

OKLA
HANNALI

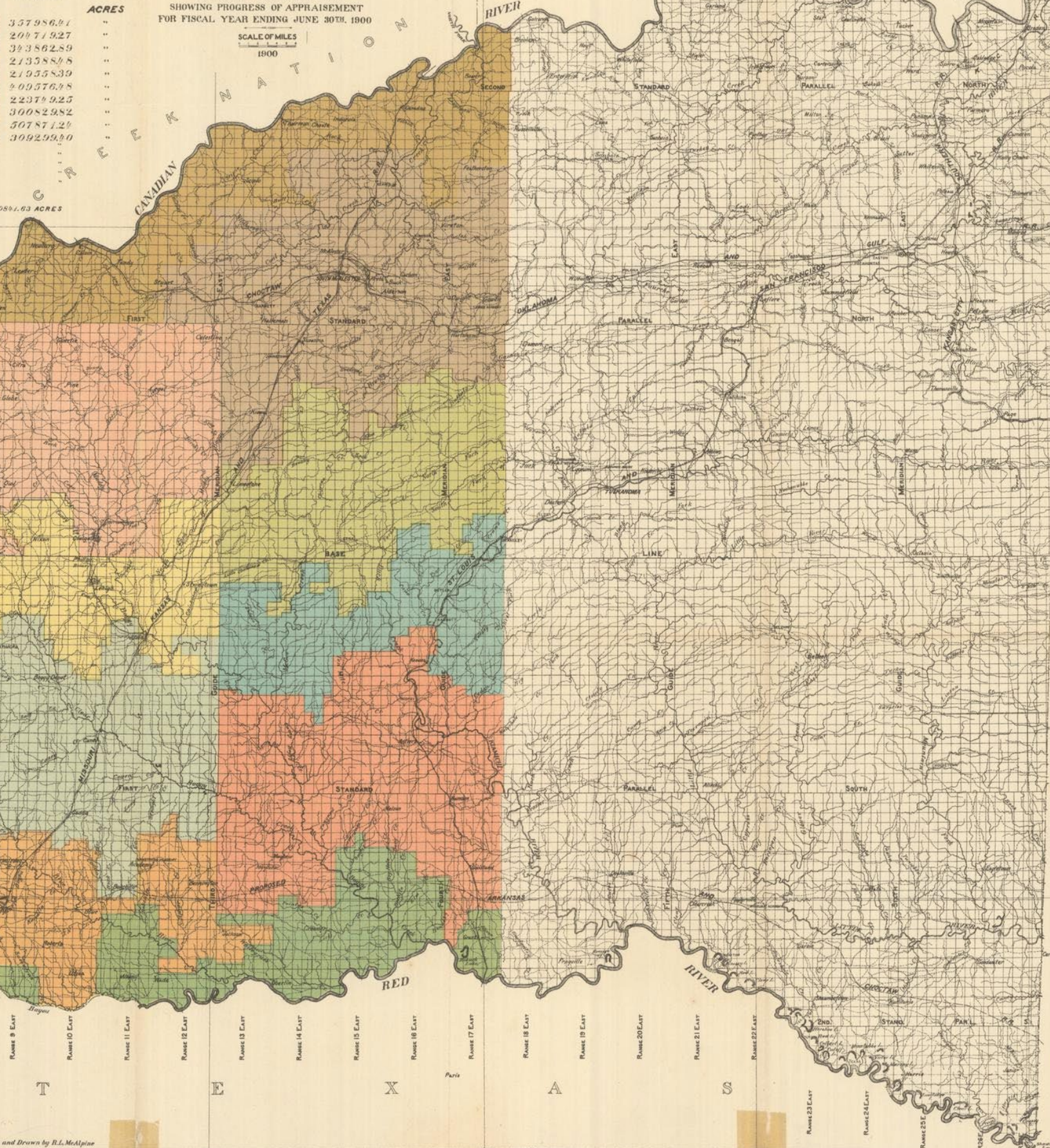
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
COMMISSION TO THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.
**MAP OF
CHOCTAW NATION**
INDIAN TERRITORY
SHOWING PROGRESS OF APPRAISEMENT
FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30TH, 1900

LEGEND

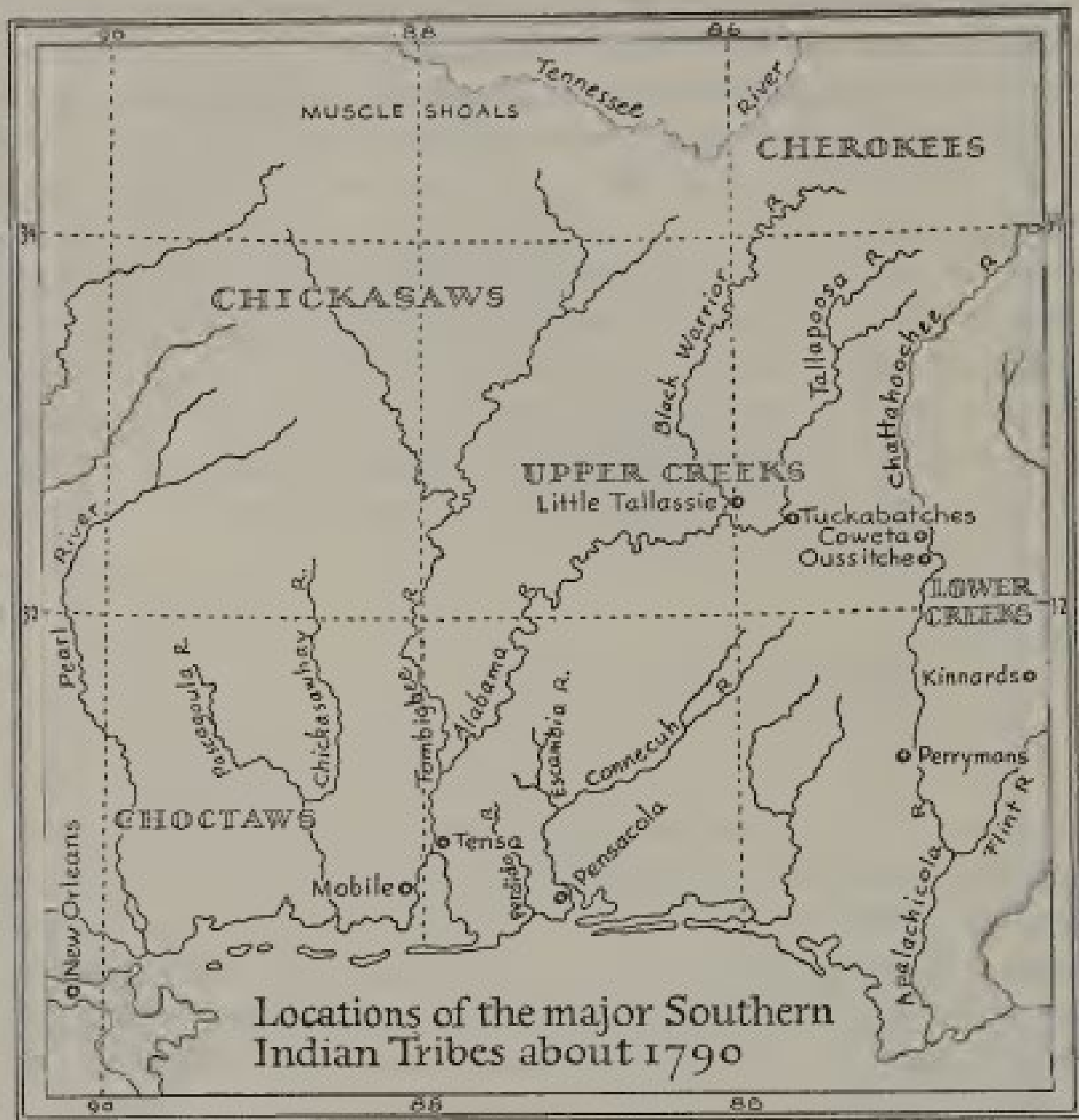
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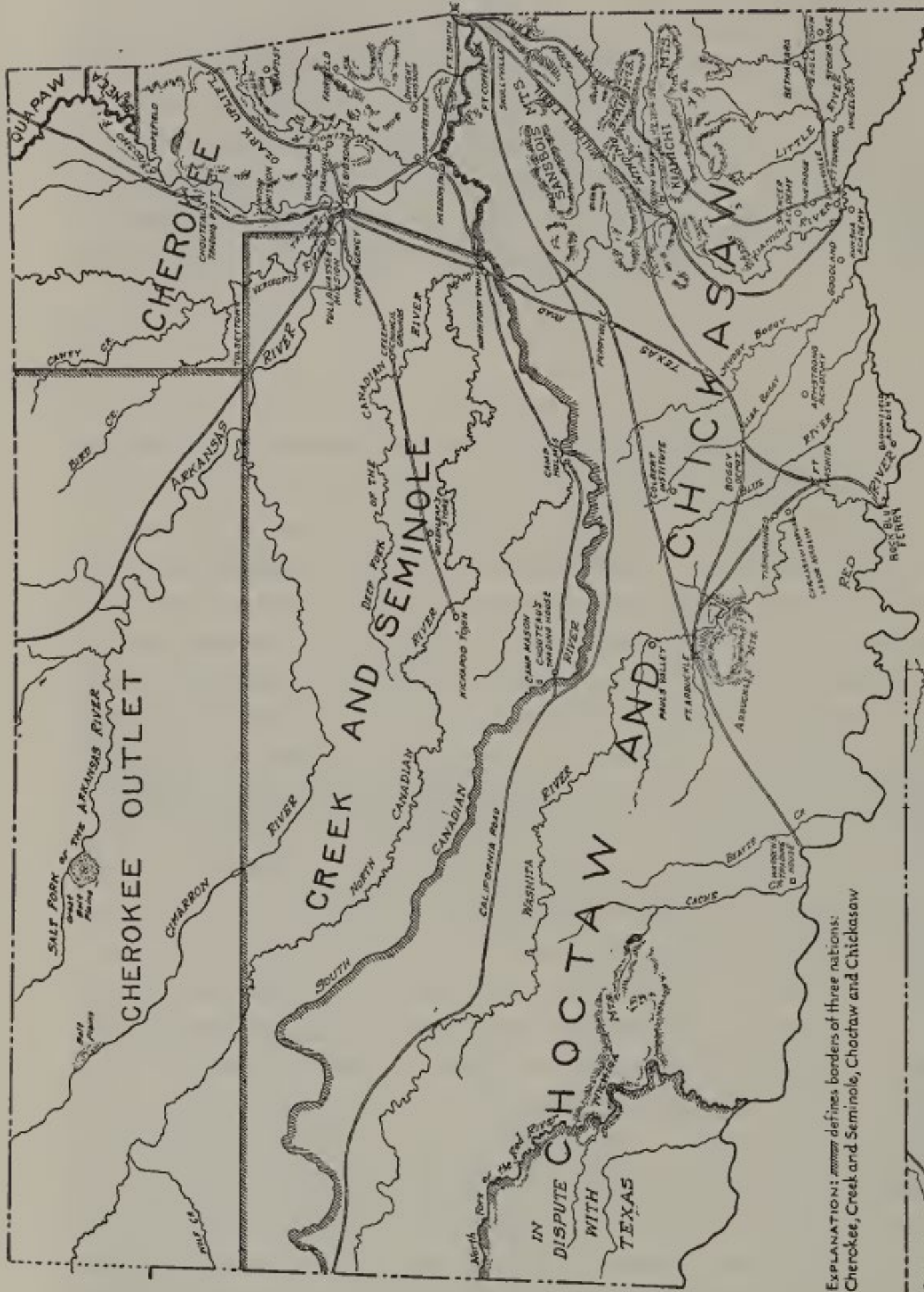
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SCALE OF MILES
1900



OKLAHOMA: A History of the Sooner State



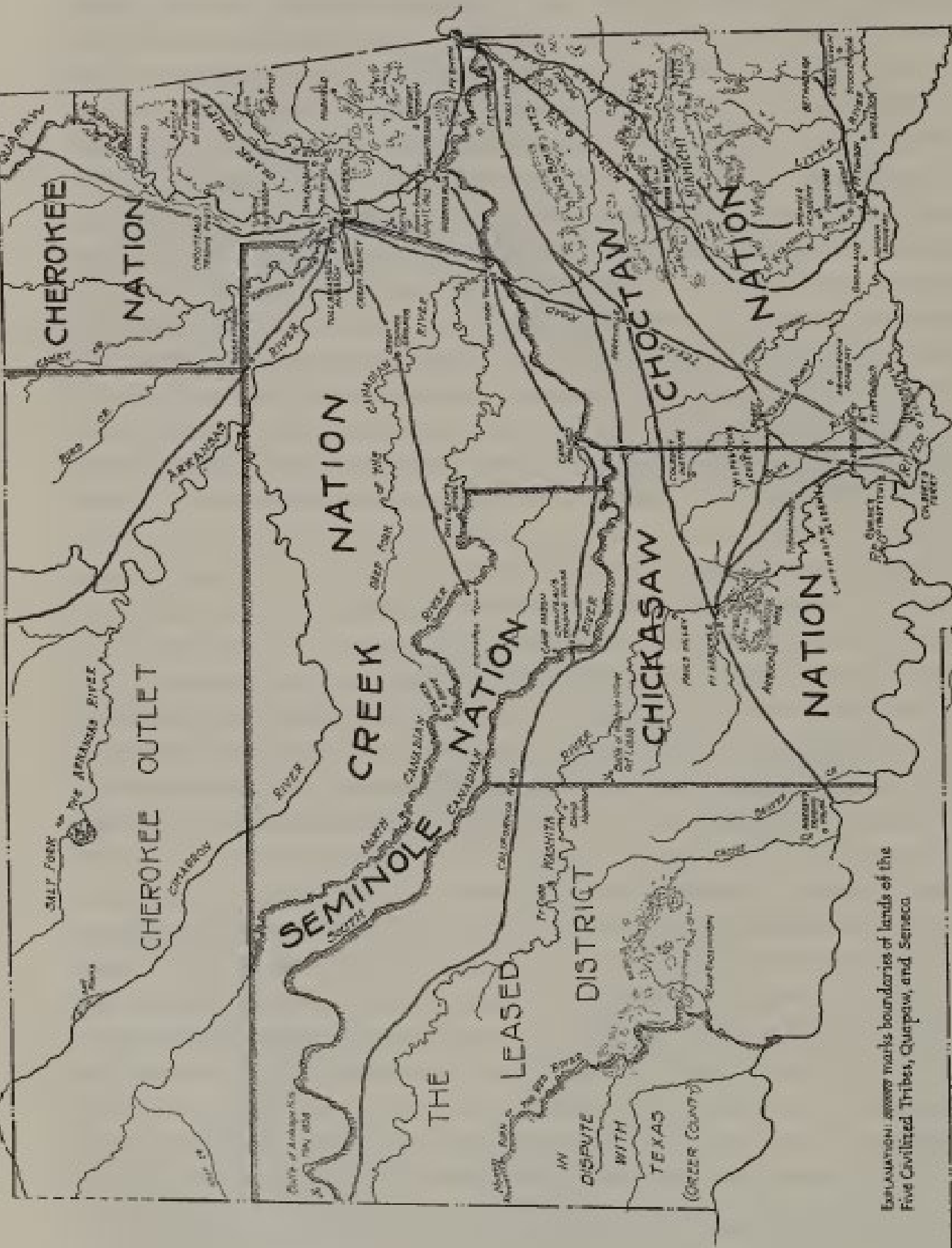


MAP OF
THE INDIAN TERRITORY
1837-55

EXPLANATION: *roman* defines borders of three nations:
Cherokee, Creek and Seminole, Choctaw and Chickasaw

RELINQUISHED BY TEXAS TO THE UNITED STATES
SEPT 9th 1850 UNATTACHED TO ANY
STATE OR TERRITORY UNTIL 1890.

OKLAHOMA: A History of the Sooner State



MAP OF
THE INDIAN TERRITORY
1856-66

Hell is full of men who die with dignity.

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Historical	<i>Okla Hannali</i>
c. 1800–1820 Traditional Life & Early Changes Choctaw Nation largely autonomous in Mississippi homeland. Influence of chiefs like Pushmataha. Traditional life includes farming (corn), hunting, established towns. Adoption of Euro-American methods: cotton cultivation, requests for blacksmiths, spinning/weaving begins. Early missionary contacts (e.g., ABCFM arrives 1818), limited initial impact. Choctaw society features distinct customs (food like tamfula, housing, social structure). Development of early tribal laws (e.g., against whiskey, infanticide).	Prologue (p. 1): Choctaw origin stories (Chatah/Chickasah, Nanih Waiya) and the patriarchs (Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee, etc.), setting the deep historical context. Ch. 1 (p. 3): Hannali's birth (c. 1800–1802) into this transitional world. Barua's interaction with Pushmataha reflects internal leadership dynamics and responses to external pressures. Hannali's upbringing shows traditional life (connection to nature, Choctaw humor/stoicism) alongside emerging changes.
c. 1820s Increasing Pressure & Treaty Era Treaties signal growing pressure: Doak's Stand (1820) cedes SW lands for western territory; Washington (1825) further defines terms. State of Mississippi extends laws over Choctaws, increasing pressure for removal. Rise of mixed-blood leaders (like Greenwood LeFlore) and factionalism within the tribe grows.	Ch. 2 (p. 12): The Innominee family's growing wealth through farming, trade, and significantly, slave labor, reflects the adaptation and economic stratification occurring pre-removal. Ch. 3 (p. 22): Direct reference to Doak's Stand. Jackson named "The Devil," embodying the perceived threat to Indian existence.

Andrew Jackson's election (1828) seen as catastrophic for tribal sovereignty.	Appearance of Greenwood LeFlore as a key figure in the internal tribal politics and accommodation/removal debate.
Late 1820s Early 1830s: Removal Policy & Exploration Indian Removal Act (1830) formalizes federal policy. Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) forces cession of remaining Mississippi lands. Exploratory parties dispatched west (like the one Hannali joins) to survey the new lands, often returning with negative reports about suitability for farming. Government delays in providing promised annuities, tools (plows, spinning wheels, guns), causing hardship and distrust.	Ch. 4 (p. 29): Hannali's journey west with Pitchlynn, Colbert, and others directly mirrors the historical exploratory delegations. Their assessment finds the land beautiful but ultimately unsuitable ("One can't eat district"), reflecting historical reports. The chapter captures the uncertainty and the weight of the decision to move.
1831–1834 The Trail of Tears & Resettlement (Indian Territory) Main period of Choctaw forced migration. - Extreme hardships: disease (cholera, smallpox), exposure, contractor fraud, government mismanagement (late/damaged supplies), high mortality. Devastating natural events like the 1833 Arkansas River flood worsen conditions. Establishment in Indian Territory: Three districts formed	Ch. 5 (p. 42): Depicts arrival in the new land, the establishment of the three districts, and the founding of key towns. Notes the census figure (19,554), reflecting the scale of the relocated population. Highlights the dangers from masked men (vigilantes/regulators) and the harsh realities of the frontier. Ch. 6 (p. 56): Hannali establishes his "Big House" and estate near Three Forks, symbolizing the

(Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, Apukshunnubbee/Oklafalaya). Early settlements founded (Skullyville, Doaksville, Fort Coffee area). Initial attempts at government: councils, chiefs, first courts, early laws addressing new realities (witchcraft, slavery). Beginnings of new economy: cotton gins, trade, sawmills established.	reconstruction effort. Marriage to Natchez (Cherokee) represents the new intertribal proximity and relationships.

1830s–1840s Reconstruction & “Whiskey Decade” Efforts to rebuild: establishing farms, homes, businesses. - Development of schools accelerates: Choctaw Academy (Kentucky) controversial but used; missionary schools founded in I.T. (Wheelock, Spencer Academy, Fort Coffee Academy, etc.); government provides some teachers. Missionaries (Wright, Byington, Kingsbury, etc.) play key roles in education, translation, and religious life, enduring severe hardships (sickness, poverty). Pervasive health issues: malaria ("remittent fevers"), smallpox, high infant/child mortality. Rampant alcohol abuse ("Whiskey Decade") fueled by border traders, hindering progress and causing violence. Temperance movement emerges in response.	Ch. 7 (p. 70): Named "The Whiskey Decade," capturing the pervasive problem of alcohol. Hannali's diverse enterprises (farming, trading, milling, livestock) illustrate the economic rebuilding and adaptation. Ch. 8 (p. 80): Features historical figures Sequoyah (representing literacy efforts, though Cherokee) and Peter Pitchlynn (key Choctaw leader). Hannali's complex family reflects the social reality and intermingling. The discussion about needing schools mirrors historical priorities.

Arrival of Chickasaws (1837–38) adds complexity, brings smallpox epidemic (1838); death of Chief Mushulatubbe (1838). Formal government develops: written constitution, laws printed, council house built. Slavery becomes more entrenched, particularly in southern districts.	
1840s–1850s Growth, Education & Factionalism Relative stability allows for progress in education, economy, governance. Choctaw school system expands: Male/Female Seminaries debated/funded, neighborhood schools increase literacy, Armstrong Academy operates. Chickasaws establish own schools (Academy, Wapanucka, Colbert Institute) and push for separation from Choctaws due to political/financial friction. Economic activity increases: Doaksville becomes major trade center; cotton planting expands (esp. Red River); farming improves. Newspapers established (Choctaw Telegraph, Intelligencer). Continued removal of Mississippi Choctaws adds population but also hardship. Choctaw constitution revised (1843), creating bicameral legislature; judicial system refined.	Ch. 9 (p. 93): Focuses on the "Children's Decades" and education, with Hannali's grandchildren attending schools, reflecting the growth of the tribal education system. The "Year of Big Thunders" likely incorporates historical floods and severe weather impacting the territory. Ch. 10 (p. 102): The conflict between Hannali (representing the more traditional, self-sufficient North) and Robert Jones (representing the wealthy, slave-holding, commercially oriented South) dramatizes the deep factional divide within the Choctaw Nation. Ch. 11 (p. 112): Hannali's travels and trade reflect the period's relative prosperity and movement. The mention of the California Road acknowledges the impact of westward expansion.

Factionalism persists, often linked to slavery, assimilation levels, and wealth disparities (wealthy, slave-holding, often mixed-blood South vs. more traditional North). California Gold Rush (1849+) brings traffic, trade, and sometimes disruption through the territory. Conflicts with Plains tribes (Comanche, Kiowa etc.) on western fringe continue.	
Late 1850s–1861 Secession Crisis & Confederate Treaties Treaty of 1855 formally separates Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, defining boundaries. Choctaw Nation experiences constitutional crisis (Skullyville Constitution vs. Doaksville Constitution, 1857–60), reflecting deep internal divisions over governance structure (centralized vs. district chiefs). Resolved by return to district chief system (1860). Growing pressure from US government/states for land cessions, railroad rights-of-way, and territorial organization. Southern agents (like Douglas Cooper) increasingly align tribes with Confederate cause. Confederate treaties signed (1861), splitting tribal loyalties; Unionists (like Opothleyahola among Creeks) face persecution.	Ch. 12 (p. 121): Introduces the key figures leading into the war: Albert Pike (Confederate commissioner), Stand Watie (Confederate Cherokee), Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw Chief navigating crisis). Discusses the concept of "Freedom Indians" resisting Confederate alignment. Ch. 13 (p. 133): Depicts the North Fork Town council where Confederate treaties were pushed. Pike's manipulative treaty-making process described. The phrase "Thirteen Civil Wars" serves as a metaphor for the internal strife ignited within each tribe.
1861–1865:	

Civil War Devastation in Indian Territory Territory becomes a battleground and refugee corridor. Major battles fought (Round Mountains, Chusto-Talasa, Chustenahlah involving Opothleyahola's neutral band). Intense internal warfare within tribes (esp. Cherokee Pins vs. Watie's Confederates). Widespread destruction of homes, farms, livestock; breakdown of civil order. High mortality rates from combat, disease, exposure, starvation. Stand Watie emerges as prominent Confederate General.	Ch. 14 (p. 143): References historical figures active in the war (Billy Bowlegs, Opothleyahola). The novel reflects the chaos and violence engulfing the territory. Ch. 15 (p. 158): Describes intense fighting and the brutal reality of the war, including massacres and the theme of inescapable conflict, mirroring events like the flight of Opothleyahola. Ch. 16 (p. 172): Focuses on the devastating personal and cultural impact of the war, symbolized by the attack on Hannali's home and family – representing the destruction faced by many.

1865–1870s Reconstruction & Punitive Treaties Surrender of Confederate Indian forces (Stand Watie is last Confederate General to surrender, June 1865). Reconstruction Treaties of 1866 impose harsh terms: substantial land cessions (esp. Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees), railroad rights-of-way granted, steps toward dismantling tribal sovereignty, controversial provisions for Freedmen status. Period of difficult rebuilding, poverty, political readjustment under new constraints.	Ch. 17 (p. 186): Title reflects the ironic injustice of Reconstruction – punishing loyalists/neutrals alongside Confederates. The chapter deals with the immediate aftermath and the beginning of rebuilding under the harsh new realities imposed by the 1866 treaties.
1870s–1890s	

Railroads, Cattle Trails & End of Isolation Railroads built across the territory, accelerating change and white intrusion. - Texas cattle drives cross tribal lands, creating economic opportunities but also friction. "Children's Decades": A period of relative peace allowing recovery, focus on education, but also increasing cultural assimilation. Boomer Movement (led by David Payne) agitates for opening "Unassigned Lands." The Dawes Commission was created in 1893 to force allotment of lands in severalty. Curtis Act (1898) effectively abolishes tribal courts and governments, paving way for statehood.	Ch. 18 (p. 196): Reflects the changing landscape with railroads altering town locations. The death of Pitchlynn marks the passing of an era. The focus shifts to the next generation, the "Children's Decades," and the subtle but pervasive cultural shifts. Ch. 19 (p. 205): Directly addresses the Boomer movement, cattle drives, and the figure of David Payne. The "sign in the sky: 160 acres" clearly symbolizes the push for allotment and the end of communal land ownership.
c. 1900 Dissolution & Approaching Statehood Allotment process underway, breaking up tribal estates. Tribal institutions dismantled or severely weakened. Final preparations for merging Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory into the state of Oklahoma (1907).	Ch. 20 (p. 216): Hannali's death around 1900 serves as a powerful symbol for the end of the independent Choctaw Nation and the traditional way of life. His final thoughts reflect the transition and the uncertain future. His status as a "Mingo" represents the lost era of respected tribal leadership.

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Prologue

Overview

The prologue gives the Choctaw origin story, beginning with the emergence of brothers Chatah and Chickasah from under the Gulf of Mexico, progenitors of all nations. It recounts key events like the great Mississippi River flood survived by the raft-builder Oklabashih, and the building of the Nanih Waiya mound as a memento of their origins. The Choctaw patriarchs—Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee—led during the Age of Patriarchs. The prologue also introduces the concept of Aleika (magic) and the Alikchi (magic men), and calls the sand plum as the Choctaw forbidden fruit. This historical and mythical background sets the stage for the main narrative, beginning in the early nineteenth century as counted by the White Eyes.

Summary

The Prologue frames the narrative as "the history of the world in a pecan shell," noting the sand plum was the "forbidden fruit" and the time is when "the White Eyes count the hundreds." It states the first people on earth were two brothers, Chatah and Chickasah, who emerged onto land from a cavern under the Gulf of Mexico. From them descend the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian nations and all other nations. It has been more than twenty but less than thirty generations since their emergence, positioning mankind as young ("boys only"). The brothers established nations "the day before yesterday," the nations scattered "yesterday," and several returned "less than yesterday," much changed. The Choctaws and Chickasaws have always lived adjacently, mostly in tolerable friendship, though

some blood was spilled, they were not enemies or strangers. The forbidden fruit for the Choctaws was the sand plum; eating it meant they "lost the easy way and must climb the hard hill forever."

The Choctaw version of Noe or Noah was Oklabashih, "the great raft builder." The Flood was a Mississippi River flood of "unequaled magnitude." At the time of, or as a consequence of, the Flood, the Choctaw Indians followed the Chickasaws across the river, from the west to the east side. The Mound, their Babel after the Flood, was Nanih Waiya ("the Bending Mountain") in the Tallago Valley of Mississippi. There was another Nanih Waiya in the old land before the river crossing, called the "Mountain from the Beginning"; the later one was a "memento of it built by hands." The magic men of the Choctaws were the Alikchi, while the magic itself, the Aleika, could surround even a private man, making him "a man of a special sort." The patriarchs were Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee. The Choctaws were still in the "Age of the Patriarchs" when the story's action begins. This summary represents the history of the world up to the tale's start, the beginning of the nineteenth century "as the White Eyes count the hundreds."

(Age of the Patriarchs), (Aleika), (Alikchi), (Babel), (Chatah), (Chickasah), (Choctaw), (Flood), (Gulf of Mexico), (Homostubbee), (Mississippi), (Mississippi River), (Moshulatubbee), (Nanih Waiya), (Oklabashih), (Puchshenubbee), (Pushmataha), (Tallago Valley), (White Eyes)

Characters

Alikchi / Aleika The Alikchi were the magic men of the Choctaws. The magic itself, the *Aleika*, could surround even a private man, who would then become "a man of a special sort."

Chatah One of the first two brothers on earth, along with Chickasah. They emerged onto land from a cavern under the Gulf of Mexico. The Choctaw nation is descended from him. It was "but the day before yesterday that the two brothers established the nations."

Chickasah One of the first two brothers on earth, along with Chatah. They emerged onto land from a cavern under the Gulf of Mexico. The Chickasaw nation is descended from him. After the Flood, the Choctaw Indians followed "their brother Chickasaws across the river, from the west to the east side." It was "but the day before yesterday that the two brothers established the nations."

Homostubbee One of the patriarchs of the Choctaws, along with Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee. The Choctaws were still in the Age of the Patriarchs at the start of the tale.

Moshulatubbee One of the patriarchs of the Choctaws, along with Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, and Pushmataha. The Choctaws were still in the Age of the Patriarchs at the start of the tale.

Nanìh Waiya One This was the Mound, the Babel, of the Choctaws after the Flood, located in the Tallago Valley of Mississippi, also called the Bending Mountain. There had been another Nanìh Waiya in the old land before the Choctaws crossed the river; that one was the Mountain from the Beginning, while the latter one was a "memento of it built by hands."

Oklabashih The "Noe or Noah of the Choctaws," known as the great raft builder.

Puchshenubbee One of the patriarchs of the Choctaws, along with Homostubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee. The Choctaws were still in the Age of the Patriarchs at the start of the tale.

Pushmataha One of the patriarchs of the Choctaws, along with Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, and Moshulatubbee. The Choctaws were still in the Age of the Patriarchs at the start of the tale.

Outline

I. The Origin and Early History According to Choctaw Tradition¹

1. The First Persons: Two brothers, Chatah and Chickasah.

- A. Emergence: Came onto land from a cavern under the Gulf of Mexico.
- B. Descendants: Ancestors of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, and indeed, "all other nations whatsoever."
- C. Antiquity: Occurred "more than twenty generations but less than thirty" ago.
 - a. Claims of greater antiquity for mankind are dismissed; "the fact is that we are boys only and have all the awkwardness of boys."
 - b. Timeline:
 - i. "It was but the day before yesterday that the two brothers established the nations."
 - ii. "It was yesterday only that the nations scattered."
 - iii. "It was less than yesterday that several of these nations much changed by their wanderings-returned to their homeland."

2. Choctaw and Chickasaw Relations:

- A. Proximity: Have always lived adjacent to each other.
- B. Friendship: Often in "tolerable friendship," despite some spilled

¹ Throughout *Okla Hannali*, Lafferty draws upon the work of Horatio B. Cushman (1820–1904), author of *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (1889), as well as the monographs of anthropologist and folklorist John Reed Swanton (1875–1958). In the "Prologue," he incorporates foundational Choctaw origin myths, including those concerning the origin brothers, the sacred mound Nanih Waiya, and a great flood. The sand plum transgression is Lafferty's invention, but Cushman's *History* documents these narratives, detailing the Choctaw and Chickasaw migration, the construction of Nanih Waiya ("they threw up a large mound... named it Nunih Waiyah," p. 21), and accounts of the Flood ("Ok-la-ta-ba-shih (the people's mourner) was the Noah of the Choctaws, in their tradition of the flood, who made a boat into which he placed his family and provisions and thus saved them," p. 487). Cushman presents these myths as historical and cultural anchors (see *History*, 18–21, 136, 222–232, 298–300, 487), while Lafferty uses them to create a mythic background for what follows

blood; not considered enemies or strangers.

3. The Choctaw Forbidden Fruit:

- A. Identity: The sand plum.
- B. Consequence of Eating: "they lost the easy way and must climb the hard hill forever."

4. The Choctaw Flood and Noah Figure:

- A. The Figure: Oklabashih, "the great raft builder."
- B. The Flood: A Mississippi River flood of "unequaled magnitude."
- C. Migration Consequence: At or immediately after the Flood, the Choctaws followed the Chickasaws across the river, west to east.

5. The Choctaw Mound (Babel):

- A. Name: Nanih Waiya ("the Bending Mountain").
- B. Location: Tallago Valley of Mississippi.
- C. Origin: Built by hands after the Flood as a "memento" of another Nanih Waiya in the "old land" (west of the Mississippi), known as the "Mountain from the Beginning."

6. Choctaw Magic:

- A. Practitioners: The Alikchi (magic men).
- B. The Magic Itself: The Aleika.
 - a. Effect: Could surround even a private man, making him "a man of a special sort."

7. The Choctaw Patriarchs:

- A. Identified: Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee.
- B. Historical Context: The Choctaws were still in the "Age of the Patriarchs" when the main narrative begins.

8. Narrative Starting Point:

- A. Summary: The preceding information covers "the history of the world up to the point where we begin our tale."
- B. Time Frame: The "start of the nineteenth century as the White Eyes count the hundreds."



Chapter 1

Overview

This chapter introduces Hannali Innominee, born around 1800 in the Okla Hannali District of the Choctaw Nation in present-day Mississippi. It details his distinctive Choctaw chuckling nature and an unusual childhood closeness with a she-bear, which shapes his perspective on the past as a time when everything was larger and more vibrant. A pivotal event is his father, Barua Innominee, renouncing Chief Pushmataha's leadership due to perceived assimilation ("sucking white men's eggs") and aligning his family with the more traditional Chief Moshulatubbee. The chapter establishes the historical context, including Choctaw internal divisions (Okla Falaya, Okla Tannaps, Okla Hannali), their interactions with European powers, early attempts at conversion, and Hannali's budding philosophical curiosity.

Summary

Chapter One begins by asserting that an epic requires a central figure, introducing Hannali Innominee. He is born in an unspecified year (1800, 1801, or 1802 according to his brother's later memory) in the Okla Hannali District of the Choctaw Nation. Destined to live nearly a century, Hannali belongs to the Innominee family of the Mishoweia town or clan, though they live somewhat removed from the main group and are part of the minority Hundred Families. His father is Barua Innominee, his mother is Chapponia, and his brothers are Pass Christian Innominee and Biloxi Innominee. Choctaw names are evolving into mixed forms; Hannali represents the third generation using the Innominee surname, though their ancestry extends further

back, before surnames were consistently used. He is raised on a south-flowing river in what is now the state of Mississippi.

Hannali is a bulky boy and a "Choctaw chuckler." This trait is distinct: Choctaws sit silently, then begin to quiver and chuckle intensely, sometimes recalling a joke from days before, shaking the trees. Young Hannali chuckles frequently and powerfully, often seemingly over prenatal or ancestral jokes, a habit he never learns to fully control. An early anecdote illustrates his nature: as a small child, he is found with an old she-bear. Papa Barua tries to retrieve him and is badly mauled. Mama Chapponia smooths things over, explaining to the bear that Hannali is her child, not a cub, despite looking and smelling like one. Both test this by sniffing him and remain doubtful. The she-bear becomes a family intimate for years. His brothers tease him by calling, "Your mother is looking for you!" leaving him unsure if they mean Mama Chapponia or the bear, until their chuckles reveal the joke. Years later, Hannali's son Travis asks him, "How was it go to be a child then?"

Hannali tells Travis that "Everything was larger then." He describes larger forest buffalo, bears (dismissing a contemporary bearskin as a "dogskin"), wolves, foxes, squirrels, gophers, doves, pigeons, and turkeys. Corn stood taller, nine ears made a bushel then (now 120), bushels were bigger, men were taller with grander voices, and women possessed a beauty now found only in his family, girls who sang sweetly and "could soft-talk you like little foxes." Stories were funnier then, citing one about a man laughing so hard his organs fell out, his wife having to wait for him to stop chuckling before putting them back. Hannali's speaking style, in both English and Choctaw, is full of running sentences without intonation, a trait common among Chocs. Educated Choctaws of his day punctuated either not at all or excessively and randomly. This style persists, he notes, citing examples from barrooms on First or Second Street in Tulsa, Reno or California Street in Oklahoma City, Kickapoo Street in Shawnee, Sixth Street in Okmulgee, or Callahan Street in Muskogee. Travis mentions Mama Natchez saying Hannali views the past with magnified "long time ago eyes." Hannali confirms this, likening it to looking through a boy's special glasses, an effect "he cannot duplicate."

When Hannali is still a small boy, his father Barua Innominee changes the family's district affiliation. Barua confronts the formidable Chief Pushmataha, resigning from his district. Barua accuses Pushmataha of having "sucked the white men's eggs" and still showing signs of it. Pushmataha, known as General Push to whites (a rank from the War of 1812, complete with a uniform he enjoyed wearing), is also a Medal Mingo, a true king, and dangerous to cross. Barua, though large and strong, faces Pushmataha, who is described contradictorily: accounts mention towering height and bulk (including Pushmataha's own), while an early Indian agent describes him as average height, lean, deriving power from intensity, speed, striking ability (knife, club, hand), a commanding voice, and a sharp mind. He is depicted as faster than lightning and louder than thunder, possessing hypnotic and acting skills that intimidated many.

When crossed, Pushmataha typically swells up, turns purple, and either attacks lethally or bursts into laughter. Seeing Barua unafraid after the accusation ("sucked white men's eggs"), Pushmataha does neither. He deflates, accepts the resignation, and orders Barua out of his district (the old Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District) permanently. Barua defies this, stating he will stay on his land but declare it annexed to whichever district accepts him. Pushmataha threatens death, but Barua turns and walks away, a grave insult to a Mingo. Half a mile away, Barua hears Pushmataha's booming laughter echo. Old Push, despite his fearsome nature, is remembered affectionately and later is said to have reverted to staunch Indian ways. Barua Innominee rides to Moshulatubbee, the Mingo of the old Okla Tannaps District (now named after him). Moshulatubbee is another very large man who has never assimilated. He doesn't inflate physically but possesses an equally disturbing, enigmatic grin, described by a Choctaw as like that of a "nuthatch that has just swallowed a wild cat." He maintains this grin even while acting as the district's executioner, a duty he performs without relish but without shirking. He is mostly pleasant.

Moshulatubbee acknowledges Barua's arrival, mentioning the "egg-sucking possum" insult to Pushmataha and welcoming Barua to "our

club." He explains the club is small, mostly dead members, with Barua being the fourth living one. Its members defied other Mingos like Homostubbee and Puckshenubbee. He recounts Pushmataha's anecdote about his own grin-trick diplomacy. Barua offers to join Moshulatubbee's district, or Puckshenubbee's, or be district-less. Moshulatubbee accepts him, declaring Barua his man but warning that, unlike Pushmataha, no one resigns from his district or crosses him and survives; it's a "dead man club." Barua's position becomes complex: hereditary chief of Mishoweia Town (though living apart), member of the minority Hundred Families, now a citizen of Moshulatubbee, but always Okla Hannali. He is nearly a minority of one, though five or six related families follow him, setting a precedent for his son Hannali.

Hannali, it is foretold, will also become a minority of one, maintaining he represents the correct lineage against eccentrics. Section two begins, stating nations scattered only "yesterday." The Spanish, French, and English returned, changed, interacting with Southern Indians. Choctaws were central, numerous, their language (Choctaw and Mavila-Choctaw pidgin) widespread. They were farmers (1/10 land cultivated), hunters, with good farms and livestock. A Choc informant refutes the idea they lacked horses before the Spanish, saying they always had them, like "hoot owls," dismissing the lack of bones with "Hog hominy hell." Chocs excelled at Ishtaboli (ball game), playing with hundreds, betting towns, gobbling like turkeys when scoring. They built strong towns, were hardy warriors imposing peace on the Old South.

The Choctaws are the Okla (the People). Their history with returning white men follows: 1528, near Mobile Bay, contact with Narvaez's Spanish expedition (threw stones, no major fight). 1540, same area, Choctaws under Tuscalusa fight De Soto's Spanish (Spanish claim victory). 1699, French found Biloxi, Mississippi; Choctaws maintain good relations. 1721, first African slaves arrive in Mobile; some escape to the Choctaws. Over the next century, more escapees join the Chocs. 1726, Jesuit Mathurin le Petit arrives, the first named priest. French missions fail, except in the Six Town District of Okla Hannali, where One Hundred Families of Mishoweia town, including the Innominees,

convert. The Three Nations of the Choctaws are Okla Falaya (allied with British), Okla Tannaps (allied with French), and Okla Hannali (confused). Their internal conflicts are minor. 1767 marks the birth of the "particular Devil of the Indians," an ominous event. 1786 sees the first Choctaw treaty with the United States, one of many (35-50), none successful.

Indians are philosophers who ask questions but find no answers. Hannali asks his father Barua about existence's origin and purpose. Barua attributes it to God, whose ways are "incomprehensible." Hannali objects that the word isn't Choctaw; Barua explains it's French, used by the priest, meaning "not know what it means." At age nine, Hannali asks his brother Pass Christian (12) how birds fly without being in two places simultaneously. Pass Christian admits similar childhood wonderings. Seeking wisdom, Hannali disturbs a sleeping bear reputed to know everything, hitting it with a rock. He asks for the "first order of business in the world." The bear's rumbling approach sends Hannali instantly up a tree, receiving the unspoken answer: "The first order of business in the world is to save your own skin." The chapter concludes evoking the ritual of smoking (pipe or the Choctaw-favored stogie) while listening to the "linked stories of the Man and the Family and the Nation," urging patience for the hundred-year tale spun from the lips of great men, some Mingos.

(African), (Barua), (Barua Innominee), (Biloxi, place), (Biloxi Innominee), (British), (California Street, Oklahoma City), (Callahan Street, Muskogee), (Chapponia), (Chatah), (Chickasah), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaws), (De Soto), (Devil, of the Indians), (English), (Falaya), (First Street, Tulsa), (French), (General Push), (God), (Gulf of Mexico), (Hannali), (Hannali Innominee), (Homostubbee), (Hundred Families), (Indian), (Indian agent), (Indian South), (Indians), (Ishtaboli), (Jesuit), (Kickapoo Street, Shawnee), (Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District), (Mama Chapponia), (Mama Natchez), (Mathurin le Petit), (Mavila-Choctaw), (Medal Mingo), (Mingo), (Mingo-Pushmataha), (Mingos), (Mishoweia), (Mishoweia Town), (Mississippi, state), (Mississippi River), (Mobile), (Mobile Bay), (Moshulatubbee, district), (Moshulatubbee, person), (Muskogee), (Nanih Waiya), (Narvaez

Expedition), (Natchez, people), (Negroes), (Okla), (Okla Falaya), (Okla Hannali), (Okla Hannali District), (Okla Tannaps), (Okla Tannaps District), (Oklabashih), (Oklahoma City), (Okmulgee), (Old Push), (Old South), (One Hundred Families), (Papa Barua), (Pass Christian, place), (Pass Christian Innominee), (People, The), (Puckshenubbee), (Pushmataha, district), (Pushmataha, person), (Reno, street), (Second Street, Tulsa), (Shawnee, place), (Six Town District), (Sixth Street, Okmulgee), (South), (Spanish), (Tallago Valley), (Tannaps), (Territory), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Tulsa), (Tuscalusa), (United States), (War of 1812), (White Eyes)

Characters

Hannali Innominee is born in an unknown year (1800, 1801, or 1802) in the Okla Hannali District of the Choctaw Nation (Mississippi) (23). He is a "bulky boy, a Choctaw chuckler" (24). From a very young age, he would chuckle until it was feared he would injure himself, seldom able to hold in his glee (24). An early story relates he was found with an old she-bear; his father Barua was mauled trying to separate them, and his mother Chapponia had to intervene, explaining to the bear Hannali was her child, though both she-bear and mother, after sniffing him, doubted he wasn't a bear cub, as he "smelled like a bear cub and he looked like one" (24). Hannali would later come to look like a "great hulking he-bear" (24). When his brothers called, "Your mother is looking for you!" he wouldn't know if they meant Chapponia or the she-bear until they chuckled (24). Years later, his son Travis asks him, "How was it go to be a child then?" (24). Hannali tells his son "Everything was larger then," recounting bigger buffalo, bears ("you call that a bearskin on that wall it is only a dogskin I tell you yet it's from the biggest bear ever killed in the Territory" (25)), wolves, foxes, squirrels, gophers, doves, pigeons, and turkeys (25). He claims corn stood taller, bushels were bigger, men were taller with grander voices, and women had a beauty "to be found nowhere today except in my own family" (25). He states stories were funnier then, recounting one about a man who laughed until "he split open one lung went flying out... his stomach and his little stomach came flying out then his liver out came all his entrails and the organs" while his wife waited for him to stop chuckling before putting them back (25).

Hannali speaks (in English or Choctaw) by running sentences together without intonation for period or question (25). At age nine, he asks his father Barua philosophical questions like "Where do I come from where do I go what is the purpose of it who thought of it?" (31). He asks his brother Pass Christian (then twelve), "How can a bird move through the air and not be two places at one time?" (31). Seeking wisdom, Hannali questions an old bear in a laurel grove, hitting it on the snout with a rock to wake it (31). He sings out, "Old bear who know everything, tell me what is the first order of business in the world" (31). The bear emerges with a rumble, causing Hannali to find himself instantly in the top of a tree; the bear non-verbally communicates the answer: "The first order of business in the world is to save your own skin" (31).

Barua Innominee: Hannali's father, of the Mishoweia town/clan and the Hundred Families (23). When Hannali is very small, Barua tries to get him away from an old she-bear and is "badly mauled" (24). When Hannali is still a small boy, Barua changes the family's "nationality" by resigning from Chief Pushmataha's district (the Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District) (26-27). He tells Pushmataha he is resigning because Pushmataha "had sucked the white men's eggs and still had the froth of them on his mouth" (26). Barua is "a very big strong man" (26). Confronting Pushmataha, Barua states he will "not get out of his district physically," but only by declaring himself out, and will continue to live on his land, announcing it annexed to whichever district accepts him (27). After Pushmataha threatens to kill him, Barua turns and walks away without being dismissed (27). He then rides to Moshulatubbee, Mingo of the Okla Tannaps District (27). Moshulatubbee notes Barua called Pushmataha "an egg-sucking possum" (28). Barua asks, "I have resigned from a district how have I joined a club?" (28). After discussion, Moshulatubbee accepts him, stating, "I will have you now you are my man I am your Mingo whoever touches you touches me you are now of the Moshulatubbee" (28). His position is awkward, formerly a hereditary town chief of Mishoweia but now a minority citizen of the Moshulatubbee, though remaining an "Okla Hannali forever" (28). Five or six families follow him in his new allegiance (28). When Hannali asks about the purpose of existence, Barua replies, "God thought of it, and the ways of God are incomprehensible" (31). He explains "incomprehensible" is a

"French people word used by the priest," adding "I do not know what it means I believe the priest did not know what it means I believe the word itself means not know what it means" (31).

Biloxi Innominee: Hannali's brother (23). Along with Pass Christian, he would call to Hannali, "Your mother is looking for you!" causing Hannali confusion between Mama Chapponia and the she-bear (24).

Chapponia: Hannali's mother (23). After Barua is mauled by the she-bear, Mama Chapponia comes "in and smooth things over," explaining to the bear that Hannali is her child, not a cub, though acknowledging the resemblance (24).

Moshulatubbee: The Mingo of the Okla Tannaps District (later named Moshulatubbee district after him) (27). Barua Innominee rides to him after resigning from Pushmataha's district (27). He is "another very large man" who had never "sucked white men's eggs" (27). He has a "great grin that could not be fathomed," likened by a Choctaw to "that of the nuthatch that has just swallowed a wild cat" (27). He wears the grin even when killing a man as district executioner (27). He greets Barua, referencing Barua's insult to Pushmataha, and says Barua has now joined "our club" (28). He explains the club consists of those who defied Homostubbee, Puckshenubbee, Pushmataha, or himself, stating it has "maybe twenty dead members and you be only the fourth living one" (28). He accepts Barua into his district, claiming Barua as "my man" and warning that "nobody ever resigns from my district" and "no one man ever cross me and live it is all a dead man club who have stood up to me" (28).

Pass Christian Innominee: Hannali's brother (23). Calls to Hannali with Biloxi (24). When Hannali (age nine) asks how a bird can move without being in two places at once, Pass Christian (age twelve) responds, "I also wondered about these things when I was a boy" (31).

Priest (Unnamed): Mentioned by Barua Innominee as the source of the French word "incomprehensible" (31). Barua expresses doubt that the priest himself understood the word's meaning (31).

Pushmataha: Chief of the Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District where Hannali was born (26, 27). Barua Innominee resigns from his district (26). Pushmataha had served in the War of 1812, held a general's rank ("General Push") with the white men, had a uniform he liked to wear, but was also a "Medal Mingo for all that, a king, and a real king" (26). Described as having "burning intensity, his incredible speed and striking power," a "fabulous voice," and an "exciting mind" along with "hypnotic talents and great acting ability" (26). When crossed, he would "swell up and turn purple," then either strike the offender dead or break into "echoing laughter" (27). He accepts Barua's resignation but tells him to get out of the district forever (27). He threatens to kill Barua and "drag him out of the district by his dead heels" when Barua refuses to leave physically (27). After Barua departs, Pushmataha lets out a "giant laughter... bouncing around the hills" (27). He is called a "fine fellow for all his fearsome aspect" and is remembered affectionately by the Choctaws (27). He later "wiped that white man's egg off his face and became Indian of the Indians again" (27).

She-bear (Unnamed): An old she-bear found with young Hannali (24). She mauls Barua Innominee when he tries to take Hannali away (24). Mama Chapponia explains to her that Hannali is not a bear cub (24). The bear sniffs Hannali and doubts the explanation, as he smelled and looked like a cub (24). She remains near the Innominee farm for years "until she died, and became an intimate of the family" (24). Her presence leads to confusion when Hannali's brothers call out "Your mother is looking for you!" (24).

Travis: Hannali's son is mentioned in dialogue that occurs years after the events of this chapter. He asks Hannali about his childhood (24) and remarks on Hannali's tendency to exaggerate (25) and his "long time ago eyes" (26).

Outline

I. The Man and His Origins

1. Setting the Scene:

- A. Purpose: Chronicles are well and good, but an epic requires "a man in the middle of it."
- B. The Protagonist: "The man is going. He is already born." He is Hannali Innominee.

2. Birth and Background:

- A. Time: An unknown year (recollected later by brother as 1800, 1801, or 1802).
- B. Place: Okla Hannali District of the Choctaw Nation (later Mississippi).²
- C. Destiny: Predicted to be a "big man" who would "almost exactly fill a century."
- D. Family Lineage:
 - a. Clan: Innominee family from Mishoweia town/clan, but removed some distance.³

² Okla Hannali means "People of the Six Towns." The six towns formed the southern division of the old Choctaw Nation in Mississippi and were distinct in dialect and customs: "The Sixtown Indians were regarded with some show of contempt by the other Choctaw and their speech was made a subject of ridicule, but they seem to have contributed their full share, if not somewhat more than their full share, to the political and intellectual development of the tribe." Swanton, *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians*: 57.

³ Misheweya, identified by early French chroniclers as an important Choctaw town. Lafferty describes the Innominees as belonging to the Mishoweia town or clan, specifically a minority within that group known as the Hundred Families. Swanton highlights the complexity of Choctaw social structures, including moieties, clans (iksa), and local groups, noting historical confusion about their distinctions. He argues there is little evidence of genuine totemic clans among the Choctaw, stating: "There are only the faintest traces of groups with truly totemic designations, the animal and plant names which occur seeming not to have had a totemic connotation. The most important apparent exception is furnished by Adam Hodgson, who traversed the territory of most of the large southeastern tribes on a missionary journey in the year 1820. On the banks of the Yalobusha River he 'reached the dwelling of a half-breed Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw, and whose hut was on the frontier of the two nations.' This man, who 'spoke English very well,' told him among other matters 'that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther family, the Bird family, the Raccoon family, the Wolf family: he belonged to the Raccoon family, but his children to the family of his wife.'" Swanton points out that all these totemic groups except the Wolf were definitely present among the Chickasaw, and the Wolf appears in Morgan's list. He speculates

- b. Sub-Group: Part of the "Hundred Families," an "odd minority" within the Mishoweia.
- c. Parents: Father Barua Innominee, mother Chapponia.⁴
- d. Siblings: Brothers Pass Christian Innominee and Biloxi Innominee.
- e. Naming Convention: Choctaw names evolving into mixed forms. Hannali is third generation of Innominees using surnames. Ancestors traced further back, but surname use was recent.
- f. Upbringing: Raised on a "south-flowing river" in what is now Mississippi.

3. Early Character and Appearance:

- A. Physique and Demeanor: A "bulky boy," characterized as a "Choctaw chuckler."
- B. The Choctaw Chuckle:
 - a. Description: Distinctive laugh starting after long, blank-faced silence, building to quivering chuckles that could "shake the leaves off the trees."
 - b. Trigger: Could be a remembered joke (day or week old), possibly not the same joke for everyone chuckling.
 - c. Hannali's Chuckle: As a youth, would chuckle intensely, sometimes feared to injure himself. Seldom able to contain his glee ("prenatal witticism or ancestral joke"). "In all his life he never learned to hold it in."
- C. The She-Bear Incident⁵:

this Choctaw man may have been assigned a totemic group upon marrying into the Chickasaw tribe or that northern Choctaws had adopted Chickasaw customs. Swanton, *Source Material*, 79–83; Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*:15.

⁴ Barua Innominee is a corruption of the French Baron Hinomine or the like; Pass Christian and Biloxi are names of towns on the Gulf Coast.

⁵ Hannali's childhood intimacy with a she-bear draws upon a rich vein of human-animal kinship and transformation tales found throughout the Southeast. Bears often feature as powerful beings, sometimes ancestors or closely related to humans, especially orphans or individuals with special

- a. Discovery: Found as a small child with an old she-bear.
- b. Father's Attempt: Barua tried to retrieve him, got "badly mauled."
- c. Mother's Intervention: Mama Chapponia "smooth things over," explaining to the bear it was her child, despite appearances.
- d. Mutual Doubt: Bear and Chapponia both tested the boy ("snuffle the boy"); both doubted he wasn't a bear cub. "Hannali smelled like a bear cub and he looked like one." Prediction: Would grow to look like a "great hulking he-bear."
- e. Bear's Integration: Became an "intimate of the family" for years until her death.⁶
- f. Brothers' Teasing: Would call "Your mother is looking for you," leaving Hannali unsure if they meant Chapponia or the bear, until they chuckled.

4. Hannali's Reflections on Childhood (prompted by son Travis):

- A. Travis's Question: "How was it go to be a child then?"
- B. Hannali's Answer: "Everything was larger then."
 - a. Comparisons: Forest buffalo > plains buffalo; bears larger (current bearskin is "only a dogskin" from biggest Territory bear); wolves, foxes, squirrels, gophers, doves, pigeons all larger than contemporary equivalents (coyotes, badgers, turkeys).
 - b. Exaggeration Acknowledged (by Travis): "Maybeso you exaggerate."
 - c. Hannali's Rebuttal (Quote): "Of course I do with a big red heart I exaggerate..."
 - d. Further Details: Corn stood taller (9 ears = bushel then vs. 120 now); bushels were bigger; men taller with "grander voice"; women possessed a "beauty to be found nowhere today except in my own family"; girls sang prettily, walked

destinies. Swanton records numerous stories involving Bear People and human interactions. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: Koasati 28; Alabama 32; Alabama 33.

⁶ The origin legends discussed by Swanton frequently mention the Choctaw emerging from the earth, from the Nanih Waiya mound. Swanton, *Source Material*: 5-37.

finely, coul "soft-talk you like little foxes."

- e. Humor Then vs. Now: Stories were funnier, citing tale of man laughing until his organs flew out (lung, stomach, liver, entrails). His wife had to wait for him to stop chuckling to put them back. Conclusion: "things were funnier then my son."

5. Choctaw Speech and Mannerisms:

- A. Speech Pattern: Sentences run together, no intonation for period or question (in English or Choctaw).
- B. Punctuation Issues (Educated Choctaws): Either none or excessive/random. Examples: page-long depositions without breaks, commas between almost every word, misplace colons/semicolons. Reason: "Someone had told them that they must punctuate, but nobody would ever be able to tell them how."
- C. Modern Persistence: Still observable "even today" in barrooms (Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Shawnee, Okmulgee, Muskogee).
- D. Mama Natchez's Observation: Said Hannali saw with "long time ago eyes and they magnify."
- E. Hannali's Confirmation (Quote): "True they magnify now we have forgotten how I know that I look back through the glasses of a boy who needed none a lens-grinder man has told me that this is an effect he cannot duplicate."
- F. Summary: "Everything was larger and was drawn with the old clear lines."

6. Barua Innominee Changes Allegiance:

- A. Timing: When Hannali was "still a small boy."
- B. Action: Barua confronted Chief Pushmataha, announced resignation from his district.
- C. Accusation: Claimed Pushmataha had "sucked the white men's eggs" and had "froth of them on his mouth."
- D. Pushmataha's Status:
 - a. Titles: Known as General Push to whites (War of 1812 rank), wore general's uniform.

- Also a "Medal Mingo," a "real king." Not to be crossed.⁷
- b. Description: Accounts vary (tall/bulky vs. average/lean). Consensus on "burning intensity," speed, power, "fabulous voice," "exciting mind." Killed swiftly, voice louder than thunder. Had hypnotic talents, acting ability, scared men easily.
 - c. Reaction When Crossed: Would "swell up and turn purple," then either strike dead or "break into echoing laughter."
 - E. Barua's Stature: "very big strong man," though not a slow giant. Pushmataha "could strike right through big men like that."
 - F. The Confrontation: Pushmataha did neither (swell nor laugh). Accepted Barua's "defection," ordered him out of the Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District "at once and forever."
 - G. Barua's Defiance: Refused to leave physically, declared his land annexed to whichever district would accept him.
 - H. Pushmataha's Threat: To kill Barua and drag him out "by his dead heels."
 - I. Barua's Departure: Turned and walked away without being dismissed (a sign of disrespect).⁸
 - J. Pushmataha's Response: Heard laughing "bouncing around the hills" when Barua was half a mile away. Assessment: "Old Push was a fine fellow for all his fearsome aspect." Choctaws

⁷ Pushmataha (ca. 1764–1824) was a principal chief of the Choctaws, famous as a warrior and orator. He served as a brigadier general in the U.S. Army under Andrew Jackson during the War of 1812 and the Creek War. He died in Washington, D.C., while negotiating a treaty and was buried with full military honors in the Congressional Cemetery. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, 41, 50. Mingo is Choctaw for "chief." Swanton quotes an anonymous French memoir: "In each village, besides the chief and the war chief, there are two Tascamingoutchy [U made a war chief"] who are like lieutenants of the war chief, and a Tichou-mingo [U assistant chief"] who is like a major. It is he who arranges for all of the ceremonies, the feasts, and the dances. He acts as speaker for the chief, and oversees the warriors and strangers when they smoke. These Tichou-mingo usually become village chiefs." Swanton, *Source Material*, 91.

⁸ The resignation of Barua Innominee reflects the political landscape documented by Cushman, including distinct leadership roles (Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee) and historical internal dynamics. Lafferty draws on Cushman's description of Moshulatubbee as "calm and dignified in council" for Barua's political action. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians*, 34-35, 78, 274, 381-383.

remembered him fondly. He later "wiped that white man's egg off his face and Indian of the Indians again."

7. Barua Joins Moshulatubbee:

- A. Destination: Rode to Moshulatubbee, Mingo of Okla Tannaps District (later named Moshulatubbee).⁹
- B. Moshulatubbee's Character: Very large man, never "sucked white men's eggs." Did not swell purple like Pushmataha, but equally disturbing if wronged. Had a "great grin that could not be fathomed" ("like that of the nuthatch that has just swallowed a wild cat"). Grinned even when killing (as Mingo, he was district executioner). Mostly "a pleasant man."
- C. Moshulatubbee's Greeting (Quote): "You have ride slow the story have ride faster... I hear you have call the old bull an egg sucking possum now you have join our club."
- D. The "Club": Described as "very small," maybe twenty dead members, Barua the fourth living. Members defied Homostubbee. Puckshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee himself were members. Moshulatubbee sweats foully after confronting Homostubbee, wives have to burn clothes.
- E. Pushmataha's Anecdote about Moshulatubbee: Claims Moshulatubbee leaves his grin, walks away for a ramble/drink/nap while Pushmataha holds breath/swells purple, then Moshulatubbee slips back into the grin, having "tricked"

⁹ Foreman describes the rivalries involving Mushulatubbee, Pushmataha's nephew Nitakechi, and the more accommodationist Greenwood LeFlore during discussions preceding removal. He notes, "The attitude of the politicians in the tribe does not make a pretty picture. Familiar with the government's policy of bribing those in position to appear and bind the tribe, their desire to share in this largess is evident in their jealousies and contentions for official preferment when a treaty was negotiated and large sums of money expended in executing it" (Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 29; see also 26). Okla Tannaps, "People of the Opposite Side (or Party)," was the eastern division, led by principal chief Moshulatubbee (ca. 1775–1838), sometimes a rival of Pushmataha. Moshulatubbee signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) and served as chief of the northern district in Mississippi. The Moshulatubbee District in Indian Territory was later named after him (Swanton, *Source Material*: 56, 96; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 55; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, 40, 52–54).

him.

- F. Barua's Offer: To join Moshulatubbee's district, or Puckshenubbee's if refused, or be "a man without a district."
- G. Moshulatubbee's Acceptance: "I will have you now you are my man I am your Mingo whoever touches you touches me..." Issues warning: "nobody ever resigns from my district." Boasts he is unlike Pushmataha ("I do not boast I do not blow up"). Claims "no four men no two men no one man ever cross me and live it." Invites Barua: "you come see me some time tell me I have sucked eggs then we see some fun man."
- H. Barua's New Status: Awkward position. Hereditary chief of Mishoweia Town (though lived apart, minority Hundred Families). Now citizen of Moshulatubbee, but "still an Okla Hannali forever." Became "almost a minority of one."¹⁰
- I. Followers: Five or six families (kinsmen, close friends) followed him. Set a pattern.

8. Hannali's Future Path:

- A. Foreshadowing: Hannali would also become a "minority of one," maintaining he represented the "correct and main line" against the eccentric.

II. Historical and Cultural Context

1. The Scattering and Return of Nations:

- A. Timeline: Occurred "only yesterday" and "less than yesterday."
- B. Returning Nations: Spanish, French, English, "greatly changed."
- C. Interaction: Set up interplay with the "Indians of the South."

2. The Choctaw People (The Okla):

- A. Position: Central and most numerous tribe of the South.
- B. Language: Dominated region (own form and Mavila-Choctaw pidgin trade tongue).
- C. Lifestyle: Farmers (perhaps 1/10 land cultivated), good hunting,

¹⁰ Homostubbee and Puchshenubbee were chiefs who preceded Pushmataha and Moshulatubbee. Homastubbee (d. 1809) was succeeded by his son, Mushulatubbee. Puchshenubbee (d. 1824) died in Washington, D.C., along with Pushmataha.

farms, livestock.

D. Horses:

- a. Conventional View: Indians had no horses until Spanish arrival.
- b. Counter-Claim (from a Choc): "this is a lie... The Choctaws always had horses."
- c. Author's Skepticism: "Where are their bones then?"
- d. Choc's Retort: "Hog hominy hell how do I know... the Chocs had horses as long as they had hoot owls."

E. Ishtaboli: Greatest ball players; sometimes 100 men/side; bet towns; gobbled like turkeys when scoring.¹¹

F. Settlements and Warfare: Strong timber/earth towns; hardy warriors seldom needing war; presence imposed "basic peace on the old South."

3. Chronology of Contact and Change:

- A. 1528: Contact with Narvaez Expedition near Mobile Bay. Threw stones, no real fight.
- B. 1540: Met De Soto's Spanish forces (under Tuscalusa) near Mobile Bay. Fought. Spanish claimed victory; Choctaws kept no chronicles.
- C. 1699: French founded Biloxi, Mississippi. Choctaws "got on well with the French" during the following century.
- D. 1721: First African slaves arrived in Mobile. Some escaped to Choctaws within a week. Trend continued for 100 years.¹²
- E. 1726: Jesuit Mathurin le Petit arrived, first known priest. French missions failed, except for converting the "One Hundred Families" of Mishoweia town (including Innominees) in Okla Hannali district.¹³
- F. The Three Choctaw Nations (Historical Alliances):

¹¹ Ishtaboli (stickball) was a major social and ceremonial event, rough, involving high stakes and sometimes hundreds of players. Swanton, *Source Material*: 140–155; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 95–99.

¹² Introduction of African slaves (Mobile, 1721) and subsequent integration among Southeastern tribes.

¹³ Jesuit Mathurin le Petit among Choctaw in 1720s. The Choctaws were the only nation of the Five Tribes formally introduced to Catholicism before Removal. Father Mathurin Le Petit, S.J. (1693–1739), letters cited are found

- a. Okla Falaya: Allied with British.
- b. Okla Tannaps: Allied with French.
- c. Okla Hannali: "confused unto themselves."¹⁴
- d. Nature of Wars: Internecine conflicts were "slight ones, only family affairs or town affairs."
- G. 1767: Birth of the "particular Devil of the Indians," responsible for future deaths/dispersal. Event known "like an omen," causing a "shudder" through Indian South.
- H. 1786: First treaty with the new United States. One of 35-50 treaties; "None of the treaties was successful."

4. Philosophical Nature and Queries:

- A. General Trait: "All Indians are philosophers but not very good ones." Ask questions, find no answers.
- B. Hannali's Existential Questions (to Barua): "Where do I come from where do I go what is the purpose of it who thought of it?"
- C. Barua's Response: "God thought of it... the ways of God are incomprehensible."
- D. Hannali's Linguistic Objection: "What is incomprehensible is not a Choctaw word."
- E. Barua's Explanation: "Is French people word used by the priest... I do not know what it means I believe the priest did not know what it means I believe the word itself means not know what it means."
- F. Hannali's Scientific Question (age 9, to Pass Christian, 12): "How can a bird move through the air and not be two places at one time? ... how does it move unless there are times between the times."
- G. Pass Christian's Reply: "I also wondered about these things

in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, vol. 68 (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co., 1900).

¹⁴ The three jurisdictional districts of the Choctaw in their Mississippi homeland were Okla Falaya (Long People), Okla Tannaps ("People of the Opposite Side (or Party)"), and Okla Hannali ("People of the Six Towns") (Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 28–29). The Okla Hannali had a distinct dialect and customs (see note 2), possibly explaining their unique history concerning early French missionaries. Internal divisions, notably between pro-British Okla Falaya and pro-French Okla Tannaps factions, led to civil conflict resolved by treaty in 1750. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 92; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 28–29.

when I was a boy."

5. Hannali and the Bear of Wisdom:

- A. Premise: An old bear in a laurel grove possessed "all wisdom."
- B. Action: Hannali questions the sleeping bear, waking it by hitting its snout with a rock.
- C. The Question (Sung): "Old bear who know everything... tell me what is the first order of business in the world."
- D. The Result: Bear emerges with a rumble; Hannali is instantly atop a tree "without remembering how he climbed it."
- E. The Answer (Non-Verbal): "The first order of business in the world is to save your own skin."

6. Novel Interlude:

- A. Activity: "They smoke." Story continues ("linked stories of the Man and the Family and the Nation").
- B. Audience Admonition: "Be you not restive! It is a hundred-year long story... cannot be told in a moment."
- C. Ritual Continues: Invitation to "Take the pipe when it is passed to you, or light up a stogie."¹⁵
- D. Sacred Items: Pipe sacred to all Indians; cigar ("stogie") sacred to Choctaws.
- E. Source of Tale: Comes "from the lips of great men, and some of them were Mingos."

¹⁵ Swanton is measured on this point, writing that the "earliest of all of authorities is the only one who attempts to describe the peace making ritual of the Coctaw in anything like detail." He then quotes the following passage from that source: "When they have promised to conclude a peace five or six leading men of the nation come, bearing a calumet or pipe made of a stone, red like coral, which is found in rocks in the Illinois country..." Swanton, *Source Material*: 169.



Chapter Two

Overview

The chapter tells the story of the rise of the Innominee family to wealth within the Choctaw Nation, focusing on their industriousness, building projects, and unique acquisition of Negro slaves. It highlights Hannali Innominee's transition into young manhood and his father Barua's eccentric leadership, exemplified by a comically disastrous attempt at a formal fox hunt. The chapter details Hannali learning to play the fiddle, becoming known as a Choctaw fiddler, and settling into a prosperous life in Okla Hannali as a farmer and muleman. Finally, it sets the stage for significant changes, mentioning Hannali's departure in 1828 on an important journey with figures like Silvestre DuShane, Peter Pitchlynn, and Levi Colbert to explore new lands.

Summary

The chapter advances over a dozen years, showing Hannali Innominee as a young man in his teens, stocky like other Chocs ("fat Indians"). A Chickasaw Indian describes the Chocs as having "a lot of them" heaped together, a description fitting Hannali. The Choctaws clarify they are lazy, not indolent, noting a difference. The Innominee family became "Choctaw rich" under the leadership of Barua Innominee, who, despite seeming less than astute, succeeded through building projects. Barua told his three sons, "Let us go ahead and build it," suggesting they could find alternative uses if the original purpose failed. He built a grain mill on their south-flowing river, but Indians didn't use it, preferring hand querns; Barua converted it into a dock

and landing, built flatboats and rafts, floated produce to the Gulf, and established a station there for coaster boats from Pass Christian and Biloxi. The Innominees were among the first Choctaws in Okla Hannali to use iron plows, draft oxen, and mules, and also among the first to acquire Negroes. These Negroes were not bought but acquired, described by white men as stolen; they were escaped slaves from white settlements who sought refuge with the Choctaws. Indian slavery differed from white slavery, seldom being for life or hereditary; inferior slaves were sent back, while superior ones could become full citizens, often adhering to a seven-year limit reminiscent of biblical times.

Pass Christian brought his father Barua a bright red coat from New Orleans, fit for a Mingo, which Barua wore for special occasions (weddings, Istaboli games, bear hunts, pig geldings) with various accessories like a top hat or turban, barefoot or booted, even wearing it to bed ceremonially. Inspired by a memory, Barua declared himself "Master of the Hunt Coat" and announced a fox hunt. He commissioned a nine-foot brass trumpet, modifying a smaller white man's trumpet to serve as the mouthpiece for resonance. Biloxi Innominee asked, "What is hound?" and Hannali explained, "Hound is dog," though the concept of hunting fox with horses and dogs was unclear. Barua sent for an Indian who had traveled much and had witnessed a fox hunt in the Virginia country from a hilltop. The women dyed red coats for the men, though none matched Barua's New Orleans coat. At dawn, Barua instructed Pass Christian to get their only fox, named Fox, put a strap on her, and drag her to start. Hannali and Biloxi were to get six dogs each and drag them similarly. Pass Christian, initially embarrassed by the improper method, decided to embrace the fun. He retrieved Fox, an old vixen, enticed her with pork, but she became hysterical when strapped and dragged, snapping at Pass Christian. Hannali and Biloxi struggled to drag their six yellow dogs (kept for eating, not hunting). A non-Choctaw man noted Biloxi was "too fat for it," but Hannali joked he was "mostly feathers." The dragging dogs smoked the ground. Papa Barua blasted his trumpet, and the twenty red-coated huntsmen pursued Fox and the "hounds." It was described as the "best fox hunt anybody ever saw." Pass Christian stayed ahead of Fox despite her biting his rump until his

doeskin pants were gone. Hannali and Biloxi's dogs flew behind them or bounced. The Choctaw horses neighed and laughed. Barua grunted "Whoopa, Whoopa" into his nine-foot trumpet clamped in his jaws. The Innominee pigs and children joined the chase, doubling back and trampling corn. The man who'd seen a real hunt protested the inclusion of pigs and children. Papa Barua allowed them, saying, "pigs like fun too children like fun too who pass law pigs can't run." Hannali blared like a moose, whirling his dogs; a mean bull tossed horses and riders; boars chased the Fox and dogs; girls threw sticks and rotten squashes; boys tripped horses; Mama Chapponia fired rock salt. It was loud, violent, and soul-filling. The hunt ended when Fox broke her tether, cut back under the horses, causing chaos. Women beat the fallen men with pots and pans for fun. A black girl, Martha Louisiana, saved Fox. Papa Barua roared, "Is the hunt over?" The man who'd seen a hunt confirmed it. Hannali suggested a grand finishing gesture. The man said they cut off the fox's tail ("bushcht"). Papa Barua, as Master of the Hunt, prepared to do so, but Martha Louisiana protested, saying she'd rather he cut off her own head. Hannali jokingly suggested cutting off Martha's head as a "better ending." Papa Barua cut only the hair from Fox's tail and waved it. The Chocs recounted the day's events with hilarity. It was their only fox hunt.

The chapter covers a few more years ("the magnified years"). Hannali reached majority, becoming the best farmer, a mule man, and corn man, in charge of Innominee production. Martha Louisiana, now a young, strong, slim girl, came into his notice. Silvestre DuShane, slightly older than Hannali, French or Shawnee or both/neither, became Hannali's close friend. Pass Christian brought a fiddle from New Orleans. Biloxi, described as huge and slow-witted but "all there," refused it. Papa Barua's fingers were too stiff from the saltworks and tannery. He gave it to Hannali, declaring him the fiddler and announcing a dance and feast. Hannali became a Choctaw fiddler; Choctaws were known as the "fiddling Indians." Several good years passed like fiddle tune verses for Hannali. Martha Louisiana noted the tune was always the same unending one. Hannali was contented as a muleman, fiddle man, and corn man in Okla Hannali, a solid man of good family. Then larger events intervened. He was taken on a long journey with his adopted brother Silvestre DuShane,

Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw), Levi Colbert (Chickasaw), men from other tribes, and several white men. The year was 1828; Hannali was between twenty-six and twenty-eight. The mission was to examine and report on a new country, leading into the context of Chapter Three.

(Alabama), (Alapa Homa), (Alinton DuShane), (American), (Appalachians), (Arkansas), (Arkansas River), (Arkansas West), (Barua Innominee), (Baton Rouge), (Biloxi), (Biloxi Innominee), (Cairo), (Canadian River), (Cape Girardeau), (Caravan), (Cherokee District), (Chickasaw), (Choctaw), (Christian), (Colbert), (Creek District), (DuShane), (English), (Falaya), (Five Tribes), (Florida), (Fort Rosalie), (Fox), (French), (Georgia), (God), (Gulf), (Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Harbinger), (Hazel), (Helen Miller), (Illinois), (Illinois River), (Indian Territory), (Isaac McCoy), (Israel), (Istaboli), (John T), (Kentucky), (Lamplighter), (Levi Colbert), (Louisiana), (Louis), (Luvinia), (Major Levi Colbert), (Martha Louisiana), (Master of the Hunt Coat), (Memphis), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Natchez), (Negroes), (Neosho), (New Orleans), (North St. Louis), (Noxubee), (Ohio), (Okla Falaya), (Okla Hannali), (Ozark Mountains), (Papa Barua), (Pass Christian), (Pass Christian Innominee), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Phillip Pennywit), (Pinchlin), (Reverend Isaac McCoy), (Rodney), (Sally), (Sansbois), (Seminoles), (Shawnee), (Silvestre DuShane), (Snapping Turtle), (Spanish), (St. Louis), (Tennessee), (Territory), (Three Forks), (Vicksburg), (Verdigris), (Virginia), (Walnut Fort), (Walnut Hill), (Washita), (Whoopa)

Characters

Hannali Innominee is now a young man in his teens, having come to a certain appearance that wouldn't change much; he is a "bulky Choc" and stocky (32). A Chickasaw Indian quote describes the Choctaws: "Man, there's a lot of them!" and Lafferty adds, "There was a lot of Hannali Innominee" (32). As the Innominee family becomes "Choctaw rich," Hannali, along with his brothers, is told by their father Barua, "Let us go ahead and build it... maybe we can use it for something else" (33). During the preparations for Barua's fox hunt,

Hannali's brother Biloxi asks "What is hound?", to which Hannali replies, "Hound is dog," though he doesn't understand what dogs and horses have to do with fox hunting (34). Barua tasks Hannali and Biloxi to each get six dogs, "belt them in like manner and drag them to get them started" (35). When the Man who had seen a fox hunt claims Biloxi is too fat for the task, Hannali jokes, "he is mostly feathers if you should see him plucked you would see that he is not fat at all" (36). Hannali and Biloxi drag the dogs at great speed, causing the dogs to fly on their tethers or bounce complaining (36). During the chaotic hunt, Hannali, "running hard blared like a bull moose and whirled his yipping dogs around his head on their tethers" (37). Along with his brothers, Hannali has not begun to tire after hours of the hunt (37). When the hunt ends abruptly after the fox breaks her tether, Hannali suggests finding a "grand gesture" to conclude it, asking, "Who knows how to end it big how to put a crown on it?" (37). After Martha Louisiana prevents Barua from cutting off the fox's tail, Hannali howls "with kindly malice," suggesting an "even better ending... cut off Martha Louisiana head put it on the end of a spear it is the best ending of all" (38). Later, having attained his majority, Hannali is the "best farmer in the Choctaw country," a "mule man, a corn man," and in "actual charge of all the Innominee production" (39). He remains with Barua and Biloxi working in cultivation, saltworks, and the tannery, also lumbering and floating produce, and importing goods (39). He notices Martha Louisiana, a "young girl of the Choctaw Negroes" (39). When Pass Christian brings back a fiddle, Hannali accepts it after Biloxi and Barua decline (39-40). Barua proclaims Hannali will be the fiddler, urging everyone to "listen to my boy play" (40). "And Hannali *could* play. He became a Choctaw fiddler" (40). He passes several contented years as a "muleman and a fiddle man and a corn man" in Okla Hannali's prosperity (40). Finally, "larger events plucked him out"; he is taken on a long journey in 1828 (aged 26-28) with Silvestre DuShane, Peter Pitchlynn, Levi Colbert, and others to examine and report on a new country, after which "his old world would have been wiped out" (40-41).

Barua Innominee: His family becomes "Choctaw rich" through ventures that often follow folly but end in profit (33). He tells his three sons "Let us go ahead and build it... maybe we can use it for

something else" (33). He builds a grain mill which Indians don't use, so he converts it to a dock; builds flatboats, rafts, floats produce to the Gulf, and builds a station there for coaster boat pickups (33). His family is among the first Choctaws to use iron plows, draft oxen, mules, and acquire Negroes (escaped slaves they 'acquired', not bought) (33). After receiving a bright red coat from Pass Christian, Barua wears it for special occasions, including pig geldings and bear hunts, sometimes barefoot, sometimes booted, sometimes with a top hat, sometimes with a turban, and "when he felt particularly expansive he wore it to bed" (34). Remembering something, he assembles his family, declares "A red coat is a Master of the Hunt Coat," and announces they will have a fox hunt in three days, ordering a nine-foot brass trumpet made (34). He makes the trumpet himself, modifying it by inserting a smaller white man trumpet as a mouthpiece to make it sound (34). He sends for an unnamed man who has seen a fox hunt to instruct them (34). He tells Pass Christian to get the fox, and Hannali and Biloxi to get the dogs (35). He gives a trumpet blast that starts the hunt (36). During the hunt, he grunts "Whoopa, Whoopa," into the trumpet each time he bounces on his horse, keeping the nine-foot instrument clamped in his jaws (36). When the man who saw a fox hunt objects to pigs and children joining in, Barua orders, taking the trumpet from his mouth, "Let them alone... pigs like fun too children like fun too who pass law pigs can't run" (37). When the hunt ends, he roars happily, "Is the hunt over... how do we tell when the hunt is over?" (37). Declaring "I am the Master of the Hunt," he wants to cut off the fox's tail and wave it (37). Stopped by Martha Louisiana, he instead cuts off only the tail hair, binds it, and waves it (38). He loses his trumpet during the chaos, and it gets "bent and stomped on by hoof" (38). Offered the fiddle by Pass Christian, he declines, saying his fingers are too coarsened from the saltworks and tannery (39). He gives the fiddle to Hannali, immediately praises his playing ("hear how he plays he never saw a fiddle before in his life" (40)), calls for a dance and feast, saying "kill the sick ox roast it we have a feed for everybody" (40).

Biloxi Innominee: Remains with Barua and Hannali in the family's expanding enterprises (39). Asks his father "What is hound?" when Barua announces the fox hunt (34). The unnamed man who saw a fox

hunt comments that Biloxi "is too fat for it," referring to dragging dogs (36). Hannali defends him with a joke (36). He and Hannali drag the dogs during the hunt (36). He, along with his brothers, does not tire after hours of the hunt (37). He is slower of wit than his brothers, a "huge, slow-moving young fellow," almost one of the "dim-witted giants" sometimes born to Choctaws, though "all there" (39). He declines to take the fiddle offered by Pass Christian (39).

Chapponia, Mama: During the fox hunt, she loads a shotgun with rock salt "and let wham at the whole bunch of them not sparing her own man" (37). (She is mentioned by Lafferty but does not appear directly).

Colbert, Levi: Of the Chickasaw Indians, he is part of the group, along with Hannali, Silvestre DuShane, Peter Pitchlynn and others, taken on a long journey to examine the new country in 1828 (40).

DuShane, Silvestre: A Frenchman or French Indian (possibly Shawnee), slightly older than Hannali, with connections in Louisiana, Arkansas, and the future Indian Territory (39). The Innominees bring him in to run their store and depot (39). He becomes a Choctaw, and is the "close friend of Hannali's young manhood" (39). He plays a "little Louisiana mouth horn" (39). He accompanies Hannali and others on the journey to view the new land in 1828 (40-41).

Fox (Unnamed Vixen): The only fox in the Innominee town (35). She is old, cranky, and deserted by her mate (35). Pass Christian lures her with pork and puts a strap around her belly to drag her for the hunt (35). She reacts hysterically, leaps at Pass Christian snapping at his face, then "bounded and yipped and turned over in the air snapping and gnawing at the line" (35). During the hunt, she keeps "lunging up and taking pieces out of his [Pass Christian's] rump" (36). She eventually worries her leather tether in two with her "crazy somersaulting" (37). She then cuts back under the horses, causing them to mill and topple riders (37). Martha Louisiana gathers her up to save her from further damage (37). When Barua attempts to cut off her tail, she sends up "such a whimper" that he only cuts the hair (38).

She then slinks off "shorn and shamed and disgusted, back to her tree stump" (38).

Man who had seen a fox hunt (Unnamed): An Indian who had traveled much and seen a fox hunt in Virginia from a hilltop (34-35). Barua sends for him to instruct the family (34). He comments that Biloxi "is too fat" to drag the dogs (36). He doesn't understand Hannali's Choctaw joke about Biloxi (36). During the hunt, he calls out "It is not right... they did not use pigs they did not let the children get in the way they had only the fox and the hounds and the horses and the horsemen" (36). He confirms the hunt is over when Barua asks (37). He explains the custom of cutting off the fox's tail and waving it, saying "they call it the bushcht" (37).

Martha Louisiana: A black girl who gathers the fox in her arms to save it from further damage after the hunt collapses (37). She tells Barua "No you will not" cut off the fox's tail, stating, "Sooner I let you cut off my own head than the tail of the fox" (37-38). When Hannali jokes about cutting off *her* head instead, she replies, "No. I joke. Better the fox than me. Have the dedamned little animal. Is not a proper fox hunt anyhow" (38). She has lived with the Choctaws most of her life but often doesn't understand their humor (38). Hannali notices her at the time he reaches his majority; she is a "young girl of the Choctaw Negroes," and currently a "strong, slim, rapid girl," contrasting with her later heavy and ponderous state (39). She sings while Silvestre DuShane plays the mouth horn (39). Years later, during Hannali's prosperous period, she complains that his fiddle tune is always the same, "that tune whose ending swirls up and breaks back to the beginning strains so that it goes on forever" (40).

Pass Christian Innominee: Brings his father Barua a bright red coat from New Orleans (34). He is the "educated one of the Innominees" (35). He is initially embarrassed by his father's improper plans for the fox hunt, thinking it ignorant, but then laughs and embraces it: "What am I a white man," he said, "that I should be ashamed of my father and my family... hell I want to have a fox hunt too I don't care if it is a proper one what am I get to be too educated to have fun" (35). He retrieves the fox, straps her, and drags her to get her running (35).

The fox snaps at his nose and cheek (35). He is "remarkably fast of foot" and stays ahead of the fox, though she takes pieces out of his rump until "the whole seat of his doeskin pants was gone and he was exposed bloody to the world" (36). He, Hannali, and Biloxi are not tired after hours of the hunt (37). The state of his pants becomes part of the hilarity retold later (38). He becomes a boatman traveling as far as New Orleans (39). He brings back a fiddle from New Orleans, offering it first to Biloxi, then Barua, and finally gives it to Hannali (39-40).

Pitchlynn, Peter: Of the Choctaws, he is part of the group, along with Hannali, Silvestre DuShane, Levi Colbert and others, taken on a long journey to examine the new country in 1828 (40).

Outline

II. Chapter Two

1. The Innominees Ascendant: Choctaw Riches

- A. Time Jump: A dozen years riffled over; Hannali Innominee is now a teen, appearance mostly set.
 - a. Physique: "Bulky Choc," stockiest of Five Tribes.
 - b. Chickasaw Observation: "There's a lot of them... I mean the way one of them's heaped together. Man, there's a lot of them!"
 - c. Assessment: "There was a lot of Hannali Innominee."
- B. On Choctaw Character:
 - a. Accusation: Sometimes called indolent.
 - b. Choctaw Rebuttal: "It is a lie... We are not indolent we are lazy there is a difference."
 - c. Nuance: Difference exists, but misunderstood by those seeing only "all white or all red."
- C. Barua Innominee's Prosperity:
 - a. Method: Seemed not astute, committed "folly after folly," yet ended up richer each time.
 - b. Philosophy (to sons): "Let us go ahead and build it, if we cannot use it for what we intend maybe we can use it for something else." Described as "great builders."
 - c. Ventures:

- i. Grain Mill: Built on south-flowing river; Indians wouldn't use it (had hand querns). Barua converted it to a dock/landing.
- ii. Transport: Built flatboats/rafts, floated produce to Gulf.
- iii. Gulf Station: Built for pickups by coaster boats (Pass Christian/Biloxi).

D. Innovations and Acquisitions¹⁶:

- a. Farming: Among first Choctaws to use iron plows in Okla Hannali soil, draft oxen, then mules.¹⁷
- b. Negroes: Among first to acquire them.¹⁸
 - i. Method of Acquisition: Not bought, but "acquired." White men claimed they were stolen. They were escaped slaves from white settlements.
 - ii. Indian Slavery Context: Existed, but differed from white system. Almost never for life, not hereditary. Inferior slaves run out; superior ones adopted as citizens. Seven-year limit common (cited by "cranks" as proof of Lost Tribes link).

2. The Great (Improper) Fox Hunt

- A. The Catalyst: Pass Christian brought father Barua a "bright red coat" from New Orleans, fit for a Mingo, "scarlet and splendid."
- B. Barua's Use of Coat: Worn for special occasions (weddings, Istaboli games, bear hunts, pig geldings), with white top hat and red turban, barefoot or booted. Worn to bed when feeling expansive. Understood as "ceremonial."
- C. The Inspiration: An old memory surfaced. Barua assembled

¹⁶ The Innominee family's economic activities (farming, trade, salt works, tannery, slavery) parallel the adaptations Cushman attributes to Choctaws during increased contact with settlers, including agricultural changes, trade, and the introduction of technologies like "the cotton card, the spinning wheel and the loom." Lafferty represents this economic transition through the Innominee example. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw*: 105, 194, 307, 312-315, 331-332, 340.

¹⁷ Pre-removal Choctaw economy based on agriculture (corn, beans, squash) supplemented by hunting, fishing, gathering. Hogs, cattle, horses became important after contact. Swanton, *Source Material*: 37-39; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 90-91.

¹⁸ Before removal, some Choctaws adopted aspects of white economy, including plantation agriculture using enslaved labor. Acquisition through harboring escaped slaves contrasts with chattel slavery. The nature and extent of pre-removal slavery are debated. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 12, 74-75; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 171.

family/people.

- D. The Announcement (Quote): "A red coat is a Master of the Hunt Coat... I will wear my red coat I will make a brass trumpet nine feet long all assemble here in three days with horse and hound we will have a fox hunt."
- E. Query and Clarification:
 - a. Biloxi asks: "What is hound?"
 - b. Hannali replies: "Hound is dog," but baffled by link between horses, dogs, and fox hunting.
- F. The Trumpet:
 - a. Construction: Papa Barua made it in two days (worked brass before). Initial attempt failed to sound.
 - b. Modification: Inserted small white-man trumpet as mouthpiece; nine-foot length gave "muted richness." Could play a "lively tune."
- G. The Expert: Barua sent for a man (unnamed Indian traveler) who had seen a fox hunt in Virginia from a hilltop.
- H. Preparations: Women dyed men's coats red (none equaled Barua's). Assembly at dawn.
- I. The Setup (Barua's orders):
 - a. Pass Christian: Get the (only) fox, strap its belly, use leader to drag it ("get her running").
 - b. Hannali and Biloxi: Each get six dogs, belt them similarly, drag them ("get them started"). Explain it's "fun." Men on horses follow.
- J. Pass Christian's Reaction: Initially embarrassed ("not the proper way"), then laughed. (Quote): "What am I a white man... that I should be ashamed... hell I want to have a fox hunt too I don't care if it is a proper one what am I get to be too educated to have fun."
- K. Acquiring the Fox: Pass Christian got "Fox," an old, cranky vixen. Enticed with pork, strapped her belly. Fox became hysterical, leaped, snapped at Pass Christian's face (nose/cheek). Bounded, yipped, turned over gnawing the line. Wise observer: "They are going to have trouble with Fox."
- L. The Hounds: Hannali and Biloxi struggled to drag the six dogs

(small, round, yellow, fatted for eating) who didn't wish to go.¹⁹

- a. Observer's Comment (man who saw hunt): "Biloxi is too fat for it... out of wind before he is able to drag the dogs..."
- b. Hannali's Joke: "Biloxi is not so fat... mostly feathers if you should see him plucked..." (Man didn't understand Choc humor).

M. The Chase Begins: Dogs dragged fast ("ground smoked"). Papa Barua's trumpet blast "almost lifted the ears of the horses off their heads." Twenty red-coated huntsmen pursued fox and "hounds."

N. The Spectacle: Deemed "best fox hunt anybody ever saw."

- a. Pass Christian: Remarkably fast, stayed ahead of Fox who lunged, took pieces from his rump ("whole seat of his doeskin pants was gone... exposed bloody").
- b. Hannali and Biloxi: So speedy their six dogs flew behind on tethers, bouncing, complaining.
- c. Horses: Chortling, neighing, horsey laughing. Picked up trumpet rhythm ("Whoopa, Whoopa").
- d. Barua: Grunted into trumpet with each bounce, kept nine-foot instrument clamped in jaws, brass shining "like a banner."
- e. Pigs: Innominee pigs joined in, "runningest pigs in the whole country."
- f. Children: Got in the way; hunt doubled back repeatedly to avoid standing corn.

O. Critique (Man who saw hunt): "It is not right... did not use pigs they did not let the children get in the way..."

P. Barua's Dismissal (Quote): "Let them alone... pigs like fun too children like fun too who pass law pigs can't run."

Q. Escalating Chaos: Hannali blared like moose, whirled dogs; mean bull let out, tossed horses/riders; boars tusked horses; girls threw throwing sticks ("can knock a man unconscious"); boys ran tripping ropes; Mama Chapponia fired rock salt shotgun at

¹⁹ Swanton emphasizes the importance of dogs in the lives of the Choctaw, citing burial rites. He quotes a source stating, "Dogs were not employed in hunting or for any useful purpose whatever" (*Source Material*, 54), although other accounts note dogs were sometimes killed to accompany their owner after death (*Source Material*: 183).

everyone; smaller girls threw rotten squashes.

R. Assessment: "It was not a proper fox hunt." Loud, violent, "soul filling." Three brothers showed no fatigue after hours.

S. The End of the Chase: Fox, in "crazy somersaulting," worried leather tether in two. Cut back under horses, causing mill. Riders toppled, horses fell on riders, churning hoofs trampled men. Women came out, belabored fallen men with pots/pans ("not from enmity, but just for the fun"). Black girl Martha Louisiana rescued Fox.

T. The Finale Discussion:

a. Barua: "Is the hunt over... how do we tell...?"

b. Man who saw hunt: "I think it is over."

c. Hannali: "If they have no grand gesture... we ought to find out one for ourselves... Who knows how to end it big how to put a crown on it?"

d. Man who saw hunt: "They cut off the tail of the fox and wave in the air... they call it the bushcht."

e. Barua: "I will cut it off and wave in the air... I am the Master of the Hunt."

f. Martha Louisiana: "No you will not... the fox has been abused enough. Sooner I let you cut off my own head than the tail of the fox."

g. Hannali's Malice: "Is an even better ending... cut off Martha Louisiana head put it on the end of a spear it is the best ending of all."

h. Martha Louisiana's Retort: "No. I joke. Better the fox than me. Have the dedamned little animal. Is not a proper fox hunt anyhow." (Often didn't understand Choctaw humor).

U. The Compromise: Fox whimpered; Barua cut only hair, bound it, waved it. Fox slunk off "shorn and shamed and disgusted."

V. Aftermath: Late afternoon. Chocs relived day's events (Pass Christian's pants, Barua's lost/bent trumpet, man thought killed, bouncing dogs/Fox, injuries, persistent pigs). Hilarity occupied them "for a long time."

W. Conclusion: Only fox hunt those Chocs ever had. Much fun in those years.

3. The Magnified Years and New Connections

A. Innominee Enterprise: Became large farmers, had trading station.

Dealt in hides, pelts, pecans, corn, cotton.²⁰

B. Sons' Roles:

- a. Pass Christian: Boatman (to New Orleans).
- b. Biloxi and Hannali: Remained with Barua (cultivation, saltworks, tannery). Lumbered, floated goods down. Imported by wagon/water. Landing became store/depot.

C. Silvestre DuShane: Hired to run store. French or French Indian (or Shawnee, or both/neither), slightly older than Hannali. Connections in Louisiana, Arkansas, Arkansas West (Indian Territory). Became Choctaw; close friend of Hannali's young manhood.

D. Transition: "high times" passed over; compelled to enter "disturbed years that follow."

E. Hannali's Majority: Riffle over few more years. Hannali now best farmer, mule man, corn man. In charge of Innominee production.

F. Martha Louisiana: Comes into Hannali's notice as young girl of Choctaw Negroes. Strong, slim, rapid at this time (contrasted with later heavy/ponderous self at Hannali House). Noted for singing with Silvestre DuShane's Louisiana mouth horn.

G. Arrival of New Music: Pass Christian brought fiddle from New Orleans.

- a. Offered to Biloxi: Refused. Biloxi slower-witted, huge, slow moving, "almost but not quite" a dim-witted giant. "would never be one to play an instrument."
- b. Offered to Barua: Refused; fingers too coarse/stiff from saltworks/tannery.
- c. Given to Hannali (Barua's quote): "he will be the fiddler... why can't a muleman be a fiddler too Alapa Homa skins mules and plays the fiddle in Falaya we have not got no fiddler in our town at all the other end under your chin damn boy damn cut rushes spread them on the sand we will have a dance tonight go tell everybody my son plays the fiddle like nobody else in Okla Hannali I got the best sons in the country hear how he plays he never saw a fiddle before in his life kill the sick ox

²⁰ Choctaw trade included furs, hides, bear oil, pecans, agricultural produce, exchanged for European goods. Flatboats carried goods downriver. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 10.

roast it we have a feed for everybody..."²¹

- d. Hannali's Skill: "And Hannali could play." Became Choctaw fiddler. Not all Indians (even Choctaws) can play, but Choctaws known as "fiddling Indians."

4. Fiddle Tunes and Larger Events

- A. Passage of Time: Half-dozen good years pass rapidly like fiddle tune verses for Hannali.
- B. Martha Louisiana's Complaint: Tune always the same, ending swirls back to beginning, goes on forever. She had ideas about altering it; "it was altered by others."
- C. Hannali's State: Contented; muleman, fiddle man, corn man. Passed early years in "hard prosperity" of Okla Hannali's sandy soil. Rated "solid man of good family."
- D. The Call to Journey: Plucked out by larger events. Long journey with:
- a. Silvestre DuShane (adopted brother).
 - b. Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw).²²
 - c. Levi Colbert (Chickasaw).²³
 - d. Men of other tribes.
 - e. Several white men (official/unofficial).
- E. Consequence of Journey: On return, his "old world would have been wiped out."
- F. Mission: Examine and report on a "new country."²⁴
- G. Context: Year is 1828 (36 years before Civil War). Hannali aged

²¹ Alapa Homa, "Red Buckskin," is the Choctaw name for the Red River. Okla Falaya is the western division (see also notes 15, 64).

²² Peter Pitchlynn (1806–1881) was an influential Choctaw leader, diplomat, and chief. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, passim; Swanton, *Source Material*, 31, 83; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 33, 36, 74-76, 158, 160, 161, 185, 186).

²³ Levi Colbert (c. 1759–1834), or Itawamba, was a prominent Chickasaw chief. "Levi Colbert, who did not return from Texas until April, had ". . . been heard to observe that he would not like to live under Leflore, etc. ; and I know his thirst for power is such as to form an obstacle in his mind adverse to an union," reported Gaines to the secretary." Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 37.

²⁴ The 1828 Choctaw and Chickasaw exploratory party included leaders Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw) and Levi Colbert (Chickasaw), accompanied by Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy (1784–1846). McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 131; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 51; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 33, 36; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 28.

26-28.

H. Necessity: Must double back to "larger history" for reasons of journey.



Chapter Three

Overview

Chapter Three details the political and legal machinations leading to the Choctaw removal. It explains that white settlers desired cleared Indian land, not unoccupied territory, and used mixed-blood leaders like Greenwood LeFlore as agents. A series of land cessions, treaties (Doak's Stand), and hostile state laws stripping Indians of rights culminated in the 1828 election of President Andrew Jackson, viewed as the "Devil of the Indians," which signaled impending doom. The chapter describes LeFlore's failed attempt to usurp control and force a removal treaty in 1830, his confrontation with Moshulatubbee, and the eventual enactment of the devastating removal policies under Jackson, forcing the Choctaws towards the unjust Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek.

Detailed Summary

The Five Tribes are described as not wild, possessing their own agriculture for centuries and improving farming methods, surpassing local white settlers at the time of removal. They maintained peace over a large area and were entitled to peaceful increase. The Gulf South states were not experiencing population pressure or land shortage; the issue was not lack of land, but white settlers wanting the lands already cleared by Indians, along with their houses, farms, mules, cattle, and pigs. Indians who resisted enslavement were considered useless. Captive (white-blood) Indians were used like decoys to hunt out less pliable kin. Half-blood chiefs and advisers, such as Alexander McGillivray and William McIntosh (Creeks), Major

Ridge (Cherokees), and Greenwood LeFlore (Choctaws), served as wedges. While some meant well, their white ancestry worked against Indian interests, aiming for assimilation, which white men ultimately didn't desire.

The breakdown began after the Louisiana Purchase in October 1803, eliminating the French who had treated Indians well. In 1816, Choctaws were forced to cede land east of the Tombigbee River to the United States, with pledges they could keep the remainder forever. Mississippi statehood in 1817 brought laws destructive to the Choctaw Nation, including clauses spelling out murder. Alabama statehood in 1819 included similar tricks. Also in 1819, Spain sold Florida, removing a sanctuary for Creeks and Seminoles and opening it to state despoilers. With French Louisiana and Spanish Florida gone, the "conscience of the Southland could be extinguished," becoming the "Country Behind God's Back."

In 1820, near "Doak's Stand on the Natchez Road," Choctaws ceded their large southwest section for supposedly equal land in the unknown West – a bad trade forced upon them. In 1825, in Washington, D.C., certain Choctaws signed a new treaty supposedly clarifying the Doak's Stand treaty, but it effectively eliminated all guarantees. In 1828, the "Devil of the Indians" (Andrew Jackson) was elected President of the United States, signifying to the Five Tribes that thousands must die and all be uprooted. That same year (1828), a party including Hannali Innominee went west to view the new lands. Hannali, though less known than the town or district chiefs in the party, was included as a successful farm manager knowledgeable about land. This was the first official viewing by the Five Tribes (Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles). A difficulty arose: the "new land" was inhabited by Osages, Quapaws, Caddoes, and other warlike Indians who knew nothing of the U.S. giving away their land, which the U.S. didn't truly hold. The uprooting involved murdering nations (Five Nations among hundreds) over three to five years. The novel will follow the removed Indians to the new land, the Territory, mentioning the Blue Stem Country, Winding Stair Mountains, and the False Washita River.

The culmination would be the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830. By then, many Indians had already emigrated. In 1828, Georgia extended criminal laws over the Cherokees (while Hannali was on the Pitchlynn-Colbert Exploration in Oklahoma). Mississippi enacted peculiar laws over Choctaws and Chickasaws, and Alabama over Creeks. State laws declared Indian treaties and constitutions void, tribes extinguished, and Indians subject to state courts where an Indian's word counted for nothing against a white man's. Indians were evicted via forged deeds by white men they'd never seen, with no legal recourse.

A "black page" preceded Dancing Rabbit Creek. In March 1830, Greenwood LeFlore, white-blood chief of the Okla Falaya Choctaws, called a select assembly, allegedly requiring attendees to be traitors. LeFlore claimed unity under a single chief was needed. He set up puppets: David Folsom became chief of Moshulatubbee's district, and John Garland (a white-blood rival of Nitakechi, Pushmataha's nephew) chief of the Pushmataha District. Both then abdicated in favor of LeFlore, who was proclaimed chief of all Choctaws. The assembly drafted a treaty ceding all Mississippi lands, engineered by Major Haley, President Jackson's envoy. Washington rejected the treaty, as the Senate insisted on dealing with legitimate representatives.

LeFlore, ordered to assert his chiefdom, marched with Folsom and 1000 men to Moshulatubbee's district. They caught old Moshulatubby (an alternate spelling) unarmed at the Choctaw Nation "factory" (smithies, shops) on the Tombigbee River. LeFlore demanded abdication or death. The old Mingo Moshulatubbee grinned weirdly, unsettling LeFlore despite his numbers. What followed is unclear, but Moshulatubbee neither abdicated nor died; the advantage shifted to him. An eyewitness (a white frontiersman who favored Moshulatubbee) described LeFlore trembling and his voice shaking as he ordered the Mingo killed; his men laughed and hooted, eventually shuffling over to Moshulatubbee's side, leaving LeFlore alone. Moshulatubbee laughed aloud and left with all the men. Though perhaps colored by partisanship, Moshulatubbee won over the Choctaws without bloodshed.

This particular sellout failed, but the outcome was inevitable. Within the year, Moshulatubbee and Nitakechi would be forced to sign away the last Choctaw land. For a time, Indians found allies in the U.S. Senate. On February 11, 1831, the Senate asked President Jackson about the enforcement of the Intercourse Act of 1802 (guaranteeing federal protection). On February 22, Jackson delivered a dumbfounding message: he championed Georgia (against Cherokees) and other states, refused to enforce the Intercourse Act or any protective federal acts/treaties, and wouldn't permit their enforcement. The Jacksonian revolution, described not as populist but as the "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor," was in full swing. It involved seizing 200 million acres of Indian land for a few hundred rich men, ensuring giant slave-plantations, not freehold farms, creating enduring poor white and black classes. Jacksonian men were wealthy, powerful, corrupt, finding their leader in Jackson.

Most Indian removal occurred in 1832, 1833, and 1834. About 50,000 Indians moved from the Old South; about 20,000 others died en route. Removals were forced during winter. Harassments ranged from petty to murderous: sheriffs seized livestock for nonexistent debts, leaving Indians stranded; others seized wagons; stragglers were murdered; stubborn Indians declared black and enslaved. Cholera broke out on the Arkansas trails, yet Indians were forced to use only those routes. The "sworn Devil of the Indians" (Jackson), though aged and embittered, took pleasure in reports of Indian suffering—one of his few remaining joys. Cherokees perhaps suffered most, but Choctaws suffered least among the Five Tribes, losing "only" 10 percent en route. Hannali Innominee may have suffered least of all, inheriting some of his father Barua's luck.

(Alabama), (Alexander McGillivray), (Andrew Jackson), (Arkansas), (Arkansas Indians), (Arkansas trails), (Barua), (Big House), (Blue Stem Country), (Caddoes), (Canadian River), (Cherokees), (Chickasaws), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaws), (Cholera), (Congress), (Country Behind God's Back), (Creeks), (Dancing Rabbit Creek), (David Folsom), (Devil, of the Indians), (Doak's Stand), (English), (Factory, Choctaw Nation), (False Washita River), (Five Nations),

(Five Tribes), (Florida), (Folsom), (French), (French Louisiana), (Garland), (Georgia), (Greenwood LeFlore), (Haley, Major), (Hannali Innominee), (Indians), (Intercourse Act of 1802), (Jackson), (John Garland), (LeFlore), (Louisiana Purchase), (Major Haley), (Major Ridge), (Mingo), (Mississippi), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubby), (Mushulatubbee), (Natchez Road), (Nitakechi), (Okla Falaya), (Oklahoma), (Old South), (Osages), (Pitchlynn-Colbert Exploration), (President Jackson), (Pushmataha District), (Quapaws), (Seminoles), (Senate), (South), (Southland), (Spain), (Spanish Florida), (States), (Territory), (Three Forks), (Tombigbee River), (Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek), (Treaty of Doak's Stand), (U.S.), (Union), (United States), (United States Congress), (United States Senate), (Washington, D.C.), (West), (White Eyes), (William McIntosh), (Winding Stair Mountains)

Characters

Hannali Innominee, in the year 1828, is part of a party of men from the Five Tribes who travel west to view the new lands offered in exchange for their nations (24). He is likely the least known man in the party, selected not as a chief but as a "representative of all sorts of Indians," being the successful manager of one of the largest Choctaw farms who "would know about land" (24). This expedition takes place concurrently with Georgia extending its criminal laws over the Cherokees within its borders (25). Lafferty suggests that Hannali may suffer least during the subsequent removal because "he began to have the luck of his father Barua on him" (28).

Devil of the Indians (Andrew Jackson): Elected President of the United States in 1828 (24). The Indians of the Five Tribes understand his election means "many thousands of them must die and all of them be uprooted" (24). By 1830, though he has attained the highest office, he is described as having "aged suddenly" and being an "embittered man with little to cheer his life," except that "the news of the Indians' sufferings always brought a glow to him. It was one of the few pleasures remaining in his life" (28). On February 22, 1831, he delivers a message to the U.S. Senate announcing he is a champion of Georgia and other states against the Indians, and that he "would not enforce

the Intercourse Act or any other act or treaty that the federal government had ever made for the protection of any Indians, and that he would not permit them to be enforced" (27). His "Jacksonian revolution" is the "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor" (27).

Folsom, David: A rival of Moshulatubbee (26). Greenwood LeFlore declares him chief of his district as a puppet maneuver, after which Folsom abdicates in favor of LeFlore (26). He accompanies LeFlore with an army of one thousand men to confront Moshulatubbee (26).

Garland, John: A white-blood Indian and rival of Nitakechi (26). Greenwood LeFlore declares him chief of the Pushmataha District as a puppet maneuver, after which Garland abdicates in favor of LeFlore (26).

Greenwood LeFlore: A half-blood chief of the Choctaws (23), of the Okla Falaya district (25). In March 1830, he calls a selected assembly stating that all Choctaws should unite under a single chief (25-26). He shrewdly appoints rivals David Folsom and John Garland as chiefs of their districts, then has them abdicate in his favor, whereupon he is "proclaimed chief of all the Choctaws" (26). The assembly under his direction draws up a treaty ceding all Choctaw lands in Mississippi, which is carried to Washington by Major Haley but refused by the Senate (26). Ordered "by those who pulled his strings" to become chief in fact, he and Folsom take an army of one thousand men to confront Moshulatubbee at the Choctaw "factory" on the Tombigbee River (26). He tells Moshulatubbee he must "abdicate or die" (26). Facing Moshulatubbee's "weirdly" grin, LeFlore feels "uneasy even with a thousand men at his back" (26). He trembles, his voice shakes as he gives the order to kill Moshulatubbee, his men laugh and hoot, and then they defect *en masse* to Moshulatubbee's side, leaving LeFlore standing alone (26-27).

Haley, Major: A personal envoy of President Jackson (26). He engineers the treaty drawn up by Greenwood LeFlore's assembly which agrees to cede all Choctaw lands in Mississippi (26).

Jackson, Andrew: See Devil of the Indians.

McGillivray, Alexander: White-blood chief of the Creeks (23). Lafferty notes he was "quite a good man" by his own lights, but the white in him worked against Indian interests (23).

McIntosh, William: White-blood chief of the Creeks (23).

Moshulatubbee: An "old Mingo" (26). Greenwood LeFlore and David Folsom confront him with an army while he is with an unarmed party at the Choctaw Nation "factory" (collection of smithies and shops) (26). LeFlore demands he abdicate or die (26). Moshulatubbee "grinned weirdly at the white-man Indian intruder," and does not abdicate nor die (26). By his presence alone, he causes LeFlore's men to tremble and defect to his side (26-27). He laughs out loud as he turns away with all the men, leaving LeFlore alone (27). He wins over the Choctaws, and "no shot was fired" (27). Despite this victory, within the year, he and Nitakechi are "compelled to put their own hands to an instrument conveying away the last of the old Choctaw land" (27).

Nitakechi: Pushmataha's nephew and rival to John Garland (26). Along with Moshulatubbee, he is compelled within a year to sign the treaty conveying away the last Choctaw land (27).

Ridge, Major: White-blood chief of the Cherokees (23).

Outline

III. Chapter Three: The Devil Comes to Rule

1. Setting the Scene: Behind God's Back

- A. The Five Tribes' Status: Not wild; possessed own agriculture for centuries, quickly adopted improvements. Better farmers than white settlers in same area at time of removal. Maintained peace over large area, entitled to peaceful increase.
- B. Land Dynamics: No population pressure or land shortage in Gulf South (true even today). Indians didn't resent settlers on unoccupied land initially, though it reduced hunting areas.
- C. Settler Motivation: Did not want unoccupied land; wanted land

already cleared by Indians, along with their houses, farms, mules, cattle, and pigs.

D. The Strategy of Division:

- a. Premise: Indians (as "species of game") hunted using "captive members" (white-blood Indians) as decoys/bellwethers/wedges.
- b. Examples of Half-Blood Chiefs/Advisers: Alexander McGillivray, William McIntosh (Creeks); Major Ridge (Cherokees); Greenwood LeFlore (Choctaws); "too many others."²⁵
- c. Nuance: Acknowledges complexity (McGillivray "quite a good man," others "meant well"), but white part worked against Indian interest, aiming to turn Indians into white men. White men "wanted no such thing."

E. The Breakdown Sequence:

- a. Trigger Question: How were southern Indians brokemurdered, driven off?
- b. October 1803: U.S. Congress ratifies Louisiana Purchase. French ("big-water French," who treated Indians well) ceased being their own people.²⁶
- c. 1816: Choctaws forced to cede land east of Tombigbee River to U.S. Treaty pledged remainder of land "forever." Analogy: "tossed one of their own limbs to the grizzled wolves."²⁷
- d. 1817: Mississippi admitted to Union. State laws contained clauses spelling destruction/murder for Choctaw Nation.²⁸
- e. 1819: Alabama admitted as state, similar "tricks in the laws."
- f. 1819: Spain sells Florida to U.S. Loss of sanctuary for Creeks, Seminoles, others. Opened to "despoilers from the states."
- g. Consequence: French Louisiana and Spanish Florida witnesses gone. "Conscience of the Southland could be extinguished." Indian South became "the Country Behind God's Back."

²⁵ Greenwood LeFlore (1800–1865) was a controversial Choctaw chief who supported removal. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 28–36; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 135; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 52–54.

²⁶ Louisiana Purchase (1803) removed the French buffer.

²⁷ Forced land cessions (e.g., Treaty of Fort St. Stephens 1816, Doak's Stand 1820, Washington City 1825) eroded homeland.

²⁸ Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (1819) statehood increased pressure. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 21, 79.

- h. 1820: Treaty near Doak's Stand (Natchez Road). Choctaws ceded large southwest section for equal area in unknown West. "very bad trade," forced. Another limb "flung to their pursuers."²⁹
 - i. 1825: Washington D.C. treaty, ostensibly clarifying Doak's Stand, actually "clarified all their guarantees out of existence."
 - j. 1828: Election of "the Devil of the Indians" (Andrew Jackson³⁰) as President. Interpreted by Five Tribes as sign of impending death and uprooting.³¹
- F. The 1828 Exploration Party:
- a. Purpose: To view the new lands in the West.
 - b. Hannali Innominee's Role: Likely least known member (most were chiefs/deputies), included as successful farm manager who "would know about land."
 - c. Composition: Representative of Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks (Seminoles possibly had observers). Cherokees present unofficially against tribal declaration.
 - d. Significance: First official viewing of the new land for these tribes.
 - e. The "Difficulty": Land already occupied by Osages, Quapaws, Caddoes, other "warlike Indians" unaware of U.S. deal. U.S. traded land it didn't physically or legally hold.
- G. Historical Summary: Reviewing "bare bones" of the uprooting. "It's a small matter to murder a nation." Five Nations were only part of hundreds. Process took 3-5 years.
- H. Novel Transition: Will follow removed Indians to Territory (Blue Stem Country, Winding Stair Mountains, False Washita

²⁹ Lafferty's negative portrayal of Andrew Jackson agrees with Cushman's assessment of Jackson's detrimental role in Removal. Cushman states, "See the low duplicity and misrepresentation adopted by Jackson to mislead Pushmataha" (69). Cushman, *History of the Choctaw*: 69, 115, 231-232.

³⁰ Lafferty's portrayal of Andrew Jackson agrees with Cushman's assessment of Jackson's detrimental role in Removal. Cushman states, "See the low duplicity and misrepresentation adopted by Jackson to mislead Pushmataha" (69). Cushman, *History of the Choctaw*: 69, 115, 231-232.

³¹ Jackson's presidency (1829-1837) marked by aggressive Removal policy. Lafferty calls Jackson "the Devil of the Indians." Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 27-36; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 51-55.

River, Big House near Three Forks).

2. Dancing Rabbit Creek and the Legal Machinery of Removal

- A. Endpoint: Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830). Many Indians had already emigrated by then.³²
- B. Preceding Events (1828): Georgia extended criminal laws over Cherokees (while Hannali was exploring). Mississippi followed suit over Choctaws/Chickasaws; Alabama over Creeks. Indians "were moving."
- C. State Laws' Provisions: Declared Indian treaties/constitutions void, tribes extinguished. Indians subject to state courts.
- D. The "Curious Condition": No Indian's word considered against a white man's in court.³³ Created "limitless" opportunities for fraud.³⁴
- E. Consequences: Indians evicted by forged deeds to unseen white men. No recourse anywhere.
- F. Plotting Before the Treaty: Described as a "black page."
 - a. March 1830 Assembly: Greenwood LeFlore (white-blood chief, Okla Falaya) called selected group from all districts. Requirement (per enemies): attendees must be "traitors."
 - b. LeFlore's Maneuver: Argued for unity under single chief. Set up puppets: David Folsom (declared chief of Moshulatubbee's district), John Garland (declared chief of Pushmataha district). Both then abdicated in favor of LeFlore. LeFlore proclaimed chief of all Choctaws.³⁵
 - c. Resulting Treaty Draft: Agreed to give all Mississippi land to

³² Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) was the final removal treaty. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 135; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 26, 79; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 28–36.

³³ The plot point concerning the inability of Indians to testify against whites in state courts exemplifies the systemic injustice Cushman addresses generally, writing, "Their condition has been one of constant suffering and injustice. Avarice, the demon of civilized man, has worked heavily upon them..." (297). Lafferty isolates this legal vulnerability as an instrument of the disadvantage Cushman describes. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw*: 297.

³⁴ State laws invalidated Indian testimony against whites. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 25; Swanton, *Source Material*, [page, if applicable]; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 51.

³⁵ LeFlore's attempt to consolidate power preceded the treaty. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 135; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 52–54; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 28–31.

- U.S., pledged removal. Engineered by Major Haley (Jackson's personal envoy).
- d. Senate Rejection: Washington refused treaty, defenders insisted on real representatives. Senate "had the smell of the thing pretty accurately."
 - G. LeFlore Consolidates Power: Ordered by "those who pulled his strings" to become chief "in fact." LeFlore and Folsom march on Moshulatubbee's district with 1,000 men. Caught Moshulatubby (various spellings noted) unarmed at the Choctaw "factory" (shops west of Tombigbee). Ultimatum: Abdicate or die.
 - H. Moshulatubbee's Stand: Grinned weirdly; LeFlore felt uneasy. Moshulatubbee did not abdicate or die. Advantage shifted.
 - a. Eyewitness Account (pro-Moshulatubbee white frontiersman): Shabby, old, fat Moshulatubbee had superior "presence," whipped LeFlore by it alone. LeFlore trembled under the grin.
 - b. The Showdown: LeFlore's influence waned. Ordered Mingo killed, voice shook, men laughed/hooted. Men became Moshulatubbee's, shuffled to his side. Moshulatubbee laughed aloud, left with men; LeFlore alone. Account potentially biased, but "Moshulatubbee did win over all the Choctaws, and no shot was fired."
 - I. Inevitability: Sellout still "certain as the Sun." Within year, Moshulatubbee and Nitakechi would be compelled to sign away the last land.³⁶
 - J. Jackson's Defiance of Law:
 - a. Senate Inquiry (Feb 11, 1831): Requested Jackson report on Intercourse Act of 1802 (guaranteed federal protection).³⁷
 - b. Jackson's Message (Feb 22, 1831): "most dumbfounding." Announced championship of Georgia (vs. Cherokees) and

³⁶ Nitakechi (ca. 1792–1846) was Pushmataha's nephew and successor. Opiahoma, Harkins, Kincaid, Nail were other leaders. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 26.

³⁷ The Intercourse Act of 1802 theoretically guaranteed federal protection, but Jackson refused to enforce it against states. "While President Jackson's bill for the removal of the Indians was pending, Gov. George R. Gilmer of Georgia sent to the president his two proclamations and demanded that the national government keep its promise contained in the Act of 1802, to remove the Indians from the State." Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 230; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 54.

- other states. Declared non-enforcement of Intercourse Act or any protective act/treaty. Would not permit enforcement.
- c. The "Jacksonian Revolution": Described as misunderstood, "almost exactly the opposite of what is taught." Tagged "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor." Involved illegal seizure of 200 million acres of Indian land.³⁸
- d. Consequences: Land became giant slave-plantations, not freehold. Created enduring poor white/black classes. Jacksonian men were "wealthy and powerful and corrupt."
- K. Removal Details (1832, 1833, 1834):
 - a. Scale: ~50,000 Indians moved/removed from Old South. ~20,000 died en route.
 - b. Conditions: Forced winter journeys. Harassments from petty to murderous. Seizure of livestock for non-existent debts, stranding Indians. Seizure of wagons/possessions. Stragglers murdered. "Stubborn Indians were declared black and enslaved."³⁹
 - c. Health Crisis: Forced onto Arkansas cholera trails.
 - d. Jackson's Reaction: The "sworn Devil," aged and embittered, took pleasure ("brought a glow to him") in news of Indian suffering. "One of the few pleasures remaining in his life."
- L. Comparative Suffering: Cherokees perhaps suffered most. Choctaws perhaps least (only 10% died).
- M. Hannali's Fate: Possibly suffered least, began having his father Barua's luck.

³⁸ Jacksonian era saw planters profit from seized lands. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 23–24; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 69.

³⁹ Removal journeys (1831–33 for Choctaws) marked by hardship, winter travel, disease (cholera). McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 138.



Chapter Four

Overview

In 1828, Hannali Innominee travels to New Orleans, displaying his unique Choctaw character while preparing for an expedition to scout new western lands mandated by encroaching US policy. After navigating social encounters and games of chance, he is baptized Louis. He joins the exploratory party, led by Peter Pitchlynn and Levi Colbert, traveling via steamboat up the Mississippi to St. Louis and then overland into future Oklahoma. The party meticulously surveys the beautiful but ultimately disappointing land, finding it unsuitable for their needs, leading to a negative report. Hannali, however, stakes a personal claim on the Canadian River, encountering the unwelcoming French-Shawnee DuShane family and boldly declaring his intent to return, take over their post, and marry Marie DuShane.

Summary

The novel returns to 1828, finding Hannali Innominee in New Orleans en route to view the new western land. He converts his considerable wealth (from cattle, mules, cotton, pecans, hides, timber) into French gold and Spanish silver, depositing it in local banks, demonstrating an intuitive grasp of money akin to his fiddling and farming skills. To appear respectable for traveling with important men, he buys clothes: a white shirt, cravat, white buckskin coat, cavalier boots, a canary-colored top hat, and a heavy silver-headed cane. Observing the city's inhabitants—Frenchmen, Negroes (smaller than those he knew), Spanish, Kaintucks,

Ohio/Tennessee men, and small Texans—Hannali feels proud being the largest man present, jingling gold coins. Unaware of it himself, he possesses a majestic, colossal ugliness. He walks down into Frenchtown, noting its unchanged ten-block square layout and meeting quick-witted, courteous men on Dauphin and Conti streets. Communicating in French and Choctaw, he accepts drinks and is introduced to dice, a game similar to the Choctaw *baskatanje* he excels at. After letting his hosts win initially (overhearing their comment "Le choc est mur"), he steadily wins all their money.

The gentlemen then offer Hannali green liquor and introduce poker. Hannali reflects that poker is a Noxubee Indian word (five-luck/hazard) and that Choctaws excel at it ("Never play poker with a Choctaw"). He proceeds to win completely, his poker face hiding internal chuckles. When his hosts stop playing, displeased, Hannali offers to continue, betting mules, corn, land, or even "somebody's wife." Exasperated, one man strikes him on the head with a bung starter. Unfazed, Hannali chuckles, gets his own bung starter, and invites the man to play the Choctaw head-thwacking game. The pale, twitchy gentleman declines and leaves abruptly. The remaining men offer a potent parting drink in a large trophy cup, which Hannali consumes before bowing politely and leaving with his fiddle, carbine, knife, gold, and dice. The men follow him surreptitiously. Hannali muses they are "by damn gentlemen," oblivious to the knockout drops in his drink.

Several Chocs are in New Orleans for about three weeks. Hannali discovers his brother, Pass Christian Innominee, is now an important, wealthy resident, adept at navigating both French and Choctaw societies. During this visit in 1828, Hannali is baptized, taking the Christian name Louis (his brothers were baptized earlier). He considers himself and his family members of the Church for a hundred years, albeit mostly the "Church of Silence" due to the rarity of priests (until 1874). He acknowledges receiving moral instruction from his father, Barua, despite sometimes using his "poor clay-foot Indian" status as an excuse for misdeeds.

Hannali Innominee, Silvestre DuShane (chosen for his prior knowledge of the West), and other Choctaws travel by steamboat, the *Caravan*, up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Their companions include rafters, keelboatmen, French river rats, and French-breed Indians. Hannali, the big Choc fiddler and storyteller, feels at home among them. Other riverboats on the run are named: *Phillip Pennywit*, *Rodney*, *Lamplighter*, *Harbinger*, *North St. Louis*, and the *Choctaw*. The novel notes the sparseness of settlements along the river: Baton Rouge is old but dominated by its fort; Natchez is still called Fort Rosalie by whites; Vicksburg (formerly Fort Nogales/Walnut Hill) is only three years old; Memphis only two. Cairo is ten years old, and Cape Girardeau thirty-five. St. Louis, however, has "hatched out of a big egg" and is a thriving metropolis in spirit, despite its awkward location relative to the Ohio and Missouri Rivers.

In St. Louis, the full exploratory party assembles: Choctaws from Mississippi and Alabama; Chickasaws from Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee; Creeks from Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Cherokees are present unofficially; no Seminoles are known to be present, having likely commissioned others. The leading Indians are Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw) and Levi Colbert (Chickasaw). Young Pitchlynn's future significance is noted, while Major Levi Colbert (a War of 1812 veteran) plays a lesser role in this account. Hannali continues his education through association with these notables (Indian, white, and breed), though initially "country green." The party consists of forty-two important, competent men. Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy provides a written account. They travel south and west overland from St. Louis with wagons, buggies (which break down), and horses, arriving at the Three Forks of the Arkansas River (near present Muskogee, Oklahoma) in November 1828.

Deep in the "new country," having crossed the Cherokee District edge into the future Creek District, they observe a strikingly beautiful landscape: Ozark valleys (Verdigris and Neosho), meadows with tall brown grass, sycamore and cottonwood creeks, colorful sumac, folded rocks, and rivers. Despite the beauty, their assessment is negative. Pitchlynn remarks, "One can't eat district." Reverend Isaac McCoy

finds it lacking. Hannali growls, "This isn't very good country." Major Colbert, who had urged removal trusting government promises of equal land value, cries in disappointment, feeling his honor lost: "It is fair to the eye... and, pardoning our Reverend, it is not worth a damn." Hannali had pointed out that the lush grass grew on shallow, rocky soil ("Big Lime" limestone) unsuitable for plowing, limiting farming to narrow river bottoms. They visit the Illinois River valley, go up the Verdigris and Arkansas. Hannali is pleased to find pecans, but they aren't sufficient. Riding west five days onto the prairies, they find wonderful grassland but recognize it as poor cornland (unaware of its future as wheatland). Returning down the Arkansas to below the Canadian River junction, they sigh again, "This isn't very good land." Lafferty concurs, stating this beautiful eastern third of Oklahoma is agriculturally "not worth a damn."

Silvestre DuShane, having learned the location of cousins in the Territory, rides with Hannali up the south Canadian River from its Arkansas junction. After nearly a day, Hannali stops, recognizing his place by the smell of French and Shawnee smoke. He cuts a stake, carves his name and "1828," needing Silvestre's help with "Novembre." He declares his intention to build his house and live there, deeming the "no damn good country" less so than other lands surveyed, noting the river access. He drives the stake and rides with Silvestre around a bend, finding the cabins and trading post of Silvestre's kin just two hundred yards away. They meet Alinton DuShane, an old French-Shawnee, and his daughter Marie. Others at the post are dependents or employees.

Silvestre and Hannali receive a cool welcome due to an old quarrel between Alinton and Silvestre's father. The post is failing. Alinton confirms Hannali's belief (contrary to official maps) that this Canadian River, not the Red River, is the one going far west, used by Frenchmen to boat near Santa Fe. Hannali vows to do it again himself and take charge of the post upon his return in the springtime. Alinton and Marie do not comprehend him. After a lull, Hannali plays a loud, harsh Choctaw tune on his fiddle. Marie hopefully asks if he knows "Femme et Chatte." He plays a rousing version, explaining it's the "tune of the brindled one," which Marie doesn't appreciate. The

father and daughter remain distant, viewing themselves as the last French, uninterested in the Choctaws; Alinton is old and past interest, Marie sullen and feeling superior.

At dark, not invited to stay, Hannali and Silvestre mount to leave. Hannali adds as an afterthought that he will return in the spring, take over the post, live there while building his Big House, run the business, and expects Alinton to plant corn for incoming poor Indians; he also declares he will marry "the girl I forget her name." Old Alinton states he has never killed a man but will kill this "oaf" if he returns, who will not have Poste DuShane. Marie vows Hannali will never have her.

Hannali and Silvestre rejoin the main party exploring south for a month. They confirm the land area is much smaller than promised and the Plains Indians' domain closer. They discuss potential district layouts: Cherokees north of the Arkansas; Creeks between Arkansas and Canadian; Choctaws between Canadian/Arkansas line and Red River; Chickasaws to share with Choctaws. They find slightly better land south, in valleys feeding the Red River (Washita/False Washita, Blue River, Clear Boggy, Muddy Boggy, Kiamichi, Little River, Mountain Fork). Pitchlynn deems it "better, but still not very good country." They return home and deliver a bad report on the land.

(Alabama), (Alamo), (Alinton DuShane), (American), (American Army), (Andrew Jackson), (Appalachians), (Arapahos), (Arkansas), (Arkansas River), (Arkansas West), (Barna), (Barua), (Baskatanje), (Baton Rouge), (Big House), (Big Lime), (Biloxi), (Blue River), (Boston Mountains), (Brutus), (Cairo), (California Road), (Canadian River), (Cape Girardeau), (Caravan), (Cashao), (Caddoes), (Cherokee District), (Cherokees), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaw Bluff), (Chickasaws), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Choctaw country), (Choctaw Telegraph), (Choctaws), (Christian), (Church), (Church of Silence), (Cimarron Crossing), (Civil War), (Clear Boggy), (Colbert), (Comanches), (Congress), (Conti street), (Creek District), (Creeks), (Dauphin street), (David Folsom), (Devil of the Indians), (Doak's Stand), (DuShane), (English), (Falaya), (False Washita), (Femme et Chatte), (Five Indian Nations), (Five Tribes), (Florida), (Fort Gibson),

(Fort Nogales), (Fort Rosalie), (Fort Towson), (French), (French Indian), (French-breed Indians), (French-Shawnee), (Frenchman), (Frenchmen), (Frenchtown), (Georgia), (God), (Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee), (Hannali), (Hannali Innominee), (Harbinger), (Haskell Indians), (Hell), (Hitchiti Meadow), (Holy Mother of Corn), (Hominy Falls), (Illinois), (Illinois River), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Isaac McCoy), (Israel), (Ishtaboli), (Jacksfork Mountains), (Jackson), (Jacksonian), (James Henderson), (Jemmy Buster), (Jesuit), (Jim Ned), (Jim Pockmark), (Joe Brennan's), (Joe E. Johnson), (John Garland), (John Jumper), (John Pitchlynn), (John Ross), (John Sapulpa), (John T), (Jones and Plummer Trail), (Jose Maria), (Joseph Kincaid), (Kaintucks), (Kansas), (Kentucky), (Keno House), (Kiamichi Mountains), (Kiamichi River), (Ki-is-qua), (Kickapoo Street), (Kiowas), (Kutchaw), (Lake West), (Lamplighter), (Le choc est mur), (Leased District), (Leeper Creek), (Levi Colbert), (Light Horse Indian Police), (Lincoln), (Little River), (Little Wolf), (Lokar Poker Town), (Louis), (Louisiana), (Louisiana Purchase), (Luvinia), (Major Levi Colbert), (Mama Chapponia), (Mama Natchez), (Man with the Talking Horses), (Marie), (Marie Calles), (Marie Chapponia), (Marie DuShane), (Martha Louisiana), (Mathurin le Petit), (Mavila-Choctaw), (McIntosh), (Memphis), (Mexico), (Mingo), (Mingos), (Mississippi), (Mississippi River), (Missouri), (Missouri River), (Mobile), (Mobile Bay), (Montaigne), (Morning Voice), (Moses), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubbee District), (Moshulatubby), (Mountain Fork), (Muddy Boggy), (Muskogee), (Nakni Pans-Hata), (Nanah Waiya), (Natchez, place), (Natchez, person), (Natchez Road), (Nawat), (Negro), (Negroes), (Neosho), (New Orleans), (New Western Trail), (Nitakechi), (North Fork), (North Fork Town), (North St. Louis), (Noxubee), (Noxubee Indian), (Nueces River), (Ocher), (Ohio), (Ohio River), (Okla), (Okla Falaya), (Okla Hannali), (Oklafalaya), (Oklahoma), (Oklahoma City), (Old South), (Oktarharsars Harjo), (One Dollar Honest), (One Hundred Families), (Opia homa), (Opothle Yahola), (Opothleyahola), (Osage Trace), (Osages), (Ouachita River), (Ozark Mountains), (Papa Barua), (Papa Hannali), (Park Hill), (Pass Christian, place), (Pass Christian Innominee), (Pawnee), (Pawnee Fork), (Payne), (Pecans), (People, The), (Perryville), (Peter), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Phillip Pennywit), (Pike), (Pin Indians), (Pins), (Pishofa), (Pitchlynn),

(Pitchlynn-Colbert Exploration), (Plains Indians), (Plutarch), (Pock Mark), (Polk), (Poncas), (Poste DuShane), (Prairie Dog Town Creek Branch), (President Jackson), (President Jones), (President Polk), (Pushmataha), (Pushmataha County), (Pushmataha District), (Quadhadi Comanches), (Quanah Parker), (Quapaw), (Quapaws), (Rachel Perry), (Red Beard's Dance Hall), (Red Fork), (Red Men), (Red River), (Red River District), (Red River Station), (Reno), (Reverend Isaac McCoy), (Reverends Isaac McCoy and Samuel Worchester), (Rio Grande), (Robert Jones), (Robert M. Jones), (Robert Pike), (Rodney), (Roley McIntosh), (Roman Nose Thunder), (Rome), (Root Hog), (Rose Hill), (Ross Cherokees), (Round Mountain Landing), (Round Mountains), (Sabine Estuary), (Sac and Fox Indians), (Saint Peter), (Salina), (Sally), (Samuel Checote), (San Antonio), (Sand Plum), (Sands), (Sansbois), (Santa Fe), (Satank), (Satanta), (Sawyer and Ficklin), (Scioto), (Scot), (Scottish), (Second Street), (Seminole), (Seminoles), (Senate), (Senator Innominee), (Sequoyah), (Shakespeare), (Shawnee), (Shawnee Indian), (Shawnee-Town), (Sheridan), (Shining Mountains), (Shoal Creek), (Shulush-Horna), (Silvestre DuShane), (Six People), (Six-Town), (Sixth Street), (Skullyville), (Skullyville Convention), (Snakes), (Snake Creek Indians), (Snake Girl), (Snapping Turtle), (Snyder), (Sophia Folsom), (South), (South Arkansas Mounted Riflemen), (South Kansas Regiment), (Southern Mountains), (Southland), (Southwestern Hotel), (Spain), (Spanish), (Spanish Fort), (Spanish-Mexican), (Spencer Academy), (Spencers), (Spiro), (St. Joe), (St. Louis), (St. Patrick's Church), (St. Thomas Aquinas), (Stand Watie), (Sticks), (Stirling), (Strange Choate), (Strange-Joseph), (Sudden Scott), (Sughrue), (Summa), (Sun), (Sun Eagle), (Swift), (Syria), (Ta-wa-i-Hash), (Tandy Walker), (Tap-Sis-Li), (Taylor), (Tee), (Ten Bears), (Tene-Angopte), (Tennessee), (Territory), (Territory Indians), (Teton), (Texans), (Texas), (Texas Cavalry), (Texas Fourth Cavalry), (Texas House), (Texas Men), (Texas Road), (The Man with the Talking Horses), (Theodore Roosevelt), (Therese), (Thomas LeFlore), (Thomas-Academy), (Three Forks), (Three Nations), (Tilghman), (Timber Law), (Timbered Mountain), (Timms Mercantile Company), (Tobacco), (Tombigbee River), (Tonkawa Encampment), (Tonkawas), (Tories), (Toshaway), (Tracks), (Trail Indians), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Tukabatchee Town), (Tulasie Burying Grounds),

(Tulsa), (Tuscalusa), (Tuskahoma), (Tuskahoma Council House), (U.S.), (U. S. Army), (U. S. Indian Office), (Union), (Union Army), (Unionist), (United Nations), (United States), (United States Army), (United States Congress), (United States Government), (United States Senate), (Upper Creek Indians), (Utah), (Van Buren), (Verdigris), (Vicksburg), (Vincentian Seminary), (Virginia), (W. N. Jones), (Waco), (Wacos), (Wallace), (Walnut Bayou), (Walnut Fort), (Walnut Hill), (War of 1812), (Washington), (Washington, D.C.), (Washita), (Washita River), (Watie), (Webbers Falls), (Wellington), (Welsh), (Welsh Indians), (West Shawnee Trail), (Wewoka), (White Antelope), (White Bird), (White Eyes), (White Man), (Whiteman), (Whiteman Falaya), (Whitman Long), (Wichita), (Wichita Agency), (Wichita Mountains), (Wichitas), (Wichitaw Agency), (Wildcat Kickapoos), (William David), (William Garrett), (William McIntosh), (Wilson's Creek), (Winchester Colbert), (Winding Stair Mountains), (Wolf Creek), (Woods Band Potawatomis), (Worcester), (Wyandots), (Wyatt Earp), (Wynn), (Ya-Ya-Hadge), (Yahola), (Yankton), (Young Student)

Characters

Hannali Innominee is in New Orleans in 1828, en route to view the new land designated for the Choctaws (29). He possesses considerable wealth from cattle, mules, cotton, pecans, hides, and timber, including credits and notes (29). He converts a significant portion into French gold and Spanish silver, depositing it in New Orleans banks (29). Hannali has an intuitive understanding of money, as well as fiddling and farming (29). To appear appropriately dressed for travel with important men, he shrewdly purchases clothes: a white shirt, cravat, white buckskin coat, cavalier-style boots, a canary-colored top hat, and a heavy, silver-headed cane resembling a war club (29). He walks through the city with his fiddle and carbine slung "like twin bandoliers" (30). Observing the populace, he notes that Frenchmen, town Negroes (smaller than country Negroes he knew), Spanish, Kaintucks, Ohio/Tennessee men, and Texans are all smaller than the Choctaws (30). He feels proud finding no man as large as himself and draws attention due to his size and the sound of gold coins jingling in his hand (30). Lafferty notes Hannali is unaware of his own

appearance, being "not handsome of face" but perhaps the "most strikingly ugly of all Choctaws," possessing a "majesty in his colossal ugliness" (30). He walks into Frenchtown, where quick-witted men on Dauphin and Conti streets know how to welcome a stranger (30). Standing out "as a bear stands to dogs," he easily converses with a group of French gentlemen (he speaks Choctaw, they French) and is invited into an establishment for drinks and dice (30). Hannali, familiar with the Choctaw game *baskatanje* played with cubed corn kernels, is adept at dice (30). He initially lets some gold pieces trickle away as bait but then begins winning steadily, finding pleasure in taking money from the "grand and free-handed men" (31). He hears one gentleman remark to another, "*Le choc est mur*," and chuckles, understanding French and knowing he is *not* ripe for the taking (31). After the gentlemen confer, they offer him a "gracious green liquor" and bring out cards (31). Hannali's chuckle becomes an "earth rumble," as "Choctaws and playing cards were made for each other" (31). He excels at poker (a Noxubee/Choctaw word meaning five-luck), taking the gentlemen completely until they have no money left (31). He disconcerts them with his poker face overlaying a "quaking body chuckle" (31). When they seem displeased and stop playing, Hannali, now speaking French, urges them to continue: "The night is young... is no use to call the night at an end the sun has only barely come up I play for mules I play for seed corn I play for pecans haven't you wives or hogs to put on the line I play for land who'll open with forty acres of bottom I go eight dollars American an acre... I play for Negroes I play for good yoke oxen I play for hides I play for somebody's wife my brother says it's time I got a wife I play for mortgage deed to town house I play for French boots I play for horses or cattle why should we stop play tonight the sun is not high hot yet" (31-32). One exasperated gentleman hits him over the head with a bung starter from behind the bar (32). Hannali does not fall but "chuckled with pleasure," gets his own bung starter, sits astride a bench, and motions the man to join him in the Choctaw head-thwacking game, explaining the rules (32). The man refuses and leaves hastily (32). The remaining gentlemen offer Hannali a parting drink, a potent mixture in a deep trophy cup, which he drains, beaming (32). Unsure of parting etiquette but recalling his father's advice on simple manners, he bows and walks out with his possessions (32). The knockout drops in the drink fail to

affect him (33). He reflects, "They are by damn gentlemen... how can they be so good to a stranger... they make me feel like a king they are so good to me" (33). He remains in New Orleans about three weeks with other Choctaws, waiting for a boat to St. Louis and learning his brother Pass Christian has become important (33). He is baptized there in 1828, taking the Christian name Louis (33). He considers himself a lifelong member of the Church, mostly the "Church of Silence" due to infrequent priestly contact (33). He sometimes excuses infamous acts by claiming to be a "poor clay-foot Indian who knew no better," but acknowledges this is a lie, having received "sound instruction from his father Barua" (33). Hannali, Silvestre DuShane, and other Choctaws ascend the Mississippi on the steamboat *Caravan* (34). He feels at home with the rough boatmen, playing his fiddle and telling stories (34). In St. Louis, the exploratory party assembles (35). Hannali receives further "education by his association with the notables (Indian, white, and breed)" but is still "country green at the thing" (36). He travels overland south and west from St. Louis with the party of forty-two men, reaching the Three Forks of the Arkansas River in November 1828 (36). Viewing the "new country," he kicks a rock and growls, "This isn't very good country" (36). As they travel through the Ozark Mountains (Verdigris/Neosho valleys), he points out that the lush grass grows from shallow, rocky soil (Big Lime) unsuitable for corn or plows, and notes the narrowness of the river bottom lands (37). Visiting the Illinois River valley and going up the Verdigris and Arkansas, he is "joyed to find pecans; that was like coming home. But pecans are not enough" (37). After riding west five days into the prairies, he recognizes it as indifferent cornland (unaware it would become prime wheatland) (37). Returning down the Arkansas to below the Three Forks (Canadian River junction), he sighs again, "This isn't very good land" (37). He rides with Silvestre DuShane up the south Canadian River (38). Near the location of Silvestre's cousins, Hannali stops, dismounts, hobbles his pony, and declares, "from my information here is my place right here" (38). He cuts a large stake, whittles it flat, carves "Hannali Innominee 1828" (getting help from Silvestre on "Novembre"), and states, "Here I will build my house here I will live my life... it is a no damn good country but this place is less no damn good... is only fifty yards from the river and my landing will be at the bottom of the hill...

I will be back in the springtime and settle here all my life a man has to settle somewhere" (38). He drives the stake, mounts, and rides 200 yards to Alinton DuShane's post (38). Not warmly welcomed, he asks Alinton about the Canadian River, confirming it goes west towards Santa Fe, a route Alinton last traveled (39). Hannali declares, "I will do it again all the way to the Santa Fe when I come back several years after I come back... when I come back in the springtime I will take charge of everything" (39). After a lull, he shocks his hosts by playing a loud, harsh Choctaw scraping on his fiddle (39). When Marie DuShane asks if he can play "Femme et Chatte," he plays a rousing version and explains, "What is not everybody know... is that that girl had two cats and this is the tune of the brindled one" (39). Leaving at dark with Silvestre (having not been asked to stay), he turns in his saddle and tells Alinton and Marie: "In the springtime I will be back to take over the post I will live here and wait a season before building my own Big House I will run the business and let you be able to die with a clear mind old man I will marry the girl I forget her name be you get things ready for the springtime girl see you plant much corn old man the poor Indians who come will need it next year... you must have corn for them in the spring I will be back" (39-40). He and Silvestre ride through the night, rejoining the main party at sunup (40). He spends a month with the party exploring south, realizing the land grant is much smaller than represented and that three-quarters of the land promised "did not exist" (40). He participates in discussions laying out potential districts, noting the better land in the southern river valleys (40-41). He returns home with the party and gives "a bad report on the land" (41).

Alinton DuShane: An old French-Shawnee man living at a trading post on the Canadian River, two hundred yards from where Hannali drives his stake (38). He is related to Silvestre DuShane but had quarreled with Silvestre's father "and when Alinton quarreled with a man it was forever" (38). His post is not doing well, and he is ready "to give it up in disgust and die" (38-39). He confirms to Hannali that the Canadian River goes west and that Frenchmen used to boat near Santa Fe via it, stating he was the last one to do so (39). He and his daughter Marie look at Hannali "without comprehending him" when Hannali vows to take over (39). He doesn't put himself out for the travelers,

having lost interest in everything in his old age (39). After Hannali and Silvestre leave, he says, "I have never killed a man... But the oaf, if he return, will not have Poste DuShane" (40).

Barua Innominee: Hannali recalls receiving "sound instruction" from his father (33) and his advice that "simple manners are always the best" (32).

Colbert, Levi: Major Levi Colbert (holding the title from the War of 1812) is a leading Indian of the Chickasaws in the Exploration party (35). Viewing the new land, he says, "It is fair to the eye... and, pardoning our Reverend, it is not worth a damn" (36). He cries in disappointment, having urged removal based on government promises of equal land value and now feels he has lost his honor and manhood (36).

DuShane, Silvestre: Accompanies Hannali Innominee up the Mississippi by steamboat (34) and on the overland Exploration party into the "new country," having been there before (36, 34). He travels with Hannali up the Canadian River to find his cousins (38). He has to show the not-fully-literate Hannali how to form the letters for "Novembre" on the stake Hannali carves (38). He rides with Hannali to his cousins' post and is, along with Hannali, "not overly welcome" due to an old family quarrel (38). He leaves the post with Hannali at dark (39). He rides through the night with Hannali to rejoin the main party (40).

Frenchmen (Unnamed Group): Gentlemen Hannali encounters in Frenchtown, New Orleans (30). They are quick-witted, courteous, and know how to welcome a stranger (30). They speak French; Hannali speaks Choctaw (30). They invite Hannali for drinks and dice (30). They confer after Hannali wins at dice, give him green liquor, and introduce cards (poker) (31). One remarks "*Le choc est mur*" (The Choc is ripe/mature) (31). They are beaten completely at poker by Hannali (31). They seem displeased and stop playing when cleaned out (31). One hits Hannali over the head with a bung starter (32). This man appears puzzled and nervous when Hannali challenges him to the Choctaw head-thwacking game, claims he promised his wife he'd be

home early, and leaves looking "pale and twitchy" (32). The others confer again and give Hannali a potent parting drink in a large cup (32). They look at Hannali as he prepares to leave (32). They follow him surreptitiously into the streets (32).

John T: Hannali's cousin, not the ugliest man from Choctaw country, an honor belonging perhaps to John T (30).

Marie DuShane: Daughter of Alinton DuShane, living at the trading post (38). She is the child of Alinton's old age, sullen and closed, daughter of a white mother and part-white father, feeling "above these dirty travelers" (Hannali and Silvestre) (39). The conversation does not go well (39). She hopefully asks Hannali if he can play the tune "Femme et Chatte" (39). When Hannali plays his version, she says, "That isn't Femme et Chatte" and doesn't appreciate his explanation about the brindled cat (39). After Hannali and Silvestre leave, she remarks about Hannali, "Better a bear or a boar than that lout... He will never have Marie DuShane" (40).

McCoy, Isaac (Reverend): A Baptist missionary who spent a lifetime working among Indians and wrote an account of the Exploration party (36). Levi Colbert asks his pardon before declaring the new land "not worth a damn" (36).

Pass Christian Innominee: Hannali's educated brother (36). Residing in New Orleans in 1828, he aids Hannali and the other Choctaws there; Hannali discovers he has become an important man (33).

Pitchlynn, Peter: A leading Indian of the Choctaws in the Exploration party (35). He views the new land sadly (36) and says, "One can't eat district," meaning scenery (36). Traveling south with the party, they find slightly better land in the Red River valleys, but Pitchlynn concludes, "It is better, but still not very good country" (41).

Outline

IV. Chapter Four: French Town, Five Luck, and Following Fate⁴⁰

1. Hannali in New Orleans: Establishing Presence (1828)

- A. Purpose: Having run ahead novelly, returning to Hannali's trip to view the new land.
- B. Financial Standing: Possessed cattle, mule, cotton, pecan, hide, and timber money. Held credits and notes.
 - a. Conversion: Transformed a large portion into French gold and Spanish silver (main specie).
 - b. Banking: Deposited funds to his credit in New Orleans banks.⁴¹
 - c. Aptitude: Displayed intuitive understanding of money, akin to his grasp of fiddling and farming.
- C. New Attire for New Ventures: Required better appearance for traveling with important men.
 - a. Purchases: Shopped shrewdly. Acquired white man shirt, cravat, white buckskin coat, cavalier-style boots, canary colored top hat, and a silver-headed cane ("heavy as an old war club").
 - b. Effect: Made a "good appearance" walking through the river city, fiddle and carbine slung like bandoliers.
- D. Observations on Size and Stature:
 - a. Self-Perception: Realized he was bigger than he thought, or "the rest of mankind had shrunk."
 - b. Comparisons: Frenchmen (not tall/bulky), town Negroes (smaller than country ones), Spanish (wiry but small), Kaintucks/Ohio/Tennessee men (long, nervous, not big), Texans (all small).
 - c. Legend Debunked: Notes the legend of "tall Texans" arose

⁴⁰ The 1828 westward exploratory elements are Lafferty's fictionalization employing historical delegation practices documented by Cushman. Cushman records Peter Pitchlynn's 1828 peace mission where "...he, with another Choctaw, two Chickasaw and two Muskogee warriors, constituted a delegation... to go upon a peace-making expedition into the Osage country..." (p. 335). Lafferty inserts Hannali into this documented context of exploration and diplomacy preceding Removal. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians*: 335-341.

⁴¹ New Orleans was a crucial cultural and economic hub.

- later and was false.
- d. Hannali's Pride: Proud finding no man as large as himself. Drew attention due to size and the jingling of "dozens of gold coins" in his hand.
 - E. Unacknowledged Ugliness: Unaware of his own lack of conventional handsomeness.
 - a. Distinction: Not the ugliest man from Choctaw country (honor belonged to cousin John T), but perhaps the "most strikingly ugly."
 - b. Quality: Possessed a "majesty in his colossal ugliness."
 - F. Encounter in Frenchtown:
 - a. Setting: Walked down into Frenchtown (ten blocks square, largely unchanged). Populated by "quick-witted men" on Dauphin and Conti streets, courteous to strangers.
 - b. Interaction: Hannali (compared to a bear among dogs) easily conversed with gentlemen. They spoke French; he replied in Choctaw. Invited for drinks. Introduced to dice.
 - c. Choctaw Gaming Context: Questioned introducing a Choctaw to dice, referencing baskatanje (cubed corn kernel game).⁴² Implied mastery of precision dice comes easily to baskatanje players.
 - G. The Games of Chance:
 - a. Initial Play: Slow start, losing a little gold as bait. Began to enjoy the game.
 - b. Underlying Knowledge: Overheard comment "Le choc est mur" (The Choc is ripe/mature); Hannali chuckled, understanding French as well as mule or Chickasaw talk. Knew he was "not ripe for the taking."
 - c. Winning Streak: Played earnestly, steadily took all their money without flashiness. Found it a "pleasure to win money from such grand and free-handed men."
 - d. Shift to Cards: Gentlemen conferred, gave Hannali green liquor, brought out cards. Hannali chuckled ("earth rumble"). Cards and Choctaws seen as made for each other. Mentioned Choctaw playing surfaces (cut logs) and card types (shingle

⁴² Baskatanje was a Choctaw dice/corn game predating European dice. Swanton, *Source Material*: 159; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 20.

thin wood, pine-resin cloth, traded hog for real pack).

- e. Poker Prowess: Game was poker (Noxubee Indian word for five-luck/hazard).⁴³ Choctaws excelled. Cited "Eleventh Commandment for gamesters: Never play poker with a Choctaw." Hannali took them completely; poker-face guising inner chuckle, unbeatable "clay-footed luck." Left them penniless.
 - f. Gentlemen's Displeasure: Stopped playing when cleaned out, seemed annoyed. Didn't grasp the concept of "another bottom" to the barrel.
 - g. Hannali's Escalation (speaking French): Offered to play for mules, seed corn, pecans, wives, hogs, land (forty acres at \$8/acre), Negroes, oxen, hides, "somebody's wife" (brother said it was time he got one), mortgage deeds, French boots, horses, cattle. Questioned stopping ("sun is not high hot yet").
 - h. Refusal and Attack: Gentlemen declined further play ("not the by hokey sports"). One, exasperated, struck Hannali over the head with a bung starter.
 - i. Hannali's Response: Did not fall. Chuckled, got his own bung starter, motioned attacker to join Choctaw head-thwacking game.
 - j. Attacker Retreats: Gentleman declined, claimed promise to wife, left pale and twitchy.
 - k. Parting Gesture: Other gentlemen offered a "parting drink," finest ever (compendium of liquors/additives) in a deep trophy cup. Hannali drank it, beamed.
 - l. Departure: Bowed (simple manners per father's advice) walked out with possessions. Men followed surreptitiously. Knockout drops failed ("would have felled a blue-eyed ox").
 - m. Hannali's Reflection (Quote): "They are by damn gentlemen... how can they be so good to a stranger... to a clay-foot Indian not hardly housebroke they make me feel like a king..."
- H. Waiting Period in New Orleans: Several Choctaws stayed about three weeks for business, waiting for St. Louis boat. Brother Pass

⁴³ Poker's adoption illustrates cultural syncretism. Noxubee is a river/county in Mississippi, named after a likely Choctaw subgroup. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 82.

- Christian (city resident, important man, adaptable) aided them.
- I. Baptism and Naming (1828): Hannali baptized (brothers earlier). Priests infrequent in Choctaw country. Took Christian name Louis.
 - J. Religious Affiliation: Considered himself Church member (family tradition 100+ years). Mostly "Church of Silence." Saw priests rarely until 1874. Often excused bad behavior as "poor clay-foot Indian," but this was a lie; received sound instruction from father Barua.
- 2. The Journey North: Steamboat to St. Louis**
- A. The Party: Hannali, Silvestre DuShane (knew new country), other Choctaws ascended Mississippi by steamboat.
 - B. Fellow Travelers: Deck companions included rafters, keelboatmen (MO, KY, TN, OH), French river rats, French-breed Indians (former polers, now steam trade workers).
 - C. Atmosphere: Burning pine smell evoked song and story. Hannali fit in as "big Choc fiddler and storyteller."
 - D. The Vessel: Steamboat Caravan (male designation for riverboats). Other boats on run: Phillip Pennywit, Rodney, Lamplighter, Harbinger, North St. Louis, The Choctaw. Lafferty confirms Caravan was the boat used.
 - E. River Settlements (Observations): Towns were mere cabins; cities maybe a dozen cabins. Highlighted short duration of ante-bellum South west of Appalachians.
 - a. Baton Rouge: Old, fort still main feature.
 - b. Natchez: Still called Fort Rosalie by whites; Indian name would prevail.
 - c. Vicksburg: Formerly Fort Nogales (Spanish)/Walnut Hill (English); town only 3 years old.
 - d. Memphis: On "fourth or lower Chickasaw Bluff," town only 2 years old.
 - e. Cairo: 10 years old, boosters predicted greatness, lost to St. Louis.
 - f. Cape Girardeau: French roots, 35 years old, aspired greatness, missed.
 - g. St. Louis: Had "accepted the mantle," a "metropolis in spirit."

