



National Park Service  
U.S. Department of the Interior

## **Executive Summary for National Park System Advisory Board October 2005**

**Name of Study:** Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study

**Preparers:** National Park Service, National Trail System- Intermountain Region, Santa Fe Office

**Legislation:** Public Law 107- 214 (August 21, 2002) directed the study of the Long Walk for potential designation as a national historic trail. The bill was sponsored by Representative Tom Udall (New Mexico), with Chris Cannon (Utah), John W. Olver (Massachusetts), and Joe Skeen (New Mexico) as co- sponsors. The feasibility study was started in 2003.

**States:** Arizona and New Mexico

**Significant Dates:** 1862- 1868

**Trail Routes:** The routes upon which Navajo people were removed from, and then returned to, their homelands (1862- 1868) are within corridors extending through portions of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, and Gallup, Grants, Bosque Farms, Albuquerque, Tijeras, San Antonito, Galisteo, Santa Fe, Pecos, Las Vegas, Fort Union, Anton Chico, Santa Rosa, and Fort Sumner, New Mexico. The routes upon which Mescalero Apache people were removed from, and then returned to, their homelands (1863- 1865) are within a corridor extending from Mescalero to Fort Stanton northeast to Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

**Previous Recognition:** The 2002 National Park Service *Clash of Cultures Trails Project* assessed the national significance of trails associated with U.S. Army/American Indian campaigns in the trans- Mississippi West. The Navajo Long Walk was one of five included and was determined to have national significance as a military campaign trail.

### **NPS Thematic Framework:**

#### **I. Peopling Places**

Topic 5. ethnic homelands

- Topic 6. encounters, conflicts, and colonization
- III. Expressing Cultural Values
  - Topic 6. popular and traditional culture
- IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
  - Topic 3. military institutions and activities
- V. Developing the American Economy
  - Topic 7. governmental policies and practices

**National Historic Context:** In 1862 and 1863, the Mescalero Apache and Navajo tribes were the subject of military campaigns to force them to go to the Bosque Redondo reservation in eastern New Mexico. Brigadier General James H. Carleton, commander of the Department of New Mexico, ordered the military campaigns against the tribes in New Mexico and Arizona. Troops under Colonel Christopher (Kit) Carson's command conducted both efforts, including a "scorched earth" campaign against the Navajo and Mescalero Apache in their homelands. Members of both tribes were rounded up and taken as prisoners under military guard to the Bosque Redondo reservation at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Thousands of people were moved in successive trips over several routes, enduring sickness and fatalities as well as thefts of women and children into slavery.

Conditions at Bosque Redondo were horrid. People died from disease and exposure due to hunger and lack of adequate clothing and shelter, or were preyed upon by neighboring Plains tribes. By 1865, over 8,500 Navajo shared the Bosque Redondo reservation with about 500 Mescalero Apache. On the night of November 3, 1865, the Apache people escaped Bosque Redondo *en masse*.

By 1868, with conditions on the reservation the subject of repeated congressional investigations, the Navajo were allowed to leave Bosque Redondo for political, economic, and military reasons. Tribal leaders signed a treaty of peace, which established a reservation on their homelands. The return walk home under military escort for more than 6,800 Navajo began in June 1868.

These events occurred within the nationally significant context of government policy and military campaigns against Indian people in the trans-Mississippi West after the War with Mexico ended in 1848. As a result, tribes suffered loss of life, relocation onto reservations, disruptions in leadership, and changes to traditional lifeways. Even though the Mescalero Apache and Navajo survived these events as a whole people, impacts persist to the present day.

**Development of NHL Significance Statements:** The Long Walk significance statements were developed through the collaborative efforts of professional staff from the Navajo Nation, Mescalero Apache Tribe, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Intermountain Region Santa Fe Office of Indian Affairs and American Culture, and National Trails System- Intermountain Region, with assistance from respected scholars of the National Park Service, University of New Mexico, and Office of the New Mexico State Historian.

**NHL Criterion:** 1 and 2

**Umbrella Statement of NHL Significance:** The forced movement of the Navajo and Mescalero Apache people along their respective removal routes is significant as representative (in the extreme) of Indian removal policy of the mid- 19<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting the broad national pattern of United States history regarding the treatment of indigenous people.

**Integrity of Routes:** The integrity of the Navajo and Mescalero Apache removal routes is high. Integrity of the routes is high in rural areas due to minimal disturbance or development of the New Mexico and Arizona agricultural and ranching landscape. Even though paved highway is near historic routes, travelers wishing to follow and commemorate the removal today would see and experience a high degree of integrity regarding location, setting, feeling, and association. Some of the routes have been paved but a good amount of route mileage lies undisturbed. In the Albuquerque urban area, the integrity of setting is diminished due to modern development, but because the removal routes can be traced and landmarks remain the same from the 1860s the integrity of location is high.

**Public Comments Favoring Designation:** Letters of support are attached.

**Cost of Study to the Public:** Funding required for the trail feasibility study is estimated at \$365,000 spread across three years.

**Potential for Positive Public Response or Reflection on NHL Program:** The planning process for the feasibility study has generated positive impacts, which may increase if a national historic trail is established. The study has:

- Provided a forum for education about events not known to many non-native Americans.
- Illustrated the strength, importance, and contributions of the Navajo Nation and Mescalero Apache Tribe to the whole American nation.

- Offered the opportunity for Indian young people to learn about and honor their ancestors' survival during times of great adversity.
- Offered the opportunity for tribal scholars to conduct oral interviews and research routes and historic properties associated with these events.
- Provided a form for scholarly examination and emotional testimony of the Long Walk events through open, public conferences on the trail's national significance.
- Offered the opportunity for healing through dialogue and reflection.

