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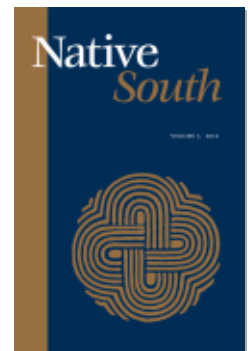
“Too Light to Be Black, Too Dark to Be White”:
Redefining Occaneechi Identity through Community Education

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“Too Light to Be Black, Too Dark to Be White”

Redefining Occaneechi Identity through Community Education

LESLEY M. GRAYBEAL

The state of North Carolina is home to the largest contemporary population of American Indian people east of the Mississippi River, and among this population the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation is one of the smallest tribes, counting approximately seven hundred members who reside primarily in Alamance and Orange Counties. The Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation is also one of the most recently recognized tribes by the state of North Carolina. The tribe reorganized in 1984 as the Eno-Occaneechi Indian Association and received recognition from the state of North Carolina only in 2002, following a long legal battle with the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs. Many of the present-day tribal members recalled knowing little of their American Indian heritage as children and being encouraged not to speak of it in public; as such, members of the reorganized tribe have devoted much effort to recovering historical information about the Occaneechis, displaying this information to the local community, and strengthening their American Indian identities. In 2004, the tribe created the Homeland Preservation Project—an open-air museum consisting of a series of reconstructions of Occaneechi ways of life—as a historical preservation project for the tribe and an educational resource for teaching visitors about Occaneechi history.

The Homeland Preservation Project is a type of new museum, a category that includes other tribal museums and ethnic museums made possible by fundamental changes in museum philosophy since the 1960s.¹ While museums have long been an authoritative knowledge source in Western culture, new museums have come to constitute an educational space that increasingly concerns itself with alternative con-

structions of knowledge that have not historically been accommodated by mainstream museums or formal classrooms. Many indigenous groups have taken advantage of these developments by creating tribal museums, each guided by the tribe's own history, population, culture, and set of circumstances. Tribal museums and other alternative museums have emerged as sites of struggle over representation and the revision of the past.² Examining small, local museums in the United States as sites of active production, performance, and navigation of culture and identity can contribute to the scholarly understanding of the transformative cultural process of self-representation. Much theoretical and case-study literature confirms the expanding role of new museums in society, and this case study provides an opportunity to examine ways in which educational and cultural heritage representations were planned and performed by an indigenous group to not only inform non-indigenous members of the local community but to provide an educational service to their own members as well.³

The Homeland Preservation Project that the Occaneechi people created likewise communicates an alternative narrative about Occaneechi history and culture to challenge that which visitors might find at a more mainstream history museum or that which students might learn in schools. The Homeland Preservation Project provides the Occaneechi people involved in it with opportunities to construct, exercise, and display an identity that has been contested in the past. The museum has given the Occaneechi people an opportunity to represent themselves, and it goes hand-in-hand with the tribe's efforts to become more visible in their community. This study examines the experiences of Occaneechi people planning and executing the Homeland Preservation Project in order to explore the importance that tribal members and staff place on the revitalization of past knowledge and the construction of contemporary Occaneechi identity after many decades of racialized identity politics. Education has become a central focus of the contemporary tribe, and the Homeland Preservation Project is the staging ground for many educational programs and events. The study reveals evidence of program planning that aims to decolonize the knowledge presented about American Indian culture and history by reshaping contemporary Occaneechi identities through the recovery and sharing of historical and cultural knowledge.

This study of the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project uses naturalistic qualitative inquiry to learn how the goals and mission of

educational initiatives have been envisioned and enacted by tribal members.⁴ I gathered data through interviews conducted with tribal council members, observations of meetings, visits to the Homeland Preservation Project site, and analysis of relevant documents and photographs detailing project planning and implementation.⁵ Because participants' responses regarding their identities were often complicated and to some degree personally sensitive, I have kept participant identities confidential and removed any identifying information. In my attempt to represent Occaneechi perspectives and experiences, I follow Linda Tuhiwai Smith's recommendation to consider indigenous interests, interpretations, and priorities in my study in order to avoid perpetuating research that appropriates Indigenous Knowledge.⁶ As K. Tsianina Lomowaima and Teresa L. McCarty argue, academics who work with American Indian issues have an obligation to seek out the "footprints of Native presence and understand them—not as singular exceptions but as moments in the historical narrative that help us link past to present."⁷ In analyzing their work as museum makers, I have been mindful of the extent to which the stories and experiences of Occaneechi people are part of a broader narrative of enduring American Indian presence and contribute to its diversity. Even without federal recognition today, the historic Occaneechi people, like many other indigenous peoples, were involved in colonial politics and wars, relocated from their homeland, and adapted to changing treaty arrangements.⁸ In the South in particular, seeking out these "footprints of Native presence" has been difficult for tribes like the Occaneechis, who have not been consistently recognized as American Indians or even sought to be identified as American Indians throughout their recent history. Purchasing the tract of farmland that would become the Homeland Preservation Project was deeply significant to the Occaneechi people not only because it would help them to preserve an important settling ground in a long history of relocation and dispersal, but also because the alternative museum symbolizes enduring indigenous presence and a dynamic Occaneechi culture.⁹

A RECONSTRUCTED HISTORY: CONTEXTUALIZING
THE OCCANEECHI BAND OF THE SAPONI NATION

While all major federally recognized American Indian groups relocated to reservations in western U.S. territories in the nineteenth centu-

ry, many of those without treaty relationships with the federal government found opportunities to avoid relocation. Thus the legal, political, social, and economic conditions of indigenous peoples remaining in the American South historically and today have been affected more by their local communities than by federal Indian policy. These groups and individuals have worked to preserve their heritage and to reinforce a culturally distinct identity in a society that has been constructed as biracial, often without the legal rights and financial assistance, or even symbolic legitimation, supplied by federal recognition. Because of the specific stipulations required for federal recognition, many small tribes that still exist in the South will likely never be granted federal status, but a number of tribes have sought and been granted state recognition in recent years, among them the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation.

