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### Glenn L. Emmons Of Gallup

Debra R. Boender

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This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

GLENN L. EMMONS OF GALLUP

Title

DEBRA R. BOENDER

Candidate

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Department

Bernard Spolsky

Dean

December 9, 1976

Date

Committee

Richard N. Ellis

Chairman

Donald C. Cutler

Ferenc M. Szasz

GLENN L. EMMONS OF GALLUP

BY

DEBRA R. BOENDER

B.A., College of Notre Dame of Maryland, 1975

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in History  
in the Graduate School of  
The University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, New Mexico  
December, 1976

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GLENN L. EMMONS OF GALLUP

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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## ABSTRACT

Glenn L. Emmons was Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1953 to 1961 during the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Since this was the decade during which the controversy over the policy of termination began, Emmons' administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was important and of interest to students of Indian policy. Questions exist concerning the nature of the man, his background, and reasons for his appointment to that post. This biography hopes to answer some of these, as well as provide some insight into Emmons' policies and programs which tended to extend government involvement with Indian tribes, contrary to the prevalent opinion that he was a strict "terminationist."

Much of the research for this thesis derives from oral history: interviews with Glenn Emmons, and interviews with other individuals connected with his administration. Other data was found among the Glenn L. Emmons Papers held in the Special Collections of the Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico, Emmons' personal papers, various collections of the Eisenhower Library in Kansas, the National Archives, the National Congress of American Indian Records in the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, the U. S. Public Health Service department of Indian Health, various divisions of the Washington Office of the BIA, and the Interior Department Library in Washington, D. C.

Through these sources, the events of Emmons' life began to take shape. Born in Alabama, he moved to New Mexico while a child. He lived there as a banker and public figure until 1953 when he was appointed Commissioner of

Indian Affairs and moved to Washington, D. C. He returned to New Mexico in the mid 1960's and continues to live in Albuquerque where he is still active in civic affairs. His appointment to the post of Commissioner centered upon his political activities with the Republican party, his civic and personal contacts with Indians and a strong recommendation by the Navajo tribe.

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## INTRODUCTION

Though a lifelong New Mexican, Glenn L. Emmons is a little known figure in the chronicles of that state's history. His contributions to his adopted state have been numerous, centering on Emmons' civic activities, his successful career as a Gallup banker, and his contributions on the national level as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Moreover, his lifetime spanned numerous decades, and the list of his experiences and acquaintances over the years can bring new insight into the social and cultural history of New Mexico during early statehood days, and throughout many of the crucial times of the twentieth century. Emmons knew the state's history-makers, and, in fact, was one himself in many ways.

This thesis does not assume that all aspects of this man's career can be mentioned in a mere hundred pages, or that all the oral history which Emmons made available has been recorded herein. Much of the research for this manuscript is derived from oral history in the form of taped interviews, conducted on a weekly basis with Emmons, and more informal conversation, which went unrecorded, with him and his wife. Other sources include newspapers, the Emmons' papers in the Zimmerman Library of the University of New Mexico, records of the Eisenhower Library in Kansas, The Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives records, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and through the kindness of Mr. Emmons, his own personal papers and scrapbooks which he retains in his own possession at this time. Pictures in the text are taken from this latter collection of materials. This thesis attempts to introduce New

Mexicans and others to the life and contributions of this gentleman from Gallup who has been such an important part of state history, and, for a period of seven-and-a-half years, national history as well. Important characters and events which may not deal directly with the main story have been included to present some of the color and flavor of life in New Mexico to which Emmons responded. Each of these characters and events proved to be shaping influences for his actions.

Although Emmons was not a native New Mexican, he always felt that the state was his true home, and in 1919 he left his family to return there where his heart was already attached. As he said to me, he always saw New Mexico as a "land of opportunity" and sought to make that vision come true. For Emmons, it did. Now living with his wife in Albuquerque, near Old Town, he is still able to reflect clearly and concisely upon his own past and that of the state. Confirming data was always available for each of the interviews, but seldom was cited in the text. To date, none of these interviews are available to the general researcher, as transcripts have not been made.

## CHAPTER I.

### A COUNTRY BANKER

Leonidas Glenn Emmons is not a native New Mexican. Born in Atmore, Alabama on August 15, 1897, he moved to Albuquerque with his family in 1905. His mother suffered from a severe heart condition, and because of a fear of malaria, which was a continual danger along the Gulf coast, the move was desirable for her health. So it was that the then-youngest of the Emmons' children, Glenn, stepped off of the train at Albuquerque and much to the amusement of his three older brothers, exclaimed, "Lordy, look at all the white folks!" By this time the young boy had already changed his name to Glenn Leonidas due to the teasing of his brothers, Grover, Eugene, and John. While back in Alabama they told him that his name, Leonidas, came from a Negro boy living nearby. Embarrassed at the idea of having been named after a Negro, Emmons promptly changed the order of his names, not an unlikely action for a child raised in the race-conscious South at the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup>

John D. Emmons, Glenn's father, was a native of Florida while his mother, Martha Jane Huggins Emmons was born and raised in Alabama. John D. Emmons had been a member of the Florida state legislature. Upon moving to Albuquerque, he bought the Futrell Furniture Store and continued in that

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Glenn L. Emmons, Former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque, New Mexico (Hereafter referred to as Interview.), 23 February 1976.

business for several years. A staunch Methodist, the senior Emmons was an advocate of hard work and imbued his children with a sense of responsibility at an early age. Thus, when only ten years old, Glenn went to work as an elevator operator in a building located at the corner of Broadway and Central in Albuquerque, and earned the magnificent salary of \$15 per month. In addition, there was a great deal of admiration to be garnered from other boys his age, for there were only two electric elevators in the city.<sup>2</sup>

After the move to Albuquerque, two more children were born, Arline and Avalou, both girls. No longer the youngest, Glenn attended the public schools of Albuquerque and worked during the summers at various jobs. During the summer of 1910, when only twelve years old, he worked as a locomotive fireman for the American Lumber Company in the Zuni Mountains. As an assistant night hostler, Emmons did the work of an adult, getting the engines ready for the following day's train crews. While working at this job, it came to his attention that there was a need for recreational facilities for the employees living in the lumber camps. Always an enterprising young man, Emmons conceived the idea of selling ice cream to the lumbermen. He made a deal with the Matthew Dairy Company in Albuquerque to buy ice cream in five gallon lots, making a profit of fifty cents on each gallon he sold. Logging crews from the camp would pick up the shipment of ice cream from Thoreau where the dairy delivered it. Emmons arranged picnics and every other form of entertainment he could think of to sell his ice cream. He even convinced the poker players to buy it for

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<sup>2</sup>Interview, 23 February; 19 April 1976.

their games. Naturally his income increased dramatically but, as he recalled it, the only persons who made more money were company supervisors.<sup>3</sup>

Emmons planned to carry his recreation scheme even further by opening a pool hall for entertainment of the workers. This plan was squashed by his father who would have no son of his in such a disreputable business. Emmons senior ordered Glenn back to Albuquerque to finish school. Later, while in high school, Emmons got a job as a qualified fireman for the Chino Copper Company. He worked on this job throughout the entire summer of 1912 as part of the regular day crew.<sup>4</sup>

During high school, Emmons was captain of the football team. When he went to college at the University of New Mexico, his popularity continued, and he was elected president of his class every year he attended, though he refused the office in his junior year. He also managed the annual publication of the University, the Mirage. A student of Latin and Greek, Emmons was studying for Rhodes Scholarship when the United States entered the first World War. Although not yet old enough to enlist without his parent's permission, Emmons lied about his age to enter the Air Service in 1917. Stating that he was born in August 1895, he was stuck with that birth date until the late 1960's when he reverted to his real birth date. He was commissioned a first lieutenant and served as commander of the 84th Aero Squadron at Kelly Field, Texas until July 1918. At that time he was sent to Nargate, England where he commanded the air forces, and then later the camp at Narborough, England where he served until the armistice in November, 1918. A day later he was stricken with influenza and did not return to the

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Interview, 19 April 1976.

United States until Christmas Eve that year.<sup>5</sup>

Upon his discharge in January, 1919, he travelled to Long Beach, California to join his family which had moved there during the war. They had arranged for him to work in a bank there in California. One morning Glenn received a telegram from Mr. L. R. Goehring who was vice-president and managing officer of a bank in Gallup, offering him a job. Glenn replied that he would be there on the next train. John Emmons, Glenn's brother was also working at this particular bank as cashier, having returned to that position immediately after the war.<sup>6</sup> Eager to return to New Mexico, Glenn arrived there in April, 1919. This job at the Gallup State Bank -- and it was a job, not a position -- required not only dedication to duty, but also a great deal of stamina. His salary was \$110 a month, and young Emmons (only 21 years old at this time) was required to be a handyman of sorts, doing odd jobs around the bank, and using the posting machine only after all the others employed there had finished their work on it. Therefore, he didn't get to a machine until at least four or five o'clock every day. On his first day at work, Emmons didn't finish until the wee hours of the following morning, and even so found that banking was the business he intended to pursue as a career.<sup>7</sup> Many years later, at a testimonial dinner given in his honor by the town of Gallup, the press located the old Negro janitor of the bank and asked him how he liked Mr. Emmons. The man replied that he liked Emmons very much,

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<sup>5</sup>Gallup Independent, 13 December 1952, p.4.

<sup>6</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

but was at first afraid that Mr. Emmons was trying to beat him out of a job.<sup>8</sup>

This particular bank went out of business around 1927 due to financial and political manoeuvring of its owner, a political boss known throughout the state, but by that time both John and Glenn Emmons were firmly established in their own banking venture. In 1922 both brothers left the Gallup State Bank to join the newly organized First National Bank of Gallup where John became Vice-President and Glenn became a cashier.<sup>9</sup>

By 1923 there were four banks in Gallup to serve a population of only about 4,500 persons.<sup>10</sup> Banking itself was an uncertain business, and without Federal Deposit Insurance, was subject to various fluctuations, not only of the economy but of the news as well. At this time the McKinley County Bank was having financial difficulty, and Glenn knew they were going to close one morning to attempt to effect a recovery. In those days there were no regular hours set for bank openings and closings, and on the particular morning of the McKinley County Bank's vacation from business, news reached Gallup of a bank failure in the state of Maine. Glenn knew that these events were quite enough to set off a rush on the bank, and as a result John and another employee set out for Albuquerque to get some extra cash to have on hand in the event that it was demanded by depositors. Albuquerque was some distance away, and it was evident that John would not return in time for the bank's opening. Glenn decided to take matters into his own hands and began to empty the vaults of a good portion of currency

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<sup>8</sup>Interview, 1 March 1976.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Interview, 1 March; 10 May 1976.

and gold coin. He placed all of this on a table in plain view, and added a few moneysacks full of slugs to make it appear that there was more cash on hand than was actually there.<sup>11</sup>

When the table was piled high with the money, he placed a large sign on the door indicating that anyone who wanted to collect their money was welcome to enter and do so. In addition he arranged with the Assistant Postmaster of Gallup (the Post Office was next door to the bank) to come in the back door of the bank and collect an armful of money, then go back through the Post Office and in the front door of the bank announcing in a loud voice that he wished to deposit the money for the United States Government. This ploy worked, and as a result, deposits that day actually increased and no one withdrew a penny.<sup>12</sup>

Although the town of Gallup was small in the early twenties, it did draw upon a large trade territory. Indians from nearby reservations were frequent users of Gallup's banking services, as were miners and lumbermen located in nearby mountains. Many of this latter group were foreigners who lived in New Mexico while their families resided in their native lands. This group was especially nervous about depositing money in local banks and feared the thought of a bank failure.<sup>13</sup> There was a substantial Greek population working at the nearby mines, and Emmons had special rapport with this group, due in large part to his name, Leonidas, which is of Greek origin. Greeks created a great deal of business for the bank, as each payday they exchanged American dollars into Greek currency to send home to their

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<sup>11</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Interview, 1 March; 10 May 1976.

families. Glenn sent out word to the camps that there was a fellow named Leonidas working at the bank in town who would be happy to have their business on Sunday mornings. As a result he cornered all the Greek exchange business and almost paid his own salary from the business he did on those exchanges. His friendly attitude and helpfulness, combined with a familiar name, established an enduring relationship between Emmons and the Greeks, who until their old age continued to address him as "Mr. Leonidas."<sup>14</sup>

Emmons seemed to be especially popular with minority groups, undoubtedly due to his philosophy about life and banking. Even then Emmons understood the value of kindness and had a special regard for the worth of each individual with whom he dealt in business or social relationships.

Emmons stated that:

It's a banker's duty to . . . be humane in his rejection of a loan. I've always said that when a person comes in to get a bank loan, maybe it's a loan of such an amount that you couldn't even consider it. But, it could be that the idea this would-be borrower had, his whole personality was wrapped-up in that idea. And if you took the attitude that it was a kind of foolish idea, you might destroy some self-confidence in that human being. So I always made it a point to explain to him why I couldn't make the loan. Maybe his idea was ahead of its time. And to use language so that when he left the bank he still could walk out with his head up in the air . . . People have to understand why.<sup>15</sup>

This same attitude, which he extended to other aspects of his life, was to win many friends and create no real enemies.

By 1924 both Glenn and John were firmly established members of the Gallup community, liked and respected by numerous persons, both in town and surrounding areas. Still a cashier in the bank at this time, his friends and neighbors thought highly of Glenn. There were several people

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<sup>14</sup>Interview, 23 February 1976.

<sup>15</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

living in Gallup who were from Manchester, Iowa. A young woman from that distant town had married an Indian trader in Gallup, and wrote to her sister suggesting that she travel there to teach for a few years. This Iowan suggested to a friend, Dorothy Hockaday, that she, too, accompany her to the Southwest to teach. Miss Hockaday had just recently graduated from the University of Chicago with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree and was willing to accept the challenge. They wrote to the head of the Gallup School Board, who was also a native of Manchester, and he told them to come out right away. When the two young women arrived in the summer of 1923, they were met at the train by Hub Phoenicie, then Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, a friend of Glenn's, and another former resident of Manchester.

Dorothy requested, through a strange turn of fate that before proceeding to their boarding house, that they stop at a bank where she could drop off a check she had with her. Obliginglly she was ushered into the First National Bank of Gallup, where Glenn immediately fell for her charms. Standing next to the vault speaking with another employee, Emmons no sooner laid eyes upon the petite blond, than he declared that she was the one he would marry if he could. Word must have eventually gotten to the young woman through the small town grapevine, but she never batted an eye. Emmons was left to introduce himself at a later time when Miss Hockaday was in the bank on business.<sup>16</sup> By Christmas of 1923 they were engaged, and on June 11, 1924 the Gallup Independent carried news of the wedding on its front page. A double ceremony with Dr. Paul Bennett and Miss Lelia Waring, it was the social event of the season, and the two young couples took sixteen of their guests to a wedding breakfast at the Harvey House after the cere-

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<sup>16</sup>Interview, 23 February; 1 March 1976.

mony. Glenn and Dorothy then departed for a honeymoon on the East coast.<sup>17</sup>

Marriage suited Emmons well, and Dorothy was a serene and steady influence on his life. They still lived in the "wild west", and life was rarely dull for either of them. Glenn's job required that he take the payrolls to the mining and lumber camps every payday, and the fact that he thought nothing of tossing the sack of money on the rear seat and making the trip alone in his car worried his new wife. At times there were threats made by certain persons in Gallup that the payroll would be stolen, or that traps had been laid for the unsuspecting Glenn. More often than not, these threats and warnings came to naught, but on at least one occasion they brought Dorothy to tears and pleading that Glenn not go alone to deliver the money.

Beginning in 1923 Emmons carried the payroll of the Breece Lumber Company to the town of Sawyer, New Mexico, where they had their headquarters. This company was the successor to the American Lumber Company which had employed Glenn while he was still in school. He knew that there were a number of "tough individuals" in that part of the country, but was not really afraid of them because he had known many since he worked there as a youngster. One day, right after Glenn's marriage, a well-known bootlegger operating in that area came to the bank one day to ask him not to carry the payroll up there anymore as some strangers had lately arrived from Oklahoma and elsewhere, and it was no longer safe for Emmons to travel alone. That was all he was willing to reveal to Glenn.

Glenn refrained from telling his wife of this incident, but called her home to tell her he was going to be carrying the payroll that evening.

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<sup>17</sup>Gallup Independent, 11 June 1924.

She insisted he come home first and that he not make the trip alone. Emmons returned to town and picked up a deputy sheriff and the town marshall, both of whom accompanied him, without their true identities being known by his wife until much later. They were supposed to have the payroll there that evening, but a phone call came saying that payday had been postponed for several days, so the trip was cancelled. Later that night a handcar which Emmons usually used to travel from company headquarters to another camp eight miles away, was wrecked. Tracks were found behind a bush, and it was concluded that when the would-be robbers saw that Emmons wasn't on the car, they didn't bother to approach it but made a quick retreat instead. After this incident the payroll was sent to the camp by other means. Though he was not the victim of a robbery on this occasion, it was too close a call to offer a similar opportunity at a future date.<sup>18</sup>

Gallup was still such a small town in those days that Emmons never had a second thought about working alone late at night or even leaving the vault open and unattended for moderately long periods of time. There were few break-ins, and residents would leave doors unlocked with no qualms.<sup>19</sup> Glenn was so well-liked by everyone, even the lawless or disreputable elements of the community, that he was treated respectfully and given warning of any potential dangers. He always took pride in the fact that the toughest characters came to him as a "father confessor" of sorts, revealing aspects of their lives which they didn't even tell their families, secure in the knowledge that what they said would remain in strictest confi-

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<sup>18</sup>Interview, 19 April 1976.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

dence. Emmons never violated that confidence, and people depended upon him as a man who could be trusted fully and unequivocally.<sup>20</sup>

This confidence which Emmons provided offered numerous chances for him to become acquainted with some of the more interesting characters in Gallup. One of these was Freddy Baxter who had a winning personality and was liked by all. His father was an engraver at the Bureau of Engraving in Washington, D. C., and his wife was the daughter of a prominent family in that same city. Disowned by her father for marrying outside of her class, she and Freddy moved to Gallup where he operated a saloon, and later became a professional gambler and bootlegger. Freddy had an assistant in these activities who was a huge, hulking brute of a man, with the unlikely name of Chauncey DePeuw, but whom everyone addressed as "Fat." These two men had some grueling experiences bringing their bootleg whiskey up from Mexico, and invariably Freddy would tell Emmons of his latest adventure. On one occasion when Glenn was ill, Freddy offered a ride in his truck. Upon entering the vehicle Glenn noticed a hole in the front and rear window, which Freddy told him was a bullet hole. A few days earlier, a trip back from Juarez, Mexico had proved a near disaster when revenueurs fired upon the truck at the border. They again tried to stop "Fat" and Freddy near Fort Wingate, New Mexico, but Freddy jumped out of the truck to grapple with them while "Fat" drove on into Gallup with the precious cargo.<sup>21</sup>

On another occasion, one of the local gamblers of uncertain reputation called Glenn in the middle of the night to inform him that the front

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<sup>20</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976.

<sup>21</sup>Interview, 14 May 1976.

door of the bank was sitting wide open. Emmons dressed hurriedly and rushed into town on that March night when the New Mexico wind was at its best. When he arrived at the bank the sheriff and town marshal were waiting outside for him to arrive before entering the bank. Everything inside seemed to be in order, and when they marched single-file down the steep, narrow stairs to the basement, both officers were quite polite and allowed Glenn to precede them while they made him an excellent target by framing him in their flashlight beams. All was well, and the next day Emmons asked his caller of the previous night if he had gone into the bank himself. He answered with a wink, "Oh no, Mr. Emmons. I looked in the front door and could see a machine gun pointing right at me."<sup>22</sup> And thus it was that Glenn's reputation worked for him on more than one occasion during his early days as a Gallup banker.

