Interpretive Language and Museum Artwork: How Patrons Respond to Depictions of Native American and White Settler Encounters--A Thematic Analysis

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Interpretive Language and Museum Artwork: How Patrons Respond to Depictions of Native American and White Settler Encounters—

A Thematic Analysis

Holli D. Rogerson

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Jacob Rawlins, Chair
Matt Baker
William Eggington

Department of Linguistics
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Interpretive Language and Museum Artwork: How Patrons Respond to Depictions of Native American and White Settler Encounters—
A Thematic Analysis

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Master of Arts

The purpose of this study is to conduct a thematic linguistic analysis of survey responses to museum-quality images depicting various Native American and white settler encounters. The survey asked participants to provide written responses (fill in the blank prompts) to a selection of twelve images composed of photographs and paintings representing one or more of three overarching themes: violence, immersion, and goodwill/collaboration. The research focused on four demographic groups: Latter-day Saints, Native Americans, museum employees, and total participants.

Each response was individually analyzed by hand and assigned appropriate classification tags based on the types of words their responses contained including one or more of the following categories: positive, negative, neutral, pushed fear/propaganda, guilt, curiosity, questioning image/artist, questioning accuracy, loaded, wanting more information, and connection/empathy.

After the initial analysis, I created word frequency corpuses to calculate word frequency for each image and group. The differing word frequency corpuses showed that high frequency words did not change much among gender, age, or location but a large variation did exist among terms used less than five times. The identification markers that showed the most variance between interpretations of the artwork were museum employees and Native Americans.

Keywords: perspective, interpretation, narrative, Native American, museums, artwork, collective guilt, interpersonal regret
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INTRODUCTION

Darren Parry, the former chairman of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation, wrote in response to a plaque erected in 1932 by the residents of Franklin County, Idaho concerning the incident at Bear River, “Its self-justifying language strips us of our obligation to find out what actually took place, and it bitterly reminds us that history is written by the victorious.” The plaque reads,

Attacks by the Indians on the peaceful inhabitants in this vicinity led to the final battle here on January 29, 1863. The conflict occurred in deep snow and bitter cold. Scores of wounded and frozen soldiers were taken from the battlefield to the Latter-Day Saint community of Franklin, Idaho. Here pioneer women, trained through trials and necessity of frontier living, accepted the responsibility of caring for the wounded until they could be removed to Camp Douglas, Utah. Two Indian women and their children, found alive after the encounter, were given homes in Franklin. (52-54)

Parry continues, “The problem with this narrative, besides its obvious lies, is that it only gives one perspective…What if the plaque was written from the Northwestern Band’s perspective? It might have said this:

The massacre of the Northwestern Shoshone Nation occurred in this vicinity on January 29, 1863. Colonel Patrick E. Conner led the California Volunteers from Camp Douglas, Utah and attacked a sleeping Indian village in the early morning hours of the day. The soldiers shot, raped, bludgeoned and bayoneted several hundred men, women, and children
to death. The Indians fought back with the limited weapons available to them, but the band was all but annihilated. (52-54)

The two opposing views depict the same event, in the same place, on the same date in history, yet their interpretations of the event are opposing to the extreme. Why, if one desires an honest and accurate account of the event, must they go to two different institutions? Most retellings of history are this way, including only a single perspective summed up in the classical evolutionary theory of survival, us vs. them. What if we could combine multiple accounts and create an accurate and acceptable narrative that both sides would be satisfied with?

In the early morning hours of January 29, 1863, an ambitious and restless Colonel Patrick E. Connor led his 3rd Regiment California Volunteer Infantry from Camp Douglas, Utah toward the present-day Utah-Idaho border in response to complaints made by settlers in Franklin that hostile Native Americans were raiding their farms. Their target was the small band of struggling Shoshone that lived near the Bear River, although unbeknownst to Colonel Connor, a more aggressive tribe had recently been traveling through the area. Not interested in a peaceful resolution, Colonel Connor took the initiative and ordered his troops to decimate the entire tribe to ensure long-term peace for the Latter-day Saint settlers. The Shoshone outnumbered and ill-prepared to defend themselves were faced with extreme force and brutality was encouraged against men, women, and children to guarantee a quick and successful military mission against the natives. The battle did not last long, and Colonel Connor’s strategy was successful in scattering the entire band, making them easy targets for the troops. The numbers of those killed in the battle differ greatly according to
Shoshone and military records. This encounter is described as a successful military mission by Colonel Connor, and it is also described as a massacre by the Shoshone.

The inspiration for this study came after speaking with Beau Burgess, director of the Fort Douglas Military Museum in Salt Lake City, where I completed my Museum Studies Certificate internship from January 2022 to September 2022. During our first conversation, Mr. Burgess confessed to several problems he was facing. First, the conflict that he had in being a pro-military institution while displaying and interpreting the famous battle at Bear River. Since museums typically adhere to a single mission statement, conflicting messages usually get sidelined to instill the chosen message home for patrons. However, in recent decades the descendants of the Shoshone tribe have become more vocal in wanting a voice in the narrative and have fought to label the incident as the Bear River Massacre.

In a building next to the museum, a large mural titled *America’s First Task* was painted by Lynn Fausett sometime after WWII. This mural depicts an encounter between military personnel and Native Americans where both sides have barricaded and are firing guns at one another. Another controversial item in the museum’s collection is a diary entry from one of the officers' present at Bear River, where he describes the incident as a “victory”. Usually, historians cherish such credible firsthand accounts, but Mr. Burgess is reluctant to display this artifact due to its insensitive language. Mr. Burgess’s expression of fear of being a victim of social phenomenon’s such as ‘cancel culture’ and being accused of being insensitive or racist is not new. What do we do with historical items that no longer make sense to an ever-evolving generation who see history through fresh, inexperienced eyes?
How can a museum whose message is one sided i.e., pro-military, pro-Native American, pro-Black, pro-Latter-Day Saint, properly represent and interpret for their audience both sides of the story? Can a pro-military museum positively represent Native Americans, side by side with military journals documenting the killings of hundreds of Native Americans without seeming to undermine the institution of military service?

Current museum practices push for a single, clear narrative. Whether it be limited space, limited staff for research, or a financial need to appeal to a particular affluent audience, much of what is presented in single institutions is not multiple, accurate narratives. Clear, clean, and to-the-point may be what is desired, but when dealing with history, messy, controversial, and conflicting are more accurate terms for the retelling. Museums typically evaluate their success by surveyors waiting outside the institution, questioning patrons to see if their message was successfully received. But not everyone receives the same message from the same exhibits. Different perspectives, language attitudes, and historical perceptions have huge influences on the messages patrons receive.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

In the introduction to her book *Legible Sovereignties*, Lisa King addresses the importance of the discipline of rhetoric as applied to museums.

Museum practices are rhetorical practices in that these institutions are always making choices about which stories to tell, how to tell them and for whom to tell them toward a particular goal or consequence…Merely remaking exhibits to include a few Native voices is not enough; because audiences have been trained to expect particular ideas and narratives…The entire rhetorical frame has to be reconsidered and reconfigured to do
justice to Native nations, histories and cultures…the act other rhetorical sovereignty must be accessible to a variety of audiences, or the communicative act fails. (1-3).

Museums are one source of information available to the public. However, each museum is given a delicate situation, one that requires deliberate precision and balance. Museums that chose to teach or display history walk a treacherous path of how to make decisions about which narratives to communicate to their audience. Patron populations, as well as the represented communities in the exhibits, are both under the responsibility of the institution. Museums must decide how to advocate for both sides of the exhibits for they both need each other to survive.

King argues that while cultural sovereignty is a necessary part of what should be embodied in writing, it falls short unless curators and designers take rhetorical sovereignty into consideration with a clear purpose that is met straight on and followed by the rest of the story. The main goal should be to create a space that effectively communicates Native cultures, histories, and perspectives, especially when presented among other related or competing narratives. King argues that no object or sign is ever neutral in its meaning, but I would say that many times the meaning can be lost if not communicated appropriately and accurately (6).

King continues to say that in a museum context, rhetorical sovereignty may not achieve sovereignty at all without the participation of the exhibits' audiences… Sovereignty must be made legible. King quotes Malea Powell’s *Down by the River, or How Susan La Flesche Picotte Can Teach Us about Alliance as a Practice of Survivance*, “rather than the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ that shapes so much of our understanding and colonial discourses, we need new frameworks, and new language for making sense of multiple histories and voices.”
Powell continues to say that the need for a new language that doesn't convince us of our unutterable and ongoing differences, or of our need to remain competitors, but a language that allows us to imagine respectful, and reciprocal relationships that acknowledge the degree to which our current need of one another as well as our continual need of each other is the only way we can expect to survive and flourish (7).

King’s idea of a rhetorical alliance is developing a mutual dialogue across cultures and communities that honor a complex notion that both beadwork and books are worthy artifacts. King’s response to Powell’s claim is one I echo: “What kind of language do we need, can we create, to build alliances and tell the hard stories together?” (7).

Museums, like cathedrals, are sacred spaces of communion. Cross-cultural spaces are present in many museums tasked with the retelling and interpreting of stories where various cultures have clashed over lands, religions, resources, and inalienable rights. But a grievous misjustice is done in museums when they present a one-sided vision of the event, both to the people they are teaching about, and to the people they teach. But, if done well, the intersections of common and uncommon, naivete and appreciation, and indifference and empathy, lend themselves to personal investigation, provocation, and connection with something new.

There are always at least two sides to every story, and museums are starting to exchange their single-minded interpretations for openness and acknowledgement of these other perspectives, which allows museums to become spaces of opposition and critical thinking. When cultures clash, great and terrible things occur. Cross-cultural spaces are exactly where a legibly rhetorical sovereign practice would be beneficial, places where engagement is sought with a variety of patrons. “Effective, understandable—*legible*—communication is key.” (King 8)
Kathryn Shanley’s article, *The Indians America Loves to Love and Read*, suggests that where there is a lack, colonized people’s history and language must be heard through their own voices. Still, what does it matter if no one is listening? Shanley suggests academics utilize and engage in literary criticism and cultural studies, committing to be an audience to hear what language cannot reconcile within itself as we extend to them the microphone, while being aware that even in this genuine act of inclusion, issues of domination are still present.

Shanely reiterates Kwame Anthony Appiah’s criticism of the ideal of “post” in both “postmodernism” and “postcolonial”. Are they the same “post”? Using the definition for “postmodernism” as “a name for the rejection of that claim of exclusivity, a rejection that is almost always more playful, though not necessarily less serious, than the practice it aims to replace.” Shanely believes this is the most “crucial theoretical” question we could possibly pose if what we are seeking is to understand the collectivity in the world we inhabit together (8).

According to David Moore in his article *Return of the Buffalo*, if we as Americans view ourselves as an exemplar of true community and harmony, while simultaneously cheering our forefathers, despite all of the conquests and colonization, there still seems to be significant limitations in our capacity to truly achieve *e pluribus unum* (out of many, one) and reconcile a legitimate assessment of our national consciousness which still includes “negative stereotyping of all kinds”. Moore claims the tired and vanishing Indian is among those limits “whose *pluribus* nature has never found a welcome in the *unum*”.

Moore also asks chilling questions such as, “How do different representations affect history and the survivance of contemporary Native communities?”, “Who owns images of Indians?”, and “How do revisionary images of Indians affect America’s national narrative?” (Bataille, 52). What
role do Native Americans play in the minds of whites whose ancestors settled the original colonies or the west?

John Purdy argues in *Tricksters of the Trade* that even to mention the ill-portrayal of Native Americans in countless films is cliché and below academic merit. I, however, think his argument is valid but lacking a third dimension. I want to add another educational element to his thoughts and criticism to include the portrayal of Native Americans in museums. Museums are more educational than entertainment, and while they are not typically a direct source of the Native American voice, they present a more authoritative perspective than the entertainment industry. Most are considered correctly or incorrectly *non-profit*, compared to the for-profit entertainment industry, thus subliminally self-verifying their authenticity of knowledge and perspective to their audience. (Bataille 102-103)

I agree with both Purdy and King as two valid educational arguments. Purdy’s argument is set against the Walt Disney Corporation and their masterful blend of history, make-believe, and entertainment. Teachers rolled out the red carpet for access to educational entertainment, allowing teachers to dissolve the traditional boundaries of education only in classrooms, entertainment only on television or theater.

Freely utilizing creative license, original storylines or concepts, Disney’s success in the 1950s and 1960s was due to their manufactured presentation of coonskin caps and replica rifles that led savvy cowboys against simple-minded, headdress-wearing Chiefs who spoke infantile English. With entertaining and scripted conflict resolution, each episode or movie took the viewers on a journey into “Indian territory” where all ended well. From Pocahontas to The Lone Ranger, to Peter Pan and Davy Crockett, Disney molded generations into believing the stereotypical Indian
typecast was all there was to know about these scattered remaining descendants of ancient great civilizations.

So, if we can agree that the media has influenced how generations view Native Americans, can we also bring another piece of the discussion to the role and responsibilities of museums? Museums dabble both as entertainment and education, but their voice is generally regarded as truthful. According to the American Alliance of Museums, article, “Museums and Trust 2021”, the American public consider museums as “highly trustworthy—ranking second only to friends and family, and significantly more trustworthy than researchers and scientists, NGOs generally, various news organizations, the government, corporations and business, and social media.” Adding that the American public considers museums “a more reliable source of historical information than books, teachers, or even personal accounts by relatives.”

