom and progress, for it generates pessimism and fear among individuals. Vizenor, therefore, believes the revocation of ‘victimry’ by a Native author to ensure *Survival* (*Liberty* 24). Contextually, “Indian Radio Days,” offers a comprehensive picture of the threatening

consequences of the prolonged debate of the issue of stereotypes in the Native American plays. It refers to the different interpretations of the characters, in this regard, who remain obsessed with the stereotypes. For example, Doctor Claudene Levi-Echofemme, an "ethnocritic" in the play, highlights the concept of colonization and the image of the Native Americans as 'OTHER' (Howe and Gordon 139). 'Other', in this context, incorporates the reference of "othering" that is "the social or/psychological" way of exclusion or marginalization of one group of a society by the other group (Ashcroft et al. 188). In case of the *Survival* and *Assimilation*, such biasness and discrimination widens the gap between the Euro-Americans and the Native Americans. Therefore, it invites the rebuttal of the Native Americans in the form of more harsh titles for the White Americans. That is why, Echofemme treats the historical politicians and dictators of the world in the same list:

> From Jonathan Swift to Hitler to Jeffrey Dahmer, it can be assumed that White are cannibals. Moreover, the history of colonization on this continent is already littered with examples of European cannibalism that constructed the body of the Native OTHER as edible (Howe and Gordon140).

The persistence with such grievances, on the part of Echofemme, urges him to view Christopher Columbus as a European cannibal, describing the ships of Columbus as "shopping carts: the Pinta, the Nina, the Santa" which ventured into the homeland of Native Americans with a desire for "the other as food source" (140). However, such statements spark confusion and confrontation regarding the historic events such as the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492.

The play, "Indian Radio Days," besides depicting the unpromising impact of over possessiveness with the discussion of Native stereotypes, highlights the strength and power of the Native drama to overcome this scenario. For this purpose, the Narrator, in the play, chooses the year 2000 to interview Chief Juanita Jackson (the Native character who decides to go for the "candidacy for the president of the United States" (142). Jackson believes "it's time for Indians to unite, rise up, put on their beads and take control" (142). This determination of the Native characters reveals Howe and Gordon's counter hegemonic strategy that propagates the idea of a capable Native with the political and democratic values. Through this attempt, these Native playwrights negate the idea of 'universalism' which implies that the White Americans rarely trust in the Native Americans' capability of participating in the political affairs without the support of the mainstream American society: "Universalism offers a hegemonic view

of existence by which the experiences, values and expectations of a dominant culture are held to be true for all humanity" (Ashcroft et al 268). This understanding of the notion of 'universalism' is also linked with the postcolonial concept of 'other' who is "non-white" and "illiterate" (Klages 61).

Contextually, Howe and Gordon's depiction of Jackson's intentions of participating in the US elections challenges the concept of 'other' in "Indian Radio Days," restructuring the image of Native Americans in the play. Further reconstruction occurs, in the play, through Harvey's belief in the value of nature and earth. Therefore he, on the behalf of all the Natives, resolves to protect Nature and Earth, associating the causes of pollution with the act of uncivilized people: "We kept telling the OTHERS to stop their polluting ways or Mother Earth would be uninhabitable" (Howe and Gordon 145). Here, the phrase 'Mother Earth', as the simulation of Survivance', refers to the Native Americans' historical understanding about the significance of the natural resources in human life: "Native peoples have traditionally used the rivers as a vast transportation network, seasonally searching for food, furs, medicines, and many other resources"(Estab, "*federalreg.gov*"). Harvey's these words, in accordance with theory of Survivance, not only subvert but also reshape the Euro-centric view of 'other,' for the phrase 'polluting way' refers to the industrialized world of Europe and other developed countries which rely on factories. This concern for the degradation of natural environment broadens the scope of Native dramas by viewing "Indian Radio Days" as a play with the promise of communicating outside the boundaries of the Native American readers. Meanwhile, this universal concern for environment is the elaboration of the Natives' concept of *Survival*: concern for humanity.

5.4 "49": *Survival* in Culture Preservation and Resistance through Active Presence

Geiogamah's third play, "49," included in the present research, revolves around the theme of the Native Americans' cultural survival in the mainstream American society. This society, as portrayed in "Body Indian" and "Foghorn", shows an uninviting regard for the Native American values and traditional practices. In the same way, the investigation of"49"explores the long history of the unpleasant relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans.

Historically, for the Native Americans, cultural sovereignty is almost synonymous to *Survival*, that is, the survival of Native American culture and identity.

It rests in the existence of native tribal cultures which demand their continuity without being absent in the American continent. Therefore, "49" reveals the historical struggles of the Natives to promote their culture, for the literary representation of the cultural events such as 49 invites the readers to investigate various aspects and history of the particular cultural event. Resultantly, Geiogamah widens the plot of the play that extracts the maximum material regarding the Native Americans' troublesome times during their attempt to maintain the cultural sovereignty. Hence, the setting of the play is traditional Native American ceremonial ground, allowing it to cover vast time period that ranges "from 1885 to the present" (Johnson 412). Meanwhile, the play addresses the mainstream American society to understand the concept of Natives' *Survival*, for "most Americans do not quite understand that Native American sovereignty relates specifically to the survival of tribal cultures" (Holm viii).

At the outset, "49" highlights the author's interest in talking about historical cultural aspects of the Native life. He selects "a ceremonial ground" in "1885, connecting it with "the same ceremonial ground in the present" as the "setting" of the play (Geiogamah 85). It therefore brings Survivance in the story of "49" by covering the long period of the visibility of Native American cultural history, for survivance stories incorporate "creation" not "closure" (*Liberty* 6). Meanwhile, the description of the setting through the phrases such as "dance area", "trees, grass, and bushes" refers to the Native traditional gatherings as well as the Natives' connection with nature (Geiogamah 91). It also inklings about Geiogamah's focus on the continuity of the Native American culture through the Native stories. Meanwhile, the struggle of the Natives behind the preservation of their culture finds prominent depiction in the play, for such effort heightens "the state of awareness" of the young Native people about their identity as Natives (Geiogamah 87). However, Geiogamah creates the challenging scenario for the characters who undergo hardships for ensuring their presence in the cultural gathering 49, as depicted in the play "49". Therefore, almost from the start of the play "49," sufferings of the Native American characters begin in the hands of the federal U.S. police, as "a sudden jagged crackle of a two-way police radio breaks the calm" (92). The exchanged communication between the patrolling policemen reveals that numerous Native Americans face arrests and harassment with the threats of jail in case of participating in the traditional and cultural gathering 49. This horror proves to be a trial for the young Natives before showing steadfastness to perform their traditional dance. The situation turns into a chaos for these Native Americans, as "they [the police]

want to take'em all to jail," therefore "the 49 group" hides itself to escape the police (Geiogamah 95). The description of such hide and seek, forcefully, indicates the Native Americans difficulties in carrying out their traditional ceremonies. The scenario, in the play "49", also sets the tone of resistance in the wake of the police interference in the cultural celebration of the Natives.