**Potential for Negative Public Response or Reflection on NHL Program:**

During public meetings, some tribal members expressed distrust of U.S. Government motives, and fear of potential for economic benefit from recreational activities that are disrespectful of sensitive tribal history.

**Landmarks Committee Recommendation:** The Committee recommends to the National Park System Advisory Board that the Long Walk events and routes possess national historic significance based on the criteria (NHL) developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

**Advisory Board Recommendation:** The Advisory Board recommends that the Long Walk events and routes possess national historic significance based on the criteria (NHL) developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

## **Context: The Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study**

### **The Study**

The Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, underway since 2003, is evaluating the desirability and feasibility of designating the Long Walk as a national historic trail, to be added to the National Trail System. Part of that evaluation is the determination of national significance for the Long Walk routes. These evaluations are being made in accordance with the National Trails System Act, P.L. 90- 543 as amended, and P.L. 107- 214, titled “An Act to amend the National Trails System Act to designate the route in Arizona and New Mexico which the Navajo and Mescalero Apache Indian tribes were forced to walk in 1863 and 1864, for study for potential addition to the National Trails System,” which was signed into law on August 21, 2002.

The legislation directed that the following routes be evaluated for designation as a national historic trail: “The Long Walk Trail, a series of routes which the Navajo and Mescalero Apache Indian tribes were forced to walk beginning in the fall of 1863 as a result of their removal by the United States Government from their ancestral lands, generally located within a corridor extending through portions of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, and Albuquerque, Canyon Blanco, Anton Chico, Canyon Piedra Pintado, and Fort Sumner, New Mexico.” Research conducted for the feasibility study has shown that this legislation does not accurately reflect the routes taken. No evidence has been found that Canyon Blanco was a major route of removal and there is no evidence at all that Canyon Piedra Pintado was a route used in the removal. (See the attached maps for the routes, and the general route corridors description on page 1.)

While the wording “Long Walk” has traditionally referred to the experience of the Navajo people, it is used here and in the feasibility study to refer to the experiences of both the Navajo Nation and Mescalero Apache Tribe because of the wording used in the legislation authorizing the study.

National historic trails are designated to identify and protect a historic route and its associated historic remnants. National historic trails are extended trails that follow as closely as possible and practicable original routes of travel that are of national historical significance.

The study will examine the Long Walk trail’s national significance, determine if the Navajo Nation and Mescalero Apache Tribe favor such a designation, and assess how to best preserve the resources and interpret the events of the Long Walk. The study will include the events and routes both to and returning from Fort Sumner as well as the experience at the Bosque Redondo reservation. It will

provide assessments concerning the feasibility of national historic trail status, and will present alternatives for commemorating the Long Walk events.

The 2002 National Park Service *Clash of Cultures Trails Project* assessed the national significance of trails associated with U.S. Army/American Indian campaigns in the trans- Mississippi West. The Long Walk was one of five included and was determined to have national significance as a military campaign trail. This study is being used along with primary and other sources as a baseline to identify both the routes of the trail and significant trail resources that provide interpretive and educational opportunities.

When completed, the Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study will be submitted to Congress with each tribe's recommendation of their preferred alternative. Any future federal involvement in the Long Walk as a national historic trail would be based on congressional authorization.

The National Trails System- Intermountain Region, Santa Fe Office, is preparing the study. Staff is consulting and collaborating with the Navajo Nation, the Mescalero Apache Tribe, various other tribal groups and offices, federal agencies, state and local governments, and the general public in the development of this study. Consultation is a very important factor in the process and is an integral part of the study team's efforts.

### **National Historic Context**

The Navajo and Mescalero Apache had seen their homelands occupied, first by Spaniards and Mexicans, and later by Anglos when American forces invaded New Mexico in 1846. The new American government saw only the raids by the Navajo and Mescalero Apache on the settlements of New Mexico. But there were also raids upon the Navajo for slaves and on the Mescalero Apache for their territory. With the American invasion and occupation of the Southwest, raids against and fighting with the tribes increased.

Expansion into Mescalero Apache territory in south- central New Mexico accelerated after the War with Mexico and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded the Southwest to the United States. Fort Stanton was established in the heart of the Mescalero territory in 1855 to protect settlers in the area. Pressured into a smaller land base and hunting area, the Mescalero either had to raid the surrounding ranches and settlements or face starvation. In the late 1850s and just prior to the Civil War, tribal leaders such as Navajo Zarcillos Largos and Mescalero Apache Cadete tried to work with the U.S. Army to reduce tensions with little means of success. The Civil War brought a Confederate invasion of New Mexico in 1862, followed by Brigadier General James H. Carleton's arrival as military commander in New Mexico and Arizona. The unsettled state of affairs

brought increased raiding by and against the tribes. Carleton, who had served in New Mexico in the 1850s, sought to put the Navajo and Mescalero Apache lands to more productive use through mining, agriculture, and raising stock. He determined to end the “Indian problem.”