Eileen Hooper-Greenhill consistently refers to “museum pedagogy” or “a practice of persuasion” in her article, Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture, and their educational and communicative capacities to teach their audiences through exhibits and visual displays by shaping their perception. (King 12). In addition to the pedagogical practice King mentions, Bill Hillier and Kali Tzortzi observe that museums also used “space syntax” to guide visitors through exhibits all the while influencing narrower or more broad opportunities for visitor interpretation” (12).

If Hartwig Isernhagen is correct in his article Identity and Exchange and history is written by the victors, if their perspective includes sympathy for the victims, is it because there is no room for a dual narration? Isernhagen continues that in addition to this well-accepted truth, history is written more insidiously and invidiously by subsequent generations and outsiders who continue to tout the victor’s or their own interpretations of the past, championing their perspective and
allegiances while excluding the loser’s narrative, loss, or consequence from the discussion (Bataille 169).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to investigate some of these ideas and concerns found in the literature review, a survey of artwork depicting white settler encounters with Native Americans was created. The participant responses to the images were analyzed to determine if there were any observable variations or patterns that could give insight into certain group identity perspectives and/or interpretations. Eventually four distinct perspectives were identified and selected for continued analysis: The total group, a Latter-day Saint group, a Native American group, and a museum employee group. After the survey was conducted more specific questions developed from the overall research question.

- What observations or conclusions could be drawn concerning the four group’s overall attitudes or perspectives concerning the images?
- Do participant responses express only one narrative?
- Did the participants agree with the themes assigned to the images?
- Do individual demographics heavily influence word frequency?
- What can word frequency tell us about the data?
- Do Native Americans view all encounters with white settlers negatively?
- Are those associated with museums more sympathetic in their interpretations than the total population/general public sample population?
- Are there any other patterns that can be identified within the data?
METHODOLOGY

This study is based on a 20-question survey created using Qualtrics Survey software. Their online survey software allows for the creation and distribution of surveys, as well as the functional analysis of the results. Qualtrics is the recommended software for the BYU Linguistics department. This specific survey featured twelve images. The images were various artistic depictions of Native American and white settlers’ encounters. These images included photographs and paintings and were provided by BYU’s Museum of Art, BYU Special Collections, Utah State Archives, and the John Hutchings Museum.

A fill in the blank prompt accompanied each image, to allow participants to generate words they felt appropriate to describe how the image made them feel, or words that came to mind while viewing the images.

The survey also asked each participant to provide demographic information about themselves. The categories listed are Age, Sex, Residential Region, Religion, Education, Museum Relationship.

The development of this study came about in hopes of highlighting the differences in interpretation used by those of differing social perspectives and background experiences while viewing the same piece of artwork featuring Native Americans and white settlers. The research questions can be answered by using qualitative, quantitative, and thematic analysis. The Qualtrics Data and Analysis Tab helped filter the responses gathered. By selecting a specific question, and which filters I wanted to limit the search by, I limited the responses to four main groups; Every response, only those who identified as Christian, Latter-Day Saint, those who identified as Native American, and lastly those who identified as museum employees, both past and present. Separating the responses based on the demographic categories allowed for quick composition of linguistic
patterns and thematic representations. It also allowed for viewing the responses based on their percentage of survey completed.

AntConc was used for word frequency. By uploading the corpuses into AntConc, the most frequently used words could be separated, as well as how many times individual words were used.

The survey created for this data set consisted of six demographic questions, twelve images, and eight museum-related and follow-up questions. The individual demographics that were of greatest interest were age, gender, education, race, residential region, and religious affiliation. Qualtrics offers easily accessible information for the researcher based on either the question or the filtered responses from the question.

However, the decision to make the survey anonymous, allowing the participants the greatest chance at offering honest responses, created an unforeseen problem. Qualtrics does not currently have the ability to easily identify all of the answers from a particular participant except in the scroll-down format of the entire survey, as seen by the participant. This proved to be difficult for quick analysis, transferring information into a spreadsheet.

Survey Participant Demographics

The total number of survey participants was 251. The survey was available from January 25th through February 18th, 2022. The survey was posted on Facebook with an explanation of the survey and a request to share the survey with friends. It was posted on my personal page, as well as two museum related pages: Utah Museums Association and Small Museum Administrators Committee- American Alliance of Museums. I also sent 25 emails with personal requests asking local museum professionals to take the survey.

Of the 251 participants, 234 reported their age. The participant age range was 18–93. Of the 251 participants, 247 reported their gender. Females made up 77.33% (191), male participants
made up 20.7% (51), less than 2% reported as third gender or non-binary, and .04% preferred not to say (1).

Religious affiliation broke down with 21.99% reporting as Christian, 51.45% as Latter-day Saint, 10% Atheist, .83% as Buddhist/Confucius, 5.81% as Taoist, 7.05% as other and non-denominational, and 2.07% preferred not to say (see graphic 1).

*Figure 1 Participant Religion*

![Figure 1 Participant Religion](image)

**Race**

Participants self-identified as 84.29% (220) as white, 1.15% (3) as Black or African American, 3.83% (10) as American Indian or Alaskan Native, 3.45% (9) as Asian, 1.15% (3) as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 3.83% (10) as Latinx, and 2.3% (6) who preferred not to say.

**Education**

Participants reported their highest level of education as 15% having finished high school, 9.62% having an associate degree, 34.31% having a bachelor’s degree, 29.71% having a master’s degree, 5.02% having a Ph.D., and 6.28% reported other.
Regional Location

Participants reported that 72 were from California (28.7%), 59 (23.5%) from the Western United States, 38 (15.1%) from Utah, 16 (6.4%) from the East, 15 (6%) lived in two or more regions, 12 (4.8%) from the Southwest, 11 (4.4%) from the Midwest, 8 (3.2%) had lived internationally, including Scotland, Canada, Cambodia, Africa, Peru, Russia, 5 (2%) lived in 3 or more regions, 5 (2%) lived in 4 or more regions, 4 (1.6%) from the Southeast.

Relationship to Museums

Participants were asked to identify their relationship to museums. Current or past management participants accounted for 28 (15.64%), non-manager employees for 16 (8.94%), and 135 (75.42%) reported that they only ever visited museums as patrons.

Tagging Identifiers

Each individual response was tagged with both a linguistic and thematic classification, as well as the identification information associated with the response in the order of gender, age, race, education, location, and religion. If multiple races or locations were given, they are separated by a “,”. All other categories are separated by a “/”.

Tagging Information Abbreviations

Sex/Gender

- F: Female
- M: Male
- NB: Non-binary
- PNTS: Prefer not to say
Race

- W: White
- B: Black or African American
- A: Asian
- AI: American Indian or Alaska Native
- LX: Latinx
- NH: Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- PNTS: Prefer not to say
- O: Other

Education Level

- HS: High school
- AA: Associate degree
- BA: Bachelor’s degree
- MA: Master’s degree
- O: Other

Location

All geographic locations were documented using postal identifiers for the United States or W for West, E for East, S for South, and N for North. Other specifications were written out, as seen as necessary for clarity. Participants were asked where they had spent the majority of their lives, not where they were currently living.

Religion
Those who were involved with museums reported their duration of involvement as 26.67% (12) reporting 1–5 years, 40% (18) reporting 6–14 years, and 33.33% (15) reporting 15 or more years.

**THE IMAGES**

The images selected demonstrate an example of either an idealized or real depiction of people or an event, in which Native Americans encountered white settlers. Each image shows how two cultures came together in various ways, and the participants were asked to express their thoughts or feelings that the images prompted.

Thousands of images were considered over several months leading up to the creation and publication of the survey. The search began at the Brigham Young University Special Collections where several boxes of Native American artwork were reviewed, and several boxes containing single items were requested to observe. Six hours were spent looking through the Utah State Archives online and Shutterstock.com, as well as two trips to the BYU Museum of Art. When the trips to the Museum of Art didn’t produce any images, correspondence was initiated with the collections manager, Tiffany Wixom, and she graciously sent over several images for
consideration. One trip was arranged to view The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church History Museum, two trips were made to the John Hutchings Museum in Lehi, and one visit to the Lehi City Archives.

After discussion with my chair, Dr. Jacob Rawlins, twenty images were considered, and twelve images were selected to be included in the survey. Based on the complex nature of the images, especially ones that presented potential layers in interpretation, controversy, or overlapping thematic categorization, we discussed whether the images covered the vast topics desired for the most variable responses and whether there was something inherently interesting about the image. Images that captured an element of juxtaposition were taken into special consideration as they lent themselves well to varied interpretations.

THEMATIC ANALYSIS

After the survey was completed during the initial analysis, only three distinctions were observed: positive, negative, and neutral. As I went through the responses, I attempted to make additional notes about each response, and as I did this, linguistic patterns began to emerge within the question’s responses. The following section defines the categories selected for comparison throughout the survey. The category will be followed by a brief description, a participant response from the survey demonstrating the reason for classification as example, and the participant identification tag, and the image that the participant’s response was in response to.

Positive

The tone of the response was positive, including words associated with happiness, gratitude, or of a pleased sentiment.
“Pride because of their bravery and sacrifices.”

[F/31/W/BA/UT, NV/LDS]

*Code Talkers*

**Negative**

The tone of the response was negative, including words associated with anger, sadness, frustration, or overall displeasure.

“slavery because it is the forced re-education of Americans. Individuality being ‘educated’ out of a part of the population.”

[M/59/W/AI/HS/TX/C]

*Boarding School*

**Neutral**

The response could neither be classified as positive or negative, including no words that would help give insight into the participants' attitudes. Including simple observations, or statements.

“Neutral, I have no thoughts regarding it”

[F/31/W/HS/UT/LDS]

*Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull*

This category was assigned if the response included a statement of accusation against the artist with malicious intent to convince or influence their audience into accepting stereotypical beliefs or negative narratives concerning a particular race or social group of people via their work.
“Stereotypical, the big mean Indian is attacking the innocent white girl. Seems to perpetuate the bad guy narrative.”

[M/46/W/BA/UT/LDS]

*Legend of the Golden Braids*

**Guilt/Shame**

This category was assigned if the response included an expression of guilt, remorse, or embarrassment for the events being depicted in the image. This is not simply stating feeling bad or sad, but a stronger sentiment of a personal connection to the images or narratives.

“Embarrassed because of a lot of the history of the church with the natives is fairly tame in its context, but I have white guilt on behalf of my predecessors.”

[F/25/W/BA/UT/LDS]

*Joseph Preaching to the Indians*

**Curious, Interest, Intrigue**

Many of the responses included various versions of the terms curious, interest, or intrigue, so a separate category was created to track specific mention of these terms among the responses.

“Curious, he seems to have never seen blonde hair before and is intrigued by it.”

[F/41/W/HS/UT, PA, NY/LDS]

*Legend of the Golden Braids*

**Questioning the Image/Artist**
This category was assigned if the response included a question or disbelief about why or how the image came to be, including what the artist’s motive was or what narrative they were communicating.

“Confused why would someone paint that”

[F/37/W/AS/West Coast/LDS]

Legend of the Golden Braids

Questioning the Accuracy

This category came about when I observed that not all questions included in the responses were questioning the same thing. At the beginning of the analysis, all the questioning responses were lumped together. Soon it became clear that a second category was needed to specify what it was they were questioning. The patrons could question the accuracy of the image by stating that they did not believe the image to be an accurate depiction of true events or of a true nature, but rather imagined, misunderstood, or intently fabricated version.

“Confused because I've never seen or heard of this massacre before and if it didn't actually occur in history, I find it a sad depiction. I find all the war and massacre depictions sad, especially if inaccurate. Also, why do the "indians" look like Lamanites?”

[F/34/W/AA/North CA/LDS]

Indian Massacre

Loaded

Responses that were selected as loaded included at least one positive and one negative element that usually connected with an argument or reason explaining why they felt conflicted.
Often these responses were longer and more detailed than simple statements, sometimes offering arguments for both sides, or even a personal sense of contradiction felt while observing the image. A separate category was created for responses containing the word “conflict,” but later they were absorbed back into the Loaded category.

“Proud and sad, proud that the language was used. Sad that these men went home and were treated unfair”

[F/36/AI/MA/UT, MT/A]

*Code Talkers*

*Want More Information*

While responses could express curiosity, interest, or intrigue, these responses specifically mention a lack of satisfaction with just the image and no further context or information, as well as a specific desire for more information concerning the image.

“Like I want to know the story, because it appears to be an indigenous individual in western clothing. I jump to some conclusions, but would love to know the story behind it.”

[F/25/W/BA/UT/LDS]

*Chief Atchee*

*Connection/Empathy*

A response was assigned connection/empathy if the response included a personal connection. This could include any personal story or third person story that they felt was relevant and connected them to the image. Especially when the response included the words “we,” “us,”
“my,” or “our.” This act of self-identifying with some element of the image, even though they were not personally involved in the event or image, will be explored later in the paper under collective guilt, interpersonal regret.

“Concerned at the depiction of aggression by a Native American toward a white woman because I doubt there are many depictions of violence perpetrated against Native Americans, and I’m sure that was far more often the case. However, I am vaguely aware of the story, though I don’t remember the details of it, and I think it may have had a happy ending? Not sure. Also, I was acquainted with Minerva Teichert before she died. She was in my ward. I knew her to be a very loving and open minded person, so I’m inclined to give the peace the benefit of the doubt.”

[F/50/W/BA/CA/LDS]

Golden Braids

Justice

This category was applied if the response contained an expression of wanting justice served or feeling justice had been satisfied.

“he got what he deserved; he was an arrogant idiot who had bad military knowledge”

[M/75/W/Ph.D./UT/O]

Custer’s Last Fight

Color/Style

This category was applied if the artist’s style or colors were commented on.