The University of North Carolina Siouan archaeological project and analysis of colonial documents have allowed anthropologists and historians to piece together an understanding of the historic Occaneechi as powerful traders who underwent several migrations throughout the piedmont area of North Carolina and Virginia.¹⁰ The first recorded mention of the historic Occaneechis is from John Lederer, who visited their island home on the Roanoke River in 1670. The Occaneechis controlled colonial trade in the piedmont region but lost their advantageous position in a battle with Nathaniel Bacon in 1676. The survivors relocated south to the banks of the Eno River, near present-day Hillsborough, North Carolina, and established the village that John Lawson visited in 1701.¹¹ Devastated by disease and the commercial slave trade, by the early 1700s the Siouan tribes in the piedmont had lost much population and many towns were abandoned. The Occaneechis banded together with several other tribes and relocated to a trading fort in Virginia known as Fort Christanna. Robbie Ethridge, in her work on Mississippian cultures during the contact period, describes the phenomenon that many American Indian peoples in the South experienced—fragmentation, migration, and coalition of multiple tribes—as the “Mississippian shatter zone.”¹² The current name of the tribe recognizes the merging of the Occaneechis, Saponis, and other tribes during this period. Archaeological investigations in present-day Hillsborough have confirmed much of this historical record, and the present-day Occaneechi people have used both colonial records and archaeological research to reconstruct their own tribal history.¹³

The tribal history also draws from legal records and family histories, which suggest that the ancestors of the contemporary tribe returned to the Eno River area between 1790 and 1820, establishing a settlement that would become known as Little Texas in a part of Orange County that would later become Alamance County.¹⁴ As Christopher Oakley explains, small, isolated American Indian communities in the South like the Little Texas community were “acculturated but not assimilated,” indicating that even as the Occaneechis and other small tribes in the South gradually assumed European names and ways of living over the course of the 1700s and 1800s, many American Indian people stayed geographically and socially close to other members of their tribes.¹⁵ According to present-day tribal members, the core families that constitute the contemporary tribe were sometimes identified by state and local governments as American Indians for the purposes of military records and school enrollment throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and Occaneechi people established their own segregated churches and schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For the most part, though, the tribe was not recognized following the Fort Christiana period.¹⁶ Since the 1984 reorganization, the tribe has been governed by a nine-member tribal council elected by the tribal membership and headed by the council chair, with additional tribal office staff hired by the council when funding is available.

THE HOMELAND PRESERVATION PROJECT:
A LANDSCAPE OF SYMBOLS

The Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project is an open-air museum comprising several elements, some already put in place and others in progress: a visitors’ center and exhibit area, educational nature trails, and historic reconstructions of both a seventeenth-century Occaneechi village and a tobacco farm representing nineteenth- and twentieth-century Occaneechi life. While the construction and maintenance of the Homeland Preservation Project has been largely the work of the tribal historian, the groundskeeper, and a handful of interested volunteers from the tribe, the tribal council has made the project central to the tribe’s mission of “preservation, protection and promotion of [Occaneechi] history, culture and traditions.”¹⁷ The site was central to the tribe’s annual budget between 2004, when the project began, and 2011,

when the mortgage was paid in full and the tribal office relocated to the site. The tribal council members interviewed for this study consistently spoke of the Homeland Preservation Project as a resource for the tribe that they hoped would serve as both a cultural and financial asset in the future when they might be able to expand the site to include formal exhibit and classroom space and keep the museum open during regular hours. At present, the museum operates by appointment only and is staffed almost entirely by volunteers.

Because the tribe is not yet able to keep the site open to visitors on a regular basis, most visitors to the Homeland Preservation Project come during the annual School Days event in October. During the two-day event, the tribe recruits volunteers from within its membership, including the youth group dancers and drum circle, Tutelo-Saponi language researchers, and craftspeople, as well as from the American Indian Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and from other state tribes. New museums tend to embrace the idea that “culture is dynamic, always in transformation,” and such is certainly the case at the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project.¹⁸ Visitors to School Days see snapshots of a local indigenous culture from across a span of more than three hundred years. The reconstruction of a contact-era palisaded village certainly draws the most attention from visitors; just outside the palisade, an Occaneechi volunteer demonstrates weapons that represent changes in hunting technologies, from spears to bows and arrows. Other volunteers pass around animal hides for visitors to touch, or show examples of foods indigenous to the Americas—corn, beans, and squash—and a combination of baskets, clay pots, and metal trade goods representing contact-era cooking tools. At the nineteenth-century reconstructed tobacco farm, still more Occaneechi volunteers demonstrate the tools used by historic Occaneechi farmers. A cabin on the Homeland site was once the home of an Occaneechi family, whose members come to School Days to show the visitors the chores they did as children: grinding corn, chopping wood, and pumping water from a well. At the section of the Homeland site that houses the tribe’s powwow grounds, visitors take part in powwow dances with an Occaneechi elder. Occaneechi people present all of these aspects of their heritage to visitors as equally representative of Occaneechi culture.

The many components of the Homeland Preservation Project not only display information about Occaneechi culture from the contact era

to the present day, but also act as symbols. The village, modeled on an archaeological dig site, for instance, is a symbol of historic Occaneechi culture that the contemporary tribe uses to educate tribal members and nonindigenous visitors, but it is also a symbol of American Indian history that would be recognizable to a scholarly community as well. The regalia that is worn by both the reenactors in the Occaneechi village and the dancers in the powwow circle is a recognizable symbol of American Indian identity to non-Indian visitors who may only be familiar with images of American Indians from Great Plains cultures, which are the largest source of contemporary powwow culture. Ann McMullen has offered a useful discussion of how symbols of American Indian identity, such as powwow regalia, have played a significant role in American Indian peoples' gaining recognition.¹⁹ McMullen explains the utility of different symbols for different audiences in American Indian identity politics:

Although being Indian is a recognized legal status, Indians must defend their uniqueness to local, state, and federal governments; local non-Native communities; and Native people (both within their group and outside), simultaneously addressing multiple audiences with different criteria and understanding of symbols.²⁰

Yet in the midst of these recognizable symbols of American Indian identity, the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project also challenges visitors' preconceived notions of American Indians by providing a competing image of Occaneechi culture—tobacco farming. The reconstructed cabin and smokehouse, the farming implements, and the heirloom crops on the Homeland site are symbols that the tribe wishes to promote as legitimate facets of the identities of Occaneechi individuals and the tribe as a whole, even as visitors might recognize such aspects of the site as more general symbols of the local area's rural, agriculture way of life. The reconstructions demonstrate that there is more than one way to depict Occaneechi history and culture. As the tribal historian explained in an interview in December 2009,

When we bring visitors out there, what we want them to understand is that, yes, you have this 1680 reconstructed village and this is how the Native people lived then, but times change and the life-ways change, and in 1930 just because you were plowing tobacco with a mule didn't mean you weren't Indian. It just means that the

lifeways change. We want people to understand that Indian people are still here; it's just things are different than they were three hundred years ago.