Throughout these months after their marriage in 1924, Glenn and Dorothy rented a house until a duplex apartment was completed. Gallup had no apartments at that time. After about two months residence in the rented home, they moved into the duplex where they lived until 1928. At that time they bought a home in Gallup, located at the corner of Mesa and Strong Streets. They sold that house in 1958.<sup>23</sup>

About two years later, 1926, both Glenn and his brother were promoted at the bank. John became president and Glenn became vice-president.<sup>24</sup> Things were working out well for both, and in 1928 the bank was able to move its location in Gallup to the site of a bank which had failed,

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Interview, 1 March 1976.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

their old friend of the near-rush, the McKinley County Bank.<sup>25</sup> This was the year of the great crash, but it had little effect on the First National Bank of Gallup, for deposits were on the rise. By the time of the bank holiday of 1933, deposits had increased greatly. Gallup's economy was diversified, and few persons were involved in the stock market; so the local economy was not severely wounded.<sup>26</sup>

In 1933, however, at the time of the bank holiday declared by President Franklin Roosevelt, the First National Bank of Gallup was closed and did not reopen until 1934 when it became the First State Bank of Gallup. Several reasons existed for this liquidation of the National Bank. Emmons stated that the primary aim was to change from a national to a state bank, and at that time the liquidation process was required by law for this change to take place.<sup>27</sup> A later story carried by a Santa Fe newspaper stated that the bank holiday caught the First National Bank at a bad moment "and political foes in Santa Fe made the most of its bringing about its liquidation."<sup>28</sup> Probably both reasons were contributing factors in the bank's closure. Through hard work and ceaseless effort, Glenn and John were able to save the deposits of all customers, and everyone who had deposited money in the First National Bank of Gallup was paid one hundred cents on the dollar by the First State Bank of Gallup, which took over the deposit liabilities of the former institution in full. After the new First State Bank of Gallup reopened on January 4, 1934, a front-page arti-

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Interview, 23 February 1976.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, 6 November 1949.

cle in one of the Gallup newspapers commended the two brothers upon their diligence and hard work in the bank, stating:

...For the courageous and, as it now appears, successful fight they have made to save the depositors of the First National Bank, unmeasured credit is due. They have not known the word, 'surrender'; in the face of obstacles and discouragement, with their backs to the wall, they have kept up the fight. Men of less courage and stamina, of less rectitude and purpose, would have deserted the ship and left the depositors to the fate of self-seeking politicians to whom their interests meant nothing.

It is an extraordinary thing for a bank, one in receivership, to pay out in full. It has not, so far as we know, occurred in New Mexico before. That, however, seems to be assured in the case of the First National Bank. A friendly receiver working with the former officers and depositors' committee make that happy result an early reality... <sup>29</sup>

On January 3, 1934 a full page advertisement appeared in the Gallup Independent proclaiming the opening of the First State Bank of Gallup the following day. This ad stated that the First State Bank had been organized "primarily to take over the deposit liability of the First National Bank in Gallup at one hundred cents on the dollar..." The bank opened with \$40,000 cash and no liabilities to creditors, and the ad carried a further statement signed by the depositors committee working with the receiver endorsing the First State Bank and its management. <sup>30</sup>

Just one year later John retired as president and was succeeded by Glenn, who also became chairman of the board as well. Emmons held these positions until 1964 when he retired from the banking business and returned to Albuquerque to live. As a bank president, Emmons became known throughout the state and nation by his peers, and was held in high esteem by many. Through banking and his civic involvement and interests, his name

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<sup>29</sup>Gallup Gazette, 16 November 1934, p.1.

<sup>30</sup>Gallup Independent, 3 January 1934.

was placed in nomination for the post of President of the New Mexico Bankers Association. He was elected to that office to serve for the year of 1940 and was re-elected for the following year as well.<sup>31</sup>

Emmons was always an astute businessman, and this is what led him to gain control of the majority share of stocks in the First State Bank enabling him to become president and chairman of the board. When the bank directors decided to increase the bank's capital to either \$100,000 or \$125,000, it meant that there would be either 500 additional shares opened to investors, or 750 shares if the increase to the larger sum were made. At this time, Glenn had already purchased 250 of the new shares at \$100 per share and feared that if the shares were increased to 750 he might lose control of the bank. A similar request was sent to his brother Eugene on the same day, and results must have been favorable, as Glenn did not lose the bank due to sale of additional shares. Dividends for shareholders were running at about 10 percent yearly, which was a rather good rate for a small bank. In this same letter Glenn expressed the hope that if the bank's capital increased to \$125,000, the First State Bank of Gallup would then have about the strongest capital position of any small bank in the West.<sup>32</sup>

For a small country bank the First State Bank did very well and was able to pay relatively high interest rates while interest on loans was not overly high. Many loans were made at various times on unusual bases, especially those to individual Indians living in the Gallup area. Emmons

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<sup>31</sup>Interview, 23 February 1976; "Better Than Governor For Glenn Emmons," newspaper unknown, 1949, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>32</sup>Glenn L. Emmons to John D. Emmons, 5 December 1946, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 1, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

knew many Navajos and Zunis personally as they lived and worked in the area and did business at this bank. Although loans made to enrolled tribesmen were not guaranteed by the Federal Government without the express approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Emmons often made these loans based upon his trust of the borrower. There was never a tribal loan made by the First State Bank, or by the First National Bank before it was liquidated, as these loans required the approval of the BIA and Congress before tribal holdings could be offered as collateral. On more than one occasion, however, there were loans made to Indians who lived on the Navajo Reservation in hogans without calendars. Never once were these Indians late for their loan payments.

It was probably due in large part to Emmons' personality and honesty that he was so greatly trusted by the Indian population in the Gallup area. Time and again tribal members came to him seeking help for some problem which their agent had not been able to handle, and these problems ranged from those of very personal nature to matters of tribal concern. There was never a distinction made between Anglos and Indians in the First State Bank, and everyone knew it. Indians in the Gallup area were quite numerous, the majority being Navajos and Zunis, who lived quite close to town. Other tribes such as the Apaches, Hopis, and various Pueblos located at Laguna and Ácoma, were also frequent visitors to Gallup, giving it the title of the Indian capitol of the United States. Among all of these tribes, Emmons gained a reputation for honesty which served him well at that time and in future years as well.

As with all his past endeavors, Emmons was a success in his position as president of the New Mexico Banker's Association and acquired the respect of his fellow bankers not only in New Mexico, but also throughout

the United States. Each year he attended the convention of the American Bankers Association, and it was not long before he gained recognition from that organization as well. In 1946, A. L. M. Wiggins of New York, who was then President of the American Bankers Association (hereafter ABA), named Emmons to a position on the newly-formed Commission on Country Bank Operations and Problems. One of seventeen members on this commission, it was his duty to investigate all matters relating to costs and income of country banks. He was the sole representative from the southwestern area of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada. Work was to begin at once, as small banks had been affected by reduced volume of loans, competition of government lending agencies, and low interest rates together with added expenses due to handling war bonds, rations banking, and other war services.<sup>33</sup>

One year later Emmons was named to a position on the Administrative Committee of the ABA and was the first New Mexican to be so honored. During the same year, he was also named to the ABA Executive Council as one of twelve members-at-large.<sup>34</sup> These jobs gave him the opportunity to be placed on the ballot in 1949 for the elective office of Treasurer of the ABA, a coveted and distinguished position. In this nomination, as always, Emmons did not seek the office, but the office sought him through his loyal and dedicated friends who proposed his name and rounded up necessary support to carry the election.

Emmons' name was first proposed for the position as Treasurer of the

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<sup>33</sup>"Emmons Named to ABA Commission on Small Banks," newspaper unknown, 1946, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>34</sup>Hilltop News (Albuquerque), 17 October 1947, p. 1, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

ABA by a resolution of the New Mexico Bankers Association the previous year, which pointed to his "service to the association and also to his position as an outstanding citizen of the State of New Mexico."<sup>35</sup> A local paper also reported that Bank News, the magazine for Southwest bankers endorsed him in the April 15 issue, which stated that

...numerous friends of Glenn Emmons, ... , proposed his name as a prospective treasurer of the American Bankers Association. This initial presentation met with friendly response from all over the nation, say the sponsors of Mr. Emmons. The popular New Mexico banker has been for a number of years most actively associated with A.B.A. work, and his loyalties to the association and his abilities have earned for him the deep respect of bankers throughout the land.<sup>36</sup>

A friend of Emmons, who was also on the Administrative Council, approached him about the possibility of running for the office of Treasurer of the ABA during the Council's annual spring meeting of 1948, held at French Lick, Indiana. This friend, a bank president in Minneapolis, asked Emmons to have breakfast with him one morning, and inquired if he had plans to run for Governor of New Mexico the following year. Answering no, that it was not part of his plans to run for that office, Emmons was then asked if he would like to run for the Treasurer's position. Thinking that it was in jest, Emmons asserted that any banker would like the job, and he would certainly be honored to hold the office. He was told to consider himself elected. At the annual meeting in San Francisco, held the following year, Emmons was elected without any opposition.<sup>37</sup> Emmons

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<sup>35</sup>"Glenn Emmons Is Endorsed for Post by Bank Magazine," newspaper unknown, 1949, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

was the first New Mexican<sup>38</sup> to hold one of the three elective offices in the ABA.<sup>39</sup> Since the founding of the ABA in 1876, only thirteen officers had been elected from states west of the Mississippi River.<sup>40</sup>

Upon his election as Treasurer of the ABA, Gallup service clubs gathered together to honor Emmons at a testimonial dinner on November 22, 1949 at the Hotel El Rancho. Invitations were issued reading: "Our community is very proud of this honor he has brought to us, and we are taking this means of showing our appreciation."<sup>41</sup> This was not to be the last of special dinners to be given in honor of Emmons and his achievements, either by the town of Gallup or elsewhere, but is reflective of the esteem in which he was held by fellow citizens.

Again Emmons brought dignity and hard work to his job, and the result was his reelection the following year.<sup>42</sup> There were other jobs at which Glenn worked for the ABA at various times, and these included a position as ABA Vice-President for New Mexico during 1949, committeeman on the Public Relations Council and Finance Committee from 1946 to 1947.<sup>43</sup> His

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<sup>38</sup>Newscast, undated, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid; "Better Than Governor for Glenn Emmons," newspaper unknown, 1949, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Untitled Article, 1949, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>42</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976; "Official Lists, 1950-1951, Officers - American Bankers Association," Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 9, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>43</sup>The Southern Banker, September 1950, pp. 25, 78; Gallup Independent, 25 April 1949, pp. 1, 5; New Mexican (Santa Fe), 31 December 1952, p. 5.

loyalty to fellow bankers across the nation was given recognition through these positions which he held between 1946 and 1951.

To date it remains a puzzle to Emmons, now retired from banking, but still following new trends in the business, how he was ever chosen for the many positions which he held. They all represent special honors to him, and perhaps that attitude explains his popularity with others in the banking world. With 16,000 banks in the United States in 1949 it was unusual for a small town banker to be chosen to such a prominent position in the citadel of banking in the United States.

After the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President in 1952 and the subsequent appointment of Emmons to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs in August, 1953, Emmons had no active part in his banking business. Although he remained in the offices of president and chairman of the board until 1964, his contacts with the First State Bank were only on the level of keeping himself informed of how the bank was doing, and what changes were being made. During the first set of Senate hearings on his nomination, Senator Henry Jackson of Washington quizzed Emmons about the role he would play in his bank while holding the office of Commissioner, asking Emmons if he ran a country bank in Gallup, and had any banking relations with the Indian tribes in that area. Emmons replied in the affirmative to both inquiries. Jackson then asked if there would be any relationship that would continue with his bank that would in anywise cause him any embarrassment. Emmons answered that there would not be and that he would have nothing to say about the policy of the bank. Although Emmons retained his stock, he insisted that he was "out of the bank."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on the Nomination of Glenn L. Emmons to be Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 15 July 1953, p. 10.

With the arrangement which Emmons set up with his bank there was and could be no conflict of interest charge directed against him while he was in the office of the Commissioner from August 10, 1953 to January 20, 1961. Senator Jackson was trying to avoid this situation arising, and the oblique reference he made to such a delimma can not be interpreted to mean any other thing in this exchange during the hearings. Emmons' answers seemed to satisfy the committee members present and the entire Senate when his nomination was eventually passed.

While Emmons was busy fulfilling the requirements of the Commissioner's job in Washington, D. C., his little bank in distant New Mexico continued to grow and profit. Its success was so great that in the mid-fifties it caught the eye of the Transamerica Corporation of San Francisco which was seeking to invest in western banks which were on a stable and profitable footing. In 1958 they approached Emmons with the offer to buy the First State Bank, and Emmons sold.<sup>45</sup> Gallup papers carried news of the sale immediately, and depositors and citizens of the town were assured that service and business would continue on as before. Transamerica Corporation had investments in banks located in ten other western states, but did not actually run the bank itself. All personnel and officers continued in their jobs and directed bank policies as in the past. Emmons remained as president and chairman of the board, and reassured the town, stating that Transamerica Corporation would not enter into active management of the bank because it was not a banking organization, only a bank stock investing company which has confidence in and depends upon local bank management.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>46</sup>"First State Bank is Sold to Transamerican," newspaper unknown, date supplied by Emmons as 1958, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 3, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

Emmons continued to say that the board of directors of Transamerica and the directors of the First State Bank welcomed the opportunity to become partners, thereby enabling Transamerica to assist in the tremendous growth in this area.

From a local point of view in Gallup, the move meant a vast increase in the financial resources available through the First State Bank for financing industry and business in New Mexico. It further meant that resources were available to handle financial arrangements of almost any size for expansion in the community.<sup>47</sup>

In 1958 Transamerica controlled 250 banks in western states, with assets of those banks valued at \$2,439,514,434. Emmons journeyed to Gallup from his Washington residence to complete the transaction, and returned the day after all was in order.<sup>48</sup> He still was removed from control of the general business of the bank as he testified in July, 1953 before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Emmons did not retire from his positions with the First State Bank until 1964, when he and his wife Dorothy returned to New Mexico to live. They currently reside in a home near Old Town, Albuquerque in a quiet and tree-shaded neighborhood. Still very fond of Gallup, Emmons feels that many good things in his life occurred because of his residence there, and is grateful for the many honors which the town presented to him.<sup>49</sup>

To Glenn Emmons, banking represented more than just the interest, loans, and dividends which were doled out at regular intervals to custo-

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

mers. He asserted that:

Those who go deeper into its possibilities will not only benefit materially but will have the greater satisfaction that comes from the realization of having contributed something to the happiness and the progress of their fellow man... The privilege of conducting a bank carries with it a great public trust, and bankers would be grateful for sound, constructive law and regulation that will better enable them in the future to administer that trust, and to serve more adequately the business, industry, agriculture, and wage earners of the nation... When people deposit their money in a bank, money which represents sacrifice and saving, the life-blood of business operations, future education of children, financial independence for old age, or any of the other social and economic purposes for which money is accumulated, it must be recognized that they have a claim on the financial institution which houses it. Indeed, we may go one step further; consider every depositor as a creditor...

The two ideas which every bank endeavors to convey to its customers are safety and service... The men who manage and operate the bank are the ones who really tell the public through their own personal attributes and qualifications, what kind of a bank it is, and what kind of wares it dispenses. But the character, ability and personality of a bank officer, no matter how fine and radiant, can be of little value to a bank unless that officer, by exposing himself to the public, lets the public learn of the existence of those qualities...

A bank can be known in a community as a mausoleum, a storage warehouse, a necessary evil, a miserly wretch, or a useful community asset - dependent upon the way its personnel interpret it to the public. A bank can be a good, virile constructive force, if its directorate and official personnel are that type of citizens. It is my belief that a bank should ally itself through its proper representatives with every worthwhile community enterprise. The bank should have an active, helpful interest in building the community it serves; that is good for the community and also good for the bank.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps the most important reason for the success of Emmons' bank, and his own personal success in Gallup, lies in the fact that he always followed the advice which he gave to his audience at the convention where this speech was read and tried to live up to the standards he set forth

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<sup>50</sup> Speech given at a convention while Emmons was acting President of the New Mexico Bankers Association, undated but approximately 1939 or 1940, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 15, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

therein. Emmons was always involved in some form of civic activity which would benefit his neighbors and the community. Ever since his childhood, responsibility for his person, his work, and his community had been part of the man, and few who ever had contact with him were left unimpressed by the fervor with which he sought to make himself useful to others.

## CHAPTER II.

### POLITICS AND CIVIC DUTY

Emmons once said, "I always made it a point to serve in any capacity I could in any civic undertaking that would be beneficial to Gallup, not only at the present time, but for the future."<sup>1</sup> Beginning as early as 1921, he started on this course and has been active in civic affairs in every place he has lived since that time. Shortly after he began working in the old Gallup State Bank which was owned by Gregory Page, Emmons decided that the town ought to grow and needed a Chamber of Commerce. Page, the political boss of that part of New Mexico, had other ideas.

Gregory Page was a controversial figure in the town of Gallup and McKinley County. A saloon-keeper born in Canada sometime during the nineteenth century, he was orphaned and migrated to the Southwest at an early age. He first lived and ran a saloon in Holbrook, Arizona, and stories were widespread that he was a gunfighter there with six victims to his prowess. Although these tales were never verified, they managed to lend an aura of mystery to the man, and probably added to the power he held over the town. When Page first came to Gallup he ran a saloon but soon managed to acquire a wholesale merchandise business. Later he bought the Gallup State Bank and inherited its employees, including John Emmons and L. R. Goehring. Emmons senior was shocked that a son of his should be

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<sup>1</sup>Interview, 1 March 1976.

employed by such a controversial figure and a saloon keeper besides, and when Glenn began to work for the same man in 1919, he felt no better.<sup>2</sup>

When Emmons decided to start the Gallup Chamber of Commerce, he was still employed by Page, and although the man never said outright that he could not organize the Chamber of Commerce, Emmons was made to feel foolish through Page's making fun of his efforts to improve the community. Subtle needling by Gregory Page almost caused Emmons to quit, but realizing the import of such an organization, Emmons continued on. That first year the new Gallup Chamber of Commerce began to operate with only a skeletal organization. Emmons' friend, Hub Phoenicie was helpful in the beginnings of the chamber, and both men later held positions in the organization. For the whole first year Emmons served as a sort of non-paid secretary getting the group on its feet, and was rewarded in 1922 when the Chamber of Commerce became a permanent fixture.<sup>3</sup>

Later, when Emmons served as President of the Gallup Chamber of Commerce, he was successful in acquiring land west of Gallup to be used as an industrial park. His purpose was to get industry to develop the area. This area was formerly used as a small airfield before the larger airport was constructed as another of Emmons' activities.<sup>4</sup> During February, 1976 he was the guest of honor at the annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce in Gallup and was presented with a honorary lifetime membership in that organization (the first of these ever given by the chamber) due in large

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<sup>2</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>3</sup>Interview, 1 March; 10 May 1976.

<sup>4</sup>New Mexican (Santa Fe), 31 December 1952, p. 5; Interview, 10 May 1976.

part to his efforts starting the industrial park. One of the new overpasses for that park is slated to be named the Emmons overpass in his honor.<sup>5</sup>

The effort that Emmons made to bring in more persons was successful but did not break the political power of Page. It was Glenn's brother, John, who drove a substantial wedge into the crack which had been opened. In 1926, John organized a political ticket for the county elections, which included Republicans who wanted Page's power broken, as well as Democrats who were opposed to the Republican boss merely from political affiliation. At this time Glenn was a registered Democrat and joined the battle. Most of the coalition which John organized won the elections, and for the first time McKinley County saw the defeat of Page's hand-picked men.<sup>6</sup> During the same year, Glenn ran for the office of county treasurer on the Democratic ticket but was not as successful in breaking the hold Page had on the community. It was a rough contest before the election, and National Guardsmen were called in to see that order was kept. On the day of the election, Emmons was out on the Navajo Reservation, as was his opponent who became ill. Driving the man home, he noticed that a large and unruly crowd was gathered outside the courthouse, although it was now almost 2:00 a.m. Returning to the courthouse after delivering the other man to his home, Emmons was informed that the ballots were counted and he was the winner by fifty votes. At this time there was a tap on the window, and the head ballot-counter went over to receive a

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<sup>5</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976; Program, "Annual Banquet of Gallup-McKinley County Chamber of Commerce," 6 February 1976, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Albuquerque Tribune, 23 February 1976, p. B-8.

