

Life in the Fort: Politics and Opinion:

By Rhonda Gutierrez

Essential Questions:

1. How did the reservation affect the rest of the state?
2. What did people think of the fort/reservation?
3. How do we know how the people felt?
4. What points did the opposition and supporters make about the fort?

Objectives: Students will be able to...

1. Describe the basic ideas behind those who were opposed to the reservation and those who supported the reservation and General Carleton.
2. Evaluate how the press played into the discussion about the reservation
3. Discern how the mindset born from Manifest Destiny shape the opinion of the debate
4. Extrapolate how mindset of a population defines an argument from a modern example.

NOTE: This is a more advanced lesson in propaganda, use of media to promote political views and dehumanization. This requires critical thinking and analysis.

One danger when evaluating historical primary documents is realizing our beliefs now vs. the beliefs widely held of the people of the time that we are studying. The people in New Mexico during the 1860's were a product of Manifest Destiny and the belief that in their "God given right" to take the land from the natives who lived in the lands that the Americans wanted.

At the heart of manifest destiny was the pervasive belief in American cultural and racial superiority. Native Americans had long been perceived as inferior, and efforts to "civilize" them had been widespread since the days of John Smith and Miles Standish. The Hispanics who ruled Texas and the lucrative ports of California were also seen as "backward." (U.S. History, 29. Manifest Destiny)

As students begin to work with the newspaper articles for this activity and begin analysis, it will be critical for the students to understand that the people of the 1860's who were settling the area and writing the articles were typically white and of European descent and steeped in Manifest Destiny. They held that they had a right to the lands and felt justified in the war against the Navajo who the settlers saw as a barrier to them exercising their right to the lands even if the natives had a claim to the land based on hundreds of years of living in the area. The people at the time saw that their Christian beliefs were correct and other ideas and cultural beliefs to the contrary were incorrect. The only option for these people wasn't negotiating, but

Materials

Associated worksheets and reading, internet research opportunities

Key Concepts

Manifest Destiny – God given right to lands inhabited by natives as Americans were superior.

Homestead Act of 1862 – 160 acres of public land (native homelands) that encouraged westward expansion.

Pacific Railway Act of 1862 – provided land and money for transcontinental railroads to be built

Propaganda – Subjective information given to influence an audience and further an agenda.

Dehumanizing –process of demonizing the enemy, making them seem less than human

Grades

Primarily high school and/r honors junior high. Adaptations needed for junior high



removal of the natives, acculturation and some held idea of outright extermination. One argument is that Carleton wanted to exterminate the tribes he put in Fort Sumner. There is plenty to argue that point, but in his own words, he thought that he was doing good to change the culture of the Navajo. In March of 1864, Carleton wrote "Within ten years the Navajos would be the 'happiest and most delightfully located pueblo of Indians in New Mexico, perhaps United States.'" (Thompson, p 33). Carleton also believed that the key was the younger generation who he saw had potential to be changed. "The older Navajos must die off, Carleton observed, and the younger ones take their places before any marked improvement could be observed in the tribe." (Thompson, p 91).

At first public opinion was favorable towards Carleton and the war he waged on the Navajo. The mostly white settlers who moved in to New Mexico Territory beginning in 1846 after the Mexican American War were increasing the conflicts with the tribes. For the most part, these settlers didn't respect the claims to the land by either the Native Americans or Mexicans. The raids increased and settlers lost livestock and lives and viewed the attacks as unprovoked and needing to be stopped, so the war against the natives was seen as a positive to put an end to the raids. Because of Manifest Destiny, the settlers were unable to see that the raids were in response to the settlers invading already occupied territory.

Population in New Mexico

The territory was annexed in 1848 and the first census was 1850. At that time there were 61,547 people in the territory which included Arizona. Within ten years the population jumped to 93,516. The population of the Bosque Redondo reservation was 10,000. In 1860, the population of Albuquerque was 1903, Santa Fe 4635, Mesilla 2492, Las Vegas 1094. So at the time that the reservation came into being, it was arguably the most concentrated and highest populated center of New Mexico.

The crops failed every year so beginning in 1863, the government purchased locally grown wheat and corn as well as beef, pork and sheep which caused shortages and increases in prices across the territory. "Corn prices reflected the effect of reservation needs on the economy of New Mexico. In less than two years, the price of corn had tripled." (Thompson, p 80). Meat prices followed suit and average working people couldn't afford beef.