General Carleton sent Colonel Christopher (Kit) Carson and his New Mexico Volunteers along with other military units against the Mescalero Apache. This campaign was characterized by the unwarranted massacre of Mescalero headman Manuelito and at least 11 of his followers as they were coming into Santa Fe to make peace in October 1862. Thereafter, troops covered the Mescalero homelands with orders to kill the Apache men on sight and capture the women and children. By the next month the bands of Cadette, Chatto, and Estrella were forced to surrender because they could not procure enough food or water to survive. In December 1862, over 200 Mescalero were sent under military escort from Fort Stanton to the newly established Fort Sumner on the Pecos River inside the vast, open, and remote Bosque Redondo reservation in east-central New Mexico. In February 1863, another 100 Mescalero Apache joined those already there. Colonel Carson proudly wrote General Carleton from Fort Stanton in early December 1862, that the “country adjacent to this post, now begins to assume the appearance of industry and Civilization. . . . Settlers are arriving every day from all parts of the Territory.” The Mescalero had not yet been gone a month from their homelands.

Navajo headmen met with General Carleton in late 1862, and again in summer 1863, and offered to police their own tribal members. In return, they would not go to Bosque Redondo. Carleton flatly rejected their plea and threatened military action unless the Navajo voluntarily went to the reservation. Colonel Carson now had new orders. He was to campaign against the Navajo and to use the same tactics – kill all men and capture women and children, and destroy any crops, herds, or food that might sustain the Navajo. Carleton’s typical instructions to his commanders were to “kill every male Navajo or Apache Indian who is large enough to bear arms.”

Military posts were established in and on the edge of Navajo country; Fort Defiance in Arizona was re-established as Fort Canby, and Fort Wingate I in New Mexico was established halfway between Fort Canby and Albuquerque. Prior military efforts in this region failed to stop Navajo raiding against New Mexico communities, and ignored settlers’ raids into Navajo territory to kill Navajo men and capture women and children to sell as slaves. The subsequent military campaigns were a continuation of the civilian raids against the Navajo.

It took Carson and the New Mexico Volunteers longer to capture or force the Navajo to surrender because of their direct resistance and their larger land area

of occupation. Carson first directed his forces to an area east of the San Francisco Mountains and west of the Hopi villages, with scouting expeditions north of Ganado and west of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. The military excursions into Canyon de Chelly in January 1864, combined with a lack of food and sustenance, forced many Navajo to surrender at Fort Canby, and at Fort Wingate I (south of Grants, New Mexico). Here they were held and “shipped” under military escort to the post of Los Pinos (Bosque Farms) where they were held for some time.

The taking of Navajo as slaves did not cease even as they were surrendering. As one example, Major E. W. Eaton wrote from Fort Wingate I on February 2, 1864, that as Navajo leader Delgadito’s party arrived at the post, they were attacked by a “party of Mexicans who killed some of his men, took women and children prisoners, and drove off some of their stock . . .” These raids against the Navajo continued throughout the forced marches and their internment at Bosque Redondo. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 3,000 Indian slaves, or peons as they were called in New Mexico, were held at a time when the nation was fighting a civil war against slavery. Even Territorial Governor Henry Connelly and the Territorial Delegate to Congress, J. Francisco Chavez, held Indian slaves.

The majority of the captured Navajo were sent from Los Pinos to Bosque Redondo between January and May 1864. At least four groups of close to or over 1,000 men, women, and children were sent through Santa Fe and San Jose to Tecolote, New Mexico, or through Tijeras Canyon, Galisteo, and San Jose to Tecolote. They then moved south generally along the Pecos River to Bosque Redondo at Fort Sumner. The winter weather was bitterly cold and the Navajo did not have sufficient clothing to keep warm. Close to 200 people died from cold and exposure during one march. There are accounts by Navajo descendants of the Long Walk that describe how elderly people, pregnant women, and lame or disabled people who lagged behind the marching columns were shot and killed because they could not keep up. Wagons were provided on some marches to carry people, but the oral histories are powerful testimony of the severe conditions that the Navajo endured, from both natural and human causes.

Conditions at Bosque Redondo were horrid. General Carleton underestimated how many people would require shelter, food, water, and clothing. Supply efforts proved problematic and expensive. Crops were planted, but they failed repeatedly due to the poor soil and water, semiarid conditions, and insect infestations. The captives suffered from malnutrition, sickness, and inadequate medical care. Navajo leaders in 1867 estimated that one- half of their people at the Bosque had died.

Adding to the misery were raids from neighboring Plains tribes. Bosque Redondo, which covered forty miles squared, had been established in the midst



of Kiowa and Comanche country. Members of these tribes attacked the Navajo and Mescalero Apache and their horse herds on the Bosque several times. Unable to fight back, the captive Indians were sitting targets for the mounted and armed Kiowa and Comanche. An average of 400 soldiers were to guard and supposedly protect the captives, but the large land area to be covered and the various duties of the soldiers left them ill- equipped for these tasks.

By 1865, over 8,500 Navajo shared the Bosque Redondo reservation with about 500 Mescalero Apache. No matter how much they tried, including setting up checkpoints, the U.S. Army could not stop escapes. Several times, more than 100 Navajo escaped and eluded pursuit until they reached their homelands or returned to the Bosque because of hunger. For all their efforts, the troops were doggedly inept at pursuit and recapture of the escaped Indians. On the night of November 3, 1865, the Mescalero Apache escaped from Bosque Redondo *en masse*. They were pursued but not recaptured; their pursuers did not even catch sight of them. That same month over 600 Navajo disappeared, presumably following the Mescalero example and leaving the reservation to return to their homelands.

Controversy surrounded Bosque Redondo's impact on the local and regional economy. At the height of occupation, close to 9,000 American Indian people had to be fed, clothed, sheltered, and provided protection on the reservation. Meat had to be provided, as did flour because the crops failed each year. The U.S. Army contracted throughout the territory for purchases of beef and wheat. Because of the volume of food required for the reservation, prices of goods shot up so much that ordinary New Mexicans could not afford them. To supplement supplies, goods from the States were shipped 900 miles to the territory over the Santa Fe Trail. Not only were these goods expensive, but the cost of transportation doubled the basic price.