<sup>6</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

message from someone outside.<sup>7</sup>

Years later, after the death of Gregory Page, the judge presiding over the vote-counting related the events which followed to Emmons. Page controlled the judge at that time, and sent word that all ballots were to be recounted and as many thrown out as possible. As a result each ballot of Emmons' where the "x" touched the edge of the line marking the vote was thrown out. Emmons lost the election by only a few votes. If he had contested the election, this district judge admitted that the election results would have proved Emmons the winner, and he would have been seated.<sup>8</sup>

Fate was not kind to Gregory Page, however, for he later met ruin in his banking business when he tried to destroy the rival bank which the Emmons brothers owned. He was such a logical man that all his manoeuvrings were easily outguessed by use of simple reason, which Glenn and John employed to remain in business. On the other hand, while Emmons was never to be lucky in politics, his civic endeavors were always successful.

In 1929 Emmons served as Commander of the Palmer Ketner, Jr. Post of the American Legion in Gallup, which was one of the largest in New Mexico.<sup>9</sup> During the following year, 1930, he started the Gallup Country Club in his home, with the aid of two friends, Ab Henderson and Dr. P. L. Travers. Land was purchased from the Santa Fe Railroad at one dollar per acre, and a total of 640 acres was acquired at that time. Later much of this land was sold at \$3500 per acre and profits were high enough that an attractive clubhouse was constructed along with a golf course. This golf course was

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Interview, 1 March 1976.

later turned over to the city of Gallup for maintenance purposes. Again the hard work and perserverence of Emmons paid off for the community and for his friends.<sup>10</sup>

New Mexico's Governor Arthur Seligman appointed Emmons to the Board of Regents of the University of New Mexico in 1930, and he served the school in that capacity until 1932. Emmons was never sure who recommended him for the post, but knew that out of the five board members two must be chosen from the minority party.<sup>11</sup> He served the University again between 1946 and 1949 when he was president of the Alumni Association,<sup>12</sup> and later between 1971 and 1973 was chairman of the Greater University of New Mexico Development Fund.<sup>13</sup>

Other civic affairs served to occupy the time of Emmons. He joined the Masonic Lodge during the thirties, and became a member of the Shrine on V-E Day in 1945, and was also president of the local Kiwanis Club at one time.<sup>14</sup> During the second World War, Emmons was the chairman of the McKinley County Draft Board, and of the McKinley, San Juan and Valencia Counties War Loan Drive.<sup>15</sup> While Chairman of the Draft Board, he was confronted by the problem of some local Indians who were called up by the draft. They were involved with some upcoming tribal religious ceremonies and had been trained for long hours in their parts. Consequently they

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<sup>10</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>11</sup>Interview, 1 March 1976.

<sup>12</sup>The Southern Banker, September 1950, pp. 25, 78.

<sup>13</sup>Ferrel Heady to Glenn L. Emmons, 27 August 1973, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>14</sup>Interview, 14 May 1976; New Mexican, 31 December 1952, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup>Interview, 22 March 1976; Ibid.

didn't want to go into the service until after the ceremonies were over. Emmons, recognizing the religious ceremony as being as important as Christian services, allowed them to stay and take part in the ceremonies, drafting them later.<sup>16</sup>

In the election of 1944, Emmons again entered politics, seeking the Republican nomination for the governorship. Although Emmons was originally a registered Democrat, as was his father, in about 1928 he changed his party affiliation due in large part to his close friendship with the Republican Senator Bronson Cutting.<sup>17</sup> Emmons insists even today that he was not a political person.<sup>18</sup> Although his activities seem to belie this statement, he is basically correct in his self-evaluation. His activities were never motivated by political ambitions, nor were politics closest to his heart. Emmons was a banker and civic leader first and foremost, never desiring political office, though many of his friends desired it for him.

Emmons and a friend traveled from Gallup to attend the state platform meeting just about a month and a half before the primary election. Carroll G. Gunderson of Grants was the chosen candidate of the party's "old guard." At about five o'clock the meeting which the two men were attending was over, and they went to their rooms to collect their bags to return home. Emmons was giving a dinner party in his home at eight o'clock that evening, and since his wife had just returned from the hospital, did not wish to be late. While they were finishing their packing, there was a knock on the door, and outside were several prominent Republicans. Barging right into

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<sup>16</sup>Interview, 22 March 1976

<sup>17</sup>Interview, 23 February 1976.

<sup>18</sup>Interview, 1 March 1976.

the room, they soon were crowded into the small space. Expressing dissatisfaction with the top leadership of the party, these men informed Emmons that it was time for a change and asked him if he would announce his candidacy for the nomination on the Republican ticket for governor. This was a Friday evening, and Emmons stated that he simply couldn't do it. Finally after a great deal of persuasion he weakened, and they pressed him even harder to decide so that they could get the story into the weekend editions of the paper.<sup>19</sup>

Emmons agreed to run, and they immediately asked if he would speak to the press. Opening the door they called in the waiting reporters for a statement.<sup>20</sup> Press coverage of the campaign was rapid and complete. Hundreds of releases were given coverage by newspapers across the state, and as a result, the election proved to be quite close.

A campaign was soon underway with the founding of the "Emmons for Governon Club" in Albuquerque. These clubs spread across the state. Between May 1 and May 11 their number tripled. Offices were located in Santa Fe, Las Vegas, Gallup, and Taos among other places, with Gallup taking the lead in members when more than 1100 membership cards accumulated there. Response to Emmons' campaign was rapid and overwhelming, surprising even his campaign staff members.<sup>21</sup> Almost immediately Emmons began to campaign, preferring to meet personally with as many people as possible, but settling for radio broadcasts when conditions or time did not permit the one-to-one contact which he both preferred and enjoyed im-

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Albuquerque Journal, 11 May 1944, p. 9.

mensely.<sup>22</sup> His platform was varied, but the strongest stand was taken on reform in state government. During one radio broadcast he stated, "I ... have frequently joined with my friends in lamenting the service that we, the people of the State of New Mexico, have received from the professional politicians."<sup>23</sup> He continued to say that what began as a "casual discussion among friends" soon became a serious plan "to meet a problem that is causing ever greater concern to the citizens of our state, namely to get better government for New Mexico."<sup>24</sup> On several occasions he openly lambasted the tradition of political patronage which was practiced in the state and declared that he would confer with other Republicans but be the puppet of no individual or group.<sup>25</sup> Continuing to campaign on this issue he said:

It is my belief that the appointive offices of the state should be filled by men of unquestioned integrity and business ability, and I find myself in complete accord with Governor Dewey of New York in that only by filling these appointments with competent men can we attain competent government. For a number of years past, we have been confronted with the sorry spectacle of various members of the legislature being rewarded for political allegiance to a governor by being appointed to some of the appointive jobs regardless of ability.<sup>26</sup>

Speaking again on the same subject he later stated:

Public unconcern in governmental affairs ... rests on the feeling of futility developed by those who know their government is managed for political and not public advantage.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Radio Broadcast Speech, 29 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>27</sup>Albuquerque Journal, 14 May 1944, p. 7.

Several days later Emmons declared that his election would represent the "triumph of government by principles over government by politics."<sup>28</sup>

As he would be known for extending business practices to government in the future, during his gubernatorial campaign Emmons declared that there was a strong resemblance between government and business. A New Mexico paper reported:

Emmons said business puts individual qualifications and efficiency first and declared 'state government, too, is a business and we cannot fail to see the folly of appointments based purely on political and partisan thinking.' He added, 'A governor whose vision cannot leap the barrier of political partisanship ... would fail in his major responsibility.'<sup>29</sup>

Declaring that state activities needed to be audited, he was reported to say:

'A sound, scientific, non-partisan survey by men familiar with modern business practices doubtless would reveal inexcusable waste, unwarranted increase in personnel, and methods of operation long ago outmoded' ... [and] pledging appointment of a survey commission 'composed of men selected for business knowledge and experience, not for their political power or prestige.'<sup>30</sup>

Not only was Emmons against the spoils system, he was also an anti-New Dealer. Much of his platform rested on the solid Republican opposition to the New Deal and many of its programs. In more than one public address Emmons hinted at his animosity toward the New Deal, and often came close to blasting openly the programs Roosevelt introduced during

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<sup>28</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, 17 May 1944, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> "Emmons Declares State Should Use Experienced Men," newspaper unknown, 4 May 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Albuquerque Journal, 4 May 1944, p. 13.

<sup>30</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, 1 May 1944, p. 11.

the 1930's. He was "opposed to the Federal Government's encroachment upon the sovereignty of the state," and said that he believed in "the separation of powers between the State and Federal Government and between the various branches of Government as expressed in our constitution."<sup>31</sup> If elected governor, he promised to call upon the attorney general to protect the state of New Mexico from any federal encroachment upon state powers.<sup>32</sup>

Calling for unification of the Republican party, he stated:

When I entered the campaign, I announced a desire for a unified Republican Party and felt that somewhere between the extremely reactionary policies that have at times characterized the Republican Party and the radical policies that characterize the New Deal Party is a sound policy upon which all Republicans can unite for the betterment of the Party and to the betterment of our state as a whole.<sup>33</sup>

Following up his theme he continued his diatribe against programs and policies of the New Deal. Stating that "government does not give, it only takes," Emmons declared that government aid is merely government consumption and distribution of privately produced wealth.<sup>34</sup> At the same time he alluded to the quote that "the power to tax is the power to destroy," and continued to criticize growing bureaucracy on both state and national levels in his statement:

For the past decade that destructive power has been enlarged to support a colossal collection of federal and

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<sup>31</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Radio Broadcast Speech, 29 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>34</sup>"Emmons Declares State Payroll is Money Consumed," newspaper unknown, 16 May (probably 1944), Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Albuquerque Journal, 16 May 1944, p. 12.

state agencies, so intricate, complex, interwoven and overlapping that neither their political administrators nor a bewildered public can understand or unravel their tangled functions.

Enlargement of federal powers and functions has its complete counterpart in every state...<sup>35</sup>

He promised that if elected he would devote himself "to the task, conscious that the people want minimum government with maximum results, not maximum government with minimum results."<sup>36</sup> He often referred to Washington's "boundless bureaucratic maze," and felt that citizens of New Mexico should be opposed to further development of those conditions within the state.<sup>37</sup>

Although much of his campaign dialogue was anti-New Deal in nature, the campaign was not really based on this stand. Much of the criticism that alluded to programs and developments of the New Deal dealt only with those aspects which did not produce visible service to citizens of New Mexico. Otherwise, many of the pledges which Emmons made to the citizens of New Mexico incorporated New Deal ideology and closely resembled many of the programs and efforts that Democrats had introduced or effected during the depression years. Borrowing directly from Franklin Roosevelt, Emmons planned to begin a program on the state level which amounted to nothing less than a "brain trust" comprised of New Mexicans. Urging "organized private thinking in the public interest,"<sup>38</sup> he declared that New Mexico's "mental resources must be used to point the way to the state's

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, 1 May 1944, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup>Albuquerque Journal, 16 May 1944, p. 2.

material development."<sup>39</sup> Pointing out that "many of our best brains in all fields of activity would be glad to serve, without cost, on a state development commission, cooperating with Government, but independent of state control,"<sup>40</sup> he suggested that such a group be organized. Calling for a "people's lobby," which would "be intent on solving human problems common to us all," he further proposed that it should operate on a year-round basis as a substitute for "special lobbies seeking special privileges."<sup>41</sup> Being a civic leader himself, Emmons was aware of the importance of community input in government, and declared that more interest and encouragement of ideas brought forth by civic groups, religious groups and other community organizations was needed.<sup>42</sup>

Emmons' campaign messages brought forth other ideas and programs closely associated with advances that the New Deal made. He declared that the state should build a system of secondary roads extending from the main highways into more inaccessible regions to develop resources and to aid the livestock and agricultural sectors. Such roads were also an attraction for tourists to linger, benefiting the business community as well.<sup>43</sup> In conjunction with this plan, he pledged to organize a team of engineers "to study this state's natural resources with the intent of de-

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<sup>39</sup>"Emmons Would Put 'Mental Resources' of State to Work," newspaper unknown, 19 May 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Albuquerque Journal, 17 May 1944, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

veloping them."<sup>44</sup> Stating that "there is no reason our hidden resources should not be developed," he promised that he would encourage such development by the use of private capital where possible and would not create new or troublesome taxes to interfere with this development. He also asserted that he would dispense with the current "nuisance taxes" whenever possible.<sup>45</sup> In his first campaign speech, Emmons stressed the role he would play in developing New Mexico's natural resources, which had played upon his mind in years past. His plan revolved around the survey results being given wide publicity in business circles, which would certainly result in resource development and increased employment in the state.<sup>46</sup> Again his concern for the welfare of the citizens of New Mexico was evident.

Ethnic and racial issues played a role in the campaign as well. Among his other proposals, Emmons was convinced that New Mexico had something very special to offer American foreign service through the State Department, and suggested that programs be added to the New Mexico schools to educate the Spanish-American and others with special aptitudes to act as diplomats to South American countries.<sup>47</sup> Emmons felt that after the war, Americans would have to develop a better relationship with nations to the south, and a school of foreign service should be established in New Mexi-

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<sup>44</sup>"Emmons Suggests Scholarship Plan," newspaper unknown, 25 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid; KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>46</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>47</sup>Albuquerque Journal, 12 May 1944; "Emmons Suggests Scholarship Plan," newspaper unknown, 25 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Radio Broadcast Speech, 29 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; "Release AM's May 12," news release, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 10, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

co.<sup>48</sup> Other plans which Emmons had in mind for Spanish-Americans included placing them in positions in state welfare agencies so that a better relationship would develop between the state and its ethnic citizen groups of Spanish-speaking Americans. In accordance with this idea he urged that there be developed at the institutions of higher learning throughout the state, programs to train all workers in the field of social welfare, pointing to the fact that the current welfare director was not a social worker but an engineer.<sup>49</sup>

Other campaign issues were of timely import to citizens of New Mexico, as they must have been to citizens of other states around the country. Primary among these was the problem of war veterans, soon to be coming home since the end of the war was then in sight. Emmons, himself a veteran of the first World War recognized the uncertainty facing those who would be returning, especially concerning employment.<sup>50</sup> Pledging himself to act on this problem he stated, "It would be my purpose to see that the greatest degree of employment be made available to these men."<sup>51</sup> He further stated that "the veteran should be given preferential right of employment," and promised to empower the state labor commission to act as an employment bureau for returning servicemen.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Emmons Suggests Scholarship Plan," newspaper unknown, 25 April 1944; Radio Broadcast Speech, 29 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>49</sup>Albuquerque Journal, 13 May 1944, p. 3; "Education for Welfare Program," newspaper unknown, 13 May 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>50</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; "Emmons Makes Opening Speech," Albuquerque Journal, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>"Emmons Aims at Return of Free Business," newspaper unknown, 22 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

Another high-priority issue was the improvement of public health. Citing recent epidemics of typhoid fever, measles, and polio, Emmons said, "To build a great state, we first must safe guard [sic] the health of its people and secondarily must provide them all with every educational advantage within our means."<sup>53</sup> In his first campaign message, Emmons stressed his belief that "the school system is the cornerstone of democracy, and that our rural and consolidated schools should as soon as possible be afforded all the facilities enjoyed by the city schools. Compensation of our teachers should be raised," he said, "until it is commensurate with other lines of endeavor."<sup>54</sup>

Pledges were made on many occasions that he would continue relief for the aged and blind and give one hundred percent support to efforts of the Bataan Relief Organization, which aided those New Mexican servicemen who were prisoners of the Japanese.<sup>55</sup> He also promoted a conservationist cause in his campaign which called for land to be used by the people of the state, and for preservation of other lands and natural resources. Emmons felt that land and water of New Mexico were "the foundation of our economy and of the security of the people." Work must be done for the return of lands taken by the Federal Government so that they would be available to New Mexicans, and that further conservation of the water resources of the state must be sought.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Radio Broadcast Speech, 29 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>54</sup>KOB Radio Broadcast One, 21 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; "Emmons Makes Opening Speech," Albuquerque Journal, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Radio Broadcast Speech, 29 April 1944, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

## WHAT GLENN EMMONS BELIEVES IN

1. Translating the Republican platform from WORDS into actual WORK; keeping faith by converting PLEDGES into living PERFORMANCE.
2. Fullest possible development of all New Mexico's natural resources. Detailed surveys by competent engineers; exploring and publicizing opportunities for sound capital investment, thus creating new fields for employment of labor, and aiding in stabilization of the state's economy.
3. Removal of restrictions on private enterprise.
4. No new or troublesome forms of taxation or regulation.
5. Elimination of "science measures" in every possible instance.
6. Preferential employment rights for returning war veterans; empowering state labor commission to serve, without charge, as veterans' employment bureau.
7. Compensation of teachers on a parity with that of other endeavors.
8. Improvement of secondary roads in the interest of livestock and farming operations, mining, timber and similar activities.
9. 100% co-operation with the Rataan Relief Organization.
10. Adequate aid—wholly divorced from political consideration—to the aged, needy, and unfortunate of the state.
11. Responsible and responsive state government, dedicated to its function as a group of public servants rather than as a set of political overlords.

IF AS A CITIZEN, have you—especially within recent years—found yourself thinking somewhat along these lines:

"We've still got a democracy—by name—but the real control of government certainly seems to have passed into the hands of professional politicians—I guess there's nothing we can do about it."

"In every election campaign, we get the same old promises. Nobody pays any attention to them any more. When elected, the candidates shelve their pledges to the people. It's always the same story."

"You can't get decent, honest, able men to run for office; they know they wouldn't have a Chinaman's chance against the political machines."

"Why should I take a personal interest in politics—it wouldn't do any good."

"One party's just about as bad as the other. Party bosses fix up the slate, write nice-sounding platforms, control the elections. Then the winners divide up the spoils, distribute appointive offices—and you've got the same mess all over again."

—And have you said to yourself, your neighbors, friends, or business associates:

"With the war and what it means to everybody—wouldn't you think we could scrap 'playing politics' for the duration—and get along with the big job now and the one we'll be facing when it's all over?"

## ABOUT THE MAN HIMSELF

A resident of the State of New Mexico since 1905.

Occupation: President, First State Bank, Gallup, N. M. Began his business career as a news butcher, Santa Fe Railroad. Fired a locomotive for the Old American Lumber company. Worked as a fireman for the China Copper company, Santa Rita, New Mexico.

Worked his way through the University of New Mexico, later to be honored by elevation to the Board of Regents of that institution.

War Service: Enlisted, First World War, serving overseas as Lieutenant, Air Corps of the United States.

Past Post Commander, Palmer-Katner, Jr., Post, American Legion, Gallup, N. M.

Served as President, New Mexico Bankers Association. Served as President, Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, Gallup, N. M.

Former partner in the ownership of the Valencia Sheep Company. Leader in civic, commercial and industrial development of northwest New Mexico.



"Personally, I'm sick of politics and fed-up on politicians—and I think most everybody else is."

"If I thought I could really DO something about it, I'd jump at the chance—and so would almost everybody I know. But what CAN anybody do?"

If you've felt—and now feel—that way about it, you're about to discover this very moment the first real ray of hope, the first sound sign of actual encouragement in state government that has greeted the people of New Mexico in a generation.

If that seems to be too good to be true, if it sounds too impossible to believe, won't you—retaining all your doubts and prejudices—give yourself the chance to prove BY EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS OF PERSONAL INVESTIGATION whether you HAVE finally found just some more political propaganda, or truth that MUST be believed.

That statement must constitute a challenge to every conscientious citizen of New Mexico who has asked himself, concerning state government, "But what CAN anybody do?"

For many years—just as another citizen like you—Glenn Emmons has been thinking the same things you've been thinking about government in this state of yours and his.

He asked himself the same questions you've asked. Like you, he concluded that anything he might try to do personally wouldn't be of much account. While you were getting sick of politics and fed up on politicians—so was he.

New Mexico Needs  
**A FIGHTER**  
**FIT FOR THE**

A Message  
To Good Old  
NEW MEXICO

GLENN EMMONS

The People's Own Candidate for the  
Republican Nomination for  
Governor of New Mexico

Issued by the  
**EMMONS FOR GOVERNOR CLUB**  
State Headquarters, Albuquerque  
808 West Central Avenue

After a quarter-century, during which he never once relinquished the slightest notion of running for any public office of any kind, he came—as you've come—to that final question: "But what CAN anybody do?"

Unlike most of us, he didn't stop there. He found himself face to face with the most ultimate question: "What can I do?"

