

Simon Ralph “S. R.” Walkingstick: A Cherokee Leader

Statement of Approval Taken Under Oath.
CHEROKEES BY BLOOD AND ADOPTION.

Name *Simon R. Walkingstick* Date *DEC 19 1900* 1900.
 District *GOING SNAKE* Year *1880* Page *489* No. *1949*
 Citizen by blood *yes* Mother's citizenship _____
 Intermarried citizen *no*
 Married under what law _____ Date of marriage _____
 License _____ Certificate _____
 Wife's name *Sallie W. Walkingstick*
 District *GOING SNAKE* Year *1896* Page *831* No. *231*
 Citizen by blood *no* Mother's citizenship _____
 Intermarried citizen *yes*
 Married under what law _____ Date of marriage _____
 License _____ Certificate _____

Names of Children:

No.	Name	Dist.	Year	Page	No.	Age
3	<i>Ada S. Walkingstick</i>	<i>GOING SNAKE</i>	<i>1896</i>	<i>811</i>	<i>2044</i>	<i>6</i>
4	<i>Simon R.</i>	<i>GOING SNAKE</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>811</i>	<i>2044</i>	<i>1</i>
5	<i>Charles</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>5</i>
6	<i>Driver</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>12 mo</i>
		Dist.	Year	Page	No.	Age
		Dist.	Year	Page	No.	Age
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*1 or 1880 not as Sam Walkingstick
 said to be first app's nephew*

*By James G. McCullagh**

This paper is about Simon Ralph “S. R.” Walkingstick and his family—parents, siblings, children. It is about his commitment to the education of his children and sketches of their lives, his life as an attorney and his career in politics, the various positions he held, and his conviction and courage for what he believed was best for the survival of the Cherokee Nation. It covers his ancestors, his education, the beginnings of his law practice, his first and second marriages, and his children from both marriages.

Almost three years after the end of the Civil War that divided North and South and also the Cherokee Nation, S. R. Walkingstick was born on May 8, 1868, in the Goingsnake District, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory. This became part of Adair County in eastern Oklahoma with statehood on November 16, 1907. S. R. grew up near Christie with his three sisters—Leona, Malinda Dora, and Lydia Ann—and their parents—Thomas Walkingstick, son of Ezekiel Walkingstick and Lucy

England, and Elizabeth (Betsy) Scrapper, daughter of Archibald Scrapper and Malinda McIntosh.¹

James Walkingstick, an old settler, was S. R.'s great-grandfather, and his family of six moved from Ellijay in Northern Georgia and arrived in Indian Territory in May 1834. S. R.'s grandfather, Ezekiel, also made the trek from Georgia. Four generations of the Walkingstick family were born or died in the Goingsnake District of the Cherokee Nation. The family cemetery, on top of Walkingstick Mountain, contains the remains of many early family members.²

Archibald Scrapper, S. R.'s grandfather, was seventeen years old when he crossed the Trail of Tears as a scout in 1838–39 with the Richard Taylor detachment. He journeyed with his mother, his sister Sally, and three brothers, settling not far from the Walkingstick family. A few miles from Christie, just off a red-clay road, surrounded by woods and thick shrubbery, rests Archibald Scrapper, who died on May 13, 1904, and a few other family members. This Scrapper Cemetery, not noticeable from the road though just a few feet away, is now kept up by Scrapper descendants.³ An oblong stone, about four feet high, unobtrusively states "Archibald Scrapper Captain CO D 2," a simple but profound statement for his military service with the Second Indian Home Guard Regiment, Union Army, during the Civil War. The Scrapper Post Office was named after Archibald Scrapper in 1912 at the suggestion of a granddaughter, Mrs. Leona Walkingstick Saunders.⁴

S. R.'s father, Thomas, died on January 1, 1880, in Scrapper Hollow and is buried in Scrapper Cemetery in Adair County.⁵ When his father died S. R. was not quite twelve years old, and his three sisters—Leona, Malinda Dora, and Lydia Ann—were between three and seven years of age.⁶ S. R.'s mother later had a child, Bessie England, with Aaron Smallwood. On March 5, 1883, his mother married Lincoln England, and four children were born from that marriage: Jackson (1884–99), Martha (1886–1904), Permelia (1888–1942), and Charlotte (1891–1930).⁷ S. R.'s mother, Betsy England, died on March 2, 1899. Betsy and Lincoln England (1848–1926) are buried in the Lincoln England Family Cemetery at Stilwell, and not far from Christie in Adair County.

After attending Cherokee day schools, S. R. entered the Cherokee National Male Seminary in Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, in 1882, enrolling in the Preparatory Department. He graduated on June 30, 1887, with ten other Cherokee young men.⁸ The Male Seminary, which opened on May 6, 1851, and graduated its first class in 1855, closed in October 1856, and did not open again until after the Civil War.⁹ Few Cherokee men had graduated from the seminary when S. R. graduated in 1887.

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S. R. taught in the Cherokee Nation's public schools in the Flint and Goingsnake Districts for four years from 1887 to 1891.¹⁰ In 1892 he moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, where he studied law in the law office of W. S. Wolfenberger and later with Byers and Peel while also serving as a Cherokee interpreter at the federal court in Fort Smith.¹¹ S. R. was admitted to practice law in federal court at Fort Smith on December 16, 1892, and then in January 1893, he was admitted to practice law in Cherokee National Courts.¹² He was the first Indian to be admitted to practice law in the federal court upon examination.¹³

S. R. first practiced law in Fort Smith, Arkansas, with J. C. Byers.¹⁴ In late November 1893 he began a solo law practice in Tahlequah just after he had been elected auditor for the Cherokee Nation.¹⁵ Five years later, on May 23, 1898, he was admitted to practice law before the US Supreme Court.¹⁶ After the creation of the state of Oklahoma, S. R. also was admitted to practice law before the Oklahoma Supreme Court on May 31, 1909.