The other problem that happened from the creation of the reservation was graft. There are several known examples of outright cheating the government. An agent was sent to make purchases for the reservation and he managed to steal about \$60,000 before he was discovered, (Thompson, pg 62). The practice of going with the lowest bidder didn't consistently happen. When the supplies were needed so desperately, the government would purchase at higher inflated prices. There are examples when Carleton purchased beef for the reservation over sheep which was preferred by the Navajo and much cheaper. Carleton favored certain suppliers who were his friends and backers which created a political rift in the Territory as well as inflation. (Lanehart, pg 38)

Public War

At first Carleton's policies were widely popular because it seemed that he had solved the problem with the Navajos raiding. One of the earliest critics of the reservation was Superintendent Michael Steck who believed that the reservation may be appropriate for about 2500 Apache people, disagreed that the Navajos who he thought numbered near 12,000 would be successful and proposed that they be left in the four corners area. Steck would be critical of the reservation until he finally resigned in spring of 1865. Over time as the costs escalated, raids continued (the raids were blamed upon the Navajo and the public belief was that the Navajo were allowed to leave the reservation to conduct raids. Many lost livestock wasn't raided by the Navajo but came up missing by other people or the hired hands as it was quite lucrative due to the inflated price of

meat) inflation increased, and criticism grew.

Then as now, media was the avenue by which political criticism was voiced. Two newspapers became the voice of the critics of the reservation and pro-Carleton supporters. The *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican* was highly critical of Carleton and the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette* was a pro-Carleton newspaper and the two often printed articles critical of the point that the other made. The *New Mexican* began publishing any raid or “depredations” done that suspected Navajos. There is credible speculation that many of the so-called raids by Navajos were done by others and staged to appear to be Navajo in hopes of retribution and recovery from the government. Also these raids might have been done by hired hands to take advantage of the high prices of meat. The *Gazette* rebutted with article’s from Carleton and about Carleton referring to him as a “worthy officer” (Correll, p 351, vol III)

On aside, the Santa Fe Gazette can be accessed online at:

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022168/> The Santa Fe New Mexican archives do not include these years in an online archive at this time.

Activity 1 – Newspaper war

For this activity, first start with the basic history as discussed here and be sure to address the mindset of the time based upon the belief in Manifest Destiny. It is important to point out that the discussions against the reservation wasn’t necessarily about the inhumane treatment of the Apache and Navajo but the inflation, graft and ineffectiveness as raids continued. An activity associated with this lesson is about what happens when we devalue or dehumanize people but this activity is about finding biases in news articles and figuring out the “slants.”

Later in this lesson are copies of three different newspaper artifacts. The first are a series of poems that appeared in newspapers as propaganda. The second is an article and then counter in the Santa Fe New Mexican and the Santa Fe Gazette about issue of a Navajo girl in slavery. The third is a direct argument and response between General Carleton and Judge J. G. Knapp, Associate Justice from Mesilla, NM.

To introduce any of the lessons, you can introduce propaganda. Specific propaganda devices are helpful in knowing how something is propaganda, but the activities aren’t general designed to identify those device but the effect of those devices. There is a more traditional article with videos about the top propaganda techniques: <https://www.cleverism.com/7-propaganda-techniques-for-students-to-understand/> Another propaganda teaching tool that may resonate with students is a song by Anti-Flag – Anatomy of your Enemy: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=appa4q2EwP4>. This is a song done in 2009 but it is still very relevant to developing concept of dehumanizing and propaganda.

The poems: the first is war propaganda, the second is an ode to the reservation and the third is a satirical political poem to criticize Carleton’s policies. The poems don’t worry about accuracy. For example “Bends his whole will at once to earnest toil, And draws abundance from the virgin soil honest toil” when the Native Americans were using very basic tools to till sandy and alkali soil in hot temperatures while under guard.).

- A. Language used to distort: In the poems provided, each had a political point. The first two were most decidedly on the side of US and saw the war against the Navajo and the incarceration at Bosque Redondo as positive. The third is backlash against Carleton. This activity isn’t a complete poetry analysis as to how the author’s use of literary devices created the propaganda but more an invitation to see how loaded language, sarcasm and flowery language or glittering generalities creates the biases evident in the poetry. This lesson can be modified for younger students by choosing fewer poems, or selecting parts of the poems. For older students, you can use all three poems to deepen

analysis. Another modification is sticking to one device. In the case of Johnny Navajo, you can have the students compare how the author refers to the soldiers and the language used vs the Navajo and the language used to create a Us vs. Them. For example, valiant First vs savage foe. For the second poem, the author told a poetic story about a place that simply didn't exist using glittering generalities. Here, you can have students identify all the phrases that paint a rosy picture of the reservation. "Rich and verdant lands" for example was sandy soil so alkaline that crops withered and died due to the high salt content. The soldier guarded the fields so that the men planted under armed guard using very limited tools. Here a picture can be worth a thousand words. You can show the picture within the text to show the students what it really looked like in the fields. The third poem is a political satire written by anti-Carleton side using a son talking to his father about Carleton and it outlines the criticisms of Carleton. Depending upon the time that you wish to invest in this activity and the depth you wish to take analysis, you can have students identify the sarcastic devices. The most basic question from this poem is what is father saying that the problems are with Carleton and how does son see Carleton at least in the beginning? Basically the Gazette holds him up as bigger than life, but father points out that he is simply a man who uses government money from high priced beef while raids continued and uses a newspaper for self-promotion. Younger students may not understand the sarcastic tone of this poem, but some stanzas are easier to analyze.