Staring at him was the fact that in the space of forty years New Mexico and its people—people like you—had brought him from a Santa Fe railway news butcher to a bank presidency, with civic honors and posts of trust and eminence few private citizens could count among their rewards.

His community, his state, and the people of both had paid their debt to him as a fellow citizen.

Thus he found himself confronted with a counter-obligation. He owed them something. He owed them an honest answer to that question of whether decent, honest, able men can afford to run for public office.

He owed them an honest answer to that question: "What can I do?"

His honest answer is his honest offer in the interest of honest government: Glenn Emmons is a candidate for the Republican nomination for the office of Governor of the State of New Mexico.

Figure 1.

Emmons' campaign leaflet from the 1944 campaign for nomination on the Republican ticket.

Emmons declared his campaign as one for the people of the state, aiming at those programs and platforms that would give them the best service and bring about the most improvement in their lives. His efforts to meet with citizens of the state were relatively successful. Mrs. Emmons toured the state with her husband during the campaign, which proved quite strenuous. At the time Jack Dempsey was governor, and the McKinley County democratic machine was very much opposed to his incumbency. They did everything possible to see that Emmons was nominated so that they could throw their support to him in the final election. Dempsey later told him that had Emmons won the Republican spot on the ticket, he would surely have won the election. When the June 6 primary date arrived, Emmons lost by a narrow margin of less than 2000 votes. He later said he has been satisfied with the results.<sup>57</sup> This was not the end of his political career, however, for it blossomed again during the following decade.

During other election years, there were many Republicans who again offered Emmons' name for the primary race for the governorship of New Mexico. An article in a Gallup newspaper stated in 1947 that strong pressure was coming from many sources all over the state for Glenn L. Emmons of Gallup to run again for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. Significantly, those approaches came from influential party leaders who in the previous contest threw their support toward Carroll Gunderson of Grants. Also important was that many Democrats dissatisfied with conditions in their own party voluntarily assured support at the poles in case Emmons should be drafted. This article further stated that:

The local man has thus far replied to inquiries of this kind that he is not a candidate, but his friends are not tak-

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<sup>57</sup>Interview, 1 March 1976.

ing this as final and assert that with a well united party back of him he could be persuaded to undertake the race and could be elected. They base this position on the belief that he could draw more strongly from the large independent vote and from the opposition party than any one yet mentioned. Mr. Emmons has never been identified with narrow party politics, and his aim, if nominated and elected, would undoubtedly be to give the state a sound business administration regardless of partisanship...<sup>58</sup>

Friends called and wrote asking him to announce his candidacy for the Republican nomination, saying, "You are the only [one] that is ever mentioned who would be the number one candidate on the Republican ticket." Emmons, however, remained firm in his determination not to run again, and this determination continued strong in 1953 when Republicans were again looking for a likely gubernatorial candidate. A Santa Fe newspaper reported that "cocky New Mexico Republicans are moving toward next year's elections like a proud chef approaching a table to carve a goose -- but no goose."<sup>59</sup> Emmons was the "goose" which that newspaper suggested, stating:

The very best prospect in the whole New Mexico Republican setup ... and who just might not be reluctant about making the race ... is U. S. Indian Commissioner Glenn Emmons of Gallup.

After a few months of Washington futility dealing with the Civil Service on one side and Congress on the other the governor's job at Santa Fe might look pretty good to Glenn.

... He had excellent prospects of being governor some day before getting the build-up that came with the Indian appointment. By campaign time he should be at top condition for a try at making it three in a row for the Republicans. He is widely known and liked by Demos and Republicans.<sup>60</sup>

There developed a clamor for Emmons to run for the nomination, but in an official statement he replied that although his name had been mentioned for the Republican nomination for Governor of New Mexico, he would not enter the race. Emmons said:

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<sup>58</sup>Gallup Independent, 23 October 1947.

<sup>59</sup>New Mexican, 16 August 1953.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

While I deeply appreciated the confidence in me which is indicated by that mention, I am now in the midst of a very important task entrusted to me by our great President Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay.

We have made long strides in the development of programs for improving the living standards of our Indian people. I am intent on carrying that job to successful completion.

Therefore, not having any political ambitions, I will not entertain any thought of candidacy for elective office.<sup>61</sup>

Whether his reasons for deciding not to run had anything to do with his earlier failure to win the primary election in 1944 is doubtful. It seems that Emmons' first and primary aim was still to serve the community, but by 1953 this community had grown to incorporate all the federally recognized Indian tribes in the United States. It was an honor and privilege for him to serve on the "Eisenhower team," and Emmons intended to devote to that job the full intensity of purpose which he displayed in past endeavors. He was never a man to avoid responsibility or shirk his duty.

In addition to his political participation during the forties and fifties, Emmons was also involved in other areas of community service. From 1928 to 1952 he served on the Board of Directors of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association which was headquartered in Gallup. These twenty-four consecutive years of service were rewarded by the pleasure of serving citizens of the Gallup area and gave him the opportunity to learn more about the Indian communities surrounding the town. He also served one year as president of the association and contributed much of his own time and effort to its work.

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<sup>61</sup>"Statement by Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 1954, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 12, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

During the 1952 presidential election, Emmons was recognized from the first as being an Eisenhower man. Before there was a strong movement supporting General Dwight D. Eisenhower's candidacy for the Republican nomination, Emmons was asked by Mrs. Peaches Mayer, a New Mexico Republican, to serve on that state's "Eisenhower for President Committee." He agreed readily, and as a result was eventually chosen as an alternate Eisenhower delegate to the Republican National Convention held in Chicago.<sup>62</sup> This experience sparked an idea which through hard work and persistence Emmons was able to carry out later in the year.

While living in Washington from 1953 to 1964, Emmons and his wife, Dorothy, remained active in civic organizations. Both were involved in church activities, he serving as a vestryman and she with the women's organizations of St. John's Episcopal Church, commonly known as the "Church of the Presidents."<sup>63</sup> Few were asked to become active in this church's affairs, and the Emmonses were among that select group. Both were popular on the Washington social scene, often giving and receiving invitations for the most exclusive parties and receptions; they even became good friends of Perle Mesta, the "hostess with the mostess." Their other activities included volunteer work for Children's Hospital, fund raising for that and other organizations and worthwhile causes, and, for Glenn, a place on the National Girl Scout Advisory Council.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976; Gallup Independent, 31 July 1952, p. 1; Thomas Campbell to Thomas Stevens, Memorandum, 26 May 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsements, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library; "Temporary Roll of Delegates and Alternate Delegates to Republican National Convention," Chicago, Illinois, 7 July 1953, p. 21, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>63</sup>Interview, 14 May 1976.

<sup>64</sup>Mrs. Frederick H. Brooke to Glenn L. Emmons, 28 February 1958, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 1, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

Upon their return to New Mexico, the National Press Club and the American Newspaper Women's Club released this tribute to their congeniality and interest in civic affairs:

Washington's famous press club, as well as several other major organizations, have suffered severe setbacks as a result of the departure from Washington of Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Emmons.

Book reviews, hatsales, press releases, politics, Children's Hospital, government, and sundry other activities, including the Spanish language, have not been the same.

Current Washington rumor is that they were extradited to New Mexico where they were also wanted.<sup>65</sup>

Upon retirement from the office of Commissioner in 1960, Emmons and his wife at first planned to return to Gallup.<sup>66</sup> Before leaving for the Southwest they intended to do some traveling, and their major plans included a cruise around the world, which they made in 1961. Strikes delayed their departure on the American Presidents Line, but word finally arrived that they would be able to depart from San Francisco in October. There was a convention of the American Bankers Association being held in that city at about the same time; so it was convenient for them to attend the convention until the ship was ready to sail. These arrangements necessitated returning to Gallup for a short time. After finally sailing, they were gone for about one year.<sup>67</sup> On the trip the Emmonsese acquired many lovely antiques which they used to decorate their home in Albuquerque.

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<sup>65</sup>"Office of Dwight D. Eisenhower, For Immediate Release from the National Press Club and the American Newspaper Women's Club, 15 July 1965, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>66</sup>"Emmons Plans Nation Tour After Leaving Indian Job," newspaper unknown, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Interview 10 May 1976.

<sup>67</sup>Interview, 23 February 1976.

Before sailing, Emmons resigned his position as president of the First State Bank, but maintained his position as chairman of the board of directors.<sup>68</sup> This was a difficult decision for Emmons to make, as banking was his first interest, but the thought of semi-retirement and the world cruise which he and his wife had planned must have provided some consolation. At this time he had been president and chairman of the board for twenty-five years and served his depositors, employees, and stockholders well. Emmons declared that after keeping busy for the seven years he resided in Washington that he looked forward to being "the laziest man in the country" for a while.<sup>69</sup>

Plans to retire permanently to Gallup did not materialize for the Emmons. Although they owned ten acres of land on the south side of Gallup, where they originally planned to build a home, they moved to Albuquerque. This proved to be the logical decision since Emmons' bank had been sold. Glenn still had many childhood friends in that city, and a fondness for it remained after almost 47 years absence. Once in their home, they were within a two-block radius of twelve of Glenn's childhood friends.<sup>70</sup>

Washington hostesses gave a number of dinners and cocktail parties as a farewell gesture during the month of October. On November 10, 1964 the Emmons left Washington and stopped to visit Mrs. Emmons' father in Manchester, Iowa. Mr. Hockaday was celebrating his 89th

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<sup>68</sup>"Allan Heads Bank; Succeeds Emmons," unknown newspaper, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Albuquerque Journal, 14 January 1961.

<sup>69</sup>"Emmons Plans Nation Tour After Leaving Indian Job," newspaper unknown, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>70</sup>"Emmons to Reside Here," Albuquerque Journal, 10 October 1964.

birthday on November 14, and Dorothy wanted to see him.<sup>71</sup> When they did arrive in their home in Albuquerque, some of their plans had to change. Originally they intended to create a display room for the artifacts and gifts which Emmons had acquired while Commissioner. Limited space prohibited that; so they donated almost all of his collection to the Navajo Museum of Ceremonial Arts in Santa Fe, which either sold or traded the entire collection.<sup>72</sup> Among the collection were many outstanding items, some of which were extremely rare and unusual. Some of those, which Emmons remembers best, were headdresses given him by many tribes across the nation. There was one from the Eastern Band of Cherokees in North Carolina, which was white and beautifully decorated with ermine tails, presented to him when he was made an honorary chief of that tribe.<sup>73</sup> Another eastern tribe, the Seminoles of Florida, gave him an unusual head-dress, the first ever given to a white man. Now the entire collection remains scattered.<sup>74</sup>

Retirement has not been particularly restful for either Emmons or his wife. Both remain active in community affairs and church-related activities. After the 1968 election Emmons' name was again mentioned for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but eventually Louis R. Bruce was named to the position.<sup>75</sup> Emmons is currently active on the

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976; Unrecorded conversation with Mrs. Dorothy Emmons.

<sup>75</sup>"Glenn Emmons Has Definite Views On How to Solve Indian 'Problem'," Albuquerque Tribune, undated, p. A-4, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

board of managers of the School of American Research, also in Santa Fe.<sup>76</sup>

Whereas most persons take more interest in politics than in active civic affairs, Glenn Emmons has always done just the opposite. His attempt at the Republican nomination for Governor of New Mexico points out his reluctance to leave his community and business affairs behind in Gallup while he moved to the state capital at Santa Fe. Emmons didn't even like campaigning trips which interfered with his true interests; but, after agreeing to run, did his best in the race. He is a man who once committed, remains so and gives his best to whatever endeavor it may be with which he is involved. When his friends called upon him to run for office, accept the position as Commissioner, or serve on a committee, Emmons responded with equal enthusiasm and loyalty. During the decade of the fifties, these qualities appeared evident in both New Mexico and Washington.

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<sup>76</sup>Testimonial Given at Annual Banquet, Gallup-McKinley County Chamber of Commerce, 6 February 1976, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

### CHAPTER III.

#### EISENHOWER IN GALLUP; NOMINATION AND APPOINTMENT

Emmons was closely associated with tribes in the Gallup area, especially the Navajos. Many Indians were personal friends and acquaintances and did business with the First State Bank of Gallup.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this close contact, he was aware that 1952 was the first election in which most of these Indians were able to vote.<sup>2</sup> Emmons felt that if he could arrange for General Eisenhower to visit the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, it would draw many Indian votes for the Republican ticket in the November 1952 election.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, while at the Chicago nominating convention as an alternate delegate, he tried to extend an invitation to Eisenhower. Given the confusion, however, he was unsuccessful. No strategy committee was formed for him to approach, so Emmons returned to Gallup to wait and try again.<sup>4</sup>

Not long after his return Emmons traveled to Santa Fe to discuss the matter with Governor Edwin L. Mechem, seeking a contact with Eisenhower through Colorado's Governor Daniel Thornton. Eisenhower and Thornton were

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<sup>1</sup>Interview, 1 March; 8 March; 19 April 1976.

<sup>2</sup>A 1948 Arizona Supreme Court ruling reversed a 20 year old decision that Indians were "persons under guardianship" and could not vote. However, voting rights came too late for them to participate in that year's elections.

<sup>3</sup>Interview, 26 April; 3 May 1976.

<sup>4</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976; Gallup Independent, 31 July 1952, p. 1

good friends,<sup>5</sup> and Eisenhower had temporary campaign headquarters in Denver, Colorado at the old Brown Palace Hotel. It was there that Emmons was finally able to extend his invitation. Accompanied by Mechem, Emmons flew to Denver where Thornton met both men at the airport. While the three dined at the Palace Hotel, they noticed a group of gentlemen across the dining room, which Thornton identified as the Eisenhower Strategy Committee. They were there in Denver for a breakfast with Eisenhower, scheduled for the following morning. Thornton went to their table and mentioned that Emmons had an interesting plan for them if they would wait upstairs in the headquarters room. They agreed, and it was there that Emmons made his proposal.<sup>6</sup>

When Emmons, Mechem and Thornton talked with the committee, Mechem opened the conversation by stating that they came with an idea which might be of interest to the committee and the General. Senator Fred Seaton then spoke up saying that they were always willing to help their friends, and then asked Mechem if he was not a Taft supporter. Mechem, turning red in the face, declared that the idea was not his, but Emmons', and the group immediately became more receptive and listened with interest to the proposal.<sup>7</sup> Senators Frederick E. Seaton and James H. Duff, and Thornton were impressed with the plan,<sup>8</sup> but it was believed that there might be a prob-

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<sup>5</sup>Folder on Dan Thornton, Personal Files of the General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1916-1952, Box 107, Eisenhower Library. A great deal of correspondence in this folder points to the close personal relationship enjoyed by these two men.

<sup>6</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976; Gallup Independent, 31 July 1952, p. 1. The newspaper only reports that Emmons and Mechem traveled to Denver to approach the Eisenhower staff with the suggestion.

<sup>7</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976.

<sup>8</sup>Gallup Independent, 31 July 1952, p. 1.

lem with the dates of the Ceremonial, and nothing definite was decided. Seaton asked if Senator Richard Nixon might be substituted if Eisenhower were unavailable, but Emmons declined on the grounds that senators were available "a dime a dozen."<sup>9</sup>

On the following day at breakfast the idea was proposed to the General himself, and he agreed to it. Emmons was informed at about eleven a.m. that day by Eisenhower's press secretary that acceptance was tentative, and a definite time and date would be established later. Emmons returned to Gallup, and told the publisher of The Gallup Independent to prepare an "extra" in the event that the call came through. He asked that the news of the visit be kept quiet until plans were finalized and, in this request, received the utmost cooperation from the paper's publisher.<sup>10</sup>

A call came from Seaton on the day following Emmons' return, setting Eisenhower's arrival time at twelve noon on August 10, 1952. Seaton stated that a press release could be made in Gallup, but Emmons asked the Senator to please hold his office's release until the next day so that the Gallup paper could have the "scoop." Seaton agreed, and The Gallup Independent was first to print the news.<sup>11</sup> Newspapers all over the county were quick to pick up the story of the Republican candidate's intended visit to Gallup for the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial. Meanwhile, with the arrival date of General Eisenhower fast approaching, Emmons began to organize the schedule of events.

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<sup>9</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976.

<sup>10</sup>Interview, 26 April; 3 May 1976.

<sup>11</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976.

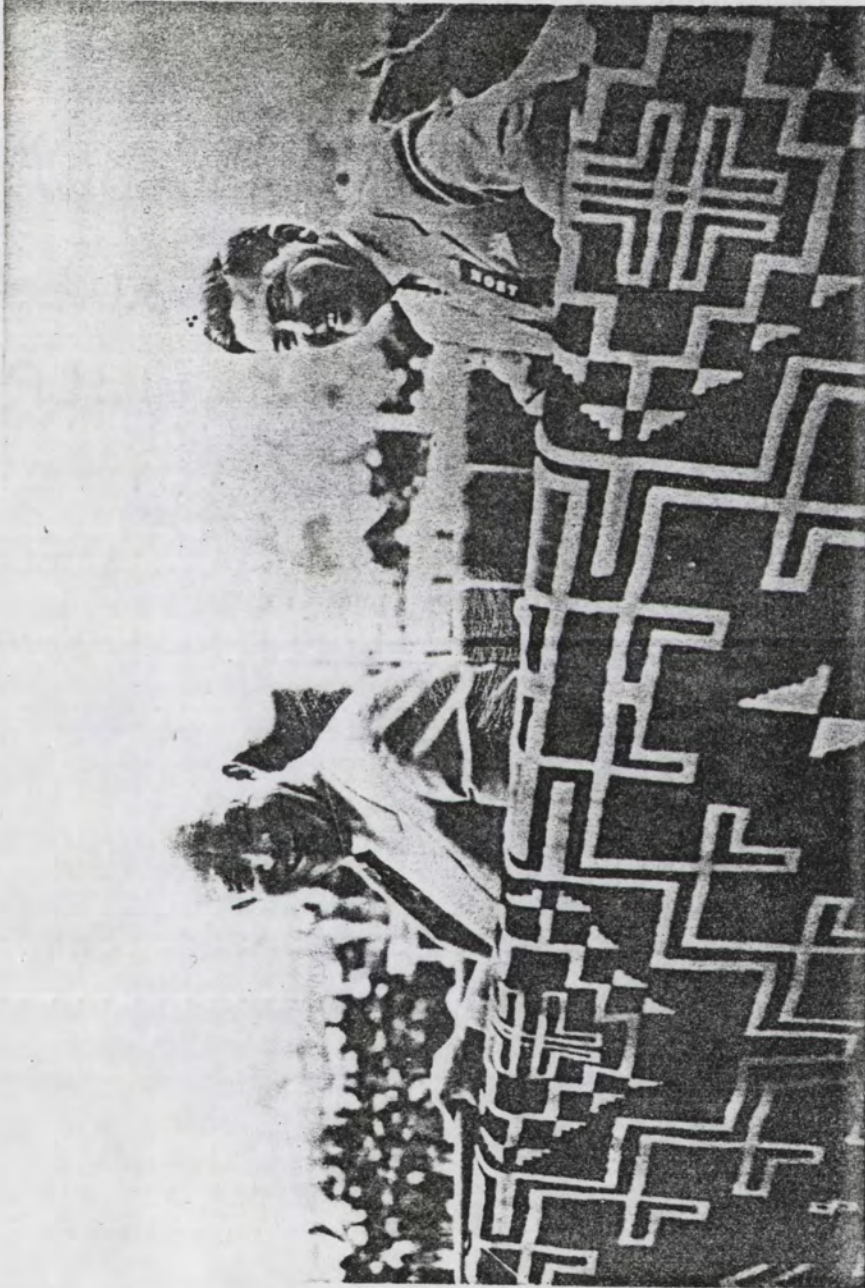


Figure 2.

General Eisenhower and Glenn Emmons on the balcony at the airport in Gallup, on August 10, 1952.