All of S. R.'s sisters attended the Cherokee National Female Seminary but none graduated. Leona was enrolled from the fall of 1885 to the spring of 1887 when the Female Seminary was totally destroyed by fire on Easter Sunday, April 10. She then returned when it reopened in the fall of 1889 and continued through the spring of 1890. The seminary again closed but reopened in the spring of 1892, and Leona returned for her last semester at the seminary. From the fall of 1892 she taught in the Cherokee Nation's public schools until the fall of 1907, the last term, as Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory became the state of Oklahoma in November 1907.¹⁷ Lydia (1878–1928) was enrolled at the seminary in 1894 and 1895. Before 1900 she married George Getty Whitmire (1871–1935). Both are buried in the Whitmire Cemetery in Adair County. Malinda Dora, born on May 4, 1876, in the Goingsnake District, attended the Female Seminary from the fall of 1892 to the spring of 1895 and taught in the nation's public schools from the spring of 1897 to the spring of 1901. During that last semester she married Tillman Rose Wright on January 24, 1901.¹⁸ The children of Thomas Walkingstick and Elizabeth Scraper were well educated. The four children attended the Cherokee National Seminaries; S. R. became an attorney, and all four became teachers.

Earlier, on August 29, 1894, S. R. married Sally Viola (Ada) Orsborn. Sally, born in July 1874, was one of six children, all born in Kansas to Orlando W. Orsborn, a photographer, and Celeter Orsborn. On February 15, 1902, tragedy struck the Walkingstick family with Sally's death at her home in Muskogee while S. R. was working for the Dawes Commission. She is buried at Scraper Cemetery.¹⁹ Four children had

been born to Sally and S. R.: Sally Ada, Simon Ralph, Celeter, and Bruce. This was a very difficult time for S. R. and the children. At different times they stayed with Sally's parents, Orlando W. and Celeter Orsborn; with S. R.'s mother Betsy and her second husband, Lincoln England; and with their Aunt Leona, S. R.'s younger sister.²⁰

These four children at various times attended the Cherokee National Female Seminary and the Cherokee National Male Seminary. Sally Ada, Celeter, and Bruce obtained eighth grade diplomas and attended Northeastern State Normal School (now Northeastern State University) but only Celeter graduated. Of the four children born of his first marriage, little is known of Bruce, who was born on March 22, 1899, and died in Providence, Rhode Island, in December 1970 where he is buried. Bruce briefly attended Northeastern State Normal in the fall of 1916 but withdrew.²¹

Sally Ada was born on January 23, 1895, in Siloam Springs, Arkansas, where she graduated from high school. She also attended Northeastern State Normal in 1914 and 1915.²² She married George S. Nelson, who was born in Clarkfield, Minnesota, in 1897. They moved to Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1964. For thirty-five years Mrs. Nelson was a music teacher, teaching piano, organ, and guitar lessons until her retirement in 1981. Mrs. Nelson "was a life member of the Battle Creek Chapter 153, Order of the Eastern Star, and formerly attended the Methodist Church."²³ She died on October 26, 1993. Her husband, George, died on May 2, 1982, at the age of eighty-four. He had worked for General Motors in the Chevrolet Division in Detroit and later owned and operated a general store in Barry County, Michigan. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge No. 478 in Freeport and the Freeport United Methodist Church. He was also "a life member of OE Chapter 355."²⁴ Both are buried at Floral Lawn Memorial Gardens, Masonic Garden, in Battle Creek, Michigan.²⁵

Simon Ralph, born on August 17, 1896, in Tahlequah, attended Bacone College from 1910 to 1914 when he graduated. He published two articles in the *Bacone Chief*. One was "The Story of the School Desk," and the other was "The Boy Then and Now."²⁶ He was also a member of Bacone's football team, and the editor and a member of the annual board of the *Bacone Chief* in 1913.²⁷ He then matriculated at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1914, and would have graduated with the class of 1918, but he left in May 1917 to join the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). "He was appointed a secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA for work among British and Colonial Troops, which carried the nominal rank of captain in the British Army. He served overseas from December 1917 to July

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Simon Ralph Walkingstick, son of S. R. and Sally Walkingstick, c. 1918 (23129.2, Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection, OHS).



1919, in India, Mesopotamia [present-day Iraq], and England.”²⁸ He was discharged in 1919 and held various positions after that. He was a sports writer for the *Daily Oklahoman*, and later a geologist and oil scout for the Tide Water Oil Company until his retirement. He lived in Stone Harbor, Cape May County, New Jersey, for seven years and was the city horticulturist at the time of his death. He died on December 19, 1970, at his home in Stone Harbor. He is buried in the Cold Spring Presbyterian Church cemetery in Cold Spring, New Jersey.²⁹

Celeter was born on December 13, 1897, in Scrapper Hollow. She attended Northeastern State Normal from September 9, 1912, until July 28, 1917.³⁰ She married Wilburn Harger Laybourne (1895–1987), an attorney, who is buried in Monroe Cemetery, Montcalm County, Michigan. She married William Elliott (1892–1959), who is buried in Memorial Park Cemetery in Battle Creek, Michigan. Celeter died in March 1959 and is buried in Rochester, Michigan.³¹

On September 21, 1904, S. R. married Rebecca Chandler, one-eighth Cherokee, at Fairland in the home of her parents, Benjamin Taylor and Fannie Eliza Sharp Chandler Taylor. Fannie was one-fourth Cherokee and was a great-niece of General Stand Watie. S. R.’s four children joined the newly formed household in Tahlequah. Six children were born of this union but two died young. Rebecca Catherine Chandler Walkingstick, S. R.’s wife, born on January 3, 1883, lived in Holden-

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
COMMISSION TO THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

In the matter of the death of Sallie V. Walkingstick
(Give exact name of deceased)

a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, who formerly resided at or near
Tahlequah, Ind. Ter., and died on the 15th day of
February, 1902.

AFFIDAVIT OF RELATIVE.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SEVEN YEARS TERM.
Western District.

I, Simon R. Walkingstick, on oath state that I am 311
years of age and a citizen, by birth, of the Cherokee Nation;
that my post office address is Muskogee, Ind. Ter.; that I am
the husband of Sallie V. Walkingstick
(State relationship as to the Affiant, as next of kin, etc.) (Give exact name of deceased)
who was a citizen, by intermarriage, of the Cherokee Nation;
and that said Sallie V. Walkingstick died on the 15th day of
February, 1902.

WITNESSED to make: Simon R. Walkingstick

(Not in Two)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18 day of November, 1902.
James E. Jones
Notary Public.

AFFIDAVIT OF ACQUAINTANCE.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SEVEN YEARS TERM.
Western District.

I, Maggie Hughes, on oath state that I am 46
years of age, and a citizen, by birth, of the Cherokee Nation;
that my post office address is Muskogee, Ind. Ter.;
that I was personally acquainted with Sallie V. Walkingstick
(Give exact name of deceased)
who was a citizen, by intermarriage, of the Cherokee Nation;
and that said Sallie V. Walkingstick died on the 15th day of
February, 1902.