- B. Word choice to set tone. After the poems are two articles printed in July 1865 in the Santa Fe New Mexican and the Santa Fe Gazette. News articles are supposed to set out facts of a situation. News articles are supposed to include who, what, where, when, why and how. These articles do that but using very charged language. The facts are according to the Santa Fe New Mexican that a Navajo girl was given to a man by Carleton and that slavery is outlawed in the territory. However, the article is full of suggestion that the child was given so that Carleton could then show Washington how the child can be educated by white standards and that Carleton gives the Navajo away to those he favors while the rest of the territory had to give up their slaves. The other statement that is suspect is that the native slaves were "perfectly contented with their station." In the answer by the Gazette, the facts according to the article are that the girl wasn't happy to be taken from the family so Carleton decided to adopt her to a non-Indian family. Beyond that, the articles suggests that Carleton is a worthy officer, that attack by the New Mexican is meant to create anxiety and that the family will raise her properly as opposed to a Navajo family who presumably wouldn't, and that since the editor is a judge if a law was broken, the judge should act accordingly. If someone is trying to learn what actually happened in this case, the reader would be left wanting. A lesson with these two articles could be to determine fact vs opinion. Again, identifying charged language is also appropriate.
- C. The last articles may be appropriate to high school students. The last is an open disagreement between General Carleton and Judge J.G. Knapp. Interesting side note, Carleton in order to interrupt court proceedings during martial law, had Judge Knapp arrested and held in a guardhouse and then later released. (New Mexico Bar Association, pg. 29). Like the articles before, both authors use loaded language and allusion and biblical themes in order to make a point or to destroy another's point. By today's standards, both would be considered racist in their treatment and discussion of the Navajo and it is important to remind students that the prevailing, albeit biased worldview, at that time was that America was a promised land given by God and those who lived upon the land were lesser people which has been termed Manifest Destiny. For this activity, the students will dissect the arguments that the two are making, identify the facts and the rhetorical devices (loaded language, biblical references, etc). This isn't an English assignment so the instructions aren't written to identify all the possible rhetorical devices but to recognize that the language is loaded in some way to create a response. For example, "Your domineering spirit displayed itself in telling them (Navajo) that you did not believe them," (Knapp from letter No. 6). A more factual statement might have been "You did not believe that the Navajo wanted peace." Instead Knapp is suggesting that its part of Carleton's

personality which is to dominate is the reason that he didn't believe the Navajo. So for this activity, the students will summarize the arguments that both men make, identify the facts and then pick several examples of these loaded statements and explain how the use of language in the example is not fact but a way to argue to get a reaction or suggest something.

Activity 2 – Dehumanizing and the consequences. The most obvious example of when a group of people were demonized and striped of basic humanity was the Holocaust, but it is certainly not the only example. In this activity, the students will be extending what they have learned about how the mindset of a group of people justified atrocities done to another group – the Americans vs the Navajo – to a more global model and how media and language can be used to further messages. This will require some research and the depth of that research is up to you as the teacher. It could be an activity of one class in which students do basic research and list the examples that they find or multiple days in which students pick one example and explain why it is an example and compare it to what happened to the Navajos and Apaches at Bosque Redondo. It can also be a full rhetorical research paper with cited sources. You can direct the research to be only historic examples in the US and the world or contemporary examples which daily examples of twitter or Facebook are used as political weapons to spread hate and devaluing people. The choice of history or contemporary examples is up to you and can be based upon age of students, how charged this could be in your community and if it will be acceptable in your school.

Start with discussion about the ideas of Manifest Destiny and the God given right of Americans to inhabit lands already inhabited by Native Americans. The History channel has a brief and rather sanitized description of Manifest Destiny: https://www.history.com/topics/westward-expansion/manifest-destiny#section_5

Dehumanizing often starts with creating an enemy image – savages, Godless Indians, Johnny Navajo – and then we take sides. “Once we see ‘the other side’ as morally inferior and even dangerous, the conflict starts being framed as good versus evil.” (Brown) The result is a conflict without a means of finding a common ground because on one side is a morally right and the other a morally inferior – Us vs Them. Once conflict is shaped in this manner, then we accept violations of human rights such as genocide, human trafficking and slavery.

The combination of settlers seeing themselves as God endorsed in their quest for land and seeing the owners of that land as savage and murdering Indians, the stage was set, so to speak. We see from the article selections the use of dehumanizing language: “worthy officer” vs. “savage Indian” or “would give 25 cents to see an educated Navajoe.”