Awkwardly located but thrived inexplicably.⁴⁴

F. Exploratory Party Assembles: Met in St. Louis.⁴⁵

- a. Composition: Choctaws (MS, AL), Chickasaws (MS, AL, TN), Creeks (GA, AL, FL). Cherokees present unofficially (against tribal declaration). No Seminoles known as such (commissioned others?). Seminoles swore never to move.
- b. Key Figures: Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw), Levi Colbert (Chickasaw - Major from War of 1812, minor role here).

G. Hannali's Continuing Education: Association with notables (Indian, white, breed) furthered his education, though still "country green."

H. The Expedition Details:

- a. Group Size: Forty-two important, competent men.
- b. Purpose: Contribute to decision on Five Nations' future.
- c. Record Keeper: Only written account by Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy.⁴⁶
- d. Travel: South and west overland from St. Louis (mule wagons, two failed buggies, mostly horseback).⁴⁷
- e. Destination: Reached Three Forks of Arkansas River (near present Muskogee, OK) in November 1828.⁴⁸

I. Assessment of the "New Country":

- a. First Impressions: Deep in new land (crossed future Cherokee Dist., edge of Creek Dist.). Strikingly beautiful, yet initial

⁴⁴ St. Louis was a major outfitting point for western expeditions. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 50–51, 131.

⁴⁵ The 1828 exploratory party included leaders like Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw) and Levi Colbert (Chickasaw). McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 131; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 51; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 33, 36.

⁴⁶ Isaac McCoy (1784–1846), Baptist missionary, accompanied the 1828 exploring party. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 28; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 51; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 131.

⁴⁷ The 1828 westward exploratory journey is Lafferty's fictionalization employing historical delegation practices documented by Cushman. Cushman records Peter Pitchlynn's 1828 peace mission where "...he, with another Choctaw, two Chickasaw and two Muskogee warriors, constituted a delegation... to go upon a peace-making expedition into the Osage country..." (p. 335). Lafferty inserts Hannali into this documented context of exploration and diplomacy preceding Removal. *History of the Choctaw*: 335–341.

⁴⁸ Three Forks area (confluence of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand/Neosho rivers) was significant geographically and for trade. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 34–36.

assessment negative. Quotes from Pitchlynn, McCoy, Hannali: "This isn't very good country."⁴⁹

- b. Terrain Analysis (Hannali's observation): Lush grass grew from shallow, rocky soil ("Big Lime"). Suitable for pasture/hay, not corn/plow land. River bottoms fertile but narrow. Visited Illinois, Verdigris, Arkansas river valleys. Pecans a positive ("like coming home"), but insufficient.
- c. Western Prairies: Five days west. Wonderful grassland, but poor cornland. Unaware it was prime wheatland.
- d. Final Consensus: Returned to Three Forks, explored south. Sighed, "This isn't very good land." Author concurs despite potential criticism.

3. Claiming Land: Stake on the Canadian

- A. Diversion: Silvestre DuShane led Hannali up South Canadian River to find cousins.⁵⁰
- B. Hannali's Stop: After nearly a day's ride, Hannali dismounted near cousins' presumed location, smelling "French and Shawnee smoke." Declared "here is my place right here."
 - a. Action: Cut stake, carved name and year (1828). Needed help from Silvestre for "Novembre."
 - b. Declaration (Quote): Proclaimed intent to build house, live life there despite land quality ("less no damn good" than other areas). Noted river access, proximity to landing site. Dismissed map inaccuracies. Vowed return in spring. Drove stake.
- C. Encounter at the Post: Rode around bend (<200 yards from stake) to find DuShane kindred's cabins/trading post.
 - a. Residents: Alinton DuShane (old French-Shawnee), Marie DuShane (daughter), dozen dependents/employees.
 - b. Reception: Not warm; Alinton held old grudge against Silvestre's father. Post failing, Alinton discouraged.
- D. Verification and Vow: Hannali confirmed Canadian River route west (maps wrong). Alinton last Frenchman to boat near Santa

⁴⁹ Early explorers often reported unfavorably on the lands in eastern Indian Territory, citing shallow, rocky soil ("Big Lime"), contrasting with fertile ancestral lands. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 131–32, 136–37; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 34–36; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 6–7.

⁵⁰ The Canadian River formed the northern boundary of the Choctaw Nation in the West (Treaty of Doak's Stand).

- Fe. Hannali vowed to repeat journey, take charge in spring.
Cousins uncomprehending.
- E. Fiddle Diplomacy: Hannali played loud Choctaw scraping. Marie requested "Femme et Chatte."⁵¹ Hannali played rouser, claimed it was tune of "the brindled one" (girl with two cats). Marie unimpressed.
- F. Cold Hospitality: DuShanes aloof. Alinton old/disinterested. Marie sullen/superior. Poor conversation. Not asked to stay.
- G. Hannali's Parting Words (Quote): Announced return in spring to take over post, build Big House, run business, marry "the girl I forget her name," provide corn for incoming poor Indians.
- H. DuShanes' Reactions: Alinton vowed Hannali wouldn't have Poste DuShane if he returned ("the oaf"). Marie vowed he'd never have her.
- I. Return and Reconnaissance: Hannali/Silvestre rejoined main party. Explored south for a month.
- a. Discovery: Land area much smaller (~1/3) than represented. Plains Indians closer. "Three quarters of the land... did not exist."
- J. Future Planning (Talk): Laid out potential district boundaries: Cherokees (N of Arkansas R.), Creeks (between Arkansas/Canadian R.), Choctaws (between Canadian/Red R., Chickasaws to share).⁵² Choctaw divisions planned (one north, two south of Winding Stair/Jacksfork Mtns, split by Kiamichi R.).
- K. Southern Valleys: Found slightly better land along Red River tributaries (Washita, Blue, Boggy Rivers, Kiamichi, Little R., Mountain Fork).⁵³
- L. Final Report: Pitchlynn deemed it "better, but still not very good country." Party returned home, gave "bad report on the land."

⁵¹ *Femme et Chatte* = Woman and Cat.

⁵² The Choctaw domain in the West stretched between the Canadian/Arkansas rivers (north) and the Red River (south).

⁵³ The False Washita River is now the Washita River. Confusion with the Ouachita was common among early explorers.



Chapter Five

Overview

Hannali Innominee returns to the Choctaw homeland to find conditions deteriorating under pressure for removal and organizes an alternative plan, sending his acquired group of Choctaw blacks ahead to the new Territory under Martha Louisiana. He travels west with companions John T and Albert Horse, encounters the enigmatic part-Cherokee Chizem, meets Strange Choate, and impulsively marries Choate's daughter Natchez. In quick succession, he also marries Martha Louisiana and Marie DuShane at his new homestead, establishing a complex household. The chapter details the establishment of the three Choctaw districts (Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, Oklafalaya) and their initial settlements in the Territory, notes Hannali's growing influence, the birth of his three sons, and concludes with the ominous appearance of the outlaw Whiteman Falaya.

Summary

The chapter begins by describing the Indian Territory as already inhabited by numerous tribes (Anadarkos, Wacos, Kadohadachos, Pawnees, Wichitas, Comanches, Osages, Quapaws, Kiowas, Shawnees, Delawares, Utes, Poncas, Kickapoos, Tonkawas, etc.), though few practice farming. The land is deemed suitable for the Southern Indians despite natural limitations on farming.

Hannali Innominee returns home to prepare for a potential move. His father Barua, now quite old, refuses to move, and his mother

Chapponia is dead. His brother Biloxi Innominee, described as simple and big-bellied, also chooses to stay in Mississippi, resigned to losing his farm. Hannali finds conditions worsening, with talk of revolt deemed insane due to the lack of firearms among Indians and the systematic drying up of gun supplies by hooded men (who ride known white man horses). An Indian found with a gun faces whipping or death. Though man-for-man stronger than whites, Indians are effectively unarmed against rifles and the apparatus of state power enforced by President Andrew Jackson. Nitakechi is identified as the only potential leader for revolt, but after consulting the elderly Mingo Moshulatubbee (who admits his own time has passed), the idea is abandoned.

Convinced revolt is impossible, Hannali enacts his alternate plan: establish a foothold in the new Territory. He gathers promises from a dozen capable men to follow with settlers. He sends his group of Choctaw blacks (about twenty, including skilled individuals like a blacksmith, some enticed runaway slaves) ahead in wagons, appointing the young Martha Louisiana as matriarch. He gives her instructions to find his staked homestead (near three cottonwood trees, fifty yards from a river branch) and \$100 American money. The group successfully navigates 500 miles of slave country to the designated spot, possessing a "quiet assurance."

Hannali then travels west himself with two close friends: his cousin John T (pronounced Tay, later Tee) and Albert Horse, a strong, silent Choctaw. They travel through Mississippi, cross the river into Arkansas Territory via the Boeuf Valley, hearing news of their black contingent. They travel armed, avoiding large settlements, able to distinguish Indian from white settlements at a distance. One afternoon, riding ahead, Hannali is confronted by a white man afoot with a carbine and a steely look, demanding his horse and fiddle. After a tense standoff, both men erupt in laughter; the man is revealed to be Chizem, a "clay-footed chuckler" who is part Cherokee (mother) and Scottish (father). John T and Albert Horse arrive, unsurprised Chizem is Indian. Chizem invites them to a nearby friends' farm. Albert Horse notes Hannali is "acting funny."

They arrive at the farm settlement of Strange Choate, an old Cherokee, his wife Sarah, their four grown sons and families, and a little girl named Natchez. A hog scalding is underway. Hannali fiddles, though in an unusual manner. Strange Choate, a western Cherokee like Chizem, raises hogs, providing salt pork to Fort Gibson and settlers. He mentions living at Grand Saline (Salina), where Natchez was born. Her name, he explains, comes from being "small and scrawny like the Natchez." Chizem plays Hannali's fiddle expertly. Hannali watches Natchez and realizes she is marriageable. He asks Strange how many hogs he has ("About three hundred") and requests one hundred as a gift to help settle the new country, needing his cash for other things. Strange remarks on Hannali acting funny and asks if there's anything else. Hannali asks to marry Natchez. Strange tells him to ask her. Hannali proposes, explaining his need for a wife in the new country and his recent strange behavior. Natchez responds "Maybeso" repeatedly. Hannali returns to Strange, who interprets "Maybeso" as "yes," blesses the union ("We are now of one family"), and tells Hannali to take the hogs and the girl in the morning. Strange Choate possesses a "star sparkle," akin to Choctaw *aleika* (magic); Hannali later calls him a Mingo.

In the morning, Hannali, John T, Albert Horse, and Natchez head to the new country with the hogs. Hannali marries Natchez at Three Forks of the Arkansas, near Fort Gibson. John T and Albert Horse take a dozen hogs each and head south to find their own homes. Two days later, at his homestead on the South Canadian River, Hannali marries Martha Louisiana. The following day, around the river bend, he marries Marie DuShane. He feels "triply done for," likening himself to a herd bull, jack, or cob turkey with three simultaneous offspring due. The novel hints at the distinct qualities of the three women: Natchez's quiet acquiescence and resilience, Martha's passion and friendliness, Marie's storminess and mysticism. The marriages are formalized differently: Natchez by an Indian agent, Martha by an itinerant preacher, Marie by a traditional French rite pending priest confirmation.

Hannali acknowledges the wrongness but recognizes the worldly success. Marriage to Natchez brings hogs and alliance with western

Cherokees. Marriage to Martha brings a workforce (artisan blacks) and settlement foundation. Marriage to Marie brings Poste DuShane (as Alinton DuShane dies soon after), bottom land, and a strategic location near river junctions and future roads (Texas Road, California Road), positioning him at a nexus of three Indian nations (Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee). Hannali becomes Cherokee via Natchez, soon McIntosh Creek via adoption, strengthens ties with the Colberts (Chickasaw chiefs) through Major Levi Colbert, Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw leader), and others like Chizem.

By spring 1830, Hannali has three sons: Famous (by Natchez), Travis (by Martha Louisiana), and Alinton (by Marie DuShane). He is the biggest hog producer, building his Big House. Hundreds of Choctaws arrive that year, establishing territories. The three Choctaw divisions form: Moshulatubbee District (Hannali's) between Arkansas-Canadian River and Southern Mountains (settlements Skullyville, Fort Coffee; Joseph Kincaid first chief); Pushmataha District (Nitakechi's chiefdom) south of mountains, west of Kiamichi River (main town Boggy Depot); Oklafalaya District, south of mountains, east of Kiamichi River (George Harkins first chief; Greenwood LeFlore remains in Mississippi). Oklafalaya is also called Red River District (towns Doaksville, Old Miller Court House - now Millerton).

One day, Hannali sees a man he thinks is the Creek Indian Checote riding away from his Big House on Checote's bay horse. He realizes by the man's seat it's not Checote, but someone he knows by reputation: Whiteman Falaya. Hannali's blood runs scared, his liver knots up. (Albert Horse), (Aleika), (Alinton), (Alinton DuShane), (Alinton Innominee), (American), (Anadarkos), (Andrew Jackson), (Arkansas), (Arkansas Indians), (Arkansas Post), (Arkansas River), (Arkansas Territory), (Arkansas West), (Barua), (Barua Innominee), (Big House), (Big Osages), (Biloxi), (Biloxi Innominee), (Bird Creek), (Blacks), (Boeuf Valley), (Boggy Depot), (Boil), (Bolek), (California Road), (Caddoan Confederacy), (Caddoes), (Cagoulards), (Canadian River), (Catherine), (Chapponia), (Charles Bethany), (Charles Checote), (Charles-Chitoh), (Cherokee), (Cherokee Pins), (Cherokee creeper), (Cherokees), (Cheyenne), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaws), (Chics), (Chitemacha), (Chizem), (Chocs), (Choctaw), (Choctaw

blacks), (Choctaw country), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaws),
 (Christian), (Chupco), (Chuste Nahlah), (Chusto Talasah),
 (Cimarron), (Cimarron River), (Cloud), (Colbert), (Colberts),
 (Comanches), (Confederacy), (Confederate), (Confederates),
 (Cooper), (Coushatta), (Creek), (Creek girl), (Creek Indian),
 (Creeks), (Delawares), (Devil), (Doaksville), (Douglas Cooper),
 (Drew), (English), (Falaya), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Five
 Nations), (Five Tribes), (Fixico), (Florida), (Forbis Agent), (Fort
 Coffee), (Fort Gibson), (Fort Smith), (Fox), (France), (French),
 (George Harkins), (George Hudson), (Gibson Road), (God), (Grand
 Saline), (Grandfather Barua), (Great Red Flowering), (Greenwood
 LeFlore), (Gulf South), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali
 Innominee), (Harjo), (Harkins), (Hazel), (Hazel Innominee), (Helen
 Miller), (Henry-Pushmataha), (Hitchiti Ford), (Hitchiti Meadow),
 (Homostubbee), (Hundred Families), (Hunter), (Inchuka hata),
 (Indian), (Indian South), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee),
 (Innominee family), (Innominees), (Israel), (Jackson), (James),
 (Jemmy Buster), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jesuit), (Jim Ned), (Joel Nail),
 (John Drew), (John Pegg), (John T), (Jones), (Joseph Kincaid), (Jude),
 (Jumper), (Kadohadachos), (Kansas), (Kiamichi River), (Kickapoos),
 (Kiowas), (LeFlore's District), (Little Rock), (Louisiana), (Louis-
 Hannali), (Lower Creek Indians), (Lower Creeks), (Luvinia), (Luvinia
 Innominee), (Major Levi Colbert), (Major Pegg), (Manor House),
 (Marie), (Marie Chap ponia), (Marie DuShane), (Martha Child),
 (Martha Louisiana), (Mary-Luvinia), (Matthew-Moshulatubbee),
 (Mcintosh), (Mcintosh Creek), (McCulloch), (Millerton), (Mingo),
 (Mishoweia), (Mishoweia Town), (Mississippi), (Moshulatubbee),
 (Moshulatubbee District), (Moshulatubbee's District), (Natchez,
 girl), (Natchez, people), (Negroes), (New Orleans), (Nitakechi),
 (Nitakechi's District), (North), (Okla Falaya), (Okla Hannali), (Okla
 Tannaps), (Oklafalaya), (Oklafalaya District), (Oktaha),
 (Oktarharsars Harjo), (Old Miller Court House), (Old South),
 (Opiahoma), (Opothle), (Opothleyahola), (Osages), (Papa Barua),
 (Papa Hannali), (Pass Christian, place), (Pass Christian Innominee),
 (Pawnees), (Pegg), (Peter), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Peter-Barua), (Philip-
 Nitakechi), (Pins), (Pitchlynn), (Plains Indians), (Poncas), (Poste
 DuShane), (President Andrew Jackson), (Pushmataha District),
 (Quapaws), (Rachel Perry), (Red River District), (Robert Jones),

(Robert M. Jones), (Robert Pike), (Round Mountains), (Salina),
 (Salina, person), (Sands), (Sarah), (Scottish), (Seminole),
 (Seminoles), (Shawnees), (Six Town District), (Skullyville), (Slave),
 (Snake Creek Indians), (Snake Creeks), (Snakes), (South), (South
 Canadian River), (Southern Indians), (Southern Mountains),
 (Spanish), (Sticks), (Strange), (Strange Choate), (Strange-Joseph),
 (Sudden Scott), (T), (Tay), (Tee), (Territory), (Texas), (Texas Road),
 (Thomas-Academy), (Three Forks), (Three Forks of the Arkansas),
 (Tonkawas), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Tukabatchee Town),
 (U.S.), (Union), (United States), (Upper Creek Indians), (Utes),
 (Virginia), (Wacos), (Whiteman Falaya), (Wichitas)

Characters

Hannali Innominee returns to his old home in Mississippi after the exploration, making preparations to move to the new Territory if necessary (43). His father Barua will not move, and his mother Chapponia is dead (43). His brother Biloxi also decides to stay (43). Hannali finds conditions worsening in the Choctaw country, with hooded men attacking settlements and Indians being whipped to death for possessing guns (44). He realizes revolt is impossible ("not one Indian in ten who had a gun, not one in fifty who knew how to use one properly") (43-44). Convinced revolt won't happen, he enacts the alternate plan suggested by Pass Christian: go to the new Territory, establish posts, plant corn, raise livestock, set up shops, and arrange financing through Pass Christian and associates to provide food for the arriving refugees (45). He gathers about a dozen Choctaw blacks, a group that somehow grows to over twenty, including a good blacksmith and others of useful talent, having "enticed several superior slaves to run away and go with his band" (46). He starts them west in wagons, appointing the young Martha Louisiana as matriarch, giving her casual instructions to find the stake marking his homestead and one hundred dollars American money (46). He then rides through Choctaw country, conferring with "big men," becoming a big man himself by accepting responsibility, and getting promises from a dozen men to follow quickly with parties to set up farms (46-47). He starts west himself, accompanied only by his cousin John T and Albert Horse (47). They travel through Mississippi, cross the river into

Arkansas Territory, moving easily and avoiding large settlements (47). One afternoon, riding alone ahead of his companions, Hannali is confronted by a white man afoot with a carbine and "a certain steeliness in his look" who blocks his path (47). The man demands, "Get off that horse, you lout, and give me that fiddle!" (47). Hannali is startled by the man but notices something "the matter with the man's stomach," like he had "swallowed a kicking pig" (48). Soon, Hannali feels the same in his own stomach as swallowed laughter erupts (48). He tumbles off his horse, chuckling and talking: "You are no white man you are only white outside you be as much Indian as I am you are a clay-footed chuckler... your by hokey gray eyes is what had me spooked you're no more a white man than I am what do you want my fiddle for" (48). He bear-hugs the man (Chizem, a gray-eyed Cherokee/Scottish Indian) in the "big bluff" game (48). He learns Chizem is not Choctaw (48). He had been distraught not to recognize him as Indian earlier (48). He rides with Chizem, John T, and Albert Horse to the farm of Chizem's friends, the settlement of Strange Choate (48-49). At the hog scalding there, Hannali fiddles "funny music," acting funny himself (49). He learns Strange Choate provides salt pork to Fort Gibson and settlers, and previously lived at Grand Saline where the little girl Natchez was born (49). He watches Natchez behind the torches and realizes she is marriageable (49-50). He goes to Strange Choate, asks about his hog count ("About three hundred"), and asks for one hundred hogs to settle the new country (50). When Strange suggests a price, Hannali says, "No you will have to give them to me... who could buy a hundred hog animals out of hand like that I need my money for other things... you will have to give me at least one hundred" (50). He then asks for Strange's daughter Natchez to marry and take to the new country (50). Strange tells him, "Go ask her" (50). Hannali approaches Natchez, stating his need for hogs and "something else... a wife," admitting he wasn't thinking of a "little scrawny one like you" until seeing her by the torches, and says "John T and Albert Horse say I act funny now I know why I act funny" (50). After receiving only "Maybeso" several times, he returns to Strange, reporting Natchez keeps saying "maybeso" (51). Strange smiles, says "She said yes," and tells Hannali, "Take the hogs and the girl in the morning and be gone. But come back often. We are now of one family" (51). Hannali later refers to Strange Choate as "a

Mingo" (51). In the morning, he, John T, Albert Horse, and Natchez start to the new country with the hundred hogs (51). At Three Forks, near Fort Gibson, he marries Natchez (performed by an Indian agent) (51, 52). He then travels with her and the hogs toward his chosen stead (51). Two days after arriving at his homestead on the South Canadian, he marries Martha Louisiana (performed by an itinerant preacher) (52). The following day, he goes around the river bend and marries Marie DuShane (by the old French rite, conditional on later priestly confirmation) (52). A week later, sitting on a log, he talks to himself: "I am marry to three women and how did it happen to me I was not intend to marry at all... what am I a herd bull to have three calves coming all the same season God help me I don't know how I get into this I'm so dumb what am I a jack I get three colts in one year damn this is bad why was I not think what am I a cob turkey to have three hens... what am I an old boar coon" (52). He acknowledges the wrongness of the situation, excusing himself as a "poor clay-foot Indian with no instruction," but knowing this is untrue (53). Through Natchez, he gains alliance with western Cherokees; through Martha Louisiana, he gains a people and settlement beginnings (artisan blacks, smiths, mechanics); through Marie DuShane (after Alinton dies quietly), he gains Poste DuShane, bottom land, and a strategic location near the Texas and California Roads crossing and the meeting place of three Indian nations (53). He becomes Cherokee by marriage to Natchez, and soon formally adopted as a McIntosh Creek (53). He is close to Peter Pitchlynn and has friendships with Chizem and the Colberts (53). In spring 1830, he has three sons: Famous (by Natchez), Travis (by Martha Louisiana), and Alinton (by Marie DuShane) (54). He has his second corn crop in and begins building the Big House (54). He belongs to the Moshulatubbee District established between the Arkansas-Canadian River and the Southern Mountains (54). One day, he believes he sees the Creek Indian Checote riding away from his Big House, but then notices the man is not Checote (55). He recognizes the rider, from vivid descriptions, as Whiteman Falaya, riding Checote's bay horse; Hannali's "blood ran scared and his liver knotted up" (55).

Albert Horse: A "strong, silent Choctaw man" who accompanies Hannali and John T west (47). When Chizem says Hannali is acting

funny, Albert agrees, "it is that Hannali is act funny he talks funny and he rides off by himself there is something the matter with Hannali's head" (48). At Strange Choate's settlement, he asks how a Cherokee girl got the name Natchez (49). When Hannali marries Natchez, Albert angles south with John T to find a home, receiving a dozen hogs from Hannali (51). He joins Hannali's ride south to find Nanih Waiya, having had the same dream (76). He advises Robert Pike that the Falaya Indians are cousins but "not such well seeming men" and will likely threaten to cut off his ears but only intend to scare him (77).

Alinton DuShane: Dies quietly sometime after Hannali takes over his post (53).

Barua Innominee: Would not move from Mississippi to the new Territory; he was "quite an old man now" (43).

Biloxi Innominee: Said he would remain in Mississippi, knowing he would lose his farm but would stay as a laborer or renter; described as "good-natured, simple, big-bellied" (43). Pass Christian's assessment is quoted: "Papa Barua had left his brains to Pass Christian, his vigor to Hannali, and his pot to Biloxi" (43).

Blacksmith (Unnamed): A good blacksmith is among the Choctaw blacks Hannali starts toward the Territory; Hannali hadn't had one before (46).

Chapponia: Hannali's mother, dead (43).

Chizem: A gray-eyed Indian encountered by Hannali in Arkansas Territory (48). Initially appearing as a white man afoot, he confronts Hannali aggressively ("Get off that horse, you lout, and give me that fiddle!") (47). He has a carbine (47). Hannali recognizes the "big bluff" game and realizes Chizem is Indian ("a clay-footed chuckler") (48). Chizem's mother was Cherokee, his father Scottish (48). He says they should ride to the farm of friends of his (48). He suggests Hannali might be alright and "the rest of the world is funny" (48). At Strange Choate's farm, he plays Hannali's fiddle "better than

Hannali," proving his earlier boast that he could "show him how to play the clay-footed thing" (49). He is one of Hannali's friends with a future (53).

Choate, Sarah: Wife of Strange Choate (49).

Choate, Strange: An old Cherokee Indian whose settlement Hannali visits (49). He raises hogs, providing salt pork to Fort Gibson and settlers (49). He previously lived at Grand Saline where his daughter Natchez was born (49). He explains Natchez is named so because "she is small and scrawny like the Natchez" (49). When Hannali asks for 100 hogs and his daughter, Strange tells him to ask Natchez first (50). After Natchez says "Maybeso," Strange smiles, tells Hannali "She said yes," and gives him the hogs and the girl, welcoming him to the family (51). He stands with Hannali in the starlight and seems to have "star sparkle on him," like the *aleika* (magic); Hannali later calls him "a Mingo" (51).

Choctaw Blacks: A group Hannali leads to the Territory (46). Initially about a dozen, they number over twenty when they depart, including skilled artisans and several "superior slaves" Hannali enticed to run away (46). Led by Martha Louisiana, they travel 500 miles through slave country with wagons and livestock, reaching Hannali's stake successfully despite challenges, benefiting from Hannali's luck (46).

Colbert, Levi: Hannali becomes close friends with the whole Colbert family through Major Levi Colbert (53). Colberts would be chiefs of the Chickasaws for much of the next half century (53).

DuShane, Marie: Hannali marries her the day after marrying Martha Louisiana, using an old French conditional rite (52). She initially thinks Martha Louisiana is Hannali's slave and Natchez his cousin (52). She lives at Hannali's homestead (52). She gives birth to Hannali's son Alinton (54).

Famous: Son of Hannali and Natchez, born in spring 1830 (54).

Harkins, George: The first chief of the Oklafalaya district in the Territory (54).

Hooded Men (Unnamed): Large bodies of these men systematically dry up the Indians' store of guns (44). They hoot and howl like Choctaws but lack the right timbre; they wear white man boots/pants below hoods and ride known white man horses (44). They are likened to the earlier Cagoulard society from French Louisiana but are now the "Peckerwoods of the South" using extreme forms to cow Indians (44). They whip Indians found with guns to death (44).

Horse, Albert: See Albert Horse.

Inchukahata: Joins Hannali's ride south to find Nanih Waiya, having had the same dream (76).

Indian Agent (Unnamed): Marries Hannali and Natchez at Three Forks of the Arkansas (52).

Itinerant Preacher (Unnamed): Of one of the sects, travels with an Indian orphan child he cannot communicate with; marries Hannali and Martha Louisiana (52).

John T: Hannali's cousin (initial T pronounced Tay, later Tee) (47). Accompanies Hannali west (47). When they meet Chizem, John T is not fooled and knows he is Indian (48). He thinks Hannali "acts funny" and comments on his head (49). When Hannali marries Natchez, John T angles south with Albert Horse to find a home, receiving a dozen hogs from Hannali (51). He joins Hannali's ride south to find Nanih Waiya, having had the same dream (76). He tells Robert Pike the Falaya Indians will likely cut off his ears "only half off" and jokes that "it doesn't hurt much" (77).

Kincaid, Joseph: The first chief of the Moshulatubbee district in the Territory (54).

LeFlore, Greenwood: Remained in the old country, turning white man, and possessing sixteen sections of land (54). His district (Oklafulaya) retained its name in the Territory (54).

Martha Louisiana: Appointed matriarch by Hannali to lead the Choctaw blacks west (46). She successfully guides the party 500 miles to Hannali's stake (46). Two days after Hannali arrives at his homestead, he marries her (52). She gives birth to Hannali's son Travis (54).

Miller: An old half-breed whose pretentious residence gave the name to the settlement of Old Miller Court House in the Oklafulaya District (54).

Moshulatubbee: Namesake for the Moshulatubbee District in the Territory, which he himself would never enter, dying before removal was complete (54).

Natchez: Little girl, daughter of Strange Choate, born at Grand Saline (49). Hannali notices her at the hog scalding and realizes she is older than she first appeared and is marriageable (49-50). Hannali asks her to go to the new country and be his wife, despite her being "little scrawny" (50). She responds only "Maybeso" multiple times (50). Her father interprets this as "yes" (51). She travels with Hannali, John T, and Albert Horse to the new country with 100 hogs (51). Hannali marries her at Three Forks (51). She lives at Hannali's homestead (52). She gives birth to Hannali's son Famous (54).

Nitakechi: Capable of leading a Choctaw revolt, with men like Opiahoma, Pitchlynn, Harkins, Kincaid, or Nail as second echelon, and Hannali or Albert Horse as third (44-45). He is as brave as his uncle Pushmataha, better educated but less intelligent, lacking Push's speed of body and mind (45). He consults Moshulatubbee about revolt, who throws the decision back to him (45). Ultimately, revolt is not pursued (45). He is chief of the Pushmataha District established in the Territory (54).

Pass Christian Innominee: His alternate plan (establish posts, farms, shops in the Territory before the main removal) is implemented by Hannali (45). His associates help arrange financing (45). His comment about Barua distributing brains (Pass Christian), vigor (Hannali), and pot (Biloxi) is recalled (43).

Peter Pitchlynn: A potential second-echelon leader under Nitakechi if a revolt occurred (44). He is close friends with Major Levi Colbert (53). Hannali also holds his friendship (53). He is called "the greatest of the Choctaws" (53). He joins Hannali's ride south to the magic mountain Nanih Waiya (78). He is found waiting on the mountain like a "graven rock Indian" when Hannali's party arrives (78). He confirms they are near the place they were called to (78). He identifies the sound of the ancient rattlesnake (78). He is revealed as the last of the Alikchi (Choctaw magic men) who sent the manifold dream summoning the men (78-79). He contrives the acceptance of the mountain site as the Choctaw homeland turning point (79).

Pike, Robert: A white boy from Missouri, about fourteen, pale with watery eyes, encountered riding a light pony south towards Oklafalaya (76). Frightened by Hannali's group, he is put at ease (76). He asks if the Oklafalaya Indians are kind (77). Hannali's group tells him they will scare him but not harm him, advising him to laugh too (77). He travels with them, receives a buckskin from Hannali, listens to Hannali's fiddling, and reaches the destination with them (77). He is in "quiet ecstasy" at having become "brother of wild Indians" and seen the Oklafalaya hills (79).

Pushmataha: Nitakechi's uncle, mentioned for comparison (45). The Pushmataha District in the Territory is named for him (54).

White Man Afoot (Unnamed): The disguise of Chizem when first encountered by Hannali (47).

Whiteman Falaya: Seen by Hannali riding Checote's horse away from Hannali's Big House at the end of the chapter (55).

Outline

V. Chapter Five: Settling the New Land Amidst Old Shadows

1. Existing Inhabitants and Incoming Waves

- A. The Question of Settlement: Was Indian Territory truly empty?
Were there not Indians already living there?
- B. Confirmation of Prior Residents: The Pitchlynn-Colbert Expedition encountered large bands three times, engaging in formal talks. These residents indicated resistance to large-scale intrusion ("would all have to be killed").
- C. The Silent Watchers: The Expedition was constantly followed, especially by Plains Indians moving silently ("barefoot on the grass," using "hand talk," controlled breathing). Hannali barely sensed them.
- D. Catalogue of Existing Tribes:
 - a. Splinter Tribes: Anadarkos, Wacos, Kadohadachos (remnants of Caddoan Confederacy).
 - b. Plains Tribes: Pawnees, Wichitas, Comanches, Osages, Quapaws, Kiowas.
 - c. Travelers/Migrants: Shawnees, Delawares.
 - d. Western Tribes: Utes (far West).
 - e. Others: Poncas, Kickapoos, Tonkawas, fragments of distant main bands.⁵⁴
- E. Land Use Assessment: Primarily hunting country (buffalo, deer), deemed "not in intensive use." Justification for bringing in farming southern Indians. Natural reasons existed why much land couldn't be farmed successfully.

2. Hannali's Preparations and Family Decisions

- A. Hannali's Return: Returned to Mississippi home, made preparations for potential move.
- B. Father Barua's Stance: Refused to move; now an old man. Mother Chapponia deceased.
- C. Brother Biloxi's Stance: Remained in Mississippi, anticipating loss of farm but choosing to stay as laborer/renter. Described as

⁵⁴ Indian Territory hosted numerous indigenous groups (Anadarkos, Wacos, Caddoes, Pawnees, Wichitas, Comanches, Osages, Quapaws, Kiowas, Shawnees, Delawares, Utes, Poncas, Kickapoos, Tonkawas, etc.) prior to the arrival of the Five Tribes. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 29; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 16, 26, 86, 164.

good-natured, simple, big-bellied.

- D. Pass Christian's Analysis of Barua's Legacy: Brains to Pass Christian, vigor to Hannali, "pot" (presumably physique/belly) to Biloxi.
- E. Deteriorating Conditions: Situation rougher in Choctaw country, worse for other tribes. Talk of revolt, but deemed "insanity."
- F. The Arms Deficit: Not one Indian in ten had a gun; not one in fifty used it properly. Hannali learned carrying his carbine openly meant risking his life. Every white settler armed and proficient.
- G. Systematic Disarmament: Indian gun stores "systematically dried up." Settlements surrounded by hooded men (recognized as white men by boots, pants, horses; different howl timbre than Choctaws). Compared to earlier hooded societies (Choctaw, French Cagoulard). Now used by "Peckerwoods of the South" to cow Indians.⁵⁵
- H. Violence and Power Imbalance: Indian with gun whipped to death.⁵⁶ Choctaws endured lash longer. Bull-whips capable of shattering bones. Indians not effete, "man for man they were more man than the whites," but unarmed against rifles, courts, sheriffs, armies. Federal government (Jackson) powerless against states but army available to suppress Indian countermoves.
- I. Potential for Resistance: Creeks/Seminole later proved ability against larger forces. Nitakechi only Choctaw capable of leading revolt (with potential seconds like Opiahoma, Pitchlynn, Harkins, Kincaid, Nail). Nail was rival, but would cease for uprising.
- J. Failure to Revolt: Nitakechi consulted Moshulatubbee. Moshulatubbee (80+) would fight if Nitakechi led, but wouldn't give word himself ("hand and mind had lost their craft"). Problem deemed answerless from start. Revolt impossible.
- K. Hannali's Alternate Plan: Convinced revolt wouldn't happen, activated plan from Pass Christian. Would go to Territory, establish posts, plant corn, amass livestock, set up shops

⁵⁵ Masked men and bullwhips evoke violent intimidation tactics.

"Peckerwoods" is used anachronistically. "Cagoulard" is also anachronistic.

⁵⁶ Whipping was a known punishment among the Choctaw. Swanton, *Source Material*: 112–113.

(smithies, spinning/weaving), plant staples (turnips, potatoes).
Financing arranged by Pass Christian and associates. Aim:
provide food buffer for arriving Indians.

3. The Choctaw Exodus by Numbers

- A. Census (September 1830): Based on stick bundles from families.
 - a. LeFlore's District (Okla Falaya): 7505.
 - b. Nitakechi's District (Pushmataha, Okla Hannali): 6106.
 - c. Moshulatubbee's District (Okla Tannaps): 5943.
 - d. Total: "Not quite twenty thousand" in Old South. About a thousand had already emigrated.⁵⁷

4. Hannali's Emigrants and Journey West

- A. Initial Group: Hannali's "own" people were Choctaw blacks (about a dozen, grew to over twenty). Included good blacksmith, others with useful talents. Hannali enticed superior slaves to escape and join.
- B. Departure of the Blacks: Sent ahead in wagons toward Arkansas West. Young Martha Louisiana appointed matriarch. Given casual instructions to find homestead stake (river forks, cottonwood cluster, fifty yards back). Provided \$100 American money. Traveled 500 miles through slave country direct to stake, unchallenged despite value/status. Attributed to Hannali's "fool for luck."
- C. Hannali's Companions: Rode with cousin John T (pronounced Tay, later Tee) and Albert Horse (strong, silent Choctaw).⁵⁸
- D. Journey Route: Easily through Mississippi, crossed river to Arkansas Territory (Boeuf Valley). Followed blacks' trail by days, got news from local blacks/Arkansas Indians. Avoided open hostility, large settlements. Could distinguish Indian/white settlements by distance. Slept in open, hunted fowl/deer.

5. Encounter with Chizem

- A. The Meeting: Hannali riding alone, mile ahead, met white man

⁵⁷ The 1830/1831 Choctaw census counted just under 20,000 before large-scale removal. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 87, 169; "A census taken in September, 1830, accounted for a total of 19,554 members of the Choctaw tribe; in Leflore's districy 7,505, Nitakechi's 6,106, and in Mushulatubbe's disricft, 5, 943 (ibid.. Ill, 149, 581)." Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 47n10; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 69.

⁵⁸ John T, Albert Horse are fictional characters. John T. Albert Horse's gray eyes signify mixed ancestry.

- afoot blocking path. Man possibly younger, steely look.
- B. The Demand (Quote): "Get off that horse, you lout, and give me that fiddle!" Words cracked like mule whip.
 - C. Hannali's Reaction: Startled; recognized man as unusual, not to be fooled with. Standoff with carbines.
 - D. Mutual Recognition: Hannali noticed something wrong with man's stomach ("swallowed a kicking pig"). Soon felt same in his own stomach (suppressed laughter). Both erupted simultaneously. Hannali tumbled off horse, chuckling, howling, talking. Recognized man as Indian ("clay-footed chuckler").
 - E. The Game Revealed: Identified as "big bluff," game played by Indian boys meeting strangers.
 - F. Chizem's Identity: Name Chizem. *8. Chizem is possibly Jesse Chisholm (ca. 1805–1868), mixed-blood Cherokee trader and guide. Lafferty, Okla Hannali, 48.* Not Choctaw. Mother Cherokee, father Scottish. (Question: How could a Choctaw chuckler come from such a nest?).
 - G. Arrival of Companions: John T and Albert Horse arrived, not fooled. Joined Chizem. Evening approached; Chizem suggested riding to friends' farm.
 - H. Albert Horse's Observation: "Hannali is act funny he talks funny... something the matter with Hannali's head."
 - I. Chizem's Defense: "Maybe there is nothing wrong with my friend Hannali... Maybe Hannali is all right and the rest of the world is funny."
 - J. John T's Agreement: "I think he acts funny..."
- 6. At Strange Choate's Settlement**
- A. Arrival: Rode to Chizem's friends' farm. Cluster of cabins ablaze with pine torches. Hog scalding in progress.
 - B. Inhabitants: Settlement of Strange Choate (old Cherokee), wife Sarah, four grown sons/families, little girl Natchez.⁵⁹
 - C. The Scalding: Dozen slaughtered hogs. Hannali fiddled, but played "funny music." Consensus: "Hannali was acting funny."
 - D. Strange Choate: Cherokee, western/early-removed. Lived near AR/IT line. Raised hogs (salt pork for Fort Gibson/settlers).

⁵⁹ Fort Gibson (est. 1824) was a key U.S. military post. Grand Saline (Salina) refers to salt plains important historically.

- Previously lived at Grand Saline (Salina), where Natchez born.
- E. Naming Natchez: Albert Horse queried name origin. Strange Choate explained: named for Natchez people because she was "small and scrawny."
 - F. Fiddling Continues: Chizem played fiddle better than Hannali that night; proved boast about playing "clay-footed thing."
 - G. Hannali's Condition: Spring late for Hannali. Something wrong with head/liver (Choctaw seat of affections). Watched Natchez.
 - H. Natchez Observed: Not as young as first seemed; "marriageable."
- 7. Hannali's Proposals**

- A. Inquiry to Strange Choate: Asked hog count (~300). Requested 100 hogs (must be given) for settling new country (pork, breeding stock).
- B. Second Request: Noticed daughter Natchez old enough to marry; asked Strange Choate for her hand to take to new country. Strange told him to ask her.
- C. Proposal to Natchez: Explained need for hogs, need for wife ("something else"). Saw her by torches, wants her despite being "scrawny." Wants her to go, be wife, maybe get fat. Acknowledges he's acting funny. Asks for 'yes' to settle it.
- D. Natchez's Reply: Repeatedly answered "Maybeso."
- E. Confirmation: Hannali returned to Strange Choate. Strange smiled, confirmed "Maybeso" meant 'yes'. Liked Hannali. Told him to take hogs and girl in morning. Declared them "one family."
- F. Strange Choate's Aura: Odd, old, gray Cherokee. Had "star sparkle" (like aleika). Private man; Hannali later called him a "Mingo."⁶⁰

8. Departures and Unions

- A. Morning Departure: Hannali, John T, Albert Horse, Natchez left with 100 hogs, pigs, shoats, weanlings. Into new country by midafternoon.
- B. Marriage #1: Hannali married Natchez at Three Forks (near Fort Gibson). Proceeded home with her and hogs.
- C. Separation: John T and Albert Horse angled south for own homes;

⁶⁰ Aleika refers to supernatural power or medicine. Swanton, *Source Material*: 215, 226.

Hannali gave each a dozen hogs.

9. The Three-Forked Lightning: Multiple Marriages⁶¹

- A. Introduction: Hesitation to present the amazing story.
- B. Marriage #2: Two days later, arriving at homestead, Hannali married Martha Louisiana, making her people his.
- C. Marriage #3: Following day, went around river bend, married Marie DuShane.
- D. Hannali's Monologue (one week later): Triply married unintentionally. Assesses wives' perspectives (Marie: Martha slave, Natchez cousin; Martha: knows truth, will knock heads). Laments situation, compares self to herd bull, jack, cob turkey. "I'm so dumb... what am I an old boar coon."
- E. The Three Women's Essence: Torrential arrival of spring for Hannali. Hints of Natchez's "quiet acquiescence and sunny resiliency," Martha's "black-earth passion and blood friendliness," Marie's "sullen storminess and aura'd mysticism" (white lady turning breed).
- F. Formalization of Marriages:
 - a. Natchez: By Indian agent (Three Forks).
 - b. Martha Louisiana: By itinerant preacher (with Indian orphan).
 - c. Marie DuShane: Self-marriage (backcountry French rite), conditional on future priest confirmation.

10. Consequences and Consolidation

- A. Hannali's Awareness: Knew it was wrong, not savage act. Self excuse as poor Indian invalid; "knew what he had done," contained "fundamental canker."
- B. Material Gains: Drew prosperity from follies:
 - a. From Natchez: 100 hogs, alliance with established/wealthy Cherokees, entree into nation.
 - b. From Martha Louisiana: A people, settlement base, artisan blacks (smiths, mechanics).
 - c. From Marie DuShane: Poste DuShane (Alinton died quietly), bottom cornland, strategic location (downstream access, Texas/California Road crossing, potential three-nation meeting

⁶¹ Traditional Choctaw marriage involved various customs; polygyny was practiced. Swanton, *Source Material*: 127–138.

point).

- C. New Alliances: Became Cherokee (by Natchez marriage), McIntosh Creek (by formal adoption). Close to Colbert family (Chickasaw chiefs), Peter Pitchlynn (greatest Choctaw), Chizem, other "men with a future."

11. Early Family Life (Spring 1830)

- A. Sons Born: Famous (Natchez), Travis (Martha Louisiana), Alinton (Marie DuShane).
- B. Progress: Second corn crop planted, Big House construction begun. Other "crop" (soul-saving) underway.
- C. Choctaw Settlements Established (1830): Hundreds arrived, setting up territories by enduring names. Three divisions maintained.
 - a. Moshulatubbee District: Hannali's affiliation. Between Arkansas-Canadian R. & Southern Mtns. Settlements: Skullyville, Fort Coffee. First chief: Joseph Kincaid (Old Moshulatubbee died before entering).
 - b. Pushmataha District: Nitakechi chief. South of mtns, west of Kiamichi R. Town: Boggy Depot.
 - c. Oklafalaya District: Retained name. South of mtns, east of Kiamichi R. First chief: George Harkins. (LeFlore remained in MS, turned white, got land). Also called Red River District. Towns: Doaksville, Old Miller Court House (named for house, not court).⁶² Town now Millerton.

12. Ominous Sighting

- A. The Event: Hannali saw (thought he saw) Creek Indian Checote riding away from Big House. Odd, as Checote hadn't stopped.
- B. Correction: Noticed man didn't sit horse like Checote. Hadn't seen man before, only back view.
- C. Recognition: Knew man from descriptions by other Choctaws:

⁶² Skullyville, Boggy Depot, and Doaksville were important early administrative centers or capitals for the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 58–59, 76; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 89; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 169; Abel, *The American Indian*: 152; Swanton, *Source Material*: 107.

Whiteman Falaya.⁶³ Riding Checote's bay horse.
D. Hannali's Reaction: "blood ran scared and his liver knotted up."

⁶³ Whiteman Falaya, "Long White Man."



Chapter Six

Overview

Chapter Six opens with the looming threat of the elusive outlaw Whiteman Falaya, who leaves a menacing note in Hannali Innominee's supposedly secure house, prompting Hannali's fear and realization that Falaya is now in the Territory. Despite this danger, Hannali House is depicted as a bustling center of hospitality, visited by numerous prominent Indian leaders and white figures. The central conflict erupts when Marie DuShane discovers the true nature of Hannali's relationships with Martha Louisiana and Natchez, leading to a violent confrontation where Marie attacks both women. In the aftermath, Hannali, guided by Marie's decree but ultimately following his own resolve, renounces all three wives, dedicating himself to his children and his extensive travels among the Plains Indian nations, becoming known by many names and acquainted with their greatest figures.

Summary

Hannali Innominee is sitting on a bench cleaning a gun, possibly dozing, in front of the strong room where he keeps valuables like gold, money, guns, whiskey, and fine furniture. He realizes something is wrong with the room, enters, and finds a rough paper note stabbed into the pine wall with a sharpened hickory spear piece. Though his reading is limited, and the writer illiterate, Hannali grasps the message's meaning. He confirms it with one of his black workers: "Fat Man Hannali you have nowt but three bull calfs this year I will spoil you of one of your heffers when you have one I will spoil you of outhar things I mean to cut you down your friend Whiteman Falaya."

Hannali, normally fearless and formidable in combat, feels a near-fear, an exasperating emotion, towards Whiteman Falaya. Falaya, born in Mississippi to a loose Choctaw woman and an unknown white father, is darker than most Choctaws. He kills, loots, rapes, and burns with passion, leaving curious written notes (in at least six different hands over time, none belonging to known associates) documenting his planned acts. His most fearful trait is stealth; he had walked past the dozing Hannali into the strong room and out again. Whiteman is under death sentences from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the Ross Cherokees. Reverend Isaac McCoy viewed him as a sick animal, but most Indians sought to kill him. Hannali realizes Falaya is in the Territory, having previously thought him dead. He rides not south, but across the river to the Creek Indian Checote's home, confirming Falaya had stolen Checote's distinctive bay horse seen near Hannali's house. A pursuit fails. Hannali keeps Falaya's identity secret, but Falaya's presence soon becomes widely known.

Hannali House becomes a center of hospitality. Captain George Washington (Caddo chief) and General Zachary Taylor (in 1842) slept there. Great Indian leaders visit: Peter Pitchlynn, Israel Folsom, Pitman Colbert, Winchester Colbert, Joseph Kincaid, Thomas LeFlore, Nitakechi, Ya-Ya-Hadge, John Jumper, Captain Robert Jones, Roley McIntosh, Benjamin Perryman, Roman Nose Thunder (Cheyenne), Gopher John (Negro turned Seminole chief, founder of Wewoka), Buffalo Hump, Pock Mark, Placido (Plains tribes), John Ross (Cherokee chief), Benjamin Love, George Lowrey, Black Dirt, Bolek (Billy Bowlegs), Pliny Fisk, and Chizem. Prominent white men also stop: Charles Goodnight, General Philip Henry Sheridan, Albert Pike, Reverends Isaac McCoy and Samuel Worchester, Jesuits (rarely), and various Indian agents and superintendents (Rutherford, Garrett, Drennen, Browning).

Before the Civil War, inns were scarce in Indian Territory; travelers relied on houses like Hannali's or Army posts. Hannali spends thirty years building his Big House, stopping additions after the "Second Time of Troubles." Built with limestone, sandstone, crab orchard

stone, shale, and granite, its additions mark eras in his life. He adds New Orleans ironwork, a steepled lookout tower, and a ruby-red window. It resembles a giant turkey buzzard or a barn owl. For thirty years, peace in the Moshulatubbee Choctaw North is maintained by about a hundred settled men in such Big Houses, reflecting the "feudal Middle Ages of the Choctaw Nation." The House becomes central to Hannali after he becomes, as he wrote, "a widdo were with three wives."

Early in her second pregnancy, Marie DuShane realizes the truth about Hannali's relationship with Martha Louisiana and Natchez, whom she had dismissed as a slave and a child. She is shocked when Martha chuckles with Hannali's distinct rumble after a command, revealing their intimacy. Enraged, Marie attacks Martha with a whip. Martha retaliates fiercely, tasting blood, overpowering Marie, slapping her senseless, and grinding her unconscious with her heels, declaring, "I am the wife before you." Martha believes Hannali must now put away the white woman.

However, Marie's identity transforms; she embraces her breed Indian heritage (Shawnee and French), becoming stormier and more savage. She launches a second, ferocious attack on Martha, who is unnerved and overwhelmed by this "half-breed Canadian River storm." Marie, possessing lithe strength, brutally beats Martha, whose confidence breaks. Marie believes she has killed Martha, and Martha believes she is dead. Marie, in her mad clarity, realizes Natchez is also Hannali's, recalling overlooked signs. She attacks the approaching Natchez, striking her unconscious and beating her savagely. Hannali rushes to intervene, finding Natchez near death (unconscious three hours, unable to walk for a week). He sobs, blaming his own sin for the "death" of his "first springtime." Marie believes Natchez is not dead. Martha reappears, forgetting her own "death," and admonishes Marie for attacking the child. Natchez survives, the only one truly "well" afterward; Marie and Martha have "died a little."

Three days later, the three women and Hannali convene at Natchez's bedside. Marie declares all four responsible: Hannali for being a "springtime fool," herself for being blind, Martha for knowing and

accepting, and Natchez for not resisting evil more strongly ("One does not say maybeso when a big evil comes"). Marie dictates that Hannali must put away Natchez. He protests ("light of my life") but yields ("It will kill me it will break my soul"). Marie insists he must also put away Martha. He protests again ("my black people... blood of my liver and clay of my clay") but yields in agony. Marie declares the business finished; the two women and their children will remain family, "but not in the old way." She states Hannali now has only one wife: herself. Hannali, however, dreamily declares, "I will put away Marie DuShane and she no longer be my wife." He states he cannot right the wrong by thirds and must put away all three wives, touching no woman again. Marie suggests praying the children are lost or stillborn; Martha forbids such prayers. Hannali touches woman no more, and their lives eventually grow happier.

The novel introduces Hannali's traveling life. He travels the Territory every year. This reflects the Choctaw tradition of a "wandering year" for young men. Hannali had wandered into Spanish Florida as a teen and continued yearly travels after moving west. He knew the West's rivers, plains, mountains, and Indian nations, particularly Cheyennes, Apaches, Caddoes, Pawnees, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Comanches. His presence guaranteed acceptance. He earns various names: Fiddling Bear (Cheyennes), Big Frog (Apaches), Laughing Bull (Caddoes), Talking String Man (Pawnees), Fat Beaver (Arapahos), Mule Doctor (Comanches), Man with the Talking Horses (Kiowas). He knew generations of Plains leaders. An extensive list follows: Cheyennes (Black Moccasin, High Wolf, Dull Knife, etc.), Sioux (Black Leg, Crazy Horse, etc.), Arapahos (Left Hand, Little Raven, etc.), Crows (Big Prisoner, Plenty Coups, etc.), Anadarkos (Pockmark, Jose Maria), Nez Perces (Looking Glass, Joseph, etc.), Comanches (Bull Hump, Quanah Parker, etc.), Apaches (Leading Bear, Goyathlay/Geronimo, etc.), Caddoes (Chowaw-hana, White Antelope), Pawnees (Sky Chief, Dusty Chief), Kiowas (Satanta, Satank, Kicking Bird, Timbered Mountain, etc.). He learned their languages, customs, medicine, taught smithery, and shared their lives, fulfilling a part of him unsatisfied by settled life. The section ends evoking scenes of Plains life and questioning who else knew these figures like Hannali.

(Alabama), (Albert Pike), (Alinton Innominee), (Alligator),
 (American Horse), (Anadarkos), (Apaches), (Arapahos), (Arkansas),
 (Army posts), (Assiniboin), (Autsite), (Bad Face), (Barua), (Bashih),
 (Bat Masterson), (Beaver), (Benjamin Love), (Benjamin Perryman),
 (Big Bend), (Big Frog), (Big House), (Big Man), (Big Prisoner), (Big
 Tree), (Billy Bowlegs), (Billy Brooks), (Bird Creek), (Black Dirt),
 (Black Kettle), (Black Leg), (Black Moccasin), (Black Moon), (Black
 Sun), (Blau), (Bloody Knife), (Blue-Eyed Company), (Bolek),
 (Boomer), (Boomers), (Bowlegs), (Browning), (Brutus), (Buffalo
 Hump), (Bull), (Bull Hump), (Butler), (Butterfield Overland
 Dispatch), (Caddo Indian chief), (Caddoes), (Cahokias), (California),
 (California Road), (Canadian River), (Captain George Washington),
 (Captain Robert Jones), (Catherine), (Cayugas), (Charles Bethany),
 (Charles Checote), (Charles Goodnight), (Charles-Chitoh), (Charlie
 Brown), (Checote), (Cherokee), (Cherokee Indians), (Cherokee
 Nation), (Cherokee Pins), (Cherokee Strip Livestock Association),
 (Cherokees), (Cheyenne), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaw), (Chickasaw
 Nation), (Chickasaws), (Chippewa), (Chippewas), (Chisholm Trail),
 (Chitemacha), (Chizem), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Nation),
 (Choctaw North), (Choctaw South), (Choctaws), (Chowaw-hana),
 (Christian), (Chupco), (Chuste Nahlah), (Chusto Talasah), (Civil
 War), (Colbert), (Colbert's Ferry), (Colonel Cooper), (Colonel
 Douglas Cooper), (Colonel John Drew), (Colorado), (Comanche
 Potatoes), (Comanches), (Conchas), (Confederacy), (Confederate),
 (Confederate Army), (Confederate Indians), (Congressional
 Cemetery), (Conestogas), (Conti streets), (Cooper), (Coosa),
 (Coushatta), (Cow Catcher), (Cowskin Prairie), (Cox Trail), (Coyote
 Droppings), (Crab orchard stone), (Crane), (Crazy Horse), (Crazy
 Mule), (Creek), (Creek country), (Creek Indian), (Creeks), (Cross-
 Timbers), (Crow Indian), (Crow King), (Crows), (Custer), (Cut Belly),
 (Cyrus Aldrich), (D.C.), (Dakotas), (Dancing Rabbit Creek), (Darwin),
 (Dauphin street), (David L. Payne), (David Payne), (Deep Fork),
 (Deep Red Run), (Delano), (Delaware), (Delawares), (Denison),
 (Devil), (Devil-Dog), (Dickens), (Doaks and Timms Mercantile
 Company), (Doaksville), (Dodge), (Dodge City), (Dodge Trail),
 (Doniphan County), (Douglas Avenue Hotel), (Douglas Cooper),
 (Drago), (Drennen), (Drovers' Cottage), (Dry Throat), (Duchesne),
 (DuShane), (Dull Knife), (Dumas), (Durham), (Dusty Chief), (Dutch

Mills), (Dwight's Mission), (Eagle Tail), (East Shawnee Trail),
 (Edward the Confessor), (Edward's Post), (Elites), (Elias Rector), (Elk
 Creek), (Ellsworth), (Eneas Evans), (England), (English), (Epiphany),
 (Eries), (Erasmus), (Eufaula), (Falaya), (False Washita), (Famous),
 (Famous Innominee), (Famous-George), (Fat Beaver), (Fat Man
 Hannali), (Father Isidore Robot), (Fiddling Bear), (Five Dollar
 Honest), (Five Tribes), (Flat Rock), (Flat War Club), (Florida),
 (Folsom), (Forbis Agent), (Fort Coffee), (Fort Coffee Academy), (Fort
 Gibson), (Fort Reno), (Fort Smith), (Fort Towson), (Fort Washita),
 (Fort Wayne), (Fort Worth), (Fort-Snelling Sioux), (Fourth Texas
 Cavalry), (Fox), (France), (Francis-Mingo), (Frank James), (Franklin),
 (Freedom Indian), (Freedom Indians), (French), (French Jesuits),
 (French Shawnee), (Frenchie), (Funny Man), (Gaines Creek),
 (Galena), (Galileo), (Garland), (Garrett), (General Albert Pike),
 (General George Washington), (General Hunter), (General James
 McIntosh), (General Kirby-Smith), (General Philip Henry Sheridan),
 (General Stand Watie), (General Zachary Taylor), (George Butler),
 (George Cloud), (George Hewahneckee), (George Lowrey), (George S.
 Gaines), (George W. Harkins), (George Washington), (Georgia),
 (German), (Geronimo), (Gibson), (Gibson Road), (Gilcrease
 Museum), (Glidden), (God), (Gopher John), (Gotebo), (Governor
 Colbert), (Goyathlay), (Grand Central Hotel), (Grand Saline), (Gray
 Beard), (Gray Ghost), (Gray Hair), (Gray Horse), (Great Decade),
 (Great Red Flowering), (Great Salt Plains), (Great Western Trail),
 (Greek), (Green Interlude), (Green Peach War), (Greenwood
 LeFlore), (Gregory-Pitchlynn), (Guibadai), (Gulf), (Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-
 Nee), (Hail), (Hainai), (Halleck), (Halleck Tustennuggee), (Hannali),
 (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Hannibal and St. Joe),
 (Harbinger), (Harker), (Harjo), (Harvey), (Haskell), (Haskell
 Indians), (Hatred), (Hays), (Hays City), (Hazel), (Hazel Innominee),
 (Hebrew), (Helen), (Helen Miller), (Hell), (Hells' Half Acres),
 (Henderson), (Henry), (Henry-Pushmataha), (Henrys), (Hide Park),
 (High Backbone), (High-Backed Wolf), (High Wolf), (Hitchiti Ford),
 (Hitchiti Meadow), (Hominy Falls), (Homostubbee), (Horseback),
 (Hush-Hush-Cute), (Idaho), (Illinois), (Inchuka hata), (Indian),
 (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominee family),
 (Innominees), (Iowa), (Iroquois), (Irving), (Isaac McCoy), (Ishacoly),
 (Ishatai), (Island), (Isparhecher), (Israel), (Israel Folsom),

(Ishtaboli), (J. F. Glidden), (Jacks-Fork), (Jackson), (Jacksonian),
 (James), (James Henderson), (James McIntosh), (Jeff Merriwether),
 (Jefferson), (Jemmy), (Jemmy Buster), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jesse
 James), (Jesuits), (Jim Ned), (Jim Pockmark), (Jo Shelby), (Joe
 Brennan's), (Joe E. Johnson), (Joel Nail), (John Chupco), (John Drew),
 (John Jumper), (John Linney), (John Morgan), (John Pitchlynn),
 (John Ross), (John Sapulpa), (John T), (Jones), (Jones and Plummer
 Trail), (Jose Maria), (Joseph), (Joseph Kincaid), (Joseph Mohawk),
 (Joseph McCoy), (Jude), (Jumper), (Kadohadachos), (Kaintucks),
 (Kansas), (Kansas Pacific), (Kaskaskias), (Katemsie), (Kentucky),
 (Keno House), (Kiamichi Mountains), (Kiamichi River), (Kichai
 Indians), (Kicking Bird), (Kickapoo Street), (Kickapoos), (Kiowa),
 (Kiowas), (Kirby-Smith), (Kit Fox), (Knife), (Kokaka), (Kraut),
 (Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District), (Kutchaw), (Lahika), (Lake
 West), (Lamplighter), (Laughing Bull), (Laughing Fox), (Lavaca
 Choate), (Le Flore), (Leaning Mountain), (Lean Bear), (Leased
 District), (Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western), (Lee), (Lee's Creek),
 (Left Hand), (Left Hand Shooter), (Levi Colbert), (Leviticus), (Lewis
 Davis), (Light Hair), (Light Horse Indian Police), (Limber Lance),
 (Lincoln), (Little Big Man), (Little Mountain), (Little Osage River),
 (Little Osages), (Little Raven), (Little River), (Little Tom Spicer),
 (Little Town Spicer), (Little Wolf), (Locust Grove), (Lokar Poker
 Town), (Lone Wolf), (Looking Glass), (Louis), (Louis Christian),
 (Louis Weller), (Louisiana), (Louisiana Purchase), (Lower Creeks),
 (Luvinia), (Luvinia HannaH), (Luvinia Innominee), (Lyon), (Madoc),
 (Major Haley), (Major Levi Colbert), (Major Pegg), (Major Ridge),
 (Mama Chapponia), (Mama Natchez), (Man with the Talking Horses),
 (Manchokatonx), (Mandan Indian), (Mandans), (Manifest Destiny),
 (Manor House), (Mantantan), (Manus), (Marcus Aurelius), (Marie),
 (Marie Calles), (Marie Chapponia), (Marie Delessert), (Marie
 DuShane), (Marie-Therese), (Mark Twain), (Marshal), (Martel),
 (Martha), (Martha Louisiana), (Martha-Child), (Mary Choate),
 (Mary-Luvinia), (Master of the Hunt), (Masterson), (Mather), (Mats-
 Kumh), (Matthew-Moshulatubbee), (Mavila-Choctaw), (McCoy),
 (McGillivray), (McIntosh), (McIntosh families), (McReynolds),
 (Medal Mingo), (Memphis), (Menominee), (Merriwether),
 (Mexican), (Mexican Consensus), (Mexican-blood), (Mexico),
 (Miami), (Miamis), (Michelangelo), (Michigameas), (Middle Ages),

(Middle Boggy), (Mike Meagher), (Miller), (Millerton), (Mingo),
 (Mingos), (Minnesota), (Minnesota Indians), (Mishoweia),
 (Mishoweia Town), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Missouri Pacific),
 (Missouri River), (Mixed Band Senecas), (Mo-Wi), (Mobile), (Mobile
 Bay), (Modocs), (Mohawk), (Mohawks), (Montana), (Montaigne),
 (Morning Voice), (Moses), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubbee
 District), (Moshulatubbee Choctaw North), (Moshulatubby), (Motey
 Canard), (Mountain Fork), (Muddy Boggy), (Mud-faced stallion),
 (Mule Doctor), (Muskogee), (Mysterious Dave Mather), (Nadoues-
 Sioux), (Nakni), (Nanih Waiya), (Napoleon), (Narvaez Expedition),
 (Natchez), (Natchez, girl), (Natchez, people), (Natchez Road),
 (Nauchville), (Nawat), (Nebraska), (Negro), (Negroes), (Nemaha
 Iowas), (Neosho), (New England), (New Mexico), (New Orleans),
 (New Western Trail), (Newton), (Newtonia), (Nez Perces), (Nicholas-
 Nakni), (Nieto), (Nitakechi), (Niter), (No-Shoes), (North), (North
 Fork), (North Fork Town), (North St. Louis), (November), (Noxubee),
 (Noxubee Indian), (Nueces River), (Oak Hill), (Occidental), (Ocher),
 (Ochillas), (Ohio), (Ohio River), (Ojibways), (Okemah), (Okla), (Okla
 Falaya), (Okla Hannali), (Okla Hannali District), (Okla Tannaps),
 (Oklafalaya), (Oklafalaya District), (Oklahoma), (Oklahoma City),
 (Oktaha), (Oktarharsars Harjo), (Old Character), (Old Miller Court
 House), (Old South), (Old Wild West Days), (Omaha), (One Braid),
 (One Dollar Honest), (One Hundred Families), (Oneidas),
 (Onedagas), (Opiahoma), (Opothle Yahola), (Opothleyahola),
 (Oregon), (Osage), (Osage country), (Osage Trace), (Osages), (Oto),
 (Ottawa Indians), (Ottawas), (Ouiskonche), (Pablo-Nieto), (Paha-
 Yuca), (Painted Thunder), (Pale Face), (Pansfalaya), (Panther), (Papa
 Barua), (Papa Hannali), (Paris), (Park Hill), (Parker), (Pass
 Christian), (Pass Christian Innominee), (Pat Sughrue), (Pawnee),
 (Pawnee Fork), (Pawnees), (Payne), (Pebworths), (Pegg), (Penn),
 (Peorias), (Pericles), (Perkins), (Perryman), (Perryville), (Peter),
 (Peter Pitchlynn), (Peter-Barua), (Philip Henry Sheridan), (Philip-
 Nitakechi), (Phillip Pennywit), (Phoenician), (Piankashaws),
 (Pickens), (Pike), (Pin Cherokees), (Pin Indians), (Pinchlin), (Pins),
 (Pishofa), (Pita-Leshar), (Pitman Colbert), (Pittsburg), (Pitchlynn),
 (Pitchlynn-Colbert Exploration), (Placido), (Plains), (Plains Indians),
 (Plato), (Pleasant Bluff), (Plenty Camps), (Plenty Coups), (Pliny
 Fisk), (Plummer), (Plutarch), (Pock Mark), (Pockmark), (Poison

Creek), (Polk), (Poncas), (Poor Buffalo), (Porcupine), (Porcupine Bear), (Poteau Bottom), (Potawatomis), (Powder Face), (Prairie Band Potawatomis), (Prairie Grove), (Preston), (President Andrew Jackson), (President Davis), (President Jackson), (President Jefferson Davis), (President Jones), (President Polk), (President Zachary Taylor), (Psalms), (Pseudo-Sioux), (Puckshenubbee), (Puritan Indians), (Puritan whites), (Pushmataha), (Pushmataha County), (Pushmataha District), (Quadhadi Comanches), (Quannah Parker), (Quapaw Indians), (Quapaws), (Quina-hiwa), (R. A. Lafferty), (Raccoon), (Rachel Perry), (Rector), (Red Bear), (Red Beard's Dance Hall), (Red Cloud), (Red Fork), (Red Man), (Red Men), (Red River), (Red River District), (Red River Station), (Red Sleeve), (Reno), (Republic of Texas), (Reserve Squadron), (Reverend Isaac McCoy), (Reverends Isaac McCoy and Samuel Worchester), (Richard), (Ridge), (Rileys), (Rio Grande), (Robert Cole), (Robert E. Lee), (Robert Jones), (Robert M. Jones), (Robert Pike), (Rodney), (Roley McIntosh), (Rolling Bull), (Roman Nose), (Roman Nose Thunder), (Rome), (Root Hog), (Rosary), (Rose Hill), (Ross), (Ross Cherokees), (Round Mountain Landing), (Round Mountains), (Rousseau), (Rutherford), (Sabine Estuary), (Sac and Fox Indians), (Saint Peter), (Salina), (Salina, person), (Sallisaw), (Sally), (Sally Innominee), (Salt Fork), (Samuel Checote), (Samuel Rutherford), (Samuel Worchester), (San Antonio), (Sand Plum), (Sandusky Seneca Indians), (Sands), (Sangre de Cristo Mountains), (Sansbois Mountains), (Santa Fe), (Santee Dakotas), (Sapulpa), (Sarah), (Satank), (Satanta), (Sawyer and Ficklin), (Scioto), (Scot), (Scott), (Scottish), (Second Confederate Indian Brigade), (Second Time of Troubles), (Sedwick County), (Seminole), (Seminole Indians), (Seminoles), (Seneca), (Senecas of Sandusky), (Seoma Big), (Sequoyah), (Sergeant), (Seven Bulls), (Shaking Hand), (Shakespeare), (Shanghai Pierce), (Sharp's Carbines), (Shavehead), (Shawnee), (Shawnee Indian), (Shawnees), (Shelby), (Sheridan), (Shining Mountains), (Shirley's Ford), (Shoal Creek), (Shulush-Horna), (Sidney Bowen), (Silver Saddle), (Sill), (Sioux), (Sioux Little Wolf), (Sitting Bear), (Six Feathers), (Six People), (Six Town District), (Six-Town), (Sixth Street), (Skullyville), (Skullyville Convention), (Sky Chief), (Slave), (Slaves), (Small Cloud Band), (Small Cloud Spicer), (Snake Creek), (Snake Creek Indians), (Snake

Creeks), (Snake Girl), (Snakes), (Snapping Turtle), (Snowbird),
 (Socrates), (Songeskiton), (Sophia Folsom), (South), (South Arkansas
 Mounted Riflemen), (South Kansas Regiment), (Southern Indians),
 (Southern Mountains), (Southland), (Southwestern Hotel), (Spain),
 (Spanish), (Spanish Florida), (Spanish Fort), (Spanish-Mexican),
 (Spavinaw Creek), (Spencer Academy), (Spencers), (Spiro), (Spotted
 Tail), (Springfield), (St. Joe), (St. Louis), (St. Patrick's Church), (St.
 Thomas Aquinas), (St. Vrain), (Stand Watie), (Standing Alligator),
 (Stiff Neck), (Stillwater), (Sticks), (Stockbridge Indians), (Stone
 Calf), (Storm), (Strange), (Strange Choate), (Strange-Joseph),
 (Subvenite sancti), (Sudden Scott), (Sugar Creek), (Sughrue),
 (Summa), (Sun Eagle), (Sun Maker), (Sundown Day), (Swift), (Syria),
 (T. C. Henry), (Tacusa Fixico), (Tahlequah), (Talking Horse), (Talking
 Horses), (Talking String Man), (Tallago Valley), (Tamoroas),
 (Tancred), (Tandy Walker), (Tap-Sis-Li), (Taza), (Tee), (Ten Bears),
 (Tene-Angopte), (Tennessee), (Territorial), (Territory), (Territory
 Indians), (Teton), (Texan), (Texans), (Texas), (Texas Cavalry), (Texas
 Fourth Cavalry), (Texas House), (Texas Men), (Texas Road), (The
 Man with the Talking Horses), (Theodore Roosevelt), (Therese),
 (Thin Man), (Thomas LeFlore), (Thomas-Academy), (Thousand),
 (Three Forks), (Three Forks of the Arkansas), (Three Nations),
 (Thunder Man), (Thundering), (Tilghman), (Timber Law), (Timbered
 Mountain), (Timms Mercantile Company), (Tobacco), (Tom Smith),
 (Tombigbee River), (Tonkawa Encampment), (Tonkawas), (Tories),
 (Toshaway), (Town), (Tracks), (Trajan), (Traveling Wolf), (Travis),
 (Travis Innominee), (Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek), (Treaty of
 Doak's Stand), (Tuchi Town), (Tukabatchee Town), (Tulasie Burying
 Grounds), (Tulsa), (Tuscalusa), (Tuscaroras), (Tustennuggee),
 (Twice), (U. S. Army), (U. S. Cavalry), (U. S. Indian Office), (U.S.),
 (Union), (Union Army), (Union General Hunter), (Unionist),
 (Unionists), (United Nations), (United States), (United States Army),
 (United States Government), (United States Senate), (Upper Creek
 Indians), (Upper Snake Creeks), (Uski), (Utah), (Utes), (Van Buren),
 (Verdigris), (Verdigris River), (Vicksburg), (Victorio), (Vincentian
 Seminary), (Virginia), (Voltaire), (W. A. Williams), (W. N. Jones),
 (Waco), (Wacos), (Walker), (Wallace), (Walking Coyote), (Walking
 Rabbit), (Wall Street Journal), (Walnut Bayou), (Walnut Fort),
 (Walnut Hill), (War of 1812), (Washington), (Washington, D.C.),

(Washita), (Washita River), (Watie), (Weas), (Webbers Falls), (Wellington), (Welsh), (Welsh Indians), (Welshmen), (West), (West Shawnee Trail), (Wewoka), (White Antelope), (White Bear), (White Bird), (White Cowbird), (White Elk), (White Eyes), (White Hog), (White Man), (Whiteman), (Whiteman Falaya), (Whitman Long), (Wichita), (Wichita Agency), (Wichita Mountains), (Wichitaw Agency), (Wichitaws), (Wild Bill Hickok), (Wild Hog), (Wildcat Kickapoos), (William David), (William Garrett), (William McIntosh), (William of Falaise), (Wilson's Creek), (Winchester Colbert), (Winding Stair Mountains), (Wolf Creek), (Wooden Leg), (Woods Band Potawatomis), (Worcester), (Wyandots), (Wyatt Earp), (Wynn), (Ya-Ya-Hadge), (Yahola), (Yankton), (Young Student), (Zachary Taylor), (Zelevansky)

Characters

Hannali is sitting on a massive bench in front of his strong room door, cleaning a gun, possibly dozing (56). He realizes the strong room door is open, goes in, and finds a rough piece of paper stabbed to the wall with a sharpened hickory spear piece (56). He recognizes the message from Whiteman Falaya without being fully literate (56). He takes the paper to one of the blacks who can read; the message reads: "Fat Man Hannali you have nowt but three bull calves this year I will spoil you of one of your heffers when you have one I will spoil you of outhers things I mean to cut you down your friend Whiteman Falaya" (57). Hannali is afraid of few things, never bested in scuffling, able to kill a buffalo bull with a small club, drive a knife through eight inches of pine, and the best shot among Choctaws (57). He comes "very near to being afraid" of Whiteman Falaya; if not fear, it is a "new and exasperating emotion that left him breathing hard" (57). He believes Whiteman had walked past him while he dozed, entered the strong room, stabbed the note, and left unseen (58). He takes his best rifle, mounts his horse, and rides north across the river to the home of the Creek Indian Checote, having seen Whiteman riding Checote's horse (58). He tells Checote he saw a man on his horse who didn't sit right (58). After Checote confirms the horse is missing, Hannali joins the unsuccessful pursuit but doesn't reveal the thief's identity (58). Later, many prominent figures visit his "Big House" (58-59). Building the Big

House took thirty years, and he added no more after the "Second Time of Troubles"; it included limestone, sandstone, crab orchard stone, shale, granite blocks, New Orleans ironwork, a steepled lookout tower, and a ruby-red window (60). He lives there after becoming, as he wrote, "a widdo were with three wives" (60). He had been embarrassed several times when Marie DuShane reported Martha Louisiana for insubordination (61). After the violent confrontation between Marie, Martha, and Natchez, Hannali runs to pull Marie off the beaten Natchez, sure Natchez is dead (63). He hunches over Natchez and sobs out his "clay-footed soul," blaming himself: "The scrawny little girl that never hurt anything in her life... now Marie DuShane have killed her all because I am a bad-hearted man who had done great wrongs she was the light of my life she was my first springtime... do not touch her Marie DuShane you have killed her" (63). When Marie insists Natchez isn't dead, Hannali cries, "Do not touch my little girl she is broken like a bird the blood that runs out of her is my own now have God struck my family why have He not struck me who am guilty" (63). Three days later, he gathers with Marie, Martha, and the recovering Natchez (64). Marie tells him he is responsible for being a "great springtime fool" and insists he must put away Natchez (64). Hannali protests, "This I cannot do she is the light of my life she is my first springtime how could I ever put away a scrawny little girl like that" (64). He relents, saying "It will kill me it will break my soul," but agrees (64). Marie then insists he put away Martha Louisiana (65). Hannali protests again, "This I cannot do she is from an earlier springtime she is my black people she is blood of my liver and clay of my clay" (65). He again relents, stating in "dull agony" "I will put away Martha Louisiana and she no longer be my wife" (65). Then, as if in a dream, he states, "I will put away Marie DuShane and she no longer be my wife" (65). He explains his reasoning: "I cannot put away one wife I cannot put away two wives I can only put away all three wives a wrong such as mine cannot be righted by thirds in all my life I will no more touch woman will our lifes really grow more happy after a while what will it be for the children that you three are now carrying" (65). Hannali "touched woman no more in all his life" (66). He develops a "traveling life," taking a wandering journey into Florida of Spain in his teens, another and another, and after coming to the new country, wanders a part of

every year (66). He knows every big river of the West, the high plains, the mountains (66). He knows every Indian nation of the West, visiting and living mostly with Cheyennes, Apaches, Caddoes, Pawnees, Kiowas, Arapahos, Comanches, and is accepted everywhere (66-67). He gains various names: Fiddling Bear (Cheyennes), Big Frog (Apaches), Laughing Bull (Caddoes), Talking String Man (Pawnees), Fat Beaver (Arapahos), Mule Doctor (Comanches), The Man with the Talking Horses (Kiowas) (67). He knows great Plains Indians for generations, listing many Cheyenne leaders like Black Moccasin, Dull Knife, Roman Nose, Little Wolf (67). He knows Sioux leaders (Black Leg, Crazy Horse, etc.) but was "never a Sioux man" (68). He knows Arapahos (Left Hand, Little Raven), Crows (Big Prisoner, Plenty Coups), Anadarkos (Pockmark, Jose Maria), Nez Perces (Looking Glass, Joseph), Comanches (Bull Hump, Quanah Parker), Apaches (Leading Bear, Goyathlay/Geronimo), Caddoes (Chowaw-hana, White Antelope), Pawnees (Sky Chief, Pita-Leshar), and Kiowas (Satanta, Satank, Kicking Bird, Timbered Mountain) (68-69). He lives this other life in off-season weeks, months, and years, learning Plains tongues, hand talk, custom, and medicine; he teaches them smithery (69). Lafferty states there was "Indian in Hannali that could never be satisfied with the settled life" (69).

Agent, Forbis: One of the two men (besides Hannali) in the house during the Whiteman Falaya threat (74).

Alinton (Innominee): Son of Hannali and Marie DuShane (mentioned by Lafferty (74), but does not appear).

Barua Innominee: Hannali's father. (Mentioned only (53)).

Biloxi Innominee: Hannali's brother. (Mentioned only (53)).

Black Dirt: A good or bad Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Bolek (Billy Bowlegs): A good or bad Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Browning: An Indian agent or superintendent entertained at Hannali House (59).

Buffalo Hump: An important Plains Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Checote: Creek Indian whose horse Whiteman Falaya steals (58). Hannali rides to his home to inform him (58). Checote confirms the horse is missing and leads an unsuccessful pursuit (58).

Chizem: A gray-eyed Indian visitor to Hannali House (59). Also a man with a future whose friendship Hannali held (53).

Colbert, Israel: Set up the only inn/hotel in Indian Territory (Doaksville, 1840s) (60). (Typo in text likely means Folsom).

Colbert, Pitman: A visitor to Hannali House (59).

Colbert, Winchester: A visitor to Hannali House; looks like Abraham Lincoln in one picture (59).

Drennen: An Indian agent or superintendent entertained at Hannali House (59).

Famous (Innominee): Son of Hannali and Natchez (mentioned by Lafferty (74), but does not appear until Chapter 8).

Fisk, Pliny: A good or bad Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Folsom, Israel: Set up the only inn/hotel (in Doaksville, 1840s) in the Indian Territory before the Civil War (60). A visitor to Hannali House (59).

Garrett: An Indian agent or superintendent entertained at Hannali House (59).

Goodnight, Charles: A prominent white man who stopped at Hannali House (59).

Gopher John: A great Negro (Seminole chief) visitor to Hannali House; founder of Wewoka (59).

Jones, Captain Robert: A great Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Jumper, John: A great Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Kincaid, Joseph: A visitor to Hannali House; chief of the Moshulatubbee district who made Hannali his closest friend (59).

LeFlore, Thomas: A visitor to Hannali House; having won back the chieftainship of Okla Falaya (59).

Love, Benjamin: A good or bad Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Lowrey, George: A good or bad Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Marie DuShane: Hannali's French/Shawnee wife (61). She had been "ignorant and blind" to the household situation, believing Martha a slave and Natchez a child (61). She was the "white wife" with no regard for Indians or Negroes (61). After Martha chuckles insubordinately, the truth "drifted down on Marie like white light," nearly blinding her; she realized Martha and Hannali had been intimate (61). She attacks Martha with a whip, tasting blood as Martha strikes back (61). Overpowered initially, Marie discovers her "wild breed Indian" self ("stormier than any full-blood and more savage than the fiercest white"), tasting her own blood (62). She explodes into a second stage of fury, attacking Martha with "lithe strength" and "fire," bearing her down, cutting and beating her terribly, her mouth "red from Martha's blood" (62). Believing she has killed Martha, she then sees Natchez approaching, realizes Natchez might also be Hannali's, attacks Natchez, smashing her unconscious with one blow, breaking her skull (she believed), and beating her "through the ground" (63). Pulled off by Hannali, she trembles but begins to compose herself, stating she doesn't believe Natchez is dead ("I hoped I had, but she's not dead") (63). She tells Hannali, "It's all right to let me touch her... The storm's gone out of me now. Why should I harm a little girl because myself was a blind woman?" (63).

Three days later, at Natchez's pallet, she declares "All four of us are responsible," blaming Hannali as a "springtime fool," herself for being a "blind woman," Martha for accepting the situation, and Natchez for not saying "maybeso when a big evil comes" (64). She orders Hannali to put away Natchez (64). She then orders him to put away Martha, stating "We are all of the same clay, I find... Cut the limb off, don't grind it off. This terrible thing must be over with. Say it, Hannali!" (65). She states "I myself will be a better person. We will do all that we can to right this wrong... And now, my husband, you have no wife but Marie DuShane" (65). She gasps in shock when Hannali then puts *her* away as well (65). She prays disconsolately that the children she, Natchez, and Martha carry might be lost or born dead (65). She dies (apparently killed by raiders) years later during the attack on Hannali House, found "with her hair still on fire," the snout of her light squirrel rifle plowed into the ground (80). Hannali reflects that "If Marie DuShane was dead, then the family was dead. She had been everything to them all." (80).

Martha Louisiana: Chuckles at a foolish command from Marie DuShane, which leads Marie to realize their intimacy with Hannali (61). Attacked by Marie with a whip, Martha tastes her own blood, her "dangerous chuckle turned into the exploding growl of a wounded she-bear," and she moves in, overpowering Marie, taking the whip, and slapping Marie "till she was near senseless" (61). She tells Marie, "I am no slave woman. I am the wife before you," throws her down, and grinds her unconscious with her heels (61). She sorrowfully says to herself, "He will have to put away the white woman. This cannot be" (61). She is "completely unnerved" by Marie's second assault, stepping back before the "ghastly assault" (62). Described as a "very sturdy girl," relentless in forward momentum but lost if she steps back (62). She is borne down by Marie, loses confidence, panics, and is terribly beaten, ending up "blood-soaked and stark," sure she is dead (62). She recovers ("coming off the ground and forgetting that she was dead") and confronts Marie about striking Natchez: "All your life you will regret it" (64). Three days later, at Natchez's pallet, Marie states Martha did "great wrong because she did know what was happening, and she accepted it" (64). She is put away by Hannali under Marie's orders (65). She sobs quietly (65). She "solidly" tells

Marie she will not permit prayers for the loss of the unborn children, "not even that of yours, Marie DuShane" (65).

McCoy, Isaac (Reverend): Called Whiteman Falaya a "sick animal" needing compassion (58). Also a devoted missionary entertained by Hannali for weeks (59).

McIntosh, Roley: A great Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Natchez: Lives with other Indians in "one of the odd buildings being connected up to the main house" (61). Marie DuShane believed her young son (Famous) was her little brother and that Natchez herself was "only a child" (61). Coming to see what the fight between Marie and Martha was about, she is caught by Marie, who realizes Natchez might also be Hannali's (63). Marie strikes her down unconscious with one blow, believes she has broken her skull, and beats her savagely (63). Hannali finds her near death, unconscious for three hours and unable to walk for a week (63). Three days later, she is recovering on a pallet (64). Marie accuses her of doing wrong "because she is no such child as all that. One does not say maybeso when a big evil comes" (64). Hannali is forced by Marie to put her away (64). Natchez "began to cry" (65).

Nitakechi: A Mingo visitor to Hannali House, who claimed Moshulatubbee and Pushmataha as his two fathers (59).

Perryman, Benjamin: A great Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Pike, Albert: A prominent white man visitor to Hannali House, who had a "black secret which he took to his grave" (59).

Pitchlynn, Peter: A visitor to Hannali House, called "a special sort of man" (59). Also A friend Hannali held (53).

Placido: An important Plains Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Pock Mark (Anadarko leader): An important Plains Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Pockmark, Jim (Anadarko leader): A man Hannali knew during his travels (68) and to whom Hannali passed the pipe (69).

Pushmataha: One of the "two fathers" claimed by Nitakechi (59).

Roman Nose Thunder: A great Cheyenne warrior visitor to Hannali House (59).

Ross, John: Chief of the Cherokees and a visitor to Hannali House (59).

Rutherford: An Indian agent or superintendent entertained at Hannali House (59).

Sheridan, General Philip Henry: A prominent white man visitor to Hannali House (59).

Shulush-Homa: A Choctaw chief of an earlier day who was able to get the meaning of writing by running the paper against his cheek (57).

Taylor, General Zachary: The only President of the United States who certainly slept at Hannali House (in 1842) (58).

Timbered Mountain (Kiowa leader): A Kiowa man Hannali knew (69) and from whom Hannali took the pipe (69).

Travis (Innominee): Son of Hannali and Martha Louisiana (mentioned by Lafferty (74), but does not appear until Chapter 8).

Washington, Captain George: Caddo Indian chief who slept at Hannali House (58).

Whiteman Falaya: Leaves a note for Hannali in the strong room (56-57). Hannali recalls he was born in Mississippi to a loose Choctaw woman who claimed the father was a white man; Whiteman was darker than most Choctaws (57). He "killed and looted and raped and burned" with passion, leaving written notes (in at least six different hands over time) before and after his acts (57). His "fearful thing" was his ability to enter and leave places unseen and unheard (57-58).

Reverend McCoy considered him sick (58). He was under permanent sentence of death by the Choctaw Nation, Chickasaw Nation, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the Ross Cherokees (58). Hannali believes he saw him riding Checote's horse (55). His presence in the Territory becomes known through depredations (58).

Worcester, Samuel (Reverend): A devoted missionary entertained by Hannali for weeks (59).

Ya-Ya-Hadge: A great Indian visitor to Hannali House (59).

Outline

VI. Chapter Six: Shadows and Storms

1. Whiteman Falaya's Shadow and Hannali House Visitors

- A. The Scene: Hannali dozing on a massive bench outside his strong room, cleaning a gun.
 - a. Strong Room Contents: Gold, paper money, guns, whiskey, fine furniture (when acquired), other valuables.
 - b. Access: Door open; Hannali had just retrieved two guns (one for cleaning, one loaded beside him for potshotting game).
- B. The Discovery: Hannali sensed something amiss with the strong room, entered, found a rough paper note stabbed to the pine wall with a sharpened hickory spear piece.
- C. The Message: Lettering curious, but Hannali intuited meaning. Confirmed by literate black man.
 - a. Text (Quote): "Fat Man Hannali you have nowt but three bull calfs this year I will spoil you of one of your heffers when you have one I will spoil you of outhier things I mean to cut you down your friend Whiteman Falaya."
- D. Hannali's Reaction: Acknowledged fear, despite usual courage (bested all in scuffles, could kill buffalo with small club, drive knife through pine, best shot).
 - a. Nature of Fear: Afraid of no *man*, but Whiteman Falaya inspired a "new and exasperating emotion that left him

breathing hard."

E. Whiteman Falaya Profile⁶⁴:

- a. Existence: Thought dead in Mississippi.
- b. Origins: Born in MS to "loose Choctaw woman," father claimed white. Named Whiteman, though darker than most Choctaws. Evil nature questioned re: white ancestry.
- c. Methods: Killed, looted, raped, burned out of passion. Left written notes (before/after acts) despite being illiterate, using ≥6 different handwritings over years. Suggests careful planning, not impulse.
- d. Notorious Ability: Could enter/leave places unseen/unheard. Walked past Hannali (who'd shoot on sight) into strong room.

F. Hannali's Puzzlement: How Whiteman knew he'd be dozing; Hannali's vantage point allowed clear view across river to Creek/Cherokee nations (Checote's place).

G. External Views on Whiteman:

- a. Rev. Isaac McCoy: Saw him as sick animal needing compassion.
- b. Indian Consensus: Kill him ASAP. Under permanent death sentence by Choctaw/Chickasaw Nations, states (MS, AL, GA), Ross Cherokees.

H. Hannali's Pursuit: Took rifle, swam horse across river to Creek Indian Checote. Reported seeing man on Checote's bay horse, sitting differently.

- a. Checote's Response: Horse wasn't loaned, didn't know it was missing. Maybe another bay? His couldn't be found. Pursuit party trailed thief 50 miles, lost him. Hannali withheld Whiteman's identity.

I. Consequence: Whiteman Falaya's presence in the Territory became known. "There was a new cloud over the country."

J. Visitors to Hannali House: A hub of activity.

- a. Native Leaders: Captain George Washington (Caddo chief). Peter Pitchlynn, Israel Folsom, Pitman Colbert, Winchester Colbert (resembled Lincoln), Joseph Kincaid (Hannali's close friend), Thomas LeFlore (reclaimed Falaya chieftainship). Nitakechi ("last of the Mingos"). Ya-Ya-Hadge, John Jumper,

⁶⁴ Whiteman Falaya represents the lawless element that plagued the Territory, often preying on both Indians and settlers.

- Capt. Robert Jones, Roley McIntosh, Benjamin Perryman, Roman Nose Thunder (Cheyenne). Gopher John (Negro slave turned Seminole chief, founder of Wewoka). Plains leaders: Buffalo Hump, Pock Mark, Placido. John Ross (Cherokee chief). Various others: Benjamin Love, George Lowrey, Black Dirt, Bolek (Billy Bowlegs), Pliny Fisk, Chizem (gray-eyed).
- b. White Men: Charles Goodnight, Gen. Philip Henry Sheridan, Albert Pike ("black secret"). Missionaries: Isaac McCoy, Samuel Worcester. Jesuits (rarely). Indian agents/superintendents (Rutherford, Garrett, Drennen, Browning, etc.). Guests almost weekly.⁶⁵
- c. President: Zachary Taylor (as General, 1842).
- K. Hospitality Context: Pre-Civil War Territory had only one inn (Folsom's in Doaksville, 1840s). Travelers relied on Big Houses or Army posts. Houses ~10 miles apart in Choctaw North.⁶⁶
- L. The Big House:
- Construction: Took 30 years, ceased after "Second Time of Troubles." Materials sourced via trade/bargains (limestone, sandstone, crab orchard stone, shale by boat; granite by wagon/roller). Each addition marked an era.
 - Features: New Orleans ironwork, steepled lookout tower, ruby red window added "force and power."
 - Appearance: Visitor compared to giant turkey buzzard; Lafferty

⁶⁵ Prominent visitors included historical figures. George Washington (d. 1883) was a Caddo chief. Zachary Taylor (1784–1850) was a U.S. general and later president. Other figures mentioned like Peter Pitchlynn, Israel Folsom, Winchester Colbert, Pitman Colbert, Joseph Kincaid, Thomas LeFlore, Nitakechi, John Jumper, Robert Jones, Roley McIntosh, Benjamin Perryman, Roman Nose, Gopher John, John Ross, Benjamin Love, George Lowrey, Bolek (Billy Bowlegs), Pliny Fisk, Jesse Chisholm, Charles Goodnight, Philip Sheridan, Albert Pike, Isaac McCoy, Samuel Worcester, and various Indian agents were all historical persons connected with the Five Tribes or the Territory. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 199, 203. See Foreman, *Indian Removal*, for many of these figures.

⁶⁶ Hannali House serves as a symbolic representation of Hannali's prosperity, influence, and the evolving Choctaw Nation. The concept of prominent Choctaws establishing large, influential households ("Big Houses") reflects the socio-economic structure, particularly before the Civil War. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 111; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 46–48, 52–53, 106.

likened to big barn owl.

d. Social Function: Center of "feudal Middle Ages of the Choctaw Nation," maintained peace via ~100 strong men/followers for ~30 years.⁶⁷

e. Personal Significance: Became large part of Hannali's life after becoming "a widdo were with three wives."⁶⁸

2. The End of the French Wife: A Canadian River Storm

A. Timing: Early in Marie DuShane's second pregnancy.

B. Marie's Ignorance: Had been "ignorant and blind" to the true household dynamic.

a. Misperceptions: Believed Martha Louisiana a mere slave woman (son's paternity irrelevant), Natchez a child caring for a younger brother. Saw self as the sole "white wife," dismissing Indians/Negroes.

C. The Catalyst: Martha Louisiana chuckled at a foolish command from Marie (had been reported for insubordination before, but this was different). Marie recognized Hannali's "rumble" in the chuckle, implying intimacy.

D. Marie's Fury: Revelation struck like "white light." Screamed, attacked Martha with whip. Described as "French wife had gone wild."

E. Martha's Retaliation: Tasted blood, chuckle became "exploding growl of a wounded she-bear." Overpowered Marie, took whip, slapped her senseless. Declaration: "I am no slave woman. I am the wife before you." Ground Marie unconscious with heels. Martha sorrowfully concluded: "He will have to put away the white woman."⁶⁹

F. Marie's Metamorphosis: Incident described as "little wind before

⁶⁷ The "feudal Middle Ages of the Choctaw Nation" refers to the pre-Civil War period when powerful families established large plantations and maintained peace through influence networks, similar to Hannali's Big House system. Foreman describes the emergence of such influential figures.

Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 105, 108, 135.

⁶⁸ Hannali's three wives (Natchez, Martha Louisiana, Marie DuShane) represent the three main ethnic strains contributing to the Five Tribes: Indian, African, and European (French).

⁶⁹ Swanton details Choctaw marriage and divorce customs, noting the relative ease of separation. Punishments for adultery existed, but conflicts between

the storm." Marie discovered her true self: not French girl, but "breed Indian," stormier, more savage than full-bloods or whites. Shawnee and "bloodier French" aspects emerged. Became a "dangerous wild animal," wolverine, she-devil. Possessed surprising lithe strength (once hefted Hannali).

- G. The Second Assault: Martha, unnerved by the fight resuming, failed to recognize Marie initially. Marie now a "half-breed Canadian River storm." Martha (sturdy but lost momentum stepping back) fell back before the "ghastly assault." Marie, fast as lightning, bore her down. Martha panicked, defending throat. Marie cut/beat her terribly, mouth red with Martha's blood. "long and intense and gruesome."
- H. Aftermath: Marie believed Martha dead; Martha was sure she was dead. Found herself in "witless confusion," bleeding, broken, pained.⁷⁰

3. The Man with the Talking Horses: Hannali's Wider Life

- A. The Traveler: Hannali's life included extensive travel (more than 70 years post-arrival). Yearly trips: sometimes weeks, sometimes months, twice 18 months straight.
- B. Tradition: Wandering Year common for settled farming Indians like Choctaws, remembering nomadic past, serving as initiation. Source of stories. Hannali did his in teens (Spanish Florida), then more. Continued wandering part of every year.⁷¹
- C. Scope: Knew Western rivers, plains, mountains. Knew every Western Indian nation. Lived often with Cheyennes, Apaches, Caddoes, Pawnees, Kiowas, Arapahos, Comanches. Accepted due to "presence and front."
- D. Hospitality Paradox: Those needing it most received it least; lonely travelers killed, men of presence welcomed.
- E. Nicknames Across Nations: Fiddling Bear (Cheyennes), Big Frog

co-wives leading to the violence depicted are not detailed in historical ethnography. Swanton, *Source Material*: 110–111, 127–138.

⁷⁰ Divorce among the Choctaw was traditionally simple; children typically remained with the mother's *iksa* (clan group) due to matrilineal customs. Swanton, *Source Material*: 77.

⁷¹ Swanton details Choctaw travel customs but does not describe a "wandering year" separate from hunting or war expeditions. Abel, *American Indian as Participant*: 62–63, 152, mentions interactions between the Five Tribes and Plains tribes, 160–161.

(Apaches), Laughing Bull (Caddoes), Talking String Man (Pawnees), Fat Beaver (Arapahos), Mule Doctor (Comanches), Man with the Talking Horses (Kiowas).⁷²

F. Acquaintances: Knew generations of great Plains Indians.

(Acknowledges potential tediousness of list but justifies it: names are magic, integral to story).

a. Detailed Lists: *Cheyennes, Sioux, Arapahos, Crows, Anadarkos, Nez Perces, Comanches, Apaches, Caddoes, Pawnees, Kiowas.*)

G. Integration: Learned dozen Plains tongues, hand talk, customs, medicine. Fought and feasted with Plains Indians. Taught smithery, learned "intangible and intricate" things.

H. Hannali's Nature: Possessed an Indian aspect unsatisfied by settled life. "Nations in him" connected with Plains nations.⁷³ Evocative images: buffalo meat piles, Comanche scalps on poles, mass pony raids.

I. Closing Scene: Image of smoking/talking, the "Big Man" among them. Rhetorical questions about who else shared experiences with figures like Timbered Mountain or Jim Pockmark. "Who else knew them all?"⁷⁴

⁷² The concept of talking horses touches upon the broader motif of animal communication prevalent in Southeastern Indian folklore. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 74. Swanton, *Source Material*: 119–123. The Choctaw often received descriptive names based on characteristics or deeds, sometimes bestowed by members of other tribes.

⁷³ "Name rolls" were crucial for tribal identity, annuity distribution, and land allotments. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, passim (e.g., 64, 107, 152).

⁷⁴ Jim Pockmark was a real historical figure, a Caddo chief. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 152–53, 173.



Chapter Seven

Overview

Chapter Seven covers the period following Hannali Innominee's controversial marriages, marked by the birth of his three daughters (Luvinia, Hazel, Salina) in 1831 and the complexities of their blended family identity. It details the challenges Hannali faces establishing his life in the Territory, including breaking tough sod and building extensive fences, while simultaneously navigating the arrival of devastated Trail Indians during the destructive "Whiskey Decade." Hannali is portrayed as increasingly "civilized," adopting numerous roles from farmer to banker, yet retaining core Choctaw customs, eventually seeking out the mystical mountain Nanih Waiya following a dream, an event shared with other Choctaws and orchestrated by Peter Pitchlynn, reaffirming their connection to the land and signaling a step towards national reconstitution.

Summary

In the spring of 1831, after the termination of his marriages, Hannali Innominee has three daughters: Luvinia (by Martha Louisiana), Hazel (Marie d'Azal, by Marie DuShane), and Sally (Salina, by Natchez). Natchez names her daughter Salina after her own birthplace, Salina (Grand Saline), near the Grand or Neosho River. This generation forms Hannali's entire family. Confusion arises over surnames, as Choctaws (and other Indians) lack fixed surnames; Choctaw blacks use the patronymic form (e.g., Luvinia Hannali, Travis Hannali, not Innominee), while Marie DuShane becomes a single name. Outsiders are often puzzled by the family structure. The novel confirms the

history of three simultaneous marriages ending in a stormy showdown, after which the individuals lived as "one continent kindred."

Hannali's main focus in the spring of 1831, and the preceding two springs, is planting corn for the arriving Trail Indians. He faces difficulties: busting the tough prairie sod (using his best mules, Mingo and Catoosa) and building extensive, durable fences (sod, rock, rail) against deer, buffalo, and hogs, working eighteen hours a day. Some of his stone fences still exist in Pittsburg and Haskell counties of Oklahoma. The Trail Indians, arriving mainly in 1832 and 1833, do not initially seek Hannali's free corn, instead stopping just inside the border, too weary and sick (one-fifth died on removal) to travel further to better land. Government distributors and traders exploit them, buying corn cheaply from Quapaw and Osage and selling it high. When Hannali boats corn down to Fort Coffee, he is prevented from distributing it freely and forced to flee for his life, escaping on foot while trackers refuse to close on him. Rumors that he killed three men on his escape are false. He establishes a new landing at Round Mountain Landing, twenty miles upriver, and gives away twenty barge loads of corn over two years. The arriving Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees are broken, hopeless, and succumb to heavy drinking ("Whiskey Decade"), trading possessions for whiskey sold by profiteers. Hannali views this degradation as temporary, a result of being "snake-bit" by their troubles, predicting they will recover in three years.

The novel questions how civilized the Choctaws were upon arrival, contrasting George Catlin's 1830s sketch of a wild Choctaw Eagle Dance with daily realities. Hannali wears cowskin boots, buckskin trousers, a woven cotton shirt (from Martha Louisiana's loom), and often a green turban (Creek style). On sunny days, he wears a manufactured felt hat; for important visitors, his canary-colored topper and gloves. He carries a bow for hunting small game efficiently, occasionally paints his face livid-red or chalk-white after dreams, and whoops frequently like other Choctaws enjoying noise. Despite these "wild" traits, Hannali is deeply involved in civilized pursuits: farmer, blacksmith, boatbuilder, shipper, ferryman, pork

salter, tanner, miller, town founder, a "count in his castle" within the Choctaw Nation's medieval setup, banker (with a steel safe from New Orleans), carpenter, stonemason, gunsmith, harness maker, wainwright, cooper, fletcher, distiller, brewer, merchant (first mail-order establishment), introducer of sheep and goats to the Moshulatubbee district, and operator of sawmills and quarries. He is illiterate but becomes master of his own culture. Early in his Territory years, he sends for merchandise via New Orleans catalogues, operates an unchartered bank with Marie DuShane handling accounts, and accumulates significant wealth. After his marital arrangement changes, he brings three gifts: a piano for Marie DuShane, a manufactured loom for Martha Louisiana, and eyeglasses for Natchez (who desired them after seeing a rich Cherokee lady wear them, though she didn't need them). All three women use the loom; all occasionally wear the glasses. Marie plays the piano initially like a "Frenchie" but tires; Martha plays it elementally, with perceived genius.

After nearly four years in the Territory, at winter's end, Hannali receives a charismatic dream summoning him to "Come to the mountain" - Nanih Waiya, the ancient mountain, not the Mississippi mound. He informs his women, takes supplies (corn hominy, jerked buffalo, mule whiskey), his bow, rifle, and fiddle, paints his face lightly green and orange, and rides south. As expected, he is joined by other Choctaws who had the same dream, including John T, Albert Horse, Inchukahata, and about twenty others. In the afternoon, they encounter a frightened white boy, about fourteen, named Robert Pike, from Missouri, riding to "Oklafalaya" (a mispronunciation). Oklafalaya is a magic word representing a wild, unknown region like Africa, land of giant buffalo, bears, panthers, and wild Indians. They reassure Pike he can ride safely with them to the border of Falaya. Albert Horse teases Pike about Choctaws cutting off ears but assures him they only scare people. John T adds they might only cut them half off. They kill a young buck for dinner, sear and eat the meat nearly raw; Hannali gives the buckskin to Pike. They travel sixty miles, reaching their destination near the Kiamichi River and the convergence of the Winding Stair and Sansbois Mountains. They proceed on foot into the complex mountains.

Rocks assume shapes in the afternoon sun. One resembles a graven Indian man; it turns out to be Peter Pitchlynn waiting with a score of other Choctaws. Between two low peaks, they hear a rattlesnake's whirring and ascend that peak. They find a seven-hundred-year-old, blind rattlesnake, representing the oldest Choctaw clan (*uski*), which seemingly waited centuries to show them the place, then dies like a biblical patriarch. The novel questions if this is truly the Mountain from the Beginning, from which Choctaws migrated east centuries ago, or if Peter Pitchlynn, the last of the Alikchi (Choctaw magic men), contrived the event and sent the collective dream. Regardless, Pitchlynn orchestrated it. At dusk, they light signal fires in a pattern visible across the three Choctaw districts (Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, Oklafalaya), announcing that the Friendly Mountain, the Bending-Down Mountain, lost for seven hundred years, is found again. The night is spent not in ritual but in celebration with mule whiskey, fiddling, shouting, and hooting. Robert Pike is ecstatic. The site chosen for the nation's capital is nine miles away, near present Tuskahoma in Pushmataha County, though administration sometimes moves to Armstrong Academy, Doaksville, or Boggy Depot. The mountain lies near the junction of the three districts. Believing they are back in their original homeland, the Choctaws begin to reconstitute themselves as nations.

(Africa), (Albert Horse), (Alikchi), (Arkansas rivers), (Armstrong Academy), (Barua Innominee), (Biloxi), (Boggy Depot), (Canadian River), (Catoosa), (Catlin), (Cherokee), (Cherokees), (Chocs), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Eagle Dance), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaws), (Chocs), (Come to the mountain), (Corn), (Creek Indian), (Creek-Indian), (Creeks), (Doaksville), (Eagle Dance), (English), (Falaya), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Five Tribes), (Fort Coffee), (Frenchie), (George Catlin), (Grand River), (Grand Saline), (Hannali), (Hannali Innominee), (Haskell county), (Hazel), (Hazel Innominee), (Homostubbee), (Hundred Families), (Inchuka hata), (Indian), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Israel), (Jacks-Fork), (Jesuit), (John T), (Joseph Kincaid), (Kiamichi Mountains), (Kiamichi River), (Louisiana), (Luvinia), (Luvinia Hannali), (Marie d'Azal), (Marie DuShane), (Martha Louisiana), (Mingo, mule), (Mississippi,

state/country), (Missouri), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubbee District), (Nanah Waiya), (Natchez), (Natchez, person), (Neosho River), (New Orleans), (Oklafulaya), (Oklafulaya District), (Oklahoma), (Old Miller Court House), (Osage), (Pass Christian), (Pass Christian Innominee), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Pike), (Pin Indians), (Pins), (Pitman Colbert), (Pittsburg county), (Plains Indians), (Plutarch), (Poncas), (Pork), (Pushmataha), (Pushmataha County), (Pushmataha District), (Quapaw), (Rachel Perry), (Red River District), (Robert Pike), (Round Mountain Landing), (Round Mountains), (Salina), (Salina, person), (Sally), (Samuel Worchester), (Sands), (Sansbois Mountains), (Sarah), (Seminoles), (Senate), (Sequoyah), (Skullyville), (Snake Creeks), (Snakes), (South), (Spencer Academy), (St. Louis), (Stand Watie), (Strange Choate), (Tanner), (Territory), (Texas Road), (Thomas LeFlore), (Trail Indians), (Travis Hannali), (Travis Innominee), (Tuskahoma), (United States), (Uski), (Winding Stair Mountains), (Whiskey Decade), (Whiteman Falaya), (Yahola)

Characters

In the spring of 1831 (and the two previous springs), Hannali focuses on planting corn for the Trail Indians, facing difficulties with sod busting (71). He possesses the best mule, Mingo, and buys the second best, Catoosa (a white Creek mule), using both for the toughest sod and working eighteen-hour days himself (71). He builds miles of sod, rock, and rail fences (71). When Trail Indians arrive (mostly 1832-33), they stop short of his location, and he is prevented by government distributors and traders from giving away his corn boated down to Fort Coffee (72). He escapes on foot, evading trackers who refuse to close on "this animal" (72). It's falsely rumored he killed three unknown men (72). He establishes a new landing twenty miles upriver (Round Mountain Landing) and gives away twenty barge loads of corn over two years (72). He observes the "Whiskey Decade" (1830s) degradation among the Trail Indians but believes it temporary: "it is only the troubles they are snake-bit it is only a passing thing... give it three years and it will be gone" (73). Regarding Choctaw civilization, Hannali typically wears cowskin boots, buckskin trousers (his own make), a woven cotton shirt and blanket (from

Martha's loom), and a green Creek-style turban; sometimes a felt hat, or canary topper and gloves for visitors (74). He hunts pot game (turkeys, rabbits, coyotes, deer, etc.) with a bow as it's cheaper than a rifle (74). About once a month, usually after a dream, he paints his face livid-red or chalk-white (74). He is a howling Indian who whoops frequently (74). His roles include farmer, blacksmith, boatbuilder, shipper, ferryman, salter, tanner, miller, town founder, count, banker (with a steel safe), carpenter, stonemason, gunsmith, harness maker, wainwright, cooper, fletcher, distiller, brewer, and merchant with the first mail-order business; he introduced sheep/goats and ran sawmills/quarries (74). Though initially a "rude illiterate," he is master of his culture (74). Early in his Territory years, he sends for merchandise, accepts produce payment, ships goods, and operates an unchartered bank (Marie DuShane keeps the ledger) (75). After his marital change (Relevant from Chapter 6: Hannali put away all three wives), he brings three gifts from a cargo shipment: a piano for Marie, a loom for Martha, and eyeglasses for Natchez (75). Nearly four years into his Territory residence, he wakes from a dream sent by the last Choctaw magic man, summoning him: "Come to the mountain" (the original Nanih Waiya) (76). He tells his women he'll be gone 2-3 days, takes provisions (corn hominy, jerked buffalo, mule whiskey), bow, rifle, fiddle, paints his face green/orange, and rides south (76). He is joined by John T, Albert Horse, Inchukahata, and about twenty others who had the same dream (76). They encounter Robert Pike and assure him safety (77). Hannali kills a buck, gives the skin to Pike, and plays the fiddle as they ride sixty miles (77). Arriving at the Winding Stair mountains, they proceed on foot (78). He asks Peter Pitchlynn, whom they find waiting, "Is this the place... we are called to" (78). Following the sound of an ancient, blind rattlesnake, they ascend a peak where the snake dies (78). Hannali recognizes Pitchlynn as the last Alikchi who sent the dream (79). He participates in lighting signal fires and spends the night on the mountain with fiddling and shouting (79). His three daughters born after the termination of his marriages are Luvinia, Hazel, and Sally (Salina) (70). His family's surname usage becomes confused (70).

Albert Horse: Joins Hannali's ride south to find Nanih Waiya, having had the same dream (76). Advises Robert Pike that the Falaya Indians

are cousins but "not such well seeming men" and will likely threaten to cut off his ears but only intend to scare him (77).

Alikchi (last one): The last Choctaw magic man, who summons Hannali and others via dream to the mountain; identified as Peter Pitchlynn (76, 79).

Catoosa: The second-best mule in the world, a white mule belonging to a Creek Indian, which Hannali buys to help break sod (71).

DuShane, Marie d'Azal: Hannali brings her a piano as a gift (75). She initially plays it "like a Frenchie," playing little tunes learned at school, then tires of it (75). She keeps the ledger for Hannali's unchartered bank (75).

Hazel (Marie d'Azal): Daughter of Hannali and Marie DuShane (70).

Inchuka hata: Joins Hannali's ride south to find Nanih Waiya, having had the same dream (76).

Indian Trackers (Unnamed): Three good trackers put on Hannali's trail after he flees Fort Coffee; they pursue but refuse to close on him, like dogs halting before a savage beast (72).

John T: Hannali's cousin, joins the ride south to find Nanih Waiya, having had the same dream (76). He tells Robert Pike the Falaya Indians will likely cut off his ears "only half off" and jokes that "it doesn't hurt much" (77).

Luvinia: Daughter of Hannali and Martha Louisiana (70). She uses the patronymic surname "Hannali" (70).

Martha Louisiana: Her talented loom provides Hannali's woven cotton shirts and blankets (74). Hannali brings her a manufactured loom as a gift (75). She uses the loom (75). She knows the piano "was a person" when she first sees it and plays it "like an elemental," with what visitors call "genius" (75). Her children (Luvinia and Travis) use the patronymic surname "Hannali" (70).

Mingo: Hannali's mule, the "best mule in the world," a big black animal (71).

Natchez: Hannali brings her a pair of eyeglasses as a gift (75). She doesn't need them but desired them after seeing a rich Cherokee lady wearing them (75). She occasionally wears them (75). She names her daughter Salina after her own birthplace, Salina (Grand Saline) (70).

Peter Pitchlynn: Found waiting like a "graven rock Indian" on the magic mountain Nanih Waiya (78). He confirms to Hannali they are near the place they were called to (78). He is revealed as the last Alikchi who sent the dream summoning the men (79). He contrives the acceptance of the mountain site as the Choctaw homeland turning point (79).

Pike, Robert: A white boy from Missouri (~14 years old) encountered by Hannali's party riding south (76). He is pale with watery eyes and heading to Oklafalaya (76). He mispronounces "Oklafalaya" but says it with reverence (76). He is frightened of Hannali's group but put at ease; he asks if Oklafalaya Indians are kind (77). He is told he can ride safely with them (77). He accepts advice not to be scared by the Falaya Indians' threats and says "Yes, I will. I'll laugh at them" (77). Hannali gives him a buckskin from a deer kill (77). He arrives with the party at the mountain destination (77). He is in "quiet ecstasy" at having become "brother of wild Indians" (79).

Rattlesnake (Unnamed): An ancient (700 years old), blind rattlesnake found on a peak of Nanih Waiya; its feeble sounding leads the Choctaws to the spot (78). It represents the oldest *uski* (clan) of the Choctaws (78). After being seen by the returning Choctaws, it dies "like the biblical patriarch" (78).

Sally (Salina): Daughter of Hannali and Natchez (70). Named by Natchez after Salina (Grand Saline) (70).

Outline

VII. Chapter Seven: Daughters, Decades, and Dreams

1. Luvinia, Marie d'Azal, Salina: Legacies of Terminated Marriages

- A. Timing: Spring of 1831.
- B. Births: Three daughters born "posthumously, as it were," after Hannali's marriages ended.
 - a. Luvinia: Daughter of Martha Louisiana.
 - b. Hazel (Marie d'Azal): Daughter of Marie DuShane.
 - c. Sally (Salina): Daughter of Natchez.
 - i. Name Origin: Named Salina by Natchez after her own birthplace, Salina (Grand Saline), the salt seeps of the Grand or Neosho River.⁷⁵
- C. Family Structure: Constituted the entirety of Hannali's family for that generation.
- D. Mystery and Confusion: Later Territory days held mystery regarding relationships.
 - a. Surnames: Not yet fixed among Choctaws or any Indians.⁷⁶
 - b. Choctaw Blacks' Practice: Still used patronymic form (father's first name as child's last). Martha Louisiana's children called Luvinia Hannali and Travis Hannali (not Innominee).
 - c. Marie DuShane: Name became a "single word" in the family; outsiders still heard family name hint.
 - d. Martha Louisiana: Her "Louisiana" also sounded like surname.
 - e. Result: Visitors wondered about the "strange triple family"; Innominees never clarified.
- E. Correct Explanation (from a grandson): Three marriages, true one unknown, all ended in "stormy family showdown"; thereafter lived as "one continent kindred."

2. The Whiskey Decade and Farming Challenges

- A. Hannali's Focus (Spring 1831 and prior): Planting corn for the anticipated Trail Indians.
- B. Difficulties Encountered:
 - a. Sod Busting: First plowing of never-broken land. Grass roots thousand years old, entangled, tough ("could be used for durable

⁷⁵ Luvinia, Marie d'Azal (Hazel), and Salina (Sally) are Hannali's daughters. Their names reflect origins (Louisiana, French, Grand Saline).

⁷⁶ Traditional Choctaw naming did not involve fixed surnames; patronymics or descriptive names were common before European-style surnames were adopted. Swanton, *Source Material*: 119–123.

building blocks"). Early Territory houses were sod.

b. Mule Power: Hannali owned Mingo (best mule, big black) and Catoosa (second best, white, bought from Creek). Used both for toughest sod, otherwise alternated them. Hannali worked 18 hours/day.⁷⁷

c. Fencing: Required deer-high, buffalo-strong, hog-tight fences. Endless labor pre-barbed wire (40+ years away). Hannali built miles of sod, rock, rail fences.⁷⁸ Remnants still found (Pittsburg/Haskell counties, OK); stones reused for houses, rails for firewood for 100 years. Hannali himself described as a "mule for work."

C. The Trail Indians' Arrival (mostly 1832-1833): Did not utilize Hannali's "advertised free corn."

a. Behavior: Stopped just inside new country borders, chose poor eastern lands, too tired to travel further. Sick, weary, one-fifth died on removal.

b. Hannali's Attempt: Boated corn down to Fort Coffee; government distributors/traders blocked him (they sold Quapaw/Osage/McIntosh corn for \$3/bushel vs. 50 cents cost). Moved to "kill the big Choctaw."

c. Hannali's Escape: Left boat/corn, fled on foot where horses couldn't follow. Three good Indian trackers refused pursuit at certain point (compared to dogs halting trail of savage beast). Later story of him killing three men deemed false (men unknown/made-up names). Not a "big event" for Hannali. Sent word for new landing at Round Mountain Landing (20 miles upriver). Gave away 20 barge loads of corn there over two years.

D. Condition of Trail Indians: Not the strong people of the old country. "Beaten animals," hope given up. Men took to drink "in a horrifying manner," lying drunken though starving, trading last possessions or daughters for spirits.

E. Context of Alcohol Use: Countered claim of Indians having no prior experience/control. Argued 300 years experience with

⁷⁷ Choctaw agriculture was central; adoption of plows and draft animals like mules occurred gradually. Swanton, *Source Material*: 37-49.

⁷⁸ Fencing was essential; likely brush or log fences before stone or rail. *Ibid.*, 46-47.

white man's alcohol, plus own corn beer, chokecherry/sand plum cordials (though not strong). Proper drinkers for centuries, selective use, few drunkards.

F. The "Whiskey Decade" (1830s Territory)⁷⁹: Degradation was new

— drinking to "exorcise unbearable misery" (lost country, uprooted lives, family deaths). "Winged serpent turned into a venomous snake." Traded possessions/manhood for hasty whiskey from profiteers. Missionaries frantic, serious Indians hopeless. Could nations be rebuilt from "drunken animals"?⁸⁰

G. Hannali's Perspective (Quote): "It is only the troubles they are snake-bit it is only a passing thing... give it three years and it will be gone they will wake up one morning and see that they are still alive... they will build houses and farm the land give it three years and it will be gone."

3. Civilization and Transformation: Choctaws in the New Land

A. Question Posed: How civilized were arriving Choctaws?

Brownskin frontiersmen or feral Indians?

B. George Catlin's Sketch (1830s): Depicts Choctaw Eagle Dance – painted, naked, hopping, looking wild. Ceremony/show

⁷⁹ Lafferty's "Whiskey Decade" illustrates the societal damage Cushman attributes to alcohol. Cushman notes earlier tribal control efforts were circumvented when "the whiskey [was] banished from the Choctaw Nation, and kept away, until the Mississippi legislature in 1830 abrogated their laws, and turned, by the hand of arbitrary power, the corrupting and devastating channel of Whiskey River into their country..." (78). Lafferty depicts the consequences of this loss of tribal authority. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw*: 78, 105, 172.

⁸⁰ The "Whiskey Decade" (1830s) refers to the devastating impact of alcohol following removal, hindering recovery and exacerbating social disruption. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 65–66; "The next day Governor Gayle wrote on the subject of the disturbances caused by the starving and destitute Indians and called on the state officers to protect the whites. But with a proper sense of responsibility, he added that *"The grog shop's, which I understand are the most common establishments throughout the country, should receive your prompt and decided reprehension. They are generally established as I learn, for the accommodation of the Indians, and can any one doubt that to these fountains of crime and immorality are to be ascribed many of the difficulties which our citizens have to encounter,"* Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 138, 173; Swanton, *Source Material*: 113.

for painter.⁸¹

C. Hannali's Daily Appearance/Attire:

- a. Footwear/Trousers: Cowskin boots, buckskin trousers (own fabrication).
- b. Shirt/Blanket: Woven cotton shirt, blanket on cold days (from Martha Louisiana's loom).
- c. Headwear: Usually green turban (Creek fashion; Choctaws wore green).⁸² Wide-brimmed felt hat on sunny days. Canary colored topper and gloves for important visitors.
- d. Query: Civilized farmer or wild Indian following Mingo (the mule) with bow?

D. Weapon Choice (Bow vs. Rifle): Carried bow not from wildness, but cost-effectiveness for pot hunting (turkeys, rabbits, coyotes, deer, geese, ducks, coons). Required good shot (arrow making took time).

E. Wildness Admitted: Painted face monthly (livid-red/chalk-white) after dreams.⁸³ (Choctaw trait, enjoyed noise, answering wolves/coyotes, whooping).

F. Hannali's Multifaceted Roles: Farmer, blacksmith, boatbuilder, shipper, ferryman, pork salter, tanner, miller, town founder ("count in his castle"). Banker (had steel safe from New Orleans). Carpenter, stonemason, gunsmith, harness maker, wainwright, cooper, fletcher, distiller, brewer. Merchant (first mail-order establishment). Introduced sheep/goats to Moshulatubbee district. Operated sawmills/quarries.

G. Overall Assessment: "civilized man who sometimes painted his face and body and whooped and hollered." Rude illiterate initially, but changed within five years. "master of his own culture, and that is to be civilized."

H. Business Expansion: Early Territory years, sent downriver for merchandise (New Orleans catalogues), accepted produce for

⁸¹ Swanton cites artist George Catlin's work, including depictions of Choctaw dances.

⁸² Swanton discusses Choctaw clothing but does not confirm color symbolism for turbans (green for Choctaw, red for Creek). Ibid., 46ff.

⁸³ Dreams were significant, sometimes believed to convey messages or necessitate actions like face painting. Ibid., 212–215. Was a "howling wild Indian"

payment. Shipments landed near Tamaha (below Canadian R. junction). Used keel boat/boaters. Operated unchartered bank with Marie DuShane (ledger keeper). Held more gold than any except Pitman Colbert (Chickasaw, needed six mules/wagon for his gold).

- I. The Three Gifts (post-marital change): Brought most desired items for the three women.
 - a. Marie DuShane: Piano.
 - b. Martha Louisiana: Manufactured loom.
 - c. Natchez: Pair of eyeglasses.⁸⁴
 - i. Natchez's Motivation: Didn't need them (could "count mites on a hawk"). Admired rich Cherokee lady wearing them.
 - ii. Shared Use: All women used loom; each occasionally wore eyeglasses. Marie played piano initially ("like a Frenchie"), then tired. Martha Louisiana played piano "like an elemental," with perceived genius (disapproved by some visitors due to her race/status).

4. Come to the Mountain: A Charismatic Dream and Its Aftermath

- A. Timing: Tail end of winter, after nearly four years in Territory.
- B. The Dream: Awoke from charismatic dream of Nanih Waiya (not the MS mound, but the older memorialized mountain).⁸⁵ Call from last Choctaw magic man: "Come to the mountain."
- C. Hannali's Response: Told women gone 2-3 days. Packed hominy, jerky, mule whiskey, bow, rifle, fiddle. Painted face lightly (green/orange streaks). Rode south.
- D. Nanih Waiya: The "leaning mountain." Not particularly high/grand, but "magic."
- E. The Gathering: Joined by other Choctaws (knew he would be). Cousin John T, Albert Horse, Inchukahata, ~20 others joined within dozen miles. All had same dream, rode without question.
- F. Encounter with Robert Pike: Overtook white boy (pale, watery eyes, ~14 yrs old) on light pony. Frightened, but reassured. Riding

⁸⁴ Adoption of European material culture like pianos or eyeglasses occurred among wealthier families. Foreman notes adoption of agriculture and other items. *Ibid.*, 37ff, 46. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 52, 106, 187, 364.

⁸⁵ Nanih Waiya, the sacred mound in Mississippi, is central to Choctaw origin stories. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 15; Swanton, *Source Material*: 5-37; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 22.

to "Oklafalaya" (mispronounced but revered).⁸⁶ From Missouri. Introduced self as Robert Pike.

- G. Oklafalaya's Mystique: Pre-1850 American writings show enchantment with name. Magic word; nearly became Territory name. Popular mind saw it as indescribably wild ("Africa in the middle of us"). Land of giant buffalo, bear, panther, real wild Indians.
- H. Interaction with Pike: Told boy he could ride with them safely. Boy asked if Oklafalaya Indians were as kind. Albert Horse joked they'd cut off ears. Pike wouldn't let them scare him. John T joked about cutting ears half off, growing back, reassured Pike of kinship/decency.
- I. Journey Continues: Killed young buck, ate near raw. Hannali gave buckskin to Pike, instructed dressing. Hannali played fiddle. Covered 60 miles, arrived destination with sun left (started early). Descended Jacks-Fork of Kiamichi, skirted Sansbois Mtns, reached Winding Stair Mtns curling from east, Kiamichi Mtns south. Climbed into Winding Stairs complex (first horse, then foot).
- J. Mountain Phenomena: Rocks assumed odd shapes in afternoon sun (graven Indian man, buffalo, woman grinding corn). Graven Indian image remained.
- K. Arrival at Destination: Reached figure - Peter Pitchlynn waiting. Score of other Choctaws present. In saddle between two low peaks. Heard sharp whirring noise above - knew which peak.
- L. The Rattlesnake: Seven hundred years old, blind. Sound feeble but audible. Ancient clan totem (before crayfish/deer/bear).⁸⁷ Waited centuries to show place. Looked on them, died ("like the biblical patriarch").
- M. Significance of Place: Was it the original Mountain from the Beginning? Choctaws came from mountain country before crossing Mississippi. Artificial mound built in MS pine country as

⁸⁶ Oklafalaya ("Long People") was the name of the westernmost Mississippi district, often applied to the southeastern district in *Indian Territory* (Red River District). Swanton, *Source Material*, 56; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 51; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 54.

⁸⁷ Swanton argues against widespread totemic clans (like rattlesnake) among Choctaw. Swanton, *Source Material*: 79–81.

memorial. Were they back in original homeland?

- N. Peter Pitchlynn's Role: Or was it contrived by shrewd, intricate man (Pitchlynn) with mystic connection? Last of Alikchi (magic men), power dormant 50 years. Called them via manifold dream.⁸⁸
- O. The Signal Fires: Lit in pattern at dusk, burned all night. Visible from all three Choctaw districts (Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, Oklafalaya). Pattern signified finding of Friendly/Bending-Down Mountain, lost 700 years.
- P. The Overnight Stay: Not religious ritual. Passed with mule whiskey, fiddling, shouting, hooting. Robert Pike in "quiet ecstasy," brother of wild Indians. Saw Oklafalaya hills, would enter district next day.
- Q. Capital Established: Mountain inconvenient. Site chosen 9 miles away ("in the shadow"), near present Tuskahoma (Pushmataha County, OK). Remained "real capital" despite administration moving later (Armstrong Academy, Doaksville, Boggy Depot).
- R. Mountain's Location: Near indefinite junction of three districts. Between Kiamichi R. and Jacks-Fork. Kiamichi R. dividing line (Pushmataha/Oklafalaya). North slope drained to Canadian/Arkansas R. (Moshulatubbee land). Mountain in all three districts. Resembled mountain of folk memory, if not original.
- S. Acceptance: "It was accepted." Turning point. Choctaws believed they were back in original homeland, began reconstituting as nations.

⁸⁸ Peter Pitchlynn was a major leader; alikchi (medicine people/prophets) and dreams were part of Choctaw culture.



Chapter Eight

Overview

This chapter covers roughly the early 1840s, focusing on the lives of Hannali Innominee's children and significant visitors to Hannali House. His three sons (Famous, Travis, Alinton) display distinct talents shaped by their mixed heritage while growing up near the Canadian River. Marie DuShane initiates schooling for the family, revealing challenges like Natchez's memory issues and the ongoing threat from Whiteman Falaya. The daughters (Sally, Hazel, Luvinia) become known for their beauty. Key events include a poignant visit from a dying Catholic priest in 1842 and a week-long stay by Peter Pitchlynn in 1843, during which he and Hannali debate the future socio-economic direction of the Choctaw Nation.

Summary

Three nine-year-old Indian boys—Famous, Travis, and Alinton, the sons of Hannali Innominee—are hunting a young buck in the jack-oak thickets south of the Canadian River in the old Moshulatubbee District. They pursue the deer for four hours, utilizing strategy to tire it. Though identical in facial features (their father's face, but not his broad head) and size, their running styles reveal their mixed heritage: one runs like an Indian, one like a Negro, one like a white boy. Alinton (son of Marie DuShane, the white mother) dodges; Travis (son of Martha Louisiana, the Negro mother) breaks; Famous (son of Natchez, the Indian mother) exhibits a "queer floating deception," ultimately capturing the buck. They kill, skin, draw, quarter, and roast the animal, eating most of it within an hour, illustrating the joyous life in the district.

Marie DuShane decides her nine children (including Hannali, Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and the six biological children) must learn to read and write. A boatman delivers a package from Tamaha Landing containing ten red-trimmed school slates, slate pencils, penny catechisms, other books, letter paper, wax, and quills. Marie begins instruction. Hannali, already somewhat literate, pretends to learn alongside the "children" but explains the advantage of the Roman alphabet (used for Choctaw, Creek, English, French) over Sequoyah's Cherokee syllabary (perfect only for Cherokee). The six younger children learn quickly. Martha Louisiana shows great aptitude. Natchez learns fastest but forgets everything overnight, lamenting she might be "ground to death between a slate and a slate pencil." Hannali, desiring better materials, rides thirty-five miles to Three Forks of the Arkansas for quality paper and pens. He writes a long letter overnight to his brother Pass Christian in New Orleans, requesting books listed by a visiting preacherman (Swift, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Plutarch, Irving, History of Rome), sharing news of the Territory Choctaws, and inviting Pass Christian's family to visit. Marie DuShane, it is revealed, spells by ear and cannot write well; Choctaw spelling in English at the time is humorous.

Around 1840, Hannali discovers another starkly lettered note from Whiteman Falaya in a private room of the Big House: "Fat man now you have three heffer calfs I mark one of them for mysef in tow years three years I will have her I kill anyone else who touch her you can nou way prevent me fat man Whiteman Falaya." Hannali is shaken, referring to Falaya as "a cloud I had forgotten."

By age nine, the three Innominee daughters—Sally (Salina), Hazel, and Luvinia—are gaining renown throughout the Territory for their beauty, attracting visitors to the Big House. Unlike their brothers, they do not resemble each other closely. Marie DuShane describes Sally as sparkling, Hazel glowing, and Luvinia burning. A crude white trader expresses a desire for "Sally for a week, Hazel for life, and spend forever in Hell with Luvinia." Sally is considered the most conventionally pretty. Natchez, revealed as surprisingly beautiful ("Indian scrawny is sometimes white man perfect"), draws admiration

from traveled visitors who compare her favorably to women in St. Louis or Washington, D.C.; Sally resembles her. Hazel and Luvinia possess a deeper, striking attraction.

In 1842, a skeletal man on a skeletal horse arrives at Hannali House. The man is dying of tuberculosis; his horse is also dying. He sees Hannali, a "monstrous huge man" barefoot in buckskins with long hair and a large green turban, reading Plutarch. The visitor introduces himself, and Hannali recognizes him instantly as a priest, shouting "Christ has come to our house." The priest is from Vincentian Seminary (now Perryville), Missouri, ending a nine-year circuit of his vast parish. He administers sacraments to the family, the blacks and mixed Indians from the landing, visiting Creek Indians, and Osages who appear whenever a priest is near. He eats with the family but cannot stay overnight. When his horse dies, Hannali gives him another. The priest rides off before dark and dies four days later at the Durant family home thirty miles south. It will be ten years before another priest visits.

Peter Pitchlynn visits the Big House in 1843 and stays a week. The novel discusses his mysterious origins, questioning the official account that he was the son of John Pitchlynn (white) and Sophia Folsom (Choctaw), born in 1806. The theory is proposed that he was an adopted Indian youth sponsored by John Pitchlynn, citing Peter telling Charles Dickens he learned English as a "young man grown." Peter led students to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky in 1825 (age 19). By 1830, he chaired the Choctaw representatives at Dancing Rabbit Creek. Painter George Catlin recorded his Indian name as Snapping Turtle (Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee). Dickens described him in 1842 as remarkably handsome, stately, possessing *aleika* (magic/personal magnetism), "another kind of being." During his visit, Pitchlynn expresses admiration for the self-sufficient "Manor House culture" of Hannali and the Moshulatubbee district but argues for integrating the open mercantilism of Doaksville and the giant slave-based cropping of the Falaya district. Hannali counters that too much trade bleeds people to death and that the men of Falaya "have drunk mules' milk and are sterile." They disagree on the path to Choctaw prosperity. Pitchlynn is entertained royally. The chapter concludes by noting that

the next year, 1844, Pass Christian Innominee will bring his family up from New Orleans to visit.

(Adam's apple), (Alinton), (Alinton Innominee), (Aleika), (American Notes), (Andrew Jackson), (Arkansas), (Baptist Mission), (Barua), (Big House), (Billy Vessels), (Blacks), (Caesar), (Canadian River), (Catechisms), (Catlin), (Charles Dickens), (Cherokee), (Cherokee language), (Cherokees), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Academy), (Choctaw Intelligencer), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaw Telegraph), (Choctaws), (Christ), (Christian), (Church), (Civil War), (Collected Sermons of Absalom MacGreggor), (Commander), (Comanches), (Confederacy), (Confederate), (Congress), (Continental), (Creek), (Creeks), (Dancing Rabbit Creek), (Devil), (Dickens), (Doaksville), (Durant), (English), (English language), (Falaya), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Fat Man), (Father), (Five Tribes), (Folsom), (Forbis Agent), (Foreman), (Fort Coffee Academy), (Fort Gibson), (French), (Gaines Creek), (Galena), (George Catlin), (God), (Grant Foreman), (Grasshopper Creek Indian), (Great Crossing), (Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Haskell Indians), (Hazel), (Hazel Innominee), (Hell), (History of Rome for the Young Student), (Horse), (Indian), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Irving), (Israel), (John Pitchlynn), (Kansas), (Kentucky), (Kiowas), (Latin), (Levi Colbert), (Lincoln), (Little Raven), (Louis Weller), (Louisiana), (Luvinia), (Luvinia Innominee), (Major), (Manor House), (Marie DuShane), (Martha Louisiana), (McReynolds), (Mingo), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Missouri River), (Montaigne), (Moses), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubbee District), (Natchez), (Natchez, person), (Negro), (New Orleans), (Niter), (North), (Ohio River), (Oklahoma), (Old Character), (Old Wild West Days), (Osages), (Pass Christian), (Pass Christian Innominee), (Peter), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Perryville), (Pinchlin), (Pitchlynn), (Plains Indians), (Plutarch), (Priest), (Pushmataha), (Quannah Parker), (Reverend Isaac McCoy), (Robert Pike), (Roman), (Roman alphabet), (Sally), (Salina), (Scot), (Senate), (Sequoyah), (Shakespeare), (Sioux), (Snakes), (Snapping Turtle), (South), (Spanish), (St. Louis), (St. Patrick's Church), (Stand Watie), (Swift), (Syria), (Tamaha Landing), (Ten Commandments), (Territory), (Territory Choctaws), (Texas), (Thomas Aquinas), (Three Forks), (Three Forks of the Arkansas),

(Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Tuskahoma Council House), (Union),
(United States), (Vincentian Seminary), (Washington, D.C.),
(Whiteman Falaya), (Whites)

Characters

Hannali watches his three nine-year-old sons (Famous, Travis, Alinton) hunt a young buck near the Canadian River in the Moshulatubbee District (80). He can easily tell them apart from a mile away when they run: "one is Indian, one is Negro, and one is white" (81). He notes only Famous has the "queer floating deception" in his running (81). Though his sons look alike and have his face (but not his broad head or bulk/strength), Hannali "can hardly tell which is which when they line up in front of him" (80-81). He is called "father" by Marie DuShane (82). He already knows something about reading and writing but pretends not to, learning along with the "children" (his sons, daughters, and the three mothers) when Marie DuShane teaches them (82). He explains to the family the advantages the Choctaws (without an alphabet) have over the Cherokees (with Sequoyah's syllabary) (82). He argues the Choctaws should not be jealous of the Cherokee written language, as it's a "dead end," while the Choctaws only need to learn one system (the standard alphabet) to read any language they speak (Choctaw, Creek, English, French) (83). He has no trouble learning reading or writing himself (84). He asks a visiting preacherman to list books an educated man should have, expressing opinions on the suggestions: "Swift he sounds fine Montaigne he is French Marie DuShane can tell me the hard words Shakespeare sounds like a Grasshopper Creek Indian doing the spear dance Plutarch is the man Peter Pitchlynn reads Peter says that Plutarch invented great men and they have not yet appeared in life Irving he was a civil and well spoken man... a History of Rome for the Young Student I will get most of them" (84). He rides 35 miles each way to Three Forks to buy quality paper and pens (84). He labors all night writing a letter to Pass Christian in New Orleans, asking him to send books an educated man should have, mentioning some from the preacher's list to show he isn't "entirely ignorant" (84-85). He includes news of the Territory Choctaws and suggests Pass Christian visit with his family (85). Around 1840, he finds a starkly lettered

note from Whiteman Falaya in a private room of the Big House, warning him about his "heffer calfs" (daughters) (85). Shaken, he says, "How can I kill a ghost who comes and goes and nobody sees him how can I protect my daughters from Whiteman Falaya it is a cloud I had forgotten" (85). He never suspected his wife Natchez was beautiful (86). In 1842, a "skeleton man on a skeleton horse" (a dying priest) arrives at Hannali House (87). Hannali is a "monstrous huge man with a face more ugly than that of the Devil," barefoot, wearing buckskin pants, bare and near-black from the waist up, long-haired, with an "incredible green turban" (87). The priest finds him reading Plutarch (87). Hannali recognizes the man's nature at once and bawls for his family: "Marie DuShane come quick it is come what we wished no longer be we a deprived family Martha Louisiana find the children all this is promised since before they were born Natchez you would not believe it Christ has come to our house" (87). When the priest's horse dies, Hannali gives him another (88). He admires the self-sufficient Manor House culture he and others set up in the Moshulatubbee district (90). He disagrees with Peter Pitchlynn about embracing the wider commerce and bulk crop system of Doaksville and Falaya (91). He argues, "too much trade is a bleed to death business what other storekeeper will tell his people do not buy this dress for your wife your wife already have a dress what other storekeeper tell his people go home and put that money in a safe place it will be a hard winter" (91). He identifies himself as a banker and claims knowledge of interest, stating the Doaksville men "rub off a little bit of their soul every time they produce unusual surplus and have to buy back necessities" (91). He concludes, "There are more things than prosperity great man Peter let a man build up his own house it is the rind of his soul the men of Falaya have drunk mules' milk and are sterile theirs is not the way" (91). He entertains Peter Pitchlynn royally for a week in 1843 (92).

Alinton (Innominee): Hannali's nine-year-old son by Marie DuShane (80). He is not darker than Famous (80). When running, he represents the "white runner" who dodges (81). He is the quickest of the three brothers (81).

Dickens, Charles: English writer who met Peter Pitchlynn on an Ohio River boat in 1842 and wrote a description of him (89, 110).

DuShane, Marie: Decides her "nine children" (her three, plus the six children of Natchez and Martha) should learn to read and write (82). She receives a package via one of Hannali's boatmen containing ten slates, pencils, catechisms, other books, paper, wax, and quills (82). She teaches the family, seldom impatient except perhaps with Martha, and keeps Natchez "after school every evening" due to her daily forgetting (83). She can tell Hannali the hard words in Montaigne (84). Lafferty reveals a secret: "Marie DuShane herself could not read and write well. She spelled all languages by ear" (85). She maintains that all three Innominee daughters (Sally, Hazel, Luvinia) are equally attractive and are "everyone's daughters" in the family (86). She comes quickly when Hannali calls upon the priest's arrival (87).

Famous (Innominee): Hannali's nine-year-old son by Natchez (80). Travis is not darker than him (80). When running, he represents the "Indian" who floats with "queer floating deception" (81). He brings down the young buck during the hunt (81).

Falaya, Whiteman: Around 1840, he leaves a threatening note for Hannali concerning his daughters ("heffer calfs") in a private room of the Big House: "Fat man now you have three heffer calfs I mark one of them for myself in tow years three years I will have her I kill anyone else who touch her you can nou way prevent me fat man Whiteman Falaya" (85). Hannali refers to him as a "ghost" and a "cloud I had forgotten" (85).

Hazel (Innominee): One of Hannali's three daughters, noted at age nine (86). Marie DuShane describes her as glowing (86).

Luvinia (Innominee): One of Hannali's three daughters, noted at age nine (86). Marie DuShane describes her as burning (86). A crude white trader wishes to spend forever in Hell with her (86).

Martha Louisiana: Shows great aptitude for reading and writing when taught by Marie DuShane (83). Comes quickly when Hannali calls upon the priest's arrival (87).

Moses: Mentioned alongside Sequoyah in the context of the invention of alphabets, regarding the Ten Commandments possibly being the first alphabetic writing (83).

Natchez: Is kept after school daily by Marie DuShane because, despite learning quickly, she forgets everything by the next day (83). She asks, "Is it maybeso I will have my death sitting on this stool and making the letters? Is it that I will be ground to death between a slate and a slate pencil?" (83). Needs eyeglasses no more than Hannali does (84). Marie DuShane calls her sister (82). She is as beautiful by Lafferty, a fact Hannali, her father, and Martha never suspected, though Marie always knew; compared to "Indian scrawny" being "white man perfect" (86). Visitors considered her unequaled in the Territory (86). Comes quickly when Hannali calls upon the priest's arrival (87).

Pass Christian Innominee: Hannali writes him a letter requesting books an educated man should have and inviting him to visit (84-85).

Peter Pitchlynn: Reads Plutarch (84). Comes to Hannali House in 1843 and stays a week (88). Historians claim he is the son of John Pitchlynn (white) and Sophia Folsom (Choctaw), born 1806 (89). Lafferty proposes he might be an adopted Indian youth who took the Pitchlynn name, citing Peter's statement to Charles Dickens that he only learned English as a "young man grown" (89). In 1825, at age 19 (if born 1806), he led 21 promising Choctaw boys (selected as the most intelligent) to the new Choctaw Academy in Kentucky (89). In 1830, served as chairman of Choctaw representatives at Dancing Rabbit Creek (110). He presided above chiefs Moshulatubbee, Nitakechi, and Greenwood LeFlore (110). George Catlin recorded his Indian name as Snapping Turtle (Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee) (110). Dickens described him in 1842 as "remarkably handsome," with long black hair, aquiline nose, broad cheekbones, sunburnt complexion, bright piercing eyes, stately and complete, "another kind of being" (110). He visits Hannali in 1843,

admiring the Moshulatubbee Manor House culture but believing it should only be one element (90-91). He advocates for combining self-sufficiency with wide-reaching commerce and the bulk crop system of Falaya (91). He tells Hannali, "You're unique in this, Hannali, but you may be mistaken when you discourage the people from buying... trade will generate more trade and that dollars can be made to grow like corn" (91). He states, "We will find truth between the two systems" (91).

Preacherman (Unnamed Visitor): Writes down a list of books an educated man should have for Hannali, including Swift, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Plutarch, Irving, his own Collected Sermons (Absalom MacGreggor), and a History of Rome for the Young Student (84).

Priest (Unnamed Visitor): Arrives at Hannali House in 1842, appearing as a "skeleton man on a skeleton horse," dying of tuberculosis (87). He is from Vincentian Seminary (Perryville, Missouri) and has traveled his large parish for nine years (87). He administers sacraments to the family, blacks, mixed Indians, visiting Creeks and Osages (87). He eats with the family but cannot stay the night (88). His horse dies, and Hannali gives him another (88). He rides away just before dark and dies four days later at the Durant Choctaw family home (88).

Sally (Innominee): One of Hannali's three daughters, noted at age nine (86). Marie DuShane describes her as sparkling (86). A crude white trader wishes to have her for a week (86). She is described as potentially anyone's first choice, sensational, lively, pretty, and very like her mother Natchez (86).

Sequoyah: Cherokee inventor of the Cherokee syllabary/alphabet (82). His system is a "perfect instrument" for Cherokee, unlike the rough first alphabet derived from Syria which, though flawed, could be adapted for any language (83).

Travis (Innominee): Hannali's nine-year-old son by Martha Louisiana (80). When running, he represents the "Negro" who breaks; he is the fastest (not quickest) of the three brothers (81).

Trader (Unnamed White): A crude-talking man who says he'd like Sally for a week, Hazel for life, and Luvinia forever in Hell (86).

Outline

VIII. Chapter Eight: Sons, Slates, Saints, and Sterile Systems

1. Fun in the Old Moshulatubbee

- A. The Hunt: Three nine-year-old Indian boys (Famous, Travis, Alinton Innominee) run down a young buck near the Canadian River's south shore.⁸⁹
 - a. Technique: Four-hour pursuit, harrying and intercepting on turnbacks. Deer runs 3 miles for boys' 2. Boys deemed smarter than wolves, "near as smart as coyotes."
- B. The Boys: Sons of Hannali.
 - a. Appearance: Same size, identical faces (father's face, not his broad head). Considered handsome, unlike father. Projected to reach father's height, not bulk/strength. Hannali struggles to tell them apart when lined up.
 - b. Running Styles (Observed from distance): Appear as three Indian boys, but run differently: one Indian (Famous - "queer floating deception"), one Negro (Travis - breaks fast), one white (Alinton - dodges). Compares to football players: white fakes, Negro faster start/break/straightaway, Indian "floats" changing pace/direction seamlessly.
 - c. Capture: Alinton quickest, Travis fastest, but Famous (with floating style) brought down the buck. Appeared animal ran into him; "amazing capture."
- C. Aftermath: Boys killed, skinned, drew, quartered buck while hot. Built fire, roasted, nearly ate it all within an hour.
- D. Setting Context: Exemplifies fun in the Moshulatubbee District.

2. Sequoyah and Moses: Literacy Comes to the Innominees⁹⁰

- A. Marie DuShane's Initiative: Decided her nine children (her three

⁸⁹ Chasing deer on foot required exceptional endurance. Swanton, *Source Material*: 49–52.

⁹⁰ The theme of Choctaw literacy and education in Lafferty corresponds to the missionary efforts and Choctaw educational progress detailed by Cushman. Cushman notes, "The school is taught on the Lancastrian plan, and the

+ Natchez's/Martha's, now considered sisters) should learn read/write. All nine became "her children for the hours of instruction."⁹¹

B. Arrival of Supplies: Strange package via boatman from Tamaha Landing. Contained: ten red-trimmed school slates, slate pencils, ten penny catechisms, other books (for later), letter paper, wax, quill (stored carefully).

C. Learning Process (circa 1840):

- a. Rationale: Time for great family like Innominees to learn. Hannali already knew some, pretended not to, learned with "children." Understood theory well, explained Choctaw advantage over Cherokees (who had own alphabet).⁹²
- b. Context of Alphabets: Cherokee alphabet (syllabary) by Sequoyah, perfect for Cherokee only. All other world alphabets derive from one (~1200 BC near Syria), adaptable but flawed. Hannali argued Choctaws only needed learn one system for multiple languages (Choctaw, Creek, English, French).
- c. Progress: Six children learned quickly. Marie seldom impatient. Afraid to show impatience with Martha Louisiana (who had "great aptitude").
- d. Natchez's Struggle: Kept after school daily. Learned fast but forgot overnight, restarting daily. Lamented: "Is it maybeso I will have my death sitting on this stool... ground to death between a slate and a slate pencil?" (Explanation of slate/slate pencil provided).⁹³
- e. Hannali's Progress: No trouble learning; never had trouble learning anything. Wished for bigger jump. Complained about 3-month wait for supplies (eyeglasses, silver ink-horn, crested paper, English quill pens). Needed them to write friends. Dismissed need for eyeglasses ("no more than does

progress of the children has exceeded our most sanguine expectations" (98). *History of the Choctaw*: 72-74, 78, 82, 95-100.

⁹¹ Euro-American education became increasingly valued. Swanton, *Source Material*: 124-127.

⁹² Sequoyah invented the Cherokee syllabary. Choctaws adopted Roman letters for literacy via missionaries. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 371-74; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 105-6, 175; Swanton, *Source Material*: 2, 83.

⁹³ Slates were common tools in early schools. Swanton, *Source Material*: 124; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 35ff., 57ff.

Natchez").

- D. Acquiring Books: Hannali asked visiting preacher for list of educated man's books. Doubtful list contents.
- a. Hannali's Musings (Quote): "Swift he sounds fine Montaigne he is French Marie DuShane can tell me the hard words Shakespeare sounds like a Grasshopper Creek Indian doing the spear dance Plutarch is the man Peter Pitchlynn reads... Plutarch invented great men and they have not yet appeared in life Irving he was a civil and well spoken man... Collected Sermons of Absalom MacGreggor the preacherman thought he would slip one in... History of Rome for the Young Student I will get most of them."
- E. Writing the Letter: Hannali rode 35 miles each way (Three Forks) for better paper/pens. Labored all night writing to Pass Christian (New Orleans). Good letter, few spoiled sheets. Asked for books (mentioned some from list). Included Territory Choctaw news (stirring from slumber). Suggested Pass Christian visit with family ("families are sacred things"). Gave to downriver boatman at dawn.
- F. Linguistic Note: Marie DuShane couldn't read/write well; spelled by ear. Choctaw spelling tended toward English sounds, not Continental. Origin of written "Choctaw" vs. linguistic "Chatah." Humorous quality of contemporary Choctaw English writing noted.⁹⁴
- G. Whiteman Falaya's Threat (circa 1840): Hannali found stark note in Big House private room.⁹⁵
- a. Text (Quote): "Fat man now you have three heffer calfs I mark one of them for myself in tow years three years I will have her I kill anyone else who touch her you can nou way prevent me fat man Whiteman Falaya."
- b. Hannali's Reaction: Shaken. (Quote): "How can I kill a ghost who comes and goes... how can I protect my daughters from Whiteman Falaya it is a cloud I had forgotten."

3. Sally for a Week, Hazel for Life, Luvinia Forever

- A. Early Fame: Three Innominee daughters noticed at age nine.

⁹⁴ Rendering Choctaw sounds into English varied, causing spelling differences. Swanton, *Source Material*: 56.

⁹⁵ Whiteman Falaya's threatening note continues the outlaw theme.

Fame grew rapidly; visitors came increasingly because of them.

- B. Descriptions: Did not resemble each other greatly (unlike brothers). Marie DuShane's assessment: Sally sparkled, Hazel glowed, Luvinia burned; unsure which most attractive. Maintained all three were equally "everyone's daughters," one flesh.
- C. Crude Trader's Assessment (Quote): Liked Sally for week, Hazel for life, spend forever in Hell with Luvinia.
- D. Sally's Beauty: Anyone's first choice; pretty, lively, sensational, beautiful as mother Natchez.
- E. Natchez's Beauty: Questioned ("As who? Natchez?"). Revealed Hannali never suspected, father/family didn't know, Martha didn't realize. Marie always knew (intense jealousy averted by sister-status). "Indian scrawny is sometimes white man perfect." Visitors confirmed her unique beauty. Sally resembled her.
- F. Overall Impact: The other two (Hazel, Luvinia) had deeper attraction. The three were unique.

4. A Dead Man on a Dead Horse⁹⁶: Visitation (1842)

- A. Arrival: Skeleton man on skeleton horse rode to Hannali House. Dismounted with difficulty, tied horse "to the wind" (horse wasn't going anywhere).
- B. Hannali's Appearance (to visitor): Monstrous huge man, ugly face, barefoot, buckskin pants, bare/near-black waist up, long hair, huge green turban. Reading Plutarch.
- C. Recognition: Skeleton identified Hannali. Hannali instantly recognized visitor: "Christ has come to our house." Bawled for family.
- D. The Visitor: Priest from Vincentian Seminary (Perryville, MO), dying of tuberculosis. Horse's ailment unknown. Neither would see another full moon. Had traveled large parish on horse for nine years, reached extreme end in week of death.
- E. Actions: Administered sacraments to whole family, blacks/mixed Indians from landing, visiting Creeks (swam river), Osages

⁹⁶ The arrival of the "dead man on a dead horse" (the dying priest) introduces a striking image resonant with ghostly or supernatural elements common in folklore. Swanton records several stories across different tribes involving encounters with ghosts, the return of the dead, or visits to the land of the dead. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 25-26, 38.

(appeared mysteriously). Many Indians had only tenuous Church connection for generations. Latin like rain on parched sod. (Mnemonic link: Innominee name from *In nomine Patris*).

- F. Departure and Death: Priest ate, wouldn't stay (more families to see). Horse had died; Hannali gave another. Priest rode off near dark. Died four days later at Durant Choctaw home (30 miles south). Ten years until next priest.

5. Aleika: The Enigma of Peter Pitchlynn

- A. Visit (1843): Pitchlynn came to Big House, stayed week. Time to explore the man who "reconstituted the Choctaw Nation." Mystery surrounds him.
- B. Appearance (from pictures): Long-haired, not very dark, great (but not Indian) nose beak. Handsome despite nose. Feminine features noted, yet founded/led Light Horse Police, competent military leader later. Slim, probably tall. Possessed *aleika* (magic/presence/magnetism). "special sort of man.
- C. Parentage Debate: Official history: son of John Pitchlynn (white) & Sophia Folsom (Choctaw), born 1806 MS. Author doubts, proposes adoption theory.⁹⁷
- a. Evidence for Doubt: Pitchlynn referred to John as father. Dickens' account: Peter learned English as "young man grown" - unlikely if John was father (John advocated English education, taught others).⁹⁸
- b. Adoption Theory: John Pitchlynn sponsored/adopted intelligent Indian boys; they often took sponsor's name. John paid for education of several youths; Peter could be one. Checks with Choctaw Academy arrival (1825, age 19 if born 1806, fits "young man grown"). Peter led group of 21 most

⁹⁷ Dickens met him in 1842 and described him favorably. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 44, 109n; Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1842), Chapter 12.

⁹⁸ Abel provides a contemporary description from Charles Dickens, who met Pitchlynn on an Ohio River boat in 1842: Dickens described him as "'a remarkably handsome man . . . with long black hair, an aquiline nose, broad cheek bones, a sunburnt complexion, and a very bright, keen, dark, and piercing eye . . . as stately and complete a gentleman . . . as ever I beheld; and moved among the people in the boat, another kind of being.'" Abel, *Reconstruction*: 90.

intelligent/promising Choctaw boys.⁹⁹

D. Rapid Rise: By 1830 (age 24), chairman of Choctaw representatives at Dancing Rabbit Creek (John Pitchlynn present as interpreter only). Presided over chiefs Moshulatubbee, Nitakechi, LeFlore. Already seen as special chief.