Political controversy also swirled. The price of goods, the reservation location, and General Carleton's personality provoked lively discussions in the territory's newspapers and public places. The tide of public opinion gradually turned against the general. In January 1866, the New Mexico Territorial Legislature asked President Andrew Johnson for Carleton's removal. Additionally, several commissions investigated Bosque Redondo and while the findings were generally supportive of its operation, eventually political and military circles in Washington, D.C. realized that Carleton's so- called "experiment" was a failure. The Navajo people wanted to go home. Their desire was eloquently expressed by an unknown Navajo in 1866: "If the government wants us to remain here we will do so and do the best we can – but cannot be as contented as we would be in our old homes – we shall think of them – we all think of them. There is something within us which does not speak but thinks – and though we remain silent yet our

faces speak to each other. Cage the Badger and he will try to break from his prison and regain his native hole. Chain the eagle to the ground – he will strive to gain his freedom, and though he fails, he will lift his head and look up to the sky which is home – and we want to return to our mountains and plains, where we used to plant corn, wheat, beans, peppers, melons, and onions.”

After four years of Navajo captivity, two members of an Indian Peace Commission, Lieutenant General William T. Sherman and Lieutenant Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, signed a treaty of peace with the tribe on June 1, 1868, at Fort Sumner. Signing for the Navajo was Head Chief Barboncito and 28 other Navajo chiefs and headmen. The treaty included provisions that war would cease, and that a reservation of land was to be provided for Navajo use and occupation. Sherman, writing to General of the Armies Ulysses S. Grant seven days after the treaty signing, said: “I found the Bosque a mere spot of green grass in the midst of a wild desert, and that the Navajos had sunk into a condition of absolute poverty and despair. To allow them to remain was to assume an annual cost of their maintenance for ever of about half a million [dollars].” The Navajo argued successfully that the reservation be established in their homelands, allowing them to return to their own country. Supply wagons and equipment were assembled promptly after the treaty was signed. On June 18, 1868, the return walk commenced. On July 23, more than 6,800 Navajo arrived at Fort Wingate, led by Barboncito, and with a military escort. They were home.

### **Benefits of the Feasibility Study**

The feasibility study has provided the opportunity for the National Park Service to hold over 30 public meetings in New Mexico and Arizona. Along with general public meetings in cities and towns on the Long Walk routes, open public meetings were held across the Mescalero Apache and Navajo reservations.

The public meetings provided a forum for open, heart- felt dialogue about these still- painful events, with discussions often crossing generational lines.

A mailing list containing over 1,000 names has been generated through the public meetings and response to information provided via newsletters, radio announcements, public mailings, and word of mouth.

The Tribal Historic Preservation Offices of the Mescalero Apache Tribe and the Navajo Nation have been actively involved in all steps of the study planning process.

Through contracts, tribal scholars have conducted research and oral interviews to provide sensitive ethnographic information relating to the events of the Long Walk.

## **NPS Thematic Framework:**

### **I. Peopling Places**

Topic 5. ethnic homelands

Topic 6. encounters, conflicts, and colonization

The Navajo had lived in the Four Corners area (Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona) and the Mescalero Apache had been in west Texas and the Sacramento Mountains region of southern New Mexico since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As a direct result of U.S. military action, thousands of tribal people were forcibly removed from their ethnic homelands and forced to live in a dramatically different landscape under brutal conditions. The Long Walk events represent both the U.S. Government's efforts to take and open Indian lands for Euramerican settlement and development, and the native people's success at returning to their homelands, thereby ensuring their cultural survival.

### **III. Expressing Cultural Values**

Topic 6. popular and traditional culture

The Long Walk events represent the Navajo and Mescalero Apache people's efforts to maintain their identity and traditional culture in spite of the U.S. Government's actions to eradicate their way of life. These were watershed events in Navajo and Mescalero Apache history, and of Southwest history with the end of Indian slavery. The people of both tribes were scarred by their forced removal and incarceration, and they are different people as a result, but these events laid a foundation for their political, economic, and cultural positions in the United States today.

### **IV. Shaping the Political Landscape**

Topic 3. military institutions and activities

The Long Walk events reflect some of the worst aspects of the U.S. Government's policies towards American Indians during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The impact of the U.S. Army's "scorched earth" military tactics and incarceration of native people at Bosque Redondo can be found in the treaties of 1868 (Navajo) and 1873 (Mescalero Apache), which established their respective reservations and provided the foundation for each tribe's formal relationship with the U.S. Government today.

### **V. Developing the American Economy**

Topic 7. governmental policies and practices

The Long Walk events affected economic development in the Southwest through the disruption of long- established Navajo and Mescalero Apache trade and commerce with their tribal and Hispanic neighbors, and through the impact on the cycle of raiding and slave- taking. The end of Indian slavery and the high cost and logistical challenges of supplying Bosque Redondo during the years of incarceration of thousands of people led to permanent changes in the New Mexico economy.

### **How Significance Was Determined**

Two conferences were held to determine national significance of the Long Walk routes. These were held in Window Rock, Arizona, and Mescalero, New Mexico, in November and December 2004. These conferences were attended by the general public, with tribal scholars presenting their research. Subsequently, tribal scholars and NPS staff met in Santa Fe and Mescalero to craft the statements, based upon the conference findings.