WITNESSED to make: Mrs. Maggie Hughes

(Not in Two)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18 day of November, 1902.
James E. Jones
Notary Public.

Department of the Interior document recording the death of Sally (or Sallie) Walkingstick, wife of Simon R. Walkingstick (Applications for Enrollment in the Five Civilized Tribes, 1898–1914, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793–1999, record group 75, ARC identifier 44771646, National Archives and Records Administration, catalog.archives.gov/id/44771646).

ville with their daughter Galela until her death at age ninety-two on October 11, 1975. Memorial services were held at the Barnard Memorial Methodist Church in Holdenville followed by committal services at Okmulgee Cemetery where she was buried next to S. R. Walkingstick. She was a lifetime member of the Women’s Society of Christian Service (WSCS) of the Methodist Church, and for almost forty years she was a member of the Lambuth Sunday School Class.³²

As mentioned above six children were born to S. R. and Rebecca. On July 3, 1905, Benjamin Taylor was born, followed by Thomas Lowell on January 21, 1909. Thomas, who died on January 7, 1910, not quite one year old, was buried at the Tahlequah City Cemetery.³³ Galela Leona was born on December 5, 1910, and lived until she was almost ninety-five years of age, dying on June 15, 2005. Oliver Kenneth (1912–98), Howard Chandler (1915–2002), and Lorena May (1919–21) were the last three to be born. S. R., Rebecca, and their children Howard, Galela, and Lorena are interred in Okmulgee Cemetery in Okmulgee, Okla-

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homa.³⁴ Lorena, the youngest child, died of colitis on June 10, 1921, at her parents' home in Okmulgee.

The next generation by his second marriage to Rebecca Chandler was well educated. Galela was the valedictorian of her high school class, attended Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, and then was accepted at Oberlin College in Ohio with the award of the Henry S. Morgenthau Scholarship and other financial support allowing her to continue her studies. In 1932 Galela was "classed as the most outstanding girl in her class during the past year."³⁵ She enrolled at Oberlin in the fall 1932, graduated in 1934, and was accepted into the graduate program in social work at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. She stayed one year and then began a thirty-year career as a social worker with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and then, after retiring, she worked for the Oklahoma Department of Institutions, Social and Rehabilitative Services for eleven years and retired.³⁶

Howard and his siblings attended Okmulgee Public Schools. Howard graduated from high school in May 1932 and attended Okmulgee Junior College for two years, graduating in June 1934. He moved to Washington, DC, to become a junior clerk with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and also enrolled in classes at George Washington University in the evenings beginning in September 1935.³⁷ He joined the US Army and was discharged on April 1, 1946. That fall he entered the master of social work program at the University of Denver and later graduated. He worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for at least thirty years and continued as a social worker with the same department as his sister Galela.³⁸

Benjamin Taylor, born on July 3, 1905, in Tahlequah, died in Tulsa on April 20, 1996. He graduated from the Okmulgee High School and attended Central College in Fayette, Missouri, and the University of Oklahoma.³⁹ In 1928 he married Theone (Toni) Grove. Ben "was with Farmers Insurance from 1948 until he retired at age seventy-four in 1979. He was a District Manager and on the Farmers Insurance Council. He was a founding member of the Utica Square Kiwanis and was president in 1957. He became a member of the Boston Avenue Methodist Church in 1951, where he sang in the Chancel Choir." He is interred in Okmulgee Cemetery.⁴⁰

Oliver Kenneth (O. K.), born on September 28, 1912, in Tahlequah died on January 30, 1998.⁴¹ On February 22, 1942, he married Jeanne Valerie Kromer in Washington, DC.⁴² At the time of his father's death, O. K. was a student at George Washington University in Washington, DC.⁴³ By 1975 O. K. had retired from the Bureau of Indian Affairs after serving thirty-seven years. His assignments included Washington,

DC, Alaska, New Mexico, South Dakota, and North Dakota.⁴⁴ His wife, Jeanne, died on February 22, 2002, in Colorado. "She was a registered nurse who graduated from Garfield Memorial Hospital in Washington, DC, and was buried side by side with her husband in Fairview Cemetery."⁴⁵

Simon's grandfather, Archibald Scaper, and great-uncle, George Washington Scaper, veterans of the Civil War, had been officers of the Cherokee Nation and served in various capacities. George was the sheriff in the early 1840s and an associate justice and chief justice of the Cherokee Nation Supreme Court in the 1870s.⁴⁶ Both had been elected to the lower house, the Tribal Council of the Cherokee Legislature, and to the Cherokee National Senate. George was a senator from 1849 to 1851, Archibald served from 1869 to 1871 and was also elected president of the senate. Later from 1895 to 1899, S. R. Walkingstick was elected twice as a senator representing the Goingsnake District.⁴⁷ Both also had been elected to serve as delegates to Washington, DC, to represent the Cherokee Nation. George was a delegate in 1864 and 1870, and Archibald served from 1865 through 1869.⁴⁸ Both were also councilors representing the Goingsnake District. George served three consecutive terms from 1855 to 1861, and Archibald served a two-year term beginning in 1867 and again from 1873 to 1875.⁴⁹

John Walkingstick, the sixth son of James Walkingstick and Susie Henson Walkingstick, S. R.'s great-grandparents, who was born about 1837, was a private in Company G of the Third Indian Home Guard. John was elected to the council in the Cherokee Nation from the Goingsnake District in 1881 and sheriff in 1885 and 1887. S. R.'s stepfather, Lincoln England, was elected sheriff in 1887, senator in 1901, and councilor in 1893, 1897, and 1899.⁵⁰ A longtime resident who was born in the Goingsnake District and was living in Stilwell in 1937 recalled that "among the early day moneyed men were the Walkingsticks who lived on the Walkingstick Mountain. Jim and John Walkingstick, among others, were the early day cattlemen."⁵¹

S. R. began his political career on November 20, 1893, when he was elected the Cherokee Nation's national auditor of public accounts.⁵² One of his duties was to prepare an annual report, one of which was published in the *Cherokee Advocate* on October 20, 1894, for the fiscal year ending on September 30, 1894.⁵³ In November 1895 he was elected to the Cherokee Senate from the Goingsnake District. He was the chair of the Committee on Foreign Relations. In 1897 he was reelected to the Cherokee Senate.⁵⁴ In December 1897 S. R. was confirmed by the Cherokee Senate to become one of eight delegates representing the Cherokee Nation before Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in