“Uneasy; the color difference between both groups”
In addition to the categories that emerged directly from the participant’s responses, three overlapping themes were also identified when I was asked to look more closely at the images to see if there were any other themes we could include. The themes originally identified were violence, Native Americans in white settler/European clothing, and friendly encounters. As I continued to work through the participants responses it became clear that the themes chosen were insufficient to explain what was being observed. Violence was indeed a common theme among the responses, but the various ways the participants talked about violence told me there was more that could be expanded upon. Violence separated into three more specific themes of implied violence, hidden violence and blatant violence. Native Americans in white settler or European clothing was condensed into immersion, because it was not just the clothing that told of their experience. The surroundings visible in the images also added layers to the stories. Friendly encounters, changed to goodwill/collaboration and it was observed that participants drew a stark contrast in interpretation depending on which group was being helped and which one was helping.

Violence

Physical conflict is well known for being the calamitous culmination of cultural encounters. However, the main reason the images selected under this theme was not for their obvious depiction of violence, but on the varied possibilities of viewer interpretation of violence or potential violence. The images would showcase violence, interwoven within the image like an afghan, in unique and unexpected ways. This was achieved by selecting three different forms of violence.
Implied Violence

The images are not explicitly violent but contain a subtle clue to the viewer that violence should be or could be anticipated. (*Bear River Massacre, Navajo Code Talkers, Golden Braids, Boarding School*).

Hidden Violent Images

By overwhelming the viewer with numerous encounters and details within the image itself, and by using both the foreground and background, the depictions of violence may not immediately be perceived. Nonetheless, violence is present somewhere in the image, perhaps conveying an even more complex context than seen at first glance; whereupon its discovery ambushes an otherwise cohesive and united narrative to the viewer (*European Spectator of American Curiosities*).

Blatant Violence

Depictions of Native Americans and white settlers engaged in warfare. These images were chosen because of their common stereotypes. The imagery casts the Native Americans as classic savages in the details of their faces and their classic brutal techniques of bloodshed, while the white settlers are shown as righteous victims, defending themselves against their enemies. (*Custer’s Last Fight, Indian Massacre*).

Immersion

The second thematic category selected was of Native Americans immersed in European/American culture such as garments or setting. The juxtaposition presented while viewing Native people dressed in European or American style clothes is intriguing. Purposely left
without detailed context to accompany these photographs, the viewer is left with just their preconceived notions to interpret the circumstances in which these Native Americans came to be dressed in European or American styled clothing. The photographs chosen convey dubiousness and captivate the viewer with a haunting yet alluring quality especially in their eyes and facial expressions (Chief Atchee, Mother and Baby, Boarding School, Navajo Talkers).

The key fundamental difference between these and the other images selected, are that the others show Native Americans in their native dress, holistically embracing their heritage and culture. These photographs, however, signify an internal struggle to process the agony, loss, sorrow, fearfulness, and possible hope, as they take the steps to transition away from their native culture to accept, or succumb to another in order to survive.

Goodwill/Collaboration

The third thematic category is goodwill/collaboration. This category includes both white settlers seeking to help Native Americans, and Native Americans offering help to non-Native Americans. These encounters display cordial relationships or encounters between the two groups (Navajo Code Talkers, Boarding School, Curiosities, Lewis and Clark, Joseph Preaching to the Natives, Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull). This category highlights the power dynamics of ethnocentrism and how those instinctual perceptions, underlying motives, and assumptions morph depending on the race of the helper and the helped. William G. Sumner taught in his book Folkways, that ethnocentrism is "the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it." Although the act of generosity may be the same theoretically, the circumstance, context and power paradigm shift present topics for evocative interpretation.
WORD FREQUENCY

The freeware corpus analysis toolkit program used for this part of the research, *AntConc*, was used for text analysis to track word frequency. By uploading different groupings of words based on filters used in the Qualtrics data and analysis tab, it would isolate the responses desired. The data would then need to be converted into an Excel spreadsheet, copied into a google document and downloaded as a text file before uploading each dataset into AntConc one at a time for analysis. AntConc would then provide a list of the words by frequency. This resulting data will include pronouns, determiners, conjunctions such as: the, he, she, it, because, of, to, and I. For the purpose of this research, I have excluded such words, and only focus on content words.

While most groups used many of the same words in their responses, each group used them in various frequencies. Also note that plurals of *Native American* and *Native Americans* were combined, and *Native* and *Natives* were combined. As well as combining present tense and past tense forms, in words like *pride*, and *proud*.

Corpus Creation

I created a corpus from the total participant database for each of the following categories: Male Participants, Female Participants, Native American, Age 45 and under, Age Over 46, Lower Education (High School Diploma, Associates Degree, Bachelor’s Degree), Higher Education (Master’s and Ph.D.), Latter-day Saint, Non- Latter-day Saint, Utah Resident, and Non-Utah Resident. While the top 20 words differed slightly in order, they were all found to be about the same with no substantial differences between the corpuses (see table 1).

SURVEY IMAGES AND QUESTIONS
Image 1. Chief Atchee

*When I look at this photograph I feel _____ because of _____________.*

The first image the participants were shown was a black and white photograph of *Chief Atchee* of the Ute Tribe. He is dressed in an American style bowler hat, bowtie, vest and suit, with his hair in two long braids lying flat against his body on either side of his face. The words ‘*Chief Atchee of the Ute Tribe*’ appear across the bottom of the photograph.

This photograph was selected because the image is of excellent quality and the simple contrasting presentation of a Native American Chief dressed in European or American style clothing. This image demonstrates perfectly the theme of cultures clashing in a non-combative manner. While void of action, the image is full of diversity and contradictions. Unusual and captivating in its subject matter, Chief Atchee’s eyes and facial expression lend themselves to convey a personal message to each of the viewers.

*Image 2. Golden Braids*
When I look at this painting I feel ___________ because ___________________.


The second image is Minerva Teichert’s, *Legend of the Gold Braids*. It is a painting of a young pioneer girl carrying buckets of water who is approached and startled by a Native American wearing a large headdress. The girl has dropped the buckets of water and is looking surprised at the Native American who is holding the girl’s hair, which has been styled into two long braids.

This painting from the Minerva Teichert Collection from the BYU Museum of Art was chosen because of the way it communicates the theme of implied violence. The closeness of the subjects and the facial expression on the girl’s face bring emotion to the viewer as they try to determine the facial expression of the Native American whose face is hidden from view.

*Image 3. Mother and Baby*
When I look at this photograph the word that comes to mind is _______ because of ________.

The third image is a gray-scale photograph of an unnamed, young Native American woman and her baby. The woman is dressed in a Western-style dress, coat, hair bow, and shoes. She is standing in front of an automobile with a child at her feet who is wrapped in a Native American cradleboard.

This photograph was chosen because it fits into the theme of immersion as she is dressed in American style clothing. However, an additional layer to this situation begs the question: why, if she has chosen to accept a modernized style of clothing and modern transportation, does she still choose to continue to use a traditional Native American cradleboard for her infant?

Image 4. Indian Massacre

When I look at this engraving I feel _______ because of _______.

The fourth image is an anonymous sketch of Native American warriors attacking and killing American soldiers. This image was chosen because it clearly depicts the theme of violence with the stereotypical Native Americans as the aggressors and the American soldiers as the victims.

*Image 5. Navajo Code Talkers*

*When I look at this photograph of the Navajo Code Talkers I feel _____ because of _________.*
The fifth image is a well-known gray-scale photograph of eight Navajo young men posing for the camera, smiling, while dressed in United States Army uniforms and holding guns and ammunition. I chose this photograph because it crosses over the boundaries of three themes: immersion, implied violence, and goodwill/collaboration.

Image 6. Custer’s Last Fight

When I see this painting of Casilly Adams, Custer’s Last Fight, I feel _____ because of _______. 
The sixth image is a colorful painting of *Custer’s Last Fight* by Casilly Adams that was originally painted on the side of a wagon canvas. The image shows Custer in the center, firing a weapon as his troops are surrounded by Lakota Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. The image is scattered with gun smoke and dust from approaching horses, showing the Native Americans as the aggressors and victors with mallets, guns and hand to hand combat. The United States Army being depicted as defending themselves and being overrun by their enemies. This image was chosen because of its clear stereotypes and theme of violence.

*Image 7. Boarding School*

*When I look at this photograph I think of ________ because of _________.*

The seventh image is a gray-scale photograph of a school class from the late 19th century or early 20th century. The schoolteacher is a white woman, and all but one of the students appear to be of Native American descent, dressed in European or American clothing. This image demonstrates all three thematic categories.
The first theme is immersion since the Native American children have been stripped of their native dress and are re-dressed in American or European style clothing. The second theme is goodwill/collaboration since the formation of the schools and programs was to help the Native American children and families who were struggling. The third theme of implied violence came about later during the analysis, in response to participants mentioning physical and emotional abuse that was deemed acceptable at the time but has since been made illegal that they believed to have occurred at these types of re-education programs.

*Image 8. Bear River Massacre*

*When I see this painting by Rick Kennington of the Bear River Massacre, I feel ___ because _____.*

The eighth image is Rick Kennington’s, *Bear River Massacre* which is displayed at the Hutching’s Museum, in Lehi, Utah commemorating the anniversary of the 1863 event depicting the moments before the U.S. Military came into the Shoshone camp. This image conveys the theme of implied violence as well as provides a unique perspective on the impending event. Chief Sagwitch sits on horseback keeping watch on the line of sleeping teepees as he did every morning as the army
quickly approaches. While it does not render any violence, the image gives an ominous feeling of terror.

*Image 9. The European Spectator of American Curiosities*

*When I see this painting, I feel _______ because of ________.*

The ninth image is a painting that was found in the book, *Art and the Native American, Perceptions, Reality, and Influences* published by The Pennsylvania State University. The piece titled, *The European Spectator of American Curiosities*, is said to be inspired by an engraving by Charles Le Brun and Giles Rousselet, Colecio Brasiliana.

The larger image in the foreground of the painting shows a prominent Native American couple, both bare chested wearing feather skirts, moccasins, and necklaces. The man is wearing a feather headdress and hunting bow while holding an arrow. The woman is holding a small bird while a little naked toddler pulls at her skirt. Around them are monkeys, an alligator, and an ostrich. Other Native Americans in the background include a woman nursing a baby in a hammock, a man carrying a naked, light skinned body over his shoulder toward a mother and child stoking a fire under a table of burning bodies. There is another native man pleasantly talking with a European
man. A line of Natives pulling on a rope and others mixed in with more Europeans coming to shore. There is a large European ship in the background with others farther off in the distance.

This image is categorized within the theme of hidden violence in the background and its portrayal of goodwill/collaboration. The coloring on the bottom and sides of the painting makes the images difficult to see at first, and the image appears to provide surprises the longer the viewer engages with the image.

*Image 10. Lewis and Clark*

*When I look at this painting of Lewis and Clark I feel _______ because of __________.*

![Image](image10.png)

The tenth image is Lewis and Clark’s Expedition of the Western the United States. They are sitting on a log in the foreground, while Sacagawea, with her baby on her back and other Native Americans and trappers unload the boats in the background. This image shows Native Americans and frontier men in a relationship of goodwill/collaboration. Their proximity implies that they were interacting daily while traveling together.

*Image 11. Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull*
When I see this photograph of Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull I feel ____ because of ________.

The eleventh image is a photograph of Buffalo Bill Cody and Chief Sitting Bull standing together. Chief Sitting Bull is wearing his traditional ceremonial clothing and Cody who is also dressed in fine boots, shirt and hat points off into the distance. This photograph demonstrates the theme of goodwill/collaboration. It is well documented that the two men worked alongside each other for several years. Their proximity and body language implies a friendship and comfortability level.

Image 12. Joseph Preaching to the Indians

When I look at this painting of Joseph Preaching to the Indians, I feel_____ because of ________.

The last and twelfth image is a painting by C.C.A. Christensen. The image provided by the Brigham Young University Museum of Art depicts Joseph Smith Jr. standing in front of a large group of Native Americans. Behind him are a child, a woman sitting and three men. The Native Americans are drawn in bold red tones.

The image conveys the theme of goodwill/collaboration. Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were not the only ones preaching Christianity to the Native Americans, but most that did, did so with the intent to “help” their Native American brothers and sisters. Much was done under the intention of goodwill, but instead contributed to the ultimate detriment of the Native American communities.

RESULTS

*Word Frequency*
AntConc, the freeware corpus analysis toolkit program used for this part of the research, was utilized for text analysis to track word frequency. By uploading different groupings of words based on filters used in the Qualtrics data and analysis tab, it would isolate the responses desired. The data would then be converted into an Excel spreadsheet, copied into a Google Doc, and downloaded as a text file before each dataset could be uploaded into AntConc. AntConc can then provide a list of the words used in the corpus selected by frequency. This resulting data includes pronouns, determiners, conjunctions such as the, he, she, it, because, of, to, and I. For this research, I have excluded such words in my lists and only focus on content words.

While the groups used many of the same words in their responses, each group used them in various frequencies. Also note that plurals of Native American and Native Americans were combined, and Native and Natives were combined. As well as combining present tense and past tense forms, in words like pride, and proud.

Corpus Creation

I created a corpus from the total participant response database for each of the following categories: Male Participants, Female Participants, Native American, Age Under 45, Age Over 46, Lower Education (High School Diploma, Associates Degree, Bachelor’s Degree), Higher Education (Master’s and Ph.D.), Christian, Latter-Day Saint, Non-Latter-day Saint, Utah Resident, and Non-Utah Resident. While the top 20 words differed slightly in order, they were all found to be about the same with no substantial differences between them (see Table 1).