E. Descriptions by Artists:

a. George Catlin (painter): Provided picture and words. Indian name: Snapping Turtle / Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee. White name given as "Pinchlin" (close).¹⁰⁰

b. Charles Dickens (writer): Met 1842 on steamboat. Recounted in *American Notes*. Pitchlynn returning from lobbying. Answered Congress query "with a smile, that it wanted dignity in an Indian's eyes." Noted his race fading. Described as "remarkably handsome man," long black hair, aquiline nose, broad cheeks, sunburnt, bright/keen/dark/piercing eye. "stately and complete a gentleman... another kind of being." Dickens impressed.

F. Pitchlynn's Views and Disagreement with Hannali:

a. Admired Moshulatubbee Manor House culture, but saw it as only one element. Needed self-sufficiency *and* wide commerce/manufactory (Doaksville merchants, Falaya planters/bulk crops). Advocated "more open system."

b. Hannali's Counter: Argued trade is "bleed to death business." Contrasted his practice (discouraging unnecessary purchases) with storekeepers'. Money doesn't grow like corn. Banking irony: he could be rich, but it impoverishes others. Dollar only worth 100 cents. Giving/taking interest superior to Doaksville model. Argued producing surplus requires soul-selling "to buy back necessities."

c. Pitchlynn's Synthesis: Sought truth between systems. Acknowledged value of Manor system and open mercantilism/giant cropping. Worked for Choctaw prosperity but struggled to fit pieces.

d. Hannali's Final Word: More than prosperity matters. Man

⁹⁹ The Choctaw Academy in Kentucky (est. 1825) educated young men, including Pitchlynn. Swanton, *Source Material*: 125.

¹⁰⁰ George Catlin painted Pitchlynn c. 1834, recording his Choctaw name Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee (Snapping Turtle). Swanton, *Source Material*: 90.

should build own house ("rind of his soul"). Falaya men "have drunk mules' milk and are sterile theirs is not the way."¹⁰¹

G. Visit's End: Pitchlynn entertained royally ("he was their royalty"). Foreshadows Pass Christian's visit next year (1844).

¹⁰¹ Choctaw society had divisions: southern Oklafalaya district (trade, plantations, slaves) contrasted with northern Moshulatubbee (traditional subsistence). "Mules' milk" metaphor critiques the slave-based system. Swanton, *Source Material*: 46, 54, 107; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, 111; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 54, 105, 107, 108, 135; Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 14–18, 63.



Chapter Nine

Overview

This chapter details the vibrant family life at Hannali House during the visit of Pass Christian Innominee's Frenchified children from New Orleans, highlighting the blend of cultures and childhood adventures. A large Christmas gathering follows, showcasing Hannali's extensive hospitality and the diverse community interactions, including Marie DuShane's trip to North Fork Town and Marie Delessert's adaptation to the unique household. The novel then shifts to the ominous "Year of the Big Thunders," marked by extreme weather, growing prosperity, but also the deepening schism within the Choctaw Nation and the external pressures leading up to the Mexican War. The chapter culminates dramatically with Whiteman Falaya's brutal attack on Hannali's daughter Sally and Hannali's subsequent pursuit.

Summary

The children of Pass Christian Innominee—Peter, Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, and Louis Christian—visit Hannali House. Though they have become French, they are still Indian, and the cousins interact well. Many other children also visit: John, Emily, and Ophelia Checote Sapulpa (McIntosh Creek); Josephine Horse, Amanda T, Robert Harkins, Seoma Big (Choctaw); and Mary and Lavaca Choate (Natchez's nieces from Sebastian County, Arkansas). With so many children, mules are used for riding. A talking, whistling scarecrow in Hannali's south field becomes a point of interest, with Hannali refusing its request for a new coat due to poor performance against crows. The Innominee children and

Hannali maintain straight faces during such daily antics, unlike the visiting Cherokee Choate girls who find all Choctaw jokes funny.

During the late winter, the New Orleans children, fascinated by boats, learn to use Hannali's ferry, ride keel boats and barges, and even fire up his big boat, the *Bashih*. They prove tough, swimming in the icy river despite the cold, determined to match their Territory cousins. The Pass Christians ride well but cannot climb pecan trees like the Hannalis or John Sapulpa and George Hewahnackee (Creek Indians are the best climbers). Seoma Big can see possums in trees; Robert Harkins never misses squirrels with throwing sticks. The children hunt, roast possums and squirrels with persimmons, and noodle catfish from the Canadian River. They chase bear cubs and Hannali's forest pigs, nip stolen mule whiskey, and tell stories. Luvinia recounts the tale of a girl swallowed by a panther, who makes the panther swallow stones to grind corn, water for cakes, sticks and live coals for fire, a pig, and finally a kettle to make pishofa, before the panther heaves everything up. Marie Chapponia dismisses it as untrue, but Luvinia insists it is, challenging others to top it.

Christmas season arrives, celebrated with potlatches, visiting, and gifts. Hannali House hosts families from the Moshulatubbee and Pushmataha districts, Creek families, Chickasaw families, white officers and soldiers from Fort Smith, Fort Coffee, and Fort Gibson, and early cattle drovers using the Texas Road. Hannali provides beds or floor space (some rooms now have timber floors) with buffalo robes for over one hundred guests. He supplies vast amounts of wood, kills a pig daily and three steers weekly, brings pumpkins from Creek country, and wheat from Osage/Pawnee regions. He and friends corral two dozen wild buffalo for roasting on a specially designed spit.

One day, Marie DuShane takes the thirteen Innominee children in a spring wagon across the Ferry to North Fork Town, five miles away. The town has three stores with more variety than Hannali's. Marie buys licorice, tea, snuff, ground coffee, slippery elm, and toys. She pays with gold coin, watching the storekeepers scurry for change, accepting two worthless "Choctaw dollars" (issued by a Doaksville store, lettered "One Dollar Honest" or "Five Dollar Honest"). Hannali,

being a banker, had previously redeemed these for friends by intimidating the Doaksville store owners. The children return home at night in the snow, singing "chikkih chikkih" and gobbling like turkeys.

Pass Christian's wife, Marie Delessert, initially startled by the household arrangement (Negro and Indian women sharing place with her French sister-in-law Marie DuShane), comes to accept it. She grows closer to Natchez and Martha Louisiana, resembling both in her wit and compassionate humor, her weightlessness and bulk. Unlike Natchez or Marie DuShane, she conserves energy. The Pass Christian Innominees leave Hannali's Landing on Epiphany, 1845, parting from the children with weeping.

A year passes (around 1845), the "Year of the Big Thunders," marked by severe storms (floods, tornadoes, lightning, huge hailstones) but also fertility and the transported Indians' recovery. However, other storms gather: schism plagues the Indian nations. In Choctaw country, the divide is between the North (feudal, full-blood, self-sufficient, like Hannali) and the South (slave-owning, liberal, speculating, mostly breed/white-blood, dominated by a few wealthy slave owners). External war looms: Texas, independent since 1836 over slavery, is eyed by the US. Mexico, opposed to slavery and angered by the treatment of Indians, does not recognize Texas independence. Many Indians flee Texas for Indian Territory (1830-1845). On December 29, 1845, President Polk signs the resolution making Texas a slave state. On January 13, 1846, General Zachary Taylor is ordered to the Nueces River to provoke Mexico. Texas annexation and war are a package deal. US Army groups move south through Indian Territory via the Texas Road near Hannali House, causing friction ("brushes"). On February 19, 1846, Texas President Jones hands office to Governor Henderson as the US Army occupies disputed territory. In May, Polk falsely claims "American Blood has been spilt on American Soil." One afternoon, Sally is missing. Natchez is unconcerned, but Marie DuShane and Martha Louisiana worry about rough men nearby and inform Hannali. Standing rigid, Hannali receives a "true dark vision." He bolts to the fields, already knowing what happened. He finds Sally badly mauled and torn but conscious in a rock waste between two

fields. He carries her back, knowing she will survive. He finds a note in his inner room from Whiteman Falaya: "Fat man I have had your heffer calf you will follow me at your perell I mean to cut you down...I hurt your heffer calf but not to die I will be back many times for her fat man you follow me you better trembel for your life Whiteman Falaya." It is near dark. Hannali calculates Falaya will head towards soldiers bivouacked south on the Texas Road, knowing how he would be dressed. Hannali mounts his horse late that night to pursue.

(Alinton DuShane), (Amanda T), (American), (American Blood), (American Soil), (Arkansas), (Arkansas River), (Army), (Bashih), (Big House), (Big Thunders), (Biloxi), (Bird Creek), (Boggy Depot), (Bolek), (Bowlegs), (Buffalo), (Butler), (Canadian River), (Catherine), (Catholic), (Cherokee), (Cherokee Choate), (Cherokees), (Chickasaw), (Chickasaws), (Chikkih chikkih), (Chocs), (Choate), (Choctaw), (Choctaw dollars), (Choctaw jokes), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaw North), (Choctaw South), (Choctaws), (Christmas), (Commander), (Confederacy), (Cooper), (Creek), (Creek country), (Creek Indian), (Creek Indians), (Creeks), (Crow Haven), (Doaksville), (DuShane), (Emily Sapulpa), (English), (Epiphany), (Falaya), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Fat Man), (Father Isidore Robot), (Five Dollar Honest), (Forbis Agent), (Fort Coffee), (Fort Gibson), (Fort Smith), (Fox), (French), (General Zachary Taylor), (George Hewahnackee), (Gibson), (God), (Grand Saline), (Grandfather Barua), (Great Red Flowering), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Hannali's Landing), (Harkins), (Hazel), (Hell), (Henderson), (Hitchiti Meadow), (Homostubbee), (Horse), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Ishtaboli), (James Henderson), (Jesuits), (John Barua), (John Ross), (John Sapulpa), (John T), (Jones), (Joseph), (Josephine Horse), (Lavaca Choate), (Lincoln), (Louis Christian), (Louisiana), (Luvinia), (Luvinia Innominee), (Major), (Marie Chapponia), (Marie Delessert), (Marie DuShane), (Martha Louisiana), (Mary Choate), (Mass), (McIntosh Creek), (Mexico), (Mingo), (Missouri), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubbee District), (Muskogee), (Nakni Pans-Hata), (Natchez), (Natchez, person), (Negro), (New Orleans), (North Fork), (North Fork Town), (Nueces River), (Oklafalaya), (Old Miller Court House), (One Dollar Honest),

(Ophelia Checote Sapulpa), (Osage), (Papa Hannali), (Pass Christian), (Pass Christian Innominee), (Pawnee), (Peter), (Pike), (Pin), (Pishofa), (Polk), (Poste DuShane), (President Jones), (President Polk), (Pushmataha), (Pushmataha District), (Quapaws), (Rachel Perry), (Red River), (Rio Grande), (Robert Harkins), (Robert Pike), (Saint Peter), (Salina), (Sally), (Santa Fe), (Sapulpa), (Scarecrow), (Sebastian County), (Seoma Big), (Skullyville), (Snake Creeks), (Snakes), (South), (Stand Watie), (Tandy Walker), (Taylor), (Territory), (Texas), (Texas Road), (Therese), (Thomas LeFlore), (Three Forks), (Three Forks of the Arkansas), (Travis), (Tukabatchee Town), (Tulsa), (Turkey), (Tuskahoma), (Union), (United States), (United States Army), (Whiteman Falaya), (Yahola)

Characters

Hannali hosts his brother Pass Christian Innominee and his family (Peter, Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, Louis Christian) at the Big House (93). Many other children also visit during this time (93). Hannali doesn't have enough ponies for all the children, so some ride mules (93). In one of his south fields, there is a scarecrow that can talk and whistle; when the children complain it needs a new coat for winter, Hannali refuses, stating, "my record show his field have suffered more crow damage than any other the crows call it Crow Haven it is all right a scarecrow learn to talk and whistle but first he must learn to scare the crows" (94). He remains straight-faced during such daily jokes (94). During the winter visit ("snoot end of winter just coming in"), Hannali's ferry, keel boats, barges, and big boat (the *Bashih*) are used extensively by the visiting children (94). He hosts a large gathering for the Christmas season, including Choctaw, Creek, and Chickasaw families, white officers and soldiers from nearby forts, and early cattle drovers using the Texas Road (96). He can bed down one hundred people, providing beds, cotton ticks filled with husks or straw, and buffalo robes (96-97). He brings in a hundred wagonloads of wood, kills a pig daily and three steers weekly, brings pumpkins from Creek country, and wheat from Osage/Pawnee regions (97). He and his "horse-crazy friends" drive two dozen wild buffalo into a specially designed corral (97). He has designed a spit capable of turning a two-thousand-pound buffalo (97).

When some friends are stuck with worthless "Choctaw dollars," Hannali, being a banker, redeems them (98). He once rode his horse into the store at Doaksville, rifle across his horn and grinning, to force the redemption of a hundred dollars' worth (98). After Pass Christian's family leaves on Epiphany 1845, a year passes; 1846 is the "Year of the Big Thunders," a stormy but fertile year when the transported Indians "finally got well" (99). Hannali sees the external war (U.S.-Mexico) impact the Territory as army groups travel south on the Texas Road, which runs within sight of his house, leading to brushes between raw soldiers and unruly Indians (100). One afternoon, his daughter Sally is missing (101). Though Natchez isn't worried, Marie DuShane and Martha Louisiana are, telling Hannali about rough men nearby (101). Hannali stands "rigid with apprehension and terror," having already received the message in another manner (a dark vision) (101). He cries out, bolts to the fields, and finds Sally badly mauled and torn in a rock waste (101). He carries her back to the house, giving her to the women, knowing she won't die from this (101). He goes to his inner room and finds the expected note from Whiteman Falaya (101). He reads it half with eyes, half intuition: "Fat man I have had your heffer calf you will follow me at your perell I mean to cut you down I leave my notice and you sitting here sleepy in the same room and not even see me I hurt your heffer calf but not to die I will be back many times for her fat man you follow me you better trembel for your life Whiteman Falaya" (101). Calculating Whiteman's likely location among bivouacked soldiers on the Texas Road (knowing how Whiteman would be dressed), Hannali mounts his horse late at night to intercept the troopers before dawn (101).

Alinton (Innominee): Hannali's son, approaching sixteen years old in the "Year of the Big Thunders" (1846) (99).

Barua, John: Son of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93).

Big, Seoma: Choctaw child visiting Hannali House (93). Can see through trees to locate possums (94).

Catherine: Daughter of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93).

Chapponia, Marie: Daughter of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93). She tells the story of the panther swallowing the girl, claiming it's not true because the panther couldn't swallow her whole (116).

Checote, Ophelia: McIntosh Creek child visiting Hannali House from north of the river (93).

Choate, Lavaca: Niece of Natchez, visiting Hannali House from Sebastian County, Arkansas (93). She and Mary Choate whoop, dance, and giggle at Choctaw jokes (94).

Choate, Mary: Niece of Natchez, visiting Hannali House from Sebastian County, Arkansas (93). She and Lavaca Choate whoop, dance, and giggle at Choctaw jokes (94).

Christian, Louis: Son of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93).

Delessert, Marie: Wife of Pass Christian Innominee (98). She is initially startled and silent upon arriving at Hannali House but accepts the "strange arrangements" once she understands them (98). Previously corresponding only with Marie DuShane, she is shocked initially by the "unnatural situation" of a Negro woman (Martha) and an Indian woman (Natchez) sharing the place of her French sister-in-law (98). She becomes closer to Natchez and Martha than to Marie DuShane, resembling both in wit and humor (Natchez) and compassionate good humor and bulk (Martha) (98). She is fair, a white woman who "didn't tempt the sun much" (98). Unlike Natchez or Marie DuShane, she wouldn't run out barefoot for a snowbird dance or rise at midnight to ride; she "practiced the conservation of energy" (119). She leaves Hannali's Landing with her family on Epiphany, 1845 (119).

DuShane, Marie: Becomes worried about Sally's disappearance and tells Hannali (101).

Famous (Innominee): Hannali's son, approaching sixteen years old in the "Year of the Big Thunders" (1846) (99).

Harkins, Robert: Choctaw child visiting Hannali House (93). Can knock squirrels out of trees with throwing sticks without missing (94).

Henderson, James: The first governor of Texas (100).

Hewahnackee, George: Creek child visiting Hannali House (93). Among the best pecan tree climbers, along with John Sapulpa (94).

Horse, Josephine: Choctaw child visiting Hannali House (93).

Jones, President: The last president of the Republic of Texas who turned office over to James Henderson on Feb 19, 1846 (100).

Joseph: Son of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93).

Luvinia (Innominee): Hannali's daughter Tells the story of the panther who swallowed the girl, who then made the panther swallow corn, stones, water, sticks, live coals, a pig, and a kettle to cook pishofa inside him before being heaved up (115). Nobody could top her on a story, learned from her mother Martha Louisiana (116).

Martha Louisiana: Becomes worried about Sally's disappearance and tells Hannali (101). Is the source for Luvinia's stories (116).

Nakni Pans-Hata: Character in Luvinia's panther story who asks why the panther didn't just dissolve the girl (115).

Natchez: Is not worried when her daughter Sally disappears, saying "nothing could ever happen to that girl" (101).

Pans-Hata, Nakni: See Nakni Pans-Hata.

Pass Christian Innominee: Hannali's brother (93). Visits Hannali House with his wife Marie Delessert and their seven children (93, 98). He had told his children never to vaunt themselves but to be as tough as the Hannali children (94). His family leaves Hannali's Landing on Epiphany, 1845 (119).

Peter: Son of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93).

Polk, President: Signed resolution making Texas a slave state (Dec 29, 1845) (100). Lied grandly in May 1846 that "American Blood has been spilt on American Soil" (101).

Sally (Innominee): Hannali's daughter One afternoon, she is not found (101). She often rode off at random (101). Hannali finds her badly mauled and torn but conscious in a rock waste (101). Whiteman Falaya's note confirms he "hurt your heffer calf but not to die" (101).

Sapulpa, Emily: McIntosh Creek child visiting Hannali House from north of the river (93).

Sapulpa, John: McIntosh Creek child visiting Hannali House from north of the river (93). Among the best pecan tree climbers, along with George Hewahnackee (94).

Scarecrow (Unnamed): Located in Hannali's south field, can talk and whistle (93). Complains via the children that it needs a new coat for winter (94).

Taylor, General Zachary: Ordered on Jan 13, 1846, to lead troops to the Nueces River to invade Mexico and create an incident (100).

Therese: Daughter of Pass Christian Innominee (93). Visits Hannali House (93).

Travis (Innominee): Hannali's son, approaching sixteen years old in the "Year of the Big Thunders" (1846) (99).

Whiteman Falaya: Leaves a note for Hannali after attacking Sally:
"Fat man I have had your heffer calf you will follow me at your perell
I mean to cut you down I leave my notice and you sitting here sleepy
in the same room and not even see me I hurt your heffer calf but not
to die I will be back many times for her fat man you follow me you
better trembel for your life Whiteman Falaya" (101).

Outline

IX. Chapter Nine: Visits, Values, and Vengeance

1. **Pass Christian Innominees Visit Hannali House (1844)**¹⁰²
 - A. The Cousins Arrive: Children of Pass Christian Innominee (Peter,
Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, Louis Christian) visit. Ages varied relative to Hannali's children. Described as "French, but they were still Indian also." Cousins interacted well.
 - B. Other Visiting Children: John & Emily Sapulpa, Ophelia Checote (McIntosh Creek); Josephine Horse, Amanda T, Robert Harkins, Seoma Big (Choctaw); Mary & Lavaca Choate (Natchez's nieces from Arkansas). So many children, Hannali lacked ponies; some rode mules.
 - C. The Talking Scarecrow: Located in south field, could talk and whistle. Children became "partisans" of it, complained to Hannali it needed new winter coat.
 - a. Hannali's Response (Quote): "No I will not give him one... my record show his field have suffered more crow damage... crows call it Crow Haven it is all right a scarecrow learn to talk and whistle but first he must learn to scare the crows."
 - b. Reaction: Innominee children/Hannali straight-faced (Choc humor); Cherokee Choate girls whooped/danced/giggled (found Choc jokes funny).
 - D. Late Winter Activities ("snoot end of winter"): Described

¹⁰² Pass Christian Innominee represents assimilated, French-influenced Choctaws.

as "bright, sharp days."

- a. Boating: New Orleans children loved boats. Learned Hannali's ferry, rode keelboats/barges miles, walked back. Fired up Hannali's big boat, *Bashih*. Not typical city children; "river rats."
- b. Swimming: Swam better than Territory cousins, even in icy water. Lied about being cold, turned blue. Pass Christian instructed them to be tough like Hannali children. "Oh, they were all tough! It's fun to be tough."
- c. Riding/Climbing: Pass Christians rode well, not as wildly. Couldn't climb big pecans like Hannalis (or John Sapulpa/George Hewahnackee - Creeks best).
- d. Hunting/Foraging: Seoma Big could see possums in trees. Robert Harkins knocked squirrels with throwing sticks (never missed). Children caught/stuffed possums/squirrels with frost-purpled persimmons, roasted them. Noodled large Canadian River catfish. Chased bear cubs, forest pigs.
- e. Storytelling: Nipped stolen mule whiskey, told stories. Luvinia told panther-swallowing-girl tale.
 - i. Story Recounted: Girl swallowed, demands corn, stones (to grind), water (to make cakes), sticks, live coals (to cook). Panther regrets bargain. Girl demands pig (for pishofa), then kettle.¹⁰³ Panther refuses kettle ("have I signed a paper says I must swallow a kettle?"). Girl insists ("I will give you no peace"). Panther swallows kettle, girl makes fire, asks for more things to drive panther crazy. Panther finally heaves everything up. Girl warns him not to spill pishofa.
 - ii. Reaction: Marie Chapponia called it untrue. Luvinia insisted it was, challenged others ("Top it!"). Nobody could top Luvinia. Learned stories from mother Martha Louisiana.

¹⁰³ Pishofa (pashofa) is traditional hominy and pork soup. Swanton, *Source Material*: 38.

2. Christmas Season at Hannali House

- A. Timing/Tradition: Indians now celebrating Christmas (previously seasonal potlatches). Winter feast became biggest. "Everybody visited Hannali House."¹⁰⁴
- B. The Visitors: Whole families - Choctaw (Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha), Creek, newly arrived Chickasaw. White officers/soldiers (Fort Smith, Coffee, Gibson). Early cattle drovers using Texas Road. "all sorts of visitors, many of them with no legal right in the Territory."¹⁰⁵
- C. Hannali's Hospitality: Could bed down 100 people (proper beds, cotton ticks/husks, straw on dirt floors, buffalo robes). Supplied 100 wagonloads of wood. Killed heavy pig daily, three steers weekly. Procured 300 pumpkins (Creek country), wheat (Osage/Pawnee regions - Choctaws recently discovered wheaten bread).
- D. Buffalo Corral: Hannali/friends corralled two dozen wild buffalo. Animals crashed around for weeks. Hannali designed spit for roasting whole buffalo. Plains Indian visitors ate only buffalo.
- E. Marie DuShane's Shopping Trip: Took 13 Innominee children in spring wagon to North Fork Town (5 miles from Hannali's Landing, large town, 3 stores). Bought trifles unavailable at Hannali's store (licorice, tea, snuff, ground coffee, slippery elm, manufactured toys).
- F. Currency Exchange ("Choctaw Dollars"): Store refused "Choctaw dollars." Marie paid gold, watched them find silver change. Accepted two Choctaw dollars as part change (store scrip from Doaksville, "One/Five Dollar Honest," generally worthless). Hannali previously redeemed these by riding horse into store.¹⁰⁶
- G. Return Journey: Children huddled under robes in wagon, snowing, ice tinkling on ferry. Sang "chikkih chikkih," gobbled

¹⁰⁴ Christmas celebrations were syncretized with older winter gathering traditions. Swanton, *Source Material*: 221, 224–225.

¹⁰⁵ Texas Road was a major north-south route impacting tribal life. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 59; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 130–31, 178; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 90, 112; Swanton, *Source Material*: 160.

¹⁰⁶ "Five Dollar Honest" likely refers to local scrip issued by traders like Robert M. Jones or tribal entities. Swanton, *Source Material*: 97; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 108, 135.

like turkeys. "a night to remember."

H. Marie Delessert's Visit (Pass Christian's Wife): Initially startled/silent by household setup (Negro/Indian women sharing French sister-in-law's place). Understood, accepted it. Previously only knew Marie DuShane by correspondence. Grew closer to Natchez/Martha than Marie. Resembled both: Natchez's wit/weightlessness, Martha's humor/bulk. Fair, white woman. Did not engage in extreme behaviors like Natchez (barefoot snow dance) or Marie DuShane (midnight rides). Conserved energy like Martha.

I. Season's Climax: Big season, big Christmas (no Mass/priest nearby). Gifts exchanged for weeks, feasting.

J. Departure: Pass Christian Innominees left Hannali's Landing on Epiphany, 1845. Children parted weeping ("still Indian").

3. The Year of the Big Thunders (1846)¹⁰⁷

A. Family Milestone: Good year for Hannali/family. Three sons became men (approaching 16).

B. Meteorological Events: Year known as "Year of the Big Thunders." Very stormy: floods (Canadian/Arkansas R.), tornadoes (Pushmataha north), intense lightning/thunder, hailstones ("big as Ishtaboli balls"). Fertile year; transported Indians "finally got well."

C. Social/Political Storms: Schism plagued Indians with new prosperity. Rived every tribe.

a. Choctaw Division: Feudal, mostly full-blood, self-sufficient North (Moshulatubbee) vs. slave-owning, liberal, speculating, mostly breed/white-blood South (Oklafulaya/Pushmataha). (Note: most Southerners didn't own slaves, but ~20 owned 100

¹⁰⁷ "Year of the Big Thunders" aligns with indigenous practice of marking time by natural events; likely mid-1840s based on novel context. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, 73.

500 each, setting tone).¹⁰⁸

D. External Conflict (US-Mexico War)¹⁰⁹:

- a. Background: Texas independence (1836) rooted in slavery. Mexico outraged by slavery and killing of Indians. Many Indians fled Texas to IT (1830-45).
 - b. US Actions: Polk resolution makes TX slave state (Dec 29, 1845). Taylor ordered to Nueces R. to provoke incident (Jan 13, 1846). Annexation/war promise linked. 3 months prep time calculated.
 - c. Impact on IT: Army groups move south via Texas Road (near Hannali House). Raw soldiers, clashes ("brushes") with unruly Indians. TX statehood declared (Feb 19), US Army already in disputed land. Polk lies about blood on US soil (May 1846).
- E. Sally's Attack: Afternoon, Sally missing. Marie/Martha worried (rough men nearby), told Hannali. Hannali had "true dark vision," bolted to fields. Found Sally badly mauled/torn in rock waste, conscious but shocked. Carried her back; knew she wouldn't die.
- F. Whiteman Falaya's Note: Found in inner room. Half read, half intuited.
- a. Content (Quote): Threatens Hannali ("cut you down"), claims Sally ("your heffer calf"), hurt but didn't kill her, will return many times. Warns against pursuit ("you better trembel for your life"). Signed Whiteman Falaya.
- G. Hannali's Response: Realized Whiteman would be disguised as soldier among troops ~12 miles south. Calculated path, rode off late for pre-dawn encounter.

¹⁰⁸ Growing schism between traditional North (Moshulatubbee) and assimilated, slave-owning South (Oklafulaya/Pushmataha) intensified pre-Civil War. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 77-78, 130-131; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 107, 109; Swanton, *Source Material*,: 56-57, 107; Abel, *American Indian as Participant*: 27, 99.

¹⁰⁹ Texas annexation (1845) and U.S.-Mexican War (1846-1848) context. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 189-190.



Chapter Ten

Overview

Hannali confronts a US Army major, demanding Whiteman Falaya (under the alias Whitman Long), but the major refuses and threatens Hannali, leading to a tense five-minute standoff during which Falaya escapes. The novel explores the concept of "Welsh Indians," identifying Welsh influence among Choctaws and highlighting Robert M. Jones as the epitome of the wealthy, slave-owning, mixed-blood faction, representing one pole of the Choctaw Nation. Hannali, now known as Six-Town, represents the opposite pole—conservative, full-blood, and free-holding. He undergoes a transformation, becoming deeply respected, while his sons (Alinton, Famous, Travis) are educated and establish themselves during the prosperous "Big Decade" before the Civil War, expanding the family's influence and connections before Alinton embarks on a significant journey.

Summary

Possessing senses almost "too Indian," Hannali rides through the night, reading the land like a newspaper, discerning the passage of different animals and tribal horses. He knows where John T sat watching cavalry pass the previous day. Near Gaines Creek, he senses the concentration of men and horses. He hears the stir of predawn cooks and a sentry's patrol. Being a "horse Choctaw," he moves through the horses without alerting the real sentinels—the horses themselves. It is a rough volunteer force, not the later reluctant recruits. Hannali approaches the sentry noiselessly from behind, tells him not to cry out or turn, and demands Whiteman Falaya. The sentry denies having anyone by that name. Hannali states Falaya is under

another name and he will wait for muster, regretfully having to kill one of the soldiers. The sentry threatens Hannali, mentioning two Indians killed the previous evening. A sergeant approaches ghost-like; Hannali demands his name from the sentry, who reveals it is "Whitman Long." Hannali recognizes it as the translated name of Whiteman Falaya, a Choctaw Indian. Seeing the muster forming, Hannali rides into camp, dismounts, and confronts the astonished major.

Hannali announces he has come to kill one of the major's men, Whitman Long/Whiteman Falaya. The major, recovering, suggests throwing them both in a pit. He points to fresh dirt covering two graves of Indians who complained about assaults by soldiers. Hannali insists on punishing Falaya himself. The major points out a noose and tree branch used the night before, threatening Hannali. Hannali dismisses the major as a "mouth soldier." The major, calling Hannali an "offal-faced ogre," boasts of his two hundred men. Hannali challenges them all at once or one at a time. The major calls Hannali a "rot-headed fool" and gives him five minutes to leave or be hanged. Hannali asks who has a watch. The major places a fine gold watch on the muster table stump. A dozen soldiers level rifles at Hannali; three men ready the noose. The major chews his moustache. Hannali, by his presence alone, seems to steal the game. As the time passes agonizingly, the soldiers lose their edge. After five minutes, Hannali announces the time is up. The major's Adam's apple bobbles. Hannali waits a bit longer, then spits on the watch, shakes his head in bafflement, and smashes his fist into his palm. Declaring "Today I have lost God give me another day," he walks wearily to his horse. He announces sullenly that he has been tricked; Falaya is no longer in camp, having slipped away while he played a "boy's game." Falaya is nine miles gone and untrackable, but Hannali vows to get him eventually. Before mounting, he announces "This bull will still toss," challenging the soldiers again, before riding slowly out of camp in frustration.

A section discusses the "Welsh Indians." A body of literature exists comparing them to lost tribes of Israel or people of Atlantis. The legend involves Welshmen under Prince Madoc arriving before

Columbus, mixing with Indians, producing lighter-skinned, blue/hazel-eyed descendants with Welsh words in their languages. Amateur linguists compare Mandan and Welsh words (ni/we, chwi/you, buw/live, coch/red, etc.), though some Welsh words cited are later borrowings (ceffyl/horse from Latin, tebot/kettle from English). The novel dismisses pre-Columbian Welsh intrusion but posits early colonial mixing. The *Choctaws* are presented as the true "Welsh Indians," citing numerous Choctaws with Welsh blood (Robert Cole, Robert M. Jones, George W. Harkins, Sidney Bowen, David Folsom, John Morgan, George S. Gaines, William David, W. N. Jones, the Pitchlynnns, Kincaids, Pebworths, John Garland, George Hudson, Frank Owen, S. D. Griffiths, F. G. Wynn, W. A. Williams). Welshmen are described as canny and stubborn, often found running stores at the frontiers. Among Choctaws, these Welsh Indians were typically merchants (Doaksville, Boggy Depot, Skullyville), toll operators, inventors of exploitative land/grazing schemes, big planters, rich Indians, and slaveowners.

The greatest Welsh Indian was Robert M. Jones. Born 1808 in Mississippi to a wealthy family, he was a half-blood Choctaw who became extremely wealthy and powerful. He apprenticed with the trader Berthelet, learned Plains Indian trade and languages quickly, became a partner, and soon owned the leading establishment in Doaksville. He entered the slave and cotton business, establishing six large plantations (Rose Hill, Boggy, Root Hog, Shawnee-Town, Walnut Bayou, Lake West – the latter 5000 acres) and owning five hundred contraband slaves smuggled from Africa via the Sabine Estuary and Red River. His secret was also "owning" many Choctaw Indians through debt. He possessed mills, a sugar plantation (Louisiana), stores, steamboats, a fine house (Rose Hill) with imported furnishings and formal gardens. He built alliances by marrying into the Chickasaw first family, ensuring their chiefs were his partisans. Jones, politically liberal, slave-driving, representing white blood and political deviousness, forms one pole of the Choctaws.

The man named Six-Town, Hannali Innominee himself, represents the other pole: politically conservative, economically feudal, free-holding,

full-blood, compassionate, and chauvinistic. A section describes Hannali's physical transformation: he is no longer ugly. Time has shaped his face into something curious, intricate, interesting, deep in contour, like a "chuckling God." Visitors now find him possessing deep charm, power, and pleasant, exciting appearance, a change from earlier descriptions of him as a "bedamned spooky devil." He has gained intensity and vast inner resources.

His three sons are sent to Choctaw academies: Alinton to Spencer Academy (Oklafalaya), Famous to Fort Coffee Academy (Moshulatubbee), and Travis to Armstrong Academy (Pushmataha). The period from 1847 to 1860 is the "Great Decade" for the Innominee family, marked by prosperity, multiplied friendships, extended connections, and growing numbers. This is also a period of general prosperity for all Territory Indians; the Five Tribes recover population losses from removal, learn to farm and ranch, enjoy good weather and prices, and advance educationally, accepting the best of white culture while rejecting the worst. Famous becomes a "Territory dude" at Fort Coffee, benefiting from access to his living grandfather, Strange Choate, and his Cherokee cousins in nearby Sebastian County, Arkansas. Strange gives Famous a flamboyant buggy and fine trotters. This renews the bond between Hannali and Strange Choate, both being "Freedom Indians."

On Strange's advice, Hannali enters politics, announcing his availability for service. He is elected to the Choctaw Senate (early 1850s), later serving as congressman and then a second Senate term. He represents the minority free-stead Indian philosophy (conservative). The family becomes almost tourists, traveling extensively with Hannali: Alabaster Hills, Great Salt Plains, Wichita Mountains, Hominy Falls (Osage friends), False Washita (Caddoes), Lokar Poker Town (Creeks). They travel in four buggies and a big red wagon, an expansive family touching everything. Alinton is the first son to travel far. Like Famous, he has a second grandfather figure in the deceased Old French Shawnee Alinton DuShane. Inspired by his grandfather's dream, Alinton announces he will take a boat and trade goods up the Canadian River to the Santa Fe portage.

(Adam's apple), (Alabaster Hills), (Alinton), (Alinton DuShane),
 (Alinton Innominee), (Alligator), (America), (American), (American
 Blood), (American Soil), (Apaches), (Apuکشunubbee), (Arapahos),
 (Armstrong Academy), (Atlantis), (Barua), (Basque), (Berthelet), (Big
 Decade), (Big House), (Billy Bowlegs), (Black Dirt), (Boggy), (Boggy
 Depot), (Bolek), (Bowen), (Buffalo), (Caddoes), (Canadian River),
 (Captain Robert Jones), (Carreg), (Catherine), (Ceffyl), (Chatah),
 (Checote), (Cherokee), (Cherokees), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaw),
 (Chickasaws), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Academy), (Choctaw
 North), (Choctaw Senate), (Choctaws), (Chwi), (Civil War), (Coch),
 (Cole), (Colonel), (Columbus), (Commander), (Confederate),
 (Confederates), (Continental), (Cooper), (Creek), (Creeks), (Cryf),
 (Cwch), (Cysgu), (David Folsom), (David Payne), (Devil),
 (Doaksville), (DuShane), (English), (Falaya), (False Washita),
 (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Fat Man), (Fat Man Hannali),
 (Fiddling Bear), (Five Tribes), (Folsom), (Fort Coffee Academy), (Fort
 Gibson), (Fort Towson), (Fox), (France), (Frank Owen), (Freedom
 Indians), (French), (Gaines), (Gaines Creek), (Garland), (General
 Zachary Taylor), (George Hudson), (George S. Gaines), (George W.
 Harkins), (German), (God), (Gopher John), (Governor Henderson),
 (Great Decade), (Great Salt Plains), (Greek), (Greenwood),
 (Griffiths), (Hannali), (Hannali Innominee), (Harkins), (Hazel),
 (Hebrew), (Helen Miller), (Henderson), (Hominy Falls),
 (Homostubbee), (Hudson), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians),
 (Innominee), (Irving), (Israel, lost tribes of), (James), (James
 Henderson), (Jeff Merriwether), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jesuits), (Jim
 Pockmark), (Jo Shelby), (Joe E. Johnson), (John Garland), (John
 Morgan), (John Pitchlynn), (John Ross), (John T), (Jones), (Joseph
 Kincaid), (Jude), (Kaincaids), (Kansas), (Kiowas), (Lake West),
 (Latin), (Laughing Bull), (Laughing Fox), (LeFlore), (Levi Colbert),
 (Lincoln), (Little Wolf), (Louisiana), (Louis-Hannali), (Luvinia),
 (Luvinia Innominee), (Madoc), (Major), (Mandan), (Mandans),
 (Marie Calles), (Marie DuShane), (Marie-Therese), (Martha
 Louisiana), (Martha-Child), (Mary-Luvinia), (Matthew-
 Moshulatubbee), (Mawr), (Menominee), (Mexico), (Mingo),
 (Mingos), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Modryb), (Montaigne),
 (Morgan), (Moshulatubbee), (Moshulatubbee District), (Mule
 Doctor), (Muskogee), (Nakni), (Napoleon), (Natchez), (Ni),

(Nitakechi), (Nos), (Nueces River), (Okla Falaya), (Oklafalaya), (Old French Shawnee), (Old South), (Opothle), (Opothleyahola), (Osage), (Owen), (Pablo-Nieto), (Papa Hannali), (Pass Christian), (Pawnee), (Payne), (Pebworths), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Peter-Barua), (Phoenician), (Philip-Nitakechi), (Pike), (Pins), (Pitchlynn), (Pitchlynns), (Plains), (Plains Indians), (Pliny Fisk), (Plutarch), (Pockmark), (Polk), (President Jones), (President Polk), (Prince Madoc), (Pushmataha), (Quanah Parker), (Quapaws), (Rachel Perry), (Red River), (Reverend Isaac McCoy), (Rio Grande), (Robert Cole), (Robert Jones), (Robert M. Jones), (Robert Pike), (Roley McIntosh), (Roman), (Roman Nose Thunder), (Root Hog), (Rose Hill), (Round Mountains), (Rutherford), (S. D. Griffiths), (Sabine Estuary), (Saint Peter), (Salina), (Salt Plains), (Samuel Worchester), (San Antonio), (Santa Fe), (Santee Dakotas), (Satank), (Satanta), (Sawyer and Ficklin), (Scott), (Sebastian County), (Sedwick County), (Seminole), (Seminoles), (Senator Innominee), (Sequoyah), (Seven Bulls), (Shakespeare), (Shanghai Pierce), (Shawnee), (Shawnee-Town), (Sheridan), (Shining Mountains), (Sidney Bowen), (Silver Saddle), (Six-Town), (Skullyville), (Slave), (Slaves), (Snakes), (Songeskiton), (South), (Spanish), (Spencer Academy), (Spencer, weapon), (Spicer), (St. Louis), (St. Patrick's Church), (St. Thomas Aquinas), (St. Vrain), (Stand Watie), (Stone), (Strange), (Strange Choate), (Strange-Joseph), (Sudden Scott), (Swift), (Talking Horse), (Talking String Man), (Tandy Walker), (Tap-Sis-Li), (Taylor), (Tebot), (Ten Bears), (Tene-Angopte), (Territory), (Territory Indians), (Teton), (Texas), (Texas Road), (Thomas LeFlore), (Thomas-Academy), (Timbered Mountain), (Tonkawas), (Tories), (Toshaway), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Trof), (Tuscalusa), (Tuskahoma Council House), (U. S. Cavalry), (Union), (United States), (United States Army), (W. A. Williams), (W. N. Jones), (Walnut Bayou), (Washita), (Welsh), (Welsh Indians), (Welshmen), (Wewoka), (White Man), (Whiteman), (Whiteman Falaya), (Whitman Long), (Wichita Mountains), (William David), (William McIntosh), (Winchester Colbert), (Wolf), (Worchester), (Wynn), (Ya-Ya-Hadge), (Yahola), (Yankton), (Zachary Taylor)

Characters

Hannali rides through the country at night, reading it "like a newspaper," knowing where animals and different horse groups (Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cavalry) have passed (102). Near Gaines Creek, he senses the concentration of men and horses, catching their heat, scent, and disturbance (102). Hearing the stir of cooks and a sentry, he notes the horses are the real sentinels but passes through them easily ("Only a horse Choctaw could have gone through the horses so easily without stirring them") (103). He comes up behind the sentinel noiselessly on horseback and says, "Be you at ease... do not cry out do not turn around do not try to gun me I'd have you dead I want Whiteman Falaya" (103). When the sentinel says no man by that name is present, Hannali states Falaya must be under another name and he will wait until muster to "regretfully must kill a man of yours" (103). He notes the approaching footsteps of the sergeant, calling him "the ghost" (103). He demands the sergeant's name from the sentinel ("That is everything to me I will have his name from you easy or I will have you flat on your back and the snout of my rifle in your mouth when you say it what is his name"), learning it is "Whitman Long" (103). He confirms this is the translated name and that the man is Choctaw (103). Seeing the morning muster called, he tells the sentinel not to shoot him in the back and rides toward the files (103). He dismounts and confronts the "astonished major," saying "Pardon me break in on you like this Commander... but I have come to kill one of your men I will do it quick and then be on my way" (103-104). He identifies the man as Whitman Long, Choctaw name Whiteman Falaya (104). When the Major points out two fresh graves of Indians who complained about assaults by his soldiers, Hannali counters, "It is not fresh dirt it is last night's dirt two graves are there two Indians who are better than any men you have" (104). He demands the man for his own punishing: "give the man to me now and I kill him" (104). Challenged by the Major about facing two hundred men, Hannali replies, "All at once or one at a time I try it I want that man" (104). Told he has five minutes to leave or be hanged, Hannali asks softly, "Who have a watch" (104). He stands with hands in pockets gazing at the Major's gold watch laid on a stump (104-105). Only Hannali can see the watch, and his presence steals the game as the men lose their edge and fall into frustrated waiting (105). He announces, "Five minutes go" (105). After a pause where the Major

doesn't act, Hannali says heavily, "Five minutes a little bit more" (105). After another while, he says, "Five minutes quite a bit more," spits on the watch, seems to wake with a start, shakes his head in bafflement, and smashes his fist into his palm loudly (105). "Today I have lost God give me another day," he says, turning wearily to his horse (105). With his foot in the stirrup, he announces sullenly, "That man have tricked me... I know something have changed and I do not understand it that man is no longer in your camp... he has slip away while I played a boy's game with boys I am a fool not to know what it meant when his scent was gone he is nine miles gone now and he is the man that nobody is able to track I will have him one day today I have miss him" (105). Pausing before mounting, he announces to the soldiers, "This bull will still toss... this bear will still smash the dogs what I say stands I take you all at once or one at a time which man make move" (106). He gazes at them from his powerful face; no man moves, and he mounts slowly and walks his horse out of camp, "eaten up with frustration" (106). He is identified later by his given name, Six-Town, representing the politically conservative, economically feudal, free-holding, full-blood, compassionate, chauvinistic pole of the Choctaws, contrasting with Robert M. Jones (109). Later, it is noted that "there came a day when Hannali Innominee was no longer ugly of face," his great bulk having formed into something "curious, so intricate, so interesting," like the "figurine of some chuckling God" (109). He now has "deep charm and power, and of most pleasant and exciting appearance," having come onto a "certain intensity of life and vast inner resources" (109).

Alinton (Innominee): One of Hannali's sons (109).

Berthelet: A French-Canadian trader who took Robert M. Jones as an apprentice and later full partner in Doaksville; the company surpassed Doaks and Timms Mercantile (108). Berthelet "soon passed from the picture" (108).

Bowen, Sidney: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Cole, Robert: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

David, William: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Falaya, Whiteman: The man Hannali seeks at the army camp (103). Hannali learns he is there under the alias "Whitman Long" (103). He escapes while Hannali confronts the Major; Hannali realizes he is gone when his scent disappears (105).

Famous (Innominee): One of Hannali's sons (109).

Folsom, David: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Gaines, George S.: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Garland, John: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Griffiths, S. D.: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Harkins, George W.: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Hudson, George: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Jones, Robert M.: Named as the greatest of the Welsh Indians among Choctaws, the richest man in the Territory (107). Born 1808 in Mississippi to a wealthy family, a half-blood Choctaw (107). Apprenticed with Berthelet, became partner, then owner of the leading store in Doaksville, with a monopoly on Plains Indian trade (108). Entered slave and cotton business; owned six large plantations (Rose Hill, Boggy, Root Hog, Shawnee-Town, Walnut Bayou, Lake West) by the Civil War (108). Owned five hundred contraband slaves from Africa (108). Secret to success was owning "many of the Choctaw Indians more completely than he owned his own Negroes" through wealth and methods (108). Owned stores in Skullyville and Boggy Depot, steamboats, a sugar plantation, a great house at Rose Hill (108). Married into the first family of the Chickasaws, making their chiefs his partisans (108). His weight would tip the balance toward destruction for the Five Tribes (109). Represents the pole of Choctaws that is politically liberal, devoted to exploding economy, slave-driving,

white blood, politically devious, selfish, shriveled - the "men of Falaya" Hannali called sterile (109).

Jones, W. N.: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Kincaids: Listed as a family carrying Welsh blood among Choctaws (107).

Lincoln, Abraham: Quoted: "every man over age thirty is responsible for his face" (109).

Major (Unnamed): Commander of the volunteer army camp Hannali rides into (103). Is astonished when Hannali confronts him demanding to kill one of his men (103-104). He doesn't remain astonished long, asking "Any particular man you have in mind?" (104). He calls Hannali "you bleeding Indian" and "two of a kind" with Whiteman Falaya (104). He points out two fresh graves of Indians his men killed the previous night (104). He refuses Hannali's demand, shows him a noose and hanging tree, calls him "bullhead," "mouth soldier," "offal-faced ogre," "rot-headed fool," and "crock-headed Choc" (104). He gives Hannali five minutes to leave or be hanged (104). He takes out a fine gold watch and lays it on a stump (104). He chews his moustaches seriously while waiting, playing poker with Hannali's presence (105). His Adam's apple bobbles, but he voices no order when the five minutes are up (105). He appears nervous as Hannali calls more time (105). He does not react when Hannali spits on the watch (105).

Morgan, John: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Owen, Frank: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Pebworths: Listed as a family carrying Welsh blood among Choctaws (107).

Pitchlynns: Listed as a family carrying Welsh blood among Choctaws (107).

Sentinel (Unnamed): US Army soldier challenged by Hannali (103). He croaks that no man named Whiteman Falaya is there (103). He threatens Hannali ("Blink once, and I'll have you off that horse") but doesn't act (103). He reveals the sergeant's alias is Whitman Long when pressed by Hannali (103). He states Whitman Long is Indian (103). He calls Hannali "you old bull" but doesn't believe a shot would stop him (103).

Sergeant (Unnamed): His footsteps are heard by Hannali approaching the sentinel (103). Hannali calls him "the ghost" as his footsteps cease upon departure (103). He is identified by the sentinel as Whitman Long, alias of Whiteman Falaya (103).

Six-Town: Hannali's given name, used to identify him as representing the conservative Choctaw pole (109).

Travis (Innominee): One of Hannali's sons (109).

Whiteman Falaya: See Falaya, Whiteman.

Whitman Long: Alias used by Whiteman Falaya while with the army troop (103). Identified by the sentinel as Indian (103).

Williams, W. A.: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Wynn, F. G.: Listed as a Choctaw who carried Welsh blood (107).

Outline

X. Chapter Ten: Confrontations, Contrasts, and the Big Decade

1. Pursuit and Confrontation at Dawn

- A. Hannali's Tracking: Senses described as "almost too Indian to be true," acute sensing perhaps crossing into intuition. Read the country "like a newspaper," identifying tracks (deer, cattle, horse types - Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, U.S. Cavalry). Knew John T had watched cavalry pass.
- B. Closing In: Neared Gaines Creek, sensed heat/scent/disturbance

of men and horses.

- C. Camp Infiltration: Heard predawn cooks, sentry. Identified horses as real sentinels. Moved through horses without stirring them ("Only a horse Choctaw could have gone through..."). Troops identified as rough volunteers, not reluctant recruits.
- D. Encounter with Sentry: Approached noiselessly from behind.
 - a. Hannali's Demand (Quote): "Be you at ease... do not cry out... I want Whiteman Falaya."
 - b. Sentry's Denial: "We've no man named that."
 - c. Hannali's Insistence: Claims man is under another name, will wait for muster, must kill him.
 - d. Sentry's Threat/Observation: Threatens Hannali, mentions killing two Indians previous night. Notes Hannali's lack of fear. Hannali observes ghost-like sergeant approaching/departing. Extracts sergeant's alias: "Whitman Long." Identifies him as Choctaw Indian.
- E. Confronting the Major: Rode to muster files, dismounted, bulked up to astonished major.
 - a. Hannali's Statement (Quote): "Pardon me break in on you like this Commander... but I have come to kill one of your men I will do it quick and then be on my way."
 - b. Major's Reaction: Initial astonishment brief. Asks for man. Hannali names Whitman Long / Whiteman Falaya.
 - c. Major's Taunt: Suggests pitting Hannali and Whiteman in a pit ("You're two of a kind"). Points to fresh graves of two Indians killed previous night ("sniveling Indians... silly stories... There is their answer.").
 - d. Escalation: Hannali demands man for his own punishment. Major shows noose, points to hanging tree. Hannali dismisses threat ("You waste my time mouth soldier"). Major boasts of 200 men. Hannali challenges ("All at once or one at a time... I want that man."). Major threatens hanging within five minutes.¹¹⁰
- F. The Bluff: Hannali softly asks, "Who have a watch." Major places fine gold watch on stump.

¹¹⁰ Choctaw justice traditionally involved execution by rifle for murder; hanging was abhorrent. Swanton, *Source Material*: 104–108.

- a. The Standoff: Dozen men level rifles. Three ready noose/line. Lieutenant checks tree. Time runs. Major chews moustache. Hannali steals game by presence; only he sees watch. Men lose edge in frustration. Only sound is horse hobbles.
- b. Countdown: Hannali announces "Five minutes go." Major's Adam's apple bobbles, no order given. Ripple through men, no action. Hannali continues gazing at watch. Announces "Five minutes a little bit more." Men nervous. Announces "Five minutes quite a bit more." Spits on watch. Seems to wake with start.
- G. Whiteman's Escape: Hannali shakes head in bafflement, smashes fist into palm (echoes).
 - a. Hannali's Realization (Quote): "Today I have lost God give me another day." Walks wearily to horse. Announces being tricked, man no longer in camp/uniform, possibly in Creek turban/Pawnee hat. Scent gone. "he is nine miles gone now and he is the man that nobody is able to track I will have him one day today I have miss him."
- H. Hannali's Parting Challenge: Pauses before mounting.
 - a. Quote: "This bull will still toss... this bear will still smash the dogs what I say stands I take you all at once or one at a time which man make move."
 - b. Result: Gazes powerfully, no one moves. Mounts slowly, walks horse out "eaten up with frustration."
- 2. Welsh Indians and the Other Pole: Robert Jones**
 - A. The "Welsh Indian" Concept: Refers to extensive literature connecting Indians to Lost Tribes, Atlantis, or Welsh (Prince Madoc theory: pre-Columbian arrival, intermarriage, linguistic traces). Author dismisses pre-Columbian link but affirms early colonial Welsh influence, particularly among Choctaws.
 - a. Analogy: Cherokees mixed English/Ulsterman, Creeks Scottish, Choctaws Welsh. Reason for Welsh prevalence unknown.
 - b. List of Welsh-Choctaw Names: Robert Cole, Robert M. Jones, George W. Harkins, Sidney Bowen, David Folsom, John Morgan, George S. Gaines, etc., including Pitchlynn's, Kincaids, Pebworths, etc.
 - c. Welsh Traits Noted: Canny, stubborn, often found running

stores at frontiers.

- d. Role among Choctaws: Merchants (Doaksville, Boggy, Skullyville), lighter complexioned, set up tolls, invented land/payment schemes (leased land, ghost rolls, grazing fees). Big planters, rich, slaveowners.

B. Robert M. Jones: Profiled as greatest Welsh-Choctaw.¹¹¹

- a. Status: Richest man in Territory, one of richest in country. Represents one "pole" of Choctaws.¹¹²
- b. Background: Half-blood Choctaw, born Mississippi 1808, wealthy family. Became exceptionally "smart."
- c. Rise: Apprenticed with French-Canadian trader Berthelet, learned Plains trade/languages in one year. Became partner, surpassed rivals, owned store. Held monopoly on Plains trade/influence.
- d. Wealth: Acquired credit, entered slave/cotton business. Six large plantations (Rose Hill, Boggy, Root Hog, Shawnee-Town, Walnut Bayou, Lake West - 5000 acres). Owned 500 slaves (contraband from Africa). Secret to success: "owned" Choctaws

¹¹¹ Robert M. Jones (1808–1873), of mixed Welsh/Choctaw descent, was an extremely wealthy planter, slave owner (owning five hundred slaves), and influential politician who became a Confederate delegate. His economic power, derived from agriculture, trade (including as a money lender), and extensive land holdings (e.g., Rose Hill plantation, steamboats), enabled him to exert significant political influence, often overriding opposition and pushing the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations toward the Confederacy. Abel describes him as "the richest man in the Territory" and notes his power: "Jones held no office... He owned five hundred Negro slaves, but he owned many more Choctaws than that" (*Reconstruction*: 107-108, 135). His role and influence reflect historical parallels to mythic archetypes of powerful figures. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, 107–109, and *And Still the Waters Run*: 16–17, 32–33; Swanton, *Source Material*, 89, 96, 107, 135; McReynolds, *Oklahoma* : 171, 202, 205, 228; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 48, 53, 65, 79, 108, 135, 137; Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 14–18, 63, 152

¹¹² Abel describes Jones as perhaps the most influential figure among the Choctaw secessionists due to his immense wealth and control: "He was the richest man in the Territory, and one of the really rich men in the whole country." Abel notes his extensive land holdings, ownership of five hundred slaves, and his assertion of power: "Jones held no office, was not a delegate, did not need any office. He owned five hundred Negro slaves, but he owned many more Choctaws than that. He was a great money lender . . . Jones reminded them on the floor of the assembly that they all owed him for the very finery they wore . . ." Abel, *Reconstruction*: 107-108, 135.

via wealth/methods more than slaves. Great money lender, exploited luxury tastes. Owned most delegates via debt. Had powerful Texas backing.

e. Holdings: Mill/sugar plantation (LA), stores, steamboats, grand house at Rose Hill (imported furnishings, English gardens).

f. Alliances: Married into Chickasaw first family (Colberts); chiefs became his partisans.

g. Significance: His weight tipped balance to wrong choice (Confederacy), leading to Five Tribes' destruction.

h. Characterization: Politically liberal, driven, slave-driving, white-blooded, devious, selfish, shriveled. Represents the "Falaya" pole Hannali distrusted ("drunk mules' milk and are sterile").

C. The Contrast: Robert M. Jones juxtaposed with "the man with the given name of Six-Town, Hannali Innominee himself" – politically conservative, economically feudal, freeholding, full blood, compassionate, chauvinistic, representing the "other pole."¹¹³

3. The Transformation and the Big Decade

A. Hannali's Changed Appearance: No longer ugly. Face/bulk formed into "curious, so intricate, so interesting" topography. Looked like "chuckling God" figurine (not ugly one). Possessed deep charm, power, pleasant/exciting appearance. Acquired "intensity of life and vast inner resources."

B. The Great Decade (approx. 1847-1860): Sons sent to Choctaw academies (Alinton to Spencer/Oklafalaya, Famous to Fort Coffee/Moshulatubbee, Travis to Armstrong/Pushmataha).¹¹⁴ Family multiplied friendships, connections, numbers. Hannali prospered. Period of prosperity for all Territory Indians (population recovered, farming/ranching

¹¹³ Hannali, as Six-Town, represents the traditional, full-blood, land-holding Choctaw perspective (often associated with Okla Hannali district or Moshulatubbee district values), contrasting sharply with the assimilated, slave-owning, commercially oriented Robert Jones. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 108–109, 111; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 18, 20, 25, 72; Swanton, *Source Material*: 4, 56–57, 107; Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 14–18, 63, 152.

¹¹⁴ Spencer, Fort Coffee, and Armstrong Academies were prominent Choctaw schools established post-removal. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 60, 61, 238; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 169, 177, 200; Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 104–5, 109.

learned, prices/weather good, education advanced, selectively adopting white ways).¹¹⁵

- C. Famous Innominee's Development: Became "Territory dude" at Fort Coffee. Had advantage of living grandfather (Strange Choate), access to Cherokee family/holdings (Sebastian Co., AR).¹¹⁶ Received flamboyant buggy/trotters from Strange. Smoothed by Cherokee cousins. Cemented Hannali-Strange friendship.
- D. Strange Choate's Beliefs: Cherokee, full-blood faction. Views similar to Hannali's, more developed. Both became "Freedom Indians." Each knew other stood firm.
- E. Hannali's Political Life: Entered politics on Strange's advice. Announced availability, pleased when chosen. Became Choctaw Senator (first time early 1850s), later Congressman, then Senator again. Held minority (free-stead, conservative) views.
- F. Family Travels: Became "almost tourists" (Hannali's love of travel). Visited Alabaster Hills, Great Salt Plains, Wichita Mtns. Consorted with Osages (Hominy Falls), Caddoes (False Washita), Creeks (Lokar Poker Town). Family described as "expansive... begun to seep and vary."
- G. Alinton's Journey: First son to travel far. Had second grandfather (deceased French Shawnee Alinton DuShane). Reverted to grandfather's dream: take boat/trade goods up Canadian River to Santa Fe portage.

¹¹⁵ The "Great Decade" (c. 1847–60) represents a period of relative peace and recovery before the Civil War. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 105, 108, 135.

¹¹⁶ Strange Choate (c. 1795–c. 1875) was a historical figure, a prominent Old Settler Cherokee. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 199, 203.



Chapter Eleven

Overview

Chapter 11 begins with the allegorical story of Pickens, a naive "green" Indian trader repeatedly outsmarted and plundered by Kiowa, Caddo, Cheyenne, Pawnee, Comanche, and Anadarko Indians, illustrating the cleverness of Plains tribes. The novel then follows Alinton Innominee's journey up the Canadian River; discovering its impracticality for boat trade due to the vast plains, he continues overland for adventure, reaching Santa Fe and then California during the Gold Rush. Jemmy Buster, a part-Choctaw Texan, arrives at Hannali House sick and depleted, is taken in, and later accompanied north by Famous Innominee, who returns with wealth (a Durham bull) and a wife, Helen Miller. This initiates the Innominee "Big Decade" of prosperity, marked by the marriages of Hannali's children and the births of many grandchildren, though shadowed by the ongoing threat of Whiteman Falaya.

Summary

The chapter starts by relating the cautionary tale of Pickens, a "green" Indian—identified variously as Cherokee, Creek, or Choctaw depending on the storyteller—who naively tries to trade with prairie and Plains Indians. Pickens gives a Kiowa soap as a gift; the Kiowa

eats it. He trades odd articles for beaver pelts, only to find the Kiowas have tricked him by stealing and re-trading the same three pelts. Distracted by a cry of "green buffalo," his pelts are stolen again; the Kiowas jest it must have been a "green Indian." Pickens then encounters Caddo Indians; one takes multiple bundles of goods as gifts for himself and two wives, along with a mule. Others take the rest of his goods and mules, leaving him destitute. Cheyennes then strip him of his corn, water, shirt, hat, trousers, loincloth, and finally his shoes, leaving him to die. A Pawnee cuts meat from Pickens' metaphorical bones for his dog. A Comanche breaks and collects the bones for soup. An Anadarko captures his soul in a sack. The story illustrates the cleverness of Plains Indians. Alinton Innominee, having heard such stories, recognizes the pattern when Plains Indians greet new traders as "Pickens, the green Indian."

Alinton Innominee undertakes his trading trip up the Canadian River. After three days, he realizes his father Hannali was correct: boat trade is impractical. The landscape changes to vast, flat plains west of the eastern mountains, making overland travel far easier than poling upriver. Alinton and his companions give away most boats, keep one small one, and continue west by river for adventure. Alinton compares his father's map to a United States Government map and finds the government version flawed due to confusing the Canadian River with the Red River. The true Red River disperses farther east, while the Canadian extends much farther west, resembling the lower Red River in its treeless terrain. Alinton's party faces rough kidding from Plains Indians, mistaking it for mortal danger. In New Mexico, they push their last boat high into the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, pack their cargo, and make the difficult twenty-hour portage to Santa Fe. Arriving in early 1848, they learn of the gold discovery and head west via the California Road. This becomes Alinton's extended "wandering year."

Jemmy Buster, a tow-headed Texan cattle drover who is part Choctaw, comes up the Texas Road and arrives at Hannali House in 1848. He is sick, and his herd has been reduced by Indian seizures and passage fees. Hannali welcomes him because he speaks Choctaw. Jemmy recovers over a week but develops another "sickness" (implied

romantic interest). Famous Innominee, the "Territory dude," agrees to accompany Jemmy north to help him navigate the territory. They drive the cattle deep into Kansas, selling steers, then follow the Little Osage River into Missouri, selling the last of the herd. Famous returns not empty-handed; he brings an expensive Durham bull and a wife, Helen Miller. Hannali remarks humorously on the trade. This marks the beginning of the Innominee family's period of growth and prosperity, the "great harvest" or "Big Decade."

Events occur rapidly: Jemmy Buster holds a pledge wedding with Hazel Innominee, and they go into the cattle business. In 1850, Travis Innominee takes Rachel Perry, a Creek Indian, as his pledge wife. Luvinia Innominee joins with Forbis Agent, an itinerant preacher and bookman. Sally Innominee becomes withdrawn during these years, attributing it to visits from Whiteman Falaya as a ghost or devil. Alinton Innominee returns from his wandering year, wealthy, and with a wife, Marie Calles. He invests in a store in North Fork Town, convincing Hannali to close his own store. Alinton takes over the landing, manages freight boating, invests in his brothers' enterprises (Travis's farming, Famous's stock raising), and helps Forbis Agent build a house. An old account book lists the grandchildren born to Hannali Innominee during this time: James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Bartholome, and Philip-Nitakechi (to Jemmy and Hazel); John-Durham, Famous-George, Francis-Mingo, and Strange-Joseph (to Famous and Helen); Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, and Matthew-Moshulatubbee (to Travis and Rachel); Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory-Pitchlynn, and Anne-Chapponia (to Forbis and Luvinia); Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena (to Alinton and Marie). The list totals twenty-one, but Lafferty notes one grandchild is missing from this copied record. The prosperity is shadowed only by the "suppressed nightmare" of Whiteman Falaya and the potential danger if more men like him appear.

(Alinton Innominee), (Anadarko), (Anne-Chapponia), (Arapaho), (Arkansas), (Bartholome), (Big Decade), (Caddo Indians), (Caddoes), (California Road), (Canadian River), (Charles-Mexico), (Cherokee), (Cheyenne), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaws), (Chippewa), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Christian), (Cimarron), (Comanche), (Comanches),

(Creek), (Creeks), (Durham), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Famous-George), (Forbis Agent), (Francis-Mingo), (French), (Gregory-Pitchlynn), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Hazel Innominee), (Helen Miller), (Helena), (Henry-Pushmataha), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (James), (Jemmy Buster), (John-Durham), (Jude), (Kansas), (Kiowa), (Kiowas), (Little Osage River), (Louis-Hannali), (Luvinia Innominee), (Marie Calles), (Marie-Therese), (Martha-Child), (Mary-Luvinia), (Matthew-Moshulatubbee), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (New Mexico), (North Fork Town), (Pablo-Nieto), (Pawnee), (Peter-Barua), (Philip-Nitakechi), (Pickens), (Plains Indians), (Rachel Perry), (Red River), (Salina), (Sally Innominee), (Sangre de Cristo Mountains), (Santa Fe), (Shawnee), (Six-Town), (Strange-Joseph), (Territory), (Texan), (Texas), (Texas Road), (Travis Innominee), (United States Government), (Whiteman Falaya)

Characters

Alinton Innominee attempts the trading trip up the Canadian River despite his father Hannali having told him it was impractical (115). He intends to go to Santa Fe for adventure, if not profit (115). On the third day, he and his companions see why it's impractical: the country opens into flatlands, a "good level road, one thousand miles wide," making overland travel much easier than poling a boat (115). They give away all but one small boat (115). Alinton possesses a map drawn by Hannali and a US Government map, noting the government one is wrong about the extent of the Canadian River versus the Red River (115). He is pleased "to take a trade boat over three hundred miles of dry land according to the government map" (116). During the journey, he and his party believe themselves in mortal danger several times due to the "rough kidding" and hazing by Plains Indians (116). In New Mexico, they push their last boat high into the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, make packs of cargo, and undertake the hard, twenty-four-hour portage to Santa Fe (116). Arriving in early 1848, they learn of gold, buy wagons and mules, and take the California Road (116). This constitutes Alinton's "wandering year," extending beyond a year, becoming the source for his future stories and lies (116). He finally returns from this journey, having acquired a wife, Marie Calles, and

having "returned rich" (though whether truly rich or just "Choctaw rich" is uncertain) (119). He makes a "great splash" with his money initially but seems too good a boy to sustain it; there are hints of his funds dwindling, though he never hits bottom (119). He buys into a store in North Fork Town and convinces Hannali to close his own store (119). Alinton takes over the landing and maintains the remaining freight boat business (119). He invests money in his brother Travis's farming and his brother Famous's stock raising (119). He helps his brother-in-law Forbis Agent build his house and is suspected of aiding in Forbis's support; Alinton is "something of a bookman himself" (119). His children with Marie Calles are Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena (119). He is mentioned by the ghost of Robert Pike telling a story about Pickens the Green Indian (149). (Relevant from Chapter 8: Alinton is Hannali's son by Marie DuShane).

Agent, Forbis: Is joined by his wife Luvinia Innominee in 1850 (118). He is an itinerant preacher and bookman; his first impediment (unclear what) was removed by Marie DuShane's instruction, the second (also unclear) remained but wasn't a serious drawback (118). He "could work, as much as was needed, for other members of the family" and still be a bookman (118). Alinton Innominee helps him build his house and likely aids in his support (119). His children with Luvinia are Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory-Pitchlynn, and Anne-Chapponia (119).

Buster, Jemmy: A young, tow-headed Texan cattle drover, part Choctaw, who arrives at Hannali House via the Texas Road in 1848 (117). He appears as a "white boy on the outside" (117). He is sick, his herd is diminished (partly by Indians taking passage payment), and he needs hospitality, having heard of Hannali's generosity (117). He stammers in Choctaw, and Hannali "practically adopted him on the spot" (117). He stays a week, recovers from his sickness, and acquires "another sickness" (love) (117). Famous Innominee agrees to accompany him north through the Territory (117). They become close friends (117). He enters the cattle business "in a large way" with Famous after holding a pledge wedding with Hazel Innominee (118).

His children with Hazel are James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Bartholome, and Philip-Nitakechi (119).

Calles, Marie: Alinton Innominee's wife, whom he brings back from his wandering year (119). Her children with Alinton are Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena (119).

Famous Innominee: Solves Jemmy Buster's problem about traveling north by agreeing to accompany him (117). He is the "Territory dude" (117). He had been jealous of Alinton's journey (117). He becomes close friends with Jemmy (117). He says they need give no steers to the Cherokees as passage payment (118). After selling the steers in Missouri, he lingers three weeks against Jemmy's urging (118). He returns with an "amazing Durham bull" worth a thousand dollars and a wife, Helen Miller (118). Hannali jokes about the number of pigs Famous acquired, but Famous doesn't understand the humor (118). He enters the cattle business with Jemmy Buster (118). His children with Helen Miller are John-Durham, Famous-George, Francis-Mingo, and Strange-Joseph (119).

Green Indian (Pickens): A naive trader (Cherokee/Creek/Choctaw) who is the subject of cautionary tales (112). He trades odd items (soap, grindstone, fake Cherokee salt, pecan shells, broken pot, left-handed glove, butter dasher, doll, lead soldier) to Kiowas for beaver pelts, only to have the pelts stolen and traded back to him (113). Duped by a "green buffalo" sighting, his last three pelts are stolen (113). Caddoes take bundles of goods as gifts for multiple wives and then take his mules (113). Cheyennes take his corn, water, shirt, hat, trousers, clout, and shoes, leaving him naked (114). A Pawnee cuts meat off his bones (114). A Comanche takes his bones for soup (114). An Anadarko catches his soul (114). Alinton Innominee heard these stories from Hannali (114).

Hannali Innominee: Tells Alinton the Canadian River trade route is impractical (115). Provides Alinton with a hand-drawn map (115). His claim that the Canadian could be navigated to within a day's portage of Santa Fe is recalled (116). Adopts Jemmy Buster "on the spot" after Jemmy stutters in Choctaw (117). Tells Famous he has done well

bringing back the bull and Helen Miller, joking about pigs (118). His closing of his own store is mentioned (119). Had twenty-one grandchildren by the time troubles began (119).

Hazel Innominee: Has a pledge wedding with Jemmy Buster (118). Her children with Jemmy are James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Bartholome, and Philip-Nitakechi (119).

Helen Miller: Wife brought back from Missouri by Famous Innominee; her value is called "incalculable" (118). Her children with Famous are John-Durham, Famous-George, Francis-Mingo, and Strange-Joseph (119).

Indian (Unnamed Caddo): Takes bundles of goods from Pickens as gifts for his wives, then demands and takes a mule to carry them (113).

Indian (Unnamed Cheyenne): Tells Pickens a man without basic necessities isn't going far and doesn't need shoes, then takes Pickens' shoes (114).

Indian (Unnamed Comanche): Takes Pickens' bones to make soup for his wives (114).

Indian (Unnamed Kiowa): Given soap by Pickens, begins to eat it, saying "you should see what we eat at home" (113). Later yells about a "green buffalo," causing Pickens to run up a hill (113). Then remarks, "I think it was a green Indian" (113).

Indian (Unnamed Pawnee): Cuts meat from Pickens' bones to feed his dog (114).

Luvinia Innominee: Is joined to Forbis Agent in 1850 (118). Her children with Forbis are Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory-Pitchlynn, and Anne-Chapponia (119).

Miller, Helen: See Helen Miller.

Perry, Rachel: Of the Creek Indians, taken by Travis Innominee as his pledge wife in 1850 (118). Her children with Travis are Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, and Matthew-Moshulatubbee (119).

Pickens: See Green Indian.

Rachel Perry: See Perry, Rachel.

Sally Innominee: Has become indrawn; Whiteman Falaya visited her again, but she said "he came as a ghost or devil and not as a man" (118).

Travis Innominee: Takes Rachel Perry (Creek) as his pledge wife in 1850 (118). His children with Rachel are Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, and Matthew-Moshulatubbee (119).

Whiteman Falaya: Visits Sally Innominee again, appearing as a "ghost or devil" (118).

Outline

XI. Chapter Eleven: Green Indians, Grand Journeys, and Growing Clans

1. About Green Indians and the Road West

- A. The Tale of Pickens: Introduced as a "green Indian."¹¹⁷
 - a. Identity: Cherokee (per Creeks), Creek (per Choctaws), Choctaw (per Chickasaws). None claim him.
 - b. The Venture: Got goods, nine pack animals, went to trade with prairie/Plains Indians. Knew some basics (parley gifts, trade terms, demands like beaver/fox pelts, accepting coupons, buying bear grease). Knew how to deal with "ignorant brush

¹¹⁷ The humorous tales surrounding the "green Indian" Pickens and his misfortunes with Plains tribes employ exaggeration and trickery reminiscent of the Rabbit (*Tcokfi*) cycle prevalent in Southeastern folklore. Pickens, like Rabbit in many tales, is outsmarted through his own assumptions and the cleverness of others, highlighting themes of wit and foolishness in intergroup encounters. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 42–73, 107–114. 24.

- and Plains Indians" (ironic).¹¹⁸
- c. Kiowa Encounter: Gave soap as parley gift; Kiowa ate it. Traded more soap, grindstone, fake Cherokee salt (pecan shells), broken chamber pot, left-handed glove for three beaver pelts *each*. Believed he had 3000 pelts, found only three (stolen and traded). Chased "green buffalo" (trick), last pelts stolen. Conclusion: Pickens was the "green Indian."
 - d. Caddo Encounter: First Caddo took bundle (parley gift), second (wife gift), third (second wife gift). Pickens protested. Caddo took mule for bundles. Other Caddoes took remaining bundles/mules. Pickens left destitute.
 - e. Cheyenne Encounter: Asked for parley gifts. Took Pickens' corn sack, water jug, shirt, hat, trousers, clout, shoes. Justification: man without necessities won't go far, doesn't need shoes. Left him naked.
 - f. Pawnee Encounter: Took meat from Pickens' bones for dog.
 - g. Comanche Encounter: Took bones for soup.
 - h. Anadarko Encounter: Caught Pickens' soul in deer-stomach sack.¹¹⁹
 - i. Story's Truth: Presented as true examples of Plains Indians' cunning. Alinton Innominee heard these from his father; grinned when Plains Indians called *him* "Pickens, the green Indian."
- B. Alinton Innominee's Journey Up the Canadian¹²⁰:
- a. Motivation: Took three days to realize father Hannali was right about impracticality of river trade. Continued for

¹¹⁸ Lafferty's "Pickens" tale humorously illustrates the dangers and cultural misunderstandings inherent in trade between Southeastern tribes and Plains groups. Swanton notes Choctaw trade extended widely, including interactions with Plains Indians where political influence and trade monopolies were significant factors. Swanton, *Source Material*: 108.

¹¹⁹ The Choctaw concept of the soul (*shilup*) and its potential separation or capture, as humorously depicted in the Anadarko's "soul sack," reflects complex spiritual beliefs. *Ibid.*, 216–217.

¹²⁰ Alinton Innominee's journey up the Canadian River into unfamiliar territory evokes motifs of exploration and encounters with unknown lands or peoples found in some migration legends or hero tales. While Alinton's journey is historical, the sense of adventure and the crossing into different domains parallels mythic journeys documented by Swanton, *Myths and Tales*.

adventure, not profit.

- b. Impracticality Explained: Wagon/mule trade better established. Old French boat trade beaten. Compared to easy river trade elsewhere. Third day, saw plains ("good level road, one thousand miles wide") making land travel far easier than poling boat up Canadian River. The Canadian River was not practical.¹²¹
 - c. Adaptation: Gave away all boats but one small one. Got little for merchandise. Continued west by river for adventure.
 - d. Map Discrepancy: Alinton had Hannali's map and US Govt map; government map wrong (mappers hadn't visited, confused names).¹²²
 - i. Clarification: Red River (into Mississippi) distinct from Red River (in Spanish NM). Govt map conflated them. True Red River branches out, doesn't go far west. Canadian goes 300 miles farther west than govt map showed.¹²³ Upper Canadian *looks* like lower Red River (treeless, flat), unlike lower Canadian (woodland).
 - e. Alinton's Amusement: Pleased "to take a trade boat over three hundred miles of dry land according to the government map."
- C. Hazings and Hardships: Party often felt in mortal danger. Indians (civilized, wild, feral) are "born kidders." Plains hunters loved spooking boys. Apparent arrogance/boorishness often rough

¹²¹ While early French traders may have used rivers like the Canadian for exploration, large-scale freighting or regular travel far up its western reaches by boat was generally impractical compared to overland routes like the Santa Fe Trail, especially after the mid-19th century. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 20, 71. Alinton DuShane's journey follows the Canadian River, historically a significant waterway but ultimately impractical for heavy freight compared to overland routes developing at the time; Foreman details the extensive river networks used during removal, but also the reliance on overland travel and the challenges of navigating rivers like the Arkansas and its tributaries. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 33, 40, 60, 163.

¹²² The Canadian River, often confused with the Red River by early mapmakers, formed a significant geographical boundary within Indian Territory, separating the Creek and Seminole lands to the north from the Choctaw and Chickasaw lands to the south. Its course was relevant to travel and settlement patterns.

¹²³ Lafferty correctly identifies the Canadian River as the major east-west river north of the Red River in this region, contrasting with inaccurate contemporary maps. Swanton, *Source Material*: Plate 3

kidding, initiations.¹²⁴ Sometimes visitors died, but "not often."

D. Reaching the Terminus:

- a. New Mexico: Pushed last boat near top of Sangre de Cristo Mountains (boats floated on mirage/dew). Made packs, undertook portage to Santa Fe.¹²⁵ Confirmed Hannali's claim of one-day portage possibility (a "hard twenty-hour-long day").
- b. Santa Fe (Early 1848): End of line? No. Word of California gold had arrived.
- c. California Bound: Boys bought wagons, mules, took California Road for gold.¹²⁶

E. Alinton's Wandering Year: Extended beyond a year. Considered his "property," source of future stories/lies, not for close scrutiny. His "mother lode."

2. Tow-headed Choctaw, Durham Bull, and Domesticity

- A. Jemmy Buster's Arrival (1848): Young cattle drover, tow-headed Texan, part Choctaw.¹²⁷ Rode up Texas Road to Hannali House. White outside; Hannali moved to give short welcome (suspicious

¹²⁴ Plains Indian cultures often included elaborate practical jokes or hazing rituals ("kidding") as part of social interaction, sometimes misinterpreted by outsiders. Swanton notes interactions between Choctaw and Plains groups, though not this cultural trait. Swanton, *Source Material*: 108.

¹²⁵ While trade occurred between the Five Tribes and the Santa Fe region, Foreman does not describe the Canadian River as the primary water route used in this way by Choctaws post-removal; his focus is more on overland trails and trade dynamics. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*.

¹²⁶ The California Road, running southwest from near Fort Gibson/Three Forks across Indian Territory toward the Red River, became a significant emigrant trail, particularly after the discovery of gold in 1848. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 178, 270. 22. The California Road became a major westward route after the 1849 Gold Rush, often overlapping sections of the older Texas Road and Santa Fe Trail that passed near or through Indian Territory. The California Road, a significant overland route for emigrants, passed through parts of Indian Territory. Foreman details the impact of such trails on the tribes, including trade opportunities and conflicts arising from the influx of travelers. *Ibid.*, 112.

¹²⁷ Jemmy Buster represents the common occurrence of mixed Euro-American and Choctaw ancestry within the Choctaw Nation. Swanton frequently discusses individuals and families of mixed descent and their roles. Swanton, *Source Material*: 89, 96, 107.

of disreputable whites/rustlers).¹²⁸

- B. Jemmy's Situation: Heard of Hannali's reputation (cantankerous but hospitable). Sick, herd in bad shape (Indians seized 50 steers, others taken as "passage payment" - Jemmy protested "One steer is too much," Indian mocked driving half a steer).¹²⁹ Lost confidence, feared continuing north. Stuttered greeting in Choctaw.¹³⁰
- C. Hannali's Reception: "Practically adopted him on the spot." Jemmy became first addition to Innominee expansion.¹³¹
- D. Recovery at Hannali House: Stayed a week. Herd recovered on good grass. Jemmy cured of sickness, acquired "another sickness, but a more pleasant one."
- E. Famous Innominee's Intervention: Jemmy's travel problem solved by Famous ("Territory dude"). Famous, somewhat jealous of Alinton's journey, agreed to accompany Jemmy north. Became close friends. Famous (Cherokee/Choctaw) asserted no steers needed for Cherokee passage. Went up Osage Trace/East Shawnee Trail/Texas Road.
- F. The Northern Drive: Deep into Kansas, sold steers to feeders. Followed Little Osage River into Missouri, sold last steers. Lingered three weeks despite Jemmy's urging.
- G. Famous's Return: Came back with:
 - a. Amazing Durham bull (worth \$1000 American).¹³²

¹²⁸ Jemmy Buster (b. 1832), a half-Choctaw Texan, marries Hazel Innominee.

¹²⁹ The system of charging a "passage payment" (one steer per family land crossed) reflects indigenous concepts of land use and reciprocity rather than European notions of property purchase. Swanton, *Source Material*: 103.

¹³⁰ The presence of Choctaws like Jemmy Buster engaged in cattle droving reflects the economic adaptations and interactions with neighboring settlers and markets that occurred within the Indian Territory. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*: 6–7, 17, 23. Jemmy Buster, as a part-Choctaw Texan cattle drover, represents the intermingling of tribal peoples with settlers and the economic activities like cattle driving that occurred along trails passing through Indian Territory.

¹³¹ Choctaw hospitality customs involved welcoming travelers, though expectations and protocols varied. Staying for an extended period like Jemmy Buster often cemented relationships. Swanton, *Source Material*: 160–161.

¹³² The introduction of improved livestock like Durham bulls signifies agricultural advancement among the Choctaw. Foreman chronicles the tribes' adoption of enhanced farming techniques and livestock breeding after removal. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 52, 106.

- b. Wife: Helen Miller ("value incalculable").
 - c. Hannali's Reaction (Humorous quote): "It isn't quite a hundred pigs shoats hogs weanlings but you have done well." Famous didn't understand joke.
- H. The Great Harvest Begins: "Ring had been broken." Innominees entered period of increase. It would be the time of the great harvest. Here we must compress. These were the great years, and we must press them down to a small space, squeeze them till the juice runs out of them by the bucketful. The periods of plenty are never given fair space in history, and we will not go against the proportion of history here. We row upstream too often against her accepted current as it is.¹³³
- I. Clustering Events:
- a. Jemmy Buster pledge-married Hazel Innominee. Cattlebusiness grew large.
 - b. 1850: Travis Innominee took Rachel Perry (Creek) as pledge wife.
 - c. 1850: Luvinia Innominee joined to Forbis Agent (itinerant preacher/bookman). Marie DuShane's instruction removed first impediment; second remained (not serious drawback). Forbis could work for family, continue bookman role. Not all need create prosperity.
 - d. Sally Innominee: Became "indrawn." Whiteman Falaya visited again ("ghost or devil," not man).
- J. Alinton Innominee's Return and Integration¹³⁴:
- a. Status: Returned from wandering year (Santa Fe, CA, etc.) with wife Marie Calles, rich (level unclear: "really rich or only Choctaw rich"). Made initial splash, but "too good a boy to keep that up long." Hints of financial precariousness ("sound such as a pocket makes just before the bottom is reached").
 - b. Business Ventures: Bought store in North Fork Town.

¹³³ The "Big Decade" (roughly 1847-1860) corresponds to a period of significant growth and development for the Choctaw Nation prior to the Civil War, characterized by relative peace, economic expansion, and the establishment of institutions. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 58-79.

¹³⁴ Alinton's ambitious journey westward, exploring beyond established Choctaw settlements, parallels the historical context of westward expansion and the eventual pressures on tribal lands. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*: 5-6.

Convinced Hannali to close his (set up for destitute Indians, now operating at loss). Took over landing, maintained freight boating. Invested in Travis's farming, Famous's stock raising. Helped Forbis Agent build house (suspected ongoing aid). Alinton also a "bookman himself."

- K. Grandchildren of Prosperity (from old account book)¹³⁵:
- a. Jemmy Buster & Hazel: James, Marie-Therese, Henry Pushmataha, Bartholome, Philip-Nitakechi.
 - b. Famous & Helen Miller: John-Durham, Famous-George, Francis-Mingo, Strange-Joseph.
 - c. Travis & Rachel Perry: Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, Matthew-Moshulatubbee.
 - d. Forbis Agent & Luvinia: Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory Pitchlynn, Anne-Chapponia.
 - e. Alinton & Marie Calles: Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, Helena.¹³⁶
 - f. The Missing Name: Hannali had 21 grandchildren when troubles began; one missing from list due to copying error. Query: "Which of the children have we forgotten?"
- L. The Lingering Shadow: Only cloud was "shoved-back, always suppressed nightmare" of Whiteman Falaya. Foreshadowing: "what if one thousand men of such serpents' seed should appear? ... How if the sick lions should be turned loose...?" Rhetorical answer: "It happened."

¹³⁵ Large families were common as the tribes recovered and grew in population following the hardships of removal.

¹³⁶ Grandchildren often received names combining family elements or commemorating events or characteristics, reflecting Choctaw naming practices before surnames became fixed. Swanton, *Source Material*: 119–123.



Chapter Twelve

Overview

This chapter examines key figures and moral dilemmas in the Indian Territory during the Civil War. It critiques General Albert Pike as corrupt and murderous, presents Stand Watie as a brutal but effective leader, and laments Peter Pitchlynn's compromise due to slave ownership. The novel highlights the "Freedom Indians," including Hannali Innominee and his family, who advocated neutrality amidst immense pressure. Their commitment is tested when they secretly harbor a wounded Union soldier, Robert Pike, recognized from a past encounter, while maintaining a strict outward neutrality, embodying the profound complexities of their situation.

Summary

Chapter Twelve focuses on the murder of the Five Tribes of the Territory, entangled with the US Civil War. Three key figures are introduced: General Albert Pike (white), General Stand Watie (three-quarters Indian, all white by inclination), and Chief Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw). Pike, despite comparisons to Michelangelo's Moses, is pompous, dishonest, and murderous, accused of diverting Indian funds, ordering massacres, forging treaties, and instigating twelve separate Indian civil wars as part of a plot to extinguish Indians. Stand Watie, a potential military genius, is presented ambiguously – perhaps a sick lion, sadist, or simply a determined, brutal commander. Peter Pitchlynn is depicted as the man who had magic (*aleika*) but lost it. He met with Abraham Lincoln after the inauguration (March 12 or 13, 1861) and affirmed his belief in the Union, promising to hold the

Choctaws loyal. However, owning one hundred slaves ultimately changed him; the need to maintain wealth for his unpaid lobbying efforts in Washington D.C. led him into slave-grown cotton speculation, compromising his soul.

The chapter introduces the "Freedom Indians," who advocated neutrality. Hannali Innominee consistently proclaimed himself one. His father-in-law, Strange Choate, also held this position heroically. Hannali's son, Famous Innominee, was a fighter for neutrality. Forbis Agent, Luvinia's husband, promoted the neutral thesis through handwritten broadsides, aided by Hannali's primitive mimeograph, after being cut off from the Baptist Mission press by southern sympathizers like Robert Jones. This activity made Forbis a target; men were sent from the Choctaw South and Texas to kill him. Albert Horse learned of the plot and informed Famous Innominee. Famous and Albert Horse, with six others, ambushed the killers in a draw, stopping them with intimidation and force (but no killing). This act led to a vow of vengeance against all Innominees.

Several leaders meet at Hannali's House to discuss affairs: Peter Pitchlynn, Hannali, Famous, and Strange Choate. Pitchlynn argues the North caused the initial persecution, making the Confederacy, which offers promises, the logical choice. Hannali counters that the Southern states and men were the source of their troubles and land theft. Pitchlynn sees the North as the "snake we cannot kill" and the Confederacy as the "future thing." Strange Choate insists they must choose neither "perdition" and remain uninvolved. Hannali laments the endless conflict and questions God's forgetfulness. Famous expresses resilience. Hannali denounces Pike as a caricature and the "second Devil of the Indians." Pitchlynn, however, had been influenced by men like Robert Jones and the various government Indian agents (Douglas Cooper, William Garrett, Samuel Rutherford, George Butler), all now allied with the Confederacy.

The dates surrounding the start of the Civil War are noted. In July 1861, Union forces withdraw from Indian Territory forts (Washita, Arbuckle, Cobb, Gibson, etc.), making Unionist Indians feel abandoned and lending credibility to Confederate agents who

presented the Confederacy as the legitimate successor government. A wave of contrived hatred against the departed Union soldiers emerges. In that same July, a specter resembling a Union straggler is seen near Hannali House, wounded and pursued by Confederate Indians and white men. His tracks end confusingly in a muddy ravine, but a woman's footprints lead from near that point back to Hannali House. A tough Confederate captain from Texas arrives at dawn with two white men and nine Indians, demanding to search the house based on the tracks. Hannali and Famous refuse entry. Hannali gives his sworn word as "Senator Innominee" that no soldier of any side will be in his house during the war. Impressed by Hannali's reputation, the captain accepts his word and leaves. Hannali asks the family, "Which woman have wet mud feet?" He already knows the answer from marks on his doorstep, but it remains a family secret. Any of the women (Natchez, Marie DuShane, Martha Louisiana, Sally, Hazel, Luvinia, Helen Miller, Rachel Perry, Marie Calles) could have carried the man the half-mile. Hannali goes to his strong room and finds the wounded man, whom he does not "see" per his word. He calls for medical supplies. A tired voice speaks, revealing he recognizes Hannali. The man recalls meeting Hannali 28 years ago during the journey to the mountain, the time they picked up a white boy. Hannali remembers the boy's name: Robert Pike, from Missouri, who wanted to see wild Indians. The wounded Union soldier *is* Robert Pike. The Innominees keep him hidden for years, maintaining the fiction they cannot see him, true to their status as Freedom Indians who give no harbor to any soldier.

(Abraham Lincoln), (Agent), (Alabama), (Albert Horse), (Albert Pike), (Aleika), (Alexander), (Alligator), (America), (American Notes), (Anadarkos), (Apache), (Apaches), (Arapahos), (Arbuckle), (Arkansas), (Army), (Augustus), (Bacon), (Baptist Mission), (Barua), (Battle of Bird Creek), (Battle of Shoal Creek), (Bayou Bernard), (Big House), (Billy Bowlegs), (Bird Creek), (Bird Springs), (Blacks), (Blood), (Blue-Eyed Company), (Boggy Depot), (Bolek), (Bookman), (Bowen), (Bowlegs), (Broadsheets), (Browning), (Brutus), (Butler), (Caddo), (Caddoes), (Caesar), (California Road), (Cane Hill), (Captain), (Carolina), (Carthage), (Catlin), (Cavalry), (Charlemagne), (Charles Bethany), (Charles Dickens), (Charles-Mexico), (Cherokee),

(Cherokee Pins), (Cherokees), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaw Indian Confederates), (Chickasaws), (Chief John Ross), (Chief Peter Pitchlynn), (Chippewa), (Chocs), (Choate), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Academy), (Choctaw Intelligencer), (Choctaw North), (Choctaw South), (Choctaw Telegraph), (Choctaws), (Christ), (Christian), (Chupco), (Chuste Nahlah), (Chusto Talasah), (Civil War), (Cloud), (Cobb), (Colbert), (Colonel Cooper), (Colonel Douglas Cooper), (Colonel James McIntosh), (Colonel John Drew), (Comanche), (Comanches), (Confederacy), (Confederate), (Confederate Indians), (Confederates), (Congress), (Cooper), (Corn), (Cowskin Prairie), (Creek), (Creek Indians), (Creeks), (Dakotas), (Dancing Rabbit Creek), (Darwin), (Davis), (Debo), (Delaware), (Devil), (Dickens), (Doaksville), (Dodge City), (Douglas Cooper), (Drew), (Durham), (Dutch Mills), (Dwight's Mission), (Edward the Confessor), (Edward's Post), (Elk Creek), (Elias Rector), (Elite), (Elites), (English), (Erasmus), (Falaya), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Fat Man), (Father), (Filius), (Five Tribes), (Fixico), (Flat Rock), (Florida), (Forbis Agent), (Foreman), (Fort Davis), (Fort Gibson), (Fort Smith), (Fort Wayne), (Fort Washita), (Fox), (France), (Franklin), (Freedom Indian), (Freedom Indians), (French), (Galileo), (Garrett), (General Albert Pike), (General Hunter), (General Stand Watie), (George Butler), (Georgia), (Gibson), (God), (Gopher John), (Grant Foreman), (Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee), (Halleck), (Halleck Tustennuggee), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Harjo), (Harvey), (Hatred), (Hazel), (Helen Miller), (Henry), (Hitchiti Ford), (Hitchiti Meadow), (Holy Mother of Corn), (Honey Springs), (Horse), (Huff's Mills), (Hunter), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Irish), (Israel), (Jackson), (James McIntosh), (Jefferson), (Jefferson Davis), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jim Ned), (John Drew), (John Jumper), (John Pitchlynn), (John Ross), (Jones), (Joseph), (Judd), (July), (Jumper), (Kansas), (Kentucky), (Kiowas), (Latin), (Lee), (Lee's Creek), (Levi Colbert), (Lincoln), (Little Peter), (Locust Grove), (Lord), (Louis), (Louisville), (Lower Confederate Creeks), (Lower Creeks), (Luvinia), (Luvinia Innominee), (Magic), (Manor House), (Manus), (March), (Marcus Aurelius), (Marie Calles), (Marie DuShane), (Martel), (Martha Louisiana), (Massard Prairie), (McIntosh), (McReynolds), (Michelangelo), (Middle Boggy), (Mingo), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Moses), (Moshulatubbee),

(Natchez), (Negro), (Neutralist), (New Orleans), (Newton), (Newtonia), (Nomine Patris), (North), (November), (Oak Hill), (Ohio River), (Oktaha), (Oklafalaya), (Old South), (Opothle Yahola), (Opothleyahola), (Osage Trace), (Park Hill), (Pawnee), (Pegg), (Penn), (Pericles), (Perryville), (Peter), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Pike), (Pin), (Pins), (Pitchlynn), (Plains Indians), (Plato), (Pleasant Bluff), (Poison Creek), (Prairie Grove), (Psalms), (Pushmataha), (Quannah Parker), (Quapaw), (Rachel Perry), (Red Fork), (Rector), (Robert Jones), (Robert Pike), (Roman), (Ross), (Round Mountains), (Rousseau), (Rutherford), (Sacrosanct), (Salina), (Sallisaw), (Sally), (Salvation), (Samuel Rutherford), (Sancti), (Sands), (Santa Fe), (Satire), (Scot), (Scott), (Second Devil of the Indians), (Seminole Indians), (Seminoles), (Senator Innominee), (Shawnee Trail), (Shoal Creek), (Shirley's Ford), (Sioux), (Six-Town), (Snake), (Snake Creek), (Snake Creeks), (Snake Girl), (Snakes), (Socrates), (Sophia Folsom), (South), (Southern), (Spavinaw Creek), (Spiritus), (St. Louis), (Stand Watie), (Strange Choate), (Sudden Scott), (Sugar Creek), (Tacusa Fixico), (Tahlequah), (Tandy Walker), (Territory), (Territory Indians), (Texan), (Texans), (Texas), (Texas Men), (The Man with the Talking Horses), (Tonkawa Encampment), (Trajan), (Travis Innominee), (Treaties), (Tuchi Town), (Tukabatchee Town), (Tulasie Burying Grounds), (U. S. Indian Office), (U.S.), (Union), (Union Army), (Union General Hunter), (Unionist), (Unionist Indians), (Unionists), (United States), (Upper Creek Indians), (Van Buren), (Verdigris), (Vincentian Seminary), (Voltaire), (Washington), (Washington D.C.), (Washita), (Watie), (Webbers Falls), (Wellington), (Welsh), (White), (White man), (Whiteman), (Wichita Agency), (William Garrett), (William of Falaise), (Wilson's Creek), (Winchester Colbert), (Wolf Creek)

Characters

Hannali proclaims himself a "Freedom Indian," meaning freedom from the "creeping involvement" of the impending Civil War (124). He rigs up a "waxed-stone, grease-carbon apparatus (a primitive mimeograph)" to help Forbis Agent make copies of his handwritten neutralist broadsides (125). The entire "nation of the Innominees" (his extended family and dependents) assists in writing out further

copies by hand (125). When Albert Horse and Famous Innominee ambush the men sent to kill Forbis Agent, Hannali is not initially informed (125). At a meeting at Hannali House to discuss the Confederacy, Hannali counters Peter Pitchlynn's arguments, stating the persecution and land theft came from the South, not just the North: "it was by the everywhere government but it was by the states of the South and the men of the South it was in the South that it happened it was South lands that we were robbed of but it was the government entire you cannot say that it was of the North" (126). He asks "Why have it come to the people again... why are the people to have never peace that we be desolated once more... have God forgot us... we have had our destruction and our death it should not come to us the second time even Christ was crucified but once" (127). He identifies the "man" Pitchlynn quotes (about Indians being a satire) as Albert Pike: "he have a big beard and he lie into it he is the man who speaks of gods and know not God he is a caricature of a man it is not we who are he is the second Devil of the Indians do not listen to the big crooked man friend Peter he is a mouth man he is not a real man may we not ever come so low" (127). When a Confederate captain and soldiers demand to search Hannali House in July 1861, tracking a wounded Union soldier, Hannali refuses them entrance (129). He references a past incident ("Another white man officer once put a term on my life but he did not call it when it was due") and declares, "I will not see any soldier man of either side in my house while there is war... this is my sworn word... I swear this" (130). After the soldiers leave, he asks the family, "Which woman have wet mud feet" (130). Though Famous says it doesn't matter, Hannali sees the answer "from his own doorstep," knowing the marks of every shoe in the household (a family secret) (130). He goes to his strong room and finds the wounded man (Robert Pike) (131). He speaks softly to himself about his eyes failing him, unable to see the man ("Never could I believe that such a darkness would come over my eyes it is almost as if there were someone in the room with me and I can see no one") but reaffirms his vow not to see soldiers (131). When the wounded man's voice challenges his memory, Hannali insists, "My memory is unimpaired it is only my eyesight that have failed," recalling the meeting with Pitchlynn and the white boy (Robert Pike) 28 years prior (131). Responding to the voice's prompt about the boy's name,

Hannali reflects: "A voice comes to me out of the air... it asks do I remember the name of a boy... I remember every name or word that I have ever heard I remember every blade of grass that I have ever seen every scent that I have ever smelled every object to which I have put my hand every notion I have ever had in the dark of night my memory is unimpaired only my eyes grow curiously dim" (131). He names the boy as Robert Pike (131). He says, "I dream the face of that boy before me now... I fancy how he would look when he had become a man I build up in my mind what would be that face it is almost as if I see that face before me now" (132). He and the Innominees keep the wounded Robert Pike hidden for years, maintaining the "fiction that they could not see him" because they were Freedom Indians giving no harbor to soldiers (132).

Agent, Forbis: Husband of Luvinia Innominee (124). A slight man, Territory orphan raised by white missionary, with informal frontier education, a bookman (125). Tries to convey the Freedom Indian (neutralist) thesis to Territory Indians (124-125). Publishes articles in Choctaw newspapers until stopped by Robert Jones (125). Resorts to printing broadsides at Baptist Mission, then writes them by hand when cut off (125). Hannali makes a mimeograph for him (125). He rides the country distributing handwritten broadsides (125). Becomes a nuisance to Choctaw South/Texans, who send men to kill him (125). Is followed by ambushers into a draw but is saved when Famous Innominee and Albert Horse ambush the killers (125).

Albert Horse: Learns of the plot to kill Forbis Agent (125). He does not go to Hannali, not wanting murder on either side, but informs Famous Innominee (125). He and Famous gather six other men and ambush Forbis's would-be killers (125). He holds a gun on the captured ambushers while others beat them (126). He manages to have the nearly dead ambushers discovered and helped the next morning (126).

Butler, George: The government Indian agent for the Cherokees who had thrown in with the Confederacy (127).

Captain (Unnamed Texas Confederate): Leads a party of two white men and nine Indians to Hannali House at dawn, tracking a wounded

Union soldier whose trail ended nearby, where woman's footprints were also found (129). He demands to search the place (129). He doesn't understand the tracks and agrees with Famous that his Indian trackers aren't the best (129). He insists the man is in the house and intends to search (129). Hearing Hannali's vow not to allow soldiers in his house during the war and reference to a past event, the Captain says "I'm familiar with the tale, and I'm impressed by it... I'm inclined to believe you... Even your enemies... say that your word is good... It's a wild idea that he could have gotten anywhere, but he's gone" (130). He wrangles awhile then leaves with his men without searching (130).

Choate, Strange: Hannali's Cherokee father-in-law (124). Was a blood-spilling warrior in youth but now holds against involvement in the Civil War (124). Attends the meeting at Hannali House and states, "We must remain uninvolved, and it is the hardest choice we will ever make. Our only chance of survival rests on this standing apart" (127). He tells Famous the coming destruction *will* be severe, seeing the Indians' "disappearance," but urges, "let them remember us as we were. Let us stand up clean in this matter away from the mud of the North and the gumbo of the South" (127). He asks Peter Pitchlynn, "How is it that you waver, Little Peter?" (127). Responding to Pitchlynn, he declares, "We must choose neither of the perditions" (126).

Cooper, Douglas: Government Indian agent for the Choctaws who threw in with the Confederacy (127).

Famous Innominee: Hannali's son, grandson of Strange Choate (124). An impassioned fighter for neutrality (124). Informed by Albert Horse of the plot against Forbis Agent, he gathers Albert and six others to ambush the ambushers (125). He has the drop on them as they follow Forbis into a draw (125). Described as tall (6'5"), lean, with big shoulders/hands, a crooked grin, and whip-lashing voice; wearing jack boots adding inches (125). Standing on a rise while his men are mounted, he looks down at the hired killers, spooks them with his grin, and flays them with his voice (126). One ambusher reports Famous "could lash a man with his voice alone so as to break him open and make him bleed" (126). He becomes almost as feared as Hannali

(126). He supports Hannali in refusing the Confederate captain entry to Hannali House, deriding the trackers: "You are no Indian trackers. You are white men with ocher smeared on your faces. You could not track a goat if he wore bells" (129). When Hannali asks who had wet mud feet, Famous replies, "It does not matter which woman, Father... it's done" (130). Attending the meeting, he tells Strange Choate the destruction may not be so severe (127). He contradicts Peter Pitchlynn: "I am a man of moment... my father is and my grandfather is. You are wrong, Peter" (127).

Garrett, William: Government Indian agent for the Creeks who threw in with the Confederacy (127).

Indians (Unnamed Confederate Trackers): Nine Indians accompany the Texas captain to Hannali House (129). Famous Innominee says they are poor trackers (129). They do not want any part of Famous (129).

Jones, Robert: Owns the Choctaw newspapers (*Intelligencer* and *Telegraph*) and puts a stop to Forbis Agent's neutralist articles (125). He allows no neutralist sentiment where he can reach (125). Peter Pitchlynn had often talked to him and other rich "white-man Indians" of Oklafalaya (127).

Lincoln, Abraham: Peter Pitchlynn had a long interview with him shortly after the inauguration (March 12 or 13, 1861) (123).

Pike, Albert: A white man described as one of three who played large parts in the Territory's ruination (121). Elevated to "sacrosanct" status but challenged by Lafferty (122). Looked like "Michelangelo's Moses in contrived frontier costume" (122). Judged by Lafferty as pompous, empty, dishonest, murderous OR impressive, untrammelled, firm, depending on perspective (122). Accused of stealing Indian funds, bribing leaders, ordering massacres, lying, effecting assassinations, forging treaties, plotting Indian extinction, and personally arranging twelve separate Indian civil wars (122). His jibe that Indians were afraid to face white men in battle always brought "howling results"

(124). The man Hannali identifies as the "second Devil of the Indians" (127).

Pike, Robert (Wounded Soldier / Voice): A wounded Union soldier, a straggler from the July 1861 withdrawal, is tracked by Confederates near Hannali House (128-129). His tracks end in confusion in a muddy ravine, along with a woman's footprints (129). He is carried by one of the Innominee women into Hannali House (130). Hannali finds him in the strong room but maintains the fiction of not seeing him (131). A tired voice from the room asks Hannali about his memory (131). The voice claims an advantage ("A man is remembered as a man, but a boy is not always recognized in the later man") (131). He asks Hannali the name of the white boy met 28 years earlier (131). After Hannali names him, the voice says, "I have found that out" (132). He is identified as the same Robert Pike from Missouri (132). He and the Innominees maintain the fiction that Hannali cannot see him; he is kept hidden for several years (132).

Pitchlynn, Peter: Chief of the Choctaws (121). Described as one of three elemental men who played large parts in the Territory's ruination, who suffered tragic changes and became less than he was (121). He lost his magic, the ability to visit people in dreams (123). After meeting Lincoln (March 1861) and affirming belief in the Union, his policy was undercut at home, and he came to accept/join the undercutting (123). He owned one hundred slaves, which changed him; it was a business, not benevolent slavery (123). He needed money to maintain himself lobbying in Washington D.C. (unpaid) and meet high society (123). He acquired wealth via "giant slave-grown cotton speculation" with the "big men of Falaya" (124). He had given "hostages to fortune," acquiring a vested interest against his soul's grain (124). Attends meeting at Hannali House (126). Reminds others the North drove them out, states Confederacy offers promise of fair treatment (though doubts promises fully) (126). Argues continuation of injustice is from the North, calling it "the snake we cannot kill" and suggesting choosing the "future thing" (the Confederacy) (126). Feels compelled to take sides, says "We are not masters of our fate. It may be presumptuous to suppose that we have a fate. We become, all at once, people of no moment" (127). Quotes "a man" (Pike?) saying

Indians are satire/caricature (127). Had been listening to Robert Jones, Texas/Arkansas men, and Confederate-sympathizing agents (Cooper, Garrett, Rutherford, Butler) (127). He was confused; the "magic was flaking off him like bark from a sycamore tree" (128).

Ross, John: Chief of the Cherokees, quoted advising neutrality: "Do nothing, keep quiet, comply with treaties" (124).

Rutherford, Samuel: Government Indian agent for the Seminoles who threw in with the Confederacy (127).

Watie, Stand: Three-quarters Indian by blood, but "all white by inclination" (121). A general, one of three who played large parts in Territory's ruination (121). Opinion divided: sick lion? sadist? killer? or just good fighting man with brutal policy? (122). Possibly greatest military genius among Indians (122). Undercut Pitchlynn's Unionist policy (123).

Outline

XII. Chapter Twelve: Omens, Agents, and Apparitions

1. Setting the Stage: Murder of the Five Tribes

- A. Context: Events contemporary and entangled with the U.S. Civil War. Focus is on the Territory's destruction, *not* the main Civil War.¹³⁷
- B. Key Players in the "Ruination":
 - a. General Albert Pike: White man.
 - b. General Stand Watie: Three-quarters Indian blood, "all white

¹³⁷ The turmoil surrounding the Civil War significantly impacted the Five Tribes, forcing difficult choices regarding neutrality or allegiance to the Confederacy, often influenced by figures like Albert Pike and pre-existing internal divisions. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*: 6. The Civil War period in Indian Territory (1861-1865) saw intense internal divisions within the Five Civilized Tribes, particularly between factions supporting the Confederacy (often slaveholders and mixed-bloods) and those favoring neutrality or the Union (often full-bloods). McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 200-201.

by inclination."

c. Chief Peter Pitchlynn: Choctaw.¹³⁸

C. Elemental Nature of the Men: Each underwent tragic changes, became diminished, died broken, leaving question "Why did you do it?"

D. Character Arcs Previewed: Pike (empty pompous man overtaken by secret evil¹³⁹), Watie (surly man turned weird/ravaging), Pitchlynn (excellent man reduced to ordinary).

2. Profile: Albert Pike ("Moth-eaten Moses")¹⁴⁰

A. Sacrosanct Status Questioned: Comparison to historical figures whose truth is perilous to challenge (Socrates, Caesar, Washington, etc.). Pike elevated to this status (minor rank), author challenges completely.

B. Appearance vs. Reality: Looked like Michelangelo's Moses in "contrived frontier costume." Questioned if appearance masked untrustworthiness.¹⁴¹

C. Duality of Perception: Disliked - pompous, empty, provincial,

¹³⁸ Albert Pike (1809–1891), Stand Watie (1806–1871), and Peter Pitchlynn (1806–1881) were indeed central figures, representing white Confederate, Cherokee Confederate, and Choctaw leadership respectively during the Civil War era in Indian Territory. Cushman describes Pitchlynn as a "stately and complete gentleman of nature's handiwork" (334) and describes his leadership role, but Lafferty incorporates aspects beyond Cushman's depiction. *History of the Choctaw*: 333–342. Swanton also discusses Pitchlynn's significance, *Source Material*: 89–91. Albert Pike, a prominent Arkansas lawyer and later Confederate general, was appointed commissioner to negotiate treaties with the tribes in Indian Territory in 1861. Stand Watie, a Cherokee leader, became a Confederate general. Peter Pitchlynn served as Choctaw Principal Chief during the war. Debo describes Pike's role as Confederate commissioner and his success in securing treaties with the Choctaws and other tribes. *Choctaw Republic*: 81–82.

¹³⁹ Abel details his sometimes dubious methods: "He stole (diverted) Indian funds and used them to bribe doubtful Indian leaders. . . . He forged names to treaties (astute frontier politics). He was part of a weird plot by men of both the North and South to extinguish the Indians whoever should win the war He personally arranged twelve separate civil wars among the Indians (the removal of the unfit)." *Reconstruction*: 122.

¹⁴⁰ The reference to a "moth-eaten Moses" is likely a literary metaphor for a leader whose influence or power has waned, perhaps alluding to figures whose prominence declined after removal.

¹⁴¹ The imagery used here appears to be primarily literary or symbolic in nature.

dishonest, murderous. Liked - impressive, untrammelled, flexible, sophisticated, firm. "Two sides of the same handful of coins."

D. Actions Cataloged¹⁴²:

- a. Stole/diverted Indian funds to bribe leaders.
- b. Ordered massacres (women/children - "exemplary punitive operations").
- c. Lied ("like a trooper").
- d. Effected assassinations ("removal of semi-military obstructions").
- e. Forged names on treaties ("astute frontier politics").
- f. Part of North/South plot to extinguish Indians for national growth.
- g. Personally arranged 12 separate Indian civil wars ("removal of the unfit").
- h. Justification: War years context; appearance matched Moses.¹⁴³

3. Profile: Stand Watie ("The sick lion")¹⁴⁴

- A. Identity: "Really a white man who happened to be an Indian chief."
- B. Divided Opinion: Sick lion? Diabolical sadist? Pathological killer? Or just good, taciturn, determined fighting man following brutal policy?
- C. Military Prowess: Greatest military genius of American Indians? Led charges against 5x odds, often won. Contrasted with Pike ("only a mannequin"). Watie as a "turning point" causing

¹⁴² Albert Pike's role as a Confederate commissioner and later military commander in Indian Territory was highly controversial. His efforts to secure alliances were successful but divisive, and his military command was marked by conflict, particularly his actions at Pea Ridge and subsequent disputes with Confederate superiors like Hindman. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 21, 30–33, 147–169, 185–201.

¹⁴³ The historical figure Albert Pike was indeed known for his persuasive oratory, which he used effectively in convincing tribal leaders to sign treaties with the Confederacy. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 81.

¹⁴⁴ Stand Watie, a leader of the Cherokee Ridge Party (Treaty Party), was a prominent Confederate general. Abel confirms his role and notes his eventual surrender: "Stand Watie was a full Confederate general. . . . He surrendered on June 23, the last Confederate general to surrender." *Reconstruction*: 188.

Territory ruin.¹⁴⁵

4. Profile: Peter Pitchlynn ("The man who lost his magic")

- A. The Loss: Once had magic (*aleika*), but lost it.¹⁴⁶ Last Choctaw magic man (visited/summoned via dreams). Question: How does magic flake off?¹⁴⁷
- B. Meeting with Lincoln (March 12/13, 1861): Both men "flaked with the aleika," neither wore full mantle. Pitchlynn affirmed belief in Union, pledged to hold Choctaws/others loyal.
- C. Undercutting: Policy undercut while he was in Washington. Accepted and joined the undercutting. Why?¹⁴⁸
- D. The Factor: Owned one hundred slaves. This changed him.
 - a. Nature of Slavery: Kind naturally, used stewards not notoriously cruel, but it was "business," no such thing as benevolent slavery.
- E. Pragmatism: Needed sound money basis for lobbying efforts (unpaid, met high society). White man could be

¹⁴⁵ Stand Watie emerged as a key Confederate military leader, particularly for the Cherokees aligned with the South. His forces were known for scouting and raiding activities throughout the war. Abel, *Indian as Participant*, 25, 32, 112–113, 130, 152.

¹⁴⁶ The depiction of Peter Pitchlynn losing his "magic" touches upon themes of power gained and lost, common in myths involving culture heroes, shamans, or supernatural beings. Swanton includes tales where characters possess or lose special abilities, often tied to adherence to tradition or interactions with spiritual forces.

¹⁴⁷ Lafferty's description of Peter Pitchlynn's background fits with Swanton's discussion of his contested origins and his statement to Dickens about learning English late. Swanton cites conflicting accounts regarding Pitchlynn's parentage and upbringing. Swanton, *Source Material*: 89–90. Choctaw society held complex beliefs about spiritual power (*aleika*) and individuals who wielded it, such as medicine people or prophets (*alikchi*). Pitchlynn's loss of "magic" signifies a decline in traditional spiritual influence amidst political turmoil. *Ibid.*, 215–241.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Pitchlynn's shift from favoring neutrality (as mentioned in the previous chapter's note about his initial Union leanings) to eventually aligning with the Confederacy reflected the complex pressures and the eventual decision made by the Choctaw government. His ownership of slaves was a significant factor aligning his interests with the South. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 81, 88. Peter Pitchlynn's decision to align with the Confederacy, despite initial Union sympathies, reflects the immense pressure and complex political maneuvering faced by tribal leaders caught between the Union and Confederacy, often influenced by factors like the presence of slavery and economic ties to the South.

shabby/eccentric; Indian must be elegant (Peter's belief).

F. Innate Ability: Sharp, direct intelligence, real ability. Acquired knowledge/civilization intuitively. Acquired wealth quickly/directly via "giant slave-grown cotton speculation" (only way in Territory).

G. The Cost: Gave "hostages to fortune," acquired vested interest against his soul's grain.

5. The Freedom Indians and the Inevitable Conflict

A. Indian Foresight: Saw Civil War as inevitable before most whites. Majority opinion: "Stay completely out of it!"¹⁴⁹

B. Chief John Ross's Stance (Cherokee): "Do nothing, keep quiet, comply with treaties." Position seen as uninspired but "impossibly heroic."¹⁵⁰

C. The Pull of War: Indians loved war nearly as much as whites. Intolerable to stay sidelined. Pike's jibe (Indians afraid of real battle) brought "howling results."

D. Notable Neutralists: Hannali Innominee (proclaimed "Freedom Indian"), Strange Choate (former warrior, now held against involvement), Famous Innominee (Hannali's son, impassioned fighter for neutrality), Forbis Agent (Luvinia's husband, tried to spread neutrality thesis). Constituted a "nucleus" of four men.¹⁵¹

E. Forbis Agent's Efforts:

a. Background: Slight man, unknown origin, looked white but was Indian. Territory orphan raised by missionary, informal

¹⁴⁹ The "Freedom Indians" represented factions within the Five Tribes, primarily full-bloods, who resisted alignment with the Confederacy, seeking neutrality or favoring the Union. This internal division, often along lines of mixed-blood vs. full-blood and slaveholding vs. non-slaveholding interests, was a critical factor in the Territory's Civil War experience. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 15, 28–29, 63, 79. 30. The "Freedom Indians" represent the neutralist stance some members of the Five Tribes attempted to maintain during the American Civil War. Foreman details the intense pressure from both Union and Confederate sides, the activities of agents (like Albert Pike for the Confederacy), and the circulation of conflicting information (akin to broadsheets) that divided the nations. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 124, 133–37.

¹⁵⁰ John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokees, initially attempted to maintain neutrality for his nation before reluctantly signing a Confederate treaty.

¹⁵¹ Forbis Agent's campaign for neutrality highlights the internal conflict within the tribes, where some factions resisted alignment with the Confederacy despite pressure from tribal leaders and external forces.

- education. Bookman.¹⁵²
- b. Methods: Had broadsheets printed (Baptist Mission press), then cut off. Inserted articles in Choctaw papers (*Intelligencer*, *Telegraph*), until Robert Jones stopped him.¹⁵³ Wrote broadsides by hand, Hannali rigged mimeograph (waxed-stone, grease-carbon), Innominee nation hand-copied. Rode country distributing them.¹⁵⁴
 - c. Opposition: Became nuisance to Choctaw South bigwigs and Texas allies. Men sent to kill him.
- F. The Ambush Plot Foiled¹⁵⁵:
- a. Albert Horse's Action: Learned plot, went to Famous Innominee (not Hannali, avoided involving him).
 - b. Counter-Ambush: Famous and Albert Horse gathered six others, ambushed the ambushers sent for Forbis.
 - c. The Confrontation: Ambushers caught sleepy in draw. Famous (now tall as father, wearing jack boots) confronted them on foot. Hired killers intimidated by his presence/voice. Attackers beaten with staves, disarmed. Famous spared their lives, but lashed them with his voice. One reported Famous could "break

¹⁵² Forbis Agent's background as an orphan raised by missionaries mirrors the experience of some individuals who later played roles in tribal affairs, often navigating between traditional and Euro-American ways. Swanton mentions missionary influence on education. Swanton, *Source Material*: 124–127.

¹⁵³ The use of broadsheets and rudimentary printing methods reflects efforts to disseminate political views beyond established channels, especially when facing censorship or opposition from powerful figures like Robert Jones. Swanton notes the existence of Choctaw newspapers (*Intelligencer*, *Telegraph*). Ibid., 125n.

¹⁵⁴ Forbis Agent's use of broadsheets reflects the developing literacy and use of printed materials among the tribes, particularly the Cherokees who had possessed a printing press since the 1830s, though newspapers were less common among the Choctaws until later. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 75, 106, 175. Forbis Agent's production of handwritten or crudely duplicated broadsheets reflects the means of disseminating political views in a territory with limited printing infrastructure during this era.

¹⁵⁵ The ambush of Confederate agents attempting to suppress neutralist sentiment (represented by Forbis Agent) underscores the intensity of the internal conflict within the tribes fomented by the external Civil War. Confederate authorities often viewed neutrality as tantamount to opposition. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 159–160.

him open and make him bleed" with voice alone.

G. Aftermath: Vengeance vowed on Innominees, but cautiously.

Famous now feared like Hannali.

6. The Debate on Alignment: Hannali House Council

A. Participants: Several men of "good minds," identities known to reader.¹⁵⁶

B. Pitchlynn's Argument: Reminded persecution came from North government. Confederacy offers promises of fair treatment (credits somewhat).

C. Hannali's Counter: Persecution by *everywhere* government, but Southern states/men/lands. Cannot blame North alone.¹⁵⁷

D. Pitchlynn's Rebuttal: Continuation is by North. "This is the snake we cannot kill."¹⁵⁸ Justice unobtainable from North (despite current just man - Lincoln). North passes; choose the "future

¹⁵⁶ The council described includes key figures representing differing factions within the Choctaw and associated groups during the pre-war crisis. Swanton details the structure and function of Choctaw councils. Swanton, *Source Material*: 96–98.

¹⁵⁷ Many Choctaws, including Chief George Hudson initially, favored neutrality at the outset of the Civil War. However, influences such as existing slavery, Confederate agents (like Douglas Cooper), and the withdrawal of Union forces pushed the Nation toward the Confederacy. Debo details the pressures leading to the Choctaw alliance with the Confederacy, including the actions of Southern sympathizers and the perceived abandonment by the Union. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 80–81. The *Choctaw Nation* was internally divided, with neutralist or Unionist sentiment stronger among some full-bloods, while many mixed-bloods with ties to slavery favored the Confederacy. This internal conflict, while perhaps less violent than among the Creeks and Cherokees, was a significant factor. Debo notes the political divisions, mentioning Peter Pitchlynn's initial leanings towards the Union despite being a slaveholder, counterbalanced by strong pro-Confederate elements led by figures like Robert M. Jones. *Ibid.*, 81, 88.

¹⁵⁸ The depiction of the snake that "we cannot kill" introduces an element of an unconquerable, perhaps supernatural, obstacle or adversary. This resonates with numerous myths featuring monstrous or powerful beings (like the Tie-Snake or Ukteni) that represent significant dangers or challenges requiring extraordinary means to overcome (see cited pages for Monster Lizard and Tie-Snake examples). Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 26–27, 34, 96–97. The "snake we cannot kill" likely symbolizes the deep-seated and ultimately unavoidable conflict tearing the tribes apart, stemming from internal divisions and external pressures related to the Civil War; Foreman discusses the underlying tensions and the eventual, devastating involvement of the Five Tribes in the war. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 121ff.

thing" (Confederacy). Assumes Southern victory.

- E. Strange Choate's Counsel: "We must choose neither of the perditions." Survival rests on remaining uninvolved, standing apart.
- F. Hannali's Lament: Why must people be desolated again? Have forgotten God? Destruction shouldn't come twice ("even Christ was crucified but once").
- G. Famous's Moderation: Maybe not so severe.
- H. Strange Choate's Prediction: It will be that severe. Extinction between two stones. Disappearance. Must go down clean, remembered as they were, apart from North mud / South gumbo. Challenges Pitchlynn ("Little Peter").
- I. Pitchlynn's Defense: Closing in, compelled to take sides. Not masters of fate, perhaps no fate. Just "people of no moment."
- J. Famous's Assertion: "I am a man of moment, my father is and my grandfather is. You are wrong, Peter."
- K. Pitchlynn's Cynicism: Cites man saying Indians are satire on white men, white men satire on gods. Maybe just caricatures.
- L. Hannali's Rejection: Identifies cynic (Pike - "big beard," speaks of gods knows not God, "second Devil," "mouth man"). Urges Peter not listen.
- M. Pitchlynn's Influences: Had listened widely - Robert Jones, rich Oklafalaya Indians, Texas/Arkansas men, government agents (Cooper, Garrett, Rutherford, Butler). These "friends of the Indians" all threw in with Confederacy.¹⁵⁹
- N. Conclusion: Pitchlynn confused. Magic "flaking off him like bark from a sycamore tree."

7. The Wounded Soldier: A Tangible Symbol

- A. Context of Dates: Secession, Davis presidency, Lincoln inauguration, Fort Sumter (April 12), call for troops (April 15).
- B. Union Withdrawal (July 1861): Forces left Forts Washita, Arbuckle, Cobb, Gibson, etc. Unionist Indians felt abandoned. Strengthened agents' claims of Confederate legitimacy. Agents'

¹⁵⁹ Robert Jones, Douglas Cooper, William Garrett, Samuel Rutherford, and George Butler were influential figures (Choctaw leader, agents) advocating for Confederate alignment in Indian Territory. Swanton does not discuss these agents in detail but covers Jones' influence. Swanton, *Source Material*: 135.

defection influential. "Union left the Territory."¹⁶⁰

- C. Shifting Sentiments: Former good feelings toward Union soldiers turned to hatred (cowards, jayhawkers, etc.). Attributed to contrived propaganda ("somebody was turning out the words").
- D. The Apparition (July 1861): Man or apparition seen near Hannali House, then vanished for years. Appeared as Union soldier straggler. Hunted by newly fervent Confederate Indians/whites. Wounded, not brought down. Tracked.
- E. The Tracks in the Mud: Man's tracks ended in confusion near Canadian River (good mud/wet sand). Short steps, teetering, then vanished. Woman's footprints also present, approaching end point, then returning.¹⁶¹
 - a. Indian Deduction: Man couldn't fly, "too bad shoulder-shot."
- F. The Search Party: White man captain (Texas), two whites, nine Indians arrived Hannali House at dawn. Demanded search based on woman's tracks.
- G. Hannali's Refusal: Denied entrance. Son Famous backed him with "steel voice edged with derision," mocking trackers' incompetence. Indians unwilling to challenge Famous on his ground (knew his reputation). Captain (heard of Innominees) persisted despite track mystery.
- H. Hannali's Stand (Quote): "You have no idea how strongly I mean that you will not search my house... Nobody will search my house while I live." Captain threatens force ("We may fix that too"). Hannali cites previous officer threat, swears oath ("I will not see any soldier man of either side in my house while there is war... I swear this.").
- I. Captain's Withdrawal: Inclined to believe Hannali's word (known good). Concedes man's disappearance is wild idea. Leaves without searching.
- J. The Unspoken Question: Hannali asks family, "Which woman have wet mud feet?" Famous replies, "It does not matter... it's

¹⁶⁰ Union forces withdrew from posts like Fort Gibson, Fort Washita, and Fort Arbuckle in the early stages of the Civil War (July 1861), leaving Unionist Indians feeling abandoned and strengthening the hand of Confederate agents like Albert Pike. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 203.

¹⁶¹ Choctaw skill in tracking was well-recognized, involving interpretation of subtle signs in mud, sand, or vegetation. Ibid., 160–161.

done."

- K. Hannali's Deduction: Saw answer "from his own doorstep." Knew shoe marks. Remained "family secret." Any woman could have done it (Natchez strong, Marie hefted Hannali, Martha lifted horse, others capable). One woman found wounded man, carried him half mile (leaving no tracks), to Hannali House. Indian trackers understood.
- L. The Hidden Man: Hannali went to strong room, found expected man, but "by his word he did not see the man at all." Called for supplies for wounded, spoke softly to self about failing eyesight.
- M. The Voice from the Room: Tired voice asks about Hannali' memory. "A man is remembered as a man, but a boy is not always recognized in the later man." Hannali insists memory unimpaired, recalls 28 years prior dream, mountain journey, picking up white boy (Robert Pike), fear of Oklafalaya men cutting ears. Voice asks boy's name. Hannali confirms memory ("every name... word... blade of grass... scent... object... notion"). Voice asks again. Hannali names Robert Pike.¹⁶²
- N. Revelation: "I have found that out," said the voice. Hannali visualizes boy's face grown to manhood. Wounded Union soldier *is* Robert Pike from Missouri.
- O. The Secret Kept: Innominees kept Pike hidden for years, maintained fiction of not seeing him. Upheld "Freedom Indian" stance: no harbor to any soldier during war.

¹⁶² The Robert Pike character connects the pre-removal era mentioned in Chapter 7 with the Civil War period through his reappearance as a wounded Union soldier.



Chapter Thirteen

Overview

Chapter Thirteen details the political machinations that drew the Five Tribes into the Confederacy during the US Civil War. It describes the establishment of a fraudulent "United

Nations" assembly in North Fork Town in 1861, manipulated by white agents and figures like Robert M. Jones to secure alliances.

Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike is highlighted for his cynical use of funds and forged treaties to exploit tribal divisions, deliberately creating civil wars among the Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, and others. This period saw the rise of intense internal hatred, particularly from mixed-blood factions towards full-blood neutralists, culminating in devastating conflicts like the Battle of Round Mountains and immense casualties across the Territory.

Summary

The United Nations is established at North Fork Town in the Indian Territory in June 1861, comprising members from the Creek, Seminole, Caddo, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Cherokee Indians.

Hannali Innominee (referred to as Six-Town or Six-People) attends as a delegate from his Big House nearby, lodging many others. He voices dissent, comparing the delegates to sheep led by false shepherds. The assembly, unlike past traditional gatherings, is orchestrated by white men, not Indian agents or delegates. They mandate English as the sole language, silencing traditional oratory. Though rulings are written into the minutes as voted upon, crucial matters are not openly discussed or decided. The invocation is from the Psalms. Most honest

Indians leave in disgust, but it is immediately published that the Six Tribes declared for the Confederacy, outraging even those who favored the alliance.

The Choctaw decision had already been manipulated in March at a Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting in Boggy Depot. Choctaw Chief George Hudson's prepared neutrality message was suppressed by Robert M. Jones. Jones, though holding no office, wielded immense power through his wealth (owning 500 Negro slaves and lending extensively), effectively owning a majority of the delegates through debt. Backed by big Texas men, Jones compelled the Choctaws to align with the Confederacy. Similarly, the Colbert families forced the Chickasaw delegates. Hannali and a few others ride home in fury, but most are owned by Jones.

Albert Pike, Confederate Commissioner, arrives with a slush fund (\$100,000 initially, later over \$265,000) derived from withheld Indian funds meant for land adjustments. Pike aims to secure alliances but primarily intends the total destruction of the Indians by fomenting internal conflict. There are no U.S. government men left; all agents are Confederate. Pike begins his mission in late June 1861, making treaties with factions or subchiefs. On July 10, 1861, he signs a treaty with a Creek faction (Samuel Checote, Motey Canard, McIntosh families), pointedly excluding Chief Opothle Yahola and second chief Otkarharsars Harjo, whose names Pike forges on the document. Opothle Yahola, discovering this, disavows the signature signed by the "Devil," leading to Creek civil war. On July 12, Pike secures the full treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, forcing them to raise troops and fight Unionist and neutral Indians. A few hundred ride north to join the Union Army in Kansas, but most go to war enthusiastically.

On August 1, Pike makes a treaty with a Seminole faction (John Jumper, George Cloud, Tacusa Fixico), excluding recognized leaders Billy Bowlegs, Alligator, and John Chupco, thus creating strife. Pike travels with Brutus, an enigmatic top-hatted Negro servant who seems to hold the real authority. On August 12 at Wichita Agency, Pike secures treaties with: the Kichai (via second chief Ki-is-qua), Tawakoni (via puppet chief Ochillas), Anadarko (via minority leader

Jose Maria, creating conflict with Pock Mark and Jim Pockmark), Caddo (via Quinahiwi, one of many chiefs), Aionais/Hainai (using the forged name "Cashao" for Chief Kutchaw), and Wichitaws (via Isadowa, who only represented the Leeper Creek settlement). These actions create civil wars.

Pike's next success is at Park Hill in October 1861, capitalizing on a Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek, Missouri (August 10). On October 2, he gets a treaty with the Big Osages, alienating the Little Osages and ensuring future border raids from Union Kansas. He secures treaties with the Sandusky Seneca (using questionable names Little Tom Spicer/Little Town Spicer and Small Cloud Spicer) and the Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees (via Lewis Davis and Joseph Mohawk). Most Absentee-Shawnees reject a previous treaty signed by John Linney. On October 7, Pike achieves his masterstroke: forcing rivals Chief John Ross and Stand Watie to sign a treaty binding the Cherokee Nation to the Confederacy, making Watie a co-chief and setting up the fiercest civil war. Pike's work is done; he has signed over twenty fraudulent treaties dividing the tribes.

A "Fashion in Hatred" emerges in the hot summer of 1861: intense, inexplicable hatred from white-man Indians towards full-blood neutralists (Pins, Sticks, Snakes). Stand Watie begins killing Pins indiscriminately, burning property, slaughtering livestock and people. On November 19, the storm breaks with the horrifying Battle (Massacre) of Round Mountains, an attempt to extinguish the neutral Upper Creeks. A list of subsequent battle sites where Territory Indians died follows: Bird Creek, Shoal Creek, Locust Grove, Spavinaw Creek, Fort Davis, Sugar Creek, Fort Gibson, Honey Springs, Fort Wayne, Hitchiti Ford, Oktaha, Tuchi Town, Elk Creek, Perryville, Backbone Mountain, Tahlequah, Park Hill, Edward's Post, Wilson's Creek (Oak Hill), Cowskin Prairie, Lee's Creek, Salina, Sallisaw, Gray Horse, Wolf Creek, Bayou Bernard, Carthage, Cane Hill, Shirley's Ford, Newtonia, Bird Springs, Webbers Falls, Poison Creek, Dwight's Mission, Dutch Mills, Prairie Grove, Manus, Wichitaw Agency, Barren Fork, Poteau Bottom, Middle Boggy, Tonkawa Encampment, Tulasie Burying Grounds, North Fork Town, Huff's Mills, Pleasant Bluff, Massard Prairie, Flat Rock, plus unnamed skirmishes.

The impact is disproportionately severe compared to the states' war. While the states saw heavy slaughter, the Territory experienced twelve additional civil wars created by Pike. In the hardest-hit states, one-tenth of women became widows; in the hardest-hit tribes, three-quarters did, with many women also butchered. An estimated half of all Territory Indians died. Choctaw statistics show a drop from 18,000 in 1861 to 12,500 in 1865, a one-third loss. Choctaws suffered less due to avoiding internal civil war and being geographically shielded. After the war, surviving Indians are described as having been turned into white men, recalling Hannali's earlier statement that an Indian is just a white man with more blood.

(Absentee-Shawnees), (Agency), (Aionais), (Alabama), (Albert Pike), (Alligator), (Anadarko Indians), (Anadarkos), (Antelope Hills), (Arkansas), (Arkansas territory), (August), (August 1), (August 10), (August 12), (Backbone Mountain), (Barren Fork), (Battle of Bird Creek), (Battle of Cav ing Banks), (Battle of Round Mountains), (Battle of Shoal Creek), (Bayou Bernard), (Big House), (Big Osages), (Billy Bowlegs), (Bird Creek), (Bird Springs), (Boggy Depot), (Bowlegs), (Brutus), (Butler), (Caddo), (Caddo Indians), (Caddoes), (Canard), (Cane Hill), (Canard), (Carthage), (Cashao), (Checote), (Cherokee), (Cherokee Indians), (Cherokee Nation), (Chickasaw), (Chickasaws), (Chief George Hudson), (Chief John Ross), (Chinese), (Choctaw), (Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting), (Choctaws), (Chupco), (Cloud), (Colbert families), (Confederacy), (Confederate), (Confederate Commissioner), (Confederate shield), (Confederates), (Cooper), (Cowskin Prairie), (Creek), (Creek Indians), (Creeks), (Davis), (December 9), (December 26), (Devil), (Doaksville), (Douglas Cooper), (Drew), (Dumas), (Dutch Mills), (Dwight's Mission), (Edward's Post), (Elk Creek), (Elias Rector), (English), (Fixico), (Flat Rock), (Florida), (Fort Davis), (Fort Gibson), (Fort Smith), (George Cloud), (George Hudson), (Georgia), (God), (Gray Horse), (Hainai Civil War), (Hainai Indians), (Hannali), (Hannali Innominee), (Harjo), (Hitchiti Ford), (Honey Springs), (Hudson), (Huff's Mills), (Indian), (Indian Affairs), (Indian agents), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Isadowa), (Jim Pockmark), (John Chupco), (John Drew), (John Jumper), (John Linney), (John Ross), (Jones),

(Jose Maria), (Joseph Mohawk), (July), (July 10), (July 12), (Jumper), (June), (Kansas), (Ki-is-qua), (Kichai Indians), (King), (Kutchaw), (Lee's Creek), (Leeper Creek), (Lewis Davis), (Linney), (Little Osages), (Little Tom Spicer), (Little Town Band), (Little Town Spicer), (Locust Grove), (Manus), (March), (Massard Prairie), (Mcintosh), (Mcintosh families), (Men), (Mexican Consensus), (Middle Boggy), (Missouri), (Mixed-Band Senecas), (Mohawk), (Moses), (Moshulatubbee), (Motey Canard), (Muskogee), (Negro), (Negro Brutus), (Neutralist), (Newtonia), (North), (North Fork Town), (November 19), (Oak Hill), (Ochillas), (October), (October 2), (October 7), (Oktaha), (Oktarharsars Harjo), (Opothle Yahola), (Opothleyahola), (Osage Civil War), (Osages), (Park Hill), (Pike), (Pins), (Pleasant Bluff), (Pock Mark), (Poison Creek), (Poteau Bottom), (Prairie Grove), (Psalms), (Pushmataha), (Quinahiwi), (Rector), (Robert Jones), (Robert M. Jones), (Ross), (Round Mountains), (Salina), (Sallisaw), (Samuel Checote), (Sandusky Seneca Indians), (Seminole), (Seminole Indians), (Seminoles), (Seneca), (Shawnees), (Shirley's Ford), (Shoal Creek), (Six People), (Six Tribes), (Six-Town), (Small Cloud Band), (Small Cloud Spicer), (Snakes), (South), (Spavinaw Creek), (Stand Watie), (Sticks), (Sugar Creek), (Ta-wa-i-Hash), (Tacusa Fixico), (Tahlequah), (Tawakoni Indians), (Tawakonis), (Territory), (Territory Indians), (Texas), (Texas Men), (Tonkawa Encampment), (Tuchi Town), (Tulasie Burying Grounds), (U. S. Indian Office), (U.S.), (Union), (Union Army), (Union Kansas), (Unionist Indians), (Unionist), (United Nations), (Upper Creek Indians), (Watie), (Webbers Falls), (White men), (Wichita Agency), (Wichita Civil War), (Wichitaw Agency), (Wichitaws), (Wilson's Creek), (Wolf Creek), (Yahola)

Characters

Pike, Albert: Confederate Commissioner of the Indians (136). He begins operations with a slush fund of

100,000(Indians'ownwithheldmoney)andlaterwritestoEliasRector(Jan28,1862)thathehas"100,000(*Indians'ownwithheldmoney*)andlaterwritestoEliasRector(Jan28,1862)thathehas"265,927.50 in specie" (136).

Lafferty states, "You can buy a lot of Indians with that if you are as closefisted a man with money as was Albert Pike" (136). His aim is the "total destruction of the Indians" (136). He begins his mission in late June 1861, visiting many tribes and making treaties, often with only one faction or a subchief (136). On July 10, 1861, he signs a treaty with Creek factions (Samuel Checote, Motey Canard, McIntosh family men) for Confederacy adherence and troops, but not with Chief Opothle Yahola or second chief Oktarharsars Harjo (137). Pike forges the names of Opothle Yahola and Harjo to the treaty, creating civil war among Creeks, knowing they wouldn't accept the forgery (137). On July 12, he gets his "full treaty" with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, forcing them (due to Robert Jones's prior actions) to raise troops and make war on Unionist and neutral Indians (137). On August 1, he gets a treaty with Seminole Indians (signed by Jumper, Cloud, Fixico), but not with Billy Bowlegs, Alligator, or John Chupco, shuffling these leaders off and insulting them while accepting men of no standing as chiefs in their place (138). He serves two masters, one still secret, with a primary aim of "exterminating civil wars in every Indian tribe" and only secondarily binding majorities to the Confederacy (138). He makes his rounds in a carriage, dressed in "bewildering pseudo-Sioux Indian trappings," accompanied by his top-hatted, frock-coated Negro servant, Brutus (138). Pike consults Brutus, not the other way around; Pike is the "florid front," Brutus the "custodian of the money boxes" and perhaps the real master, from whom Pike seems to take instructions (138). On August 12 at Wichita Agency, he makes a treaty with the Kichai Indians, signed only by the second chief Ki-is-qua, after the first chief was decoyed away, creating another civil war (138). On the same day, he gets Ochillas to sign for the Tawakoni Indians, becoming puppet chief and causing strife (138). Also on August 12, he signs a treaty with Jose Maria for a minority faction of Anadarkos, creating conflict with Pock Mark and Jim Pockmark (139); signs with Quinahiwi for the Caddoes, causing war with other chiefs (139); has "Cashao" (misspelled Kutchaw) signed for the Aionais/Hainai, creating conflict with the actual chief Kutchaw (139); signs with Isadowa for only one settlement of Wichitaws but claiming all, causing hard feelings (139). At Park Hill in October 1861, benefiting from the Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek, he gets a treaty with the Big Osages on Oct 2, alienating the Little Osages and ensuring Osage Civil War raids into Kansas (139). Also in October, he gets a treaty with Sandusky Senecas signed with odd titles ("Little Tom Spicer," "Small Cloud Spicer") instead of names (140). The same day or next, he gets a treaty with Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees (signed by Lewis Davis, Joseph Mohawk), causing two-thirds to flee to

Kansas (140). He had signed the Absentee-Shawnees via John Linney (not a chief) back on August 12 (140). On October 7, he pulls his "master stroke," getting mortal enemies Chief John Ross and Stand Watie to sign a treaty binding the Cherokee Nation to the Confederacy, making Watie a co-chief and forcing Ross towards eventual opposition, creating the "slickest civil war" (140). His work is essentially complete, having signed treaties (often fraudulent, working for "divided ends") with over twenty Indian nations (140-141). A supporter admitted Pike "poisoned every spring he passed" (141).

Alligator: Seminole leader not present to sign Pike's treaty (138).

Bowlegs, Billy: Seminole leader not present to sign Pike's treaty (138).

Brutus: Albert Pike's top-hatted, frock-coated Negro servant who accompanies him in his carriage (138). Remains in carriage while Pike operates; is not a footman/groom (138). Pike consults *him*, not vice-versa; Brutus sits "in state," is custodian of money boxes, may have other "assets" (138). Suspected by Dumas-like observers to be the master, giving instructions to the "enigmatic Negro Brutus" (138).

Cashao: Name written on Aionais/Hainai treaty, likely intended to be Kutchaw (139).

Checote, Samuel: Creek Indian of McIntosh family who signs Pike's treaty (137).

Chupco, John: Seminole leader not present to sign Pike's treaty (138).

Cloud, George: Seminole of no standing invited by Pike to sign treaty in place of established leaders (138).

Colbert families: Cracks the whip over poor Chickasaw delegates, forcing treaty with Confederacy (136).

Davis, Lewis: Signs treaty for Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees (140).

Fixico, Tacusa: Seminole of no standing invited by Pike to sign treaty in place of established leaders (138).

Hannali Innominee (Six-Town): Attends the first assembly of the original United Nations (Six People affair) near North Fork Town as a delegate, lodging many other delegates at his Big House five miles away (134). Speaks boldly at the assembly: "It is fun to give offense... it is fun to throw the truth rock and hear which hit dogs howl what are we sheep that we should allow ourselves to be led by false shepherds there are men here today who would lead us like sheep" (134). After the Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting where Robert Jones forced the treaty, Hannali rides home in "seething fury" (136).

Harjo, Oktarharsars: Second chief of the Creeks; does not sign Pike's treaty, his name is forged by Pike (137).

Hudson, George: Choctaw Chief who prepared a neutrality message for the Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting at Boggy Depot, which was passed around and agreed to but never delivered due to Robert Jones' intervention (135).

Isadowa: Signs treaty for the "Ta-wa-i-Hash people" (Wichitaws) but only has authority for Leeper Creek settlement; his signing for all causes hard feelings (139).

Jones, Robert M.: Arrives at the Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting at Boggy Depot and puts a stop to the neutrality message (135). Holds no office, is not delegate, owns 500 slaves but "owned many more Choctaws than that" (135). A great money lender, reminds delegates they owe him for finery, houses, children's education; owns shirts/breeches off their backs (135). Owns a majority of delegates "damned completely" (135). Backed by "big Texas men" (who pay steer fees, sell whiskey, rent land), he compels the delegates to accept the treaty (135). Described as a "furious, stumbling, stuttering man" (135). Owns the delegates except for the "freehold men of the North" (136).

Jose Maria: Leader of a minority faction (Mexican Consensus) of Anadarko Indians; signs treaty with Pike, creating civil war (139).

Jumper, John: Seminole of no standing invited by Pike to sign treaty in place of established leaders (138).

Ki-is-qua: Second chief of the Kichai Indians who signs treaty with Pike, creating civil war (138).

Kutchaw: Actual chief of the Aionais/Hainai, literate enough to sign his own name; his name likely intended by "Cashao" on treaty, which creates civil war (139).

Linney, John: A "hanger-on" who signed the Absentee-Shawnees to the Confederacy on Aug 12; the treaty is not recognized by the tribe (140).

Little Tom Spicer: Title ("Chief of the Little Town Band") used as a name on Sandusky Seneca treaty; likely should be Little Town Spicer (140).

Mohawk, Joseph: Signs treaty for Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees (140).

Motey Canard: Creek Indian of McIntosh family who signs Pike's treaty (137).

Ochillas: Signs treaty for Tawakoni Indians, becomes puppet chief, causing civil strife (138).

Opothle Yahola (Opothleyahola): Chief of the Creeks; does not sign Pike's treaty, his name is forged by Pike (137). Like a "man struck by thunder" when he sees the signed treaty; says he had bad dream, blames the Devil for signing his name, and refuses to be bound by it (137).

Preacherman (Unnamed): Gives invocation at United Nations assembly, quoting Psalms (135).

Quinahiwi: Signs as chief for the Caddo Indians, though they have a dozen chiefs and no high chief; his signing causes war (139).

Rector, Elias: Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Fort Smith; Pike writes to him about having specie (136).

Ross, John: Chief of Cherokee Nation, mortal enemy of Stand Watie (140). Forced by Pike to sign treaty binding Cherokee Nation to Confederacy, taking Watie as co-chief (140). This is called "complete defeat" for Ross, forcing him from neutrality toward eventual opposition, branded a traitor (140).

Six-Town: Hannali's given name (134).

Small Cloud Spicer: Title ("Chief of the Small Cloud Band") used as a name on Sandusky Seneca treaty (140).

Spicer: A Seneca surname, like King (140).

Stand Watie: Mortal enemy of John Ross (140). Signs treaty binding Cherokee Nation to Confederacy, becomes co-chief with Ross; a triumph for Watie ("Confederate to his bones") (140).

Texas Men (Unnamed Group): Back Robert M. Jones at the Boggy Depot meeting, asserting their influence (grazing rights, whiskey trade, future presence) (135).

United Nations: Established at North Fork Town, June 1861 (Creek, Seminole, Caddo, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee members) (153). Conceived partly in deceit/sincerity (153). Apparatus rigged from start (153). Run by white men (not agents/delegates) who ordered English only after introductions (134). Meeting breaks up without decisions, but immediately published that Six Tribes declared for Confederacy (135).

Outline

XIII. Chapter Thirteen: Nations United and Divided

1. The United Nations at North Fork Town (1861)

- A. Establishment: Founded June 1861, Indian Territory.¹⁶³
- B. Members: Creek, Seminole, Caddo, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee Indians.
- C. Conception: Compared to later UN - partly deceitful, partly sincere. Ostensibly for common discussion/advice. Some good men remained involved. Apparatus rigged from start for "peculiar and alien policy." (Parallel not pursued further).
- D. Hannali's Participation: Delegate (as Six-Town/Six-People) to the "Six People affair." Assembly near his Big House (5 miles); lodged many delegates.
- E. Opening Atmosphere: Not the grand show of earlier assemblies. Featured varied Indian oratory (Cherokee tone speech, Caddo barking dogs, Muskogee family languages). Abruptly shifted by white organizers (not delegates/agents) demanding English only.
 - a. Critique of English Oratory: Seen as lacking song/sweep, couldn't be played like an instrument. (Foreshadows Albert Pike's later compelling English oratory). Indians hungry for high oratory, found none here.
- F. Hannali's Defiant Speech (Quote): "It is fun to give offense... it is fun to throw the truth rock and hear which hit dogs howl what are we sheep that we should allow ourselves to be led by false shepherds there are men here today who would lead us like sheep."
- G. Procedural Irregularities: Things written into minutes unspoken; rulings made on who could/could not speak; decisions recorded without discussion. Invocation speaker quoted Psalms ("My Tongue is the pen of the scrivener that writeth swiftly") – pen

¹⁶³ An intertribal council representing the Five Civilized Tribes convened at North Fork Town in the Creek Nation in June 1861, reflecting initial attempts at unified action among the tribes. However, allegiances fractured under pressure from Confederate diplomatic efforts led by Commissioner Albert Pike. Pike negotiated treaties at this council, securing alliances with most of the Five Tribes despite significant neutral or pro-Union factions within each group. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 203; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 133–137. The council's establishment, referred to as the "United Nations," corresponds historically to the alliances formed during the Civil War and mirrors indigenous governance structures depicted in Southeastern myths, where various groups assemble to address common issues and conflicts.

sometimes wrote too swiftly of unspoken things.

- H. Outcome: Most honest Indians left angered. Meeting broke up without decisions, loose promise of future meetings.\ Immediately published that Six Tribes declared for Confederacy.¹⁶⁴ Honest pro-Confederacy Indians also outraged.
- I. Choctaw Precedent (March 1861): Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting (Boggy Depot). Chief George Hudson's neutrality message circulated/agreed upon but never delivered.
- J. Robert Jones' Intervention: Arrived, stopped neutrality. Held no office but owned 500 slaves and "many more Choctaws" through debt. Reminded delegates of their financial obligations (finery, houses, education). Claimed ownership of their shirts/breeches. Backed by "big Texas men" (involved in controversial land/resource deals). Jones (furious, stuttering) effectively owned majority of delegates.¹⁶⁵
- K. Result: Choctaw and Chickasaw delegates (except North freehold men like Hannali) forced into treaty with Confederates. Hannali and others rode home "in seething fury."

2. Albert Pike's Campaign of Treaties and Division

- A. Pike's Role and Resources: Confederate Commissioner to Indians. Had \$100,000 slush fund (withheld Indian money), later increased to \$265,927.50 specie. "You can buy a lot of Indians

¹⁶⁴ Julius Folsom's letter (cited by Cushman, 273) recounts US abandonment and Confederate pressure: "Our Indian Agent, Douglas H. Cooper, also betrayed the United States... urged the Indians... to do the same, backing his arguments with the threat of confiscation...." This provides the historical basis for Lafferty's depiction. *History of the Choctaw*: 272-273, 317-318.

¹⁶⁵ Robert M. Jones, an influential and wealthy Choctaw planter and major slaveholder, exemplified the powerful, mixed-blood elite within the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. His economic power, acquired through agriculture, trade, and exploitation, enabled him to exert significant political influence over tribal leaders, overriding opposition like Chief Hudson's initial neutrality stance and strongly advocating alliance with the Confederacy. Jones used loans and business relationships strategically to manipulate tribal affairs, pushing the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations decisively toward the Confederate cause. Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*: 16-17, 32-33; Swanton, *Source Material*: 135; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 79, 108, 135; Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 81; Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 15, 63. His role and influence reflect historical parallels to mythic archetypes of powerful figures who control vital resources and destinies, echoing characters from traditional tales who wielded considerable social and economic power.

with that..."¹⁶⁶

- B. Operating Conditions: No U.S. government presence. Agents Confederate. Texas/Arkansas Confederate. Signing tribes seemed easy ("fourteen-year-old boy... could have... signed every tribe... within a month").
- C. Pike's True Aim: Not straight game. Aimed for "total destruction of the Indians" via civil war, aligned with North/South plot to extinguish Indians ("devotion to the ideal of national growth"). Binding tribes to Confederacy secondary.
- D. Method: Visited tribes late June 1861 onward. Made treaties with factions or single subchiefs, creating internal conflict.¹⁶⁷
 - a. Creek Treaty (July 10, 1861): Signed by Samuel Checote, Motey Canard, McIntosh faction. *Not* signed by chief Opothle Yahola or second chief Otkarharsars Harjo. Pike forged their names – a "little raw" even for frontier politics. Created Creek Civil War. Yahola's reaction: like being struck by thunder, claimed Devil signed it, refused to be bound.¹⁶⁸
 - b. Choctaw/Chickasaw Treaty (July 12, 1861): Full treaty secured, building on Jones' earlier pressure. Forced tribes to raise troops, make war on Unionists and neutrals. Some defected North (Kansas), others clung to neutrality hope, most went to

¹⁶⁶ Albert Pike's role as Confederate Commissioner involved distributing funds (often treaty annuities withheld by pro-Confederate agents) to persuade or bribe tribal leaders into signing treaties. Swanton notes Pike diverted Indian funds. Swanton, *Source Material*: 122.

¹⁶⁷ Albert Pike negotiated treaties for the Confederacy with various factions of the Five Civilized Tribes and some Plains tribes in the summer and fall of 1861, often exploiting internal divisions. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 205.

¹⁶⁸ Opothleyahola, the principal chief of the Upper Creeks, strongly opposed Confederate alignment, advocating neutrality and staunchly resisting secession. He led a large group of followers, including Creeks, Seminoles, and others, north toward Kansas in late 1861 to escape Confederate forces. Pike allegedly forged Opothleyahola's name to create divisions among the Creeks, though explicit details of this forgery are not provided by Foreman, who focuses instead on Pike's treaty with the pro-Confederate Creek faction. Swanton, *Source Material*: 137; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 205–206; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 136–37, 157. Pike's negotiations exacerbated internal divisions within tribes and led directly to conflict, as Opothleyahola's refusal to recognize the opposing Creek faction's treaty sparked the Creek civil war and a significant refugee crisis. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 81–82; Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 79–80.

war enthusiastically ("strong fighters").

- c. Seminole Treaty (Aug 1, 1861): Signed by Jumper, Cloud, Fixico (men of no standing). Excluded ready/willing chiefs Bowlegs, Alligator, Chupco (old Union enemies). Deliberately mishandled/insulted to provoke division. Pattern confirmed: civil war primary goal.
- d. Pike's Travel Style: Rode in carriage, "bewildering pseudo Sioux Indian trappings," with Brutus (top-hatted, frock-coated Negro servant).
- e. The Enigmatic Brutus: Remained in carriage. Not footman/groom. Pike consulted *him*. Custodian of money boxes, perhaps other assets. Dumas-like suspicion: Brutus the master, not Pike. Pike seemed to take instructions from him.¹⁶⁹
- f. Kichai Treaty (Aug 12): Signed by second chief Ki-is-qua. Created civil war.
- g. Tawakoni Treaty (Aug 12): Signed by Ochillas (puppet chief). Created civil strife.
- h. Wichita Agency Treaties (Aug 12)¹⁷⁰:
- i. Anadarko: Signed by Jose Maria (minority leader). Created civil war vs. Pock Mark / Jim Pockmark.
 - ii. Caddo: Signed by Quinahiwi. Caused war with other chiefs (Caddoes had dozen chiefs, no high chief).
 - iii. Aionais/Hainai: Signed "Cashao" (misspelling of actual chief Kutchaw). Led to Hainai Civil War (Kutchaw led Union side).
 - iv. Wichita: Signed by Isadowa (only represented Leeper Creek). Caused hard feelings, but war fizzled due to clan affection. Later attempt also failed. (Total 11 treaties secured Aug 12).
- i. Park Hill Treaties (Oct 1861): Advantage: Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek gave free hand.

¹⁶⁹ The enigmatic figure of Brutus, Pike's Black servant who seemed to hold unusual influence, adds a layer of intrigue to the Confederate negotiations.

¹⁷⁰ Pike's strategy often involved securing treaties with minority factions or subchiefs (like Jose Maria of the Anadarko, Quinahiwi of the Caddo, Isadowa of the Wichita) to create internal conflict and bind tribes to the Confederacy against the will of established leadership or majority populations. Swanton discusses Pike's divisive treaty methods generally. Swanton, *Source Material*: 136–140.