Geiogamah's "49" is an invitation to trace the Native Americans' cultural and cerebral history. In other words, the interpretation of the play reveals the Natives' historical attempt of *Survival* instead of the "cryptic" or puzzling representation of the Native American culture. The play, therefore, refers to the practice and gatherings of the young Native Americans' dance, singing and merry to the extent of their complete absorption into their inherent culture. Geiogamah, as the Native author, informs that, historically, these congregations, the forty-nines, occur at night till sunrise, and are meant sacred for the young Natives; thus, the scene "is charged with the energy of hundreds of youths" (87). In the "Author's Note," he trusts that, "while taking part in a 49, young 'Indians' are in an extremely heightened state of awareness of their Indianness" (87). That is why the play is part of the struggle of the Native American playwrights in general, and of Geiogamah's in particular, to use drama as a mean of expression of the Native issues in Native American style that promotes natural ways of enjoyment.

The play "49" reflects the specific traits of Native Americans' life. These qualities or the 'simulations' of survival contribute significantly in keeping the Native identity alive as well as overcoming 'manifest manners' that undermine these recreations. In the context of "49", Simulations of survival refer to the display of the Native American cultural features whereas 'manifest manners' or the 'simulations of dominance' are the hurdles in the protection of these models of Native culture. As the strategy of overcoming the dominant 'simulations,' Night Walker, in the scene III of "49", highlights the Native American's concept of family, sense of sharing, and commitment to resist any effort against their identity. Walker, "the ceremonial leader of the tribe," confirms his identity and heritage by proclaiming that he is "the eldest of the tribe" and his "people" (Geiogamah 85-96). With this high status, Walker's selection as the leader of the Native community in play is significant contribution in bringing the Natives' sense of cultural and social gatherings. Moreover, in his play "49," Geiogamah uses Walker to define and elaborate the sense of sharing in the life style of the Native Americans. For instance, Walker's speech highlights the concept of

shared food as he has "brought food for [his] friends" (Geiogamah 96). Similarly, he proclaims his determination to give relief to others from their sufferings by preparing "meal," making "fire", and spreading his "blankets" for all of his people (96). Walker's feelings of confidence and commitment to protect the Native culture of extending their love to all the participants of the gathering 49 are the acts of Survivance, for these ensure the *Survival* of Native American culture by resisting and overcoming the problems such as insufficient food and body coverings. This pledge is similar to that of Bobby in Geiogamah's "Body Indian" when he wishes to survive despite his threatening addiction to alcohol. Both of these characters tend to reveal the presence of natural instinct of *Survival* among the Native Americans. Thus, their acts of generosity and self-realization, respectively, culturally acknowledged traits; therefore the propagation of these conforms to the purpose of Vizenor's idea of resistance through Native stories. According to him, "[m]y narratives create a sense of survivance over [manifest] manners, and resistance to cultural separatism" (Vizenor, *Liberty* 4).

Single setting, in the form of the ceremonial ground, in the play "49", enhances the power of Walker who shows his presence in past and future with an insight of the Natives' consistent struggle of *Survival*. Therefore, he serves as a connection between the present and the past time periods in the Native American history through his representation as the spirit of his people (Johnson 412). Walker strengthens the spirit of the *Survival* that reflects through the Native Americans' unflinching commitment to the Natives' existence:

> I am not afraid. I will not stop walking. I will not stop singing. I will not stop dancing. I will talk to all of my friends for a very long time. We will through the dark that has passed us, the tribe, our people……We will live and walk together for a long time. All of us will live and walk together for a long time. (Geiogamah 99)

These words of Walker also reveal Geiogamh's intentions of encouraging the Native Americans for their wisdom in stressing unity as the significant strategy of *Survival.* At the same time, Walker's resolve to the uninterrupted flow of the Natives' acts of singing and dancing adds to the play's theme about the preservation of Native culture.

Unity, as a common trait, leads to the visibility of a human sovereign society. In this context, the cultural event, 49, is the chief aspect of the story of the play "49," providing the chance of uniting the Native Americans for any resistance that guarantees their *Survival*. For example, the conversation between Walker and the young Native

Americans generates a discussion about the significance of the Native cultural gatherings such as 49 for the survival of the Native American identity. Walker warns the young people that the forced removal from the place (the place of 49) "will be like death" for them (Geiogamah105). Naturally, the threat of Native Americans' evacuation from their cultural dwellings demands more unity on the part of the Native Americans who seem ready to defend their *Survival*. Therefore, the determination of the young Native attendants of 49 and their respect for Walker like his "students" show the strength of this Native community as a nation (Geiogamah 102). In response to the Walker's warning, the young Native Americans' confirmation of his support "through times of sufferings and sorrows" exhibits the steadfastness and sense of the cultural preservation on the part of the young Natives (105). In this way, the story of "49" builds the "awareness in young Native Americans about their past and the present" as well as it creates "a positive and meaningful new future" (Stankiewicz 163). Adding to this, in the light of theory of Survivance, the play generates a memory of the Native American culture through the active participation and memory of the members of Native community. For this purpose, "49" incorporates the storytelling feature of Native American drama by involving the variety of traditional Native characters and audiences who generate a collective memory of the gathering. This includes Native American "chiefs", "people of the tribe", "weaving woman", "girls and boys of the tribe", "singers and drummers" (Geiogamah, 85). These character, through their past memories, share the significant aspects of the Native historical traditions. For instance, referring to the "drum," Singing Man, in the play, affirms about the strong and historical impact of dancing on the Native Americans' life: "Our people have had these gifts since before our long journey here. The mother gave the tribe, our people, and this drum. For us its sound is the sound of her heart beating with life" (112).

Contextually, highlighting the Natives' practice of oral stories in "49" is reflective of the Natives' historical concern for memorizing their traditions as well as the challenges to continue these without any interruption. Therefore, for the careful transfer of the cultural knowledge, which emerges through 49 congregations and the characters such as Singing Man, Geiogamah selects Walker as the head and the "eldest man" on the occasion (Geiogamah 98). The message of this event, 49, therefore, is a message of respect for the Native identity and *Survival* when Walker informs the audiences about his belief in their power of remembering: "You know my voice. We sing together. You were at my birth. You know my father. You know my father's father,

and you know his father" (96). Walker's emphasis on the preservation of the Native identity as the keeper of ancestral traditions is significant in terms of ensuring the right of the Native Americans as a distinct nation. It also refers to their 'active presence' that Vizenor seeks for the survival of Native American culture and identity.