### **Long Walk Statements of Significance**

Two of the six National Historic Landmark criteria apply to properties associated with the Navajo and Mescalero Apache removal events:

NHL Criterion 1: Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represents, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

NHL Criterion 5: Properties that are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture

### **Significance Statements**

The forced movement of the Navajo and Mescalero Apache people along their respective removal routes is significant as representative (in the extreme) of Indian removal policy of the mid- 19<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting the broad national pattern of United States history regarding the treatment of indigenous people.

The routes are significant because:

- The harsher aspects of the U.S. Government's Indian removal policy, reflected in the 1860s by forcing native people onto reservations for

purposes of education and assimilation, and subsequently opening tribal homelands for American emigration, settlement, and economic exploitation, can be seen in the severe treatment of the Navajo and Mescalero Apache during the military campaigns and removal to Bosque Redondo, and in the trans- generational impacts of those actions 140 years later.

- The U.S. Army’s experiment of forcing the Navajo and Mescalero Apache, traditional adversaries whose ways of life were vastly and uniquely different, to settle at Bosque Redondo was a failure. Instead of leading to assimilation and religious conversions, the effort led to staggering costs and extreme suffering, disease, depredation, and death of the native people.
  - Due to its remoteness, distance from supply lines, crop failures, and overwhelming numbers of prisoners to feed and clothe, the cost of Bosque Redondo’s operation to the U.S. Government was staggering – in the millions of dollars. At the time, it was the largest and most expensive government operation in New Mexico, and its chronic problems led to food shortages throughout the territory. The tremendous costs eventually led to the transfer of the reservation to the Department of the Interior and eventual closure.
  - More than 11,000 Navajo people were sent in groups over several years’ time to Bosque Redondo, but only 8,800 people (roughly) were reported as arriving there (the fate of the remainder is unknown). In 1868, more than 6,800 people left the reservation for Fort Wingate and their homelands. Although specific numbers of Mescalero Apache involved with these events are not known, their losses due to disease and mistreatment were proportional.
- In military terms, the Long Walk comprised a major campaign element of the U.S. Army’s strategy to remove the Navajo and Mescalero Apache from their potentially mineral- rich homelands. Brigadier General James H. Carleton’s strategy, carried out under Colonel Christopher “Kit” Carson’s command, consisted of a “scorched- earth” campaign that killed men and destroyed the Navajo and Mescalero Apache’s livestock and food resources. The U.S. Army effectively forced the surrender and incarceration of thousands of people at Bosque Redondo.
- At a time when a civil war was being fought to determine the fate of the United States and to end slavery, and despite passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865, Navajo people – especially

women and children – were kidnapped from their homelands and off the Long Walk removal routes and forced into slavery in New Mexico households. There was no law of the Territory of New Mexico that legalized the sale of Indians, and even a law that prohibited it, yet it was on- going with little or no effort to stop the practice. Ironically, Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, fresh from Civil War battlegrounds, upon visiting Bosque Redondo in 1868, heard distressing pleas about the loss of Navajo children, especially from Barboncito, a Navajo spokesman. The Navajo, as a whole people, were traumatized at losing part of their next generation of youth.

- The U.S. Army’s failure to re- capture the Mescalero Apache who escaped from Bosque Redondo, and the decision to allow the Navajo to leave eastern New Mexico and return to a new reservation within their homelands was based upon politics and economics. These actions illustrate the inability of the government to strip native people of their lands, culture, and language, and prepare them through Christian and practical education for absorption into the dominant society. The desire of the Mescalero Apache and Navajo to retain their core culture was woefully underestimated. This process was repeated with other tribes into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- The removal and incarceration of the Navajo and Mescalero Apache changed the people and political and economic dynamics of the Southwest. The cost of supplying Bosque Redondo changed the economy from being insular and subsistence- driven, to one based on cash to support the regional and national scope (including congressional appropriations) of the supply issues. With the majority of the Navajo at the Bosque, raids upon them for slave taking were greatly diminished, and the dependency upon Navajo as slaves was reduced. This brought a general acceptance of a Navajo reservation on the part of the local populace.
- The Mescalero Apache and Navajo traditional homelands, Bosque Redondo, and the routes used during removal and return from eastern New Mexico, are integral to the events of 1862- 1868, and cannot be separated. Observed as a whole, these properties represent cultures and ways of life that were forever altered.
- The Long Walk (removal and incarceration at Bosque Redondo) was a pivotal event in Navajo and Mescalero Apache history and culture, and affects every Navajo and Mescalero Apache today in some way.

## How Long Walk events changed the Navajo as a People

- The Long Walk changed the Navajo way of thinking. The Navajo way of life was forever altered, e.g., foodways, economics, and technologies, which were ever after affected by western influences.
- Although the Navajo people were changed by the circumstances of the Long Walk, they have retained distinctively Navajo cultural traits and identities into the 21st century. Their ability to adapt has resulted in an acceptance of western culture.

## Treaty of 1868

- The Treaty of 1868 ended the Navajo internment at Bosque Redondo, allowed their return to their homelands, and resulted in the establishment of a sovereign Navajo Nation. The treaty of 1868 is an acknowledgement of Navajo sovereignty.
- The Treaty of 1868 led to a shift of culture for the Navajo. The treaty's implementation laid the groundwork for the formation of a central government, economic development, and establishment of an education system. The Navajo leadership structure changed from clan and kinship headmen and women, to a central government providing overall unity and governance. The treaty is still referenced and used in Navajo dealings with the U.S. Government.
- The Treaty of 1868 was honored in general by both sides. It was negotiated and signed by the Navajo leaders and by the United States Indian Peace Commissioners at Bosque Redondo. The treaty resulted in the return of the Navajo people to their homelands. (Navajo chiefs included Barboncito and Manuelito. United States Indian Peace Commissioners included General William T. Sherman and Colonel Samuel F. Tappan.)
- After the treaty's signing, relations improved among the Navajo and their neighbors. A defensive way of life, caused by the taking of Navajo slaves and the consequent raiding and fighting, ended. The Navajo and their neighbors interacted in more positive ways.