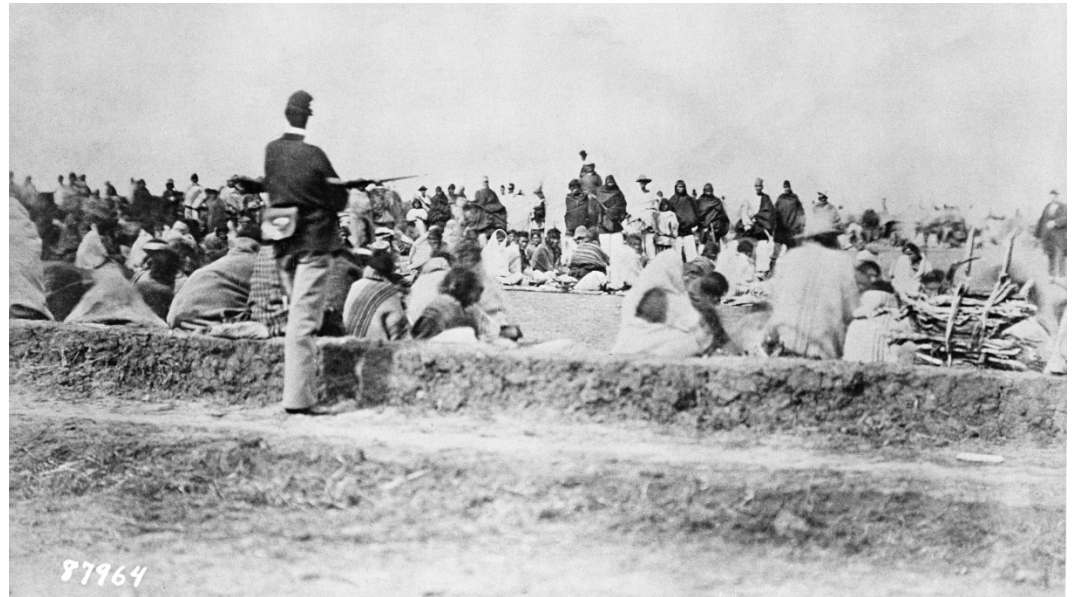
Suggested activities:

- a. You can have students find and identify the dehumanizing language in one of the articles
- b. Research and list historic examples of dehumanizing
- c. Research and describe contemporary examples from current politics

There are so many examples of using the dehumanizing language towards people in history and contemporary. For this research activity, again length is up to you.

Following pages are the articles and suggested worksheets. Feel free to modify and use as is appropriate for your students:





Analysis of “Johnny Navajo”

1. Compare the language used in the poem to describe either the soldiers or the Navajo.

Terms to describe US Soldiers	Terms to describe the Navajo
Valiant first	Savage foe

2. How are the terms used to describe the soldiers and the Navajo different?

3. How do these terms create meaning in the poem?

4. From the use of the charged language in the poem, how do you think the author sees the soldiers and the Navajo?

Analysis of Fair Carletonia

After reading the poem and seeing the photo of a field at Bosque Redondo, complete the chart and answer the questions:

Poem's rosy view of reservation	Actual view
"Rich and verdant lands" for example	Sandy soil so alkaline that crops withered and died due to the high salt content.

2. Do you think the author was a supporter of Carleton or a critic and what gives you that idea?

3. What purpose do you think that the author might have had to write the poem?

4. If you were a hard working person who was struggling to make ends meet, how would you think of the reservation from the poem?

5. If you were to write a poem about the real place, how would it be different? You could write a short poem or describe how it would be.

Analysis – News Articles

Fact versus Opinion: News is supposed to be based on fact and tell you who, what, when, where, why and how. So for each article, find the 5W's and H.

FACTS	<i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i>	<i>Santa Fe Gazette</i>
What?		
Who?		
Where?		
When?		
Why?		
How?		

These articles have considerable amount of opinion which is fine for an editorial or a letter to the editor, but these are news articles. Let's see if you can find opinions:

<i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i>	<i>Santa Fe Gazette</i>

So how do the opinions in the articles create message? In other words, how do these opinions create sides of an argument? From these opinions which paper is pro-Carleton and which is Anti-reservation?

After reading the articles, answer the following questions:

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- NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF
CULTURAL AFFAIRS

4. There are quite a few inaccuracies in these articles. In the following passage, see if you can find all the inaccuracies: "From time immemorial these Navajo Indians subsisted upon the flocks and herds of your fathers; had, times without number, even in one single hour, reduced whole families from comparative wealth to poverty. Their ravages had impoverished not only your country, but these barbarians had murdered your people; had slain your fathers - your brothers - your children: or had carried many of them in to a horrible and hopeless captivity, until there was hardly a home in the land which was not filled with mourning and with hearts made desolate.

What did you find that was inaccurate in the passage?

What is the point of using such exaggerations? What is he trying to say with exaggerations?

What emotion is he trying to generate in this passage?

Articles

Originally published in the *Rio Abajo Weekly Press* on December 8, 1863 and then reprinted in the *Santa Fe Gazette* on December 12, 1863 titled: For the *Santa Fe Gazette* by One of the Bloody First”.

“Johnny Navajo”

Come dress your ranks my valiant First, and stand up in a row
Kit Carson he is watching to march against the foe,
This day we march to Moqui- o’re lofty hills of snow
To meet and crush the savage foe – bold Johnny Navajo.