Initially, my goal was to chart the top ten words across all groupings. However, after analyzing the data, this was not always best to demonstrate the words used. In cases where a top ten list was insufficient, additional words were included until there was a distinguishable break, even if it was small, between frequency or until the words chosen were of less value regarding the
survey themes and more functional. Also note that spelling was not corrected for the use of example response quotes.

Table 1 Complete Survey, Top 10 Word Frequency, Total Responses

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Response Analysis — Chief Atchee

The most frequent words used to respond to the photograph of Chief Atchee, were overwhelmingly of an emotional nature (see Tables 2 and 3). *Interest, curiosity,* and *intrigue* were in the top nine most frequent words. Chief Atchee’s photograph demonstrates beautifully two cultures clashing. The majority of the participants' responses were positive, except for the Native American group which was split in half. One of the top comments participants made was about Chief Atchee’s clothing and the unique experience of seeing a Native American not in their native dress. Others commented on his eyes, facial expression, and a desire to learn more about him and his story. Most responses had a positive element somewhere in their response, even if they also
had a negative element. Those that were negative were more likely to mention some type of westernized assimilation, due to his clothing.

*Table 2 Top Word Frequency — Chief Atchee*

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*Survey Response Examples with Classification and Tagging Information — Chief Atchee*

1.1 “Proud Because Chief Atchee was important to the Ute tribe’s history.”  
  (Positive) [F/36/W/UT/AA/LDS]

1.2 “Happy because my grandmother was Cherokee indian.” (Positive, Connection/Empathy) [F/52/W/CA/BA/LDS]

1.3 “Uncomfortable because of the non-traditional clothing this American Indian is wearing. Like it is forced. (Negative) [M/51/W/MA/INT West/O]
1.4 “I feel mindful that more may is going on in this photo then I realize because I understand the power dynamics behind photographing Native peoples in the late 1800’s.” (Connection/Empathy) [F/56/W/BA/UT, MA, overseas/PNTS]

1.5 “Intrigued, the photo is ambiguous in the context from an uneducated perspective. It deviates from the limited and standard depictions of native Americans many have encountered.” (Curious) [F/21/A/UT/HS/A]

1.6 “Happy. It makes me think of the Native American legacy that 4 of my children share.” (Positive, Connection/Empathy) [F/63/W/MA/UT, CO, AZ/LDS]

1.7 “Happy because he’s beautiful. Sad because of what happened to his people.” (Positive, Negative, Loaded) [F/37/W/BA/CA/A]

1.8 “Ashamed bc of the long-lasting and devastating effects 200+ years of US policy on Native Americans.” (Negative, Guilt) [F/45/W/BA/TX/A]

1.9 “Touched because I see strength, hurt, and depth in his eyes and conflict in his dress.” (Positive, Negative) [F/64/W/BA/CA, UT/LDS]

1.10 “interested -- has to be a good story here; also a feeling of disconnect due to expectation of non-native formal attire” (Positive, Negative, More Information) [F/70/W/BA/OR, CA, CO/O]

1.11 “Intrigued, this man clearly has a story. I wonder if he wants to be dressed like that, or if he feels like he has to, or something along those lines” (Curious, More Information) [M/32/W, A/MA/CA/LDS]

1.12 “Frustrated, of the assimilation attempts by the LDS settler population against Utah’s Native people in the late 1800’s” (Negative) [F/34/W/MA/UT, NM/A]
1.13 “Sad because this chief is attempting to assimilate into a culture who would never accept him, his wisdom, his gifts, his knowledge. But, I do like the look of determination in his eye.” (Negative, Positive) [F/43/W/BA/CA/ND]

1.14 “Native Pride” (Positive) [60/F/W, AI/AA/MI/O]

1.15 “Curiosity. Who was this man? Why has this image survived? What is the story behind his being in these clothes?” (Curious, More Information) [M/64/W/BA/OH/ND]

| Table 3 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Chief Atchee |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
|                                           | Total (216)     | LDS (108)        | Native American (10)    | Museum Employee (43) |
| Positive                                 | 123 (56.9%)     | 55 (50.9%)       | 4 (40%)                 | 16 (37.2%)       |
| Negative                                 | 66 (30.5%)      | 16 (14.8%)       | 4 (40%)                 | 12 (27.9%)       |
| Neutral                                  | 19 (8.8%)       | 12 (11.1%)       | 0                       | 1 (2.3%)         |
| Pushed Fear/Propaganda                   | 0               | 0                | 0                       | 0                |
| Guilt/Shame                               | 3 (1.4%)        | 1 (.92%)         | 0                       | 1 (2.3%)         |
| Curious/Interested/Intrigued             | 66 (30.5%)      | 33 (30.5%)       | 3 (30%)                 | 20 (46.5%)       |
| Questioning Image/Artist                 | 12 (5.5%)       | 0                | 0                       | 0                |
| Questioning Accuracy                     | 0               | 0                | 0                       | 0                |
| Loaded                                   | 8 (3.7%)        | 6 (5.6%)         | 2 (20%)                 | 3 (6.9%)         |
| Want More Information                    | 34 (15.7%)      | 1 (.92%)         | 0                       | 0                |
| Connection/Empathy                       | 11(5.1%)        | 6 (5.5%)         | 0                       | 0                |
Response Analysis — Legend of the Golden Braids

The survey responses to the *Legend of the Golden Braids* were primarily negative (see tables 4 and 5). This assessment was in line with what was expected given its theme of implied violence. Many of the responses attempted to empathize with the Native American in the painting, imagining his curiosity or fascination with fair hair. Multiple comments expressed frustration or had negative feelings about the portrayal of the Native American as aggressive toward the young white girl.

Many commented on the girl’s look of fear, the invasion of personal space and the body language between the two. Several also criticized the artist’s purpose in painting it, with two participants admitting to personally being acquainted with Minerva Teichert and feeling confused or frustrated, with what they knew of her, and the message this painting seemed to convey. One participant expressed feeling unresolved, while the other was left with a gracious feeling, giving the artist the benefit of the doubt. The most frequent words used by the Native American participants were fear, anger, and annoyed. The most frequent words used by Museum Employees were Native American, white, racist, and uncomfortable.

*Table 4 Top Word Frequencies — Legend of the Golden Braids*

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>looks</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Survey Response Examples with Classification and Tagging Information — Legend of the Golden Braids

2.1 “irritated; this is clearly intended to make the Indigenous male appear “savage” compared to the little blonde girl with neat braids and an expression of surprise/fear.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [NB/27/W/O/East Coast, OR/O]

2.2 “Insulted because I feel like it represents an unfair stereotyping.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/65/W, LX/O/CA/ND]

2.3 “Icky/uncomfortable because it seems to be a really stereotypical depiction of the “savage” attacking the ideal pure white blonde woman’s bad furthering a lot of negative stereotypes.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [NB/36/W/MA/SW, Scotland/O]

2.4 “When I look at this painting I feel like I need more information because I do not know of the young girl is being attacked or investigated (since this may be the first time that this native American has seen blonde hair). Of course, to the young lady this was an unwelcome invasion of her personal space.” (More Information) [M/61/W/Ph.D./NC, CA/LDS]

2.5 “Curious. Is this a friendly meeting?” (Curious) [M/70/W/BA/CA/C]
2.6 “When I look at this painting I feel uncomfortable because this painting represents a Eurocentric and racist view that white women are irresistible to men of color and that men of color are predators. (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/27/W/MA/UT/A]

2.7 Concerned, because I don’t know the original intention of the artist, and wonder if it was meant to create distrust for the intelligence of an indigenous group.” (Negative, Questioning Artist, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/55/W/BA/CA/ND]

2.8 “Intrigued - the blonde braids must be so foreign, unfamiliar. (Curious) [F/52/W/MA/CA/C]

2.9 Embarrassed; it seems to portray the Native American in the trope of the savage.” (Guilt, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/31/W/CA/MA/LDS]

2.10 “I feel annoyed–even at Minerva, – because of the tired old stereotype being exploited here – it sends the message to be fearful because “those savages are going to get your women” – it’s racist and sexist at the same time.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/,56/W/UT, MA, overseas/PNTS]

2.11 “Concern. Not just because of the subject matter but because it perpetuates the narrative of the “barbaric indian” traumatizing the white woman, and the narrative it suggests that follows.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [M/51/W/MA/Interior West/O]

2.12 “It’s not realistic” (Questioning Accuracy) [F/52/W/Other/CA/B]

2.13 “Conflicted. It reminds me a bit of the Laura Ingalls Wilder books I loved as a child.” (Conflict, Positive, Connection/Empathy). [F/63/UT, CO/MA/LDS]

2.14 “like there is a story here, of folklore tales and visual interpretations, that elaborate on or enforce them. (Neutral, More Information) [M/38/W/UT, West/LDS]
“Concerned at the depiction of aggression by a Native American toward a white woman because I doubt there are many depictions of violence perpetrated against Native Americans, and I’m sure that was far more often the case. However, I am vaguely aware of the story, though I don’t remember the details of it, and I think it may have had a happy ending? Not sure. Also, I was acquainted with Minerva Teichert before she died—she was in my ward. I knew her to be a very loving and open minded person, so I’m inclined to give the peace the benefit of the doubt.” (Negative, Loaded, Connection)

Table 5 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Legend of the Golden Braids

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total (199)</th>
<th>LDS (105)</th>
<th>Native American (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employee (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>8 (4%)</td>
<td>5 (4.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>155 (77.9%)</td>
<td>69 (65.7%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>39 (86.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>18 (9%)</td>
<td>8 (7.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</td>
<td>54 (27%)</td>
<td>15 (14.3%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>31 (68.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>3 (1.5%)</td>
<td>1 (.95%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious</td>
<td>24 (12%)</td>
<td>15 (14.2%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Image/Artist</td>
<td>18 (9%)</td>
<td>4 (3.8%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>4 (8.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Accuracy</td>
<td>7 (3.5%)</td>
<td>4 (3.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (8.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loaded</td>
<td>8 (4%)</td>
<td>8 (7.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want More Information</td>
<td>13 (6.5%)</td>
<td>3 (2.9%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection/Empathy</td>
<td>4 (2%)</td>
<td>11 (10.5%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Response Analysis — Navajo Code Talkers

The responses to the photograph of the Navajo Code Talkers were almost entirely positive (see tables 6 and 7). This result was surprising, given that it was chosen for both its juxtaposition of Native American young men immersed in American military uniforms and its theme of implied war. Compared to the other images of implied war and immersion, which were met with negativity, this image produced feelings of pride, gratitude, respect, and patriotism.

Many participants credited the men in the photograph with the successful outcome of WWII. There were a few who expressed feelings of sadness toward war in general. Those that expressed negative feelings wrote of frustration at the U.S. government for its poor treatment of the Navajo, both before and after their service. And there were many who expressed mixed feelings of both a positive and negative nature. Feeling both pride for their service, and sadness for their sacrifices or circumstances. Language was a top word mentioned by The Native American and Museum Employee groups, but not the Latter-day Saint or total response groups.

Table 6 Top Word Frequency — Navajo Code Talkers

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color/Style</td>
<td>1 (.5%)</td>
<td>1 (.95%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1 “When I look at this photograph of the Navajo Code Talkers I feel happy because of the ingenious way that the US War Department used them to win a war. The US had broken the Japanese codes. The Japanese did not break the Navajo codes. On the other hand, the code talkers had their own security that had orders to kill the Navajo if there was a possibility that the would be captured by the Japanese. In many respects, this was just another betrayal of Native Americans trying their best to participate in a brutal American society that did not appreciate them as individuals nor their culture.” (Positive, Negative, Loaded) [M/61/W/Ph.D./NC, CA/LDS]

3.2 “When I look at this photograph of the Navajo Code Talkers I feel proud because of the fact they were able to use their culture to help save people’s lives during a war.” (Positive) [F/27/W/MA/UT/A]

3.3 “Proud and sad proud that the language was used. Sad that these men went hone and were treated unfair.” (Positive, Negative) [F/36/AI/MA/UT, MT/A]

3.5 “happy because of the apparent pride reflected in their faces.” (Positive) [M/57/W/MA/UT/A]

3.6 “I feel such respect for a group of people that were willing to fight for the US eventhough they had been put on a reservation and exploited by the US. I feel this way because as children these men had been treated very poorly even abused by the white
people pretending to educate them. These Americans had stolen their personal possessions, cut their hair, changed their names to be American names, and tortured them when they disobeyed the rules.” (Loaded) [F/64/W/MA/CA/LDS]

3.7 “proud and heartbroken at the same time. Proud that their language played an integral part in winning the WW. Heartbroken for the racism they faced within their own military, their whole childhoods. Many having been forced into residential schools by the same government to erase their culture. Sad that many of them never got the recognition they deserved before they died.” (Positive, Negative, Loaded) [F/36/AI/BA/CA/A]

3.8 “I feel some mixture of sincere gratitude, guilt, and astonishment that people whose language was knocked out of them by integration polices and brutal boarding schools would be called upon to use that very language to save the lives of their oppressors.” (Conflict, Guilt, Loaded) [F/56/W/CA, MA, overseas/BA/PNTS]

3.9 “I feel like im walking into a memory because actually, one of these men came to my high school and spoke about their experience as a navajo code talker in wwii. Very interesting” (Positive, Connection/Empathy) [F/28/W/LX/BA/CT, UT, /LDS]

3.10 “Very little because I take them for granted. (Neutral) [F/35/W/Ph.D./CA, TX/C]