The many Occaneechi people who volunteer to host the event also assert to visitors that they are “still here,” whether they are dressed in regalia or blue jeans. One tribal member, who regularly volunteers on the site both in the Occaneechi village and in the powwow circle, explained her frustration when children visiting the site ask her if she is a “real Indian”:

I guess because all they've seen of Indians is in the book and on TV, and that's how they're supposed to look. And it's not so, you know. True enough, I have regalia. I put it on however often I need to put it on, you know. But, you know . . . we don't dress like that every day.

Pointing to the Occaneechi T-shirt she was wearing, she added, “Although I do let people know who I am.” Both the reconstructions and the people themselves on the Homeland site have symbolic meaning in the explicit and implicit messages they send to visitors; as the following sections address, these symbols sometimes overlap and create tension as Occaneechi people work to simultaneously assert the difference of their American Indian identities within a biracial society and maintain a sense of belonging.

RACE AND AMERICAN INDIAN STATUS IN THE SOUTH

For many of the Occaneechi people who participate in the Homeland Preservation Project, a major role of the Homeland site is to give the tribe and its members a voice in representing themselves and their culture, and this role is born out of a feeling among Occaneechi people that their ancestors experienced a distinct lack of opportunity to speak about their American Indian identities. Because American Indian people in the South were often labeled as “colored” by nonindigenous neighbors and classified as “black” on legal documents following the Indian Removal period, regardless of whether or not they had any African American ancestry, many of the present-day Occaneechi people grew up identifying as black. In the 1980s, the man who would later become the tribal historian and a few other interested Occaneechi people

began tracing the ancestry of individual families using archival evidence in order to confirm their American Indian background. As the tribe reorganized, this information was used by tribal members to petition for new driver's licenses and birth certificates that stated "American Indian" as their race. Correcting what they perceived to be a racial misclassification on legal documents was one major goal of Occaneechi reorganization, and the Homeland Preservation Project has given the Occaneechi people a forum to further change the way that they are perceived in their community.

By grappling with issues of race and identity on the public stage of the Homeland Preservation Project, Occaneechi tribal members are taking part in a much larger trend that has been well documented by scholars dealing with the complex racial constructions among American Indian and African American peoples in the South historically and today. As James F. Brooks has claimed, "Today, ascribed and assumed identities confront one another in the arenas of federal, state, local, and intertribal recognition as increasing numbers of people of mixed Indian-African-White descent attempt to claim or reclaim an indigenous identity."²¹ Historians have explored the many types of interaction between American Indian and African American communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Complex black-Indian relations in the South have been documented well before the Revolutionary War, and American Indian groups acted alternately as home to multiracial slaveholders and communities of refuge for escaped slaves.²² In his analysis of Creek Indian George Washington Grayson's autobiography, from which portions about African American ancestry had been removed in the published version, Claudio Saunt explains that "[i]n the South, where the Creeks lived, survival was in fact often predicated on abiding by the racial hierarchy. . . . [A]biding by America's racial hierarchy was survival strategy—part cynical ploy, clever subterfuge, and painful compromise."²³ Saunt notes some specific aspects of racial identity, such as skin color and slaveholding status, were historically used by certain Creek families, for example, to achieve social mobility, creating strong race-based social divisions even within the same tribe.²⁴ Such racialized social divisions were only exacerbated during the Jim Crow era of the early 1900s, when American Indian people were increasingly forced into black and white categories.²⁵

In the South, black and Indian intermarriage was common, but rare-

ly were multiracial identities recorded. As Tiya Miles suggests, one compelling reason for Southern whites to classify multiracial individuals as black was to ensure property advantages: “The ‘one-drop rule’ ensured that there would be more black laborers for slavery’s human machine, while the blood quantum ratio ensured that there would be more available land for white settlement and development.”²⁶ Making such histories of Occaneechi families visible allows present-day tribal members to see themselves as heirs to their ancestors’ struggles, and to see those struggles as a central part of their heritage.

Older tribal members want younger people, both within and outside of the tribe, to understand the problems they experienced with racial constructions. As one tribal member explained in an interview, the reason for this focus on racial reclassification was that “[m]any people had grown up and sort of managed to fit into, for the most part, the black race, the South being essentially a biracial society.” Summarizing the experiences of many tribal members growing up, he said, “Either you’re white, or you’re a person of color. . . . [W]e were sort of thrown in there and said you were this when you knew you really weren’t.” This tribal member echoed the idea of segregated histories explored by Fath Davis Ruffins, who asserts that in segregated societies such as the American South, ideas about history and heritage are also limited by racial constructions.²⁷ Contemporary Occaneechi people, then, who have a sense that their heritage was not fully contained in a biracial historical narrative, experienced confusion and frustration when trying to understand their own heritage in the community. As one tribal member summarized his experience, “It is a real struggle growing up in a two-race society.”

Tribal members explained that their families had come to share many customs and practices with their rural black and white neighbors as a consequence of years of trying to fit into a biracial society. Present-day Occaneechi people tend to experience what one tribal member described as “non-resemblance” with how others might expect American Indians to look. They encounter confusion from others who see them, as one tribal member described, as “too light to be black, too dark to be white.” Another tribal member listed descriptions he had heard of local American Indian people that focused on explaining their skin color: “you weren’t Indian—you were mulatto, you were colored, you were an issue, you were yellow, you were red—everything but indigenous.” Given these views, many members of the tribe’s core families, particu-

larly older people, were not initially eager to identify as Occaneechi people because of their belief that identifying as American Indian would disrupt the social order they were accustomed to. While many current tribal members are eager to learn about their American Indian heritage, others felt that identifying as American Indian would make them outsiders in both the black and white communities.