Chorus – Johnny Navajo O Johnny Navajo
We will chastise, then civilize, bold Johnny Navajo.

To the ladies of New Mexico whose hearts and albums too
Bear sad remembrance of the wrong the savage Indians do
We bid a long farewell, the best recompense we know;
Our absent dangers have their search in Johnny Navajo.

Of the smile wreathed maids with virgin lips like roses steeped in dew
Who are to be out better halves, we’d like to take a view
But duty bids us here remain, amidst the driven snow
To banish from his chosen land, bold Johnny Navajo.

“Chorus”

To the ladies of our Regiment our cups shall overflow
They breathe a prayer for our success against the common foe;
May they see their husbands Generals, with double pay also,
And join us in the chorus of Johnny Navajo

“Chorus”

Here’s a health to Col. Carson who swift and crushing blow
Brought terror to the Savage, and reduced the Navajo,
May promotion raise him to the stars and may his country show
She holds him as the conqueror of Johnny Navajo.

“Chorus”

From the field of death and danger, from Pueblo’s deadly shore
Resounds the voice of many grief; brave Cummings is no more
In the valley near Fort Canby his head lies buried low
He nobly fell, charging too well, bold Johnny Navajo.

“Chorus”

To our comrades all, of every rank, a cup before we go,
 Who nobly share the danger, and face the common foe;
 Success attend their arms to smite the daring foe
 May story tell they fought right well, with Johnny Navajo.

“Chorus”

A Muggins wrote the poem which he sent to the *Santa Fe Gazette* which published it as “Carletonia” published on August 20, 1864.

Fair Carletonia dressed in flowery pride,
 Where the swift Pecos rolls its rushing tide,
 Here captive tribes no longer sad but gay
 In honest labor pass the lengthened day.

By interest bound; but by no bonds confined,
 The once wild Indian curbs his roving mind;
 Bends his whole will at once to earnest toil,
 And draws abundance from the virgin soil.

Here far removed from every hostile cry,
 The task imposed to Labor all apply
 And Carletonia’s rich and verdant lands
 In bloom and beauty smile beneath their hands.

The following poem was published during the legislative session in 1865 in the *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican* and sums up the anti-Carleton argument and aligns the *Gazette* to Carleton.

The General’s Greatness

Son:

O, General Carleton’s great papa,
 His paper calls him great
 The biggest man you ever saw,
 He stands so mighty straight.

Father:

Not so, my son, about as big
 As I or Uncle Jeff
 The people do not call him great
 But the Santa Fe Gazette.

Son:

But papers tell the truth, papa,

So I at least suppose;
 And from his paper one might think
 His fame to heaven rose.
 And then, my dearest Pa, you know,
 From lowest degradation
 He's raised the barbarous Navajo
 Above an Angel's station.
 He looks not like a man, papa.
 But brighter than the stars.
 The people tremble at his name,
 He's wonderful in wars.

Father:

Man at the most is only man,
 This you must not forget,
 The people call not Carleton more,
 His fame is bought – you bet.
 The Casa Blanca is the horn
 That sounds abroad his fame;
 When facts are known to you, my son
 T'will all seem wondrous tame;
 He lives on government pap,
 And taxing contract meat,
 Tis this that makes the Gazette say
 To all his praise amen.
 The Governor's proclamation said
 The Navajos were beat,
 But every day or two they steal
 Cattle and ten thousand sheep.
 They murder all within their track,
 Though bound by Carleton's order,
 The people can't give a tit for tat –
 The General won't take the bother.

Son:

But in the race for Washington,
 Which Perea lately made,
 He used his military power
 To force him through 'tis said.

Father:

But then, my darling little son,
 You know that Chaves beat.
 With all the force that Carleton run,
 Poor General beat retreat.
 Have you seen the late Gazette?
 Which Carleton's shrewdness runs

Its dying agonies were great,
 Poor thing, it is undone.
 The Legislature's struck the blow,
 And Carleton groaned aloud,
 His organ called them lousy men,
 And lice eaters proud;
 Then viper like he bit his side,
 "O Russell*, help!" he cried,
 "The lousy dose we vainly tried."
 He bit again and died.

Son:

Then Carleton's a small man, papa,
 I thought he was much greater;
 If fame like his is boughten fame,
 He's but a small per-tater
 I'm glad, papa, you've told me all,
 And, yet not told the best,
 For Andy (Andrew Jackson) is about to send
 A general out here West.

*Russell in the poem refers to John T Russell publisher of the pro-Carleton Santa Fe Gazette.

From *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican*, July 7, 1865: Signed Anti-Carletonian and titled, "Carleton Gives Away One of his Pets"

Everyone is aware and knows that no one is allowed to have a Navajoe Indian in his possession, but I have lately learned that General Carleton presented a little Navajoe girl to a sutler, 3 or 4 months ago. We presume he wants to have her educated, such as playing a piano, etc., and to attend the 'soirees' of the winter and after she has done through with her education, the General, no doubt, will take her to Washington as a specimen of how he can master these redskins.