3.11 “Mixed emotions, because I view war as an atrocity, but I also see that the young men appear to be very proud and pleased to be serving as warriors for their country.” (Negative, Positive) [F/55/W/BA/CA/ND]

3.12 “I feel such respect for a group of people that were willing to fight for the US even though they had been put on a reservation and exploited by the US. I feel this way because as children these men had been treated very poorly even abused by the white people pretending to educate them. These Americans had stolen their personal possessions, cut
their hair, changed their names to be American names, and tortured them when they disobeyed the rules.” (Positive, Negative, Loaded) [F/64/W/MA/CA/LDS]

3.13 “Proud. My father shared how deaf people were also code talkers.” (Connection/Empathy) [F/44/W, A, NH/MA/CA, UT, HI/LDS]

3.14 “sad because of my own biases against military involvement. Though, they look happy, so maybe without bias, it’d be hopeful for them because they seem to possess so much of it.” (Connection/Empathy, Negative, Positive) [F/43/W/BA/CA, NV/ND]

3.15 “Sad at seeing the bayonets, then after reading that they were Code Talkers I have mixed feelings: I forget how they were treated in the Army, but I know their special skills were impenetrable when our encryption technology was still too weak. I’m happy they served to help us, but sad that such bravery to do so is in spite of the way we have historically treated their people.” (Positive, Negative, Loaded) [M/44/W/BA/UT, VT, AZ, ID/LDS]

Table 7 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Navajo Code Talkers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total (191)</th>
<th>LDS (98)</th>
<th>Native American (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employees (42)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>170 (89%)</td>
<td>93 (94.9%)</td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>38 (90%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>38 (19.9%)</td>
<td>13 (13.3%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>5 (11.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>14 (7.3%)</td>
<td>9 (9.2%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>3 (1.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (4.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious/Interested/Intrigued</td>
<td>8 (4.2%)</td>
<td>3 (3.1%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Response Analysis — Boarding School

This image of Native American children standing in front of a schoolhouse dressed in European clothing received both positive and negative responses which were in line with its theme of juxtaposition (see tables 8 and 9). Those that offered positive feelings, felt that education was being received and that any support offered for these children was good and made with good intentions. Several of those that expressed negative feelings offered personal stories that they had heard from children who went to these types of schools, or those whose families had taken in Native American children while they attended these schools. Regret and guilt were mentioned, and someone even expressed that their personal opinions of these schools had changed from what they once had been. Many used words such as re-education, assimilation, violence and forced. Recent mentions in the news regarding a Native American boarding school in Canada where over a hundred children’s skeletons had been discovered were also mentioned.

Table 8 Top Word Frequency — Boarding School

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questioning</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image/Artist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Accuracy</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loaded</td>
<td>13 (6.55%)</td>
<td>9 (9.1%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>9 (21.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want More Information</td>
<td>7 (3.7%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection/ Empathy</td>
<td>5 (2.6%)</td>
<td>3 (3.1%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>1 (.52%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color/Style</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Survey Response Examples with Classification and Tagging Information — Boarding School

4.1 “When I look at this photograph, I think of the stories that just came out of Canada about how they forced young Native Americans into schools where they were beaten for speaking their own languages and maintaining their own culture. I also feel guilty since for many consecutive years growing up, my family had Native American youth stay with us as part of a church program. My family was participating in this type of cultural genocide (although, I should point out, these Native American guests were never beaten--and we tried to be respectful). (Connection/Empathy, Negative, Guilt) [M/61/W/Ph.D./NC, CA/LDS]

4.2 “sadness; these religious-run schools forbade students speaking their native language and forced them to dress like Anglos.” (Negative) [M/75/W/Ph.D./UT/O]

4.3 “Curiosity-wondering how they feel about being dressed like that” (Curious) [F/38/W/O/CA, TX/LDS]
4.4 “I think of how much better off those kids would be with their families because integration and child removal policies are some of the most shameful periods of our history.” (Negative, Guilt) [F/56/BA/UT, MA, overseas/ PNTS]

4.5 “Very sad because my grandmothers/fathers/aunts and uncles birth histories were recorded in a school in Oklahoma and the school burned down so we don’t have the records any more. My grandmother would never speak of her native american blood and insisted she was black dutch until closer to her death. I still can’t trace where the native american ancestry came from.” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/52/W/BA/CA/LDS]

4.6 “I think of my own child and how completely broken I would be if they were made to leave our family to learn with folks who would not appreciate his religion, culture, or language and who may even hurt him” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/38/W/MA/CA/LDS]

4.7 “It reminds me of the Indian school my mom has told me stories about in Brigham City. I have Native American friends who have told me about being taken from their homes to go to "white"schools. Many went because parents couldn't afford to feed their children and so they put them in these programs. They however seemed to strip them of their culture and beliefs and force Christian beliefs on them.” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/43/W/HS/UT/LDS]

4.8 “Misplaced desire because to help the Native American society, they also need to celebrate their heritage.” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/68/W/BA/SW/LDS]

4.9 “Christian missionaries teaching Native American children about the gospel. On one hand I think it’s cool that they were able to learn about heavenly father and Jesus Christ. On the other hand, I think the Native Americans were often forced to go along with the
Christians and I think that was arrogant to think the Native Americans knew less.” (Positive, Negative) [F/65/W/AA/CA, CO/LDS]

4.10 “I think of my grandparents who showed a lot of love and compassion to Native American children whom they fostered. I also think the kids look like they feel as uncomfortable in Sunday clothes that I feel” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/46/W/BA/UT/OR/LDS]

4.11 “Honestly it makes me thing of my past profession as a school photographer and makes me smile” (Positive, Connection/Empathy) [F/37/W/HS/CA, ID/C]

4.12 “How blessed we all are to receive educations, I hope it was voluntary to attend this school.” (Positive, Questioning Image) [F/45/W/BA/UT/C]

4.13 “Hope/sadness as the indians were forced to dress as white people and go to their schools; but it also gave them the opportunity to gain knowledge and how to better communicate with the white people” (Positive, Negative) [F/74/W/O/CA, VA, FL, CO, OR, KS, OH/C]

Table 9 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Boarding School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total (181)</th>
<th>LDS (99)</th>
<th>Native American (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employee (43)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td>29(16%)</td>
<td>17(17%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>3(7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>122 (67.4%)</td>
<td>46(46%)</td>
<td>7(70%)</td>
<td>36(83.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td>36(19.9%)</td>
<td>29(29%)</td>
<td>3(30%)</td>
<td>1(2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guilt/Shame</strong></td>
<td>5(2.8%)</td>
<td>1(1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curious/Interested/Intrigued</strong></td>
<td>3(1.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Response Analysis — Bear River Massacre

As with the other images that are under the theme of implied war, most of the responses were negative (see tables 11 and 12). Most of the people knew the event by its title, while a few expressed very little or no knowledge of the massacre. Some expressed satisfaction in the perspective of the painting coming from the Native American’s viewpoint. Many expressed a sense of calm and serenity based on the setting. One even conveyed hope for a peaceful meeting.

Table 10 Top Word Frequency — Bear River Massacre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sad/sadness</th>
<th>71</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>massacre</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>painting</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Native American/s</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>army</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Survey Response Examples with Classification and Tagging Information — Bear River Massacre**

5.1 “It is beautiful, I would love to learn the story behind it” (Positive) [F/25/W/BA/UT/LDS]

5.2 “Sad as it was a useless horrible act on human beings only trying to live their lives as they had for centuries” (Negative) [F/74/W/O/CA, VA, FL, CO, OR, KS, OH/C]

5.3 “I realize that injustices were done on both sides and sad that men did not have the integrity to keep their wkrd.” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/O/W, AI/AA/CA/LDS]

5.4 “This is an example of the flipside of the "ignoble savage," the "noble savage." Victim of conquest and destined to disappear but also a critique of white society.” (Positive, Negative) [M/59/W/Ph.D./W/A]

5.5 “angry, once again we were forcing our views onto the native population” (Negative, Connection/Empathy) [M/46/W/MA/TX/C]

5.6 “When I see this painting of Rick Kennington of "The Bear River Massacre" I feel sad because it's painted right in the moments before hundreds of native folk were slaughtered for no reason and I also feel glad that this painting puts an emphasis on the indigenous point of view and doesn't have voyeuristic view of the death that follows. It feels respectful.” (Negative, Positive) [F/27/W/MA/UT/A]

5.7 “I feel appalled that my relatives were among those who called for the army and sickened to know what happens next in the name of that flag.” (Negative, Connection/Empathy) [F/56/BA/UT, MA, overseas/PNTS]
5.8 “sad. guilty. Again - we've inflicted so much pain, hard not to feel guilty and sad.”
(Negative, Guilt, Connection/Empathy) [F/36/W, AI/BA/CA/A]

5.9 “Beautiful painting but the title gives me chills. US army attacked the Shoshone. One of the deadliest known attacks.” (Positive, Negative) [F/36/W, AI/BA/CA/A]

5.10 “Sad because he looks like he is the only one left” (Negative) [F/55/W/MA/CA, WA/LDS]

5.11 “Mad at my state's history, I learned all about the massacre and how it was viewed as acceptable by some Utahs for some time.” (Negative, Connection/Empathy) [F/21/A/HS/UT/A]

5.12 “Surprised, it looked so calm, I would not have seen the massacre initially had I not read the title of the painting” (Positive, Negative) [F/42/W/AA/CA/C]

5.13 “Anxious and sad because we did this and it wasn’t right.” (Negative, Connection/Empathy) [F/34/W/BA/IA/A]

5.14 “Sad again because it would have been good if we could have treated Native Americans better. I also see a proud people.” (Negative, Connection/Empathy) [M/63/W/AA/CA/LDS]

5.15 “Empathy- this man is seeing the end of his way of life- the massacre of his people- heartbreaking” (Connection/Empathy, Negative) [F/53/W/BA/CA/LDS]

Table 11 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Bear River Massacre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total (177)</th>
<th>LDS (88)</th>
<th>Native American (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employee (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>12(6.8%)</td>
<td>11(12.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2(4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>137(77.4%)</td>
<td>72(81.8%)</td>
<td>10(100%)</td>
<td>35(77.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response Type</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</td>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>Curious/Interested/Intrigued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>15(8.5%)</td>
<td>1(.56%)</td>
<td>5(2.8%)</td>
<td>3(1.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</td>
<td>4(4.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3(3.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2(2.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious/Interested/Intrigued</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td>2(2.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Image/Artist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Accuracy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loaded</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Want More Information</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection/Empathy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color/Style</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Response Analysis — The European Spectator of American Curiosities*

This painting was chosen for its themes of goodwill/collaboration and implied violence. The larger images in the foreground convey positive relationships and the smaller background images depict some violence and controversial images. Unfortunately, since the image was so full of different situations and the colors were darker around the edges, several participants were unable to see the details of the painting on their phones. Some expressed confusion and frustration at the small image, as well as the inability to leave a response. This might also be why there were still
several positive responses. If the full image was difficult to view the smaller more controversial images may not have been visible.

Those that were able to view the entire image made overwhelmingly negative comments (see tables 12 and 13). Commenting on the strangeness and uniqueness of having such differing images all in the same painting. Many still expressed confusion and a desire for context, or some explanation for the artist’s choice in subject matter. Since the image was found in an art book with no accompanying explanation and no artist name, the viewer was left to interpret the image entirely on their own. Several questioned the accuracy of the event, wondering if it was a specific incident or just a general representation of the initial contacts made by Europeans. Many were also upset to see nudity, potential cannibalism, and/or slavery in the background. The dynamism of happy people in the foreground and disturbing images occurring in the background caused quite a few people to express criticism.