## Consequences of the Long Walk events

- For the Navajo people, the Long Walk represents a period when their ancestors endured extremely harsh conditions. In spite of the trauma, they endured. Navajos find the stories about the Long Walk to be sources of

inspiration and renewal as they reflect upon the courage and tenacity that their ancestors exhibited during this time of great trauma and sadness.

- The return to Navajo homeland within the four sacred mountains assured the continuation of traditional culture and the survival of the Navajo people.
- In spite of their experiences at the hands of Americans, Navajos consider themselves to be Americans and are deeply patriotic. The Navajo sacred language survived the Long Walk experience. The World War II Navajo Code Talkers used their language as a security classified code that was never broken by the Japanese. This was a major contribution to the end of the War in the Pacific.
- The Navajo people survived the Long Walk and have become a major political and economic force in the United States today. The nation has one of the largest tribal populations and the largest land base. Population of the Navajo exceeds 250,000 and the land base is larger than 10 of the 50 states in America.
- The return home allowed Navajo culture to flourish. Navajo art and culture is known, celebrated, and recognized around the world.

#### How Long Walk events changed the Mescalero Apache as a People

- The removal and confinement at Bosque Redondo, and the escape of the Mescalero Apache people, were so traumatic that they were not discussed and direct memory of these events were mostly lost within their oral history.
- The time of the forced removal and internment at Bosque Redondo is referred to by the Mescalero people as *á gunu yuu'*, which translates as the “herding up and penning like cattle.” Little other than this name is spoken of Bosque Redondo. It is the Apache way not to speak of things that are “bad” or of the deceased, for by speaking of them, they may be brought back or have negative effects. Thus, this time is not included in the oral history, for it is hoped that such traumatic events will not occur again.
- The Bosque Redondo reservation was originally set aside for the Mescalero Apache people. After their arrival in 1862, the Mescalero dug



the first *acequias*, and cleared and grubbed fields in preparation for planting crops – humiliating work for a people who were not traditionally farmers. When nearly 8,500 Navajo were forced to join the 500 Mescalero on the reservation, conditions changed drastically for the worse. The Mescalero were overwhelmed, their cultivated fields were taken to feed the newcomers, and they were moved to other, uncultivated, lands. Their very survival was jeopardized.

- The Indian Agent for the Mescalero, Lorenzo Labadi, was removed and banned from Bosque Redondo for serving as their advocate and protector. This military action demonstrated the continuing bad faith on the part of the U.S. Government in dealing with the Mescalero, even while they were in forced confinement.
- The Mescalero Apache escaped the night of November 3, 1865, never to return to Bosque Redondo. This is a legendary story of survival for the Mescalero people. These experiences profoundly changed them, and fostered a continued mistrust of government that continues today.
- As the Mescalero Apache were being forcibly removed to Bosque Redondo, their traditional homelands were immediately opened and ranching and homesteading was actively encouraged. Military protection was given to settlers in the establishment of the towns of Tularosa and Ruidoso. This resulted in sections of traditional Mescalero land being excluded from the establishment of their reservation in 1873. This pattern of Indian removal with the subsequent opening of traditional homelands to western settlement reflected U.S. Government policy during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The return of the Mescalero to their homelands after their 1865 escape from Bosque Redondo, and the signing of their 1873 treaty, assured tribal survival and the continuation of their traditional culture and ways of life. The tribe is a major political and economic presence in the Southwest today.

## **ATTACHMENTS**

Letters of Support

Maps of Routes



New Mexico Commission of Public Records  
**STATE RECORDS CENTER AND ARCHIVES**

*Office of the State Historian*

1205 Camino Carlos Rey, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87507 (505) 476.7948 (telephone) (505) 476.7909 (fax)  
www.newmexicohistory.org \* www.nmcpr.state.nm.us (web sites)

STANLEY HORDES, CHAIRMAN  
*Historian*

HON. PATRICIA MADRID  
*Attorney General*

HON. DOMINGO MARTINEZ  
*State Auditor*

HON. REBECCA VIGIL-GIRON  
*Secretary of State*

EDWARD J. LOPEZ JR.  
*Secretary, General Services Department*

THADDEUS BEJNAR  
*Law Librarian, Supreme Court Law Library*

*Director, Museum of New Mexico*

SANDRA JARAMILLO  
*State Records Administrator*

JUDI ROSS HAZLETT  
*Deputy State Records Administrator*

ESTEVAN RAEL-GÁLVEZ, PH.D.  
*State Historian*

August 1, 2005

Mr. John W. Roberts  
Acting Chief,  
National Historic Landmark Program  
1849 C Street, N.W. 2280  
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Please accept this correspondence in support of the efforts to include the historic *Long Walk* among the nation's most significant events and trails. This designation is not only important at the state and local level, but will critically extend our national narrative and perhaps consciousness about the events and places that define us as American citizens. The point of recognizing the *Long Walk* is not, as Ruth Rousell, a Navajo Historian has noted, 'to lay blame, but to point to its significance.'