I think myself it is good speculation, as any one would give 25 cents to see an educated Navajoe. I've not the slightest ill-feeling towards the sutler (who is a gentleman), but I could merely call the attention of the people of New Mexico to the fact that while many of them have been compelled to give up Indians whom they have had for many years, and who were perfectly contented with their situation, General Carleton, as a matter of economy, keeps them on hand for presents and gifts.

From *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, Saturday, July 15, 1865

Navajo Slaves: On two or three occasions the New Mexican has, in its columns, endeavored to create the belief in this community that Gen'l Carleton has encourage the enslavement of Navajo Indians in this Territory. In its anxiety to trump up malicious charges against this worthy officer, it does not stop at the publication of any misrepresentation however foul it may be. This is evidenced but e article which appeared in its columns last week.

The facts of the case, over which so much noise is made are as follows, as we understand them, and which are no doubt correct: Several months since a Navajo child which belonged to a citizen, was sent from Fort

Craig to Los Pinos to be sent with other Indians to the Reservation. The child having lived in the settlements from a very tender age, and not knowing how to speak the Navajo language, made all the resistance that a child could make, by crying &c. to being sent off with the Indians. The officers in charge finally concluded not to compel it to be sent away until the circumstances of the case should be known at Head Quarters and some order made in reference to it. The General had it brought to Santa Fe, and taking all the circumstances into consideration, thought best that it should be put with some good family in the city where it would be properly reared. Mr. Staab agreed to take it, with a vow to having it bound to him in the regular legal way and of taking care of it in a proper manner.

The child has no parents, or known relatives, living, and , therefore, it was more a matter of mercy to it to be disposed of as it was, than a hardship like unto enslavement as the New Mexican would make believe.

If, however, there is so much of hardship and enslavement in the case, and Judge Benedict, who has the credit of running the New Mexican knows the facts which appear in those columns, he is in the highest degree guilty of an official delinquency for letting them continue. He is acting Chief Justice yet, and it is his duty to see that there are no abuses of the laws of the country within his jurisdiction. He knows that the laws of the land prohibit slavery, of any kind, in this Territory, and he has the means in his hands to put a stop to it when he knows that it exists. Why does he not do this and put an end to his newspaper howling?

As criticism increased, the battle within the newspapers increased. In 1865, General Carleton and Judge Knapp published a series of articles in their respective newspapers. Below are excerpts of the articles...

To rebut criticism flowing from the columns of the Santa Fe New Mexican, and in defense of his policies and in justification of his war upon the Navajos, Carleton delivered a lengthy address at Las Cruces on this date, which was later published. In part, he said: "From time immemorial these Navajo Indians subsisted upon the flocks and herds of your fathers; had, times without number, even in one single hour, reduced whole families from comparative wealth to poverty. Their ravages had impoverished not only your country, but these barbarians had murdered your people; had slain your fathers - your brothers - your children: or had carried many of them in to a horrible and hopeless captivity, until there was hardly a home in the land which was not filled with mourning and with hearts made desolate. Your ancestors, under the Spanish government, made many campaigns against them, and many treaties of peace with them.... Then came other campaigns and other treaties, under the Mexican Republic, and you all know with what result. . . . After the annexation of New Mexico to the United States, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the troops from the north commenced their campaigns.... First Doniphan his, then Washington, then Sumner, then Bonneville, then Miles, then Canby, all of them our best men. It is true they gained many advantages, but concluded, each one his campaign, by the inevitable parley.... Well now, in finding myself in command of the troops within your borders, it naturally occurred to me that, to cure this great evil from which your territory had been so long a prey, some new remedy had to be adopted.... In a short time after my arrival, some 18 of the Navajo chiefs came to see me, and said they wanted to make a treaty of peace. I told them it was unnecessary for us to go through with the form of making a treaty; that if their peoples committed no murders nor robberies of our people, there would be peace without a treaty. That we were not children to be beguiled any more by their promises; that we had learned not to believe those promises; and did not care to hear them. That hereafter we would judge of their sincerity solely by their acts. That if they committed any more murders and robberies, as surely as that the sun shone, so surely would the troops come, and, this time, make a war upon them which they long remember. They said they had never been refused the making of a treaty before, but returned