*Table 12 Top Word Frequency — The European Spectator of American Curiosities*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>confused</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>painting</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>naked</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Native American/s</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>curious</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>happy</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>uncomfortable</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1 “Stereotypical. Again over simplifying the attitudes and behaviors of a people that is more complex than these savage people.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [M/46/W/BA/UT/LDS]

6.2 “Skeptical, because whose are the hands that painted it. Those faces look European and the bodies are meant to be Native American. What narrative is being spun?” (Questioning Accuracy, Questioning Artist, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/44/W, LX/AA/UT, VA, AZ, ID]

6.3 “Nostalgic because it reminds me of those images they put in textbooks to teach about the noble savages of the Americas. Propaganda.” (Positive, Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/40/B/MA/NY/ND]

6.4 “Harmony because the two cultures learned how to live together” (Positive) [F/44/W/MA/CA/LDS]

6.5 “Really confused and slightly horrified because of the imagery depicted. Why are people roasting?! What is the context of this? Who painted it and why?” (Negative, More Information, Questioning Image/Artist) [NB/36/W/MA/SW, Scotland/O]

6.6 “The need to reinterpret bc of the obvious Western view on all things native cultures” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/45/W/BA/TX/A]

6.7 “Puzzled and concerned by the intention of the artist.” (Negative, Questioning Image/Artist) [F/55/W/BA/CA/ND]
6.8 “Confused, what is going on in the painting. Burning bodies? Random animals? Slaves on the beach? Nursing mother in a hammock? If this is supposed to convey something I’m not getting it.” (Negative, Questioning Image) [F/41/W/BA/CA/LDS]

6.9 “Fascinated by how amazing the artwork is” (Positive) [M/41/W/CA/MA/LDS]

6.10 “Neutral, the painting depicts a well known event” (Neutral) [F/21/A/UT/HS/A]

6.11 “I feel incredulous because it depicts a scene that seems legendary at best, and at worst, completely false.” (Negative, Questioning Accuracy) [F/38/W/MA/CA/O]

6.12 “Amused, it’s a bit fantastical” (Positive, Questioning Accuracy) [M/32/W, A/MA/LDS]

6.13 “Angry, the doctrine of discovery dehumanized all indigenous people.” (Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/36/AI/MA/UT, MT/A]

6.14 “When I look at this painting I feel intrigued initially because of the fact that it seems to center indigenous people, but then I feel uncomfortable because it depicts the first colonizers onto the Americas and it also seems to be implying that the native people are cannibals (but I can't tell if the last part is just my imagination or not)” (Positive, Negative, Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [F/27/W/MA/UT/A]

6.15 “confused; its representation of what Europeans thought of native culture” (Negative) [M/77/W/Ph.D./UT/O]

Table 13 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — The European Spectator of American Curiosities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total (168)</th>
<th>LDS (87)</th>
<th>Native American (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employee (44)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>21(12.5%)</td>
<td>11(12.6%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>2(4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>99(58.9%)</td>
<td>43(49.4%)</td>
<td>5(50%)</td>
<td>20(45.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23(13.7%)</td>
<td>19(21.8%)</td>
<td>2(20%)</td>
<td>3(6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>23(13.7%)</td>
<td>19(21.8%)</td>
<td>2(20%)</td>
<td>3(6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushed Fear/</td>
<td>14(8.3%)</td>
<td>7(8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9(20.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propaganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>1(.59%)</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious/ Interested/Intrigued</td>
<td>13(7.7%)</td>
<td>11(12.6%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>5(11.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Image/Artist</td>
<td>15(8.9%)</td>
<td>2(2.3%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>3(6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Accuracy</td>
<td>14(8.3%)</td>
<td>4(4.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6(13.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loaded</td>
<td>14(8.3%)</td>
<td>11(12.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4(9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want More Information</td>
<td>9(5.3%)</td>
<td>2(2.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection/ Empathy</td>
<td>2(1.2%)</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>14(8.3%)</td>
<td>4(4.6%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>4(9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color/Style</td>
<td>5 (2.9%)</td>
<td>4 (4.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (11.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Response Analysis — Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull

This image demonstrates the theme of a working relationship of goodwill and collaboration. The overall responses were positive stating that they felt the two men were on good terms (see tables 14 and 15). Those that disagreed and felt it was a negative situation, expressed embarrassment, anger, guilt, and sadness and assumed that this working relationship was not as beneficial for both parties as it may have seemed.

Believing that Buffalo Bill took advantage of Sitting Bull, or that he had no choice, but to come and work for Buffalo Bill’s traveling show was suggested by participants. Just over half of the Native American group and much of the Museum Employee group both saw this image as
negative, while the Latter-day Saint group and the total responses saw it as positive. Several comments also included the inclusive terms of “we” and “our” again identifying with or feeling aligned with the two men and their respective groups in the photograph.

Table 14 Top Word Frequency — Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>friend/friendship</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sitting Bull</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Buffalo Bill</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>happy</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>relationship</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>curious</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Native American/s</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>together</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey Response Examples with Classification and Tagging Information — Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull

7.1 “When I see this photograph of Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull I feel embarrassed because this is most likely just from a traveling show that people would buy tickets to see. These shows did not always treat Native Americans in a respectful manner. (Guilt, Negative) [M/61/W/Ph.D./NC, CA/LDS]

7.2 “This is an important image that illustrates how American frontier mythology was created and perpetuated.” (Pushed Fear/Propaganda) [M/59/W/Ph.D./West/A]

7.3 “White people will always exploit our culture.” (Negative) [F/36/Al/MA/UT, MT/A]
7.4 “When I see this photo, I feel like I wish we could've learned more from the Native Americans because we just took over without stopping to learn from each other.” (Negative, Guilt) [F/41/W/MA/CA/LDS]

7.5 “resigned because it depicts the accommodation Sitting Bull was forced to make in a changing world.” (Negative) [M/57/W/MA/UT/A]

7.6 “I feel sad for Sitting Bull who has found himself in the position of having to sell some idealized version of his culture in order for his people to survive. And curious about his actual feelings for Bill Cody the human. And resigned that humans have to figure it out in such massive times of change.” (Negative) [F/56/W/BA, UT, MA, overseas/PNTS]

7.7 “Feel good because Buffalo is including Chief Sitting Bull in his show.” (Positive) [M/76/W/MA/W/LDS]

7.8 “Very sad because Sitting Bull was paid to be in this picture, but didn't want to be. He was paid to be part of Buffalo Bill's life and entertainment show. This is a quiet picture but when Buffalo Bill paid Sitting Bull to go on stage, the audience shouted insults and spit at him.” (Negative) [F/38/W/MA/CA/O]

7.9 “Hopeful. Someday our 2 people's can have the same respect for each other that these men had.” (Positive) [M/56/W/HS/CA/C-LDS]

7.10 “unsure because I don't know if their relationship was manufactured (for purposes of greed), or if they had a sincere friendship in which Sitting Bull was an equal partner in that friendship, or if he was he taken advantage of.” (Pushed Fear/Propaganda, Questioning Accuracy) [F/56/W/MA/CT/C]

7.11 “intrigued, because I want to know more” (Positive, More Information) [F/39/W/BA/OK/C]
7.12 “Nostalgic; it’s the promise of what we wish these interactions would have been – solidarity and teamwork” (Positive, Negative) [F/39/W, AI/BA/CA/C]

7.13 “Sad bc while I understand that they toured freely and earned lots of money, both represent the end of an era and turned their lives into a sideshow for cash to survive. Sad bc their options appeared limited to them.” (Negative, Loaded) [F/45/W/BA/TX/A]

7.14 “Weird. It's got a lot of jarring juxtaposition” (Loaded) [F/34/W/UT, NM/MA/A]

7.15 “Intrigued because I have never seen this and I wonder how they felt being situated next to one another” (Positive, More Information) [F/25/W/BA/UT/LDS]

Table 15 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total (164)</th>
<th>LDS (89)</th>
<th>Native American (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employees (41)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>78(47.6%)</td>
<td>51(57.3%)</td>
<td>4(40%)</td>
<td>12(29.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>54(32.9%)</td>
<td>13(14.6%)</td>
<td>5(50%)</td>
<td>20(48.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25(15.2%)</td>
<td>9(10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6(14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</td>
<td>20(12.2%)</td>
<td>9(10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5(12.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>3(1.8%)</td>
<td>3(3.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious/Interested/Intrigued</td>
<td>24(14.6%)</td>
<td>10(11.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4(9.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Image/Artist</td>
<td>14(8.5%)</td>
<td>3(3.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Accuracy</td>
<td>11(6.7%)</td>
<td>8(9%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>5(12.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loaded</td>
<td>14(8.5%)</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>9(22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want More Information</td>
<td>6(3.7%)</td>
<td>3(3.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2(4.9%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Connection/Empathy</td>
<td>4(2.4%)</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Response Analysis — Joseph Preaching to the Indians

Just over half of the total responses felt negatively about this image while almost 75% of the LDS responses felt this was a positive image (see tables 16 and 17). This dynamic split shows the positive response to Joseph Smith’s intentions and feelings toward Native Americans by those who identify as members of the Latter-day Saint faith. Many felt this image was wonderful and joyful. However, some of those who admit to being members of the Latter-day Saint faith wanted to feel positive toward this image, but that they felt uncomfortable with the depiction or imagery used in the painting. Others condemned the act of preaching any Christian religion to Native Americans.

This painting drew the most comments about style and color, many commenting about the red faces of the Native Americans and the lighter colors surrounding Joseph and what they felt these colors implied. Some members of the church questioned whether this was an actual event, or if it was more idealistic and used to convey Joseph Smith’s feelings towards Native Americans as Lamanites. This image also received the least number of responses since it was the last of the twelve images and many participants did not complete the survey.

Table 16 Top Word Frequency — Joseph Preaching to the Indians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joseph (Smith)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Joseph (Smith)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Native American/s</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Survey Response Examples with Classification and Tagging Information — Joseph Preaching to the Indians

8.1 “fascinated; the Mormons belief that the Lamanites were descended from Israeli ancestors” (Positive) [M/75/W/Ph.D./UT/O]

8.2 “awesome because it is part of LDS history and to see the picture, it is awesome!” (Positive) [M/52/A/MA/CA/LDS]

8.3 “Feel great. Joseph Smith is bringing the gospel to the Native Americans.” (Positive) [M/76/W/MA/W/LDS]

8.4 “Well all the Natives are painted with red faces, which makes it weird to look at, and it's definitely pushing a narrative, which bugs me. But I am also a Latter-day Saint and believe that the gospel needs to go to everyone. So, it's an exaggerated image from a very specific perspective, but I can also see where the artist is coming from, even if it's a little eye-roll-inducing.” (Negative, Loaded, Pushed Fear/Propaganda, Connection/Empathy, Color/Style) [F/29/W/BA/UT/LDS]
8.5 “I feel two world colliding because of the colours used in this. The native americans are all depicted in primary colours while the other group is entirely in neutral colours.” (Color/Style) [F/28/W, LX/BA/CT, UT/LDS]

8.6 “Excited because Joseph Smith was explaining their history to the Lamanites.” (Positive) [F/68/W/SW/BA/LDS]

8.7 “Love of brother because of teaching about ancestry” (Positive) [F/64/W/HS/UT, AZ/LDS]

8.8 “Happy, Joesph came to them to talk and share with them his knowledge and they were interested and listening to him” (Positive) [F/0/W/HS/UT, CA, TX/LDS]

8.9 “Disdainful of white man’s imperialistic and ethnocentric nature which continues to this day.” (Negative) [F/55/W/BA/CA/ND]

8.10 “Disappointed and a bit ashamed. No one should have preached to the Indians.” (Negative, Guilt) [F/34/W/BA/Iowa/A]

8.11 “frustrated, because I've studied LDS interactions with Native groups over time, and the way that early on Natives were romanticized as Lamanites to be "saved" (Negative, Connection/Empathy) [F/34/W/MA/UT, NV/A]

8.12 “Happy that Joseph Smith attempted to share his perspective with all kinds of people. I am also curious to know if this is a real event, and what the result if it was. I wonder if they understood what he was saying or if he had a translator” (Positive, Questioning Accuracy) [F/46/W/BA/UT, OR/LDS]

8.13 “Annoyed, because Mormons. (But seriously, the way these folk just went in and tried to convert people burns my biscuits)” (Negative) [NB/36/W/MA/SW, Scotland/O]
8.14 “like rolling my eyes. Not the first white man to preach their religion as the best to a bunch of natives... wonder what this one promised them in return for listening to his stories. I wonder if he listened to their stories of their gods.” (Negative) [F/43/W/BA/CA/ND]

8.15 “Embarrassed because of a lot of the history of the church with natives is fairly tame in its context, but I have white guilt on behalf of my predecessors” (Negative, Guilt) [F/25/W/BA/UT/LDS]

Table 17 Classification Categories and Four-Part Groupings, Response Totals — Joseph Preaching to the Indians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total (162)</th>
<th>LDS Responses (89)</th>
<th>Native American Responses (10)</th>
<th>Museum Employees (41)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>67(41.3%)</td>
<td>65(73%)</td>
<td>3(30%)</td>
<td>5(12.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>74(45.7%)</td>
<td>17(19%)</td>
<td>3(30%)</td>
<td>23(56.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>22(13.6%)</td>
<td>10(11.2%)</td>
<td>2(30%)</td>
<td>3(7.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushed Fear/Propaganda</td>
<td>23(14.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5(12.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilt/Shame</td>
<td>4(2.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious/Interested/Intrigued</td>
<td>19(11.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5(12.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Image/Artist</td>
<td>13(8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2(4.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning Accuracy</td>
<td>10(6.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>4(9.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loaded</td>
<td>14(8.6%)</td>
<td>4(4.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want More Information</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection/Empathy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISCUSSION

Curiously, the most frequently used content word was “sad” even though only half of the images depict outright negative relations or violence. Since the images themselves are just a sliver of information, some with little or no context, led many viewers to desire more information. This observation is in line with why I feel it is prudent that museums listen to their patrons and provide as much information and context about their exhibits as possible. If confirmed information is not available, perhaps offering several possible interpretations and letting the viewer decide would be more beneficial than offering little or no context or information. Audiences deserve a more complex scenario that tells perspectives they might not encounter anywhere else.

The negative feelings felt by most of the survey participants was highlighted by several responses when they used words such as “we” and “our” when referring to events in the historic past. Several participants used these words to express personal guilt they felt over things that had happened long before they were even born or that they currently are benefiting from a system that cost Native Americans their way of life.

Violence

Typically, while viewing a violent encounter, one can assess quickly if the fight is equal, or if there is a clear victim and assailant. However, several of these images were chosen because they are not easily assessed. In this category I found three subcategories: Implied Violence, Questionable Victims, and Blatant Violence. There are five images that are being considered under
this theme, Legend of the *Golden Braids*, *Navajo Code Talkers*, *Boarding School*, *Bear River*, and *European Spectator of American Curiosities*.

**Implied Violence**

The subcategory of implied violence was assigned to *Golden Braids*, *Bear River Massacre*, *Navajo Code Talkers* and *Boarding School*. This classification lent itself easily to any image that was only showing the tip of the situational iceberg. This snapshot leads the viewer to wonder what else might be happening before, or after the moment they are viewing. Each image was created with a clear implication or inference to a (possible) violent encounter, involving the people in the immediate image. Many responses to the images in this category were negative, some expressed anger, fear, disgust, outrage, concern or even guilt. Starting with the *Bear River Massacre*’s responses who viewed it as tragic, many expressed anxiety and anticipation of the violence just minutes away.