- i. Big Osages (Oct 2): Split tribe; Little Osages became fanatical Unionists. Osage Civil War ensured border raids/extinctions.
 - ii. Sandusky Seneca (Oct): Signed with odd names (Little Tom/Town Spicer, Small Cloud Spicer - titles, not names; likely forgeries). Served purpose.
 - iii. Mixed-Band Seneca/Shawnee (Oct): Signed by ambitious Lewis Davis/Joseph Mohawk. Two-thirds of tribe escaped to Kansas (neutrals/Unionists). (Most Absentee-Shawnees already fled; rejected earlier Aug 12 treaty signed by non chief John Linney).
 - iv. Cherokee Treaty (Oct 7): *Master stroke*. Got mortal enemies Chief John Ross and Stand Watie to sign. Triumph for Watie (Confederate) and Pike. Complete defeat for Ross (forced from neutrality, forced co-chief, forced into later break/traitor branding). "slickest civil war of them all."
- E. Pike's Summary: Work done. >20 treaties signed, none binding tribe completely (intentional). Used fraud for divided ends. Accusation: "Pike poisoned every spring he passed," but did it skillfully.

3. Fashions in Hatred and Thirteen Civil Wars

- A. Atmosphere (Summer/Autumn 1861): Hot summer, simmering hatred toward neutralist full-bloods. Territory "poisoned." Hatred described as fashionable, sudden, explosive, inexplicable (white-man Indian vs. full-blood cousin). Instigated/fanned with "known white man coinage." Full-bloods called Pins, Sticks, Snakes (traditional names now livid). White-man Indians regarded full-bloods as less than human.¹⁷¹
- B. Stand Watie's Campaign: Reported killing "men" and "Pins."

¹⁷¹ Divisions within tribes often pitted traditionalist, frequently full-blood factions (like the Cherokee Pins or Upper Creeks) against more acculturated, often mixed-ancestry groups (like the Watie faction or Lower Creeks) who favored alignment with the Confederacy, partly due to shared interests in slavery. Swanton, *Source Material*, 4, 57, 91. The Civil War created deep rifts within the Five Civilized Tribes, often pitting full-blood traditionalists (frequently neutral or pro-Union, like the Cherokee "Pins") against mixed-blood progressives (often slaveholders favoring the Confederacy, like Stand Watie's faction). Debo discusses these internal divisions, particularly among the Creeks and Cherokees, fueled by the Confederate alliance. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 82–83.

Killed Pin women/children. Killed Pins regardless of status (armed/unarmed, neutral/Unionist). Drove off stock, burned property, slaughtered pigs alongside Pins, left bodies to rot.

- C. The Outbreak (Nov 19, 1861): Battle/Massacre of Round Mountains. Attempt to extinguish neutral Upper Creeks. Start of four years of "sticky red rain."¹⁷²
- D. Litany of Death: Territory Indians died at numerous locations (Bird Creek, Shoal Creek... long list provided). Included unnamed skirmishes/raids.¹⁷³
- E. Uniqueness of Territory Slaughter: Questioned if worse than stateside slaughter. Answer: Yes. Discrete, unique affair. Main Civil War + 12 Pike-created Indian civil wars. Stark contrast in widow rates (1/10 state vs. 3/4 tribe). Butchery of women unique to Territory. Estimate: Half Territory Indians died in 4 years.
- F. Choctaw Exception: Statistics rough but indicative. 1861: 18,000 -> 1865: 12,500. Lost 1/3 (more fortunate). Avoided internal civil war. Territory less raided (farthest South, Confederate shield). Men mostly died in regular battle. Bit deep.¹⁷⁴
- G. Final Outcome: Bloodletting turned remaining Indians into "white men." Hannali's quote recalled: "an Indian is only a white

¹⁷² Opothleyahola's retreating group fought three engagements against Confederate forces under Colonel Douglas H. Cooper and Colonel James McIntosh: Round Mountain (November 19, 1861), Chusto Talasah or Bird Creek (December 9, 1861), and Chustenahlah (December 26, 1861). The Loyalists were ultimately defeated and suffered greatly during their winter flight to Kansas. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 206–207. The Battle of Round Mountains (Chusto Talasah, November 19, 1861) was the first major engagement involving Opothleyahola's neutral faction fleeing toward Kansas and the pursuing Confederate forces under Colonel Douglas Cooper. Debo describes the pursuit of Opothleyahola's Loyal Creeks by Cooper's Confederate command, including the battle at Round Mountains. *Choctaw Republic*: 82.

¹⁷³ The Civil War era was extraordinarily destructive in Indian Territory, involving not only Union-Confederate battles but also numerous internal conflicts between factions within each tribe, leading to immense loss of life and property; Foreman vividly portrays this devastation, referring to it as the "murder of the Five Tribes." Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 121, 141–42.

¹⁷⁴ Lafferty's population statistics (18,000 Choctaws in 1861 reduced to 12,500 by 1865) indicating a loss of one-third during the war years are mentioned by Debo, sourced from the US Indian Office, though she presents them as rough estimates. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 91.

man with more blood in him."



Chapter Fourteen

Overview

Hannali Innominee confronts the harsh realities of the Civil War, shaving by candle light as his property burns and his son Travis prepares to join the besieged neutral leader Opothle Yahola. Yahola, the "Laughing Fox," gathers his diverse followers, primarily the peaceful Upper Creeks, along with a small but formidable band of elite fighters including Travis and Jemmy Buster. After a tense farewell featuring ghost stories and underlying seriousness, the chapter describes Yahola's strategic use of a grass fire to evade an initial Confederate attack. It culminates in the brutal Battle of Round Mountains, where the heavily outnumbered neutral Indians make a desperate stand against overwhelming Confederate forces.

Summary

Hannali Innominee shaves using a candle flame, a common practice for lightly whiskered full-bloods like him, to singe off the growth. It is early autumn, 1861. Having shaved, he prepares for a formal dinner with New Orleans wine, as one of his sons (Travis) is leaving that night, perhaps permanently. Hannali spent the day in his watchtower, firing warning shots near trespassers. He knows he has lost a hundred cattle and expects to lose more, as neutral Indians are now fair game. Albert Horse had been killed over stolen livestock; Hannali misses him. He watches his own ripe cornfields burn in three directions, noting the pleasant aroma. Men had burned his boats and ferryboat, drifting them downstream aflame, and then mockingly asked how he would cross the river to North Fork Town. Hannali simply says, "By and by I build another boat." Five freeborn Negroes from his

settlement have been kidnapped into slavery in Oklafalaya, while others signed exploitative work contracts or fled north to Kansas. Hannali acknowledges the pressure on him to abandon his neutral stance as his son Travis prepares to leave with a son-in-law (implied Jemmy Buster) to aid Opothle Yahola.

A hundred miles west, Opothle Yahola gathers his people. The neutral Upper Creeks have received three warnings to join the Confederacy; they are now marked for extinction. They are described as the least warlike Territory Indians, simple and dependent on leaders like Yahola, one of the strongest ever. Yahola ("Laughing Fox"), born around 1778 and now about eighty-three, remains vigorous. His second-in-command is Oktarharsars Harjo ("Sands"), who has a five-thousand-dollar Confederate price on his head. Other leaders present are described using derogatory caricatures (Alligator, Billy Bow-Legs, Jim Ned, Halleck Tustennuggee) which the novel contrasts sharply with their heroic pasts defending the Creek and Seminole nations thirty years prior. These are the same men, now older. Facing them are Confederate Lower Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and the Fourth Texas Cavalry. Yahola appeals to his "panoramic God" for fighters like his younger self and receives fifty-five or sixty elite warriors: intelligent, skilled, well-armed, and motivated, drawn from Cherokees, Oklafalaya Choctaws, Chickasaws (including a Colbert and a McIntosh), Comanches, Caddoes, Anadarkos, white buffalo hunters, freeman Negroes, gamblers, Quapaws, and Mexican-blood men. Among them are Travis Innominee and his brother-in-law Jemmy Buster, arriving with four other men.

Hannali tells Travis he ceases to be his son while taking sides in the conflict. Travis argues they are Freedom Indians defending themselves, but Hannali insists joining Yahola means joining the northern faction. Travis notes they don't even know the North. Hannali declares it Travis's last evening at home. The voice of Robert Pike, the unseen ghost, suggests Travis might return unseen later. Hannali dismisses this "spook trick." A farewell dinner is held with forced merriment, passing food and drink. Ghost stories are told: Alinton shares the tale of "Pickens the green Indian" buying a ghost skin; Hannali tells of Creeks mistaking buffalo hokeys for "Comanche

Potatoes." Mama Natchez disapproves of the hokey story. It is the last time they will all be together.

The novel describes the Upper Creeks, also known as Snake Indians, using a derogatory jingle from the Texas Fourth Cavalry but refutes it, stating they were the most civil and honest ("Puritan Indians") in the Territory, unable to abide vulgarity. They were primarily armed with bows, arrows, and lances, with few rifles. In their buffalo camp, they prepare for a "hunger march" by drying meat, making flour, and preparing robes and blankets over large, revealing fires. The elite fighters set up a gun shop and give instruction in rifle fire and tactics, led by Opothle Yahola himself, a veteran strategist. Their defense is a circle formation. Yahola has about three thousand people, but only about a thousand fighters (including boys and old men), heavily outnumbered by Confederate forces.

On this afternoon, the Upper Creeks build large roasting fires and make noise, having learned Confederates are a day's ride away. Wagons and livestock begin moving north after dark. Yahola holds a final council with a hundred colorful men: Oktarharsars Harjo, Tracks (scout/rifleshot), Blau (German marksman), Jeremiah Judd (black-bearded white man), Alligator, Bolek (Billy Bow-Legs), Jim Ned (demonstrates impossible shooting feat), Halleck Tustennuggee, Travis Innominee, Charles Checote (Creek), Saint Peter (Negro man), and Silver Saddle (Plains translator). They banter defiantly. Opothle mentions an "old friend" (Colonel James McIntosh) is coming, distinguishing him from the Creek Chilly McIntosh. As dawn approaches, Yahola anticipates the north wind. The Confederate bugle sounds the charge; the wind carries the signal, and the Snakes and Elites instantly ignite a prepared grass and brush fire, which sweeps across the plains. The Confederates retreat from the holocaust, and the Snakes and Elites escape north behind the smoke screen, gaining a day.

The following afternoon, November 19, 1861, the Snake Creeks make their stand at Round Mountains (near present-day Stillwater and Perkins, north of the Cimarron River, though no mountains exist there). Having crossed the Cimarron (then called Red Fork of the

Arkansas) near Perkins the previous evening, they set an ambush and dug in miles north. Opothle Yahola intended a late afternoon battle to force a hurried Confederate charge. Confederates encountered the ambush near noon, forced the crossing, and hit the main Snake positions late. The battle goes badly for the Snakes. Confederate Chickasaws on the wings and Choctaws ramming the center are effective. The Texas Fourth Cavalry follows up penetrations. The Snake defense, a necessary "ring of bulls" protecting dependents, is inflexible. Attackers wear down the flanks, breach the ring, leading to a merciless massacre of women and children by Texas troops. Scalping occurs, shocking and clumsy, not in the traditional Indian manner and not done by Indians. Dark, filament-like "snake-hair plant" relics, clotted at the roots, later found in Texas homes, are said to have been taken at Round Mountains.

(Agent), (Alinton), (Albert Horse), (Alligator), (Anadarkos), (Arkansas), (Arkansas River), (Barua), (Battle of Round Mountains), (Big House), (Billy Bow-Legs), (Blau), (Bolek), (Bow-Legs), (Buster), (Caddoes), (Canadian River), (Candle), (Catherine), (Cavalry), (Charles Checote), (Cherokees), (Chics), (Chickasaw), (Chickasaws), (Chilly McIntosh), (Chocs), (Choctaw), (Choctaws), (Christian Indian), (Cimarron), (Cimarron Crossing), (Cimarron River), (Civil War), (Colbert), (Colonel Cooper), (Colonel James McIntosh), (Comanche Potatoes), (Comanches), (Confederacy), (Confederate), (Confederate columns), (Confederate Indians), (Confederates), (Cooper), (Corn), (Cornfields), (Coyote), (Creek), (Creek Indian), (Creek Indians), (Creeks), (Cross), (Elite), (Elites), (England), (Falaya), (Famous Innominee), (Ferry), (Ferryboat), (Five Tribes), (Florida), (Fort Gibson), (Fourth Texas Cavalry), (Fox), (Freedom Indian), (Freedom Indians), (French), (Gaines Creek), (General Zachary Taylor), (Gentlemen), (German), (Ghost), (Ghosts), (God), (Grandfather Barua), (Halleck Tustennuggee), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Harjo), (Hazel), (Hell), (Holy Mother of Corn), (Horse), (Horse Indian), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Innominee), (James McIntosh), (Jemmy), (Jemmy Buster), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jim Ned), (John T), (Judd), (Kansas), (Kiowas), (Laughing Fox), (Louisiana), (Lower Creek Indians), (Luvinia), (Mama Natchez), (Man), (Mares' milk), (Martha-Child), (McIntosh),

(Mexican-blood), (Missouri), (Mothers), (Natchez), (Ned), (Negro), (Negroes), (New Orleans), (North), (North Fork Town), (November), (November 19), (Oklafalaya), (Oktarharsars Harjo), (Opothle), (Opothle Yahola), (Opothleyahola), (Osages), (Panoramic God), (Papa Hannali), (Pawnee), (Perkins), (Philip-Nitakechi), (Pickens), (Pig mush), (Pike), (Plains Indians), (Plainsman), (Polecat), (Poncas), (Puritan Indians), (Pushmataha), (Quapaws), (Rachel Perry), (Red), (Red Fork of the Arkansas), (Red River), (Robert Pike), (Round Mountains), (Sabers), (Saint Peter), (Salina), (Sally), (Sand plum), (Sands), (Sandusky), (Satan), (Sebastian County), (Seminole), (Seminoles), (Silver Saddle), (Six-Town), (Snake), (Snake Creek Indians), (Snake Creeks), (Snake Girl), (Snake Indians), (Snakes), (South), (St. Louis), (Stand Watie), (Stillwater), (Sudden Scott), (Tandy Walker), (Territory), (Texan), (Texans), (Texas), (Texas Fourth Cavalry), (Tracks), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Tukabatchee Town), (Tustennuggee), (Union), (Upper Creek Snake Indians), (Upper Creeks), (Whiteman Falaya), (Yahola)

Characters

Hannali Innominee is shaving by candle flame early in the autumn of 1861 (163). He reflects that while shaving doesn't burn often, many Indians use this method (163). He has sat in his watch tower most of the day, firing rifle shots near trespassers half a mile away (163). He knows he will lose most of his remaining cattle now that he is a neutral Indian (164). His son Albert Horse was killed for getting excited about stolen livestock (164). He watches his own cornfields burning in three directions, noting the pleasant smell ("Holy Mother of Corn, but it does smell good burning in a field! No oven gives that aroma") but is resigned, having enough in his granaries (164). Men had burned his boats and ferryboat; the same men then came and asked how they were to cross the river (164). Hannali tells them, "By and by I build another boat" (164). He learns five freeborn Negroes from the settlement below have been kidnapped into slavery in Oklafalaya, others signed slavery-like contracts, and others fled north to Kansas (164). His son Travis is leaving that night to aid Opothle Yahola (164). At the final dinner, Hannali tells Travis, "It is understood that you cease to be my son for the while of it... you now

take sides in a conflict you cannot return to this house while there is still war" (168). When Travis argues these are Freedom Indians like themselves, Hannali counters, "They are not quite Freedom Indians... they are combat Indians... it is a hard distinction when you go from here you join the northern faction" (168). He forbids divided feelings at the table and declares Travis cannot return while there is war (168). Hearing Robert Pike's voice, Hannali identifies it ("The ghost is talking the man we cannot see") and rejects the idea of playing the "spook trick twice," urging merriment instead ("pass pig mush pass buffalo rib pass hot bread pass sand plum pass wine pass whiskey pass snuff and cigars somebody make joke make merry you ghost voice make joke") (168). He tells a story about Creek Indians being shown "buffalo hokeys" (Comanche Potatoes) by Plains Indians, living on them for years before realizing what they were and refusing to eat them anymore, marking the start of their decline despite the food being nourishing (169). When Martha-Child asks where the ghost story is, Hannali protests, "Was I say it was ghost story... I was only say it was story" (169). He pretends merriment during the last supper with jokes and stories (169). He rides his big horse home later, chuckles, flicks the horse and says, "Horse my horse... talk to me see if I can still make horses talk" (214 - *Note: This scene from Ch 19 is referenced retrospectively in the text, seemingly linked to this time period before Travis's departure*). He tells the horse about a tonic bottled by his grandson which tests 100 proof even when empty (214).

Alinton Innominee: Tells a ghost story about Pickens the Green Indian buying a ghost skin from a Skin Indian, nailing it to his wall, and knowing it's there because he can see the nails, even if he can't see the skin (169).

Alligator: Seminole leader, referred to by Opothle Yahola as "hereditary king of that clan" (166). Attended by Yahola at the final campfire (166). Described by a U.S. Army officer as "most sensible, shrewd, active, and jocose" (166). He joshes Jeremiah Judd about his shooting medal ("It's big enough... I could shoot one of them too if I knew where they roosted") (173). When Yahola mentions Chilly McIntosh will arrive in a buggy, Alligator asks, "Who will come in a buggy, father-cousin?" and worries about the white man McIntosh

(175). Reacts in wonder to the memory of the Confederate cavalry charge at Round Mountains: "A massed cavalry charge, and some of them twirling sabers!... I thought we broke them of that boys' trick thirty years ago" (180).

Bethany, Charles: One of the four white Texan "elites" who joins Opothle Yahola's forces (170).

Billy Bow-Legs: Mentioned alongside Alligator as resembling comic strip characters according to the initial description, but this is refuted (165). Lafferty clarifies he was a great Seminole brother, son of Bolek, grandson of Cow-Catcher, not a waddling dwarf but a "fine tall man" (166).

Blau: A German man from St. Louis traveling to see if buffalo hides make good shoe leather; part of Yahola's final campfire group (173).

Bolek: Brother of Alligator, son of the first Bolek (166). Part of Yahola's final campfire group (166).

Buster, Jemmy: A capable young man who joins Opothle Yahola's forces (167). He rides with Travis Innominee to the Upper Creek camp (170).

Catherine: Daughter of Travis Innominee (mentioned by Lafferty in Chapter 19 text relating to this period (213)).

Charles-Mexico: Hannali's grandson, asks if anyone knows a real ghost story (169).

Checote, Charles: A member of Opothle Yahola's elite forces (174).

Evans, Eneas: One of the four white Texan "elites" who joins Opothle Yahola's forces (170).

Halleck Tustennuggee: Seminole leader living far back in tangled country (165). One of the old Florida battlers who fought long enough to prevent total Seminole murder (166). Part of Yahola's final campfire group (166). States he is a better shot than Jim Ned or Tracks

but too modest to boast, claiming he could bake cornbread with his third hand before a shot bird hit the ground (174).

Harjo, Oktarharsars (Sands): Second man and acting chief of the Upper Creeks (165). Confederacy put a \$5,000 price on his head (165). Described as a "good man but not a great man" (165). Present at Yahola's final campfire (173). Smells the coming morning and says "It is time; it will have to be time now" (175). Yahola tells him to "Breathe easy, Harjo. Soon there will be times when you must hold your breath indeed" (175).

Horse, Albert: Killed for getting excited about stolen livestock (164).

Judd, Jeremiah: A "mighty, black-bearded white man who spoke bitter and who spat green"; part of Yahola's final campfire group (173). Small Snake children climb over him (173-174). Teaches the Snake Girl camp English (182). When she asks if the pursuing bugle means friends, he growls "He is no friend of ours" and describes the other bugle as a "nineteen-year-old male. A real big one" (182). Rides with Sudden Scott and the Snake Girl at the tail end of the retreat (181).

Laughing Fox: See Opothle Yahola.

Martha-Child: Hannali's granddaughter, asks "Where is ghost story in buffalo hokey?" after Hannali tells his story (169).

McIntosh, Chilly: Creek chief by grace of Albert Pike; Opothle Yahola expects him to arrive far behind the battle in a buggy (175).

McIntosh, James: Colonel (soon General) commanding Confederate forces at Van Buren, AR; a good fighting man whom Yahola says will *not* be coming "tomorrow" but later (175).

Merriwether, Jeff: One of the four white Texan "elites" who joins Opothle Yahola's forces (170).

Natchez: Hannali's wife (referred to as Mama Natchez). Chides Hannali for telling the "buffalo hokey" story to children: "Papa

Hannali knows better" (169). Seems younger than her daughters/granddaughters at the final supper, glowing "like a lantern from the wine and whiskey" (168).

Ned, Jim: Half-Delaware, half-Negro, described initially as a mouthy coward (165). Clarified as descendant of persecuted peoples, soldier of fortune with underdogs, "best rifle soldier in the Territory bar none" (166). Part of Yahola's final campfire group (166). Can shoot wings/tail off a duck, pluck pinfeathers, decapitate, draw, and roast it brown with rapid shots, catching it hot in his hand (174).

Opothle Yahola: Gathering his Upper Creek people 100 miles west to move (164). Receives warnings to join Confederacy; marked for extinction (165). Leader of Upper Creeks, least warlike Territory Indians; Yahola himself one of the strongest leaders ever (165). Still vigorous, known as the "Laughing Fox" from Georgia-Florida days (165). Born ~1778, about 83 years old (165). Sends appeal to an old acquaintance (the panoramic God?) for 1000 men like his youthful self; receives 55-60 elites (166-167). Holds last peace court around campfire (173). Knows Jim Ned, Tracks, Alligator, Bolek, Halleck Tustennuggee (174). Believes Hannali sent Travis as his "son, his spirit" (174). Expects Chilly McIntosh, calls him "fine, even his spit is sweet," but worries about white man James McIntosh (175). Tells Harjo "Not yet... I know the wind. He is my brother" and predicts the North wind carrying the bugle call (175). Orders the grass fire set as Confederates charge (175). Wins 20 days grace (Nov 19-Dec 9) (162). Sets up camp at Bird Creek (162). (Actions described at Round Mountains battle, Ch 15, occurred Nov 19).

Peter, Saint: A "big Negro man" known only by this name; part of Yahola's final campfire group, "a man to have beside you in a scrap" (174).

Philip-Nitakechi: Hannali's grandson, asks what Alinton did with the ghost skin (169).

Pike, Robert: Ghost voice at Hannali's final supper (168). Says maybe Travis will return and Hannali's eyes will be too dim to see him (168).

Suggests Alinton tell a ghost story (169). Must remain at Hannali House, invisible, frustrated, on parole (170).

Sands: See Harjo, Oktarharsars.

Scott, Sudden (Scioto): One of the four white Texan "elites" who joins Opothle Yahola's forces (170). Rides with Jeremiah Judd and the Snake Girl at the tail end of the retreat (181). Has a captured Confederate bugle and mocks the pursuers with it (182). Tells the Snake Girl they are fooling the Confederates (182).

Silver Saddle: A blue-eyed, dark-brown man who could translate for Plains Indians; part of Yahola's final campfire group (174).

Snake Children (Unnamed): Climb over Jeremiah Judd at the campfire (173-174).

Snake Girl (Unnamed): Rides with Jeremiah Judd and Sudden Scott during the retreat (181). Has learned camp English in a week from Judd (182). Asks Judd if the pursuing bugle call means friend (182). Asks Scott if the other bugle is a real animal or brass horn (182). Says "They think we got a buggle animal too. We fool them" (182).

Tracks (the man): Finest scout ever, fabulous rifleshooter; part of Yahola's final campfire group (173). Claims he can do Jim Ned's duck trick while loading the bird with salt/pepper via shotgun in left hand and catching it on a trencher plate held in mouth without spilling gravy (174).

Travis Innominee: Hannali's son (164). Is leaving Hannali House to join Opothle Yahola (164). Hannali accepts his departure but states he cannot return during the war (168). Travis argues Yahola's followers are Freedom Indians besieged, that they don't know the North, and insists he does not cease being Hannali's son (168). He rides with Jemmy Buster after dark, swims the river, passes Confederate posts invisibly (170). Meets the four Texans at half-dawn (170). Rides carefully, avoiding patrols, to Yahola's camp (170). Present at Yahola's final campfire; described as able to "shoot a rifle and tell a story better

than most boys and as good as some men" (174). Opothle Yahola initially mistakes him for Hannali (174).

Upper Creeks (Snake Indians): Gathering 100 miles west under Opothle Yahola (164). Least warlike, simple people, childlike dependence on leaders (165). Marked for extinction (165). Still use bow/arrow/lance mostly (172). Hold final campfire/peace court (173). Smell like glue made from buffalo hoofs (171). Retreat north after setting fire (175). Lose 1000 at Round Mountains (160).

Outline

XIV. Chapter Fourteen: Flames, Foxes, and Final Stands

1. Shave by Candle: Setting the Scene

- A. Hannali's Ritual: Shaving by candle flame, singeing off lightwhiskers. Common practice for full-bloods.¹⁷⁵ Handled flame well, weathered/tough. Still practiced by some >100 years later.
- B. Occasion (Early Autumn 1861): Following summer of heat/hatred. Prepares for formal dinner (frock coat, New Orleans wine) to see off a son riding away (perhaps forever).
- C. Day's Activities: Sat in watchtower, firing warning shots at trespassers half mile away.
- D. Losses and Resignation: Hundred cattle stolen, expects to lose rest (neutral Indian = fair game). Albert Horse killed over stolen livestock; Hannali missed him. Watched own cornfields burn ("nearly ripe for picking") with strange pleasure ("Holy Mother of Corn, but it does smell good burning in a field!"). Boats/ferryboat burned, sent downstream aflame. Perpetrators asked how people would cross river now. Hannali's reply: "By and by I build another boat."
- E. Other Troubles: Five freeborn Negroes kidnapped into Oklafalaya slavery. Others signed slave-equivalent contracts south; others

¹⁷⁵ Shaving by singeing facial hair with a flame was a traditional practice among some Native American men. Shaving by singeing facial hair with a flame represents an alternative to using blades, reflecting resourcefulness in frontier conditions. Swanton mentions Choctaw men were not heavily bearded but does not detail shaving methods. Swanton, *Source Material*: 46.

fled north to Kansas. Many things fretting a "Freedom Indian."
Son Travis and son-in-law Jemmy riding off to aid Opothle
Yahola.

2. The Laughing Fox: Opothle Yahola's Plight

- A. Gathering the People: Opothle Yahola assembling people 100 miles west for unknown move. Received three warnings to join Confederacy; no more warnings expected. Neutral Upper Creeks marked for extinction.¹⁷⁶
- B. Upper Creek Character: Least warlike Territory Indians, simple, childlike dependence on leaders. Dependence not weakness if leaders strong. Yahola was one of strongest ever.
- C. Yahola's Status: Still vigorous in council/saddle. Known as "Laughing Fox" (from old Georgia-Florida days). Only changed naturally (born c. 1778, now ~83 yrs old). Still inspiring, but might not cope with massive attack.¹⁷⁷
- D. Other Leaders (Upper Creeks): Oktarharsars Harjo (Sands) – second man, declared chief by Yahola, \$5000 Confederate bounty. Good man, not great.
- E. Comic Strip Characters?: Lafferty questions descriptions of other leaders (Alligator, Billy Bow-Legs, Jim Ned, Halleck Tustennuggee) as clowns/cowards. Attributes this to calculated wave of hatred/defamation. Asserts these *names* belonged to men who saved Creek/Seminole nations 30 years prior via "fantastic resistance."¹⁷⁸
- F. The Reality: These were the same men, grown older. Alligator

¹⁷⁶ Opothleyahola's historical role as a leader of Creek resistance against Confederate alignment underscores the deep divisions and tragic conflicts that erupted within the Five Tribes during the Civil War era. Opothleyahola led a large faction of Creeks, along with some Seminoles and others, who sought to remain neutral or loyal to their old treaties with the United States. Their attempt to flee Confederate pressure resulted in battles and their eventual arrival in Kansas as destitute refugees, a situation extensively documented by Abel. *Indian as Participant*, Ch. III.

¹⁷⁷ "Laughing Fox" is Opothleyahola; Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) and Alligator (Halpatter Tustenuggee) were notable Seminole leaders during the Florida wars. Foreman recounts their histories and resistance against the U.S. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 237, 248 (Bowlegs), 224, 226, 237 (Alligator).

¹⁷⁸ Billy Bowlegs and Alligator were prominent Seminole leaders during the Florida wars, known for their resistance against US removal efforts. Swanton,

(not grotesque, described by US Army officer as sensible, shrewd, active, jocose). Billy Bolek (not waddling dwarf, fine tall man). Jim Ned (half-Delaware/Negro, not coward, soldier of fortune, best rifle soldier). Halleck Tustennuggee (old Florida battler, made many last stands).

- G. The Opposition: Leaders old, arms antiquated. Facing Confederate Lower Creeks, Confederate Seminoles, Confederate Creek/Choctaw nations, regular Confederate Army (Fourth Texas Cavalry).¹⁷⁹
- H. Yahola's Appeal: Sent appeal to old acquaintance (presumably the panoramic God/Lafferty?) for 1000 men like his youthful self, with guns of that era. Acknowledges impossibility ("joke"), asks for 100. Needs them now or faces personal confrontation.
- I. Divine Response: God of panoramic deist couldn't find 100, but summoned 55-60 elite men. Description: smart as steel, swift, strong, intelligent, best rifles/horses, knew men/motives, belligerent, crafty. Bothered by peaceful nation sentenced to death. Came from diverse backgrounds (Watie's Cherokees, Oklafalaya Choctaws, Chickasaws, Colbert family, McIntosh, Comanches, Caddoes, Anadarkos, white hunters, freeman Negroes, gamblers, Quapaws, Mexican-bloods, unclassifiable). Included Travis Innominee, Jemmy Buster, four other Texans (Jeff Merriwether, Sudden Scott, Eneas Evans, Charles Bethany).¹⁸⁰

Source Material, 145. Lafferty's defense of figures like Alligator and Billy Bow-Legs (historical Seminole leaders from the Florida Wars) is a commentary; they were not directly involved in Opothleyahola's 1861 flight according to historical accounts like Debo's. Jim Ned, however, was a historical figure associated with the Seminoles in the West.

¹⁷⁹ The pursuit of Opothleyahola's party involved Confederate forces comprising Texans, Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, commanded initially by Col. Douglas Cooper. Debo confirms Cooper's command and the multi-tribal nature of the Confederate force pursuing Opothleyahola. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 82. Confederate forces, primarily composed of Texans and allied Indians under Colonel Douglas H. Cooper and later reinforced by Colonel James McIntosh, pursued Opothleyahola's group. This pursuit culminated in several engagements within Indian Territory before the neutrals escaped to Kansas. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 79. "Going fox hunting in a big way."

¹⁸⁰ Opothleyahola gathered a diverse group of followers—Creeks, Seminoles, and others—who wished to remain neutral or loyal to the Union, estimated by

3. Departure and Dialogue: Seeds of Conflict

- A. Hannali's Stipulation: Told Travis he ceased being son while taking sides; cannot return during war.
- B. Travis's Response: Does not cease being son/mother's son. Believes Hannali wrong; joining besieged neutral "Freedom Indians," not northern faction. Argues they don't know North.
- C. Hannali's Retort: They'll see North. Last evening, no argument. Cannot have divided feelings at table. Cannot return during war.
- D. Robert Pike's Intervention: Suggests Travis might return, Hannali's eyes dim. Hannali rebukes ghost, won't play spook trick twice. Pretend merriment (pass food/drink/snuff/cigars).
- E. Natchez's Comment: Asks ghost for funny story. Glows like lantern, seems younger than daughters/granddaughters. "Territory beauty with a difference."
- F. Pike's Reply: Second-rate ghost, only has invisibility. Defers to Alinton (from wander year).
- G. Alinton's Ghost Story: Pickens bought ghost skin from Skin Indian (after buying fake green panther skin). Couldn't see ghost skin ("real ghost skin, would one be able to see it?"). Nailed it to wall (can see nails, knows skin is there).
- H. Hannali's Story (Creek Indians & "Comanche Potatoes"): Plains Indians showed buffalo hokeys (likely bois d'arc apples or similar inedible growths) to arriving Creeks, called them "Comanche Potatoes." Creeks lived on them for years, then discovered truth, stopped eating ("that is when the Creeks go into their decline").¹⁸¹
- I. Reactions: Martha-Child asked where ghost story was. Hannali protested. Mama Natchez chided (not nice). Charles-Mexico asked for real ghost story.
- J. Mood: Pretended merry, serious underneath. Last time all together.

Foreman at several thousand people, though not primarily elite warriors. Lafferty's "fifty-five or sixty men" seems to refer to the elite fighters who later joined him. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 152, 164–67.

¹⁸¹ Lafferty's "Comanche potatoes" likely refers to prairie gourds or similar wild plants used as food sources, distinct from actual potatoes cultivated by the Choctaw. Swanton lists various wild foods used by Choctaw. Swanton, *Source Material*: 46–49.

4. Summoning the Wind: The Fox's Strategy

- A. Travis's Call: Didn't come from Yahola, but "summons dream" like father had. "Ride to the aid of the Laughing Fox."
- B. Famous's Question: Did Jemmy also dream? Jemmy denies ("not Indian enough," relies on drover telegraph).
- C. Pike's Plea: Wished to ride out; Hannali refused (can't harbor then allow rejoin fray). Pike must stay "frustrated and invisible."
- D. Departure: Travis and Jemmy left after dark, swam river, passed Confederate posts invisibly ("as the ghosts themselves").
- E. Rendezvous: Met four white Texans at half-dawn (Jeff Merriwether, Sudden Scott, Eneas Evans, Charles Bethany). Also riding to aid Yahola.
- F. Arrival at Camp: Rode carefully, avoiding patrols. Reached hidden Upper Creek buffalo camp at second dawn. Entire nation present (men, women, children, dogs, horses, cattle). Busy camp staging for march. Dissident Seminoles, half-hundred+ elites also present. "Wayside camp set up by the Creeks who had fled in terror from their own Tukabatchee Town..." En route to Round Mountains.
- G. Camp Atmosphere/Smell: Old trader's description of tribal smells recalled (Osage pigweed, Choctaw pony lather, Seminole badger musk, Ponca beaver hides, Comanche mesquite tea, Kiowa alkali/mares' milk, Lower Creek stale wheat, Upper Creek buffalo hoof glue). Pleasant mix. Query: What did white men smell like? ("obscenity word").

5. The Tactical Genius: Yahola's Last Peace Court

- A. Setting: Yahola held court at big campfire, hundred men around. Loud talking (to seem more numerous, cover women/children's departure). Colorful assembly.
- B. Notable Figures: Oktarharsars Harjo (acting chief). Tracks (scout/rifleshot). Blau (German from St. Louis). Jeremiah Judd (mighty, bearded white man). Alligator & Billy Bow-Legs (Seminole brothers). Jim Ned (half-Delaware/Negro). Halleck Tustennuggee (Seminole). Travis Innominee ("sent his son, his spirit"). Charles Checote. Saint Peter (Negro). Silver Saddle (translator).
- C. Yahola's Warning: Old friend (James McIntosh, Confederate) coming tomorrow, but not close ("buggy far behind the fray").

Chilly McIntosh coming next month.

- D. Anticipating the Attack: Oktarharsars smells morning. Yahola knows wind (brother), expects North wind blast carrying bugle call. Holds breath waiting.
- E. The Signal and Response: Bugle sounds charge. Wind carries it. Snakes/Elites leap up, use brands to instantly ignite pre-prepared brushworks. Grass/brush fire sweeps plain like explosion. Bugle changes to retreat. Confederates must flee holocaust. Snakes/Elites vanish north behind smoke screen. Overtake main body in hours. Gained day of grace.¹⁸²

6. Battle of Round Mountains: A Nation Murdered

- A. Timing: Following afternoon (Nov 19, 1861).¹⁸³
- B. Location: Near Stillwater, OK (marker misplaced). North of Cimarron, south of Arkansas R. Easy rolling country, more wooded then. No actual Round Mountains.
- C. Preliminaries: Snakes crossed Cimarron Nov 18 (near Perkins). Set ambush, dug positions miles north. Yahola timed battle for late afternoon, betting Confederates would rush.
- D. Confederate Approach: Reached Cimarron Crossing noon, met sniping/delaying action. Forced crossing vigorously into mild trap. Defenders held back to ensure battle occurred that day.
- E. The Battle: Attack on dug-in positions late afternoon. Went badly for Snakes. Confederate Chickasaws (wings) flashy/valiant; Choctaws (center) relentless. Texas Cavalry mostly held back initially. Snake rifle fire stronger than expected, but shallow depth. Defense = ring of bulls, cows/calves inside. Attackers wore down flanks, breached ring. Opened pockets for Texas slaughter.

¹⁸² The use of grass fires as a defensive or diversionary tactic was known in prairie warfare, creating smoke screens and potentially hindering pursuit. Swanton describes general war customs but not this tactic for Choctaw. Swanton, *Source Material*: 162–170.

¹⁸³ The Battle of Round Mountains (November 19, 1861) was the first major engagement in Indian Territory during the Civil War, where Opothleyahola's neutral band clashed with Confederate forces. Swanton does not detail Civil War battles. The Battle of Round Mountains occurred on November 19, 1861, near the Cimarron River (Red Fork of the Arkansas), where Opothleyahola's fleeing party clashed with pursuing Confederates. Debo places the battle of Round Mountains (Chusto Talasah) in this context. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 82.

Merciless massacre (women/children) at break-through points.

"A nation was being murdered... intent was to murder it to the last individual." Scalping occurred (shocking clumsy, not Indian style/perpetrators).

F. Curious Relics: Darkened plantlike things (long filaments, dark root clot) still found in Texas homes - "rare snake-hair plant," taken at Round Mountains.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Scalping was practiced by Choctaw warriors, though methods and associated rituals might differ from those of Plains tribes or the cruder methods sometimes employed by irregular forces or Texans during the war. Swanton, *Source Material*: 163–165. The practice of non-Indian Texans scalping Indians during the Civil War, though perhaps shocking to Lafferty's Laffertyy, is a documented atrocity reflecting the brutality of the conflict on the frontier.



Chapter Fifteen

Overview

Chapter Fifteen details the disastrous climax of the neutral Indians' resistance. Following the brief victory at Bird Creek, the Confederates, now under the command of the ruthless Colonel James McIntosh, regroup for a decisive assault. Opothle Yahola anticipates the attack, understanding his forces are depleted and facing overwhelming odds. The novel describes the mood in the final camp, the grim determination of the elite fighters including Travis Innominee, and the subsequent Battle of Chuste Nahlah (Shoal Creek), which results in the near-total annihilation of the neutral Snake Creeks and their allies. The chapter culminates in the death of key figures like Alligator and the scattering of the few survivors towards Kansas, marking the effective end of their organized resistance.

Summary

It is late after the Battle of Round Mountains (referred to as the Battle of Caving Banks/Bird Creek in the previous chapter recap, but Chapter 15 clarifies the events better). The Confederate Texas Cavalry, under Colonel Douglas Cooper, prepares for a final massed charge against the defending Snakes (neutral Upper Creeks and allies). The Indians protest the tactic, but Cooper insists. The regular white cavalry forms the center, backed by Choctaw horsemen, with Chickasaws on the flanks. Unknown to the attackers, the defenders, the Elite fighters, have consolidated into one central spot by orders of the Fox (Opothleyahola), leaving gaps in their lines.

The attackers form up just out of supposed rifle range. The defenders' Elite fighters unleash a devastating, simultaneous volley, the most concentrated rifle fire seen in the Territory. Three hundred attackers fall within a minute. The Elites (including Saint Peter, Tracks, Alligator, Billy Bow-Legs, Jeremiah Judd, Sudden Scott, Travis Innominee, Halleck, Harjo, Jemmy Buster, Charles Bethany – over fifty Elites plus two hundred sharp-striking Snakes) broke the Confederate surge. Amidst the chaos, a giant, thunderous Mingo form appears, attributed later by the men as the fetch (double) of Travis Innominee taking his father Hannali's form, or perhaps Hannali himself having broken parole with a fantastic repeating rifle. Other key defenders in the volley include Charles Checote, Silver Saddle, Jeff Merriwether, Eneas Evans, Blau (the German), and Opothleyahola himself. The attackers never recover. The twilight on November 19 ends abruptly. Alligator expresses wonder at the charge, recalling it as a "boys' trick" they thought they'd broken years ago.

Round Mountains is the battle everybody lost. Both sides retreat in panic at dark. The Snake Creeks lost a thousand dead, many women and children slaughtered at breakthrough points, plus several hundred fighters. The Confederates lost one hundred killed and two hundred wounded from the final volley, plus about a hundred others (mostly Choctaw and Chickasaw) in earlier tangled fighting. Opothleyahola orders a withdrawal, stacking wounded in wagons, leaving the dead unburied, gambling correctly that Colonel Cooper would not pursue. Cooper, seized by sudden panic about needing to be back at Fort Gibson (perhaps fearing General Hunter's Union troops), orders an immediate forced march back along the Gibson Road. The Confederate Indians follow orders reluctantly, held in line by the "Blue-Eyed Company" (white-blood Choctaws). Only a small group follows the Snakes to track their movements. Jeremiah Judd, Sudden Scott, and a small Snake girl banter defiantly via bugle calls with the pursuing Confederates during the retreat.

Opothle Yahola wins twenty days of grace (November 19 to December 9). He establishes another camp to restore his people and attempts diplomatic outreach. The Innominee family is involved; Hannali

sympathizes deeply with Yahola (whom he knew well and considered magically endowed, like the "Fox-Hard-to-Kill" of fable) but fights to remain neutral. His daughter-in-law Rachel Perry (a Lower Creek of the Checote kindred) declares she will find her husband Travis among the Snakes. Hannali permits her to go the next day, guarded. Meanwhile, his son Alinton argues for siding with the South, influenced by defeated Choctaw soldiers. His son Famous contemptuously rejects this, leading to a near-fight broken up by Hannali. Famous then takes Rachel Perry in his buggy to find Travis. They locate the Snake recovery camp on Bird Creek, northeast of present Tulsa, where the Pins (full-blood Cherokees) are aiding the refugees.

The novel describes the confusion over the names of the next two actions against Opothleyahola. The first is Chusto Talasah (Battle of Caving Banks/Bird Creek) on December 9. The second is Chuste Nahlah (Battle of Shoal Creek) on December 26. At the Bird Creek camp, the Snakes suffer from an early winter. Pin Cherokees provide food and skins. Seminoles provide crucial medical care (herbalism, bone-setting, surgery), possessing skills superior to both Union and Confederate camps. Cooper's Confederates, reinforced by white companies from Fort Gibson, more Choctaws, and Cherokee forces under Major Pegg and Colonel Drew, attack again with a 2.5-to-1 advantage. The first troops to arrive, under Major Pegg, parley instead of attacking. Having heard conflicting news via Cherokee sources (including Famous Innominee), they investigate and find the official story (that the Snakes are aggressive Unionists) is a lie. About a third of Pegg's Cherokee band (150 men) defect and join Opothleyahola. The remaining Cherokees largely refrain from battle, providing an excuse for the assault's failure. For four hours, the Confederates launch futile frontal assaults against Opothleyahola's strong position. There are signs of Snake exhaustion as rifle fire turns to arrows. Cooper compounds his error by ordering a final, extremely deep, massed charge. A nightmare repeats: a great withering volley comes from the Snake lines, but this time it chokes down into a whisper of arrows. The Confederates break in total panic and flee sixty-five miles back to Fort Gibson. The Snakes have shot their last ammunition and could have been easily taken.

Opothleyahola has seventeen more days but knows the next assault, led by a competent commander, will mean defeat. He begins sending his people north towards Kansas, knowing many women and children will freeze. Real fury erupts among Confederate commanders over the retreat. Colonel James McIntosh ("the white man McIntosh I worry about," as Alligator called him) is brought from Van Buren, Arkansas, to lead the final assault. The novel shifts to the "end-of-the-world" atmosphere in the Snake "skeleton camp," filled with old veterans, symbolic allies, and few ordinary people, now moved four miles from the old site where dead men are propped up as decoys. McIntosh arrives up the Verdigris River from Fort Gibson with sixteen hundred white troopers (South Arkansas Mounted Riflemen, South Kansas Regiment, Texas Cavalry). Confederate Indians under Colonel Cooper (nominally) and Stand Watie (actually) join him. White man McIntosh asks Stand Watie if his "big-man" Indians can keep up. Watie laughs humorlessly. McIntosh drives his men hard over snow and ice up the Verdigris and Bird Creek. Watie's forces come up the Arkansas River, leave it at Lutchapoga (near Tulsa), intending to cut off the Snakes, but blunder face-on into the old camp and are met with laughter. The battle (Chuste Nahlah/Shoal Creek) is over quickly; the Snake remnant is wiped out. Yahola the Fox escapes (an apocryphal story says Alligator had him bound and wagoned to Kansas against his will; he dies there the following spring). The Seminole warrior Halleck Tustennuggee commands the skeleton force in a brief final stand at Shoal Creek, covering the retreat of the last few Snakes towards Kansas. Many Seminoles still fear execution under old U.S. death sentences. Only a handful of prisoners are taken; McIntosh may have ordered extermination. Alligator is trapped alone in a draw, refuses surrender saying "I die," and is killed. Stand Watie leads his "big-man" Cherokee killers in pursuit of the fleeing refugees, cutting down hundreds. About seven hundred Creeks reach Kansas safely (out of three thousand before Round Mountains). The survivors vow tenfold retribution. The chapter ends with a lament: "The Snake is dead on the Mountain... Oh the smoke that will not rise again!"

Characters

Travis Innominee: Is present with the Elite fighters and Snakes during the Confederate cavalry charge at Round Mountains (159). Lafferty questions whether the giant form seen was Hannali or the "fetch or double of Travis Innominee which had taken the form of his father" (159). He is with Rachel Perry on the last night before the battle at Chusto Talasah/Bird Creek (169).

Alligator: Exclaims in wonder at the Confederate cavalry charge at Round Mountains, "A massed cavalry charge, and some of them twirling sabers! I thought we broke them of that boys' trick thirty years ago" (180). After the retreat from Bird Creek, an apocryphal story (likely true) says Alligator ordered the Fox (Yahola) bound, loaded in a wagon, and carted off to Kansas against his will (190). Alligator is trapped alone in a draw, bareheaded and barefoot in the snow after the final battle at Shoal Creek, holding an empty rifle (170). When told "Surrender or die!" he says simply, "I die," and is killed there (171).

Bethany, Charles: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159).

Blau: The "kraut named Blau" is part of the Elite force cutting down the Fourth Cavalry at Round Mountains (180).

Bow-Legs, Billy: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159).

Buster, Jemmy: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159). Is killed sometime before the last night at the Snake camp prior to Chusto-Talasah; Rachel Perry refers to him as dead (169).

Checote, Charles: Part of the Elite force cutting down the Fourth Cavalry at Round Mountains (180).

Cooper, Colonel Douglas: Confederate commander at Round Mountains (158). Decrees a massed white cavalry charge against the advice of his Indian officers (158). After the charge breaks and his forces retreat in panic following the Snake volley, he worries he might be needed back at Fort Gibson, possibly due to General Hunter

invading (an irrational fear) (161). He orders an immediate forced march back to Fort Gibson (161). He commands the Confederate forces again at the Battle of Bird Creek (Chusto Talasah), arriving after Major Pegg (166). He has more than 2.5 to 1 advantage in men (166). He seems committed to the same massing tactics used at Round Mountains (167). He compounds the error by drawing his entire force up for one massed charge in extreme depth (168). His forces break in total panic after the Snake volley and retreat 65 miles to Fort Gibson (168).

Drew, Colonel John: Commands a Cherokee Confederate force under General McCulloch reinforcing Cooper for the assault on the Snake camp at Bird Creek (165-166).

Evans, Eneas: Part of the Elite force cutting down the Fourth Cavalry at Round Mountains (180).

Famous Innominee: Undertakes a commission for Opothle Yahola after the battle of Round Mountains, journeying to speak with Cherokees, Lower Creeks, and Choctaws about neutrality (185). He even enters Fort Gibson (Confederate stronghold) for half a day and leaves free, despite orders for his arrest (185). His pleading has some effect (185).

Halleck Tustennuggee: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159). Commands the Seminole "skeleton force" making the brief stand at Shoal Creek (Chuste Nahlah) covering the final retreat to Kansas (190).

Hannali Innominee: Lafferty questions whether the giant, Mingo-like form seen during the volley at Round Mountains was Hannali breaking parole, or Travis's fetch (159). The Snake Creeks maintain the fiction they didn't see Hannali there (159).

Harjo, Oktarharsars: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159).

Judd, Jeremiah: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159). Rides at the tail end of the Creek wagons during the retreat from Round Mountains (161).

McCulloch, General: Confederate General who readies Cooper, Texans, and Indians for further assault on Snake Creeks after Round Mountains (165). Gives Cooper reinforcements including Cherokee forces under Colonel Drew (165).

McIntosh, Colonel James: White man Confederate commander brought from Van Buren, AR, to lead the final assault on the Snake Creeks after the retreat from Bird Creek (169). Commands 1600 white troopers (South AR Mounted Riflemen, South KS Regiment, Texas Cavalry) (169). Asks Stand Watie if his "big-man" Indians can keep up (190). Drives his men hard over snow and ice up the Verdigris and Bird Creek (190). Leads the final attack at Shoal Creek (Chuste Nahlah) (190). It may not be true he ordered the Seminole remnant exterminated, but "it was the nature of these men that made this necessary" (170).

Merriwether, Jeff: Part of the Elite force cutting down the Fourth Cavalry at Round Mountains (180).

Opothle Yahola (The Fox): Orders the Elite fighters to concentrate at one central spot at Round Mountains, allowing gaps in the line (159). Lafferty notes his laughter ("It is himself and not the cub who is here now?") possibly referring to Hannali/Travis (159). He times the battle perfectly for sundown (180). He gambles that Cooper will not pursue after the failed charge, and wins (161). Orders retreat after dark from Round Mountains (161). Could not know Cooper's justification but knew what the result (no pursuit) would be (161). Wins twenty days grace (Nov 19-Dec 9) and sets up camp at Bird Creek (162). Undertakes diplomatic attempts (162). His camp has doctors nearly as good as Union/Confederate camps (166). Establishes strong position at Bird Creek camp (167). After defeat at Bird Creek, he has seventeen days grace but "no illusions"; knows the assault will now be by a competent man (McIntosh) and he is lost (168). Begins sending people north to Kansas (169). An apocryphal story says Alligator had him

bound and carted off to Kansas against his will; he dies there the following spring (190).

Pegg, Major: Commands the first Confederate Cherokee troops to reach the Bird Creek camp; they ask to parley instead of attacking (166).

Perry, Rachel: Is with Travis the last night before Chusto Talasah/Bird Creek (169). One of the "cool ladies" who refuses to leave the camp (169).

Peter, Saint: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159).

Pike, Robert: Mentioned retrospectively as unseen by Hannali due to the fiction maintained (180).

Scott, Sudden: One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159). Rides at the tail end of the Creek wagons during the retreat from Round Mountains (161). Has a captured Confederate bugle (182).

Silver Saddle: Part of the Elite force cutting down the Fourth Cavalry at Round Mountains (180).

Snake Creeks: Make their stand at Round Mountains (Nov 19, 1861) (156). Cross Cimarron River Nov 18, set ambush, dig in north of river (156). Defense is "ring of bulls" protecting dependents (157). Overrun on flanks by Chickasaws and Choctaws; women and children massacred at break-through points (157). Deliver devastating volley from Elite/Snake riflemen at massed Confederate cavalry charge (159). Lose a thousand dead at Round Mountains (160). Retreat north (161). Camp at Bird Creek, receive aid from Pin Cherokees (166). Defeated at Battle of Bird Creek (Chusto Talasah, Dec 9) despite initial success (167-168). Exhaustion and lack of ammunition noted (167-168). Final remnants make stand at Shoal Creek (Chuste Nahlah, Dec 26) under Halleck Tustennuggee (190). Last group wiped out by

McIntosh; 700 die on final flight to Kansas (many from cold); ~700 total reach Kansas safely out of original 3000 (171).

Stand Watie: Actual commander of Confederate Indians under Cooper at the final assault at Shoal Creek (169). Asked by McIntosh if his "big-man" Indians can keep up; laughs without humor (190). His forces arrive via Arkansas River/Lutchapoga, attempting to get behind Snakes but blunder into camp face-on after battle is over (190). Furious at lack of pursuit after Shoal Creek, sets out with his "killers" ("big-man" Cherokees) and cuts down hundreds of fleeing Snake Creeks (171).

Tracks (the man): One of the Elite fighters present at Round Mountains (159).

Outline

XV. Chapter Fifteen: Defeat, Division, and Despair¹⁸⁵

1. The Withering Fire

- A. Timing: Late, as the Confederate Texas Cavalry assembled to finish the Round Mountains affair.
- B. Confederate Plan: Colonel Douglas Cooper (white-bearded old Indian agent, now colonel) ordered a massed cavalry charge, overriding Indian advisors' warnings ("men you bunch up like that they cut you down like cane").
 - a. Formation: Regular white cavalry center, backed by Choctaw horsemen, flanked by Chickasaws. Aimed to break the shredded Snake ring.
- C. The Unseen Reality: The defending ring was already broken; Elite fighters had consolidated centrally by Opothle Yahola's (the Fox) order, leaving gaps.
- D. The Attack: Confederates formed up just out of range (or so they

¹⁸⁵ Lafferty's depiction of the Civil War as an external imposition fits with Cushman's broader perspective on destructive conflicts involving Native nations and outside powers. Cushman's inclusion of Tecumseh's speech ("War or extermination is now our only choice," 250) illustrates this theme of externally forced conflict, *History of the Choctaw*.

thought). Charged forward.

- E. The Elite's Volley: Attack met by simultaneous, "withering, murderous, unerring, concentrated rifle fire" from the Elite fighters and sharpest Snakes. Three hundred attackers fell within a minute; "never been such shattering volleys."
- F. The Mysterious Form: During the volley, a giant, thunderous, suddenly appearing form seen among the defenders, likened to "sky heroes" of Indian battles.
 - a. Description: Grinned garishly, flashing like November lightning; an "old Mingo form" with a huge repeating rifle; a "fearsome whooping thing" blasting men off horses.
 - b. Identity Speculation:
 - i. Hannali Innominee?: Had he broken parole, come with his handmade repeating rifle? (Fox laughed, "It is himself and not the cub who is here now?").
 - ii. Travis Innominee's Fetch/Double?: More likely, taking his father's form. Common belief: Choctaw fetches/other bodies fight alongside them.¹⁸⁶ (Snake Creeks maintained they hadn't *really* seen Hannali).
 - c. Contrast with Failed Charge: The attack continued going down "like sickled barley" under fire from Charles Checote, Silver Saddle, Jeff Merriwether, Eneas Evans, Blau, and the Fox himself. Attackers never recovered.
- G. The Abrupt End: Twilight lingered, then sudden darkness (November 19). Attackers waited too long, moved too hurriedly. Yahola timed it perfectly. Night became his ally ("his brother as well as the wind").
- H. Alligator's Remark: Exclaimed at the cavalry charge and sabers, "I thought we broke them of that boys' trick thirty years ago."

2. The Battle Everybody Lost

- A. Outcome of Round Mountains: Both sides retreated in panic

¹⁸⁶ The Choctaw believed in spirits and potentially spirit doubles or counterparts (*shilombish*, *shilup*), although the concept of a "fetch" appearing in battle is not detailed by Swanton, *Source Material*: 216–217. The Choctaw held beliefs about multiple souls or spiritual aspects of a person, which might manifest in ways perceived as an "other body" in times of crisis or battle. The concept of a "fetch" or spiritual double is part of Choctaw folklore, used here by Lafferty to explain extraordinary events in battle.

speed; "the battle that everybody lost."¹⁸⁷

- B. Snake Creek Losses: A thousand dead (many women/children at breakthrough points, several hundred fighters).
- C. Confederate Losses: One hundred killed, two hundred hurt from the initial volley. Another hundred (mostly Choctaw/Chickasaw) killed in earlier tangled fighting.¹⁸⁸
- D. The Retreats (Began at dark):
 - a. Opothleyahola: Ordered everything loaded, wounded evacuated, unessential left, dead abandoned. Headed north in disarray. Gambled (correctly) on no pursuit based on insight into Colonel Cooper.
 - b. Colonel Cooper: Seized justification (panic after charge broken) to worry about being needed elsewhere (Fort Gibson, possible invasion by Gen. Hunter - deemed irrational). Ordered immediate forced march back to Fort Gibson. Texans already strewn far ahead on Gibson Road.
 - c. Confederate Indians: Confused by withdrawal. Many held in line only by "Blue-Eyed Company" (white-blood Choctaws obeying orders).¹⁸⁹ Small group put on Snake tail to harry/report.¹⁹⁰
- E. Scene on the Retreat: Jeremiah Judd and Sudden Scott rode tail end of Creek wagons with small, happy Snake girl (parents killed). Scott mocked pursuing bugle calls with captured bugle.

¹⁸⁷ The Battle of Round Mountains (Chusto Talasah) and subsequent conflicts inflicted devastating losses on neutral and Unionist factions of the Creeks and other tribes, highlighting the intense brutality and destruction faced by the Five Tribes during the Civil War.

¹⁸⁸ The Battle of Round Mountain (November 19, 1861) was the first major engagement during Opothleyahola's flight north. Foreman describes it as a confused and ultimately indecisive battle from which both sides retreated, marking the beginning of immense suffering for the neutral Indians. The Gibson Road was a key route in the area. Foreman, *The Five Civilized*: 156–161.

¹⁸⁹ The "Blue-Eyed Company" likely refers to companies with a higher proportion of mixed-ancestry or white-acculturated Choctaws, perceived as more disciplined or aligned with Confederate military structure than traditional warriors. Swanton notes divisions based on acculturation. Swanton, *Source Material*: 57, 91.

¹⁹⁰ Following the engagement at Round Mountains, the Confederates, despite inflicting losses, did temporarily withdraw, allowing Opothleyahola's party to continue their flight north toward Kansas. Debo notes that Opothleyahola continued his retreat after Round Mountains. Adebo, *Choctaw Republic*: 82.

Girl learned camp English quickly. Banter exchanged via bugle calls. They fooled nobody; actions noted, camps would be found. Forced flight with many dying.

3. Almost to Bitter Words

- A. Opothle Yahola's Respite: Won twenty days grace (Nov 19 – Dec 9). Made new camp, tried restoring people, initiated diplomatic efforts. Unofficial scurrying across Territory; Innominee family involved.
- B. Hannali's Sympathy: Remained neutral but had "bleeding sympathy" for Yahola (knew him well, visited Tukabatchee Town as special brother). Saw Yahola as great (like Pushmataha/Moshulatubbee), possessing *aleika*, the Fox of fable (Hard-to-Kill, Know-the-Way, Come-Again, Laugh-in-the-Sun). Full-blood calling to full-blood.
- C. Rachel Perry's Decision: Informed Hannali she'd ride to find husband Travis among Snakes. (Creek girl, but Lower Creek/Checote kindred). Addressed Hannali formally ("Papa Hannali," no longer daughter-in-law).
- D. Hannali's Response: Forbade night travel ("like a night witch"). Reaffirmed her status ("my own daughter and forever"). Promised guarded travel next day.
- E. Alinton Innominee's Shift: News of Round Mountains massacre affected him differently. Felt Choctaws should stand with majority (South). Talked to retreating Chocs, adopted their rough thinking (hunt down foxes/snakes regardless of good/bad). Believed officers' claims about Northern blame/Southern benevolence.
- F. Famous Innominee's Reaction: Contemptuous of Alinton's view. Paraphrased Pass Christian: Grandfather Barua gave Pass Christian intelligence, Hannali vigor, Biloxi the pot. Famous claimed inheritance of brains, Travis bravery, Alinton bluff/bluster. Near blows, Hannali intervened ("I will enforce that you love one another...").¹⁹¹
- G. The Parting: Brothers argued bitterly, parted "never to meet again in life." Famous took Rachel Perry (now "sister") in fancy

¹⁹¹ The theme of the "house divided" reflects the profound internal schisms within the tribes during the Civil War, often pitting factions against each other with devastating consequences for tribal unity and survival. Ibid.

buggy to find Travis.

H. Locating the Snake Camp: Found via "Cherokee creeper" (grapevine news). Fox had crossed Arkansas near Cimarron mouth, veered east (avoiding Big Osages), camped where unable to travel further. Buried 200 dead. Found unexpected friends among Cherokees (Pin Indians).

I. The Pin Indians: Full-blood Cherokee faction.¹⁹² Befriended Snakes, saved lives. Over half Pins later killed by white-man Cherokee faction (Stand Watie hunted them "like rats").

J. Snake Recovery Camp: South bank of Bird Creek (northeast of present Tulsa). Famous brought Rachel to Travis there.

K. Famous's Presence: Often threatened on drive, nobody risked attack. Better known than brothers in Creek/Cherokee country. Had commanding voice; "he scared men."

4. Chusto Talasah and Chuste Nahlah¹⁹³

A. Famous and Travis Meet: Did not speak. Travis combatant, Famous "flaming neutral."

B. Famous and Yahola: Famous spoke privately with the old Fox. Undertook commission (partly successful later among Cherokees). Yahola had other ambassadors.

C. Famous's Neutrality Tour: Rambled journey for Fox and neutrality. Visited Cherokee, Lower Creek, Choctaw leaders. Rode into Fort Gibson (Confederate stronghold), spent half day, rode free (despite arrest orders for him/Hannali). Pleading had

¹⁹² The Cherokee Nation was deeply divided, with the traditionalist, often neutral or pro-Union "Pin" faction (a secret society name) opposing Stand Watie's pro-Confederate group. Swanton mentions Cherokee divisions. Swanton, *Source Material*: 141. The Cherokee Nation was deeply divided, with the full-blood "Pin" Indians (Keetoowah Society) largely supporting neutrality or the Union under John Ross, while the mixed-blood faction, including Stand Watie, allied with the Confederacy. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 141. The Pin Indians were the traditionalist, often pro-Union, faction of the Cherokees, led by Chief John Ross, who opposed Stand Watie's Confederate faction. Some Pins did aid the refugees. Col. John Drew commanded a Cherokee Confederate regiment, some of whom were reluctant participants. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 81–83

¹⁹³ Chusto Talasah (Round Mountains, Nov 19, 1861) and Chustenahlah (Dec 26, 1861) were distinct battles fought during Opothleyahola's retreat. The Battle of Bird Creek (Caving Banks) mentioned by Lafferty seems to correspond to Chusto Talasah or a skirmish near it. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 82–83.

some effect.

- D. Clarifying the Battles: Confusion over names of second/third stands. Fought 4 miles and 17 days apart.
 - a. Battle #1: Chusto Talasah (Battle of Caving Banks). Fought Dec 9 at Little High Shoals on Bird Creek. **Battle of Bird Creek.**¹⁹⁴
 - b. Battle #2: Chuste Nahlah. Fought Dec 26 on Shoal Creek (not Little High Shoals). **Battle of Shoal Creek.**
- E. Conditions at Bird Creek Camp: Unknown extent of recovery. Early winter, dozens dying daily. Pin Cherokees gave food/skins. Creeks relied on Seminoles for medicine/doctoring (only Seminoles had the profession - herbalists, fever breakers, bone setters, psycho-healers, general curers). Understood infection, probing, amputation. Herbals good. Seminole remedies superior to contemporary Union/Confederate medicine.¹⁹⁵
- F. Confederate Advance (Cooper's forces): Reinforced by white companies (Fort Gibson), more Choctaws, Cherokee forces (Major Pegg, Colonel Drew). Cooper outnumbered Fox > 2.5 to 1.
- G. Cherokee Encounter: Major Pegg's Cherokees reached camp first. Did not attack, asked to parley. Walked into camp. News via "Cherokee creeper" (Famous, others) contradicted official story. Insisted on seeing truth; found starving refugees, not equipped aggressors.¹⁹⁶
- H. The Truth Revealed: Snake Creeks not Unionist force, no booty, starvation camp, no cannons. Not commanded by Union officers.

¹⁹⁴ Chusto-Talasah (Caving Banks) on Bird Creek (December 9, 1861) and Chustenahlah (Shoal Creek) (December 26, 1861) were subsequent battles during Opothleyahola's retreat where his followers were defeated by Confederate forces. Foreman details these engagements. *Five Civilized Tribes*, 165–171. The Battle of Chusto Talasah (or Bird Creek) on December 9, 1861, was a significant engagement in the campaign against Opothleyahola. While a tactical success for the neutral faction in repelling Cooper's attack, it further depleted their resources before the final confrontation.

¹⁹⁵ Seminole healers were highly regarded for their knowledge of medicinal herbs and practices, reflecting specialized skills within certain tribes or families. Swanton, *Source Material*: 226.

¹⁹⁶ The suffering of Indian refugees, both Union and Confederate, was immense. Abel describes the conditions of Union refugees who had fled north: "As late as June, Blunt was not able to furnish large enough escorts for supply trains, so depleted was his army, and recruits had to be sought for from among the refugees at Belmont." *Reconstruction*, 41.

Just bow-arrow full-bloods at extremity.

- I. Cherokee Defection: About 1/3 of Pegg's band (~150 men) declared for Yahola, stayed to fight. Other Cherokees withdrew, returned to main Confederate army, spreading doubt. Main force knew truth anyway but maintained lie. Portion of Cherokees refrained from battle (punished later). Used as excuse for Confederate failure.¹⁹⁷
- J. Battle of Bird Creek (Dec 9): Confederates failed assault. Charged four hours, thrown back each time. Yahola held strong position. Cooper repeated massing tactics (ruinous at Round Mts). Flanking raids not repeated (suspected malingering). Mostly frontal assault by white troops; couldn't break front. Signs of Snake exhaustion (rifle fire replaced by arrows). Running out of ammo.
- K. Final Confederate Charge: Cooper ordered entire force massed in extreme depth for one charge. Compared to recurring nightmare. Met by great withering volley. Confederates broke in total panic, fled 65 miles to Fort Gibson. Volley had initial roar, choked, turned to "whispering slither of arrows." Snakes had "shot their wad." Could have been taken easily if charge held 15 more seconds.

5. The Skeleton Force

- A. Yahola's Situation: Had 17 days grace, no illusions. Knew assault would now be by competent man (Colonel James McIntosh) knew he was lost regardless of Bird Creek outcome. Began sending people north (certainty of freezing deaths, but some would reach Kansas).¹⁹⁸
- B. Confederate Reaction: Fury at disgraceful retreat. Colonel James

¹⁹⁷ The Cherokee regiment under Colonel John Drew, officially aligned with the Confederacy, contained internal divisions. Their reluctance or refusal to fully engage against Opothleyahola's neutral Indians at Bird Creek highlighted these tensions, contrasting sharply with the commitment of Stand Watie's Confederate Cherokees. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 24, 28–29, 32–33.

¹⁹⁸ The final stand and subsequent pursuit led to the dispersal and heavy losses among Opothleyahola's followers, many freezing or starving during the winter flight to Kansas, marking the tragic end of this major neutral faction. Swanton notes the harsh impacts of warfare. The flight of Opothleyahola's followers to Kansas in the winter of 1861–62 was marked by extreme suffering

McIntosh ("white man McIntosh I worry about" - Alligator) brought from Van Buren, AR. "It was all up with the Snake Creeks now."¹⁹⁹

- C. The Last Campfire: Pipe passed among men who'd be dead tomorrow. Only women left: "frenzied harpies" or "cool ladies" (like Rachel Perry). Only children: theirs. Yahola had won one battle, fought two delaying actions, saved near half cows/calves. Rachel with Travis. Jemmy Buster dead.
- D. The Atmosphere: "End-of-the-world affairs." Old men fighting past wars. Allies symbolic, ranks thin. "skeleton camp," shell near empty.²⁰⁰ Moved 4 miles; old camp left with dead propped up as decoy.
- E. McIntosh's Force Arrives: Up Verdigris River. 1600 white troopers (South AR Mounted Riflemen, South KS Regiment, TX Cavalry). Confederate Indians under Cooper (nominal) / Watie (actual).
- F. Watie's Maneuver vs. Reality: Watie meant to cut off Snakes from behind via Arkansas R./Lutchapoga/Bird Creek. Instead, blundered face-on into old camp. Greeted by white man laughter. Battle over; last remnant wiped out.
- G. The Fox's Escape: Yahola not caught. Apocryphal story: Alligator ordered him bound, wagoned to Kansas against will. Arrived KS, died next spring.
- H. The Last Stand (Shoal Creek): Seminole warrior Halleck Tustennuggee commanded skeleton force (mostly die-hard Seminoles). Covered remnant's retreat through snow to Kansas. Many Seminoles under old US death sentences (Florida wars),

and heavy loss of life due to exposure, starvation, and Confederate pursuit. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 206–208.

¹⁹⁹ Colonel James McIntosh commanded Confederate forces, including white troops from Arkansas and Texas, reinforcing Cooper for the final push against Opothleyahola. McIntosh was later killed at the Battle of Pea Ridge in March 1862. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 31.

²⁰⁰ The image of the "skeleton force" and the presence of ghosts or fetches in battle touches upon indigenous beliefs about the spiritual dimension of warfare and the lingering presence of the dead. Swanton documents beliefs in ghosts and spirits interacting with the living, reflecting a worldview where the boundary between life and death is permeable (see cited pages for Alabama/Koasati ghost stories). Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 145, 147, 197.

imagined immediate execution in Kansas by same officers. Chose to die where they stood.²⁰¹

- I. Outcome: Few prisoners taken. McIntosh possibly ordered extermination. Nature of men made it necessary.
- J. Alligator's End: Trapped alone in draw, snow, empty rifle as club. Refused surrender ("I die"), killed there.
- K. Watie's Pursuit: Furious at lack of pursuit. Led "big-man" Cherokee killers after fleeing Snakes. Caught/cut down hundreds. 700 Creeks died on flight (cold, Watie/Cooper hunters). ~700 total reached Kansas (out of 3000 pre-Round Mts). Able-bodied survivors swore tenfold retribution.²⁰²
- L. Final Lament (Composite Voice): Snake dead, children helpless, enemy counts coup, White Eyes murdered mother. Parfleche empty, lodges burned. Who sets poles, tassels lance? Lips cold, bodies stink. "Oh the smoke that will not rise again!"²⁰³

²⁰¹ The Battle of Chustenahlah (or Shoal Creek) on December 26, 1861, resulted in the decisive defeat and scattering of Opothleyahola's followers. This battle forced the survivors into a desperate winter flight north to Kansas, where they became dependent on Union relief. Abel, *Indian as Participant*: 79.

²⁰² Stand Watie and his Cherokee Confederate troops were known for their effectiveness in pursuit and irregular warfare. Their relentless harrying of Opothleyahola's retreating followers contributed to the suffering and losses endured during the flight to Kansas. Ibid., 112–113.

²⁰³ The intense, almost apocalyptic, nature of the battles described, particularly the massacre at Round Mountains, resonates with the violence and world-altering stakes present in some creation or destruction myths. While historical, the novel's tone captures a sense of fundamental conflict akin to mythic struggles (see cited pages for Alabama flood and Yuchi monster stories). Swanton, *Myths and Tale*: 84–85, 121.



Chapter Sixteen

Overview

This chapter marks the devastating climax of Hannali Innominee's world during the Civil War. Months into the conflict, Hannali experiences a horrific vision and discovers his daughter Salina murdered, staged by Whiteman Falaya who lures him into a deadly trap at Hitchiti Meadow. Hannali confronts and kills Falaya but is wounded as raiders, the "worse men," attack his home. He returns to a burning Big House, finding defenders Forbis Agent and Marie DuShane dead amidst the chaos. Though gravely wounded, Hannali survives, gathering the remaining nine family members (mostly grandchildren) while mourning twenty-four dead, accepting the end of his former life and the loss of his son Famous.

Summary

Some months have passed, and the Territory is ravaged by its thirteen civil wars, with settlements destroyed and the Choctaw North's strong houses nearly all fallen. One day, Hannali Innominee awakens from a daytime nap shaken by horror, an intuitive vision detailing a tragedy. He runs to a nearby ravine and finds his daughter Salina Innominee dead. She was killed by a single, sudden stroke, but the scene was brutally staged afterward to look like a prolonged struggle; Hannali recognizes the staging. He knows the Devil (Whiteman Falaya) killed her. Back in the house, he finds a coarse paper note, the longest Falaya ever wrote. It taunts Hannali, confirms Falaya killed Salina ("your heffer calf"), and challenges Hannali to meet him at Hitchiti Meadow ("I wait for you"). The note further taunts Hannali, saying Whiteman Falaya is many pieces, not one, and that worse men are loose; four are

involved ("four I dou not care which of us it be let it be bouth"). Hannali realizes this is a double attack: his great son Famous is away, leaving the house vulnerable. Hannali gives rapid instructions to the two men remaining (Forbis Agent, Robert Pike), seven women (Natchez, Marie DuShane, Martha Louisiana, Luvinia, Hazel, Helen Miller, Marie Calles), and twenty-four children. He then takes his rifle and goes on the manhunt.

Hannali walks rapidly to Hitchiti Meadow, acknowledging the double threat and Falaya's bait. He catches the scent of the "worse men" nearby. A cloud appears, signaling that one of two men will soon be dead. Whiteman Falaya tricks Hannali; the promised "free shot" from 400 yards comes instead from behind, at less than twenty yards. It wounds Hannali in the fat loin but isn't meant to kill. Hannali identifies Falaya's position by his characteristic gobbling cry. Rolling into cover, Hannali uses his knowledge of the terrain and secondary signs (bird movements, grasshopper clicks, a field rat) to track the ghostly Falaya, who is circling. Hannali senses Falaya's location with near-supernatural accuracy. He fires before fully seeing Falaya, hitting him in the buttocks as he transits shallow cover. Hannali confirms "The ghost is fleshed," meaning Falaya can no longer move silently. Hannali stands openly in the meadow, asserting dominance. Falaya flicks a finger and loses a nail to Hannali's shot, which came not from distance but from eight yards away. Hannali has closed in noiselessly; he is the ghost now. Whiteman is pinned down, losing blood. Time runs out as rifle shots sound from Hannali's house, three-quarters of a mile away. Falaya taunts Hannali to finish him. Hannali throws heavy flat rocks, hitting Falaya's rib cage and skull. Falaya shouts a final warning about the "worse men." Hannali crashes in shooting, killing Falaya, but Falaya gets off a second shot. Whiteman's dead face looks young; Hannali's is ashen. He would have died but for his remaining duty.

Hannali runs back towards his house, bleeding from his ribs. He smells the hot smoke. He questions how a twice-shot man can run so far. The "great red flowering" engulfs the house. He groans, "It is no sundown day for me and mine yet." Both wings of the house are fiercely burning, but the stone rooms resist. Defenders and raiders

exchange fire. Hannali recognizes the Sharp's Carbines, Spencers, and Henrys of the organized raiders. From the house, Forbis Agent shoots too high with Hannali's sweet rifle. Robert Pike fires steadily with a cranky piece. Marie DuShane's light squirrel rifle speaks. Hannali sits down heavily within range, sick to death, and begins killing raiders from four hundred yards. His return unnerves the superstitious raiders, who see him as returned from the dead after killing the unkillable Falaya. He kills half a dozen more before they break and flee on horseback. Hannali rises again, staggering uphill towards the house, feeling the heat and seeing the gable crash. He enters the flaming room; Forbis Agent is dead under a burning beam. Fighting through to a plot behind the house, Hannali shoots the last fleeing raider dead from the saddle at seven hundred yards, an almost unbelievable shot. He finds Marie DuShane dead, her hair still burning, her rifle snout in the ground. With her death, Hannali feels the family is dead; his world has ended. He calls out but gets no answer, loses his senses, and falls to the hot stone floor.

After a hiatus marking the world's end, Hannali awakens three hours later in his strong room, unsure if alive or dead, tended by Robert Pike, who has since departed for the North. Pike leaves a note expressing gratitude, vowing revenge on the "Devil Cherokees," and reporting his inability to find other survivors except Helen Miller (killed with children in Choke-Cherry Canyon) and Marie DuShane; he presumes Natchez and Martha Louisiana are also dead with the children they took. Hannali calls out feebly. His grandson Famous-George appears, followed by daughter Hazel with Peter-Barua and Martha-Child. Hazel directs them to a pit where Natchez has hidden silently with four children: Helena (Alinton's daughter), and infants Thomas-Academy (Forbis's son), Charles-Chitoh (Travis's son), and Anna-Hata (Jemmy Buster's daughter). Famous-George confirms the raiders didn't get the ponies. Hannali summons a pony with a unique call. He finds Martha Louisiana dead three miles away; she had apparently fought back. He brings her body back slung over the pony. Nine are alive: Natchez, Hazel, Famous-George, Peter-Barua, Charles-Chitoh, Martha-Child, Thomas-Academy, Anna-Hata. Twenty-three were killed by the raiders: Marie DuShane, Martha Louisiana, Luvinia, Helen Miller,

Marie Calles, James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Philip-Nitakechi, John-Durham, Francis-Mingo, Strange-Joseph, Nicholas-Nakni, Louis-Hannali, Jude, Matthew-Moshulatubbee, Mary-Luvinia, Gregory-Pitchlynn, Anne-Chapponia, Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, Forbis Agent, Bartholome. One escaped: Robert Pike. Salina had been killed earlier by Whiteman Falaya. Twenty-four dead in one day. Hannali states Famous must become head of the family if he returns. Famous-George says his father will never return, already being "another man now" who will soon die. Famous Innominee does not return; a writing arrives saying he is dead for his own reasons, hinting at a possible return in another guise (theory: a sudden new Union captain). Hannali, Famous-George, and Peter-Barua make twenty-four coffins. They bury the dead in a soft meadow. Famous-George reads the Latin burial rites from *Subvenite sancti* to *lux perpetua*. Hannali reflects that Death is only an incident.

(Agent), (Alinton Innominee), (Alligator), (Anne-Chapponia), (Anna-Hata), (Arkansas), (Bartholome), (Battle of Bird Creek), (Battle of Chuste Nahlah), (Battle of Round Mountains), (Bear), (Big House), (Billy Bow-Legs), (Bird Creek), (Blau), (Buster), (Calles), (Charles Bethany), (Charles Checote), (Charles-Chitoh), (Charles-Mexico), (Cherokee), (Cherokee Pins), (Cherokees), (Chickasaw), (Choke-Cherry Canyon), (Choctaw), (Choctaws), (Civil War), (Colonel Cooper), (Colonel Douglas Cooper), (Colonel James McIntosh), (Colonel John Drew), (Cooper), (Devil), (Devil Cherokees), (Devil-Dog), (DuShane), (Eneas Evans), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Famous-George), (Fat Man), (Five Tribes), (Forbis Agent), (Fort Gibson), (Fox), (Francis-Mingo), (French), (Gibson Road), (God), (Grand Saline), (Grandfather Barua), (Great Red Flowering), (Gregory-Pitchlynn), (Halleck), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Harjo), (Hazel), (Hazel Innominee), (Helen Miller), (Helena), (Henrys), (Henry-Pushmataha), (Hitchiti Meadow), (Horse), (House), (Indian), (Indians), (Innominee), (Innominees), (James), (James McIntosh), (Jeff Merriwether), (Jemmy Buster), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jim Ned), (John T), (John-Durham), (Joseph Kincaid), (Judd), (Jude), (Kansas), (Kiowas), (Latin), (Louis-Hannali), (Lower Creeks), (Lux perpetua), (Luvinia), (Luvinia Innominee), (Major Pegg), (Marie), (Marie Calles), (Marie DuShane), (Marie-

Therese), (Martha Louisiana), (Martha-Child), (Mary-Luvinia), (Matthew-Moshulatubbee), (Mcintosh), (Mingo), (Natchez), (Nicholas-Nakni), (Nieto), (Nitakechi), (North), (Oklafalaya), (Opothle), (Opothleyahola), (Pablo-Nieto), (Papa Hannali), (Pass Christian), (Peter), (Peter-Barua), (Philip-Nitakechi), (Pike), (Pins), (Plains Indians), (Poushmataha), (Priest), (Principalty), (Rachel Perry), (Red Flowering), (Robert Pike), (Round Mountains), (Saint Peter), (Salina), (Salina Innominee), (Sally), (Sally-Salina), (Samuel Checote), (Scott), (Seminole), (Sharp's Carbines), (Shoal Creek), (Silver Saddle), (Six-Town), (Snake Creeks), (Snakes), (South Arkansas Mounted Riflemen), (South Kansas Regiment), (Spencers), (Stand Watie), (Strange-Joseph), (Subvenite sancti), (Sudden Scott), (Sundown day), (Territory), (Texas Cavalry), (Thomas LeFlore), (Thomas-Academy), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Tulsa), (Union), (Unionist), (Van Buren), (Verdigris River), (Whiteman Falaya), (Yahola)

Characters

One day some months into the Civil War period, Hannali awakes from a daytime nap "absolutely shaking with horror," having had one of his "horrifying intuitions" which were never mistaken (172). He cries out, "Why have God punished us so grievously who try so hard to be good... it is because I have broken my word my parole," breaks out of the house, and runs to a ravine nearby, his intuition providing complete details (172). He finds Salina Innominee "done to death," a stark, bloody thing (172). He notes peculiarities: she was struck dead with a single, sudden, painless stroke, but the brutal, bloody business was done to her body *after* death, with blood from the one wound spread to make it look like many wounds; it seems staged and disarrayed (173). He returns to the house after ten minutes ("all that we can allow Hannali to recover from the shock"), finds the coarse paper screed he expected (173). He analyzes Whiteman Falaya's note, recognizing the double attack: a challenge to meet at Hitchiti Meadow ("I take one free shot at you from four hundred yards... then one of us will kill the outhter") combined with the threat of "worse men loose" hinted at in the closing lines ("there four I dou not care which of us it be let it be bouth and I am end in every way come shooting fat man I

wait for you alone this much is true Whiteman Falaya") (173-174). He realizes his son Famous has been gone for days, leaving the house vulnerable, which Whiteman must have known (174). He gives rapid instructions to the two men (Forbis Agent, Robert Pike), seven women (Natchez, Marie DuShane, Martha Louisiana, Luvinia, Hazel, Helen Miller, Marie Calles), and twenty-four children remaining in the house (174). He takes his rifle, looks again at Salina, and goes out afoot on the manhunt (174). He walks rapidly toward Hitchiti Meadow to face the double menace prong by prong, catching the whiff of the "worse men" (175). He feels the "free" shot from Whiteman Falaya hit him in the fat loin; the shot came from behind, less than twenty yards away, not 400 (175). He thinks, "The ghost is fleshed," meaning the wound makes Whiteman trackable (175). He rolls to cover and tracks Whiteman's circling movement using secondary signs (bird squabble, nighthawk flight, grasshopper clicks, field rat snick) and his own sharp sensing (176). He scents Whiteman's excitement, arrogance, and fear—Whiteman is "exhilaratingly afraid of Hannali" (176). Hannali knows he is better at this game but is shot painfully and losing blood (176). He fires before fully seeing the fractional movement, hitting Whiteman in the buttocks as he transits shallow cover (177). The shot lifts dust and skins Whiteman; it is "perfect shooting on the edge" (177). Hannali stands erect in the open meadow, having the advantage, pinning Whiteman in the inadequate cover (177). When Whiteman flicks a finger, Hannali shoots it from eight yards, having closed the distance noiselessly ("Hannali was the ghost now") (177). He rejects Whiteman's call to "Finish it fat man... we go together to die," replying, "I've a duty to live till another day" (178). He tosses five-to-eight-pound flat rocks onto Whiteman's position, hearing a heavy fall on ribs and a glancing blow off the skull (178). Hearing rifle shots three-quarters of a mile away, he knows time has run out (178). He crashes in shooting, killing Falaya but taking a second shot himself from Falaya (178). Seeing Falaya's "pleasantly dark dead face," Hannali's own face is "horribly ashen"; he knows the second shot should be fatal but for his "other duty unfulfilled" (178). He runs the three-quarters mile back to his burning house, bleeding from his ribs (178). He notes the red roses he planted are now part of the "great red flowering" engulfing the house (179). He hears the firefight,

recognizes the defenders' guns: Forbis Agent's sweet little rifle shooting too high ("That son how have I neglect to teach him to shoot proper," Hannali moans), Robert Pike's cranky old piece firing carefully, and Marie DuShane's light squirrel rifle (179). He sits heavily within range (400 yards) and begins killing raiders (180). His return "finished the raiders," who break and flee (180). He rises, staggers, lunges "like a worn-out mule" toward the house, feels the hot blast, enters the flaming front room (180). He sees Forbis Agent dead under a burning beam (180). He fights through the house to a plot behind, fires in "sheer weariness" and drops the last fleeing raider dead from the saddle at 700 yards (180). He sees Marie DuShane dead, hair on fire, her rifle plowed into the ground (180). He thinks, "If Marie DuShane was dead, then the family was dead. She had been everything to them all" (180). He calls out in a cracked voice, gets no answer, starts back through the house, loses his senses, and falls on the hot stone floor (181). His world ends (181). He wakes three hours later in his strong room, patched up by Robert Pike, feverish, stiff, and in agony (182). He moves stiffly out of the room, calls feebly, then makes a bugle with his hands, first a sick cow call, then a powerful bull blare, calling "Dead family, come back to me!" (183). He sees his grandson Famous-George appear and nods wordlessly (183). He sits heavily on the ground to wait (183). He sees daughter Hazel appear with grandchildren Peter-Barua and Martha-Child (183). He asks Hazel faintly, "Are there no more my daughter" (183). Told Natchez and her clutch might be alive, he says "Always I can get up once more after I am dead where do we look" (183). He watches Natchez hand up four children from the pit (183). He asks again, "Are there no more my daughters" (184). Assured the ponies weren't taken, he makes a weird pony call; a heavy pony appears (184). Rejecting Hazel's warning, he says "Nobody will kill me daughter I owe death too much grudge this day he will be afraid of me" and goes to find Martha Louisiana (184). He finds her dead three miles away, brings her back slung over the pony, walking painfully (184). He takes stock: nine alive (Natchez, Hazel, Famous-George, Peter-Barua, Charles-Chitoh, Martha-Child, Thomas-Academy, Anna-Hata) (184). He lists the twenty-three killed by raiders (Marie DuShane, Martha Louisiana, Luvinia, Helen Miller, Marie Calles, Forbis Agent, plus grandchildren James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Philip-Nitakechi, John-

Durham, Francis-Mingo, Strange-Joseph, Nicholas-Nakni, Louis-Hannali, Jude, Matthew-Moshulatubbee, Mary-Luvinia, Gregory-Pitchlynn, Anne-Chapponia, Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, Bartholome) plus Salina killed earlier by Whiteman, making twenty-four dead in one day (184). He hopes Famous may return to head the family (184). Hearing Famous won't return, he asks Famous-George, "Is my son Famous dead" (185). The next morning, he saws boards for twenty-four coffins (185). He picks a burial plot and digs intermittently until he bleeds too badly, rests, then digs again (185). He worries, "Who will know the Latin to say now that Marie DuShane is gone" (185). He reflects, "Our faith constrains us to believe that Death is only an incident... a good man will not fear it and a busy man will hardly notice that it has come and gone... it must come to many men" (185).

Agent, Forbis: One of two men in Hannali House during the attack (174). He uses one of Hannali's rifles but shoots poorly ("too high," "hadn't the knack") (179). Hannali finds him dead under a burning beam inside the house (180). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Anna-Hata: Granddaughter (Jemmy/Hazel's child). Survives hidden in pit with Natchez (183, 184). One of nine survivors (184).

Anne-Chapponia: Granddaughter (Forbis/Luvinia's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Bartholome: Grandson (Jemmy/Hazel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Calles, Marie: Wife of Alinton. Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Charles-Chitoh: Grandson (Travis/Rachel's child). Survives hidden in pit with Natchez (183, 184). One of nine survivors (184).

Charles-Mexico: Grandson (Alinton/Marie's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

DuShane, Marie: One of seven women in Hannali House during attack (174). Uses her light squirrel rifle against raiders (179-180). Found dead by Hannali behind the house, "with her hair still on fire," rifle plowed into ground (180). Hannali considers her "the family" (181). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Famous (Innominee): Hannali's son. Is away from the house when attack occurs (174). Famous-George reports he will not return, is "another man now," and will die soon as that other man (185).

Famous-George: Grandson (Famous/Helen's child). Present in house during attack (174). Appears after Hannali calls; asks if it's safe (183). Tells Hannali he let ponies loose so raiders couldn't catch them (184). Reports his father Famous won't return (185). Helps saw boards and make coffins (185). Knows Latin and reads the burial service (185). One of nine survivors (184).

Falaya, Whiteman: Leaves note for Hannali claiming he killed Salina and challenging Hannali to Hitchiti Meadow (173-174). He intends a double attack, relying on "worse men" arriving for the main assault (174). Ambushes Hannali near meadow entrance (<20 yards), shooting him in the loin (175). Lets out Indian gobble death cry (175). Is tracked by Hannali via secondary signs (176). Circles opposite to Hannali's guess (176). Is afraid of Hannali (176). Creased in buttocks by Hannali's shot (177). Pinned down by Hannali's presence (177). Loses finger nail to Hannali's shot from 8 yards (177). Calls out "Finish it fat man... we go together to die" (178). Cries "You hurt me" and warns of worse men (178). Gets in a second shot at Hannali but is killed by Hannali's return fire (178). His dead face is "pleasantly dark," looks younger (178).

Francis-Mingo: Grandson (Famous/Helen's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Gregory-Pitchlynn: Grandson (Forbis/Luvinia's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Hazel (Innominee): Hannali's daughter. Present in house during attack (174). Appears with Peter-Barua and Martha-Child after Hannali calls (183). Reports Natchez and her clutch may be alive (183). Removes brush covering pit (183). Warns Hannali not to go after Martha (184). One of nine survivors (184).

Helena: Granddaughter (Alinton/Marie's child). Present in house during attack (174). Survives hidden in pit with Natchez (183). One of nine survivors (184).

Helen Miller: Wife of Famous. Present in house during attack (174). Killed by raiders in Choke-Cherry Canyon with some children (182). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Henry-Pushmataha: Grandson (Jemmy/Hazel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

James: Grandson (Jemmy/Hazel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

John-Durham: Grandson (Famous/Helen's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Jude: Grandson (Travis/Rachel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Louis-Hannali: Grandson (Travis/Rachel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Luvinia (Innominee): Hannali's daughter. Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Marie-Therese: Granddaughter (Jemmy/Hazel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Martha-Child: Granddaughter (Forbis/Luvinia's child). Present in house during attack (174). Appears with Hazel and Peter-Barua after Hannali calls (183). One of nine survivors (184).

Martha Louisiana: One of seven women in house during attack (174). Caught outside by raiders and killed about three miles down country (182, 184). Her body is brought back by Hannali (184). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Mary-Luvinia: Granddaughter (Forbis/Luvinia's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Matthew-Moshulatubbee: Grandson (Travis/Rachel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Natchez: One of seven women in house during attack (174). Survives by hiding with four children (Helena, Thomas-Academy, Charles-Chitoh, Anna-Hata) in a pit covered by brush (183). Keeps children quiet and obeys instructions not to answer calls until seeing faces (183). Hands children up to Hazel (183). One of nine survivors (184). Asks Hannali if he is an Alikchi-man to know Famous's fate (184).

Nicholas-Nakni: Grandson (Famous/Helen's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Pablo-Nieto: Grandson (Alinton/Marie's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Peter-Barua: Grandson (Travis/Rachel's child). Appears with Hazel and Martha-Child after Hannali calls (183). Helps saw boards and make coffins (185). One of nine survivors (184).

Philip-Nitakechi: Grandson (Jemmy/Hazel's child). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Pike, Robert: Invisible Unionist soldier, one of two men in house during attack (174). Uses cranky old rifle, trying to make shots count (179). Takes on flesh, released from parole when house sanctuary violated (179). Finds Hannali fallen, patches wounds, stanches bleeding, brings him to strong room (182). Leaves note detailing scouting results (Helen/children killed, Marie dead, Martha caught, Natchez missing) and vowing revenge on raiders ("I count me twenty

houses of them that will be fired by me") (182). Signs note "Robert Pike, Sergeant" (182). Escapes the massacre (184).

Sally (Salina) Innominee: Found dead by Hannali in ravine, killed by Whiteman Falaya (172). Described as "best girl ever," possessed by Devil, long defective in mind (173, 174). Killed by single stroke, body mutilated/staged afterwards (173). Killed by Whiteman to bait Hannali (184).

Strange-Joseph: Grandson (Famous/Helen's child). Present in house during attack (174). Listed among the 23 killed by raiders (184).

Thomas-Academy: Grandson (Forbis/Luvinia's child). An infant, present in house during attack (174). Survives hidden in pit with Natchez (183). One of nine survivors (184).

Outline

XVI. Chapter Sixteen: Sundown and Survival

1. Why have God punished us so grievously? Sundown Day for us. With the principality.

- A. Setting: Months later, Territory bleeding from its thirteen civil wars. Settlements destroyed, towns ruined, Choctaw North strong houses nearly all fallen.²⁰⁴
- B. Hannali's Vision: Awakened from daytime nap shaking with horror, an accurate intuition. Rushed to nearby ravine based on the vision's details.
- C. Self-Reckrimination: Cried out asking why God punished them, believing it was because he had broken his parole (referring to harboring Robert Pike).
- D. The Discovery: Found Salina Innominee dead in the ravine, a "stark, bloody thing."
 - a. Nature of Death: Identified as peculiar. Single, sudden,

²⁰⁴ The period following the Civil War was marked by extreme hardship for the tribes in Indian Territory. Devastation from the war itself was compounded by disease, displacement, and the difficulties of re-establishing homes and livelihoods. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 224-25.

painless, almost compassionate killing stroke. Subsequent brutality (blood spread to imply multiple wounds) deemed staged after death. Concluded the "Devil had killed her." Sudden, painless death offered "small solace."

- E. Hannali's Recovery and the Note: After ten minutes, recovered from shock, returned to house, found the expected coarse paper screed. Possibly written by Whiteman Falaya himself this time.
- a. Content: Taunted Hannali ("Fat man"), claimed kill ("Heffer calf"), warned against pursuit, challenged Hannali to Hitchiti Meadow.²⁰⁵ Specified duel terms: one free shot for Whiteman at 400 yards ("Nourth rim"), then one would kill the other.
- F. Analysis of the Threat: Hannali recognized the bait/trap. Sensed other, worse men nearby ("four I dou not care which of us it be let it be bouth"). Whiteman himself seemed scared of these others. Note declared "sun-down day for us fat man." Hannali accepted the challenge, deciding to face the double menace, starting with Whiteman ("battle with the principality").²⁰⁶ Cloud approaching from SW hinted at imminent climax.

2. In Hitchiti Meadow I wait for you. Perfect shooting on the edge. The ghost is fleshed. Time run out.

- A. The Trick Confirmed: Hannali anticipated Whiteman's trick; the "free" shot came from behind, less than twenty yards, not 400. Whiteman wasn't in meadow but in clump before entrance. Revealed position with eerie laugh/chuckle/bark/gobble ("Indian gobble," death challenge).²⁰⁷
- B. Hannali's Reaction: Rolled instantly to cover, scanned terrain (knew every detail). Sensed Whiteman strongly (excitement, arrogance, fear). Whiteman feared Hannali. Hannali confident in his own superior skill but wounded and losing blood.²⁰⁸
- C. Tracking by Secondaries: Lost scent/sight/sound due to wind

²⁰⁵ The Hitchiti people were part the Creek Confederacy.

²⁰⁶ The Choctaw believed souls or ghosts (*shilup*, *shilombish*) could linger and potentially interact with the living, fitting the idea of a "principality" or powerful spirit being battled. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 216–217.

²⁰⁷ The "Indian gobble" described as a death challenge, while dramatic, is not a custom detailed in Swanton's account of Choctaw warfare or communication. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 162–170.

²⁰⁸ The tracking and hunt for Whiteman Falaya, framed as a response to Salina's murder, mirrors the structure of many Southeastern pursuit tales

shift. Used subtle clues: kingbird squabble, nighthawk flush (triangulation), grasshopper clicks, field rat movement. Described as sharp sensing ("giant traveling finger"), not supernatural.²⁰⁹

- D. The First Shot: Hannali fired before seeing movement, hit Whiteman's buttock as he transited shallow cover. "Perfect shooting on the edge."
- E. Consequence: "The ghost is fleshed." Whiteman wounded, could no longer move silently.
- F. The Standoff: Hannali stood erect in open meadow, establishing dominance. Whiteman pinned in cover. Whiteman flicked finger, lost nail. Hannali closed distance instantly, fired from eight yards. "Hannali was the ghost now."
- G. Time Pressure: Whiteman losing blood, but Hannali losing more. Critical factor: the *other* time running out – the approach of the "worse men."

3. Great Red Flowering. Dead with her hair still on fire. The end of the world of Hannali Innominee.²¹⁰

- A. Final Exchange: Whiteman called out "Finish it fat man... we go together to die..." Hannali replied "I've a duty to live till another day." Tossed heavy flat rocks, hitting Whiteman. Whiteman

where a hero hunts a dangerous monster or antagonist responsible for wrongdoing. Whiteman Falaya functions as a near-supernatural adversary whose defeat requires Hannali's utmost skill, akin to mythic monster-slaying quests. See Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 27–29 (Hunter, Monster Lizard, and Panther), 96–97 (Monster Lizard tales).

²⁰⁹ Hannali's intuitive knowledge and sensory perception during the hunt (sensing the unseen, interpreting minimal signs) reflect abilities often attributed to skilled hunters or magically endowed figures in traditional Southeastern stories. These figures possess a deep connection to their environment and can perceive realities hidden from ordinary individuals. See Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 25 (Hunter and Dogs communicating/perceiving), 81 (Animal Helpers providing information). Hannali's advanced sensing abilities echo accounts of skilled Choctaw hunters and warriors known for their woodcraft and tracking prowess. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 160–161, 166.

²¹⁰ The destruction of Hannali's Big House marks the end of the pre-allotment Choctaw society whose earlier state Cushman chronicled. Cushman documented negative changes post-Removal, stating, "But alas! what a change has seventy-five years wrought upon this once free and happy people!" (114). *History of the Choctaw*.

warned again of "worse men loose."

- B. Threat Materializes: Hannali sniffed air, confirmed threat nearby. Rifle shots heard 3/4 mile away. "Time had run out."
- C. Fatal Shots: Hannali killed Falaya quickly. Whiteman fired second shot, hitting Hannali again. Whiteman died with pleasant, young face. Hannali horribly ashen, second shot nearly fatal.
- D. The Run to the House: Hannali ran bleeding (3/4 mile), smelled smoke. Questioned his ability to run twice-shot. Realized "worse men" attacking house/family. Saw house engulfed in "great red flowering."²¹¹
- E. House Under Siege: Low wings burning, exploding. Stone rooms resisted. Defenders (2 men, 7 women, 24 children) dueling with raiders (using modern rifles - Sharp's, Spencers, Henrys).
 - a. Defenders' Fire: Sweet rifle shooting high (Forbis Agent, unskilled). Cranky old piece firing slowly (Robert Pike, parole broken by attack). Light squirrel rifle firing (Marie DuShane).
- F. Hannali's Counterattack: Sat down heavily, sick. Killed raiders from 400 yards. His return broke attackers' morale (superstitious). Killed half dozen. Raiders fled behind house, still killing.
- G. Entering the Burning House: Hannali staggered uphill, entered flaming room. Found Forbis Agent dead under beam. Fought through house to plot behind. Shot last fleeing raider from saddle (700 yards, felt artificial).
- H. Marie DuShane Found: Dead, hair still on fire, rifle plowed into ground. Her death signified end of family's core ("Marie DuShane was the family"). She represented kindness, competence after self-discovery.
- I. Hannali's Collapse: Called out, no answer. Lost senses, fell on hot stone floor inside house.
- J. End of an Era: Lafferty declares "hiatus." "The world of Hannali

²¹¹ The idea of a "Great Red Flowering" as the end of Hannali's world uses natural imagery to signify destruction, similar to how Choctaw cosmology incorporated elements of the natural world. Swanton, *Source Material*, 200–202. 30. The "Great Red Flowering" symbolizes the widespread violence and destruction, particularly the burning of homes and farms, that characterized the Civil War in Indian Territory; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 141–42, 189.

Innominee was ended."²¹²

4. Of another part, and in the latter days. Bull blare. Dead family come back to me. Is God silent is there no voice?

- A. Hannali Awakens: Unsure of world/status (alive/dead). Knew three hours passed. Found in strong room, patched up by Robert Pike. Crawling with fever, agony, stiffness.
- B. Robert Pike's Note: Explained departure (scouting back, parole broken). Reported findings: Helen Miller/children killed (Choke Cherry Canyon); Marie Calles behind horse lot (smallest killed in feed lot); Marie DuShane confirmed dead; Martha Louisiana caught outside (implies killed after threat of sale); Natchez/children missing (predicts found dead in draw). Pledged revenge on raiders (knew names/faces), vowed to fire 20 houses. Signed "Robert Pike, Sergeant."²¹³
- C. Hannali Rises: Moved with terrible stiffness. Called out (feeble voice). House still burning. Made hand bugle, mournful sick cow call, then powerful bull blare. Summoned the dead: "Dead family, come back to me!"²¹⁴
- D. The Survivors Gather:
 - a. Grandson Famous-George appeared first, fearful. Confirmed

²¹² This "end of the world" for Hannali coincides with the devastating impact of the Civil War on the Five Tribes, which destroyed much of the progress made since removal; Foreman details the suffering and loss of life during the earlier trauma of removal, establishing a pattern of devastation followed by periods of rebuilding. Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 14–15, 72, 141–42. Perhaps Five Tribes civilization ended with fall of this "last strong house of the Choctaw North." Final imagery: smoke, silence, absence. "The world is gone in the reek." The destruction of Hannali House by fire represents the catastrophic loss of a central element of life and social order, a theme echoed in myths dealing with world destruction, floods, or the loss of fire/water, signifying profound disruption and the end of an era. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 121 (Alabama flood), 123 (Loss/recovery of water), 102–103 (Theft of fire).

²¹³ Robert Pike's note details the deaths of family members. Swanton describes extensive Choctaw mourning ceremonies and burial practices, underscoring the profound impact of death on the family and community. Swanton, *Source Material*: 170–193.

²¹⁴ Hannali's calling to his "Dead family" reflects Choctaw beliefs in the continued existence of spirits and the importance of kinship ties even after death, central to their mourning and burial customs. Swanton, *Source Material*: 170–193, 216–217.

- safety. Sat heavily beside Hannali. Gone to bring others.
- b. Daughter Hazel arrived with Peter-Barua (Travis's son), Martha-Child (Luvinia's daughter).
 - c. Natchez emerged from pit/silo with Helena (Alinton's daughter), and infants Thomas-Academy (Luvinia's), Charles Chitoh (Travis's), Anna-Hata (Hazel's blue-eyed daughter). Natchez kept them silent until cover removed.
 - E. The Ponies: Confirmed safe (released by Famous-George). Hannali's pony call summoned one heavy pony.
 - F. Departure Urged/Refused: Hazel urged leaving ("They'll kill you"). Hannali refused ("Nobody will kill me daughter... death... will hide his face and slink away").
 - G. Martha Louisiana Recovered: Found dead 3 miles away ("too battlesome"). Hannali brought body back on pony (he walked).
 - H. The Tally: Nine survivors listed. Twenty-three killed by raiders listed (including Marie DuShane, Martha Louisiana, Luvinia, Helen Miller, Marie Calles, Forbis Agent, etc.). Salina killed earlier by Whiteman. Total 24 dead that day. Robert Pike escaped.
 - I. Succession Discussed: Hannali hoped Famous might return to lead family. Famous-George declared father wouldn't return ("another man now... will die soon"). Natchez questioned Hannali's knowledge ("Are you Alikchi-man?").²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Swanton, *Source Material*: 226–241.



Chapter Seventeen

Overview

Chapter Seventeen describes the protracted and devastating nature of the Civil War in the Indian Territory, distinct from the main conflict, characterized by raids, counter-raids, and internal divisions fostered by figures like Stand Watie and Albert Pike. It details the staggered end of the war in the Territory, extending beyond Appomattox, with leaders like Peter Pitchlynn and Winchester Colbert eventually surrendering their nations. Post-war, the Territory faces utter ruin, yet the US government imposes harsh, unjust treaties, seizing vast lands primarily from tribes loyal to the Union (Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees) while sparing the largely Confederate Choctaws and Chickasaws. This forfeited land is then filled with dozens of displaced tribes from across the continent, leading to overcrowding, starvation, and the destruction of the unique Five Tribes civilization.

Summary

The chapter discusses the nature of the Civil War in the Indian Territory during the years following 1861. The South's intent was to use the Territory as a screen against northern attacks on Texas, employing only Indian troops and misfit white Texas units. The North aimed to prevent a Confederate build-up, conducting five major sweeps into the Territory with superior forces, scattering opposition, occupying areas, then withdrawing, allowing Confederate reoccupation. These ten total sweepings were bloody, mostly involving Indian casualties. Notable Confederate raiders included Jo Shelby, Charles Quantrill (with Frank and Jesse James), and Stand

Watie with his killer Cherokees. Unionist resistance was stubborn, led by figures like Tandy Walker of the Choctaws, who commanded the Second Confederate Indian Brigade (including Alinton Innominee's unit). Walker fought twenty battles, never driven from the field but strategically melting away after inflicting losses.

The main Civil War's end did not immediately stop the fighting in the Territory. Robert E. Lee surrendered April 9, 1865; Joe E. Johnson on April 26; President Jefferson Davis was captured May 10; General Kirby-Smith surrendered May 24 (often cited as the war's end). Yet, Confederate Indian armies remained intact. Peter Pitchlynn, as new Choctaw chief, broke the deadlock, taking control from military leaders and surrendering the Choctaws to a federal commission, not an army. Stand Watie, a full Confederate general, surrendered June 23, the last Confederate general to do so. The Chickasaws, however, remained defiant under military leadership until Chief (Governor) Winchester Colbert dismissed the leaders and told his men the war was over. On July 14, 1865, with only two followers present, a Union major received Governor Colbert's surrender in the Chickasaw encampment, formally ending the Civil War there. However, the Indian Civil Wars continued desultorily for seventeen more years, culminating in the Green Peach War near Okemah in 1882, involving Creek factions led by Isparhecher (carrying Opothleyahola's ghost) and Chief Checote.

The Indian Territory in 1865 is devastated: 12,000 homes (80%) burned, every town destroyed, one-third to one-half of the population killed (before late 1865 epidemics), livestock gone, no seed corn or wheat, no plows, horses, food, money, or credit. The thriving thirty-year civilization is gone forever. Game returns abundantly, and many Indians revert to hunting.

Hannali Innominee, despite four years of burned crops, had planted corn in spring 1865, having saved seed corn in caches; he also has plows and mules. He and others lead the Choctaw North comeback. Ten members of his immediate family group survive (Hannali, Natchez, Hazel, Famous-George, Peter-Barua, Charles-Chitoh, Martha-Child, Thomas-Academy, Helena, Anna-Hata). Travis Innominee

returns first but settles across the river in North Fork Town (Creek Nation) to avoid Alinton, opening a store with money won gambling during Union service. Alinton Innominee returns later, crippled (using a cane but riding easily), wealthy from his wandering year, and confirms Famous Innominee is dead, having visited him in contingent form. Alinton stays with Travis, then at the Big House, before going to Texas to buy cattle with Hannali's gold.

Hannali reflects on being "twice-crucified," referring to the two "nails" driven by the federal hammer post-war. First, all Indian treaties and land rights are voided due to Confederate adherence (though only half adhered). Second, the Five Tribes must forfeit half their land as punishment (unlike Southern states). The injustice is highlighted: loyalist Seminoles lose 80% of their land (only Confederate Seminoles retain theirs); Cherokees lose two-thirds (the land of the neutralist/Unionist Pin faction); Upper Snake Creeks lose all their land. Confederate Choctaws and Chickasaws lose no land, only the vaguely reserved western Leased District. The explanation lies in land tenure: eastern/mixed-blood/Confederate Indians held individual titles, which were respected; western/full-blood/neutral/Union Indians held land communally, which was declared "owned by nobody" and seized.

Over fifty other tribes and remnants are then brought into the Territory onto this forfeited land, causing intolerable crowding. Despite the eventual starvation, compassion among the destitute Territory Indians leads them to adopt and provide for the newcomers. More Indians die in these post-war removals than in the earlier one from the Old South; states got rid of many more Indians than arrived, as many hid in white communities. Incoming tribes include Chiricahua Apaches, southern Arapahos, Cahokias, Cayugas, southern Cheyennes, Chippewas, Conchas, Quadhadi Comanches, Delawares, Illinois, Nemaha Iowas, Kansas, Wildcat Kickapoos, Kiowas, Lipans, Miamis, Michigameas, Modocs, Nez Perces, Osages, Otos, Ottawas, Pawnees, Peorias, Poncas, Prairie/Woods Band Potawatomis, Quapaws, Sac and Fox, Senecas, Wyandots, Kaskaskias, Weas, Piankashaws, Eries, Conestogas, Oneidas, Mohawks, Onedagas, Tuscaroras, Shawnees, Stockbridge Indians, Tamoroas, Tawakonis,

Tonkawas, Wacos. Many new arrivals have no tribal memory and are assigned arbitrarily. This occurs during a period of rampant post-war racism, viewing Indians as unfit. The case of the Ottawas is cited: reduced from 17,000 to 149 people, given 23 sections near Miami, Oklahoma. The fate of Minnesota Indians like the Fort-Snelling Sioux remains questioned. The unique, thriving Indian civilization built over 35 years is declared destroyed.

(Abilene), (Absentee-Shawnees), (Adam), (Adobe Walls), (Agent), (Aionais), (Alabama), (Alamo), (Alinton), (Alinton Innominee), (Alligator), (Anadarko), (Anadarkos), (Anna-Hata), (Apache), (Apaches), (Appomattox), (Arapahos), (Arbuckle), (Arkansas), (Army), (Assiniboin), (Atlantic), (Atoka), (B.I.T.), (Barnard Hotel), (Barred wire), (Baskatanje), (Bat Masterson), (Baxter Springs), (Beautiful Indian Territory), (Bent St. Vrain), (Berthelet), (Big House), (Big Osages), (Bill Tilghman), (Billy Bolek), (Billy Brooks), (Bird Creek), (Blacks), (Blue Stem Country), (Blue-eyed), (Boggy Depot), (Bolek), (Boomer movement), (Boomers), (Bowen), (Bowlegs), (Branding iron), (Brooky Jack Norton), (Brutus), (Buster), (Butler), (Butterfield Overland Dispatch), (Caddo), (Caddo Indian chief), (Caddoes), (Cahokias), (Cairo), (Caldwell), (California), (Calles), (Canadian border), (Canadian River), (Cape Girardeau), (Captain), (Captain George Washington), (Cashao), (Catherine), (Cayugas), (Charles Brown), (Charles Goodnight), (Charles Quantrill), (Charles-Chitoh), (Checote), (Cherokee), (Cherokee Strip Livestock Association), (Cherokees), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaw), (Chickasaw Battalion), (Chickasaw encampment), (Chickasaws), (Chippewas), (Chisholm Trail), (Chitoh), (Chocs), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Battalion), (Choctaw North), (Choctaws), (Christian), (Civil War), (Cloud), (Cobb), (Colbert), (Colbert's Ferry), (Colorado), (Comanches), (Conchas), (Confederacy), (Confederate), (Confederate Indians), (Confederates), (Congress), (Congressional Cemetery), (Conestogas), (Cooper), (Creek Nation), (Creek), (Creeks), (Cross-Timbers), (Custer), (Cyrus Aldrich), (D.C.), (Dakotas), (Dancing Rabbit Creek), (David L. Payne), (Davis), (DeKalb), (Delano), (Delawares), (Denison), (Devil), (Dickens), (Doan's Store), (Doaksville), (Dodge), (Dodge City), (Dodge Trail), (Doniphan County), (Douglas Avenue Hotel), (Douglas Cooper),

(Drago), (Drovers' Cottage), (DuShane), (Earp), (East Shawnee Trail),
 (Edward's Post), (Ellsworth), (English), (Eries), (Eufaula), (Falaya),
 (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Famous-George), (Father Isidore
 Robot), (Ferry), (Ficklin), (Five Tribes), (Five Tribes Indians),
 (Florida), (Folsom), (Forbis Agent), (Fort Gibson), (Fort Reno), (Fort
 Towson), (Fort Washita), (Fort Worth), (Fort-Snelling Sioux), (Fox),
 (Frank James), (Franklin), (Fred Harvey), (Freedom Indians),
 (French), (Galena), (Georgia), (Ghost), (Gibson), (Glidden),
 (Goodnight), (Governor Colbert), (Grand Central Hotel), (Great
 Plains), (Great Reservoir), (Great Western Trail), (Green Interlude),
 (Green Peach War), (Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee), (Hainai), (Halleck
 Tustennuggee), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee),
 (Hannali's Landing), (Hannibal and St. Joe), (Harker), (Hays), (Hays
 City), (Hazel), (Hazel Innominee), (Hebrew), (Helen Miller),
 (Helena), (Hells' Half Acres), (Henderson), (Henry), (Hickok), (Hide
 Park), (Homestead Act), (Homestead Law), (Horse), (Hotel),
 (House), (Iktomi), (Illinois), (Indian), (Indian Civil Wars), (Indian
 Territory), (Indians), (Indiana), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Iowa),
 (Iowas), (Iroquois), (Irving), (Isaac McCoy), (Isadowa),
 (Isparhecher), (J. F. Glidden), (James), (Jesse James), (Jo Shelby), (Joe
 Brennan's), (Joe E. Johnson), (John Pitchlynn), (John T), (Johnson),
 (Jones), (Jones and Plummer Trail), (Jose Maria), (Joseph McCoy),
 (Joseph), (July 14), (July 14, 1865), (June 23), (Kansans), (Kansas),
 (Kansas Pacific), (Kansas railheads), (Kaskaskias), (Keno House),
 (Kickapoos), (King), (Kiowas), (Kirby-Smith), (Kutchaw), (Latin),
 (Laughing Fox), (Leased District), (Leavenworth, Pawnee &
 Western), (Lee), (Leeper Creek), (Lewis Davis), (Lincoln), (Lipans),
 (Little Osages), (Little Wolf), (Louis), (Louisiana), (Lyon), (Major),
 (Manchokatonx), (Mantantan), (Martha Louisiana), (Martha-Child),
 (Masterson), (Mather), (May 10), (May 24), (McCoy), (Menominee),
 (Mexican), (Miamis), (Miami), (Michigan), (Michigameas), (Mike
 Meagher), (Miller), (Minnesota), (Minnesota Indians), (Mishoweia),
 (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Missouri Pacific), (Missouri River),
 (Mixed Band Senecas), (Modocs), (Mohawk), (Mohawks), (Montana),
 (Moses), (Moshulatubbee), (Mount Rushmore), (Muskogee),
 (Mysterious Dave Mather), (Nadoues-Sioux), (Natchez), (Nauchville),
 (Nebraska), (Negro), (Nemaha Iowas), (New Mexico), (New Western
 Trail), (Newton), (Nez Perces), (Niter), (North Fork Town), (Norton),

(Occidental), (Ocher), (Okemah), (Oklahoma), (Oklafalaya), (Old South), (Old Wild West Days), (Omaha), (Onedagas), (Oneidas), (Opothle Yahola), (Opothleyahola), (Oregon), (Osages), (Otos), (Ottawa Indians), (Ottawas), (Ouiskonche), (Pacific coast), (Pale Face), (Pansfalaya), (Papa Hannali), (Paris), (Parker), (Park Hill), (Pat Sughrue), (Pawnee), (Pawnee & Western), (Pawnee Fork), (Pawnees), (Payne), (Penn), (Pennsylvania), (Peorias), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Piankashaws), (Pierce), (Pike), (Pin), (Pitchlynn), (Plains Indians), (Plummer), (Plutarch), (Polk), (Poncas), (Potawatomis), (Prairie Band Potawatomis), (Preston), (President Jefferson Davis), (Priest), (Psalms), (Pushmataha), (Quantrill), (Quannah Parker), (Quapaws), (Railroads), (Rector), (Red Beard's Dance Hall), (Red Man), (Red River), (Red River Station), (Reno), (Republic of Texas), (Reserve Squadron), (Richard), (Robert E. Lee), (Robert Jones), (Robert Pike), (Roman), (Roosevelt), (Rosary), (Ross), (Round Mountains), (Rousseau), (Sac and Fox Indians), (St. Joe), (St. Louis), (St. Patrick's Church), (St. Thomas Aquinas), (St. Vrain), (Salina), (Salt), (Salt Creek), (Samuel Rutherford), (San Antonio), (Sandusky Senecas), (Santee Dakotas), (Santa Fe), (Sauk), (Sawyer), (Sawyer and Ficklin), (Second Confederate Indian Brigade), (Sedwick County), (Seminoles), (Senecas), (Senator Innominee), (Sequoyah), (Shakespeare), (Shanghai Pierce), (Shawnee), (Shawnees), (Shelby), (Sheriff), (Shoal Creek), (Sill), (Sioux), (Six Tribes), (Skullyville Convention), (Slave), (Small Cloud Spicer), (Smith), (Snake Creek), (Snake Indians), (Socrates), (Songeskiton), (South), (South Carolina), (Southwestern Hotel), (Spain), (Spanish), (Spanish Fort), (Spanish-Mexican), (Spencer), (Spiritus Sancti), (Springfield), (St.), (St.), (Stand Watie), (Stockbridge Indians), (Stone), (Sughrue), (Summa), (T. C. Henry), (Tamoroas), (Tancred), (Tandy Walker), (Tawakonis), (Taylor), (Ten Commandments), (Territory), (Territory Indians), (Teton), (Texas), (Texas House), (Texas Road), (Thomas-Academy), (Tilghman), (Tom Smith), (Tonkawas), (Travis), (Travis Innominee), (Treaties), (Tuscaroras), (U.S.), (U.S. Army), (U.S. Cavalry), (U.S. Congressmen), (U.S. Troops), (Union), (Union Army), (Union Forces), (Union Major), (Union soldier), (Unionist), (Unionist Indians), (Unionists), (United States), (Upper Snake Creeks), (Utah), (Vicksburg), (Vigilantes), (Voltaire), (W. A. Williams), (Waco), (Wacos), (Walker), (Wallace), (War years), (Washington),

(Washington, D.C.), (Washita), (Watie), (Weas), (Wellington), (West Shawnee Trail), (White), (White Eyes), (White Men), (Whiteman), (Wichita), (Wild Bill Hickok), (Wild West), (Wildcat Kickapoos), (William Garrett), (William McIntosh), (William of Falaise), (Wilson's Creek), (Winchester Colbert), (Winding Stair Mountains), (Woods Band Potawatomis), (Wyandots), (Wyatt Earp), (Wyoming), (Yahola), (Yankton)

Characters

Walker, Tandy: A Choctaw leader (187). Had been chief of all Choctaws in 1858-59 (or at least chief of the Skullyville Convention party) (187). Described as a "boy-faced beardless man" (187). His Choctaw and Chickasaw troops stood up to white, Negro, and other Indian troops (187). He fought twenty battles and was "never driven from a field" (187). His strategy involved inflicting terrible losses and then melting away, as he lacked means for longer battles (187). Commanded the Second Confederate Indian Brigade, comprising the First Chickasaw Battalion, First Choctaw Battalion, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Battalion (including Alinton Innominee), Second Choctaw Battalion, and the Reserve Squadron (led by Captain George Washington) (187).

Alinton Innominee: Rode with the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Battalion under Tandy Walker (187).

Colbert, Winchester: Governor Colbert dealt with the Chickasaws after Peter Pitchlynn dealt with the Choctaws (188). He dismissed the military leaders and told his men the wars were over (188). He barely held onto about a hundred men for a token surrender force as the rest rode off home (189). On July 14, 1865, he identified himself to a Union major who entered the Chickasaw encampment (189). Asked rudely if he could read, Colbert replied "I can," read the surrender papers, signed them, and watched the major leave (189).

Davis, Jefferson: President Davis was captured by Unionists on May 10, 1865 (188).

Hannali Innominee: Captain George Washington, the Caddo chief, was a friend of Hannali (188).

James, Frank: One of Quantrill's followers (187).

James, Jesse: One of Quantrill's followers (187).

Johnson, Joe E.: Surrendered the Army of Georgia on April 26, 1865 (188).

Kirby-Smith, General: The last die-hard Confederate general in the southern states, surrendered May 24, 1865 (188).

Lee, Robert E.: Surrendered on April 9, 1865, but numerous leaders vowed not to surrender then (188).

Major (Unnamed Union): Walked a tired horse into the Chickasaw encampment on July 14, 1865, with two followers (189). Mouthed a dry cigar and seemed a "very dry man" (189). Presented surrender papers to Governor Colbert, rudely asked if Colbert could read (189). After Colbert read and signed, the major put the papers in his pocket, lit his cigar with a new sulphur match, and walked his horse out (189).

Pitchlynn, Peter: As new Choctaw chief, broke the deadlock after the main Civil War surrenders (188). Took over from military leaders, announced it was finished for the Choctaws, and surrendered not to an army but to a federal commission (188).

Quantrill, Charles: The "devil Charles Quantrill," who had been on both sides, now had a Confederate license to murder; A notable Confederate raider (187).

Shelby, Jo: Splendid Confederate raider who used regular troops (187).

Walker, Tandy: See Main Character section above.

Washington, George (Captain): Caddo Indian chief, friend of Hannali (188). Led the Reserve Squadron in Tandy Walker's brigade (187-188).

Watie, Stand: Double-devil Confederate raider with killer Cherokees (187). A real military genius, whatever else (187). A full Confederate general, an end-of-the-line man who knew the party was over (188). Surrendered on June 23, the last Confederate general to do so (188).

Outline

XVII. Chapter Seventeen: Aftermath and Imposition

1. From Cowskin Prairie to Edward's Post: The Final Raids²¹⁶

- A. Nature of Warfare (Post-1865): Seemed random but followed pattern.
 - a. Southern Intent: Use Territory as screen against North attack on Texas. Employ only Indian troops and "veriest sweepings" of misfit white Texas units. Good Texas soldiers used elsewhere accidentally. Generally successful tactic. Texas defended by "hodgepodge."
 - b. Southern Strategy: Disguise holding action with showy raids into North. Not intended for permanent occupation; shallow, swift. Success/failure irrelevant; aimed as diversion, punish Kansas/Missouri. Raiders mostly Indians.
- B. Northern Objective: Prevent dangerous Confederate build-up in Territory (serious flank threat). Could conquer, but holding required manpower needed elsewhere.
- C. The Pattern: Unionists raided south 5 times (superior force, scattered opposition, occupied, withdrew). Confederates

²¹⁶ Cowskin Prairie is in the northeastern corner of present Oklahoma. Edward's Post was near Holdenville, Oklahoma. The date July 14, 1865, is historically noted as the final surrender of Confederate forces in the Indian Territory (Winchester Colbert's Chickasaw command). Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 189. Edward's Post, located near the confluence of Little River and the Canadian River, was a significant trading post and landmark on the route west through the Creek and Seminole nations. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 73, 144, 178, 221. Cowskin Prairie is in the northeastern corner of present Oklahoma. Edward's Post was near Holdenville, Oklahoma.

reoccupied/destroyed 5 times. Ten total sweepings, "very bloody affairs," most blood spilled was Indian.

D. Confederate Raiders Noted:

- a. Jo Shelby: Used regular troops, "splendid."
- b. Charles Quantrill: "devil," ex-both sides, new Confederate license to murder. Followers: Frank/Jesse James, "killers from the cradle."
- c. Stand Watie: "double-devil," with killer Cherokees.²¹⁷

E. Union Counter-Raids: Came down when Confederate raiders ruled few months, broke up nests. Confederate resistance always stubborn.

F. Tandy Walker (Choctaw): Another key Confederate leader. Chief 1858/59 (Skullyville Convention party). Boy-faced, beardless. Troops (Choctaw/Chickasaw, mixed white/Negro/Indian) stood up to white troops, never truly beaten. Fought 20 battles, never driven from field. Strategy: inflict terrible losses, melt away (couldn't sustain long battles). Commanded Second Confederate Indian Brigade.

- a. Brigade Composition: First Chickasaw Bn, First Choctaw Bn, First Choctaw/Chickasaw Bn (Alinton Innominee rode with this group), Second Choctaw Bn, Reserve Squadron (Capt. George Washington - Caddo chief, friend of Hannali).

G. Persistence of Fighting: Would continue if Union hadn't ceased attacks and Confederates hadn't surrendered elsewhere. Territory allegiance remained stubborn despite shifting fortunes.

H. End of the Main Civil War (Clarification):

- a. Lee's Surrender (Apr 9, 1865): Not the end.
- b. Johnson's Surrender (Apr 26).
- c. Davis's Capture (May 10).
- d. Kirby-Smith's Surrender (May 24): Usually cited end date, but fighting continued in Territory. Confederate Indian armies

²¹⁷ The Choctaw and Chickasaw forces, allied with the Confederacy, participated extensively in the Civil War within Indian Territory. Stand Watie, a Cherokee, was the most prominent Confederate general.; Debo details the Choctaw participation under Confederate command, including their involvement in various engagements. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 81-83.

intact.

I. Territory Surrenders²¹⁸:

- a. Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw): Broke deadlock. As new chief, declared it finished, surrendered to federal commission (not army).
 - b. Stand Watie (Cherokee): Mad-man raider, end-of-line man. Knew party over. Surrendered June 23 (last Confederate general).
 - c. Chickasaws: Still in field, unbroken, "howling for somebody to fight." Chief Winchester Colbert dismissed military leaders, told men war over. Army melted away. Governor Colbert kept ~100 men as token force.
 - d. Final Surrender (July 14, 1865): Union major (tired, dry man) with two followers walked into Chickasaw camp. Colbert identified self. Major presented papers, rudely asked if Colbert could read. Colbert read, signed. Major lit cigar with sulphur match, left.
- J. Lingering Conflicts: Indian Civil Wars didn't end. Desultory fighting for 17 years. Last phase: Green Peach War (1882, near Okemah), between Creek factions (Isparhecher vs. Chief Checote). Bitterness died only with last Snake Creek veterans.

2. They drove the nails they had forgotten: Reconstruction

Treaties²¹⁹

- A. Territory's Condition (Formal End, 1865): Very bad shape. 12,000

²¹⁸ The surrender process in Indian Territory was complex. Peter Pitchlynn surrendered Choctaw forces. Stand Watie was the last Confederate general to surrender (June 23, 1865). The Chickasaws, under Governor Winchester Colbert, held out until July 14, 1865, when a Union major accepted their surrender.; Debo recounts the separate surrenders of the tribal forces after the main Confederate armies had capitulated. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 84-85.

²¹⁹ The post-war treaties of 1866 imposed severe penalties on the Five Tribes, including land cessions and loss of sovereignty, regardless of wartime allegiance. This process is likened here to "driving the nails" of crucifixion. See Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*. 191-93. The Reconstruction Treaties of 1866 fundamentally altered the status of the Five Civilized Tribes. Arguing that alliances with the Confederacy abrogated previous treaties, the U.S. government required land cessions (especially the western half of the Creek and Seminole lands and the Leased District from the Choctaws and Chickasaws), railroad rights-of-way, and steps toward intertribal government under federal supervision. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 229-234.

homes burned (80%). Every town/settlement destroyed. 1/3 to 1/2 Indians killed (pre-epidemics). Livestock gone, seed corn/wheat gone, no plows, horses, food, money, credit. Outsiders indifferent. Thriving 30-year civilization "gone forever."

B. Glimmer of Hope: Game reappeared. Indians reverted to hunting. Hannali still had seed corn/caches, plows, mules; led comeback in Choctaw North. Ten Innominees left (7 under 10 yrs old) to reconstitute clan.

C. Sons Return (or Don't):

a. Travis: Came home first, didn't stay. Didn't want to see Alinton yet. Moved across river (North Fork Town, Creek Nation). Built house on lot from Uncle Pass Christian. Opened store with Union card shark money.

b. Alinton: Came home crippled (used cane, rode horse easily). Confirmed Famous wouldn't return (Famous visited Alinton after death, long talk in contingent form).

D. Hannali and Alinton Reconnect: Hannali asked about Famous's status ("where he is now?"). Alinton replied purgatory better than Texas, not up to Moshulatubbee. Riddle confirmed Famous dead. Alinton resolved to see Travis. Bought cattle in Texas with Hannali's gold. Believed time to rebuild.

E. Hannali's Analogy (Quote): "We are a twice-crucified people... this second time they have nailed us up... by one hand and one foot... flopping like a caught turkey let us not be impatient I am feel that very soon they be along to drive the nails they have forgotten."

F. The Two Nails (Federal Hammer):

a. Nail 1: All Indian treaties/rights voided due to Confederate adherence (though only half adhered).²²⁰

b. Nail 2: Five Tribes must forfeit *half* their land as punishment. (Contrast: Southern states didn't forfeit land). Land to be used

²²⁰ The US government used the tribes' Confederate alliances as a pretext to abrogate treaties and demand land cessions, a policy rooted in expansionist desires. Abel quotes Commissioner Cooley's statement at Fort Smith: "'Under the terms of the treaties with the United States, and the law of Congress of July 5, 1862, all these nations and tribes forfeited and lost all their rights to annuities and lands. The President, however, does not desire to take advantage of or enforce the penalties for the unwise actions of these nations.'" *Reconstruction*: 188.

for other Indians.²²¹

G. Relocation Policy: Tribes uprooted from across US, piled onto forfeited Territory land. Often looted of old land without payment. New arrivals mostly "civilized," forgotten Indian identity, prosperous farmers, often 3/4 white blood, victims of "new rampant racism." Arrived before declarations known in Territory. Mostly from surrounding states/territories initially (TX, AR, KS, MO, CO), tribes with existing clans in IT.²²²

3. Whatever happened to all those Ottawa Indians?: Fate of Relocated Tribes²²³

A. Scale of Relocation: Later tribes came from Atlantic/Pacific coasts, Canada. Partial list provided: Chiricahua Apache,

²²¹ The post-war treaties (Treaty of 1866) imposed penalties, primarily land cessions, but the Choctaws and Chickasaws, despite their Confederate alliance, lost only the Leased District, while factions of the Creeks and Cherokees who had Union ties lost significant portions of their commonly held eastern lands. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 88-90, 191-193.

²²² The U.S. government used the lands ceded by the Five Tribes in the 1866 treaties to relocate numerous other tribes from Kansas and elsewhere, including groups like the Potawatomi, Shawnee, Sac and Fox, Iowa, Pawnee, Ponca, Otoe-Missouria, Kaw, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Wichita, Caddo, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 233-35, 240-43. After the Civil War, the U.S. government forcibly relocated numerous other tribes (including Ottawas and various Sioux bands removed much earlier to other locations, not directly to I.T. in this period) onto lands ceded by the Five Tribes, drastically altering the demography and land tenure of the Territory; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 192. The forced relocation and consolidation of numerous disparate tribes into Indian Territory after the Civil War accelerated the breakdown of distinct tribal cultures and languages described by Lafferty. Swanton discusses the earlier Choctaw removal and interactions with neighbors. See Swanton, *Social Material*: 4-5, 55ff. Following the Civil War, the U.S. government adopted a policy of concentrating numerous other tribes (including remnants of Ottawas and various Sioux groups historically associated with places like Fort Snelling) onto lands ceded by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 191-192.

²²³ The chaotic displacement and interaction between different tribes (Apache, Waco, Fort-Snelling Sioux mentioned alongside the Choctaws) reflects the complex historical movements and relationships, sometimes forced, among various Southeastern and Plains groups. Swanton's collection implicitly acknowledges these diverse groups and their occasional mythic interactions or shared folklore elements. Apaches and Wacos were Plains tribes often hostile to the emigrant tribes from the Southeast. Fort Snelling (established 1819) was a major U.S. Army post in Minnesota, central to relations with the Sioux and other northern tribes.

Southern Arapaho, Cahokias, Cayugas, Southern Cheyennes, Chippewas, Conchos, Quahadi Comanches, Delawares, Illinois, Nemaha Iowas, Kansas, Wildcat Kickapoos, Kiowas, Lipans, Miamis, Michigameas, Modocs, Nez Perces, Osages, Otos, Ottawas, Pawnees, Peorias, Poncas, Prairie/Woods Band Potawatomis, Quapaws, Sac & Fox, Sandusky/Mixed Band Senecas (omnibus tribe created), Shawnees, Stockbridge, Tamoroas, Tawakonis, Tonkawas, Wacos. Many others ("cousins"). New Indians often unaware of tribal origin, added to convenient groups.

- B. Underlying Cause: Post-war hatred, rampant racism. "Modern doctrine": Indians unfit, must be extinguished for manifest destiny race.
- C. The Peculiar Exception: Chickasaws and Choctaws (officially Confederate) lost *no* land. Only western "Leased District" (vaguely reserved, no built expectations) taken.
- D. The Punished Loyalists: Seminoles, Creeks, Cherokees (large Union loyalty/forces) robbed of > half land.²²⁴
 - a. Seminoles: Lost 80%. Land of Alligator/Bolek/Tustennuggee followers (sided with Yahola/Union) taken. Only Confederate Seminoles kept land.
 - b. Cherokees: Lost 2/3. Land of full-blood Pin faction (neutral/Unionist) taken. Confederate Cherokees lost none.
 - c. Creeks: All Upper Snake Creek land taken. None of Lower Confederate Creek land taken.
 - d. Conclusion: Land divided to punish friends, reward enemies.²²⁵

²²⁴ The post-Civil War period saw treaties imposed on the Five Tribes that drastically altered their land tenure and sovereignty, often perceived as punishing allies (like neutral or Union factions) and rewarding enemies (pro-Confederate factions who retained individual property). Swanton details earlier land cessions but establishes the context of treaty relations. Swanton, *Source Material*: 4–5, 103.

²²⁵ The paradoxical theme of rewarding enemies and punishing friends, as perceived in the post-war political landscape, contrasts sharply with the reciprocal justice or vengeance often found in traditional tales. Myths frequently depict rewards for aid and retribution for harm, unlike the inversions Hannali observes. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 81–82 (Animal Helpers), 150 (Bear's Revenge).

- E. The Mechanism: Selectivity explained by land tenure.
 - a. Eastern/Mixed-Blood/Slave-Holding/Confederate Indians: Held land in severality (individual titles).
 - b. Western/Full-Blood/Freeholding/Neutral/Union Indians: Held land in common (tribal ownership, life tenure for use). No written individual title.
 - c. Result: Administrators claimed truthfully/half-truthfully only "land owned by nobody" assigned away; individual titles respected.
- F. Overcrowding Averted?: Despite >50 tribes moved in, no intolerable crowding. Deaths by starvation occurred for decade. Territory Indians (destitute) adopted/provided for new arrivals. Not as many survived relocation as estimated died (~20k arrived vs. perhaps >half died). States rid selves of 3-4x that number (hid in white communities, ceased being Indian).
- G. Case Study: Ottawa Indians: Given 23 sections SE of Miami, OK. Historically numbered 17,000. Now 149 left. Land plenty for small group. Question posed: "whatever happened to all those Ottawa Indians?"
- H. Case Study: Minnesota Indians: Cyrus Aldrich (MN congressman) avid for removal/extinction. Most swept out, most didn't arrive IT. Some Ojibways (Chippewas) came via Kansas (arrived there 15 yrs prior). Question posed: Where are Fort Snelling Sioux, Ouiskonche, Songeskiton, Manchokatonx, Mantantan, Assiniboin, Menominee? Lost names or lives.²²⁶
- I. Summary: Thriving Territory civilization (1828-Civil War) built up, utterly Indian yet parallel/friendly to white culture. Built in ~35 years. Destroyed. Question: "Could it be built again?"²²⁷

²²⁶ The disappearance or dramatic reduction of tribes like the Ottawa or Fort Snelling Sioux illustrates the immense demographic impact of disease, warfare, and forced assimilation throughout Native American history, a backdrop to the Choctaw experience Swanton documents.

²²⁷ The phrase "Is it not the same thing" echoes the profound sense of loss and cultural disruption experienced by the Territory Indians after the Civil War, which effectively destroyed the pre-war civilization they had built. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 224–225.



Chapter Eighteen

Overview

Chapter Eighteen covers the post-Civil War "Children's Decades" in the Indian Territory, a period of rebuilding amidst cultural transformation. It details the final years and complex legacy of Peter Pitchlynn, who died in Washington D.C. having transitioned towards a white identity. The chapter explores the pervasive cultural shift Hannali observes as his family and the Territory Indians increasingly adopt white customs, language, and thought patterns, effectively losing their distinct "Indian" identity. Despite these changes, Hannali remains a respected figure, adapting to new realities like railroads and relocated towns, reconnecting with the Catholic Church through Father Robot's arrival, and continuing his life as Senator Innominee until his final years.

Summary

The novel describes the post-Civil War period in the Territory as an "Indian summer," a frostbit second spring, characterized by youth and rebuilding – the "Children's Decades." Despite the devastation (over a third killed, half the prime-aged men dead), a wave of children born before and during the war survived, families adopted orphans, and new Indians (mostly children and old people) arrived. This contrasts with the concurrent "Old Wild West Days," which followed the extinction of the Territory's unique civilization.

The chapter reflects on Peter Pitchlynn's later life after the war and his term as Choctaw chief. He lived quietly in Washington, D.C., serving occasionally as an expert on Indian affairs for Congress and tirelessly advocating for Indian justice, though he had "become a white man." The text explores the paradox of whether altering one's future also alters the past. Pitchlynn died in Washington on January 17, 1881, identified as a white man, son of John Pitchlynn, though an alternate view holds he was born a full-blood Indian named Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee. Albert Pike ("second Devil of the Indians") delivered his funeral eulogy over his grave in Congressional Cemetery, near where old Pushmataha was also buried, causing an angry rumble from underground. Peter Pitchlynn, the former Choctaw star, is lamented: "Poor Peter Pitchlynn!"

The Innominee clan thrives once more. Hannali has money in New Orleans and St. Louis, plus cached gold, and continues to prosper through farming and cattle. However, Hannali perceives a fundamental change: "They are not Indian any more." His granddaughter Natchez confirms this unconsciously when she pronounces "Papa Hannali" with the accent on the first syllable, like white people and new Indians, rather than the old Indian second-syllable accent. This linguistic shift reflects a broader cultural assimilation. New Indians arriving from eastern states (New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan) have no Indian language or cultural memory and integrate into existing communities, accelerating the change. English becomes the universal language, displacing older tongues by the 1870s. Thought patterns, clothing (calico shirts adopt white styles), house building (resembling Illinois/Missouri), and education follow suit, with schools teaching colonial history instead of tribal pasts. Grandson Thomas-Academy questions terms like "Pale Face" and "Red Man," prompting Hannali's observation, "The White Eyes use words curiously." Indian art ceases for two decades, returning later as nostalgic rather than contemporary. The "Indian thing" is gone.

Around 1870, Hannali takes his four youngest grandchildren (Anna-Hata, Thomas-Academy, Charles-Chitoh, Peter-Barua) to the Osage country for baptism, as priests are scarce in the Choctaw North. He

reflects that grandchildren are "better and prettier" than his own children, possessing a new gentleness, wit, adaptability, and softheartedness his starker sons lacked. Granddaughters, like Martha-Child (droll, pleasant, witty), carry their beauty more easily than their mothers (Luvinia, Sally, Hazel) had. He marvels at these "smooth-skin creatures" from his nest, concluding, "The world is getting worse but the people in it are getting better."

In later life, Hannali plays the violin, not the fiddle, bowing "old powerful stuff up out of the cellar." He mostly gives up reading English newspapers but rereads Plutarch, Leviticus, and old French letters, discovering his father-in-law was named Alinton Duchesne. Railroads arrive, bypassing old towns, forcing them to relocate (Doaksville to Fort Towson, North Fork Town to Eufaula, Skullyville to Spiro, Boggy Depot to Atoka, Perryville to McAlester), breaking old continuities. Time moves faster. Hannali, sixty-three at the war's end, remains vigorous. He maintains his *pansfalaya* (long-haired) look. He is still Senator Innominee, a respected figure, not an "Old Character," known even for shooting pool in Eufaula. In 1874, Father Isidore Robot, a Bohemian Benedictine, arrives in Atoka (Choctaw South) and builds St. Patrick's Church. People recognize the connection to the old French Jesuits. Hannali begins making annual rides (initially 72 miles) to St. Patrick's, leading the Innominee caravan, continuing until the year of his death. The chapter concludes, "There would be a house at the top of the hard hill."

(Abilene), (Adam's apple), (Agent), (Albert Pike), (Alik), (Alinton Duchesne), (Anna-Hata), (Aquinas), (Atoka), (Barua), (Bear), (Benedictine), (Big House), (Blacks), (Boggy Depot), (Bohemian Benedictine), (Buster), (Catholic), (Charles Dickens), (Charles-Chitoh), (Cherokee nations), (Cherokees), (Children's Decades), (Chitoh), (Chocs), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Nation), (Choctaw North), (Choctaw South), (Choctaws), (Christ), (Christian), (Church), (Civil War), (Coal Law), (Congressional Cemetery), (Congress), (Creek), (Creek nation), (Creeks), (Custer), (D.C.), (David L. Payne), (Devil), (Dickens), (Doaksville), (Dodge City), (Duchesne), (DuShane), (English), (English language), (Eufaula), (Falaya), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Famous-George), (Fat Man), (Father Isidore Robot), (Five Tribes), (Five Tribes Territory civilization), (Forbis Agent),

(Fort Towson), (French), (French Jesuits), (French letters), (Galena), (George-George), (God), (Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Hazel), (Hebrew), (Helen Miller), (Hell), (House), (Illinois), (Indian), (Indian summer), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Indiana), (Innominee), (Innominee clan), (Innominees), (Irish), (Irving), (Israel), (January 17, 1881), (Jesuits), (John Pitchlynn), (Kansas), (Kentucky), (Kiowas), (Latin), (Leviticus), (Lord), (Louisiana), (Luvinia), (Manor House), (Marie DuShane), (Martha Louisiana), (Martha-Child), (McAlester), (Menominee), (Michigan), (Mingo), (Missouri), (Montaigne), (Moses), (Moshulatubbee), (Muskogee), (Nanah Waiya), (Natchez), (Negroes), (New England), (New Indians), (New Mexico), (New Orleans), (New York State), (Niter), (North Fork Town), (Ohio), (Okla Hannali), (Oklafalaya), (Old Wild West Days), (Osage country), (Pale Face), (Pansfalaya), (Papa Hannali), (Parker), (Payne), (Pennsylvania), (Permit Law), (Perryville), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Peter-Barua), (Pike), (Pitchlynn), (Plains), (Plains Indians), (Plutarch), (Priest), (Pushmataha), (Quannah Parker), (Railroads), (Red Man), (Riley), (Robot), (Roman), (Sally), (Second Devil of the Indians), (Senator Innominee), (Sequoyah), (Shakespeare), (Sioux), (Skullyville), (Sophia Folsom), (Spanish), (Spencer), (Spiro), (St. Louis), (St. Patrick's Church), (St. Thomas Aquinas), (St. Vrain), (Statue of Liberty), (Swift), (Tamaha Landing), (Territory), (Territory Indians), (Texas), (Thomas Aquinas), (Thomas-Academy), (Timber Law), (Travis), (Tuskahoma Council House), (Union), (United States), (Washington, D.C.), (White), (White Eyes), (White Man), (Wichita)

Characters

Hannali Innominee's clan thrived once more after the war (198). He had money in New Orleans and St. Louis, gold coin cached at home, and always knew "how to grow money as well as corn and cattle" (198). He observes a change, something wrong that he cannot initially pinpoint: "They are not Indian any more," he realizes one day (199). He notes the shift in pronunciation of his own name from the second syllable (Indian) to the first (white/new Indian), as used by his granddaughter Natchez (199). He tries to explain the terms "Pale

Face" and "Red Man" to his grandson Thomas-Academy, saying, "The White Eyes have the belief that sometime somewhere some Indian called them pale face which I disbelieve... They also believe that sometime somewhere someone called the Indians Red Men which is likewise questionable" (200). When Thomas-Academy asks why, noting white men are ruddy and Indians bark-brown, Hannali replies, "The White Eyes use words curiously" (200). He observes the change in laws (Permit Law 1867, Timber Law 1871, Coal Law 1873) from Indian to white-man thinking and wording, the cessation of Indian art, and concludes, "The Territory Indians woke one afternoon and found that they had been turned into white men. The Indian thing was gone and nobody could find it again" (201). Around 1870, he takes his four smallest grandchildren (likely Thomas-Academy, Martha-Child, Charles-Chitoh, Anna-Hata) in a spring wagon to Osage country to be baptized, as priests hadn't come through Choctaw North for years (201). He observes his grandchildren are better and prettier than his children had been, lacking the fathers' "beaks" but possessing a new gentleness, wit, adaptability, and "softhearted foolishness" (201). He reflects with pride that they hardly do bad things but wonders how these "smooth-skin creatures" came from his nest (202). He says, "The world is getting worse but the people in it are getting better... how do you figure that one out how can it be like that" (202). In his latter days, he plays the violin, not fiddle jump tunes (except at dances), bowing "old powerful stuff up out of the cellar" (202). He gives up reading newspapers but finishes Plutarch and Leviticus, having whatever he read carefully "by heart for life" (202). He reviews old French letters, smiling to find his father-in-law was named Duchesne, not DuShane (202). He notes time moves more rapidly, saying he went "out to shoot a turkey once, and five years slipped away from him like minutes" (203). He is sixty-three at the end of the war and doesn't age much, being "made out of primordial stuff" (203). He sometimes lives with the blacks and mixed blacks for weeks, noting the time lag in their language use (Choctaw vs. English) (203). He wonders how his least Indian-appearing granddaughter, Anna-Hata, could be married almost the day after she was born (203). He maintains his *pansfalaya* (long-haired) appearance, hair nearly waist length, informal, shirtless, sometimes barefoot, rosary around his neck, "nine colors of brown and a little dirty by white man's

standards" (203). But he is "Senator Innominee" when he goes to town (Choctaw, Creek, or Cherokee nations), not an "Old Character"; white men who laugh at young Indians don't laugh at him (203-204). He talks in the new brick Tuskahoma Council House and shoots pool in Eufaula, clearing \$100 a week from "monied white men" who bet against a sure thing (204). After Father Robot builds St. Patrick's in Atoka (1874), Hannali rides down several times a year (72 miles initially, the distance seeming to increase yearly with his age) (204). At least once a year, he leads the "whole caravan of Innominees" there in buggies and wagons (204). He makes the last journey in the year of his death (204).

Anna-Hata: Granddaughter. Married (203). Least Indian-appearing grandchild but closest to Hannali (203).

Buster, Jemmy: Father of Anna-Hata (217 - inferred link to Chapter 20 text).

DuShane, Marie: Grandmother of Anna-Hata (217 - inferred link to Chapter 20 text).

Hazel (Innominee): Mother of Anna-Hata (217 - inferred link to Chapter 20 text).

Natchez: Lets slip the first-syllable pronunciation "Hannali," confirming the cultural shift to Hannali (199).

Pike, Albert: Preached the funeral eulogy over Peter Pitchlynn's grave in Congressional Cemetery (218). Called the "second Devil of the Indians" whose voice "boomed sonorously over his clay" (218).

Pitchlynn, Peter: Lived out his post-war life in Washington D.C., sometimes serving as expert to Congress on Indian affairs, a tireless advocate for Indian justice, but had become a "white man" (197). Died in Washington D.C. January 17, 1881 (218). Question raised about his identity - son of John Pitchlynn, or born full-blood Indian Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee? (218). Buried in Congressional Cemetery; Albert Pike

preached his eulogy (218). Described as the "Choctaw star all of whose rays had pointed upward" (218).

Pushmataha: Buried in Congressional Cemetery near Peter Pitchlynn; an "angry rumble from under the ground" was heard from his grave during Pike's eulogy for Pitchlynn (218).

Robot, Father Isidore: Comes to Atoka in 1874 and builds St. Patrick's Church (Choctaw South) (204). A Bohemian Benedictine, recognized by the Choctaw South families as of the "same species as the French Jesuits known to their great-great-grandfathers," despite lack of prior contact (204).

Thomas-Academy: Hannali's grandson. Asks Hannali one day riding home from the white-people school, "What is Pale Face? What is Red Man?... History book has them. Why am I ignorant? Why have I never heard of them before?" (200). Asks why Indians aren't called ruddy/red when white men are, noting Indians are "bark-brown" (200).

Outline

XVIII. Chapter Eighteen: Children, Changes, and Continuance²²⁸

1. The Children's Decades and Peter Pitchlynn's Fade

A. Post-War Period: Described as "Indian summer" for the Territory- a "frostbit second spring," end of things, not

²²⁸ The period following the Civil War was marked by intense pressure on the Five Tribes to renegotiate their relationship with the United States, often under duress. The Fort Smith Council of September 1865 was a pivotal event where the US government outlined its demands. Abel summarizes the core stipulations presented by the commissioners: "Such treaties must contain, substantially, the following stipulations: . . . The institution of slavery which has existed among several of the tribes must be forthwith abolished . . . A portion of the lands hitherto owned and occupied by you must be set apart for the friendly tribes now in Kansas . . . It is the policy of the government . . . that all the nations and tribes in the Indian territory be formed into one consolidated government . . ." Abel, *Reconstruction*: 188-189.

beginning. Community became youthful rather than aged.

B. The Children's Decades:

- a. Context: People faced extinction; response is either death or prolific reproduction.
- b. Demographics: >1/3 Territory Indians killed; >1/2 prime-age men dead. Anticipatory wave of births before/during war. Children survived hardships.²²⁹
- c. Social Response: Territory orphans cared for; families took in strange children (unknown languages). New incoming Indians mostly children/old people. Old passing, world dominated by children.²³⁰

C. Context of the Old Wild West: Marked the *beginning* of Old Wild West Days. Seen as retrogression, new lawlessness after extinction of old civilizations (Territory Five Tribes, New Mexico, California, Plains Indians' prairie peace, French/Spanish veneers, trading empires). Old Wild West followed these civilizations, didn't lead them. Key elements (trails, longhorns, ranges, mining, Custer, banditti, vigilantes, homesteaders) had not yet fully emerged. Territory civilization built, lived short life, murdered *before* Wild West peak.

D. Peter Pitchlynn's Later Life: Symbol of the lost Five Tribes civilization. Lived remainder of life post-Civil War/chieftaincy in Washington D.C. Lived quietly, many friends. Served sometimes as expert to Congress on Indian affairs. Tireless advocate for Indian justice (some found tiresome). Had "become a white man."²³¹

E. Philosophical Paradox (Aquinas/Sci-Fi): Does making a future

²²⁹ The period after the Civil War involved significant social and economic adjustment for the Choctaws, including rebuilding infrastructure, adapting to the abolition of slavery, and dealing with increased white intrusion, all documented by Debo. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 91-109, 110-148.

²³⁰ The post-Civil War era in Indian Territory is characterized as the "Children's Decades" due to the high number of young people facing the task of rebuilding. Peter Pitchlynn, former Choctaw chief, spent his final years advocating for his people in Washington, D.C., and was buried in Congressional Cemetery upon his death in 1881. See Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 197.

²³¹ Peter Pitchlynn, a prominent Choctaw leader before and during the Civil War, represented the Choctaws in Washington, D.C., during the difficult post-war treaty negotiations of 1866. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 228, 231.

sealing decision also seal/alter the past? Does man settle only future manner, or past manner too?

- F. Pitchlynn's Death and Ambiguous Identity: Died Jan 17, 1881, Washington D.C. Officially white man, son of John Pitchlynn. Alternate view: born full-blood Indian Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee.²³²
- G. Albert Pike's Role: Another aging figure in Washington ("Moses emeritus"). Preached funeral eulogy over Pitchlynn's grave (Congressional Cemetery). "second Devil of the Indians boomed sonorously." Underground rumble heard (forgotten: Pushmataha also buried there).²³³
- H. Final Assessment: Pitchlynn = Choctaw star pointing upward. Pike = "what he had been." Closing cry: "Poor Peter Pitchlynn!"²³⁴

2. Linguistic and Cultural Shifts

- A. Innominee Clan Revival: Thrived again ("It would always do that"). Hannali had money (New Orleans, St. Louis, cached gold coin). Knew how to grow money/corn/cattle. Many Innominees remained.
- B. The Change: Hannali sensed something wrong; new thing stubbornly different from old. Realization: "They are not Indian

²³² Peter Pitchlynn died in Washington, D.C., on January 17, 1881, after years advocating for Choctaw claims.; Debo confirms Pitchlynn lived out his post-war life in Washington and died there. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, 197-198. Peter Pitchlynn was buried in Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C., as was Pushmataha decades earlier. Swanton mentions Pushmataha's fame and Pitchlynn's prominence. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 4, 89. Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C., is the burial site of notable figures from American history, including Pushmataha, the renowned Choctaw chief who died there in 1824 while on a diplomatic mission. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 119.

²³³ The reference to "Underground thunder in Congressional Cemetery" uses a powerful natural image associated with supernatural beings (Thunder) in Southeastern mythology to describe a distant, ominous event (political machinations affecting Indian Territory). This metaphorical use of mythic elements reflects their cultural resonance. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 124, 184 (Thunder stories).

²³⁴ Peter Pitchlynn's life story, representing both Choctaw identity and adaptation leading to his prominence in Washington, embodies the theme of transformation common in many myths. While Pitchlynn's changes are social and political, they echo mythic novels where individuals undergo significant changes in status, form, or power. See Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 30-34 (Man Who Became a Snake).

any more."

- C. Natchez's Observation: Confirmed shift ("they are now come to be white-people people even the darkest"). Speculated "Maybeso we are the last of the Indians, Papa Hannali." Her pronunciation of "Hannali" shifted to first syllable (white/new Indian/children way), slipping from old second-syllable Indian manner.²³⁵
- D. Pronunciation Guide: "Hannali" accented second syllable pre Civil War, first syllable later.
- E. Nature of the Change: Not physical (still "ruddy brown skins"). Came from smashing old civilization, accretion of new Indians (50 tribes/remnants). Questioned if mixing Indians creates white people ("In this case, yes"). New Indians (NY, OH, PA, IN, MI) never spoke Indian languages, white except ancestry, never identified as Indian until removed. Intent: settle by group; Practice: mixed everywhere. No town/clan/neighborhood lacked new Indian families.²³⁶
- F. Language Shift: Few new Indians spoke anything but English. Territory Indians bilingual. English became necessary lingua franca. Old languages set aside (Five Tribes tongues out of common use by 1870s). English thought patterns emerged.
- G. Material Culture Shift: Clothing, tools, housebuilding followed white models. Old timber/stone buildings looked Indian; new

²³⁵ Lafferty notes the shift in accenting "Hannali" from the traditional second syllable to the first, reflecting anglicization. Swanton discusses linguistic variations among Choctaw divisions but not this phonetic shift. Swanton, *Source Material*: 56. The shift in the pronunciation of "Hannali" from the second syllable (traditional Choctaw) to the first syllable (Americanized) symbolizes the erosion of traditional culture and language under assimilation pressures; Foreman discusses the gradual changes in customs and language. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 200. The shift in pronunciation (accenting Hannali on the first syllable) symbolizes the gradual assimilation and adoption of Anglo-American cultural patterns, including language usage, that occurred in the post-war Territory; Debo discusses the widespread adoption of English and other cultural shifts. *Choctaw Republic*: 199-201.