More instances of resistance through active presence appear in the play "49" when the Native characters challenge the 'simulations of dominance' in the form of their resistance and commitment to continue the traditional Native gathering of 49. In this context, the unfavorable situation for *Survival* originates through the interference of the official police to stop the Native Americans from celebrating their cultural event 49. Throughout the play, the police patrols the roads and remains watchful about the movements of the Native Americans who drive to participate in this 49 jamboree. However, the commitment of passing on the singing and dancing traditions, on the part of the Native Americans, is visible through the singing boy, who is determined to carry on his activity, announcing "I will finish the song now. Will you help me? I want to take this song with me to the new place where we will live" (Geiogamah 114). This commitment reflects the belief of the Native character not to surrender as a victim of the police authority. His faith is not the individual trait, for all the participants of 49 extend their support. For example, when the patrol finally attacks, the 49'ers (the attendants of 49) form "a line of defense across the front of the area, facing the police car lights" (128). Unafraid of the authority, the Native American 49'ers show the repetition of their resistance to any act that underestimates the Natives' strength to protect the Native American culture. This resolution is evident from the 49'ers warning to the police:

> 49'ers: Don't come any further.
>
> Another 49'er: You're not taking …any…of us!
>
> Another 49'er: None of us. (112)

These Native Americans, as the characters in the Native play "49", exhibit their power thorough responsibility of assuring the survival of the Native traditional practice of 49 despite of the federal police threats to "use gas" and bringing in "the dogs" to disperse the 49'ers (Geiogamah, 129). These 49'ers react more enthusiastically by declaring that they will "be here all night"…."all day"…And all night again" (129). Resultantly, "The patrol car lights slowly begin to fade one at a time as the patrols pull back" (Geiogamah, 120). The retreat of the police, in "49", is the playwright's creation of a memory of cultural Survivance that results after the characters' trust in their ways and traditions.

This collective Native experience results into their acts of *Survival*: love for the Native land, Native unity, strong family bonding, and sense of sharing.

Chapter Conclusion

The analyzed Native plays in this chapter have incorporated the aspects of 'manifest manners', 'victimry' and 'simulations of survivance' from Vizenor's theory of Survivance. This conclusion summarizes all the four plays, separately, in attempt to organize the objectives of the study.

Contextually, Geiogamah's "Body Indian" revolves around the theme of alcoholism with the poverty and self-defeat of the characters to the extent that they appear victims in the play, posing a serious threat to *Survival*. Meanwhile, the play offers considerable evidences to connect this 'victimry' or victimhood with the White Americans' hegemonic actions of contributing to the Natives' poor state by providing them with less opportunities of income and employment, which adds to their poverty. This leads to the exploitation of the Native land through lease lands at cheap rates. The situation, collectively, relates to the Vizenor's concept of 'manifest manners,' for it shows the power of the White Americans to deal with the Native people. Meanwhile, in the light of Survivance, the play reveals that alcohol adds more to the poverty and demotivation of the Native characters. It also causes disrespect among these characters who are unable to realize the sensitivity of their existence. Therefore, resistance to alcoholism is necessary through self- realization, on the part of the Native characters, for the sake of the survival of the Native values of mutual respect and active presence. Since, Vizenor seeks the revocation of 'manifest manners' through the exhibition of these values, the comprehensive analysis of the play "Body Indian" explores Boby Lee, the protagonist, who overthrows 'victimry' through his resolve to quit alcohol. This self- realization brings theme of resistance for *Survival* in the story of the play.

"Foghorn" also carries theme of Natives' resistance against their stereotypical image which creates more negative image and titles for them in the play. Here, Survivance becomes the depiction of the historical strength of the Native Americans to reclaim any land as the citizens of the United Sates, as Vizenor terms this effort as the inheritable right. Therefore, the play is based on the issue of Alcatraz Island 1969. Meanwhile, through the story's Narrator, Geiogamah promotes the responsible and sensible Native characters to show a meaningful historical existence of the Native Americans. As in "Body Indian", Geiogamah's "Foghorn" also depicts the stereotype Natives as the victims of highly negative titles in the hands of the White characters of

Nun and the Teacher. However, the play, integrating theory of Survivance, rejects the negative image of the Natives by portraying the selfish and materialistic two White political agents named as Spy and Voice in the play. Survivance is also visible in the Narrator's wisdom and sense of generosity in accepting the status of the main stream Americans. This act merges resistance with *Survival* through the creation of such stories. In this way, "Foghorn" also favors the concept of sovereignty. Therefore, it values the names of the Native tribes such as "Sioux," and "Apache."

"49", though a comparatively short play by Geiogamah, introduces and protects the Natives' traditions of dance and commitment to continue the cultural events such as the event of 49. Such cultural practices refer to the Native identify and culture. Meanwhile, these are the 'simulations' of survivance, for their preservation involves resistance such as the resistance of 49'ers in the play.

The last play, in this chapter, reflects the historical trace of the Native Americans' sufferings by the authors, Howe and Gordon. Their "Indian Radio Days" incorporates many historical events which, in Vizenor's view, refer to the 'manifest manner' in the wake of White Americans policies of the acquisition of Native land as well as the misrepresentation of the Native Americans in the US media. Resultantly, this scenario affects *Survival*. Therefore, Survivance demands the resistance to these hegemonic polices through the Native stories such as "Indian Radio Days". The play, in this regard, reshapes the White Americans' invented 'other' by portraying the Native character, Harvey, as the protector of environment against the advanced industrial nations like that of the White Americans. Similarly, in the play, the resistance to the stereotypical Native presentation occurs through Fonda's project of the film *Lakota Women* which casts all the Native characters who present their true image from the Native American perspective.

Conclusively, in the light of the theory of Survivance, the selected plays present Geiogamah as the representative Native literary playwright whose literary works, as the cultural studies, portray the power of the Native American culture and offer the discussion of the social problems of the Native Americans. The analysis of his plays, in this chapter, has connected his idea of *Survival* with the Natives' resistance to their internal (self-created) as well as the external obstacles (White Americans' hegemony), which finds the supporting voices of two other Native playwrights, Howe and Gordon, in the same chapter. These writers focus on the Native Americans' active presence by involving their Native characters in the major events of the American history. As a

whole, the selected playwrights' discernment in judging the Native Americans' spirit of *Survival*, as portrayed in the current chapter, adds to the understanding that how the Native American students overcome the impact of the unpleasant story of their forced assimilation through education in the Indian boarding schools, as investigated in the preceding chapter and concluded in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