As New Mexico's State Historian I hold the awesome responsibility of contributing to an understanding and appreciation of the collective history and memory in culture, community and consciousness. I am fortunate not to be engaged in this pursuit alone. The Office of the State Historian and the State Records Center and Archives has been working with the National Park Service staff on the feasibility study for the Long Walk. I am also the chairman of the Cultural Properties Review Committee, the policy making board that oversees the state's Historic Preservation Division, and which also stands in support of this effort. We are pleased that the National Park Service staff has dedicated themselves to working with various communities, especially tribal governments and individual members, to forefront the most important issues related to this study.

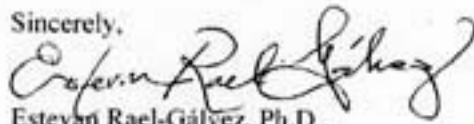
We strongly support the goal of identifying the story of the *Long Walk* as a defining moment in our nation's history. This singular event, the forces that led up to it and its consequences, reveal many ideological, historical and cultural threads that were not just local, but national in scope. Indeed, we believe that the story of the *Long Walk* accentuates the ideologies that defined 19<sup>th</sup> century U.S. politics and policies, including but not limited to empire and expansion. The foundational stories of slavery, manumission and reconstruction, which coincide with this event, extend our understanding of belonging and citizenship. This significant historical event demonstrates how U.S. policy determined the treatment of American Indian peoples, including this particular displacement, long walk and forced captivity. This event is also the story of survival. In spite of cataclysmic loss and death, the Navajo and Apache people have survived and prospered.

Legacy is about the fullness of the human condition, sometimes tragic, but always telling. I ask that the NPS Advisory Board concur with my evaluation that the events of the *Long Walk* are of national significance and that the trail routes had and

Page Two  
August 1, 2005  
Mr. John W. Roberts

continues to have far reaching effects on the broad patterns of American history. If I can be of any further assistance to you and your staff, please do not hesitate to call upon me. I can be reached by e-mail at [estevan.rael-galvez@state.nm.us](mailto:estevan.rael-galvez@state.nm.us) or by telephone, (505) 476-7955.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Estevan Rael-Gálvez". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized initial "E" and a long, sweeping underline.

Estevan Rael-Gálvez, Ph.D.,  
New Mexico State Historian



## THE NAVAJO NATION

JOE SHIRLEY, JR.  
PRESIDENT

July 22, 2005

FRANK J. DAYISH, JR.  
VICE-PRESIDENT

Mr. John W. Roberts, Acting Chief  
National Historic Landmark Program  
1849 C Street, NW 2280  
Washington, D.C. 20240

RE: Navajo Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Since 2003, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD) has been working with the National Park Service (NPS), Santa Fe, New Mexico staff on the Navajo Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study. National significance determination for the events of what is commonly known as the "The Navajo Long Walk" is a study requirement for the Navajo Long Walk Trails Feasibility Study. The Navajo Long Walk was the forced removal and imprisonment of the Navajo people from 1863-1868. The NNHPD collaborated NPS in the public meeting discussions and in the significance conference in Window Rock, Arizona where tribal testimonies were presented. The Navajo Nation Archaeology Department (NNAD)-Flagstaff Office have conducted interviews with Navajo communities in the Western Agency and have consulted with historians in order to determine the national significance of the Navajo Long Walk routes.

The resulting statements submitted to you from the NPS study team provided evidence that the events of the Long Walk, including the routes to, the confinement at the Bosque Redondo reservation, and the return routes to tribal homelands are of national significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (National Historic Landmark).

The NNHPD recommends that the NPS Advisory Board concur with the findings of the Feasibility Study. The information gathered prove that the events of the Navajo Long Walk are of National Significance, and that the historic use of the trail routes had far reaching effects upon broad patterns of American History. Designating the Navajo Long Trails as a National Historic Trail would be appropriate and commemorative of the tragic and life changing historical event.

For questions, please contact Mr. Tony Joe, Program Manager of the Traditional Culture Program/HPD at (928) 871-7750.

Sincerely,

Alan Downer, Department Manager III  
Navajo Nation Historic Preservation

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JUL 28 2005





Museum of  
New Mexico

## State Monuments

P.O. Box 2087  
Santa Fe, New Mexico  
87504-2087

**José A. Cisneros**  
Director

505 476-5088  
FAX 476-5088  
www.museumof  
newmexico.org

July 19, 2005

Mr. John W. Roberts  
Acting Chief, National Historic Landmark Program  
National Park Service  
1849 C Street, NW 2280  
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Mr. Roberts,

We are pleased to support the National Park Service (NPS) staff recommendation of a determination of national significance for the events of the 1860s that became known as the Long Walk of the Navajo and that of the Mescalero Apache.

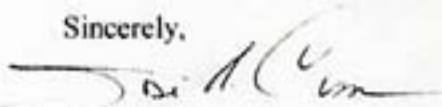
Since 2003, we have been working with National Park Service staff on the Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study. We understand that a determination of national significance of the events of what is commonly known as the "Long Walk" is a study requirement. The Long Walk was the forced removal of the Mescalero Apache and Navajo people from their homelands and their internment at the Bosque Redondo Indian Reservation in eastern New Mexico during the period of 1862-1868.

We have participated in the public meeting discussions and in the Significance Conferences where tribal scholarship was presented. We are aware that the Tribes have conducted interviews of tribal members, and have consulted with historians in order to determine national significance of the Long Walk routes.