²³⁶ The mixing of numerous tribes in post-Civil War Indian Territory contributed to the erosion of distinct tribal languages and cultural practices, leading toward a more homogenized, English-speaking population as described here. Swanton notes earlier linguistic affiliations and the eventual rise of English. Swanton, *Source Material*: 200.

houses like Illinois/Missouri/Kentucky.²³⁷ Even shirts changed (calico shirts lost fitted deerskin shape, became white-man shaped).

H. Educational Shift: New schools were white-people schools (colonial/New England history). No Choctaw/Creek past taught (irrelevant to mixed tribes).

I. Identity Confusion (Example): Grandson Thomas-Academy asked "What is Pale Face? What is Red Man?" from history book. Hannali tried explaining: White Eyes' belief Indian called them pale face (disbelieved); belief someone called Indians Red Men (questionable). Thomas-Academy observed whites are ruddy/red/rosy, Indians bark-brown. Hannali concluded: "The White Eyes use words curiously."

J. Deeper Shift: Mind itself changed (ideas put into words). Choctaw constitution/laws printed 1852 = completely Indian. Permit/Timber/Coal Laws (1867, 1871, 1873) = white-man thinking/wording. Indian art ceased for two decades; resumed nostalgic, not contemporary. Whole world changed; Indians "turned into white men." "Indian thing was gone and nobody could find it again."²³⁸

3. Hannali's Later Life: Fiddles, Faith, and Fatherhood

A. Grandchildren Raising (circa 1870): Hannali took four smallest (Famous-George, Charles-Chitoh, Peter-Barua, Thomas Academy) to Osage country for baptism (priest rare in Choctaw North post-war). Raising grandchildren different; better, prettier. Grandsons had strength/character, new gentleness/wit/adaptability/softhearted foolishness fathers acked. Granddaughters prettier (though less starkly beautiful/talented than mothers Luvinia/Sally/Hazel), easier beauty, more droll/pleasant. Martha-Child had humor, salt

²³⁷ The change from traditional log or bark houses to styles resembling those in Illinois or Missouri reflects the adoption of Euro-American material culture in the later territorial period. Swanton describes the earlier traditional Choctaw house structures. Swanton, *Source Material*: 37–39.

²³⁸ While some members of the Five Civilized Tribes owned slaves, the institution differed in practice from that in the Southern states. After the Civil War, the 1866 treaties required the tribes to abolish slavery and incorporate their freedmen as citizens or provide for their removal. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 232, 168.

(refined store salt vs. mother Luvinia's Territory seep salt – "sharp thing with galena and niter mixed in").²³⁹ Children were savage; grandchildren not. Hannali proud, wondered at change ("smooth-skin creatures"). Observation: "world is getting worse but the people in it are getting better..."

- B. Hannali's Music: Used to play fiddle; after Peter Pitchlynn played it, it became violin. Now played violin in evenings, bowing "old powerful stuff up out of the cellar." Great depth/richness.
- C. Hannali's Reading: About given up. Territory papers now English (knew news before arrival). Finished corners of Plutarch/Leviticus. Had readings by heart. Reviewed old French letters (smiled finding father-in-law was Duchesne, not DuShane; recalled Marie's intrepid teaching despite spelling difficulty).
- D. Impact of Railroads: Changed country. Didn't follow old town paths. Destroyed towns rebuilt near rails, ignored old sites. Towns moved, forgot names (Doaksville>Fort Towson, North Fork>Eufaula, Skullyville>Spiro, Boggy Depot>Atoka, Perryville>McAlester). Old continuity broken, towns buried in buffalo grass.²⁴⁰
- E. Perception of Time: Moved rapidly. Hannali felt years slipped like minutes. Still vigorous post-63 (end of war), "primordial

²³⁹ Galena (lead sulfide) and niter (potassium nitrate) were known components, used traditionally or in trade goods, perhaps referenced metaphorically here for sharpness or potency. Swanton mentions trade goods but not these minerals in relation to character.

²⁴⁰ The move of Choctaw towns like Doaksville and Skullyville towards railroads mirrors the broader shift in settlement patterns across the West, disrupting older centers and trade routes. Swanton identifies these as important earlier towns. The arrival of railroads after the Civil War transformed Indian Territory, bypassing old towns and creating new settlements along the tracks, disrupting traditional settlement patterns. Foreman notes the significant impact of railroad construction. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 112–13. The arrival of railroads after the Civil War dramatically altered the landscape and economy of the Choctaw Nation. Many older towns were bypassed and declined, while new towns sprang up along the rail lines.; Debo notes the decline of old towns like Doaksville and the rise of new railroad towns. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 223–224. The movement of towns reflects the impact of railroads bypassing older settlements established after removal, such as Doaksville and Skullyville; the initial locations of Choctaw settlements and administrative centers post-removal are discussed by Foreman. See Foreman, *Indian Removal*: 42, 54,

stuff," not subject to aging. Occasionally lived with blacks/mixed blacks (20-year lag: they still spoke Choctaw).

F. Anna-Hata's Marriage: Granddaughter married quickly ("almost the day after she was born"). Least Indian-appearing, closest to Hannali.

G. Hannali's Later Appearance: Still *pansfalaya* (long haired).²⁴¹ Hair often loose, waist-length. Informal appearance. Not "Old Character" despite age/appearance (flowing hair, shirtless, barefoot, rosary, nine colors brown, dirty by white standards). Remained Senator Innominee in town (Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee nations). White men who laughed at young Indians didn't laugh at Hannali. Still Senator in Tuskahoma Council House, still pool shark in Eufaula (\$100/week).

H. Reconnection with Church (1874 onward): Father Isidore Robot (Bohemian Benedictine, same "species" as French Jesuits) came to Atoka, built St. Patrick's. Reached Choctaw South (no contact for decades). People recognized/remembered. Hannali rode down several times/year (72 miles initially, distance grew with age). Led yearly family caravan (horseback, buggies, wagons). Made last journey in year of death. Long time coming back; "all right after that." Foreshadowing: "There would be a house at the top of the hard hill."²⁴²

²⁴¹ Pansfalaya or Pa(n)sfalaya was an older term meaning "Long Hairs," referring to the traditional Choctaw male hairstyle. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 57.

²⁴² Father Isidore Robot was a significant Catholic missionary figure among the Choctaw in the post-Civil War era, establishing churches like St. Patrick's in Atoka. Swanton details earlier missionary efforts. See Swanton, *Source Material*: 3, 16.



Chapter Nineteen

Overview

This chapter contrasts the end of the "Old Wild West Days" with Hannali Innominee's final years. It details the Boomer movement led by David L. Payne to open the unassigned lands in Indian Territory, opposed not by Indians but by cattlemen already illegally using the land. Hannali encounters Payne in Dodge City, debating land philosophy before Payne's likely poisoning and death, which ultimately opens the Territory. The novel then shifts to Hannali's old age, living alone in his Big House with the ghost of Robert Pike, reflecting on the past and the vanished Indian world. A final anecdote recounts his famous "talking horses" trick and his last night spent drinking with friends in Eufaula before returning home and facing a premonition of his death.

Summary

The chapter introduces the Boomer movement, led by David L. Payne, which aimed to settle the unassigned Indian Territory lands under the Homestead Act. Ironically, Indians liked Payne but hated his killers. The Boomer movement arose from the "Old Wild West Days" (c. 1867-1887), a brief era defined by Texas cattle drives north through the "B.I.T." (Beautiful Indian Territory), also known as the Green Interlude, to Kansas railheads, western mining, and Spanish-Mexican cultural influence. Key trails (Great Western, Chisholm, etc.), river crossings (Spanish Fort, Doan's Store, etc.), Texas staging towns (Preston, Denison), Kansas railhead towns (Abilene, Dodge City), railroads, stage lines, promoters, hotels, raiding tribes, army forts, Indian leaders (Quannah Parker), vice areas, saloons, and lawmen

(Wyatt Earp, Wild Bill Hickok) are listed as elements of this period's folklore. The Innominee family, through Jemmy Buster and Alinton Innominee, had connections to trail driving.

In the spring of 1884, Hannali is in Dodge City, Kansas. The twenty-year dust cloud of the Wild West is settling. He sits with David L. Payne (slim white man, king of the Boomers) and a fat white man (an immortalizer of the era). Payne argues passionately that land makes the man, and every man deserves 160 acres, deeming the unassigned Territory land an injustice. Hannali counters that the land belongs to Indian tribes and questions who Payne's *real* enemies are. Payne cannot name an Indian who opposes him strongly. It is revealed that Indians generally did not oppose white settlement itself, only sought compensation. Payne's real opponents were cattlemen (like the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association) who were already illegally occupying the unassigned lands through fictitious leases and connivance with U.S. Army posts, and fought to exclude homesteaders. Payne made five attempts to settle the Territory with homesteaders from Kansas, filing claims and breaking land, only to be arrested by U.S. troops from Fort Reno each time. On November 27, 1884, after addressing a rally in Wellington, Kansas, for what seemed a likely successful final invasion attempt (backed by law and public opinion), Payne went to bed at the Barnard Hotel and died in agony, likely poisoned by his enemies (cattlemen). His death paradoxically achieved his goal, opening the unassigned lands and other withheld lands to homesteaders, ending the Old Wild West Days. This mattered little to Territory Indians, whose civilization had ended twenty years prior.

In his last years, Hannali lives mostly alone in the Big House, conversing with the ghost of Robert Pike. Hannali finds it good to talk, noting Pike is unclear unless Hannali forces his own voice. Pike reminds Hannali he exists only in his mind. Hannali recalls seeing two white men scared by Pike's "Unionist ghost." Pike suggests Hannali stay with his people due to his age, but Hannali reflects on having lived to see the new century (1901) despite Anna-Hata's earlier doubt. He laments the passing of great Indians—Buffalo Hump, Dull Knife, Pock Mark, Roman Nose Thunder, Powder Face, Black Kettle,

Opothle, Bolek, Alligator, Nitakechi, Pitchlynn, his father Barua, and his good brothers—and the lost terror of the Indian name, recalling the terrifying Kiowas.

It was the Kiowas who, sixty years earlier, named Hannali "The Man with the Talking Horses." This stemmed from a ventriloquism trick Hannali used to amuse his children, making horses seem to speak by flicking their throats while throwing his voice. Visiting Plains Indians, like the childlike Kiowas, were often fooled. One Kiowa demanded proof, challenging a horse to speak Kiowa. Hannali made the horse reply (in imperfect Kiowa) that it wasn't a Kiowa horse but a Creek horse stolen two years prior near Tukabatchee Town. The Kiowa owner furiously denied this, claiming the stolen horse was a twin, illustrating how Hannali recognized a stolen horse.

Sixty-four years later (around 1900-1901), Hannali is in Eufaula. He had supper with Travis's widow (his daughter) and her daughter Catherine. Later, in the back room of a drugstore (serving as a saloon due to early prohibition), he plays cards and drinks late into the night—the second to last of his life—with eight companions, all of Indian blood, though only Hannali and one other appear obviously so. He learns the eighth man (tow-headed, German name) is one-quarter Kiowa and retells the talking horses story. Riding home on his big plow horse, Hannali is "ripe as a fall pumpkin," tall and wide, possibly 96 or 100 years old, still Senator Innominee, Choctaw fiddler, son of Barua, head of a thriving family. Reaching the river, finding the ferry closed, Hannali decides to swim. The horse agrees: "Hell let's swim it." They swim the thin ice separately. Entering his Big House, dripping and crusted with ice, Hannali hears the "old Adam voice" declare this is the last time he will ever walk through that door.

(Abilene), (Adam voice), (Adobe Walls), (Agency), (Alamo), (Albert Pike), (Alinton Innominee), (Alligator), (Anadarko Agency), (Anna-Hata), (Apache), (Apaches), (Arapahos), (Arkansas River), (Army), (Army forts), (Barnard Hotel), (Barred wire), (Barua), (Bat Masterson), (Baxter Springs), (Bear), (Beautiful Indian Territory), (Big House), (Bill Tilghman), (Billy Brooks), (Billy Bolek), (B.I.T.), (Black Kettle), (Blue River), (Boggy Depot), (Bolek), (Boomer

movement), (Boomers), (Branding iron), (Brennan), (Brooky Jack Norton), (Brutus), (Buffalo Hump), (Buster), (Butterfield Overland Dispatch), (Caddoes), (Caldwell), (California Street), (Callahan Street), (Canadian River), (Cape Girardeau), (Captain), (Cashao), (Catherine), (Cattle drives), (Cavalry), (Charlemagne), (Charles Brown), (Charles Goodnight), (Cherokee Strip Livestock Association), (Cheyennes), (Chickasaw), (Chickasaws), (Chisholm Trail), (Choc), (Choctaw), (Choctaw throat), (Choctaws), (Cimarron Crossing), (Civil War), (Clear Boggy), (Cloud), (Colbert's Ferry), (Colorado), (Comanche Potatoes), (Comanches), (Confederate), (Conchas), (Cox Trail), (Crazy Horse), (Creek horse), (Creeks), (Custer), (David L. Payne), (David Payne), (Delano), (Delawares), (Denison), (Devil), (Doan's Store), (Doaksville), (Dodge City), (Dodge Trail), (Doniphan County), (Douglas Avenue Hotel), (Drovers' Cottage), (Dull Knife), (Durham), (East Shawnee Trail), (Earp), (Ellsworth), (Eufaula), (Falaya), (False Washita), (Famous), (Famous Innominee), (Father), (Ferry), (Ficklin), (Five Tribes), (Fixico), (Florida), (Fort Gibson), (Fort Reno), (Fort Snelling), (Fort Worth), (Fox), (Frank James), (French), (Gaines Creek), (Galena), (General), (German), (Ghost), (Ghosts), (Goodnight), (Gotebo), (Governor), (Grand Central Hotel), (Grand Saline), (Gray Ghost), (Great Western Trail), (Green Interlude), (Ha-Tchoo-Tuck-Nee), (Hainai), (Halleck Tustennuggee), (Hannali), (Hannali House), (Hannali Innominee), (Hannibal and St. Joe), (Harjo), (Harker), (Hays), (Hays City), (Hazel), (Hells' Half Acres), (Hickok), (Hide Park), (Homestead Act), (Homestead Law), (Horse), (Hotel), (House), (Idaho), (Illinois), (Indian), (Indian Territory), (Indians), (Indiana), (Innominee), (Innominees), (Iowa), (Iowas), (Isparhecher), (J. F. Glidden), (James), (January 17, 1881), (Jemmy Buster), (Jeremiah Judd), (Jesse James), (Jim Ned), (Jim Pockmark), (Joe Brennan's), (John Pitchlynn), (Jones), (Jones and Plummer Trail), (Jose Maria), (Joseph McCoy), (Judd), (Jumper), (Kansans), (Kansas), (Kansas Pacific), (Kansas railheads), (Kaskaskias), (Keno House), (Kentucky), (Kettle), (Kiowa), (Kiowas), (Kutchaw), (Land), (Laughing Fox), (Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western), (Leeper Creek), (Levi Colbert), (Lipans), (Little Mountain), (Little Osages), (Little Wolf), (Lokar-Poker town), (Lone Wolf), (Longhorns), (Louisiana), (Louisville), (Luvinia), (Lyon), (Man with the Talking Horses), (Manchokatonx), (Mantantan),

(Martha Louisiana), (Martha-Child), (Masterson), (Mather),
 (Maybeso), (McCoy), (McCoy's Addition), (McIntosh), (Melodrama),
 (Menominee), (Mexican), (Miamis), (Michigameas), (Mike
 Meagher), (Mingo), (Minnesota), (Mississippi), (Missouri), (Missouri
 Pacific), (Mixed Band Senecas), (Modocs), (Mohawk), (Mohawks),
 (Montana), (Moshulatubbee), (Mountain Fork), (Muddy Boggy),
 (Muskogee), (Mysterious Dave Mather), (Nanah Waiya), (Natchez),
 (Nations), (Nauchville), (Nebraska), (Negro), (Nemaha Iowas), (New
 Mexico), (New Western Trail), (Newton), (Nez Perces), (Nitakechi),
 (Niter), (North Fork Town), (Norton), (November 27, 1884),
 (Occidental), (Ocher), (Ochillas), (Ohio), (Okla Hannali),
 (Oklahoma), (Old Wild West Days), (Onedagas), (Oneidas),
 (Opothle), (Opothleyahola), (Oregon), (Osages), (Otos), (Ottawa
 Indians), (Ottawas), (Ouiskonche), (Pacific), (Paha-Yuca), (Pale
 Face), (Pansfalaya), (Papa Hannali), (Parker), (Pat Sughrue),
 (Pawnee), (Pawnee Fork), (Pawnees), (Payne), (Penn),
 (Pennsylvania), (Peorias), (Perkins), (Peter Pitchlynn), (Peter-Barua),
 (Philip Henry Sheridan), (Pike), (Pinochle), (Pitchlynn), (Plains),
 (Plains Indians), (Plummer Trail), (Plutarch), (Pock Mark), (Poncas),
 (Potawatomis), (Powder Face), (Prairie Band Potawatomis),
 (Preston), (Priest), (Prohibition), (Pushmataha), (Quadhadi
 Comanches), (Quannah Parker), (Quapaws), (Quantrill), (Red Beard's
 Dance Hall), (Red Man), (Red River Station), (Red River), (Reno),
 (Robert Pike), (Roman Nose Thunder), (Rosary), (Round Mountains),
 (Sabine Estuary), (Sac and Fox Indians), (St. Joe), (St. Louis),
 (Saloon), (San Antonio), (Sandusky), (Santee Dakotas), (Santa Fe),
 (Satank), (Satanta), (Sawyer), (Sawyer and Ficklin), (Sedwick
 County), (Seminole), (Seminoles), (Senecas), (Senator Innominee),
 (Shanghai Pierce), (Shawnee), (Shawnees), (Sheriff), (Shoal Creek),
 (Sill), (Sioux), (Six-Town), (Skin Indians), (Sky Chief), (Small Cloud
 Spicer), (Smith), (Snake Creek), (Snake Indians), (Songeskiton),
 (Spanish Fort), (Spanish-Mexican), (Spencer), (St.), (St.), (St.), (St.),
 (Stand Watie), (Stockbridge Indians), (Sughrue), (T. C. Henry),
 (Talking Horses), (Tamoroas), (Tawakonis), (Ten Commandments),
 (Territory), (Teton), (Texan), (Texas), (Texas House), (Texas Road),
 (The Man with the Talking Horses), (Thomas-Academy), (Thunder
 Man), (Tilghman), (Timbered Mountain), (Tinkled), (Tombigbee
 River), (Tom Smith), (Tonkawas), (Tow-headed), (Tracks), (Trail

drivers), (Travis), (Tukabatchee Town), (Tuscaroras), (Union), (Union Army), (Unionist ghost), (United States), (U.S. Army), (U.S. Troops), (Utah), (Van Buren), (Ventriloquize), (Verdigris), (W. A. Williams), (Waco), (Wacos), (Wallace), (Washita), (Watie), (Weas), (Wellington), (West Shawnee Trail), (White), (White Eyes), (White Man), (Whiteman), (Wichita), (Wild Bill Hickok), (Wild West), (Wildcat Kickapoos), (Winchester Colbert), (Winding Stair Mountains), (Woods Band Potawatomis), (Wyandots), (Wyatt Earp), (Wyoming), (Yahola), (Yankton)

Characters

Hannali is aware of the Boomer movement led by David L. Payne, noting the irony that Indians liked Payne and his poor followers but hated the cattlemen who killed Payne and opposed the Boomers (205). He lives mostly alone in the Big House in his latter days, or with the ghost of Robert Pike (211). He talks to the ghost, "It is good to have someone to talk to in the evening Robert Pike... there were the years when I could not see you now there have come the years when I cannot hear you well unless I force my voice on you why are you so unclear Robert and we friends" (211). He dismisses Robert's ghostly nature, citing sightings by others of the "crazy coot of a Unionist ghost" and recalling Robert didn't visit after dying (212). He rejects Pike's suggestion to stay with other people, saying "I be not alone spook Robert think ye that ye are the only familiar ghost that I own Robert" (212). He notes Anna-Hata corrected him about the start of the 20th century (1901, not 1900) and says "damme but she is right now I have to stretch myself to make it" (212). He laments the passing of the great Indians and the taming of others: "Quannah Parker is now a tame Indian at Anadarko Agency why do I laugh Hannali Innominee is now a tame Indian in his own house where are they all... where is my own father Barua and my good brothers where are the Tribes Indians where are the Plains Indians is it all a good thing that even the terror have gone out of the Indian name... is not the world weaker when we lose the terror where is the fun to be always tame people on tether" (212). He recalls being named "The Man with the Talking Horses" by Kiowas sixty years prior due to his ventriloquism trick (making horses seem to speak by flicking their throats and throwing

his voice with the neigh) (212). He remembers how he recognized a stolen Creek horse among the Kiowas by its markings and tricked the Kiowa owner with the talking horse routine (213). Sixty-four years later (around 1900), he sits late in the back room of a drugstore/saloon in Eufaula, talking and drinking with friends after having supper with his widowed daughter-in-law (Travis's second wife) and granddaughter Catherine (213). He finds out the eighth man in the group (tow-headed, heavy, German name) is one-quarter Kiowa (214). Hannali laughs and tells the old story of the talking horses (214). Riding home later on his big horse (a riding pony could no longer carry him), he chuckles and flicks the horse, "Horse my horse... talk to me see if I can still make horses talk" (214). The horse replies, "Man my man... maybe I flick you with a foot some day then I make you talk horse and not talk man" (214). Hannali tells the horse about a tonic bottled by his grandson that tests 100 proof when empty (214). He is ripe and round like a fall pumpkin, tall as a tupelo, wide as a swamp, 100 years old by grandchild-count (more likely 96), still Senator Innominee, clay-footed fiddler, son of Barua, father of Famous, with over fifty great-grandchildren (214). Arriving at the river where the inferior ferry doesn't run at night, he rejects using a raft and says, "Hell let's swim it" (215). He dismounts, swims separately from his horse through easy ice (215). As he drips and bulks through the great door of his Big House, the "old Adam voice" tells him this is the last time he will ever walk through that door (215).

Alinton Innominee: Accompanied Hannali on a trail drive to Kansas in 1870 (208). Made a second drive the next year, then acted as factor for other Indians (208).

Anna-Hata: Tells Hannali the 20th century begins in 1901, not 1900 (212). Fears the ghost of Robert Pike (211).

Artist (Unnamed Fat White Man): The "foremost immortalizer of the Old Wild West Days on canvas, in bronze, and on paper"; sits talking with David Payne and Hannali Innominee in Dodge City, spring 1884 (208).

Barua Innominee: Mentioned by Hannali as his father (212). Also Told Pushmataha he sucked white men's eggs (214).

Bolek: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Buffalo Hump: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Catherine: Small daughter of Travis's widow; has supper with Hannali (213).

Dull Knife: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Famous Innominee: Mentioned by Hannali as his son who was afraid of nobody (214).

Gray Ghost: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Horse (Hannali's): A big plow horse, as a riding pony could no longer carry Hannali (214). When Hannali flicks its throat and asks it to talk, it replies, "Man my man... maybe I flick you with a foot some day then I make you talk horse and not talk man" (214). It tells Hannali, "Hell let's swim it," when they reach the river (215). It swims separately from Hannali across the icy river (215).

Kiowa Indian (Unnamed): Sixty-four years earlier, was fascinated by Hannali's talking horse trick (213). Demanded the horse talk Kiowa (213). Said, "Our horses do not talk at all" (213). Was fooled when Hannali made his horse "confess" to being a stolen Creek horse (213). Howled, "Oh, that horse lie! He is no stolen horse, he is born a Kiowa horse... Oh how I beat this horse when we are alone! Horse must learn not to blurt out damaging things like this" (213).

Kiowa Indian (Unnamed, 1/4 Ancestry): A tow-headed heavy man with a German name, one of eight men drinking with Hannali in Eufaula; Hannali learns of his ancestry late in the evening (214).

Nitakechi: Mentioned by Hannali as strong (212).

Opothle Yahola: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Parker, Quannah: Mentioned by Hannali as now a "tame Indian at Anadarko Agency" (212).

Payne, David L.: King of the Boomers (205). Liked by Indians, hated by cattlemen who killed him (205). Born Indiana 1836, came to Kansas early (209). Believed strongly in Homestead Law (filed twice himself) (210). Served in Union Army, 18th Kansas Cavalry, 7th US Cavalry (with Custer); became obsessed with B.I.T. grass (210). Organized five Boomer invasions into Indian Territory; arrested five times by US troops from Fort Reno (210). Opposed by cattlemen already in illegal possession of unassigned lands via fictitious leases and connivance with Army commanders (210). Addresses rally in Wellington, KS, Nov 27, 1884, planning sixth invasion (210). Goes to bed at Barnard Hotel, eats breakfast, dies in "excruciating agony" (age 48); enemies boasted openly of poisoning him (211). Sits talking with Hannali and unnamed artist in Dodge City, spring 1884 (208). Argues "A man without land is not truly a man... God created man to stand six feet tall and to own one hundred and sixty acres of land" (208). Claims the right is proclaimed by the "sign in the sky" (209). Cannot name any Indian man who opposes him when challenged by Hannali (209).

Pike, Robert (Ghost): Company for Hannali in the Big House (211). Hannali talks to him about his fading hearing (211). Pike's voice replies, "It is that I am not here save in your mind... I am a ghost" (211). He notes everyone fears his ghost except Hannali and Anna-Hata (211). He tells Hannali, "You should go and stay with some of your people... It is dangerous for you to be alone at your age" (212). He tells Hannali, "When you are dead there will be no more Indians" (212).

Pitchlynn, Peter: Mentioned by Hannali as good (212).

Pock Mark: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Powder Face: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Roman Nose Thunder: Mentioned by Hannali (212).

Travis's Widow (Unnamed): The second wife of Hannali's late son Travis; has supper with Hannali in Eufaula (213).

Outline

XIX. Chapter Nineteen: The Garish Old Light

1. The Boomer Phenomenon and the End of an Era

- A. Introduction: Boomer! Boomer! David L. Payne, King of the Boomers. Questioned if they were land thieves.²⁴³
- B. Indian Sentiment Paradox: Indians liked Payne and his "poor-man following," hated his killers.
- C. Context: Boomer movement part of farmer-fencer settling ending the Old Wild West Days (Territory-aspect). Boomers emerged *from* Wild West background.
- D. Defining the Old Wild West Days:
 - a. Duration/Extent: Only ~20 years long (c. 1867-1887), not truly wide extent.²⁴⁴
 - b. Core: Texas cattle drives north through Territory (the "nations," slang "B.I.T." - Beautiful Indian Territory, used derisively or seriously). Territory as "Green Interlude."²⁴⁵
 - c. Trails: Great Western, New Western, Jones & Plummer, Dodge,

²⁴³ David L. Payne was the most prominent leader of the "Boomer" movement, organizing multiple expeditions between 1880 and 1884 attempting to settle the Unassigned Lands in the center of Indian Territory, claiming they were public domain subject to homesteading. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 283-86. David L. Payne was the most prominent leader of the "Boomer" movement, which agitated for the opening of the Unassigned Lands (in central Oklahoma, formerly Creek and Seminole territory) to white settlement under the Homestead Act.; While the Boomer movement primarily targeted lands outside the Choctaw Nation, Debo notes the general pressure from white settlers and the eventual opening of Oklahoma Territory. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 219-220.

²⁴⁴ The "cloud of dust" metaphorically represents the era of large-scale cattle drives (c. 1867-1887) through Indian Territory from Texas to Kansas railheads. Foreman describes these drives and their effects. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 206.

²⁴⁵ The "Green Interlude" refers to Indian Territory's role as a relatively undeveloped passage between the starting points of the cattle drives in Texas and the often wild cow towns in Kansas; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*: 206.

- West Shawnee, East Shawnee (Texas Road), Cox, Chisholm.
- d. Key Locations: River Crossings (Spanish Fort, Doan's Store, Red River Station, Colbert's Ferry); Staging Towns (Preston, Denison, Fort Worth); Railhead Towns (Abilene, Wichita, Dodge City, Caldwell, Baxter Springs, Ellsworth, Hays City, Newton).
- E. Infrastructure/Figures: Railroads (Hannibal & St. Joe, etc.); Stage Lines (Sawyer & Ficklin, Butterfield); Promoters (McCoy, Henry, Goodnight, Pierce); Hotels (Drovers' Cottage, etc.); Raiding Tribes (Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos); Battles (Adobe Walls, etc.); Army Forts (Lyon, Dodge, etc.); Plains Leaders (Dull Knife, Little Wolf, Quannah Parker); Vice Areas (McCoy's Addition, Hells' Half Acres); Saloons (Alamo, Keno House, Red Beard's); Sheriffs/Marshals (Sughrue, Mather, Tilghman, Masterson, Earp, Hickok, etc.). Source of "authentic American folklore."
- F. Innominee Connection: Strong links to trail driver era, started with Jemmy Buster/Famous, continued with Alinton. Territory became herd source. Alinton drove 1000 cattle north (1870).
- G. Hannali in Dodge City (Spring 1884): Accompanied Alinton on 1871 drive. Rode west to meet friends' drive, went up to Dodge. Met David L. Payne ("slim white man," Boomer king) and unnamed "fat white man" (foremost immortalizer on canvas/bronze/paper). Found each other interesting.
- a. The Dialogue:
- i. Payne: Man needs land (160 acres) for body/soul. Land is person/other half. God created man/land this way.²⁴⁶ Cites 3 million unassigned acres in IT. Proclaims message via "sign in the sky."²⁴⁷
 - ii. Hannali: Counters "Land is the people." Pokes fun at Payne's

²⁴⁶ The concept of 160 acres became central due to the Homestead Act of 1862 and later the Dawes Act (1887), which aimed to break up communal land ownership and allot individual plots, often 160 acres, to tribal members, opening the "surplus" to white settlement.; Debo discusses the Dawes Act and the policy of allotment as the means to extinguish tribal land tenure. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 245.

²⁴⁷ The Boomer movement, focused on acquiring land deemed "unoccupied," clashes fundamentally with the indigenous view of land expressed in many origin myths, where land is often co-created or emerged with the people,

height vs. 6ft ideal. Mocks 160-acre sign. Asserts Payne's enemies aren't Indians (who don't oppose settlement, just want payment). Payne cannot name one opposing Indian.

b. The Real Opposition: Who *did* oppose settlement to point of murder? Implied cattlemen.

H. David L. Payne Background: Born Indiana 1836, Kansas early. Homestead Law zealot (filed twice). Union veteran, Plains Indian Wars veteran (Capt. 18th KS Cav., 7th US Cav.). Obsessed with B.I.T. grass. Believed unassigned lands public, subject to Homestead Act. Led 5 Boomer invasions; arrested/ejected by US troops 5 times.²⁴⁸

I. Payne's True Adversaries: Cattlemen (Cherokee Strip Livestock Assoc., others) already illegally possessing unassigned lands via fictitious leases/Army connivance.²⁴⁹ Indians already excluded. Cattlemen fought homesteaders.

J. Payne's Death: Addressed rally (Nov 27, 1884, Wellington, KS) for likely successful final invasion (law/opinion on his side). Died next morning in agony (Barnard Hotel), age 48. Enemies boasted poisoning him ("likely the case").

K. Payne's Legacy: Won in death. Opened unassigned lands + lands

implying an inherent belonging rather than ownership based on Euro-American concepts of settlement or title. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 84 (Yuchi creation of earth), 118 (Alabama origin from the earth). The "sign in the sky" demanding 160 acres per person alludes to the eventual policy of land allotment, formalized by the Dawes Act of 1887, which broke up communal tribal land ownership into individual plots, often resulting in massive land loss for Native people.

²⁴⁸ Payne and his Boomer followers were repeatedly arrested by U.S. Army troops stationed at posts like Fort Reno and expelled from Indian Territory. Legal challenges, notably a case heard by Judge Isaac C. Parker in Fort Smith, resulted in fines but failed to establish clear penalties for trespass, emboldening the Boomers. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 284, 286.

²⁴⁹ The cattlemen, particularly those organized as the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, strongly opposed the Boomer movement. They had established grazing leases (often through questionable means) on tribal lands, including the Unassigned Lands and the Cherokee Outlet, and saw homestead settlement as a direct threat to their interests. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 259-265, 280. The cattlemen who opposed Payne's Boomers often held vast tracts of tribal land, including within the Choctaw Nation and especially the Cherokee Outlet, through controversial leasing arrangements, sometimes involving fictitious Indian lessors. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 210.

held by cattle interests elsewhere. Finished Old Wild West Days. Little impact on Territory Indians (their civilization ended 20 years prior; indifferent). "They would as soon be farmer fencers as ranchers."

2. Hannali's Twilight Years: Ghosts, Memories, and Talking Horses²⁵⁰

- A. Setting: Latter days, Hannali lives alone in Big House (or with ghost of Robert Pike).
- B. Conversations with the Ghost:
 - a. Hannali: Enjoys talking to Pike, acknowledges ghost is in his mind. Recalls Pike's earlier "haunting."
 - b. Pike: Advises Hannali not to be alone at his age.
- C. Hannali's Reflections: Denies being alone (other familiar ghosts). Glad to see new century (1901). Laments passing of Indians ("almost all gone"): Quannah Parker tame, Plains heroes gone (Buffalo Hump, Dull Knife, etc.), allies gone (Opothle, Bolek, Alligator), leaders gone (Nitakechi, Pitchlynn), family gone (Barua, brothers). Reflects on loss of "terror" from Indian name, loss of "fun" in being feared.
- D. The Talking Horse Story Recalled: Named "Man with the Talking Horses" by Kiowas 60 years prior.²⁵¹ Used ventriloquism/horse flick trick for children's amusement, fooled credulous Kiowas.²⁵² Recounts incident: Kiowa challenges horse to speak Kiowa; Hannali makes horse claim to be stolen Creek horse; Kiowa denies it, claims twin markings, admits beating horse for blurting damaging things. Hannali recognized the stolen horse.
- E. Final Evening in Eufaula: 64 years after talking horse incident. Hannali (last night but one) sits late in drugstore back room/saloon after supper with daughter-in-law Catherine (Travis's widow) and granddaughter Catherine. Plays

²⁵⁰ Hannali's death in 1901 occurs during the implementation of the Atoka Agreement and the Supplementary Agreement, the period when the Choctaw tribal government was being dismantled and lands allotted. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 269-283.

²⁵¹ The "talking horse" incident refers back to Chapter 6, Section 3.

²⁵² The Kiowas, along with Comanches and Apaches, were settled on a reservation in the Leased District west of the Chickasaw Nation after the Medicine Lodge treaties of 1867. They frequently interacted with cattlemen and travelers passing through their lands. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 236, 239-40

cards/drinks with 8 men (all part Indian). Learns 8th man (tow headed, German name) is 1/4 Kiowa. Tells talking horse story.

F. The Ride Home: Chuckles, flicks horse.

a. Horse "Replies": "maybe I flick you... make you talk horse and not talk man."²⁵³

b. Hannali Muses: Praises grandson's potent tonic ("Is not alcoholic'... 'Oh the hell it is not"). Bottle tests 100 proof empty.

c. Hannali's State: Ripe, round, tall, wide. 100 years old (per grandchildren) or 96 (lived more intensely). Senator Innominee, clay-footed fiddler, son of Barua, father of Famous. Vine enjoyed 3rd/4th growth, >50 great-grandchildren. "full man in every way possible."

G. The River Crossing: Ferry not running. Rejects raft. Chooses to swim.

a. Dialogue: Hannali: "Hell let's swim it." Horse: "Hell let's swim it."

b. The Swim: Man/horse swam separately through thin, tinkling ice. "People, that was a pleasant night!"

H. The Final Threshold: Hannali, dripping, ice-crusting, "all aglow," bulked through Big House door. "Old Adam voice" declared it the last time he would ever walk through that door.

²⁵³ The final conversation between Hannali and his horse revisits the motif of animal communication. This reflects the traditional worldview present in numerous tales collected by Swanton where animals possess speech and consciousness, engaging meaningfully with humans. *Myths and Tales*: 74 (Language of the Animals), 23–26 (Friendly/talking Dogs).



Chapter Twenty

Overview

Hannali Innominee, sensing his impending death, rejects suffering and witty last words, choosing instead a quick, efficient passing. Communicating his need across miles, his granddaughter Anna-Hata arrives, understanding his unconventional approach. Despite her husband's protests and desire for a doctor, Hannali, after receiving last rites from a priest, orchestrates his own death. He sets a five-minute timeline, assigns tasks, dismisses notions of dignity, and, true to his word, dies peacefully within minutes, fully conscious and remembering his entire life with clarity, the last of the old Choctaws.

Summary

Hannali is taken by sickness in the night and knows his end has come. He reflects that he cannot think of a witty way to die, unlike "white people," and decides most people die unimaginatively; he, a Mingo, will die "neat and proper." He sends out a mental call for his people. He worries if he was heard but then feels relief. Twenty miles away, Anna-Hata, his granddaughter, receives the call and prepares to leave before dawn. She tells "Papa Hannali" she will be there in the morning; he replies to arrive by noon, as he cannot guarantee waiting longer. They are old Choctaw Alikí people, capable of communicating at a distance. Anna-Hata instructs her white husband to fetch a priest from Muskogee.

Anna-Hata arrives at the Big House well before mid-morning, her voice clear: "I come I come, old bear grandpapa, we fix everything

right will be left nothing undone." Hannali confirms, "This we cannot fix. I die Anna-Hata." She acknowledges this, questioning the pretense often used by "white people." Anna-Hata is identified as having French and Texas white ancestry, with blue eyes and corn-colored hair, yet Hannali recognizes the enduring Indian in her. Hannali remarks wryly that he is dying of "white people pneumonia," a quicker end than the tuberculosis affecting others trying to prove "we are now white." Lafferty recounts Hannali's vast life experiences: born during Napoleon's era, heard the Medal Mingos speak, knew countless Indian nations across the Plains, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico, and Texas, mastered many trades, never relied on doctors, lawyers, or sheriffs, and remained fearless. He was a Mingo.

Late in the afternoon, Anna-Hata's husband arrives with the priest. The husband suggests fetching a doctor from Eufaula, noting Hannali seems "very low." Anna-Hata dismisses the idea, stating a doctor is "in the way with sick people." The husband insists, but Anna-Hata asserts Hannali will die regardless. The priest agrees, advises the husband to accept it, and asks to be left alone with Hannali. Hannali makes his confession, is counseled, composed, and expresses curiosity about the afterlife, particularly the immediate knowledge gained after judgment. Anna-Hata and her husband return; the priest administers Communion and Extreme Unction. Hannali sleeps until midnight while Anna-Hata watches, placing a corn cake in his pocket for his journey.

Hannali awakens at deep night, calls Anna-Hata ("little straw-colored bird"), says he has the solution, and asks her to call the two men in. He explains the practicalities: the priest needs to return, the grave dug, other matters handled. To avoid losing time waiting until morning, "O.K. then I die now we fix it all." The husband protests, but Hannali dismisses playing pinochle instead. He declares he will die in five minutes, tells the husband to dig the grave (the coffin is ready), arrange rollers for his heavy body, and everyone can leave by sunup. When the priest objects that only God knows the time, Hannali replies God told him not to keep people waiting and to "get with it now." Rejecting the husband's plea for dignity ("Death is not a joke, Papa Hannali"), Hannali retorts, "Hell is full of men who die with

dignity," calling death the last life trap to escape. He bets he can operate his own departure quickly. Anna-Hata encourages him: "Sure you can, Papa Hannali... go get that old thing... old buffalo bull grandpapa. I bet you can cut a minute off it." Protesting the husband's use of "ghastly," Anna-Hata urges them to watch the "old bear" act with plenty of time to spare.

Hannali dies in good time, about three minutes after putting his mind to it. He remains clear-minded, remembering every name, word, scent, object, notion, and blade of grass he ever encountered. His memory is unimpaired; his eyes dim only when he shuts them by his own effort. He was really the last of them. The smoke rises, the talk is over. "In the beginning was first the Okla—the people. This is the story of what happened to the people."

(Adam), (Alik), (Anna-Hata), (Apukshunubbee), (Bear), (Big House), (Buffalo bed), (Buster), (Caddoes), (Catherine), (Cheyennes), (Choctaw), (Choctaw Alik), (Communion), (Creeks), (DuShane), (Eufaula), (Extreme Unction), (Florida), (France), (French), (God), (Hannali), (Hazel), (Hell), (Husband, Anna-Hata's), (Indian), (Indians), (Jemmy Buster), (Kiowas), (Latin), (Louisiana), (Marie DuShane), (Medal Mingos), (Mexico), (Mingo), (Moshulatubbee), (Muskogee), (Napoleon), (Okla), (Osages), (Papa Hannali), (People, The), (Pinochle), (Plains), (Priest), (Pushmataha), (Quahada Comanches), (Quapaws), (Robert Pike), (Seminoles), (Shawnees), (Snake's liver), (Spain), (Territory), (Texas), (Tonkawas), (Travis), (Tuberculosis), (Wichitas), (White people)

Characters

Hannali is taken by sickness in the night and knows "it was all over with him" (216). He reflects, "It bedevils me if I can even think of a witty way to die... shall I die like everybody else it is that most people die with no imagination at all... how big is a man all his life how he blow and carry on but how does he go through that last door how does he die" (216). He chuckles, which chokes him up, then says, "I die all right... not a big show just do it neat and proper" (216). He sends out a call for one of his people, sits up in his buffalo bed worried he wasn't

heard, then lies back eased when he senses Anna-Hata is coming (216). He tells Anna-Hata when she arrives, "Is no big hurry, Anna-Hata... only that you be here by noon I cannot guarantee to wait longer" (217). He and Anna-Hata are old Choctaw Alikí people who can talk at a distance (217). He had only talked on a telephone once the previous year and was unimpressed: "It is not a man talking on that thing... it is a bunch of birds talking" (217). When Anna-Hata arrives, he tells her, "This we cannot fix... I die Anna-Hata" (217). Hearing her call him and herself "white people," Hannali looks at her (eyes like blue cornflowers, hair like corn) and knows "the world had not run out of Indians yet" (217). He replies, "I turn white people myself... I die of white people pneumonia that is better than the new Choctaw fashion to sicken and linger with white people tuberculosis to what lengths do the people not go to prove that we are now white" (217-218). Lafferty reviews his life: born when Napoleon was rising; heard all three Medal Mingos (Pushmataha, Apukshunubbee, Moshulatubbee); visited nations of Plains, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico; knew Creeks, Seminoles, Osages, Cherokees, Quapaws, Shawnees, Wichitas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Kiowas, Arapahos, Caddoes, Tonkawas, and others now disappeared; learned common trades; never used doctor, lawyer, sheriff; never backed down; "came fearless to the hour of his death. He was a Mingo" (218). After the priest arrives, Hannali is confessed, counseled, composed, and ready, showing "great curiosity" about the afterlife (219). He says, "I'll know in a little while... I'll know it all there's a dozen things I've argued about and I bet I'm right about every one of them that all knowledge is given to us immediately after the particular judgment" (219). He sleeps until midnight, then wakens and talks to Anna-Hata: "I tell you little straw-colored bird I have just arrived at the solution of it all call the two men in and we finish with it" (219). He tells the priest and husband, "It is like this... the priest will have to get back to Muskogee the grave still has to be dug... other things must be taken care of if the key act waits till morning then we will all lose valuable time O.K. then I die now we fix it all" (219). He asks, "Why we gathered here then to play pinochle... What then should I die with dignity... Hell is full of men who die with dignity sure it is a joke the last one of all to get out of every life trap get away clear watch this old operator operate I bet I can do it in five minutes and me not even very sick right now" (220).

When the priest cautions only God can say when he will die, Hannali replies, "So then He say it to not keep these good people waiting Hannali He say how do you know which ear He talk to me in He tell me to get with it now I die in five minutes watch and you learn how to do it" (220). He puts his mind to it and dies "in about three minutes" (220). He is "clear in his mind to the end," remembering every name, word, scent, object, notion, and blade of grass he had ever seen (220). His memory is unimpaired; his eyes do not dim until he shuts them himself (220). "He was really the last of them" (220).

Anna-Hata: Hannali's granddaughter (217). A "forever-young matron lady," blue-eyed (216). She is an old Choctaw Alike person, able to communicate with Hannali at a distance (217). Hearing his call, she says, "I start now, Papa Hannali... I be there in the pretty early morning" (217). She tells her husband to get a priest from Muskogee (217). She arrives at the Big House before mid-morning with a "music of harness and buggy bells" and calls out, "I come I come, old bear grandpapa, we fix everything right will be left nothing undone" (217). She responds to Hannali's statement that he will die by asking, "Oh, I know that. What are we, white people, that we kid each other?" (217). She is white people from her mother Hazel, grandmother Marie DuShane (French), and father Jemmy Buster (Texas) (217). After Hannali is confessed, she sits with him while he sleeps till midnight (219). She slips a corn cake into his breast pocket for his journey (219). When Hannali wakens and calls for the men, she goes to the door and calls, "Come you in the men... we have decided to make the finish to it" (219). She affirms Hannali can die quickly: "Sure you can, Papa Hannali... go get that old thing. Don't wait him come get you, old buffalo bull grandpapa. I bet you can cut a minute off it" (220). She asks, "What? To laugh and smile at the old thing when it comes along to one of us? What are we, white people, that we use such words as ghastly? Look! The old bear will do it with plenty of time left over" (220).

Husband (of Anna-Hata, Unnamed): A white man (217). Anna-Hata tells him to get a priest in Muskogee (217). He does not grumble or question how she communicates with Hannali (217). Arrives late in the afternoon with the priest (218). Asks, "Hasn't the doctor been

here?" thinking Anna-Hata would have called the doctor from Eufaula (218). He presses the point: "I do not mean the doctor for friendship... I mean to have the doctor out professionally. Papa Hannali seems very low to me" (219). The priest tells him to leave with Anna-Hata as the doctor is no use (219). He returns later (219). Gasps "No, no, do not talk of dying" when Hannali speaks of dying now (219). Tells Hannali, "Death is not a joke, Papa Hannali" (220). Protests, "Anna-Hata, this is ghastly!" when she encourages Hannali's quick death (220).

Priest (Unnamed): Brought by Anna-Hata's husband from Muskogee, arriving late afternoon (218). Tells the husband Anna-Hata is right: "Hannali will die, and there is no use bothering his dying with a doctor. Get out of here, Anna-Hata, and take your husband. I have my own business to transact with Hannali" (219). Confesses, counsels Hannali, makes him ready for the journey, and gives Communion and Extreme Unction (219). Chides Hannali, "Only God can say when you will die, Hannali," when Hannali declares he will die in five minutes (220).

Outline

XX. Chapter Twenty: Smoke, Dignity, and Departure

1. It bedevils me if I can even think of a witty way to die. What are we, white people that we kid each other? He was a Mingo.

- A. Hannali's Final Illness: Taken by sickness in the night; knew "it was all over with him."
- B. Reflections on Dying:
 - a. Self-Assessment (Quote): "It bedevils me if I can even think of a witty way to die... shall I die like everybody else it is that most people die with no imagination at all..." Acknowledged inability to joke about it despite lifelong blowing and carrying on.
 - b. Resignation: Chuckled, choked up. Declared "I die all right... not a big show just do it neat and proper."
- C. The Call: Sent out call for one of his people. Sat up in buffalo bed, worried if heard. Lay back, mind eased.
- D. Anna-Hata's Arrival: Twenty miles away, Anna-Hata (described

as "forever-young matron lady," blue-eyed, some didn't know her as Indian) slipped out of bed.

a. Communication: She tells Hannali, "I start now... I be there in the pretty early morning." Hannali replies, "Is no big hurry... only that you be here by noon I cannot guarantee to wait longer." Old Choctaw *Aliki* communication noted (talk at distance without apparatus).

b. Preparations: Anna-Hata hitched horse/buggy, drove down (several hours before dawn). Telephone dismissed by Hannali ("bunch of birds talking"). Granddaughter needed no phone. She reassured him: "All right old grandpapa bear I come I come be you behave till I get there."

c. Husband's Role: Anna-Hata told husband (white man – noted Territory now had more whites than Indians) to get priest in Muskogee (none in Eufaula). Husband didn't grumble or question communication.

E. Arrival at Big House: Anna-Hata arrived well before mid-morning ("music of harness and buggy bells," clear voice like grandmother Marie DuShane). Announcement (Quote): "I come I come, old bear grandpapa, we fix everything right will be left nothing undone."

F. Acceptance of Death: Hannali states, "This we cannot fix... I die Anna-Hata." Anna-Hata replies, "Oh, I know that. What are we, white people, that we kid each other?"²⁵⁴

G. Identity Reflection: Anna-Hata seen as white (French from Hazel/Marie DuShane, Texan from Jemmy Buster). Eyes like blue cornflowers, hair like corn. Yet Hannali knew "the world had not run out of Indians yet." Hannali claims, "I turn white people myself... I die of white people pneumonia..."²⁵⁵

H. Hannali's Legacy Recounted: Born during Napoleon's rise. Heard

²⁵⁴ Hannali's reflection, "What are we, white people that we kid each other?" points to the profound cultural shift and blurring of identities experienced by the Choctaws post-Civil War. This loss or confusion of original identity resonates with themes in some myths where characters are transformed, lose their way, or must navigate changed worlds. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 99 (Rip Van Winkle story).

²⁵⁵ Anna-Hata, with her mixed heritage and blue eyes, represents the future of the Choctaw people—inevitably intermingled with white settlers but still possessing an enduring Indian identity, a theme consistent with Debo's

Medal Mingos speak (Pushmataha, Apukshunubbee, Moshulatubbee). Experienced Plains nations, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico, Texas. Knew various tribes (Creeks, Seminoles, Osages, Cherokees, etc.). Learned common trades. Never used doctor/lawyer/sheriff. Never backed down. "He came fearless to the hour of his death. He was a Mingo."

2. Why we gathered here then, to play pinochle? Hell is full of men who die with dignity. The smoke has gone up.

- A. The Gathering: Anna-Hata's husband arrived late afternoon with priest. Husband asked about doctor. Anna-Hata dismissed need ("they're not particular friends"). About a dozen others present (knew to come without summons: "little Catherine and her mother, most of the good friends").
- B. Discussion about Doctor: Husband insisted on professional presence. Anna-Hata countered doctor is "in the way with sick people." Husband insisted Hannali "might die." Anna-Hata retorted, "But of course he will die! We agreed on that much...make a show of it?" Priest sided with Anna-Hata, told husband/Anna-Hata to leave him to his business with Hannali.
- C. Final Preparations: Hannali confessed, counseled, composed. Showed "great curiosity" about journey. Claimed he'd soon know answers to arguments ("all knowledge is given to us immediately after the particular judgment").
- D. Last Rites: Anna-Hata/husband returned. Priest gave Communion, Extreme Unction. Hannali slept till midnight, Anna Hata sat with him. Slipped corn cake into his breast pocket for journey.
- E. Final Conversation (Deep Night): Hannali awakened. Told Anna Hata ("little straw-colored bird") he'd found solution, called men in. Declared intent to die now to fix things, avoid delays (priest travel, grave digging).
- F. Husband's Protest: Gaspd, "No, no, do not talk of dying."
- G. Hannali's Retort (Quote): "Why we gathered here then to play pinochle... What then should I die with dignity... Hell is full of men who die with dignity sure it is a joke... watch this old

portrayal of Choctaw persistence despite assimilation pressures. See Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 200-201, 284. Anna-Hata combines the names of Hannali's third wife, Natchez (Anna), and the Choctaw word *hata* (white).

operator operate I bet I can do it in five minutes and me not even very sick right now."

- H. Anna-Hata's Encouragement: "Sure you can, Papa Hannali... go get that old thing. Don't wait him come get you, old buffalo bull grandpapa. I bet you can cut a minute off it." Husband protested ("Anna-Hata, this is ghastly!"). Anna-Hata countered, "What? To laugh and smile at the old thing... What are we, white people, that we use such words as ghastly? Look! The old bear will do it with plenty of time left over."
- I. The Death: Hannali died "in good time," about three minutes after putting mind to it. ("Would have taken most strong men twice that long"). Remained clear-minded to end. Remembered everything (names, words, scents, objects, notions, "every blade of grass he had ever seen"). Memory unimpaired, eyes dimmed only by own effort. "He was really the last of them."²⁵⁶
- J. Epilogue: "The smoke has gone up. The talk is over with." Final line: "In the beginning was first the Okla—the people. This is the story of what happened to the people."²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ Hannali's fictional death scene, where he dictates the timing and manner of his passing, serves as a final assertion of the personal sovereignty and dignity that the Choctaws sought to maintain even as their national sovereignty dissolved. Debo, *Choctaw Republic*: 287-290. The end of the 19th century and the dawn of the 20th marked the final years of the Five Civilized Tribes' national existence before allotment, the dissolution of tribal governments, and Oklahoma statehood in 1907. Hannali's death in 1901 coincides with this transitional period. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*: 308-317.

²⁵⁷ Final scene (Hannali accepting death, "smoke has gone up") evokes cosmic conclusion. Passage and end of a powerful individual's life connect to universal themes in myths. Swanton, *Myths and Tales*: 225-227 (Lodge Boy/Thrown Away cycle). Hannali's death marks passing of old ways and assimilation. Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*: 197, 199-201.



A

Absentee-Shawnees A division of the Shawnee people, most having previously removed to Kansas before Albert Pike attempted treaty-making [160]; their purported signing to the Confederacy via John Linney at the Wichitaw Agency on August 12, 1861, was not recognized by the tribe itself [160]. Distinct group from the Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees [160], they are also listed among the numerous tribes relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [192, 212], and known nations encountered by Hannali [238].

Account Book Presumably kept by Hannali Innominee, cited by Lafferty as the textual source for the list of Hannali's twenty-one grandchildren born during the prosperous Big Decade [119]; Lafferty notes the possibility of having omitted one name during transcription from this book [119].

Adam voice The metaphorical voice of primal certainty or innate knowledge which informed Hannali Innominee, as he crossed the Canadian River for the last time, that he would never again enter his Big House alive [212, 235].

Adobe Walls Site mentioned in the catalogue of the Old Wild West Days as a location of battles and ambushes involving Plains tribes [207].

Age of the Patriachs The historical era of Choctaw leadership encompassing figures like Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee, identified in the prologue as the period still current when the novel commences at the start of the nineteenth century [2].

Agent, Forbis Itinerant preacher, bookman, and Territory orphan raised by a missionary, perceived as both white and Indian [118, 124, 125]; married Luvinia Innominee in 1850 [118], becoming Hannali's son-in-law and joining the Freedom Indian faction advocating neutrality [124]. He disseminated this view through newspaper articles until barred by Robert Jones, then via handwritten broadsides copied by the Innominees using a mimeograph built by Hannali [125]; targeted for assassination by Southern sympathizers, he was saved by Famous Innominee and Albert Horse [125]. Present in Hannali House during the final raid [174], he was killed, found beneath a burning beam [179, 180]. His children included Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory-Pitchlynn, Anne-Chapponia, and Thomas-Academy [119, 139, 183, 203].

Aionais Tribe Also called Hainai Indians, manipulated into internal conflict when Albert Pike secured a treaty using the signatory name "Cashao" to falsely represent their actual, literate chief Kutchaw, thereby provoking the Hainai Civil War [159].

Alabama Enacted laws that facilitated the removal of the Creek Indians [23]; homeland of some Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks who joined the 1828 expedition viewing western lands [55]; along with Mississippi, Georgia, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, it held a permanent sentence of death against Whiteman Falaya [78].

Alabaster Hills Visited by Hannali Innominee and his expanding family during their travels in the Big Decade [10, 111].

Alamo Name representative of saloons during the Old Wild West Days, mentioned in the text's catalogue of the era alongside Joe Brennan's and the Keno House, typifying the establishments of the period [207].

Aldrich, Cyrus U.S. Congressman from Minnesota described in the novel as the most fervent advocate in Congress for the policy of removing and extinguishing the Indian populations [194].

Aleika The Choctaw term for magic itself, described as a quality or power distinct from the Alikchi (magic men) which could imbue an individual with a special status or aura [2]; this quality is associated by Lafferty with Strange Choate's "star sparkle" [71], Peter Pitchlynn's charisma or "indwelling of the spirit" [88], and Opothle Yahola's influence [163], with both Pitchlynn and Abraham Lincoln perceived as possessing a measure of it [143].

Alikchi/Aleika The designated magic men (Alikchi) and the ambient, often impersonal force of magic (Aleika) itself within the Choctaw cosmology (22). Unlike discrete spells or rituals typically associated with shamanism, Aleika functions as an encompassing aura or field that can surround even a "private man," transforming him into an individual of "a special sort" (22). This concept underpins much of the novel's departure from mundane historical recounting, suggesting an indwelling spiritual potency or fatedness that shapes events and characters beyond rational explanation. Hannali Innominee, while not an Alikchi, is frequently depicted as operating within or benefiting from Aleika, evident in his improbable luck, his intuitive understanding of complex matters like finance (29, 91), his strange rapport with animals (4, 212-213), and his ability to inspire loyalty or fear (159, 177). The Aleika is also hinted at in the "star sparkle" observed around figures like Strange Choate (71), marking them as individuals touched by this exceptional quality. Peter Pitchlynn, identified as the last of the Choctaw "magic men" (123), embodies the waning of this power, losing his own Aleika as he becomes entangled in the compromises and vested interests (slavery, politics) that erode traditional Choctaw identity (123-4, 148).

Aleika / The Waning of Magic The ambient spiritual force or indwelling potency within the Choctaw world (22), distinct from shamanic practices yet capable of elevating ordinary individuals to a "special sort" (22) and intrinsically linked to Choctaw identity and power. Its presence is manifest in inexplicable luck, intuitive understanding (29, 91), profound connections to the natural world (4), charismatic authority (71), prophetic dreams (96), and the ability to project presence or influence events beyond the mundane (159). Peter Pitchlynn, identified as the last Choctaw "magic man" (123), embodies the tragic decline of Aleika; his entanglement with slavery, wealth, and white political systems represents a deep compromise that causes the magic to "flake off him like bark from a sycamore tree" (123-4, 148). This theme charts the erosion of a Choctaw metaphysical reality under the pressures of historical trauma, assimilation, and the adoption of alien values. The loss of Aleika parallels the broader cultural shifts and the perceived diminishing of Choctaw power and distinctiveness, suggesting that true strength and identity were tied to this deeper, spiritual dimension which became increasingly inaccessible or perhaps incompatible with the modernizing, often corrupting, influences encroaching upon the Nation (111, 147). The novel laments this fading, contrasting the

remembered power of figures like Pushmataha (26) with the later compromises of leaders like Pitchlynn.

Alikchi-man Title invoked by Natchez when questioning Hannali Innominee's foreknowledge concerning his son Famous, querying if he possessed the powers of the Choctaw magic men [184].

Alligator Seminole leader, hereditary king of his clan, and brother of Billy Bolek (Bowlegs) [166]; initially possibly depicted through enemy caricature [10, 145, 165] but historically praised for his shrewdness and demeanor [166]. A veteran of the Florida wars [166], he joined Opothleyahola's neutral assembly [165-166], participating in the defense at Round Mountains [173-174] where he commented on Confederate tactics [180]. Apocryphally credited with ensuring Opothleyahola's escape to Kansas [170], he commanded the Seminole rearguard during the final flight [170]. Trapped alone after the Battle of Shoal Creek, he refused to surrender and was killed [170, 191]. Hannali later lamented his passing among other great leaders [212]. His followers' lands were confiscated post-war despite their stance [213].

Amanda T A Choctaw child, possibly a relative or visitor, present at Hannali House during the extended visit of the Pass Christian Innominees [93].

American Adjective used to specify currency ("eight dollars American" [52], "thousand dollars American" [118], "nine dollars American" [169]) or to denote non-Indian identity or origin, often contrasted with Indian ways or perspectives within the novel [xii, 27, 46, 55, 76, 96, 121, 147, 164, 197, 200, 201].

American Army Reference used in the text for the United States Army, particularly regarding Major Levi Colbert's War of 1812 title [55] and an officer's historical assessment of the Seminole leader Alligator [166].

American Horse A Sioux leader known by Hannali during his travels among the Plains tribes [68].

American history Invoked contextually within the novel regarding the nature of the Jacksonian revolution [27], contrasted with the Indian versions of history presented in the novel itself as noted in the foreword [xiii].

American Notes Book written by Charles Dickens, cited by Lafferty as the source for Dickens's 1842 description of Peter Pitchlynn after meeting him on an Ohio River steamboat [110].

Anadarko Agency The Bureau of Indian Affairs agency near Anadarko, the place where Lafferty's uncle Ed Burke worked and encountered Quanah Parker [xvi]; Hannali notes in his final days that Quanah Parker is now a "tame Indian" there [212].

Anadarkos Splinter tribe of the Caddoan Confederacy present in the Indian Territory [43]; Hannali knew leaders among them including Pockmark, Jim Pockmark, and Jose Maria [68]; Robert Jones sent trading missions to them [128]; Albert Pike exploited factionalism by signing a treaty with the minority leader Jose Maria, inciting conflict with Pock Mark and Jim Pockmark [159]; considered among the elite Plains fighters who aided Opothleyahola [167].

Andrew Jackson Whose election is interpreted by the Five Tribes as signaling their impending doom and removal [24]; associated with the 1825 treaty clarifying (i.e., negating) Doak's Stand guarantees [24] and the 1830 fraudulent treaty engineered by his envoy Major Haley [26]. His 1831 message defying the Intercourse Act confirmed federal refusal to protect Indian lands [27], representing for the novel the "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor" [27]. Peter Pitchlynn's supposed boyhood refusal to shake his hand is apocryphal [89].

Anna-Hata Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee, noted for her fair features ("eyes like blue cornflowers and hair like corn") yet considered "indubitably Choctaw" [xii, 184, 217]; one of nine survivors after the raid [184]. Possessed Alikchi ability to communicate telepathically with Hannali [217]; summoned to his deathbed, she arrived swiftly [217] and managed his final moments, accepting his decision to die with dignity rather than prolonged suffering [219-220]. Married a white man [217], and feared the ghost of Robert Pike less than others [211].

Anne-Chapponia Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Forbis Agent and Luvinia Innominee [119, 139]; one of the nine survivors after the raid on Hannali House [184].

Antelope Hills Location in western Indian Territory where Opothleyahola claimed to have experienced a bad dream, during

which he believed the Devil signed his name to Albert Pike's treaty [157].

ante-bellum South noted in the novel for its brief duration west of the Appalachians [34].

Apaches Among whom Hannali traveled and lived [66, 86]; known to Hannali as "Big Frog" [67]. He knew Lean Apache leaders including Leading Bear, Thin Man, Taza, Zele, Victorio, Red Sleeve, and Goyathlay (Geronimo) [68]. Chiricahua Apaches were among tribes removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192]. Listed among raiding groups during the Old Wild West Days [207].

Appalachians Referenced as a geographical marker for the comparatively recent settlement of the trans-Appalachian South [34].

Appearing Wolf (Guibadai) A Kiowa leader known by Hannali from his time among the Plains Indians [68].

Apukshunubbee One of the three great Choctaw Medal Mingos whom Hannali heard speak in his youth, alongside Pushmataha and Moshulatubbee [238]. (Note: This spelling used in Hannali's recollection; likely same figure as Puchshenubbee referenced earlier [2, 7, 28, 45, 65]).

Aquinas, St. Thomas Whose *Summa Theologica* is referenced by Lafferty regarding the paradox of free will and predestination, as applied to Peter Pitchlynn's transformation [197].

Arapahos Among whom Hannali traveled [67]; known to Hannali as "Fat Beaver" [67]. He knew leaders including Left Hand (Nawat), Little Raven, Storm, Flat War Club, Crane, and Bull [68]. Southern Arapahos were removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192]. Listed among raiding groups during the Old Wild West Days [207].

Arbuckle, Fort U.S. Army post located in the Indian Territory, from which Union forces withdrew in July 1861, contributing to Unionist Indians feeling abandoned [128].

Arkansas Influencing events in Indian Territory; Silvestre DuShane had connections there [39], and some Choctaws and Cherokees resided near or across its border [69, 110]. Site of Fort Smith [73, 96, 156], Little Rock [73], Sebastian County [93, 110], and Van Buren [175]. Key river

forming boundaries and transport routes (see Arkansas River) [38, 57, etc.]. Choctaw emigration passed through [45, 67], and post-war settlers arrived from there [191]. Location of the Battle of Wilson's Creek near Springfield, Missouri impacting the Territory war [159].

Arkansas Post Early settlement on the lower Arkansas River, representing a downstream destination connected to Hannali's trading post via river networks [73].

Arkansas River Forming the northern boundary for the Creek [60] and Choctaw nations [60, 74] in the Territory, and the southern boundary for the Cherokee Nation [60]. Its confluence with the Canadian [38, 58] and the Verdigris/Neosho (Three Forks) [56, 71, 73, 96] were significant locations. Hannali used it for transport and trade [73, 95, 111]. Subject to major floods during the Year of the Big Thunders [99]. Key terrain feature in various travels and military movements [99, 156, 184, 190]. Its tributary, the Cimarron, was crossed by Opothleyahola's people [176].

Arkansas West An early designation for the region that became Indian Territory, where Silvestre DuShane had connections [39] and where Hannali's freedmen initially journeyed [66].

Armstrong Academy Choctaw educational institution located in the Pushmataha District [130]; attended by Travis Innominee [130]. Served periodically as a temporary seat for the Choctaw Nation's administration [79, 99].

Army posts Such as Fort Gibson, Fort Smith, etc., which sometimes provided lodging for travelers before inns were common [80]; their commanders' connivance with cattlemen facilitated illegal land use [210].

Arrowheads Projectiles whose removal from wounds was a skill attributed to Seminole healers [166].

artisan blacks Skilled craftsmen, including smiths and mechanics, who were part of the community established at Hannali's settlement by Martha Louisiana and her people [73].

Assiniboin A northern Plains Indian tribe among those whose fate ("lost their names or they lost their lives") was unknown after the upheavals and displacements affecting Indian populations [195].

Atoka Town in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, established near the former site of Boggy Depot [203]; location where Father Isidore Robot built St. Patrick's Church in 1874, which Hannali subsequently visited [204].

Atlantis Referenced by Lafferty as one of the speculative origins attributed to American Indians, alongside the Lost Tribes of Israel and Welshmen [106].

Augustus Listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose reputations are defended intensely [142].

Aurelius, Marcus Listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures [142].

Autsite (Hail) A Cheyenne man known personally by Hannali from his time spent with the Plains tribes [67].

B

Babel Referenced as a parallel to Nanih Waiya, the mound built by the Choctaws after the Flood according to their history, linking Choctaw myth to a broader, ancient novel framework [2, 22].

Bad Face A prominent Cheyenne leader known personally by Hannali during his extensive travels and interactions among the Plains tribes [67, 87].

Bad report on the land The negative assessment delivered by the inter-tribal Exploration party of 1828 upon returning from the western territory, concluding the land, though scenic, was poor for farming compared to their southern homelands and therefore an unjust exchange under the removal treaty [8, 36-37, 40-41, 56-57, 60-61].

Badgers Animals used in comparisons within the novel; Hannali hyperbolically recalled gophers in old Mississippi being as large as badgers [5, 25], while Seminoles were characterized as smelling like "embattled badgers, musky with anger," evoking ferocity [151, 171].

Baker's dozen decade Lafferty's term for the roughly thirteen-year period of Innominee family growth and prosperity in the Indian Territory (approximately 1847-1860), also called *The Big Decade*, suggesting its fullness and duration [130].

Banditti of the Plains Organized outlaws and raiders whose rise is associated with the later Old Wild West Days, noted by Lafferty as having not yet fully emerged during the peak of the Five Tribes' civilization in the Territory, contextualizing the Territory's fall before the height of that particular violence [197, 217].

Bandoliers Used as a simile to describe how Hannali carried his fiddle and carbine slung across his body when he arrived in New Orleans [30, 50].

Bank (unchartered) An informal banking operation run by Hannali early in his Territory tenure, utilizing Marie DuShane for bookkeeping, where he managed loans, interest, and held more gold than any Indian except Pitman Colbert [75, 95].

Banker One of Hannali Innominee's multiple economic roles within the Choctaw Nation North, operating his own unchartered bank [75, 95], redeeming scrip others deemed worthless [98, 118], and asserting to Peter Pitchlynn his philosophy of finance focused on community well-being rather than exploitative profit [74, 91, 94, 111].

Banner Used in a simile to describe the sunlit gleam of Papa Barua's nine-foot brass trumpet during the chaotic fox hunt [16, 36].

Banter of bugles A phrase summarizing the sounds during the Battle of Round Mountains, suggesting defiant or mocking exchanges via bugle calls between the opposing forces, the captured Confederate bugle used by Sudden Scott [11, 15, 158, 162].

Baptist Mission Site of the printing press initially used by Forbis Agent to produce his neutralist broadsides early in the Civil War, before access was denied by Southern sympathizers [125].

Baptist missionary Religious figure associated with two characters: Isaac McCoy, who chronicled the 1828 exploration party [36, 56], and the unnamed missionary who raised the orphan Forbis Agent, implied by Agent's later use of the Baptist Mission press [125].

Barbed wire Decades away from invention during Hannali's early fence construction [71, 91]; its subsequent invention by J.F. Glidden and 1874 market introduction are identified as key factors contributing to the end of the Old Wild West open-range cattle era [206].

Barefoot A condition noted for Barua Innominee when wearing his ceremonial coat [14, 34], Hannali when observed by the dying priest [87] and occasionally in later life [203], the stealthy approach of Plains Indians [42, 62], and the Seminole leader Alligator at his death [170, 190].

Barnard Hotel The hotel in Wellington, Kansas, where David L. Payne, leader of the Boomers, died suddenly in November 1884, likely from poisoning, the morning after addressing a rally for another settlement attempt in Indian Territory [211, 231].

Barnful of children A phrase from a chapter heading characterizing the large family resulting from the union of Jemmy Buster and Helen Miller, symbolizing the Innominee clan's expansion during *The Big Decade* [10, 112, 137].

Barns Targets, along with hay and wagons, burned by Stand Watie's Confederate forces during raids against neutral or Unionist Indians (Pins) during the Civil War [141, 161].

Barren Fork A location listed among the many sites of combat where Territory Indians fought and died during the Civil War era [142, 162].

Barrel Used metaphorically by Hannali Innominee during the New Orleans poker game to signify limitless resources or willingness to continue betting past apparent depletion ("under the bottom of the barrel there is always another bottom") [31, 51].

Bartholome Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee, born during *The Big Decade* [119, 139]; he was killed along with twenty-two other family members during the raid on Hannali House [184].

Barua Innominee (Papa Barua) Father of Hannali, Pass Christian, and Biloxi Innominee, husband of Chapponia, member of the Mishoweia/Hundred Families clan [3]; a physically imposing man [6] known for his foundational role in the family's prosperity through

building mills, docks, and trade routes [13, 33] and acquiring Negroes [13, 33]. He famously resigned from Pushmataha's district to join Moshulatubbee's [6-8, 26-28], initiated the legendary fox hunt with his red coat and nine-foot trumpet [14, 34], provided Hannali's moral grounding [33, 53], and whose legacy of brains, vigor, and stolidness was seen divided among his sons [43, 63, 163]. He died before the Choctaw Removal [43, 63].

Bashih The name of Hannali Innominee's large personal boat, likely a substantial river craft, which the visiting children of Pass Christian Innominee were allowed to operate ("fire up") during their stay at Hannali House [94, 114].

Baskatanje The traditional Choctaw dice game played using cubed corn kernels, familiarity with which gave Hannali Innominee an inherent advantage when introduced to European dice games in New Orleans [30, 50].

Basque Cited by Lafferty alongside Hebrew and Phoenician as examples used in amateurish, unsubstantiated theories attempting to link diverse Old World languages to American Indian tongues [107, 127].

Bat Masterson Iconic Western lawman listed among the famous sheriffs and marshals of the Old Wild West Days, with Lafferty noting his deeds are often recounted with more fiction than fact [207, 227].

Baton Rouge Passed by Hannali Innominee and the exploratory party aboard the steamboat *Caravan* in 1828; its primary feature at the time was the old fort on the bluffs [34, 54].

Battle of Bird Creek The battle fought on December 9, 1861, also known as Chusto Talasah, at Little High Shoals on Bird Creek [166], where Opothleyahola's vastly outnumbered neutral Indians repelled Colonel Cooper's Confederate forces following the defection of some Pin Cherokees to Yahola's side [167] and a devastating volley that broke the final Confederate charge, leading to their panicked retreat [168, 188].

Battle of Cavanal Banks An alternative name given for the Battle of Chusto Talasah, fought on December 9, 1861, at Bird Creek [165].

Battle of Chuste Nahlah The third and final engagement for Opothleyahola's followers, fought on December 26, 1861, at Shoal Creek [166], resulting in the effective destruction of the remaining neutral forces by Confederate troops under James McIntosh and Stand Watie [11, 15, 170, 190].

Battle of Chusto Talasah The second battle fought by Opothleyahola's neutral coalition against Confederate forces, occurring on December 9, 1861, at Bird Creek [11, 15, 165]. (See also Battle of Bird Creek).

Battle of Shoal Creek Site of the battle of Chuste Nahlah, fought December 26, 1861 [166], where the final stand of Opothleyahola's rearguard, primarily Seminoles under Halleck Tustennuggee, occurred, resulting in their destruction but allowing some refugees to escape to Kansas [170, 190]. It remained a poignant memory for survivors [189].

Battlesome Adjective describing Martha Louisiana's apparent state or defiant attitude when encountered and killed by returning raiders several miles from the destroyed Hannali House [184, 204].

Baxter Springs A Kansas railhead town prominent during the cattle drive era [206, 226], serving as the destination for Alinton Innominee's large cattle drive originating in Indian Territory in 1870 [207, 227].

Bay horse The color designation of the horse belonging to the Creek Indian Checote which Whiteman Falaya stole from near Hannali House [55, 75, 78].

Bayou Bernard A location listed among the many sites of combat where Territory Indians fought and died during the Civil War era [142, 162].

Bear (she-bear) A recurring animal figure interacting with the Innominees; one became a family intimate after an encounter with toddler Hannali [4, 24], while another wise old bear in a laurel grove advised young Hannali on the "first order of business" (self-preservation) [11, 31].

Bear cub The animal young Hannali resembled in appearance and scent as a toddler, leading to his initial amicable encounter with the old she-bear [4, 24].

Bear grease A traditional trade item sought by the naive trader Pickens, who knew it could be acquired in exchange for Chippewa honey from some tribes [112, 132].

Bear hunts Traditional activity, of the special occasions for which Papa Barua Innominee initially donned his ceremonial red coat [14, 34].

Bear mountains Descriptive term for a region within the western lands assigned to the Choctaws, traversed by the 1828 Exploration party during their assessment of the new territory [40, 60].

Bears Whose remembered size in Mississippi is contrasted by Hannali with those in the Territory [5, 25]; the Oklafalaya region was known as their land [78, 97]; their cubs were chased by the Innominee children [115]; Hannali himself is frequently likened to a bear for his size, strength, and occasional ferocity [4, 24, 179, 199, 217, 237, 240].

Bearskin One example of which, seen hanging on a wall in the Territory, was contemptuously dismissed by Hannali as a mere "dogskin" compared to the pelts of the much larger bears he recalled from Mississippi [5, 25].

Beaver Animal significant as a trade commodity (pelts traded by Pickens [113, 133]), the source of Hannali's Arapaho name ("Fat Beaver" [67, 87]), and olfactory comparison (Poncas smelled of butchered beaver [151, 171]).

Beaver pelt The valuable fur which the naive trader Pickens sought from the Kiowas, who repeatedly tricked him by trading the same three pelts back to him for various oddments [113, 133].

Bed Mentioned contextually: Papa Barua wore his red coat to bed [14, 34]; David Payne died after going to bed in the Barnard Hotel [211, 231]; Hannali awaited death in his large "buffalo bed" [216, 236].

Beds Available in Hannali House; sufficient for some but not all of the hundred guests the house could accommodate during large gatherings like Christmas, necessitating the use of floor ticks and robes [96, 116].

Beef Dried and jerked by the Snake Creeks in their temporary camp as provisions for their anticipated flight north [152, 172].

Behind God's back A metaphorical phrase describing the isolation and lawlessness of the American South concerning Indian affairs following the withdrawal of French and Spanish oversight, allowing exploitation and violence to proceed unchecked [8, 22, 42, 44].

Bellwethers Leading sheep used to guide a flock, employed metaphorically to describe captive or assimilated (often white-blood) Indians used by white authorities or interests to mislead or betray their own people into disadvantageous treaties or actions [23, 43].

Belt Where Hannali carried his clasp knife [32, 52].

Bench Significant to Hannali; he sat astride one to play the bung starter game in New Orleans [32, 52], and later habitually sat on a massive bench outside his strong room door, cleaning guns and observing his surroundings [56, 76, 78].

Bending Mountain (Nanih Waiya) The central sacred site in Choctaw mythohistory, representing the original mountain of emergence and memorialized by a hand-built mound in Mississippi [2, 22]; its rediscovery in the new Territory, guided by Peter Pitchlynn's dream summons and confirmed by an ancient rattlesnake, served as a spiritual anchor and turning point for the removed Choctaw Nation [76, 78-79, 96, 98-99]. The Tuskahoma Council House was later built in its shadow [204, 224].

Benedictine (Bohemian) The religious order and origin of Father Isidore Robot, whose arrival and establishment of St. Patrick's Church in Atoka in 1874 resonated with the Choctaw South's collective memory of earlier French Jesuits, representing a continuity of faith [204, 224].

Benjamin Love Named as one of the many Indian visitors, characterized broadly as potentially "good" or "bad," who frequented Hannali House during its years as a major center of hospitality [59, 79].

Benjamin Perryman A prominent Creek leader listed among the many important Indian figures who visited Hannali at his Big House [59, 79].

Bent St. Vrain Referenced as one of the significant historical trading empires operating in the West, symbolizing an established order and civilization that preceded the era known as the Old Wild West Days [197, 217].

Berthelet The French-Canadian trader in Doaksville who provided Robert M. Jones with his initial apprenticeship in the Plains Indian trade, teaching him languages and business practices before making him a partner; Berthelet subsequently faded from the scene as Jones took full control [108, 128].

Big A pervasive adjective used throughout the novel to denote large size, scale, intensity, or importance, applied to characters like Hannali [3, etc.], geographical features like rivers [66] or the House [80], animals like bears [25] or buffalo [97], concepts like the Decade [109] or Thunders [99], and emotional states like heart [25], contributing significantly to the epic, larger-than-life tone of the story.

Big Bend A location on the Arkansas River near Lutchapoga (later Lokar-Poker Town, within present-day Tulsa) where Stand Watie's Confederate Cherokee forces arrived in an attempt to intercept Opothleyahola's retreating followers [190].

The Big Decade The period of notable prosperity, growth, and cultural flourishing for the Innominee family and, to some extent, the settled Five Tribes in Indian Territory, roughly spanning the years from 1847 to 1860 (109-111, 130). This era followed the initial hardships of Removal and preceded the devastation of the Civil War. It was characterized by successful farming and ranching, expanding trade networks (74, 95), the establishment of Choctaw academies (110), increased interaction between tribes, and a sense among the Indians that they had "discovered a way of accepting the best of what the white people had to offer, and rejecting the worst" (110). For the Innominees, it was a time of multiplying friendships, extending connections, increasing wealth (130), sending the third generation to school (110), extensive travel (111), and the birth of numerous grandchildren (119). This period represents a fragile golden age, a testament to the resilience and adaptability of the Choctaw Nation in the new land, ultimately rendered tragically ironic by the subsequent "Second Time of Troubles" (60) that would obliterate much of what was built.

Big Egg The novel's metaphor for the seemingly spontaneous and powerful growth of St. Louis into a major city ("hatched out of a big egg"), despite its geographically inconvenient location [8, 29, 54, 55].

Big Frog The name bestowed upon Hannali Innominee by the Apaches during his extensive travels and stays with various Plains tribes [67, 87].

Big House The large, progressively built estate of Hannali Innominee on the South Canadian River, serving as the center of his family's life, extensive hospitality, and diverse economic enterprises for over thirty years [80, 59, 73-74, 95-97]; it represented the self-sufficient "feudal" culture of the Choctaw North [80] and was a key landmark on the Texas Road [100]. The house incorporated elements reflecting Hannali's experiences, including New Orleans ironwork and a lookout tower [80]. Its fiery destruction marked the end of Hannali's world and perhaps the pre-war Territory civilization [11, 172, 178-181, 201]; Hannali died within its rebuilt or partially standing walls [216-220].

Big Houses The term denoting the large, fortified, self-sufficient estates of approximately one hundred leading families in the Moshulatubbee Choctaw District, which collectively maintained peace and characterized the "feudal Middle Ages of the Choctaw Nation" for about thirty years prior to the Civil War [80].

Big Lime The geological term for the solid limestone bedrock lying close to the surface in much of the eastern Indian Territory, which, despite supporting lush grasslands, made the land largely unsuitable for extensive agriculture and plowing, a key factor in the 1828 Exploration party's negative assessment [37, 57].

Big Man A title or descriptor used for Hannali Innominee, particularly signifying his respected status and presence during his interactions and travels among the various Plains Indian nations [69, 89].

Big Osages The main faction of the Osage Nation, distinguished from the Little Osages; Albert Pike strategically signed a treaty only with them in October 1861, thereby alienating the Little Osages and fomenting internal conflict [159]. They were Confederate allies whose territory lay north of Opothleyahola's refuge camp [164, 184].

Big Prisoner A leader of the Crow Nation known personally by Hannali from his time spent traveling among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

Big Red Flowering Lafferty's metaphorical phrase for the climactic event involving the fiery destruction of Hannali House and the massacre of twenty-three members of his family and household by raiders during the Civil War [11, 172, 178].

Year of the Big Thunders The designation given by Indians to the year 1846, remembered for extreme weather phenomena including major floods, tornadoes, and giant hailstones, but also viewed as a fertile year marking a turning point when the removed tribes began to truly recover and prosper [9, 99, 119].

Big Tree A leader of the Kiowa Nation known personally by Hannali from his time spent traveling among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

B.I.T. (Beautiful Indian Territory) Trail drivers' slang abbreviation for the Indian Territory, reportedly used sometimes derisively and sometimes genuinely to refer to the region encountered on cattle drives north from Texas, representing the "Green Interlude" between harsher terrains [206, 210].

Biloxi Founded by the French in 1699 [10, 30], from which coaster boats operated, servicing Papa Barua Innominee's Gulf trading station [13, 33].

Bolek (Billy Bowlegs) Prominent Seminole leader, brother of Alligator, and descendant of Seminole royalty [166]; previously subject to caricature [10, 145, 165] but clarified as a "fine tall man" [166]; visitor at Hannali House [59] and participant in Opothleyahola's neutral faction [166], including the council at Round Mountains [174]. Not a signatory to Pike's treaty [158], he is recalled by Hannali as one of the great leaders lost to time [212]. His followers' lands were confiscated after the war [213].

Billy Brooks Figure listed among the sheriffs and marshals associated with the era of the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Billy Vessels Twentieth-century University of Oklahoma football player noted for his elusive running style, invoked by Lafferty as a real-world example of the "floating deception" quality also exhibited by Famous Innominee [81, 101].

Bird Creek Site of Opothleyahola's major refuge camp following the Battle of Round Mountains [166], located northeast of present Tulsa [184]; location of the Battle of Chusto Talasah (often called the Battle of Bird Creek) on December 9, 1861, where neutral forces repelled a Confederate attack [166-168]. The creek itself flows into the Verdigris River [190]. It remained a significant location in the memories of Snake Creek survivors [189].

Bird Springs A location listed among the many sites of combat where Territory Indians fought and died during the Civil War era [142, 162].

Black Dirt Named as one of the many Indian visitors, characterized broadly as potentially "good" or "bad," who frequented Hannali House during its years as a major center of hospitality [59, 79].

black-bearded white man Descriptive phrase identifying Jeremiah Judd, the formidable, green-spitting member of the diverse group of fighters aiding Opothleyahola [153, 173].

black-earth passion A phrase describing a core quality of Martha Louisiana, suggesting deep, elemental vitality, resilience, and connection, noted alongside her "blood friendliness" [52, 72].

black girl Term used by Lafferty referring to Martha Louisiana, notably when she rescues the fox during the chaotic hunt [17, 37] and during her violent confrontation with Marie DuShane [62, 82].

black ground The dark, presumably fertile, earth of the Choctaws' Mississippi homeland where the very young Hannali would sit and chuckle, suggesting a deep connection to that place [4, 24].

Black Horse A leader of the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali from his time spent traveling among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

Black Kettle Prominent Cheyenne chief known personally by Hannali, recalled in Hannali's later years as one of the significant Plains Indian figures who were no longer living [212].

black-leaf cigars A tobacco product offered at Hannali's trading post, mentioned alongside twist, plug, and crimp cut tobacco, contrasting with the different goods available in North Fork Town stores [97, 117].

Black Leg A leader of the Sioux Nation known personally by Hannali from his time spent traveling among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

Black Moccasin A leader of the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali from his time spent traveling among the Plains tribes [67, 87].

Black Moon A Cheyenne leader known by Hannali, whose name Lafferty clarifies literally meant "Black Sun" but was conventionally translated as Black Moon due to cultural reluctance or taboo surrounding direct reference to the sun [67, 87].

Blacks Term used frequently in the novel, often referring to the Negro community associated with Hannali and the Choctaws, many descended from escaped slaves [13, 33, 46, 66, 73, 77, 87, 90, 108, 119, 135, 184, 203].

Blacksmith A capable blacksmith was among the Negro artisans Hannali recruited for his initial settlement in the Territory [46, 66], and blacksmithing was also listed among the many trades Hannali himself practiced [74, 94].

Black Sun The literal meaning of the Cheyenne leader's name conventionally translated as Black Moon, the alteration attributed by Lafferty to cultural taboo or reluctance regarding the sun [67, 87].

blade of grass A recurring image symbolizing the extraordinary detail and scope of Hannali Innominee's memory; he claimed late in life to remember every individual blade of grass he had ever seen [10, 131, 151, 220].

Blanket Worn by Hannali on cold days, woven from cotton on Martha Louisiana's loom [74, 94].

Blau A German man from St. Louis who joined Opothleyahola's neutral contingent, supposedly researching the potential of buffalo hides for shoe leather [153, 173]; he participated in the defense at the Battle of Round Mountains [180].

Bleed Verb indicating the loss of blood from wounds, used both literally and metaphorically; Martha Louisiana tasted her own blood after being struck by Marie DuShane [61, 81]; the Territory was "bleeding to death" from its civil wars [172]; Hannali was "bleeding

out" from his rib wound while running back to his house [178]; his patched wounds were still bleeding in the strong room [182]; Famous Innominee's voice could make a man bleed [146].

Blessing The Innominee family name is suggested to be a mnemonic derived from the first words of the Latin blessing (In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti) said by the dying priest [88, 108].

blind woman Metaphor repeatedly applied to Marie DuShane, signifying her willful ignorance or inability to perceive the true nature of Hannali's relationships with Martha Louisiana and Natchez, and her broader lack of awareness regarding the people around her [63, 83, 84].

block of soap Trade good offered by the naive trader Pickens to a Kiowa Indian as a parley gift, which the Kiowa proceeded to eat [112, 133]; Pickens traded three more blocks for three beaver pelts [113].

Blood Essential bodily fluid and symbol of kinship, life, violence, and identity throughout the novel; spilled between Choctaws and Chickasaws [1, 21]; white blood defining mixed-ancestry individuals and influencing allegiances [23, 43, 46, 74, 99, 127, 161, 162, 163, 181, 193, 211]; Indian blood as a shared heritage [xv, 188, 213]; "blood of my liver" as a deep kinship term [8, 60, 85]; Polk's lie regarding "American Blood" starting the Mexican War [101, 121]; literal blood from wounds [61, 81, 82, 83, 173, 176, 177, 182]; "blood friendliness" of Martha Louisiana [52, 72]; Strange Choate as a former "blood-spilling warrior" [124, 144]; the Civil War characterized as raining blood [142, 162]; bloodlines (French, Irish) mentioned [204].

blood friendliness A deep, passionate, almost visceral sense of kinship and connection attributed to Martha Louisiana [52, 72].

Bloodied Adjective describing Martha Louisiana's appearance after her violent fight with Marie DuShane, emphasizing the physical toll of the conflict [64, 84].

bloodier French A phrase describing the primal, fierce aspect of Marie DuShane's identity that emerged during her fight with Martha Louisiana, suggesting a latent savagery beyond her known French heritage [62, 82].

Blood of my liver and clay of my clay Hannali Innominee's profound expression of fundamental kinship, linking him to Martha Louisiana and the community descended from her, signifying an unbreakable, essential connection rooted in shared substance and life force [8, 60, 85].

bloodshot eyes Physical characteristic noted in the wild buffalo captured and held by Hannali and his friends, indicating their untamed state and stress [97, 117].

blood-soaked Adjective describing Martha Louisiana's condition after being severely beaten by Marie DuShane, emphasizing the extreme violence and near-death state [62, 82].

blood-spilling warrior Characterization of Strange Choate in his youth, contrasting his past actions with his later, more difficult heroism in maintaining neutrality during the Civil War [124, 144].

Bloody Knife An Arikara/Sioux scout and warrior; one of the prominent Plains Indian figures known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Blue-Eyed Company A distinctive unit within the Confederate Choctaw forces, composed primarily of white-blood or mixed-ancestry soldiers, known for maintaining military discipline and preventing widespread desertion during the chaotic retreat from Bird Creek [161, 181].

blue-eyed daughter description referring to Anna-Hata, the daughter of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee, highlighting her fair features inherited from her mixed ancestry [184, 204].

blue-eyed girl A descriptor applied to Anna-Hata, Hannali's granddaughter, emphasizing her notably non-Indian physical appearance ["eyes like blue cornflowers," 217], despite her strong Choctaw identity and connection to Hannali [216, 236].

blue-eyed ox Animal used in a simile to emphasize the extreme potency of the knockout drops surreptitiously administered to Hannali during the gambling session in New Orleans [33, 53].

blue-eyed Texas scouts Trackers renowned for their skill, mentioned by the Confederate captain confronting Hannali at his house; their

reputation serves to implicitly contrast with the perceived incompetence of the Indian trackers present [129, 149].

Blue River One of the significant rivers flowing through the southern portion of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory (Oklafulaya District), emptying into the Red River; its valleys were recognized by the 1828 exploring party as containing somewhat better land than areas further north [41, 61].

Blue Stem Country A regional term used in the novel to evoke the landscape of Indian Territory, likely referring to the tallgrass prairie regions characteristic of parts of Oklahoma and Kansas [24, 44].

Bluff A feature limiting the extent of fertile river bottom lands in the new Territory [37, 57].

Bluffs The location of the old French or Spanish fort at Baton Rouge on the Mississippi River [34, 54].

Boar coon (old) Hannali's self-deprecating, exasperated description of himself ("what am I an old boar coon?") upon realizing the complexities and perceived absurdity of having inadvertently acquired three wives simultaneously [8, 42, 52, 72].

Boards Hannali, Famous-George, and Peter-Barua worked together sawing boards to construct twenty-four coffins following the massacre at Hannali House [185].

Boars Noted for their ferocity during Papa Barua's chaotic fox hunt, where they turned from chasing the fox to aggressively tusking the horses involved in the chase [17, 37].

Boat General term for watercraft used extensively for travel and transport throughout the novel, encompassing keel boats, flatboats, steamboats, and Hannali's personal vessel, the *Bashih* [19, 33, 39, 50, 53, 54, 71, 72, 73, 75, 80, 92, 94, 95, 105, 108, 110, 111, 115, 116, 128, 144].

Boatload Hannali shipped corn and pecans "by the boatload" [75, 95]; limestone for the Big House arrived in "boatloads" [80].

Boatloads Multiple shipments by boat, referring to the quarried limestone transported upriver for the construction of Hannali's Big House [80].

Boatman Pass Christian Innominee adopted this profession, traveling as far as New Orleans [19, 39]; Hannali relied on boatmen for transport [75, 95]; one delivered the package containing school slates [82, 102]; another carried Hannali's important letter to Pass Christian [85, 105].

Boatmen Employed by Hannali for his trading and transport needs [75, 95]; one boatman delivered the school slates to Marie DuShane [82, 102].

boat trade River-based commerce, particularly dominant and profitable during the earlier French colonial period in the region [115].

Bob Annesley Western artist identified as the painter of the cover illustration featured on the University of Oklahoma Press edition of *Okla Hannali* [2].

body press A close physical embrace or wrestling hold; Hannali used one to subdue Chizem during their feigned confrontation, transforming aggression into camaraderie [48, 68].

Boeuf Valley A region in Arkansas Territory traversed by Hannali Innominee, John T, and Albert Horse on their journey from Mississippi to establish Hannali's homestead in the new Indian Territory [47, 67].

Boggy Depot A major town within the Pushmataha District of the Choctaw Nation, serving intermittently as the Nation's capital [8, 42, 54, 74, 79, 99]; site of one of Robert M. Jones's stores [108, 128] and the location of the crucial March 1861 Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting where Jones suppressed the prepared neutrality message [135, 155]. The settlement later relocated and became the town of Atoka [203].

Bohemian Benedictine description of Father Isidore Robot's religious order and ethnic origin, highlighting a perceived continuity by the Choctaw South with the legacy of earlier French Jesuits, facilitating their acceptance of him despite a long absence of priests [204, 224].

Bolek (Billy Bowlegs) Important Seminole leader, brother of Alligator, and descendant of the Seminole royal line (son of Cow-Catcher) [166]; initially possibly misrepresented in caricatures [10, 145, 165] but described historically as a "fine tall man" [166]. He visited Hannali House [59] and joined Opothleyahola's neutral faction [166], attending the council at Round Mountains [174]. He was notably

absent from the signatories of Pike's Seminole treaty [158] and was later recalled by Hannali as one of the great departed leaders [212]. His followers' lands were confiscated post-war [213].

bone of my bone and liver of my liver Pass Christian Innominee's variation on the biblical phrase "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh," used to affirm his fundamental Choctaw identity and overcome feelings of shame regarding his father's unconventional fox hunt [15, 35].

bone setters One of the specialized roles within traditional Seminole medicine, focusing on treating fractures and dislocations [166].

Bones Skeletal remains used both literally and figuratively; the absence of pre-Spanish horse bones challenged Choctaw claims of always having horses [7, 9, 29]; bullwhips could shatter bones [44, 64]; Peter Pitchlynn's prominent cheek bones [110]; the fate of Pickens the trader's bones (broken for soup) in a tall tale [114, 134]; Stand Watie described as Confederate "to his bones" [160]; Seminole bone setters' practice [166].

Bookman An individual associated with books, literacy, or the book trade; Forbis Agent's primary role besides preaching [118, 124, 125, 139, 174]; Alinton Innominee also described as having inclinations towards being a bookman [119, 139].

Books Kistorical and ethnographic sources consulted by Lafferty [xv, 18]; primers and catechisms used for educating the Innominee children [82, 102]; classic literature (Swift, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Plutarch, Irving, Roman history) ordered by Hannali to build a library [84, 104]; history books sometimes containing errors or biased accounts [158, 200]; religious texts like the Bible (Psalms [135], Leviticus [202]) and *American Notes* by Dickens [110].

Boomer movement The organized late 19th-century campaign, led prominently by David L. Payne, advocating for the opening of Unassigned Lands within Indian Territory to non-Indian settlement under the provisions of the Homestead Act [205, 210].

Boomers The post-Civil War movement, primarily composed of white settlers from Kansas and surrounding states, dedicated to opening the "unassigned lands" within the Indian Territory to homesteading under the Homestead Act of 1862 (205, 208-211). Led by the

charismatic David L. Payne, the "king of the Boomers" (205, 208), the movement operated under the ideology that these lands were public domain and that settlement was a God-given right necessary for individuals to become "complete men" (208-209). Despite repeated arrests and removals by U.S. troops, Payne and his followers made multiple incursions into the Territory (210). Ironically, their primary opposition came not from the displaced Indians, who largely did not contest white settlement itself (209), but from powerful white cattlemen's associations who already illegally controlled the unassigned lands through fictitious leases and connivance with military authorities (210). The Boomer movement, hatched from the "Wild West background" (205), ultimately succeeded after Payne's likely poisoning (211), contributing to the end of the Territory's unique status and the further dispossession of native claims, framed within a rhetoric of manifest destiny and agrarian idealism ("one hundred and sixty acres of injustice," (208)).

Boot Mentioned in various contexts: Hannali purchased "cavalier-style boots" in New Orleans [29, 49]; Barua Innominee sometimes wore his red coat while "booted" [14, 34]; the potent drugged drink given to Hannali was served in a trophy cup "as deep as a boot" [32, 52]; hooded night riders wore distinct "white man boots" [44, 64]; Hannali wore self-made "cowskin boots" [73, 93]; Famous Innominee wore impressive "jack boots" that added to his height [125].

Booted Describing Papa Barua Innominee when he sometimes paired his ceremonial red coat with boots rather than going barefoot [14, 34].

Border The Canadian River defined the northern border of a proposed Choctaw district [60]; the Kiamichi River marked an internal Choctaw district border [60]; the border of the Oklafalaya district [77, 97]; the Red River formed the border between Texas and Indian Territory [115]; Osage raids crossed the Kansas border [159]; some removed tribes came from the Canadian border [192].

bosky country Wooded, bushy landscape; description of the terrain in Pittsburg and Haskell counties, Oklahoma, where remnants of Hannali Innominee's extensive stone fences could still be found long after his time [71, 91].

Boston Mountains A mountain range extending from Arkansas into eastern Oklahoma, the visually striking but agriculturally limited landscape assessed by the 1828 inter-tribal Exploration party [37, 57].

bottom lands Fertile, low-lying land adjacent to rivers; the 1828 Exploration party judged the bottom lands in the prospective Indian Territory to be disappointingly narrow compared to those in their southern homelands [37, 57]; Alinton DuShane's trading post included valuable "bottom cornland" [73].

Bow Used for shooting arrows; Hannali favored the bow for hunting small game and deer efficiently, considering it cheaper than using rifle ammunition [74, 94]; he carried his bow along with his rifle and fiddle when journeying to Nanih Waiya [96]. The Snake Creeks were still largely armed with bows and arrows during the Civil War [152, 167, 172]. Also used as a verb for bending at the waist; Hannali "bowed" to the New Orleans gamblers after winning [32, 52].

Bowen, Sidney A surname included in Lafferty's extensive list of individuals suggesting Welsh ancestry among the Choctaws, indicative of historical intermixture with Welsh colonists or settlers [107, 127].

Box Mentioned in relation to Brutus, Albert Pike's enigmatic servant, who was the custodian of the "money boxes" and was suspected by Lafferty of perhaps carrying another significant "asset in a box of his own," hinting at hidden influence or resources [158].

boy damn An emphatic exclamation ("damn boy damn") used by Papa Barua Innominee to express astonished delight and pride upon first hearing his son Hannali play the fiddle with innate skill [7, 18, 38, 40].

Boys Young males referenced frequently throughout the text, encompassing Hannali's sons and grandsons, children visiting Hannali House, young soldiers, Indian youths encountered in travels, and used generally to denote immaturity or camaraderie [e.g., 4, 15, 21, 24, 31, 48, 49, 68, 70, 80, 81, 89, 93, 100, 101, 105, 116, 117, 130, 154, 159, 174, 180, 184, 205, 207, 212].

Brain Marie DuShane contemplated dashing out Martha Louisiana's brains [62, 82]; Whiteman Falaya was shot through the brain by Hannali [177].

Brains Papa Barua's legacy was metaphorically divided, with Pass Christian inheriting the "brains" [43, 63, 163]; Famous Innominee later claimed to have inherited Hannali's "brains" [163, 185].

brambled area Thorny, overgrown, and difficult terrain described as the setting for Papa Barua Innominee's chaotic and unconventional fox hunt [16, 36].

branding iron Lafferty suggests its use for creating billboard-style lettering of "Old Wild West Days" on shinglewood, emphasizing the era's mythic, rough-hewn image [205].

Brands Carried by the Snake Creeks and Elites from their campfires to ignite the brushworks, creating a defensive grass fire and smokescreen during their retreat from Confederate forces [155, 175].

Brass Papa Barua worked with brass [14, 34], and his memorable nine-foot trumpet was constructed from it, gleaming "like a banner" in the sun [16, 36]. The captured Confederate bugle mocked by Sudden Scott was described as a "little brass horn" [162].

brass horn The term used by the Snake girl to describe the captured Confederate bugle being used mockingly by Sudden Scott during the retreat after the Battle of Bird Creek [162].

brass trumpet The remarkable nine-foot-long instrument crafted by Papa Barua Innominee, combining brass tubing with a conventional trumpet mouthpiece, used to lead (and add resonance to) his unorthodox fox hunt [14, 34]; it was subsequently lost and damaged during the event [18, 38].

Bread Appearing in various forms: Hannali contemplates the paradoxical task of "unbaking bread" [52, 72]; the Choctaws adopted unleavened wheaten bread from middle tribes [97, 117]; hot bread was served at Hannali's last supper gathering [148]; Jim Ned's legendary shooting prowess included baking corn bread with his "third hand" while simultaneously preparing a duck in mid-air [154, 174].

Break A versatile verb used frequently with diverse meanings: violating oaths or rules (break parole [172, 182], break word [172]); fracturing physically (break skull [63, 83], break bones [114, 134]); shattering formations or defenses (break ranks [168, 188], break charge [159, 181], break front [167], break up nests [187], break deadlock [188]); escaping or initiating movement (breakaway [72, 92], break camp [example]); interrupting (break in [9, 103, 123]); changing direction abruptly (runner breaks [81, 101]); ice fracturing [215, 235].

Breakaway Noun referring to Hannali Innominee's escape on foot near Fort Coffee, abandoning his boat and corn shipment to evade hostile traders or authorities who sought to prevent him from giving corn freely to starving Trail Indians [72, 92].

break-through points Vulnerable sections in the circular defense formation of Opothleyahola's followers at the Battle of Round Mountains, where Confederate attackers penetrated the lines, leading directly to the massacre of the women and children sheltered within the ring [157, 160, 177].

breast pocket Into which Anna-Hata placed a corn cake intended as sustenance for Hannali's journey into the afterlife, just before his death [219, 239].

breast-high grass Tall prairie vegetation encountered by the 1828 Exploration party, noted particularly in the area that would become the Creek District, indicating rich potential grazing land [36, 56].

Breed Noun or adjective referring to individuals of mixed Indian and non-Indian ancestry, a significant element in the social and political landscape; often associated with the Choctaw South faction, slave ownership, and closer alignment with white economic systems [36, 56, 73, 99, 163, 193]. Marie DuShane's identity conflict culminates in embracing her "wild breed Indian" nature [62, 82].

Brewer One of the diverse occupations attributed to Hannali Innominee on his self-sufficient estate, indicating the production of brewed beverages, likely beer [74, 94].

Bribe Albert Pike was accused by Lafferty of using diverted Indian funds to "bribe doubtful Indian leaders" into supporting the Confederacy or signing treaties [122, 142].

brick Tuskahoma Council House The formal Choctaw Nation capitol building constructed later in the Territory period, located "in the shadow of Nanih Waiya," where Hannali attended sessions and spoke as Senator Innominee [204, 224].

Bridle Hannali held his horse's bridle while standing with one foot in the stirrup, delivering his final defiant words to the Major after Whiteman Falaya's escape [105, 125].

British The Okla Falaya district or faction of the Choctaw Nation was traditionally aligned with the British during the colonial period, contrasting with the French-allied Okla Tannaps [10, 30].

broad back Descriptive detail emphasizing the strength and size of the heavy pony Hannali used to carry the body of Martha Louisiana back to his homestead after she was killed by raiders [184, 204].

broad cheek bones A prominent facial feature noted in Charles Dickens's 1842 description of Peter Pitchlynn, contributing to his distinctive appearance [110].

broad hoofs Sound characteristic of the heavy pony that responded to Hannali's final, unique pony call after the massacre, used to carry Martha Louisiana's body [184, 204].

Broadsheets Single-sheet printed documents used by Forbis Agent as a primary means of disseminating his neutralist political arguments during the Civil War [10, 121]; initially produced on the Baptist Mission press, he later resorted to handwritten copies and a primitive mimeograph when access was denied [124, 125]; Forbis futilely attempted to make his "own broadsides meaningful" with rifle fire during the final attack on Hannali House [179].

broken doll Listed among the miscellaneous, seemingly valueless items that the naive trader Pickens exchanged with the Kiowas for beaver pelts [113].

Brooky Jack Norton Figure listed among the sheriffs and marshals associated with the era of the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Brother A male sibling or, often in the novel, a term signifying close kinship or alliance; see entries for Innominee, Biloxi and Innominee, Pass Christian. Used metaphorically by Yahola for the wind [155, 175]. Foundational relationship between Chatah and Chickasah [1, 21]. Hannali and Chizem become like brothers [48, 68]. Also refers to relationships between Hannali's sons [100, 163, 184], sons-in-law (see brother-in-law), Strange Choate's brother [49, 69], and the Seminole brothers Alligator and Bolek [166].

brother-in-law Panther was brother-in-law to the Cheyenne Little Horse [67, 87]; Forbis Agent was brother-in-law to Famous, Travis, and

Alinton Innominee [119, 139]; Jemmy Buster was brother-in-law to Famous, Travis, and Alinton Innominee [167, 170, 189].

Browning Surname listed among the various Indian agents and superintendents who were guests at Hannali House over the years [59, 79].

brownskin frontier white men Lafferty's paradoxical term attempting to capture the complex, transitional identity of the Choctaws upon their arrival and settlement in the Indian Territory, embodying aspects of both indigenous heritage and adaptation to frontier American ways [73, 93].

Brutus The imposing, formally dressed Negro servant who accompanied Albert Pike during his treaty negotiations [10, 133, 158]; his maintaining state in the carriage while Pike worked, Pike's deference to him in consultation, and his role as custodian of money boxes led Lafferty to speculate that Brutus, not Pike, might have been the true mastermind behind the operations, influencing Pike's actions [156, 158].

Brush Common vegetation element; cover for a sentinel [103, 123], the habitat of "ignorant brush Indians" [112, 132], hiding place for Whiteman Falaya [175, 196], and the material concealing the pit where Natchez hid [183]. Also, refers to the fox's tail ("bushcht") [17, 37].

brush fire Used as a tactic by the Snake Creeks and Elites, ignited using brands from their campfires, to create a rapidly spreading blaze and smokescreen, enabling their escape from pursuing Confederate forces [155, 175].

Brushworks A prepared area or line of flammable brushwood established by Opothleyahola's forces, designed to be quickly ignited to create a defensive fire barrier and smokescreen against the advancing Confederate cavalry [155, 175].

buck deer Frequently hunted by Hannali with his bow and arrow while he went about his daily farming tasks like plowing or fencing [74, 94].

Bucket Mentioned metaphorically for holding large quantities; the compressed history of the "great years" yielding a "bucketful" of

intense experience [118]; Hannali described as having a "bucket of the old juice" (liquor) in him on the night before his death [214].

Bucketful Metaphorical measure suggesting great abundance or concentration, used by Lafferty to describe the richness extracted from compressing the history of the Innominees' prosperous years [118].

Buckskin Hannali purchased a white buckskin coat in New Orleans [29, 49] and wore trousers of buckskin, likely self-made [73, 87, 93]. Pass Christian wore pants of doeskin, a similar material [16, 36].

Bucks Multiple deer skins ("many bucks") were required to provide enough material for Hannali's large buckskin trousers [87].

Buffalo The American bison, a central animal in the ecology and culture of the Plains and Territory; Hannali compared to a buffalo bull [2] and recalled buffalo being larger in Mississippi [5, 25]; a key food source [89, 152] and source of hides [153, 173], robes [97, 117, 152], and glue (from hoofs) [151, 171]; Hannali captured and corralled wild buffalo [97, 117]; the Snake Creeks hunted them [152]; Kiowas were tricked regarding a "Green Buffalo" [113, 133].

buffalo bed Hannali Innominee's large bed, presumably made with or covered by buffalo hides, where he lay during his final illness [216, 236].

buffalo bull Hannali is compared to one early in the novel [2], and he famously killed one with only a small hand club [57, 77]. Anna-Hata affectionately calls Hannali "old buffalo bull grandpapa" as he is dying [220, 240].

buffalo camp The large, hidden encampment established by Opothleyahola and his followers (Upper Creeks, Seminoles, Elites) after retreating from Round Mountains, where they prepared provisions like jerky and robes before continuing their flight north [150, 152, 172].

buffalo country Descriptive term for the vast Plains region constituting about two-thirds of the Indian Territory, characterized by large bison herds and a hunting-based economy [43, 63].

buffalo grass Type of prairie grass growing over the abandoned sites of old towns after communities moved to the railroad lines [203].

buffalo hills A topographic descriptor for part of the western lands assigned to the Choctaws as part of the removal territory, explored by the 1828 party [40, 60].

buffalo hokeys The term used by Plains Indians (in a story told by Hannali) to mischievously misidentify prairie turnips (*Psoralea esculenta*) as "Comanche Potatoes" to the newly arrived Creek Indians, who initially ate them but later rejected them upon learning their true nature [149, 169].

Buffalo Hump A prominent Comanche chief who visited Hannali Innominee at the Big House during its years of hospitality [59]; later recalled by Hannali as one of the great departed figures of the Plains [212].

buffalo hunters Non-Indian hunters specializing in bison; five white buffalo hunters were named among the diverse group of skilled fighters ("Elites") who joined Opothleyahola's neutral cause [147, 167].

buffalo meat Piled high in Cheyenne camps [89] and being dried into jerky by the Snake Creeks for sustenance during their flight [152, 172].

buffalo rib A cut of bison meat passed around during Hannali Innominee's last supper with his family and friends [148].

buffalo robe Used for warmth as bedding in Hannali's Big House, particularly for guests sleeping on the floor [97, 117].

buffalo robes The Snake Creeks were preparing new robes in their camp as essential equipment for their impending journey north into winter [152, 172].

Buggies Two accompanied the 1828 Exploration party but broke down [36, 56]; the Innominee family used four buggies alongside a large wagon for their extensive travels during *The Big Decade* [111, 131]; the Innominee caravan traveling to St. Patrick's church included buggies [204, 224].

Buggy Famous Innominee owned a notably "flamboyant" one [111, 130]; Chilly McIntosh, the Confederate Creek leader, was derisively

anticipated by Yahola to arrive "in a buggy far behind the fray" [155, 175]; Famous used his buggy to transport Rachel Perry to the Snake Creek camp [164, 184]; Anna-Hata hitched up her horse and buggy to travel to Hannali's deathbed [217, 237].

Bugle Its call signaled the Confederate charge before the grass fire incident [155, 175]; Sudden Scott used a captured Confederate bugle to exchange mocking calls with pursuers [162]; Hannali later imitated a bugle using his cupped hands, first mournfully, then powerfully, to call his dead family [183].

bugle animal A whimsical, figurative term coined by the Snake girl and used by Jeremiah Judd to refer to the source of the bugle calls, personifying the instrument or its sound [162].

bugle call Used by the Confederates first to signal the charge against the Snake Creeks, then abruptly changed to signal retreat when confronted by the unexpected grass fire [155, 175].

Bugles Plural form, mentioned in the chapter summary for Chapter Fifteen as associated with the "banter" during the Battle of Round Mountains, evoking the sounds of the conflict [11, 15, 158].

Bugling The act or sound of playing a bugle; used to describe the mocking calls exchanged between Sudden Scott (using a captured bugle) and Confederate pursuers [162], and Hannali's imitation using his hands [183].

Builders A characteristic attributed to the Innominee family, particularly Papa Barua and his sons, signifying their innate drive and talent for construction and enterprise [13, 33].

building blocks Durable construction units formed from the dense, fibrous sod cut from the prairie, used for building houses in the early Territory period [71, 91].

Buildings Mentioned include the outbuildings connected to Hannali's main house [61, 81], the numerous Territory buildings destroyed during the Civil War [141], store buildings [98, 118], and the timber and stone buildings constructed by the Five Tribes Indians before the war, contrasted with later styles [200].

build-up Military accumulation of troops and resources; the strategic objective of the Union forces operating in Indian Territory was primarily to prevent any significant Confederate build-up that could threaten Kansas or Missouri [187].

bulk crop system Large-scale agricultural production, likely focusing on cash crops such as cotton potentially using enslaved labor, identified as the economic model of the "Planters in Falaya" (Choctaw South), contrasting with the more diversified, self-sufficient "Manor system" of the Moshulatubbee North [91, 111].

Bull Surname of a leader among the Arapaho Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88]. Also see buffalo bull.

bull blare The powerful, resonant sound produced by Hannali Innominee using only his cupped hands to imitate a bugle, used as a call to summon his deceased family members after the massacre [11, 172, 181, 183].

bull calf Whiteman Falaya's threatening note specified he had "spoiled" one of Hannali's three bull calves, implying harm or killing [57, 77].

bull calves Plural form used in Whiteman Falaya's note threatening Hannali's young male cattle [57, 77].

Bull Hump Prominent leader of the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali from his travels and time spent among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

bull moose Whose loud call or "blare" was used as a simile to describe the sound Hannali made while running and whirling his dogs during the chaotic fox hunt [17, 37].

bull snake Used in a simile describing Famous Innominee's effect on the would-be ambushers ("froze like ground squirrels before a bull snake") [129, 149].

bull whips Used violently by masked men against Indians in the period leading up to Removal [8, 42].

bull-whip wielders Individuals who used bull whips as instruments of torture and execution against Indians, capable of inflicting injuries that could shatter bones [44, 64].

Bullets Seminole healers were skilled at probing for and removing bullets from wounds [166]; the two bullets that struck Hannali in his final battle were metaphorically described as transforming him into a cow due to the debilitating effect of the wounds [183].

Bulls Forming the outer defensive ring in the Snake Creeks' circular encampment formation at the Battle of Round Mountains, protecting the women, children, cows, and calves within [152, 157, 177].

bung starter A wooden mallet designed for driving bungs (stoppers) into barrels; used first as a weapon against Hannali by an exasperated gambler in New Orleans, and then demonstrated by Hannali as the implement used in a traditional Choctaw game involving mutual head-thwacking [32, 52].

Bunyan, Paul Referenced in the *Kirkus Reviews* blurb on the book jacket, comparing Hannali Innominee's "capacious, indomitable" nature to Bunyan's larger-than-life persona [2].

burial plot The site selected by Hannali Innominee in a "soft-bottomed meadow" near his destroyed home for the interment of the twenty-three family members killed during the massacre [185].

C

Caddo language The language of the Caddo people, characterized by Lafferty at the 1861 United Nations assembly as sounding distinctively like "the barking of happy dogs" [154].

Caddoan Confederacy Ancient alliance of Caddo-speaking peoples in the southern Plains region, represented in the Indian Territory by remnant tribes including the Anadarkos, Wacos, and Kadohadachos [43, 63].

Caddoes Indigenous Southern Plains tribe present in the Territory prior to Removal [24, 44], often associated with Osages and Quapaws [24]; Silvestre DuShane had connections among them [38]. Part of the Caddoan Confederacy remnants [43], Hannali visited them during his travels [87, 111] and knew leaders like Chowaw-hana, Quina-hiwa, Red Bear, and White Antelope [68]. Albert Pike controversially secured a Confederate treaty via sub-chief Quinahiwi, causing dissent [159]. They participated in the 1861 United Nations assembly at North Fork Town, where their language was noted for its distinctive sound [133, 153, 154]. Captain George Washington was a notable Caddo chief friendly with Hannali [58, 78, 187, 208]. Pickens the Green Indian was stripped of goods and mules by Caddo individuals in a tall tale illustrating Plains Indian shrewdness [113]. They were among the tribes Hannali knew well [238].

Caesar Listed by Lafferty as one of the historically sacrosanct figures whose legacy is fiercely defended against criticism [142].

Cagoulard society A hooded secret society identified as originating in France and later appearing in French Louisiana, known for targeting individuals deemed guilty of "bad behavior"; cited as a historical precedent for the hooded groups (Peckerwoods) who employed terror tactics against Indians in the American South before Removal [44, 64].

Cahokias An Illiniwek tribe originally from the Mississippi Valley, listed among the diverse groups removed to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192].

Cairo Has aspirations to become the region's major metropolis but ultimately overshadowed by St. Louis [35, 55].

Calf Used metaphorically by the Snake voice lamenting the fate of the neutral Creeks ("The calf tries to suckle at the dead cow") [171, 191]; also, the term "heffer calf" used by Whiteman Falaya in his notes to refer tauntingly to Sally Innominee [57, 77, 101, 121, 173].

California Associated with early Spanish/Mexican settlement [197]; the destination for Alinton Innominee's "wandering year" journey, undertaken via the California Road after leaving Santa Fe in 1848 in search of gold [116, 136, 139]; also, a street name in Oklahoma City frequented by Indians [26].

California Road A major westward migration and trade route passing through Indian Territory, intersecting with or running near the Texas Road close to Hannali's settlement (Poste DuShane) [10, 53, 73, 112]; followed by Alinton Innominee from Santa Fe towards the California gold fields in 1848 [116, 136]; conceptually linked with the Canadian River route westward [111, 131].

Callahan Street A street in Muskogee, Oklahoma, mentioned by Lafferty as a location where characteristic Choctaw speech patterns might still be heard [26].

Calles, Marie Wife acquired by Alinton Innominee during his "wandering year" (1848-49) in Santa Fe or California [116, 139]; mother of Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena [119, 139]; present at Hannali House during the final Confederate raid [174] and killed in the attack [184]; her infant daughter Helena survived, hidden by Natchez [183].

Camp Opothleyahola established a hidden "buffalo camp" after Round Mountains [150], later a "recovery camp" on Bird Creek [164, 166], and finally a "skeleton camp" near Shoal Creek [169]; Confederate troopers were "camped" on the Texas Road [101, 121], and Hannali confronted them in their "camp" [103, 104, 123, 124]; Union forces maintained camps in Kansas [157]; Snake Creeks used a "siege-town camp" tactic [152, 172]; the final Chickasaw surrender occurred at their "encampment" [189].

Canadian River Forming crucial boundaries and routes; southern border for the Creek Nation [60, 73] and northern border for the Moshulatubbee Choctaw District [60, 74, 99]. Site of Hannali's home and trading post (Poste DuShane) [38, 58, 73]; identified by Hannali as the true westward route towards Santa Fe [39, 59, 111, 115, 131], which Alinton confirmed was impractical for boat trade due to the open terrain favoring land travel [115]. Location of deer hunting by Hannali's sons [80, 100] and catfishing by children [94, 114]. Confluence with North Fork and Deep Fork rivers [73, 97, 117]. Site where a Union soldier's tracks ended mysteriously near Hannali House [129, 149]. Scene of Hannali's final crossing, swimming his horse through ice [214-215, 234-235].

Canard, Motey A Creek leader belonging to the McIntosh faction who signed Albert Pike's treaty aligning with the Confederacy in July 1861,

an act not endorsed by Principal Chief Opothleyahola or Second Chief Oktarharsars Harjo [137, 157].

Candle Hannali shaved using the flame of a candle, not by candlelight [143, 163].

Cane Hannali carried a heavy, silver-headed cane [29, 49]; Alinton Innominee used one after returning from his wandering year crippled [190, 210]. Also used metaphorically for something easily cut down; Confederate soldiers feared being cut down "like cane" in a massed charge [158, 178].

Cane Hill Site of a Civil War battle in Arkansas, listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Cannon Lacking among the armaments of Opothleyahola's Snake Creek forces [166].

Canoe Occasionally visited Alinton DuShane's declining trading post, indicating minimal river traffic [39, 59].

Cape Girardeau Passed by Hannali's steamboat party in 1828; noted for its French colonial origins and unrealized ambitions of becoming a major river city [35, 55].

Captain Applied to Robert Jones (possibly informal) [59]; George Washington (Caddo chief) [58, 78, 187, 208]; the Confederate officer from Texas leading the search party at Hannali House [129, 149, 150]; unnamed Union captains post-war, potentially including Famous Innominee pseudonymously [185]; Custer and Payne held the rank in U.S. Cavalry [210, 230].

Caravan The name of the steamboat that carried Hannali Innominee and his companions up the Mississippi River from New Orleans to St. Louis for the 1828 Exploration party assembly [34, 54].

Carbine Hannali carried one slung over his shoulder along with his fiddle [30, 50]; Chizem confronted Hannali carrying one [47, 67]; carrying one openly was dangerous in Choctaw country pre-removal [44, 64]; Sharp's Carbines were among the weapons used by the raiders attacking Hannali House [179].

Cards (playing) Hannali proved highly skilled, cleaning out gamblers in New Orleans [31, 51]; Travis Innominee became proficient as a card shark during his Union service [190, 210]; Hannali played cards in the Eufaula drugstore on one of his last nights [213, 233]. Historically, Choctaws used homemade cards of wood or stiffened cloth [31, 51].

Cargo A river cargo from Tamaha Landing included the package of school supplies for Marie DuShane [82, 102]; Hannali brought gifts (piano, loom, eyeglasses) for his wives/family in an early river cargo shipment after establishing his home [75, 95]; Alinton Innominee's party made packs of their last cargo before portaging to Santa Fe [116].

Carolina (South) The first state to secede from the Union, on December 24, 1860, marking a key date in the lead-up to the Civil War [128, 148].

Carpenter Listed among Hannali Innominee's diverse trades and capabilities on his estate [74, 94].

Carriage Albert Pike traveled through Indian Territory in a carriage during his treaty-making missions, accompanied by his servant Brutus [138, 158].

Carreg The Welsh word for "stone," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the "Welsh Indian" theory discussion [106, 126].

Carthage Site of a Civil War battle in Missouri, listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Cashao The name inscribed as signatory for the Aionais or Hainai Indians on Albert Pike's treaty, believed by Lafferty to be a misspelling or misrepresentation of the actual chief's name, Kutchaw, likely penned by someone unfamiliar with Indian pronunciation [139, 159].

Castle Used metaphorically to describe Hannali Innominee's Big House, emphasizing his status as a powerful, landed figure ("a count in his castle") within the quasi-feudal structure of the Choctaw Nation North [9, 73, 74, 94].

Cat (wild) Used in a simile to describe the inscrutable nature of Moshulatubbee's grin ("like that of the nuthatch that has just swallowed a wild cat") [7, 27].

Catalogues Hannali obtained catalogues from New Orleans merchants and used them to facilitate mail-order trade for his neighbors, accepting produce as payment [75, 95].

Catchwords Slogans, buzzwords, or formulaic phrases; Lafferty notes that the intense hatred directed towards full-blood Indians during the Civil War utilized catchwords recognizably of "white man coinage" [141, 161]; Alinton Innominee repeated the catchwords justifying the Southern cause when arguing with Famous [163].

Catechisms Books containing summaries of Christian doctrine in question-and-answer form; ten "penny catechisms" were included in the package of school supplies sent to Marie DuShane for instructing the Innominee children [82, 102].

Catherine (daughter of Pass) Daughter of Pass Christian Innominee and Marie Delessert; one of the many children visiting Hannali House during the winter of 1844-45 [93, 113].

Catherine (granddaughter of Hannali) Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Travis Innominee and his second wife (name not given); present with her mother at supper with Hannali in Eufaula shortly before his death [213, 233]; referred to as "little Catherine," she was among the dozen friends who arrived unbidden at Hannali's deathbed [218].

Catlin, George (1796-1872) American painter, writer, and traveler who specialized in portraits of Native Americans; his 1830s sketch depicted the Choctaw Eagle Dance [73, 93]; he also provided a verbal description and portrait of Peter Pitchlynn, recording his Indian name as Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee (Snapping Turtle) [110].

Catoosa Name of the exceptional white mule belonging to a Creek Indian that Hannali Innominee purchased, recognizing it as the "second best mule in the world" (after his own Mingo); used in tandem with Mingo for the most difficult sod-busting tasks [71, 91].

Cattle Central to the economy and Hannali's wealth [29, 49, 144, 164]; desired by white settlers [22, 42]; accumulated by Hannali's people [45,

65]; driven by Snake Creeks during their flight [150, 170]; driven off during Confederate raids [141, 161]; the basis of the Texas cattle drives defining the Old Wild West [205-208, 226-228]; traded by Alinton Innominee [207-208, 227-228]; Hannali purchased Texas cattle with gold [191, 211].

Cattle drives The large-scale movement of cattle herds, especially from Texas northward through Indian Territory to Kansas railheads, characterizing the Old Wild West era (c. 1867-1887) [205, 206, 226]; Alinton Innominee participated in these drives, both with his own cattle and as a factor for others [207-208, 228].

Cattlemen Individuals involved in the large-scale raising and trading of cattle; refers to members of the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association and similar groups who illegally occupied Unassigned Lands in Indian Territory and violently opposed the Boomer homesteaders led by David Payne [210, 230].

Cavalry Confederate Texas Fourth Cavalry at Round Mountains [152, 172, 180]; U.S. Cavalry mounts identifiable by track [102, 122]; David Payne served in 18th Kansas and 7th U.S. Cavalry [210, 230]; units involved in the final attack on Snake Creeks included South Arkansas Mounted Riflemen, South Kansas Regiment, and Texas Cavalry [169].

Cavern The mythical place of origin under the Gulf of Mexico from which the first Choctaw (Chatah) and Chickasaw (Chickasah) ancestors emerged onto the earth [1, 21].

Cayugas An Iroquoian tribe, originally part of the Five Nations of New York; among the diverse tribal remnants possibly removed to Indian Territory after the Civil War [192].

Cedar snag The dead, standing remnant of a cedar tree; one feature of the landscape in Hitchiti Meadow that Hannali Innominee knew intimately [175, 195].

Ceffyl The Welsh word for "horse," derived from Latin *caballus*, cited by Lafferty during the discussion of questionable linguistic comparisons used to support the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Cellar Hannali, in his later years, was said to bow "old powerful stuff" (likely potent home-brewed liquor) up out of his cellar when playing the violin in the evenings [12, 196, 202].

Cemetery (Congressional) The historic Congressional Cemetery in Washington D.C., identified as the burial place of both Peter Pitchlynn and, coincidentally, the earlier Choctaw leader Pushmataha; Lafferty describes an "angry rumble from under the ground" during Albert Pike's funeral eulogy for Pitchlynn, attributing it to Pushmataha's presence [12, 196, 198, 218].

Census The Choctaw census taken in September 1830 using bundled sticks is cited, showing a total population nearing 20,000 in Mississippi before the main removal (7505 in LeFlore's District, 6106 in Nitakechi's, 5943 in Moshulatubbee's) [45, 65].

Century Used frequently for historical framing and measuring lifetimes; Hannali lived almost exactly one full century [3, 11, 23]; the French colonial influence lasted a century [10, 30]; Choctaws had limited contact with priests for a century [88, 108]; the Indian peace in the South lasted centuries [9, 29]; Nanih Waiya mound took a century to build [78, 98]; the 19th century context [xii, 2, 14, 22]; various durations mentioned (half century [53, 73, 214, 234], quarter-century [xiii, 15]).

Ceremonial thing Phrase describing Papa Barua's bright red coat, indicating it was considered special and reserved for significant events rather than everyday wear [14, 34].

Ceremony Choctaws historically had "hooded-man and masked-man ceremonies" [44, 64]; the Choctaw Eagle Dance depicted by Catlin was identified as a ceremony performed for the visitor, not daily attire [73, 93].

Chatah The name of the legendary first ancestor of the Choctaw people, who emerged from an underworld cavern with his brother Chickasah [1, 21]; linguists suggest Chatah might be the original Choctaw pronunciation of the tribal name, contrasted with the later English spelling "Choctaw" [85, 105].

Chauvinistic Exhibiting excessive or prejudiced loyalty or support for one's own group or cause; attributed to full-blood freeholders like Hannali in the *Kirkus Reviews* blurb [2] and used by Lafferty to describe Hannali's political stance as conservative, feudal, and representing one "pole" of Choctaw identity opposite the liberal Robert M. Jones [109, 129].

Checote, Charles Son of the prominent Creek leader Samuel Checote; participated in the defense of Opothleyahola's camp at the Battle of Round Mountains [154, 174, 180].

Checote (Creek Indian) Hannali Innominee's neighbor whose home and pasture were visible across the Canadian River [78]; his bay horse was stolen by Whiteman Falaya [55, 75, 78]. He represented the Lower Creek kindred associated with the McIntosh family [163].

Checote kindred The extended family and faction associated with Samuel Checote, representing the Lower Creek, mixed-blood, generally Confederate-supporting element within the Creek Nation [163].

Checote, Ophelia Daughter of Samuel Checote (McIntosh Creek leader); visited Hannali House along with her siblings/cousins John and Emily Sapulpa during the Pass Christian Innominees' stay [93, 113].

Checote, Samuel Prominent Creek leader associated with the Lower Creek/McIntosh faction who signed Albert Pike's treaty aligning with the Confederacy in 1861 [137, 157]; father of Charles Checote [154] and related to Ophelia Checote and the Sapulpas [93, 113]. He later led the mixed-blood faction against Ispahcher in the post-war Green Peach War [189].

Cheek Pass Christian was snapped on the nose and cheek by the cornered fox during the hunt [15, 35]; the historical Choctaw chief Shulush-Homa was said to interpret written messages by running them against his cheek [57, 77].

Cheek bones Peter Pitchlynn was noted by Charles Dickens as having broad cheek bones [110].

Cherokee One of the Five Civilized Tribes, with significant presence and influence in the novel; their history intertwined with English/Ulster Scots [107, 127]; Major Ridge a notable leader [23, 43]; suffered under Georgia state laws pre-removal [25, 45]; underwent forced removal [48]; represented unofficially at 1828 Exploration [55]; assigned land north of Arkansas River [60, 73]; Chizem's mother was Cherokee [48, 68]; Strange Choate and his daughter Natchez were Cherokee [49, 69, 71, 73]; Hannali gained connection through marriage [53, 73]; Sequoyah invented their unique syllabary [82-83, 102-103];

internal divisions led by John Ross (neutral/Unionist Pins) and Stand Watie (Confederate) [59, 79, 124, 140, 164, 184]; Pike forced treaty binding nation to Confederacy [140, 160]; significant land losses post-war, primarily affecting Pin faction [193]; Hannali visited their nation [203]; "Devil Cherokees" were raiders during war [182].

Cherokee cousins Relatives of Natchez through her father Strange Choate, living near Fort Coffee Academy; their "smooth and pleasant" ways influenced Famous Innominee during his visits while attending the academy [110, 130].

Cherokee Creek border The boundary line between the Cherokee and Creek nations in Indian Territory; Hannali astutely located his trading post near this border, anticipating its strategic importance [53, 73].

Cherokee District The region in Indian Territory allocated to the Cherokee Nation, situated north of the Arkansas River; the 1828 Exploration party traversed its southern edge [36, 56].

Cherokee Indians Members of the Cherokee tribe; historically significant in the Southeast and later Indian Territory; suffered under Georgia laws [27, 47]; known by R. A. Lafferty personally [xvii, 19].

Cherokee language The Iroquoian language of the Cherokee people, notable for being the only language perfectly represented by Sequoyah's unique 85-symbol syllabary [82-83, 102-103].

Cherokee Nation The sovereign political entity of the Cherokee people; its historical trajectory impacted by U.S. policies [23, 43]; bound to the Confederacy through a treaty engineered by Albert Pike signed by rivals John Ross and Stand Watie [140, 160]; Hannali visited towns within its territory [203].

Cherokee Pins The traditionalist, generally full-blood faction of the Cherokee Nation, often maintaining neutrality or aligning with the Union during the Civil War [11, 15]; they aided Opothleyahola's refugee Snake Creeks at Bird Creek camp [166]; about a third of the Confederate Cherokee troops present defected to join them after parleying [167]; heavily persecuted by Stand Watie's faction [164]; suffered disproportionate land confiscation after the war [193].

Cherokee regiment Confederate military units composed of Cherokee soldiers; a portion under Major Pegg arrived first at the Bird

Creek camp [166]; a larger force under Colonel John Drew was assigned to reinforce Colonel Cooper's command [165].

Cherokee salt The misleading name given by Pickens the green trader to a yellow rock he attempted to sell to Plains Indians [113].

Cherokee Strip Livestock Association A powerful organization of cattle ranchers who illegally controlled vast grazing lands (including the Unassigned Lands) in northern Indian Territory through fraudulent leases and alliances with military commanders; they vehemently opposed David Payne and the Boomer movement seeking to open the lands for homesteading [210, 230].

Cherokees (Western/early-removed) A segment of the Cherokee people who voluntarily relocated to Arkansas Territory prior to the main forced removals of the 1830s; Strange Choate and Chizem were identified as belonging to this group [49, 69, 73].

Cherubs Ornamental figures, typically depicted as winged infants; decoration on a broken chamber pot that Pickens the green trader attempted to sell [113].

Chew Used metaphorically by Hannali ("I chew the other side of the hog") to mean arguing the opposite viewpoint, against Peter Pitchlynn's promotion of open trade [91, 111]. Children chewed slippery elm bark [97, 117]; the Major chewed his moustaches nervously [105, 125].

Cheyennes Major Algonquian-speaking Plains tribe known for their horsemanship and warrior culture; Roman Nose Thunder, a visitor to Hannali House, was a renowned Cheyenne warrior [59]; Hannali frequently lived among them [66, 86] and was known to them as "Fiddling Bear" [67]; Hannali listed numerous Cheyenne leaders he knew personally (Black Moccasin, High Wolf, Dull Knife, Left Hand Shooter, etc.) [67]; considered by Hannali as equally fine as the Comanches [68]; involved in trade with Robert Jones [128]; encountered by Pickens the Green Indian, who was stripped bare by them in a tall tale [113-114, 134]; Southern Cheyennes were removed to Indian Territory post-war [192]; listed among raiding groups during the Old Wild West Days [207]; Hannali recalled Comanche scalps before Cheyenne lodges [69, 89]; mentioned by Hannali among tribes known [238].

Chics Abbreviated term for Chickasaws, used by Opothleyahola in his appeal for aid from the diverse "Elite" fighters ("elites, Snakes, Seminoles, Chocs and Chics, and Plains Indians") [152, 172].

Chickasaw One of the Five Civilized Tribes, closely related historically and culturally to the Choctaws; their ancestor Chickasah emerged with Chatah [1, 21]; traditionally lived adjacent to Choctaws [1, 21]; preceded Choctaws across the Mississippi River [2, 22]; Hannali understood their language [31, 51]; a Chickasaw man commented on Choctaw physique [12, 32]; subject to removal from Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee [55]; participated in 1828 Exploration led by Levi Colbert [20, 40, 55]; agreed to share land with Choctaws in new Territory [60]; influential Colbert family prominent [8, 20, 29, 34, 36, 40, 53-56, 73, 75, 89, 107-109, 119, 137, 147, 156, 167, 188, 208]; Pitman Colbert a wealthy figure [59, 75, 95, 107]; Robert Jones married into leading family [73, 108]; delegates controlled by Colberts/Jones at 1861 meeting [137, 156]; Pike secured full Confederate treaty [137, 157]; Chickasaw Battalion units fought for Confederacy [187]; Chickasaw army remained intact longest post-surrender, disbanded by Gov. Colbert July 14, 1865 [188-189, 208-209]; notably did not lose land after war, only claims to Leased District [192]; known for fine horses ("Chickasaw steppers") [102, 122].

Chickasaw Battalion (First) Confederate military unit composed primarily of Chickasaw soldiers, part of Tandy Walker's Second Confederate Indian Brigade [187].

Chickasaw Battalion (First Choctaw and) A combined Confederate military unit comprising both Choctaw and Chickasaw soldiers, part of Tandy Walker's brigade, in which Alinton Innominee served [187].

Chickasaw Bluff A series of high banks along the Mississippi River; Memphis, Tennessee, was established on the "fourth or lower Chickasaw Bluff" [35, 55].

Chickasaw delegates Representatives of the Chickasaw Nation at political gatherings; heavily influenced or controlled by the powerful Colbert family and Robert M. Jones, particularly during the crucial 1861 meeting that led to alliance with the Confederacy [137, 156].

Chickasaw encampment The final gathering place of the remaining Chickasaw Confederate forces in July 1865, where Governor

Winchester Colbert received the Union major and formally surrendered the nation [189].

Chickasaw Indians Members of the Chickasaw tribe; one famously commented on the large physique of the Choctaws [12, 32]; the tall tale of Pickens the Green Indian is sometimes told as a Chickasaw story [112].

Chickasaw language The Muskogean language spoken by the Chickasaw people, which Hannali Innominee understood as readily as French or the language of mules [31, 51].

Chickasaw meeting Refers to the joint Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting held at Boggy Depot in March 1861, where Robert M. Jones effectively forced the two nations into alignment with the Confederacy by suppressing a proposed neutrality message [135, 155].

Chickasaw steppers A distinct type or breed of horse associated with the Chickasaw people, recognizable by their gait or tracks, known by Hannali [102, 122].

Chief Numerous chiefs are mentioned, including Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee, Greenwood LeFlore, David Folsom, John Garland, Nitakechi, Joseph Kincaid, George Harkins (Choctaw); Levi Colbert, Winchester Colbert (Chickasaw); Major Ridge, John Ross, Stand Watie (Cherokee); Samuel Checote, Opothleyahola, Oktarharsars Harjo, Chilly McIntosh (Creek); Billy Bowlegs, Alligator, John Chupco (Seminole); Peter Pitchlynn (Choctaw Principal Chief); George Hudson (Choctaw); Captain George Washington (Caddo); Sky Chief, Pita Leshar, Dusty Chief (Pawnee). The title's significance and authority varied; some held district or town leadership, while others were Principal Chiefs. The title became "almost meaningless" for Pitchlynn after the war [55].

Chief (district) The leader responsible for one of the major administrative divisions within the Choctaw Nation; figures like Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee, Greenwood LeFlore, Nitakechi, Joseph Kincaid, and George Harkins held this position at various times in Mississippi or Indian Territory [6, 25, 26, 45, 54, 65, 74].

Chief John Ross (1790–1866) Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation for nearly four decades; visited Hannali House [59, 79]; initially advocated strict neutrality during the Civil War ("Do nothing, keep

quiet, comply with treaties") [124, 144]; ultimately coerced by Albert Pike into signing a treaty with the Confederacy, which also forced him to accept his bitter rival Stand Watie as a co-chief [140, 160].

Chief Joseph (c. 1840–1904) Renowned leader of the Wal-lam-wat-kain (Wallowa) band of Nez Perce; listed among the notable Plains and Western Indian leaders known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Chieftainship The office, authority, or status of a chief; Thomas LeFlore was credited with winning back the Oklafalaya district chieftainship for his family line, restoring respect to the name [59, 79].

Child Used very frequently throughout the text, referring to Hannali's sons, daughters, and grandchildren, as well as other young people encountered [e.g., 3, 4, 24, 61, 70, 81, 84, 90, 102, 148, 173, 182]. Often carries connotations of innocence, vulnerability, or lineage.

Children Central to the novel, especially during the "*Children's Decades*" post-Civil War [12, 196, 216]. Refers to Hannali's offspring [7, 13, etc.], grandchildren [86, 90, 119, etc.], Pass Christian's family [93, 94, 113, 114, 118], victims of massacre [122, 142, 157, 160, 177, 180], Territory orphans [196], Snake Creek dependents [153, 173, 181], and the general young population of the Territory.

"Children's Decades" Lafferty's term for the post-Civil War era (roughly 1865-1885) in Indian Territory, so named because the population, devastated by war losses among adults, consisted overwhelmingly of children—survivors, orphans, and the offspring of newly arrived tribes [12, 196, 216].

Chilly McIntosh A Creek leader aligned with the Confederacy, apparently serving under Albert Pike; derisively referred to by Opothleyahola as someone "so fine, even his spit is sweet," who would likely arrive "in a buggy far behind the fray" rather than engage in actual combat [155, 175].

Choate, Strange Elderly Cherokee man of the Western Cherokees, father of Natchez [49, 69]; friend of Chizem [49, 69]; resided near Fort Gibson, raising hogs for the garrison [49, 69]. He formerly lived at Grand Saline where Natchez was born [49, 69]. He readily agreed to Hannali's proposal, giving him 100 hogs as part of the marriage arrangement [50, 70]. Possessed a unique aura ("star sparkle") Hannali associated with aleika and considered him a "Mingo" [51, 71]. Became

Hannali's father-in-law and close friend [110, 130], advising him to enter politics [111, 131]. Represented the full-blood, traditionalist Cherokee faction [110, 130] and was a staunch "Freedom Indian," advocating neutrality during the Civil War [124, 144], arguing eloquently against joining either side at a council held at Hannali House [126-127, 146-147].

Choctaw The central Native American nation in the novel. This term appears ubiquitously as a noun (referring to the people, the Nation, individuals) and adjective (modifying language, culture, items, districts, etc.). Key aspects include their origin myth [1, 21], traditional three districts [7, 10, 30, 74], Removal experience [xii, 28, 45, 72], settlement in Indian Territory [73-74], social structure (clans [3], classes [2, 99]), unique culture (chuckling [4], fiddling [20], games like baskatanje [30], lack of alphabet [82]), political evolution (treaties [10, 24, 25, 45, 110, 137, 157, 191], constitution [25, 45, 200], laws [201], Senate [111], internal divisions [North vs. South, 99, 111, 125, 137]), Civil War involvement [135, 137, 142, 157, 166, 180, 187], post-war resilience and transformation [142, 189, 192, 199-201]. Hannali embodies the traditional Choctaw identity [5, 25, 74, 88, 103, 129, 163, 198, 214, 238].

Choctaw Academy An educational institution established in Great Crossing, Kentucky, for Choctaw students; Peter Pitchlynn led the first group of twenty-one boys there in 1825 [89, 109].

Choctaw alphabet Notably absent, unlike the Cherokee syllabary. Hannali argued this lack was advantageous, as Choctaws only needed to learn one system (like English or French script) to write multiple spoken languages [82-83, 103].

Choctaw and Chickasaw Battalion (First) A combined Confederate military unit within Tandy Walker's brigade, noted for including Alinton Innominee among its members during the Civil War [187].

Choctaw art Indigenous artistic expression, noted by Lafferty as having ceased for two decades following the Civil War; its later revival was characterized as nostalgic and reminiscent rather than contemporary [201, 221].

Choctaw Battalion (First, Second) Distinct Confederate military units composed primarily of Choctaw soldiers, serving within Tandy Walker's Second Confederate Indian Brigade during the Civil War [187].

Choctaw blacks Individuals of African descent living within or associated closely with the Choctaw Nation, often originating from escaped slaves who integrated into Choctaw society [13, 33]; Hannali recruited a group led by Martha Louisiana [46, 66], who established part of his settlement [73]; they maintained distinct naming patterns for a time [70, 90].

Choctaw blood Choctaw ancestry; Robert M. Jones identified as half-blood Choctaw [107, 127].

Choctaw boat A steamboat operating on the Mississippi River named *Choctaw*; Lafferty considered attributing Hannali's 1828 journey to this boat but opted for the factual *Caravan* instead [34, 54].

Choctaw character The defining cultural traits and spirit of the Choctaw people; Geary Hobson's foreword highlights the novel's depiction of an immutable element within this character, focused on survival and resilience [xii, 14].

Choctaw chiefs Leaders holding various levels of authority within the Choctaw Nation, including district chiefs (Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee, LeFlore, Kincaid, Harkins) and Principal Chiefs (George Hudson, Peter Pitchlynn). Their roles and influence shifted over time [e.g., 6, 7, 25, 26, 45, 54, 55, 74, 135].

Choctaw Chuckler The distinctive, deeply physical, and culturally form of laughter characteristic of the Choctaw people, particularly embodied by Hannali Innominee (4). It is portrayed not as a mere expression of amusement, but as an almost involuntary, seismic event originating deep within the body, causing one to "quiver and shake" until the surrounding environment itself seems affected ("shook the leaves off the trees") (4). This chuckling distinguishes the Choctaws from other peoples who merely "laugh or smile, some giggle" (4). Hannali's propensity for chuckling, even from earliest childhood when it seemed he might "injure himself" (4), marks him intrinsically as Choctaw. It often surfaces unexpectedly after long silences (4), suggesting a delayed processing or a different temporal understanding of humor and events. The chuckle can be communal (4) or intensely personal, a manifestation of "prenatal witticism or ancestral joke" (4), a connection to a collective unconscious reservoir of Choctaw experience. It is also frequently associated with paradoxical situations or incongruities, such as Hannali's immense

ugliness (50) or his interactions with the absurdities introduced by white culture or challenging events (31-32, 51, 68).

Choctaw clan A kinship-based social unit within the tribe; the Innominee family belonged to the Mishoweia town or clan [3, 23]; the ancient rattlesnake clan represented the oldest lineage [78, 98]; the "clan thing Devil" alluded to potential negative aspects of clan identity or conflict [9, 99].

Choctaw constitution The fundamental governing document of the Choctaw Nation; pre-removal constitutions were declared void by state laws [25, 45]; the constitution printed in Doaksville in 1852 reflected early national development, while later laws showed increasing white influence [200-201, 220-221].

Choctaw country The lands inhabited by the Choctaw people, referring both to their ancestral homeland in Mississippi [19, 39, 43, 44, 50, 51, 53, 63, 64] and their later nation in Indian Territory [70, 99, 111, 164].

Choctaw culture The distinctive customs, beliefs, language, and way of life of the Choctaw people; Hannali is depicted as a master of his own culture, embodying traditional ways while adapting [74, 94]; the novel contrasts the self-sufficient "Manor House culture" of the North with the more assimilated culture of the South [90-91].

Choctaw delegates Official representatives of the Choctaw Nation at formal meetings or treaty negotiations; Robert M. Jones exerted significant control over delegates at the 1861 Boggy Depot meeting, ensuring alignment with the Confederacy [135, 155, 156].

Choctaw districts The major administrative and geographical subdivisions of the Choctaw Nation. In Mississippi: Okla Hannali (Pushmataha's/Six Towns), Okla Tannaps (Moshulatubbee's), and Okla Falaya (LeFlore's/British-aligned) [7, 10, 27, 30]. In Indian Territory: Moshulatubbee (North), Pushmataha (southwest of Kiamichi), and Oklafalaya (southeast of Kiamichi/Red River District) [53, 73-74, 99]. The districts were central to Choctaw political structure and identity.

Choctaw dollars Scrip or tokens issued by a store in Doaksville, printed with phrases like "One Dollar Honest" or "Five Dollar Honest" and Choctaw lettering; generally considered worthless by most

traders, but Hannali, acting as a banker, redeemed them for his friends [97-98, 117-118].

Choctaw Eagle Dance A traditional ceremonial dance performed by Choctaw men, depicted by artist George Catlin in the 1830s showing dancers painted and seemingly "wild," illustrating the contrast between ceremonial life and daily appearance [73, 93].

Choctaw fables Traditional Choctaw stories and folklore, including tales featuring archetypal Fox characters like Fox-Hard-to-Kill and Fox-Know-the-Way, which Hannali associated with the Creek leader Opothleyahola [163].

Choctaw faction A subgroup within the Choctaw Nation, often based on geography, politics, or blood quantum; the Hundred Families represented a minority faction [8, 28]; the novel highlights the major split between the Northern (full-blood, traditionalist) and Southern (mixed-blood, assimilationist) factions during the Civil War [99, 137].

Choctaw fashion Distinctive Choctaw style; Hannali wore his green turban wound in "Creek-Indian fashion," implying variation [74, 94]; succumbing to tuberculosis was satirically called the "new Choctaw fashion," contrasting with pneumonia [218, 238].

Choctaw fiddler A prominent identity marker for Hannali Innominee, renowned for his skillful and characteristic fiddle playing; the Choctaws generally were known as "fiddling Indians" [20, 40, 54, 214].

Choctaw forces Military units comprising Choctaw soldiers, referring to the Confederate Choctaw troops who reinforced Colonel Cooper's command before the Battle of Bird Creek [166].

Choctaw forts Military installations within or associated with the Choctaw Nation, such as Fort Coffee and Fort Gibson, playing roles in administration, trade, and conflict [e.g., 71, 72, 74, 92, 96, 110, 130, 161, 181].

Choctaw habit A characteristic mannerism or practice; refers to the tendency in Choctaw speech (as depicted by Hannali) to string words together without conventional pauses or breaks, which led to Hannali's Pawnee nickname "Talking String Man" [67, 87].

Choctaw horsemen Mounted warriors of the Choctaw Nation; Confederate Choctaw horsemen formed part of the support for the cavalry charge at the Battle of Round Mountains [158].

Choctaw houses Traditional dwellings described as sturdy structures made of timber and earth [9, 29].

Choctaw Indians Members of the Choctaw Nation, the central people of the novel; their history, culture, removal, settlement in Indian Territory, internal divisions, and resilience form the core novel [e.g., 2, xii, 1, 9-10, 28, 45-46, 135, 137, 142, 193].

Choctaw Intelligencer One of the two Choctaw national newspapers published in Indian Territory during the Civil War era; Forbis Agent contributed neutralist articles until Robert M. Jones intervened to stop their publication [125].

Choctaw kindred Related family groups within the Choctaw Nation; the Checotes, though Lower Creeks, were considered kindred by the McIntosh faction [163].

Choctaw land The territory belonging to the Choctaw Nation, both their ancestral lands in Mississippi conveyed away by treaties [27, 47] and their later domain in Indian Territory.

Choctaw laws The legal code and statutes enacted by the Choctaw Nation; Lafferty notes a shift over time, with later laws like the Permit Law (1867), Timber Law (1871), and Coal Law (1873) reflecting increasing white influence in their "thinking and wording" compared to earlier, more "completely Indian" laws [201, 221].

Choctaw leaders Prominent figures who held positions of authority and influence within the Choctaw Nation. (See names and Chief).

Choctaw looms Weaving apparatus used by Choctaw people; noted by Lafferty as transitioning from producing distinctively styled traditional garments to making "white-man shaped shirts" after the Civil War, symbolizing cultural assimilation [200].

Choctaw Manor House culture Lafferty's term for the distinctive socio-economic system prevalent in the Choctaw North (Moshulatubbee District), characterized by large, self-sufficient estates ("Big Houses"), feudal relationships, emphasis on subsistence

and community interdependence, and political conservatism; admired but critiqued by Peter Pitchlynn [90-91, 110-111].

Choctaw meeting An assembly or council of Choctaw people; refers to the crucial Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting at Boggy Depot in March 1861 where Robert M. Jones engineered the nations' alignment with the Confederacy [135, 155].

Choctaw men Adult males of the Choctaw tribe, depicted in various roles as leaders, warriors, farmers, husbands, fathers, etc. throughout the novel.

Choctaw messiah A term applied by Lafferty to Peter Pitchlynn, signifying his immense influence and perceived role in reconstituting the Choctaw Nation during a critical period [89, 109].

Choctaw name A name originating from the Choctaw language or commonly used within the tribe; Whiteman Falaya's Choctaw name translated to Whiteman Long [103, 123].

Choctaw Nation The sovereign political and cultural entity of the Choctaw people, both in their ancestral Mississippi homeland and later in Indian Territory; its history, removal, reconstitution, internal divisions (North vs. South), governance (districts, councils, laws, constitution), and cultural transformation form the central subject of the novel [e.g., xii, 3, 10, 23, 26, 44, 46, 54, 74, 80, 99, 107, 109, 127, 135, 142, 162, 166, 187, 192, 200, 203, 211].

Choctaw national A citizen belonging to the Choctaw Nation; John Pitchlynn (Peter's white adoptive father) acted as government interpreter but was not considered a Choctaw national [110].

Choctaw North The geographical and cultural division corresponding largely to the Moshulatubbee District in Indian Territory; characterized by its "Manor House culture," self-sufficiency, predominantly full-blood population, feudal social structure, political conservatism, and initial neutrality in the Civil War [80, 91, 99, 111, 137, 162, 181, 187]. Hannali's Big House was its symbolic center [181, 201]. It retained stronger ties to French/Irish influences and occasional priestly visits compared to the South [204].

Choctaw oratory The art and style of public speaking among Choctaws; Lafferty notes that the deep, powerful oratory of the past was absent from the 1861 United Nations assembly [154].

Choctaw past The history, traditions, and cultural heritage of the Choctaw people; Lafferty questions its relevance to children of diverse tribal backgrounds being educated in assimilated schools [200].

Choctaw people The collective members of the Choctaw Nation; their turbulent history in the 19th century is the novel's subject [xii, 13, 33, 55, 109].

Choctaw ponies Horses associated with the Choctaws, described by Lafferty as "heavy" in comparison to lighter Creek horses or Chickasaw "steppers" [102, 122].

Choctaw population Numerical estimates cited from the 1830 census (nearly 20,000 in Mississippi) [46, 66] and U.S. Indian Office figures for the Territory (18,000 in 1861, reduced to 12,500 by 1865 due to war losses) [142, 162].

Choctaw prosperity The economic well-being and success of the Choctaw Nation or individuals; Peter Pitchlynn stated he always worked for it, despite Hannali's skepticism about his methods [91, 111].

Choctaw representatives Official delegates chosen to speak or act on behalf of the Choctaw Nation; Peter Pitchlynn served as chairman of all Choctaw representatives at the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek [110].

Choctaw rich A category of wealth defined by the opportunities and context within the Choctaw Nation, distinct from general American wealth; Barua Innominee achieved this status despite perceived follies [13, 33]; Hannali surpassed this level [53]; Alinton Innominee returned from his wandering year "Choctaw rich" [119, 139].

Choctaw rights The inherent and treaty-based rights of the Choctaw people, particularly concerning their land ownership in Indian Territory, declared void by the U.S. government after the Civil War as punishment for Confederate alliances [191, 211].

Choctaw Senate The upper legislative body of the Choctaw Nation's government in Indian Territory; Hannali Innominee served multiple terms as one of its twelve members, representing the conservative, free-stead viewpoint [111, 131].

Choctaw settlement A community established by Choctaw people; Hannali's primary settlement centered around his trading post (Poste DuShane) and later his Big House [73].

Choctaw shirts Traditional garments made of calico but cut according to older deerskin patterns; replaced by "white-man shaped shirts" produced on Choctaw looms post-Civil War [200].

Choctaw soldiers Military personnel belonging to the Choctaw Nation; Confederate Choctaw soldiers believed their officers' novel that the North was responsible for pre-war troubles [163].