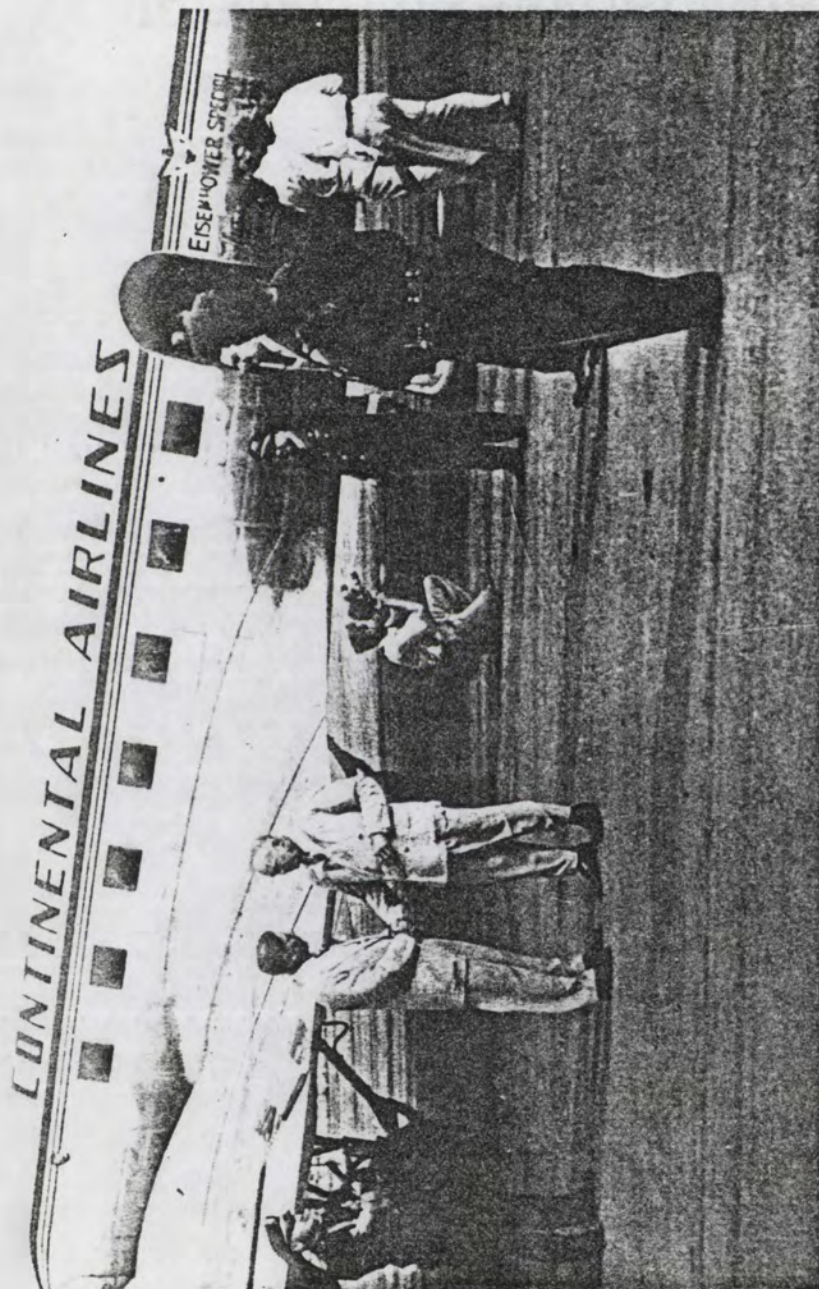


Figure 3.

Emmons saying goodbye to Eisenhower as he left the Gallup Indian Ceremonial.

In past years Emmons had served on the board of the Indian Ceremonial and had held the office of President.<sup>12</sup> In 1952 he and his wife, Dorothy, were the official hosts of the celebration,<sup>13</sup> and, as such, were in charge of the arrangements for Eisenhower's visit. Later Emmons was told by the President himself that his visit to Gallup was the best-organized and most efficiently handled trip of the entire campaign.<sup>14</sup>

There was a great deal of work to do before the General's arrival, and Emmons attacked it with zeal. The Gallup Independent reported that one of his first moves was to inform the ceremonial association which had already known of the plan. He then called in a group of Navajo war veterans to plan a reception, for he wished to have at least 1,500 of the 3,500 Navajo veterans at the airport to meet the general. Other invitations were made, and the governors of Arizona and Utah, who had previously declined to attend because of its being an election year, might wish to change their plans in light of the new developments.<sup>15</sup>

Emmons also gathered together the Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, Sam Akeah, and Pueblo Governors to inform them of Eisenhower's intended presence at the Ceremonial. He rehearsed with them the etiquette and procedures for the receiving line they would form to greet the General at the airport. Sam Akeah was chosen to meet Eisenhower at the steps of the plane and escort him down the receiving line and into the airport building where

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<sup>12</sup>Interview, 23 February; 3 May 1976.

<sup>13</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976; "Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Program, 1952," p. 2, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 2, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>14</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976. According to Emmons he told the same thing to Fred Seaton who in turn relayed it to Emmons.

<sup>15</sup>31 July 1952, pp. 1, 3.

Emmons and the other dignitaries would be waiting to greet him. There were to be no whites among the crowds closest to the plane.<sup>16</sup> Akeah's words of greeting were to be broadcast on a local radio station.<sup>17</sup>

On August 10, 1952, the day of Eisenhower's arrival, Emmons went to the Hotel El Rancho to escort the special visitors to the airport. While there he received a phone call from the Continental Airlines traffic manager who told him that the General's plane was ready to land. Because of strong tail winds the aircraft was already over Gallup at just slightly after eleven a.m. although it was not scheduled to land until noon. Emmons told the traffic manager that the plane could not yet land as the Indians were still unassembled. Many had not yet arrived at the airport as the parade was just over in town. General Eisenhower would have to wait until noon before allowing his plane to land. Later Eisenhower told Emmons that the pilot flew over the Grand Canyon to kill some time, and then at about three minutes before twelve the General said, "I think we can land now. I think this is close enough to suit Mr. Emmons."<sup>18</sup>

A description of the General's arrival was given extensive coverage in many national newspapers. As an article in the New York Times described it, an enthusiastic crowd of 20,000 cheered General Eisenhower when he arrived and drove from the airport to downtown Gallup. Accompanied by Governor Dan Thornton, Eisenhower stepped off his Continental Airlines DC-3 and was welcomed by a Hopi Indian band from Oraibi, Arizona,

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<sup>16</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976.

<sup>17</sup>Operational Schedule: Denver--Gallup--Denver, Sunday, August 10th, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 11, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico. (Hereafter cited, Operational Schedule.)

<sup>18</sup>Interview, 26 April; 3 May 1976.

and several hundred Indians dressed in their native costumes. He was officially welcomed by Sam Akeah, Chairman of the Navajo tribe, and was introduced to the chiefs who were present.<sup>19</sup>

A motorcade was formed at the airport including Eisenhower, Emmons, Governor Thornton, Governor Howard Pyle of Arizona, Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, and Major-General Patrick H. Hurley, the Republican candidate for the Senate in New Mexico. The motorcade left the airport according to schedule, and traveled the ten blocks through the city of Gallup, then continued on to the Hotel El Rancho for a special invitation luncheon. After the luncheon the motorcade departed for the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Stadium where General Eisenhower addressed the assembled crowd.<sup>20</sup>

In his speech Eisenhower stressed his hope that the Indians use their new powers to vote. He also promised that when it came time to choose a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he would consult with the tribes to pick a man whom they endorsed. This promise was remembered by many Indians at Gallup, and Eisenhower was often reminded of it after he took office in January 1953.<sup>21</sup> After his speech, the General returned to his seat and watched the performances of the Ceremonial. Later he toured the exhibit hall where Indian crafts were displayed until it was time to return to the airport for his five o'clock flight to Denver.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>11 August 1952, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>20</sup>Operational Schedule; Appointments and Trips, June 5 through August 31, 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower Files, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>21</sup>Speech at Gallup, 10 August 1952, Benedict, Stephen: Collection of Materials re General Eisenhower's 1952 Campaign, Box 21, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>22</sup>Operational Schedule.

Although this visit was billed as a "non-political" trip,<sup>23</sup> its effects were felt in the area of politics. Many Navajos voted for Eisenhower, and many more registered as Republicans in the Bureau of Indian Affairs-sponsored voter-registration drive held in 1956.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, it was during this visit that Eisenhower came to know Glenn and Dorothy Emmons personally. Emmons felt that this visit had nothing to do with his later appointment as Commissioner and still continues in that opinion.<sup>25</sup> On several occasions Emmons made it clear that if he had known or thought that his appointment to the position of Commissioner had resulted from the Eisenhower trip to Gallup in August 1952, he would most probably have never invited the General in the first place.<sup>26</sup> It is doubtful that Emmons assessed the situation correctly in this case, as the impression which he made on Eisenhower was favorable and lasted far beyond his own expectations.

Eventually Eisenhower defeated Adlai Stevenson for the presidency in November 1952, and almost immediately he was bombarded with letters and appeals from many Indians and Republican party leaders to appoint Alva Simpson, Jr. as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>27</sup> Letters supporting Simpson, who was head of the New Mexico State Welfare Board at that time, came from all over the nation. Indian tribes that endorsed

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<sup>23</sup>Gallup Independent, 11 August 1952, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup>Interview, 26 April; 3 May 1976.

<sup>25</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976.

<sup>26</sup>Interview, 3 May 1976; Unfinished Manuscript, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 5, fol. 15, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>27</sup>Alva A. Simpson, Jr. Endorsements Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library. Many of these letters are dated between the election and December 12, 1952.

him included the Hopi Indian Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of Coville Reservation, the Black Hills Sioux Council, the All Pueblo Council, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation. Simpson also received endorsements from many non-Indians, including Katherine Mayer, Vice-Chairman of the New Mexico Welfare Board, Sidney S. Gottlieb, State Senator from Cubero, New Mexico, and the New Mexico Governor, Ed Mechem.<sup>28</sup>

It was not until December that Emmons' name appeared among those of other candidates, and almost immediately the contest was reduced to one between him and Simpson. Some of the others mentioned for the post included Stephen De Mers of Montana, Harry J. W. Belvin, a chief of the Oklahoma Choctaws, and Ben Reifel, a South Dakota Indian.<sup>29</sup> Emmons' name was first proposed by the Navajo Tribal Council, which released its decision to the press on December 12, 1952, unbeknownst to the new candidate himself. On December 11, 1952, the day previous to that press release, the nine-member Advisory Committee of the Navajo Tribe voted to send their endorsement of Glenn Emmons to all Indian tribes, all Indian welfare organizations, the Governor's Interstate Indian Council, and to "all the people of the United States." Before nominating Emmons in an unprecedented move, the Navajos took only a half-hour to discuss the issue. It was the first time the tribe had ever endorsed a candidate for this post.<sup>30</sup> A full-page advertisement of Emmons' endorsement was published by the Navajo Tribe in many New Mexico papers and copies were sent

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Unknown newspaper quoting Wall Street Journal, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>30</sup>Gallup Independent, 12 December 1952, p. 1.

around the nation, including headquarters of the President-elect.<sup>31</sup>

Emmons was chosen by the Navajos because they knew and trusted him and wanted a true businessman in the office. They were tired of "social workers..., anthropologists..., do-gooders..., reformers..., educators..., experimentors..., bureaucrats..., [and] dreamers."<sup>32</sup>

As the full-page advertisement which the Navajos published stated, Emmons arrived at this status "through dint of hard work and rugged individualism. He does not seek the job. The job sought the man, through the Navajos, who spent long hours with Mr. Emmons to induce him to accept if chosen."<sup>33</sup> This advertisement came as somewhat of a shock to the Emmonses who were on a business trip in Santa Fe when they glimpsed it in a copy of The Gallup Independent. He was a reluctant candidate, for when a Navajo tribal delegation came into his bank to discuss it with him, Emmons at first refused to accept the endorsement they offered. Only after three attempts were the Navajos able to get him to agree to take the post but on the one condition that Eisenhower ask him.<sup>34</sup> Emmons also refused to take part in any active campaigning for the job but did send a telegram to the President-elect in his New York City offices at the Commodore Hotel. Actually the purpose of the telegram was to set a date for

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid; New Mexican, 31 December 1952, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons; Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>32</sup>"A Statement by the Navajo Tribe on the Appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Gallup Independent, 12 December 1952, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Interview, 19 April; 26 April; 3 May 1976. On the second occasion Emmons related to the interviewer that he thought that Eisenhower wouldn't approach him for the job, and felt safe in giving his agreement to the Navajos. He preferred to remain in Gallup with his bank, and was certain that the offer would never come from Washington for the post.

Sam Akeah and a committee of Navajos to meet with Eisenhower in New York to discuss the appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Emmons stated, "I have personally become interested in this post and my name has been formally presented for your consideration by numerous prominent business men and endorsed by the Navajo Tribe."<sup>35</sup>

The drive that the Navajos began for Emmons' appointment mushroomed rapidly as endorsements came from other tribes and individuals began to pour into the Eisenhower offices both before and after the inauguration on January 20, 1953. On January 5, 1953, Laurence F. Lee, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, wrote to Eisenhower urging the appointment of Emmons. In this letter he stated that Senators Arthur V. Watkins and Frank Carlson, as well as Governor Howard Pyle of Arizona had also recommended Emmons.<sup>36</sup>

Another letter of endorsement sent from Frank Stahl at the Intermountain Indian School in Brigham City, Utah expressed the feelings of the Navajos when it stated that it would be advisable to listen to Chief Akeah's appeal for Emmons' appointment. Stahl said that "the Navajo people feel that Mr. Emmons will seek to relieve their poverty and other problems because he has always lived among the Indians and knows their needs quite well."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Emmons to Eisenhower, Telegram, 17 December 1952, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>36</sup>Laurence F. Lee to Dwight D. Eisenhower, 5 January 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, Box 311, General Files 17-B-1, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>37</sup>Frank Stahl to Dwight D. Eisenhower, 9 January 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, Box 311, General Files 17-B-1, Eisenhower Library.

Other endorsements came from persons and organizations that knew Emmons personally or were merely impressed with his other accomplishments. Laurence F. Lee, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, located in Washington, D. C., wrote numerous letters on behalf of Emmons, going to Eisenhower, Arthur E. Summerfield, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, and to others. In one of those letters he stated that Emmons had consented to accept appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, if appointed, only because so strongly urged by numerous leading citizens throughout the Rocky Mountain Area. Furthermore, Lee continued, his service as Commissioner would be a patriotic one at considerable personal sacrifice, while Alva Simpson, who had been conducting a strong campaign for appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, though a respected citizen, was not qualified to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>38</sup>

Lee's letters stirred the White House staff into action during January 1953. Requests were sent to Lee to find names of others who would endorse Emmons, and inquiries were made among New Mexico Republicans concerning Emmons' reputation in that state.<sup>39</sup> Others writing to endorse Emmons included the Cortez, Colorado, Chamber of Commerce, the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, the Society for the Advancement of the North American Indian, the Gallup Chamber of Commerce, Jose E. Armijo, District Attorney for the Fourth Judicial District of New Mexico, Oliver LaFarge, Felix Cohen, Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, D'Arcy McNichol, and numer-

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<sup>38</sup> Laurence F. Lee to Arthur E. Summerfield, 5 January 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>39</sup> White House Memorandum affixed to bottom of Laurence F. Lee to Charles F. Willis, 21 January 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

ous individual Indians as well as entire tribes.<sup>40</sup>

Alva Simpson's endorsements mushroomed, also, as he announced earlier than did Emmons that he would be interested and available for the commissioner's job. Much of the earliest Republican support went to Simpson, and he had the strong backing of Governor Ed Mechem of New Mexico. Emmons was lucky, however, as many of these same Republicans later gave their support to his name, helping to defeat Simpson. Only two protests were registered among all of the Emmons endorsements, and those came from Walter I. Rand and the All Pueblo Council. Rand indicated, as did the Council, that prominent Democrats were sponsoring Emmons. Among the Pueblos this led to fears that the policies of the Democrats that prevailed under the Truman Administration with Dillon S. Myer as Commissioner, would be continued under Eisenhower. Apparently they thought that Emmons adhered to the policies established by the Democratic party, and thus they opposed his nomination as Commissioner. Evidence they marshalled to support their position was that Democratic Senator Clinton Anderson was a strong backer of Emmons and opposed the appointment of Simpson.<sup>41</sup> Other evidence included the support that Oliver LaFarge gave to Emmons, yet did not give to Eisenhower, in an article published in the Santa Fe papers in November 1952.<sup>42</sup> This was proof enough to the All Pueblo Council that LaFarge was a pawn of the Democrats, that Emmons was in the same category,

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<sup>40</sup> Glenn L. Emmons Endorsements Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>41</sup> Clinton Anderson to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Alva A. Simpson, Jr. Endorsement Files, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>42</sup> New Mexican, 2 November 1952. LaFarge supports Adlai Stevenson's candidacy in this article, though he was once an Eisenhower supporter.

and that a grave mistake would result if Eisenhower appointed him to the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>43</sup>

Actually Anderson did support Emmons for the position of commissioner, though he denied taking part in the selection of a Republican for the post. Anderson's Democratic protégé, Ralph Tribb, was appointed to a post in defense production, and the senator was also rather friendly with Albert Mitchell, Floyd Lee, and other top Republicans in New Mexico and Washington.<sup>44</sup> Other evidence points to Anderson's hand in the appointment. On January 13, 1954, after Emmons was appointed and sworn-in, one New Mexico paper stated:

Last year when the White House was trying to select a new commissioner of Indian Affairs, Anderson went to work to get Glenn Emmons, the Republican banker from Gallup the job. New Mexico's state Republican administration was trying to line up Alva Simpson, welfare department director, for commissioner.

Anderson's man got the job. This led many New Mexico politicians to wonder out loud whether New Mexico's Republican governor or New Mexico's Democratic senator had more influence with the White House.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps Mechem might have had more success if he had supported Eisenhower instead of Taft at the nominating convention in 1952.

All during the winter and spring of 1953, letters poured into Eisenhower's offices asking for the removal of Dillon S. Myer as Commissioner, and the appointment of someone new. One of the first of these letters arrived on January 23, barely three days after Eisenhower took office,

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<sup>43</sup>Statement by John Bird, Spokesman for the All Pueblo Council, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>44</sup>New Mexican, 10 March 1953.

<sup>45</sup>Carlsbad Current-Argus, 13 January 1954, p. 2, Glenn L. Emmons Endorsement Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

from the Colorado River Indian tribes.<sup>46</sup> Indians in Arizona voted unanimously against the reappointment of Myer to the post and urged that a qualified person be chosen to fill that position;<sup>47</sup> they were tired of the old administration and its policies. Repeatedly references were made to the promises that the President made during his campaign to consult with Indians before appointing a new commissioner. No one wanted a holdover from the previous administration in that office, and as a result Myer finally resigned, leaving the position open. Competition narrowed to two major contenders, Simpson and Emmons.

It was not long before Alva Simpson, Jr. withdrew his name from the race.<sup>48</sup> New Mexico's governor, Ed Mechem was still unable to give up the battle, and somewhat grudgingly it seems, gave approval for Emmons' name to be officially entered in nomination, asking that when making the appointment Secretary McKay announce the fact that the names of both Simpson and Emmons had been under consideration, and that in view of the withdrawal by Simpson of his name from consideration, the appointment of Emmons was being made.<sup>49</sup>

Clearance was also given by the Republican National Committee and Albert Mitchell, the National Committeeman from New Mexico. Security clearance from the FBI was obtained on May 27, 1953,<sup>50</sup> and little seemed

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<sup>46</sup>Jay Gould to the President, 23 January 1953, Dillon S. Myer Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>47</sup>Memorandum to Charles F. Willis, 12 February 1953, Dillon S. Myer Folder, General Files 17-B-1, Box 311, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>48</sup>Orme Lewis to Charles F. Willis, 9 July 1953, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1953-1955, Office Files 4-B, Box 117, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid, enclosures.

to stand in the way of Emmons' nomination and appointment. On July 9, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay sent a memorandum to the President recommending Glenn Emmons "for approval and nomination..., for the post of Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs."<sup>51</sup> Eisenhower then sent Emmons' name in nomination to the Senate on July 15, 1953, six months after the inauguration. When Emmons was awakened early one morning by a phone call from Washington, asking that he accept the position, he agreed to do so only for a period of two years. After that, he said, he intended to return to his Gallup bank.<sup>52</sup>

Almost immediately newspapers around the nation picked up the story. Oliver LaFarge, a prominent New Mexican, sent a message to Emmons stating:

I am probably happier than you are over your appointment as commissioner of Indian Affairs. You have accepted this position in a spirit of service, you have not campaigned for it in any way, and the Indians who have asked for your appointment have done so in full sincerity...<sup>53</sup>

Trouble was brewing for the new appointee, for on July 16, when the Chief Clerk of the Senate read the nomination of Glenn L. Emmons for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Senator William Langer, Republican from North Dakota, asked that the nomination be passed over until the following day. He stated:

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<sup>51</sup>Douglas McKay to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Memorandum, 9 July 1953, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1953-1955, Office Files 4-B, Box 117, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>52</sup>Interview, 23 February; 19 April; 26 April. At the end of those two years Eisenhower asked Emmons to stay on in the office. He agreed to do so for one more year. This pattern continued until Emmons resigned in 1961.