This chapter reassembles the analysis of the selected texts as well as the overview of the historical relationships between the Native Americans and the White Americans. In the present study, this relationship refers to the forced assimilation of the Native Americans into the mainstream American society [*Assimilation*] and the survival of the Native American culture, identity and sovereignty [*Survival*]. The current study, intentionally and preferably, has used the term 'the Native American' and 'the Native,' instead of 'Indian' and 'American Indian,' for the original people of the American continent. Consequently, the study advocates that 'Indian' is a misnomer and biased term that obstructs the Natives' struggle of achieving their status as the civilized and wise people. Moreover, the selected theorist associates the term 'Native American' with the historical presence of the original inhabitants in America. In the light of Vizenor's theory of Survivance, the selected texts have shown pronounced focus of Native American drama on the survival of the Native American culture, identity, traditions, and history. Besides, the selected playwrights have well portrayed the pertinent issue of the Native Americans' assimilation into the mainstream society in the wake of the White Americans' efforts aimed at *Assimilation* through various policies. The significant among these include the Congressional Acts such as The Indian Removal Act 1830, the Dawes Act 1887, and the policy of Termination and the Natives' Relocation in 1950s. Most of these policies, however, imply the complete elimination of the Native traditional values and beliefs, which meets the Native Americans' resistance for *Survival*. For instance, the Dawes Act forces the Native Americans to own their ancestral land on individual basis. Meanwhile, the literature review discusses the Indian Reorganization Act 1934 and the Religious Freedom Act, along with some other instances to incorporate the White Americans' significant concern for the plight of the Natives. In an attempt to trace out the focus of Native American drama on *Assimilation* and *Survival*, the present research includes the historical evidences from relevant references which substantiate that the Native Americans' history documents the struggle of *Survival* as well as the Natives' resistance

to accept *Assimilation* into the mainstream American society. The historical data collected and surveyed during the study have considerably contributed to trace the issues of *Assimilation* and *Survival*, relating those with the long period in the history of the United States.

The Native Americans' life on the federally created 'Indian reservations,' as the present study has revealed, displays serious threats to the *Survival* of the Native people. Though seemingly favorable in the context of Native sovereignty and *Survival*, these distinct territories paint a gloomy picture of the Natives' life with less job opportunities, poverty, and limited sources of quality education. Furthermore, the historical documents have revealed that the US government's preference for establishing the reservations was the result of conflicts between the Natives and the White people during the 19th century. In this context, the study of American history during the research concludes that the White Americans have perceived that the Native Americans are responsible for their rejection of the idea of Americanization and acculturation, particularly in the last quarter of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century. However, it is established through the study of the selected texts and the historical evidences that the US federal government has the conditional stand on the assimilation policy for the Native Americans, compelling the Natives to adopt the mainstream culture in terms of religion, language and clothing. This includes Christianity, English language, and Western dress. Resultantly, the Native Americans name and remember the process as 'Forced Assimilation' in the disguise of civilization and education. The critics such as Chansiri and Dencik have also supported the Native Americans' perception of *Assimilation* that is contrary to the natural or automatic absorption of an ethnic group into a dominant society.

The current study has unearthed and affirmed that the federal U.S. government had kept on introducing and implementing certain laws and acts to ensure the success of *Assimilation* during the 19th and 20th centuries. However, as the anthropologist, Weaver, predicts, these efforts fail owing to the US government's approach to assimilate the Native Americans at the cost of the extinct Native culture. Thus, as the study has revealed, there exists considerable association, yet not fully realized by the White Americans, between the forced assimilation and survival of the Native culture, identity, history and beliefs. The quoted evidences during the current research have discovered that the U.S. government has carried on its policy of assimilation for a long span in the American history. However, in collaboration with the political and

economic campaigns of sovereignty that started in 1960s, the Natives' tendency to firmly hold their cultural values have contributed in attracting many professionals to focus on the Native Americas' past. And it has added more researchers into this field. However, *Survival* still faces challenges in the light of the Natives' depressing representation in the political and social arena of the American society.

The historical data and the selected text predict the uncertain future of the original inhabitants of the American continent in case of the prolonged misrepresentation of the Natives in the mainstream society. This prediction is based on not only in the depiction of melancholic Native life in the selected drama, but also in the statements of the U.S. officials such as the former Republican member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Saurman, and the congressman from Arkansas, Little; both conclude that the federal government has treated the Native people unkindly, dishonestly and unfairly, particularly in the name of education in Indian boarding schools. In the current research, this refers to the threatening motivation for the Natives to embrace the dominant American culture or Anglo- American cultural aspects, such as English language, and non-Native hair style in the name of cultural assimilation or 'Acculturation'.

The present research, taking into view the history and the Natives' current plight, has found the Native Americans below the poverty level with insufficient health facilities, and alarmingly alcoholic trends that make them the victims of the negligence of the mainstream American society. Moreover, the stereotypical image of the Native Americans, that views them uncivilized, ignorant and uneducated creatures, has added more discomfort to their existing dejected scenario as reported in the consulted sources during the study. In this regard, the consulted historians and the Native literati also report some more stereotypes such as savage', and 'Indian.' For instance, the school teacher, in Geiogamah's "Foghorn" labels the Native students as deaf and dump and worthless things. Not only *Survival*, under the psychological trauma caused by such negative portrayal, fears challenges, but also the assimilation process suffers in the absence of tolerance. At the same time, theory of Survivance has related such misrepresentation of the Native Americans to the absence of the historical Native culture, identity and civilization.

Contextually, *Assimilation* is prone to resistance owing to the Native Americans' belief that the traditional native knowledge, ceremonial practices, and cultural history are best performed in the Native environment in Native American

languages. Therefore, in the current study, the targets of integrating the Native people, on the part of the American reformers, missionaries, and teachers, remain unfulfilled due to the misconceptions about the uncompromising Native stance on the preservation of the Native culture. Data accumulated during the research confirms that many non-Native American historians strongly hold that *Assimilation*, whether through removal and relocation policies or through the Indian boarding school education, fails to achieve its desired targets of disaffiliating the Native Americans from their culture. For example, Rayhner and Eder (2006), White (2008), and Stout (2012) assert that the U.S. government has never succeeded in replacing the Native American culture and languages with the Whites' culture owing to the strong resistance by the Native people. The ultimate confirmation of the failure of *Assimilation* is chronicled in Mariam Report of 1928 which terms the US Indian education policy as the discriminatory one, condemning the government for its biased approach and false assumptions about the Native Americans' culture. Meanwhile, the report proposes the launch of the education policy on bicultural and bilingual grounds. Thus, the study has found the Native Americans' capability of performing satisfactorily in a conducive and unbiased study environment, cultivating the sense of confidence among Native students.

The historical resources, in the current study, have revealed that the US Congress has mostly ignored any effective legislation to protect Native American culture and identity except recognizing the Native Americans as the U.S. citizens. For instance, the most endeared element in Native American culture−the land− has mainly faced threats. Historically, the Native people lost significant area of land between 1800 and 1934 which had already led to many wars, such as the Pequot War (1636-37), Kind Philip's War (1675), French and Indian War (1754-1763), between the Euro-Americans and the Native Americans. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the policies of Removal and Allotment also caused much loss to the Natives' attachments with their ancestral lands. Similarly, the later policies of the US government in the middle of the 20th century, though intended for the betterment of the Native Americans, also enhanced the sufferings of the Native Americans. For example, the termination and relocation policy, in the mid-20th century, disconnects many Native Americans from their roots and creates more financial problems.