Choctaw South The geographical and cultural division of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory, primarily encompassing the Oklafalaya and Pushmataha districts; characterized by a mixed-blood/white-blood population, slave ownership, engagement in speculative commerce, political liberalism, and strong Confederate alignment [99, 107, 108, 125, 137, 179]. This region had minimal contact with Catholic priests compared to the North [204].

Choctaw spelling The way Choctaw words, including the name "Choctaw" itself (contrasted with "Chatah"), were written using English orthography, often resulting in humorous or inaccurate representations from an English perspective [85, 105].

Choctaw star A metaphor used by Lafferty to describe Peter Pitchlynn, portraying him as a guiding light for the Choctaw Nation whose influence ("rays") pointed towards upliftment and progress [198].

Choctaw Telegraph One of the two Choctaw national newspapers published in Indian Territory during the Civil War; Forbis Agent initially published neutralist articles here, as well as in the *Intelligencer*, before being blocked by Robert M. Jones [125].

Choctaw town Settlements established or inhabited by Choctaws; includes Mishoweia (MS) [3, 8, 23, 28]; Doak's Stand (MS) [8, 22, 24, 42, 44]; North Fork Town (IT) [133, 144, 150, 153, 164, 203, 210];

Skullyville, Boggy Depot, Doaksville (IT capitals/centers) [8, 42, 54, 74, 79, 95, 97, 98, 107, 108, 111, 118, 127, 135, 155, 201, 203, 221]; Fort Coffee (IT) [71, 72, 74, 91, 92, 96, 110, 130]; Eufaula (IT) [111, 131, 203, 204, 213, 218, 224]; Tuskahoma (IT) [79, 99, 204, 224]; Atoka (IT) [203, 204]; Spiro (IT) [203]; McAlester (IT) [203]; Perryville (IT) [110, 130, 142, 203]; Millerton (IT) [55, 75].

Choctaw trade tongue The Mobilian Jargon, a pidgin language based primarily on Choctaw, used historically as a lingua franca for trade across a wide region of the Southeast [9, 29].

Choctaw tradition The established customs, beliefs, and practices passed down through generations of Choctaw people; among families known by R. A. Lafferty [xv].

Choctaw treaties Formal agreements between the Choctaw Nation and the United States government; Lafferty mentions between thirty-five and fifty such treaties, none ultimately successful in preserving Choctaw sovereignty or land [10, 30]. Key treaties referenced include Doak's Stand (1820) [24, 44], the Washington D.C. treaty (1825) [24, 44], and Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) [25, 45, 110]. Albert Pike later negotiated a treaty aligning the Choctaws with the Confederacy (1861) [137, 157]. All prior treaties with the U.S. were abrogated after the Civil War [191, 211].

Choctaw view The perspective on American history, particularly regarding Removal and life in Indian Territory, presented from the Choctaw standpoint within the novel *Okla Hannali*, as highlighted in Geary Hobson's foreword [xiii].

Choctaw word A lexical item belonging to the Choctaw language; 'incomprehensible' is identified as not being a native Choctaw word [11, 31]; the card game 'poker' is speculatively derived from a Noxubee (Choctaw affiliate) word meaning 'five-luck' [31, 51]; Hannali notes Choctaw words on a tonic bottle label resemble the motto 'Oh the hell it is not' [214].

Choctaw writings Texts produced by Choctaw individuals, particularly those written in English during the 19th century, which Lafferty notes often possess a humorous quality due to unconventional spelling based on English phonetics [85, 105].

Choctaws (Okla Falaya, Okla Hannali, Okla Tannaps) The three traditional major districts or "nations" of the Choctaw people prior to Removal: Okla Falaya (associated with the British, later LeFlore's district) [10, 30]; Okla Hannali (Pushmataha's district, the Six Towns area, described as "confused unto themselves") [7, 10, 27, 30, 46, 66]; and Okla Tannaps (associated with the French, Moshulatubbee's district) [10, 30, 46, 66].

Choke cherries Wild fruit native to North America, used by Choctaws before Removal to create traditional cordial drinks [72, 92].

Choke-Cherry Canyon A small canyon located half a mile behind Hannali House, identified as the place where Helen Miller (Famous Innominee's wife) and several children were killed by raiders during the final attack [182].

Cholera Outbreaks of which occurred along the Arkansas trails designated for Indian Removal, forcing tribes to use these dangerous routes [28, 48].

Christ His crucifixion a singular event contrasted with the repeated suffering of the Indians [127, 147]; name invoked by Hannali ("Christ has come to our house") upon recognizing the dying visitor as a priest [9, 87, 107]; the origin of Western alphabets traced to the era near Christ's time [83, 103].

Christian Adjective or noun relating to Christianity; Jesuit Mathurin le Petit was the first known Christian missionary among Choctaws [10, 30]; the Innominee family identified as Christian converts [10, 30]; Hannali considered himself a Christian throughout his life [33, 53]; Opothleyahola was described as "not a Christian Indian" [147, 167]. Also used as a first name: see Innominee, Pass Christian.

Christian Innominees (Pass Christian family) The collective family of Pass Christian Innominee, Hannali's brother, who resided primarily in New Orleans; included wife Marie Delessert and children Peter, Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, and Louis Christian [93, 113]. They visited Hannali House for an extended period during the winter of 1844-45 [93-99, 113-119].

Christian name A name given at baptism; Hannali Innominee adopted the Christian name Louis during his baptism in New Orleans in 1828 [33, 53].

Christmas Adopted by Indians in the Territory, incorporating traditional winter potlatch customs of feasting, visiting, and gift exchange [96, 116]; Hannali House was the site of a large, inclusive Christmas gathering in 1844, attended by numerous families and visitors [99, 119].

Chronicles Hannali dismisses mere chronicles in favor of the epic form for telling his story [3, 23]; Spanish chronicles claimed victory over Chief Tuscalusa, though the Choctaws kept no such records [10, 30]; the "chronicles of Drago" cited as a source for names from the Old Wild West era [207].

Chuckle The characteristic, often deep and rumbling, form of laughter attributed to Hannali Innominee and Choctaws generally [4, 24, 31, 48, 51, 61, 68, 81, 175, 196, 209, 214, 234, 236]; also exhibited by Moshulatubbee [27, 47] and Martha Louisiana [61, 81], and part of Whiteman Falaya's eerie death cry [175, 195].

Chuckling Choctaws A descriptive epithet for the tribe, based on their distinctive manner of laughing [4, 24].

Chuckling God A small figurine or idol depicted laughing; Hannali's transformed, no-longer-ugly face in later life is compared to that of a "chuckling God" [109, 129].

Chupco, John A Seminole leader who, along with Billy Bowlegs and Alligator, did not sign Albert Pike's treaty aligning the Seminoles with the Confederacy, despite being traditional enemies of the Union; they were sidelined in favor of less established figures [138, 158].

Church The Innominees maintained a connection, however tenuous, to the Catholic Church for over a century [33, 53, 88, 108]; Father Robot established St. Patrick's Church in Atoka [204].

Church of Silence Lafferty's term for the Innominee family's experience of Catholicism, marked by long intervals (often five to ten years, sometimes decades or a century) without direct contact with priests or formal sacraments, yet maintaining a sense of belonging [33, 53].

Chuste Nahlah The third battle in Opothleyahola's retreat, fought on December 26, 1861, at Shoal Creek [11, 15, 166], resulting in the final

dispersal and destruction of his forces [170, 190]. (Also called Battle of Shoal Creek).

Chusto Talasah The second battle in Opothleyahola's retreat, fought on December 9, 1861, at Bird Creek [11, 15, 165], where the neutral forces successfully repulsed a major Confederate assault [167-168]. (Also called Battle of Bird Creek or Battle of Cavanal Banks).

Chwi The Welsh word for "you" (plural), included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Cigar Considered sacred by the Choctaws, alongside the pipe [11, 31]; Hannali smoked a dry cigar after the surrender of the last Confederate forces [186]; the Union major who received the Chickasaw surrender also mouthed a dry cigar [189].

Cigars Black-leaf cigars were sold at Hannali's store [97, 117]; passed around, along with snuff, whiskey, and food, during Hannali's last evening gathering with friends [148].

Cimarron Crossing The point where Opothleyahola's forces crossed the Cimarron River near present-day Perkins, OK, before the Battle of Round Mountains; they set up a delaying ambush nearby [156, 176]. Also listed as a site of battles and ambushes during the Old Wild West Days [207].

Cimarron River A major tributary of the Arkansas River in Indian Territory, also known historically as the Red Fork of the Arkansas [156, 176]; crossed by Opothleyahola's people prior to the Battle of Round Mountains [156, 176]; Opothleyahola had previously crossed the Arkansas near its mouth [164, 184].

Cincinnati Charles Dickens met Peter Pitchlynn on a steamboat traveling between Cincinnati and Louisville in 1842 [110].

Circle The Choctaw Eagle Dance was performed in a circle [73, 93]; the defensive formation used by the Snake Creeks at Round Mountains was a "ring of bulls," forming a protective circle around dependents [152, 157, 172, 177].

Cistern The pit where Natchez hid herself and four children during the raid had previously served variably as a cistern or an underground silo [183].

Citizen Superior slaves captured by Indians were sometimes eventually adopted as full citizens [13, 33].

City References include New Orleans, St. Louis, Cairo, Cape Girardeau, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Shawnee, Muskogee, Wewoka, Dodge City, Abilene, Wichita, Caldwell, Baxter Springs, Ellsworth, Hays City, Newton, Washington D.C.

Civil Relating to polite society or ordinary citizens, as opposed to military or savage; Washington Irving described as a "civil and well spoken man" [84, 104]; the Snake Creeks paradoxically described as the "most civil" (well-ordered) of the Territory Indians, despite being least assimilated ("civilized") [152, 172].

Civil War Its outbreak forces choices upon the Indian nations [124]; key dates and events are noted [128, 148, 188-189]; its devastating impact on Indian Territory, involving both the main conflict and internal "Indian Civil Wars," led to massive loss of life, destruction of property, and the end of the pre-war Five Tribes civilization [121, 141-142, 161-162, 172, 189, 194, 197].

Civil Wars (Indian Territory) The multiple internal conflicts that erupted within and between the tribes residing in Indian Territory during the period of the American Civil War, often deliberately instigated or exacerbated by external forces like Albert Pike [10, 13, 15, 122, 133, 141, 142, 158, 161, 172, 189]; these included conflicts within the Creek, Cherokee, Hainai, Wichita, and Osage nations. The Choctaws notably avoided a large-scale internal civil war [142, 162]. These conflicts continued sporadically long after the main war ended, culminating in the Green Peach War (Creek) in 1882 [189].

Civilization A complex human society with developed culture, government, and social structures; the Choctaw Nation in the 19th century depicted as a genuine civilization [xii, 14]; reference to past civilizations (French, Spanish, Plains Indian peace, Bent St. Vrain) that preceded the "lawlessness" of the Old Wild West [197, 217]; the Five Tribes' civilization in Indian Territory, built over thirty years, was "murdered" by the Civil War [189, 195, 197]; post-war, Indians largely "threw away their civilization" to survive [191, 210].

Civilized Adjective describing tribes (like the Five Civilized Tribes) that had adopted aspects of European-American culture, agriculture, and governance [2, 6, xii, 14]; Hannali debated as being either a "civilized farmer" or a "wild Indian" [74, 94]; the Snake Creeks called the "least civilized" yet "most civil" [152, 172]; newly removed Indians post-war were often described as "civilized and settled" before being uprooted [191].

Civilized Tribes (Five) The collective term widely used for the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole nations, recognizing their adoption of settled agriculture, written constitutions, and formal governments modeled partially on the U.S. system [2, xii, 6, 14]; their pre-war civilization in Indian Territory is central to the novel [197]; their post-war fate varied significantly despite the collective label [192-193].

Clan A social group based on kinship, often matrilineal or patrilineal; Hannali's family belonged to the Mishoweia town or clan [3, 23]; the Choctaws anciently had a rattlesnake clan [78, 98]; Alligator was hereditary king of his Seminole clan [166]; Lafferty alludes to potentially negative aspects of clan identity or conflict as the "clan thing Devil" [9, 99]; post-war, new Indians arrived without established town or clan affiliations [199].

Clan thing Devil A cryptic phrase used in a chapter heading, suggesting the potentially destructive or negative power inherent in clan-based loyalties, rivalries, or obligations within Choctaw society [9, 99].

Clasp knife Carried by Hannali in his belt as part of his standard equipage [32, 52].

Clay Earthy material symbolizing origin and substance; "blood of my liver and clay of my clay" expresses deep kinship [8, 60, 85]; Albert Pike's eulogy boomed over Peter Pitchlynn's "clay" (grave) [198].

Clay-foot Indian Hannali Innominee's recurring self-description, used ironically or humbly, suggesting a rustic, unsophisticated nature, perhaps implying a deep connection to the earth but lack of formal education or refinement [33, 53, 73].

Clay-footed Adjective derived from Hannali's self-description, signifying his earthy, perhaps clumsy yet deeply grounded nature;

used to describe Hannali himself [48, 68, 69, 83, 148, 173, 214], his characteristic chuckle [48, 68], a fiddle tune or game [48, 69], his particular kind of luck [31, 51], and his soul [63, 83].

Clay-footed luck The type of seemingly grounded, persistent good fortune possessed by Hannali Innominee, particularly evident in his success at games of chance [31, 51].

Clay-footed soul Hannali Innominee's poignant self-description of his innermost being during his intense grief over Natchez's apparent death following the attack by Marie DuShane [63, 83].

Clear Boggy A river located in the southern part of the Choctaw Nation (Oklafulaya District) in Indian Territory, flowing south towards the Red River [41, 61].

Clod Used pejoratively by Lafferty to describe Hannali's characteristic uninflected manner of speaking ("he was not speak in that manner because he was a clod, but because he was a Choctaw") [5, 25].

Cloud, George A Seminole man who signed Albert Pike's treaty aligning with the Confederacy, invited to do so in place of the legitimate, established leaders like Billy Bowlegs or Alligator, contributing to internal division [138, 158].

Cloud I had forgotten Hannali Innominee's self-reproach upon realizing the ongoing threat posed by Whiteman Falaya, whom he had previously dismissed or suppressed in his thoughts [9, 82, 85, 105].

Cloud of dust Lafferty's central metaphor for the Old Wild West Days (c. 1867-1887), representing the era's ephemeral nature, its obscuring effect on the preceding Territory civilization, and the hazy, legendary quality of its historical memory [12, 205, 206, 207, 208, 225, 226].

Cloud over the country Metaphor used by Lafferty to describe the renewed sense of dread and impending danger brought by the reappearance of Whiteman Falaya in the Indian Territory [58, 78].

Cloud Used metaphorically: "Cloud I had forgotten" (Whiteman Falaya's threat) [9, 85, 105]; "cloud of dust" (Old Wild West era) [12, 205, 206, 207, 208]; a literal storm cloud presaging the final confrontation [175, 195]; Small Cloud Spicer (Seneca name/title) [140,

160]; the "horrifying cloud" of evil hanging over the Innominee family [173].

Club Pushmataha wielded a short club [6, 26]; Hannali famously killed a buffalo bull with a small, one-handed club [57, 77]; Hannali's silver-headed cane was as heavy as a war club [29, 49]; Alligator held his empty rifle like a club at his death [170, 190]. Also refers to a social group: Moshulatubbee's "dead man club" comprised those few who had defied him and survived [8, 28]; a St. Louis shooting club awarded a medal to the German Blau [153].

Clump A small, dense group of trees or bushes; Whiteman Falaya hid in a clump just before the entrance to Hitchiti Meadow to ambush Hannali [175, 195].

Clumsy scalplings Crude and shocking scalplings observed at the Battle of Round Mountains, performed inexpertly, "not at all in the old Indian manner," and "not done by Indians," implying atrocities committed by white or assimilated participants [157, 177].

Cluster A small group or gathering; used to describe settlements ("cabin cluster") [47, 67] or natural features ("cluster of cottonwood trees") [46, 66].

Clutch A brood of chicks or, by extension, a group of young dependents; Hazel refers to the group of children Natchez was hiding in the pit as "Natchez and her clutch" [183].

Coal Law of 1873 Legislation passed by the Choctaw Nation concerning coal resources; cited by Lafferty, along with the Permit Law and Timber Law, as examples of later laws whose "thinking and wording" reflected assimilation and white influence, contrasting with earlier, more traditional Choctaw governance [201, 221].

Coarse paper Rough, inexpensive paper; the material on which Whiteman Falaya left his longest, final threatening note for Hannali after murdering Sally [173].

Coaster boats Vessels designed for sailing along coastlines; serviced Papa Barua Innominee's trading station on the Gulf Coast, operating out of Pass Christian and Biloxi [13, 33].

Coat Papa Barua's bright red ceremonial coat [14, 15, 34]; Hannali's stylish white buckskin coat purchased in New Orleans [29, 49]; the scarecrow's request for a new coat [94, 114]; Hannali wore a formal frock coat for the dinner preceding Travis's departure [143, 163]; Albert Pike's distinctive frock coat worn with his pseudo-Sioux attire [138, 158].

Coat (red) The vibrant scarlet coat brought from New Orleans by Pass Christian for his father, Barua Innominee; its ceremonial significance prompted Barua to organize the memorable, chaotic fox hunt [14, 34].

Cobb, Fort A United States Army post located in the Indian Territory; listed among the installations from which Union troops were withdrawn in July 1861, leaving Unionist Indians feeling abandoned [128, 148].

Cobbling Making or repairing footwear; also, assembling something crudely or hastily; used to describe the Snake Creeks preparing their wagons and equipment for their desperate flight northward after the Battle of Round Mountains [152, 172].

Cob turkey Used in comparison by Hannali responsible for multiple hens ("three hens they point me out boy you old jack you") when lamenting his simultaneous marriage to three women [52, 72].

Coch The Welsh word for "red," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Co-chief A leader sharing authority with another chief; Stand Watie was effectively forced upon John Ross as a co-chief of the Cherokee Nation by Albert Pike's Confederate treaty, a move designed to deepen internal divisions [140, 160].

Coffee Notably refused by the ghost of Famous Innominee when visiting Alinton, although he claimed to still enjoy its smell [190, 210]; available pre-ground in North Fork Town stores, contrasting with the basic goods at Hannali's post [97, 117].

Coffee, Fort A significant U.S. Army post and later Choctaw settlement located on the Arkansas River in the Moshulatubbee District [54, 74]; site of the Fort Coffee Academy attended by Famous Innominee [110, 130]. Hannali attempted to deliver free corn to

starving Trail Indians there but was prevented by traders/authorities [72, 92], forcing him to establish an alternative landing upstream [72, 92]. Troops from Fort Coffee visited Hannali House for Christmas festivities [96, 116].

Coffin Already constructed and waiting in Hannali's back room as he prepared to intentionally end his life [220, 240].

Coffins Twenty-four were constructed by Hannali, Famous-George, and Peter-Barua from sawed boards immediately following the massacre at Hannali House, one for each victim [185].

Coin Hannali won all the gamblers' coin in New Orleans [31, 51]; Marie DuShane used gold coin to make purchases in North Fork Town, receiving U.S. and Mexican silver, plus Choctaw dollars, in change [97, 117]; Hannali kept caches of gold coin at his home [198].

Coins (gold) Type of valuable currency jingled prominently by Hannali upon his arrival in New Orleans, attracting attention [30, 50].

Colbert An influential family of mixed Chickasaw and white ancestry, holding significant political and economic power within the Chickasaw Nation; members included Major Levi Colbert [8, 20, 29, 34, 36, 40, 53-56, 73], the wealthy Pitman Colbert [59, 75, 95, 107], and post-war Governor Winchester Colbert [59, 79, 188-189]. Robert M. Jones gained influence by marrying into the family [73, 108], and the Colberts, alongside Jones, pressured Chickasaw delegates into Confederate alignment [137, 156]. A young Colbert joined Opothleyahola's Elites [147, 167].

Colbert, Levi (Major) Prominent Chickasaw leader (d. 1834) who held the rank of Major from service in the War of 1812 [55]; a key participant in the 1828 Exploration party viewing the western lands [8, 20, 29, 34, 40, 53-55]; expressed profound disappointment ("it is not worth a damn") with the quality of the proposed new territory [36, 56]. He became a close friend of Hannali through formal adoption [53, 73].

Colbert, Pitman A notably wealthy Chickasaw leader, considered second only to Robert M. Jones in riches within the Territory [75, 95]; a visitor to Hannali House [59] and included, perhaps erroneously due to prominence, in a list suggesting Welsh ancestry among Choctaws [107].

Colbert, Winchester An important Chickasaw leader who visited Hannali House [59, 79]; served as the Chickasaw Chief (Governor) following the Civil War and formally surrendered the remaining Chickasaw forces to the Union on July 14, 1865 [188, 208].

Colbert's Ferry A significant crossing point on the Red River between Texas and Indian Territory, frequently used by cattle drives heading north [206].

Cold Low temperature, chilliness; Martha Louisiana wove blankets used on cold days [74, 94]; children swam in very cold, ice-fringed water [94, 114]; Snake Creek refugees died from exposure to cold during their winter flight to Kansas [170, 191]; the lips and bodies of the dead grow cold [171, 191]. Also used to describe unemotional demeanor; coldly savage Indians/white men faced by Robert Pike [179].

Collected Sermons of Absalom MacGreggor The title of a book recommended by a visiting preacher for Hannali Innominee's library; Hannali suspected the preacher included it for self-serving reasons [84, 104].

Colonel Held by Douglas Cooper [147, 158, 161, 165-168, 178, 180, 181, 189], James McIntosh [155, 175, 189], and John Drew [165, 166] in the Confederate service during the Civil War.

Colonies Post-Civil War schools in Indian Territory taught the history of the colonies, neglecting indigenous history [200].

Colonial period Lafferty references, but dismisses, theories of a Welsh intrusion during the early colonial period [107, 127].

Colorado Identified as the origin of the Southern Cheyenne bands removed to Indian Territory [192]; source region for some of the diverse tribes relocated there post-war [191]; destination for stocking cattle ranges during the cattle drive era [206].

Colors Hannali described in later life as being "nine colors of brown" [203]; the unwritten testament proclaimed in "golden colors" in the sky [209].

Colts Hannali compared his three sons born closely together to acquiring three colts in one year [52, 72]. Natchez, despite her small size, was described as strong as a colt [150].

Columbus Mentioned in the context of the "Welsh Indian" theory, which claimed Welshmen arrived long before him [106, 126].

Comanches Powerful Numic-speaking tribe of the Southern Plains; Hannali ate their "potatoes" (prairie turnips) [11, 149]; frequently interacted with Hannali during his travels [67, 87], knowing him as "Mule Doctor" [67]; considered by Hannali as equally impressive ("fine") as the Cheyennes [68]; Hannali knew prominent leaders including Bull Hump, Shavehead, Paha-Yuca, Ten Bears, Quanah Parker, etc. [68]; Robert Jones traded with them [128]; Quahada Comanches were removed post-war [192]; listed among raiding groups during the Old Wild West Days [207]; smelled like tea made from mesquite pods [151, 171]; encountered by Pickens the Green Indian, who lost his bones to them in a tall tale [114]; elite young Comanche warriors joined Opothleyahola's Elites [147, 167]; recalled by Hannali among the great tribes [238].

Comanche potatoes The misleading term Plains Indians used for prairie turnips (*Psoralea esculenta*) when introducing them to the newly arrived Creek Indians, leading the Creeks to rely on them initially before rejecting them [11, 149, 168, 169].

Comanche scalps Trophies of war; Hannali observed fresh Comanche scalps displayed on poles outside Cheyenne lodges during his travels [69, 89].

Combat Indians Hannali Innominee's term distinguishing Opothleyahola's followers, once gathered and armed for defense, from truly neutral "Freedom Indians" who remained dispersed on their homesteads; implies that taking up arms, even defensively, inevitably draws one into the conflict [148].

Commander Hannali addresses the Major leading the Confederate troopers as "Commander" during their confrontation [9, 102, 103, 123, 124].

Commandments (Ten) Referenced in the context of a fundamentalist preacher's theory that this event marked the origin of alphabetical writing [83, 103].

Commission Authorization to perform a task; Famous Innominee undertook a diplomatic "commission" for Opothleyahola among the Cherokees [185]. Also, payment structure; Alinton Innominee took cattle "on commission" as a factor [208]. Also, a governmental body; Peter Pitchlynn surrendered the Choctaws to a "federal commission" rather than a military force [188].

Common fund A general body of shared knowledge or understanding; Peter Pitchlynn acquired the "common fund of knowledge and civilization almost intuitively" [124, 144].

Common trade Basic crafts and occupations that can be performed with simple tools; Hannali was said to have learned every common trade a man could practice with his hands [218, 238].

Communication Lafferty notes that the necessity of communication among the diverse tribes in post-war Indian Territory led to English becoming the dominant language [199, 200].

Community Hannali's Big House served as the center of an important Choctaw community [xii, 14]; the post-Civil War Territory was described as a "youthful community" despite the preceding devastation [196, 216].

Communion The Christian sacrament of the Eucharist; administered to Hannali Innominee by the visiting priest on his deathbed, along with Extreme Unction [219, 239].

Compendium A collection or mixture containing a variety of ingredients or elements; the knockout drink given to Hannali by the New Orleans gamblers was described as a "compendium of all great liquors and additives" [32, 52].

Compassionate Showing sympathy, concern, or mercy; attributed as a trait of full-blood freeholders like Hannali in the *Kirkus Reviews* blurb [2]; Lafferty suggests the "most compassionate thing" regarding Whiteman Falaya was to kill him [58, 78]; Marie Delessert possessed "compassionate good humor" [98, 118]; Sally Innominee's murder was paradoxically described as "almost compassionate" due to its swiftness [173].

Competence The ability to perform a task successfully or efficiently; Marie DuShane was characterized by her "complete competence" after discovering her true self [181, 201].

Competent man A capable and effective individual; the 1828 Exploration party included many "competent men" [36, 56]; Colonel James McIntosh was recognized as a "competent man" who would successfully lead the final assault against the Snake Creeks [188].

Composed Calm, self-possessed, or tranquil; Marie DuShane regained her composure after the initial shock and trembling following her attack on Natchez [63, 83]; Hannali was described as "confessed, counseled, and composed" before his death [173, 219, 239].

Comprehensible Capable of being understood; God's ways are deemed "incomprehensible" [11, 31]; the Jacksonian revolution was arguably more comprehensible than Peter Pitchlynn's borrowed phrase suggested [27, 47].

Conchas A band of Jumano Indians associated with the Concho River in Texas; listed among the diverse tribal groups removed to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192].

Confederate Army The military forces of the Confederate States of America; regular units, primarily the Texas Fourth Cavalry, participated in campaigns in Indian Territory [166]; interacted with Confederate Indian units [158, 161, 187].

Confederate Cavalry Mounted troops serving the Confederacy; the Texas Fourth Cavalry unit prominent at Round Mountains [152, 172, 180]; ordered into a disastrous massed charge by Colonel Cooper [158, 178, 180]; additional Texas Cavalry units under James McIntosh participated in the final campaign against the Snake Creeks [169].

Confederate Cherokees The faction of the Cherokee Nation, led by Stand Watie, that aligned with the Confederacy; they did not lose lands after the war, unlike the neutral/Unionist Pines [193]; units served under Cooper and Drew [165, 166].

Confederate Choctaws Members of the Choctaw Nation who aligned with the Confederacy, primarily from the Southern districts [135, 137]; units fought at Round Mountains [157, 160, 177] and Bird Creek [166];

they notably avoided large-scale internal civil war [142, 162] and did not lose tribal land after the war [192].

Confederate Commissioner Official representative of the Confederate government assigned to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes; Albert Pike held this position [136].

Confederate forces The combined military units fighting for the Confederacy in Indian Territory, including regular white troops (primarily Texans), Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole units [152, 155, 156, 166, 167, 168, 170, 181].

Confederate Indians Native Americans from the Five Tribes and other groups who allied with the Confederacy during the Civil War; their motivations, experiences, and fates varied significantly [135, 137, 141, 148, 150, 154, 155, 157, 161, 163, 166, 168, 169, 170, 181, 188].

Confederate Lower Creeks The faction of the Creek Nation, associated with mixed-blood leaders and often the McIntosh family, that sided with the Confederacy; they did not lose tribal land after the war [166, 172, 185, 193].

Confederate Seminoles The faction of the Seminole Nation that aligned with the Confederacy; the only Seminoles permitted to retain their lands after the Civil War [193].

Confederate shield Metaphorical term indicating the protective military presence of the Confederacy in the southern part of Indian Territory, which helped the Choctaws avoid internal civil war and some external raiding [142, 162].

Confederate stronghold A location securely held by Confederate forces; Fort Gibson became one after Union withdrawal, which Famous Innominee boldly visited during his diplomatic mission [185].

Confederate treaties Formal agreements negotiated by Albert Pike and others binding various Indian nations or factions to the Confederate States of America; often obtained through manipulation, fraud, or by dealing with unrepresentative leaders [136, 137, 140, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161].

Confederacy Its formation and the ensuing Civil War profoundly impacted Indian Territory [xii, 15]; alliance sought and gained with

factions of the Five Tribes through treaties negotiated by Albert Pike [135, 136, 137, 140, 157, 158, 159, 160]; its military strategy involved using the Territory as a screen [186]; eventual defeat led to harsh repercussions for allied and even neutral tribes [188, 191-193].

Conference The New Orleans gamblers held a "new conference" after Hannali bested them at poker before offering him the knockout drink [32, 52].

Confessed Having received the Catholic sacrament of Reconciliation (Confession); Hannali was "confessed, counseled, and composed" by the priest on his deathbed [219, 239].

Confessor (Edward the) King Edward the Confessor of England (reigned 1042-1066); listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose reputations are fiercely protected [142].

Conflict A state of disagreement or warfare; Jim Ned was said to throw in with the underdogs in "every conflict" [166]; the South was expected to win the "coming conflict" [126]; Hannali tells Travis he cannot return while the "conflict" continues [148].

Congress Ratified the Louisiana Purchase (1803) [23, 43]; Peter Pitchlynn lobbied Congress extensively for Choctaw justice, meeting Dickens during one such trip [110]; later served as an expert consultant to Congress on Indian affairs [197]. Also refers to a member of Congress, Cyrus Aldrich of Minnesota [194].

Congressman A member of the U.S. House of Representatives; Cyrus Aldrich of Minnesota, avidly anti-Indian [194]. Also, a member of the Choctaw Nation's legislative body; Hannali served a term as congressman (representing one thousand Choctaws) [111, 131].

Conestogas An Iroquoian-speaking people, also known as Susquehannocks; possibly among the tribal remnants removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192].

Conscience An individual's moral sense of right and wrong; Lafferty suggests the "conscience of the Southland" regarding Indian affairs was extinguished after French and Spanish influence waned [24, 44].

Consciences The "elite" fighters who joined Opothleyahola were men whose consciences compelled them to act against the planned massacre of the neutral Upper Creeks [150, 170].

Conservative Adhering to traditional values and cautious about change; Hannali's political views in the Choctaw Senate were described as conservative, representing the free-stead, full-blood perspective [109, 111, 129].

Constitution The fundamental principles and laws governing a nation or organization; the Choctaw Nation's constitution, printed in 1852, reflected its sovereign status [200].

Constitutions Plural form; the established constitutions of the Five Tribes were declared void by state laws enacted by Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama prior to Removal [25, 45].

Continent kindred Lafferty's term describing the relationship among Hannali Innominee's three family lines (descended from Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and Marie DuShane) after the tumultuous events that ended his formal marriages; they lived together as one large, interconnected family unit [71, 91].

Continental Relating to the mainland of Europe; Lafferty notes that Choctaw spelling conventions tended to follow English phonetic rules rather than Continental European ones [85, 105].

Contingent form The non-physical state of existence described by the ghost of Famous Innominee when visiting his brother Alinton; in this form, he could converse but could not partake of physical substances like coffee, tobacco, or whiskey [190, 210].

Contingent latter life Hannali Innominee's term for the existence after death, which he views philosophically as having the advantage of freedom from worldly worries [185].

Contrived Deliberately created, artificial, or manipulated; Albert Pike's treaty-making involved "contrived" divisions and fraud [133, 161]; Pike appeared in "contrived frontier costume" [122, 142]; the wave of anti-Union hatred in the Territory was described as a "very contrived thing" [128, 148].

Conversion The act of adopting a religion; the Hundred Families, including the Innominees, experienced conversion to Catholicism through early Jesuit missionaries [10, 30].

Cooper Listed as one of the many trades practiced by Hannali Innominee on his estate [74, 94].

Cooper, Douglas (Colonel/General) Former U.S. Indian Agent who became a Confederate Colonel (later General) [158]; commanded Confederate forces, primarily Texans and allied Indians, in the campaigns against Opothleyahola's neutral Creeks [147, 161, 165]; ordered the disastrous massed cavalry charge at Round Mountains [158] and repeated similar frontal assault tactics at Bird Creek [167, 168]; his forces retreated in panic from Bird Creek [161, 168, 181]; commanded the nominal Indian forces during the final attack under James McIntosh [169]; his hunters pursued the final Snake Creek refugees [170].

Copies Forbis Agent relied on handwritten copies and those made with Hannali's primitive mimeograph to distribute his broadsides after being denied access to a printing press [125].

Corn Hannali remembered corn growing taller in his youth [5, 25]; ground by hand querns [13, 33]; Hannali a successful "corn man" [19, 20, 40]; needed for the girl swallowed by the panther [95, 115]; crucial for feeding incoming Trail Indians [71, 91]; Hannali's attempts to distribute free corn blocked [72, 92]; river bottom lands good for corn [37, 57]; lack of seed corn post-war [189-190, 209-210]; Hannali still had seed corn [190, 210]; pleasant smell of cornfields burning [144, 164]; corn hominy [76, 96, 152]; corn beer [72, 92]; corn cake [219, 239]; corn kernels for baskatanje [30, 50]; corn husks for ticks [97].

Corn beer An alcoholic beverage brewed from corn; one of the traditional drinks made by Choctaws before the introduction of stronger white man's alcohol [72, 92].

Corn cake A simple cake made from cornmeal; the girl inside the panther made them after grinding corn [95, 115]; Anna-Hata slipped one into Hannali's pocket for his journey after death [219, 239].

Corn cakes Made by the girl inside the panther [95, 115].

Cornfield Hannali watched his own cornfields burn in three directions during the Civil War hostilities [144, 164].

Cornflowers Used in a simile to describe the eye color of Anna-Hata ("eyes like blue cornflowers") [xii, 14, 217, 237].

Corn hominy A food made from dried corn kernels treated with alkali; Hannali took a sack on his journey to Nanih Waiya [76, 96]; the Snake Creeks made it in their camp [152, 172].

Corn kernels The individual grains of corn; the small cubed kernels used for playing the Choctaw dice game baskatanje [30, 50].

Cornland Land suitable for growing corn; the 1828 Exploration party deemed the new Territory deficient in good cornland compared to their Southern homelands [37, 57]; Alinton DuShane's trading post included good bottom cornland [73].

Corn man A term signifying Hannali Innominee's success and identity as a major corn farmer and trader [19, 39, 40].

Corral A "mean bull" was let out of the corral during Papa Barua's fox hunt [17, 37]; Hannali constructed a strong corral capable of holding wild buffalo [97, 117].

Correspondence Marie Delessert had corresponded with Marie DuShane before visiting Hannali House and meeting her in person [98, 118].

Cotton Hannali traded cotton [19, 39]; Robert M. Jones built his wealth partly on the slave and cotton business [108, 128]; the Oklafalaya district engaged in "giant slave-grown cotton speculation" [110, 124]; Martha Louisiana wove cotton shirts [74, 94]; playing cards were sometimes made from "cotton-cloth" stiffened with resin [31, 51]; bedding ticks were filled with cotton [97].

Cotton-cloth cards Playing cards improvised by Choctaws before commercial decks were common, made from cotton cloth stiffened with pine resin [31, 51].

Cottonwood creeks Streams lined with cottonwood trees, a landscape feature noted by the 1828 Exploration party as they traveled through the future Creek District [36, 56].

Cottonwood shore A riverbank characterized by the presence of cottonwood trees; Alinton Innominee tied his boats to such a shore on the third day of his journey up the Canadian River [115].

Cottonwood trees A cluster of three cottonwoods served as a landmark for Hannali's black settlers to locate his homestead claim [46, 66].

Council Opothleyahola held council vigorously [145]; the Snake Creeks held a final council fire at Round Mountains before their last stand [165].

Council House (Tuskahoma) The official legislative building of the Choctaw Nation, located in Tuskahoma near Nanih Waiya; Hannali spoke there in his later role as Senator [204, 224].

Counsel Strange Choate provided political counsel to Hannali [111, 131].

Counseled Received advice or spiritual guidance; Hannali was "counseled" by the priest before receiving the last rites [219, 239].

Count Used metaphorically by Lafferty to describe Hannali's status within the "medieval setup" of the Choctaw Nation North ("a count in his castle") [74, 94].

Countermove Actions taken in opposition or response to another's actions; the U.S. army, despite claiming powerlessness against state actions, was readily available to suppress any Indian countermove against those states [44, 64].

Coup (counting) A Plains Indian practice signifying bravery, involving touching an enemy warrior in battle without necessarily harming him; referenced metaphorically in the lament after the destruction of the Snake Creeks ("My enemy has counted coup upon me") [171, 191].

Coupons (cigar) Promotional slips included with cigars; accepted by some Plains Indians as a form of currency in trade [112].

Courteous Polite and respectful in manner; the gamblers and gentlemen Hannali encountered in Frenchtown, New Orleans, were initially courteous [30, 50].

Court House (Old Miller) A settlement in the Oklafalaya District of the Choctaw Nation, named after a large, pretentious residence built by a half-breed named Miller that resembled a courthouse [54, 74].

Courthouse The settlement of Old Miller Court House was named after a prominent residence that resembled one, though no actual courthouse existed there [54, 74].

Courts State courts were used to dispossess Indians, as their testimony against whites was inadmissible [25, 45]; white men had the advantage of courts and sheriffs, unlike the unarmed Indians [44, 64].

Cousin A relative descended from a common ancestor; Frank Burke was R.A. Lafferty's mother's cousin [xvi, 18]; John T was Hannali's cousin [30, 47, 50, 67, 96]; Marie DuShane mistakenly believed Natchez was her cousin [52, 72]; Alligator addressed Opothleyahola affectionately or respectfully as "father-cousin" [155, 175].

Cousins Relatives outside the immediate family; Silvestre DuShane had cousins living in the Territory [38, 58]; town Negroes were smaller than their "country cousins" [50]; the children of Pass Christian were Territory cousins to Hannali's children [94, 114]; Famous Innominee visited his smooth Cherokee cousins near Fort Coffee [110, 130]; Albert Horse referred to the potentially hostile Oklafalaya Choctaws as "our cousins" [77, 97]; newly arrived tribes were often genetically "cousins" of those already present [192].

Cover Shelter, concealment, or protection, often in a landscape or battlefield context; Whiteman Falaya moved in "deep cover" [176, 196]; Hitchiti Meadow offered Hannali "no real cover" but the fringing woods offered cover to Whiteman [177]; Confederate forces at Bird Creek had "some cover" but charges were not completely open [168, 188]; the Snake Creeks escaped "under cover" of the battle's end [170, 191].

Cow Metaphorically used by the Snake lament ("The calf tries to suckle at the dead cow") [171, 191]; Hannali felt turned into a "sick cow" by his bullet wounds [183].

Cow Catcher Historically the last king of the Seminole people and father of the prominent leaders Bolek (Billy Bowlegs) and Alligator [166].

Coward An individual who lacks courage; Jim Ned was initially (and wrongly) characterized as a "mouthy coward" [145, 165]; the Seminole leaders Alligator, Bowlegs, and Tustennuggee were defamed as cowards in calculated propaganda [145, 165].

Cowards The Seminole leaders defamed as such [145, 165]; Union soldiers were labeled cowards, jayhawkers, etc., by Confederate sympathizers after their withdrawal from the Territory [128, 148].

Cowboy A mounted herder of cattle, typically in the American West; Lafferty notes the term was not yet in use during the early Territory days, with "cattle drover" being the contemporary equivalent [96, 116]. Bob Annesley, the cover artist, was a member of the Cowboy Artists Association [2].

Cowhides The German traveler Blau was investigating whether buffalo hides could serve as a viable substitute for cowhides in making shoe leather [153].

Cows Sheltered within the defensive ring of bulls at the Battle of Round Mountains [152, 177]; Opothleyahola requested aid metaphorically for his "cows and calves" (his people) [146]; nearly half of his followers' cows and calves survived the flight north [169].

Cowskin boots Footwear made by Hannali Innominee from cowhide [73, 93].

Cowskin Prairie Site of a Civil War battle located near the Missouri border, listed among the places where Territory Indians fought and died [12, 142, 186].

Cox Trail Named as one of the significant cattle trails used for driving herds north from Texas through Indian Territory during the Old Wild West era [206].

Coyotes Hannali remembered coyotes being smaller than the squirrels of his youth [5, 25]; he hunted them with his bow [74, 94]; like Choctaws, they "have fun with noise" [74, 94]; Hannali's sons were "near as smart as coyotes" in pursuit [80, 100]; sumac trees had bark like coyotes [36, 56]; the elite fighters aiding Yahola were "crafty as coyotes" [147, 167].

Crab orchard stone A type of flagstone or sandstone, likely quarried in Tennessee, used as a building material in the construction of Hannali Innominee's Big House [80].

Crane Surname of a leader among the Arapaho Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Cranky Irritable, ill-tempered, or difficult; the old vixen fox dragged by Pass Christian was described as cranky [15, 35]; the old rifle used effectively by Robert Pike during the final defense of Hannali House was a "cranky old shooting piece" [179].

Cravat Hannali purchased one along with a white shirt as part of his effort to appear respectable when traveling to New Orleans [29, 49].

Crawling Moving slowly on hands and knees or close to the ground; Hannali was "crawling with fever" and agony in his strong room after being patched up following the final battle [182].

Crazy Horse (c. 1840–1877) Renowned Oglala Lakota war leader; listed among the prominent Sioux figures known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Crazy Mule A man belonging to the Cheyenne Nation, known personally by Hannali from his time spent among the Plains tribes [67].

Crazy panther The epithet used by the girl trapped inside the panther's stomach in Luvinia's story [95, 115].

Crazy-legged Adjective describing the agile, unpredictable faking movements of some white football players, contrasted by Lafferty with the smoother "floating deception" style characteristic of Indian runners like Famous Innominee [81, 101].

Creek (watercourse) Sites of Civil War battles included Spavinaw Creek, Bird Creek, Shoal Creek, Sugar Creek, Elk Creek, Lee's Creek, Wolf Creek, Poison Creek, Wilson's Creek [142]; forks of the Red River included Cache Creek, Prairie Dog Town Creek, Elk Creek [115]; Pickens claimed pecan shells would hatch quail in creek water [113]; Gaines Creek near where Hannali confronted troopers [102]; Leeper Creek was site of a Wichita settlement [159].

Creek country The region within Indian Territory primarily inhabited by the Creek Nation; Rachel Perry was from there [163]; Famous Innominee was well-known within the Creek (and Cherokee) country [164].

Creek District The area assigned to the Creek Nation in Indian Territory, located between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers [36, 56, 60].

Creek Indians One of the Five Civilized Tribes, also known as Muscogee; historically prominent in the Southeast, removed primarily from Georgia and Alabama [23, 43, 45, 55]; their language belonged to the Muskogean family, related to Choctaw/Chickasaw [154]; divided during Civil War into Lower Creeks (Confederate, led by McIntosh/Checote faction) and Upper Creeks (neutral/Unionist, led by Opothleyahola, also called Snake Creeks) [137, 142, 145, 151, 166, 172, 185, 193]; suffered heavy losses and land confiscation post-war, particularly Upper Creeks [142, 162, 193]; post-war Green Peach War continued internal conflict [189]; Hannali knew the nation and visited towns like Tukabatchee and Lokar Poker Town [11, 111, 163, 238].

Creek Indians (Lower) The faction of the Creek Nation, generally mixed-blood and associated with the McIntosh and Checote families, which largely supported the Confederacy during the Civil War; their lands were not confiscated after the war [142, 151, 166, 172, 185, 193].

Creek Indians (Upper) The faction of the Creek Nation, generally full-blood and traditionalist, led by Opothleyahola, who sought neutrality during the Civil War; also referred to as Snake Creeks [142, 145, 147, 151, 153, 161, 165, 167, 170, 171, 176, 193]. They were attacked and eventually dispersed by Confederate forces, suffering heavy casualties and the confiscation of their lands after the war.

Creek Nation The sovereign political entity of the Muscogee (Creek) people in Indian Territory; Travis Innominee moved to North Fork Town within its borders after the Civil War [190, 210].

Creek turban A style of turban associated with Creek men; Whiteman Falaya might adopt one as a disguise [105, 125]. Compare Creek-Indian fashion.

Creek water Water originating from a creek; Pickens the green trader falsely claimed pecan shells placed in creek water would hatch into quail [113].

Creek-Cherokee border The boundary line dividing the territories assigned to the Creek and Cherokee Nations in Indian Territory; Hannali astutely recognized the strategic value of locating his post near this border [53, 73].

Creek-Indian fashion The style or manner in which Hannali Innominee typically wound the green turban he wore on his head [74, 94].

Creeper (Cherokee) A type of ground-growing vine; used metaphorically to describe the way unofficial news and information spread rapidly and effectively among the Cherokee people, particularly regarding the true situation of Opothleyahola's forces [164, 166].

Crescent The curved shape of the moon in its first or last quarter; the moon was "well crescent" (past first quarter but not yet full) when the skeleton priest arrived near death at Hannali House [87, 107].

Crest An emblematic design, often hereditary; Hannali ordered expensive writing paper featuring a silver ink-horn crest [84, 104].

Criminal laws Statutes pertaining to crime and punishment; Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama extended their criminal laws over the sovereign Indian nations within their borders prior to Removal, effectively nullifying tribal law and treaty rights [25, 45].

Crimp cut A type of fine-cut tobacco suitable for pipes or rolling, sold at Hannali Innominee's trading post [97, 117].

Crock-headed An insulting term meaning stupid, blockheaded, or foolish; hurled at Hannali by the exasperated Major during their confrontation at the army camp [104, 124].

Crooked grin A distinctive facial expression attributed to Famous Innominee, particularly when confronting the men sent to ambush Forbis Agent; suggests confidence, perhaps menace or amusement [125].

Crop Hannali lamented the burning of his corn, noting "it would have been a good crop" [144, 164]; the "bulk crop system" referred to large-scale cash crop agriculture [91, 111].

Crops Hannali's crops were burned by raiders for four consecutive years during the Civil War [191, 210].

Cross Verb: To traverse from one side to another (crossing rivers [2, 22, 47, 67, 78, 98, 150, 164, 170, 176, 184, 215], trails [102, 122]); to oppose or thwart (Pushmataha and Moshulatubbee not to be crossed [6, 8, 26, 28]). Noun: The Christian symbol, implicitly referenced via the Latin blessing (In nomine Patris...) [88, 108].

Cross-Timbers A distinct ecological region characterized by a dense mix of forest and prairie, forming a natural transition zone; the western extent of the political influence ("wards") of the horse Indians of the Plains [68, 88].

Crow (tribe) A Siouan-speaking tribe primarily located on the northern Plains; Hannali knew leaders like Big Prisoner, Kit Fox, Standing Alligator, and Plenty Coups, but stated the Crows were "not his special people" [68, 88].

Crow Haven The whimsical name Hannali (or the crows themselves) supposedly gave to his cornfield after it suffered heavy damage from crows [94, 114].

Crow Indian (Cheyenne man) A Cheyenne man whose given name was Crow Indian, distinguished from members of the Crow tribe; known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

Crow King A leader among the Sioux Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Crows (birds) Hannali's cornfield suffered significant damage from crows, leading him to deny the scarecrow a new coat until it proved effective [94, 114].

Crown Metaphorically used regarding the end of the fox hunt ("put a crown on it") [17, 37]; Hannali's election to the Choctaw Senate was the "crown of the success and respect that he had won" [111, 131].

Crucifixion Method of execution by nailing or binding to a cross; used metaphorically by Hannali to describe the suffering of the Indian peoples ("twice-crucified people," "even Christ was crucified but once") [127, 147, 191, 211].

Crud Worthless, disgusting, or contemptible persons or things; used defamatorily to describe Seminole leaders like Alligator, Bowlegs, and Tustennuggee in Confederate propaganda [145, 165].

Cryf The Welsh word for "strong," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Crying R.A. Lafferty cried after being knocked down by a Pawnee boy [xvi, 18]; Major Levi Colbert cried from disappointment upon seeing the poor quality of the new lands [36, 56]; Natchez began to cry when Hannali agreed to put her away [85].

Cub The young offspring of certain animals, especially bears; Hannali resembled a bear cub as a toddler [4, 24]. Also used metaphorically for a son; Opothleyahola laughed about Hannali sending his "cub" (Travis) in his place [159].

Cultivation The practice of preparing land and growing crops; the Innominee family expanded their cultivation in the early Territory years [19, 39].

Culture The customs, arts, social institutions, and achievements of a particular nation, people, or group; the superimposed white American culture [xii, 14]; Hannali described as master of his own Choctaw culture [74, 94]; the self-sufficient Manor House culture of the Choctaw North [90, 110]; the distinct Indian civilization contrasted with white culture [195, 215].

Curers A general term encompassing various types of traditional Seminole healers, including herbalists, fever breakers, bone setters, and psycho-healers [166].

Curiously Adverb signifying strangeness, oddity, or unexpectedness; Lafferty notes that White Eyes use words "curiously" [12, 196, 198, 200, 220]; Whiteman Falaya's notes came "curiously" from a man who couldn't write [57, 77]; Hannali's eyes grew "curiously dim" before his death [131, 151].

Cushman Horatio Bardwell Cushman (1822-1904), author of *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (1899); mentioned by Lafferty as one of the historians consulted regarding Peter Pitchlynn's parentage [89, 109].

Custer George Armstrong Custer (1839-1876), U.S. Army officer; David Payne served as a captain with him in the 7th Cavalry during the Plains Indian Wars [210, 230]; his pursuit of the Sioux is an event that occurred after the demise of the Five Tribes' Territory civilization [197].

Custodian A person responsible for taking care of or protecting something; Brutus, Albert Pike's servant, acted as the custodian of the "money boxes" during treaty negotiations [138, 158].

Custom A traditional and widely accepted way of behaving or doing something; Hannali learned Plains Indian custom during his travels [69, 89].

Cut Belly A leader among the Sioux Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Cwch The Welsh word for "a boat," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Cysgu The Welsh word "to sleep," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

D

Dancing Rabbit Creek Site in Mississippi of the 1830 treaty negotiations where the Choctaws, under duress and the influence of emerging state laws negating Indian testimony, ceded their remaining eastern lands, marking the finality of the Removal policy [8, 25, 45]; Peter Pitchlynn chaired the Choctaw representatives, with John Pitchlynn serving as government interpreter [90, 110].

Darwin, Charles English naturalist (1809-1882) listed by Lafferty among major historical figures (like Galileo, Newton, Jefferson) whose established status makes challenging their legacy difficult [142].

Daughters Female offspring, crucial to the Innominee lineage and novel; Hannali's daughters Luvinia, Hazel (Marie d'Azul), and Sally (Salina), born after the termination of his marriages [70, 86], become renowned beauties attracting visitors [86]; their complex relationship with Marie DuShane (stepmother/sister-in-law) reflects the household dynamics [86]; Hannali's concern for their safety from Whiteman Falaya is a key plot point [85]; Sally's murder is a pivotal tragedy [172-173]; Hazel survives the final massacre [184]. The term also appears generally, referencing daughters of other characters (Alinton DuShane [38], Pass Christian [93]) or societal issues (selling daughters for alcohol [72]).

Dauphin Street A street within the French Quarter of New Orleans where Hannali Innominee encountered friendly and articulate local men upon his first visit in 1828 [30, 50].

David, William Surname included in Lafferty's list suggesting Welsh ancestry among some Choctaw individuals, indicating historical intermixture [107].

Davis, Fort Location listed among the numerous sites where Territory Indians fought or were killed during the Civil War era [142].

Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889) President of the Confederate States of America; his inauguration on February 9, 1861, is noted in the Civil War timeline [128, 148]; his capture by Union forces on May 10, 1865, signaled the Confederacy's collapse [188].

Davis, Lewis One of two named men from the Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees who signed Albert Pike's Confederate treaty, described as ambitious and motivated by the prospect of military leadership over tribal troops [140].

Dawn The first appearance of light in the morning; Papa Barua's fox hunt assembled at dawn [15]; Hannali completed writing his letter to Pass Christian at dawn [85]; the Confederate search party investigating the Union soldier's trail arrived at Hannali House at dawn [129]; the crucial wind shift often occurred just before dawn [155];

Opothleyahola's forces reached their hidden camp near Tulsa at second dawn [150]; Hannali intended to reach the trooper camp before dawn [101]; Anna-Hata arrived at Hannali's deathbed hours before dawn [217].

D'Azel, Marie (Hazel) The daughter of Hannali Innominee and Marie DuShane, given the secondary name Marie d'Azel [70, 90]. She is primarily referred to throughout the novel as **Hazel** (see entry under H).

Dead The state of being deceased, a pervasive motif recurring throughout the novel; encompasses characters (Pushmataha [26], Moshulatubbee [54], Whiteman Falaya [57], Albert Horse [144], Forbis Agent [180], Marie DuShane [180], Sally Innominee [172], Martha Louisiana [184], Jemmy Buster [169], David Payne [211], Peter Pitchlynn [197], the priest and his horse [87, 88]), unnamed victims of Removal [28, 48], Civil War casualties (soldiers and civilians, including women and children) [158, 160, 170, 171, 177, 180, 184, 189], and metaphorical references to moral or spiritual death (Jackson [23], Hannali post-massacre [185]).

Dead family Hannali Innominee's poignant invocation directed towards his murdered family members ("Dead family, come back to me!"), whom he attempts to summon back from death using a powerful call made with his cupped hands after the massacre at the Big House [11, 172, 181, 183].

Dead Heels A metaphorical expression signifying death and defeat; used by Pushmataha when threatening to kill Barua Innominee and drag his corpse out of the district "by his dead heels" [7, 27].

Dead horse The moribund horse upon which the skeletal priest arrived at Hannali House [9, 87, 107]; the animal died in the yard while the priest administered last rites inside [88, 108].

Dead man A deceased male; used literally for numerous characters and casualties (see **Dead**); Moshulatubbee's ironic "dead man club" referred to those who survived defying him [8, 28]; Whiteman Falaya initially thought dead [57, 77]; Hannali saw the ghost of his dead grandfather [111, 131]; Andrew Jackson referred to as a "dead man" (morally compromised) [23, 43]; Hannali notes a dead man doesn't whoop [74, 94]; Hannali felt himself a dead man after the family massacre [185].

Dead man club Moshulatubbee's grimly ironic term for the exclusive group of individuals (himself, Homostubbee, Puckshenubbee, Pushmataha, Barua) who had openly defied a Mingo (Pushmataha) and lived, implying that death was the usual outcome of such an act [8, 28].

Death The cessation of life, a central and recurring theme; resulting from Removal hardships [28, 48, 194], state policies and murder [23, 43], individual violence (Whiteman Falaya) [57, 77, 101, 173], Civil War battles and massacres [141-142, 157, 160, 162, 172, 177, 180, 184, 189], starvation [194], disease [189], poisoning [211], illness (tuberculosis) [87]; Hannali's philosophical contemplation and eventual acceptance of his own death [178, 185, 216-220]; associated imagery includes the Devil [173], dignity (or lack thereof) [12, 218, 220], ghosts [175, 195], and political actions [27, 47, 136]; includes the concept of a "sentence of death" [58, 78, 170] and metaphorical death ("ground to death") [9, 83, 103].

Death challenge The terrifying, distinctive "Indian gobble" cry uttered by Whiteman Falaya immediately before or during his ambush of Hannali in Hitchiti Meadow, signaling lethal intent [175, 195].

Death (ground to) Natchez's vivid metaphor describing the exhausting and seemingly futile labor of learning to write using a slate and slate pencil: "Is it that I will be ground to death between a slate and a slate pencil?" [9, 82, 83, 103].

Debo, Angie (1890-1988) Influential historian of Oklahoma and Native American history, cited by Geary Hobson for characterizing the 19th-century Choctaw Nation as a republic [xii] and acknowledged by R.A. Lafferty as a key scholarly source [109].

Debts (non-existent) Fictitious debts fabricated by white settlers and officials, used as a legal pretext under discriminatory state laws to seize livestock and wagons from Indians during the Removal period, often leaving them stranded [28, 48].

Decade ("Big") Lafferty's designation for the period of greatest peace, prosperity, and family expansion for the Innominees and the Five Tribes in Indian Territory, roughly spanning from 1847 to 1860 [10, 109, 111, 130, 131].

Decade ("Whiskey") Lafferty's term for the 1830s in Indian Territory, immediately following the main Removals, characterized by profound despair, social breakdown, and devastating levels of alcoholism among the displaced tribes, exploited by unscrupulous liquor traders [9, 70, 73, 90, 93].

Decades ("Children's") Lafferty's term for the post-Civil War reconstruction period in Indian Territory (roughly 1865-1885), noted for its predominantly young population composed of surviving children, orphans, and the young of newly arrived tribes, contrasting with the heavy losses among the adult generation [12, 196, 216].

Deep Fork A significant tributary river flowing into the Canadian River within Indian Territory; its confluence with the North Fork of the Canadian was situated near the important settlement of North Fork Town and Hannali's trading post [53, 73, 97, 117].

Deep Red Run Identified as one of the constituent streams or branches that merge to form the Red River of the South [115].

Deer A ubiquitous wild ungulate in both the Choctaws' original Mississippi homeland and later Indian Territory; frequently hunted for meat and hides [47, 67, 74, 94]; Hannali's sons hunted a young buck [80, 101].

deer (buck) A male deer; Hannali regularly hunted buck deer with his bow while tending his farm [74, 94]; his sons tracked and killed a young buck for food [80, 101].

deer country A description emphasizing Indian Territory's character as primarily a hunting ground, especially for deer, rather than developed agricultural land [43, 63].

deer high A standard of measurement for fence construction, indicating a height sufficient to prevent deer from easily jumping over it; achieving this required considerable labor [71, 91].

deerskin The tanned hide of a deer, a traditional material for clothing; Hannali wore durable pants made from it [87, 203]; traditional Choctaw shirt patterns were based on fitted deerskin garments [200]; Pass Christian wore pants of doeskin [16, 36].

deerskin pants Trousers crafted from deer hide, specified as part of Hannali Innominee's typical informal attire, worn even during his time as a Choctaw Senator [203].

deer's stomach The stomach pouch of a deer, described in a tall tale as the material used by an Anadarko Indian shaman or trickster to create a magical sack for capturing the soul of Pickens the Green Indian after his demise [114, 134].

Defamation The act of damaging someone's reputation through false accusations or slander; Lafferty describes a calculated "wave of defamation" during the Civil War aimed at discrediting Opothleyahola and his neutral followers by portraying respected leaders as buffoons or villains [124, 144, 145, 165]; those maintaining neutrality often faced such attacks [124].

Defection The abandonment of one's post, allegiance, or principles; Barua Innominee's formal renunciation of Pushmataha's district leadership [7, 27]; the influential decision of Union Indian agents to switch allegiance to the Confederacy [128, 148]; the significant portion of Col. Drew's Cherokee regiment that abandoned the Confederate assault at Bird Creek to join Opothleyahola [167].

Defenders Individuals engaged in resisting an attack; the "defending Snakes" at the Battle of Round Mountains [156, 158, 176, 178]; the three men (Hannali, Forbis Agent, Robert Pike) who defended Hannali House against the final raid [179, 200].

Delano Named as one of the vice-ridden districts or neighborhoods ("Hells' Half Acres") notorious in Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West era [207].

Delawares An Algonquian tribe originally from the mid-Atlantic region, subjected to multiple relocations; elements were present in Indian Territory before the main Southeastern removals [43, 63]; the prominent fighter Jim Ned was identified as half Delaware [145, 165, 166]; listed among the tribes removed to Indian Territory again following the Civil War [192].

Delegate An individual appointed or elected to represent others, particularly at a formal assembly or council; Hannali Innominee served as a Choctaw delegate to the inter-tribal "United Nations" meeting convened at North Fork Town in 1861 [134, 154]; Robert M.

Jones, although not an official delegate himself, wielded decisive influence over the actual Choctaw delegates at the crucial Boggy Depot meeting earlier that year [135, 155].

Delegates Plural form; many delegates attending the 1861 North Fork Town assembly lodged at Hannali's nearby Big House [134, 154]; both Chickasaw and Choctaw delegates at the earlier Boggy Depot meeting were largely controlled by Robert M. Jones and the Colbert family interests through financial and political pressure [135, 137, 155, 156].

Delessert, Marie The wife of Pass Christian Innominee; she was initially shocked by the unconventional three-family living arrangement at Hannali House but grew to accept it, forming strong bonds with Natchez and Martha Louisiana, and sharing traits of wit and humor with them [98, 118]; her more reserved nature contrasted with the impulsiveness of Natchez and Marie DuShane [99, 119].

Denison A town in north Texas near the Red River, serving as a major gathering point and crossing site for cattle herds being driven north along the trails into Indian Territory [206].

Depot A place for storing goods or a transportation station; Hannali's river landing evolved to include a store and depot function [19, 39]; also part of the place name Boggy Depot, a significant Choctaw town and administrative center [8, 42, 54, 74, 79, 96, 99, 107, 108, 128, 133, 155, 203].

Depredations Acts of robbery, plundering, or causing damage; Whiteman Falaya's notoriety spread throughout the Territory due to his repeated acts of violence and theft [58, 78].

Desires (Strange) A published collection of short stories by R. A. Lafferty, noted in Geary Hobson's foreword [xi].

Desolation A state of utter ruin, emptiness, and devastation; described as the condition inflicted upon Indian Territory by the Civil War and the associated violence of figures like Whiteman Falaya and the "devil-men" [120, 140]; Hannali felt he awoke into a "new desolate world" following the massacre of his family [182].

De Soto, Hernando (c. 1500–1542) Spanish explorer who led a major expedition through the Southeast; his forces clashed with the

Choctaws under the leadership of Chief Tuscalusa near present-day Mobile Bay in 1540 [10, 30].

Destitute Lacking the basic means of subsistence, extremely poor; Pickens the Green Indian was left destitute by Caddo trickery in a tall tale [113, 133]; Hannali established his first store partly to aid destitute Indians arriving in the Territory after Removal [119, 139]; the entire population of Territory Indians was rendered "completely destitute" by the devastation of the Civil War [194].

Devil Personification of ultimate evil, malice, and destruction; repeatedly associated with Andrew Jackson ("Devil of the Indians") [10, 24, 28, 30, 44, 48, 87, 127, 147, 198, 218] and Whiteman Falaya (called "the Devil," "Devil-Dog," "spooky devil") [9, 59, 79, 109, 172, 173, 174, 175]; Albert Pike labeled the "second Devil of the Indians" [127, 147, 198]; associated with destructive internal conflicts ("clan thing Devil") [9, 99]; blamed by Opothleyahola for the forged signature [137, 157]; Sally Innominee described as possessed by a Devil [173].

Devil Cherokees Robert Pike's term, recorded in his note left for Hannali, referring to the hostile raiders (likely Stand Watie's Confederate Cherokees or associated irregulars) who attacked Hannali House and against whom Pike vowed revenge [182].

Devil-Dog Hannali's epithet for Whiteman Falaya during their final, fatal confrontation, highlighting Falaya's perceived vicious and relentless nature [174].

Devil-men Lafferty's term for the supremely destructive figures associated with the Civil War era in the Territory—the "ghost-crazy killers," the "sick lions," the "weird seed"—whose actions, exemplified by Whiteman Falaya, brought about immense desolation [120, 140].

Devil of the Indians Epithet consistently used in the novel to refer to President Andrew Jackson, identifying him as the primary embodiment of the destructive forces behind the Indian Removal policies [10, 24, 28, 30, 44, 48, 87, 127, 147, 198, 218].

Dice Small cubes used for games of chance; Hannali played expertly with the "drinking gentlemen" in New Orleans, easily winning due to his prior experience with the similar Choctaw game *baskatanje* [30, 50]; he carried both gold and dice in his pockets afterward [32, 52].

Dickens, Charles (1812-1870) Renowned English novelist who encountered Peter Pitchlynn during his American tour in 1842; his admiring description of Pitchlynn from *American Notes* is quoted by Lafferty as evidence of Pitchlynn's charisma and complex identity [89, 109, 110].

Dignity A state or quality of being worthy of honor and respect; Hannali ironically muses on dying with dignity, suggesting it's a common but perhaps overrated end ("Hell is full of men who die with dignity") [12, 218, 220]; Peter Pitchlynn observed that the U.S. Congress lacked dignity from an Indian perspective [110].

Dirt Soil or earth; the "fresh dirt" marked the recent graves of two Indians executed by the army Major [104, 124]; Halleck Tustennuggee had to wipe "owl dirt" (sleep?) from his eyes [145, 165]. Also, uncleanness; Hannali in his later years appeared "a little dirty by white man's standards" [203].

Dirty travelers Marie DuShane's disdainful internal assessment of Hannali Innominee and Silvestre DuShane upon their initial arrival at her father's remote trading post [39, 59].

Disappearance The act or state of vanishing or ceasing to be visible or present; Hannali, reflecting with Strange Choate, foresaw the eventual "disappearance" of the distinct Indian peoples and cultures [127, 147].

Disgraceful retreat The term used by Confederate commanders to characterize Colonel Douglas Cooper's hasty and panicked withdrawal from the Battle of Bird Creek following the devastating volley from Opothleyahola's forces [169, 189].

Dismal Causing or showing gloom or depression; the lament attributed to the Snake Creeks after their defeat describes dying hunted and homeless as a "dismal" fate [171, 191].

Dissident Seminole men Those Seminoles who rejected alignment with the Confederacy and chose instead to join Opothleyahola's neutral Creek faction during the Civil War [150, 170].

Distiller An individual who produces alcoholic spirits through the process of distillation; listed as one of Hannali Innominee's many diverse skills and enterprises on his self-sufficient estate [74, 94].

Doak's Stand Site in Mississippi where the Treaty of Doak's Stand (1820) was signed, by which the Choctaws ceded a large portion of their land [8, 22, 24, 42]; guarantees made in this treaty were effectively nullified by a subsequent treaty signed in Washington D.C. in 1825 [24, 44].

Doaks and Timms Mercantile Company Identified as the leading trading company in Doaksville, Indian Territory, before its prominence was eclipsed by the successful partnership between Robert M. Jones and the trader Berthelet [108, 128].

Doaksville A principal town established in the Oklafalaya District (Choctaw South) of Indian Territory, serving at various times as a de facto capital [8, 42, 54, 74, 80]; location of Israel Folsom's inn [80], Robert M. Jones's main store [108, 128], and merchants often identified as Welsh Indians [107, 127]. It represented the "open mercantilism" of the Choctaw South [91, 111] and was the source of "Choctaw dollars" [97-98, 117-118]. The 1852 Choctaw Constitution was printed there [201, 221]. Like other old towns, it eventually relocated (to Fort Towson) following the arrival of railroads [203].

Dock A wharf or platform built for mooring boats; Papa Barua Innominee converted his failed grain mill into a functional dock and river landing [13, 33].

Doctor A medical practitioner; Seminoles provided effective "doctoring" in Opothleyahola's camp [166]; Hannali firmly refused the services of a doctor during his final hours, seeing it as an interference with the process of dying [218-219, 238-239]; Alligator jokingly mentioned shooting doctors as easy targets [153, 173]; Hannali himself had never sought a doctor's help [218].

Doctor (Mule) The name or title given to Hannali Innominee by the Comanche people, likely reflecting his well-known expertise and involvement with mules [67, 87].

Doctoring The practice of medicine or providing medical treatment; surprisingly effective within Opothleyahola's camp at Bird Creek, primarily administered by skilled Seminole healers [166].

Dodge City A major cattle town in Kansas, famous as a destination for Texas cattle drives and an icon of the Old Wild West era [197, 206, 207]; Hannali visited there in 1884, meeting David L. Payne [208, 228].

Dodge, Fort A U.S. Army military post located in Kansas, playing a role during the Plains Indian Wars and the Old Wild West period [207].

Dodge Trail Named as one of the primary cattle trails that traversed Indian Territory northward from Texas to Kansas railheads during the peak years of the cattle drives [206].

Dog A domesticated canine; hounds were central to Barua's fox hunt [14, 34, 35]; in a tall tale, a Pawnee fed Pickens' flesh to his dog [114, 134]; used in simile "badger won't avoid a dog trap" [174]; referenced in proverb "hit dogs howl" [134, 154].

Dogs Plural; Hannali and Biloxi had the task of dragging small yellow dogs (kept by Choctaws for food) during the chaotic fox hunt [15, 16, 35, 36]; traditionally, all Indians ate dogs, including coyotes which were considered dogs [74, 94]; the Caddo language likened to the barking of happy dogs [154]; Hannali threatened that his "bear" persona would "smash the dogs" [106, 126].

Dogskin The hide of a dog; used contemptuously by Hannali to dismiss a bearskin rug seen in the Territory as small and insignificant compared to the giant bearskins of his youth ("it is only a dogskin") [5, 25].

Dollars The primary unit of United States currency mentioned frequently in transactions and valuations: land valued at \$8/acre [52]; gift of \$100 [46]; trade for \$9 [149]; Durham bull worth \$1000 [118]; bounty of \$5000 [145]; Pike's funds (\$100,000 slush fund, \$265,927.50 specie) [136]; Hannali winning \$100/week at pool [204].

Dollars (Choctaw) Unofficial currency or scrip issued by a store in Doaksville, bearing inscriptions like "One Dollar Honest" or "Five Dollar Honest"; widely regarded as worthless but personally redeemed by Hannali when presented by his friends [97-98, 117-118].

Doll (child's broken) One of the peculiar, seemingly low-value items successfully traded by Pickens the Green Indian to the Kiowas in exchange for beaver pelts [113].

Dominance A position of power, influence, or superiority; Hannali decisively "settled his dominance" over Whiteman Falaya during their final encounter through his calm demeanor and expert marksmanship, despite being wounded [177].

Doniphan County A county located in northeastern Kansas; one of the places where David L. Payne, the Boomer leader, had previously filed a claim under the Homestead Act [210, 230].

Door An entryway into a room or building; the singular door to Hannali's strong room [56, 76]; the metaphorical "last door" signifying death [216]; Hannali entered the "great door" of his Big House for the final time [215, 235].

Doorstep The step directly outside an entrance door; Hannali recognized the identity of the woman who aided the Union soldier simply by observing the muddy footprints on his own doorstep [130, 150].

Doorway An entrance or portal; Opothleyahola threatened to appear at Hannali's "doorway" if aid was not forthcoming [147, 167].

Double attack Whiteman Falaya's calculated two-pronged assault against Hannali: first, the murder and mutilation of Sally Innominee to draw Hannali out, and second, the direct challenge and ambush laid for Hannali himself at Hitchiti Meadow [174].

Double-devil Lafferty's superlative epithet for Stand Watie, leader of the Confederate Cherokees, emphasizing his perceived extreme ruthlessness and destructive impact [187].

Douglas Avenue Hotel A hotel located in the Kansas cattle town of Wichita; part of the historical backdrop of the Old Wild West Days [207].

Doves Small birds belonging to the pigeon family; recalled by Hannali as being significantly larger in the Mississippi homeland of his youth compared to those found later in Indian Territory [5, 25].

Downriver boatman An individual operating a boat traveling downstream on the river system; Hannali entrusted his crucial letter to his brother Pass Christian to such a boatman for transport to New Orleans [85, 105].

Drago Surname possibly referring to a historian or chronicler specializing in the Old West, cited by Lafferty as an implied source for details about notorious saloons like the Keno House and Red Beard's Dance Hall [207].

Draw A small gully, ravine, or natural depression in the landscape; the men sent to kill Forbis Agent followed him into a draw where they were ambushed [125]; the Seminole leader Alligator was cornered and killed alone in a draw [170, 190]; Robert Pike grimly predicted that Natchez and the children she was hiding would likely be found dead in "some draw" the following day [182].

Draw knife A traditional woodworking tool featuring a blade with handles at both ends, designed to be pulled towards the user for shaving wood; used by Choctaws to smooth split logs, creating surfaces suitable for playing card games before commercial cards were available [31, 51].

Dream A visionary experience occurring during sleep; a powerful dream featuring Nanih Waiya summoned Hannali and other Choctaws on a spiritual journey [76, 96], a dream attributed to Peter Pitchlynn's influence [79, 98]; Hannali dreamed of Robert Pike's aged face [131, 151]; Opothleyahola recounted a "bad dream" regarding the signing of Pike's treaty [137, 157]; the Confederate volley at Bird Creek felt like a recurring nightmare being "dreamed again" [168, 188]; Alinton Innominee was inspired by a dream of his deceased grandfather [111, 131].

Dreamed Past tense and past participle of dream; the horrific volley at Bird Creek felt like a nightmare that "has been dreamed before" [168, 188].

Dreamer An individual given to dreams, visions, or perhaps impractical ideas; Forbis Agent characterized as both a "bookman and dreamer" [174].

Dreams Plural form; Peter Pitchlynn, as the last Choctaw magic man (*Alikchi*), possessed the ability to visit his people and summon them through dreams [123, 143].

Drennen Surname listed among the Indian agents and agency superintendents who were known to have visited or been entertained at Hannali House over the years [59, 79].

Dress Clothing or style of attire; Hannali argued against buying a new dress for a wife who already had one [91, 111]; Albert Pike habitually appeared "dressed" in strange pseudo-Sioux garb [138, 158]; Hannali speculated on how Whiteman Falaya might be "dressed" (disguised) [101, 105, 121, 125]; hides prepared for use ("buckskin dressed") [77, 97].

Dressed Past participle or adjective: Clothed or attired; Albert Pike consistently "dressed" in peculiar outfits [138, 158]; Hannali considered how Whiteman Falaya might be "dressed" [101, 121]. Past tense verb: Prepared hides ("buckskin dressed") [77, 97].

Drew, John (Colonel) Confederate officer commanding a substantial regiment of Cherokee troops ordered to reinforce Colonel Cooper prior to the Battle of Bird Creek [165]; a significant portion of his command (the Pin faction) defected after parleying with Opothleyahola's forces [166, 167].

Drifted Verb used with multiple senses: Moving passively with a current ("boats drifted downstream aflame" [144]); an idea or realization arriving subtly ("drifted down on Marie like white light" [61, 81]); moving slowly or aimlessly ("ambushers drifted along saddle sleepy" [125]). Also, a method of cattle rustling ("drifted" stolen livestock along with one's own herd) [117].

Drill Verb meaning to shoot with extreme precision, hitting a very small target; both Hannali and Whiteman Falaya were described as possessing the skill to "drill a turkey in the eye" at considerable distance [176].

Drink Noun: A beverage, often alcoholic; the "gracious green liquor" [31, 51] and the potent "parting drink" [32, 52] served in New Orleans; the destructive "drink of spirits" sought by demoralized Indians [72, 92]; traditional Choctaw corn beer and cordials [72, 92]; water needed "to drink" [114, 134]; wine and whiskey at Hannali's last gathering [148,

169, 213]. Verb: To consume liquid [30, 50, 72, 92]; used metaphorically ("men in Falaya have drunk mules' milk" [9, 88, 91, 109, 111]).

Drinkers Individuals who consume alcohol; Lafferty notes that traditionally, Indians were "proper drinkers" and few were habitual drunkards before the post-Removal era [73, 93].

Drinking gentlemen The group of seemingly sophisticated men with whom Hannali engaged in gambling (dice and poker) in the French Quarter of New Orleans [31, 51].

Drove A group of livestock driven together; Hannali calculated needing a "drove of hogs" to help provision his new settlement and future arrivals [50, 70].

Drovers Individuals whose occupation is driving herds of livestock, particularly cattle over long distances; "cattle drovers" (the term predating "cowboy") were among the visitors to Hannali House [96, 116]; "trail drivers" developed their own slang ("B.I.T.") [206]; Hannali's involvement with the "trail driver affair" originated with Jemmy Buster [207].

Drovers' Cottage The name of a hotel in Abilene, Kansas, that catered to cattlemen arriving with herds during the peak of the cattle drive era [207].

Drugstore A retail store primarily selling medicines; Hannali spent one of his final evenings playing cards and drinking in the back room of a drugstore in Eufaula, which doubled as an illicit saloon due to early prohibition measures in the Territory [213, 233].

Drunk Intoxicated by alcohol; descriptive of the state of many removed Indians lying about during the day in the Whiskey Decade [72, 92].

Drunkards Individuals habitually intoxicated; rare among Indians traditionally, before the extreme hardships and exploitation following Removal [73, 93].

Drunken animals Lafferty's stark metaphor describing the degraded and dehumanized condition of many removed Indians succumbing to alcoholism during the Whiskey Decade, highlighting the immense challenge of rebuilding nations from such devastation [73, 93].

Dry cigar An unlit cigar; Hannali smoked one while reflecting after the final Confederate surrenders [186]; the Union major who accepted the Chickasaw surrender also characteristically "mouthed" one [189].

Dry land Terrain devoid of significant water features; Alinton Innominee's party discovered that the government map erroneously showed the Canadian River ending, forcing them to conceptually navigate their boat over 300 miles of "dry land" where the river actually continued [116].

Dry Throat A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali from his interactions with Plains tribes [67, 87].

Dry-mouthed Experiencing a sensation of dryness in the mouth, typically associated with fear or intense nervousness; the state of the Major's soldiers during the tense five-minute standoff with Hannali at their camp [105].

Duality The quality or state of having two different or opposing parts or aspects; Lafferty observes a fundamental "duality about Indian hospitality," which could manifest as extreme generosity towards those perceived as strong or prestigious, yet potential hostility towards those appearing weak or unfortunate [67, 87].

Duck A common waterfowl; hunted by Jim Ned in a flamboyant display of shooting skill that involved preparing and catching the roasted bird in mid-air [154, 174]; Travis Innominee's marksmanship was compared favorably to Jim Ned's legendary ability with a "high-flying duck" [159].

Ducks Plural; listed among the game animals (along with turkeys, rabbits, coyotes, deer, geese, coons) that Hannali hunted efficiently with his bow and arrow [74, 94].

Dude (Territory) A colloquial term applied to Famous Innominee, suggesting he cultivated a stylish, sophisticated, perhaps even showy persona, particularly during his time at Fort Coffee Academy and as a young man known throughout the Territory [110, 117, 129, 130].

Dueling Engaging in a formal combat, often involving firearms; used to describe the intense exchange of gunfire between the defenders

inside Hannali House and the attackers outside during the final raid [179].

Dull Knife (c. 1810–1883) Respected Northern Cheyenne chief, known for leading his people during resistance against the U.S. Army; known personally by Hannali [67, 87]; listed among prominent Plains leaders during the Old Wild West Days [207]; recalled by Hannali near the end of his life as one of the great figures who had passed away [212].

Dumas, Alexandre (1802–1870) Prolific French author, particularly of historical adventure novels; Albert Pike's enigmatic servant Brutus is described as seeming like a character "something out of Dumas" [10, 133], and Lafferty entertains a "Dumas-like suspicion" that Brutus held secret power over Pike, echoing intricate plot devices common in Dumas's fiction [138, 158].

Dumas-like suspicion Lafferty's sense of intrigue regarding the relationship between Albert Pike and his servant Brutus, characterized by the possibility of hidden motives and reversed roles (servant controlling master), reminiscent of the complex plots found in the novels of Alexandre Dumas [138, 158].

Dumb Lacking intelligence or sense; Hannali self-deprecatingly calls himself "so dumb" when reflecting on the unexpected and complicated situation of having acquired three wives [52, 72].

Dumbfounding messages Lafferty's critical characterization of President Andrew Jackson's 1831 communication to the Senate, deeming it astonishingly brazen in its declaration that the federal government would not uphold its treaty obligations to protect Indian nations from state actions [27, 47].

Durant Surname of the Choctaw family whose home, located approximately thirty miles south of Hannali House, provided shelter for the dying "skeleton priest" in his final days [88, 108]. (Also the name of a prominent city founded later in the Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma).

Durham bull A bull belonging to the Durham breed of cattle (now commonly known as Shorthorn), prized for its size and beef quality; Famous Innominee acquired an exceptionally valuable ("amazing," worth \$1000 American) Durham bull during his trip north to Kansas or Missouri [10, 112, 118].

DuShane, Alinton The original French-Shawnee founder of the trading post on the South Canadian River [38, 58]; father of Marie DuShane by a white mother [39, 59]; known as the last Frenchman to attempt the Canadian River route towards Santa Fe [39, 59]. His death allowed Hannali to take over the post [53, 73]. Grandfather of Alinton Innominee, who felt his ancestor's presence and dream [111, 131].

DuShane, Marie Daughter of Alinton DuShane; became one of Hannali's three wives [52, 72]; initially unaware of the others, her discovery led to violent confrontations with Martha Louisiana and Natchez [61-63, 81-83], revealing her fierce "breed" nature [62, 82]. She later became the competent manager of Hannali's household and finances [75, 95, 102, 104, 118, 174, 180, 201, 202, 217]. Mother of Hazel/Marie d'Azal and Alinton Innominee [70, 80, 86, 90]. Killed during the final raid on Hannali House, found with her hair still burning [180-181, 184, 185, 200, 201]. Her death represented the end of Hannali's world [180-181].

DuShane, Silvestre Close friend and "adopted brother" of Hannali Innominee, of mixed French and Shawnee descent [19, 39]; traveled with Hannali on the 1828 journey to view the western lands [20, 40, 54] and accompanied him to visit Alinton DuShane's trading post, where Alinton was Silvestre's estranged relative [38-39, 58-59].

Dust Fine, dry particles of earth or other matter; the "cloud of dust" symbolizes the Old Wild West era [12, 205, 206, 207, 208]; Kiowas smelling of "alkali dust" [151, 171]; Whiteman Falaya's missed shot "lifted dust" near Hannali [177].

Dusty Chief A leader among the Pawnee Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Dusty names The evocative, often gritty or ephemeral-sounding names associated with the people, places, and events of the Old Wild West era, metaphorically emerging from the "cloud of dust" representing that period [206, 207].

Dutch Mills Site of a Civil War battle in Arkansas, listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142].

Duty A moral or legal obligation or responsibility; Hannali felt a compelling "duty to live till another day" after his encounter with

Whiteman Falaya, recognizing the need to protect his remaining family [178].

Dwarf An individual of exceptionally short stature; Billy Bowlegs was initially misrepresented in hostile propaganda as a "waddling dwarf," a description Lafferty corrects, stating he was actually a "fine tall man" [145, 165, 166].

Dwight's Mission An early Protestant mission established among the Cherokees (initially in Arkansas, later relocated to Indian Territory); listed among the sites where battles or skirmishes involving Territory Indians occurred during the Civil War [142].

Dyeing The process of adding color to materials, especially textiles; Choctaw women worked late into the night "dyeing" coats red for the men to wear in Papa Barua's unconventional fox hunt [15, 35].

E

Eagle Dance (Choctaw) A traditional Choctaw ceremonial performance, illustrated by George Catlin in the 1830s, depicting dancers in paint and minimal attire, which Lafferty presents as distinct from their more assimilated everyday appearance [73, 93].

Eagle Tail A leader among the Kiowa Nation known personally by Hannali from his extensive interactions and travels among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

Earp, Wyatt (1848-1929) Well-known figure of the American West, listed by Lafferty among the famous sheriffs and marshals associated with the Old Wild West Days, while cautioning that accounts of his deeds often contain more fiction than fact [207].

Earth The physical world, ground, soil, or origin place; Choctaw ancestors emerged onto earth from a subterranean cavern [1, 21]; human languages exist on earth [83, 103]; humans face potential extinction upon the earth [110]; Hannali worked the earth (sod busting) [71, 91]; Martha Louisiana thrown to the earth during her fight [61, 81]; traditional Choctaws built earth houses [9, 29]; Welsh

pioneers found others already established at the "ends of the earth" [107, 127].

Earth houses Traditional dwellings constructed by Choctaws and other Southeastern tribes, utilizing timber frames combined with earth or mud walls and often partially subterranean elements [9, 29]; distinct from the prairie sod houses built later in the Territory [71, 91].

East Cardinal direction and geographical region; Choctaws migrated east across the Mississippi River [2, 22, 78, 98]; Opothleyahola veered east after crossing the Arkansas to avoid Osage territory [164, 184]; students were sent to eastern schools [135, 155]; the eastern third of Oklahoma was deemed scenic but poor land [37, 57]; removed Indians initially settled the poor lands of the Territory's eastern edge [72, 92]; Eastern, mixed-blood Indians held land individually [193].

East Shawnee Trail A historic trail used for travel and cattle drives heading north through Indian Territory; largely identical in route to the Texas Road that passed near Hannali's Landing [118, 138, 206].

Edward the Confessor (c. 1003-1066) Anglo-Saxon king of England, later canonized; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose legacies are generally considered beyond reproach [142].

Edward's Post A location in Indian Territory, site of a Civil War engagement mentioned in chapter headings and the text as one of the many places where Territory Indians fought and died; the fighting there reportedly ended on July 14 (year unspecified) [11, 12, 142, 186].

Egg (big) The novel's striking metaphor for the rapid and impressive emergence of St. Louis as a major Midwestern city: "She was hatched out of a big egg" [8, 29, 54, 55].

Eggs (white men's) Barua Innominee's potent metaphor for assimilation or collaboration with white authorities and culture; he accused Pushmataha of having "sucked the white men's eggs" [6, 7, 26, 27], called him an "egg-sucking possum" [8, 28], and Hannali later recalled the accusation [214]. Pushmataha symbolically "wiped that white man's egg off his face" before recommitting to Indian interests [7, 27].

Eight hundred years A significant span of time invoked by Peter Pitchlynn in his discussion with Hannali about different paths of

development, stating, "The white man had this [commerce and manufactory] eight hundred years ago, Hannali," suggesting a long-established tradition the Choctaws were only beginning to navigate [91, 111].

Eighty-five symbols The number of characters comprising the unique syllabary invented by Sequoyah for the Cherokee language, perfectly representing every possible syllable within that tongue [82, 102].

Elites (Snake/Opothleyahola's) The remarkable, diverse group of approximately 55-60 highly skilled warriors who volunteered to aid Opothleyahola's neutral Upper Creeks; drawn from various backgrounds (Texans, free Negroes, white gamblers, Quapaws, Mexican-bloods, Comanches, Caddoes, Anadarkos, Chickasaws, Choctaws including Travis Innominee, and even some Cherokees) [147, 150, 167], they provided crucial military expertise, tactical instruction, and formed the core defense at the Battle of Round Mountains, delivering the decisive initial volley [152, 159, 172]. They facilitated the strategic retreat after the feint at Bird Creek [155, 175].

Elk Creek One of the tributaries forming the headwaters or upper branches of the Red River of the South system [115]. Also listed as a location where Territory Indians fought or died during the Civil War [142].

Ellsworth A town in Kansas known as a major railhead and destination point for cattle drives originating in Texas during the Old Wild West era [206].

Elm (slippery) The inner bark of the slippery elm tree, known for its mucilaginous quality when chewed; Marie DuShane purchased some for the children (likely as a treat or traditional remedy) during her shopping trip to North Fork Town [97, 117].

Emily Sapulpa A child belonging to the McIntosh Creek faction, sister of John Sapulpa and Ophelia Checote; visited Hannali House during the Pass Christian Innominees' extended stay in 1844-45 [93, 113].

Empty face Description of Hannali Innominee's expression, devoid of emotion, immediately after he reluctantly agreed to Marie DuShane's demand that he repudiate Natchez as his wife [85].

Encampment A place where a group of people, often soldiers or travelers, temporarily sets up camp; the final surrender of the Chickasaw Nation occurred at their military "encampment" [189]; Tonkawa Encampment was listed as a Civil War battle site [142].

England The country in Great Britain; identified as the source of the high-quality quill pens Hannali ordered for writing [84, 104].

English Noun (language): Spoken, often imperfectly or with distinct patterns, by Hannali [5, 25]; learned late in life by Peter Pitchlynn [89, 109]; readily acquired by Choctaws due to lack of their own alphabet [83, 103]; became the dominant lingua franca in post-Civil War Indian Territory, supplanting native languages and influencing thought patterns [85, 105, 199, 200, 220]. Adjective (people/nationality): One of the "returning nations" interacting with Southeastern Indians [9, 29]; Cherokees had historical intermixture with English settlers [107, 127]; Vicksburg briefly named "Walnut Hill" by the English [35, 55]; Robert Jones designed gardens in the "high English manner" [108, 128]; the English writer Charles Dickens encountered Pitchlynn [89, 109].

English language Became the predominant language for intertribal communication in Indian Territory following the Civil War, gradually displacing indigenous languages and bringing with it "English-language thought patterns" [85, 103, 105, 199, 200, 220].

Englishman A man from England; Lafferty notes a Welshman is typically more stubborn than an Englishman [107, 127].

Entrails Internal organs, intestines; mentioned hyperbolically by Hannali as spilling out from a man laughing excessively hard at a joke in the (larger, funnier) old days [5, 25].

Epiphany A Christian feast day celebrated on January 6th; specified as the date on which the Pass Christian Innominee family concluded their extended visit and departed from Hannali's Landing in 1845 [9, 96, 116, 119].

Equal value The principle, often stated in treaties but disputed in practice, that lands exchanged during Indian Removal should be of comparable worth; Major Levi Colbert lamented that the U.S. government had broken its pledge regarding the supposed equal value

of the western territory compared to the ceded southern farmlands [36, 56].

Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) Dutch Renaissance humanist and theologian; listed by Lafferty among historically significant figures whose work and reputation are considered largely sacrosanct [142].

Eries An Iroquoian-speaking tribe originally from the Great Lakes region; possibly among the diverse tribal remnants removed to Indian Territory after the Civil War [192].

Error (map) A significant inaccuracy discovered by Alinton Innominee when comparing his father Hannali's hand-drawn map with an official U.S. Government map; the government map wrongly depicted the Red River extending far west based on confusing it with a similarly named river in New Mexico, while underestimating the true westward reach of the Canadian River, which Hannali's map correctly showed [115, 135].

Escaped Verb: Negroes initially joined the Choctaws as slaves who had "escaped" from white settlements [13, 33, 46, 66]; Hannali "escaped" capture near Fort Coffee after his corn distribution was blocked [72, 92]; the majority of Sandusky and Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees "escaped" Pike's Confederate treaty trap and fled to Kansas [140, 160]; the final remnant of Snake Creeks "escaped" the battlefield under cover of smoke [170, 191]; Robert Pike "escaped" from Hannali House during the final raid [184].

Establishment A place of business or residence; Hannali was invited into a gambling "establishment" in New Orleans [30, 50]; the Doaks and Timms Mercantile Company was the leading "establishment" in Doaksville before Robert Jones rose to prominence [108, 128]; Hannali ran a mail-order "establishment" from his estate [74, 94].

Estimate An approximate calculation or judgment; Lafferty provides an estimate that half of all Territory Indians died during the four years of the Civil War [142, 162]; another estimate suggests that more than half of the Indians removed *after* the Civil War died during that later removal process [194].

Estuary (Sabine) The tidal mouth of the Sabine River on the Texas-Louisiana border, identified as the landing point for contraband

African slaves smuggled in for Robert M. Jones's plantations [108, 128].

Eufaula A town in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), established near the site of the former Creek settlement, North Fork Town [111, 131, 203, 223]; Hannali served as Senator when the Council met there (before Tuskahoma) and gained a reputation as a pool shark there [204, 224]; site of the drugstore where Hannali spent one of his last evenings [213, 233]; Anna-Hata's husband assumed a doctor could be fetched from Eufaula [218, 238]; has no resident priest in Hannali's final days [217].

Evans, Eneas One of the four formidable Texan fighters who joined Opothleyahola's "Elites" before the Battle of Round Mountains [150, 170]; participated in the crucial defense during the battle [180].

Executioner An official who carries out a sentence of death; Moshulatubbee, in his role as Mingo for his district, served as the official executioner, a duty he reportedly did not relish but performed without shirking [7, 27].

Exiled Forcibly removed or banished from one's homeland or country; Lafferty jokingly suggests he might be "exiled" from Oklahoma for his candidly negative assessment of the Territory's agricultural land value ("not worth a damn") [37, 57].

Expedition (Exploration party) The formal, multi-tribal delegation sent in 1828 to survey the western lands proposed for Indian Removal; included Choctaws (Hannali, Silvestre DuShane, Peter Pitchlynn), Chickasaws (Levi Colbert), Creeks, and unofficial Cherokees [20, 24, 34, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 54-57, 60-62, 66, 89, 96]. It encountered resident Plains tribes and returned with a largely negative assessment ("bad report") of the land's suitability [36-37, 40-41, 61].

Expedition (Narvaez) The ill-fated Spanish expedition led by Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528, which made initial contact with Choctaws near Mobile Bay but resulted in only minor skirmishes ("threw stones but did not really fight") [10, 30].

Expeditions (Union) The five major military campaigns launched by Union forces into Indian Territory during the Civil War, aimed at disrupting Confederate control and supply lines; characterized by temporary occupation followed by withdrawal [187].

Extinction The complete dying out or ending of a species, group, or culture; marked as the intended fate for neutral tribes during the Civil War [145, 165]; the potential fate of all Indians under the "manifest destiny" doctrine [192]; the Five Tribes' civilization faced extinction [197]; the Creek and Seminole nations were saved from complete extinction by earlier resistance [145, 165].

Extreme Unction The Catholic sacrament involving anointing with oil, administered to those near death; given to Hannali Innominee by the visiting priest shortly before he died [219, 239].

Eyeglasses Corrective lenses worn to improve vision; brought by Hannali as a gift for Natchez, who desired them as a status symbol rather than for need [9, 75, 95]; occasionally worn by all three women [75, 95]; Hannali ordered more sophisticated ones later [84, 104].

Eyes The organs of sight, frequently mentioned literally and metaphorically; Hannali's keen eyesight [131, 151] contrasted with his final dimming [131, 151, 220] and temporary "blindness" regarding Robert Pike [131, 151]; Anna-Hata's striking blue eyes [xii, 14, 217]; Chizem's intense gray eyes [48, 68]; Robert Pike's "watery eyes" [8, 76, 96, 179]; Peter Pitchlynn's "bright, keen, dark, and piercing eye" [110]; Indians' eyes perceived things differently [110]; wiping "owl dirt" from eyes [145, 165]; rolling eyes (sign of fear/anger) [77, 97, 117].

Eyes (White) A term consistently used by the novel voice (and implied Choctaw perspective) to refer to people of European ancestry [1, 2, 12, 21, 22, 171, 189, 191, 200, 212, 220].

F

Falaya (*Okla Falaya*) One of the three traditional districts of the Choctaw Nation in Mississippi, historically allied with the British [10, 30]; name later applied to the southeastern district in Indian Territory (also known as the Red River District), located south of the mountains and east of the Kiamichi River [45, 54, 74, 99]. Associated primarily with the mixed-blood/white-blood faction, slave ownership, commercial agriculture ("bulk crop system"), political liberalism, and strong Confederate allegiance [91, 99, 100, 107, 109, 111]. Its prominent towns included Doaksville and Old Miller Court House [54, 74].

Hannali often contrasted its values unfavorably with the Moshulatubbee North, metaphorically claiming its men "have drunk mules' milk and are sterile" [9, 88, 91, 109, 111]. Robert Jones was a dominant figure in this district [109]. A young Robert Pike was journeying toward it when he encountered Hannali's group [76, 96, 131].

Falaya System / Doaksville Mercantilism The socio-economic system prevalent in the southern districts of the Choctaw Nation (Okla Falaya), characterized by large-scale, slave-based cotton plantations (111, 193), open mercantilism centered in towns like Doaksville (111), and political/economic control concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy, often mixed-blood figures like Robert M. Jones (107-109, 129). This system stood in stark contrast to the more feudal, self-sufficient, full-blood, freeholding "Manor system of the Moshulatubbee" represented by Hannali (111). Peter Pitchlynn saw merit in combining the systems (111), but Hannali viewed the Falaya way with suspicion, believing its reliance on extensive trade was a "bleed to death business" and that its practitioners (whom he claimed "have drunk mules' milk and are sterile") lacked true soul or connection to the land (111, 129). This system fostered internal division within the Choctaw Nation (99) and aligned politically with the Confederacy due to its reliance on slavery and its entanglement with white Southern economic interests (135, 156).

Falaya, Whiteman Antagonist figure, described as son of a loose Choctaw woman and an unnamed white man, though darker than most Choctaws [57, 77]; became a feared killer, rapist, and arsonist across Mississippi and later Indian Territory [57, 77], leaving taunting notes often written in different hands [57, 77, 101, 121, 173]. Possessed a quasi-supernatural ability to move unseen [57-58, 77-78], he operated under sentence of death from multiple tribes and states [58, 78]. Believed dead, he reappeared, stole Checote's horse [55, 75, 78], murdered Sally Innominee, and issued a death challenge to Hannali [101, 121, 173, 174]. Killed by Hannali in a duel at Hitchiti Meadow after being wounded and tracked [175-178]. His Choctaw name translated as Whitman Long [103, 123]. Embodies chaotic evil and represents the destructive forces ("ghost-crazy killers," "Devil-men") plaguing the Territory [120, 140, 173, 174].

False Washita The name commonly used in the early-to-mid 19th century for the Washita River in Indian Territory (a tributary of the

Red River), to distinguish it from the similarly pronounced Ouachita River in Louisiana [40-41, 60-61]. Hannali interacted with Caddo Indians on its banks [111], and his large physical presence was later compared to a "False Washita swamp" [214].

Families The fundamental social and kinship unit; includes groups like the Choctaw Hundred Families minority [3, 8, 10, 23, 28, 30], the central Innominee lineage [*passim*], prominent Chickasaw families like the Colberts [73, 108, 137, 147, 156], and Creek families like the McIntoshes [137, 157]. Used generally to refer to visiting groups [96], the sanctity of kinship ties [85], and victims of war and violence [141, 161, 177, 180, 184]. The taking in of unrelated children ("strange children") by families highlights post-war community bonds [196].

Family Singular form referring to the core kinship group and household; the linked novel themes of the Man, the Family, and the Nation [11, 31]; Hannali's complex household structure ("strange triple family," "one continent kindred") [71, 86, 91]; the importance of family names and lineage [3, 89, 90, 109]; the catastrophic loss represented by Hannali's "dead family" [11, 172, 181, 183].

Famous Innominee Eldest son of Hannali Innominee and Natchez [54, 74, 80], inheriting Hannali's "brains" [163]; attended Fort Coffee Academy, developing a reputation as a stylish "Territory dude" [110, 130]. Formed a cattle business partnership with Jemmy Buster [117, 118]. Possessed a distinctive, elusive running style ("floating deception") [81, 101]. Staunch advocate for neutrality ("Freedom Indian") during the Civil War [124, 144], undertaking diplomatic missions for Opothleyahola [165] and protecting Forbis Agent from assassins, becoming feared himself [125, 146]. Argued strongly against his brother Alinton joining the Confederacy [163-164]. Absent during the final raid on Hannali House [174]. Theorized by Lafferty to have faked his death, adopted a new identity as a Union captain, and died soon after [185, 205], a fate foretold by his son Famous-George [185, 205].

Famous-George Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Famous Innominee and Helen Miller [119, 139]. Survived the massacre at Hannali House [184]. Possessed unusual foresight, informing Hannali of his father Famous's transformation and imminent death [184-185, 204-205]. Assisted Hannali in building coffins for the massacre victims [185] and read the Latin burial prayers [185]. Represents the third

generation, displaying a blend of inherited strength and emerging gentleness [201].

Farm The Innominee family farm in Mississippi where the she-bear incident occurred [4, 24]; Biloxi chose to remain on his farm rather than remove [43]; Indians were unjustly evicted from their farms pre-removal [25, 45]; Strange Choate operated a hog farm near Fort Gibson [48, 68].

Farmer Hannali identified strongly as a farmer, integrating it with his other roles [xii, 14, 74, 91, 94, 111]; Barua Innominee was also a farmer [xvi]; Choctaws were traditionally skilled farmers [9, 22, 29, 42]; contrasted with hunters in terms of land use [43]; many removed Indians were prosperous farmers before dispossession [191].

Farmer-fencer Lafferty's term identifying the type of settlers associated with David Payne's Boomer movement, emphasizing their intent to establish fenced agricultural homesteads, in contrast to the open-range cattle operations of the Old Wild West [205].

Farmers The Five Tribes were considered better farmers than white settlers at the time of Removal [22, 42]; land use arguments compared farmers and hunters [43]; many removed Indians had been successful farmers [191].

Farming Five Tribes improved methods [22]; Hannali possessed intuitive skill in farming [29]; crucial for establishing settlements [45]; Five Tribes successfully learned farming and ranching post-removal [110]; Hannali supported his store through farming [119].

Farms Houses and farms were desired by white settlers [22]; Indians evicted from their farms [25]; Hannali's group planned to set up farms [45, 67].

Fat Beaver The name given to Hannali Innominee by the Arapaho people, reflecting their perception of him during his travels among Plains tribes [67, 87].

Fat hog A valuable, well-fed pig; item Choctaws would trade for a manufactured deck of playing cards, indicating the cards' high value or the abundance of hogs [31, 51].

Fat Indians A physical stereotype sometimes applied to Choctaws, suggesting a stockier build compared to other tribes: "Stocky! They are the fat Indians!" [12, 32].

Fat loin Specified as the location where Hannali was wounded by Whiteman Falaya's initial shot during their duel [175, 195].

Fat man Epithet applied to Hannali Innominee, most notably and repeatedly by Whiteman Falaya in his threatening notes [57, 77, 101, 121, 173, 174, 178] and during their final confrontation [178]; also used by David Payne when conversing with Hannali [208]. The white painter Payne met was also described as a "fat white man" [208].

Father Male parent or title of respect for priests/elders; Barua (Hannali's father) [*passim*]; Hannali (father to his children, addressed as "Papa Hannali" by grandchildren) [*passim*]; John Pitchlynn (adoptive father of Peter) [88, 89, 109, 110]; Strange Choate (Natchez's father) [49, 50, 69, 70, 86, 106]; Catholic Priests addressed as Father [87, 107, 204, 224]; Alligator addressed Yahola as "father-cousin" [155, 175].

Father Isidore Robot (1837-1887) Benedictine priest from Bohemia who arrived in Atoka in 1874, founded St. Patrick's Church, and revived the Catholic presence among the Choctaw South, perceived as continuing the tradition of earlier French Jesuits [204, 224].

Fear Young Hannali feared self-injury from chuckling [4]; Barua initially showed no fear of Pushmataha [7]; Pushmataha inspired fear [6]; Hannali felt "near to being afraid" of Whiteman Falaya [57], who in turn was "exhilaratingly afraid" of Hannali [176]; white boy feared Indians [76]; soldiers feared Hannali/Famous [125, 129, 146]; fear of ghosts [211]; Hannali felt "apprehension and terror" before finding Sally [101].

Feared a person Descriptor indicating someone commanded respect through intimidation; applied to Pushmataha [6, 26] and later to Famous Innominee after he confronted his father's enemies [125, 146].

Fearsome aspect An intimidating outward appearance or demeanor; attributed to Pushmataha, masking an underlying good nature [7, 27].

Feasted Hannali "feasted" with Plains Indians [69]; families "feasted" during Christmas celebrations [99].

Feasts Indians traditionally held feasts or potlatches at the four seasons, later integrated into Christmas traditions [96].

Feathers Biloxi described metaphorically as insubstantial, "mostly feathers" [16, 36]; Six Feathers was a Cheyenne leader [67, 87]; Jim Ned shot feathers off ducks in a display of skill [154, 174].

February 9, 1861 The date Jefferson Davis became President of the Confederate States of America, marking a key step in the formation of the Confederacy [128, 148].

February 11, 1831 The date the U.S. Senate formally requested President Andrew Jackson to report on whether the protective clauses of the Intercourse Act of 1802 were being enforced regarding Southern tribes [27, 47].

February 19, 1846 The date President Anson Jones of the Republic of Texas formally turned over authority to James P. Henderson, the first governor of the newly annexed state of Texas, by which time U.S. troops were already marching towards disputed territory with Mexico [100, 120].

February 22, 1831 The date President Andrew Jackson delivered his "dumbfounding message" to the Senate, stating his refusal to enforce federal laws and treaties protecting Indian nations from state encroachment, effectively sealing their fate regarding Removal [27, 47].

Federal government The government of the United States; consistently depicted as making and breaking treaties with Indian nations [23], implementing the Removal policy [27, 47], failing to provide promised protection [27, 47], and imposing punitive measures after the Civil War, including land confiscation and abrogation of all treaties [191]. Its official maps were shown to be inaccurate [115].

Federal hammer Lafferty's metaphor representing the overwhelming and punitive force exerted by the U.S. federal government against the Five Tribes following the Civil War, through the abrogation of treaties and seizure of lands [191].

Feed Hannali organized a community "feed" after his successful fiddle debut [20, 40]; in a tall tale, a Pawnee cut flesh from Pickens the trader to "feed to his dog" [114].

Feed lot Marie DuShane attempted to hide the smallest children in the feed lot during the fatal raid on Hannali House [182].

Femme et Chatte * ("Woman and Cat") The French title of a fiddle tune requested by Marie DuShane; Hannali responded by playing his own vigorous piece, humorously claiming it was the tune representing the *other* cat (the "brindled one") implied by the title, thus avoiding the requested tune while asserting his own interpretation [39, 59].

Fences Hannali built extensive and formidable fences using sod, rock, and rails, needing them to be "deer high, buffalo strong, and hog tight" [71, 91]. Remnants of his stone fences endured for over a century [71, 91]. The strong oak fences of his buffalo corral were tested by the captive animals [97, 117].

Fencing Described as "endless heavy labor" before the invention of barbed wire [71, 91]. Part of Hannali's constant work alongside plowing [74, 94].

Feral Lafferty speculates that some Territory Indians had "gone feral" during the chaotic periods [116], and questions if the post-war Choctaws were still "feral Indians" despite adopting some civilized appearances [73, 93].

Ferry Hannali operated a significant ferry on the Canadian River [94, 114]. Children learned to operate it [94, 114]. Incident where wagon broke ferry loose [98, 118]. Hannali's ferryboat was burned [144, 164]. Colbert's Ferry, a Red River crossing [206]. The ferry near Eufaula was inferior and unreliable [214].

Ferryboat A boat used for providing ferry service; Hannali's was destroyed by arsonists during the Civil War [144, 164].

Ferryman Listed among Hannali Innominee's many roles and skills [xiv, 14, 74, 94].

Fetch An apparition or spectral double of a living person; the giant, powerful figure seen leading the defense at Round Mountains was

speculated by some to be the fetch of Travis Innominee appearing in the form of his father, Hannali [159].

Feudal Adjective describing a decentralized socio-economic system based on land tenure and reciprocal obligations, reminiscent of medieval Europe; applied by the *Kirkus Reviews* blurb [2] and Lafferty [80, 99, 109] to characterize the self-sufficient, patriarchal "Manor House" system of the Choctaw North, contrasting it with the commercial South.

Fever Seminole healers were known as "fever breakers" [166]; Hannali was suffering from a high fever due to his wounds after the final battle [182].

Fever breakers One of the specialized roles within traditional Seminole medicine, referring to healers skilled in treating fevers [166].

Ficklin Surname associated with the Sawyer and Ficklin stagecoach line, a major transportation company operating in the West during the mid-19th century [207].

Fiddle Hannali Innominee's signature instrument, representing his cultural identity and artistic expression [*passim*]; Choctaws were known collectively as "fiddling Indians" [20, 40]; Chizem also played expertly [49, 69]. Hannali's playing evolved from "fiddle" to "violin" in later years, reflecting a shift towards deeper expression [202].

Fiddle man A descriptor highlighting Hannali Innominee's strong identity and connection to playing the fiddle [20, 40].

Fiddler Hannali's primary role as perceived by many [xiv, 14, 20, 34, 40, 49, 54, 69, 214]; required for events like hog scaldings [49].

Fiddling Hannali possessed intuitive skill [20, 29, 40, 49]; considered a characteristic Choctaw activity [20, 40]; occurred during the dream-summoned gathering on the mountain [79, 99].

Fiddling Bear The name given to Hannali Innominee by the Cheyenne people, reflecting their recognition of both his musical talent and his formidable physical presence [67, 87].

Fiddling Indians A collective nickname attributed to the Choctaw people, emphasizing their strong cultural association with fiddle music [20, 40].

Field Hannali watched his cornfields burning [144, 164]; the decisive battle occurred in the "field" [158, 160, 181, 187]; Hitchiti Meadow was the field for Hannali's duel [174, 175, 176, 194, 195, 196]; Sally found in a rock waste between two fields [101, 121].

Field rat A small rodent whose subtle movement through the roots of grass was one of the minute signs Hannali used to track the supposedly invisible Whiteman Falaya [176].

Fields Hannali worked his agricultural fields [18, 38]; Sally found between two "oddly shaped fields" [101, 121].

Fifty cents A monetary value; the low price paid by government traders to Indians for a bushel of corn [72, 92]; the amount some Indians believed they should receive per acre for ceded lands [112, 132, 209].

Fifty thousand The approximate number of Native Americans forcibly removed from the Southeastern states to Indian Territory prior to the Civil War [28, 48].

Fifty yards A distance; Whiteman Falaya, though capable of accuracy at this range, did not mean to kill Hannali with his first shot [176]; Hannali drove his homestead stake fifty yards from the Canadian River bank [46, 66]; Hannali fired his decisive shot at Whiteman Falaya from much closer than fifty yards [177, 196].

Fighting man Stand Watie described as a "very good fighting man" [122, 142]; James McIntosh renowned as a "good a fighting man" [155, 175]; Opothleyahola requested aid from men who were exceptional fighters in their youth [146]; the Snake Creeks lost many fighting men at Round Mountains [160].

Filaments Fine threads or fibers; the peculiar "snake-hair plant" relics taken from Round Mountains were described as consisting of long, fine, dark filaments with a clot at the root [157, 177].

Files Ranks of soldiers standing one behind another; Hannali rode directly up to the "files of the muster" when confronting the Confederate troopers [103, 123].

Filii * Latin phrase ("of the Son") from the Sign of the Cross (*In nomine Patris, et Filii...*); Lafferty suggests the surname "Innominee" originated as a mnemonic reference to this blessing, heard from the dying priest [88, 108].

Finger Whiteman Falaya "flicked up a finger" (losing a nail to Hannali's shot) in a gesture during the duel [177]; Hannali mentally counted potential allies on his fingers [130, 150].

Fingers Papa Barua claimed his fingers had become too stiff for fiddling [19, 39]; Hannali used his fingers to count potential allies [130, 150].

Fire The central destructive element in the "Great Red Flowering" (Hannali House massacre) [11, 172, 178-181, 199]; used in warfare (rifle fire [157, 159, 167, 177], grass fire tactic [155, 175]); essential for life (campfires [153, 155, 173], signal fires [79], girl inside panther makes fire [95, 115]); Hannali shaved by candle flame [143]; represents passion (Marie DuShane's inner fire [62, 82]).

Firearm Hannali could identify the distinctive sound ("voice") of every firearm owned by his household [179].

Fires Pattern of signal fires lit on Winding Stair Mountain [79, 99]; numerous fires kept burning at Hannali House during large gatherings [97, 117]; large roasting fires built by Snake Creeks [152, 153, 173]; Snake Elites used brands from fires to start grass fire [155, 175].

First generation The initial generation settling or establishing a lineage in a place; Hannali was the third generation of Innominees documented with that surname [3, 23].

First persons The original ancestors in Choctaw mythology: brothers *Chatah* and *Chickasah*, who emerged from the underworld [1, 21].

First Street A street in Tulsa, Oklahoma, identified by Lafferty as a location where one might encounter traditional Choctaw speech patterns in public spaces like barrooms [5, 25].

First syllable The pronunciation of "Hannali" shifted to having the primary accent on the first syllable after the Civil War, reflecting assimilation, contrasting with the traditional Choctaw accent on the second syllable [199].

Fisk, Pliny Seminole leader (c. 1810-1849, though dates conflict with novel timeline), possibly known historically as *Fushatci* or *Fixico*; named as one of the visitors (good or bad) to Hannali House [59].

Fist Hannali smashed his large fist into his palm in a gesture of extreme frustration and helplessness after Whiteman Falaya escaped the army camp confrontation [105, 125].

Five Civilized Tribes The collective term for the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole nations [*passim*], recognizing their sovereign governments, settled agricultural economies, and adoption of certain Euro-American institutions prior to Removal. Their shared history in Indian Territory, including the devastating impact of the Civil War and subsequent policies, is central to the novel.

"Five Dollar Honest" The inscription appearing on higher-value denominations of the unofficial "Choctaw dollars" (scrip) issued by a Doaksville store [9, 96, 98, 118].

Five hundred slaves The substantial number of enslaved people owned by the wealthy Choctaw planter Robert M. Jones, including contraband Africans smuggled into the Territory [9, 102, 108, 128].

Five Luck The term, alongside Five-Hazard, given as the literal meaning of the *Noxubee*/Choctaw word from which the name of the card game Poker is purportedly derived [8, 29, 49].

Five Nations An alternative collective term used interchangeably with Five Civilized Tribes [10, 24, 30, 36, 44, 56, 71, 91].

Five Tribes The most common collective term used in the novel for the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole nations.

Fixico, Tacusa A Seminole individual who signed Albert Pike's treaty aligning with the Confederacy, presented as a leader despite potentially lacking broad authority, thus furthering internal divisions [138, 158].

Flagstone floors Fire-resistant feature within certain rooms of Hannali Innominee's Big House [179, 199].

Flaked Adjective describing the manner in which *aleika* (magic or innate charisma) seemed to adhere to certain individuals like Peter Pitchlynn and Abraham Lincoln, suggesting a visible but perhaps partial or fragmented quality [123, 143].

Flame Hannali used a candle flame for shaving [143, 163]; Hannali's house consumed by flames [179-181].

Flanks Boars tusked horses' flanks [17]; streams flowed from mountain flanks [37]; military units attacked or protected flanks [155, 157, 158, 177]; Robert Jones metaphorically owned the breeches on delegates' flanks [135].

Flatboats Flat-bottomed river craft suitable for downstream cargo transport; used by Papa Barua [13, 33] and later by Alinton Innominee's party on the upper Canadian River, where they proved impractical for upstream travel [116].

Flat Rock Location listed among the numerous battle and skirmish sites within Indian Territory during the Civil War era [142].

Flat War Club A leader among the Arapaho Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Fletcher Listed as one of the many crafts Hannali Innominee practiced on his estate [74, 94].

Flick Hannali enjoyed the "flick of red splendor" cast by his rose bushes [203].

Flicked Hannali "flicked" his horse on the throat as part of the technique for his "talking horses" performance, inducing a nicker that accompanied his ventriloquized words [212, 214].

Flight The desperate winter "flight" of Opothleyahola's followers northward toward Kansas after the Battle of Bird Creek [162, 170, 171]; also, the aerial movement of birds [176].

Flood The great Mississippi River flood features in the Choctaw origin story as the event preceding the building of *Nanih Waiya* [2,

22]; major river floods were characteristic of the "Year of the Big Thunders" (1846) [99, 119].

Floor Guests at Hannali House sometimes slept on the dirt or timber floors [97, 117]; Hannali fell unconscious onto the hot stone floor of his burning house [181, 201]; Robert Jones addressed delegates "on the floor" of the assembly [135, 155].

Florida Southeastern U.S. state, formerly a Spanish territory; crucial site of the Seminole Wars [145, 165, 166, 190]; served as a refuge for Creeks and Seminoles resisting U.S. expansion before its acquisition [23, 43]; Hannali traveled into Spanish Florida during one of his youthful "wandering years" [66, 86]; visited again by Hannali later in life [212, 238]; origin state for some Creeks removed to Indian Territory [55].

Florid front Lafferty's critical assessment of Albert Pike's role during the treaty negotiations, suggesting Pike served as the ornate, eloquent public facade ("Moses") while the servant Brutus might have held the actual power or represented the true controlling interests [138, 158].

Flour The Snake Creeks were preparing quantities of wheat and corn flour in their camp as essential provisions for their anticipated journey north [152].

Flowering (Great Red) Lafferty's evocative, poetic term for the catastrophic destruction of Hannali House by fire, accompanied by the massacre of most of his family, framing the event as a terrible, fiery blossoming of violence [11, 172, 178, 199].

Flowers (cornflowers) Wildflowers (*Centaurea cyanus*) known for their bright blue color; used in a simile to describe the eye color of Hannali's granddaughter Anna-Hata [xii, 14, 217, 237].

Folsom, David (1791-1847) Prominent Choctaw leader associated with the Okla Falaya district and Protestant missionary influence; appointed district chief by Greenwood LeFlore in a political maneuver, only to quickly abdicate in LeFlore's favor [26, 46]; listed among Choctaws with likely Welsh ancestry [59, 79, 107, 127].

Folsom, Israel Choctaw individual noted for establishing the only inn or hotel in the Choctaw Nation (located in Doaksville) prior to the Civil War [59, 79, 80].

Folsom, Sophia Choctaw woman who married the white trader John Pitchlynn; widely identified by historians as the mother of Peter Pitchlynn, though Lafferty raises doubts based on Peter's own statements about learning English late [89, 109].

Food Hannali provided a community feast ("feed") [20, 40]; lack of food was a critical issue post-Civil War [189, 210]; Pickens the Green Indian needed food [112, 134]; various foods served at Hannali's last supper [149].

Foot Body part: Pass Christian fast of foot [16]; Hannali "clay-footed" [48]; Hannali put foot in stirrup [105]; traveled "on foot" [72, 78]. Unit of measure: Landing 50 yards (approx. 150 feet) back [46]; sod blocks one foot thick [71]; Famous six foot five [125]; Payne six feet tall [208]; nailed by one foot (metaphor) [191].

Football players Athletes used by Lafferty to illustrate different running styles: white players known for "crazy-legged" fakes, Black players for speed, and Indian runners (like Famous Innominee, Billy Vessels) for elusive "floating deception" [81, 101].

Footprints The distinct footprints of a woman leading towards Hannali House, found near the point where a wounded Union soldier's tracks ended, were crucial evidence for the Confederate search party [129, 149, 150].

Footsteps Hannali detected the approaching footsteps of the ghost sergeant but noted their absence when the figure presumably departed [103].

Forbidden fruit The sand plum, identified in Choctaw tradition as the symbolic food whose consumption resulted in the loss of primordial ease and condemned humanity to a life of toil and hardship ("climb the hard hill forever") [v, 1, 7, 21].

Forbis Agent Itinerant preacher, bookman, husband of Luvinia Innominee, and son-in-law of Hannali [118, 124]. Advocate for neutrality during the Civil War [124], producing handwritten and mimeographed broadsides [125]. Survived an assassination attempt thanks to Famous Innominee and Albert Horse [125]. Fought defending Hannali House during the final raid [174, 179] and was killed [180, 184].

Ford (Hitchiti) Site of a Civil War battle listed among locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142].

Ford (Shirley's) Site of a Civil War battle listed among locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142].

Fords Where entrepreneurial Welsh Indians established toll operations in the Territory [107].

Foregoing Adjective meaning preceding; used by Lafferty to refer back to previously stated information ("The foregoing is the history...") [2, 22].

Foreman, Grant (1869-1953) Oklahoma historian noted for his work on the Five Civilized Tribes; cited by Lafferty as a source regarding Peter Pitchlynn's parentage [89, 109].

Forest The pre-removal Choctaw homeland had larger "forest buffalo" [5, 25]; Hannali raised semi-wild "forest pigs" [95, 115]; early river travel required hacking through forest [115].

forest pigs Pigs owned by Hannali Innominee that foraged freely in the surrounding woodlands, hunted by the visiting children [95, 115].

Forests The Territory contained wild mountains and forests [77, 97].

Forever Choctaws lost the "easy way" forever [1]; land pledged forever in treaties [23]; Barua left Pushmataha's district forever [7]; the end forever of Hannali's French wife [61, 81]; Sally "Forever" (trader's fantasy) [86]; Alinton quarreled forever [38]; twilight lingers forever (poetic description) [160]; defeat seemed forever after Bird Creek [168].

Forged deeds Fraudulent land titles created by white settlers to illegally dispossess Indians of their farms under the cover of discriminatory state laws allowing only white testimony in court [25, 45].

Forged names Signatures fraudulently added to treaties to imply consent from leaders who did not actually sign; Albert Pike accused of forging Opothleyahola's and Harjo's names on the Creek treaty [137,

157] and using other dubious signatories for various tribes [140, 158, 159].

"Forget (girl I forget her name)" Hannali Innominee's deliberately dismissive phrase referring to Marie DuShane, particularly when impulsively proposing marriage soon after meeting her [8, 38, 60].

Forks (Three) Geographic location: The confluence of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Neosho rivers near present-day Muskogee [56], a major landmark and site of Fort Gibson [49, 51, 69, 71, 73, 80, 96, 116]. Hannali married Natchez there [52, 71, 72], and later purchased writing supplies nearby [84, 104]. Also used less for the nearby confluence of the North Fork and Deep Fork with the main Canadian River [53, 73, 97].

Forms (sheaf of) Hypothetical bundle of pre-printed treaty documents that a boy on horseback could have easily used to sign up all tribes to the Confederacy legitimately, highlighting the manipulative nature of Pike's actual methods [136].

Fort Arbuckle U.S. Army military post located in the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory; Union troops withdrew from it in July 1861 [128, 148].

Fort Coffee U.S. Army post located on the Arkansas River in the Choctaw Nation (Moshulatubbee District) [54, 74]; later the site of Fort Coffee Academy [110, 130]. Hannali's attempt to deliver free corn there was blocked [72, 92]. Troops from the fort attended festivities at Hannali House [96, 116].

Fort Coffee Academy An educational institution for Choctaw boys established at the former Fort Coffee military post; attended by Famous Innominee [110, 130].

Fort Davis Location listed among the sites where battles involving Territory Indians occurred during the Civil War [142].

Fort Gibson Major U.S. Army post strategically located near the Three Forks of the Arkansas River [49, 51, 69, 71, 73, 80, 96, 116]; Strange Choate supplied pork to its garrison [49, 69]; Confederate forces retreated there after the Battle of Bird Creek [161, 166, 181]; later became a Confederate stronghold briefly visited by Famous Innominee [185]. Union forces withdrew in July 1861 [128].

Fort Lyon U.S. Army post in Colorado; part of the military infrastructure associated with the Old Wild West era and Plains Indian conflicts [207].

Fort Nogales The name given by the Spanish to their outpost at the site that later became Vicksburg, Mississippi [35, 55].

Fort Reno U.S. Army post located in central Indian Territory (near present-day El Reno, Oklahoma); troops stationed there were responsible for repeatedly arresting David Payne and his Boomer followers and removing them from the Territory [207, 210, 230].

Fort Rosalie The original name given by the French to their fort and settlement established at the site of present-day Natchez, Mississippi [34, 54].

Fort Smith Major U.S. Army post located in Arkansas on the border with Indian Territory; served as a key administrative center for Indian Affairs and a launching point for military operations [53, 73, 96, 116, 136].

Fort Snelling Sioux The Dakota Sioux people associated with the region around Fort Snelling in Minnesota; Lafferty rhetorically asks about their fate ("When saw you last a Fort-Snelling Sioux?"), implying their displacement and potential disappearance as a distinct group [12, 186, 195].

Fort Towson U.S. Army post located in the southern Choctaw Nation near the Red River; Robert M. Jones established his first large plantation nearby [108, 128]. The nearby town of Doaksville relocated adjacent to Fort Towson when the railroad bypassed its original site [203, 223].

Fort Washita U.S. Army post located in the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory; Union troops withdrew from it in July 1861 [128, 148].

Fort Wayne Site of a Civil War battle listed among locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142].

Fort Worth City in North Texas that served as a major assembly point and supply center for cattle herds being driven north on the trails through Indian Territory [206].

Forty acres A standard unit of land division (a quarter-quarter section); mentioned by Hannali as a potential stake during the high-stakes poker game in New Orleans ("who'll open with forty acres of bottom") [31, 51].

Forty years A significant duration; the approximate time elapsed between Hannali's early fence-building and the invention of barbed wire [71, 91]; the great Seminole Wars occurred thirty or forty years before the Civil War [169, 189].

Four hundred yards A distance; Whiteman Falaya deceitfully offered Hannali a "free shot" from this range before ambushing him much closer [174]; Hannali, despite being wounded, successfully shot a retreating raider from this remarkable distance after the burning of his house [180, 200].

Four seasons The distinct periods of the year (spring, summer, autumn, winter); traditional Indian feasts or potlatches were held at each of the four seasons before the custom largely merged with Christmas celebrations [96].

Fourth Cavalry (Texas) A Confederate military regiment composed of Texans; played a significant role at the Battle of Round Mountains, where its massed charge was shattered by the devastating volley from Opothleyahola's Elites [151, 152, 157, 166, 171, 172, 177, 180].

Fowl Hannali's traveling party killed wild fowl for sustenance when far from settlements [47, 67].

Fox Animal: The small canid pursued in Papa Barua's chaotic hunt [11, 15-18, 35-38]; foxskin as a trade item [112]. Nickname/Archetype: Primary identifier for the Creek leader Opothleyahola ("The Laughing Fox") [*passim*, e.g., 144, 145, 150, 152, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165, 170, 171, 180, 181, 185]; embodies cunning Choctaw fable figures (Fox-Hard-to-Kill, Fox-Know-the-Way, etc.) [163]. Tribe: Sac and Fox Indians removed to Territory post-war [192].

Fox hunt The legendarily chaotic and unconventional event instigated by Papa Barua, featuring inappropriate quarry (a single vixen), dragged dogs, a nine-foot trumpet, interference from pigs and children, and culminating in arguments over the fox's tail [7, 14-18, 34-38].

Fox-Come-Again An archetypal trickster/survivor figure from Choctaw folklore, whose name and attributes Hannali associated with the resilient Creek leader Opothleyahola [163].

Fox-Hard-to-Kill An archetypal figure from Choctaw folklore, known for enduring seemingly fatal situations, whose name and attributes Hannali associated with Opothleyahola [163].

Fox-Know-the-Way An archetypal figure from Choctaw folklore, known for wisdom and guidance, whose name and attributes Hannali associated with Opothleyahola [163].

Fox-Laugh-in-the-Sun The modifier attached to Opothleyahola's "Fox" identity within Choctaw tradition, distinguishing his particular manifestation of the archetype [163].

Foxskin A potential item sought by Pickens the Green Indian when trading among the Wichita people [112].

Francis-Mingo Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Famous Innominee and Helen Miller [110, 130, 119, 139]; killed during the Confederate raid on Hannali House [184].

Frank Burke R. A. Lafferty's mother's cousin, identified as one of the four young Irishmen (along with Lafferty's father and uncle) who homesteaded together near Snyder, Oklahoma, around 1899 [xvi, 18].

Frank James (1843–1915) Notorious American outlaw, elder brother of Jesse James; part of Charles Quantrill's band of Confederate irregulars operating during the Civil War [187].

Franklin Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), American founding father, writer, scientist, and diplomat; listed by Lafferty as one of the historically sacrosanct figures whose established reputation is defended against criticism [142].

Fray Opothleyahola anticipated that the Confederate Creek leader Chilly McIntosh would arrive "far behind the fray" [155, 175]; Hannali forbade the convalescing Robert Pike from attempting to "rejoin the fray" [150, 170]; the Chickasaws were magnificent fighters "all through the fray" [188].

Freehold A form of land ownership characterized by permanent and absolute tenure; contrasted with plantation systems [2, 48]; associated with the traditionalist Choctaw North [109, 129]; distinguished from communal tenure ("freeholding") [136, 193].

Freeholders Hannali described as among the "full-blooded freeholders" in the *Kirkus Reviews* blurb [2].

Freeholding The system of communal land tenure practiced by traditionalist/Western Indians, contrasted with individual ownership (severality) [193].

Freedom Indians A self-designation adopted by Hannali Innominee and like-minded neutralists during the American Civil War era, signifying a commitment to remaining independent of both the Union and Confederate causes, particularly the entanglements represented by formal treaties or alliances (124, 146). This stance is presented as an exceptionally difficult, almost "impossibly heroic position" (124), requiring immense fortitude against pressure from both external forces (Albert Pike, Confederate agents) and internal factions within the Choctaw Nation (Robert Jones, Peter Pitchlynn). The Freedom Indians, primarily associated with the full-blood, self-sufficient traditions of the Choctaw North (99), view involvement in the white man's war as a suicidal path for the tribes (147). Key figures advocating this neutrality include Hannali, his Cherokee father-in-law Strange Choate (124), his son Famous Innominee (124), and his son-in-law Forbis Agent, who disseminated neutralist arguments through handwritten broadsides (125). Their position contrasts sharply with the slave-owning, speculating interests of the Choctaw South (99, 111) and the compromised stance of figures like Peter Pitchlynn, whose ownership of slaves created a "vested interest" pulling him away from pure Choctaw interests (124). The ideal of the Freedom Indian represents a desire for Choctaw autonomy and a rejection of the externally imposed conflicts threatening to annihilate the Five Tribes (141-142).

Freeman Negroes Individuals of African descent who were not enslaved; five "intelligent freeman Negroes" were counted among the diverse elite fighters supporting Opothleyahola [147, 167].

Free shot The single, unopposed shot from 400 yards deceitfully offered by Whiteman Falaya in his challenge to Hannali, which served as a ploy for a close-range ambush [174, 175, 195].

French Pertaining to France, its people, language, or culture; a major influence in the region's history (founding Biloxi [10], Louisiana Purchase [23]), social interactions (French Town encounters [30, 50]), language (understood by Hannali [31, 51]), and ancestry (DuShanes [38, 58], Hundred Families [10], Choctaw South influence [204], Anna-Hata [217]). Associated cultural elements include priests [33, 53, 204], the *Cagoulard* society [44, 64], fiddle tunes [*Femme et Chatte*] [39, 59], and manners [202].

French boots Expensive, presumably stylish footwear wagered by Hannali during the high-stakes poker game in New Orleans [32, 52].

French-breed Indians Individuals of mixed French and Native American ancestry, noted for their historical role as laborers in arduous pre-steamboat river transportation on the Mississippi [34, 54].

French-Canadian trader The background of Berthelet, Robert M. Jones's initial mentor and partner in Doaksville [108, 128].

French century The historical period (roughly 1699-1763) during which France exercised colonial control over the lower Mississippi Valley, generally maintaining amicable relations with the Choctaws [10, 30].

Frenchie A somewhat dismissive colloquial term used by Lafferty to refer to Marie DuShane, perhaps emphasizing her non-Indian background or perceived affectations prior to the revelation of her "breed Indian" nature [62, 75, 82, 95].

French Jesuits Catholic missionaries belonging to the Society of Jesus, originating from France; their early missionary work among the Choctaws established a historical precedent and cultural memory that facilitated the later acceptance of Father Isidore Robot [10, 30, 204, 224].

French Louisiana The vast North American territory formerly claimed by France; its presence, along with Spanish Florida, acted as a check on American expansionism until its acquisition by the U.S. via the Louisiana Purchase [24, 44]; origin point for the *Cagoulard* society in North America [44, 64].

Frenchmen Hannali encountered courteous Frenchmen in New Orleans [19, 30, 32, 50, 52]; Marie DuShane initially considered herself

only a "French girl" [62, 82]; Alinton DuShane was the last Frenchman known to navigate the upper Canadian River [39, 59].

French people word Hannali's term for the word "incomprehensible," which he suspected the priest used without fully understanding its meaning, highlighting it as foreign to Choctaw concepts [11, 31].

French priests Catholic clergy of French origin or affiliation who occasionally ministered to the Choctaws, particularly the Innominee ancestors, establishing the initial Catholic connection [33, 53].

French river rats Experienced, potentially rough boatmen of French descent working the Mississippi River system, encountered by Hannali's party during their steamboat journey in 1828 [34, 54].

French-Shawnee The mixed Native American and European ancestry attributed to Alinton DuShane and his kinsman Silvestre DuShane [38, 58, 111, 131].

French sister-in-law Designation referring to Marie Delessert (Pass Christian's wife) in relation to Marie DuShane within the complex Innominee family structure [98, 118].

French Town The historic French Quarter district in New Orleans; the setting for Hannali's memorable arrival, gambling exploits, and violent encounter with disgruntled gamblers [8, 29, 49, 50, 51].

Friend Used frequently to describe relationships: Pushmataha and Barua ("our good friend") [8]; Hannali and Silvestre [19]; Hannali and Chizem [48]; Hannali and John T/Albert Horse [47]; Hannali and Yahola [146]; Pitchlynn and Hannali [127]; Pike claimed as friend of Indians (ironic) [127]; Robert Pike as "friendly ghost" [211]; Captain George Washington as Hannali's friend [58, 78].

Friendly Mountain An alternative, affectionate name for the sacred Choctaw mound *Nanih Waiya*, emphasizing its benevolent spiritual importance; its rediscovery was announced by signal fires [79, 99].

friends Barua defied friends (implied Pushmataha's supporters) [8]; Hannali punished friends (post-war analysis) [12]; Indians had friends in the Senate [27]; Hannali redeemed scrip for friends [98]; many good friends arrived unbidden at Hannali's deathbed [218]; Peter Pitchlynn had many friends [197].

frighten Plains hunters enjoyed frightening groups of boys encountered during their travels [116].

Frock coat Hannali wore one for the special dinner honoring Travis's departure [143, 163]; Brutus, Albert Pike's servant, wore a distinctive frock coat as part of his formal attire [138, 158].

Frog (Big) The name given to Hannali Innominee by the Apache people [67, 87].

front "Man of presence and front" respected by Indians [67]; Pike was the "florid front" [138]; military front line [167]; "frontal assault" tactic [167, 177]; front door of house [180].

frontier Border region between settled and unsettled areas; associated with politics [122, 137], education [125], types of people [85, 53], and often hardship or crudeness.

frontiersmen The novel disputes the image of Jacksonian leaders as "poor but honest frontiersmen," labeling them wealthy and corrupt [28, 48]; a white frontiersman provided an account of the LeFlore-Moshulatubbee confrontation [26].

frost Persimmons were improved by frost [94].

frostbit The post-Civil War era in the Territory is metaphorically called a "frostbit second spring," implying recovery marred by past damage [196].

froth Metaphorically on Pushmataha's mouth from sucking "white men's eggs" [6, 26].

fruit (forbidden) The sand plum, symbolic in Choctaw myth of the loss of primordial ease [v, 1, 7, 21].

Full-blood Person of unmixed Native American ancestry, primarily Choctaw in context [*passim*]; often associated with tradition, neutrality, the Choctaw North, and land held in common [99, 141, 193]; contrasted with mixed-bloods [46, 74, 99]. Hannali identifies as such [2, 109, 129].

Fun Barua's fox hunt was chaotic fun [15, 17, 37]; Choctaws "have fun with noise" [74]; Hannali found "fun to give offense" [134]; children

enjoyed jokes and activities [94, 114]; Chapter title: "Fun in the old Moshulatubbee" [80]; Kiowas lost the fun [212].

Funds (Indian) Money belonging to tribes, often held by the U.S. government; Albert Pike accused of misappropriating these funds for bribery [122, 142].

funeral eulogy Albert Pike gave the eulogy at Peter Pitchlynn's burial [198, 218].

Funny Man A Kiowa leader known by Hannali; Kiowas generally considered "funny men" [69, 89, 212].

Furniture Hannali stored fine furniture in his strong room [56, 76].

furnishings Robert Jones imported French furnishings for his mansion [108, 128].

Fury Marie DuShane's second stage of fury [62, 82]; Confederate fury after Bird Creek retreat [169]; Hannali's fury after Sally's murder [179]; furious fire at Round Mts. [158].

Future Exploration party decided tribes' future [36]; men with a future (Chizem) [53, 73]; choosing the "future thing" (Confederacy) [126]; land reserved for future use [192]; paradox of altering future and past [197].

future thing Peter Pitchlynn's euphemistic term for supporting the Confederacy, suggesting it represented the inevitable or advantageous course [126, 146].

G

Gaines Creek Location in the Indian Territory near where Hannali Innominee intercepted the Confederate army muster roll, confronting the major about the presence of Whiteman Falaya (listed as Whitman Long) [102].

Gaines, George S. Prominent historical figure (1784-1873), a U.S. Indian Agent and trader, listed by Lafferty among individuals

suggesting Welsh ancestry and influence among the Choctaw people [107].

Galena Lead sulfide, a mineral component, along with niter, in the potent, naturally occurring salt ("sharp thing") originating from the Territory's salt seeps, associated with Luvinia Innominee's family source [198, 222].

Garland, John A Choctaw leader of mixed white ancestry and rival of Nitakechi; Greenwood LeFlore strategically appointed him chief of the Pushmataha District, only for Garland to immediately abdicate, consolidating LeFlore's temporary power grab [26, 46]. He is also listed among those Choctaws purportedly carrying Welsh blood [107].

Garrett, William Served as the Confederate government's appointed Indian agent assigned to the Creek Nation during the Civil War [127, 147].

Geese Waterfowl listed among the various game animals (including turkeys, rabbits, coyotes, deer, ducks, coons) that Hannali Innominee regularly hunted with his bow and arrow while carrying out his farming duties [74, 94].

General Held by historical figures visiting or impacting Hannali's life, including Pushmataha (honorary from War of 1812 service) [6, 26], Zachary Taylor [58, 78], Philip Henry Sheridan [59, 79], Albert Pike (Confederate) [121, 141], Stand Watie (Confederate) [121, 141, 188], Kirby-Smith (Confederate) [188], and Hunter (Union) [161, 165, 181]. James McIntosh achieved the rank during the war [155, 175]. Used figuratively to describe human measure [208].

Generals Mentioned hyperbolically as among the diverse visitors ("Twenty-five big Indians and some generals") received at Hannali House [8, 56]; the last Confederate generals surrendered in May/June 1865 [188].

Generations Choctaw origins dated twenty to thirty generations prior [1, 21]; Hannali represented the third documented generation of Innominees [3, 23]; Plains Indian leaders known across several generations [67, 87]; the Innominee family experienced sparse priestly contact for generations [88, 108]; the Seminole Wars occurred in an "earlier generation" [166, 170]; the curse of Whiteman Falaya hung over Hannali's family for a generation [173].

Gentleman Peter Pitchlynn was described by Charles Dickens as a remarkably "stately and complete gentleman" [90, 110]; Hannali ironically applied the term "by damn gentlemen" to the New Orleans gamblers who tried to cheat and assault him [33, 53].

Gentlemen Refers to the initially courteous but ultimately treacherous gamblers Hannali encountered in Frenchtown, New Orleans [30, 31, 50, 51, 33, 53]. Also used as a form of address by Jim Ned ("Gentlemen, that is shooting and that is talking") [11, 15, 154, 174].

Georgia Southeastern U.S. state; ancestral homeland of the Creeks, some of whom joined the 1828 Exploration party [55]; enacted state laws extending jurisdiction over the Cherokee Nation, facilitating their removal [25, 45]; President Jackson supported Georgia's actions against the Cherokees [27, 47]; one of the states where Whiteman Falaya was under sentence of death [58, 78]; site of protracted Seminole resistance in its swamps [158]; Opothleyahola famed for escaping traps in the "old Georgia-Florida days" [145].

German man Refers to two individuals: Blau, a traveler from St. Louis accompanying Opothleyahola's group [153, 173]; and the unnamed eighth man in the Eufaula saloon gathering, described as tow-headed, heavy, possessing a German surname, and revealed to have one-quarter Kiowa ancestry [214].

Geronimo (c. 1829–1909) Chiricahua Apache leader, famous for resisting U.S. expansion; Hannali knew him by his original Apache name, *Goyathlay*, before he adopted the name Geronimo around 1860 [68, 88].

Ghost An apparition of the dead or a spectral presence; Marie DuShane felt the "Shawnee came up in her like a ghost" [62, 82]; Whiteman Falaya moved with ghost-like stealth [85, 105, 176, 196]; Robert Pike became the resident "ghost" of Hannali House after his supposed death [205, 211, 212]; children requested a "ghost story" [149, 169]; Pickens the trader bought an invisible "ghost skin" [149, 169]; Whiteman Falaya identified as the "ghost killer" [175]; the "ghost is fleshed" when Whiteman is wounded [172, 175, 177]; Hannali becomes the "ghost now" during the final stalk [177].

Ghost-crazy Adjective coined by Lafferty to describe Whiteman Falaya and the band of violent followers associated with his legacy,

suggesting a madness linked to spectral or destructive forces [120, 140].

Ghost-crazy killers Lafferty's term for the "devil-men of the weird seed"—figures like Whiteman Falaya and those who followed his path of extreme violence and destruction in the Territory [120, 140].

Ghost skin An invisible item humorously sold by a "Skin Indian" (likely a pun) to Pickens the Green Indian in a tall tale; Pickens confirmed its presence on his wall by seeing the nails holding it up [149, 169].

Ghost story Requested by Hannali's grandson Charles-Mexico [149, 169]; the tale of Pickens and the ghost skin served as one example [149]; Hannali initially mistook the buffalo hockey story for a ghost story [149].

Ghost voice The disembodied voice of Robert Pike speaking to Hannali from apparent invisibility within the Big House [148]. Also used when Hannali mimicked a ghostly tone [148].

Giant Hannali compared to the folkloric Paul Bunyan [2]; genetically large but slow-witted individuals sometimes born among Choctaws [6, 26, 19, 39]; Pushmataha appeared giant due to his presence [6-7, 26-27]; Hannali's Big House compared to a "giant turkey buzzard" [80]; Hannali perceived a "giant traveling finger" guiding him [176, 196]; references to "giant slave-plantation" economy [28, 48] and "giant slave-grown cotton speculation" [124, 144]; a "giant form" seen mystically at Round Mountains [159]; "giant buffalo" remembered from Mississippi [77, 97].

Giants The rare, exceptionally large, often slow-witted individuals occasionally born among Choctaw families; Biloxi Innominee was considered almost one [19, 39].

Gibson Road The road leading toward Fort Gibson; became the route of the panicked Confederate retreat following the Battle of Bird Creek, along which Texan troops were scattered [11, 15, 161, 181].

Gilcrease Museum Art museum located in Tulsa, Oklahoma, founded by Thomas Gilcrease; acknowledged by R. A. Lafferty as a key research resource providing access to extensive collections of Indian artifacts, art, manuscripts, and books [xvi, 18].

Gilcrease, Thomas (1890-1962) Oklahoma oilman of Muscogee Creek descent who amassed a major collection of American West art and artifacts, founding the Gilcrease Museum; described by Lafferty (perhaps hyperbolically) as "the world's richest Indian" [xvi, 18].

Girl Extensively used to refer to Natchez, particularly emphasizing her youthfulness or perceived innocence [8, 42, 46, 49, 50, 61, 63, 70, 71, 81, 83, 84, 182]; Marie DuShane ("girl I forget her name") [8, 38, 60], also referred to as "French girl" [62, 82]; the unnamed girl swallowed by the panther in Luvinia's story [95, 115]; the generic "Snake Girl" who conversed with Jeremiah Judd [162]; Anna-Hata ("blue-eyed girl") [216, 236].

Girls Young female Choctaws noted for singing prettily [5, 25]; participated disruptively in the fox hunt [17, 37]; Hannali's three famous daughters (Luvinia, Hazel, Sally) [86, 106]; Pass Christian's daughters (Marie, Catherine, Therese) [93, 113]; the Choate nieces (Mary, Lavaca) [94, 114]; Hannali's collective granddaughters [201, 221].

Glidden, J. F. Joseph F. Glidden (1813–1906), American farmer credited with inventing the first commercially successful barbed wire in 1874; his invention is cited as the technology that effectively "killed the Old Wild West" open-range era [206, 226].

Gloves Hannali wore gloves when receiving important visitors as a sign of adopting civilized formality [74, 94]; Pickens the Green Indian traded a single left-handed glove [113, 133].

Glue The Upper Creeks smell like glue made from boiled buffalo hoofs, a distinctive identifier used by a Territory trader [151, 171].

Gnawing The action of biting persistently; describes the fox desperately biting at the leather strap used to drag her during Papa Barua's fox hunt [15, 35].

Goats Hannali introduced sheep and goats into the Moshulatubbee District, being among the first to do so [74, 94].

Gobble The characteristic call of a male turkey; used by Choctaw players of *Ishtaboli* (stickball) to celebrate scoring a point [9, 29]; imitated by the Innominee children singing "*chikkih chikkih*" [98, 118].

Also, the terrifying "Indian gobble" cry used by Whiteman Falaya as a death challenge [175, 195].

Gobbling cry The distinctive, eerie sound—part laugh, chuckle, bark, and gobble—uttered by Whiteman Falaya during his final confrontation with Hannali, signifying a death challenge [175, 195].

God The Supreme Being, invoked frequently throughout the novel in relation to creation [11, 31, 208], divine will or judgment [11, 63, 64, 65, 127, 147, 172, 209, 220], providence [45, 147], prayer [65], and existential questions about suffering and justice [127, 172]. Hannali engages in direct, sometimes challenging, dialogue with God [127, 172].

Gods Mentioned in Peter Pitchlynn's quote comparing Indians and white men to satires upon the gods, suggesting a hierarchy of being or mockery [127, 147]. Hannali dismisses Albert Pike as one who "speaks of gods and know not God" [127, 147].

Gold A precious yellow metal used as currency and a symbol of wealth; Hannali possessed significant amounts, converting assets to French gold [29, 49], jingling coins [30, 50], winning it gambling [32, 52], storing it [56, 76], having more than most [75, 95], and using it to buy cattle [191, 211]. Marie DuShane used gold coin for purchases [97, 117]. Pitman Colbert's vast wealth included gold [75]. A gold watch [104] and gold medal [153] are mentioned. California gold rush drew Alinton [116]. Rumors circulated of Seminoles having wagons laden with gold [167].

Golden colors Metaphorical description used by David Payne for the way the "unwritten testament" justifying homesteading is proclaimed ("shot all through... in golden colors") via the "sign in the sky" [209, 229].

Good humor Attributed to Martha Louisiana ("compassionate good humor") [98, 118]; Hannali spoke with good humor to David Payne [209, 229].

Goodnight, Charles (1836–1929) Influential Texas cattle rancher and trail driver; visited Hannali House several times [59, 79]; listed among the prominent promoters associated with the Old Wild West cattle drive era [207, 227].

Gopher John (c. 1812–1882) Historical Black Seminole leader and interpreter; visited Hannali House [59, 79]; noted for his remarkable journey beginning as a slave on a Removal trek and ending as a respected Seminole chief who ensured his party's survival; founder of the town of Wewoka, Oklahoma [59, 79].

Gophers Hannali hyperbolically recalled the gophers in his Mississippi youth being as large as present-day badgers [5, 25].

Government The governing body or authority of a nation, state, or tribe; includes the U.S. Federal Government [*passim*, e.g., 27, 36, 115, 191], state governments (Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama) [23, 25, 45], the Choctaw national government [200, 201], and the Confederate government [128, 135, etc.]. Actions related to treaties, laws, agents, and military affairs are central.

Government distributors Officials or licensed traders tasked with distributing annuities or goods (often corn) to Indian tribes, accused in the novel of exploiting removed Indians by buying low and selling high [72, 92].

Governor James P. Henderson became the first governor of the state of Texas [100, 120]; Winchester Colbert held the title of Chief/Governor of the Chickasaw Nation post-Civil War [188, 208].

Goyathlay * The original Apache name of the famous leader Geronimo; Hannali knew him by this name before he adopted the more widely known name Geronimo around 1860 [68, 88].

Grain mill Papa Barua Innominee initially built one, but converted it into a dock and landing after finding little demand for its services among the self-sufficient Choctaws [13, 33].

Grand Central Hotel A prominent hotel located in Abilene, Kansas, during its time as a major cattle drive railhead town in the Old Wild West era [207, 227].

Granddaughters The daughters of Hannali Innominee's sons and daughters; granddaughters mentioned include Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Anne-Chapponia (Luvinia's); Marie-Therese, Anna-Hata (Hazel's); Helena (Alinton's); Catherine (Travis's) [119, 139, 183, 184, 201, 217, 221]. Collectively described as generally prettier, gentler, and wittier than their mothers [201, 221].

Grandfather The novel mentions grandfather traditions [xv]; Strange Choate was Famous Innominee's maternal grandfather [110, 130]; Alinton DuShane was Alinton Innominee's maternal grandfather, whose spirit seemed to influence him [111, 131]; Hannali was addressed as "grandpapa bear" by Anna-Hata [168, 217, 237]; Barua Innominee was Famous's paternal grandfather [163].

Grandfathers Ancestors or elders of past generations, invoked regarding the "days of the grandfathers" before the Year of the Big Thunders [99, 119].

Grandmother Marie DuShane was the maternal grandmother of Anna-Hata [217]; Anna-Hata inherited her clear singing voice from Grandmother Marie DuShane [217, 237].

Grandson Hannali had twenty-one grandsons listed (though one name was missed in transcription) born during the Big Decade [119, 139], many of whom were later killed in the raid [184]. Prominent grandsons include Famous-George, Peter-Barua, Charles-Chitoh, and Thomas-Academy. Strange Choate addressed Famous Innominee as "my grandson" [127, 147].

Grandsons Famous-George and Peter-Barua helped Hannali build coffins after the massacre [185]; collectively, Hannali's grandsons possess a new gentleness their fathers lacked [201, 221]; one grandson was known for producing a potent medicinal tonic [214, 234].

Grand Saline The salt flats area near present-day Salina, Oklahoma, identified as the birthplace of Natchez [70, 90]; her father Strange Choate had lived there and still had a brother residing there [49, 69].

Granite A hard, igneous rock used as a durable building material; blocks of granite were transported by wagon and roller from the distant Wichita Mountains for use in constructing parts of Hannali's Big House [60, 80].

Grass Hannali's profound memory included "every blade of grass" [10, 131, 151, 220]; descriptions range from "breast-high grass" [36, 56] to "buffalo grass" covering old town sites [203]; crucial for grazing horses [105, 125] and cattle [117]; used for wiping slates [84, 104]; tangled roots made sod-busting difficult [71, 91]; setting for the defensive "grass fire" tactic [155, 175]; Hannali knew every "clump of grass" in Hitchiti Meadow [175].

Grasshopper Creek Indian Hannali Innominee's dismissive and likely humorous characterization of William Shakespeare, perhaps alluding to the sound or rhythm of his language [84, 104].

Grasshoppers Insects whose movements (rising clicks) served as subtle tracking clues for Hannali when pursuing Whiteman Falaya [176, 196]; Jeremiah Judd compared kicking the captured bugle to kicking a grasshopper with a wooden leg [162].

Grave Albert Pike was said to have taken his "black secret" to his grave [59]; the major pointed to fresh graves, noting room for one more [104, 124]; Hannali sought the "grave of the lean man" (Whiteman Falaya) [104, 124]; reference to Peter Pitchlynn's grave [198]; Hannali discussed the digging of his own grave [219, 220].

Graven Indian A distinctive rock formation on Winding Stair Mountain that resembled a carved human figure; upon closer approach, it was revealed to be the actual person of Peter Pitchlynn waiting for the Choctaws summoned by dream [78, 98].

Gray Beard A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

Gray Ghost A name recalled by Hannali near the end of his life when listing prominent figures, mostly Plains Indians, who had passed away; its referent (person or symbolic name) is unclear [212, 232].

Gray Hair A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

Gray Horse Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Gray-eyed Indian identifier for Chizem, Hannali's friend of mixed Cherokee and Scottish ancestry, emphasizing his distinctive eye color [8, 42, 48, 59, 68, 79].

Grease-carbon apparatus A makeshift duplicating device, essentially a primitive mimeograph, constructed by Hannali using waxed stone, grease, and carbon powder, used to make copies of Forbis Agent's handwritten neutralist broadsides during the Civil War [125, 145].

Great Crossing (Kentucky) The location of the Choctaw Academy, the boarding school established for Choctaw boys; the first contingent of students arrived there in 1825, under the leadership of Peter Pitchlynn [89, 109].

Great Decade Lafferty's term for the period of significant prosperity, family growth, and relative peace experienced by the Innominees and other Territory Indians, approximately 1847–1860 [10, 30, 109, 110, 111, 119, 130, 131].

Great Red Flowering Lafferty's evocative, metaphorical name for the final, catastrophic attack on Hannali House, encompassing the fiery destruction of the buildings and the massacre of twenty-three family members [11, 31, 178, 198].

Great Salt Plains A notable geographical feature in northwestern Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), characterized by extensive salt flats; visited by the expanding Innominee family during their travels in the Big Decade [10, 30, 111, 131].

Great Western Trail One of the major named cattle trails used after the Civil War for driving herds north from Texas, passing through Indian Territory to reach Kansas railheads [206, 226].

Greeks The people of ancient Greece; mentioned alongside historical figures like Socrates, Plato, and Pericles as part of a group whose established historical reputation is difficult to challenge [142]. Also the common name for the Muscogee (Creek) Nation/people (See **Creeks**).

Green Adjective: Referring to color (Hannali's turban [9, 74, 87, 94], liquor [31, 51], Alligator's skin [145, 165], land [115], Hannali's branches [203]); referring to inexperience or naivete (Hannali "country green" [36, 56], Pickens "the green Indian" [112-114, 132-134, 149, 169]). Noun: A place name (*Green Interlude* [19, 41, 206, 207, 225-227]).

Green buffalo An illusory creature, part of a Kiowa trick used to distract Pickens the Green Indian while they stole his remaining beaver pelts [113].

Green Interlude Metaphorical term used by Lafferty and trail drivers for the passage through Indian Territory during cattle drives, signifying it as a lush, relatively peaceful respite between the rigors of

Texas and the dangers of the Kansas cowtowns [19, 41, 206, 207, 225, 226, 227].

Green Peach War The final, protracted phase of the internal Creek Civil War, lasting into 1882, fought near Okemah between the traditionalist/full-blood faction led by Ispahcheher and the assimilationist/mixed-blood faction led by Chief Samuel Checote [189, 209].

Green turban Hannali Innominee's characteristic headwear, described as wound in "Creek-Indian fashion" and representing the Choctaw color affiliation [9, 73, 74, 87, 94].

Greenwood LeFlore (1800-1865) Influential Choctaw leader associated with the Okla Falaya district [8, 25]; prominent white-blood figure [23, 43, 59]. Orchestrated a temporary consolidation of power, deposing rivals [26, 46], but failed to coerce Moshulatubbee [26-27, 46-47]. Ultimately chose assimilation, remained wealthy in Mississippi, and did not remove [54, 74]. Contrasted unfavorably with Thomas LeFlore [59]. Was subordinate to Peter Pitchlynn at Dancing Rabbit Creek treaty signing [90, 110].