<sup>53</sup>New Mexican, 15 July 1953.

The reason is that we have had one Indian Commissioner after another, all coming from New Mexico. We have Indian agencies all over the United States, but every single Commissioner I can think of since I have been in the Senate has been from New Mexico. They seem to be unsatisfactory after they get in.<sup>54</sup>

Accordingly the nomination was passed over and on July 18, 1953, the subject again arose in a discussion over the Menominee Termination Bill. At that time Langer insisted that the Emmons nomination should not be confirmed by the Senate.<sup>55</sup> Then on July 20, Langer again stated his objections to the nomination of Emmons as commissioner, this time producing several telegrams from various tribes which objected to the President's selection of Emmons. "I desire to serve notice now that when the nomination comes before the Senate for consideration," Langer stated, "the senior Senator from North Dakota will fight against it with every ounce of energy he possesses."<sup>56</sup>

Senator Anderson from New Mexico rose to defend Emmons' nomination, but Langer hinted that in his possession he had against Emmons, "charges, which, in my opinion, will shock the distinguished Senator from New Mexico." Debate continued, and it was finally decided that the nomination should be returned to committee for further hearings and testimony.<sup>57</sup> Complaints grew that the first set of hearings, held on July 15, were not long enough, nor announced to those senators interested in attending. Lasting

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<sup>54</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 16 July 1953, Congressional Record 99:9148.

<sup>55</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 18 July 1953, Congressional Record 99:9410.

<sup>56</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 20 July 1953, Congressional Record 99:9475.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid, pp. 9475-9477.

only one hour and five minutes, the first hearings were held on the same day that the nomination was presented to the Senate for confirmation.<sup>58</sup> This was done to facilitate Emmons' schedule, as he was in Washington and anxious to return to Gallup to complete some business and tie up some loose ends before moving to Washington. Four days later on July 24, the nomination was returned to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for a hearing to be held on July 28. Langer again objected to the nomination, this time on the grounds that appropriate notice of the first hearings had not been made public.<sup>59</sup>

During the hearings on July 28, Emmons came under fire from not only Langer, but also Senator Dennis Chavez, a fellow New Mexican, as well. Chavez opened the questioning by quizzing Emmons about his stand on terminating relations between the federal government and Indian tribes. Citing the recent introduction of the Menominee Termination Bill, he inquired of Emmons his stand on the issue, asking if he "hoped to free the Indians, providing they were in a position to participate in that freedom." Emmons replied favorably to his question, asserting that he would do so "as soon as it could be done."<sup>60</sup> Senator Chavez seemed to be aggressive in his questioning, as though he was not in favor of the appointment. This was probably a reaction to political pressures Anderson exerted in acquiring the original nomination. In Albuquerque one newspaper reported that it was

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<sup>58</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on the Nomination of Glenn L. Emmons to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 15 July 1953.

<sup>59</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 24 July 1953, Congressional Record 99:10041-10044.

<sup>60</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on the Nomination of Glenn L. Emmons to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 28 July 1953, p. 19.

something of a jolt to New Mexicans to learn that President Eisenhower's nomination of Glenn Emmons as Commissioner of Indian Affairs was meeting opposition in the Senate.

"Opposition is coming chiefly from Senator Langer, the maverick Republican from North Dakota, who is apparently being supported by New Mexico's Senator Dennis Chavez," the newspaper stated, "the suspicion is that Langer was grooming his own man for the job. As for Chavez, Senator Clinton P. Anderson has been a strong booster for Emmons. That is often enough to turn Chavez against a man."<sup>61</sup>

These two senators comprised the main resistance to the Emmons appointment. Several tribes objected, but the majority remained neutral or were included in the Emmons camp. As Anderson stated in defense of the choice of Emmons for the position:

The appointment was made on the basis of careful consultation on the part of an Assistant Secretary of the Interior and much checking with Indian tribes throughout the United States... I do not in the slightest question the right the Senator from North Dakota may have to say that there are Indians who will oppose the nomination of Mr. Emmons... The best testimonial for him I know is that the Indians who live in his neighborhood think he is a fine man...

...This time there was the most careful search for a Commissioner of Indian Affairs that has been made in the history of that office in this country... During the campaign last fall, the Republican candidate for the Presidency went into the Indian country and promised the Indians that they were to be consulted in the selection of an Indian Commissioner.<sup>62</sup>

Anderson stated that Indians of Arizona, Oklahoma, "and many other places," were consulted on the nomination.

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<sup>61</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, 29 July 1953, editorial page.

<sup>62</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 20 July 1953, Congressional Record 99:9476.

Chavez continued to question Emmons asking about his stand on the economy of various reservations. Emmons favored promotion of tribal industries for increased employment and better sources of livelihood for reservation Indians, "with whatever economy might be suitable to that particular tribe."<sup>63</sup> Chavez asked Emmons about his stand on those bills and practices relating to termination, and Emmons became more evasive in answering, seemingly to avoid a conflict of opinion which seems to have existed, since Emmons did not agree wholeheartedly with Chavez's support of termination. When Chavez inquired about his feelings concerning the pending bill, H. R. 4985, which would allow any tribal member to take his own share of tribal assets and use them separately from the rest, Emmons backed off declaring that more study of the bill was in order.<sup>64</sup> Seemingly Emmons did not favor such a bill, although at that time Senators Chavez and Arthur V. Watkins of Utah expressed their desire to see it passed.

Quoting Emmons' statement to the press that he wished to "liquidate the trusteeship of Indians as quickly as possible," Chavez asked if this proposal included cutting down on some government services. Emmons replied:

Absolutely not, Senator. It is my feeling that the Government must carry out its obligations for education and hospitalization and medical services. The fact is that under the terms of certain treaties we are obligated to do that. The word of the United States Government demands that we take care of their education. And, furthermore, I think that the educational program has got to be facilitated, to make it possible for these Indians to become thoroughly competent to handle their own affairs.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on the Nomination of Glenn L. Emmons to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 28 July 1953, p. 18.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

Instead of questioning Emmons, Senator Watkins introduced a message from the Navajo Tribal Council, which reaffirmed their support of Emmons' nomination. They declared that the telegram which Langer received from Frank George, which was unfavorable to Emmons, should be disregarded as George purported to speak for the National Congress of American Indians although he was no longer director of that organization.<sup>66</sup> Then Anderson inserted a message of similar nature into the hearings records, from Delfido Aquino, Governor of San Juan Pueblo. That telegram reinforced the support of the Navajos, stating:

News reports and wire of J. J. Montoya reporting all Pueblo Indians opposed G. L. Emmons as Indian Commissioner are grossly in error. Montoya was not at meeting and Emmons approval was not discussed. San Juan Pueblo Council heartily endorses and wants Emmons for the position of Indian Commissioner.<sup>67</sup>

Numerous other messages were inserted by Anderson, all defending Emmons against the attacks made upon him by Langer. These came from private citizens, businesses and organizations in New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado.<sup>68</sup>

Langer, arriving late, then began questioning Emmons. He declared that he had received "one or two ... telegrams ... so scurrilous, attacking Mr. Emmons' morals, that ... [he] did not put them in [the record] ..." but gave them to the chairman of the Republican Policy Committee.<sup>69</sup> These telegrams were never introduced during the hearings, however, and

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-43. A total of 73 letters and telegrams were submitted by Senators Anderson, Goldwater, and Barrett at this time, most of which were Anderson's.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

their existence was even then doubted. Langer did ask Emmons if he had ever been "party to embezzling \$60,000" while cashier of the First National Bank of Gallup. Emmons declared that it was untrue, but Langer continued to press, asking, "well, was there a shortage?" Again, Emmons said no.<sup>70</sup> These questions dealing with the charges Langer claimed to have in writing against Emmons, stemmed from a loan that John Emmons made from then Senator Bronzon Cutting of New Mexico. Those funds amounting to \$40,000 were deposited by John Emmons in a bank he owned in Durango, Colorado to bolster the cash position of that institution.<sup>71</sup> Confusion existed, and Langer charged that Emmons had been party to a \$60,000 embezzlement or bank shortage. There was "evidence," he asserted, that this occurred sometime in the late twenties or early thirties, and that the loan had never been paid off. Langer was correct about this last accusation, but the reason the loan was never paid in full was due to the death of Cutting and the subsequent action taken by his heirs in releasing the Emmonses from their obligations to the estate. Cutting's will contained other such stipulations, and the heirs honored these as well as extending the principle to the Emmons debt.<sup>72</sup>

Langer seemed to be searching for some means of stopping the confirma-

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>71</sup>Casper Tribune-Herald (Wyoming), 29 July 1953, p. 12; Portland Oregon Journal, 28 July 1953, p. 10; Albuquerque Tribune, 28 July 1953, p. 1, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Scrapbook C, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>72</sup>Davis Polk Wardell Gardiner & Reed to Mr. John J. Emmons, Glenn Emmons and C. P. Nolan, 18 December 1937, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons. Mr. Emmons has in his possession, not only this letter from the Cutting estate lawyers, but also the cancelled promissory notes in question, which total \$40,000. All are signed by John J. Emmons, Glenn L. Emmons, and C. P. Nolan, and are endorsed by the First National Investment Corporation.

tion and next began to inquire about the publicity given the nomination. Pointing to a full-page advertisement taken by the Navajos in several New Mexico papers, Langer asked Emmons if he or any of his family helped pay for it. When the answer was no, he continued to inquire if Emmons had put up any of his friends to send favorable telegrams to various Washington officials or asked that they send some of those messages just placed in the hearings records. Emmons again stated that he had not.<sup>73</sup>

Finally Langer declared, "All I am interested in is this bank deal. If that is cleared up, I intend to vote for Mr. Emmons."<sup>74</sup> C. E. Mann was then called in to testify. A retired druggist from Artesia, New Mexico, Mann was the receiver of the First National Bank of Gallup when it closed in 1934. At the request of Senators Chavez and Hatch (formerly Senator from New Mexico), he was appointed receiver, as he knew none of the parties involved and the action taken would have no political connections. Mann testified that upon his arrival in Gallup he had a wire from Washington, from the Comptroller's Office, to check certain items. It referred to United States Government bonds below par, and the Banking Department would like to have enough funds to bring them up to par. Stocks were sold by the bank officers to put into the bond fund. "That was the charge of embezzlement that had been made prior to my going over there," Mann stated, "and my report was to that effect. I found no shortage. I didn't find any irregularities." One hundred cents on the dollar was paid to the depositors, and in nine months and nine days, he collected 100 cents of the dollar for

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<sup>73</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on the Nomination of Glenn L. Emmons to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 28 July 1953, pp. 46-48.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

every note in the bank. Everyone was paid off on February 9, 1935.<sup>75</sup>

When Senator Langer asked Mann, "you saw no record indicating that any crime had occurred?", the reply was affirmative. Mann further stated that the bank should never have been closed.<sup>76</sup> Corroborating evidence was also submitted to the Committee by Senator Barry Goldwater in the form of a letter from H. F. Mills, Manager of the Shattuck Denn Mining Company. When the bank closed, he was chairman of the committee formed by the bank's seven largest depositors, and he, too, stated in writing that the bank should never have been closed.<sup>77</sup>

Another witness was J. D. Coggins, a national bank examiner sent to Gallup to investigate the Emmons bank. He, too, found no embezzlement and declared that no factual charges were ever leveled against John or Glenn Emmons regarding either embezzlement or bank shortages.<sup>78</sup> Langer still remained unsatisfied in the face of the testimony provided. Senator Thomas H. Kuchel of California, remarked, "it is a somewhat shocking thing to have an allegation made involving the commission of a crime by an individual who is not prepared to furnish proof."<sup>79</sup> Langer insisted that his informants were willing to testify, but made no excuses for their absence from the hearings.

More messages favoring Emmons were introduced and placed in the record. Three character witnesses from Gallup, all traveling at their

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 72-74.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 71

own expense, testified on Emmons' behalf. There were two witnesses who expressed dissatisfaction with Emmons' nomination, but were unable to produce any evidence which would satisfactorily block the appointment. Orme Lewis, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, was the last witness called, and he reaffirmed his earlier testimony. At that time he stated that he had personally interviewed representatives from approximately 75 percent of the federally recognized Indian tribes. Lewis assured the Committee that great care had been taken in the selection of Emmons name for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Langer was finally convinced that Emmons was suitable, and oddly enough, the two men became fast friends after the hearings. After much controversy and unfavorable publicity, Senator Henry Jackson commented on the injustice done to Emmons,<sup>80</sup> and the appointment was unanimously endorsed by the committee. It was later approved by the full Senate. August 10 was the date set for the swearing-in ceremony of Glenn L. Emmons as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

This somewhat routine set of hearings and the appointment of Emmons were more significant than has been previously noted. Mistakenly, the senators, who approved Emmons' nomination, believed that he was as rabid a terminationist as their own records proved them to be. Actually, Emmons despised the word "termination," and his primary concern was not that of ending the federal trusteeship relation with Indian tribes, but to raise standards of living on the reservations so that Indians could decide for themselves how their future would progress. This attitude did not preclude his hopes that someday all Indians would not have to depend upon the

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

government for their needs. Emmons was in favor of the eventual phasing-out of the Bureau of Indian Affairs services as Indians were educated and became economically sound enough to handle their own affairs.

Termination as used by the senators on the Committee of Interior and Insular Affairs, was a term used to describe a quick and final severing of ties between the federal government and Indian tribes. In their haste to accomplish this end, they often neglected to insure that the tribes were ready for this step, as Menominee termination later proved. They were not primarily concerned with education and economic advancement first, but were willing to terminate and hope that those two things would develop later. This, of course, did not occur, and Emmons was well aware that the BIA could not put the "cart before the horse" like that and hope to meet with success. Therefore, in a very real respect, his appointment marked the eventual end of the termination policy, as his programs served to increase government involvement with Indian tribes, and eventually pointed to the fact that the majority of tribes were not ready to break away from government support and protection. Emmons, however, never actively fought to block termination.

Emmons' appointment was unusual and interesting in another respect, as it marked a bi-partisan effort to appoint a nominee for a traditionally partisan position. In the past, the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs had been a political plum for a faithful party member. In this case, Emmons himself was not a partisan nominee, for he had played both sides of the political game, and had many friends and supporters among both the Republican and Democratic parties. Senator Anderson's support and Governor Mechem's opposition to his nomination are indicative of the topsy-turvy forces behind the nomination. Furthermore, indications of Mechem's

meddling in the nomination also point to a very strong possibility of either he or some other New Mexican closely associated with him, being responsible for the initial messages sent to Langer. A friend of Emmons', Dr. Phillip Lee Travers, wrote to him in September 1953 about the political problems of a mutual friend in Santa Fe, stating, "[he] told me where the letter to Langer came from -- he certainly knows a great deal of the inside workings of politics in this state."<sup>81</sup> This insinuation that Mechem either sent the letter or had someone else send it presents another interesting insight into both Emmons' nomination and the strange workings of not only Democratic, but also Republican forces in the state of New Mexico.

Certainly the import of the Eisenhower trip to the Gallup Indian Ceremonial in August 1952 cannot be overlooked. Emmons was active in the Eisenhower success among the Navajos, and Indians in general, primarily through this visit which he instigated and arranged with his customary skill and efficiency. Emmons' basic personality reflected these character traits and was at least partially responsible for his nomination by the Navajos, to whom he always showed the utmost courtesy and respect in his banking and business affairs.

Whether these things qualify any individual for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs is uncertain, but they are at least as good an indication of competency as was used in the selection of any previous candidate for that office. An interest in the welfare of Indians was basic to Emmons' appointment but could not be asserted in many previous appointments made by other administrations, which was another factor weighing in

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<sup>81</sup>Phillip Lee Travers, M.D. to Glenn L. Emmons, 10 September 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 2, fol. 1, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

Emmons' favor. All of these things, in addition to the programs instituted under the Emmons administration of the BIA, must be taken into account when evaluating the effectiveness of his commissionership. When this is done, the conclusion can be that he has not been treated fairly by many scholars viewing Indian policy during the Eisenhower administration.

## CHAPTER IV.

### COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

On August 11, 1953 the New York Times reported on the swearing-in of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn L. Emmons. Floyd E. Dotson, Chief Clerk of the Interior Department, administered the oath of office on August 10, with about fifty persons in attendance at the ceremony held in the office of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay.<sup>1</sup> Emmons later recalled that during the ceremony it suddenly occurred to him that it was exactly one year after he had hosted Eisenhower at the Gallup Indian Ceremonial.<sup>2</sup>

Emmons had been reluctant to leave his bank in Gallup but felt it was his duty to respond to the summons by Eisenhower. Previously, during the second Senate hearings on his nomination, he stated, "I ... thought if a man was chosen for a job like this, it was a challenge and his duty, as a good American, to answer the call." Comparing it to being called into "military service" or "court duty," he continued to say: "It was just as much of a mandate in the same sense of the word."<sup>3</sup> Reflecting that philosophy, Emmons still views it in the same light, feeling that if called

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<sup>1</sup>New York Times, 11 August 1953, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Interview, 26 April; 3 May 1976.

<sup>3</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearings on the Nomination of Glenn L. Emmons to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., 28 July 1953, p. 85.

upon to serve one must, as a good citizen, do so.<sup>4</sup>

Emmons was prepared to assume the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs with a plan of action already in mind. Years of association with individual New Mexico and Arizona Indians had its effect upon him, and before he took office Emmons was familiar with many of the problems which they faced. Aware that the needs of these Indians varied from other tribes across the nation, he was still able to see three major problems which most faced in varying degrees and proportions. These three problems were poor education, poor health conditions, and poor economic development, and he planned to attempt their solution while in office.<sup>5</sup> Although claiming to oppose the current practice and Congressional objective of terminating tribal trust status, these three policy goals tended to express a continuum of current governmental policy vis á vis Indian tribes.

Emmons desired self-supporting tribes, but saw that for most this status was far in the future, and immediate goals were of necessity more realistic than those set by the Congress. To Emmons the word "termination" was anathema, and he preferred calling his proposed program "readjustment with security," hoping to avoid the bad connotations arising from the popular Senate term. He never referred to his administration's programs as programs of termination if it was possible to avoid using that word.<sup>6</sup>

Before he could even consider putting his plan for "readjustment with security" into effect the three problems which concerned him most had to be solved. Department of Interior priorities also had to be met, and these

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<sup>4</sup>Interview, 19 April; 26 April 1976.

<sup>5</sup>Interview, 22 March; 10 May 1976.

<sup>6</sup>Interview, 22 March 1976.

included an intensive survey of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Interior officials planned to make such a study of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) organizational structure as well as its policies and programs even before a commissioner was chosen.<sup>7</sup> In accordance with this plan, a survey team was formed in October 1953. Directed by Orme Lewis, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, it was to give special attention to the organizational structure of the Bureau, operating policies and procedures, including fiscal matters, delegations and redelegations of authority, and legislative authority for BIA programs. This team was also requested to "give special attention to the status and development of programs for the Indians to take over responsibility for their own affairs, and the relation of the Indians to state and local governments."<sup>8</sup>

One of the primary policy goals, to bring about tribal independence of the Bureau, was obvious in a statement made by the Secretary of the Interior. During the first part of 1953, he stated:

Federal responsibility for administering the affairs of individual Indian tribes should be terminated as rapidly as the circumstances of each tribe will permit. This should be accomplished by arrangements with the proper public bodies of the political subdivisions to assume responsibility for the services customarily enjoyed by the non-Indian residents of such political subdivisions and by distributions of tribal assets to the tribes as a unit or by division of the tribal assets among the individual members, which ever [sic] may appear to be the better plan in each case. In addition, responsibility for trust properties should be transferred to the Indians themselves, either as groups or individuals as soon as feasi-

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<sup>7</sup>Orme Lewis to John Gates, Sr., 30 April 1953, Indian Office Administrative File No. 5-11, General Files 1937-1957, Part 18, Temp. File No. 2, Record Group 48, National Archives.