Thorough overview of the Native American history, in the present research, concludes that the practice of the Native beliefs, traditions and spirits, which collectively refers to the Native identity, resisted the Euro-Americans in order to

confirm the existence of the Native Americans as a sovereign nation. This refers to the historical status of the Native people as the self-governing nation without the presence of the Euro-Americans. With the least contradiction, the historians such as Buck (2016) and Tamburro (2014) also report that the Native Americans had their own functional governments, flourishing economies and social systems well before the arrival of the Europeans in the American territory. Their arrival, however, changed the scenario with decreased number of Natives and introduction of alcohol and diseases. For instance, by 1900, the number of the Native Americans reduced to 240,000 from two million at the time of Europeans' arrival. Similarly, as Coulmbe figures out, 96% of the Native population, in New England, suffered from the virus that travelled from Europe between 1617 and 1620. In terms of land loss, the Native Americans suffered tremendously due to Europeans' exploitation of rich Native territories, damaging the distinct status of Native Americans. The historic evidences support that the exploitation of the Native American lands added to this confused state, and posed a threat to the Native Survival in case of losing their traditional economy based on fur-trade, hunting and farming. Similarly, though not identified explicitly, the Native religious practices existed before the European reformers and missionaries forced them to accept Christianity. The modern day critics such as Mello and Owen (2016), Weaver (2014) and Leavelle support the argument that the Euro- Americans strived hard to vanish the Native religious and spiritual practices such as that of Indian Ghost Dance, considering them a threat to civilization. The study has also traced out that the resistance of the Natives erupted not from the invitation to Christianity, but from the disregard for the Native religious traditions, which were considered childish, pagan and primitive by the mainstream American society. The confusion and uncertainty caused by disregard for the Native religion was also one of the factors that caused identity crises in Native American life. Collectively, the inclusion of the historical context in the study is in accordance with the selected theory and the objectives of the study that aims at analyzing the counter hegemonic response of the Native literary circle.

Native American literature, including novel, poetry, and drama, incorporates the historical issues of *Assimilation* and *Survival*. The review of the related literature has found many Native American literati who search for the Native identity and sovereignty. During this effort, the study has traced various literary perspectives on Native American literature in the works of literary theorists such as Lundquist, Axelrod, and Madsen. The common themes include the concern of the Native literati like Ortiz

with the complexity of the term 'Indian,' historical sufferings of the Native Americans in the wake of forced assimilation, and the struggle for the survival of the Native culture and traditions. These writer believe that Native American literature has rightly articulated its concerns with the title 'Indian,' for it contributes to more stereotypes for the Natives. Similarly, the Native writers Tapahanso and Silko include the theme of the Native Americans' sufferings and resistance to the Whites' underestimation of the Native values.

Through the investigation of Native American literature, the current study has seen Native American literary figures, particularly the literati of the last forty or fifty years, deeply involved in the search of true Native identity with an expectation of positive response from the native and non-native readers regarding the Native Americans' miserable life. The Native writers, including the playwrights, have struggled a lot for preserving the Native history, identity and culture. The survey of the Native writings support the argument that Native American writers, using the power of literature, have given due attention to the possibility of the *Survival*. Well established Native writer, Erdrich, for instance, deals with the themes of environmental issues, healings, and cultural survival of the Native Americans in her works. Alexie, another famous Native poet and fiction writer, also portrays Native American sufferings in terms of hardships, injustices and genocide of the Indian identity. These example are very supportive while claiming that Native American literature tends to defend the Native culture, sovereignty and identity, which are the influencing factors in the possibilities of *Survival* and *Assimilation* in the Native history.

As the major area of the current study is Native American drama, the study has discussed the various perspectives on the thematic Patterns in Native plays. This attempt has contributed to explore the research gap while tracing out the commonalities among different approaches to view the themes in the reviewed researches. For instance, the literary theorists such as Huhndorf, Lyytinen, and Wilmer have viewed the emergence of the Native American drama as a result of the favorable political circumstances of the last quarter of the 20th century. These critics limit the trace of any influential and renowned playwrights before this period, for Native American drama gained significance popularity through the Natives' theatrical innovations and publication of anthologies from the 1960s onwards. The popular contributors, in this context, include Momaday, Geiogamah, Drew Hayden Taylor, Tomson Highway, William S. Yellow Robe and Diane Glancy with some more in the same field. Similarly,

Thunder also reviews Geiogamah's "Body Indian" to associate the theme of alcoholism with the promotion of victimhood in the Native play.

While investigating the focus of Native American drama on the *Survival*, the current research has elaborated the word 'survival' in the context of the Native American culture. This study has, therefore, used 'survival' as *Survival*: the survival of Native identity, history and culture. For instance, contrary to its literal meaning, to the Natives, *Survival* lies in the continued and permanent visibility of the Native culture, identity and traditions for which they have been resisting the U.S. policies for many centuries. Therefore, with the passage of time, the Natives' non-recognition in the mainstream American culture has reached the point of rejection of any measure taken by the federal government of the United States to improve the Natives' life during the early 20th century. Resultantly, the selected writers, such as Momaday, have highlighted such efforts of the White Americans in their plays, viewing those the attempts of the forced assimilation as through the Indian boarding school education. The theorists such as Chang and Haugo are also convinced that Native American drama reflects the historical sufferings of the colonial past of the Native Americans.

The surveyed historical evidences, during the study, enlighten that the Natives' struggle of *Survival* has a lot of attraction and concern for the Native playwrights who focus on the Native American identity and culture. The history books, as surveyed in the current study, have included many examples regarding the strong affiliation of the Native Americans with their territorial domains and cultural values. And this attachment dates long before the arrival of Europeans to the American continent. Therefore, the selected playwrights, Geiogamah and Momaday, have confidently honored the Native cultural traditions of dance and family system in their plays "49" and "Children of the Sun" respectively.

The present research, in the light of Vizenor's theory of Survivance, analyzed Momaday's and Geiogamah's selected plays, besides Howe and Gordon's one play. As the framework of the analysis of the selected texts, Survivance, in the current study, has emerged as the Natives' perspective that ensures the historical presence of the Native Americans through the selected plays. For this purpose, the study has utilized the hybridity in the concept of Survivance, exploring the Native playwrights' focus on the resistance of the Native Americans for the *Survival*. Meanwhile, applying the method of textual analysis, Vizenor's term 'postindian' proved very useful to counter the misnomer 'Indian' while evaluating the selected works in the light of the Native

authors' depiction and repulsion of the Whites' created stereotypes for the Native Americans. In the context of the Natives' forced assimilation through Indian boarding schools, the theory of Survivance has provided the phrase 'postindian warriors' to restructure the Native boarding school students' depiction of victimhood in the selected works of Momaday. Through such reconstruction of the Native identity, the study has focused the Natives' resistance instead of mere endurance in the course of ensuring the Native identity and historical presence in the selected Native dramas.