to their own country, promising to do the best they could to keep their people from perpetrating any more acts of hostility. What was the result of these promises? Why in less than 6 weeks time, murders and robberies were committed on every hand. Finally the spring of 1863 came, when, having ascertained that a great many Navajos claimed to belong to a peace party, word was sent that all who did not wish to be exposed to the perils of war, must come in and go down to the Bosque Redondo, where they would be fed and cared for, until those who remained hostile should be subdued we should be obliged to consider all we encountered as enemies, once the war began, when on themselves would rest the consequences, and not upon us. The reply they made was, that not a Navajo would come in under such conditions. Word was again sent to them to consider the matter more maturely; that the peace party would have until the 20th of the following July, in which to make up their minds and come in; that the door should remain open until that day. Afterwards, it would be forever closed, and the war would begin in earnest. Still not one Navajo came. They did not believe we were in earnest, and on that day, as had been promised, the war began . . . a few Navajos were captured here, a small band there, and, by and by, some began voluntarily to surrender, until we had on our hands quite a large number of prisoners. We could not feed them in the Navajo country - that was impossible. Nor had we troops to guard them there, even though we could have furnished them with subsistence. We could not, as Christians, kill them; we could not see them perish by starvation; we could not turn them loose, for the war itself was still raging, and we had nearly 200 years of the making of treaties, which had been broken almost as soon as made. It was clearly seen that even admitting it would have been good policy to place the captive Navajos upon a reservation in their own country, there could be found no one piece of irrigable and fertile land, large enough for such reservation within all its boundaries...." (Carleton to the People of New Mexico, Dec. 16, 1864; Gazette, Jan. 21, 1865; cited in Keleher, pp. 446-450; Thompson, 1972)

In a series of lengthy letters from Judge J. G. Knapp to General Carleton - published from time to time in the New Mexican and numbered 1 through 8. The Judge severely criticized Carleton for the address delivered at Las Cruces, and for Carleton's policy with regard to the Bosque Redondo Reservation. The Judge charged that Carleton's "Plan" had wrought great injustices to the people of the Territory of New Mexico. In his letter No. 4, dated February 18, Judge Knapp wrote: "In former numbers I have shown some reasons why I disagree with your 'plan,' in relation to the Navajoes, and that your actions being part and parcel of that 'plan,' have wrought great injustice to the people of this Territory, by taking the Indians from another Territory and locating them within this; by placing them, according to your own showing upon the very best portion of New Mexico, for stock and grain raising;... You have attempted to answer the object, that the Navajoes are Arizona Indians, by confessing the fact, and avoiding it, by saying they robbed and murdered here, and we 'were the sufferers, not the people of Arizona,' and then insist it could make no difference to us where they come from..." Deploing the costs of transporting supplies to the Bosque Redondo reservation, Knapp wrote:

"...Their ancient home was on the Colorado of the West and its branches, and entirely outside of New Mexico, where supplies could have been furnished by a land carriage of not exceeding more than 200 or 300 miles; the same would be true if you had placed them in the Indian Territory adjoining or near the Cherokees; whereas you have placed them at the Bosque Redondo, a thousand miles from any water communication . . . We looked towards your 'plan,' and we see 800 miles of land carriage added to the distance that a better location would have required: thus you swell the enormous cost of land transportation for stores, not only for the Indians, but for the large military establishment which would have to be kept up to guard them,...

Thank you, General, for the horoscope of your 'plan.' No Egyptian astrologer ever cast one more correctly. That *coming day* will have before it the strange focal light to the millions of dollars incurred in extratransportation; the millions spent in bringing the Navajoes from the banks of the Colorado to the Pecos;...the light of truth showing the impossibility of keeping the Navajoes at the Bosque Redondo, where they have neither wood nor fresh water; showing the lives of the shepherds, herders and others sacrificed to your absurd 'plans,' to force the people and the government to a maintenance of such a system, and of the millions of private stock and the property destroyed and stolen by these same treaty forgetting, ever-stealing, robbing, murdering Navajoes; as you have shown them to be."

In his letter No. 5 dated February 25, 1865, the Judge charged: "...Your policy as you have stated it ought not to have been accepted by any reasoning being. The chiefs came to treat with you in the fall of 1862. You said not a word to them about any reservation on the Pecos, at the time; on the contrary, you told them they must remain at peace in their own country. Was the Bosque an afterthought? You then, waited until the spring of 1863 had come, although, 'in less than 6 weeks' time' after your interview with the 18 chiefs, 'murders and robberies were committed on every hand' by these Navajoes, you do nothing but wait: yes: wait some 6 months permitting the people to be murdered and robber...In the mean time you have ascertained there is a large peace party among them. (Did that fact give you courage for your subsequent proceedings?) You then sent them word that these peace men must leave their fields, their houses, their gardens, their orchards and their country itself, and voluntarily remove to the Pecos river where there were neither fields, houses, gardens, fruit trees, wood nor water fit for their use, upon your naked promise that they should be 'fed and cared for.' This is their first information that they are to be removed from their own country. You send them word, but do not say whether it ever reached them. In that word you specify nothing; you appoint no place of rendezvous; offer no means of conveyance or food for the journey, but require 'these pagans' with their women and helpless children, to 'come in and go down to the Bosque,' and crown the whole with a threat that unless they do as you command, they will be exposed to all the perils of war, and that you cannot 'discriminate between the innocent and guilty.' Were a similar requirement made of yourself and friends, would you not have done just as the Navajoes have done? Would you not have refused to 'come in upon such condition.' You would reply having committed no wrong, I have done no act to forfeit my property and labor. I am in favor of peace, and have done all I could to keep others from breaking it. Why should I answer for the conduct of those over whom I have no control? Why this new and unheard of condition? Your 'plan' allows you to wait until the 20th of July, till the wheat is yellow and ready for the sickle, or already cut; the corn well grown and labor on it ceased - till the fruit on their trees swelling and maturing, and their gardens just beginning to yield their supplies, and then you require them to leave all, and be off. Do you, on calm reflection, on sober second thought, now believe that your 'plan' was not rather calculated to alienate and sour the minds of these peace Indians, than to make them more friendly: On that fixed day, the 20th of July, 1863, you closed the door of peace forever. You do it, you do not even wait for orders from your superior officers, but you begin a war in earnest letting it fall on the hand of all alike, - on the helpless and the on the innocent as well as the guilty. You then send a force composed of but one regiment of New Mexican volunteers, (your own favorite column from California is not employed in that service.) Thus you showed that in your own estimation the peace party composed nearly the entire nation or that the Navajo was not after all that 'formidable' nation of savages you have been trying to make the government and people believe them to be. Those peace Indians, to the number of some 12,000 surrendered themselves up, stripped of every thing. This you call fulfilling 'their