<sup>8</sup>Memorandum from Orme Lewis to Survey Team Members, 5 October 1953, Indian Office Administrative File No. 5-11, General Files 1937-1957, Part 19, Record Group 48, National Archives.

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At this same time he continued to say that "rehabilitation legislation can best be adopted by a single measure," but in the interim it might be necessary to "adopt rehabilitation measures for individual tribes or areas."<sup>10</sup> The primary goal of Commissioner Emmons was to enact programs designed to eventually bring tribal groups to a level whereby they would be able to support themselves with minimal federal assistance. Contrary to stated BIA policy Emmons neither favored or forwarded that policy. Having always maintained a dislike of the termination policy, Emmons carefully avoided facing the issue directly while commissioner. He seldom testified before Congressional committees on the issue of termination. Instead he sent Rex Lee to present the BIA point of view, which seems to have diverged measurably from his own personal feelings. There is a noticeable absence of definite statements by Emmons about termination, and the few that do exist refer to termination at some distant time after Indians became prepared educationally and economically.

When Menominee termination plans reached fruition in 1954, Emmons did nothing to block the bill. Blocking action of any sort would most probably have failed to be effective with Congress, since Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah, and others, had already decided to implement a termination policy. That policy originated before Emmons became commissioner. It was established under Harry Truman's and Dillon Myer's administration. Emmons may have been successful, however, in approaching Eisenhower and

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<sup>9</sup>W. J. Dougherty to O. M. Yeager, 29 May 1953, Indian Office Administrative File No. 5-11, General Files 1937-1957, Part 18, Temporary File No. 2, Record Group 48, National Archives.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

asking for a presidential veto. Perhaps because of political considerations he did not take any overt action. After the Menominee Termination Act was passed in 1954, the BIA took a "hands off policy" when plans were being drafted for the implementation of the act. For that reason the tribe sought aid from the state of Wisconsin.<sup>11</sup> Conspicuous uninvolvedness on behalf of the BIA certainly indicates reluctance on Emmons' part to actively implement an immediate termination policy.

Emmons certainly did not institute programs which would lead to rapid termination. Programs which he devised and promoted tended to increase government involvement with Indian tribes. What rapidly became known as the "Emmons plan" was a basic three-point program designed to improve health, education and economy of federally recognized tribes and groups of Indians. Indian health problems were of major importance to Emmons. One of the promises made during his 1944 campaign for the Republican nomination for governor of New Mexico, it was a continued concern in the commissioner's office. On August 5, 1954, Eisenhower approved the transfer of BIA health programs to the United States Public Health Service. This action meant that fifty nine hospitals and other facilities, in addition to about one fourth of BIA health program personnel, were involved in this transfer.<sup>12</sup> Results of this action, which was completed in July 1955, saw an increase in level and effectiveness of health services provided to Indians. BIA health programs were notoriously inadequate, and although under the Public Health Service they were still lacking in some respects, overall improve-

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<sup>11</sup>U. S., Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, The General Economic Situation of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, submitted to the House Committee on Appropriations, and the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 6 April 1973.

<sup>12</sup>S. Lyman Tyler, A History of Indian Policy (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 181-182.

ments in health care were very encouraging. Many tribes feared this move was the beginning of "piecemeal termination" but soon realized that their fears were groundless as services improved in quality.

Emmons was not responsible for initiating the idea of transferring Indian health services to the U. S. Public Health Service. As early as 1919 the transfer had been contemplated by Congress, but was rejected by the BIA and Public Health Service on the grounds that it was undesirable or impractical. Similar attempts were made to effect the transfer again in 1930, but also failed.<sup>13</sup> Under the BIA the Indian health program was subject to non-professional administration, as well as staffing problems. Indian populations were too small to generate economically sound use of BIA health facilities, whereas under the Public Health Service facilities would attract other groups of persons and be put to better use. More personnel, facilities and funds were at the disposal of the Public Health Service, and as a result better overall service was made available to Indians. Despite warnings of administrative upheavals, Indian health services were transferred to the U. S. Public Health Service with the general feeling that benefits would exceed problems.<sup>14</sup> (General improvements may be seen in the following figure.)

Through this transfer, reservation health care began to approximate more nearly that care received by non-Indians in the United States, but still lagged some twenty years behind the overall population. Step one of Emmons' plan was accomplished, or at least set in motion by 1955. Educa-

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<sup>13</sup>U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), Public Health Service, Office of the Surgeon General, Division of Public Health Methods, Health Services for American Indians (Washington, D. C., 1957), p. 94.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid, pp. 95-96.

# PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

## Health Improvements

CY 1955-1971 Percent Decrease

### Death Rates

Infants _____	62
Under 28 days _____	45
28 days - 11 Months _____	71
Maternal _____	54
Influenza & Pneumonia _____	57
Certain Diseases of Early Infancy _____	81
Tuberculosis, All Forms _____	88
Gastritis, etc. _____	84
Congenital Malformations _____	43

### Incidence Rates

New Active Tuberculosis Cases _____	39
Trachoma _____	64

## Increased Use of Services

FY 1955-1972 Percent Increase

Hospital Admissions _____	104
Percentage of Babies Born in Hospital _____	12
Outpatient Visits _____	391
Dental Services _____	369

Figure 4.

Program Accomplishments Since the Establishment of the Indian Health Service.\*

\* U. S. Department HEW, Public Health Service, Indian Health Service, Indian Health Trends and Services, DHEW Publ. No. (HSA) 72- 12,009 (1974) p. 2.

tion and economic improvements were not accomplished as readily, and required more intensive study and organization.

Emmons accomplished much of this study himself by making his office open to Indian requests and input and traveling extensively among tribes all over the nation, including Alaska. Shortly after assuming office in 1953, Emmons received a message from Eisenhower requesting that Emmons visit major tribal groups to ascertain their problems and wishes so that policies and programs could be shaped with "realistic understanding."<sup>15</sup> Emmons left on September 5 to begin his tour at the Cherokee National Day festivities in Tahlequah, Oklahoma,<sup>16</sup> and from there continued his tour around the country. Resultant discussions with tribes confirmed Emmons' hypotheses concerning tribal needs. Demands for better education and economy were numerous.

Educational problems ran rampant among almost all tribes, especially those on large or remote reservations. Emmons was familiar with the problems on the huge Navajo reservation where population was scattered and there were not enough schools. Many Navajo children were not in school at all, and those that were attending schools did so at a great distance from home, thus alienating them from their own tribal customs and identity. A Washington, D. C. paper described Emmons' activities in aid of Navajo education with praise when it stated that 14,000 Navajo<sup>17</sup> children were not in school until Emmons began using a supplemental appropriation

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<sup>15</sup>Unfinished Manuscript, Copy of letter Eisenhower to Emmons, 2 September 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 5, fol. 15, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>16</sup>New York Times, 6 September 1953, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Scrapbook C, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>17</sup>This figure is slightly higher than BIA statistics.

by Congress to decrease that number. Day schools were converted to boarding schools, makeshift schools were hastily constructed from quonset huts, trailer schools were put into use, and public school systems were requested to admit Indian children.<sup>18</sup>

When Emmons took office in 1953 there were over 26,000 Indian children between the ages of six and eighteen years not attending school. Of these, approximately 13,000 were Navajos. Of a total of 27,106 Navajo children of school age, this meant that 48 percent were not attending any type of school.<sup>19</sup> Through programs of an experimental nature, Emmons attempted to solve this problem as rapidly as possible. Debate raged in Congress when he asked for an additional \$3 million appropriation after the regular budgeting had allowed \$11 million for Indian education. Congressman John J. Rhodes of Arizona championed this request for greater funding, citing the unique problems faced by Navajos due to the immensity of their reservation. Because of the nomadic nature of many Navajo families, when a child was living near a school he attended, and when at another part of the reservation distant from a school, the child was absent. Emmons, he noted, had already begun to solve the problem by instituting a system of trailer schools which were portable enough to change location as did the Indian population, and would result in placing 3,000 to 4,000 Indian children in school almost immediately. Secondly, Rhodes noted, the programs which Emmons attempted would place Navajo children in schools located along reservation borders. Since many of these cities tended to

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<sup>18</sup>Washington Star, "The Sunday Star Magazine" (Washington, D. C.), 5 May 1957, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup>U. S. Department of the Interior, BIA, Branch of Education, Statistics Concerning Indian Education: Fiscal Year 1953 (Lawrence, KA: Haskell Institute).

be small, they needed federal support to provide additional space for these Navajos.<sup>20</sup>

Despite provisions of the Johnson-O'Malley Act, which provided federal reimbursement to states for non-taxable Indian lands so that Indian children might attend school, Congress was reluctant to appropriate the requested \$3 million. Excuses were provided by numerous representatives that Congress had never before appropriated money to build school facilities outside of Indian territory, other tribes might demand the same type of aid, this program was a break from traditional Indian service budgeting procedures, and there was no guarantee that the program would work.<sup>21</sup> These not so unusual roadblocks, which were at first strong enough to delay the original appropriation request, eventually gave way to allow Emmons' plan for improved Indian education to go into effect.

Public school systems soon began to admit Navajo and other Indian children after Emmons assured them complete federal funding for additional expenses.<sup>22</sup> Within just a few years, almost all of the 13,000 Navajo children were in school. A system of bordertown dormitories dotted areas around the Navajo reservation. Emergency quarters were set up, sometimes making dual use of gyms and dining areas and other available spaces so that they might be used as sleeping areas until regular dormitories were constructed.<sup>23</sup> Children living in these dormitories were relatively close to home, and were returned there on weekends. By use of this system, they

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<sup>20</sup>U. S. Congress, House, 83rd Cong., 2d sess., 22 July 1954, Congressional Record 100:11452.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid, 11453.

<sup>22</sup>Washington Star, "The Sunday Star Magazine" (Washington, D. C.), 5 May 1957, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup>New Mexican, 28 March 1954, p. 1.

were both accustomed to Anglo society and their own culture as well. Emmons felt the needs of Navajos to learn how to live among Anglos without losing tribal identity. Many Navajos, raised on the reservations and attending all-Indian schools, were unable to face the prospect of dealing with non-Indians on a day-to-day basis, and it was this problem that Emmons hoped to solve along with the basic lack of adequate educational facilities. This was, in effect, an attempt at desegregation of Indian and Anglo schools.<sup>24</sup>

There was a distinction made in this plan between older and younger children. Those below third grade level attended mobile trailer schools, while older students lived in the bordertown dorms.<sup>25</sup> Emmons felt that this was most sensible as young children should not be separated from their families.<sup>26</sup>

A great deal of national publicity was given this program on the Navajo reservation. In some communities Indian children attended public day schools and returned home at night. Results of this program provided greater educational opportunities to Indian children, as the speed with which it went into effect placed numerous children into schools who might not have ever attended under the older system. In 1959 a leading national magazine termed it "the most ambitious program of schooling ever launched for American Indians."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>25</sup>Gallup Independent, Ceremonial Edition, 10 August 1954, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

<sup>27</sup>"The Navajos Feel the Wind of Progress," Reader's Digest, March 1959, p. 206, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

Higher education was not neglected on the Navajo reservation, and a Higher Education Scholarship Fund was established which originally provided 174 scholarships per year to Navajos. This program which the Navajo Tribal Council funded, was a direct result of other generally enlarged and improved BIA educational systems.

By 1955, 87 percent of all Indian children were in some type of school, and of this 35 percent were in federal schools. There was an approximate ten percent overall increase in enrollment over the previous year,<sup>28</sup> certainly indicative of the intensity of Emmons' determination. Tribes represented by these children as well as the children themselves were pleased and grateful for the new opportunities opened to them. In Winslow, Arizona, a new dormitory was named Emmons Dormitory in honor of the commissioner, and its annual open house in April 1960 was dedicated to Emmons.<sup>29</sup> Newspapers of recent vintage have lauded the success of the bordertown dormitory system, which Emmons began in 1954. Twenty-year contracts issued then expired in 1974, but were renewed on a shorter term basis to keep Indian children in public schools. Not only have these dorms been successful in enriching Indian lives, but school directors feel that the presence of Indian children also enriches the environment of the non-Indian children as well.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute, Fiscal Years, 1952-1961); "A New Era For Indian Americans," Facts Forum News, November 1956, pp. 6-7, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>29</sup>Students of Emmons Dormitory to Mr. and Mrs. Emmons, Invitation, undated, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 8, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>30</sup>"'Bordertown Dorms' For Navajo Called Success," 12 October 1974, newspaper unknown, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

Although quality of education cannot be determined by numbers of students in school at any one time, these figures do indicate improved opportunities for many Indian children. At the end of the 1952 fiscal year only 78 percent of the total population of all Indian children were in school. Over the Emmons years this figure rose considerably, reaching a high point of 92 percent in 1958-1959, and leveling off to about ninety percent by the end of 1961. (See Table 1.) During this same period there was a general reshuffling of Indian student population among schools of all types. A general trend of increased use of public schools became evident, while use of federal government schools declined. Other schools, including all types of private and parochial schools, also saw less use by Indians. At the same time there were additional schools built and used on reservations, some boarding and some day schools. In 1952 there were no trailer schools in operation, nor were any hospital schools in use. By 1955 there were 37 trailer schools operating and four hospital schools located in sanatoriums serving a number of reservations. (See Table 3.) All of these improvements in the Indian educational system meant that by the time Emmons left office in 1961 there was a higher percentage of Indian children attending school than ever before.

Several articles appeared in Reader's Digest reporting Emmons' plans and programs. One stated that not only were the young being salvaged, for the inception of an adult education program that stressed English courses included older tribal members in the improved education programs. This program was launched among Florida Seminoles, Arizona Papagos, South Dakota Sioux, North Dakota Chippewas and Idaho Shoshones. Emmons was quoted as saying, "Thousands of Indians are separated from the modern world by a

Year	Total Children Bet. 6-18 yrs.	Total No. in School	%	No. in Gov't Sch.	%	No. in Public Sch.	%	No. in Other Sch.	%	No. not Enrolled	% of Total	No. of Those with No Info.
1952	128,133	99,441	78	36,414	37	52,960	53	10,067	10	28,692	22	(-----)
1953	127,213	100,883	79	36,194	36	54,417	54	10,272	10	26,330	21	(6,649)
1954	128,053	104,470	82	35,586	34	58,855	56	10,029	10	23,583	18	(4,256)
1955	132,171	115,631	87	39,862	35	65,089	56	10,680	9	16,540	13	(6,408)
1956	139,036	122,855	88	39,676	32	71,956	59	11,223	9	16,181	12	(5,870)
1957	141,572	125,555	89	38,295	30	76,250	61	11,010	9	16,017	11	(7,552)
1958	141,581	129,760	92	39,677	30	78,822	61	11,261	9	11,821	8	(3,030)
1959	144,069	131,927	92	38,911	30	81,098	61	11,918	9	12,142	8	(3,179)
1960	145,998	133,316	91	37,377	28	84,650	64	11,289	8	12,682	9	(3,801)
1961	125,450	112,746	90	38,876	34	64,987	58	8,883	8	12,704	10	(3,013)

Table 1.

Distribution of Indian Children Attending School by Type of School and Percent (Excluding Alaskan Natives)\*\*

\*\*Figures Compiled from: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kan.: Haskell Institute, Fiscal Years 1952-1961) /10  
separate publications/.

Year	Total Children	Total in School	% in School	Total Not in School	% Not in School
1952	26,336	13,135	50	13,201	50
1953	27,106	14,106	52	13,000	48
1954	27,362	15,501	57	11,861	43
1955	27,752	22,741	82	5,011	18
1956	29,519	24,163	82	5,356	18
1957	29,585	25,475	86	4,110	14
1958	30,376	26,903	89	3,473	11
1959	31,151	26,859	86	4,292	14
1960	31,743	27,407	86	4,336	14
1961	34,604	28,824	83	5,780	17

Table 2.

Nava'jo Children Between 6-18 years Attending School: Fiscal Years 1952-1961.\*\*\*

\*\*\*Figures Compiled from: U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kan.: Haskell Institute, Fiscal Years 1952-1961) /10 separate publications/.

Year	Boarding Schools		Day Schools				Hospital	Total
	Non-Reser- vation	Reserva- tion	Regular	Trailer	Hogan	Instruc- tional Aid		
	Boarding and Day		Non-Res.		Nava jo Community			
1952	14	17	18/140	0	41	0	0	230
1953	21	34	213	5	36 $\sqrt{2}$	13	0	324
1954	[-- 89 --] including four dorms		[-- 226 incl. four sanatoriums --]					315
1955	16	23 Nav/46	198	37	16	14	4 (san.)	$\frac{11 \text{ Dorm.}}{365}$
1956	15	68	184	29	8	13	4	321
1957	15	64	182	28	3	12	4	308
1958	15	65	177	23	1	10	3	294
1959	15	64	179	18	1	5	3	285
1960	15	62	176	15	0	4	5	277
1961	15	62	170	14	0	4	5	270

Table 3.

Types of BIA Schools: Fiscal Years 1952-1961. (Excluding Alaska)\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*Figures Compiled from: U. S. Department of Interior, BIA, Branch of Education, Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kan.: Haskell Institute, Fiscal Years 1952-1961) [10 separate publications].

language barrier. No wonder they have such difficulty earning a living."<sup>31</sup>

Emmons ran across the problem of adult illiteracy during his tour of tribes in the autumn of 1953. It hit home when he asked an audience of Florida Seminoles deep in the Everglades to raise their hand if they would like to learn to read and write in English. When almost every hand came into the air, he promised to make their group part of the new adult educational program he was devising.<sup>32</sup> Response to the program was overwhelming, and it became successful among those tribes where many could not communicate well in English. It was suggested by leading experts in the field of Indian education that the adult education program concentrate in five areas. These were: personal progress and self-reliance; family life and home improvement; permanent gainful employment; social adjustment and mobility; broadened horizons with the ability to perceive and solve problems of personal and public concern.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to this program, Emmons instituted an adult Education and Vocational Training Program that was designed to meet the needs of those Indians who wished to move off the reservations. Relocation of Indians to urban communities played a major role in his plans to create self-supporting tribes, and adult vocational training played an important role in this program. Indian populations were increasing rapidly and overrunning the reservation space originally designed to house the decimated populations of defeated tribes, following the Indian wars of the last century. For this

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<sup>31</sup>"He's Giving the Indians a Chance," Reader's Digest, March 1957, p. 167, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>32</sup>Interview, 22 March; 10 May 1976.

<sup>33</sup>"Suggested Learnings for Adult Indians: A Beginning Program in Adult Education," 1956, NCAI Records, Box 73, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D. C.

reason government authorities, including Emmons, sought to relieve overcrowded conditions by transplanting portions of the Indian population.

Vocational job training was offered to all interested Indians. Skilled work training was an essential element of the Emmons plan. It not only provided opportunity for off-reservation living but also expanded the reservation job market by creating attractive localities for businesses and industries. Emmons is exceptionally proud of this program, feeling that it aided Indian populations in many localities. It also served to educate women as well as men. While the husband was at a job training center, his wife accompanied him, along with the rest of the family, and received training herself. Indian women fresh from the reservation generally knew little about those conveniences the rest of America took for granted. Electric appliances, refrigerators, and even simple household heating systems were mysteries that needed to be explained. Indian wives needed training in techniques of modern housekeeping, home economics, and other skills they would employ in city or off-reservation living. Without that training, the women would be afraid to leave the reservation by the time their husbands were ready to work off-reservation. Through the method of keeping families united during the job training period, there was a lowered risk of breaking up homes into factions where one partner was ready for off-reservation living and the other not, or, even worse, causing divorce. To Emmons this was a real and relevant concern.<sup>34</sup>

Although relocation was not a success, its concept was sound in terms of Emmons' goal to "release" Indian tribes eventually, and later changes and additions to the program had the effect of improving it somewhat. Re-

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<sup>34</sup>Interview, 10 May 1976.

location was definitely not intended in Emmons' view to be "piecemeal termination" any more than the shift of BIA health programs was. Emmons was only trying to improve personal and tribal living conditions for Indians, to afford them an opportunity to take part in the mainstream society. Even the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) approved voluntary relocation during their 1955 convention.<sup>35</sup> It was certain that Emmons was not in favor of forced relocation and was a strong supporter of making the program completely voluntary. Nor did he initiate the program, which essentially began in 1948 and did not end with the next administration in 1961. Relocation is still very much a part of current Indian policy, but is disguised under various program names. As recently as 1972 it was a part of the Employment Assistance Program, which supposedly opened new avenues in its redirection of resources to improve reservation economies.<sup>36</sup> This "new" goal remains nothing more than a rediscovery of the third part of the Emmons Plan -- economic development. Job skills of the adult educational and vocational training programs were an essential and primary part of this goal. Emmons was trying to provide Indians with a choice other than a meagre existence on the reservation.