The title gave the participants insight into what was about to happen, with “massacre” in the title, clearly depicting a fight that was not equal between the two opposing groups. At the time, all commentary concerning the incident was skewed differently than what has become known since. So, if the painting were to have been seen closer to the actual event, drastically different responses could have been expected.

*Bear River Massacre* shows the military in their uniforms in the distance, and a single Native American in his traditional clothing and there is no obvious violence occurring. The survey responses, however, were primarily negative, with the majority expressing some form of sadness was one of the other images that was put into the implied violence category. Some emotions expressed were anger, directed at both individuals (President Andrew Jackson) and the governing bodies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the states of Idaho and Utah.
The positive responses were surprising. The positive remarks commented on the colors/style and peaceful feeling they felt as they viewed it. The theme of implied violence as depicted in this setting is anticipated. Several comments included remarks stating that if they had not read the name of the painting, they wouldn’t have thought it was depicting a violent encounter. This image was chosen because it captured the theme of implied violence, and while sadness was not a surprising reaction, eight participants said the painting conjured feelings of guilt, remorse, or embarrassment.

The image of the children attending a Boarding School was not originally considered in the Implied Violence category. It wasn’t until I spent a lot of time reading the responses that I realized that quite a few of the comments talked about violence in connection with residential, boarding schools, or re-education programs. Even though there is not any actual violence depicted in the photograph, many participants inferred their belief or referenced terrible things that they believed to have happened away from the photograph.

Several comments reproach the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint or Christian missionaries for participating in/and encouraging forced assimilation and violence as deplorable methods of dealing with Native American children. A few mentioned that their families had participated in such programs, thinking they were helping at the time, but have since changed their perspectives about how they feel toward the practice. The few that were positive mentioned being grateful for education for everyone and praised the efforts to offer opportunities to the Native American children through these programs designed to help them, when their families were struggling to survive under the changing circumstances.

The Boarding School image depicts Native American children dressed in Americanized clothing standing in front of a schoolhouse as well as goodwill/collaboration. However, many of
the responses included implied violence, which could very well be true since it is well known that disciplinary practices at the time included physical discipline.

Next part of this analysis is to compare *Boarding School* to the *Navajo Code Talkers*. What are the similarities and differences? Both have young Native Americans dressed in American style clothing. Both could be exposing them to harsh Americanized treatment (the soldiers with war, the children with regards to school discipline) at the hands of white Americans. Yet, the survey responses were completely different.

The men in the *Navajo Code Talkers* photograph are viewed as heroes, while the school children are considered victims. Would it be safe to assume that the U.S. government never intended to take care of, support, or act gracious towards the young Navajo men? What young man enlisting in the military expects that? Whereas the school children were assumed to be taken care of by compassionate, caring adults who happened to also be or because they were white settlers. Such different expectations, outcomes and responses, it is quite interesting how these played out in the data.

After considering the Legend of the *Golden Braids* image and responses, several subcategories emerged. While the responses were primarily negative, there was a split between *why* they felt this was a negative image. Some felt the Native American was indeed a genuine threat to the young woman. Within this group was another split as to *why* the man was a threat. Either stating that they believed the girl was the victim, and felt the Native American man’s intentions were menacing and/or aggressive, by getting too close and invading her personal space in an unwelcome way or they empathized with the Native American and his curiosity with yellow hair and did not see him as an actual threat, even if they admitted the girl may have seen him as a threat, and not known his intention to be harmless curiosity.
**Questionable Victims**

Some felt the concept of portraying a stereotype savage as a potential threat was the artist’s desired narrative and therefore made the Native American the true victim of the artist’s pen, promoting anti-Native sentiment among viewers. *The Legend of the Golden Braids* gets the closer to actual violence, but not everyone who viewed it, agreed that it was in fact depicting the moments before a violent encounter. The viewers interpretations were split.

This secondary perspective of Natives as victims was also expressed in response to the *Navajo Code Talkers*. The *Navajo Code Talkers* responses were of great interest because they did not follow the pattern of the other images in the Violence thematic categories. Since most of the responses to the survey were from white people, the young *Navajo Code Talkers* in American military uniforms brought an overwhelming sense of pride and gratitude.

Many responses were loaded and expressed experiencing both good and bad feelings while viewing this image. Many responses started off positive for the young men’s willingness to join and serve but ended with an admittance of knowing these men were not treated well despite their service which brought a sense of guilt, or sadness. Some felt the Native Americans who enlisted in the military and lent their language to the U.S. Government were the victims even though they were the ones helping the U.S. government; having been blatantly abused and used by white Americans, before, after and even during their service.

This situation taps into a dynamic that is quite complex while trying to sort out how the helper can also be the victim, but with such little data it is hard to explain exactly what is going on. If I were to do further research, I would investigate more instances when the helper could also be seen as the victim and possibly abused or used by the one receiving the help.

**Blatant Violence**
The image *European Spectators of American Curiosities* brought some unforeseen problems. There was a problem with the image, some participants said they could not view the image. Those that responded positively were considered to not have been aware of the disturbing images in the background. Those that noticed the smaller violent images in the background proceeded to respond adamantly with heightened curiosity, confusion, and anger. Many expressed confusions because of the conflicting images, not telling a coherent and cohesive story.

Participants expressed anger at the violent stereotypes depicted, of possible cannibalism, human sacrifice, and slavery, while others in the image were smiling, seemingly oblivious. Several confessed that whatever the artist was trying to convey by way of message to the viewer was lost among the conflicting imagery, and not easily understood with few questioning the accuracy if it was of a specific historical encounter, or the culmination of many encounters with a fantastical flare. The various choices in interpretation were of great interest, and if I had had more time, I think it would be beneficial to break down the negative classification even further.

**Immersion**

The three images that are being taken into consideration in this category did not receive the same responses which were of particular interest. The images considered are *Chief Atchee*, *Boarding School*, and *Navajo Code Talkers*. The *Navajo Code Talkers* received the most positive responses of all the images receiving 89% positive remarks overall, 94.9% of the LDS group, 70% of the Native American group and 90% of the Museum Employee group. Compared to *Chief Atchee* who received only 56.9% of the overall positive responses, 50.9% of the LDS group, 40% of the Native American group, and 37.2% of the Museum Employee group. With the image of the Native American children at the *Boarding School* receiving the lowest responses with 16% of the total, 17% of the Latter-day Saints, 10% of the Native American and 7% of the Museum
Employees. The Latter-day Saint group tended to respond more positively, while the Native American and Museum Employee groups were typically more critical and judgmental.

Based on the responses most people felt a sense of immense pride and gratitude toward the young men in the photograph for helping in the war effort. These young Native American men, were in this incident, seen as being on the same side that many of the participants identify themselves with as Americans. It was no longer a traditional circumstance of “us” vs. “them” but it had become a “we” by bringing them together and putting them into the same uniform as the other American soldiers to unify them against a common enemy.

On the contrary, the image of the Native American children in American clothing in front of the schoolhouse was met with almost exclusively negative remarks. But the remarks about the school children used words like forced assimilation, re-education, not a single sense of pride and only one expression of gratitude for education in general. Many of the participants viewed the boarding school photograph as a failed attempt to help the Native population, by means of assimilation and separation or other negative methods. It is very interesting that these two photographs have so much in common, and yet they were interpreted to be completely opposite by the audience. Could the presence or lack of smiles have some influence on the audience? If the young Navajo Code Talkers were not smiling, would they have been met with the same positive responses?

By bringing the photograph of Chief Atchee into the discussion, we see that he too was met with mostly positive inquiries, and a small majority of positive remarks. The Overall and LDS responses were slightly higher than the Native American group and Museum Employees.

Most commented on his face, eyes and clothes which many assumed to be generating a sense of calm and peacefulness even without a smile. He is neither being threatened or threatening
someone else as other Native Americans are in other images in the survey. He was assumed to be voluntarily wearing American style clothing, as well as electing to sit in front of the camera. These two assumptions made by the survey participants resulted in him communicating a sense of acceptance and comfortability which in turn reflected similar feelings in the viewers.

If further work was to be conducted, I would like to see more images of Native Americans in American/European style clothes and surroundings and see if there are even more distinctions and/or correlations, between the types of situations and the feelings/observations felt by viewers. I suspect when the clothing choice is voluntary, it will be viewed more positively, compared to situations with them in their traditional clothing, which might feel more threatening, and opposing. The feelings of identity when people identify an “us” and a “them” group, usually in the face of a common enemy (WWII, French and Indian War) or common purpose, can draw even the most distinct groups together.

Would their responses have been different if his face had stayed the same, but his dress was in his traditional style, not Americanized? Most mentioned his eyes or face but how much did his clothing influence the positive message they received? The comments responding to Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull were not nearly as positive. Was this because the dichotomy was encompassed by an entire person (Buffalo Bill in his expected clothing and Chief Sitting Bull in his) and not an unexpected combination of a Ute Chief in American clothing? I believe this probably was the case, even if it was subconscious. While whites might see beauty in traditional Native attire, I think there still might be an undertone of threat or cause for guilt. But Chief Atchee in American clothing was not threatening, and some expressed hope in his decision to adapt and survive and his decision to look to the future- while this may seem fine, it implies that if he had chosen to have his photograph taken in his traditional clothing, would he have been perceived to
be holding onto the past? It would be interesting to do further research with a survey of Native Americans dressed in both Americanized and traditional clothing to see if this conclusion is accurate.

*Table 18 Four Part- Positive Responses to Immersion Images*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>LDS</th>
<th>Native American</th>
<th>Museum Employee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Navajo Code Talkers</em></td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>94.9%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chief Atchee</em></td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Boarding School</em></td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Goodwill/Collaboration*

Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull was chosen because despite the loud juxtaposition it presents a sense of goodwill/collaboration between the two men even though they are both dressed in their own traditional clothing. Many participants expressed feelings that were classified as a Pushed Fear narrative, or Propaganda. Others expressed joy, and hope viewing their relationship as genuine and collaborative. Those who felt it was fabricated, blamed images similar to this for continuing an American Frontier mythology. They did not give an explanation as to which American Frontier mythology they were accusing of being pushed but given the other responses in the survey it can be assumed to be a fake peaceful, friendly myth. Others expressed disagreement with the other extreme narrative, of bloodthirsty savages.

Many conflicting comments expressed confidently that they felt they knew what Chief Sitting Bull was even feeling, some said that he felt good and accepted, while others felt he was naive, feeling exploited or even grateful. The implying that they knew how Chief Sitting Bull felt
was unique to the survey. Most responses wondered what was being felt by the people in the images, or they did not claim to know as they did with Chief Sitting Bull.

As with *Chief Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill* some responses were very critical. Despite this outward comradery, many commented on the despicable, hypocritical decisions and behaviors of the U.S. government for being willing to accept help from the Native Americans (exploiting their native Navajo language) without compensating them justly during or after the war. Many responses alluded to the fact that most know they deserve credit for their contributions, but never actually received acknowledgement, monetary compensation, or respect by both those they worked alongside, and the general American public when they were discharged.

Similarly, *The European Spectator of American Curiosities* told a conflicting story. A few observations of Native Americans at least having successful conversations, if not relationships with White Settlers and therefore it crosses over into both Violence and Goodwill/Collaboration. The positive images were larger and, in the foreground, than the more disturbing ones in the background, and caught the eye's attention first, implying that this is a friendly depiction at least at first. Most of the comments that mentioned the positive relationships also mentioned confusion about the other images as well because of their conflicting nature and narrative. What would have been useful, would have been the artist’s commentary on the painting. But without any, the viewer is left to decipher the artist’s message alone.

The *Boarding School* image was originally only in the Goodwill/Collaboration category because of the obvious intentions of the white settlers to “help” the native children. And while their motives may have been with good intent, their methods were attacked by many of the survey participants with several feeling familial responsibility because their families had participated in these types of programs.
The *Navajo Code Talkers* also fell under the category of goodwill/collaboration because they helped the U.S. Government out. However, while it received the most positive remarks out of all the images, many accused the Government of not being genuinely grateful, or receptive to the members of the Navajo Code Talkers. It has become well documented that the government forced them to cut their hair, among other terrible things, and used and abused them, while taking advantage of their linguistic skills. Even though this image shows them smiling, it does not show the whole picture. If it were displayed in a museum, the men in the photograph would deserve to have their stories told, and not summarized with a photograph and simple description.

*Joseph Preaching to the Indians*, drew very divided responses. Many of the Latter-day Saint community felt this was a wonderful image and praised it highly. A small minority of the Latter-day Saint community expressed being conflicted, wanting to see the gospel shared, but also including that they did not feel great about how the Natives were targeted by white Christian missionaries and pursued until conversion. Several commented on the colors with both positive and negative views. Some noticed that Joseph appears to have a halo type light around his person, and the Native Americans are drawn with very contrasting red faces, reminiscent of the “Red Man” stereotype of Disney’s Peter Pan.

*Notable Observations*

Most of the statistics I gathered from the responses were in line with each other. However, there were a few I would like to mention that did not follow those observed patterns. The following chart demonstrates some of the noticeable observations. Typically, the three groups were in agreement with the overall assessment of the image being positive or negative. However, there were a few times, when the statistics were not congruent, across the board and therefore I believe
the various percentages can shed a little light onto why or how a specific group was interpreting
the image.