part of the compact.' A compact implies an agreement between 2 or more persons, voluntarily entered into. You and these Navajoes have made no compact. You refused to make one. You have ordered, and they have obeyed the command, not assented to a proposition. You then tell us, you could not as a Christian kill these surrendered Indians, - could not see them perish by starvation – a condition to which your 'plan' had reduced them. So you must feed them, selected so far as economy (is) concerned, and it has fastened that enormous expense upon the government at this inopportune period, when it is struggling for its very existence... You have not turned over the captive Navajoes to the Secretary, according to those acts for the purpose of settling them on the reservation. On the contrary you refused to deliver them up; and call on the people to sustain you. It appears to me that such conduct smacks a little of insubordination, if not open opposition to the laws. You knew that the Superintendent of Indians in New Mexico, who is as well, if not better acquainted with the merits or demerits of the Bosque, than yourself, disapproved of the location and the whole plan, and advised the non-acceptance of the reservation. I believe you are governed by some sinister motive in such open and willful persistence of a plan which is against the economy for Government, the present and future welfare of the territory, the rules of civilized warfare, and truth of human and Divine Law."

Once the reservation was closed and everyone removed, the debate about it didn't completely disappear. In a letter written on May 10, 1869 to the Secretary of the Interior by Judge Watts of Santa Fe suggested a proper inscription of a tombstone being:



Standards: Common Core: Grades 6-8: 1-6, 8-10; Grades 7-8: 1-1-6, 8-10; Grades 11 – 12: 1-6, 8-10.

History: 5 – 8 & 9-12: Students are able to identify important people and events in order to analyze significant patterns, relationships, themes, ideas, beliefs, and turning points in New Mexico, United States, and world history in order to understand the complexity of the human experience. 1-B: Analyze and interpret major eras, events and individuals from the periods of exploration and colonization through civil war and reconstruction in US history. 1-D: Research historical events and people from a variety of perspectives.

Geography: 5- 8 & 9-12. Students understand how physical, natural and cultural processes influence where people live, the ways which people live and how societies interact with one another and their environments; Explain the physical and human characteristic of places and use this knowledge to define regions, their relationships with other regions and their patterns of change. 2-E: Explain how economic, political, cultural and social processes interact to shape patterns of human populations and their interdependence, cooperation and conflict.

History: 9-12: Use critical thinking skills to understand and communicate perspectives of individuals, groups and societies from multiple contexts.

Resources:

Brown, Brene, “Dehumanizing Always Starts with Language” adapted from: *Braving the Wilderness*, May 17, 2018. <https://brenebrown.com/articles/2018/05/17/dehumanizing-always-starts-with-language/>

Lanehart, David, “The Navajos and the Peace Commission of 1867; A Thesis of History”, 1981, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx

Thompson, Gerald. “The Army and the Navajos” 1976, Tucson, Arizona University Press.

U.S. History. Accessed July, 2019. <http://www.ushistory.org/us/29.asp>

“Twelfth Census of the United States” Census Bulletin, No. 87, January 21, 1901, Washington D.C. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/bulletins/demographic/37-population-nm.pdf>

Population of the United States; Territory of New Mexico 1860, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-42.pdf>

Minutes of the New Mexico Bar Association; Regular annual session, July and August, 1894; Santa Fe, NM New Mexican Printing Company, 1894: https://books.google.com/books?id=J3FFAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA29&lpg=PA29&dq=judge+j+g+knapp+nm&source=bl&ots=WKiOTrNWNu&sig=ACfU3U05-70MgbP_iDI7W3K9pU5pzt44Ug&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwin1bC7-t_jAhVMM6wKHUFZBKsQ6AEwA3oECACQAQ#v=onepage&q=judge%20j%20g%20knapp%20nm&f=false

Martin, “7 Propaganda Techniques for Students to Understand,” June 20, 2018.: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=appa4q2EwP4>

Standards