In another interview, a tribal elder emphasized the persistent effects of racism, particularly on older people in the tribe, recalling that his father, cautioning him about doing demonstrations for the tribe's educational initiatives, had said, "You're going to get killed doing this, son." While this man felt free to express his American Indian identity, he recognized that his father continued to feel the effects of earlier decades of discrimination. Ron Welburn, in discussing the complex identity politics of many American Indian groups east of the Mississippi, describes the key tension in the phenomenon of heritage recovery in which the Occaneechi people and many other tribes are involved, claiming, "the child remembers what the parent tried to forget."²⁸ William McKee Evans, Michelle J. Nealy, and Charlotte K. Neely have all confirmed the distinct types of discrimination against American Indian people in the South that continued to occur after the removal of federally recognized tribes, and historians such as Claudio Saunt and Malinda Maynor have eloquently explored the complexities of American Indian identity in the South that Occaneechi people echo in their reflections.²⁹ Present-day Occaneechi tribal members feel aware of their position as descendants of both American Indian and African American people who had been targets of discrimination. Several informants explained how identifying as an Occaneechi person today meant allowing generations of Occaneechi people who came before and after to have their identities and histories recognized as well:

I'm doing this for my people, my ancestors, because they're a part of me now. And for my mother because she wasn't able to, and my grandparents because they weren't able to—and they kept it all hush-hush inside their doors.

One of the things that has been very, very rewarding to me is my grandfather and my grandmother and mother and father pretty much had to hide the fact that they were Indian—or not speak of it. . . . And I think that they would be very happy and very proud

that their children and their children's children can pretty much walk with their head up and be proud of what they really are. . . . And it's even more rewarding for my kids to be able to say with confidence and with pride that we are what we are.

Having finally achieved state recognition, informants see visitor education as a means to accomplish some of the healing process that they feel is necessary among American Indian, African American, and white people in the South. One informant hoped that visitors to the Homeland site learn "a little about what it was like growing up as Indian people in what was essentially a biracial society in the South," which would help the Occaneechi people be recognized and accepted in their broader communities, in which non-Indian people often assume that they are black, multiracial, or, in the case of lighter-skinned tribal members, Hispanic or Italian. Although none of the permanent components of the Homeland site explicitly addresses race, I observed one demonstrator at the 2009 School Days mention the "red, white, and black story" of the local area and the fact that discussing the region's racial history was taboo until very recently. In addition, the tribal historian expressed in an interview a desire to "get into a little more of that kind of cultural and social limbo that Indian people were in in places like Alamance County" through exhibits that are planned for the site. As these informants emphasized, they want visitors to the Homeland site to gain a more complicated understanding of their community by learning about the racial identity politics that Occaneechi people have experienced as well as about their history and how their lifeways changed over time.

McMullen describes the hesitancy that many American Indian groups experience in directly dealing with race, claiming that "race and racial attitudes are a matter of discussion as well as a source of discomfort and reticence in Native communities."³⁰ Yet even as race has been a complicating factor in many contemporary American Indian people's identities, opportunities for American Indian people to rewrite their own histories have also allowed them to revise their identities as racial politics change. McMullen explains how American Indian people can leverage certain symbols of American Indian identity, such as culture and historical narrative, to overshadow other, more problematic elements, such as physical appearance. The Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project provides an example of the situation McMullen de-

scribes, “where recognition as Indian is complicated by phenotype,” in which “Native people are more likely to use cultural demonstration and knowledge to be recognized by Natives and non-Natives alike.”³¹

As one Occaneechi elder explained about the importance of community members learning about the complex racial history of their area, “There are many bloods running through our veins. That’s part of the education that’s not in the books. That’s what people have to know so we can live together.” This tribal member focused on racial constructs more than on historical events in his estimation of the significance of the Homeland project; he believed that changing visitors’ beliefs about how race is used to classify individuals should be central to preservation and education on the Homeland site in order to contribute to a healing process. Many of the Occaneechi people involved in the Homeland project feel that simply by being present on the site to interact with visitors and to publicly assert their American Indian identities, they will be able to instill in visitors a greater sense of the diversity of the community. Simply being able to talk about their own identities is a major difference that separates present-day Occaneechi people from their recent ancestors, and the Homeland project provides a setting in which tribal members can practice and exert their American Indian identities as well as challenge the very racial categories that they feel caused their own conflicts of identity.

ASSERTING DISTINCTION AND COMMON GROUND

With the identity struggles that Occaneechi people described experiencing in the South, many informants expressed a twofold interest in communicating to visitors their cultural distinction while at the same time reassuring non-Indian visitors that American Indian people are a normal part of their contemporary world. The historical records and archaeological evidence available about the historic Occaneechis and the core families of the present-day tribe are a key way for Occaneechi people to assert their cultural distinction. The tribe has drawn on numerous local archaeological sites, colonial documents, historical travel accounts, court cases, military registration, and other public records in their heritage recovery process. This recovery process is not easy for a small tribe with limited resources. As one tribal member explained, “it’s very, very tough to get a cohesive picture of what happened in the

Carolinas,” given that few colonial records of the indigenous inhabitants exist. Scholars and researchers have pieced together a good historical record, yet most Occaneechi people continue to feel dissatisfied given that such knowledge tends to be restricted to an academic audience.³² Informants are interested in having a portrait of Occaneechi history on display for visitors because of its ability to make visible to a broad spectrum of their local community the parts of the tribe’s heritage that had been only recently recovered through archaeological and archival research.

Several tribal members additionally noted the problem of having to rely on historical documents to recover knowledge about the Occaneechi, since these depictions are “non-Indian people’s perception of what was going on.” One tribal elder spoke in an interview about a number of colonial records that he had read. While he was interested in their depictions of the historic Occaneechi people, he also reserved some skepticism of their accounts. As he explained, “A lot of that stuff is not written, you see. History is spelled h-i-s-t-o-r-y. It’s missing an s, h-i-s s-t-o-r-y, that’s *his* story. A lot of the stuff that’s written right now is written in the eyes of other people.”