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Washington, DC. The delegates included the Reverend Walter Adair Duncan, chairman;⁵⁵ Joseph Martin La Hay;⁵⁶ Stephen Tehee;⁵⁷ S. R. Walkingstick; Skake Manus;⁵⁸ Daniel Redbird;⁵⁹ and Lacey Hawkins.⁶⁰ When the delegates were in Washington, DC, S. R. Walkingstick and Reverend Duncan had the opportunity to speak at a meeting of the Christian Endeavor Society of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church. Walkingstick spoke on the progress of the Cherokees beginning with the first missionaries who taught them Christianity in 1820. He proceeded to trace the nation's development up to the 1890s.⁶¹

During this period the delegation presented various briefs, petitions, protests, and memorials to the president and Congress. The delegation's efforts centered on protesting the passage of the Curtis Bill that became law in June 1898. It effectively abolished the Cherokee Nation's courts and laws. On January 1, 1898, the Cherokee delegation informed Chief Samuel Houston Mayes of the delegation's "public business before the government of the United States."⁶² One of the memorials to Congress by the delegation was to request the removal of intruders.⁶³ Stanley W. Hoig noted that Chief Mayes, who served from 1895 to 1899, "presided over the Cherokee Nation as it was literally dismantled."⁶⁴ During this period the delegation continued to appeal to Congress. Another "Strong Remonstrance" to Congress opposed the passage of the Curtis Act.⁶⁵ Notwithstanding the protestations of the Cherokee Nation, the Curtis Act was enacted into law on June 28, 1898, and effectively accomplished the "utter destruction of the tribal governments of the Indian Territory."⁶⁶ The passage of the Curtis Act was catastrophic for the Cherokee Nation.

In March 1900 on two different evenings the Citizens' ticket and then the Republican ticket met in convention in Tahlequah to select their candidates for various offices, including the mayor of Tahlequah. Walkingstick, on the Republican ticket, was nominated unanimously.⁶⁷ On April 5, 1900, election results were reported with headlines reading "The Entire Citizens' Ticket Elected by Good Majorities."⁶⁸ In late April 1900 the Tahlequah Republican Club met to elect delegates to the District Convention. S. R. Walkingstick was one of the delegates elected.⁶⁹ In early May 1900 the Tahlequah Republican Club met in Claremore for the Republican District Convention. S. R. Walkingstick was elected "permanent chairman."⁷⁰

At the Republican Convention in Tahlequah in early March 1904 a committee was chosen to select the thirty-five delegates to the Claremore Indian Territory Convention on March 17. S. R. Walkingstick, representing Tahlequah, was selected and appointed the secretary.⁷¹ On a more personal note the *Cherokee Advocate* noted that S. R. Walk-



"Old Walkingstick Place," one mile northeast of Tahlequah (8461, Mrs. Floy Buxton Collection, OHS).

ingstick "was building an elegant cottage" or a "handsome residence."⁷² In early October 1904 it was noted that S. R. Walkingstick and his newly wed wife returned from "their honeymoon visit to the World's Fair and now are at home to their friends in a handsome new cottage home in north Tahlequah."⁷³

On March 23, 1907, a notice stated that the city officials of Tahlequah were "Oscar Gray, mayor; S. R. Walkingstick, recorder; O. M. Michner, marshal; and J. W. Sutton, treasurer."⁷⁴ In January 1908 the headlines read: "Judge Names Indian as U.S. Commissioner" The brief article that followed stated, "Muskogee, Okla. Jan. 21—Judge Ralph Campbell has appointed S. R. Walkingstick, an Indian attorney of Tahlequah, as United States Commissioner at that place. Mr. Walkingstick belongs to one of the most noted families of the Cherokee nation."⁷⁵ A proclamation signed by Governor C. N. Haskell authorized a special election to be held in the incorporated town of Tahlequah on June 2, 1908, for electors to decide if Tahlequah would "become a city of the first class." The clerks from the first ward included a Democrat and S. R. Walkingstick, a Republican.⁷⁶

In March 1894 auditor Walkingstick and Senator George Washington Bengé bought the *Tahlequah Telephone* newspaper from Mr. B. L. B. Bell. In early May 1894 Mr. Walkingstick traveled to Saint Louis, Missouri, with the intent to buy the type and press to restart the

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Telephone. Destroyed by fire, the necessary equipment was again purchased from Saint Louis and now it was expected that the *Telephone* would be published in July 1894.⁷⁷ It is not known if they actually published the *Telephone*.

A full-blood Cherokee as determined by the Dawes Commission, S. R. realized as a young man that the only hope for Cherokee survival was to acknowledge that the federal government would not allow the Cherokee Nation to exist as a nation in Indian Territory nor allow the Indian Territory to become a separate state.⁷⁸ Education and adaptation to the non-Indian way of life for himself and his family while not losing one's Cherokee identity was the life he chose. It is the legacy he left to his children to ensure their survival and success in the twentieth century.

S. R. Walkingstick well understood the betrayal of the United States and Georgia governments that had forced the Cherokee Nation from their sacred lands in Georgia and the South. The Trail of Tears resulted in the death of at least four thousand Cherokees.⁷⁹ Russell Thornton, based on his analysis of the total Cherokee population loss, believes that a loss of eight thousand Cherokees between 1835 and 1840 "may not be at all unreasonable."⁸⁰ The Civil War again divided the Cherokee Nation, rekindling old grudges and factions that had earlier divided the Ridge Faction (those who signed the New Echota Treaty on December 29, 1835) and the Ross Faction in the early 1830s.⁸¹ Numerous skirmishes and battles were fought in Indian Territory between 1861 and 1865 with resultant havoc, destruction, devastation, and destitution.⁸²

The latter part of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century was another period of turmoil and upheaval for the Cherokee people. In 1890 Oklahoma Territory was created by an Act of Congress. The Curtis Act of 1898 had effectively abolished the Cherokee Nation's courts and laws. The Cherokee Nation was dissolved and allotment of tribal lands through the work of the Dawes Commission effectively proceeded in the Cherokee Nation. Then Cherokee attorney and later US Senator Robert L. Owen commented that the Curtis Act, enacted on June 28, 1898, was intended to destroy "the tribal governments of the Indian Territory." S. R. was a member of the Cherokee Nation and was included on the Dawes Roll (No. 6593) and the Miller Roll (No. 7688).⁸³

On December 10, 1900, a single statehood convention was held at McAlester, I.T., consisting of just over two hundred delegates from Oklahoma and Indian Territories. S. R. Walkingstick was one of the eleven members from the Indian Territory on the Permanent Single

Statehood Committee. The delegates “Resolved, that the ultimate Union of the Oklahoma and the Indian Territory under one State government is inevitable, regardless of the political influences and local agitations. The permanent good of the future state is of vastly greater importance than is the temporary good of any section of either of the Territories, and we condemn any policy which would shape the course of statehood legislation for local advantage.”⁸⁴ The convention delegates also favored “the immediate Union of the two territories under a single government.”⁸⁵ Although this statehood convention was one of many, S. R. Walkingstick had voiced publicly the then unpopular belief among the Five Tribes that the territories should become one state of Oklahoma.