The chapter on Momaday's plays incorporates the key terminology and the concepts of Survivance while interpreting three plays. In this context, the analysis has focused on the hegemonic role Pratt who represents Vizenor's idea of 'Manifest Manners' and 'simulations of dominance'. As the counter hegemonic response to this power of the mainstream, the study found Vizenor's concepts of 'postindian warriors' and 'simulations of survivance' very significant. The *Assimilation* through Indian boarding school education has based "The Indolent Boys" and "The Moon in Two Windows," which depict the policy and conduct of the Kiowa and the Carlisle Indian Boarding schools respectively. Momaday's selection of the Carlisle school has proved vital to unearth the significant features of Assimilation through education, for Pratt had personally run this school. Meanwhile, this study has explored the similarities between the approaches of the representatives of the assimilation through education in both of these school. It refers to the degradation of the Native American culture, image, and language by the White characters in "The Indolent Boys" and "The Moon into Windows". For instance, Wherritt and Gregory's fearless reactions to the outcomes of the Native students' punishment turn the Native American students into the passive characters in "The Indolent Boys." Similarly, in "The Moon in Two Windows," Pratt's belief in the English language as the civilized way of communication devalues the Natives' way of communication. Consequently, the current study has found the forced language as the hegemonic stance on the part of the administration of the Indian boarding schools. In such case, hegemony is an act of imposing the dominant culture on the Native Americans. There appear more examples of the forced assimilation of the Native students in these plays. For example, the Native names such as 'Mosatse' and 'Koi-khan-hodle' find replacement with 'Jack' and 'Arch,' respectively, in "The Indolent Boys." Collectively, these actions of the White administration at the Indian schools refer to the 'manifest manners' and 'inventions,' as the study has viewed in the light of theory of Survivance. For instance, Vizenor indicates that the dominant White

American culture has invented 'Indian' without realizing the presence of the Native Americans at the time of Columbus's arrival in the American continent.

As the current study reflects the counter hegemonic response in Native American drama, the 'manifest manners' meet the strong resistance of the Native American students in the selected works. In this context, the analysis of Momaday's selected works has revealed the resistance to *Assimilation* by Pai and Luther. These Native characters share the similar response to *Assimilation* while proclaiming their strong attachment with the Native identity. At the same time, these two Native students incorporate Vizenor's notion of 'postindian warriors', for they remain a memory of Survivance in the Native stories of "The Indolent Boys" and "The Moon in Two Windows" respectively. It is the cultural memory that Momaday honors in "The Indolent Boys": the story of three Kiowa Native children's death in the backdrop of the punishment inflicted upon them by the White teachers at The Kiowa Indian Boarding School, Oklahoma. Momaday's intentional attempt to commemorate the tragic story in his play is reflective of his concern about the difficult circumstances in the history of Native Americans' *Survival* and *Assimilation.*

The study has explored that Momaday's selected plays have invited the history of Indian boarding schools to establish that the Native students were forced to dispossess their culture and language in these boarding schools which began with the establishment of the Carlisle Indian boarding in 1879 under the umbrella of Pratt's slogan that views the Native Americans as the useless beings without their education under the supervision of the mainstream Americans. In this context, the study has attempted to authenticate the Pratt's vision of assimilating the Native children, and found that Pratt had mostly shown no favors for the growth of the Native American culture and languages. Therefore, to explore the issue of *Assimilation*, the inclusion of Momaday's works, in the current study, has proved very useful. The worth of this selection lies in Momaday's established status as the Native playwright, who, apart from an award winning literary figure, is one of the founders of the Native American Renaissance: a period that started focusing rigorously on the Native American issues of *Survival*. Meanwhile, the realistic touch to the story stems from Momaday's personal upbringing in the Native environment. Consequently, he also turns into a 'postindian warrior' for commemorating the Native American students who survived as the memory of *Survival*. As the 'postindian warrior,' Momaday's "The Indolent Boys" has

promoted the state of *Survival* by mixing the Natives' resistance to the manifest manners of Pratt through the spirit of *Survival*.

Since the U.S. government, in the late 19th century, focused on the Natives' *Assimilation* through the boarding school education, the current study has used the selected text in relation with the historical references for the authentication of the Momaday's focus on this theme. These sources also include the contemporary American newspapers in order to trace the spirit as well as the impact of the Indian boarding school policy. For instance, "The Indolent Boys" openly claimed that the U.S. government's policy of removing the Native children from their ancestral culture, in the name of education, is an example of forced assimilation. Similarly, the comprehensive analysis of Momaday's selected plays has brought forth the instances of this *Assimilation* in the acts of the replacement of Native names with the Christian names besides the change in the Native students' hairstyles. Meanwhile, the research has also found the legal protection for the Indian boarding school education. For example, the U.S. government imposed the laws like The Appropriation Act of 1892 that required the unwilling Native parents to send their children to boarding schools. Similarly, the critics such as Weaver (2014) and Graham (2008) also view the 19th century's Indian boarding schools as the Euro-American cultural centers in opposition to the Natives' ways of life.

In the present research, as Survivance claims, the 'sustained' stereotypes of the Native Americans emerge through the signal of the White Americans' desperate effort for assimilating the Native Americans into the White American ways of life at any cost. More specifically, "The Indolent Boys" has portrayed the Native playwrights' understanding of the White Americans' desperation to assimilate the Native people. For instance, Gregory and Wherritt suggest no other way to stop the Natives' resistance in the form of runaways expect punishing them hard. However, both, Wherritt and Gregory fail to discern the magnitude and ways of the Native children's resistance. Lack of this judgment, in the White Americans' attitude, results into the "Indolent"- insensitive and lazy people- Native Americans. The depiction of this perception is explicitly found in the words of Wherritt when he includes all the Native children and their parents in the list of thieves, beggars, poor, and be fathered. However, the present study has proved it unwise to view the Native Americans as 'Indolent,' for the policy of forced assimilation through education failed.

In the light of Survivance, the study has found the strong influence of the assimilationist U.S. polices on Native American drama. Therefore, "The Indolent Boys" has incorporated the U.S. President Lincoln who receives Pai's strong discontentment when he accuses the President of disconnecting the Natives from their parents, language, grandparents and culture at the Kiowa Boarding School at Anadarko, Oklahoma. Viewed as the 'simulation of dominance' in the current study, *Assimilation* through the boarding school education reflects in Pai's disparagement to Pratt's imposed conditions for the Native students such as cutting of their hair, the exclusive use of the English language, and killing of the Native cultural memory. Collectively, the study has also made an attemp to verify the claims of the Native students, such as that of Pai, regarding these measures of the Indian boarding schools. For instance, Murphree (2012) believes that the primary function of the pro-government missionaries in USA between 1870s and 1880s was to educate the Indigenous children by detaching the Native youth from their tribal communities. Hence, in its struggle to find how the theory of Survivance views the efforts of the U.S. government to assimilate the Native Americans, the current research project affirms the failure of any hope to disaffiliate the Native Americans from their culture by force. In the context of the selected plays, for instance, it was the result of the strong Native resistance to their cultural assault that created confusion and disturbance among the White teachers such as Carrie and Wherritt at Kiowa school, causing gradual decline of the Assimilation policy. The textual analysis of the utterances of both, Carrie and Wherritt, has surfaced the confession of the stressed life at the school, as portrayed in the play "The Indolent Boys". This withdrawal, from the mission of the Natives' assimilation, has proved that the U.S. representatives of this policy of *Assimilation* undervalued the task of replacing one culture with the other by using the forced methods in this regard.