Gregory-Pitchlynn Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Forbis Agent and Luvinia Innominee [119, 139]; killed during the Confederate raid on Hannali House [184].

Griffiths, S. D. Surname included in Lafferty's list suggesting Welsh ancestry among some Choctaw individuals [107, 127].

Grindstone One of the items successfully traded by Pickens the Green Indian to the Kiowas for beaver pelts [113, 133].

Ground Black ground of Mississippi [4]; rough ground of fox hunt [16]; open ground of battlefield [159]; assembly ground [154]; Martha thrown to the ground [61, 81, 82]; buffalo hokeys picked from ground [149]; Hannali sat on ground [183]; rifle snout plowed into ground [180]; rodents on ground indicated hawk flight [176].

Grove The wise bear lived in a laurel grove [11, 31]; Locust Grove and Prairie Grove listed as Civil War battle sites [142].

Growl The wise bear emerged from the grove with a "rumble" (implying growl) [11, 31]; Martha Louisiana's dangerous chuckle

transformed into the "exploding growl of a wounded she-bear" when attacked [61, 81].

Grudge Hannali felt he owed death "too much grudge" after the massacre to be easily killed himself [184].

Grunting Papa Barua grunted into his trumpet with each bounce of his horse during the fox hunt [16, 36]; a nighthawk "grunted" as it took flight [176, 196].

Guards Horses acted as natural guards, alerting human sentinels to intrusions [103, 123].

Guibadai * (**Appearing Wolf**) A leader among the Kiowa Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Gulf (of Mexico) The large body of saltwater bordering the southeastern United States; the mythical place of Choctaw/Chickasaw origin, from a cavern beneath it [1, 21]; the destination for Papa Barua's downriver trade via flatboat [13, 33].

Gulf Coast The coastal region bordering the Gulf of Mexico; implied location of Papa Barua's trading station serviced by coaster boats [13, 33].

Gulf South states The region of the United States bordering the Gulf of Mexico (including Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Texas); identified as the origin point for the Indian Removal policies targeting the Five Tribes [22, 42].

Gumbo A type of thick, sticky mud characteristic of some Southern soils; used metaphorically by Strange Choate to contrast the perceived moral character of the South ("gumbo") with that of the North ("mud") [127, 147].

Gun Possessing one was dangerous for Indians pre-removal [44, 64]; Hannali cleaned his gun [56, 76]; Hannali "upped with the gun" to shoot the last raider [180, 200]; Snake Creeks possessed few good guns [152, 172].

Gun shop The "Elites" assisting Opothleyahola set one up to improve the Snake Creeks' antiquated weaponry [152, 172].

Guns Hannali kept a supply in his strong room [56, 76]; Albert Horse held guns on Forbis Agent's ambushers [125]; Opothleyahola appealed for good guns [146]; raiders attacking Hannali House used modern repeating firearms (Sharp's, Spencers, Henrys) [179]; defenders' guns spoke sharply [179]; Snake Creeks lacked "great guns" (cannon) [166].

Gun-shy The Texas Fourth Cavalry troopers were *not* gun-shy, indicating their experience or bravery [157, 177].

Gunsmith Listed as one of Hannali Innominee's many practical skills and trades [74, 94].

H

Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee Peter Pitchlynn's original Choctaw name, stated by George Catlin to mean Snapping Turtle [90, 110]; invoked by Lafferty as representing Pitchlynn's full-blood Indian identity in an alternate origin novel, contrasting with his later assimilated persona [198].

Hail (*Autsite*) A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee from his extensive time spent living and traveling among the Plains tribes [67, 87].

Hailstones Exceptionally large ("as big as *Ishtaboli* balls") during the severe weather characterizing the Year of the Big Thunders (1846) [99, 119].

Hainai Civil War The internal conflict precipitated within the Hainai or Aionais tribe when Albert Pike secured a Confederate treaty using the fraudulent signature "Cashao" instead of obtaining consent from the actual, literate chief Kutchaw, who subsequently led the Union-aligned faction [139, 159].

Hainai Indians A Caddoan tribe, also known as Aionais; became embroiled in internal conflict after Albert Pike obtained a Confederate treaty using the false signatory "Cashao" to represent their legitimate chief, Kutchaw [139, 159].

Haley, Major Described as a personal envoy of President Andrew Jackson; instrumental in manipulating the March 1830 Choctaw assembly that produced a fraudulent treaty (initially rejected by the Senate) aimed at ceding all remaining Choctaw lands in Mississippi [26, 46].

Halleck Tustennuggee A veteran Seminole warrior and leader from the Florida Wars, initially depicted through hostile caricature as primitive and clownish [145, 165]; later recognized as a courageous survivor who joined Opothleyahola's neutral faction [146, 166]. He commanded the Seminole "skeleton force" that made the final sacrificial stand at the Battle of Shoal Creek (*Chuste Nahlah*), covering the retreat of the remaining refugees to Kansas [170, 189, 190].

Hand talk The sophisticated system of sign language used for communication among diverse Plains Indian tribes; observed being used silently by Indians shadowing the 1828 Exploration party [42, 62]; Hannali became proficient in hand talk during his extensive travels [69, 89].

Hannali House The sprawling, idiosyncratic, and powerfully symbolic estate constructed by Hannali Innominee on the South Canadian River in the Indian Territory (38, 53, 56). More than a mere dwelling, it represents the physical manifestation of Hannali's life, ambition, and the complex cultural synthesis (or clash) occurring within the Choctaw Nation. Its construction takes thirty years (60), incorporating diverse materials like limestone, sandstone, crab orchard stone, shale, granite from the Wichita Mountains, and even New Orleans ironwork (60), reflecting Hannali's extensive trade connections and eclectic vision. The house becomes a center of gravity in the Choctaw North, a hub for Hannali's multifaceted enterprises (farming, trading, banking) (74, 95) and a renowned center of hospitality, hosting great Indian leaders, military figures (Zachary Taylor, Philip Sheridan), prominent white men (Charles Goodnight, Albert Pike), missionaries, and agents (58–9). It embodies the "feudal Middle Ages of the Choctaw Nation," a locus of power and refuge maintained by Hannali and other strong men in the region (60). The house is also the setting for the dramatic triangulation of Hannali's three wives (Natchez, Martha Louisiana, Marie DuShane) (60–65) and the subsequent generations of the Innominee clan (70, 80–101, 113). Its eventual destruction by fire during the Civil War symbolizes the end of an era, the shattering of the precarious peace and prosperity of the Choctaw North, and the effective "end of the world of Hannali

Innominee" (178–81). Its description as looking like a "giant turkey buzzard" or a "big barn owl" (60) imbues it with an animalistic, almost totemic quality, rooting it deeply in the landscape and Hannali's own larger-than-life persona.

Hannali (c. 1800-1900) The protagonist of the novel, a full-blood Choctaw of the Mishoweia clan and Hundred Families [3, 23]. Son of Barua and Chapponia [3], brother to Pass Christian and Biloxi [3]. Noted for his immense physical size, characteristic "chuckle" [4], initial striking ugliness transforming into deep charm [4, 50, 109], and profound connection to tradition and the land. Established a vast, self-sufficient estate (Hannali House) [80]. Simultaneously married Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and Marie DuShane [52], fathering sons Famous, Travis, Alinton [80] and daughters Salina, Luvinia, Hazel [70, 86]. Became a highly successful farmer, trader, craftsman, and eventually Choctaw Senator [xiv, 74, 111]. Traveled extensively among Plains tribes, earning various names [66-67]. Maintained strict neutrality ("Freedom Indian") during the Civil War [124]. Suffered the massacre of most of his family ("Great Red Flowering") [172-184] but killed his nemesis Whiteman Falaya [178]. Died witty and self-aware in 1900, revered as a "Mingo" [12, 216-220].

Hannali's Wives (Natchez, Martha Louisiana, Marie DuShane) The three women Hannali Innominee married nearly simultaneously shortly after arriving in Indian Territory, forming a unique and complex family unit that defied conventional norms (51-53, 70, 80-81). Natchez, the small, seemingly frail ("scrawny" (49, 70)) Cherokee girl from Grand Saline (70), possessed quiet resilience, unexpected beauty (86), and possibly a subtle connection to the old ways. Martha Louisiana, the Choctaw Black woman, initially appointed matriarch of Hannali's transported people (46), embodied "black-earth passion and blood friendliness" (52), practicality, and fierce loyalty, later developing genius at the piano (75, 81). Marie DuShane, the initially sullen, seemingly white French-Shawnee daughter of the trading post owner Alinton DuShane (38-39), represented a connection to commerce and the remnants of French influence, possessed a "sullen storminess and aura'd mysticism" (52), and latent wildness (61-62). Their co-existence, initially unknown to Marie (81), erupted into violent conflict, resulting in a pact where Hannali "put away" all three wives in name, though they remained one kindred (81-85). Each wife brought distinct contributions – land and alliance (Natchez), people and labor (Martha), commerce and location (Marie) (73) – and

distinct lineages, creating the foundation of the sprawling Innominee clan during the "Big Decade" (70, 119).

Hannibal and St. Joe The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad; one of the key railway lines expanding westward during the Old Wild West Days era, contributing to the changes transforming the region [207, 227].

Harbinger The name of one of the steamboats operating on the Mississippi River route between New Orleans and St. Louis during the time Hannali Innominee made his journey north in 1828 [34, 54].

Hard hill A phrase used metaphorically for life's struggles, originating from the Choctaw myth about losing the "easy way" by eating the forbidden sand plum ("must climb the hard hill forever") [1, 21]. Also refers literally to the location of St. Patrick's Church in Atoka, situated "at the top of the hard hill," symbolizing a difficult but rewarding spiritual journey for Hannali in his later years [12, 198, 204, 218, 224].

Harjo An "Elite" fighter (likely Creek or Seminole, given the name element) who joined Opothleyahola's neutral forces and participated in the defense at the Battle of Round Mountains [159]. Also a common Muskogean name element meaning "recklessly brave" or "mad," appearing in names like Oktarharsars Harjo.

Harjo, Oktarharsars The Second Chief of the Upper Creeks under Opothleyahola, also known by the English name Sands [145, 165]. Albert Pike forged his name (along with Opothleyahola's) on the Confederate treaty [137, 157]. He was present at the final council fire before the Battle of Round Mountains [153, 173] and correctly anticipated the timing of the Confederate attack [155, 175].

Harker, Fort A U.S. Army military post located in Kansas; part of the infrastructure associated with the Old Wild West Days and the Plains Indian Wars [207].

Harkins, George W. Choctaw leader (fl. 1830s-1860s), identified as the first chief elected for the Oklafalaya District after the removal to Indian Territory [54, 74]. Brother of Robert Harkins [93, 113]. Participated in the early attempts to suppress Nitakechi's potential uprising [44]. Listed among Choctaws with purported Welsh ancestry [107].

Harkins, Robert Choctaw boy, brother of George W. Harkins, who visited Hannali House during the Pass Christian family's stay; noted for his exceptional skill in hunting squirrels with throwing sticks [93, 94, 113, 114].

Harness Hannali listed harness making among his many practical skills [74, 94]; the sound ("music") of harness and buggy bells announced Anna-Hata's arrival at Hannali's deathbed [217, 237].

Harness maker Listed as one of the many trades practiced by Hannali Innominee on his self-sufficient estate [74, 94].

Harpies In Greek mythology, fierce, predatory winged spirits often depicted as women; used metaphorically by Lafferty to describe the few remaining women in Opothleyahola's camp before the final battle, suggesting their frenzied desperation or refusal to flee [169, 189].

Harvey, William (1578–1657) English physician credited with describing the circulation of blood; listed by Lafferty among major historical scientific figures whose established reputations are difficult to challenge [122, 142].

Haskell County A county in present-day southeastern Oklahoma where remnants of Hannali Innominee's extensive stone boundary fences could still be found many years later [71, 91].

Haskell Indians Refers to athletes associated with the *Haskell Institute* (later *Haskell Indian Nations University*), a prominent boarding school for Native Americans founded in 1884; Lafferty mentions Louis Weller, a Haskell football player known for his elusive running style, comparing it to Famous Innominee's "floating deception" [81, 101].

Hat Barua wore a "white man top hat" with his red coat [14, 34]; Hannali purchased a distinctive "canary-colored top hat" in New Orleans [29, 49] and sometimes wore a wide-brimmed manufactured felt hat [74, 94]; Whiteman Falaya potentially disguised himself with a "Pawnee slouch hat" [105, 125]; Brutus wore a formal top hat [138, 158]; Winchester Colbert pictured in a top hat [59, 79]; Cheyennes took Pickens' hat [114].

Hatred Identified as having "fashions" or modes [10, 133, 141]; a sudden, virulent hatred directed by assimilated/white-man Indians towards full-bloods emerged during the Civil War [141, 161]; a similar wave of hatred targeted Union soldiers after their withdrawal [128, 148]; intense post-war racial hatred in the U.S. fueled anti-Indian policies [192].

Haunt Stories circulated that the ghost of Robert Pike haunted Hannali House [211, 231]; Robert Pike acknowledged being seen as a "haunt," albeit a friendly one [212, 232].

Hay land Land primarily suitable for growing hay for livestock feed, distinguished from land suitable for plowing (cornland); the 1828 exploration party found some hay land in the Territory but deemed it insufficient overall [37, 57].

Hays City A town in Kansas known as a significant railhead and destination for cattle drives during the Old Wild West period [206, 226].

Hays, Fort A U.S. Army military post located in Kansas, operational during the Plains Indian Wars and the Old Wild West era [207].

Hazel Innominee (*Marie d'Azal*) Daughter of Hannali Innominee and Marie DuShane [70, 86, 90], granddaughter of Alinton DuShane. Described as "glowing" [86]. Married Jemmy Buster [118]. Mother of Anna-Hata, James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Bartholome, and Philip-Nitakechi [119, 139, 184]. Survived the final raid [184] and played a key role in finding Natchez and the hidden children [183]. Attended Hannali at his deathbed [217-220].

Hebrew The Semitic language of the ancient Israelites; mentioned alongside Phoenician and Basque as languages spuriously linked to Native American tongues by amateur theorists promoting diffusionist ideas [107, 127].

"Heffer calf / heffers" Derogatory and taunting term used by Whiteman Falaya in his notes to refer to Hannali's daughter Sally Innominee [57, 77, 101, 121, 173, 193].

Helen Miller Wife of Famous Innominee, whom he brought back from his trip north with Jemmy Buster [10, 112, 117, 118, 130, 137, 138, 139]. Mother of Famous-George, John-Durham, Francis-Mingo, and

Strange-Joseph [119, 139]. Present during the final raid on Hannali House [174], she was killed along with some of the children she tried to protect in Choke-Cherry Canyon [182, 184, 202].

Helena Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Alinton Innominee and Marie Calles [119, 139]. Survived the massacre at Hannali House by being hidden in the pit with Natchez and three infant cousins [183, 190, 203].

Hell The place of eternal damnation in some religions; also used frequently as an expletive or intensifier. Hannali muses that Hell is "full of men who die with dignity" [12, 218, 220]; appears in Hannali's characteristic interjection "Hog hominy hell..." [9, 29]; the horse tells Hannali, "Hell, let's swim it" [12, 205, 215, 235]; the Choctaw inscription on the tonic bottle read "Oh the hell it is not" [214, 234]; Pass Christian exclaims "hell I want to have a fox hunt too" [15, 35]; Lafferty declares "The hell one cannot!" regarding oratory in English [134, 154]; a white trader wished to "spend forever in Hell with Luvinia" [86, 106].

"Hells' Half Acres" A generic term for the notorious vice districts found in several Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West era [207, 227].

Henderson, James James Pinckney Henderson (1808–1858), inaugurated as the first governor of the state of Texas on February 19, 1846, succeeding the last president of the Republic of Texas, Anson Jones [100, 120].

Henry, T. C. Named as one of the significant promoters and entrepreneurs associated with the development of Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Henry-Pushmataha Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee [119, 139]; killed during the Confederate raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Henrys, 44 Model 1860 Henry repeating rifles, known for their distinctive .44 caliber rimfire ammunition; identified as among the advanced firearms used by the raiders who attacked Hannali House during the Civil War [179, 199].

Herbalists Practitioners who use medicinal herbs for healing; identified as one category of traditional healers among the Seminole Indians [166, 186].

Herd bull Hannali likens his situation with three wives simultaneously pregnant to being a herd bull expecting three calves in one season [52, 72].

Hewahnackee, George A Creek Indian boy visiting Hannali House, distinguished as the most skilled climber of the large pecan trees, surpassing even Hannali's own sons [94, 114].

Hickok, Wild Bill James Butler Hickok (1837–1876), legendary lawman, gunfighter, and scout of the American West; listed among the famous figures associated with the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Hickory spear piece A sharp sliver of hickory wood used by Whiteman Falaya to impale his first threatening note onto the pine wall inside Hannali's strong room [56, 76].

"Hide Park" Named as one of the vice districts ("Hells' Half Acres") found in Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West era [207].

Hides Hannali traded in hides [18, 38]; wagered hides in the New Orleans poker game [32, 52]; German traveler Blau investigated buffalo hides as a substitute for cowhides [153, 173].

High Backbone A leader among the Sioux Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

High Wolf A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

High-Backed Wolf A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

History of Rome for the Young Student Title of a book included on the list provided by the visiting preacher, which Hannali subsequently ordered for his library [84, 104].

Hitchiti Ford Site of a Civil War battle listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142].

Hitchiti Meadow The location designated by Whiteman Falaya in his final note for his deadly confrontation with Hannali Innominee; site of their duel where Hannali, though wounded, killed Falaya [11, 31, 173, 174, 175, 193, 194, 195].

Hobson, Geary Author of the Foreword for the University of Oklahoma Press edition of *Okla Hannali*; identified as an Assistant Professor of English, Native American poet, and editor [2, 5, 7, 13].

Hoe A traditional long-handled gardening tool with a thin blade, used for weeding and cultivating soil; used by Choctaws in their farming practices pre-removal [9, 29].

Hog hominy A dish made from pork and hominy (coarsely ground corn); also used by Hannali as a characteristic mild expletive or interjection ("Hog hominy hell...") [9, 29, 76, 96].

Hog scalders / Hog scalding Individuals who perform / The process of immersing slaughtered hogs in hot water to loosen the hair for removal; Chizem played Hannali's fiddle to entertain the "pig scalders" at Strange Choate's settlement [49, 69].

Hog tight A standard for fence construction, meaning built sufficiently strong and secure to prevent hogs from breaking through or escaping [71, 91].

Hogs Ran loose according to early laws [7, 27]; participated wildly in Barua's fox hunt [16, 36]; Hannali wagered them in poker [31, 51]; raised extensively by Hannali and Strange Choate [45, 50, 65, 69]; gift of 100 hogs crucial to Hannali's start [50, 53, 70]; Hannali became biggest "hog man" in Territory [54, 74]; panther swallowed a pig in Luvinia's story [95, 115]; Jemmy Buster raised hogs [118]; slaughtered by Pins during Civil War [141, 161].

Hokeys, buffalo The term used by Plains Indians to refer to prairie turnips (*Psoralea esculenta*), which they misleadingly presented to the immigrant Creeks as "Comanche Potatoes" [149, 169].

Hollingsworth, Sue Credited as the designer of the paper cover for the University of Oklahoma Press edition of *Okla Hannali* [6].

Homestead Act The 1862 United States federal law that allowed settlers to claim 160 acres of public land; David Payne and the

Boomers controversially argued that the Unassigned Lands in Indian Territory were subject to this act, forming the basis of their movement [206, 209, 210, 226, 229, 230].

Homesteaders Settlers who sought to acquire land under the provisions of the Homestead Act; David Payne led five organized parties of homesteaders into Indian Territory in attempts to claim land, resulting in repeated arrests [xvi, 18, 197, 205, 209, 210, 217, 225, 229, 230].

Hominy Food prepared from dried maize kernels, often treated with lye or alkali; Hannali carried corn hominy on his journey [76, 96]; Snake Creeks prepared corn flour and hominy [152, 172]. See also **Hog hominy**.

Hominy Falls A location associated with Osage friends of the Innominee family, visited during the family's travels in the Big Decade [111, 131].

Homostubbee One of the four great Choctaw patriarchs named in the Prologue [2, 22]; defied Pushmataha and survived, thus qualifying for Moshulatubbee's "dead man club" [8, 28].

Honey Pickens the Green Indian knew that Chippewa honey could be traded for bear grease [112, 132].

Honey Springs Site of a significant Civil War battle fought in Indian Territory on July 17, 1863, resulting in a Union victory; listed among the places where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Hooded men Groups of disguised men, identified by their white man's boots and pants visible beneath their hoods and by their known horses, who systematically terrorized Indian settlements in Mississippi prior to Removal, confiscating guns and administering brutal whippings [44, 64]. Distinct from earlier Choctaw masked societies or French *Cagoulauds* [44, 64].

Hoofs The sound of "churning hoofs" trampled men during the fox hunt [17, 37]; Barua's trumpet was "stomped on by hoof" [18, 38]; glue was made from buffalo hoofs [151, 171]; the "scurry of broad hoofs" announced the arrival of the pony Hannali summoned [184, 204].

Hornets The sound of shots from Forbis Agent's small rifle during the final battle was described as "singing away in the air like hornets," implying ineffectiveness or misdirection [179, 199].

Horse The crucial animal for transportation, warfare, and status in the novel; Hannali's deep connection ("talking horses") [67, 87, 212, 214]; historical debate over pre-Spanish horses [9, 29]; used in hunting [14, 34], travel [47, 67, 101, 102, 103, 105, 117, 150, 186, 214], and warfare [158, 160, 178]; breeds/types mentioned (Choctaw ponies [102], Chickasaw steppers [102], cavalry mounts [102], bay horse [55, 75, 78], dead horse [87, 88], plow horse [214]).

Horse, Albert A strong, silent Choctaw man, close friend and companion to Hannali Innominee [46, 47, 67]; accompanied Hannali and John T on the initial journey to establish the homestead [47, 67]; participated in the confrontation with Chizem [48, 68]; later helped Famous Innominee ambush the men sent to kill Forbis Agent [125]; tragically killed after getting excited over his own stolen livestock [144, 164].

Horse, American A prominent leader among the Sioux Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Horse Indians A term designating Plains tribes whose cultures were fundamentally transformed by and centered around the horse; characterized by Lafferty as superb athletes, politicians, poets, and warriors [68, 88]; included Comanches and Cheyennes [68]; contrasted with the primarily infantry-based Snake Creeks [152, 172]. The jingle about a "Horse Indian" likely refers to Comanches [151, 171].

Horse, Little A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali; identified as the brother-in-law of another Cheyenne leader, Panther [67, 87].

Horse soldiers The men pursuing Sally Innominee were identified as such [104, 124]; Whiteman Falaya disguised himself but was no longer in the "dress of a horse soldier" when he escaped Hannali [105, 125].

Horseback Used routinely by Hannali [e.g., 47, 67, 101, 102, 103, 105, 117, 150, 186, 214] and most characters for transportation and warfare throughout the novel [e.g., 36, 56, 164, 184, 190].

Horseback (Comanche leader) A prominent leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Horseman/horsemen Confederate horsemen participated at Round Mountains [158, 178]; Hannali described as a "consummate horseman" [212, 232].

Horses' bones The physical remains of horses; the lack of pre-1500 horse bones in the Americas is central to the historical debate about whether Native Americans possessed horses before Spanish introduction, a point disputed by Hannali's Choctaw informant [7, 9, 29].

Hospitality Noted for its "duality" among Indians (generosity to the strong, potential hostility to the weak) [67, 87]; Hannali offered "deep hospitality" conditional on acceptance [117]; Hannali House became renowned for its extensive hospitality [59, 79, 80].

Hound Discussion about the definition ("Hound is dog") arose during the planning of Papa Barua's fox hunt, as Choctaws lacked specialized hunting hounds [14, 34]; hounds were deemed essential for a "proper" fox hunt [16, 36].

House References include Hannali's Big House [*passim*], traditional earth houses [9, 29], sod houses [71, 91], town houses [32, 52], Council House [204, 224], inns/hotels (treated as houses) [80], Old Miller Court House [54, 74], and the thousands of homes destroyed during the Civil War [189].

House divided A metaphor for internal conflict, famously used by Abraham Lincoln regarding the United States and slavery, applied in the text to the near quarrel between the Innominee brothers Famous and Alinton over Civil War alignment [11, 15, 162, 182].

Housebroke Hannali humorously described himself to the New Orleans gentlemen as "not hardly housebroke," emphasizing his rustic background [33, 53].

Hudson, George Served as Choctaw Principal Chief in early 1861; prepared a message advocating neutrality for the crucial Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting at Boggy Depot, but Robert M. Jones arrived and suppressed its delivery, ensuring alignment with the Confederacy [135, 155]. Listed among Choctaws with possible Welsh ancestry [107].

Huff's Mills Location listed among the numerous battle and skirmish sites within Indian Territory during the Civil War era [142, 162].

Hundred Families A distinct minority social or political faction within the Mishoweia Choctaw town/clan in Mississippi, to which the Innominee family belonged [3, 23]; noted for their early conversion to Catholicism [10, 30]; Barua Innominee broke from their traditional alliances when he realigned with Moshulatubbee [8, 28].

Hunter, General David Hunter (1802–1886), Union Army General; Confederate Colonel Douglas Cooper used the unfounded fear of an imminent invasion led by General Hunter as a pretext for his sudden, panicked retreat from the Battle of Bird Creek [161, 165, 181, 185].

Hunting area Land used primarily for pursuing wild game; much of Indian Territory considered hunting country rather than farmland [43, 63]; white settlers encroached on traditional hunting areas [22, 42].

Hush-Hush-Cute A leader among the Nez Perce people known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

I

Idaho Origin point (along with Oregon) for Nez Perce people removed to Indian Territory following the Nez Perce War of 1877 [192, 212].

Identity and Assimilation (Indian Becoming White People) A central, pervasive theme exploring the complex, often involuntary transformation of Choctaw identity under relentless historical and cultural pressure. The novel charts a perceived shift from a distinct, self-contained Choctaw reality—characterized by unique customs like the "Choctaw chuckle" (4), worldviews (1, 21), language, and connection to *Aleika* (22)—towards an assimilated state described mournfully by Hannali and Natchez as becoming "white-people people" (199). This transformation is driven by multiple forces: the trauma of removal (28, 48, 72), the devastating impact of the Civil War which decimated the population and traditional structures (141-142, 161-162), the imposition of English as the dominant language (200),

the influx of diverse, often already assimilated "new Indians" from other tribes (192, 199), the adoption of white material culture and economic systems (74, 111, 200), and the changing legal and political landscape (45, 187, 200-201, 211). The theme is embodied in the changing pronunciation of Hannali's own name (199), the internal divisions within the Choctaw Nation between traditionalists and progressives/slave-owners (30, 99, 111, 129), and the ultimate fate of figures like Peter Pitchlynn (197). Lafferty portrays this not simply as racial mixing but as a profound ontological shift, a loss of an essential way of being, poignantly captured in Hannali's final lament that he, too, must "turn white people myself" in the act of dying according to new customs (217, 238). The novel questions whether distinct Indian identity can survive such overwhelming pressures, leaving Anna-Hata as a symbol of continuity yet undeniably altered ("the world had not run out of Indians yet," (xii, 217)).

Illinois Midwestern U.S. state; original homeland of tribes belonging to the Illinois Confederacy (including Cahokias) who were later removed to Indian Territory [192]; also a source region for some Delaware people removed to the Territory [192]; architectural styles in post-Civil War Territory houses resembled those found in Illinois and Missouri [200, 220]; DeKalb, Illinois, the place where J.F. Glidden invented barbed wire [206, 226].

Illinois River River flowing through eastern Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma); its valley was visited and assessed by the 1828 Exploration party, admired for its beauty but ultimately deemed agriculturally inferior land [37, 57].

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti The opening Latin words of the Catholic Sign of the Cross ("In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"); Lafferty proposes that the surname "Innominee" originated as a mnemonic reminder of this blessing, signifying the family's early adoption of Catholicism through French missionaries [88, 108].

Inchukahata A Choctaw man named as one of the group who experienced the same dream as Hannali and joined him on the pilgrimage south to rediscover Nanih Waiya [76, 96].

Incomprehensible Adjective meaning not understandable; applied by Barua Innominee to the ways of God [11, 31]; Hannali's objection that it isn't a native Choctaw word leads Barua to define it, humorously, as a

French term meaning "not know what it means" [11, 31]. Also used in chapter summary referring to Choctaw ways [7, 29] and to describe the complex origins of the Jacksonian revolution [27, 47].

Indian agency (Anadarko) The local Bureau of Indian Affairs office near Anadarko, Indian Territory; R.A. Lafferty's uncle Ed Burke worked there [xvi, 18]; noted by Hannali late in life as the place where the once-feared Quannah Parker had become a "tame Indian" [212, 232].

Indian agent An official appointed by the U.S. government to oversee relations with and administration of Native American tribes; one related the story of the chuckling Choctaws [4, 24]; an agent's report disputed Pushmataha's great height [6, 26]; an Indian agent performed Hannali's marriage ceremony to Natchez at Three Forks [52, 72]; Confederate-sympathizing agents defected from their Union posts at the start of the Civil War, significantly influencing tribal alignments [127, 128, 147]; Douglas Cooper transitioned from agent to Confederate Colonel [158]; Hannali hosted various agents and superintendents at his Big House [59, 79].

Indian Civil Wars Lafferty's term for the numerous internal conflicts that erupted within and among the tribes residing in Indian Territory during the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865), distinct from the larger national conflict; attributed largely to the manipulations of Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike, who allegedly instigated twelve separate such wars [10, 13, 15, 122, 133, 141, 142, 158, 161, 172]. While the Choctaws largely avoided internal strife [142, 162], these conflicts devastated other nations. Hostilities continued long after 1865, culminating in the Creek Nation's Green Peach War in 1882 [189, 209].

Indian country A general term referring to lands predominantly inhabited by or designated for Native Americans; used for the newly assigned lands in the West ("new Indian country") [8, 28, 42, 46, 48, 49, 66, 69], the established Choctaw territory ("deep Choctaw country") [33, 53], areas perceived as wild or dangerous ("wild Indian country") [77, 97], and tribal regions ("Kiowa country") [213, 233].

Indian Office The common name for the Office of Indian Affairs (precursor to the Bureau of Indian Affairs); U.S. Indian Office statistics are cited by Lafferty regarding Choctaw population losses during the Civil War [142, 162].

Indian Police (Light Horse) The mounted police force established within the Indian Territory to maintain law and order among the tribes; Peter Pitchlynn is credited as its founder and first leader [88, 108].

Indian removal The 19th-century United States policy and practice of forcibly relocating Native American tribes, particularly the Five Civilized Tribes, from their ancestral homelands in the Southeast to lands designated west of the Mississippi River (Indian Territory) [xii, xiv, 6]; Hannali and his fellow Choctaws endured this traumatic process [xii, 14-15], which occurred primarily during the Jacksonian era [28, 48] and resulted in significant loss of life [28, 48, 110, 130]. The term also encompasses later, post-Civil War removals of other tribes into the same Territory [194, 214].

Indian South Geographic term referring to the Southeastern United States, the original homeland of the Five Civilized Tribes [10, 29, 30]; described metaphorically as becoming the "Country Behind God's Back" following the withdrawal of French and Spanish colonial presence, which had previously acted as a check on American expansionism [24, 44].

"Indian stuff" A colloquial phrase used by Lafferty to denote items, practices, or concepts considered uniquely characteristic of Native American culture; examples include the keeping of tribal "name rolls" [8, 58, 67, 87] and the general cultural expressions deemed inappropriate ("Indian stuff had to go") at the assimilationist 1861 United Nations assembly [134, 154].

Indian Territory The region west of the Mississippi River (primarily present-day Oklahoma) designated by the U.S. government as the relocation area for removed Native American tribes [*passim*]; site of the reconstituted Choctaw Nation [xii, 14] and the setting for most of the novel's events after Chapter Four. Explored by the 1828 party [24, 44], it became the stage for both remarkable cultural rebuilding [195, 197] and devastating internal conflicts ("Thirteen Civil Wars") [10, 133, 141]. Its complex history includes interactions with Plains tribes [42], the establishment of unique social structures [80], the impact of the Civil War and Confederate influence [128, 136], post-war dispossession and the influx of numerous other removed tribes [191-194], and the eventual transition during the Old Wild West Days [206].

Indian treaties Formal agreements negotiated between Native American nations and the United States government; repeatedly violated or abrogated by the U.S. [23]; state laws nullified them pre-removal [25, 45]; Albert Pike forged names on Confederate treaties [122, 142]; Chief John Ross advocated adhering to treaty terms [124, 144]; all prior treaties were voided by the U.S. after the Civil War [191, 211].

Indiana Midwestern U.S. State; identified as the origin point for some of the "new Indians" removed to Indian Territory after the Civil War [199, 219]; also the birthplace of the Boomer leader David L. Payne [209, 229].

Indians, Freedom The self-identifier used by Hannali Innominee and his like-minded allies (Strange Choate, Famous Innominee, Forbis Agent) who advocated strict neutrality and non-involvement in the American Civil War, emphasizing their desire for freedom from entanglement [10, 124, 130, 144, 163, 183]; Hannali contrasted them with "Combat Indians," who took up arms even defensively [148].

Indians, Plains The diverse Native American groups inhabiting the Great Plains region west of the settled Five Tribes territory; they closely observed the 1828 Exploration party [42, 62]; Hannali frequently traveled and lived among them, learning their languages and customs (Cheyennes, Apaches, Caddoes, Pawnees, Kiowas, Arapahos, Comanches cited) [66-69, 86-89]; Robert Jones established trade with them [108, 128]; they engaged in complex trade and trickery, as shown in the Pickens story [112-114, 132-134]; mocked the newly arrived Creeks about "buffalo hokeys" [149, 169]; some elite Plains warriors joined Opothleyahola [152, 172]; their earlier "prairie peace" was disrupted, leading to increased warfare [197]; associated with raiding during the Old Wild West Days [207].

Indians, Snake The term commonly used by Confederates and others to refer to Opothleyahola's neutral Upper Creek followers during the Civil War, possibly referencing traditional Creek divisions or used derogatorily [11, 151, 152, 155-161, 162-167, 170-172, 175-181, 183-185, 187-191].

Indians, Welsh A speculative concept, based on the legend of Prince Madoc's pre-Columbian voyage, suggesting Welsh ancestry for some Native American groups (often Mandans); Lafferty dismisses the ancient connection but argues the Choctaws effectively became

"Welsh Indians" due to significant intermixture with Welsh colonists and settlers in the historical period, reflected in numerous shared surnames [9, 106, 107, 126, 127].

Indolent Disinclined to exert oneself, lazy; a characteristic sometimes attributed to Choctaws, which they themselves rejected, drawing a distinction between being indolent and being lazy ("We are not indolent we are lazy there is a difference") [7, 12, 32-33].

Infants Three infants (Thomas-Academy, Charles-Chitoh, Anna-Hata) survived by being hidden in the pit with Natchez [183].

Infiltration A military tactic involving dispersed movement through enemy lines rather than massed assault; contrasted with the "white man charge" favored by Colonel Cooper at Round Mountains [156, 176].

Initiation The traditional Choctaw "wandering year" served as a form of initiation into manhood [66, 86]; the rough, sometimes dangerous, kidding practiced by Plains Indians towards newcomers could function as informal initiations [116, 136].

Ink-horn Hannali ordered fancy writing paper featuring a silver ink-horn crest [84, 104].

Innominee The surname adopted by Hannali's lineage, beginning with his grandfather's generation [3]; potentially derived as a mnemonic from the Latin blessing "*In nomine Patris...*" [88, 108]. This surname identifies the central family of the novel. See individual character entries below.

Innominee, Alinton Son of Hannali Innominee and Marie DuShane (74, 80). Undertook a "wandering year" extending over a year, journeying up the Canadian River towards Santa Fe and eventually to California during the gold rush (111, 115-116). Returned wealthy, married Marie Calles, and invested in businesses in North Fork Town and his brothers' enterprises (119). Inherited traits of his French Shawnee maternal grandfather, Alinton DuShane (111).

Innominee, Barua Father of Hannali, Pass Christian, and Biloxi Innominee; husband of Chapponia (3). A big, strong man (6) who famously resigned from chief Pushmataha's district, declaring allegiance instead to Moshulatubbee (6-8). Known for initiating enterprises like a grain mill (later a dock), using oxen and mules, acquiring escaped slaves (13), and staging a memorably chaotic

Choctaw-style fox hunt with a nine-foot brass trumpet and a red coat from New Orleans (14-18). Possessed a certain "luck" where follies turned profitable (13).

Innominee, Biloxi Son of Barua and Chapponia Innominee; brother of Hannali and Pass Christian (3). Remained in Mississippi when Hannali prepared to move to Indian Territory (43). Characterized as good-natured, simple, and big-bellied, inheriting his father's "pot" while Pass Christian got the brains and Hannali the vigor (43). Participated in the family fox hunt, dragging dogs (15-16).

Innominee, Famous Son of Hannali Innominee and Natchez (74, 80). Became a "Territory dude" while attending Fort Coffee Academy (110). Had access to his maternal grandfather, Strange Choate, and Cherokee relatives (110). Accompanied Jemmy Buster on a cattle drive north (117) and returned with a Durham bull and wife, Helen Miller (118). Was an impassioned fighter for neutrality during the Civil War (124) and ambushed men sent to kill Forbis Agent (125). Believed to have died under another name after the war (185).

Innominee, Famous (historical) An ancestor or kinsman of Hannali's line, associated with "his brothers" during the "Big Decade" (10). Also linked historically with the Cherokee Pins during the Civil War (158). Distinct from Hannali's son of the same name.

Innominee, Famous / Travis / Alinton The three sons of Hannali Innominee, born almost simultaneously in 1830 to his three wives, Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and Marie DuShane respectively (74, 80). Sharing their father's distinctive, "ugly" face but not his broad head or great bulk (80, 100), they grow up together in the Moshulatubbee District, virtually indistinguishable as children (100-101) but developing distinct personalities mirroring their father's multifaceted nature: Famous inheriting the "brains" (or perhaps strategic intellect and leadership), Travis the "bravery" (combateness), and Alinton the "bluff and bluster" (or perhaps adventurous spirit) (164). They represent the generation coming of age during the Territory's "Big Decade" (130) but facing the cataclysm of the Civil War. This conflict forces a painful split: Travis joins Opothleyahola's neutral/Unionist Creeks (144, 164, 170); Alinton, after a long "wandering year" establishing trade routes to Santa Fe and participating in the California Gold Rush (111, 115-116, 119), eventually sides with the Confederacy (163, 187); Famous becomes a powerful advocate for neutrality, acting as an emissary for Opothleyahola and confronting

Confederate forces (124, 145-146, 159, 164-165, 185). Famous's ultimate fate is shrouded in mystery, seemingly dying under another name as a Union captain (185). Their diverging paths symbolize the fracturing of the Choctaw Nation and the impossibility of maintaining unity amidst the overwhelming external conflict.

Innominee, Hannali Protagonist, born circa 1800-1802 in the Okla Hannali District of the Choctaw Nation, Mississippi (3, xiv). Son of Barua and Chapponia Innominee (3), brother to Pass Christian and Biloxi (3). A physically imposing, "bulky boy" and quintessential "Choctaw chuckler" (4). Survived Removal (28), prospered in Indian Territory as a farmer, mule breeder, trader, builder, banker, and fiddler (13, 20, 40, 74, 75). Took three wives—Natchez, Martha Louisiana, Marie DuShane—in rapid succession (51-52), fathering sons Famous, Travis, Alinton (74), and daughters Luvinia, Hazel, Sally (70). Established a large estate centered on his "Big House" on the Canadian River (56, 74), which became a hub of activity (58-59). Traveled extensively among Plains tribes, earning various names like "Fiddling Bear" and "Man with the Talking Horses" (67). Served in the Choctaw Senate (111). Maintained neutrality during the Civil War but suffered immense personal loss when raiders destroyed his home and killed most of his family (172-184). Rebuilt his life, eventually dying around 1900-1901 (xiv, 217, 220), a "Mingo" embodying Choctaw history and resilience (218).

Innominee, Hazel (Marie d'Azal) Daughter of Hannali Innominee and Marie DuShane (70). Described as "glowing" (86). Married Jemmy Buster (118). Survived the massacre at Hannali House (184).

Innominee, Luvinia Daughter of Hannali Innominee and Martha Louisiana (70). Described as "burning" (86); told elaborate stories learned from her mother (95). Married Forbis Agent (118). Killed by raiders during the attack on Hannali House (184).

Innominee, Pass Christian Son of Barua and Chapponia Innominee; brother of Hannali and Biloxi (3). Received a better education than his brothers (15). Became a boatman traveling as far as New Orleans (19) and later resided there, aiding visiting Choctaws (33). Brought his father the red coat (14) and introduced the fiddle to Hannali (19). Planted the idea in Hannali's mind to establish supply depots in the new Territory (45). Married Marie Delessert and visited Hannali House with his family (93, 118).

Innominee, Sally (Salina) Daughter of Hannali Innominee and Natchez (70). Named Salina after her mother's birthplace, Grand Saline (70). Described as "sparkling" (86), exceptionally pretty and lively (86). Assaulted by Whiteman Falaya (101). Survived the initial attack but was later found murdered in a ravine by the Devil (Whiteman Falaya) to lure Hannali into a trap (172-173).

Innominee, Travis Son of Hannali Innominee and Martha Louisiana (74, 80). Asked his father about childhood memories (4-5). Left Hannali House during the Civil War to join Opothle Yahola's neutral Creeks (144, 150). Fought at Round Mountains (159). After the war, settled across the river in North Fork Town, running a store (190). Distinct from the "father of Travis Innominee" mentioned in a Civil War battle context (158).

Insubordination Refusal to obey authority; Marie DuShane repeatedly reported Martha Louisiana for perceived insubordination, culminating in the confrontation sparked by Martha's defiant chuckle [61, 81].

Intercourse Act of 1802 A United States federal law intended to regulate trade and interaction between non-Indians and Native American tribes, which included provisions guaranteeing federal protection for tribal lands and sovereignty; President Andrew Jackson refused to enforce this act against encroaching states in 1831, signaling the federal government's abandonment of its protective role [27, 47].

Interest Hannali engaged in lending, paying and receiving interest through his informal bank [75, 95]; he claimed a deeper understanding of interest and ethical lending than the Doaksville merchants [91, 111].

Interlude, Green The metaphorical term for the Indian Territory portion of the Texas cattle drives, signifying a beautiful, relatively calm passage ("interlude") situated between the harsh conditions of assembling herds in Texas and the dangers of the Kansas railhead towns [19, 41, 206, 207, 225, 226, 227].

Interpreter John Pitchlynn (Peter's adoptive father) served as the official government interpreter during the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek negotiations [90, 110].

Intuition The ability to understand or know something immediately, without conscious reasoning; Hannali possessed strong intuition,

guiding his understanding of farming, fiddling, finance [29, 49], and complex situations [101, 121, 102, 122]; his "true dark visions" [101, 121] and horrifying premonitions [172, 173] were manifestations of this faculty. Peter Pitchlynn also seemed to acquire knowledge intuitively [124].

Invasion (Mexican land) Refers to the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), characterized by Lafferty as an "incredible invasion" of Mexican territory by the United States, initiated under false pretenses ("American Blood has been spilt on American Soil") following the annexation of Texas [100-101, 120-121].

Invasion (Territory) Refers to the repeated incursions into Indian Territory led by David L. Payne and his Boomer followers, attempting to illegally establish homestead settlements on Unassigned Lands [210, 230].

Invisibility Attributed metaphorically to the ghost of Robert Pike residing in Hannali House [149, 169, 211]; Hannali and Travis rode as if invisible through Confederate lines [150].

Iowa Midwestern U.S. state; identified as the place of origin for R.A. Lafferty's family [xvi, 18]; also listed as the source region for the Prairie Band Potawatomis who were later removed to Indian Territory [192].

Iowas, Nemaha A tribal group originating from the Nebraska/Missouri/Kansas region, listed among those removed to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192].

Irish blood Ancestry traced to Ireland; present among families like the Rileys who settled in the Choctaw North, contributing to a subtle sustaining influence [204, 224].

Irishmen Four young Irishmen, including R.A. Lafferty's father Hugh Lafferty and uncle Ed Burke, homesteaded together near Snyder, Oklahoma, around 1899 [xvi, 18].

Iron The Innominee family were among the first Choctaws to adopt iron plows for agriculture [13, 33].

Ironwork Hannali incorporated ornamental "New Orleans ironwork" into a portion of his Big House during its construction [60, 80].

Iroquois A powerful confederacy of Native American tribes historically centered in the Northeastern Woodlands; group whose children would likely find the histories of the Choctaw or Creek peoples irrelevant in the context of assimilationist boarding schools [200].

Irving, Washington (1783–1859) Prominent American author and historian; included on the preacher's recommended reading list for Hannali, and noted by Hannali as having been a "civil and well spoken man" during his earlier visit to the Territory (chronicled in *A Tour on the Prairies*) [84, 104].

Isadowa A Wichita leader who signed Albert Pike's Confederate treaty on behalf of the "Ta-wa-i-Hash people" (Wichitas), although his authority extended only to the Leeper Creek settlement; this overreach caused internal friction but did not escalate into full civil war [139, 159].

Ishacoly (Traveling Wolf) A leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Ishatai (Coyote Droppings) Comanche medicine man and prophet known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Ishtaboli The traditional, highly competitive Choctaw stickball game, played between large teams representing different towns or factions, often involving significant wagers; players celebrated scores by gobbling like turkeys [9, 29]. Barua wore his red coat to *Ishtaboli* games [14, 34]. Hailstones during the Year of the Big Thunders were recalled as being as large as *Ishtaboli* balls [99, 119].

Island A prominent leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

Isparhecher (c. 1829–1902) Leader of the traditionalist, full-blood faction of the Creek Nation following the Civil War; seen as inheriting the spirit of Opothleyahola, he led his followers against Chief Samuel Checote's assimilationist group in the protracted Green Peach War [189, 209].

Israel The ancient Hebrew nation; mentioned in the context of the "Lost Tribes of Israel" theory, a popular but unsubstantiated

explanation for Native American origins, supposedly supported by parallels like the seven-year limit on slavery [13, 33, 106, 126].

Itinerant preacher A traveling minister without a fixed congregation; one performed the marriage ceremony for Hannali and Martha Louisiana [52, 72]; Forbis Agent's primary occupation was that of an itinerant preacher and bookman [118, 138].

J

Jack Male donkey, used by Hannali Innominee in a self-deprecating comparison when lamenting his accidental polygamy ("what am I a jack / I get three colts in one year") [52, 72]; also referenced in his comparison of himself to a "cob turkey" with three hens ("boy you old jack you") [52, 72].

Jackson, Andrew Seventh U.S. President (served 1829-1837), depicted as the primary antagonist driving the Indian Removal policy and often referred to as the "Devil of the Indians" [10, 24, 28, 30, 44, 48, 87, 127, 147, 198, 218]; his election was perceived by the Five Tribes as sealing their doom [24, 44]. His administration was linked to the fraudulent 1830 Choctaw treaty via his envoy Major Haley [26, 46], and he refused to enforce the Intercourse Act of 1802 protecting Indian rights against state encroachment [27, 47]. The novel frames the "Jacksonian revolution" as benefiting the wealthy elite at the expense of the poor and Indians [27, 47-48]. An apocryphal story recounts Peter Pitchlynn refusing Jackson's handshake as a boy [89, 109].

Jacksonian revolution The political movement and era associated with Andrew Jackson's presidency, characterized by Lafferty not as a popular uprising but as the "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor," facilitating the seizure of vast Indian lands for the expansion of the slave-plantation system by a wealthy, powerful, and corrupt elite who had found their leader in Jackson [27, 47-48].

Jacksfork Mountains Mountain range forming part of the watershed boundary dividing the southern districts of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory [40, 60].

Jacks-Fork (of the Kiamichi River) River in the Winding Stair Mountains region; the Choctaws descended it on their pilgrimage to Nanih Waiya [77, 97]; formed part of the complex boundary system between the three Choctaw districts in Indian Territory [79, 99].

James Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

James, Frank (1843-1915) Notorious Missouri outlaw, brother of Jesse James; rode with Charles Quantrill's Confederate guerrilla forces during the Civil War [187, 207].

James, Jesse (1847-1882) Famous Missouri outlaw, brother of Frank James; rode with Charles Quantrill's Confederate guerrilla forces during the Civil War [187, 207].

January 13, 1846 Date specified as when U.S. General Zachary Taylor was ordered to advance troops to the Nueces River, an action designed to provoke conflict and initiate the U.S.-Mexican War following Texas annexation [100, 120].

January 17, 1881 Date recorded as the death of Peter Pitchlynn in Washington, D.C. [198, 218].

January 28, 1862 Date of a letter written by Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike to Superintendent Elias Rector, cited by Lafferty as evidence of Pike's substantial slush fund (\$265,927.50 in specie) available for influencing or bribing Indian leaders [136, 156].

Jayhawkers Pejorative term for Unionist guerrillas from Kansas who conducted raids during the Civil War; applied derisively by Confederate sympathizers to the withdrawing Union soldiers leaving Indian Territory in 1861 [128, 148].

Jefferson, Thomas Third U.S. President (served 1801-1809); listed by Lafferty among foundational American figures considered historically sacrosanct [122, 142].

Jemmy Buster Young, tow-headed Texas cattle drover of part-Choctaw descent who arrived ill at Hannali House in 1848 [117]; befriended and assisted by Hannali, he recovered and subsequently married Hannali's daughter Hazel Innominee [117, 118]. Became a

partner with Famous Innominee in the cattle business [118]. Father of Anna-Hata, James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Bartholome, and Philip-Nitakechi [119, 139, 184, 217]. Joined Travis Innominee in riding to aid Opothleyahola's neutral Creeks [147, 150, 167]. Killed in action at the Battle of Round Mountains [168, 170, 189].

Jeremiah Judd A formidable white man ("mighty, black-bearded") described as bitter-speaking and green-spitting, who was among the diverse "Elites" supporting Opothleyahola [153, 173]; taught camp English to the Snake girl [162]; participated in the final defense at Round Mountains [159]; rode as rearguard with Sudden Scott during the subsequent retreat [161].

Jesuit Member of the *Society of Jesus*, a Catholic religious order known for missionary work; French Jesuit *Mathurin le Petit* was the first known priest among the Choctaws (1726) [10, 30]. Hannali's Catholic connection was maintained despite infrequent visits (seven times in thirty years) from Jesuits [59, 79]. The Choctaw South recognized Father Isidore Robot (a Bohemian Benedictine) as being of the same spiritual lineage as the early French Jesuits [204, 224].

Jim Ned Fighter of mixed Delaware and Negro ancestry who joined Opothleyahola's "Elites" [145, 165]; initially subject to defamatory caricature as a "mouthy coward" [145], he was actually renowned as the "best rifle soldier in the Territory," famed for incredible trick shots like killing, plucking, roasting, and catching a duck in mid-air [154, 174]. He participated in the final defense at Round Mountains [159].

Jim Pockmark Anadarko leader known by Hannali [8, 58, 67, 68, 69, 87, 88, 89]; represented the main faction opposing Jose Maria, whose treaty with Pike ignited civil strife among the Anadarkos [139, 159]. Possibly identical to the leader referred to simply as Pock Mark.

Jo Shelby Confederate General Joseph O. Shelby (1830-1897); a commander who led "splendid" raids using regular troops, contrasting with irregular leaders like Quantrill and Watie [187, 207].

"Joe Brennan's" Name representative of saloons found in Old West cattle towns like Dodge City or Abilene, mentioned alongside the Alamo and Keno House [207, 227].

Joe E. Johnson Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston (1807-1891); his surrender of the Army of Georgia on April 26, 1865, marked a major step towards the end of the Civil War [188, 208].

John Barua Son of Pass Christian Innominee and Marie Delessert; named after his grandfather Barua Innominee; visited Hannali House with his family during the winter of 1844-45 [93, 113].

John T Hannali Innominee's Choctaw cousin, who pronounced his single-letter name "Tay" [47, 67]. Accompanied Hannali and Albert Horse on the initial journey to establish Hannali's homestead in Indian Territory [47, 67]. Joined Hannali again on the spiritual pilgrimage to Nanih Waiya [76, 96]. Engaged in conversation with Robert Pike about the nature of the Oklafalaya Choctaws [77, 97]. Later separated from Hannali to seek his own home site further south [51, 71]. Observed Confederate cavalry movements near Hannali's home [102, 122].

John T. Albert Horse An erroneous combination of names appearing once in a chapter summary, mistakenly merging Hannali's cousin John T and his friend Albert Horse [8, 46].

John-Durham Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Famous Innominee and Helen Miller [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Joke Something said or done to cause amusement, a recurring element reflecting Choctaw humor and Hannali's coping mechanisms; Hannali's hyperbolic stories [5, 25]; the fox hunt [15, 17, 35, 37]; Biloxi being "mostly feathers" [16, 36]; Martha Louisiana's failure to understand humor [18, 38]; Chizem's mock fight [48, 68]; Yahola's request for 1000 men framed as a joke [146]; Hannali's final defiant words and orchestrated death presented as a "joke" against solemnity [219-220, 240].

Jokers People prone to making jokes or engaging in playful trickery; Hannali described the Oklafalaya Choctaws as jokers similar to his own Moshulatubbee people [77, 97].

Jones and Plummer Trail Named as one of the major cattle trails used for driving herds north from Texas through Indian Territory to Kansas railheads during the Old Wild West era [206].

Jones, President Anson Jones (1798-1858), the last president of the Republic of Texas (served 1844-1846); formally transferred power to the first state governor, James P. Henderson, on February 19, 1846, as Texas joined the United States [100, 120].

Jones, Robert M. (1808-1873) Exceptionally wealthy and politically powerful Choctaw leader of mixed ancestry [107]; represented the Choctaw South faction (slave-owning, commercial, assimilationist) [109, 129]; owned vast plantations (Rose Hill, Lake West, etc.), five hundred slaves (including smuggled Africans), stores, steamboats, and a sugar mill [108, 128]. Exerted immense influence through lending and political maneuvering, effectively controlling Choctaw and Chickasaw delegates [135, 155]. Allied with Texas interests [135, 155]. Key figure in suppressing Choctaw neutrality and forcing alignment with the Confederacy at the Boggy Depot meeting (March 1861) [135, 137, 155, 157]. Owned Choctaw newspapers and censored neutralist views like those of Forbis Agent [125]. Associated with Peter Pitchlynn [91, 111, 127, 147].

Jones, W. N. Surname included in Lafferty's list suggesting Welsh ancestry among some Choctaw individuals [107, 127].

Jose Maria Leader of the "Mexican Consensus," a minority faction within the Anadarko tribe; his signing of Albert Pike's Confederate treaty, exceeding his authority, provoked internal conflict with the main Anadarko leadership under Pock Mark and Jim Pockmark [68, 88, 139, 159].

Joseph (Nez Perce) Chief Joseph (*Hinmatóowylahtq'it*, c. 1840–1904), renowned leader of the *Wal-lam-wat-kain* band of Nez Perce during their resistance against the U.S. Army; listed among the prominent Western Indian leaders known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Joseph (Pass Christian's son) Son of Pass Christian Innominee and Marie Delessert; visited Hannali House with his family during the winter of 1844-45 [93, 113].

Joseph Kincaid Choctaw leader who served as the first district chief of the reconstituted Moshulatubbee District in Indian Territory, an office old Moshulatubbee himself never held as he died before Removal was complete [54, 74]; visited Hannali House [59, 79].

Joseph McCoy (1837-1915) Entrepreneur known for promoting Abilene, Kansas, as a major cattle shipping point; listed among the key figures associated with the Old Wild West cattle drive era [207].

Josephine Horse Choctaw child visiting Hannali House during the extended stay of the Pass Christian Innominee family in 1844-45 [93, 113].

Journey An act of traveling from one place to another, often implying significant distance or purpose; the 1828 Exploration party's journey west [20, 41, 44]; Hannali's dream-pilgrimage journey to Nanih Waiya [76, 96]; Hannali's annual wandering journeys [66, 86]; Alinton's lengthy wandering year journey [111, 116, 119, 139]; the arduous final journey after death [219, 239]; the Snake Creeks' desperate journey north [152, 169, 172].

Jude Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Travis Innominee and Rachel Perry [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

July 10, 1861 Date on which Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike signed a treaty with the McIntosh faction of the Creek Nation, aligning them with the Confederacy despite the opposition of Principal Chief Opothleyahola [137, 157].

July 12 (Kichai treaty date error) Erroneous date sometimes cited in historical accounts for Albert Pike's treaty with the Kichai Indians; Lafferty corrects the actual date to August 12, 1861.

July 14, 1865 The date marking the formal end of the American Civil War, when the last organized Confederate force, the Chickasaw army under Governor Winchester Colbert, surrendered to a Union major [189, 209].

July 1861 The month during which Union forces officially withdrew from all military posts within Indian Territory, leaving Unionist Indians feeling abandoned and strengthening the position of Confederate sympathizers and agents [128, 148]. Also the time when the apparition identified as Robert Pike was first seen near Hannali House [128, 148].

Jumper, John (c. 1820–1896) Seminole chief who aligned with the Confederacy; visited Hannali House [59, 79]; signed Albert Pike's Confederate treaty on behalf of the Seminoles, controversially taking

precedence over established leaders like Billy Bowlegs and Alligator [138, 158].

June 1861 Month when the inter-tribal "United Nations" council, orchestrated largely by Confederate interests, was convened at North Fork Town in the Creek Nation [133, 153].

K

Kadohadachos A tribe identified as remnants of the great Caddoan Confederacy residing in Indian Territory before the main southeastern removals [43, 63]; encountered by Robert Jones on trading missions [128].

Kaintucks Vernacular term for Kentuckians; encountered by Hannali Innominee upon his arrival in New Orleans, where he observed them as tall and nervous but not impressively large compared to Choctaws [30, 50].

Kansas U.S. State and Territory bordering Indian Territory to the north; destination for escaping neutral and Unionist Indians during the Civil War, including Snake Creeks, Seminoles, Senecas, and Shawnees [137, 140, 157, 160, 169, 170, 181, 189, 190]; base for Union Army operations and origin of Jayhawkers [128, 148]; northern terminus for Texas cattle drives with railhead towns like Abilene, Wichita, Dodge City, etc. [206, 207, 226, 227]; origin state for the Boomer movement led by David L. Payne [209, 210, 230]; destination for post-Civil War tribal removals (Chippewas, Delawares, Potawatomis, etc.) [192, 194, 212].

Kansas Pacific The Kansas Pacific Railway, one of the major railroad lines operating during the post-Civil War era associated with the Old Wild West Days and the expansion into the plains [207, 227].

Kaskaskias A tribe belonging to the Illinois Confederacy; listed among the numerous tribal remnants relocated to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Katemsie A leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee from his extensive travels and interactions with Plains tribes [68, 88].

Keel boat A type of shallow-draft riverboat, typically long and narrow, propelled by poling, rowing, sailing, or towing; the Innominee children learned to operate Hannali's keel boats [94, 114]; Hannali used one to transport goods upriver from his landing to his store [75, 95].

"Keno House" Named as a representative saloon operating in the Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West Days era, cited alongside the Alamo and Joe Brennan's [207, 227].

Kentucky U.S. State; identified as the origin state for some of the rough keelboatmen encountered by Hannali on his 1828 Mississippi River journey [34, 54]; location of the Choctaw Academy attended by Peter Pitchlynn and others, at Great Crossing [89, 109]; architectural styles in post-Civil War Indian Territory came to resemble those found in Kentucky and other nearby states [200, 220].

Kettle A metal pot used for cooking, often over an open fire; featured prominently in Luvinia's tall tale about the girl swallowed by the panther, who demanded the panther swallow a kettle to cook *pishofa* [9, 29, 95, 115]; the Welsh word *tebot* cited as deriving from the English "teapot," not an ancient kettle [106, 126].

Kiamichi Mountains Mountain range located in the southeastern portion of Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma); part of the scenic landscape viewed by the 1828 Exploration party [37, 57]; visible in the distance during Hannali's pilgrimage to Nanih Waiya [77, 97].

Kiamichi River River flowing through southeastern Indian Territory; served as the dividing line between the Pushmataha and Oklafalaya Choctaw districts south of the Winding Stair / Jacks-Fork mountains [54, 74, 79, 99]; its valley offered better land compared to areas further north [40, 60]; the Jacks-Fork is identified as a tributary [77, 97].

Ki-is-qua Identified as the second chief of the Kichai tribe; signed Albert Pike's Confederate treaty on August 12, 1861, in the absence of the first chief, an act which precipitated internal conflict within the tribe [138, 158].

Kickapoos Algonquian tribe originally from the Great Lakes region; remnants were present in Indian Territory prior to the main Southeastern removals [43, 63]; additional groups, identified as Wildcat Kickapoos (often associated with Texas and Mexico), were relocated to the Territory after the Civil War [192, 212].

Kicking Bird (*Tene-Angopte*) (c. 1835-1875) Prominent Kiowa chief known for his advocacy of peace with the United States; known personally by Hannali Innominee, who also knew his Kiowa name, *Tene-Angopte* (Striking Eagle), which was commonly rendered as Kicking Bird [68, 88].

"Kill the big Choctaw!" An aggressive slogan or rallying cry associated with the tumultuous "Whiskey Decade" (1830s) in early Indian Territory, reflecting hostility possibly directed towards established or successful Choctaws like Hannali by traders or rival factions amidst the chaos of Removal [9, 29, 70, 90].

Killers Individuals who take human life; hired killers were dispatched by Southern Choctaw leaders to assassinate Forbis Agent [125]; the term "ghost-crazy killers" used for Whiteman Falaya and his ilk [120, 140]; Stand Watie's "big-man" Cherokee forces acted as killers [170, 191]; Charles Quantrill's raiders included "killers from the cradle" [187]; Whiteman Falaya identified as the "ghost killer" [175]; the raiders who attacked Hannali House [184]; Stand Watie debated as possibly a "pathological killer" [122, 142].

Kincaid, Joseph Choctaw leader who served as the first chief elected for the Moshulatubbee District after the Choctaw Nation reconstituted itself in Indian Territory [54, 74]; visited Hannali House [59, 79]; mentioned by Nitakechi as representing the caliber of secondary leadership available [44, 64].

Kincaids Surname listed among Choctaw families purportedly carrying Welsh blood, indicative of historical intermixture [107, 127]. **King** Title denoting supreme hereditary rule; applied historically to Pushmataha ("a real king") [6, 26], Alligator (hereditary king of his Seminole clan) [166], and Cow Catcher (last of the real Seminole kings) [166]. Used figuratively when Hannali felt treated like a king in New Orleans [33, 53] and when addressing God ("I speak my words to the King" - Psalm quote) [135, 155]. Also appears as a Seneca surname, possibly adopted similarly to "Spicer" [140, 160].

Kingbird A type of bird known for its aggressive territorial behavior; the sound of a kingbird squabble provided Hannali with a triangulation point while tracking Whiteman Falaya in the bushes near Hitchiti Meadow [176, 196].

Kiowas Distinctive Plains tribe known for their unique language and warrior culture; smelling of alkali dust and mares' milk [11, 151, 171]; present in Indian Territory before the main southeastern removals [43, 63]. Hannali traveled among them and was known as "The Man with the Talking Horses" due to his ventriloquism trick involving their captured horse [67, 87, 212-213, 232-233]. He knew prominent leaders including *Satanta*, *Satank*, Little Mountain, Thunder Man, One Braid, Stiff Neck, *Guibadai*, Light Hair, Big Tree, Eagle Tail, White Cowbird, Poor Buffalo, No-Shoes, and Kicking Bird (*Tene-Angopte*) [68-69, 88-89]. Characterized as "real men, and yet curious men," and "all funny men" [69, 89]. They repeatedly tricked Pickens the Green Indian in tall tales [112-113, 132-133]. Possessed keen tracking skills (reading hawk flight via rodent marks) [176, 196]. Removed formally to Territory post-Civil War [192]. Involved in raiding during Old Wild West Days [207]. One man encountered by Hannali in Eufaula saloon was 1/4 Kiowa [214].

Kirby-Smith, General Edmund Kirby Smith (1824-1893), Confederate General commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department; his surrender on May 24, 1865, is often cited as marking the end of the Civil War, although fighting continued in Indian Territory [188, 208].

Kit Fox A leader among the Crow Nation known personally by Hannali from his travels among Plains tribes [68, 88].

Knack A aptitude or talent for doing something skillfully; Forbis Agent, despite his bravery, lacked the necessary "knack" for effective marksmanship during the defense of Hannali House [179, 199].

Knife, Bloody (c. 1840-1876) Arikara/Sioux warrior who served as a scout for the U.S. Army, notably with Custer; listed among the prominent Plains figures known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Knife, clasp A type of folding knife designed to be carried safely in a pocket or belt; Hannali carried one in his belt [32, 52].

Knife, draw A traditional woodworking tool with a blade set between two handles, used for shaping wood by pulling it towards the user;

employed by Choctaws to smooth split logs for creating surfaces suitable for playing card games [31, 51].

Knife, Dull (c. 1810–1883) Prominent Northern Cheyenne chief noted for leading his people during conflicts with the U.S.; known personally by Hannali [67, 87]; listed as a key Plains leader during the Old Wild West Days [207]; recalled by Hannali in old age among the great departed figures [212].

Knife, hand A knife designed to be wielded in the hand; Hannali possessed the strength and skill to drive such a knife through eight inches of pine wood with a mere snap of his wrist [57, 77].

Knives Cutting implements with blades; Pushmataha used a knife effectively in combat [6, 26]; the Oklafalaya Choctaws were described (in mock threat) as brandishing "big knives" to intimidate visitors [77, 97].

Knockout drops A potent sedative secretly added to a drink; administered to Hannali by the disgruntled New Orleans gamblers in a "parting drink," but proved utterly ineffective against his formidable constitution [33, 53].

Kokaka A chief among the Pawnee Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District The full, formal name of the original Choctaw district in Mississippi traditionally led by the Mingo Pushmataha, from which Barua Innominee publicly resigned his position [7, 27].

Kutchaw The actual, literate chief of the Hainai (Aionais) Indians; Albert Pike controversially obtained a Confederate treaty by having the name "Cashao" signed in Kutchaw's place, an act which Kutchaw repudiated, leading the Unionist faction in the subsequent Hainai Civil War [139, 159].

L

Lahika (Wearing Horns) A prominent leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee from his extensive travels and interactions with Plains tribes [67, 87].

Lake West Identified as one of Robert M. Jones's six large plantations, notable for its size (five thousand acres) and possibly the largest of his holdings; located in the Choctaw or Chickasaw Nation [108, 128].

Lamplighter The name of one of the steamboats operating on the Mississippi River route between New Orleans and St. Louis during the 1820s when Hannali Innominee made his journey north [34, 54].

Lance A long spear-like weapon, primarily used from horseback; still employed by the predominantly bow-and-arrow armed Snake Creek warriors during the Civil War [152, 172]. The proper way to "tassel the lance" was part of lost knowledge lamented after their destruction [171, 191]. Used metaphorically to describe the intensity of locking gazes with Chizem ("like standing up to a lance thrust") [48, 68]. Also appears in the Cheyenne name Limber Lance [67, 87].

Land Territory, ground, real estate, or homeland; a central theme representing physical space, cultural identity, economic resource, and political sovereignty. Key aspects include: the Choctaw origin land [1, 21, 78, 98]; the contrast between ancestral lands and the "new land" in Indian Territory [2, 22, 24, 44, 45]; the devastating loss of land through forced cession treaties [23, 24, 27, 43, 44, 47]; debates over land quality and value [8, 36-37, 40-41, 56-57, 60-61]; differing systems of land ownership (communal vs. individual title/severality) [193, 208, 209, 213, 228, 229]; the illegal seizure and robbery of Indian lands [xii, 14, 23, 28, 43, 48, 191, 192]; conflicts over parcels like the Unassigned Lands [209, 210, 211, 229, 230] and the Leased District [192]; land speculation [111, 124]; the philosophical debate between Hannali ("Land is the people") and David Payne ("Land is a person") regarding the fundamental relationship between people and land [208, 228]; the Homestead Act's promise of 160 acres [206, 208, 209, 226, 228, 229].

Land, Removal, and Belonging The profound and often traumatic relationship between the Choctaw people and their environment, encompassing the loss of the ancestral homeland in Mississippi and the ambivalent adaptation to the Indian Territory. The novel establishes the deep connection to the original land (3, 13) before detailing the political machinations (22-24, 43-45), deceptive treaties

(24-28, 45), and state-sanctioned violence (44, 64) that culminated in the forced Removal. The journey itself is depicted as a devastating event, marked by death, suffering, and the beginning of cultural breakdown (28, 48, 72). The "new land" in the West is initially viewed with disappointment and assessed as fundamentally inferior ("This isn't very good country," (36, 56-57)), lacking the richness and familiarity of the old home, despite its surface beauty. Hannali's act of driving a stake (38) represents a forced claiming, an attempt to root himself and his people in alien soil. The subsequent establishment of Hannali House (56, 60) and the "Big Decade" of prosperity (109, 130) show a period of successful adaptation and rebuilding, creating a new sense of place within the Territory. However, this new belonging remains precarious, ultimately shattered by the Civil War (178-181) and further undermined by post-war policies that confiscated vast tracts of land (191, 193, 211) and imposed alien concepts of ownership (severalty vs. communal holding) (193, 209, 229). The theme underscores the idea that land is inseparable from identity ("Land is the people," (208)) and that forced displacement constitutes a fundamental spiritual and cultural wound.

Landing A place on a riverbank suitable for mooring boats and transferring cargo; Papa Barua converted his failed mill into a dock and landing [13, 33], which later became a store and depot [19, 39]; Hannali established his own homestead and landing on the South Canadian [38, 58], which became known as Hannali's Landing [71, 95, 97, 99, 117, 119, 139, 206]; landings mentioned include Round Mountain Landing [72, 92] and Robert Jones's landings in Oklafalaya [108, 128].

Lantern Used metaphorically to describe Natchez's radiant glow when influenced by wine and whiskey ("She glowed like a lantern...") [148, 168].

Lash Choctaws were noted for enduring longer under the lash during brutal pre-removal punishments [44, 64]; Martha Louisiana received a "long stinging slash" from Marie DuShane's whip during their fight [61, 81].

Latin The language of ancient Rome and traditionally the liturgical language of the Western Catholic Church; the opening words of the Sign of the Cross (*In nomine Patris, et Filii...*) are cited as the possible mnemonic origin of the surname "Innominee" [88, 108]; the word *caballus* (horse) low Latin origin for Welsh *ceffyl* [106, 126]; Famous-

George demonstrated knowledge of Latin by reading the Catholic burial service prayers (*Subvenite sancti... lux perpetua*) for the family members killed in the massacre [185, 205].

Laughing Bull The name given to Hannali Innominee by the Caddo people, reflecting their perception of his characteristic chuckle and imposing presence [67, 87].

Laughing Fox The primary nickname and descriptor for the Upper Creek leader Opothleyahola, emphasizing his renowned cunning, resilience, and ability to evade enemies, derived from traditional Choctaw Fox archetypes [10, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151, 152, 164, 165, 166, 167, 171, 172, 189]; noted for his tactical skill [152, 172, 180] and ability to maintain morale [153]; reference to his characteristic laugh [159].

Laurel grove A small wood consisting primarily of laurel trees; identified as the dwelling place of an old, wise bear whom young Hannali consulted regarding philosophical questions [11, 31].

Lavaca Choate Niece of Natchez (daughter of Strange Choate's brother), who visited Hannali House with her sister Mary during the Pass Christian family's extended stay [93, 113].

Law A system of rules recognized by a community or country; state laws overriding Indian sovereignty (unaccepted testimony, land seizure) [8, 25, 45]; Choctaw traditional law ("Who pass law pigs can't run?") [7, 14, 34, 37]; Choctaw legislation reflecting assimilation (Coal Law, Timber Law, Permit Law) [201, 221]; U.S. federal law (Homestead Law [206, 209, 210, 226, 229, 230], Intercourse Act [27, 47]); legal status of individuals ("blacks slaves by law") [46, 66].

Lawyer Hannali Innominee never used the services of a lawyer, doctor, or sheriff throughout his long life, emphasizing his self-reliance [218, 238].

Lazy Averse to activity or exertion; the Choctaws countered the charge of being "indolent" by asserting, "We are not indolent we are lazy there is a difference," suggesting a preference for leisure over inherent sloth [7, 12, 32, 33].

Le Petit, Mathurin French Jesuit priest who arrived among the Choctaws in 1726, identified as the first Christian missionary whose

name is known; his efforts resulted primarily in the conversion of the Hundred Families faction in the Six Towns district [10, 30].

Lead Noun: A heavy, soft, malleable metallic element; galena (lead sulfide), component, along with niter, in the potent salt found at Territory salt seeps [198, 222]. Verb: To guide, direct, or command; Albert Pike sought to lead Indians like sheep [10, 133]; Nitakechi considered as leader for revolt [45, 65]; Peter Pitchlynn led students to Choctaw Academy [89, 109] and founded/led the Light Horse Police [88, 108]; Stand Watie led military charges [143].

Lead soldier A small toy figure made of lead; one such broken toy was among the odd items traded by Pickens the Green Indian to the Kiowas for beaver pelts [113, 133].

Leader Used for tribal chiefs (Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee, etc. [*passim*]), military commanders (Pitchlynn [88], Watie [121]), political figures (Jackson [28], Payne [208]), and even animals (fox needing a "leader" strap [15]). The concept of effective leadership is explored throughout the novel.

Leading Bear An Apache leader known personally by Hannali Innominee [68, 88].

Leased District The westernmost portion of the lands granted to the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Indian Territory, which they later leased to the United States for the potential settlement of other tribes; after the Civil War, this district was confiscated by the U.S. government, constituting the primary land loss for these two nations, who retained their core territories [192, 212].

Leased-land device An exploitative practice attributed to entrepreneurial Welsh Indians in the Territory, involving questionable arrangements (likely involving fictitious leases) to control land and extract fees or profits [107, 127].

Leather The tether used on the fox during the hunt was a "leather piece" that she eventually worried in two [17, 37]; shoe leather was the product Blau investigated using buffalo hides [153, 173].

Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western The Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Company; one of the railway lines operating during

the Old Wild West Days era, contributing to the transformation of the plains [207, 227].

Lee, Robert E. (1807–1870) Commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia; his surrender on April 9, 1865, is noted, but emphasized as not being the absolute end of the Civil War, as other forces continued resistance [188, 208]. Also listed among America's historically sacrosanct figures [122].

Lee's Creek Site of a Civil War battle listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Left Hand (*Nawat*) A prominent chief among the Southern Arapaho people, known personally by Hannali Innominee [68, 88].

Left Hand Shooter A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee from his extensive time spent among Plains tribes [67, 87].

Ledger Marie DuShane meticulously maintained a regular ledger for Hannali Innominee's informal banking operations [75, 95].

LeFlore, Greenwood (1800–1865) Influential Choctaw chief of mixed ancestry associated with the Okla Falaya district [8, 25, 23, 43]; engineered a temporary consolidation of power pre-removal [26, 46] but failed to subdue Moshulatubbee [26-27, 46-47]. Favored Removal, remained in Mississippi, assimilated, and became wealthy [54, 74]. Peter Pitchlynn held precedence over him at the Dancing Rabbit Creek treaty [90, 110].

LeFlore, Thomas Choctaw leader who visited Hannali House; noted by Lafferty as a "better man than Greenwood," credited with restoring the chieftainship of the Oklafalaya district to his family line and bringing respect back to the name [59, 79].

LeFlore's District (Okla Falaya) The traditional district in Mississippi associated with British alliance and later led by Greenwood LeFlore; recorded as having 7,505 residents in the 1830 Choctaw census [45, 65].

Lens-grinder An artisan who shapes optical lenses; one such craftsman reportedly told Hannali that the magnified perception attributed to "long time ago eyes" was an effect impossible to duplicate artificially [6, 26].

Letters Characters of an alphabet used in writing: Natchez struggled with "making the letters" on her slate [83, 103]. Written correspondence: Hannali received "letters of parallel events" [xv]; he labored over writing a formal letter to his brother Pass Christian [84, 104]; he later reviewed old French letters [202, 222]. Style of characters: Billboard letters suggested for "Old Wild West Days" [205].

Leviticus The third book of the Torah and the Old Testament; Hannali finished reading some remaining "corners" (sections) of *Leviticus* in his later years, indicating his thorough, if slow, reading habits [202, 222].

Licensed traders Merchants officially authorized by the government to conduct trade with Indian tribes; accused in the novel of exploiting removed Indians by buying corn cheaply from tribes like the Quapaw and Osage and selling it at inflated prices (three dollars per bushel) to starving Choctaws and Creeks [72, 92].

Light Horse Indian Police The mounted police force established by the Choctaw Nation (and later adopted by other tribes) to enforce laws within their territory; Peter Pitchlynn is credited as its founder and first leader [88, 108].

Lightning Pushmataha's speed made lightning seem slow [6, 26]; Hannali's accidental polygamy struck him like "three-forked lightning" [8, 42, 51, 52, 72]; Marie DuShane moved fast as "summer lightning" [62, 82]; the Year of the Big Thunders (1846) was marked by extraordinary lightning [99, 119]; a Territory-wide lightning flash signaled the start of the Civil War's violence (Battle of Round Mountains) [141, 161]; Sally's murder felt like the "final lightning stroke" from an ominous cloud [173].

Limber Lance A Cheyenne leader known personally by Hannali; his name was supposedly bestowed by his "earthy humorist" wife, yet he fathered seven strong sons [67, 87].

Lime, Big The geological term for the extensive limestone bedrock formation found close to the surface throughout much of eastern Indian Territory, limiting its suitability for agriculture [37, 57].

Limestone Sedimentary rock composed primarily of calcium carbonate; identified as the bedrock (Big Lime) limiting soil depth in the Territory [37, 57]; quarried north of Three Forks and transported by boat for use in constructing Hannali's Big House [60, 80].

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865) 16th U.S. President; compared visually to Winchester Colbert in a photograph [59, 79]; held a significant meeting with Peter Pitchlynn just after his inauguration (March 1861), where both men were perceived as possessing diminished *aleika* [123, 143]; declared an insurrection existed on April 15, 1861, calling for troops [128, 148]; his adage about men being responsible for their faces after thirty is cited [109, 129].

Linen Material needed for tending the wounded Union soldier (Robert Pike) [131, 151].

Linney, John An individual described as a "hanger-on" around the Wichitaw Agency, not a recognized chief, who signed a treaty purporting to align the Absentee-Shawnees with the Confederacy on August 12, 1861; the treaty was not recognized by the tribe itself [140, 160].

"Lion, sick" Metaphor consistently applied to the Confederate Cherokee leader Stand Watie, questioning whether his ruthlessness stemmed from a corrupted nobility ("sick lion") or inherent pathology ("diabolical sadist," "pathological killer") [10, 11, 121, 122, 140, 141, 142]; the image extends to his actions ("sick lion hunts down the mice" referring to his pursuit of the Pins) [11, 15, 168, 188].

Lipans An Apachean group associated with Texas; listed among the tribes removed to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].
Liquor The "gracious green liquor" served to Hannali in New Orleans [31, 51].

Little Mountain A prominent Kiowa chief known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Little Osage River A river flowing through the Kansas prairie country where Famous Innominee and Jemmy Buster drove their cattle herd, eventually selling the last steers along its banks in Missouri [118, 138].

Little Osages A division of the Osage Nation; deliberately excluded and alienated when Albert Pike signed a treaty solely with the Big

Osage faction, which consequently drove the Little Osages to become "fanatical Unionists" and engage in fierce cross-border warfare [159].

"Little Peter" An affectionate, possibly slightly patronizing, name used by Strange Choate when addressing the younger Peter Pitchlynn during their council meeting at Hannali House [127, 147].

Little Raven (c. 1810–1889) Principal chief of the Southern Arapaho people, known for his intelligence and efforts towards peace; known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Little Rock The capital city of Arkansas; downstream destination accessible via river transport from Hannali's trading post [53, 73].

Little River A river located in the southeastern part of Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), flowing into the Red River; its valley had somewhat better agricultural land [41, 61].

Little Tom Spicer Name appearing as a signatory on Albert Pike's treaty with the Sandusky Senecas; Lafferty asserts this is a forgery or mishearing of "Little Town Spicer," a title rather than a personal name [140, 160].

Little Wolf (Cheyenne) (c. 1820–1904) Prominent Northern Cheyenne chief known for leading his people on an epic escape from Indian Territory back to their northern homeland; known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

Little Wolf (Sioux) A Sioux leader known personally by Hannali [67, 87]; also listed among prominent Plains leaders active during the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Liver Internal organ believed by Choctaws to be the seat of emotions and affections; Hannali's liver "knotted up" with fear upon recognizing Whiteman Falaya [55, 75]; Robert Pike threatened that fear would make the boy's liver melt [77, 97]; Hannali felt something wrong with his liver (or head) when smitten by Natchez [49, 69]; love described as "blood of my liver" [8, 60, 85]; man's liver flew out from laughing in Hannali's tall tale [5, 25]; Anna-Hata describes dying Hannali as "Low as a snake's liver" [219, 239].

Livestock Choctaws possessed good livestock pre-removal [9, 29]; seized from Indians during Removal using fraudulent debts [28, 48];

accumulated by Hannali's settlement [46, 66]; Albert Horse killed over stolen livestock [144, 164]; almost entirely depleted from the Territory post-Civil War [189, 209]; Snake Creeks traveled with their livestock herds [153, 173].

Lobbyist Peter Pitchlynn served for many years as an unpaid lobbyist in Washington D.C., advocating for justice for the Choctaw Nation and other tribes [123, 143].

Locust Grove Site of a Civil War battle listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Log Choctaws observed sitting silently on a log before chuckling [4, 24]; Choctaws used split two-man logs as surfaces for playing cards [31, 51]; Hannali sat on a log talking to himself after realizing he had three wives [52, 72].

Lokar Poker Town A Creek settlement located on the Arkansas River, visited by the Innominee family during their travels in the Big Decade [111, 131]; likely identical to Lutchapoga, where Stand Watie's forces left the river [170, 190].

Loom A machine or frame for weaving thread or yarn into fabric; Hannali brought a manufactured loom as a gift for Martha Louisiana [9, 73, 75, 95]; all three women occasionally used it [75, 95]; Martha L. wove Hannali's cotton shirt and blanket on her loom [74, 94]; post-war Choctaw looms produced assimilated "white-man shirts" [200, 220].

Lone Wolf (*Guipago*, c. 1820–1879) Principal chief of the Kiowa Nation during a period of intense conflict; known personally by Hannali [69, 89].

Long, Whitman The alias used by Whiteman Falaya while serving among the Confederate troopers encountered by Hannali near Gaines Creek [103, 104, 123, 124].

Longhorns A breed of cattle characterized by long horns, originating in Texas; iconic symbol of the cattle drives north during the Old Wild West Days [197, 217].

Lookout tower A tall, steepled structure added by Hannali to his Big House, providing a vantage point; he sat there sniping at trespassers on the day of the final raid [60, 80, 143, 163].

Looking Glass (c. 1832–1877) Nez Perce leader known for his military skill during the Nez Perce War; known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Louisiana U.S. State bordering Texas and Arkansas; source of Silvestre DuShane's connections [19, 39]; historical territory (French Louisiana) [4, 24, 44, 64]; Robert Jones owned mill and sugar plantation there [108, 128]; location of Ouachita River [41, 61].

Louis Christian name adopted by Hannali Innominee at his baptism in New Orleans in 1828 [8, 29, 33, 49, 53].

Louisville City in Kentucky; Charles Dickens met Peter Pitchlynn on a steamboat traveling between Cincinnati and Louisville in 1842 [90, 110].

Love, Benjamin Named as one of the visitors (characterized broadly as potentially "good Indian" or "bad Indian") received at Hannali House during its period of extensive hospitality [59, 79].

Lower Creeks The faction of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, generally characterized as more assimilated, often mixed-blood, and primarily allied with the Confederacy during the Civil War; led by figures like Samuel Checote and the McIntosh family [146, 151, 165, 166, 171, 172, 185]. Their lands were notably *not* confiscated after the war, unlike those of the Upper Creeks [193, 213].

Lowrey, George Named as one of the visitors (characterized broadly as potentially "good Indian" or "bad Indian") received at Hannali House during its period of extensive hospitality [59, 79].

Luck "Five Luck" as the meaning of Poker [8, 29, 49, 51]; Hannali's characteristic "clay-footed luck" [31, 51]; Hannali described as a "fool for luck" [46, 66]; travelers "down on his luck" vulnerable to attack [67, 87]; Hannali inherited the good luck of his father Barua [28, 48].

Lutchapoga Creek town site on the Arkansas River within present-day Tulsa (likely identical to Lokar Poker Town); location where Stand Watie's forces left the river in an attempt to flank Opothleyahola's retreating group [170, 190].

Luvinia Innominee Daughter of Hannali Innominee and Martha Louisiana [9, 70, 86, 90]; described as "burning" [86]; told the

memorable story of the girl swallowed by the panther [95-96, 115-116]; married Forbis Agent [118]; mother of Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory-Pitchlynn, and Anne-Chapponia [119, 139]; present during the final raid [174]; killed by raiders [184]; her characteristic potent saltiness recalled in her daughter Martha-Child [201, 221].

Lyon, Fort U.S. Army post located in Colorado; part of the military infrastructure associated with the Old Wild West era and Plains Indian conflicts [207].

M

MacGreggor, Absalom A preacher whose *Collected Sermons* were included on the reading list suggested to Hannali by another visiting minister; Hannali suspected the recommending preacher of self-promotion in including it [84, 104].

Madoc, Prince Legendary Welsh prince purported in some traditions to have sailed to America and established a colony centuries before Columbus; Lafferty dismisses this pre-Columbian claim but uses the legend as a parallel when discussing the significant Welsh presence and intermixture among the historical Choctaws [106, 126].

Magic Supernatural or extraordinary power, influence, or quality, often associated with the Choctaw concept of *aleika*; possessed by *Alikchi* (magic men) like Peter Pitchlynn, who eventually lost his magic [2, 10, 22, 121, 123, 141, 143, 148]; could imbue ordinary individuals [2, 22]; manifested as charisma or "star sparkle" in figures like Strange Choate [51, 71] and Pitchlynn [88, 108]; associated with *Nanih Waiya* ("magic mountain") [76, 96] and Oklafalaya ("magic word") [9, 76, 96]; names possess magic [67, 87]; Opothleyahola possessed *aleika* magic [163].

Magnified years Lafferty's term for the early period of Hannali's life (teens and young adulthood) in Mississippi, characterized by robust vitality, prosperity, and seemingly larger-than-life experiences before the hardships of Removal began [7, 18, 19, 38, 39].

Magnify Hannali's memory ("long time ago eyes") was said by his wife Natchez to magnify past events and people [6, 26].

MaGuire Surname of one of the four young Irishmen (including R.A. Lafferty's father, Hugh, and uncle, Ed Burke) who homesteaded together on adjacent quarter sections near Snyder, Oklahoma, around 1899 [xvi, 18].

Mail-order establishment A business model involving ordering goods through catalogues for delivery; Hannali is credited with operating the first such enterprise in the Indian Territory, facilitating trade for his neighbors by ordering goods from New Orleans [74, 94].

Major Held by Haley (President Jackson's envoy) [26, 46]; Levi Colbert (Chickasaw leader, rank from War of 1812) [35, 53, 55, 73]; Pegg (Confederate Cherokee officer) [166, 186]; the unnamed Union officer who accepted the Chickasaw surrender [189, 209]; the unnamed Confederate officer commanding troopers whom Hannali confronted [103-105, 123-125].

"Man and the Family and the Nation" A phrase encapsulating the interconnected thematic threads—individual life journey, kinship dynamics, and collective tribal/national destiny—that Lafferty suggests are woven together in the unfolding "linked stories" of the novel [11, 31].

Man with the Talking Horses, The An epithet given to Hannali Innominee by the Kiowa tribe (87), originating from a incident and Hannali's talent for ventriloquism combined with his skill as a horseman (212). During a visit among the Kiowas sixty years prior to the novel's later sections (212), Hannali demonstrated an ability to make horses seemingly speak, using a trick involving flicking the horse's throat to elicit a neigh while simultaneously throwing his voice (212). This feat, performed initially for the amusement of his own children (212), deeply impressed the "childlike and credulous" Kiowas (212), who lacked such talking horses in their own country (213). The episode highlights Hannali's cleverness, his playful nature, his deep understanding of animal behavior, and his ability to navigate interactions with different tribal cultures through unique skills. The incident recounted involves Hannali making a Kiowa horse "confess" in imperfect Kiowa that it was actually a stolen Creek horse (213), a revelation Hannali uses to confirm his own recognition of the peculiarly marked animal (213).

Manchokatonx Name of a tribal group, possibly a Dakota Sioux band, mentioned alongside others associated with the Fort Snelling region, whose fate following displacement is questioned by Lafferty [195, 215].

Mandan Indians A Native American tribe historically located on the upper Missouri River; frequently cited in amateur linguistic comparisons attempting to support the "Welsh Indians" legend, a connection Lafferty notes became more popular after the Mandans were decimated by smallpox, preventing close study [106, 126].

Manifest Destiny The 19th-century ideology asserting the inevitability and righteousness of U.S. expansion across North America; the cultural shifts experienced by the Choctaw Nation are noted by Geary Hobson as paralleling the course of Manifest Destiny [xii, 14]. The doctrine is later cited as justifying the view that Indians were "unfit" and destined for extinction [192, 212].

Manor system Lafferty's term for the socio-economic structure of the Moshulatubbee District (Choctaw North), characterized by large, self-sufficient estates (Big Houses), a hierarchical social order, and an emphasis on communal well-being and traditional practices; contrasted by Peter Pitchlynn with the more individualistic, commercial "open mercantilism" of Doaksville and the Choctaw South [91, 111].

Mantantan Name of a tribal group, possibly a Dakota Sioux band, mentioned alongside others associated with the Fort Snelling region, whose fate following displacement is questioned by Lafferty [195, 215].

Manus Location listed among the numerous battle and skirmish sites within Indian Territory during the Civil War era [142, 162].

Map(s) Cartographic representations of territory; Hannali possessed a hand-drawn map showing the Canadian River's true westward extent, which proved more accurate than the official U.S. Government map misled by name confusion in New Mexico [38, 58, 115-116, 135-136].

March 12 or 13, 1861 The dates identified for Peter Pitchlynn's lengthy interview with the newly inaugurated President Abraham Lincoln [123, 143].

March 1861 Crucial month marking both the pivotal Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting at Boggy Depot where Robert M. Jones

engineered alignment with the Confederacy [135, 155], and Peter Pitchlynn's significant meeting with President Abraham Lincoln in Washington D.C. [123, 143].

Mares' milk The Kiowas were distinctively described by a trader as smelling of alkali dust and mares' milk [11, 148, 151, 168, 171].

Marie Chapponia (Pass Christian's daughter) Daughter of Pass Christian Innominee and Marie Delessert; visited Hannali House with her family in 1844-45 [93, 96, 113, 116].

Marie-Therese Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Marital arrangements Refers to Hannali's complex situation of having three wives simultaneously; he brought gifts for all three women after the "change in his marital arrangements" (i.e., after the initial conflict and subsequent acceptance of the polygynous household) [75, 95].

Martel, Charles (c. 688–741) Frankish statesman and military leader, victor at the Battle of Tours; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose reputations are vigorously defended [122, 142].

Martha Child Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Forbis Agent and Luvinia Innominee [119, 139]; present during the final raid [149]; one of the nine survivors [184]. Described in later life as droll, pleasant, possessing bubbling humor but inheriting a refined "store salt" quality distinct from her mother's potent natural saltiness [201, 221].

Martha Louisiana Woman of Choctaw Black heritage, originating from escaped slaves assimilated into the Nation; rescued the fox during Papa Barua's hunt [17, 37]; sang duets with Silvestre DuShane [19, 39]; appointed matriarch leading Hannali's Black contingent to settle in Indian Territory [46, 66]. Initially slim and rapid [19, 39], later became somewhat ponderous [62, 82]. Married Hannali [52, 72]; mother of Travis and Luvinia [70, 80, 90]. Possessed deep "black-earth passion" and "blood friendliness" [52, 72]. Violently clashed with Marie DuShane, leading to the confrontation that reshaped the household [61-62, 81-82]. Accepted Hannali's final arrangement [64,

84]. A skilled weaver [74, 94] and genius pianist [75, 95]. Present during the final raid [174]; killed by raiders miles from the house after becoming "too battlesome" [184].

Mary Choate Niece of Natchez (daughter of Strange Choate's brother); visited Hannali House with her sister Lavaca during the 1844-45 winter festivities [93, 113].

Mary-Luvinia Granddaughter of Hannali Innominee, daughter of Forbis Agent and Luvinia Innominee [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Masked men Disguised individuals; groups used bull whips against Indians pre-removal [8, 42]; distinct from traditional Choctaw "masked-man ceremonies" [44, 64]. (Likely synonymous with **Hooded men**).

Mass The central liturgical service of the Catholic Church (Eucharist); impossible to hold during the Christmas 1844 gathering at Hannali House due to the absence of a priest within two hundred miles [99, 119].

Massacre Indiscriminate and brutal killing of people; refers to the attack on Opothleyahola's followers at the break-through points during the Battle of Round Mountains [157, 177, 180]; the battle itself termed horrifying Battle (Massacre) [141, 161]; Alinton affected by news of the massacre [163]. Also used implicitly for the final attack on Hannali House ("Great Red Flowering") [184, 185, 205].

Massard Prairie Site of a Civil War battle listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

"Master of the Hunt" Title adopted by Papa Barua Innominee for his unconventional fox hunt, signified by his wearing of the ceremonial red coat [14, 17, 34, 37].

Masterson, Bat William Barclay "Bat" Masterson (1853–1921), figure of the American West known as a lawman, gambler, and journalist; listed among the notable sheriffs and marshals associated with the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Matches, sulphur Early type of friction match tipped with sulfur; used by the Union major to light his cigar after receiving the

Chickasaw surrender, signifying the mundane end to the conflict [189, 209].

Mather, Mysterious Dave David "Mysterious Dave" Mather (c. 1851–?), lawman and outlaw figure of the American West; listed among the notable sheriffs and marshals associated with the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

***Mats-Kumh* (Raccoon)** A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee [67, 87].

Matthew-Moshulatubbee Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Travis Innominee and Rachel Perry [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

***Mavila*-Choctaw trade tongue** The Mobilian Jargon, a pidgin language based significantly on Choctaw vocabulary, which served as a lingua franca for intertribal communication and trade across a vast region of the Southeastern United States [9, 29].

Mawr The Welsh word for "big," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

May 10, 1865 Date on which Confederate President Jefferson Davis was captured by Union forces, signaling the imminent collapse of the Confederacy [188, 208].

May 24, 1865 Date on which Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith surrendered the Trans-Mississippi Department, often considered the effective end date of the Civil War, although fighting continued in Indian Territory [188, 208].

Maybeso Word signifying possibility or uncertainty ("perhaps," "maybe"); used frequently and characteristically by Natchez, especially in response to Hannali's marriage proposal [50, 70]; criticized by Marie DuShane as inappropriate when "a big evil comes" [64, 84]. Also used occasionally by Travis [5, 25] and Hannali [64, 84].

McAlester Town in the Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma; the former settlement of Perryville relocated to McAlester following the arrival of the railroad [203, 223].

McCoy, Isaac (1784–1846) Baptist missionary dedicated to working with Native American tribes; provided a written account of the 1828 Exploration party's journey to view the western lands [36, 56]. He described Whiteman Falaya as a "sick animal" deserving compassion [58, 78]. Was entertained by Hannali at the Big House for extended periods [59, 79].

McCoy's Addition Named as one of the vice districts or neighborhoods notorious in Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West era [207].

McCulloch, General Ben Benjamin McCulloch (1811–1862), Confederate Brigadier General commanding forces in the region; assigned Colonels Douglas Cooper and John Drew troops for the second major assault against Opothleyahola's neutral Creeks [165, 185].

McGillivray, Alexander (c. 1750–1793) Influential Creek leader of mixed Scottish and Creek ancestry; cited by Lafferty as an example of a white-blood chief whose non-Indian heritage and perspective ultimately worked against the broader interests of his tribe [23, 43].

McIntosh Creek children Children belonging to the influential McIntosh family faction of the Creek Nation (John Sapulpa, Emily Sapulpa, Ophelia Checote); visited Hannali House during the Pass Christian Innominees' stay [93, 113].

Mcintosh families (Creek) Prominent families within the Creek Nation, associated with the Lower Creek, mixed-blood, pro-slavery, and pro-Confederate faction; Motey Canard and other McIntosh relatives signed Albert Pike's treaty [137, 157]; a young McIntosh family member was among the "Elites" aiding Opothleyahola, illustrating the conflict's complexity [147, 167].

Mcintosh, Chilly Creek leader aligned with the Confederacy; disparagingly referred to by Opothleyahola as someone "so fine, even his spit is sweet," who would likely avoid direct combat, arriving "in a buggy far behind the fray" [155, 175].

Mcintosh, James (1828–1862) Confederate Colonel (later Brigadier General) known for his aggressive fighting style; commanded Confederate forces based at Van Buren, Arkansas [155, 175]. Chosen to lead the final, decisive assault against Opothleyahola's remnant forces after the Confederate retreat from Bird Creek [169, 189]; his forces

successfully destroyed the last Snake Creek resistance at the Battle of Shoal Creek [170, 190].

Mcintosh, Roley (1788–1863) Prominent Creek leader; one of the many notable Indian figures who visited Hannali Innominee at his Big House [59, 79].

Mcintosh, William (c. 1775–1825) Influential Creek chief of mixed Scottish and Creek ancestry; cited alongside Alexander McGillivray as an example of a white-blood leader whose assimilationist views ultimately conflicted with the interests of the majority of the Creek people [23, 43]. Father of Chilly McIntosh [155]; related to other McIntosh figures [137, 147].

McReynolds Edwin C. McReynolds (1902-1980), historian specializing in Oklahoma and Seminole history; mentioned by R.A. Lafferty as one of the historical sources consulted regarding Peter Pitchlynn's background [89, 109].

Meagher, Mike Name listed among the sheriffs and marshals associated with the towns and conflicts of the Old Wild West era [207, 227].

Medal Mingo A title of high distinction applied to the most revered Choctaw leaders; used for Pushmataha, emphasizing his paramount status ("a king, and a real king") [6, 26]; Hannali recalled hearing all three Medal Mingos (Pushmataha, Apukshunubbee, Moshulatubbee) speak in his youth [218, 238].

Medicine Substances and practices used for healing; Hannali learned Plains Indian medicine [69, 89]; Seminole practitioners possessed extensive medical knowledge (herbalism, surgery, treating infection, etc.) [166, 186]; "old Indian remedies" (often Seminole) were later commercialized by medicine wagon operators [166, 186].

Medicine wagon operators Traveling salesmen who marketed and sold purported health remedies, often appropriating and selling "old Indian remedies" (primarily of Seminole origin) during the late 19th and early 20th centuries [166, 186].

Memphis City in Tennessee located on the Mississippi River; established only two years prior to Hannali's 1828 river journey, situated on the "fourth or lower Chickasaw Bluff" [35, 55].

Menominee An Algonquian tribe originally from the Great Lakes region; mentioned (along with Ouiskonche, Songeskiton, etc.) as possibly among the displaced Fort Snelling Sioux populations whose fate was uncertain [195, 215].

Mercantilism An economic theory and practice emphasizing trade and the accumulation of wealth; the "open mercantilism" of Doaksville and the Choctaw South, focused on commerce and profit, contrasted with the self-sufficient "Manor system" of the Choctaw North [91, 111]. Hannali also critiques "runaway mercantilism" [92, 112].

Merchandise Hannali sent downriver for merchandise for his neighbors [75, 95]; Caddo Indians took bundles of Pickens the trader's merchandise as unsolicited gifts [113, 133], eventually stealing all of it [113, 134].

Merchant(s) Individuals engaged in buying and selling goods; Hannali functioned as a merchant, operating the first mail-order business in the Territory [74, 94]; Peter Pitchlynn viewed Hannali partly as a merchant [91, 111]; the merchants in Doaksville, often Welsh Indians, represented the commercial system of the Choctaw South [91, 107, 111, 127].

Merriwether, Jeff One of the four formidable Texan fighters ("Elites") who volunteered to aid Opothleyahola's neutral Creeks [150, 170]; participated in the crucial final defense at the Battle of Round Mountains [180].

Mesquite pods The seed pods of the mesquite tree; Comanches were distinctively described by a trader as smelling like tea brewed from these pods [151, 171].

Mexican Consensus The name given to the minority faction within the Anadarko tribe, led by Jose Maria, which favored alignment or cooperation with Mexican interests or communities; their unauthorized signing of Pike's Confederate treaty led to internal conflict [139, 159].

Mexican War The conflict between the United States and Mexico (1846–1848), largely precipitated by the U.S. annexation of Texas; the movement of U.S. troops south through Indian Territory en route to this war provides temporal context in the novel [100–101, 120–121].

Mexican-blood men Individuals of mixed Mexican and Native American ancestry, those associated with the Santa Fe trade route; among the diverse group of elite fighters who joined Opothleyahola's cause [147, 167].

Mexico The nation located south of the United States; the Choctaw origin myth places their emergence from under the Gulf of Mexico [1, 21]; Texas declared independence from Mexico, largely over the issue of slavery which Mexico had forbidden [100, 120]; the U.S. subsequently instigated war with Mexico [100-101, 120-121]; Hannali had traveled in "old Mexico" and "Texas of Mexico" during his life [218, 238]; Charles-Mexico Innominee was Hannali's grandson [119, 139, 184, 204].

Miami, Oklahoma Town in present-day northeastern Oklahoma; the Ottawa Indians were assigned lands southeast of its future location after their post-Civil War removal [194, 214].

Miamis Algonquian tribe originally from the Great Lakes region; remnants were among the diverse groups relocated to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Mice Used metaphorically by Lafferty to represent the vulnerable full-blood Indians (Pins) being hunted down by the "sick lion" (Stand Watie) during the Civil War ("The sick lion hunts down the mice") [11, 15, 168, 188].

Michelangelo (1475–1564) Renowned Italian Renaissance artist; Albert Pike's imposing physical appearance in "contrived frontier costume" was compared by Lafferty to Michelangelo's famous sculpture of *Moses* [122, 142].

Michigan Midwestern U.S. state; identified as the origin state for some of the "new Indians" relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [199, 219].

Michigameas A tribe belonging to the Illinois Confederacy; listed among the numerous tribal remnants relocated to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Middle Ages (Choctaw) Lafferty's term characterizing the roughly thirty-year period (c. 1830-1860) of relative peace and stability in the

Choctaw North, maintained by the network of powerful, self-sufficient "Big Houses," which resembled a decentralized feudal system [60, 80].

Middle Boggy Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Midafternoon Hannali's initial party arrived in the "new country" (Indian Territory) by midafternoon after crossing from Arkansas [51, 71].

Midnight Marie DuShane was noted for sometimes rising at midnight to ride her horse until dawn [99, 119]; Hannali awoke at midnight on the night of his death to converse with Anna-Hata [219, 239].

Miller An individual who operates a grain mill; listed as one of the many trades practiced by Hannali Innominee [74, 94].

Miller (Old Miller Court House) Surname of the "old half-breed" whose large, pretentious residence resembled a courthouse, thus lending its name to the settlement of Old Miller Court House in the Oklafalaya District [54, 74].

Millerton The modern name for the town in present-day McCurtain County, Oklahoma, located at or near the site of the former Choctaw settlement known as Old Miller Court House [55, 75].

Mimeograph An early duplicating machine; Hannali constructed a primitive version ("waxed-stone, grease-carbon apparatus") to help Forbis Agent reproduce his handwritten broadsides after printing presses became unavailable [125, 145].

Mingo (mule) The name of Hannali Innominee's primary work mule, described as the "best mule in the world, a big black animal" [71, 91].

Mingo(s) A Choctaw term signifying a chief of high status, distinction, and respect, often implying inherent leadership qualities beyond formal office [xii, 14]; applied to Pushmataha (a "Medal Mingo," "Mingo-Pushmataha") [6, 26], Moshulatubbee [7, 8, 27, 28, 45-47], and Nitakechi ("last of the Mingos") [59, 79]. Hannali aspired to the status, identified Strange Choate as a Mingo [51, 71], and was ultimately recognized as a Mingo himself at his death [12, 216, 218, 236, 238]. The title needed to "grow on a man" [59, 79]. Also the name of Hannali's prized mule [71, 91] and part of his grandson Francis-Mingo's name [119, 139].

Mingo-Pushmataha A designation emphasizing the high chiefly status ("Mingo") held by the great Choctaw leader Pushmataha [6, 26].

Mining Western mining activity contributed to the cultural mix ("stew") of the Old Wild West Days era [206, 226].

Minneapolis City in Minnesota; listed as the publication location for one of R. A. Lafferty's books (*The Flame Is Green*) [4].

Minnesota Northern U.S. state; original homeland of Ojibway/Chippewa groups who were later removed, first to Kansas and then to Indian Territory [194, 214]; represented in Congress by Cyrus Aldrich, an avid proponent of Indian removal and extinction [194].

Minnesota Indians Native American tribes indigenous to Minnesota, such as the Dakota Sioux and Ojibway (Chippewa); Lafferty notes their widespread removal and questions the fate of groups like the Fort Snelling Sioux, observing that relatively few ended up in Indian Territory [194, 214].

Mishoweia The Choctaw town or clan in Mississippi from which the Innominee family originated; identified as associated with the minority "Hundred Families" faction [3, 8, 10, 23, 28, 30].

Missionaries Individuals undertaking religious work, typically aiming to convert people to their faith; early Jesuit missionaries converted the Hundred Families [10, 30]; cited as being amazed by the Indians' seven-year limit on slavery [13, 33]; Isaac McCoy was a notable Baptist missionary [36, 56, 59, 79]; Forbis Agent was raised by a white missionary [125]; missionaries were described as frantic over the "Whiskey Decade" alcoholism [73, 93]; devoted missionaries like McCoy and Samuel Worcester were welcomed guests at Hannali House [59, 79].

Mississippi Southern U.S. state; the primary ancestral homeland of the Choctaw Nation before their forced removal [xii, 3, 4, 14, 23, 43, 55, 57, 67, 75, 89, 107, 109, 128]. Attained statehood in 1817, subsequently enacting laws destructive to Choctaw sovereignty [23, 43, 45]. Site of the Nanih Waiya mound [76, 98]. Birthplace of Whiteman Falaya [57] and Robert M. Jones [107]. Home state of Greenwood LeFlore, who remained there [54].

Mississippi River The major river system forming the eastern boundary of much of the central United States; central to Choctaw origin myths (site of great flood) [2, 22]; crossed by Choctaws migrating east into their historical homeland [2, 22, 78, 98]. Served as the primary artery for steamboat travel connecting New Orleans to St. Louis, used by Hannali in 1828 [34, 54]. The Red River is a major tributary [115, 135].

Missouri Midwestern U.S. state bordering Indian Territory; origin of some keelboatmen [34, 54], the Nemaha Iowas [192], and Delaware groups removed to Territory [192]. Home state of Robert Pike [76, 96, 131, 151, 195]. Site of the Battle of Wilson's Creek near Springfield [159]. Destination for cattle driven up the Little Osage River [118]. Post-war architecture in Territory resembled Missouri styles [200]. Target of potential raids from Territory [186].

Missouri Pacific The Missouri Pacific Railroad; one of the major railway lines expanding during the Old Wild West Days era [207, 227].

Missouri River Major river flowing through the central U.S.; St. Louis is located on the Mississippi River about fifteen miles downstream from its confluence with the Missouri [35, 55].

Mixed Band Senecas (and Shawnees) A composite tribal group residing in Indian Territory; Albert Pike negotiated a Confederate treaty with them via ambitious leaders Lewis Davis and Joseph Mohawk [140, 160]. Despite this, two-thirds of the group escaped to Union-held Kansas [140, 160]. Distinct from the Absentee-Shawnees [160]. Remnants were later formally consolidated into an omnibus tribal designation by the U.S. government [192].

Mixed-blood An individual of partially Native American and partially non-Indian (usually white) ancestry; R.A. Lafferty taught students of mixed-blood [xvi, 18]; prominent leaders like McGillivray, McIntosh, LeFlore were mixed-blood [23, 43]; associated with the Choctaw South faction, slave ownership, and assimilation [99, 163, 189, 193]; Robert M. Jones was half-blood Choctaw [107]. Marie DuShane's mixed heritage (French/Shawnee/white) contributed to her complex identity [62, 82].

Mo-Wi A leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Mobile Port city in Alabama located near the Gulf of Mexico; site of the Choctaws' first contacts with Spanish explorers (Narvaez in 1528, De Soto in 1540) [10, 30]; the landing place for the first African slaves brought into the region (1721) [10, 30].

Mobile Bay The bay on the Gulf Coast near Mobile, Alabama; identified as the location of the Choctaws' initial encounters with Spanish expeditions led by Narváez and De Soto [10, 30].

Modocs A Native American tribe originally from the California-Oregon border region; forcibly removed to Indian Territory following the Modoc War of 1872–1873 [192, 212].

Modryb The Welsh word for "aunt," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Mohawk, Joseph One of two ambitious individuals from the Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees who signed Albert Pike's Confederate treaty, seeking military command [140, 160].

Mohawks An Iroquoian tribe, one of the original Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy; possibly among the diverse tribal remnants relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [192].

Money Medium of exchange and measure of value (including gold, silver coin, paper currency, scrip); Hannali possessed an intuitive understanding of acquiring money [29, 49], won money gambling [31, 51], stored it [56, 76], lent it (acting as banker) [75, 95, 98, 118], and used it for trade and investment [119, 191, 198]. The lack of money was a major issue post-Civil War [189, 210]. amounts often mentioned [e.g., 46, 52, 118, 136, 145, 149, 204]. "Territory money" sometimes referred to unconventional items like cigar coupons [112].

Montaigne, Michel de (1533–1592) Influential French Renaissance philosopher and essayist; included on the preacher's list of essential authors recommended for Hannali's library [84, 104].

Montana Northern U.S. state/territory; destination for Texas longhorn cattle being driven north to stock new ranges during the Old West era [197, 217]; noted that the "Montana column" (likely referring to military campaigns against Plains tribes) had not yet occurred when the Territory civilization collapsed [197].

Moose, bull Hannali's loud vocalizations during the chaos of the fox hunt were compared to the distinctive "blare" of a bull moose [17, 37].

Morals Hannali received sound moral instruction from his father Barua, despite later sometimes claiming ignorance as a "poor clay-foot Indian" [33, 53].

Morgan, John Surname included in Lafferty's list suggesting Welsh ancestry among some Choctaw individuals [107, 127].

Morning Voice A leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Mortgage deed A legal document conveying property as security for the repayment of a loan; offered by Hannali as a potential stake during the high-stakes poker game in New Orleans [32, 52].

Moses Major biblical prophet who led the Israelites out of Egypt; Sequoyah's invention of the Cherokee syllabary compared in significance to Moses receiving the Ten Commandments [9, 82, 103]; Albert Pike's physical appearance likened to Michelangelo's sculpture of Moses [122, 142], and Pike presented himself metaphorically as the Moses leading Indians into the Confederacy [138, 158]; Pike referred to ironically as "Moth-eaten Moses" [121] and "Moses emeritus" in old age [198].

Moshulatubbee (c. 1770s – c. 1838) Highly influential Choctaw Mingo (chief) of the Okla Tannaps district in Mississippi [7, 27]; one of the four great patriarchs [2, 22]. Known for his inscrutable grin [7, 27] and role as district executioner [7, 27]. Notably did not "suck white men's eggs" (assimilate) [7, 27]. Accepted Barua Innominee's defection into his district [7-8, 27-28]. Successfully defied Greenwood LeFlore's attempt to usurp his authority pre-removal [26-27, 46-47]. Died before the main Removal was complete [54, 74]. One of the three Medal Mingos Hannali heard speak [218, 238]. His name was given to the northern district in Indian Territory [54, 74].

Moshulatubbee District One of the three Choctaw administrative districts established in Indian Territory, located north of the southern mountains between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers [54, 74]. It was the district Hannali Innominee belonged to [54, 74]. Known for its "Manor House culture," self-sufficiency, and predominantly full-blood, conservative population [80, 91, 99, 111]. Main settlements included Skullyville and Fort Coffee [74]. Joseph Kincaid was its first

chief in the Territory [54, 74]. Matthew-Moshulatubbee, Hannali's grandson, was named partly in honor of the district/Mingo [119, 139]. "**Moth-eaten Moses**" Lafferty's initial, derogatory description of Albert Pike at the beginning of Chapter 12, immediately contrasting his grand appearance with a sense of decay or fraudulence [121].

Mother lode A mining term referring to the principal vein or source of a valuable mineral deposit; used metaphorically by Lafferty to describe Alinton Innominee's "wandering year" experience as the rich source from which he could extract stories (and lies) for the rest of his life [116, 136].

Motto A short phrase expressing a belief or aim; the Choctaw words inscribed on the tonic bottle produced by Hannali's grandson resembled a motto, humorously translated as "Oh the hell it is not" [214, 234].

Mound (*Nanih Waiya*) The significant artificial earthwork constructed by the Choctaws in Mississippi over a century, serving as a memorial to their original sacred "Mountain from the Beginning" located west of the Mississippi [2, 22, 76, 96]. The later rediscovery of the original mountain (or a symbolic equivalent, *Nanih Waiya* mountain in IT) in Indian Territory was a pivotal event [78-79]. Tuskahoma Council House was built "in the shadow" of *Nanih Waiya* [204, 224].

Mountain Fork (River) A river located in the southeastern corner of Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), identified as a tributary of the Little River, which in turn flows into the Red River [41, 61].

Mountain from the Beginning The original sacred mountain in Choctaw origin mythology, located west of the Mississippi River, from which the first people emerged; the *Nanih Waiya* mound in Mississippi was constructed as a memorial to it [2, 22]. The rediscovery of this mountain (or its spiritual equivalent, *Nanih Waiya* mountain in IT) through Peter Pitchlynn's dream summons was a crucial event for the Choctaw Nation's reconstitution [76, 78, 96, 98].

Mouth horn A small, simple musical instrument played by holding it to the mouth, likely a harmonica or jaw harp; Silvestre DuShane played one while Martha Louisiana sang [19, 39].

Mud The discovery of a woman's "wet mud feet" footprints near Hannali House was a key clue after Robert Pike's arrival [10, 128, 130, 148, 150]; the tracks led through a "muddy ravine" [129, 149]; Strange Choate contrasted the "mud of the North" with the "gumbo of the South" [127, 147]; the jingle refers to a "Horse Indian with mud on his beak" [151, 171].

Muddy Boggy A river flowing through the southern part of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory, emptying into the Red River [41, 61].

"Mule Doctor" The name or title given to Hannali Innominee by the Comanche people, likely reflecting his renowned expertise with mules [67, 87].

Mule whiskey A term likely referring to strong, possibly illicitly distilled whiskey; Hannali carried some on his pilgrimage to Nanih Waiya [76, 96]; the Innominee children were caught nipping stolen mule whiskey [95, 115].

Muleman An individual who raises, trains, trades, or works extensively with mules; identified as one of Hannali Innominee's primary occupations and identities [19, 20, 39, 40].

Mules Hybrid offspring of a male donkey and a female horse, valued as sturdy draft animals; the Innominee family were among the first Choctaws to utilize mules [13, 33]; Hannali owned the two best mules in the world, Mingo and Catoosa [71, 91]; he wagered mules in the New Orleans poker game [31, 51]; mules were among the livestock desired by white settlers [22, 42] and seized during Removal [28, 48]; used to pull wagons on the 1828 Expedition [36, 56] and by Pickens the trader [113, 133]; children rode mules around Hannali's property [93]; metaphorically, the men of Falaya had "drunk mules' milk" rendering them sterile [9, 88, 91, 109, 111, 129]; Hannali understood the speech of mules [31, 51].

Mules' milk A figurative substance Hannali claimed the men of the Choctaw South (Falaya) had drunk, causing them to become sterile; a metaphor criticizing their focus on commerce and assimilation, contrasting with the perceived virility and groundedness of the traditional Choctaw North [9, 88, 91, 109, 111, 129].

Murder The unlawful premeditated killing of one human being by another; state laws pre-removal spelled out "murder plainly" [23, 43]; Indians murdered during Removal [28, 48]; the destruction of the Five Tribes civilization framed as "murder of a nation" [24, 44, 141, 161]; Whiteman Falaya's primary activity [57, 77]; plot to murder Forbis Agent [125]; the killing of Sally Innominee by Whiteman Falaya [173]; Whiteman played at murder with ordinary men [177]; opposition to David Payne extended to the point of murder [209].

Muskogee (city) Important town located in the Creek Nation, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma); Callahan Street is there [6, 26]; Anna-Hata instructed her husband to fetch a priest from Muskogee [217, 237]; the priest needed to return there after attending Hannali's death [219, 239].

Muskogee (language family) A major language family of the Southeastern United States; languages spoken by delegates from the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations at the 1861 United Nations assembly belonged to this family, noted for their related structure [134, 154].

Muster A formal military assembly, typically for inspection or roll call; Hannali confronted the Confederate Major during the morning muster near Gaines Creek [103, 123]; the tree stump served as a muster table [104, 124].

Muster table A table (in this case, a tree stump) used for conducting the roll call during a military muster; the Major laid his gold watch on it during the standoff with Hannali [104, 124].

Mystery Lafferty notes a remaining mystery about the exact relationships within Hannali's complex family structure [70, 90], a mystery surrounding the details of Sally Innominee's murder scene [173], and a persistent mystery surrounding the true origins and nature of Peter Pitchlynn [88, 108].

Mysticism Beliefs or experiences related to achieving insight or union with the divine or ultimate reality through means beyond ordinary understanding; attributed to Marie DuShane's encounter with Hannali ("aura'd mysticism") [52, 72] and Peter Pitchlynn's connection with his people ("mystic involvement") [78, 98].

N

Nadoues-Sioux Term potentially encompassing the Teton, Yankton, and Santee divisions of the Dakota/Lakota/Nakota Sioux; Lafferty laments the destruction of their friendly, parallel civilization and questions their fate ("Where are the Nadoues-Sioux?") alongside the Fort Snelling Sioux [195, 215].

Nails Sharp metal fasteners; used metaphorically by Lafferty to represent the punitive measures imposed by the U.S. government after the Civil War: voiding treaties and confiscating land were the "two nails" driven by the "federal hammer" to complete the "crucifixion" of the tribes [12, 191, 211]. Also, literal nails held Pickens's invisible "ghost skin" to the wall in a tall tale [149, 169].

Nakni Pans-Hata Individual who listened to Luvinia's tall tale about the girl swallowed by the panther and interjected with a pragmatic question about digestion [95, 115]. (Note: Name likely translates to "Man Pans-Hata" or possibly "Hairy Man").

Nanìh Waiya (Bending Mountain) A central element in Choctaw cosmology and identity, representing both the mythic mountain of origin and a physical, man-made memorial mound. In the Choctaw origin story, the people emerged onto earth near the original Nanìh Waiya (22). A second Nanìh Waiya, a large earthwork mound, was constructed over a century (98) in the Mississippi homeland (the Tallago Valley (22)) as a "memento" (22) of this origin place after the Choctaws had migrated east across the Mississippi River (22, 98). Post-Removal, the concept is revived in the Indian Territory when Peter Pitchlynn, the last Alikchi, sends out a "manifold dream" summoning Choctaw men to a peak in the Winding Stair Mountains (96, 98). This mountain, located near the junction of the three Choctaw districts (99), becomes the symbolic Nanìh Waiya of the new land, the "Friendly Mountain" rediscovered after seven hundred years (99). Its identification, facilitated by the appearance of an ancient, blind rattlesnake (the oldest *uski* or clan totem) (98), serves as a crucial turning point, convincing the Choctaws they were "back in their original homeland" and inspiring them to "reconstitute themselves as nations" (99). The council house at Tuskahoma is later built in its shadow (224). Nanìh Waiya thus functions as a powerful

symbol of origin, continuity, resilience, and the sacred connection between the people and their (re)discovered land.

Napoleon Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), Emperor of the French; "still on his surge upward" at the time of Hannali Innominee's birth (c. 1800-1802), providing historical context [218, 238].

Narvaez Expedition The Spanish expedition led by Pánfilo de Narváez that explored the Gulf Coast in 1528; made the first recorded contact between Europeans (Spanish) and Choctaws near Mobile Bay, resulting in minor skirmishes ("threw stones but did not really fight") [10, 30].

Natchez (city) City in Mississippi on the Mississippi River, originally the site of the French *Fort Rosalie* [34, 54]; the nearby *Treaty of Doak's Stand* was signed on the Natchez Road [8, 22, 24, 42, 44].

Natchez (girl) Granddaughter of the Cherokee elder Strange Choate [49, 69]; born at Grand Saline (Salina, IT) [49, 69, 70, 90]. Became Hannali Innominee's third wife, married at Three Forks [51, 52, 71, 72]. Initially perceived by Marie DuShane as a child or cousin [52, 61, 72, 81]. Mother of Famous Innominee and Salina (Sally) Innominee [70, 80, 86]. Characterized by her quiet resilience, sudden wit, apparent weightlessness [98, 118], and the distinctive habit of responding "Maybeso" [50, 70, 84]. Though appearing small and initially scrawny [49, 69, 70, 84, 86], possessed remarkable beauty ("white man perfect") [86, 106]. Struggled with learning to write, forgetting lessons daily [83, 103]. Survived the final raid by hiding herself and four young children (Helena, Thomas-Academy, Charles-Chitoh, Anna-Hata) in an underground pit [183]. In later years, her pronunciation of "Hannali" shifted accent, signaling assimilation [199].

Natchez people The historical Native American tribe centered around present-day Natchez, Mississippi; mentioned when Strange Choate describes his daughter Natchez as being small and scrawny like the Natchez people [49, 69].

Natchez Road The road or trail passing near Doak's Stand in Mississippi, where the 1820 *Treaty of Doak's Stand* was negotiated [8, 22, 24, 42, 44].

Nations Sovereign or distinct peoples, primarily referring to Native American tribes; Chatah and Chickasah founded the original nations

[1, 21]; the "returning nations" (Spanish, French, English) interact with indigenous nations [9, 29]; the "Three Nations" of the Choctaws (historical divisions) [10, 30]; the "Five Indian Nations" (Five Civilized Tribes) [36, 56]; the intertribal "United Nations" assembly [10, 133, 134, 153, 154]; Hannali's deep connection to multiple Plains "nations" [8, 58, 69, 89]; the concept of the "murder of a nation" [24, 44, 141, 161]; tribes reconstituted themselves as nations [79, 99]; numerous nations removed post-Civil War [192]; nations disappeared [218, 238].

"Nauchville" Named as one of the notorious vice districts ("Hells' Half Acres") found within Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West era [207].

Naylor Company A publishing company based in San Antonio, Texas, acknowledged by R. A. Lafferty as a publisher of valuable books concerning Native American history and culture, supplementing other sources [xvi, 18].

Nebraska U.S. state located north of Kansas; identified as the origin state for the Nemaha Iowas who were later removed to Indian Territory [192]; also a destination for Texas cattle driven north to stock new ranges during the Old West era [206].

Negro(es) Term used in the text, consistent with the historical period, to refer to people of African descent; first arrived in region as slaves via Mobile (1721) [10, 30]; frequently escaped slavery to find refuge among Choctaws [10, 13, 30, 33]; Hannali acquired Negroes (escaped slaves) [13, 33]; group led by Martha Louisiana settled Hannali's land [46, 66]; included skilled artisans [73]; Marie DuShane initially disregarded Negroes [61, 81]; Brutus, Pike's servant, was Negro [138, 158]; Gopher John (Black Seminole) [59, 79]; Jim Ned (half-Negro) [145, 165, 166]; freeman Negroes among Opothleyahola's fighters [147, 167]; five freeborn Negroes kidnapped from Hannali's settlement into slavery [144, 164]; post-war, Choctaw Negroes retained Choctaw language longer than Indians retained English [203, 223].

Nelson, Horatio (1758–1805) Renowned British naval commander; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose achievements and reputation are fiercely defended [122, 142].

Neosho River River flowing through southeastern Kansas and northeastern Indian Territory (Oklahoma); joins the Verdigris and Arkansas rivers at the Three Forks confluence [36, 56]. The Grand

Saline (birthplace of Natchez) is located on the Grand River, which is the name for the Neosho in Oklahoma [70, 90].

Neutrality The policy or status of not participating in a war or conflict between other parties; strongly advocated by the "Freedom Indians" (Hannali, Strange Choate, Forbis Agent, Famous) during the Civil War [124, 144, 145]; Opothleyahola and the Upper Creeks attempted to maintain neutrality but were attacked [142, 145, 148, 157, 163, 164, 165]; Choctaw Chief George Hudson prepared a neutrality message that was suppressed [135, 155]; Chief John Ross initially pursued neutrality for the Cherokees [124, 140, 144]; Hannali remained a "sworn neutral" [180], though his actions sometimes blurred the lines [150, 163].

New England The northeastern region of the United States; source of the limited historical content taught in the assimilationist schools established in Indian Territory after the Civil War [200].

New Mexico U.S. Territory/State in the Southwest; site of a "Red River" distinct from the Red River of the South, causing cartographic errors [115, 135]; destination reached by Alinton Innominee's party via the Canadian River route before portaging to Santa Fe [116, 136]; identified as a source region for some Wildcat Kickapoo bands removed to Indian Territory [192].

New Orleans Major port city in Louisiana; Hannali visited in 1828, experiencing its French Town culture, gambling, getting baptized [19, 29-33, 39, 40, 45, 49, 50, 53]; served as a key trading hub for Hannali, who maintained bank credit and ordered goods (including ironwork for his house) from there [29, 49, 60, 75, 95, 198]; home base for Hannali's brother Pass Christian and his family [33, 53, 84, 94, 104, 112]; connected to Hannali's post via river transport [53, 73]; source of fine wine served at Hannali's dinner [143, 163].

New Western Trail Named as one of the major cattle trails used after the Civil War for driving herds north from Texas through Indian Territory to Kansas railheads [206, 226].

New York State Northeastern U.S. state; identified as the origin state for some of the "new Indians" relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [199, 219].

Newton (Kansas) Town in Kansas known as a railhead and destination for cattle drives during the Old Wild West era [206, 226].

Newton, Isaac (1643–1727) Seminal English physicist, mathematician, and astronomer; listed by Lafferty among historically significant figures whose work and reputation are considered largely sacrosanct [122, 142].

Newtonia Site of a Civil War battle in Missouri, listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Nez Perces Native American tribe originally from the Wallowa Valley region of the Pacific Northwest; Hannali knew prominent leaders including Looking Glass, Tap-Sis-Li, White Bird, Joseph, and Hush-Hush-Cute [68, 88]. They were forcibly removed from Oregon and Idaho to Indian Territory following the Nez Perce War of 1877 [192, 212].

Nicholas-Nakni Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Forbis Agent and Luvinia Innominee; killed during the Confederate raid on Hannali House [184, 204]. (Note: *Nakni* means "man" in Choctaw).

Nieto, Pablo Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Alinton Innominee and Marie Calles [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Nighthawk A nocturnal bird; its distinct grunt and flapping takeoff from a stump provided Hannali with a crucial auditory clue for triangulating Whiteman Falaya's hidden position during their final encounter [176, 196].

Niter Potassium nitrate (saltpeter), a mineral component; mentioned along with galena as being mixed into the potent natural salt harvested from Territory salt seeps, contributing to its "sharp" quality [12, 198, 222].

Nitakechi Prominent Choctaw leader (fl. 1820s–1860s), nephew and successor to Pushmataha in the Pushmataha District [26, 46]; compelled to sign the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek [27, 47]; considered the only Choctaw leader capable of initiating a revolt against Removal, though ultimately did not [44–45, 64–65]; consulted Moshulatubbee about potential uprising [45, 65]; served as chief of the Pushmataha District in Indian Territory [54, 74]; highly respected, considered the "last of the Mingos," claiming both Pushmataha and Moshulatubbee as symbolic fathers [59, 79]; recalled by Hannali late in

life as one of the great departed leaders [212, 232]; Philip-Nitakechi, Hannali's grandson, was named partly for him [119, 139].

Noah Biblical patriarch commanded to build an ark to survive the Great Flood; the Choctaw figure *Oklabashih*, the "great raft builder," is equated with Noah in the novel's recounting of Choctaw mythohistory [2, 22].

No-Shoes A leader among the Kiowa Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

North Fork (of Canadian River) Major tributary flowing into the Canadian River in Indian Territory; its confluence with the Deep Fork and main Canadian was near North Fork Town and Hannali's settlement [53, 73, 97, 115, 117, 135].

North Fork Town Significant settlement located on the North Fork of the Canadian River, five miles from Hannali's Landing [97, 117]; became a substantial town with three stores offering greater variety than Hannali's post [97, 117]. Site of the pivotal "United Nations" intertribal assembly in June 1861 [10, 133, 134, 153, 154]. Destination point across the river from Hannali's land [144, 164]. Visited by the Innominee children [98, 118]. Travis Innominee relocated there after the Civil War [190, 210]. Eventually abandoned when the settlement moved to the railroad at Eufaula [203, 223].

North St. Louis The name of one of the steamboats operating on the Mississippi River route between New Orleans and St. Louis during the period Hannali traveled it [34, 54].

Nos The Welsh word for "night," included in Lafferty's list comparing Welsh and Mandan words as part of the questionable evidence for the "Welsh Indian" theory [106, 126].

Nose Facial feature used for smelling or in physical descriptions; Pass Christian snapped on the nose by the fox [15, 35]; Peter Pitchlynn noted for his prominent, aquiline nose [55, 88, 90, 110].

Notebooks Bound books of blank paper used for writing notes; R.A. Lafferty described his initial draft of *Okla Hannali* as an "overflowing of crammed notebooks" compiled during research [xvii, 19].

Notes Written communications: Whiteman Falaya's distinctive, threatening notes left at crime scenes [57, 58, 77, 78, 85, 101, 105, 121, 173, 193]; Robert Pike's farewell note left for Hannali [182, 202]. Musical sounds: [Example]. Financial instruments: Hannali held "credits and notes" as assets [29, 49]. Published work: *American Notes* by Charles Dickens [110].

Novembre The French word for November; Hannali required assistance forming the letters for "Novembre" when marking his land claim stake in "Novembre 1828" due to his limited literacy [38, 58].

November The eleventh month of the year; the 1828 Exploration party arrived at the Three Forks in November [36, 56]; the crucial Battle of Round Mountains occurred on November 19, 1861 [156, 176, 180]; Opothleyahola's forces crossed the Cimarron River on November 18 [156]; the dry November plains easily ignited during the grass fire tactic [155, 175]; David Payne died in November 1884 [210, 230].

November 18, 1861 Date when Opothleyahola's forces crossed the Cimarron River near Perkins, Oklahoma, setting up the engagement at Round Mountains [156, 176].

November 19, 1861 Date of the Battle of Round Mountains, the first major engagement between Opothleyahola's neutral faction and Confederate forces in Indian Territory [141, 156, 161, 176, 180].

Noxubee Indian word The term from which "Poker" is said to derive, originating from the Noxubee Indians (Choctaw affiliates), meaning "five-luck" or "five-hazard" [31, 51].

Noxubee Indians A tribal group affiliated with the Choctaws, credited in the novel with originating the word/concept that evolved into the card game Poker [31, 51].

Nueces River River in Texas historically considered part of the boundary with Mexico; U.S. General Zachary Taylor was ordered to advance troops to the Nueces in January 1846, a provocative move into disputed territory that helped precipitate the U.S.-Mexican War [100, 120].

Nuthatch A small woodland bird; Moshulatubbee's inscrutable grin was compared by a Choctaw observer to that of a nuthatch that has just managed to swallow a much larger wild cat [7, 27].

O

Oak fences Fences constructed from oak wood, noted for their strength; the corral built by Hannali to hold wild buffalo utilized oak fences [97, 117].

Oak Hill Alternative name provided in the text for the Civil War battle site also known as Wilson's Creek, fought August 10, 1861, near Springfield, Missouri [142, 162].

Oaf A stupid, clumsy, or uncultured person; used contemptuously by Alinton DuShane to refer to Hannali Innominee after Hannali announced his intention to take over the trading post [40, 60].

Oath A solemn promise, often invoking a divine witness; Hannali considered his statement of neutrality a "sworn word" [150] and referred to his broken parole (implied promise not to aid soldiers) as a broken oath that brought divine punishment [172].

Occidental One of the hotels commonly found in Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Ocher A natural earth pigment, usually yellow, orange, or reddish-brown; smeared on the faces of the white men accompanying the Confederate captain who searched Hannali House, likely as a crude attempt at disguise or intimidation [129, 149].

Ochillas An individual persuaded by Albert Pike to sign a Confederate treaty on behalf of the Tawakoni Indians on August 12, 1861, assuming the role of puppet chief and thereby instigating civil conflict within the tribe [138, 158].

Oct. 2, 1861 Date on which Albert Pike secured a Confederate treaty with the Big Osage faction at Park Hill, an act which strategically alienated the Little Osages and fueled internal Osage conflict [139, 159].

Oct. 7, 1861 Date on which Albert Pike achieved his "master stroke" by coercing Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross and his rival Stand

Watie to jointly sign a treaty aligning the Cherokee Nation with the Confederacy [140, 160].

October 1803 Month and year the United States Congress ratified the Louisiana Purchase, significantly altering the geopolitical landscape for Southeastern tribes [23, 43].

October 1861 Month during which Albert Pike conducted crucial treaty negotiations at Park Hill, securing alliances (often through divisive means) with the Big Osages, Sandusky Senecas, and the Cherokee Nation [139, 159, 140, 160].

Ohio Midwestern U.S. state; identified as the origin of some keelboatmen Hannali encountered [34, 54] and some men met in New Orleans [30, 50]; site of the Ohio River where Dickens met Pitchlynn [89, 109]; also listed as a source state for "new Indians" removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [199, 219].

Ohio River Major river forming boundary between Midwestern and Southern states; location where Charles Dickens encountered Peter Pitchlynn aboard a steamboat in 1842 [89, 109].

Oil Mentioned along with warm water, unguent (ointment), and linen as necessary supplies called for by Hannali to treat the wounded Robert Pike [131, 151].

Ojibways Alternate name for the Chippewa people, an Algonquian tribe from the Great Lakes region; some Ojibways arrived in Indian Territory post-Civil War, primarily migrating from Kansas where they had been relocated earlier from Minnesota [194, 214].

Okla The Choctaw word meaning "people" or "nation"; fundamental term of self-identification for the Choctaws ("The Choctaws were the *Okla*") [10, 30]; used as a prefix in the traditional district names *Okla Falaya*, *Okla Hannali*, *Okla Tannaps* [7, 10, 27, 29, 30]; invoked at the novel's conclusion ("In the beginning was first the *Okla*—the people.") [221, 241].

Okla Falaya One of the three primary districts of the Choctaw Nation. *In Mississippi*: Associated with British alliance [7, 10, 29, 30]. *In Indian Territory*: The southeastern district, south of the mountains and east of the Kiamichi River, also called the Red River District [45, 54, 65, 74]. Associated with the Choctaw South faction (mixed-blood, slave-

owning, Confederate) [91, 96, 99, 107, 111, 127]; location of Doaksville and Old Miller Court House [54, 74], Spencer Academy [110], and Robert Jones's plantations [108]. Robert Pike was traveling towards it [76, 77, 96, 97]. Its name became a "magic word" signifying wild Indian country [9, 76, 96].

Okla Hannali The district of the Choctaw Nation in Mississippi where Hannali Innominee was born (3, 14), originally known as the Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District within Pushmataha's larger domain (27). The name translates roughly to "Hannali People" or "People of the Six Towns," intertwining the protagonist's identity with his place of origin and tribal subdivision (14). It represents the "Old Country" homeland, characterized by features like the south-flowing river (3, 13) and the south sand soil (13), contrasting with the later Indian Territory. This district is one of the three major divisions or "Nations" of the Choctaws mentioned historically (along with Okla Falaya and Okla Tannaps), described as "the Choctaws confused unto themselves" (30), perhaps hinting at an inherent complexity or internal tension predating removal. Barua Innominee's decision to remain physically on his land in *Okla Hannali* while switching allegiance from the Pushmataha (*Okla Hannali*) district to the Moshulatubbee (Okla Tannaps) district creates an anomaly, making him "still an Okla Hannali forever" yet politically detached (28).

Okla Tannaps One of the three primary districts of the Choctaw Nation in Mississippi, historically allied with the French and led by Moshulatubbee [7, 10, 29, 30]; Barua Innominee joined this district after resigning from Okla Hannali [46, 66].

Oklabashih The figure in Choctaw traditional stories analogous to the biblical Noah, renowned as the "great raft builder" who survived a massive Mississippi River flood [2, 22].

Oklahoma The U.S. state formed largely from Indian Territory; the setting for Lafferty's writing and research [xv, xvii, 2, 5, 6], location of contemporary cities [19, 25, 26], and the eventual political entity encompassing the novel's events [14, 15, 17, 36, 37, 45, 57, 59, 71, 79, 91, 99, 111, 131, 142, 156, 162, 176, 194]. The name "*Oklafalaya*" nearly became the name for the entire Territory [76, 96].

Oklahoma City Capital city of Oklahoma; California Street associated with Indian presence [6, 26].

Oktaha Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Oktarharsars Harjo (Sands) (c. 1780s–1860s) Second Chief of the Upper Creeks under Opothleyahola, also known by the English name Sands [145, 165]; Albert Pike forged his signature on the Confederate treaty [137, 157]. Despite his nominal position, he actively participated in councils [153, 173] and accurately predicted the timing of the Confederate attack before the Battle of Round Mountains [155, 175]. The Confederacy placed a \$5,000 bounty on his head [145].

"Old Adam voice" An internal voice representing innate wisdom or primal instinct; it informed Hannali that his nighttime crossing of the Canadian River after the Eufaula gathering would be the last time he entered his Big House [12, 212, 235]. Also used to describe the deep register of Hannali's voice when calling out from his strong room [182].

Old Miller Court House A significant settlement in the Oklafalaya District of the Choctaw Nation; named not for an actual courthouse but after the imposing residence of an "old half-breed named Miller" that resembled one [54, 74]. Modern site is Millerton, Oklahoma [55].

Old South Term referring to the Southeastern United States prior to the Civil War, particularly the culture and society built upon slavery and the plantation system; the ancestral homeland from which the Five Civilized Tribes were removed [9, 13, 28, 29, 33, 48, 100, 120, 191, 194, 211, 214].

"Old Wild West Days" The distinct historical period following the Civil War (roughly 1867-1887), characterized primarily by large-scale cattle drives from Texas to Kansas, associated Plains Indian conflicts, and the rise of iconic boomtowns and figures; Lafferty contextualizes this era as an "interlude" following the destruction of earlier civilizations (including that of the Five Tribes), deeming it relatively unimportant to the Territory's core novel, despite its popular romanticization [197, 205-208, 217, 225-228].

Omen An event regarded as a sign or warning of future good or evil; the birth of Andrew Jackson ("the Devil of the Indians") in 1767 was perceived by Indians throughout the South as a profoundly negative omen [10, 30].

"One Dollar Honest" The inscription found on lower denomination issues of the unofficial "Choctaw dollars" (scrip) circulated by a Doaksville store [98, 118].

One Hundred Families A distinct minority faction or social group within the Mishoweia Choctaw community in Mississippi, noted for their early conversion to Catholicism; the Innominee family belonged to this group [3, 8, 10, 23, 28, 30].

Oneidas An Iroquoian tribe, one of the original Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy; remnants were possibly included among the diverse tribal groups relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [192, 212].

Onedagas An Iroquoian tribe (Onondaga), one of the original Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy; remnants were possibly included among the diverse tribal groups relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [192, 212].

Ophelia Checote McIntosh Creek child, daughter of Samuel Checote and sister/cousin to John and Emily Sapulpa; visited Hannali House during the Pass Christian Innominees' stay [93, 113].

Opiahoma Brother of the Choctaw leader Nitakechi; possesses leadership qualities comparable to Nitakechi's, representing potential second-echelon leadership for a Choctaw revolt [44, 64].

Opinion Divided opinion persisted regarding Stand Watie's character [122, 142]; the prevailing opinion among Indians was to remain neutral in the Civil War [124, 144]; public opinion eventually turned against the total destruction of the Seminoles [146]; national opinion ultimately supported David Payne's Boomer movement [210].

Opothle Yahola / Opothleyahola (c. 1780–1863) Principal Chief of the Upper Creek (Muscogee) Nation, renowned as "The Laughing Fox" for his wisdom and resilience [10, 144-147, 151-152, 163-167, 170-172, 180-181, 183, 185, 189-190, 212-213, 228, 232]. A staunch neutralist, his name was forged by Albert Pike on a Confederate treaty [10, 136-137, 157]. He led his followers (the "Snake Indians") in a desperate flight north during the winter of 1861 to escape Confederate persecution [144-172]. He commanded the successful defense at the Battle of Bird Creek (*Chusto Talasah*) [165-168] after an initial stand at Round Mountains [156-161], but his forces were ultimately destroyed at Shoal

Creek (*Chuste Nahlah*) [166, 170]. He escaped to Kansas, where he died the following spring [170]. Hannali held him in high esteem, considering him a friend and possessing *aleika* magic [146, 163].

Orange Color; used by Hannali, along with green, for streaks of face paint during his pilgrimage to Nanih Waiya [76, 96].

Orphan child The unnamed Native American child of unknown tribal origin accompanying the itinerant preacher who married Hannali and Martha Louisiana [52, 72].

Orphan(s) Forbis Agent was a "Territory orphan" raised by a white missionary [124, 145]; numerous Territory orphans resulting from the Civil War were taken in and cared for by surviving families [196, 216].

Osage County County in present-day Oklahoma, historically part of the Osage Nation's territory; Hannali traveled there with his youngest grandchildren to have them baptized, as priests occasionally visited the Osages [201, 221].

Osage Indians Siouan tribe historically inhabiting areas west of the Mississippi, later assigned a reservation in northeastern Indian Territory; R.A. Lafferty knew Osages personally [xvii, 19]; author John Joseph Mathews was Osage [xv, 17]; encountered by the 1828 Exploration party [24, 44]; traders bought corn from them to sell to removed tribes [72, 92]; Hannali visited Osage friends at Hominy Falls [111, 131]; wheat obtained from Osage region [97, 117]; internally divided during Civil War (Big Osages vs. Little Osages) after Pike's treaty manipulations [159]; removed formally to Territory post-war [192]; priests visited Osages [87]; Hannali knew the nation [218, 238].
Osage Trace A historical trail passing through Indian Territory, used by cattle drovers heading north; identified as the same route formerly known as the East Shawnee Trail and later as the Texas Road [118, 138].

Osages: Children of the Middle Waters Book (1961) written by the Osage author John Joseph Mathews, cited by R.A. Lafferty as an exemplary model of a tribal epic, comparable to what he aimed for with *Okla Hannali* for the Choctaws [xv, 17].

Otos A Siouan tribe originally from the lower Platte River region; listed among the diverse groups removed to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Ottawa Indians Algonquian tribe originally from the Great Lakes region; Lafferty questions their fate post-Civil War ("Whatever happened to all those Ottawa Indians?") [12, 186, 194]; remnants (only 149 individuals) were assigned 23 sections of land southeast of present-day Miami, Oklahoma, after the war [192, 194, 212].

Ouachita River River flowing through Arkansas and Louisiana; mentioned because its pronunciation is similar to the Washita River in Indian Territory, causing potential confusion [41, 61].

Ouiskonche Name of a tribal group, possibly a Dakota Sioux band associated with Wisconsin, mentioned alongside others potentially lost during westward displacement, Fort Snelling Sioux [195, 215].

Ox A castrated bull used as a draft animal; metaphorically, the knockout drops in New Orleans would have felled a "blue-eyed ox" [33, 53]; Hannali offered "good yoke oxen" as stakes in the poker game [32, 52].

Oxen Mature, castrated male cattle used for draft power; the Innominee family were pioneers among Choctaws in utilizing draft oxen [13, 33]; oxen were seized from Indians under fraudulent debt claims during Removal [28, 48].

Ozark Mountains Mountain range extending through Missouri, Arkansas, and into northeastern Indian Territory (Oklahoma); the 1828 Exploration party traveled down through converging valleys of the Ozarks (Verdigris and Neosho) when first entering the prospective new territory [36, 37, 56, 57].

P

Pablo-Nieto Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Alinton Innominee and Marie Calles [119, 139]; killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Pain Physical or emotional suffering; Martha Louisiana experienced "great pain" after her fight with Marie DuShane [63, 81]; Hannali was shot "painfully" by Whiteman Falaya [176]; men described as "tensed

and in pain" [177]; Hannali suffered "great agony" from his wounds [182].

"Pale Face" Term allegedly used by Indians to refer to white people; Hannali expressed skepticism about its authenticity ("which I disbelieve") [200, 220].

Pallet A simple straw-filled mattress or makeshift bed; Natchez recovered on a pallet after being attacked by Marie DuShane [64, 84].

Palm The inner surface of the hand; Hannali forcefully smashed his large fist into his palm in a gesture of frustration after Whiteman Falaya escaped the army camp [105, 125].

"Panoramic God" Lafferty's distinctive term for the ultimate power or deity invoked by Opothleyahola in his appeal for aid; this power is credited with assembling the diverse group of 55-60 elite fighters who came to defend the neutral Creeks [10, 147, 164, 167, 170].

Pansfalaya Term used by Lafferty to categorize Hannali as belonging to the "long-haired people," indicating adherence to the traditional Choctaw custom of wearing long hair, in contrast to many others who had adopted shorter styles [203, 223]. (Possibly derived from Choctaw *pas falaiya*, "long hair").

Panther(s) Large wild cat native to the Americas (cougar/puma); a Cheyenne leader named Panther was brother-in-law to Little Horse [67, 87]; the Indian Territory was described as the "land of panthers" [77, 97]; central figure in Luvinia's elaborate folktale about a panther that swallowed a girl whole, only to have her demand domestic items from within its stomach [95-96, 115-116].

Pants Garments covering the legs (trousers); Pass Christian's doeskin pants were torn by the fox [16, 18, 36, 38]; the hooded men terrorizing Indians wore identifiable "white man pants" [44, 64]; Hannali wore enormous pants made of buckskin [87, 203]; Robert Jones metaphorically owned the "breeches" (pants) on the delegates' flanks [135, 155].

Papa Hannali Affectionate term of address used for Hannali Innominee, primarily by his grandchildren (like Famous-George) and granddaughter Anna-Hata, especially in his later years [86, 106, 149, 169, 182, 183, 199, 202-204, 217, 219-220, 224, 232, 237-240].

Paper Material made in thin sheets from pulp, used for writing, printing, etc.; used for the Confederate treaty documents [9, 29, 137, 157]; Hannali ordered fine letter paper from New Orleans [82, 84, 102, 104]; Whiteman Falaya left notes on "rough paper" [56, 76, 173]; Hannali kept paper money [56, 76]; "paper Indians" referred to fictitious names on leases [210, 230]; the ice on the river was "paper thin" [215, 235].

Parfleche A traditional Native American container made from rawhide, often decorated and used for storing dried food or belongings; the lament of the defeated Snake Creeks includes the line "The parfleche is empty," signifying utter destitution [171, 191].

Parish An ecclesiastical district under the care of a priest; the dying priest encountered by Hannali had been traveling his vast "large parish" on horseback for nine years [87, 107].

Park Hill An important Cherokee settlement in Indian Territory (near present-day Tahlequah, Oklahoma); site where Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike conducted crucial treaty negotiations in October 1861, securing alliances with the Big Osages, Sandusky Senecas, and ultimately the Cherokee Nation itself (both Ross and Watie factions) [139, 140, 142, 159, 160, 162].

Parker, Quanah (c. 1845–1911) Prominent Comanche chief, son of Peta Nocona and Cynthia Ann Parker; known by R.A. Lafferty's uncle Ed Burke at the Anadarko Agency [xvi, 18]; known personally by Hannali Innominee [68, 88]; listed among key Plains leaders during the Old Wild West Days [207, 227]; noted by Hannali in his old age as having become a "tame Indian" residing at the Anadarko Agency [212, 232].

Parley A conference between opposing sides to discuss terms; Pickens the trader offered gifts to "open a parley" [112, 132]; Caddo Indians took goods from Pickens ostensibly as "parley gifts" [113, 133]; Cheyennes also demanded parley gifts [113, 134]; Confederate Cherokees under Major Pegg unexpectedly requested to parley instead of attacking the Snake Creek camp at Bird Creek [166, 186], leading to their defection [167].

Parole The conditional release of a prisoner before the completion of a sentence, often military; Robert Pike felt his parole (presumably

given to Hannali, promising not to rejoin the fight) was broken by the Confederate attack on Hannali House, freeing him to leave and seek revenge [179, 182, 199, 231]. Hannali initially insisted Pike honor his parole [172].

Partisan(s) Noun: A strong supporter of a party, cause, or person; the account of the LeFlore-Moshulatubbee confrontation was possibly biased, being from a "partisan of the Mingo" [27, 47]; Robert Jones's Chickasaw in-laws effectively became his "partisans" due to business entanglements [108, 128]; the Innominee children became "partisans" of the talking scarecrow [93, 113]. Adjective: Committed to a party; Confederate partisans pursued the Union straggler (Robert Pike) [128, 148].

Pass Christian (Town) Coastal town in Mississippi; a port from which coaster boats operated, servicing Papa Barua's Gulf trading station [13, 33].

Pass Christian Innominee Middle son of Barua Innominee and Chapponia, brother of Hannali and Biloxi [3]; noted for his education and intelligence (inherited Barua's "brains") [43, 63, 163]; brought the ceremonial red coat from New Orleans that instigated the fox hunt [14, 34]; participated reluctantly in the hunt, suffering indignity (ripped pants) [15, 16, 18, 35, 38]; became a boatman traveling to New Orleans [19, 39], later establishing himself there as an important, wealthy man [33, 53]; possibly influenced Hannali's decision to explore the West [45, 65]; Hannali wrote to him for books and news [84, 104]; visited Hannali House with his wife Marie Delessert and large family (children Peter, Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, Louis Christian) for Christmas 1844 [93-99, 113-119]; owned property in North Fork Town which he willed to Travis [190, 210].

Passage payment Fee demanded by local inhabitants for allowing travelers or cattle herds to cross their land; Jemmy Buster was charged one steer per family whose land his herd crossed [117, 137].

Past Master A science fiction novel written by R. A. Lafferty, listed in his bibliography [4] and mentioned in the foreword [xi, 13].

Pasture Land covered with grass suitable for grazing animals; judged insufficient in the new Territory compared to cornland [37, 57]; Checote's horse pasture visible across the river [58, 78].

Patches Small distinct areas; Lafferty recalls his grandfather's land having "a thousand miles of weed patches" [151].

Patriarch(s) The male head of a family or tribe; term applied to the foundational Choctaw leaders Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee [2, 22]; the ancient rattlesnake at Nanih Waiya compared to a biblical patriarch [78, 98].

Patrick's, St. (Church) Catholic church established in Atoka (Choctaw South) by Father Isidore Robot in 1874; became a destination for Hannali Innominee's annual pilgrimages with his extended family in his later years [204, 224].

Patronymic form A naming convention in which a surname is derived from the name of a father or ancestor; used by the Choctaw Black community, where children took their father's first name as their last name (e.g., Travis Hannali, Luvinia Hannali) [70, 90].

Paul Bunyan Legendary giant lumberjack of North American folklore; Hannali Innominee's character compared to Bunyan's "capacious, indomitable" nature in the *Kirkus Reviews* blurb [2].

Pawnee Fork Site of battles or ambushes involving Plains tribes during the Old Wild West Days era [207].

Pawnee Indians Plains tribe historically located in Nebraska and Kansas; R. A. Lafferty had a memorable childhood encounter with a Pawnee boy in Perry, Oklahoma [xvi, 18]; present in Indian Territory before the main southeastern removals [43, 63]. Hannali traveled among them and was known as "Talking String Man" [67, 87]; he knew Pawnee leaders Sky Chief, Pita-Leshar, Kokaka, and Dusty Chief [68, 88]. They provided wheat for Hannali [97, 117]. In a tall tale, a Pawnee cut flesh from Pickens the Green Indian's bones [114, 134]. Whiteman Falaya might disguise himself with a Pawnee slouch hat [105, 125]. Removed formally to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192].

Payne, David L. (1836–1884) Leader of the "Boomer" movement advocating for the opening of the Unassigned Lands in Indian Territory to white settlement [205]; known as the "King of the Boomers" [208]. Engaged in philosophical debate with Hannali Innominee in Dodge City (1884) about land ownership and Manifest Destiny [208-209]. Led five unsuccessful "invasions" into the Territory, being arrested each time [210]. Died suddenly in

Wellington, Kansas, likely poisoned by opponents (cattlemen) [211]. His death ultimately spurred the opening of the lands he sought [211].

Peace A state of tranquility or freedom from conflict; Choctaws historically imposed a basic peace on the Old South [9, 29]; Five Tribes maintained peace over large area pre-removal [22, 42]; just peace could no longer be maintained by force (Moshulatubbee) [45, 65]; thirty years of peace maintained by Big Houses in Choctaw North [60, 80]; girl inside panther wanted peace [95, 115]; prairie peace obtained by Plains tribes [197]; Yahola held last peace court [153, 173]; end of white man peace (Civil War) did not end Indian conflicts [189].

Pecan shell The outer covering of a pecan nut; used metaphorically by Hannali for containing history [1, 7, 21]; traded by Pickens the Green Indian with the false claim they would hatch into quail if placed in creek water [113].

Pecan(s) The nut of the pecan tree, an important food source and trade commodity; Hannali remembered the history of the world fitting "in a pecan shell" [1, 7, 21]; dealt in pecans [18, 38]; wagered pecans in poker game [31, 51]; finding pecans in Indian Territory felt like home to Hannali [37, 57]; children climbed large pecan trees [94, 114]; Pickens traded pecan shells claimed to hatch quail [113, 133].

"Peckerwoods" Derogatory slang term, typically referring to poor rural white Southerners; applied by Lafferty to the white-hooded groups who terrorized Indian communities in Mississippi before Removal [44, 64].

Pegg, Major Confederate Cherokee officer whose regiment arrived first at Opothleyahola's Bird Creek camp; instead of attacking, his men initiated a parley which led to the defection of the Pin faction [166, 186].