The controversy, whether one state would be created from Indian and Oklahoma Territories or whether double statehood would occur, continued in the form of statehood conventions and petitions to Congress. In early 1903 a “Single Statehood Meeting” was held to choose delegates to represent the district at the Shawnee convention. S. R. Walkingstick was one of the twelve chosen.⁸⁶

In 1905 the Sequoyah Convention was held at Muskogee beginning on August 21. It consisted of members from the Five Tribes and non-Indian residents. A constitution was adopted on September 8 by the convention, and a committee was formed to urge the US government to accept the constitution and admit Indian Territory to the Union as the State of Sequoyah. It was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the people of the Indian Territory. Little support was received from President Theodore Roosevelt and the US Congress. With the passage of the Enabling Act on June 16, 1906, the union of the two territories to form one State of Oklahoma would soon become a reality. The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention was held and began its work on November 20, 1906. On September 17, 1907, the constitution was adopted and Democrats were elected to almost all public offices.⁸⁷ On November 16, 1907, the Twin Territories—Oklahoma and Indian—became Oklahoma with its admission to the Union. The Cherokee Nation as it had been ceased to exist. S. R. and his ancestors, who lived through a long tumultuous period, were survivors who adapted and excelled.

S. R.’s political career was all but ended with his support of a single state formed by the Twin Territories and his defeat on April 2, 1900, for mayor of Tahlequah on the Republican ticket. Eight other candidates who also ran for office on the Republican ticket were defeated by the Citizen or Bengé ticket or the recently elected Mayor George W. Bengé. The candidates representing the Citizens’ ticket were elected to every office, leaving the Republican ticket soundly defeated. S. R.

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was a Republican in a territory and later state that overwhelmingly elected Democrats. Within five weeks of his defeat for mayor in 1900, S. R. accepted a position as a clerk for the Dawes Commission during the Cherokee enrollment and moved to Muskogee.⁸⁸ The Dawes Commission, established by Congress in 1893, had the difficult task of deciding who could be enrolled in an Indian tribe.⁸⁹ In September 1902, for instance, S. R. Walkingstick traveled to the Goingsnake District to enroll babies recently born.⁹⁰

Kay Walkingstick, one of S. R.'s granddaughters, believed that her grandfather worked for the Dawes Commission "because he saw the inevitability of statehood and wanted to get his tribe the fairest shake possible. He wanted to ensure that those registrants who spoke only Cherokee knew exactly what they were signing. . . . Grandfather Walkingstick may have made the wrong decision in taking translation work in Tahlequah—but he was trying to foster the long-term common good for his tribe, within the framework of turn-of-the-century federal Indian policy."⁹¹

S. R. became a city official of Tahlequah when he was elected as the city's recorder on March 23, 1907.⁹² On January 21, 1908, Judge Ralph Campbell appointed S. R. Walkingstick as a United States commissioner at Muskogee.⁹³ When the Tahlequah city school board organized on May 3, 1911, S. R. Walkingstick was elected vice president.⁹⁴ Perhaps S. R. Walkingstick's last official role for his Cherokee people occurred on January 31, 1921, when as a member of the Cherokee Executive Committee he and two others signed a resolution endorsing Levi Gritts for the position of principal chief of the Cherokee people.⁹⁵

S. R. finished his work with the Dawes Commission and continued his law practice. The Methodist Church was an integral part of the family's life. S. R. and Rebecca Walkingstick, members of the First United Methodist Church of Tahlequah, were remembered as members deserving of "special mention." Reflecting on the strength of the Tahlequah church, the church's History Committee noted that the United Methodist Church "has had in its membership some of the finest and most consecrated Christian laymen and women that are to be found anywhere [and that] among those who deserve special mention are . . . Mr. and Mrs. S. R. Walkingstick."⁹⁶ The family continued their membership in Okmulgee at the Methodist Episcopal church, South (now Episcopal Church—The Redeemer). When S. R. and Rebecca Walkingstick moved to Holdenville in 1936 they joined the Barnard Memorial United Methodist Church. Chaplain Parrish noted, "Now up to that point, the Indians were not welcomed. The Walkingsticks felt it very important that they as Native Americans have that positive

image to show people that some of the thoughts and feelings they had about Indians were wrong.⁹⁷ They were perhaps the first Indians to join Barnard. Galela shared that her “father and mother were good Christians. We were the first ones at church every Sunday. Father was always on the board.”⁹⁸

A constant theme, well-remembered by Galela and Howard, was their father’s refrain that they had to “‘buck-up’ against the white man.”⁹⁹ Thus, the Walkingsticks always were well-dressed and they did not wear traditional American Indian clothes. They lived in non-Indian neighborhoods and became members of non-Indian churches. Their children were just one of six Indian families in Okmulgee whose children attended local public schools. Although S. R. could speak Cherokee, he chose not to teach his children for fear that it would interfere with their learning of English. Neither Howard nor Galela had any regrets that they did not learn their native language.¹⁰⁰

The family returned to Tahlequah and lived there until about 1917 when they moved to Okmulgee. S. R. Walkingstick now was also involved in real estate, lands, and leases. Beginning in 1914, S. R. was involved with the oil and refining business serving in various capacities, including for a period as president of the Kessler O&R Company. The Great Depression was a difficult time for the Walkingstick family. During this period S. R. was an oil operator, employed in the Okmulgee Water Department. He continued his practice of the law, but was often not paid cash but in kind, such as food. His clients were predominately Indian because they felt they could trust him. In 1936 he was an assistant supervisor for the National Youth Administration, one of the agencies established during the Roosevelt Administration.¹⁰¹