Recalling the statement of problem that anticipated the existence of the unpleasant relationships between the White Americans and the Native Americans, undisputable fact of the stereotypical image of the Native American has affected the *Survival* and *Assimilation*; it has also widened the gap of the mutual respect between the Natives and the Whites. Ultimately, it proved be a serious challenge to the success of *Assimilation*. However, the application of the theory of Survivance on the selected works has challenged the preconceived ideas about the Native Americans with a wish not to view them as savages.

The present study, while in search of the selected playwrights' focus on theme of *Survival* and resistance, has chosen Hanay Geiogamah as the Native playwright who exhibits the 'survivalist approach' in his selected works. However, the investigation of his plays has also found the equal focus on the description of the Native Americans' self-created socio-economic problems and the contribution of the U.S. government's negligence in resolving these issues. Therefore, Geiogamah's "Body Indian" relates the issues of alcoholism, poverty and unemployment to the lack of self-awareness on the part the Native American characters in the play. Meanwhile, the application of the theory of Survivance on "Body Indian" relates the White Americans' hegemonic polices of introducing alcohol, holding the unfair land-lease deals, and ignoring the financial crises of the Native Americans with 'manifest manners', giving rise to the 'victmry' in the Native American depicted society. For more understanding of the 'manifest manners', the blend of the historical references and the selected texts, in the present research, propounds the view that Geiogamah, though very critical about the disproportionate use of alcohol by the Natives, invites the readers to investigate the causes which result into the Natives' sufferings. Similarly, as the counter strategy, the theory of Survivance has discouraged the violent reaction on the part of the protagonist, Boby Lee, who has turned into the victim of poverty and alcoholism. Thus, in the light of Survivance, Lee has defeated his self-created victimhood by resisting alcohol intake and presenting a sensible budget for solving the Native Americans' economic problems. Consequently, these 'simulations of Survivance' denounce 'victimry' and ensure the Natives' active presence in their society.

The study has also viewed the stereotypical Native presentation as a serious hurdle in the way of *Survival* and the Natives' assimilation into the mainstream American society. In the light of Vizenor's theory of survivance, these stereotypes are the inventions and simulations which the dominant white American society has created. As in Vizenor's concept of 'simulations' and 'inventions', the study has related these concepts with the unreal and unauthentic description of the Native Americans' cultural and social values. Therefore, they also refer to stereotypes. For this purpose, Geiogamah's selected play "Foghorn" proves very significant. Analyzed under the heading "Foghorn": *Survival* in resistance to Stereotyped 'Indian' and the Whites' Hegemony, "Foghorn" views the Native history as the hope for the better Native future. To be very specific, the reference to 1969s' Alcatraz occupation, in the play, is a purposeful attempt of Geiogamah to strengthen the Native Americans' concept of land

and to highlight the White Americans' past attempts of claiming the Native lands through the acts of the U.S. Congress. Consequently, Vizenor's theory of Survivance has viewed "Foghorn" as the reminder to the young Native Americans regarding the essentials of *Survival*, which includes the resistance to the Euro-American hegemony, and determination of the Natives to preserve their attachment with the land of the United States. The study has found this purpose of the play in the Narrator's proclamation of accepting Alcatraz as the land of all the Americans. By showing the Narrator's generosity, Geiogamah has attempted to highlight the broadmindedness of the Native Americans as well as the Natives' love for the American continent. Similarly, the Narrator's invitation to the White Americans, for accepting the guidance of the Natives' religion, education and ways of life, is also reflective of non-confrontational strategy of *Survival*. Meanwhile, Vizenor views these themes as the creation of the Natives' simulations of Survivance through the Native stories. "Foghorn," as one of these stories, also subverts the White Americans- produced stereotypes for the Native Americans by questioning the political exploitation of the White Americans through the characters of Spy and Voice. With the same objective of this study's counter hegemonic response, "Foghorn" also produces some more 'simulations' of Survivance after the exploration of the Native tribal names, such as "Winnebage,""Sioux," "Apache," and "Ojibwa," in the last scene of the play.

The study, in the light of theory of Survivance, has made an attempt to achieve its targets of the selected playwrights' effort to ensure the Natives' historical presence as a distinct nation. Therefore, it has viewed Geiogamah's "49" as the source of the Native American cultural practices with the indication of their active presence. In the play, the role of Night Walker is highly significant to promote the Native cultural values of love with the humanity and broadmindedness, which counters the White Americans' attempt to restrain the young Natives from celebrating their cultural event 49. The play has also challenged the dominant ideology and culture of the White Americans, by depicting the young Native Americans' meddling with the White police that halt the Native Americans from celebrating their cultural event 49. In the light of Vizenor's Survivance, "49" lets the Native Americans not forget the grim past in order to cherish the future of the Native identity and culture. Therefore, the study has related the Natives' resistance, in "49", with the function of the Native stories to counter the 'simulations of dominance' through the preservation of the Native culture. For instance, "49" includes the Singing Man who believes firmly in the historical significance of

dance in the Native culture, and the Singing Boy who wishes to carry this tradition with him wherever they live. Thus, Geiogamah's selected plays have yielded appreciation for the author's role as a guide to the dejected Native Americans, focusing more on the need for the revival of the Native Americans' cultural values than accursing the White Americans all the time. Additionally, the analysis of Geiogamah's plays declares him as survivalist whose selected plays are based on themes of self-realization and the power of the Native tribal values which ultimately motivate the Native Americans to continue their struggle for maintaining the Native identity.

The current study has found the extensive influence of the Native history on the selected Native drama, viewing the Native past in the relation with the White Americans' hegemonic policies (as discussed in the study). For instance, "Indian Radio Days" has presented the historical survey of the Native Americans' sufferings along with the method of overcoming these challenges. Howe and Gordon, as the female representative Native playwrights in this study, have equally participated in the discussion of the power of the Native stories to display the Natives' wisdom, intellect and strength for countering the unfavorable circumstance.