As one newspaper stated, principal proposals of the Emmons Plan were reclamation of Indian land wherever possible, promotion of tribal industries, and production of food and livestock for sale by agrarian Indians.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>"Resolution 18," 1955, Records of the NCAI, Box 8, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>36</sup>Lyman S. Tyler, A History of Indian Policy (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, BIA, 1973), pp 271-272.

<sup>37</sup>San Bernadino Telegram, 1 August 1953, editorial page, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Scrapbook C, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

Agrarian pursuits, as is often forgotten, are part of economic development and no less an industry than mining or manufacturing.

In 1955 the BIA began studying industrial development possibilities to increase employment among Indians who did not wish to leave their homes under the relocation program. Originally considerations were directed toward an "Indians only" program, but increased study indicated that area-wide development benefiting Indians and non-Indians alike was necessary. Thus in October 1957 the Branch of Industrial Development was established.<sup>38</sup> Emmons stated that there were two major objectives involved, the first being to get Indian and non-Indian groups working together to create an environment as attractive as possible for future industrial development. Secondly, the new department was to help compile the necessary brochures and fact sheets industrial companies needed to decide whether to locate a plant in a particular area.<sup>39</sup>

Again, this program seemed to concentrate on catering to Indians of the Southwest -- Navajos, Pueblos, and Apaches. In view of the need for employment among the Navajos, their tribal council voted \$300,000 of tribal funds for use in obtaining plants and vocational training. Similar projects were also underway among the Dakota Sioux.<sup>40</sup>

Because of federal expenditures in 1956, this program was important in reducing the costs of the federal government. Emmons said that current yearly costs of maintaining one Indian family on a reservation approximated

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<sup>38</sup>Gallup Independent, 11 June 1959, editorial page.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Los Angeles Examiner, 16 January 1956, p. 24, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

\$1000.<sup>41</sup> Since Indian populations were increasing rapidly it was obvious that soon the federal budget would be unable to finance the BIA and other services for Indians.

In Gallup the Chamber of Commerce made twenty acres of Chamber land available for an industrial site. A baby furniture company which was to employ Navajos was planned for that site.<sup>42</sup> In other areas across the nation tribes were not as fortunate, and either used tribal lands or purchased land upon which to build plants and businesses. On the Navajo reservation there was even more good fortune when oil, uranium and coal deposits were discovered and tapped. In 1953 there were oil leases on only 218,660 acres of Navajo land. Emmons encouraged additional leasing and by 1959 there were 1,594,609 acres leased, bringing fifty million dollars into the tribal treasury with two million more each year from rents and royalties.<sup>43</sup> During 1950 an additional \$800,000 from uranium and coal mining was added to the tribal treasury.<sup>44</sup> In just a few years the Navajos, once one of the poorest tribes in the United States, became one of the wealthiest. In this same trend of using natural resources to their fullest potential, Emmons stressed the best possible use of water resources so that agrarian Indians could remain on their homelands to produce food and livestock for consumption and sale.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>"Chamber Offers Land for Industrial Site," undated, newspaper unknown, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>43</sup>"The Navajos Feel the Wind of Progress," Reader's Digest, March 1959, p. 205, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>First Annual Cherokee National Holiday Program, 6 September 1953, p. 5, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 13, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

During Emmons' administration a number of industries were encouraged to locate on or near reservations, and tribes were encouraged to begin their own enterprises. Many of those tribal businesses either collapsed or changed hands or names. That does not mean that in the long run the Emmons Plan was a failure. On the contrary, the industrial and commercial enterprises have been quite successful. As with any new program, there was a high attrition rate which soon leveled off during the early 1960's when numerous new industries appeared. Before 1962 the program was not large, and fought continuously for acceptance. Industries it first attracted were small, could not afford high wages or salaries, and cries of exploitation arose both on and off the reservations. Claims were raised that tribal employees were being underpaid. Considering that an industry located on a reservation, in the middle of a transportation void could only pay a portion of standard wages in metropolitan areas to their Indian employees, these claims seem unjustified. Distance and costs lowered salaries or the enterprise failed. A BIA official currently involved in the office of Industrial Business Enterprises, admitted that Indians owe a great deal of thanks to Emmons for instituting a program of economic development through industrial enterprises.<sup>46</sup>

A survey taken in 1974 showed that there were 255 enterprises operating which were established with the assistance of the BIA. Of these, one began during Emmons' administration. These businesses employ a total of 6261 Indians, or forty percent of the entire labor force for all of those enterprises. (See Table 4.) These figures indicate a definite improvement in Indian economy, the roots of which extend back to the late 1950's.

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<sup>46</sup>Interview with G. Gordon Evans, Temporary Chief Industrial Business Enterprises, BIA, Washington, D. C., 13 October 1976.

Total Industries	No. Indian Owned*	%	Total Employees	No. In. Emp.	%
255	51	20	15,821	6261	40
*(50% or more of individual or tribal ownership)					

Table 4.

Employment in Enterprises Established in  
Indian Labor Force Areas with BIA Assistance:  
(Including Alaskas Natives)\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*/Figures compiled from: U. S. Department of Interior, BIA, Office of Industrial Business Enterprises, Employment in Industrial and Commercial Enterprises in Indian Labor Force Areas (31 December 1974), unpublished, available from that office./

Economic development was also dependent upon access roads to the reservations. Emmons was aware that in many areas these roads were either non-existent or in such poor condition as to be unusable. In his 1944 campaign for governor of New Mexico, he recognized that this same problem existed in most areas across the state, and not exclusively on the reservations. Part of his economic development program was directed toward solving this problem. In a speech made before members of the Executive Club of Chicago, Emmons linked agricultural development and road building as priorities of the BIA when he stated:

...We are gradually extending soil conservation measures over Indian lands that need protection, putting our land records and our procedures for handling realty transactions in better shape, and developing up-to-date inventories of the Indian timber resources. We are also enlarging and extending irrigation systems, wherever feasible, across the reservation lands, developing new sources of range water supply and building and improving badly needed reservation roads.<sup>47</sup>

This road-building project was apparently a great success, for on the

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<sup>47</sup>Executive Club News, 11 October 1957, p. 3, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 1, fol. 13, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

day Emmons left office in 1961, he received a memorandum from the Chief of BIA Roads Division stating: "More roads and bridges were built under your term as Commissioner than under all other Commissioners combined."<sup>48</sup>

Thus, by 1961 Emmons' three-point program had been implemented. It did bear a close resemblance to, and was harmonious with, the Navaajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Program of April 19, 1950.<sup>49</sup> Emmons' program had a broader base, although many of his programs did cater to the Navajos and other tribes of the Southwest. He did make a point throughout his administration to consult continually with tribes all over the country. In addition to his tour of tribes in 1953, at the direction of Eisenhower, he met with Indian leaders again in 1956 and 1958 to ascertain their problems and ideas for improved Indian services.<sup>50</sup>

During the 1956 tour Emmons faced strong Indian disapproval based primarily in the NCAI. During their 1956 convention, that organization passed a resolution stating that they deplored the tactics of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in not permitting full tribal delegations to attend the meeting he called. Various tribes desired to bring groups of attorneys and secretaries to these meetings, but time and space did not permit their entrance at that moment to the meetings which Emmons desired to remain on an individual basis. In the same resolution the NCAI accused Emmons of misrepresenting Indian views, and expressed disapproval of ad-

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<sup>48</sup>Memorandum from Robert J. Trier to G. L. Emmons, 20 January 1961, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>49</sup>Salt Lake City Tribune, 29 July 1953, editorial page, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Scrapbook C, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>50</sup>General Sessions Conference, 11, 12, 13 December 1956, Federal Records Center Suitland, Maryland; Bureau of Indian Affairs Tri-Area Resources Conference, 27, 28, 29 January 1958, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. (Both are part of BIA-held records.)

ministration policies.<sup>51</sup>

Throughout the Emmons administration the NCAI verbalized their complaints on numerous issues. Strong statements emanated from that bastion of Indian unity throughout 1953, 1954, and 1955, against the transfer of Indian Health to the Public Health Service. By 1956, however, the same group resolved in their annual convention to give NCAI approval to the Public Health Service's Indian Program. They proved more adamant on the issue of termination, and each year called for its rescission or extreme modification. By 1960 these cries had not changed, and seemed to be an obligatory inclusion in the annual convention resolutions.<sup>52</sup>

Emmons did respect the individual, however, and this played an important role in his contacts with Indians. During one of his visits with the Florida Seminoles he made such an impression on the Reverend Billy Osceola and his wife that, when their son was born in 1960, he was named Glenn Emmons Osceola in honor of the Commissioner.<sup>53</sup> Although he regarded the individual as important, Emmons never lost sight of the tribal identity of Indians, for he always respected their customs and traditions. Before he became Commissioner, Emmons showed an interest in the Navajos and their lack of communication with the outside world. At his instigation in 1950, radio station KGAK in Gallup began to broadcast news and public service messages in the Navajo language. This service was invaluable in aiding the

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<sup>51</sup>"Resolution 12," 1956, Records of the NCAI, Box 9, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>52</sup>"Convention Records," 1953-1960, Records of the NCAI, Boxes 5, 7, 8, 9, 13 and 14, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>53</sup>Glenn L. Emmons to Reverend and Mrs. Billy Osceola, 9 December 1960, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

Navajos in numerous ways, especially through the broadcasting of health and education lectures.<sup>54</sup>

All of his encounters with Indians were not so pleasant. On March 20, 1959 a group of Iroquois led by former Brigadier General Herbert C. Holdridge attempted to arrest Emmons in his Washington office. After the United States Attorney turned down their request for an arrest warrant for Emmons, they marched to the commissioner's office to make a citizen's arrest. His secretary, Evelyn Massey, a Cherokee, turned them away because Emmons was in conference with other Indians at the time. Disgruntled the group marched over to the British Embassy to present a petition to be delivered to Prime Minister Harold MacMillan. Again they were turned away and the petition refused by their ancient allies of Revolutionary War days. Guards were posted around the Emmons residence in the 3900 block of 16th Street, but the delegation never arrived there as they had threatened. Their complaint was that Emmons permitted New York State to steal land from them, and when he refused to see them, they declared the office of Commissioner to be vacant.<sup>55</sup> Nothing of course resulted from this pronouncement, and Emmons did not resign until January 20, 1961.

Hard work brought praise for Emmons from many quarters, and, as with every public official, criticism from others. He was presented with a Distinguished Service Award from the Interior Department in 1957, given for "outstanding achievement in materially improving the health protec-

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<sup>54</sup>"The Wind That Speaks," The Washington Star (The Sunday Star Magazine), 21 April 1957, pp. 14-15.

<sup>55</sup>Washington Star, 21 March 1959; Washington Post, 21 March 1959, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Box 5, fol. 20, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico. This may be related to the Kinzua Dam controversy, but was not identified as such in either article.

tion, the educational facilities, and the economic prospects for Indian people.<sup>56</sup> This was the highest award made by the Department of Interior, and one that Emmons is duly proud to have received. During 1958, Emmons was again honored, this time by a Resolution of the Navajo Tribal Council "in support and appreciation of the services of Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the American Indians."<sup>57</sup>

Retirement did not come easily to Emmons. His active years of Indian service did not fall behind him, for he continued to keep pace with changes in Indian administration and the BIA. Having done his best for over seven years, it came as a shock and disappointment to him when strong criticism arose concerning his administration. Many persons confused his commissioner-ship with that of his predecessor, Dillon Myer, and termination became associated with his name in its worst context. When Senator George W. Malone, of Nevada, stated that the best method of freeing the Indians from federal guardianship was to turn them loose immediately so they would quickly learn to look after themselves,<sup>58</sup> he did not reflect the feelings of Emmons. In 1953, Emmons stated:

Contrary to the impression which many people seem to have and some are deliberately spreading, the policy of the present Administration does NOT call for hasty termination of Federal trust responsibilities in Indian affairs. Rather it emphasizes the need for thorough study, careful planning, and full consultation with the Indians, tribe by tribe and group by group. It also recognizes the right of the Indians to continue holding their lands in common and maintaining their tribal organizations for as long as they wish after

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<sup>56</sup>United States Department of the Interior, Eighteenth Honors Awards Convocation Program, 23 April 1957.

<sup>57</sup>16 May 1958, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>58</sup>Ogden Standard-Examiner (Utah), 31 July 1953, editorial page, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Scrapbook C, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

the Federal trusteeship has been terminated.<sup>59</sup>

As a very astute editor wrote in 1953:

Emmons will find some opposition in his own bureau toward liquidating its power. It is not likely that everyone working for him will take kindly to his suggestion that they work themselves right out of a job. That is not the nature of a bureaucracy.<sup>60</sup>

Some opposition did arise within the BIA, and some employees surely must have been slow in carrying out policy directives, but programs directed toward releasing Indians from federal control survived into the 1960's and 1970's, providing a basis for the more recent policy of Self-Determination.

Emmons remained a banker throughout his administration, and most of his programs reflected his banker's line of thinking. This was particularly evident in his "Readjustment with Security Program." Under this proposal, all Indian tribes would be released from the control of the BIA, but not left to fend for themselves. Recently, Emmons stated:

The time has got to come when the Indian can become established as an integral part of our society. But also, I think he should be given the right to keep his cultural assets and not have to give up all the tribal customs that he's had... The word termination to an Indian has the sort of a connotation of destruction, and it's a word that the Indians are fearful of and this word was used very extensively in the administration preceeding mine.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Glenn L. Emmons as quoted in Lyman S. Tyler, A History of Indian Policy (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 178-179, n. 47; "Why We Still Have an 'Indian Problem'," Sunday Telegram (Worcester, Massachusetts), Guest editorial of 12 January 1958.

<sup>60</sup>Jacksonville Times Union (Florida), 28 July 1953, editorial page, Glenn L. Emmons Papers, Scrapbook C, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

<sup>61</sup>Interview, 22 March 1976.

Under Emmons' readjustment program an act of Congress would close all tribal rolls as of the date of passage of the act. It would also prevent Indians from losing health or educational benefits, while keeping all tribal lands intact. Each tribe would organize as a corporation and every member would become a shareholder. When federal trusteeship ended under this plan the tribe would be awarded full title to all lands, free of state and federal taxes for a minimum of 25 years. During that time land sales would be prohibited to insure the preservation of a tribal land base. Each Indian of one-fourth or more Indian blood on a tribal roll as of the passage of the act, would receive through HEW the sum of \$100 on the first day of each month. Parents of minors would receive those funds until the minors reached the age of majority. HEW would take over any mishandled funds belonging to minors. Free medical services would also be available to eligible Indians.<sup>62</sup>

Under this plan, which would exclude Alaskan Natives who would be handled by HEW, each Indian would have the right to manage his own properties. Each tribe would have enough income from combined sources to operate well, and each individual would have some monetary security if he ran into problems job-wise. More money would be placed into Indian hands as opposed to the hands of BIA employees, however provisions for government personnel would also be made. Any BIA employee with twenty years or more of consecutive service in that agency would have the option of retiring with full retirement benefits or transferring to another branch of the government without loss of pay. This same act would provide BIA employees with five or more consecutive years of service, reemployment rights in any branch of government service they chose, also without loss of years of ser-

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

vice or pay.<sup>63</sup>

This plan which Emmons currently advocates, reflects his personal touch of idealism. It might be useful in cutting the budget and simultaneously pouring money directly into the economy, but such ideas do not appeal to bureaucracies, nor do they appeal to Indians who still fear any form of termination of federal responsibility. Emmons' banker's outlook is reflected in his plans of creating corporations out of tribes and order out of the chaos in the BIA. Although tribal structure is similar to a corporate structure in many ways, there remains a major problem; the Indians in most cases don't understand the complicated workings of corporations and the shareholding process, and certainly do not think in terms of each individual tribal member owning a share of what they view as a society and not a business venture. Another major problem which the plan Emmons has devised would most assuredly encounter is resistance from the BIA itself. Emmons places too much trust in both the current development and education of Indian tribes and development of the mentality of the bureaucracy as a whole. Furthermore, Indians are simply not interested in this sort of program, nor are they interested in losing the BIA. If not for these setbacks, perhaps his plans might very well be effected.

This plan did not develop fully until after his retirement from office, but the seeds were there in his three-point program designed to improve tribal conditions across the nation. That program was the beginning and the basis for Indian policy which followed. Neither the Kennedy, Johnson, nor Nixon administrations changed the basic Emmons programs; however, the names and reputations of his programs were affected. Some of Emmons' pro-

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid. A similar plan which Emmons devised appeared in Albuquerque Tribune, undated, p. A-4, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons. This article was probably printed in late 1968 or early 1969.

grams were successful; some were not. Undeniably Emmons was a terminationist according to the official definition of that policy. There remains an important distinction, however, which must not be overlooked if his administration is to be evaluated fairly. Emmons realized that Indian tribes were not ready during the 1950's to be released entirely from federal supervision. It was the acceptance of this fact which caused him to institute his three point program. That program was designed to prepare Indians for a future life separated from the pseudo-paternalism of the BIA. Congress determines what final Indian policy will be through passage of resolutions, laws and budget; the Commissioner of Indian Affairs does not. His basic job is as an administrator, and under that classification Emmons did a magnificent job. Emmons did not always agree with Congressional policy, but did his best to get Congress to finance the programs which he felt were necessary to improved Indian life. As a result, he sacrificed some important issues to preserve others. His current philosophy remains the same. Furthermore, it is possible that Emmons never fully understood Congressional policies of termination. BIA personnel hinted that perhaps this was the case, and that Emmons was blinded by his own program proposals to exclusion of all else. Even his proposed readjustment with security program looks to the future to be implemented, for he realizes that most tribes remain unready to leave federal trusteeship status.

Perhaps Emmons was not one of the most outstanding Commissioners of Indian Affairs, nor even one of the most colorful; but he certainly was one of the most concerned and hard-working. Upon his retirement in January 1961, Emmons received a letter from President Eisenhower which accepted his resignation from the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, effective on January 20, 1961. Eisenhower thanked him for having "served faithfully and

well" and also for doing his "honest best to help the Indians achieve a better way of life."<sup>64</sup>

As Eisenhower wished for him in this same letter, Emmons did have a "rewarding and productive future" after his retirement in terms of active service and involvement in community affairs, something which most men of 63 years cannot look forward to. Old habits refused to die, and Emmons is still active as, at age 79, he remains a student of life. Keeping abreast of Indian Affairs as best as he is able, he recently attended the National Tribal Chairman's Convention and met with former Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Lyndon Johnson, Robert L. Bennett, and current Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson, appointed to that post by Richard Nixon in 1973.<sup>65</sup> Both Glenn and Dorothy Emmons are still outstanding contributors to their own community and state, as they have been in the past.

Since childhood Emmons lived in New Mexico. He watched it grow and receive statehood, served it extensively in the Gallup and Albuquerque areas as well as many other locations, and represented it honorably in the arena of national affairs. He has served his country in many ways: through enlistment in the first World War, through a position of national importance in the realm of banking, and, lastly, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Regardless of these prestigious positions, it remains certain that Emmons' first and true love was neither politics or national office; it was his banking business in Gallup.

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<sup>64</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower to Glenn L. Emmons, 5 January 1961, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

<sup>65</sup> "Indian Commissioners Get Together," Albuquerque Journal, undated, Personal Papers of Glenn L. Emmons.

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