The responses to *Navajo Code Talkers* were the most positive of all the images across all
of the categories with numbers well about 50% (total responses 89%, Latter-day Saints 94.9%,
Native American 70%, and Museum Employees 90%). The Museum Employee group did not
respond so positively to any of the other images and tended to be more critical and disapproving.
So, for this group to have such a high positive rate, was a huge surprise. The other interesting
statistic for this group was the 30% of Native Americans that felt this image was negative which
was quite a bit higher than all of the other groups. The responses to the *Legend of the Golden
Braids* were expected to be high on the negative, side, but the Native American group only had
40% of them think it was a negative image, and the museum employee group was at the other end
of the extreme with 86%, showing both of their interpretations of the power dynamics between the
Native American man and the young girl could be seen vastly differently.

The image *Boarding School* was also seen as mostly negative, but the points to mention
are that again the museum employees are much higher than the others (83.7%). The Latter-day
Saint group is the lowest (46%), with the Native American group and overall responses hovering
around 70%. Considering the devastating experiences shared in the comments, I would have
thought those in the Native American group would have seen this image as 100% negative, but 3
of them maintained positive feelings. This is one of the questions I would have loved to elaborate
upon, if there is further research done.

Concerning *Bear River Massacre*, the Museum Employee group is slightly less critical than
the LDS group, and this was not expected. The Native American group was unanimous in their
view, while the others were not as certain.
As for *Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull*, the total and Latter-day Saint responses were highly positive. But the Native American and Museum employee groups assessments went the other way viewing the picture of the two men together as greatly negative.

The last image in the chart is of *Joseph Smith Preaching*. I anticipated the Latter-day Saint group would be highly positive, which it was, but the Native Americans were equally split at 30% and the total group was close to equal at about 47%. The surprise again, was the museum employee group which does not follow suit and comes out drastically negative.

*Table 19 Four-Part Notable Observation Percentages*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>LDS</th>
<th>Native American</th>
<th>Museum Employee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navajo Code Talkers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>94.9%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Braids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
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<td>70%</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo Bill/ Chief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitting Bull Positive</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>57.3%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>48.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Preaching</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collective Guilt, Interpersonal Regret*

One observation that was made as I went through the data, was that some of the survey participants used “we,” “our”, or “us”. I initially marked it as empathy/connection, but soon
realized sometimes it was something more specific than just an expression of connection to the people in the image, or feeling empathy, but I did not have a word to describe it yet. The closest I got was collective guilt, but it still did not fit exactly what I was looking for.

I went back to the beginning of the data and specifically looked for these inclusion words to see if I could pinpoint any patterns that would help me identify what I was seeing. As I took note of more people using “we” I realized it was usually in accordance with a strong sense of guilt for what had been done long before the person was alive. This phenomenon stuck out in my research, and I found at least 43 instances where participants used either, “we”, “our” or “us” when describing actions done by those, they socially identified with i.e. white settlers, Latter Day Saint settlers, or United States Government, but in each incident they were not alive to actually be an active part of the negative actions, yet they included themselves in as the guilty party.

The term *collective guilt* led me to find an article by Imhoff, Roland, et al., published in the European Journal of Social Psychology, “*Collective Regret versus Collective Guilt: Different Emotional Reactions to Historical Atrocities*.” This article identified the unique linguistic phenomenon I believed I was witnessing. Imhoff et al., linguistically excavated the concept of “*guilt by association*” a term introduced to empirical social psychology by Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead. They claimed that individuals could feel something called group-based guilt (Mackie, Silver, & Smith; Smith) for suffering caused by other members of their social group, even if the individual did not personally engage in the offense.

This is exactly what I was witnessing in these survey responses. Many of the participants were including themselves as part of the aggressor group. They were taking responsibility for the atrocities committed hundreds of years ago, simply because they saw themselves as the descendants of these groups.
Unlike shame, which is an individual emotion, when some of the survey participants were confronted with negative actions committed by groups they currently, socially identified with, they could feel any of several in-group emotions, such as guilt, regret, or remorse.

In their 1995 study Gilovich & Medvec, determined that regret could also be linked to incidents of moral transgressions. This is exactly what I felt, I was seeing in the data. The term Interpersonal Regret was coined by Zeelenberg, van der Pligt, and Manstead. In the intergroup context, it is this interpersonal (or intergroup) regret that is applicable to these survey responses. Imhoff et al., continues, that they agree that regret is likely to be “tinged with guilt” (Gilovich & Medvec) and that most situations that elicit guilt also evoke regret (Landman), but they insist that regret and guilt differ even in the slightest degree of how much of the emotion is turned inward and self-focused. In the survey the participants expressed regret over the encounters that happened to other groups (or persons), and therefore, regret constitutes an outer-focused emotion (like empathy) which is why I believe I came close initially by classifying these types of responses under connection/empathy.

Imhoff et.al. also mentions that they believed the reason that regret may be better at predicting enhanced intergroup attitudes is that it does not generate the aversive quality that guilt most certainly does (Frijda et al., Roseman et al.,). Regret tends to motivate an individual to distance oneself from one’s past actions by changing specific behaviors (Roseman et al.,). Potentially, with knowledge of a history of negative attitudes and violence against a particular group, the most efficient path forward would be to behave differently by exhibiting positive, appreciative attitudes and engaging in positive intergroup contact. This is where I believe most of the participants would feel comfortable in moving forward, because they have expressed these feelings of regret and still feel an obligation to make some attempt at recompense.
Examples of Interpersonal Regret Responses

Chief Atchee

“Sad because we took advantage of the Native Americans”

Custer’s Last Fight

“When I see this painting, I feel sad because this seems like unnecessary violence - we should not have been taking what did not belong to us.”

“Extremely sad, because I feel that we took their land from them.”

“Disgusted, of the way our country’s government has massacred our indigenous population of the United States”

Indian Massacre

“Sad, furious, guilty. So much suffering. So much suffering is still happening to cultures other than the white race (for the most part). Angry at white supremacy. Angry we aren’t farther along in our evolution and acceptance. Depressing.”

“... Both believed might made right, and neither side really attempted to understand and deal honestly with the other. Finally, this is my history and heritage. we either recognize it for who we are and move on or whitewash it and try to forget it so we can do it all again.”

Bear River Massacre

“sad. guilty. Again - we've inflicted so much pain, hard not to feel guilty and sad.”

“Angry because we Americans have done some unconscionable things.”

“Sad and disappointed because we took their land and then we killed them for wanting to live there.”

Boarding School

“whitewashing because we have such a hard time accepting other cultures.”
“Saddness; our philanthropic efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples was to make them "white" instead of relishing in diversity.”

Buffalo Bill and Chief Sitting Bull

“When I see this photo, I feel like I wish we could've learned more from the Native Americans because we just took over without stopping to learn from each other.”

CONCLUSION

Overall Question- How do perspectives and/or interpretations vary between a total group, a Latter-day Saint group, a Native American group, and a museum employee group?

What observations or conclusions could be drawn concerning the four group’s overall attitudes or perspectives concerning the images?

The Latter-day Saint group’s responses were notably more positive (47%), more curious (11.5%) and slightly more empathetic or expressing a connection (3.8%) than the other groups. Including the most positive response of the survey, to the image of the Navajo Code Talkers (94.9%). They were also the least negative (44.1%). The Latter-day Saint group’s responses typically mirrored the total population's responses within 10-15% for both the positive and negative categories with only two exceptions: Boarding Schools and Joseph Preaching. Latter-day Saints were expected to view Joseph Preaching favorably, and they did (73%). While the total population and Native American groups were almost evenly split between negative and positive, museum employees viewed Joseph Preaching more negatively than the other groups (56.1%).

The museum employee group had the most negative responses (55.2%). They were also the most likely to question the image, artist, and accuracy (6.4% and 3.2%) and comment on color/style of the image (4.9%). This could be because museum professionals are educated and
trained to be more critical, in presenting difficult topics, as well as considering color, style and artistic techniques. This could explain why their responses unintentionally comes off as excessively negative. It could also be because museum professionals can sometimes develop a distaste for American culture and lose a sense of national pride in the process as they learn about Americans interactions with other cultures, and even the unethical history of museums as an institution.

The Native American group was small with only ten participants. However, all ten participants in the Native American group were also Latter-day Saints. This may have been influential with how they responded to some of the images. Surprisingly, the data shows that some Native Americans do not view all encounters with white settlers negatively. They expressed feelings such as pride and hope. The Native American group was in the middle for both positive and negative comments. The LDS group being more positive and the museum employee group being more negative.

Do participants responses express only a single narrative?

The Loaded category was created soon after analysis began, when it became clear that not every response was exclusively positive or negative. Responses that included both positive and negative words or expressions, required a category to describe the conflict. The responses classified as loaded (6.3%) show that at least seven people who viewed each image expressed feeling conflicting emotions and some were able to put an argument into words for why they felt both positive and negative concerning the image.

Did the participants agree with the themes assigned to the images?

The survey participants agreed with 11/12 of the themes initially assigned to the images. Only one image had to be included into another category that I had not considered initially.
Responses to the Boarding School photograph helped me to see that some of the survey participants saw it as an image that should be classified as implied violence as well as goodwill/collaboration.

Do individual demographics heavily influence word frequency?

Individual groupings for word frequency (Total, Latter-day Saint, Native American, and Museum Employee, as well as Male, Female, Utah resident, Non-Utah resident, AA,BA, MA, Ph.D., 45 and under, 46 and older, non-LDS, etc...) were quite similar across demographics and only varied slightly in frequency. The top 20 words for each group were basically the same across the boards with no distinct observations.

What can word frequency tell us about the data?

Word Frequency can tell us which words were used the most as well as those 251 participants used just over 1700 words only once, over 500 words used twice, over 200 words used three times, over 130 words four times, and over 120 words five times. The significance in this finding is that 251 participants used hundreds of words to describe twelve images. Word frequency can also tell us the most frequently used word, “Sad” shows us that a tender sadness is felt by most by a high majority when considering the clash of the two cultures. The data also shows people are interested and feel their current knowledge on these topics is subpar.

Do Native Americans view all encounters with white settlers negatively?

It was surprising that the Native American group was not the most negative in their responses. They were typically in the middle of the four, with the LDS group being more positive and the museum employee group being more negative. They did however have a 100% negative response to the image of the Bear River Massacre but had at least a few positive responses to each of the other images.
Are those associated with museums more sympathetic in their interpretations when compared to the total population (general public sample population)?

One noticeable difference that the data did not support was my hypothesis that those associated with museums would use more neutral language. Museum employees were on the contrary more likely to be critical in their assessment of the purpose or intended theme of the artwork. Some museum employees surprised me by using very passionate language when I was expecting something more restrained. One explanation for this observance in the data is that museum professionals have been known to develop a distaste for their own culture, especially in America.

Are there any other patterns that can be identified within the data?

Collective Guilt- Interpersonal Regret

The most notable unanticipated observation throughout the data is the linguistic phenomenon that occurred in response to 10 of the 12 images, where at least one person and at most eight people actively included themselves in an experience of Interpersonal Regret. The inquiries into collective guilt, and interpersonal guilt, fall within the great word frequency observations, that something deeper than sadness was being felt, but for lack of a better term, many settled for simple sadness.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this data set, are that the general public is made up of many subgroups that have their own interpretations and perspectives concerning images depicting Native Americans and white cultures clashing. Museums must take the time to find these various versions of historic moments and present them to all of their visitors. Visitors want more information; they want to learn more than the superficial observations. Visitors can feel multiple
feelings at once and museums can help them work through some of these emotions, by providing their
visitors with multiple versions of the stories many thought they knew.

These observations support the ideas expressed by Darren Parry, Lisa King and Malea Powell. Single and simple
narratives are not enough. The participants in the study seem to crave more depth. The data clearly shows an
interest and desire for more information which might be telling us audiences are ready for Malea Powell’s call for a
“new language”. Perhaps today’s audiences are ready and more open to accepting complicated histories than
past generations. Queen Elizabeth said, “While we bow to the past, we should not be bound by it.” So, while there
is still evidence that supports the us vs. them mentality that Powell mentions is still there for some because the
appearance of collective guilt, and interpersonal regret in the data there also seems to be softening, not fueled
by anger, but by sympathy. Lisa King’s reply to Powell’s claim is still one I agree with after the conclusion of the
study, “What kind of language do we need, can we create to build alliances and tell the hard stories together?”
The language offered in this study gives me hope that if we initiate meaningful conversations a new language
can be established. There seems to be a need for healing on all sides and a new way of talking could be a
great place to start.

The three questions I have developed in line with Isernhagen’s article for future research are as follows:
Do Native Americans have viable roles in the historic narrative, or are they simply props and scenery by which
the stage is set to tell the story of the European settlers? Do typical museum visitors desire to engage with a
Native narrative? Would museums lose visitors if they more strongly pushed dual storylines instead of
presenting the one aligned with the typical American patron?

History museums do not have an easy job, they never have. Telling stories that do not fit the fairytale
storyline, to an audience who line up for happy endings is daunting. The hope is that
this study will help give weight to Darren Parry, Lisa King, and Malea Powell’s arguments for various perspectives and language use. Museum professionals are absolutely needed to present the stories that need telling, but the data in this study shows their experiences and education still facilitate a limited perspective. Audiences desire and could potentially benefit from exposure to multiple perspectives that collaborated and created a complete narrative. If an exhibit were to be created from this study, the word frequency data would provide countless words that represent the audiences’ perspectives. What benefits could be achieved by inviting audience members to help write interpretive text? To create a corpus of words that represent multiple narratives and offer them to the audience to decide for themselves which narrative they agree with could be a step in the right direction to achieve the desires of those who wish to have more full representation.

WORKS CITED