The resulting statements submitted to you from the NPS study team provide evidence that the events of the Long Walk, including the routes to, the detention at the Bosque Redondo reservation, and the return routes to tribal homelands are of national significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (National Historic Landmark).

We respectfully request that the NPS Advisory Board concur with those findings, and agree that the events of the Long Walk are of national significance, and that the historic use of the trail routes had far reaching effects upon broad patterns of American history.

Sincerely,

  
Jose A. Cisneros  
Director, State Monuments



# MESCALERO *Apache* TRIBE

Mark Chino, President

Mescalero, New Mexico 88340

August 1, 2005

Mr. John W. Roberts  
Acting Chief,  
National Historic Landmark Program  
1849 C Street, NW 2280  
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Mr. Roberts,

Since 2003, we have been working with National Park Service staff on the Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study. Determination of national significance of the events of what is commonly known as the "Long Walk" is a study requirement. The Long Walk was the forced removal and imprisonment of the Mescalero Apache and Navajo people, 1862-1868. We have cooperated in the public meeting discussions and in the Significance Conferences where tribal scholarship was presented. We have conducted interviews of our tribal members, and have consulted with historians in order to determine national significance of the Long Walk routes.

The resulting statements submitted to you from the NPS study team provide evidence that the events of the Long Walk, including the routes to, the detention at the Bosque Redondo reservation, and the return routes to tribal homelands are of national significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (National Historic Landmark).

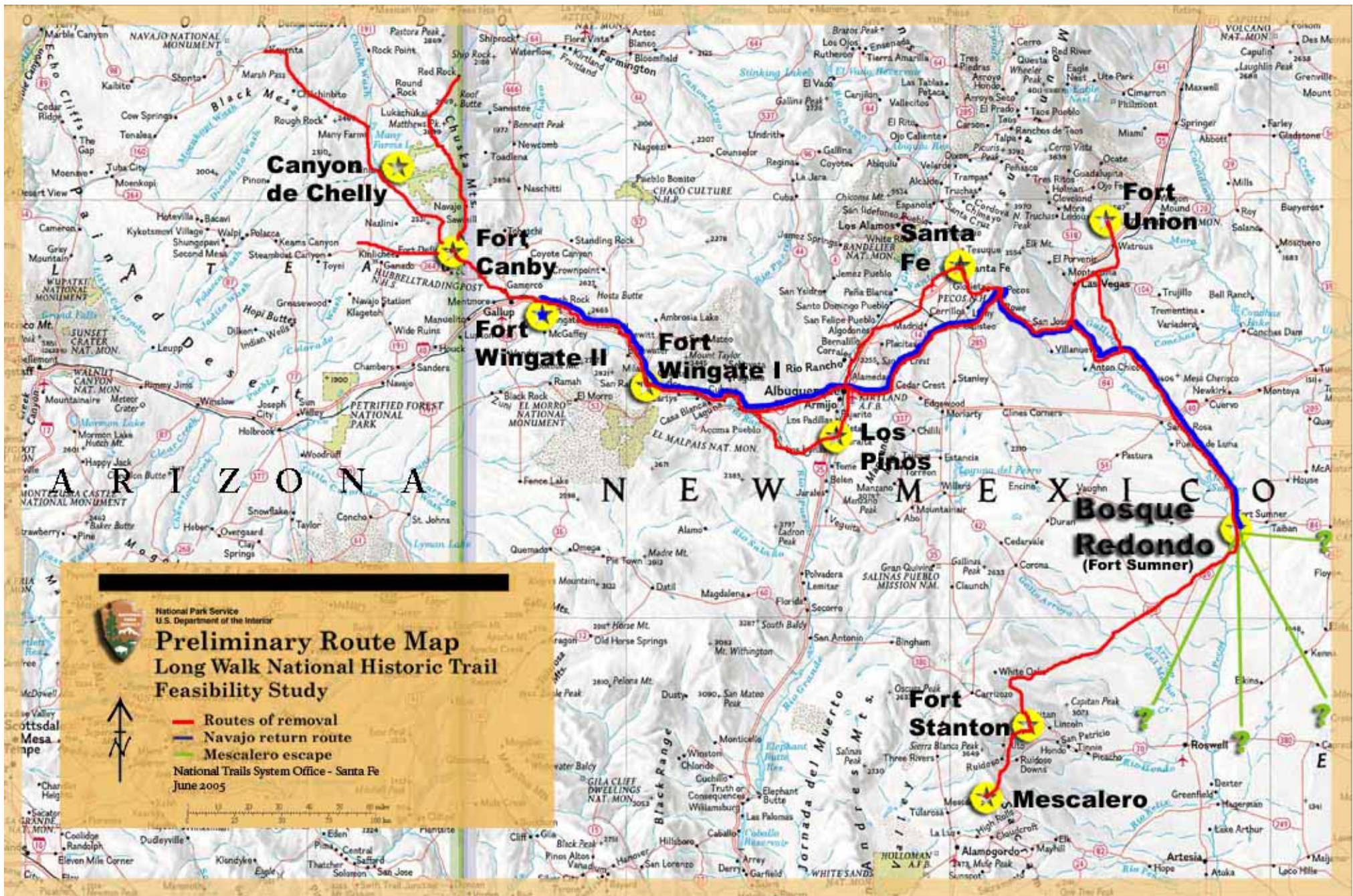
We ask that the NPS Advisory Board concur with our findings, and agree that the events of the Long Walk are of national significance, and that the historic use of the trail routes had far reaching effects upon broad patterns of American history.

Sincerely,

Mark R. Chino  
President

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# Area covered by the Preliminary Route Map Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study