While such records certainly have a great deal of historical value, particularly in the absence of records from the historic tribe itself, this critique of colonial records of American Indians has been repeated by historians as well. Saunt has asserted that careful study of such records must take into account the extent to which colonists would likely have only selectively recorded events and the words of American Indian people, as well as the extent to which American Indian people would have closely monitored their communication with settlers.³³ Most contemporary scholars of American Indians agree that Native perceptions of their histories matter. They would undoubtedly also agree with this informant when he emphasized that how visitors see the tribe should be consistent with how the Occaneechi people see themselves, even if this disagrees with mainstream ideas about history.³⁴

Many of the Occaneechi people involved with the Homeland project furthermore want to portray their tribe as distinct from the larger, more well-known tribes in the state. As tribal members noted in two separate interviews, “There might be a little blurb in the North Carolina history book [about the historic Occaneechis], but not much,” and thus school children “don’t necessarily get an accurate picture, and when they hear

about this area they basically only hear about Indian removal and the Trail of Tears.” Indeed, the North Carolina public school curriculum, while including statewide standards for teaching about American Indians during the colonial era and even as part of the state’s present-day diversity, uses textbooks that tend to refer only to the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation and the Lumbee Indians by name.³⁵ Because of this tendency to associate American Indian people with early American history and to use Cherokee and Lumbee people to represent all American Indians in the state, tribal members perceived formal education in their community as inaccurate. As Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett has explained, the images that museum makers fashion of themselves often work against received images from the mainstream.³⁶ John J. Bodinger de Uriarte referred to such efforts as a “performance of belonging,” indicating that indigenous people often have to demonstrate through their actions and interactions with nonindigenous people that they have a legitimate claim to a specific history, culture, and geographic homeland.³⁷ These claims must be *performed* rather than simply *stated* because they often threaten competing claims and ideas from the mainstream culture about those who belong and those who are “other,” and such statements might be met with defensive reactions from non-Indian visitors.

Tribal members are also interested in volunteering on the Homeland site in order to interact with visitors, hoping to help them understand not only the history of the area’s indigenous people but also the fact that American Indians continue to exist in their community. Informants described knowledge about the hidden history of the tribe as necessary for visitors to understand that American Indian people continue to inhabit the area. One tribal member commented that he was specifically interested in having nonformal education on the Homeland site contradict the idea that all American Indians were removed to the west. Referring to the Indian Removal Act of 1830, he explained, “I want people to know that we’re still here, we ain’t gone nowhere. And it ain’t what Andrew Jackson said—we’re still here.” Recovering Occaneechi history for the benefit of tribal members was not enough in the opinion of many informants involved in educating visitors. As another tribal member noted, “education is awareness—and preservation—for our culture and our people, but also awareness and education for the community at large . . . to make them aware that we’re still here and we’ve always been here.” As informants explained their interest in educating the local

community, including non-Indian people and some people who may not recognize their own American Indian ancestry, they highlighted the connections they made between having a hidden history and remaining culturally invisible even in the present day.

Another of the reasons that the Homeland site is so important to the tribe is that it provides a central location to educate schoolchildren and other community visitors, which is more efficient for the tribe than the alternative of sending tribal members into area schools to give presentations. When a staff member explained that he gets calls from teachers every year asking, "Can you come out to our school and dance and sing for the kids?" he observed that most teachers do not understand the burden that their request places on the tribe and its members. To accommodate a request like this one, either a staff member has to be away from the office and away from his or her regular operating duties for the tribe or a tribal member has to take off work to volunteer. By bringing visitors to the Homeland site instead, informants hope to present an image of themselves as American Indians who also live everyday lives alongside non-Indian people. By interacting with visitors on the Homeland site rather than in a classroom, Occaneechi people can host visitors and explain the significance of tribally owned land, demonstrate indigenous survival technologies, illustrate the rural Occaneechi way of life using historic reconstructions and farming implements, and present visitors with the opportunity to meet and interact with more than just a token Occaneechi person. One tribal member expressed his concern that non-Indian people tend to overestimate the amount of financial assistance that American Indian people receive. He hoped that visitors to the Homeland site would see Occaneechi volunteers and, as he explained, "I certainly hope that [the Homeland] breaks down barriers and misconceptions about what Indians get or don't get, or what we have or can't have."

The struggle of many contemporary American Indians to be recognized as both "real Indians" and "real Americans" is one that Occaneechi people also experience.³⁸ Occaneechi tribal members have to strike a fine balance between being recognized as American Indians with a distinct culture and history and being harmfully characterized as "other" by non-Indian visitors. As one tribal member explained of mainstream perceptions, "it's just they think that we're *that* different, you know. And no, we don't scalp, and we don't want to cut your heads off, you know."

Tribal members contend that if they could use historic reconstructions, demonstrations, and conversations with visitors to teach community members that images of both historical and contemporary American Indians on the Homeland site reflect their history, and that both are legitimate versions of American Indian identity, then they could also counteract some of the negative perceptions that non-Indian community members bring to the site. Whether legitimizing their ancestors' American Indian identities or ensuring that their culture is passed down to their children, learning about who they are or confronting other people's stereotypes about who they should be, Occaneechi people experience the meaning of the Homeland site as a space for defining their own identity as individuals and as a group, as well as an inventive way of historicizing indigenous peoples.

COMMUNICATING CONTEMPORARY LIFE THROUGH THE MUSEUM

If creating a museum seems like a strange way to communicate that Occaneechi people live contemporary lives, as part of the planning and execution of the Homeland project informants also questioned the role of museums in society and the potential harm or benefit they could do to American Indian people. One tribal member recalled a pivotal conversation she had with another indigenous friend, a woman who had spent some time working at the Smithsonian Institution. The friend told her, "It was kind of painful. Because it's the only way I got to see pieces that are important to my people, was at the Smithsonian. Because they were taken." As the tribal member explained, since having that conversation, when looking at American Indian cultural objects in museums, "I always think of how that was acquired." The history of grave looting and other unethical collection practices among museums negatively tinged this Occaneechi woman's feelings about present-day museum institutions, as it has many American Indian peoples' perceptions.³⁹

Many Occaneechi people frame their ideas about museums in relation to a general understanding of how traditional natural history museums display information about American Indians. Several tribal members suggested that mainstream museum representations tend to be based on non-Indian perceptions of histories and cultures, a sentiment confirmed by the scholarly literature addressing how museum ex-

hibits about American Indians have been used to construct white mainstream histories.⁴⁰ As one tribal member explained, “I think a lot of the museums that depict Indians are done based on . . . non-Indian people’s perception of what was going on.” When non-Indian people are aware of only a handful of very visible tribes, museums that are dominated by mainstream ideas may “depict Indians in a way that basically . . . [is] not consistent with the way that we live.” As another tribal member explained, “the Western tribes or the Southwest Indian tribes lived totally different from [how] we lived.” By portraying a localized history, then, informants want to illustrate a different image of American Indians than they recalled having seen in larger-scale, conventional museums.