Earlier on March 19, 1935, S. R. Walkingstick filed his nominating petition to be the next mayor in Okmulgee. His petition included 224 signatures, which was twenty more than needed.¹⁰² One of his advertisements promoting his qualifications to be elected mayor stated:

He has the qualifications to perform the duties of the office and he ability to assume, at once, the additional work made necessary by the financial conditions and carry it forward. Also has the energy, the foresight to meet any reasonable civic emergency that may arise. He is a friend to education in very sense of the word, and to other good movements and enterprises to make for a better city. He is the man for the place. Your vote will be appreciated.¹⁰³

There were six candidates when elections were held, with no one candidate receiving a majority. S. R. came in fourth with 364 votes.¹⁰⁴

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When the final vote was tallied on April 10, 1935, Superintendent Edgar E. Harris was elected mayor of Okmulgee.¹⁰⁵ This race for office was S. R.'s last. Two years later, and after living in Okmulgee for the last eighteen years, S. R. and his wife, Rebecca, moved to Holdenville in 1937, in part to be near their daughter, Galela, who had accepted a position with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹⁰⁶ Earlier in 1914 S. R. Walkingstick "came to Okmulgee as a scout for the Sequoyah Oil & Refining Co. of Tulsa. . . . For several years before he left this city he was employed in the city water department."¹⁰⁷

On October 27, 1937, less than six months before S. R. died, he was interviewed by Elizabeth Ross. He primarily talked about the Scrapper post office named after his grandfather, Captain Archibald Scrapper, whose brigade in the Civil War was mustered out on May 31, 1865, at Fort Gibson. When it became necessary to name a post office about twenty miles northeast of Tahlequah, Mrs. Leona Walkingstick Saunders recommended Captain Scrapper's surname be chosen. It was accepted and became the Scrapper Post Office.¹⁰⁸

S. R. was sick with a "chronic ailment," and beginning in January 1938 he had been a patient at Claremore Indian Hospital. He died of cancer on April 6, 1938, at the Claremore Indian Hospital. With him at his death were his wife, five sons (Ralph, Bruce, Oliver Kenneth "O. K.", Howard, and Benjamin Taylor), his three daughters (Mrs. Sally Ada Nelson, Mrs. Celeter Laybourne, and Galela Walkingstick), and other relatives. Funeral services were held at the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Okmulgee, where the Walkingstick family had been longtime members.¹⁰⁹

The Reverend John D. Salter, Pastor of Barnard Memorial Methodist Church in Holdenville, officiated. Selections from Reverend Salter's remarks on this solemn occasion follow:

To know him was to love him. To know him was to appreciate him. . . . Brother Walkingstick was a good man. . . . His eighteen years residence in Okmulgee, his devotion to the Church, his interest in community life, his simple but uncompromising faith in Christ is the evidence that comes from the heart of every witness that you examine in this city where this service is being conducted and when he moved over to the town of Holdenville where he lived only a brief few months there is the testimony of every man you come in contact with that he was a good man. . . . He was a good man for the town in which he lived[,] . . . for the community of which he was a part. . . . in the Church in which he held membership[, and] to encourage the pastor and lend a helping hand whenever opportunity afforded.¹¹⁰

Endnotes

* James G. McCullagh, EdD, JD, LISW, is a professor of social work at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls. This paper could not have been written without the support of Howard Walkingstick and his sister, Galela, two of S. R. Walkingstick's children. The author visited them at their homes in Holdenville, Oklahoma, in 1999 and returned a few times to meet with Howard, nominating him for the Ga-du-gi Award that was presented to him posthumously by then Cherokee Principal Chief Chad Smith at a tribal council on October 15, 2002. As a close friend, the author spoke with Howard by phone from 1999 until shortly before he died on August 24, 2002. He also is thankful to Mrs. Betty Theobald and Tressie Nealy, a volunteer for the Oklahoma Historical Society and an expert in finding documents with whom he spoke in 2001. The author thanks Joe Scrapper Jr. and Howard Walkingstick Gregory for reading this paper.

The image on the title page of this article is the Cherokees by Blood and Adoption form for Simon R. Walkingstick, December 19, 1900 (Applications for Enrollment in the Five Civilized Tribes, 1898–1914, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793–1999, record group 75, ARC identifier 44771646, National Archives and Records Administration, catalog.archives.gov/id/44771646).

¹ Joe Scrapper Jr., *The Scrapper—Sixkiller Book* (Topeka, KS: Author, 2009), 122, 131–32.

² The author recalled seeing the headstone for Ezekiel Walkingstick, who died on March 23, 1877, who was “about 26 years.” A prominent headstone was for James Walkingstick, who died on July 5, 1881, at “about 80 years.” Michael Walkingstick Gregory, “Honoring the Dust in the Wind,” *Anadarko (OK) Daily News*, August 4–5, 2001, sec. 3, 1.

³ The author found the Scrapper Cemetery on a trip to Oklahoma.

⁴ S. R. Walkingstick, interviewed by Elizabeth Ross, October 27, 1937, 492–94, vol. 94, no. 12018, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK (hereafter cited as S. R. Walkingstick IPP); George H. Shirk, “The Post Offices of Oklahoma, 1907–1965,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1966): 31–90.

⁵ “Thomas Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/96698509/thomas-walkingstick/photo.

⁶ Scrapper, *The Scrapper—Sixkiller Book*, 131.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 132, 155.

⁸ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore* (Tulsa: Oklahoma Yesterday Publications, 1993), 40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 239.

¹⁰ James G. McCullagh, *The Teachers of the Cherokee Nation Public Schools: 1870s–1907* (Tahlequah, OK: Cherokee Heritage Press, 2010), 233.

¹¹ Simon's daughter, Sally Ada Walkingstick Nelson, believed that her father had attended law school near Siloam Springs, Arkansas. Others thought that he had graduated from Cumberland School of Law at Samford University. I spoke with staff at the Cumberland School of Law and the University of Tennessee Law School on January 16, 2001, to ascertain his status. Both schools stated that they had no record of S. R. Walkingstick attending either law school.

¹² Richard Willis, deputy clerk, United States District Court, Fort Smith, AR, to the author, January 29, 2001; *Tahlequah (OK) Courier*, December 3, 1893, 4.

¹³ *Indian Citizen* (Atoka, OK), January 12, 1893, 7.

¹⁴ *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, OK), July 1, 1893, 1.