In the light of the analyzed selected texts and the historical policies of the U.S. government, the study concludes that the White American official representatives have made certain efforts to involve the Native Americans in the debate of the existence of their friendly relations with the White Americans. In this context, the acts such as the Indian Reorganization Act and the Indian Citizenship Act have acknowledged the undeniable existence of the Native Americans in the U.S. territory. However, the full understanding of these measures remained obscure during the 20th century, as portrayed in the selected texts. In this context, however, the current study has discouraged the nostalgic and depressed representation of the Native Americans in the Native American literature. Therefore, the researcher has explored the Native playwrights' focus on the theme of self-realization along with the knowledge about the damaging effects of certain Native lifestyles which include the excessive consumption of alcoholism and weakening Native family traditions of mutual respect. Thus, Survivance requires to forget the story of the introduction of alcohol by the Euro-Americans to the Native Americans' lands, as reported by Philips (2014) and *Perrin. Jr*. (2011). Such an unbiased deduction, from Geiogamah's selected work, is an indication of the 'simulation of survivance'. Resultantly, this effort brings universality and impartiality to scrutinize and investigate the considerable Native grievances and obstacles in the

way of *Survival*, instead of viewing the Native literature, particularly the Native Americans drama, in terms of its consistent contribution to the image of a resistant literature that carries many complaints by the representative society. The unprejudiced approach of Geiogamah is also promotes the logical understanding of the issues. For example, in his "Body Indian", Geiogamah appears as the economist with his proposal of the financial budget for the Native Americans. Therefore, the suggestion that demands the government cheque for $25 thousands for every Native is a symbol of the Native playwrights' concern about most of the important aspects of the Native Americans' life and history. For instance, there is an elaboration of the utility of this money for the Natives, as the Native characters want to fulfill their basic needs that include their kids' shoes, clothes, and bicycles. Meanwhile, Lee's desire to have money for joining the rehabilitation center reveals the importance of money for the Native Americans' *Survival*.

The research has grasped the similarity in the themes of the selected plays in terms of *Survival* and *Assimilation*. Thus, in the present study, Geiogamah's recognized role as a survivalist matches with the Momaday's disclosure of his concern for the Native Americans' *Survival* in the selected plays. For instance, during the investigation of Momaday's "Children of the Sun", the researcher has traced out the elaborated Native cultural values which play a vital role in the *Survival* of the Native Americans as well as educate the White American assimilationists for their misconceptions about the Native Americans' wisdom and skills. Among these values, the Native view of taking the children as the carriers and saviors of the Native traditions is a very significant for the survival of the Native culture and history.

One of the significant outcomes of the research rests in the realization that the struggle of *Survival* by the Native Americans has passed through different stages in the history of the Native Americans. Therefore, while going through the investigation of "Children of the Sun," in the light of the theory of Survivance, the study has found the Native characters' remembrance of the ups and downs in the Native past. Therefore, First Twin and Second Twin in the play, for instance, remember the abundance of buffalo, antelope, and fields of wild flowers which, according to these characters, had provided strength to the Native children, while the scarcity of these natural resources of survival had resulted in the Natives' starvation. However, incorporating Survivance, "Children of the Sun" depicts these characters' steadfastness, generosity and goodness as the features of the Native American life during various difficult circumstances. It

also authenticates the non-confrontational approach of Momaday while portraying the themes of resistance and *Survival*. Summing up, Native American drama has a great potential to recap the history of the struggle of the Native Americans for the survival of the Native culture and identity in the wake of the utmost efforts of the White Americans to assimilate them into the mainstream American society. For that reason, the selected plays share themes of the Native Americans' love with their culture, traditions and identity, which the selected Native plays preserve as the memory of Survivance.

Findings and Recommendations

Summary of the findings and the contributions, made through the current study, starts with the discussion on the selected writers' exclusive focus on the Native American culture and identity. The study has achieved its objectives by finding that the depicted Native American society is partitioned into two distinct segments in terms of their responses to the historical sufferings: the passive characters who are highly possessed with the memory of the U.S. government's hegemonic policies, the active characters with the power of countering their weaknesses as human beings. For the first group, the resistance against the White Americans' assimilative endeavors turns into nostalgia and helplessness, revealing all the features of a victimized society with an uncertain identity and existence in socio-economic and educational sectors. The second group, on the other hand, counters the scenario by displaying the qualities of self-restraint and steadfastness with the spirit of survival. In this way, the research has found that the selected Native playwrights weigh and portray, equally, the simulations of dominance and the simulations of Survivance.

The application of the Vizenor's theory of Survivance, on the selected works, has considerably changed the impression of the Native American literature from the mere source of information about the historical sufferings of the Native Americans with some instances of the spirit of *Survival* to the valuable repository of a dynamic community. The present study achieved this objective by adding new terms and phrases into the repository, providing a theoretical lens that redefines *Assimilation* and *Survival* as Action and Reaction, which is a natural and ever visible phenomenon in human nature. Therefore, it refutes the view of the elected texts as the works which depict victimhood and violent reactions in response to the White Americans' less motivated policies. In this context, Vizenor's terminology has proved very useful. The terms such as 'Manifest Manners' 'Postindian', and 'Victimry' have, collectively, incorporated the

Native subversive strategies for the criticism on the Native American literature. Resultantly, 'Manifest Manners,' as the chief cause of 'victimry' and underestimation of the Native American culture, meets the resistance of the 'Postindian warriors' who, besides revoking victimhood, appear as the strong and wise people with the capability of surviving in the modern word. Moreover, the phrases such as 'simulations of dominance' and 'simulations of survivance' have provided the organized counter hegemonic response in the Native drama. In the context of the current study, such organization refers to the selected conceptual framework which views the Native Americans' resistance as the source of the their historical presence through the reconstruction of the Native image, which subverts the stereotype image of a Native as well as resists the U.S. government's policies towards the underestimation of the Native American culture and identity. At the same time, these terms are a valuable addition to the literary field. For instance, the study has added to the Vizenor' s concept of 'victimry' by relating the term with the feelings of 'self-defeat' and 'self-retreat' which lead to permanent annihilation. More virulent state, in this regard, stands as self-created 'victimry.' Hence, Survivance also refers to self-realization, wisdom and confidence, which reflects through literary stories in the form of a memory and historical presence.

The future researchers will find this study helpful in exploring further insight into the nature of the historical relationships between the Native Americans and the federal U.S. government by incorporating treaties, wars, and more policies and acts as mentioned in the selected works. Meanwhile, the historical references used in the current research also indicate certain favors, on the part of the U.S. government, for the Natives' sovereignty and self-determination, which can be further triangulated through the Native literary works to reach the fresh understanding about the nature of Native authors' grievances against the White Americans. The current study has also introduced many Native American tribes and Native cultural practices, leaving room for the future literary researches to explore the distinctive traits of the individual Native tribes as well as their cultural practices, and how these factors influence the Native stories. Meanwhile, this study has discussed the Native Americans' preference for their native languages, which invites the future researchers to explore the compatibility of Native languages with their learning objectives. Lastly, there is very little research done on drama in Pakistan and Native American drama in particular. This dissertation will serve to point the way forward for future researchers, in literature, to choose dramas for research on cultural representation.

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