Speaking of mainstream museums in general, but using the Smithsonian Institution as an example, one tribal member related her concern that conventional museums fix American Indian cultures in the past and ignore the present-day existence of American Indian people. She said she felt that artifacts on display in museums “have a tendency to . . . portray or support the notion that the people that this came from are extinct.” The informant went on to explain the personal impact that she felt from mainstream museums, which rarely allow visitors to interact with people from the source cultures of the objects on display: the implication “that we are antiquated—we’re relics of antiquity.” Another Occaneechi person expressed similar personal feelings about conventional museums when he reflected,

To make something look like it’s just a historical object, that it’s not part of someone’s reality, that’s detrimental, really. Because if you see everything that is American Indian, or used by American Indians, or owned by American Indians behind a glass case, you only see American Indians as being people who you can’t touch, you can’t interact with; you can’t meet American Indian people. You don’t expect to meet Indian people unless you go to somewhere like a museum.

Many grassroots museums, in fact, position themselves against the images of American Indians as relics that have often appeared in mainstream museums.⁴¹

The practical considerations that local museums must make can become a strength as well. The grassroots structure of the Occaneechi Homeland Preservation Project creates visitor interaction with a living

culture by necessity. The volunteer nature of the Homeland site creates numerous opportunities for visitor interaction with American Indian people. As one tribal member explained, by being present on the site as volunteers, “we do become a part of [visitors’] contemporary reality.” The tribal historian suggests that having Occaneechi people on the site to talk to the visitors and answer questions from their own knowledge and experience also makes the site “more interactive and more human,” which he believes enhances visitors’ learning because “the more you can actually let them participate in, the more likely they are to remember it.” Some informants described personal interaction and visitors’ ability to “touch, feel, and smell what’s in there” as a more valuable educational experience than just seeing an exhibit. As a staff member noted, “We don’t want it to just be a day out of school for people. We want them to actually participate in something.” Another tribal member, while not convinced that the children who visited the Homeland site during School Days remembered much of the information conveyed by the demonstrations, suggested instead that a positive impression of the overall experience was a more significant result of visitor interaction with Occaneechi volunteers: “It’s very hands-on—they want to touch everything on the table, what is this, what is this, what is this. And you know, they may leave and they may not remember a single word, but they remember, you know, what they did.” Positioning themselves not only as museum makers but also as museum visitors, all informants viewed such public interactions as positive and based their evaluations on their own experiences in mainstream and alternative museum environments.

Informants also made decisions about how to use objects on the Homeland site based on their impressions of how other museums treat the objects they display. Several of the tribal members who worked on the Homeland project expressed concerns that mainstream museums make cultural objects less meaningful by re-contextualizing them in an exhibit. As the tribal historian noted,

The traditional museum, just like the traditional zoo, presented things sort of like everything was in a box. And you could get ideas about it, but it’s like seeing a bear in a little concrete box. I mean, all right, yeah, that’s a bear, but you don’t get any sense of how it interacts with the world around it.

The context of objects is important to informants not only because they think a “hands-on” experience will make for more effective visitor education, but also because those objects have an ongoing cultural relationship with American Indian people today. One tribal member explained:

Being in museums, for me, are painful, especially when it's just a piece in the museum and then there's no explanation, there's no one there to explain what this piece is and the context of the culture it came from . . . because in our culture, things were used. They weren't just put up on the wall for decoration. And what some people decide is an artifact to be in a museum . . . maybe it has broken the circle.

This informant refers to the Native idea that American Indian objects on display in many mainstream museums have intended uses and natural life cycles that are never completed because they were collected and put on display. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett has echoed this point in her discussions of the “museum effect,” although she argues that objects also take on new meanings when they are put on display.⁴² When local groups are responsible for creating these new meanings, grassroots representations can also use objects as symbols of ownership and authority to convey a particular historical vision.⁴³ Making the Homeland Preservation Project into a museum institution where visitors can interact with present-day Occaneechi people and where Occaneechi people have the authority to share hands-on access to cultural objects is an ongoing goal of many tribal members and staff because of the prevalence in their memories of the image of the typical museum, where “the sum total about Indians is cases of arrowheads.”

Occaneechi tribal and staff members not only use the Homeland project to represent their particular views about how museums can make American Indian people part of non-Indian visitors' contemporary realities, but they also use it to create a platform for celebrating their heritage within a specifically agricultural community. According to one tribal member, the Homeland project shows “our evolution in the community, but it also shows our contributions to the community.” This man wanted the Homeland site to represent not only the changes in Occaneechi culture over several centuries of adaptation to European-American culture, but also how Occaneechi culture can be seen as representative of the rural, agricultural heritage of the entire region.

Because of the unique status of tribes in the South and the fact that few can claim federal recognition, North Carolina has become a state in which the American Indian tribes have close ties to their communities of non-Indian people. These ties have inspired the Occaneechi to construct the Homeland project in a way that they see as consistent with the heritage of non-Indian community members as well. As a staff member explained, “The heritage of the community is agricultural, and that’s what we’ve tried to focus on out there.”