¹⁵ “Local News,” *Cherokee Advocate*, November 18, 1893, 2.

¹⁶ W. Robert Ellis Jr. to the author, January 29, 2001.

¹⁷ McCullagh, *The Teachers of the Cherokee Nation*, 233.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

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¹⁹ “Mrs. Simon Walkingstick Dead,” *Tahlequah (OK) Arrow*, February 22, 1902, 5; “Sally Viola Orsborn Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/96698518/sally-viola-walkingstick; Scrapper, *The Scrapper—Sixkiller Book*, 152. Some documents describing S. R. Walkingstick’s wife list her name spelled “Sallie,” but her cemetery headstone lists “Sally.”

²⁰ Howard C. Walkingstick, interview by the author, March 4, 2001.

²¹ Northeastern State Normal—Student’s Permanent Record Card for Bruce Walkingstick, Archives, Northeastern State University Library, Tahlequah, OK.

²² Northeastern State Normal—Student’s Permanent Record Card for Ada Walkingstick, Archives, Northeastern State University Library, Tahlequah, OK.

²³ “Sally A. Walkingstick Nelson,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/26043769/sally-a.-nelson.

²⁴ “George S. Nelson,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/26043416/george-s.-nelson.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Ralph Walkingstick, “The Story of the School Desk,” in *The Bacone Chief* (Bacone, OK: Bacone College, 1913), 31; S. Ralph Walkingstick, “The Boy Then and Now,” in *The Bacone Chief* (Bacone, OK: Bacone College, 1913), 23–25.

²⁷ *The Bacone Chief* (Bacone, OK: Bacone College, 1913).

²⁸ Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2010), 141.

²⁹ “Ralph Walkingstick,” *County Gazette* (Cape May Court House), December 24, 1970, section A, 8.

³⁰ Northeastern State Normal—Student’s Permanent Record Card for Celeter Walkingstick, Archives, Northeastern State University Library, Tahlequah, OK.

³¹ Howard C. Walkingstick, *Cycles of Life* (Holdenville, OK: Author, 1999), 12; Scrapper, *The Scrapper—Sixkiller Book*, 136.

³² “Obituaries,” *Okmulgee (OK) Daily Times*, October 14, 1975, 2.

³³ “Recent Deaths,” *Okmulgee (OK) Daily Democrat*, June 17, 1921, 8.

³⁴ “Simon Ralph Walkingstick, Sr.,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/44239893/simon-ralph-walkingstick; “Rebecca C. Chandler Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/44239905/rebecca-c.-walkingstick; “Howard Chandler Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/15725233/howard-chandler-walkingstick; “Galela L. Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/44239880/galela-l-walkingstick; “Lorena May Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/44239869/lorena-may-walkingstick.

³⁵ *Blackwell (OK) Morning Tribune*, September 3, 1932, 2.

³⁶ For a more detailed account of Miss Walkingstick’s life and career see James G. McCullagh, “Galela Leona Walkingstick: A Life of Service as an Indian Social Worker,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 80, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 84–101; Walkingstick, *Cycles of Life*.

³⁷ Simon R. Walkingstick, notebook dated 1935, unpublished, 27, copy given to the author by Howard C. Walkingstick.

³⁸ Howard C. Walkingstick and James G. McCullagh, “Opening Doors for First Nations’ Peoples,” *Reflections: Narratives of Professional Helping* 6, no. 4 (2000): 6–23; James G. McCullagh, “Working Together: The Legacy of Howard Walkingstick,” *The Goingsnake Messenger* 19, no. 2 (2002): 26–30; Walkingstick, *Cycles of Life*.

³⁹ Walkingstick, *Cycles of Life*, 17, 24.

⁴⁰ “Ben Taylor Walkingstick,” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/160476812/ben-taylor-walkingstick.

⁴¹ “Oliver Kenneth ‘O. K.’ Walkingstick, Sr.” Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/101088940/oliver-kenneth-walkingstick.

⁴² “O. K. Walkingstick, Sr.,” *Herald Democrat* (Sherman, TX), February 3, 1998, B2.

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⁴³ "Walkingstick is Taken by Death," *Holdenville (OK) Daily News*, April 6, 1938, 3.

⁴⁴ "Obituaries," *Okmulgee Daily Times*, October 14, 1975, 2.

⁴⁵ "Jeanne Kromer Walkingstick," *Herald Democrat*, February 22, 2002, A18; "Jeanne Kromer Walkingstick," Find a Grave, www.findagrave.com/memorial/101088939/jeanne-kromer-walkingstick.

⁴⁶ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 293.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 267–68.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 296; Scrapper, *The Scrapper—Sixkiller Book*, 120.

⁴⁹ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 276.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 268, 276, 287.

⁵¹ Martin Blackwood, interview by W. J. B. Bigby, June 22, 1937, 331–39, vol. 8, no. 6371, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

⁵² "Local News," *Cherokee Advocate*, November 18, 1893, 2; Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 297.

⁵³ "Auditor's Annual Report," *Cherokee Advocate*, October 31, 1894, 1.

⁵⁴ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 268.

⁵⁵ Reverend Duncan was the superintendent of education of the Cherokee Nation from 1851 to 1853, a member of the Office of Executive Councilors from 1857 to 1859, a senator representing the Flint District from 1853 to 1855, and the president of the Cherokee Board of Education in 1882. Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 229, 230, 272, 294.

⁵⁶ Joseph Martin Le Hay "held at different times the highest offices in both the Masonic and Knights of Pythias fraternities. He was Clerk and Senator of Cooweescoowee District." Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 663.

⁵⁷ Stephen Tehee was elected senator from the Skin Bayou District for a two-year term in 1885.

⁵⁸ Skake Manus was elected councilor in 1891 and senator in 1897 from the Tahlequah District each for a two-year term. Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 269, 277.

⁵⁹ Daniel Redbird represented the Saline District as a senator from 1871 to 1873, and as a councilor from 1867 to 1869, 1873 to 1875, and 1877 to 1881. Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 267, 275.

⁶⁰ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 269, 275. Lacey Hawkins was a councilor representing the Saline District from 1871 to 1873 and 1875 to 1877. He was a senator representing the Tahlequah District from 1883 to 1885 and 1887 to 1889 when he was elected president of the Cherokee Senate.

⁶¹ "Cherokees Talk in Church," *Tahlequah Arrow*, May 7, 1898, 1.

⁶² "Cherokee Delegation Writes to Chief Mayes a Gloomy Outlook for the Territory," *Cherokee Advocate*, January 22, 1898, 2.

⁶³ "Memorial to Congress," *Cherokee Advocate*, March 12, 1898, 1.

⁶⁴ Stanley W. Hoig, *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998), 259.

⁶⁵ "Strong Remonstrance," *Cherokee Advocate*, March 26, 1898, 1.

⁶⁶ Kent Carter, *The Dawes Commission and the Allotment of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1893–1914* (Orem, UT: Ancestry.com, 1999), 36.

⁶⁷ "The Two Tickets," *Tahlequah Arrow*, March 29, 1900, 7.

⁶⁸ "Benge is Mayor," *Tahlequah Arrow*, April 5, 1900, 4.

⁶⁹ "Republican Delegates Elected," *Tahlequah Arrow*, April 26, 1900, 5.

⁷⁰ "Back from District Convention," *Tahlequah Arrow*, May 3, 1900, 5.

⁷¹ "The Republican Convention," *Vinita (OK) Weekly Chieftain*, March 10, 1904, 1.

⁷² *Cherokee Advocate*, July 23, 1904, 2; *Cherokee Advocate*, August 6, 1904, 2.

⁷³ *Tahlequah Arrow*, October 8, 1904, 2.

⁷⁴ C. W. "Dub" West, *Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation 1841–1941* (Muskogee, OK: Muskogee Publishing Co., 1978), 133.

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⁷⁵ “Judge Names Indian as U.S. Commissioner,” *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City, OK), January 22, 1908, 7.

⁷⁶ C. N. Haskell, “Proclamation,” *Tahlequah Arrow*, May 23, 1908, 7.

⁷⁷ *Cherokee Advocate*, March 21, 1894, 2; *Cherokee Advocate*, May 16, 1894, 2; *Cherokee Advocate*, July 4, 1894, 2.

⁷⁸ S. R. Walkingstick was a “full-blood” according to the Dawes Commission but he actually was not a full-blood. According to Joe Scraper, Jr., email to the author, April 6, 2014, “Simon’s grandfather, Arch Scraper, was the grandson of Chief Big Cabin Smith, who was the son of a white trader and a Cherokee mother.” Also, “Simon’s grandmother, Lucy England (Mrs. Ezekiel Walkingstick), was the daughter of William England, a white man.”

⁷⁹ Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 160–61; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 312.

⁸⁰ Russell Thornton, “The Demography of the Trail of Tears Period: A New Estimate of Cherokee Population Losses,” in William L. Anderson, ed., *Cherokee Removal: Before and After* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 93.

⁸¹ Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), 25–26; Blue Clark, *Indian Tribes of Oklahoma: A Guide* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 68.

⁸² See, for instance, Clarissa W. Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) and Steve Cottrell, *Civil War in the Indian Territory* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 1995).

⁸³ Kenny L. Brown, “Oklahoma Territory,” *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=OK085; Dianna Everett, “Indian Territory,” *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=IN018; M. Kaye Tatro, “Curtis Act (1898),” *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CU006; Carter, *The Dawes Commission*, 36.

⁸⁴ “Memorial to Congress and Proceedings of the Statehood Convention of Oklahoma and Indian Territories held at South McAlester, I.T.,” December 10, 1900, 8.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸⁶ “Single Statehood Meeting,” *Tahlequah Arrow*, January 27, 1903, 6.

⁸⁷ Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1948).

⁸⁸ “Tahlequah Tattle, Arrow Items about the Cherokee Capital,” *Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, I.T.), May 12, 1900, 4; *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, I.T.), October 3, 1901, 3.

⁸⁹ Carter, *The Dawes Commission*.

⁹⁰ “Simon Walkingstick,” *Cherokee Advocate*, September 27, 1902, 2.

⁹¹ Kay Walkingstick, “Democracy, Inc.: Kay Walkingstick on Indian Law,” *Artforum* 30 (November 1991): 20–21.

⁹² West, *Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation*.

⁹³ “Judge Names Indian as U.S. Commissioner,” *Daily Oklahoman*, January 22, 1908, 7.

⁹⁴ “School Board Selects Teachers,” *Tahlequah Arrow*, May 4, 1911, 8.

⁹⁵ “Resolution,” *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, vol. 6, 239

⁹⁶ T. L. Ballenger, J. W. McSpadden, and Charlotte Sanders, *History of the First United Methodist Church of Tahlequah, Oklahoma* (Tahlequah, OK: Markoma Press, 1968).

⁹⁷ James Parrish, phone interview by the author, January 14, 2001.

⁹⁸ Galela Walkingstick, interview by the author, November 1999.

⁹⁹ Walkingstick, *Cycles of Life*, 22.

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¹⁰⁰ Galela Walkingstick interview.

¹⁰¹ Walkingstick, *Cycles of Life*, 14–15; “S. R. Walkingstick Dies in Claremore,” *Okmulgee (OK) Daily Times*, April 17, 1938, 1; the author interviewed Howard at his home in Holdenville in June 1999. Later the author interviewed Howard weekly for one year; Thelma Noland to the author, March 23, 2001, Okmulgee, OK.

¹⁰² “Petition Filed by Walkingstick,” *Okmulgee Daily Times*, March 20, 1935, 5.

¹⁰³ “Attention Voters!,” *Sunday Times Democrat* (Okmulgee County, OK), March 31, 1935.

¹⁰⁴ “Monrone, Harris to Face Voters,” *Okmulgee Daily Times*, April 3, 1935, 1.

¹⁰⁵ “Harris Elected by 75 Votes,” *Okmulgee Daily Times*, April 10, 1935, 1.

¹⁰⁶ “Walkingstick is Taken by Death,” *Holdenville Daily News*, April 6, 1938, 3.

¹⁰⁷ “S. R. Walkingstick Dies in Claremore,” *Okmulgee Daily Times*, April 7, 1938, 1.

¹⁰⁸ S. R. Walkingstick IPP.

¹⁰⁹ “S. R. Walkingstick Dies in Claremore,” *Okmulgee Daily Times*, April 7, 1938, 1; “Walkingstick is Taken by Death,” *Holdenville Daily News*, April 6, 1938, 3; “Rites for Aged Attorney Friday,” *Holdenville Daily News*, April 7, 1938, 4.

¹¹⁰ John D. Salter, “Funeral Services [for] S. R. Walkingstick, Methodist Church, Okmulgee, Oklahoma, April 8, 1938, copy in the author’s collection.