Occaneechi people’s creative applications of their own experiences in and thoughts about museums are part of a larger trend within museum making. As Karen Coody Cooper asserts, the use of museums as tribal institutions by American Indian peoples has been and is rife with the complexities and contradictions of the postcolonial world, and “it is not without ambivalence that tribal people have set up buildings to house collections, launch exhibits, and emulate the very institutions that have so boldly relegated American Indians to the status of flora and fauna of the ‘New World.’”⁴⁴ Such ambivalence is certainly present in the explanations that Occaneechi people gave of their interest and involvement in the Homeland Preservation Project, particularly when they reflected on their own experiences in more mainstream museums. Even as some tribal members feel cautious about putting Occaneechi culture on display, others express an abiding fondness for museums that depict American Indian history and culture. As one Occaneechi woman put it, “the museum tells about who you are—who *we* are, you know.” But Dubin argues exhibitions also “no longer merely provide pleasant refuge from ordinary life, nor are they simply repositories of received wisdom. Museums have moved to the forefront in struggles over representation in the chronicling, revising, and displaying of the past.”⁴⁵ The Occaneechi people have entered into the project of museum making with an interest in such a dynamic role for the museum, using historic reconstructions in combination with reenactment and interpretation by present-day Occaneechi people to contest mainstream notions of American Indian life and assert the significance of their own indigenous culture.

CONCLUSIONS: PERFORMING AND STRENGTHENING IDENTITY

Educating others, whether in a formal or nonformal setting, is a fundamentally performative act, and performance has often been considered

a useful vehicle for shaping one's own identity. Consciously redefining identity in this way has been particularly necessary for the Occaneechi and other indigenous groups in the South. As Oakley has claimed, "Defining identity is a continual process, and Indians in eastern North Carolina have continuously reshaped and redefined their identity in the twentieth century in response to changes around them."⁴⁶ While the Occaneechi people who participated in this study were certainly concerned about framing the Homeland Preservation Project in a way that would effectively educate visitors, the Homeland project serves another, perhaps even more significant function as a tool for building and strengthening Occaneechi identity. Occaneechi informants use the Homeland project as a platform for learning about their own culture and history, remembering their heritage, becoming active participants in the tribe and the outside community, and speaking out against stereotypes. While examining the knowledge and awareness that visitors gain on the Homeland site would constitute another study entirely, this study reveals that museum making can be a powerful formative experience, particularly for an American Indian group in the South trying to recover from discrimination and develop a visible and vibrant community in the wake of a complex, racialized history.

As cultural tourism steadily rises in popularity, as education in informal settings expands, and as economic factors encourage more Americans to focus on leisure activities within their surrounding communities rather than destinations, cases such as the Homeland Preservation Project will likely become more common attractions for visitors. With the growth of new museum forms and their increased use by indigenous communities, scholars would learn much from exploring the significance and vitality of these sites within their host communities. Case studies of small museums created and supported by community organizations will help scholars to understand how different types of people come to possess, understand, and share knowledge, and will contribute to a mosaic of understanding about the roles of museum institutions. Institutions like the Homeland Preservation Project come and go, their messages witnessed by only a handful of visitors in comparison to those drawn to larger national institutions. Yet community museums are the forums in which, every day, ordinary people become curators and interpreters, taking on the authority to contest mainstream knowledge and share new worldviews with visitors. Because many state tribes in

the South operate as nonprofit organizations more than as sovereign legal entities, work on the Homeland Preservation Project, like the work of other community museums, is at the mercy of economic forces that inflict severe consequences on all small nonprofit organizations. Regardless of the impact small museums have on visitors, in between their creation and disappearance, these institutions have many layers of significance for the people who construct them.

NOTES

1. See David Julian Hodges, "Museums, Anthropology, and Minorities: In Search of a New Relevance for Old Artifacts," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1978): 150.

2. Steven C. Dubin, *Displays of Power: Memory and Amnesia in the American Museum* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

3. For theoretical and case-study literature confirming the expanding role of new museums in society, see, for example, Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Duncan F. Cameron, "The Museum, a Temple or the Forum," in *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, ed. Gail Anderson (Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004); Peter Davis, *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Nancy J. Fuller, "The Museum as a Vehicle for Community Empowerment: The Ak-Chin Indian Community Ecomuseum Project," in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Elaine Heumann Gurian, "Noodling Around with Exhibition Opportunities," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Timothy W. Luke, *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

4. Naturalistic inquiry is a design strategy within qualitative methods in which the researcher examines naturally unfolding phenomena in real-world settings, as opposed to more experimental design strategies in which the researcher manipulates variables in an attempt to achieve controlled outcomes. Data collection techniques in naturalistic qualitative inquiry often include participant observation, open-ended interviewing, and other ethnographic techniques. For more information on what study design elements constitute naturalistic inquiry, see Michael Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 39–43.

5. While case studies may use quantitative or qualitative data [see Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009)], I selected a qualitative design and ethnographic data collection techniques, particularly in-depth interviewing, observation, and collection of documents. I selected an initial set of fourteen potential interview participants from the list of people serving on the tribal council or working as staff or volunteers on the Homeland Preservation Project. I conducted on-site observations of the School Days event and off-site observations of the North Carolina American Indian Heritage Celebration in Raleigh, North Carolina; the Occaneechee State Park visitors' center in Clarksville, Virginia; and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC. The documents I gathered included promotional and educational materials such as the mission and vision of the tribe, tribal newsletters, DVDs, brochures, and flyers about the Homeland site.

6. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999). Tuhiwai Smith has also suggested that member checking (taking collected data and interpretations back to the informants to confirm or correct their meanings) is an important part of research with indigenous peoples in order to ensure that research findings do not cause harm to participants. During each interview, I asked participants to confirm my understanding of explanations and descriptions, asked for feedback on the questions that I asked, and provided each participant with a copy of his or her transcript and the major themes that I discussed in my findings. I also gave a brief report of my findings at the July 2010 tribal council meeting to give all council members the opportunity to question the findings and how they would be used. For more information on member-checking practices, see Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2006); and Patton, *Qualitative Research*.

7. K. Tsianina Lomowaima and Teresa L. McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006), 14.

8. Interactions between the historic Occaneechi and white settlers have been documented by the Siouan archaeological project; see Roy S. Dickens Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., eds., *The Siouan Project, Seasons I and II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Research Laboratories of Anthropology, 1987); and H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000 to 1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Research Laboratories of Anthropology, 1993). Additional information on the historic Occaneechis, their interactions with settlers and other tribes, and their migrations can be found in particular in H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., *Time before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of

North Carolina Press, 1999); Christopher A. Oakley, *Keeping the Circle: American Indian Identity in Eastern North Carolina, 1885–2004* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Thomas E. Ross, *American Indians in North Carolina: Geographic Interpretations* (Southern Pines, NC: Karo Hollow Press, 1999); and Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540–1715* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 88–89.

9. See Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*, and Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, for more information on Occaneechi relocation and dispersal.

10. See Dickens, Ward, and Davis, *The Siouan Project*; Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*; Oakley, *Keeping the Circle*; and Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*. Malinda Maynor, “Making Christianity Sing: The Origins and Experience of Lumbee Indian and African American Church Music,” in *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America*, ed. James F. Brooks (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), while not providing information on the historic Occaneechi, reminds readers that even before European settlers arrived, the South “was extremely complex; hundreds of villages dotted the landscape, each belonging to one of three different linguistic families—Siouan, Algonquian, or Iroquoian. Seasonal migration was quite common, so intercultural contact and change were commonplace” (323). Maynor sets the stage for understanding contemporary North Carolina tribes as cultures that today, as they have been historically, are difficult to place within clear borders.

11. Ross, *American Indians in North Carolina*; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*.

12. Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*.

13. For archaeological findings related to the historic Occaneechi, see Dickens, Ward, and Davis, *The Siouan Project*. Expanded archaeological research in the Haw, Dan, and Eno Rivers is reported by Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*.

14. Forest Hazel and Lawrence A. Dunmore III, *A Brief History of the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation* (Mebane, NC: Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, 1995).

15. Oakley, *Keeping the Circle*, 15.

16. Laura L. Lovett, “‘African and Cherokee by Choice’: Race and Resistance under Legalized Segregation,” in Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line*, 211, and others have explored how American Indian communities in the post–Civil War South often established their own institutions during segregation.

17. “Tribal Vision,” Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, <http://www.obsn.org/show/page/tribal-vision->. The complete tribal mission statement reads, “The Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation is continuously committed to the preservation, protection and promotion of our history, culture and traditions;

while providing social, economic and educational resources, opportunities and services that will contribute to the well being of the tribal community.”

18. Dubin, *Displays of Power*, 11.
19. Ann McMullen, “Blood and Culture: Negotiating Race in Twentieth-Century Native New England,” in Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line*, 280–81.
20. McMullen, “Blood and Culture,” 270.
21. James F. Brooks, introduction to Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line*, 13.
22. Claudio Saunt, “‘The English Has Now a Mind to Make Slaves of Them All’: Creeks, Seminoles, and the Problem of Slavery,” in Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line*, 54–61.
23. Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.
24. See Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian*, 66–73.
25. Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian*, 194–95, documents that Oklahoma classified Indians as “white” unless they had even very remote African ancestry, in which case they were “black”; Lovett, “African and Cherokee by Choice,” 208, notes that in Virginia, “racial integrity” law classified Indians as “colored” until 1959.
26. Tiya Miles, “Uncle Tom Was an Indian: Tracing the Red in Black Slavery,” in Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line*, 145–47.
27. Fath Davis Ruffins, “Revisiting the Old Plantation: Reparations, Reconciliation, and Museumizing American Slavery,” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
28. Ron Welburn, “A Most Secret Identity: Native American Assimilation and Identity Resistance in African America,” in Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line*, 315.
29. William McKee Evans, “The North Carolina Lumbees: From Assimilation to Revitalization,” in *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, ed. Walter L. Williams (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 50; Michelle J. Nealy, “Native Roots and a Multicultural Future,” *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* 25, no. 17 (2008): 30–31; Sharlotte Neely, “Acculturation and Persistence among North Carolina’s Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians,” in *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, ed. Walter A. Williams (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 161; Saunt, “‘The English’”; and Maynor, “Making Christianity Sing.”
30. McMullen, “Blood and Culture,” 280.
31. McMullen, “Blood and Culture,” 281.
32. See Dickens, Ward, and Davis, *The Siouan Project*; Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*; and Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*. While much information has been recovered about the Occaneechis, gaps in this body of historical knowledge continue to exist.

33. Saunt, “The English,” 53.
34. Stephen Dubin has explored how museums may use their displays to revise visitors’ ideas about the past, and Howard Caygill has noted that alternative museums (such as tribal museums) often deliberately “rub history against the grain.” Dubin, *Displays of Power*; Howard Caygill, “Walter Benjamin’s Concept of Cultural History,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. David S. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 73.
35. The state of North Carolina approves multiple textbook options for fourth- and eighth-grade social studies classes, the two grades in which American Indians are covered in the state standards for curriculum. In an analysis of two fourth-grade and two eighth-grade textbooks, I found that while all of the textbooks mentioned American Indians in general when discussing broader historical trends such as the Great Depression and the civil rights movement, only one provided information about the historic Occaneechi and all of the current state-recognized tribes. A list of state-approved textbooks and the state standard course of study for K–12 can be found on the Public Schools of North Carolina website.
36. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, “World Heritage and Cultural Economics,” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
37. John J. Bodinger de Uriarte, *Casino and Museum: Representing Mashantucket Pequot Identity* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 11.
38. Neely, “Acculturation and Persistence,” 170.
39. Armand French, *The Winds of Injustice: American Indians and the U.S. Government* (New York: Garland, 1994); Arlene Hirschfelder and Martha Kreipe de Montaña, *The Native American Almanac: A Portrait of Native America Today* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1993); Dan L. Monroe and Walter Echo-Hawk, “Deft Deliberations,” *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, ed. Gail Anderson (Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).
40. Karen Coody Cooper, “Museums and American Indians: Ambivalent Partners,” in *American Indian Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Contemporary Issues*, ed. Dane Morrison (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 403; Hirschfelder and Kreipe de Montaña, *The Native American Almanac*; and John Sanchez and Mary E. Stuckey, “The Rhetoric of American Indian Activism in the 1960s and 1970s,” *Communication Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2000): 126. These scholars observe that traditional museums have often employed information about American Indian people only to present narratives featuring white historical figures and celebrating colonization and westward expansion.
41. See French, *The Winds of Injustice*; Hirschfelder and Kreipe de Montaña, *The Native American Almanac*; and Monroe and Echo-Hawk, “Deft Deliberations.”

42. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 54.
43. Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims, "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 163; Luke, *Museum Politics*.
44. Cooper, "Museums and American Indians," 403.
45. Dubin, *Displays of Power*, 5.
46. Oakley, *Keeping the Circle*, 12.