Pelts The skins of fur-bearing animals; Hannali engaged in the pelt trade [18, 38]; beaver pelts were the currency in Pickens the Green Indian's trading misadventures [113, 133].

Pen A tool for writing with ink; the Psalmist's tongue compared to the "pen of the scrivener" [135, 155]; Hannali ordered fine quill pens from England [84, 104].

Pencil, slate A thin piece of slate used as a writing implement on a larger slate surface; Natchez feared being metaphorically "ground to death" between her slate and slate pencil while struggling to learn writing [9, 82, 83, 102, 103].

Penn, William (1644–1718) English Quaker founder of Pennsylvania; listed among historically sacrosanct figures in American history [122, 142].

Pennsylvania Northeastern U.S. state; identified as the origin state for some of the "new Indians" relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War [199, 219].

Penny catechisms Small, inexpensive books summarizing basic religious doctrine in question-and-answer format; ten were included in the package of school supplies sent to Marie DuShane [82, 102].

People, the (*Okla*) The fundamental Choctaw term of self-identification, meaning "The People" or "The Nation" [10, 30]; invoked at the novel's conclusion: "In the beginning was first the *Okla*—the people." [221, 241].

Peorias A tribe belonging to the Illinois Confederacy; remnants were included in the omnibus tribal group created for administrative convenience after removal to Indian Territory [192, 212].

Perell Dialectal or archaic spelling of "peril," danger; used in Whiteman Falaya's threatening note ("follow me at your perell") [101, 121].

Pericles (c. 495–429 BCE) Influential Athenian statesman and orator during Athens' Golden Age; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose reputations are fiercely defended [122, 142].

Perkins, Oklahoma Town located near the Cimarron River crossing site used by Opothleyahola's Snake Creeks before the Battle of Round Mountains [156, 176].

Permit Law of 1867 Legislation enacted by the Choctaw Nation after the Civil War; cited by Lafferty, along with the Timber and Coal Laws, as reflecting increasing white influence in its underlying "thinking and wording" [201, 221].

Perry, Oklahoma Town in north-central Oklahoma; location where R. A. Lafferty, at age four, had his first memorable encounter with a Native American, a Pawnee boy who repeatedly knocked him down [xvi, 18].

Perry, Rachel Woman identified as belonging to the Lower Creek kindred associated with the Checotes; married Travis Innominee in 1850 [118]; mother of Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, and Matthew-Moshulatubbee [119, 139]. She resolutely determined to join her husband Travis among the neutral Snake Creeks [163] and was transported there by Famous Innominee [164]. Described as one of the "cool ladies" who remained mistress of her own fate in the camp before the final battle [169]; survived the subsequent massacre [183-184].

Perryman, Benjamin Prominent Creek leader who visited Hannali Innominee at the Big House [59, 79].

Perryville Town originally located in the Pushmataha District of the Choctaw Nation; site of a Civil War battle [142, 162]; later relocated to the railroad line at McAlester [203, 223]. Also, a town in Missouri, site of the Vincentian Seminary attended by the dying priest [87, 107].

Persimmons Edible fruit that grows on trees; the visiting Innominee children stuffed captured possums and squirrels with persimmons (which had turned purple from frost) before roasting them [94, 114].

Peter (Pass Christian's son) Eldest son of Pass Christian Innominee and Marie Delessert; visited Hannali House with his family [93, 113].

Peter (Saint) The Apostle Peter; referenced in the name of the formidable fighter known only as Saint Peter among Opothleyahola's "Elites" [154, 159, 174, 179].

Peter-Barua Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Travis Innominee and Rachel Perry [119, 139]; named partially after his great-grandfather Barua Innominee. Survived the massacre at Hannali House [183, 184]; helped Hannali and Famous-George build coffins for the dead [185]. Possessed developing strength, character, and a new gentleness [201, 221].

Pebworths Surname listed among Choctaw families purportedly carrying Welsh blood [107, 127].

Philip-Nitakechi Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee [119, 139]; named partially after the Choctaw leader Nitakechi. Killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Phillip Pennywit The name of one of the steamboats operating on the Mississippi River route between New Orleans and St. Louis during the 1820s [34, 54].

Philosopher(s) Individuals who study fundamental questions about existence, knowledge, values, reason, mind, and language; Lafferty claims all Indians are philosophers, though not necessarily successful ones [11, 31]; a Comanche warrior mockingly asks "Am I a philosopher?" when questioned about the fate of Pickens's bones [114, 134].

Phoenician Relating to the ancient Semitic civilization centered in coastal Syria and Lebanon; mentioned alongside Hebrew and Basque as languages spuriously linked to Native American tongues by amateur diffusionist theorists [107, 127].

Piano A large keyboard musical instrument; brought upriver by Hannali as a gift desired by Marie DuShane [9, 75, 95]. Initially played only by Marie ("like a Frenchie"), it was later played with elemental power and "genius" by Martha Louisiana [75, 95].

Piankashaws An Algonquian tribe originally from the Wabash River valley; listed among the diverse tribal remnants relocated to Indian Territory after the Civil War and included in an omnibus administrative group [192, 212].

Pickens A recurring archetypal figure in cautionary Plains Indian tales, representing a naive or "green" trader [112]; his tribal affiliation (Cherokee, Creek, or Choctaw) varies depending on the storyteller [112]. He engages in disastrously inept trade attempts with Kiowas (repeatedly tricked with the same three pelts) [113], Caddoes (stripped of goods and mules) [113], Cheyennes (stripped naked) [113-114], Pawnees (flesh cut off for dog food) [114], and Comanches (bones taken for soup) [114], finally having his soul captured by an Anadarko [114]. Plains Indians applied the name "Pickens" to any new, inexperienced trader entering their country [114]. He also features in a story about buying an invisible "ghost skin" [149].

Pig geldings The act of castrating young male pigs; one of the rural events significant enough for Papa Barua to wear his ceremonial red coat [14, 34].

Pig mush A food item, likely a porridge or stew containing pork; passed around during Hannali Innominee's final evening gathering with family and friends [148, 168].

Pigeons Hannali recalled the pigeons in his Mississippi youth being significantly larger than those found later [5, 25].

Pike, Albert (1809–1891) Lawyer, writer, Confederate General, and Commissioner to the Indian Tribes; a complex and controversial figure depicted ambivalently. Possessed imposing appearance (likened to Michelangelo's *Moses*) but characterized by Lafferty as pompous, dishonest, and murderous [121-122, 141-142]. Accused of misusing Indian funds [122, 142], ordering massacres [122, 142], forging treaty signatures [122, 137, 140, 142, 157, 160], and deliberately fomenting twelve internal civil wars among tribes to weaken them, regardless of Confederate victory [122, 136, 138, 158]. Traveled with enigmatic Negro servant Brutus, who possibly directed him [138, 158]. Successfully negotiated numerous treaties binding factions of tribes to the Confederacy [136-140]. Called the "second Devil of the Indians" by Hannali [127, 147]. Preached Peter Pitchlynn's funeral eulogy [198, 218]. Visited Hannali House [59].

Pike, Robert Young white man from Missouri encountered by Hannali's group during their pilgrimage to Nanih Waiya [76-77, 96-97]. Later appeared near Hannali House as a wounded Union soldier straggler [128-132]. Recognized by Hannali, he was secretly sheltered in the Big House for years, becoming the resident "ghost" [131-132, 148, 151, 174, 211-212]. Participated in the final defense of the house [179]. Left after the massacre, leaving a note detailing events and vowing revenge [181-182].

Pile Pickens the trader turned to look at his anticipated "pile" of three thousand beaver pelts, only to find just three [113, 133].

Pinchlin George Catlin's apparent misspelling or phonetic rendering of Peter Pitchlynn's surname [90, 110].

Pine A type of coniferous tree common in parts of the South and West; steamboats on the Mississippi used pine wood for fuel, creating a distinctive smell [34, 54]; Hannali demonstrated his strength by driving a hand knife through eight inches of pine wood [57, 77]; pine torches illuminated Strange Choate's settlement [49, 69]; the wall of Hannali's strong room was made of pine slabs [56, 76].

Pine resin Sticky sap from pine trees; used by early Choctaws to stiffen homemade cotton-cloth playing cards [31, 51].

Pine torches Branches or pieces of pine wood used as burning lights; provided illumination for the nighttime hog scalding at Strange Choate's settlement [49, 69].

Pinfeathers Small, underdeveloped feathers on a young bird, or the remnants after plucking; Jim Ned's legendary shooting included searing off even the pinfeathers of a duck in mid-air [159].

Pinochle A popular card game; invoked ironically by Hannali on his deathbed: "Why we gathered here then, to play pinochle?" implying a trivial activity inappropriate for the gravity of the moment [12, 218, 240].

Pins Term used, often by opponents, to refer to the traditionalist, full-blood factions within tribes, particularly the Cherokees (and sometimes applied to Opothleyahola's Creeks); associated with neutrality or Unionism during the Civil War [141, 161]. Stand Watie notoriously targeted Pins for extermination [141, 161]; Cherokee Pins provided crucial aid to the refugee Snake Creeks [164, 184]; about a third of Drew's Confederate Cherokee regiment were Pins who defected at Bird Creek [167].

Pipe A device used for smoking tobacco, often with ritualistic or social significance; described as sacred to all Indians, alongside the cigar for Choctaws [11, 31]; passed among the "Elite" fighters and Snake Creek leaders during their final council fire before the Battle of Round Mountains [169, 189].

Pishofa A traditional Southeastern Indian dish, typically a soup or stew made from hominy (coarsely ground corn), often containing pork; the girl inside the panther in Luvinia's folktale demanded ingredients (pig, kettle) to make *pishofa* [95-96, 115-116].

Pit A hole dug in the ground; Hannali suggested throwing Whiteman Falaya and the Major into a pit together [104, 124]; Natchez survived the massacre by hiding with four young children in a pit formerly used as a cistern or silo [183].

Pita-Leshar A principal chief among the Pawnee Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Pitchlynn (Family Name) Prominent surname associated with the Choctaw Nation, primarily through Peter Pitchlynn and his adoptive father John Pitchlynn [*passim*]. Also listed among Choctaw families with Welsh blood [107].

Pitchlynn, John White trader and U.S. interpreter for the Choctaws (fl. early 19th c.); widely accepted by historians as the father of Peter Pitchlynn (with Choctaw wife Sophia Folsom), though Lafferty argues for an adoptive relationship based on Peter's late learning of English [89, 109]. Served as government interpreter at the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek [90, 110]. Known for advocating education and assimilation for Indians [89, 109], and sponsoring the education of several Choctaw youths [89, 109].

Pitchlynn, Peter (1806–1881) Highly influential Choctaw leader; co- led the 1828 Exploration party [8, 20, 29, 34, 36, 40, 54, 55] and expressed deep disappointment with the designated lands [36, 56]. Possessed great charisma (*aleika*) but seen as complex ("two different men"), eventually losing his "magic" [9, 88, 108, 121, 123, 141, 143]. Orchestrated the rediscovery of *Nanih Waiya* through dream summons [76, 78-79, 96, 98]. Debated economic philosophy with Hannali [91, 111]. Founded the Light Horse Police [88, 108]. Initially supported Union, met with Lincoln [123, 143], but later aligned with Confederacy due partly to owning 100 slaves [123, 124, 143, 144]. Served as Choctaw Principal Chief post-war [197]. Spent later years advocating for Indian rights in Washington D.C. [197, 217]. Died 1881, buried in Congressional Cemetery [198, 218]. His Indian name was *Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee* [90, 110, 198].

Pitchlynn-Colbert Exploration The formal 1828 inter-tribal expedition to survey the lands west of the Mississippi designated for Indian Removal, jointly led (at least nominally) by Peter Pitchlynn representing the Choctaws and Major Levi Colbert representing the Chickasaws [25, 42, 45, 62].

Pittsburg County County in present-day southeastern Oklahoma where remnants of Hannali Innominee's extensive stone boundary fences could still be found many years later [71, 91].

Planters Owners of large agricultural estates (plantations), typically utilizing enslaved labor for cash crop production; the "Planters in Falaya" (Choctaw South) are noted for providing export surpluses through their "bulk crop system," contrasting with the North's subsistence model [91, 111].

Plato (c. 428/427 – c. 348/347 BCE) Ancient Greek philosopher, student of Socrates; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose ideas are fiercely defended [122, 142].

Playing cards (See **Cards (playing)**)

Pleasant Bluff Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Plot Noun: A secret plan or conspiracy; Albert Pike engaged in a "weird plot" to extinguish Indians [122, 142]; Choctaw South leaders formed a plot to kill Forbis Agent [125]. Noun: A piece of land; 160 acres as the "natural plot" for a man [208, 228, 229]; Hannali chose a meadow for the burial plot [185].

Plowland Land suitable for cultivation using a plow; much of the new Territory was judged not to be good plowland, consisting instead mostly of pasture or hay land over shallow bedrock [37, 57].

Plow(s) Agricultural implement used for turning soil; Innominees first to use iron plows [13, 33]; Territory land often unsuitable for the plow [37, 57]; Hannali guided his mule Mingo behind the plow [74, 94]; lack of plows hampered post-war recovery [191, 210]; homesteaders aimed to break land to the plow [210, 230].

Plum, sand The wild plum identified in Choctaw tradition as the "forbidden fruit" whose consumption brought hardship [1, 7, 21]; also used pre-removal to make cordial drinks [72, 92]; served at Hannali's last supper gathering [148].

Plummer Trail One of the major post-Civil War cattle trails (often referred to as the Jones and Plummer Trail) running north from Texas through Indian Territory [206, 226].

Plutarch (c. 46 – c. 120 AD) Ancient Greek biographer and essayist, author of *Parallel Lives*; read avidly by both Peter Pitchlynn and Hannali Innominee, who completed reading it in his later years [84, 87, 104, 107, 202, 222]. Pitchlynn cited Plutarch's idea of "inventing" great men [84, 104].

Pneumonia Hannali claimed to be dying of "white people pneumonia," contrasting it favorably with the lingering death from tuberculosis, the "new Choctaw fashion" [218, 238].

Pock Mark Prominent Plains Indian leader (likely Anadarko) who visited Hannali House [59, 79]; known personally by Hannali [68, 88]; leader of the main Anadarko faction opposing Jose Maria's unauthorized treaty with Pike [139, 159]. Recalled by Hannali among the great departed figures [212, 232]. (Possibly same individual as **Jim Pockmark**).

Pocket Small pouch sewn into clothing: Hannali carried dice in his pockets [32, 52]; Major put surrendered papers back in his pocket [189]; Anna-Hata placed corn cake in Hannali's breast pocket [219, 239]. Isolated area: Attackers opened "pocket after pocket of slaughter" in the Snake defenses at Round Mountains [157, 177].

Poets Lafferty characterizes the Plains horse Indians collectively as natural poets capable of chanting the vastness of the plains [68, 88]. Albert Pike was also known as a poet, though not mentioned in this context.

Poison Creek Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Poisoned Administered poison resulting in illness or death; rumor circulated that Albert Pike "poisoned every spring he passed" [141, 161]; David Payne was widely believed, and his enemies boasted, to have been poisoned following his final Boomer rally [211, 231]. Metaphorically, the Territory was "poisoned" by hatred during the Civil War [141, 161].

Poker A popular card game involving betting and bluffing; Lafferty claims the name derives from a *Noxubee* (Choctaw affiliate) word meaning "five-luck" or "five-hazard" [31, 51]; Hannali proved to be an expert poker player, decisively beating the New Orleans gamblers [31,

51]; the Major confronting Hannali chewed his moustache as seriously as if playing poker [105, 125].

Polecat A skunk or related mustelid; used in a derogatory jingle about crossing a horse Indian with a polecat to produce a Creek Indian [151, 171].

Poles Long, slender pieces of wood; Comanche scalps were displayed fresh on poles outside Cheyenne lodges [69, 89]; setting up lodge poles correctly was part of lost knowledge lamented by the Snake voice [171, 191].

Polk, President James K. 11th U.S. President (served 1845-1849); signed the resolution annexing Texas as a slave state on December 29, 1845 [100, 120]; ordered General Taylor to the Nueces River in January 1846, provoking the U.S.-Mexican War [100, 120]; famously and falsely declared in May 1846 that "American Blood has been spilt on American Soil" to justify the declaration of war [101, 121].

Poncas Siouan tribe originally from the Nebraska region; remnants were present in Indian Territory pre-removal [43, 63]; described by a trader as smelling like butchered beaver [151, 171]. Formally removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192, 212].

Pony/ponies Small horse(s); Hannali rode a "fast pony" after his fiddle debut [20, 40]; the white boy Robert Pike rode a "light pony" [76, 96]; Hannali lacked sufficient ponies for all the visiting children [93]; Choctaw ponies described as "heavy" [102, 122]; Kiowas stole 500 ponies in a single raid [69, 89]; Hannali's riding pony could no longer carry his weight in old age [214]; a heavy pony answered Hannali's final call [184].

Pool shark An exceptionally skilled player of pool (billiards), often playing for money; Hannali revealed himself to be a pool shark in Eufaula, winning considerable sums from unsuspecting white men [204, 224].

Poor Buffalo A leader among the Kiowa Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Poor Peter Pitchlynn! Lafferty's recurring expression of sympathy and lament for Peter Pitchlynn, particularly regarding his perceived

decline from possessing *aleika* magic and his eventual death as an assimilated figure [12, 196, 198, 216, 218].

"Pop-skull" Slang term for cheap, low-quality, potent whiskey, often associated with the rough conditions of frontier towns; characteristic of the Kansas railhead towns during the cattle drive era [206, 226].

Pork The meat of pigs; used by Pass Christian to entice the fox [15, 35]; Strange Choate provided salt pork to the Fort Gibson garrison [49, 69]; needed by Hannali to provision his settlement [50, 70]; Hannali worked as a pork salter [74, 94].

Pork salter An individual who preserves pork using salt; listed as one of Hannali Innominee's diverse occupations [74, 94].

Porcupine Cheyenne man known by Hannali, son of Porcupine Bear [67, 87].

Porcupine Bear Cheyenne man known by Hannali, father of Porcupine [67, 87].

Portage The practice of carrying boats or goods overland between navigable waterways; the route up the Canadian River required a difficult, twenty-hour-long day's portage to reach Santa Fe [39, 59, 111, 116, 131, 136].

Post Noun: Trading post (Alinton DuShane's/Hannali's) [38, 39, 53, 58, 59, 73]; military post (Forts) [*passim*]; sentinel's station ("walking a post") [103, 123]. Verb: To mail or send (letters) [Example].

Poste DuShane The trading post established by Alinton DuShane on the South Canadian River, which Hannali Innominee subsequently took over and developed into the center of his extensive Hannali House estate [39, 40, 53, 58, 60, 73].

Pot Noun: Cooking vessel ("last pot" traded for spirits [72, 92]; kettle needed for *pishofa* [95, 115]; chamber pot traded [113]). Figurative: Biloxi Innominee inherited the "pot" (representing perhaps stolidness or physical bulk) from his father Barua's legacy [43, 63, 163].

Potawatomis (Prairie Band, Woods Band) Algonquian tribal groups originally from the Great Lakes region; Prairie Band Potawatomis were removed from Iowa, and Woods Band Potawatomis from Kansas, to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Potatoes Edible starchy tubers; "Comanche potatoes" were actually prairie turnips [11, 149, 168, 169]; Hannali planned to plant turnips and potatoes as part of establishing his settlement [45, 65].

Poteau Bottom Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Potlatch(es) Ceremonial feasts, particularly associated with Northwest Coast indigenous peoples but used here to describe traditional seasonal feasts involving gift-giving practiced by Southeastern tribes like the Choctaws, later merged with Christmas celebrations [96, 116].

Powder Face Plains Indian leader (tribe unspecified) mentioned by Hannali near the end of his life among the great figures who had passed away [212, 232].

Prairie Dog Town Creek Branch Identified as one of the tributaries or forks that combine to form the Red River of the South [115, 135].

Prairie Grove Site of a significant Civil War battle fought in northwestern Arkansas on December 7, 1862; listed among the locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Preacher(man) A minister of a Protestant Christian denomination; a fundamentalist preacher theorized God invented the alphabet [83, 103]; an itinerant preacher married Hannali and Martha Louisiana [52, 72]; a visiting preacherman provided Hannali with a reading list [84, 104]; Forbis Agent was an itinerant preacher [118, 138]; a preacherman delivered the invocation at the 1861 United Nations assembly [135, 155].

Preston (Texas) Town located in North Texas near the Red River, serving as a major gathering point and crossing site for cattle herds heading north into Indian Territory [206, 226].

Priest(s) Ordained ministers of the Catholic Church; French Jesuit Mathurin le Petit first known among Choctaws [10, 30]; Catholic priests visited the Innominee family infrequently over generations [33, 53, 88, 108]; Hannali feared the priest ("the word 'incomprehensible'") used words he didn't understand [11, 31]; confirmation of marriage by priest stipulated [52, 72]; the dying "skeleton priest" (Vincentian from Missouri) visited Hannali House [87-88, 107-108]; families in Choctaw South hadn't seen priest in 100

years [204]; Father Isidore Robot arrived 1874 [204]; Anna-Hata sent husband for priest [217, 218, 219].

Principality A territory ruled by a prince, or a position of authority; also refers to a high rank of angel or, often, fallen angel/demon; used metaphorically by Lafferty to describe Hannali's final battle with Whiteman Falaya ("battle with the principality") [11, 172, 175, 192, 195].

Prohibition The legal banning of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages; Lafferty notes that the "blight of prohibition was early on the Territory," leading to establishments like the Eufaula drugstore secretly functioning as saloons [213, 233].

Promoters Individuals who organize, finance, or publicize ventures; Joseph McCoy, T.C. Henry, Charles Goodnight, and Shanghai Pierce are named as key promoters associated with the Old Wild West cattle drives and towns [207, 227].

Prosperity The state of being successful, thriving, or flourishing, especially financially; Hannali achieved great material prosperity during the Big Decade [110, 111, 130, 131]; this was a period of general prosperity for all Territory Indians [110, 130]; Peter Pitchlynn claimed to work for Choctaw prosperity [91, 111]; new prosperity was threatened by internal schism [99, 119]; Forbis Agent didn't need to create prosperity, as enough existed [118, 138].

Puchshenubbee One of the four great Choctaw patriarchs mentioned in the Prologue [2, 22]; defied Pushmataha and survived, qualifying him for Moshulatubbee's "dead man club" [8, 28]. (Also spelled **Apukshunubbee**).

Pumpkin(s) Hannali was described as being as "ripe as a fall pumpkin and as round" in his old age [214, 234]; Hannali brought three hundred pumpkins from Creek country for the large Christmas feast at his home [97, 117].

Punctuation Marks used in writing to separate sentences and clarify meaning; Lafferty notes that educated Choctaws of Hannali's era tended to use punctuation either insufficiently ("not at all") or excessively and randomly [5, 25].

Punishment A penalty imposed for an offense; forfeiture of half their lands was imposed on the Five Tribes as punishment for Confederate

alliances (though applied unevenly) [191, 211]; the Cherokee defection at Bird Creek would be "punished later" [167]; soldiers asked if they should "punish my men" for alleged assaults [104, 124]; Hannali asked why God "punished us so grievously" [11, 172].

"Puritan Indians" Term applied by Lafferty to the Snake Creeks (Opothleyahola's followers), suggesting they possessed strong moral principles ("absolutely honest," abhorred vulgarity) but lacked the fanaticism associated with white Puritans [152, 172].

Purple Color; Pushmataha would swell up and turn purple when crossed [7, 8, 27, 28]; persimmons turned purple after being touched by frost [94, 114].

Q

Quadhadi Comanches A band within the Comanche Nation, listed among the numerous tribal groups relocated into Indian Territory following the U.S. Civil War [192, 212].

Quanah Parker Prominent Comanche chief (c. 1845-1911) known personally by Hannali Innominee from his travels among Plains tribes [68, 88]; identified as a key Indian leader during the Old Wild West Days period [207]; noted by Hannali in his later years as having become a "tame Indian" residing at the Anadarko Agency [212, 232].

Quantrill, Charles Confederate guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill (1837-1865), described as the "devil Charles Quantrill" who operated with a Confederate "license to murder" and whose infamous raiders included Frank and Jesse James [187, 207].

Quapaw smoke The characteristic smoke arising from Quapaw settlements; Hannali, upon first approaching Poste DuShane, momentarily misidentified the scent of French and Shawnee smoke as being Quapaw smoke [38, 58].

Quapaw(s) Indigenous tribe associated with the Arkansas region, present in Indian Territory prior to the main Southeastern removals [24, 44, 63]; encountered by the 1828 Exploration party [24, 44]; government traders purchased corn from Quapaws (and Osages) for

resale at inflated prices to arriving Trail Indians [72, 92]; some Quapaw individuals joined the diverse "Elites" supporting Opothleyahola's neutral faction [147, 167]; listed among the tribes formally removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192, 212]; recalled by Hannali among the many nations he had known [218, 238].

Quarries Hannali Innominee operated quarries as one of his diverse business enterprises that supported his estate and the Choctaw North community [74, 94].

Quarter section(s) Standard unit of land measurement in the U.S. Public Land Survey System, equal to 160 acres; David L. Payne fervently advocated that every man had a God-given right to own one quarter section, viewing it as the "natural plot" essential for complete manhood, and used this belief to justify the Boomer movement aimed at settling the Unassigned Lands under the Homestead Act [208, 209, 228, 229].

Querns Traditional hand-operated mills used for grinding grain; the Choctaws' use of hand querns for grinding their own corn contributed to the initial lack of demand for Papa Barua Innominee's water-powered grain mill [13, 33].

Quill pens Included among the school supplies sent to Marie DuShane [82, 102]; Hannali later ordered fine quill pens imported from England as part of equipping himself for greater literacy and correspondence [84, 104].

Quinahiwi (Quina-hiwa) A Caddo leader known personally by Hannali Innominee [68, 88]; Albert Pike secured his signature on a Confederate treaty, presenting him as the principal chief, although the Caddoes lacked a single high chief, an act which disregarded other leaders and fostered internal conflict [139, 159].

Quit(s) The term signifying surrender or cessation within the context of the traditional Choctaw head-thwacking game demonstrated by Hannali in New Orleans; the contest continued until one participant "called it quits" [32, 52].

R

Raccoon (*Mats-Kumh*) A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee [67, 87].

Raft builder (*Oklabashih*) Epithet describing *Oklabashih*, the figure in Choctaw mythology analogous to the biblical Noah, who constructed a great raft to survive the primordial flood [2, 22].

Rafts Used by Papa Barua Innominee to transport produce downriver to the Gulf Coast [13, 33]. Hannali possessed a raft near his home but chose to swim the icy Canadian River on his final night rather than use it [214, 234].

Raiders Confederate raiders like Quantrill and Watie operated in the Territory [187]; Union forces conducted retaliatory raids [187]; the attackers who destroyed Hannali House and massacred his family are consistently referred to as "raiders" [174, 178-180, 182, 184]; Kiowas known as "terror raiders" [212, 232].

Rail fences Hannali built miles of these fences on his property, remnants of which were reportedly scavenged for firewood for a century afterward [71, 91].

Railroads Their arrival in Indian Territory after the Civil War caused major disruption, leading established towns to relocate to be near the lines, severing old continuities [12, 198, 203, 223]. Several major railroads (Hannibal & St. Joe, Leavenworth Pawnee & Western, Kansas Pacific, Missouri Pacific, Santa Fe) are listed as associated with the Old Wild West era, facilitating cattle transport and westward expansion [207, 227]. Kansas railheads were the destinations for the great cattle drives [206, 215, 226].

Rain The Latin blessing spoken by the dying priest was like "rain on parched sod" [88, 108]; the fake green color came off Pickens' panther skin when exposed to rain [149, 169]. Metaphorically, the Civil War violence was depicted as a "sticky red rain" [142, 162] or "raining blood" [141, 161].

Ranching An activity, along with farming, that the Five Tribes learned successfully in Indian Territory prior to the Civil War [110, 130].

Ranchers Contrasted with "farmer fencers" as representing the open-range culture of the Old Wild West that was eventually superseded [205, 211, 225, 231].

Rape Occurring unobserved in the lawless "Country Behind God's Back" era [24, 44]; listed among the atrocities committed by Whiteman Falaya [57, 77].

Rat(s) Potential food eaten by the panther in Luvinia's story [95, 115]; the subtle sound of a "field rat" moving through grass roots helped Hannali track Whiteman Falaya [176, 196]. Also used as a derogatory term for people ("French river rats") [34, 54].

Rattlesnake A remarkably ancient (seven-hundred-year-old), blind rattlesnake encountered on the mountain served as the final confirmation of the rediscovered Nanih Waiya site for Hannali and the Choctaw pilgrims, dying after fulfilling its purpose [78, 98].

Rattlesnake-clan Identified as the most ancient *uski* (clan or totem group) among the Choctaws, predating their later associations with crayfish, deer, or bear clans [78, 98].

Raw Uncooked (meat eaten "near raw" by Hannali's traveling party [77, 97]); Crude or undisciplined ("raw-acting men" in the U.S. Army passing through the Territory [100, 120]); Blunt or underdeveloped (Pike's tactic of forging names deemed "a little raw" even for frontier politics [137, 157]).

Rector, Elias Confederate Superintendent of Indian Affairs, based at Fort Smith; Albert Pike reported his available funds (over \$265,000 in specie) to Rector in a letter dated January 28, 1862 [136, 156].

Red Color associated with various elements: Hannali's "big red heart" [5, 25]; Papa Barua's ceremonial "red coat" [14, 15, 34, 35]; the symbolic opposite of white ("all red") [13, 33]; Hannali's "ruby-red window" [60, 80]; Hannali's "livid-red" face paint [74, 94]; the "big red wagon" used by the Innominees [111, 131]; Red Bear (Caddo leader) [68, 88]; Red Cloud (Sioux leader) [68, 88]; the "red-coated huntsmen" in Barua's hunt [16, 36]; Hannali's "red roses" [179, 199]; the "Great Red Flowering" massacre [11, 178, 198]; the term "Red Men" for Indians [14, 34, 200, 220]; the Red River [passim]; Red River District [54, 74]; Red River Station [206]; Red Sleeve (Apache leader) [68, 88]; Creek red turbans [9, 74, 94]; red-trimmed school slates [82, 102]; the

metaphorical "sticky red rain" of blood [142, 162]; Marie DuShane's mouth red with Martha's blood [62, 82].

Red Bear A leader among the Caddo Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Red Beard's Dance Hall Named as a representative saloon or entertainment venue found in Old West cattle towns [207, 227].

Red Cloud (1822–1909) Highly influential Oglala Lakota Sioux chief and war leader; known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Red coat The striking scarlet ceremonial coat acquired by Papa Barua Innominee from New Orleans (via Pass Christian); its possession inspired him to organize the legendary, chaotic fox hunt [14, 16, 34, 36].

Red Fork (of the Arkansas) The historical name used during the Civil War period for the Cimarron River, a major tributary of the Arkansas River [156, 176, 184].

Red Man A term historically used by non-Natives to refer to American Indians; Hannali expresses skepticism about its origin and accuracy ("Red Men which is likewise questionable") [200, 220].

Red man Generic term for a Native American male; Papa Barua wore a "red man turban" with his coat [14, 34].

Red River Major river forming the southern boundary between Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and Texas; designated as the southern border for the Choctaw Nation's lands in the Territory [40, 60]; fed by tributaries including the Washita, Blue, Boggy, Kiamichi, Little River, and Mountain Fork [37, 41, 57, 61]; its headwaters were mistakenly conflated on U.S. maps with a different Red River in New Mexico [115]; Robert Jones operated plantations and steamboats on or near it [108, 128]; key crossings included Colbert's Ferry and Red River Station [206].

Red River District An alternative name frequently used for the Oklafalaya District, the southeastern administrative region of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory [54, 74].

Red River Station A crossing point on the Red River, known as a significant location for cattle drives heading north out of Texas during the Old Wild West era [206, 226].

Red Sleeve A leader among the Apache people known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Red turban The characteristic color of turban traditionally worn by Creek Indian men, distinguishing them from the green turbans worn by Choctaws like Hannali [9, 74, 94].

Reed Part of the vegetation in Hitchiti Meadow where Hannali tracked Whiteman Falaya [175, 195].

Repeating rifle Hannali fantasized about using a giant, self-made repeating rifle against the attackers at Round Mountains [159]; the raiders attacking Hannali House were armed with effective repeating rifles like the Henrys [179, 199].

Republic of Texas The independent nation that existed from 1836 until its annexation by the United States in 1845; its declaration of independence from Mexico was driven primarily by the desire to establish slavery [100, 120]. President Anson Jones presided over its transition to statehood [100, 120].

Reserve Squadron A Confederate military unit within Tandy Walker's Second Confederate Indian Brigade, commanded by Captain George Washington, the Caddo chief [187, 207].

Reverends Isaac McCoy and Samuel Worchester Two prominent Protestant missionaries known for their work among Native American tribes; mentioned together as "devoted missionaries" who were welcomed and entertained by Hannali at his Big House for extended periods [59, 79].

Revolt of the Rich against the Poor A phrase, attributed by Lafferty to an unnamed "better man," used to critically reframe the Jacksonian revolution; argues it was not a populist movement but one that primarily benefited wealthy elites through the seizure of Indian lands and the expansion of slavery [27, 47].

Rifle(s) Hannali owned and expertly used a precision rifle [57, 77], preferring it over the bow for certain hunting [74, 94]; carried rifle

during pilgrimage [76, 96] and across saddle horn [98, 118]; used to snipe at trespassers [143, 163] and kill raiders [179, 180]. Snake Creeks lacked sufficient good rifles [152, 172]. types mentioned: Sharp's Carbines, Spencers, Henrys (used by raiders) [179]; Marie DuShane's light squirrel rifle [179, 200]; repeating rifle [159, 179]. Skill with rifle highlighted (Jim Ned [146, 154], Blau [153], Travis [154]).

Rifle, light squirrel A small-caliber rifle, likely intended for hunting small game, belonging to Marie DuShane; she used it during the final defense of Hannali House [179, 199].

Rileys Surname associated with the "green-Irish blood" element contributing to the cultural background and Catholic influence in the Choctaw North [204, 224].

Rio Grande Major river forming the border between Texas and Mexico; the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande was contentiously claimed by Texas upon annexation, and the advance of U.S. troops into this disputed zone under General Taylor deliberately provoked the U.S.-Mexican War [100, 120].

Robot, Father Isidore (1837-1888, though text dates arrival 1874) Bohemian Benedictine priest who established St. Patrick's Church in Atoka, Choctaw Nation South, in 1874, effectively re-establishing a formal Catholic presence welcomed by Choctaws familiar with the Jesuit tradition [204, 224].

Rock(s) Used literally for throwing stones [10], building fences [71], as projectiles [178], geological formations (Big Lime [37], Winding Stair Mountains [78]), building materials (sandstone, crab orchard stone, granite [60, 80]), and landscape features (rock waste [101], rim rocks [169], Flat Rock [142]). Used metaphorically for age ("old as the rocks") [11] and foundation ("truth rock") [134].

Rock fences Boundary fences constructed by Hannali using piled stones, noted for their durability; remnants were still visible centuries later [71, 91].

Rock salt Used by Mama Chapponia as ammunition in her shotgun during the fox hunt [17, 37].

Rock waste A barren area covered with rocks; Sally Innominee was found mauled but alive in such an area between two fields after being attacked by Whiteman Falaya [101, 121].

Rodney The name of one of the steamboats operating on the Mississippi River route between New Orleans and St. Louis during the 1820s [34, 54].

Rollers Required to transport granite blocks for the Big House [60, 80]; anticipated as needed to move Hannali's heavy coffin out the door [220, 240].

Rolling Bull A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

Roman Nose (c. 1830–1868) Renowned Southern Cheyenne war chief; known personally by Hannali [67, 87]; recalled by Hannali among the great departed leaders [212, 232].

Roman Nose Thunder Cheyenne warrior who visited Hannali House [59, 79]; known personally by Hannali [67, 87]; recalled by Hannali among the great departed leaders [212, 232]. (Possibly the same individual as Roman Nose, or a relative/namesake)

Root Hog Name given to one of Robert M. Jones's six large slave plantations [108, 128].

Ropes Used by boys on foot to deliberately trip the hunters on horseback during Papa Barua's chaotic fox hunt [17, 37].

Rosary Hannali wore a rosary around his neck in his later, more visibly pious years [203, 223].

Rose Hill The name of Robert M. Jones's principal and most elaborate plantation, site of his grand house featuring imported French furnishings and formal English gardens [108, 128].

Roses Hannali had planted red roses in front of his Big House, enjoying their "flick of red splendor," which contrasted tragically with the "great red flowering" of the house burning during the final attack [179, 199].

Ross Cherokees The faction of the Cherokee Nation loyal to Principal Chief John Ross, generally representing the traditionalist, full-blood element that favored neutrality or sided with the Union during the Civil War [58, 78].

Ross, John (1790–1866) Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation for nearly four decades; visited Hannali House [59, 79]. Initially a strong advocate for Cherokee neutrality ("Do nothing...") [124, 144]. Coerced by Albert Pike into signing a Confederate treaty which also forced him to accept his bitter rival Stand Watie as co-chief, a situation designed to ensure internal conflict [140, 160].

Round Mountains, Battle of The first major engagement (November 19, 1861) between Opothleyahola's fleeing neutralist Indians (primarily Upper Creeks and Seminoles) and Confederate forces (Lower Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Texas Cavalry) under Colonel Douglas Cooper (156, 177). Taking place near the Cimarron River crossing (156), it was a battle precipitated by Opothleyahola's need to defend his people while retreating north. The battle is characterized by the Confederates' disastrous decision to employ a massed cavalry charge against the entrenched, well-led, though poorly armed, defenders (158, 177). This charge was met with a "withering, murderous, unerring, concentrated rifle fire" from the neutralist "Elites" and Snakes, resulting in heavy Confederate casualties and a panicked retreat (159, 161). The battle was marked by extreme brutality, including scalping (157) and the massacre of women and children at break-through points (157). Though tactically a victory for Opothleyahola (holding the field and forcing a retreat), it was strategically a loss for both sides ("the battle everybody lost" (160)), decimating the Snake Creeks and demoralizing the Confederates. The mysterious appearance of a giant "Mingo form" or "fetch" resembling Hannali during the decisive volley adds a layer of mythic resonance to the conflict (159).

Round Mountain Landing A river landing established by Hannali about twenty miles upstream from Fort Coffee, used for distributing free corn after being blocked at Fort Coffee itself [72, 92].

Round Mountains Site of the first major battle (November 19, 1861) between Opothleyahola's neutral Creeks and Confederate forces [11, 148, 151, 152, 156-161, 163-164, 167-172, 176-178, 180-181, 183, 187-189, 191, 209]. Located north of the Cimarron River, the name is paradoxical as there are no actual mountains there [156]. Site of a devastating

Confederate volley tactic failure, but ultimately a strategic loss for the heavily outnumbered and outgunned neutral forces, who suffered significant casualties, including women and children [157, 159, 160]. Became a haunting memory for survivors [189].

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778) Genevan philosopher and writer influential during the Enlightenment; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures [122, 142].

Ruby-red window A distinctive architectural feature, a window made of ruby-red glass, which Hannali incorporated into his Big House, described as giving it "force and power" [60, 80].

Rutherford, Samuel Named as the Confederate Indian agent assigned to the Seminole Nation during the Civil War [59, 79, 127, 147].

S

Sabers Swords, particularly cavalry swords with curved blades; twirled by some Confederate horsemen during their ill-fated massed charge at the Battle of Round Mountains [160, 180].

Sabine Estuary The complex of bays and waterways where the Sabine River enters the Gulf of Mexico, on the border of Texas and Louisiana; identified as the coastal landing point for contraband African slaves being smuggled into the region for Robert M. Jones's plantations [108, 128].

Sac and Fox Indians Historically allied Algonquian tribes originally from the Great Lakes region; remnants were among the diverse groups relocated into Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Sack A bag, typically made of coarse material; Hannali carried provisions (corn hominy) in a sack during his pilgrimage [76, 96]; Pickens the trader carried a small sack of corn [113, 134] and traded a sack of pecan shells [113]; in a tall tale, an Anadarko captured Pickens' soul in a sack made from a deer's stomach [114, 134].

Sacraments Sacred rites recognized as channels of divine grace in Christian traditions; the dying Catholic priest administered sacraments (likely Confession, Communion, Extreme Unction) to Hannali's extended household, including family, Black workers, visiting Creeks, and Osages [87, 107].

Sacred Regarded with great reverence and respect, often as holy or inviolable; the stogie (cigar) held a sacred status for Choctaws [7, 11, 27, 31]; the pipe was considered sacred by all Indians [11, 31]; families were emphasized as "sacred things" [85, 105].

Sadist An individual who derives pleasure from inflicting pain or cruelty on others; Lafferty poses the question whether Stand Watie was a "diabolical sadist" as one possible interpretation of his extreme wartime brutality [122, 142].

Safe A secure, lockable container for protecting valuables; Hannali acquired a steel safe brought upriver from New Orleans, which established him as a banker within the community [74, 94]. Used metaphorically when Hannali advised people to put money in a "safe place" rather than spend it [91, 111].

Saint Peter Refers to the Apostle Peter; also, the name given to a formidable "big Negro man" who fought among Opothleyahola's diverse "Elites," described as someone reliable "to have beside you in a scrap" [154, 159, 174, 179].

Salina Town in present-day Mayes County, Oklahoma, site of the historically significant Grand Saline salt deposits [49, 69]; identified as the birthplace of Hannali's wife Natchez [70, 90]. Also listed as a Civil War battle site where Territory Indians fought or died [142, 162]. Alternately, the given name for Hannali's daughter Sally [9, 70, 86, 90, 172].

Salina Innominee (Sally) Daughter of Hannali Innominee and Natchez [70, 86, 90]; known for her sparkling beauty, resembling her mother [86, 106]. Subject of crude desire ("Sally for a Week") [86, 106]. Later showed signs of emotional distress ("somewhat empty-faced from her troubles") [201, 221]. Brutally murdered by Whiteman Falaya near Hannali House as bait to lure Hannali into a final confrontation [101, 121, 172-173, 184, 193]. Described posthumously as the "best girl ever" but long "defective in her mind" [173].

Sallisaw Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Saloon(s) Establishments primarily engaged in selling alcoholic beverages for consumption on the premises; typical feature of Old West cattle towns (*Alamo*, "Joe Brennan's," "Keno House," "Red Beard's Dance Hall" listed as examples) [207, 227]; the back room of the Eufaula drugstore where Hannali socialized also served as a saloon due to early Prohibition laws in the Territory [213, 233].

Salt Sodium chloride, used for seasoning and preservation; rock salt used as shotgun ammunition [17, 37]; "Cherokee salt" (a yellow rock traded by Pickens) [113]; salt pork provisions [49, 69]; naturally occurring salt harvested from "salt seeps" like Grand Saline [70, 90]; Luvinia's personality associated with potent natural salt containing *galena* and *niter*, contrasted with her daughter Martha-Child's "refined store salt" [149, 174, 201, 221, 222].

Salt Fork Identified as one of the tributaries that combine to form the Red River of the South system [115, 135].

Salt pork Pork cured with salt for preservation; provided by Strange Choate to the garrison at Fort Gibson [49, 69].

Saltworks Facilities for producing salt, likely through evaporation of brine; operated by the Innominee family as one of their businesses in Mississippi before Removal [19, 39].

San Antonio Major city in Texas; noted by R.A. Lafferty as the location of the Naylor Company publishing house [xvi, 18]; identified as the southern anchor point below which many large cattle herds were assembled before being driven north through Indian Territory [206, 226].

Sand Loose granular material, typically composed of finely divided rock and mineral particles; the "south sand soil" of the original Okla Hannali district in Mississippi [13, 33]; rushes were spread on sand to create a dance floor [20, 40]; wet sand in the muddy ravine held distinct tracks [129, 149]; the sand plum was the Choctaw forbidden fruit [1, 7, 21, 72, 92, 148, 168].

Sand Plum Identified in the Choctaw creation/fall novel as the "forbidden fruit" (1, 21). According to the prologue's encapsulated

history, the Choctaws, by eating the sand plum, "lost the easy way and must climb the hard hill forever" (1, 21). This positions the sand plum as the Choctaw equivalent of the biblical Tree of Knowledge, symbolizing a fall from a state of primal grace or ease into a world of toil, hardship, and perhaps moral complexity. Its identification as a *sand* plum roots this foundational myth in the particular ecology of the Choctaw homeland. The concept introduces a theological dimension to the Choctaw experience from the outset, framing their subsequent history, including the suffering of removal and the challenges of adaptation, within a novel of inherent struggle resulting from a primordial transgression. It parallels the Christian concept of Original Sin while providing a distinctly Choctaw mythological element, a shared human condition of striving against self-inflicted difficulty.

Sandstone A type of sedimentary rock; listed along with crab orchard stone and shale as building materials transported for the construction of Hannali's Big House [60, 80].

Sandusky Senecas A group of Seneca Indians (Iroquoian tribe) residing in Indian Territory; Albert Pike secured a Confederate treaty allegedly signed by "Little Tom Spicer" and "Small Cloud Spicer," names Lafferty identifies as likely forged titles ("Chief of the Little Town Band," "Chief of the Small Cloud Band") [140, 160]. Two-thirds of this group subsequently escaped the Confederate alliance and fled to Kansas [140, 160]; remnants were later included in an omnibus tribal grouping by the U.S. government [192, 212].

Sangre de Cristo Mountains Mountain range located in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico; Alinton Innominee's party pushed their last remaining flatboat nearly to the summit of this range during their arduous journey toward Santa Fe [116, 136].

Sansbois Mountains Mountain range in eastern Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma); part of the landscape assessed by the 1828 Exploration party [37, 57]; Hannali's group skirted this range during their pilgrimage south towards Nanih Waiya [77, 97].

Santa Fe Historic city in New Mexico, terminus of the Santa Fe Trail; accessible via the Canadian River route according to Hannali [10, 39, 59, 111, 112, 115, 116, 131, 132, 135, 136]; Alinton Innominee traveled there during his wandering year [116, 119, 139]; men associated with

the "Santa Fe run" were among the Elites aiding Opothleyahola [147, 167]; the Santa Fe Railroad was a major line in the region [207].

Santa Fe Railroad The *Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway*, a major railroad company whose expansion played a significant role during the Old Wild West Days era [207].

Santee Dakotas The eastern division of the Dakota Sioux people; mentioned alongside Teton and Yankton divisions as part of the "Nadoues-Sioux" whose parallel civilization was destroyed [195, 215].

Sapulpa, Emily Child belonging to the McIntosh faction of the Creek Nation, sister of John Sapulpa; visited Hannali House during the extended stay of the Pass Christian Innominee family [93, 113].

Sapulpa, John Child belonging to the McIntosh faction of the Creek Nation, brother of Emily Sapulpa; visited Hannali House and was an exceptionally skilled pecan tree climber, even better than the Innominee boys [93, 94, 113, 114].

Sarah (Strange Choate's wife) Wife of the Cherokee elder Strange Choate and mother of his four grown sons; present at their settlement during the hog scalding when Hannali visited [49, 69].

Satank (Sitting Bear) (c. 1800–1871) Prominent Kiowa war chief; known personally by Hannali Innominee [68, 88].

Satanta (White Bear) (c. 1820–1878) Prominent Kiowa chief, known for his oratorical skills and resistance to U.S. expansion; known personally by Hannali Innominee [68, 88].

Satire The use of humor, irony, exaggeration, or ridicule to expose and criticize people's stupidity or vices; Peter Pitchlynn quoted an unnamed man who claimed that Indians were merely a "satire on the white men, as the white men are only a satire on the gods" [127, 147].

Sawyer and Ficklin Operators of a major stagecoach line providing transportation services across the plains during the Old Wild West Days era [207].

Scalping(s) The act of removing the scalp of an enemy as a trophy or proof of kill; Comanche scalps were seen displayed on poles in Cheyenne camps [69, 89]; shockingly crude and non-traditional

scalpings were performed at the Battle of Round Mountains, attributed by Lafferty to non-Indian participants [157, 177].

Scarecrow A figure, typically human-shaped, set up in fields to frighten birds away from crops; Hannali had one in his south fields that possessed the magical ability to talk and whistle, becoming a subject of interest for the visiting children [93, 114].

Scent An odor or smell; ability to nearly vanish scent associated with Plains Indians' breath control [43]; Hannali identified settlements by smoke scent [38]; smell of burning pine [34]; Hannali tracked Whiteman Falaya by scent containing arrogance and fear [176]; Whiteman's scent disappeared, signaling his escape [105]; Hannali remembered every scent he ever smelled [131, 220]; distinct scents attributed to various tribes (Poncas/beaver, Comanches/mesquite tea, Kiowas/alkali & mares' milk, Creeks/wheat & glue) [151, 171]; hot-smoke scent of burning house [178].

Schism of nation Deep internal division within a tribal nation; plagued the Five Tribes (especially Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees) as they gained prosperity in Indian Territory, intensifying into the violent factionalism of the Civil War era [2, 99, 119].

School(s) Institutions for education; R.A. Lafferty attended school with Indian children [xvii]; Marie DuShane established an informal school for the Innominee household [82]; Choctaw academies founded in the Territory (Spencer, Fort Coffee, Armstrong) attended by Hannali's sons [110, 130]; children sent to expensive Eastern schools by wealthy Southern Choctaws [135]; post-war "white-people schools" taught colonial history, neglecting tribal pasts [200].

Science fiction Genre of fiction dealing with imaginative concepts like futuristic science, space travel, and alternative worlds; R.A. Lafferty primarily known as a science fiction writer, winner of *Hugo Award* [xi, 13]; Lafferty references an old science fiction story about free will [197].

Scioto (Sudden Scott) Term possibly indicating the place of origin (Scioto County, Ohio, or Scioto River valley) for the Texan fighter known as Sudden Scott, one of the "Elites" aiding Opothleyahola [150, 170].

Scott, Sudden One of the four formidable Texan fighters ("Elites") who joined Opothleyahola's neutral cause [150, 170]; participated in the defense at Round Mountains [159]; rode rearguard with Jeremiah Judd during the retreat, using a captured Confederate bugle to mock pursuers [161, 162].

Scottish Relating to Scotland or its people; Chizem's father was Scottish [48, 68]; Creek Indians intermarried significantly with Scottish traders and settlers [107, 127].

Screed A long, tedious discourse or piece of writing; used by Lafferty to describe lengthy, unpunctuated legal depositions made by Choctaws [5, 25], and for the unusually long, handwritten threatening note left by Whiteman Falaya after Sally's murder [173, 193].

Scrivener A professional scribe, clerk, or notary; the Psalmist's verse invoked at the 1861 assembly compares the tongue to the "pen of the scrivener that writeth swiftly" [135, 155].

Scrip Substitute currency or tokens issued by an entity other than a government; the "Choctaw dollars" issued by a Doaksville store functioned as scrip [98, 118].

Sebastian County, Arkansas County in western Arkansas bordering Indian Territory; location of Strange Choate's family land holdings, accessible from Fort Coffee Academy and visited by Famous Innominee [93, 110, 113, 130].

Second Street (Tulsa) A street in Tulsa, Oklahoma, identified by Lafferty (along with First Street) as a place where one might hear characteristic Choctaw speech patterns in establishments like barrooms [5, 25].

"Second Time of Troubles" Lafferty's term for the devastating period encompassing the Civil War and its aftermath in Indian Territory, during which Hannali stopped adding to his Big House [60, 80].

Sect(s) A subgroup within a larger religious denomination; the itinerant preacher who married Hannali and Martha Louisiana belonged to "one of the sects" [52, 72].

Sedwick County, Kansas County in south-central Kansas; one of the locations where Boomer leader David L. Payne had previously filed a homestead claim [210, 230].

Seed corn Corn kernels saved for planting the next crop; Hannali wagered seed corn in the New Orleans poker game [31, 51]; crucial for rebuilding after the Civil War, Hannali was one of the few who had managed to preserve caches of seed corn [191, 210]; lack of seed corn was a major post-war problem [189, 209].

Seed wheat Wheat kernels saved for planting; noted as completely unavailable in the Territory immediately following the Civil War [190, 210].

Self-sufficiency The quality of being able to provide for one's own needs without external assistance; a key characteristic of the traditionalist Moshulatubbee District / Choctaw North "Manor system," admired by Peter Pitchlynn but seen by him as needing integration with wider commerce [91, 99, 111, 119].

Seminole Indians One of the Five Civilized Tribes, originating primarily in Florida through amalgamation of various groups; suffered greatly under U.S. removal policies [23, 43]; present at 1828 Exploration party assembly? (No, commissioned others) [55]; noted for specialized medical knowledge (herbalists, curers, etc.) [166]; historical leaders included Alligator, Billy Bowlegs (Bolek), John Chupco, Pliny Fisk, Halleck Tustennuggee [59, 138, 145, 158, 165, 166]; Gopher John became a Black Seminole chief [59, 79]; Pike signed treaty with faction led by John Jumper [138, 158]; fought fiercely in Florida Wars, saving nation from complete extinction [145, 146, 166, 190]; dissident Seminoles joined Opothleyahola's neutral Creeks [150, 152, 170, 172]; suffered heaviest land loss post-Civil War (80%), only Confederate faction retained land [193]; Samuel Rutherford Confederate agent to them [127, 147]; mentioned by Hannali among nations known [218, 238].

Senate (Choctaw) The upper house of the Choctaw Nation's bicameral legislature in Indian Territory; Hannali Innominee was elected and served multiple terms as a Senator, typically representing a minority, conservative viewpoint [111, 131, 203, 223].

Senate (US) The upper house of the United States Congress; initially refused to accept the fraudulent Choctaw treaty engineered by Major

Haley in 1830 [26, 46]; later received President Jackson's defiant 1831 message refusing to enforce Indian protection laws [27, 47].

Senator Innominee Title held by Hannali Innominee during his service in the Choctaw Senate; used when he engaged in official business in Tuskahoma or informal activities like playing pool in Eufaula [60, 80, 150, 174, 203, 214, 223, 224, 234].

Senecas (Mixed Band) A group residing in Indian Territory formed by remnants of Seneca and other tribes (including Shawnees); Albert Pike negotiated a Confederate treaty with them via leaders Lewis Davis and Joseph Mohawk [140, 160]. Two-thirds fled to Kansas [140, 160]. Later included in an omnibus administrative tribal grouping [192, 212].

Sequoyah (c. 1770–1843) Cherokee silversmith famed for inventing the Cherokee syllabary, a unique and highly effective writing system for the Cherokee language; compared by Hannali to Moses, recognized as achieving something done only one other time in history (invention of the original alphabet) [9, 82-83, 102-103].

Sergeant A non-commissioned military rank; the ghost identified by the sentry as "Whitman Long" was described as a sergeant [103, 123]; Robert Pike signed his farewell note to Hannali as "Robert Pike, Sergeant," indicating his former Union Army rank [182, 202].

Seven Bulls A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali Innominee [67, 87].

Seven years Duration mentioned in relation to the biblical limit observed by some Southeastern tribes for holding slaves before potential release or adoption [7, 13, 33].

Shack A small, crudely built cabin or hut; the dwelling constructed and shared by the four young Irish homesteaders (including Lafferty's father and uncle) near Snyder, Oklahoma [xvi, 18].

Shakespeare, William (1564–1616) Renowned English playwright and poet; included on the preacher's reading list for Hannali, who compared his work to a "Grasshopper Creek Indian doing the spear dance" [84, 104].

Shale A type of fine-grained sedimentary rock formed from mud or clay; listed among the stone materials used in the construction of Hannali's Big House [60, 80].

Shanghai Pierce Abel Head "Shanghai" Pierce (1834–1900), colorful and influential Texas cattleman; listed among the well-known promoters associated with the Old Wild West cattle drive era [207, 227].

Sharp's Carbines Carbines manufactured by the Sharps Rifle Manufacturing Company, known for their accuracy and reliability; identified as among the modern firearms used by the raiders attacking Hannali House [179, 199].

Shavehead A leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Shaving The act of removing facial hair; Hannali practiced shaving infrequently by singeing off his sparse whiskers with a candle flame, a traditional method [10, 143, 163].

Shawnee Indians Algonquian tribe originally from the Ohio Valley region; Silvestre DuShane identified as part Shawnee [19, 39]; Alinton DuShane was French-Shawnee [38, 58, 111, 131]; Marie DuShane's Shawnee ancestry manifested in her "wild breed" fury [62, 82]. "Great travelers" present in Indian Territory pre-removal [43, 63]. Trails named after them (East and West Shawnee Trails) [118, 138, 206]. Divided into factions: Absentee-Shawnees (mostly removed early to Kansas) [140, 160] and Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees (partially allied with Confederacy) [140, 160]. Formally removed to Territory post-Civil War [192]. Mentioned by Hannali among nations known [218].

Shawnee-Town Name given to one of Robert M. Jones's six large slave plantations [108, 128].

Shawnees (Absentee) A division of the Shawnee tribe, most of whom had relocated to Kansas prior to the Civil War; they did not recognize the Confederate treaty signed on their behalf by the unauthorized John Linney [140, 160]. Remnants were later formally settled in Indian Territory [192].

Shawnees (Mixed Band) A group residing in Indian Territory, associated with remnants of the Seneca tribe; Albert Pike secured a Confederate treaty signed by their ambitious leaders Lewis Davis and Joseph Mohawk, but two-thirds of the group rejected the alliance and fled to Kansas [140, 160].

She-bear A female bear; one formed a close, long-lasting bond with the Innominee family after encountering toddler Hannali [4, 24]. Martha Louisiana's rage compared to that of a "wounded she-bear" [61, 81].

Sheep Domesticated ruminant animals raised for wool and meat; Hannali pioneered raising sheep (along with goats) in the Moshulatubbee District [74, 94]. Used metaphorically for people easily led ("lead us like sheep") [10, 133, 134, 153, 154].

Shelby, Jo Joseph O. Shelby (1830–1897), Confederate cavalry general known for his daring raids; led "splendid" raids using regular troops, distinguishing him from irregular leaders like Quantrill or Watie [187, 207].

Shell(s) Outer covering: pecan shell used as metaphor for containing history [1, 7, 21]; Pickens traded pecan shells [113]. Metaphorical camp: Snake Creeks reduced to a "shell camp," empty inside [169].

Sheridan, General Philip Henry (1831–1888) Prominent U.S. Army General, particularly famous for his Civil War cavalry command and later role in the Plains Indian Wars; one of the high-ranking military visitors received at Hannali House [59, 79].

Sheriff(s) The chief law enforcement officer of a county; sheriffs accompanied white men using fraudulent writs to seize Indian property during Removal [28, 48]; part of the legal apparatus supporting white power structures [44, 64]. Numerous famous Western sheriffs (Sughrue, Tilghman, Masterson, Earp, Smith, Hickok, etc.) listed as figures of the Old Wild West Days [207, 227]. Hannali famously never required the services of a sheriff [218, 238].

Shining Mountains A poetic name, often used by Native Americans, for the Rocky Mountains; the western boundary of the political influence ("wards") exerted by the horse tribes of the Great Plains [68, 88].

Shirt(s) Garment worn on the upper body; Hannali purchased a "white man shirt" in New Orleans [29, 49] but typically wore a woven cotton shirt made by Martha Louisiana [74, 94]. Pickens the trader was stripped of his shirt by Cheyennes [114, 134]. Robert Jones metaphorically owned the shirts off the delegates' backs [135, 155]. Traditional Choctaw calico shirts contrasted with assimilated "white-man shaped shirts" produced later [200]. Hannali sometimes appeared shirtless in old age [203, 223].

Shoal Creek Site of the Battle of *Chuste Nahlah* on December 26, 1861, where the remnant of Opothleyahola's forces made their final stand [142, 162, 166, 170, 186, 189, 190, 209].

Shoats Young, recently weaned pigs; included among the 100 hog animals Hannali received as part of his marriage arrangement with Natchez [51, 71]; Jemmy Buster returned from his trip north with nearly a hundred "pigs shoats hogs weanlings" [118, 138].

Shoes Coverings for the feet; Pickens the Green Indian begged in vain to keep his shoes when stripped by Cheyennes [114, 134]; Hannali noted his own "colossal feet" would fit no ordinary shoes [87]; he knew the distinct marks left by every shoe in his household [130, 150]. (See also **Boots**).

Shotgun A smoothbore firearm typically used for firing shot at short range; used effectively by Mama Chapponia (loaded with rock salt) to disperse participants in the chaotic fox hunt [17, 37]; the skilled shooter Tracks used a shotgun in his left hand simultaneously with a rifle in his right during his elaborate trick shooting display [154, 174].

Shulush-Homa An earlier Choctaw chief who had an unusual ability to interpret the meaning of written messages by running the paper against his cheek [57, 77].

Sick ox A diseased or infirm ox; roasted for the celebratory feast following Hannali Innominee's successful fiddle playing debut [20, 40].

Sign(s) Indication or symbol: Frenchtown gamblers invited Hannali in "by signs" [30, 50]. Religious mark: The priest made the Sign of the Cross blessing [88, 108]. Celestial/metaphorical portent: David Payne claimed the right to 160 acres was proclaimed by the "sign in the sky" [12, 205, 209, 225, 229].

"Silk stocking Frenchman" A persona representing sophistication, wealth, and possibly assimilation that Pass Christian Innominee could convincingly adopt when interacting in non-Indian society [33, 53].

Sill, Fort U.S. Army post established in Indian Territory (near present-day Lawton, Oklahoma) in 1869; listed among the forts associated with the Old Wild West Days and Plains Indian conflicts [207, 227].

Silo A pit or structure used for storing silage (fodder); the underground pit where Natchez hid the children had been used previously as either a cistern or a silo [183, 203].

Silver Precious metal, used for currency or decoration; Hannali converted assets to Spanish silver [29, 49] and received Mexican and U.S. silver coins in change [97, 117]; his cane was silver-headed [29, 49]; he ordered paper with a silver ink-horn crest [84, 104].

Silver Saddle A distinctive individual fighting among Opothleyahola's "Elites," described as blue-eyed and dark-brown, capable of translating for all Plains Indian tribes, and of possibly indeterminate background [154, 160, 174, 180].

Sioux Indians Major group of related tribes (Dakota, Lakota, Nakota) primarily inhabiting the northern Plains; Hannali knew many prominent Sioux leaders (Little Wolf, Black Leg, High Backbone, Bloody Knife, Red Cloud, American Horse, Crow King, Crazy Horse, Spotted Tail, Cut Belly, Little Big Man) but felt no special affinity ("never a Sioux man") [67, 68, 87, 88]. Brutus wore "pseudo-Sioux" trappings [138, 158]. The fate of the Fort Snelling Sioux and the destruction of the Teton, Yankton, and Santee Dakota civilizations lamented [12, 195, 215]. Pursuit by Custer mentioned in Old West context [197].

Sioux, Fort-Snelling Dakota Sioux bands associated with the area around Fort Snelling, Minnesota; their apparent disappearance following westward pressures is questioned by Lafferty [12, 195, 215].

Sister-in-law The sister of one's spouse, or the wife of one's brother; Rachel Perry was technically Famous Innominee's sister-in-law (his wife Natchez's half-sister Luvinia's husband Forbis was brother to Famous's wife Hazel's husband Jemmy... this is likely Lafferty error or

simplification; Rachel was Travis's wife) [164]. Marie Delessert (Pass Christian's wife) considered Marie DuShane her French sister-in-law [98, 118].

"Six People" The literal meaning or translation of the name used for the intertribal "United Nations" assembly convened at North Fork Town in 1861 [134, 154].

Six Town District The original Choctaw district in Mississippi (also called Okla Hannali or Kunsha Okla Hannali) traditionally led by Pushmataha; the location where the Hundred Families converted to Catholicism [7, 10, 27, 30].

Six-Town A name occasionally used for Hannali Innominee, potentially referencing his origin district or a personal attribute; Lafferty identifies "the man named Six-Town" as representing the traditionalist, full-blood pole opposite the assimilationist Robert M. Jones [9, 106, 109, 126, 129]. Hannali served as delegate to the 1861 assembly under this name [134, 154].

Skeleton The bony framework of a body; used descriptively for the remnant Snake Creek forces ("skeleton force," "skeleton camp") after heavy losses [11, 168, 169, 170, 188, 189, 190], the dying priest ("skeleton man") [87, 107], and his horse ("skeleton horse") [87, 107].

Skin Indians Mythical or folkloric figures appearing in a Plains Indian tale told by Alinton Innominee; they sold Pickens the Green Indian an invisible "ghost skin" [149, 169].

Skin(s) Outer covering of an animal or person; bear skin [5, 25], dog skin [5, 25], deer skin (used for clothing) [16, 36, 87, 200, 203], ghost skin [149, 169], fox skin [112], beaver pelts/skins [113, 133], animal skins traded [18, 38], human skin (Alligator's mottled green skin [145, 165], ruddy brown skin of assimilated children [199]).

Skullyville Principal town of the Moshulatubbee District (Choctaw North) in Indian Territory, located near the Arkansas border [8, 54, 74]; briefly served as Choctaw capital [8, 42]; site of a Robert Jones store [108, 128]; noted for having predominantly Welsh Indian merchants [107, 127]; location of the Skullyville Convention where Tandy Walker was chief [187, 207]; eventually abandoned when the settlement moved to Spiro due to railroad development [203, 223].

Skullyville Convention A Choctaw political gathering or possibly a political faction associated with Skullyville, the context for Tandy Walker serving as chief in 1858 [187, 207].

Sky Chief A principal chief among the Pawnee Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Slave-driving The practice of forcing enslaved people to labor, often harshly; attributed by Lafferty as a characteristic activity of Robert M. Jones [109, 129].

Slave-owning The practice of holding human beings in bondage; identified as characteristic of the Choctaw South faction [2, 99, 119] and prominent individuals like Robert Jones [108] and Peter Pitchlynn [123, 124].

Slaveowners Individuals who owned slaves; many of the influential Welsh Indians in the Territory [107, 127].

Slavery The institution of owning human beings as property; Choctaw traditional practice differed significantly (often temporary, non-hereditary, potential for citizenship) from the chattel slavery of the American South [7, 13, 33]. Texas independence was fundamentally driven by the desire to establish slavery [100, 120]. Peter Pitchlynn's ownership of 100 slaves compromised his neutrality [123, 143]. Robert M. Jones was heavily involved in the slave trade and owned 500 [108, 128]. Freeborn Negroes were kidnapped back into slavery [144, 164].

Slate A thin, flat piece of fine-grained rock, typically dark gray, used as a surface for writing with a slate pencil; the primary tool used by the Innominee children for learning literacy [9, 82, 83, 102, 103, 104].

Slate pencil A writing implement made of softer slate, used to mark on a harder slate tablet; Natchez feared being metaphorically ground to death between her slate and slate pencil [9, 82, 83, 102, 103].

Small Cloud Band The group purportedly represented by the signatory "Small Cloud Spicer" on Pike's Sandusky Seneca treaty [140, 160].

Small Cloud Spicer Name appearing as a signatory on Albert Pike's treaty with the Sandusky Senecas; interpreted by Lafferty as a likely forged title meaning "Chief of the Small Cloud Band," not a personal name [140, 160].

Smallpox A highly contagious viral disease; decimated the Mandan Indians, facilitating the acceptance of the Welsh Indian legend due to lack of direct evidence [106, 126].

Smith, Tom Thomas James "Bear River" Smith (c. 1830–1870), noted lawman famous for his brief but effective tenure as marshal of Abilene, Kansas; listed among prominent figures of the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Smithery The craft and practice of blacksmithing; taught by Hannali to various Plains Indian groups during his travels [69, 89].

Smithies Workshops where blacksmiths conduct their trade; part of the Choctaw "factory" complex on the Tombigbee River [26, 46]; established by Hannali's settlers in the new Territory [45, 65].

Smiths Blacksmiths; skilled artisans among Hannali's Black settlers [53, 73].

Smoke Visible vapor from burning material: Smell of smoke used to identify settlements [38, 58]; smoke from burning pine fuel associated with steamboats [34, 54]; smoke screen created by grass fire aided Snake escape [155, 175]; hot-smoke scent from Hannali's burning house [178]; smoke rising foully from ruins [181, 201]; "smoke has gone up" signifies end of story/era [12, 218, 221, 241]. Act of smoking: Pipe smoked ritually [11, 31, 69, 89, 169, 189].

Snake-hair plant Peculiar, rare relics reportedly taken as souvenirs by Texan soldiers from the bodies of victims at the Battle of Round Mountains; described as "darkened plantlike things of long fine filaments, and with a dark clot at the roots," implying preserved scalps [11, 157, 177].

Snapping Turtle (*Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee*) Peter Pitchlynn's original Choctaw name, as recorded by George Catlin [90, 110].

Snow Frozen precipitation falling from clouds as ice crystals; Marie DuShane compared to snow falling [61, 81]; children swam despite snow on river banks [94, 118]; Natchez ran barefoot in first snow to dance [99, 119]; Snake Creek refugees fled through deep snow to Kansas [170, 190]; Alligator died barefoot in the snow [170, 190].

Snowbird dance A dance performed upon seeing the first snowfall of winter; Natchez participated enthusiastically, while Marie Delessert would not [99, 119].

Snuff Powdered tobacco, typically inhaled or placed in the mouth; Marie DuShane purchased snuff (along with slippery elm) for the children during a shopping trip [97, 117]; passed around with cigars at Hannali's final evening gathering [148, 168].

Soap A substance used for washing; Pickens the Green Indian traded blocks of soap to Kiowas (who ate the first block) for beaver pelts [112, 113, 132, 133].

Socrates (c. 470–399 BCE) Ancient Greek philosopher; listed by Lafferty among historically sacrosanct figures whose ideas and reputations are fiercely defended [122, 142].

Sod The upper layer of soil bound by grass roots; noted for its toughness in the Territory, suitable for building blocks ("sod houses") [71, 91]; "sod busting" (first plowing) was extremely difficult [71, 91]; Hannali built miles of sod fences [71, 91]; the priest's Latin blessing compared to rain on "parched sod" [88, 108].

Sod fences Boundary fences constructed by Hannali using cut blocks of prairie sod, noted for their durability [71, 91].

Sod houses Dwellings constructed primarily from blocks of prairie sod; common among early settlers in the Territory due to the toughness of the sod and scarcity of timber in some areas [71, 91].

Soldier(s) Member(s) of a military force; Confederate soldiers encountered near Gaines Creek [101, 121, 158, 160]; Union soldiers (Robert Pike [128, 132, 148], withdrawing troops [128, 148], hypothetical invaders [161]); horse soldiers [104, 124, 125]; Jim Ned best rifle soldier [146]; Hannali refused any soldier man in his house during war [130, 150, 151]; Indian soldiers fought bravely [163, 181]; white soldiers visited Hannali House [96, 116].

Songeskiton Name of a tribal group, possibly a Dakota Sioux band, mentioned alongside others associated with the Fort Snelling region, whose fate following displacement is questioned by Lafferty [195, 215].

Soul(s) The spiritual or immaterial part of a human being, regarded as immortal; associated with identity ("name is the same as the soul") [67, 87]; Hannali's "clay-footed soul" grieved [63, 83]; putting away Natchez would break Hannali's soul [64, 84]; Hannali considered his house the "rind of his soul" [91, 111]; Pickens's soul captured in a sack [114, 134]; Peter Pitchlynn's vested interest went against the "grain of his soul" [124, 144]; David Payne argued man lacked body or soul until possessing land [208, 228].

South Arkansas Mounted Riflemen A Confederate military unit, likely composed of soldiers from Arkansas, serving under Colonel James McIntosh during the final campaign against Opothleyahola's forces [169, 189].

South Kansas Regiment A Confederate military unit, presumably recruited from pro-Southern elements in Kansas or Missouri, serving under Colonel James McIntosh during the final campaign against Opothleyahola's forces [169, 189].

Southern Mountains Range forming the southern boundary of the Moshulatubbee District in Indian Territory [54, 74].

"Southwestern Hotel" One of the hotels commonly found in Kansas cattle towns during the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Spain European nation with historical colonial presence in North America; sold Florida to the U.S. in 1819 [23, 43]; Hannali visited "Florida of Spain" [66, 86] and "Old Mexico and Texas of Mexico" [218, 238].

Spanish People/Influence: One of the "returning nations" interacting with Southeastern Indians [9, 29]; conducted early explorations (Narvaez 1528, De Soto 1540) [10, 30]; Spanish Florida provided refuge until U.S. purchase [23, 24, 43, 44]; named Vicksburg "Fort Nogales" [35, 55]; Spanish veneers represented past civilization [197]; Spanish *caballo* related to Welsh *ceffyl* [106, 126]. Currency: Spanish silver coins used [29, 49].

Spanish Fort A noted crossing point on the Red River between Texas and Indian Territory, frequently used during the Old Wild West cattle drives [206, 226].

Spavinaw Creek Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Spear dance A type of ceremonial dance involving spears; Hannali compared Shakespeare's work to a "Grasshopper Creek Indian doing the spear dance" [84, 104].

Spear piece A sharpened piece of wood, hickory, used by Whiteman Falaya like a small spear to pin his threatening note to the wall [56, 76].

Spencer Academy One of the three main Choctaw boarding schools established in Indian Territory, located in the Oklafalaya District; attended by Hannali's son Alinton Innominee [110, 130].

Spencers, 52 Spencer repeating carbines or rifles, known for their reliability and firepower, caliber .52; identified as among the modern weapons used by the raiders who attacked Hannali House [179, 199].
Spicer surname Surname among the Senecas, similar to how "King" became adopted, suggesting acculturation or intermarriage [140, 160].

Spiro Town in present-day Le Flore County, Oklahoma; the former Choctaw settlement of Skullyville relocated to Spiro after the arrival of the railroad bypassed its original site [203, 223].

Spit Noun: Saliva; Chilly McIntosh described derisively as so fine "even his spit is sweet" [155, 175]. Verb: To eject saliva from the mouth; Hannali spat on the Major's watch in a gesture of defiance [105, 125].
Noun: A pointed rod for roasting meat over a fire; Hannali designed a massive spit capable of turning a whole buffalo [97, 117].

Splinter tribes Small remnant groups separated from larger tribal confederacies or nations; the Anadarkos, Wacos, and Kadohadachos as remnants of the Caddoan Confederacy found in Indian Territory [43, 63].

Spook/spooky Noun: A ghost or apparition; refers to Robert Pike's presence in Hannali House [148, 168, 179, 199, 211]. Adjective: Eerie, unsettling, ghost-like; Hannali deliberately "spooked" Chizem [48, 68] and the Confederate troopers [130, 150]; Hannali himself described as a "bedamned spooky devil" by earlier visitors [109, 129]; Famous Innominee "spooked" the men sent to ambush Forbis Agent [125].

Spotted Tail (*Sinte Galeska*, c. 1823–1881) Prominent Brulé Lakota Sioux chief; known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Spring wagon A relatively light wagon equipped with springs for a more comfortable ride; Marie DuShane used one for the shopping trip to North Fork Town [97, 117]; Hannali used one to take his youngest grandchildren to Osage country for baptism [201, 221].

Springfield, Missouri City in southwestern Missouri; site of the nearby Battle of Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861), a significant early Confederate victory that bolstered Southern morale and influence in the region [139, 159].

Squashes Edible gourds; rotten squashes were thrown as makeshift missiles by the smaller Innominee girls during the chaos of Papa Barua's fox hunt [17, 37].

Squirrels Small rodents typically dwelling in trees; Hannali recalled squirrels in his Mississippi youth being much larger [5, 25]; Robert Harkins was exceptionally skilled at knocking squirrels out of trees with throwing sticks [94, 114]; ground squirrels used in simile for fear ("froze like ground squirrels before a bull snake") [129, 149].

St. Louis Major city in Missouri, situated on the Mississippi River; Hannali's destination via steamboat in 1828 [33, 34, 35, 53, 54, 55]; described as rapidly emerging ("hatched from big egg") into a metropolis [35, 55]; assembly point for the 1828 Exploration party [35, 55]; Natchez's beauty compared favorably to that found in St. Louis or Washington D.C. [86, 106]; Hannali maintained financial connections there post-Civil War [198]; origin city of Blau, the German traveler with Opothleyahola [153, 173].

Stage lines Companies operating scheduled routes for stagecoaches carrying passengers and mail; the Sawyer and Ficklin line and the *Butterfield Overland Dispatch* were key operators during the Old Wild West Days [207].

Stake Noun: A pointed piece of wood driven into the ground; Hannali marked his land claim with a carved stake [38, 46, 58, 66]. Noun: An amount wagered in gambling; Hannali offered various items (hides, oxen, wife, deed) as stakes in the New Orleans poker game [31-32, 51-52].

Standing Alligator A leader among the Crow Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Star sparkle A quality of radiance or magical presence observed by Lafferty emanating from the Cherokee elder Strange Choate, likened to the Choctaw concept of *aleika* [8, 42, 51, 71].

Starlight Light originating from stars; Strange Choate's "star sparkle" seemed particularly evident when viewed by starlight [51, 71].

State courts Judicial systems operated by individual U.S. states; pre-removal laws subjected Indians to state courts while crucially disallowing their testimony against white citizens, facilitating land theft and injustice [25, 45].

Station (Gulf Coast) A trading outpost or facility established by Papa Barua Innominee on the Gulf Coast, designed to facilitate trade with coastal shipping vessels sailing from Pass Christian and Biloxi [13, 33].

Staves Strong sticks or staffs used as weapons or supports; Moshulatubbee noted that peace could once be maintained by "strong men with staves" [45, 65]; Famous Innominee's party used staves to severely beat the men sent to ambush Forbis Agent [125].

Steamboat(s) Riverboats propelled by steam engines, revolutionizing river travel; Hannali traveled north on the *Caravan* in 1828 [34, 54], one of several steamboats then operating on the Mississippi (others named: *Phillip Pennywit*, *Rodney*, *Lamplighter*, *Harbinger*, *North St. Louis*, *Choctaw*) [34, 54]. They primarily used pine wood for fuel [34, 54]. Charles Dickens met Peter Pitchlynn on an Ohio River steamboat [90, 110]. Robert M. Jones owned his own steamboats operating on the Red River [108, 128].

Steel A strong alloy of iron and carbon; Hannali acquired a "steel safe," establishing him as a banker [74, 94]; the "Elites" fighting with Opothleyahola were described metaphorically as "smart as steel" [147, 167]; Famous Innominee possessed a "steel voice" [129, 149], though perhaps no more inner "steel" than his brothers [164].

Steer(s) Castrated male cattle raised primarily for beef; Hannali slaughtered three steers weekly to feed guests at the Big House [97, 117]; Jemmy Buster paid a "passage payment" of one steer per family

whose land his herd crossed [117]; he sold his remaining steers to feeders in Kansas/Missouri [118].

Stiff Neck A leader among the Kiowa Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Stillwater, Oklahoma Town in north-central Oklahoma; the Battle of Round Mountains occurred southeast of its present location [156, 176].

Stockbridge Indians An Algonquian tribal group, historically associated with Massachusetts and later Wisconsin; listed among the diverse remnants relocated to Indian Territory following the Civil War [192, 212].

Stogie A type of long, relatively inexpensive cigar; holds a sacred status for Choctaws, smoked during important storytelling sessions alongside the pipe [7, 11, 27, 31].

Stone Calf A prominent Southern Cheyenne chief (d. 1885); known personally by Hannali Innominee [67, 87].

Stone rooms rooms within Hannali's Big House constructed primarily of stone, noted for being more resistant to the fire that destroyed other parts of the dwelling [179, 199].

Stone(s) Hard mineral matter; used literally (throwing stones [10], building rock fences [71], constructing Big House [60, 80], flagstone floors [179, 199, 201], grinding stones swallowed by panther [95], Welsh *carreg* [106], flat rocks used as weapons [178]); geological features (Big Lime bedrock [37], rock formations [78, 98], rock waste [101]); metaphorical ("old as the rocks" [11], "truth rock" [134]).

Stonemason An artisan skilled in cutting, preparing, and laying stone for building; listed as one of the many trades practiced by Hannali Innominee [74, 94].

Store(s) Establishments for retail trade; Hannali operated a store at his landing, initially to aid destitute Indians, later run by Alinton [19, 39, 71, 92, 95, 97, 119, 139]; Doaksville stores issued scrip [97-98, 117-118]; Welshmen typically ran stores in Territory [107]; Robert Jones owned stores in multiple towns [108, 128]; Travis opened a store in North Fork Town [190].

Storekeeper An individual who manages or owns a retail store; Hannali contrasted his own practices (discouraging unnecessary purchases) with typical storekeeper behavior aimed solely at profit [91, 111].

Strap A narrow strip of leather or other flexible material; used to harness or tether the fox during Papa Barua's hunt [15, 35].

Straw Dried stalks of grain; used along with corn husks to fill cotton ticks serving as makeshift bedding on the floor of Hannali's Big House for numerous guests [97].

"Straw-colored bird" Hannali Innominee's affectionate term of endearment for his fair-haired granddaughter, Anna-Hata [219, 239].

Strange-Joseph Grandson of Hannali Innominee, son of Famous Innominee and Helen Miller [119, 139]; named partially after his great-grandfather Strange Choate. Killed during the raid on Hannali House [184, 204].

Stump The base of a tree left after the trunk is cut down; the old vixen fox frequented the shade of a stump [15, 35] and returned there after the hunt [18, 38]; the Major used a tree stump as a muster table [104, 124]; a nighthawk took flight from a stump [176, 196].

Subvenite sancti Opening words of the *Subvenite*, a Latin responsory chant traditionally sung as part of the Catholic funeral rites ("Come to his/her aid, saints of God"); recited from a book by Famous-George during the burial service for the family members killed in the massacre [185, 205].

Sugar Creek Site of a Civil War battle listed among the many locations where Territory Indians fought and died [142, 162].

Sugar plantation A large agricultural estate focused on cultivating sugarcane, typically reliant on enslaved labor; Robert M. Jones owned a sugar plantation and mill in Louisiana as part of his diverse holdings [108, 128].

Sughrue, Pat Pat Sughrue, noted marshal of Dodge City, Kansas, during its turbulent cattle town era; listed among the prominent lawmen associated with the Old Wild West Days [207, 227].

Summa Theologica The major theological work by St. Thomas Aquinas; cited by Lafferty as containing discussion relevant to the paradox of free will and predestined fate, applied to Peter Pitchlynn's life [197, 217].

Summer lightning Heat lightning, flashes occurring without audible thunder; Marie DuShane's speed and agility during her fight were compared to summer lightning [62, 82].

Sun The star at the center of Earth's solar system; central to timing events (sun barely up [31], sun not hot yet [32], afternoon sun [78], sun went down [79]); Sun Maker (Cheyenne name) [67]; Sun Eagle (Comanche name) [68]; Cheyennes practiced Sun Dance (implied); Black Sun (true meaning of Black Moon) [67]; Anna-Hata didn't tempt the sun [98]; sun burning hot during Pickens' ordeal [114]; cloud covered the sun before duel [175].

Sun Eagle A leader among the Comanche Nation known personally by Hannali [68, 88].

Sun Maker A leader among the Cheyenne Nation known personally by Hannali [67, 87].

"Sundown Day" Term used by Whiteman Falaya in his final note to Hannali, signifying a day of ultimate reckoning or death ("This is sundown day for us fat man") [11, 172, 174, 192, 194].

Sunup The time of sunrise; Hannali suggested his guests could start home by sunup after his planned death [220, 240]; Hannali's party met the four Texans at sunup [40, 60]; one of Hannali's wives had gone out before sunup to find the wounded soldier [130, 150].

Superintendents Officials overseeing Indian Affairs agencies or regions; Confederate Superintendent Elias Rector [136]; general superintendents (Rutherford, Garrett, Drennen, Browning) entertained at Hannali House [59, 79].

Surnames Inherited family names; Choctaws had not used them consistently until relatively recently [4, 24]; confusion arose from inconsistent usage and patronymic forms post-Civil War [70-71, 90-91]; adoption of surnames like Spicer and King among Senecas noted [140, 160].

Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745) Anglo-Irish satirist, essayist, and poet, author of *Gulliver's Travels*; included on the preacher's list of recommended authors for Hannali's library [84, 104].

T

T. Initial representing the given name of Hannali's cousin, John T; pronounced "Tay" by himself, later pronounced "Tee" in the new country [47, 67]; also referenced as Amanda T, possibly a diminutive or error for John T's daughter (if Josephine Horse is his daughter) [93, 113].

Ta-wa-i-Hash Self-designation of the Wichita people; used in Pike's treaty signed by Isadowa [139, 159].

Tacusa Fixico Seminole leader who signed Pike's Confederate treaty in place of legitimate chiefs [138, 158].

Tahlequah Capital of the Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory; listed among battle/skirmish sites where Territory Indians "died" [142, 162].

Tail Fox tail cut off ("bushcht") as trophy in mock fox hunt [17, 37, 38]; duck tail feathers clipped by Jim Ned [154, 174]; small group put on tail of Snake Creeks [161, 181].

Tallago Valley Location in Mississippi containing the Nanih Waiya mound [2, 22].

Talking Horses Phenomenon created by Hannali using ventriloquism and slight physical cues to make horses appear to speak; source of his Kiowa name [67, 87, 212, 214, 232, 234]; used to trick Kiowas about stolen horse [213, 233].

Talking String Man Name given to Hannali by the Pawnees, referring to his Choctaw habit of speaking in long, unbroken sentences ("stringing words together") [67, 87].

Tamaha Landing site on the Arkansas River, just below the Canadian River junction, where Hannali received downriver shipments [75, 95];

location from which package of slates was sent to Marie DuShane [82, 102].

Tamoroas An Illinois Confederacy tribe, remnants removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192, 212].

Tancred Norman leader of the First Crusade (c. 1075-1112); listed among historically sacrosanct figures [122, 142].

Tandy Walker Choctaw leader (1814-1877); served as chief of Skullyville Convention party (1858-59) [187, 207]; commanded Second Confederate Indian Brigade during Civil War [187, 207].

Tanner One of Hannali's many trades [74, 94].

Tannery Operated by the Innominee family in Mississippi [19, 39].

Tap-Sis-Li A Nez Perce leader known by Hannali [68, 88].

Tawakoni Indians Wichita subtribe; Albert Pike secured treaty with faction led by Ochillas, causing internal strife [138, 158]; remnants removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192, 212].

Tay Pronunciation used by John T for his initial/name [47, 67].

Taylor, Zachary U.S. Army General and 12th President (1784-1850); ordered to Nueces River Jan 1846 to provoke Mexican War [100, 120]; visited Hannali House as General in 1842, the only President known certainly to have slept there [58, 78].

Taza Apache leader (c. 1842-1876), son of Cochise; known by Hannali [68, 88].

Tea Comanches smelled like tea made from mesquite pods [151, 171]; available already ground in North Fork Town stores [97, 117].

Teacher certificate Qualification held by R.A. Lafferty's mother when she taught school in Oklahoma [xvi, 18].

Teapot Source of Welsh word *tebot*, cited as example of late borrowing invalidating some Welsh-Indian linguistic comparisons [106, 126].

Tebot Welsh word for kettle, derived from English 'teapot'; cited as flawed evidence in Welsh-Indian language comparisons [106, 126].

Tee Later pronunciation of John T's initial/name in the new country [47, 67].

Telegraph Drovers had informal network ("telegraph") [150, 170].

Telephone Hannali unimpressed after using one once, compared voice to birds [217, 237].

Ten Bears Prominent Comanche chief (*Paruasemana*, c. 1790-1872); known by Hannali [68, 88].

Ten Commandments Theory that they represent first alphabetical writing [83, 103].

Tene-Angopte (Striking Eagle) Actual Kiowa name of the chief commonly known as Kicking Bird [68, 88].

Tennessee U.S. State; source of men encountered by Hannali in New Orleans [30, 50]; source of keelboatmen [34, 54]; source of Chickasaws for 1828 Exploration party [55].

Terror Associated with hooded men [44, 64]; Whiteman Falaya inspired terror [Example]; Hannali felt apprehension and terror regarding Sally [101, 121]; terror gone out of Indian name [212, 232]; Kiowas "terror raiders" [212, 232]; Shake Creeks fled in terror [150, 170].

Territory Indians General term for Native Americans residing in Indian Territory, primarily the Five Civilized Tribes but also including indigenous groups and later removals. Used extensively throughout the text to refer to the collective inhabitants and their shared experiences, culture, conflicts, and eventual transformation. (Passim).

Testament "Unwritten testament" cited by David Payne regarding homesteading [209, 229].

Teton Western division of the Sioux (Lakota) people; part of destroyed parallel civilization [195, 215].

Texan(s) People from Texas; encountered by Hannali in New Orleans, described as small men [30, 50]; Jemmy Buster a tow-headed Texan [117]; Texas captain led search party at Hannali House [129, 149]; "big Texas men" backed Robert Jones [135, 155]; four Texan "Elites" joined Opothleyahola (Merriwether, Scott, Evans, Bethany) [150, 170]; Texans prominent in Cooper's Confederate forces [161]; Texas units (Fourth Cavalry) fought at Round Mountains [151, 152, 157, 166, 171, 177, 180]; Texas scouts famed [129, 149]; Texas men liked slaughter [157]; Anna-Hata part Texas white people [217, 237].

Texas Region, Republic, State; Mexico was of that same Indian blood [100, 120]; declared independence 1836 over slavery [100, 120]; Indians fled Texas into IT [100, 120]; admitted as slave state Dec 1845 [100, 120]; war with Mexico followed [100]; Texas Road major route [9, 53, 73, 96, 99, 100, 101, 117, 118, 120, 137, 138, 153, 206]; Texas agents backed Robert Jones [135, 155]; Texas territory Confederate [136]; Texas men allied with Choctaw South [125]; Texas Fourth Cavalry [146, 151, 157, 166, 171, 177, 180]; Texas homes held snake-hair relics [157, 177]; Texas cattle drives [197, 206, 208, 225, 226, 228]; Alinton bought cattle there [191, 211]; Anna-Hata's father Jemmy from Texas [217, 237].

Texas Fourth Cavalry Confederate regiment active in Indian Territory campaign against Opothleyahola; involved at Round Mountains [151, 152, 157, 171, 177, 180]; supported by artillery [Example not found, but implied general military context].

Texas House Hotel name associated with Old Wild West Days cattle towns [207, 227].

Texas Men Influential group allied with Robert M. Jones, supporting his efforts to align Choctaws with Confederacy; involved in land rentals, whiskey trade [137, 157].

Texas Road Major north-south trail running through Indian Territory, passing within sight of Hannali's Big House; used by troops during Mexican War [100, 120]; crossing of California Road [53, 73]; used for Christmas visits [96, 116]; part of cattle trail system (East Shawnee Trail) [118, 138, 206].

Therese Daughter of Pass Christian Innominee and Marie Delessert; visited Hannali House [93, 113]; Marie-Therese (granddaughter) [119, 139, 184, 204].

Thin Man An Apache leader known by Hannali [68, 88].

Thirteen Civil Wars / Fashions in Hatred Terms used to describe the uniquely devastating and complex nature of the conflict within Indian Territory during the American Civil War (133, 141, 161). This was not a single conflict but a series of overlapping internal and external wars, deliberately exacerbated, according to Lafferty, by Confederate agents like Albert Pike (122, 141) to ensure mutual destruction. The "Fashions in Hatred" refer to the sudden, inexplicable, and intensely virulent animosity that arose between the mixed-blood, assimilationist, often Confederate-allied Indians (like the Lower Creeks or Watie's Cherokees) and their full-blood, neutralist or Unionist cousins (Pins, Sticks, Snakes) (141, 161). This hatred, fueled by propaganda and existing schisms (99), led to atrocities that surpassed typical warfare, including the targeting of non-combatants and viewing opposing Indians as "less than human" (141, 161). The result was a disproportionately high death toll—estimated at half the Territory's Indian population (142)—and the complete destruction of the pre-war civilization (189, 197). The term highlights the fratricidal, manipulated, and exceptionally destructive character of the war in the Territory, distinct from the main conflict in the states.

Thomas-Academy Grandson of Hannali, son of Forbis Agent and Luvinia Innominee [183]; one of three infants hidden by Natchez in pit during raid, survived massacre [183, 184]; later questioned Hannali about "Pale Face" and "Red Man" [200, 220]; showed developing character [201, 221].

Three Forks (of the Arkansas) Confluence of Arkansas, Verdigris, and Neosho rivers near Muskogee; site where 1828 Expedition gathered [36, 56]; Hannali returned there [42, 57]; Hannali married Natchez there [51, 71]; easy access to Fort Gibson [53, 73]; troops came from there [96, 116]; Hannali rode there to buy supplies [84, 104]; limestone quarried north of there [80].

Three Forks (of the Canadian) Area near confluence of Canadian, North Fork, and Deep Fork rivers; location of Hannali's post [53, 73].

Three-forked lightning Metaphor used by Lafferty to describe the simultaneous impact of Hannali marrying Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and Marie DuShane in rapid succession [8, 42, 51, 52, 72].

Three Nations of the Choctaws (Okla Falaya, Tannaps, Hannali) The traditional tripartite division of the Choctaw people, originating in

their ancient history and persisting after Removal into the Indian Territory (30, 54, 60, 74, 99). Okla Falaya ("Long People"), associated with the British in earlier times (30), became the southern district in the Territory, dominated by mixed-blood, slave-owning planters and mercantilist towns like Doaksville (54, 74, 111), eventually led by chiefs like George Harkins (54) and heavily influenced by Robert M. Jones (107-109). Okla Tannaps ("People of the Other Side" or "Middle People"), associated with the French (30), became the Moshulatubbee District in the north-central Territory, characterized by a more feudal, self-sufficient, full-blood culture represented by Hannali Innominee (54, 74, 99), with settlements like Skullyville and Fort Coffee (54). Okla Hannali ("People of the Six Towns"), described historically as "confused unto themselves" (30), became the Pushmataha District southwest of the Kiamichi River (54, 74), led by Nitakechi (54, 61). These divisions structured Choctaw political life, land assignments, and social dynamics, forming the basis for internal alliances, rivalries, and the critical North-South schism that erupted during the Civil War era (99, 119).

Throat Hannali flicked Kiowa horse on throat [212, 213, 233]; ruffie-throat silk stocking Frenchman [33, 53]; Martha Louisiana kept throat from being torn out [62, 82]; Dry Throat (Cheyenne man) [67, 87].

Thumb Lafferty's thumb slips riffling pages [12, 32].

Thunder Sound: Accompanied lightning; Pushmataha's voice louder [6, 26]; Year of the Big Thunders [9, 99, 119]; distant thunder vs Kiowas [12, 205]; Roman Nose Thunder [59, 67, 79, 87, 212, 232]; Thunder Man [68, 88]; underground thunder (Congressional Cemetery) [12, 196, 218]. Metaphor: Struck by thunder (Yahola) [137, 157].

Thunder Man A Kiowa leader known by Hannali [68, 88].

Thunders, Year of the Big Year 1845, characterized by extreme weather (floods, tornadoes, lightning, hailstones) but also fertility and recovery for transported Indians [9, 99, 119].

Ticks, cotton Mattresses filled with cotton fibers or possibly corn husks, used for bedding in Big House [97, 117].

Tilghman, Bill William Matthew Tilghman Jr. (1854-1924), noted Western lawman; listed as best among Old Wild West sheriffs/marshals [207, 227].

Timber Timber houses [9, 29]; timber money [29, 49]; timber floors [97]; Hannali traded timber [60, 80]; built very good timber buildings [200].

Timber Law of 1871 Choctaw legislation whose thinking and wording reflected white influence [201, 221].

Timbered Mountain Kiowa man known by Hannali [8, 69, 86, 89].

Timbre Hooded men lacked Choctaw tone or timbre [44, 64].

Time, Memory, and the Magnified Past The novel's distinctive, non-linear, and highly subjective perception of time, often characterized by a sense that the past looms larger, more potent, and more real than the diminished present. This is articulated by Hannali ("Everything was larger then," (25)) and reflected in the novel's structure, which frequently leaps across "magnified years" (19, 39) or compresses significant periods (118) while dwelling intensely on formative experiences or symbolic moments. The Choctaw sense of historical immediacy ("It was but the day before yesterday that the two brothers established the nations," (1, 21)) contrasts with the linear, progressive time of the encroaching white world. Memory functions as a powerful, almost physical force; Hannali possesses a near-total recall ("I remember every blade of grass that I have ever seen," (131, 220)), and the past continually erupts into the present through anecdote (4, 25, 115), ancestral jokes (4), haunting (168, 211), or the repetition of traumatic patterns (188). The "Choctaw chuckle" itself can be a delayed reaction to past events (4). This temporal fluidity suggests a worldview where past, present, and future are deeply interwoven, and where the foundational experiences and myths (1, 21-22) exert a continuous influence. The theme also carries a strong element of nostalgia and lament for a lost, grander age, a time perceived as possessing "old clear lines" (26) before the confusions and degradations of removal and assimilation.

Timms Mercantile Company Trading company in Doaksville (Doaks and Timms), surpassed by Jones/Berthelet partnership [108, 128].

Tin ear Metaphor applied to whoever recorded "Cashao" for Kutchaw and forged Seneca names [139, 140, 159, 160].

Tinkled, ice Sound made by ice breaking as wagon drove onto ferry [98, 118].

Tobacco Tobacco (Cheyenne man) [67, 87]; Hannali sold tobacco twist, plug, cigars [97, 117]; contingent Famous couldn't take tobacco [190, 210].

Tohashaway (Toshaway) Comanche chief (Toshaway, c. 1800-1864); known by Hannali [68, 88].

Toll bridges Set up by Welsh Indians in Territory [107, 127].

Toll pikes Set up by Welsh Indians in Territory [107, 127].

Tombigbee River River forming boundary in Mississippi/Alabama; Choctaws ceded lands east of it 1816 [23, 43]; site of Choctaw "factory" where LeFlore confronted Moshulatubbee [26, 46].

Tonkawa Encampment Battle site listed among the many places where Territory Indians "died" [142, 162].

Tonkawas Tribe found as fragments in Territory pre-removal [43, 63]; some fled Texas into Territory earlier [192]; mentioned by Hannali among nations known [218, 238].

Tongue(s) Language: Mavila-Choctaw trade tongue [9, 29]; Plains tongues learned by Hannali [69, 89]; Hebrew, Phoenician, Basque, Ainu related to Indian tongues (theories) [107, 127]; Tongue is pen of scrivener (Psalm) [135, 155]; old Indian tongues went out of usage [200]. Organ: [Example].

Tonic Wonderful tonic sold by Hannali's grandson, 100 proof empty [214, 234].

Top hat Worn by Barua [14, 34]; worn by Hannali (canary-colored) [29, 49]; worn by Winchester Colbert [59, 79]; worn by Brutus [138, 158].

Topper Hannali wore canary-colored topper [74, 94].

Torches Pine torches used at hog scalding [49, 50, 69, 70].

Tornadoes Violent rotating storms occurring during Year of the Big Thunders [99, 119].

Tow-headed Description of Jemmy Buster [10, 117, 137]; eighth man in saloon (Kiowa ancestry) was tow-headed [214, 234].

Town chief Barua hereditary town chief of Mishoweia [8, 28]; 1828 Exploration party included town chiefs [24, 44].

Town(s) Mishoweia [3, 8, 10, 23, 28, 30]; French Town (New Orleans) [8, 29, 49, 50, 51]; Mobile [10, 30, 43]; Doaksville [8, 42, 54, 74, 75, 80, 91, 95, 97, 98, 107, 108, 111, 112, 117, 118, 127, 128, 135, 155, 201, 203, 221, 223]; Skullyville [8, 42, 54, 74, 107, 127, 187, 203, 207, 223]; Boggy Depot [8, 42, 54, 74, 79, 96, 99, 107, 108, 128, 133, 155, 203]; North Fork Town [10, 133, 134, 153, 154, 144, 148, 150, 164, 170, 203, 210, 212, 223, 232]; Hannali's estate a town [74, 94]; Fort Coffee [74]; Tuskahoma [79, 99, 204, 224]; Perryville [87, 107, 142, 162, 203, 223]; Eufaula [111, 131, 203, 204, 213, 217, 218, 223, 224, 233, 238]; Atoka [203, 204, 224]; Spiro [203]; McAlester [203]; Millerton [55, 75]; Memphis [35, 55]; Cairo [35, 55]; St. Louis [35, 55]; Kansas railhead towns [206, 207]; towns moved to railroads [12, 198, 203, 223]; every town destroyed in war [172, 189].

Toys Manufactured toys sold in North Fork Town stores [97, 117].

Tracks Footprints/Trail marks: Soldier's tracks ended in ravine [129, 149]; woman's tracks led to Hannali House [129, 149]; Hannali knew horse tracks [102, 122]. Person: Tracks, the scout [153, 154, 159, 173, 174, 179].

Tracks (person) Elite fighter with Opothleyahola, described as finest scout ever and fabulous rifleshooter; demonstrated trick shooting with duck [153, 154, 173, 174]; participant in final defense at Round Mountains [159].

Trade Commerce: Hannali understood trade [Example]; Mavila-Choctaw trade tongue [9, 29]; trade goods [111, 115, 131, 135]; boat trade [115]; trade with Plains Indians [108, 128]; traders [xii, 14, 40, 72, 92, 108, 112, 114, 115, 128, 132, 134, 135, 151, 171, 210]; trading post [38, 58, 112, 132]; trading station [18, 38]; trade items [113]; too much trade is bleed to death [91, 111]; trade generates trade [91, 111]; Indian trade rifles [179, 199]. Exchange: Trade land for land [36, 56]; trade hog for cards [31, 51]; trade last pot for spirits [72, 92].

Trade tongue (Mavila-Choctaw) Mobilian Jargon, a pidgin lingua franca based on Choctaw used for intertribal trade in the Southeast [9, 29].

Trader(s) Hannali as trader [xiv, 14]; Alinton DuShane [38, 58]; Berthelet [108, 128]; licensed traders [72, 92]; Pickens the green trader [112-114, 132-134]; Plains Indians pick trader clean [114, 134]; trader wrote down smells [151, 171]; crude-talking white trader [86, 106].

Trading post Alinton DuShane's Poste DuShane [38, 58]; Pickens got goods from one [112, 132].

Trading station Innominees had something of a trading station [18, 38].

Trail drivers Men who drove cattle herds north from Texas; used Territory as "Green Interlude" [107, 127, 206]; Hannali family connected to trail driver affair [207].

Trail Indians Term for the southeastern Indians arriving in Indian Territory via the forced Removal trails (Trails of Tears); Hannali planted corn for them [71, 91]; arrived sick, weary, beaten, prone to alcoholism [72, 92].

Trail(s) Path/Route: Removal trails [110, 130]; Arkansas cholera trails [28, 48]; cattle trails (Great Western, New Western, Jones & Plummer, Dodge, West Shawnee, East Shawnee/Texas Road, Cox, Chisholm) [118, 138, 206]; trail drivers [107, 127, 206, 207, 226, 227]; trail ends (cattle towns) [197]. Tracks: Follow trail [58, 78, 117].

Trajan Roman Emperor (reigned 98-117 CE); listed among historically sacrosanct figures [122, 142].

Translate name Whitman Long translated name for Whiteman Falaya [103, 123].

Translator Silver Saddle could translate for all Plains Indians [154, 174].

Trap Device: Badger won't avoid dog trap [174]. Ambush: Cimarron crossing trap [156, 176]. Figurative: Yahola slipped traps [145]; get out of every life trap [220, 240]; Confederate trap escaped by Senecas/Shawnees [140, 160]; Whiteman Falaya's double trap [174].

Trappings Pike's bewildering pseudo-Sioux Indian trappings [138, 158]; Moses emeritus wore monstrous Indian trappings [198].

Traveler(s) Lonely friendless traveler killed [67, 87]; Pickens the green traveler [Example]; French/Shawnee dirty travelers [39, 59]; traveling his large parish (priest) [87]; travelers had to stay at houses/posts [80]; great travelers (Shawnees/Delawares) [43, 63].

Traveling Wolf (*Ishacoly*) A Comanche leader known by Hannali [68, 88].

Travis Innominee Son of Hannali and Martha Louisiana [54, 70, 80]; brother of Famous and Alinton [80, 100, 163, 164, 184, 185, 205, 210, 211]; asked father "How was it go to be a child then?" [4, 24]; exaggerated father's stories [5, 25]; fastest runner but lacked floating deception [81, 101]; educated at Armstrong Academy [110, 130]; married Rachel Perry 1850 [118, 138]; father of Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, Matthew-Moshulatubbee, Charles-Chitoh [119, 139, 183]; joined Opothleyahola with Jemmy Buster [144, 147, 150, 164, 167]; present at Round Mountains council fire [154, 174]; participated in final defense [159]; returned home briefly post-war, then moved to North Fork Town [190, 210]; owned store there [190, 210]; Hannali visited his second wife/widow in Eufaula [213, 233].

Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (*See Dancing Rabbit Creek*)

Treaty of Doak's Stand (*See Doak's Stand*)

Treaty/Treaties 35-50 Choctaw-US treaties, none successful [10, 30]; Doak's Stand (1820) [24, 44]; Washington (1825) [24, 44]; Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) [25, 45, 90, 110]; all Indian treaties declared void by states [25, 45]; forged names to treaties (Pike) [122, 142]; Pike's Confederate treaties (Creek, Choc/Chick, Seminole, Kichai, Tawakoni, Anadarko, Caddo, Hainai, Wichita, Osage, Seneca/Shawnee,

Cherokee) [136-140]; all Indian treaties voided post-Civil War [191, 211].

Tree branch Limb of a tree suitable for hanging, pointed out by Major [104, 124].

Tree(s) Leaves shaken off by chuckling [4, 24]; laurel tree [11, 31]; cottonwood trees [46, 66]; tupelo tree [214, 234]; pecan trees [94, 114]; Seoma Big could see through trees [94, 114]; Robert Harkins knocked

squirrels out of trees [94, 114]; sumac bush trees [36, 56]; Natchez ended thought in trees [98, 118]; tree branch for hanging [104, 124]; sycamore trees [36, 56].

Tribe(s) Social and political group of Native Americans. Used extensively throughout, referring to tribes (Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, etc.) and the general concept.

Tribute Welsh Indians took tribute at fords and passes [107, 127].

Trick(s) Deception/Stratagem: Alabama/Mississippi laws contained tricks [23, 43]; broke them of boy's trick (massed charge) [11, 158, 180]; Hannali's talking horses trick [212, 232]; Opothleyahola's grass fire trick [155, 175]; Pickens tricked by Kiowas [113]; Whiteman Falaya's double trap a trick within trick [173]; Hannali expected trick from Whiteman [175]; Hannali tricked Major [105, 125]. Skill: Jim Ned's shooting trick [154, 174]. Method: Trick to get meaning of message [57, 77].

Trof Welsh word for "town," cited in comparison with Mandan language [106, 126].

Troopers Confederate troopers under Major confronted by Hannali [101, 105, 121, 125]; Pike lied like trooper [122, 142]; white troopers under McIntosh [169].

Trotters Two fine trotters given to Famous by Strange Choate [110, 130].

Troubles Second Time of Troubles (Civil War) [60, 80]; snake-bit troubles (Whiskey Decade) [73, 93]; Indian troubles due to North [163].

Trumpet Papa Barua's nine-foot trumpet [14, 16, 17, 18, 34, 36, 37, 38]. (See also Bugle).

Truth Actual truth vs assumed merging [xii, 14]; Payne conveyed God's truth [209, 229]; find truth between two systems [91, 111]; truth rock [134, 154]; truth of affair (Cherokee defection) [167].

Tuberculosis Dying priest had it [87, 107]; new Choctaw fashion to die of it [218, 238].

Tuchi Town Battle site listed among the many places where Territory Indians "died" [142, 162].

Tukabatchee Town Upper Creek mother town and traditional capital; Opothleyahola led followers from there towards Round Mountains [11, 151, 171]; Kiowas stole horse near there [213, 233]; Hannali visited twice [162, 182].

Tulasie Burying Grounds Battle site listed among the many places where Territory Indians "died" [142, 162].

Tulsa City in Oklahoma; R.A. Lafferty resident [xvii, 2, 19]; First or Second Street site of Indian talk [5, 25]; Gilcrease Museum location [xvi, 18]; present Tulsa near Snake camp/Lutchapoga [164, 170, 184, 190].

Tuft Hannali knew every tuft in Hitchiti Meadow [175, 195].

Tupelo tree Hannali tall as one [214, 234].

Turban Hannali wore green turban (Choctaw) [9, 74, 87, 94]; Creeks wore red turbans [74, 94]; Whiteman Falaya might wear Creek or Pawnee turban [105, 125].

Turf Hannali knew every jag of turf [175, 195].

Turkey Larger in Hannali's youth [5, 25]; Hannali shot turkeys with bow [74, 94]; Hannali designed spit for buffalo like turkey [97, 117]; Hannali/Whiteman could drill turkey in eye [176]; Hannali compared himself to caught turkey [191]; cob turkey simile [52, 72].

Turkey buzzard Hannali House looked like giant one flopped down [60, 80].

Turning point Stand Watie a turning point in Territory ruin [123, 143]; finding Nanih Waiya the turning point for Choctaws [79, 99].

Turnips Planted by Hannali's people [45, 65].

Tuscalusa Choctaw chief who fought De Soto near Mobile Bay in 1540 [10, 30].

Tuscaroras Iroquoian tribe, remnants possibly included among groups removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192, 212].

Tuskahoma Site near Nanih Waiya chosen as Choctaw capital in IT [79, 99]; new brick Council House built there [204, 224].

Tuskahoma Council House Choctaw government building located at Tuskahoma; new brick structure where Hannali spoke as Senator [204, 224].

Twenty-year dust cloud Metaphor for the Old Wild West Days period (c. 1867-1887) [205, 208, 225, 228].

U

U. S. Army Encountered by Hannali's father [Example]; fought Seminoles in Florida Wars [166]; withdrew forces from Indian Territory in July 1861 [128, 148]; commanders sometimes connived with cattlemen regarding illegal land use [210, 230]; David Payne served in the Union Army during the Civil War [210, 230]; involved in the lead-up to the Mexican War [100, 120].

U. S. Cavalry Hannali could recognize the tracks of U.S. Cavalry mounts [102, 122]; David Payne served as a captain in both the 18th Kansas Cavalry and the 7th U.S. Cavalry during the Plains Indian conflicts [210, 230].

U. S. Congress Ratified the Louisiana Purchase in October 1803 [23, 43]; noted for having members like Cyrus Aldrich who actively advocated for Indian removal and extinction [194]. (See also **Senate (US)**).

U. S. Indian Office The federal agency responsible for overseeing Native American affairs (precursor to the Bureau of Indian Affairs); its estimates are cited regarding the significant decline in the Choctaw population within the Territory between 1861 and 1865 due to Civil War losses [142, 162].

U. S. silver Accepted, along with Mexican silver, by Marie DuShane as payment during her shopping trip in North Fork Town [97, 117].

U. S. troops Confederate forces at Bird Creek included regular white troops [167, 181]; U.S. troops stationed at Fort Reno repeatedly arrested David Payne and his Boomer followers [210, 230].

Ugliness Hannali possessed a "colossal ugliness" in his youth and young manhood [30, 50].

Ugly Hannali's face was initially described as strikingly ugly [30, 50, 87], though not the absolute ugliest (an honor reserved for John T) [30, 50]; however, in later life, his features transformed and he was "no longer ugly," becoming a man of deep charm and power [10, 109, 129].

Ulsterman Indians Lafferty's term used to describe the Cherokee people, suggesting significant historical intermixture with Scots-Irish settlers originating from Ulster, similar to the Welsh influence among Choctaws [107, 127].

Unbake A nonce word coined humorously by Hannali Innominee, meaning the opposite or reversal of baking; used to express the absurdity of trying to undo certain actions ("how you go to unbake bread") [52, 72].

Unbodied abstraction Philosophical term used by David L. Payne to describe a man who does not possess his own plot of land, implying such a person lacks true substance, identity, or soul [208, 228].

Unchartered bank An informal banking operation, not officially licensed or regulated; run effectively by Hannali Innominee with Marie DuShane managing the ledger [75, 95].

Unction, Extreme One of the seven sacraments in the Catholic Church, involving anointing with oil, administered to those who are seriously ill or near death; given to Hannali Innominee by the visiting priest shortly before his death [219, 239].

Underclothes Marie DuShane, before her transformation, wore underclothes, distinguishing her from women who engaged in physical labor [62, 82].

Underground thunder A deep rumbling sound seemingly emanating from beneath the ground in Congressional Cemetery during Albert Pike's funeral eulogy for Peter Pitchlynn; Lafferty speculates it might

have been the buried Mingo Pushmataha reacting [12, 196, 198, 216, 218].

Unfry A nonce word coined humorously by Hannali Innominee, meaning the opposite or reversal of frying; used alongside "unbake" to express the impossibility of undoing certain consequences ("how you go to unfry fish") [52, 72].

Unguent Called for by Hannali, along with warm water, oil, and linen, for treating the wounds of Robert Pike [131, 151].

Union The United States of America, referring to the Northern states during the Civil War that opposed the Confederacy; Peter Pitchlynn initially professed loyalty to the Union [123, 143]; Union forces withdrew from Indian Territory forts in 1861, leaving Unionist Indians vulnerable [128, 148]; few Choctaws/Chickasaws joined the Union Army [137, 157]; Confederate treaties forced tribes to make war on Unionist Indians [137]; Seminole leaders were old enemies of the Union [158]; Cherokee Pins and Upper Creeks largely favored the Union or neutrality [141, 145, 161, 166]; Union General Hunter posed a potential threat [161, 165]; Robert Pike was a Union soldier [174]; the Union ultimately won the war [193].

Union Army The military forces representing the United States (the Union) during the Civil War; withdrew troops from Indian Territory in July 1861 [128, 148]; a few Choctaws and Chickasaws joined Union regiments in Kansas [137, 157]; David Payne served in the Union Army [210, 230].

Union forces Military units fighting on behalf of the United States during the Civil War; their withdrawal from Indian Territory forts in 1861 was a pivotal event [128, 148]; Creek Nation contributed 1675 men to Union forces, while Cherokees contributed 2220 [193].

Unionist(s) Individuals who supported the cause of the Union during the American Civil War; Unionist Indians felt abandoned after troop withdrawal [128]; Confederate treaties forced war upon Unionist Indians [137]; Robert Pike was an "invisible Unionist soldier" hidden by Hannali [174]; the Little Osages became "fanatical Unionists" after Pike's treaty slight [159]; neutral groups were sometimes pressured into becoming Unionist in Kansas [140, 160]; the Cherokee Pin faction often aligned as neutralist or Unionist [161, 193]; Stand Watie targeted Unionists for killing [141].

United Nations Intertribal council established at North Fork Town in June 1861, including representatives from the Creek, Seminole, Caddo, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Cherokee nations [10, 133, 153]; Lafferty characterizes it as conceived partly in deceit and ultimately manipulated by external (likely Confederate) interests, suppressing indigenous languages and publishing a false declaration of support for the Confederacy [133-135, 153-155].

United States The nation comprising the federal union of states; Andrew Jackson served as its President [8, 22]; Choctaws ceded lands to the U.S. through treaties [23, 24]; acquired Louisiana [23] and Florida [23]; government often failed to uphold treaties or protect tribes [24, 27, 44, 47]; engaged in war with Mexico [100-101]; divided during the Civil War [121]; its post-war policies led to further dispossession and removal of tribes [191-194]; Zachary Taylor served as President [58, 78].

United States Government The federal governing body of the United States; its official maps of the western territories contained significant errors [115]; its agents largely defected to the Confederacy in 1861 [128, 136, 148]; negotiated harsh post-Civil War treaties with the Five Tribes [188, 191].

University of Oklahoma Educational institution located in Norman, Oklahoma; Geary Hobson identified as an Assistant Professor there [2]; its press published the 1991 edition of *Okla Hannali* [2, 5, 6, 14, 17, xv, xvi].

University of Oklahoma Press The publishing arm of the University of Oklahoma, located in Norman; publisher of the 1991 edition of *Okla Hannali* [2, 5, 6], R.A. Lafferty's *The Osages* by John Joseph Mathews [17], and the extensive "Civilization of the American Indian Series" consulted by Lafferty [xvi, 18].

Unwritten testament A source of divine justification invoked by David L. Payne for the right of every man to own 160 acres of land; he claimed this right was proclaimed "in golden colors" via the "sign in the sky," suggesting a natural or God-given law superior to written statutes [209, 229].

Upper Canadian River The western reaches of the Canadian River, flowing through more open, treeless country, which Alinton

Innominee noted resembled the Red River, unlike the wooded lower sections [116, 136].

Upper Creek Indians The faction of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, generally more traditionalist and full-blood, led by Opothleyahola, who attempted to maintain neutrality during the Civil War; also referred to as Snake Creeks [142, 145, 147, 150, 151, 153, 161, 162, 165, 167, 170, 171, 193, 213]. They were targeted for extermination by Confederate forces, suffered defeats at Round Mountains, Bird Creek, and Shoal Creek, and their lands were confiscated after the war [145, 156-171, 193].

Upper Snake Creeks Synonymous term for the neutral Upper Creek Indians led by Opothleyahola during the Civil War [193, 213].

Utah Destination for Texas longhorn cattle driven north to establish new ranges during the Old West era [197, 217].

Utes Native American tribe primarily associated with the Great Basin region; residing in the "far West of the Territory" before the main removals [43, 63].

V

Verdigris River Waterway flowing south into Indian Territory, converging with the Arkansas and Neosho rivers at the Three Forks [36, 56]; its valley, along with the Neosho's, was explored by the 1828 party who found the surrounding land beautiful but agriculturally poor due to shallow soil over limestone [36, 37, 56, 57]; Confederate forces under Col. James McIntosh advanced up the Verdigris from Fort Gibson in pursuit of Opothleyahola's retreating Upper Creeks during the final campaign of 1861 [169, 170, 189, 190].

Vessels, Billy Twentieth-century Heisman Trophy-winning football player from the University of Oklahoma; cited by Lafferty alongside Louis Weller as a real-world example of the elusive, "floating deception" running style also exhibited by Famous Innominee [81, 101].

Vicksburg City located on the Mississippi River in the state of Mississippi; passed by Hannali Innominee's steamboat party en route

to St. Louis in 1828 [35, 55]; previously named Fort Nogales by the Spanish and Walnut Hill by the English, and as having been established as a proper town only three years prior to Hannali's visit [35, 55].

Victorio Chiricahua Apache leader (c. 1825-1880); listed among the notable Lean Apaches known personally by Hannali Innominee from his extensive travels among Plains and Southwestern tribes [68, 88].

Vigilantes Self-appointed groups enforcing law or their own norms, often violently; Lafferty notes that the era of widespread vigilante activity on the Plains had not yet begun during the period of the Five Tribes' pre-Civil War civilization in Indian Territory, placing that civilization's fall before the peak activity associated with the later "Old Wild West Days" [197, 217].

Vincentian Seminary Catholic seminary located in Perryville, Missouri; identified as the religious institution from which the unnamed, dying priest (suffering from tuberculosis) originated, who visited Hannali House in 1842 and administered sacraments before dying nearby [87, 107].

Vine (Cherokee creeper) Metaphorical term used to describe the rapid and effective network of informal communication among the Cherokee people; news regarding the location of Opothleyahola's hidden camp spread via this "Cherokee creeper," enabling Famous Innominee to locate and reach the refugee group [164, 184].

Violence, Conflict, and the Devil's Work The pervasive presence of conflict, ranging from internal tribal divisions and personal vendettas to large-scale historical violence like Removal and the Civil War, often framed within a quasi-theological context involving "The Devil." The novel depicts violence not merely as historical circumstance but as an active, often insidious force. The "Devil of the Indians" is identified as a historical figure (Andrew Jackson) born in 1767 (30, 44), whose election presidency signals catastrophe (24, 44) and whose pleasure is derived from Indian suffering (28). This personification of evil is complemented by figures like Whiteman Falaya, the "ghost killer" (57-58, 101, 105, 175-178), who embodies senseless, almost supernatural malice arising from within the Choctaw sphere. The Civil War in the Territory is portrayed as exceptionally brutal ("Thirteen Civil Wars," (133, 141)), deliberately fomented by figures like Albert Pike (122, 136-142) and marked by

"fashions in hatred" that turn tribes against each other (141, 161-162). The violence is often intimate and grotesque, as seen in the murders of Sally Innominee (172-173, 193) and the destruction of Hannali House (178-181). Even moments of seeming peace are underpinned by the threat of violence (44, 64, 125). This theme suggests that the Choctaw world is under constant assault, not just by historical forces but by active malevolence, both external (Jackson, Pike) and internal (Whiteman Falaya, tribal schisms), requiring immense resilience and often resulting in tragic, world-ending consequences (157, 177, 181, 191).

Violin Emerges as the term for Hannali's instrument in his later years, signifying a shift from the folk style ("fiddle") potentially inspired by hearing Peter Pitchlynn play years prior; Hannali used the violin to play "old powerful stuff up out of the cellar" with great depth and richness [202, 222].

Virginia Identified as the location where the informant ("man who had seen a fox hunt") witnessed the formal English style of hunt that Papa Barua Innominee disastrously attempted to replicate [15, 35].

Voice Literary Supplement Source of a promotional blurb quoted on the book jacket, proclaiming *Okla Hannali* "It's an American classic." [2].

Voltaire François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778), influential French Enlightenment writer and philosopher; listed by Lafferty among historically significant figures (alongside Socrates, Plato, Newton, etc.) whose established reputations are often defended with great intensity [122, 142].

Vowel Mentioned in the technical description of Sequoyah's Cherokee syllabary, whose eighty-five symbols represented either a standalone vowel or a consonant-vowel combination [82, 102].

W

W. A. Williams Name listed among Choctaws bearing Welsh blood, suggesting Welsh intermixture [107].

W. N. Jones Name listed among Choctaws bearing Welsh blood [107].

Wacos A Caddoan splinter tribe found residing in Indian Territory before the main southeastern removals [43, 63]; Robert Jones sent trading missions to them [108, 128]; listed among tribes removed to Territory post-Civil War [192].

Wagon(s) Innominees imported goods by wagon [19, 39]; Indians left stranded without wagons during Removal [28, 48]; mule-drawn wagons used by 1828 Expedition [36, 56]; Hannali's black settlers traveled west in wagons [46, 66]; Hannali brought gifts upriver in first cargoes (implying transfer from boat to wagon) [75]; Hannali brought wood by wagonloads [97, 117]; Marie DuShane used spring wagon [97, 98, 117, 118, 201, 221]; Innominee family traveled in four buggies and big red wagon [111, 131]; Alinton's party bought wagons [116]; Snake Creeks cobbled up wagons [152, 172]; Snake wounded stacked into wagons [161, 181]; Creek wagons rolled north [161, 181]; white men medicine wagon operators [166, 186].

Wainwright One of Hannali's many trades [74, 94].

Walker, Tandy Choctaw leader (1814-1877); served as chief of the Skullyville Convention party (1858-59) [187, 207]; commanded the Second Confederate Indian Brigade during the Civil War [187, 207]; known for effective "hit and run" tactics, never being driven from a field [187].

Walking Coyote A Cheyenne man known by Hannali [67, 87].

Walking Rabbit A Cheyenne man known by Hannali [67, 87].

Wall Bearskin on wall [5, 25]; Whiteman Falaya stabbed note into pine slab wall [56, 76, 77]; gun leaning against wall [56, 76]; ghost skin nailed to wall [149, 169]; sod/rock fences stood like "walls of China" [71, 91]; attackers ran into wall of fire [159].

Walnut Bayou One of Robert M. Jones's six large slave plantations [108, 128].

Walnut Fort (Fort Nogales) Spanish name for the site that became Vicksburg, Mississippi [35, 55].

Walnut Hill English name for the site that became Vicksburg, Mississippi [35, 55].

Wander year / Wandering year Traditional Choctaw custom for young men involving extended travel for initiation and adventure [66, 86]; Hannali took several, including one to Spanish Florida [66, 86]; Alinton Innominee's trip to Santa Fe and California (1848-49) considered his "wandering year," providing material for stories [116, 136]; Robert Pike's ghost story from his wander year [149, 169].

War club Hannali's silver-headed cane compared to one in weight [29, 49].

War of 1812 Conflict between U.S. and Great Britain; Pushmataha held General's rank for service in it [6, 26]; Major Levi Colbert held rank from it [35, 55].

Washita, False Early name for the Washita River in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), used to distinguish it from the Ouachita River in Louisiana [8, 40, 60, 111, 131, 214]. (See also **Washita River**).

Washita, Fort U.S. Army post in Indian Territory (Chickasaw Nation); Union forces withdrawn from there July 1861 [128, 148].

Washita River Major river in southern Indian Territory (Oklahoma); explored by 1828 party [8, 25, 40, 44]; Caddoes located on it [111, 131]; Hannali wide as a False Washita swamp [214]. (See also **Washita, False**).

Washington (D.C.) Capital city of the United States; site of 1825 Choctaw treaty signing [24, 44]; lobbyists sought justice for Choctaws there [90, 110]; Peter Pitchlynn spent years there lobbying, met Lincoln there [123, 143]; Pitchlynn lived out remainder of life there, died and buried there [197, 198, 217, 218]; Natchez's equal beauty not found there [86, 106].

Washington, George (Captain) Caddo Indian chief, friend of Hannali; visited Hannali House [58, 78]; commanded the Reserve Squadron in Tandy Walker's Confederate brigade [187, 208].

Watch Major's fine gold watch used to time Hannali's five-minute deadline [104, 105, 124, 125].

Watch tower Structure on Hannali's Big House; he sat there dropping rifle shots at trespassers [143, 163].

Water Hannali imported goods by water [19, 39]; Hannali's blacks needed casual instructions for water routes [46, 66]; access to Fort Gibson by water [53, 73]; children swam in cold water [94, 114]; girl needed water for corn cakes [95, 115]; Pickens needed water [113, 114]; Yahola found good grass and water [164]; Robert Pike needed warm water for wounds [131, 151].

Watery eyes Characteristic physical feature of Robert Pike as a boy [8, 76, 96, 131, 151]; man with watery eyes faced savage Indians (Pike during raid) [179, 199].

Watie, Stand Cherokee leader and Confederate General (1806-1871); three-quarters Indian but all white by inclination [121]; commanded killer Cherokees [187]; master stroke by Pike got Ross and Watie to sign treaty [140, 160]; Confederate to his bones [140]; Watie hunted Pins like rats, killed indiscriminately [141, 161]; commanded Confederate Indians at Shoal Creek [169]; pursued final Snake Creeks fleeing to Kansas [170, 171, 191]; surrendered June 23, 1865, last Confederate general [188].

Wax Used for sealing letters [82, 102].

Waxed-stone apparatus Primitive mimeograph created by Hannali using waxed stone, grease, and carbon to copy Forbis Agent's broadsides [125, 145].

Weas Tribe removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War, remnants included in omnibus tribe [192].

Wearing Horns (*Lahika*) A prominent Cheyenne man known by Hannali [67, 87].

Weather Held well during Big Decade prosperity [110, 130].

Weaving Set up by Hannali's people [45, 65].

Webbers Falls Battle site listed among the many places where Territory Indians "died" [142, 162].

Wellington (Duke of) Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769-1852); British military leader listed among historically sacrosanct figures [122, 142].

Wellington, Kansas Town where David Payne addressed Boomer rally and died in Barnard Hotel, Nov 1884 [210, 211, 230, 231].

Welsh Indians Concept explored by Lafferty; dismisses pre-Columbian legend but suggests Choctaws became Welsh Indians through intermixture with numerous Welsh colonists [9, 106, 107, 126, 127].

Welshmen Many colonists among Choctaws were Welshmen; described as canny, stubborn, often found running stores at "ends of the earth" [106, 107, 126, 127].

Wewoka Oklahoma city founded by Gopher John (Black Seminole leader) [59, 79].

Wheat Southern Indians hardly knew name pre-Removal [37, 57]; brought by Hannali from Osage/Pawnee regions [97, 117]; Lower Creeks smelled like last year's wheat [151, 171]; Snake Creeks made wheat flour [152, 172]; seed wheat unavailable post-war [190, 210].

Wheatland Territory prairies would be best wheatland but unknown then [37, 57].

Whip(s) Tool/Weapon: Bull whips used by masked men [8, 42]; mule whip crack comparison [47, 67]; Marie DuShane attacked Martha Louisiana with whip [61, 81]; Colbert families cracked whip over Chickasaw delegates [137, 156]. Action: Whip you (Hannali threat) [130, 150]; Kiowas whip numbers in anything [69, 89].

Whiskey Decade A term designating the period primarily in the 1830s, immediately following the main waves of Indian Removal to the Territory, characterized by widespread alcoholism, despair, and social disintegration among the displaced tribes (72-73, 93). This was not merely increased drinking but a "new thing—drinking to exorcise their unbearable misery" (73) after losing their homeland, witnessing mass death, and having their lives "uprooted" (73). Lafferty frames this as a period when the "winged serpent turned into a venomous snake," leading Indians to trade their "last possessions and their manhood for the hasty whiskey sold them by profiteers along the

way" (73). It represents the nadir of demoralization before the gradual recovery and rebuilding that characterized the subsequent "Big Decade." Hannali recognizes this despair but predicts its eventual passing ("give it three years and it will be gone" (73)), highlighting his characteristic resilience and long-term perspective amidst acute crisis.

Whiskey, mule Potent, likely unrefined liquor; carried by Hannali on pilgrimage [76, 96]; children nipped stolen amount [95, 115].

Whistling Elk A Cheyenne man known by Hannali [67, 87].

White Antelope A Caddo leader known by Hannali [68, 88].

White Bird Nez Perce leader (c. 18?? - c. 1892); known by Hannali [68, 88].

White blood / white-blood Term denoting European ancestry in individuals of mixed Native American descent [xii, xiv, 23, 25, 26, 43, 45, 46, 59, 74, 99, 109, 119, 122, 141, 142, 161, 163, 181, 191, 193, 211, 213]; white-blood chiefs often aligned with white interests [23, 43]; white-blood Indians largely in Choctaw South, Confederate-leaning [99, 119]; white-blood Choctaws formed "Blue-Eyed Company" [161, 181].

White Cowbird A Kiowa man known by Hannali [68, 88].

White Elk A Cheyenne man known by Hannali [67, 87].

White Eyes Choctaw term for white people [1, 2, 12, 171, 189, 198, 200, 219, 220].

White man/men Term used ubiquitously throughout the text to refer to people of European descent, their culture, government, actions, and perspectives, often contrasted with Indians.

Whiteman Given name chosen by a loose Choctaw woman for her son (fathered by unknown white man), who becomes the antagonist Whiteman Falaya [57, 77].

Whitman Long Alias used by Whiteman Falaya when serving among Confederate troopers; identified by Hannali [103, 104, 123, 124].

Whoopa, Whoopa Sound grunted by Papa Barua into his nine-foot trumpet during the fox hunt, mimicking a hunting call [16, 36].

Wichita Agency Government agency site where Pike secured numerous treaties (Kichai, Tawakoni, Wichita, etc.) on August 12, 1861 [139, 140, 159, 160].

Wichita Mountains Mountain range in southwestern Indian Territory (Oklahoma); source of granite blocks for Hannali's Big House [60, 80]; visited by Innominee family during Big Decade [111, 131].

Wichitas Plains tribe indigenous to the region; present in Territory pre-removal [43, 63]; Robert Jones traded with them [108, 128]; Pickens traded for foxskin among them [112, 132]; Pike signed treaty with Isadowa faction, causing Wichita Civil War fizzle [139, 159]; mentioned by Hannali among nations known [218, 238].

Widdo Hannali's written self-description ("a widdo were with three wives"), reflecting his unique domestic situation after the departure/symbolic divorce of his wives [8, 56, 60, 80].

Wild Hog A Cheyenne man known by Hannali [67, 87].

Wildcat Kickapoos Band of Kickapoo Indians, mostly from Texas/Mexico, removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192, 212].

William David Name listed among Choctaws bearing Welsh blood [107].

William of Falaise William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy and King of England (c. 1028-1087); listed among historically sacrosanct figures [122, 142].

Williams, W. A. Name listed among Choctaws bearing Welsh blood [107].

Wilson's Creek (Oak Hill) Site of major Confederate victory near Springfield, Missouri (August 10, 1861); boosted Confederate morale and influenced subsequent events in Indian Territory [139, 142, 159, 162].

Wind Brother of wind (Yahola) [11, 155, 175]; out of wind (Biloxi during run) [16, 36]; horse tied to wind [87, 107]; scent lost by shifting wind [176]; November night his brother wind [180].

Winding Stair Mountains Mountain range in eastern Indian Territory (Oklahoma); part of boundary watershed for Choctaw districts [24, 40, 44, 60]; site of Nanih Waiya pilgrimage [77-79, 97-99].

Window Ruby-red window in Hannali House [60, 80].

Wine New Orleans wine served at Hannali's table [143, 163]; passed at last supper [148, 168].

Winged serpent Metaphor used by Lafferty to describe the transformation of alcohol use among removed Indians from occasional joy to venomous self-destruction during the Whiskey Decade [73, 93].

Winter Removal groups forced to travel in winter [28, 48]; whiskey decade over in less than ten years (implies winters) [73, 93]; tail end of winter (dream of mountain) [76, 96]; coat needed as winter coming [94, 114]; snoot end of winter [94, 114]; hard winter predicted [91, 111]; winter one made biggest feast [96, 116]; winter coming with rush [180]; early winter at Bird Creek [166].

Wisdom Old bear supposed to possess all wisdom [11, 31].

Witch, night Figure Rachel Perry should not resemble by riding off unguarded [163].

Wolf Creek Battle site listed among the many places where Territory Indians "died" [142].

Wolverine Marie DuShane compared to one when attacking Martha Louisiana [62, 82].

Woman Term used frequently throughout, referring to wives, mothers, daughters, generic figures.

Wood cards Playing cards made of shingle-thin wood, used by Choctaws before commercial cards [31, 51].

Wood lots Steamboat passengers sometimes worked wood lots for passage fare [34, 54].

Wooden Leg Cheyenne man (c. 1858-1940), participant in Battle of Little Bighorn; known by Hannali [67, 87]. (Note: Chronology slightly problematic if Hannali died 1900).

Woods Band Potawatomis Group of Potawatomi Indians removed from Kansas to Indian Territory post-Civil War [192].

Worcester, Samuel Missionary to the Cherokees (1798-1859); entertained by Hannali for weeks [59, 79].

World History of world in pecan shell [1, 7, 21]; Hannali filled century [3]; end of world of Hannali [11, 178, 181]; world not run out of Indians [xii, 14, 217]; world weaker when terror lost [212, 232]; world getting worse, people better [201, 221]; shadow world [181, 201].

Wounded Knee Site of 1890 massacre; referenced in Dee Brown book title [2].

Wyandots Tribe removed to Indian Territory post-Civil War, remnants included in omnibus tribe [192].

Wynn, F. G. Name listed among Choctaws bearing Welsh blood [107].

Y

Ya-Ya-Hadge An Indian leader (tribal affiliation unspecified) named among the many prominent visitors received at Hannali House during its years as a center of regional hospitality [59, 79].

Yahola Familiar name for Opothle Yahola, Principal Chief of the Upper Creeks, often used by Hannali and others [passim, e.g., 144, 145, 146, 150, 152, 155, 161]; known as the Laughing Fox [145], Hannali considered him a friend and special brother, possessing *aleika* magic [163]; he appealed to the "panoramic God" for elite warriors [147]; provided tactical instruction [152]; led the neutral forces through the battles of Round Mountains, Bird Creek, and Shoal Creek [156-170]; his name was forged on Pike's treaty [137]; eventually reached Kansas where he died [170].

Yankton A division of the Dakota Sioux people, mentioned alongside Teton and Santee as part of the "Nadoues-Sioux," whose distinct, friendly civilization parallel to white culture was ultimately destroyed [195, 215].

Year of my Wandering Traditional Choctaw initiatory practice where young men undertook extended travel for adventure and storytelling material [66, 86]; Hannali participated multiple times, first into Spanish Florida as a teen, and continued wandering annually throughout his life [66, 86]; Alinton Innominee's 1848-49 journey to Santa Fe and California constituted his "wandering year," becoming the "mother lode" for his later stories [116, 136].

Year of the Big Thunders Term used by Indians to refer to the year 1845 (or possibly 1846, contextually implied), characterized by extreme weather including major river floods, tornadoes originating in the Pushmataha district, and exceptionally severe lightning, thunder, and large hailstones ("as big as Ishtaboli balls") [9, 99, 119]; despite the destructive storms, it was considered a fertile year marking a turning point when the removed tribes "finally got well" [99, 119].

Yoke oxen Hannali offered "good yoke oxen" as part of his extensive stakes during the high-stakes poker game in New Orleans [32, 52].

Taylor, Zachary U.S. Army General and 12th U.S. President (1784-1850); visited Hannali House as General in 1842, the only U.S. President known for certain to have stayed there [58, 78]; as General, he was ordered to lead troops to the Nueces River on January 13, 1846, a key action precipitating the U.S.-Mexican War [100, 120].

Z

zele An Apache leader known personally by Hannali Innominee from his travels and time spent among the Plains tribes [68, 88].

Table 1: Hannali Innominee's Natal and Formative Family

Character Name	Relation to Hannali	Tribe/O rigin	Approx. Lifespan/Interaction Period	Qualitative Nature of Bond	Cultural/Th ematic Significance	Key Narrative Events	Evolution of Relationship
Hannali Innominee	Protagonist	Choctaw (Mishoweia clan, "Hundred Families" minority)	c. 1800-1802 to 1900 (dies at ~100)	Self-perception: large, a "Mingo," connected to land. Subject of an "epic." "Choctaw chuckle r."	Embodies the Choctaw experience over a century of profound change. Represents resilience, traditionalism, adaptation, and the mythic "tall tale" figure. His life parallels Choctaw history.	Born in Okla Hannali district (Mississippi); lives through Removal, Civil War, land allotment era; becomes a patriarch; builder; traveler; political figure (Senator); storyteller. His very name's pronunciation changes over time (Ch.18).	From bulky boy, to young man exploring new lands, to established patriarch, to elder statesman witnessing cultural dissolution, and finally to a "Mingo" facing death. His identity is deeply intertwined with Choctaw identity.
Barua Innominee	Father	Choctaw (Mishoweia clan)	Active in Hannali's youth (early 1800s). Dies "off-page" before main Removal period for Hannali.	Respected father figure. A man of independent action. Instructs Hannali in	Represents traditional Choctaw leadership (hereditary town chief) and the internal political dynamics (resigning from Pushmataha'	Resigns from Pushmataha's Kunsha Okla Hannali Six Town District; Joins Moshulatubbee's Okla Tannaps District;	Provides foundational cultural and character influence on Hannali. His decision to switch districts

				"simple manners" (Ch.4).	s district). His success despite "follies" mirrors Hannali's own luck.	Becomes "Choctaw rich"; Teaches Hannali (e.g., about manners - Ch.4). Noted as not learning English well (Ch.4).	sets a precedent for independent action and perhaps a minority stance, which Hannali later embodies. Seems to have died before Hannali's full establishment in the new Territory.
Chapponia	Mother	Choctaw	Active in Hannali's youth. Dies before Hannali moves to New Territory (pre-Ch.5).	Motherly. Capable of smoothing things over (e.g., with the she-bear).	Represents the maternal influence in early Choctaw life. Her death occurs before the major upheavals of Removal for Hannali's direct family.	Deals with she-bear incident (Ch.1). Mentioned as loading shotgun with rock salt during mock fox hunt (Ch.2). Dies before Hannali's permanent move to the new territory (pre-Ch.5).	Key figure in Hannali's early, more idyllic childhood in Mississippi. Her death marks a transition point before the family's major uprooting.
Pass Christian Innominee	Elder Brother	Choctaw	Active throughout much of Hannali's life.	Supportive, educated, worldly. "Left his brains to Pass	Represents Choctaw engagement with the wider world (New Orleans, French culture),	Brings father Barua a red coat from New Orleans (Ch.2). Resides in New	Evolves from elder brother in Mississippi to an established,

				Christina" (by Barua).	education, and economic adaptation. Acts as a facilitator and connection for Hannali.	Orleans, aids Hannali there (Ch.4). Has his own family, visits Hannali House in the Territory (Ch.9). Planted idea of establishing posts in new Territory (Ch.5).	successful figure in New Orleans and a connection point for Hannali. His visits maintain familial bonds across geographical and cultural distances. His children represent a more "Frenchified" Choctaw generation.
Biloxi Innomine	Brother	Choctaw	Active in Hannali's youth in Mississippi.	Good-natured, simple, "big-bellied." "Left his pot to Biloxi" (by Barua).	Represents those Choctaws who chose to remain in Mississippi during the Removal, facing dispossession.	Participates in mock fox hunt (Ch.2). Decides to stay in Mississippi, knowing he will become a "poor laborer or renter" (Ch.5).	Remains a figure of the "old country," symbolizing a different path taken by some Choctaws. His choice highlights the difficult decisions forced by Removal.
"The She-Bear"	Fictive Kin / Animal Companion	Bear	Hannali's childhood until her death.	Intimate, almost maternal (mistakes	Symbolizes the deep connection to nature in traditional Choctaw life and	Found with young Hannali; Papa Barua mauled trying to separate	An integral part of Hannali's earliest, almost mythical,

				Hannali for cub).	Hannali's own primal, "bear-like" nature. Blurs lines between human and animal worlds.	them; Mama Chapponia mediates. Remains around the farm for years, an "intimate of the family" (Ch.1).	upbringi ng. Her presence undersco res the "larger than life" and "tall tale" quality of Hannali's origins.
Pushmata ha	Mingo / District Chief (Histori cal Figure)	Choctaw	Early 1800s (Hannali's youth). Dies before 1828.	Figure of immens e traditio nal authorit y and power. Describ ed as "tough chief," "Medal Mingo," "king." Fearsom e.	Represents the powerful, pre-Removal Choctaw leadership and sovereignty, and their initial complex interactions with encroaching US influence ("sucked white men's eggs").	Barua Innominee resigns from his district after a confrontati on (Ch.1). Mentioned as one of three "Medal Mingos" Hannali heard speak (Ch.20).	A foundati onal figure of Choctaw leadershi p whose era Hannali witnesse s the end of. Barua's defiance of him is a significa nt early event shaping the Innomin ee family's path.
Moshulat ubbee	Mingo / District Chief (Histori cal Figure)	Choctaw	Early 1800s through Removal period.	Large, never "sucked white men's eggs," "great grin," executio ner for his district. "Pleasa nt man."	Represents another major faction of Choctaw leadership, distinct from Pushmataha. Accepts Barua's allegiance. Embodies a more unyielding traditionalis m.	Barua Innominee joins his district (Okla Tannaps, later Moshulatu bbee) (Ch.1). Confronts Greenwood LeFlore during Removal politics	A significa nt political figure whose district becomes the Innomin ees' new affiliatio n. His steadfast ness contrasts

						(Ch.3). Dies before Removal completed (Ch.5). Mentioned as one of three "Medal Mingos" Hannali heard speak (Ch.20).	with other leaders who compromise more. His eventual (forced) hand in conveying land signifies the tragedy of the era.

Table 2: Hannali Innominee's The Three Wives & Their Children

Character Name	Relation to Hannali	Tribe/O rigin (and lineage where specified)	Approx . Interac tion Period	Qualitativ e Nature of Bond	Cultural/The matic Significance	Key Narrative Events	Evolution of Relations hip
Marie DuShane	1st Wife (chronologically of the three simultaneous)	French (part Shawnee , from father Alinton DuShane)	Ch.4 (meets) – Ch.16 (death)	Initially a "sullen and closed" girl (Ch.4). Becomes a "white wife" with no regard for Indians/Negroes, then discovers her "breed Indian" storminess (Ch.6). Bond with Hannali becomes intensely conflictual.	Represents French/Frontier culture, assimilation to "white" norms, and the violent potential of suppressed hybrid identity. Her presence creates initial hierarchy in Hannali House. Her children represent French-Choctaw lineage. She is "the family" when she dies (Ch.16).	Marries Hannali after he takes over her father's post (Ch.5). Mother of Alinton & Hazel. Reports Martha Louisiana for insubordination. Violent confrontation with Martha L. and attack on Natchez (Ch.6). Formal	From a reluctant frontier girl to a seemingly assimilated "white wife," then erupts as a "wild breed Indian." The relationship with Hannali and the other wives deteriorates into violence, leading to the formal

						marriage with Hannali (and the other two) ends. Later calls Hannali "father" (Ch.8). "Light squirrel rifle" (Ch.16). Dies with "hair still on fire" in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).	dissolution of the marriages. Despite this, a complex familial bond seems to persist ("All nine of them became her children for hours of instruction" Ch.8). Her death is a catastrophic loss, ending "the family."
Martha Louisa	2nd Wife (chronologically of the three simultaneous)	Choctaw Negro (escaped slave origins)	Ch.2 (as girl) – Ch.16 (death)	Loyal, strong, earthy, wise ("dangerous chuckle," Ch.6). Matriarch of Hannali's Black workers. Protective of her status as wife.	Represents the significant Black presence within the Choctaw Nation, the complexities of slavery/freedom, and integrated labor. Embodies resilience and "black-earth passion" (Ch.5). Her children represent Negro-Choctaw lineage.	Gathers Fox during mock hunt (Ch.2). Appointed matriarch of Hannali's Black workers heading to Territory (Ch.5). Marries Hannali (Ch.5). Mother of Travis & Luvinia. Confrontation with Marie DuShane ("I am the wife before you," Ch.6).	From a young girl in Hannali's original household to a leader of his people, then one of his three wives. Her bond with Hannali seems grounded and practical. The conflict with Marie D. reveals her strength and claim to

						Formal marriage ends. Called "sister" by Marie D. (Ch.8). Dies in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).	legitimacy . Her death during the raid signifies the destruction of a foundational part of Hannali's world.
Natchez	3rd Wife (chronologically of the three simultaneous)	Cherokee (daughter of Strange Choate)	Ch.5 (meets) – Ch.20 (survives raid & Hannali)	Initially "small and scrawny," quiet, sunny, "bird-like" (Ch.5). Marries Hannali. Deep affection from Hannali. "Never hurt anything in her life" (Ch.6). Learns to read/write with difficulty (Ch.8). Glows "like a lantern" (Ch.14).	Represents alliance with Western Cherokees and a connection to a different Indigenous tradition. Embodies resilience and perhaps a more enduring, less overtly conflictual form of Indigenous spirit. Her children represent Cherokee-Choctaw lineage. She is the "last Indian" (Ch.18).	Marries Hannali at Three Forks (Ch.5). Mother of Famous & Salina. Attacked by Marie DuShane (Ch.6). Formal marriage ends. Called "sister" by Marie D. (Ch.8). Names Salina (Ch.7). Her difficulty learning to write is a poignant detail (Ch.8). Survives raid by hiding in a pit with children (Ch.16). Pronounces Hannali's name "white people" way (Ch.18).	Her relationship with Hannali appears to be one of deep, tender affection. She endures immense trauma but survives, becoming a key figure in the post-destruction family. Her quiet strength and eventual subtle cultural shift (name pronunciation) are significant .

						With Hannali at his death (Ch.20).	
SONS:							
Famous Innomin ee	Son (by Natchez)	Choctaw / Cherokee	Ch.7 (birth) – Civil War (presumed death)	"Has the brains" (Ch.8/15). "Territory dude" (Ch.11). Ambitious, neutralist, later "changed" (Ch.12). Supports neutrality (Ch.12).	Represents the educated, politically active next generation. Embodies the tragedy of the Civil War, forcing idealistic youth into hardened or lost figures. His "death" under another name signifies profound transformation/loss.	One of 3 nine-year-old brothers running deer (Ch.8). Attends Fort Coffee Academy (Ch.10). Brings Durham bull & wife Helen Miller from Kansas (Ch.11). Grandfather Strange Choate is a key influence. Fights for neutrality, undertakes commission for Opothleya hola (Ch.12/15). Does not return post-war; "becomes another man" (Ch.16/20).	Evolves from a promising youth to a key figure in the neutralist movement. His ultimate fate is shrouded in mystery and transformation, symbolizing the lost potential of his generation.
Travis Innomin ee	Son (by Martha Louisiana)	Choctaw / Negro	Ch.7 (birth) – Post-Civil War	"Has the bravery" (Ch.8/15). Warrior spirit.	Represents active resistance and inter-tribal solidarity during the Civil War. Embodies the	One of 3 nine-year-old brothers running deer (Ch.8). Attends Armstrong	From adventurous youth to a committed warrior for a neutral Indigenou

					fighting spirit.	Academy (Ch.10). Marries Rachel Perry (Creek). Joins Opothleya hola's neutral Creeks (Ch.14). Returns post-war, opens store in North Fork Town (Ch.17). His widow and daughter Catherine are with Hannali at his death (Ch.20).	s cause. He survives the war and attempts to rebuild, representing a form of resilience and adaptation.
Alinton Innominnee	Son (by Marie DuShane)	Choctaw / French	Ch.7 (birth) – Post-Civil War	"Has the bluff and bluster" (Ch.8/15). Adventurous, later pragmatic businessman. Crippled but still rides.	Represents exploration, economic enterprise, and adaptation to changing commercial realities post-war. Connects Hannali's world to the wider West (Santa Fe, California).	One of 3 nine-year-old brothers running deer (Ch.8). Attends Spencer Academy (Ch.10). "Wandering Year" to Santa Fe/California; returns rich (Ch.11). Marries Marie Calles. Takes over Hannali's store/landing (Ch.11). Buys cattle	Transforms from a blustering youth into a successful, if somewhat changed, man of business. His travels and enterprises link the Innominnee sphere to broader economic currents.

						in Texas post-war (Ch.17).	
DAUGHTERS:							
Luvinia Innominée	Daughter (by Martha Louisiana)	Choctaw / Negro	Ch.7 (birth) – Ch.16 (death)	"Burned" (Ch.8).		Marries Forbis Agent (Ch.11). Dies in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).	Part of the generation destroyed by the Civil War's violence.
Hazel Innominée (Marie d'Azel)	Daughter (by Marie DuShane)	Choctaw / French	Ch.7 (birth) – Ch.20 (survives Hannali)	"Glowed" (Ch.8).	Represents continuity and the French lineage surviving into the post-war era.	Marries Jimmy Buster (Ch.11). Mother of Anna-Hata. Survives raid (Ch.16).	A survivor who becomes a link to the pre-war family structure and the mother of Anna-Hata, a key figure in Hannali's final years.
Salina (Sally) Innominée	Daughter (by Natchez)	Choctaw / Cherokee	Ch.7 (birth) – Ch.16 (death)	"Sparkled" (Ch.8). Most beautiful. "Possessed by a Devil." "Defective in her mind" for a long time (Ch.16).	Embodies tragic beauty, innocence destroyed by inexplicable evil (Whiteman Falaya). Her murder is a pivotal trauma.	Named by mother Natchez (Ch.7). Becomes "indrawn"; Whiteman Falaya "visited her again...as a ghost or devil" (Ch.11). Murdered by Whiteman Falaya in Hitchiti Meadow (Ch.16).	Her story is one of profound tragedy and violation, symbolizing the deep wounds inflicted on the Innominée family and, by extension, the Choctaw people by forces of inexplicable violence. Her

							"possession" hints at deeper psychological or spiritual trauma.

Table 3: Hannali Innominee's Grandchildren and Their Immediate Families

<i>Grandchild Name</i>	<i>Parents (Hannali's Child & Spouse)</i>	<i>Lineage from Hannali's Wives (via Hannali's Child)</i>	<i>Approx. Period of Interaction (OCR Inferred)</i>	<i>Cultural/Thematic Significance (OCR Inferred)</i>	<i>Key Narrative Roles/Events (OCR Based)</i>
<i>Children of Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster:</i>		(Marie DuShane Lineage)	Born "Big Decade" (c.1847-1860) - some survive raid	Represent the blending of Choctaw-French (Hazel) and Choctaw-Texan (Jemmy) lines. Their survival after the raid is part of the clan's reconstitution.	Listed in Ch.11.
<i>James</i>	Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" -	Part of the large, prosperous pre-war family.	Listed in Ch.11.
<i>Marie-Therese</i>	Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" -	Part of the large, prosperous pre-war family.	Listed in Ch.11.
<i>Henry-Pushmataha</i>	Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" -	Part of the large, prosperous pre-war family.	Listed in Ch.11.
<i>Bartholome</i>	Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Philip-Nitakechi</i>	Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" -	Part of the large, prosperous pre-war family.	Listed in Ch.11. Asks about ghost skin story (Ch.14).
<i>Anna-Hata</i>	Hazel Innominee & Jemmy Buster	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" - Survives to Hannali's death	Blue-eyed, "corn-like hair" (Ch.20). Deep spiritual connection with Hannali. Represents the "new Indians" who are	Survives raid (Ch.16). Baptized by Hannali (Ch.18). Marries a white

				culturally white but retain an essential Indigenous connection. Embodies the future of the lineage.	man. Communicates with Hannali at a distance; comes to him at his death (Ch.20). Asks "What are we, white people, that we kid each other?" (Ch.20).
<i>Children of Famous Innominee & Helen Miller:</i>		(Natchez Lineage)	Born "Big Decade" - some survive raid	Represent Choctaw-Cherokee (Famous) lineage mixed with Helen Miller's (presumably white/assimilated) background.	Listed in Ch.11. Helen Miller brought by Famous from Kansas.
<i>John-Durham</i>	Famous Innominee & Helen Miller	Natchez	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Famous-George</i>	Famous Innominee & Helen Miller	Natchez	"Big Decade" - Survives raid	Represents the surviving youth who must carry on. Inherits "brains of the family." Knows Latin for funeral rites. Articulates the transformation/loss of his father, Famous.	Listed in Ch.11. Survives raid (Ch.16). Appears to Hannali after the raid. Says his father Famous will not return. Reads Latin for family funeral (Ch.20). Asks "Who was you think would know the Latin?" (Ch.20).
<i>Francis-Mingo</i>	Famous Innominee & Helen Miller	Natchez	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Strange-Joseph</i>	Famous Innominee & Helen Miller	Natchez	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Children of Travis Innominee & Rachel Perry (1st wife):</i>		(Martha Louisiana Lineage)	Born "Big Decade" - some survive raid	Represent Choctaw-Negro (Travis) and Creek (Rachel Perry) intermingling.	Listed in Ch.11. Rachel Perry is Creek.

<i>Louis-Hannali</i>	Travis Innominee & Rachel Perry	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Peter-Barua</i>	Travis Innominee & Rachel Perry	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Survives raid	Surviving youth.	Listed in Ch.11. Survives raid (Ch.16). Helps make coffins (Ch.20).
<i>Jude</i>	Travis Innominee & Rachel Perry	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Matthew-Moshulatubbee</i>	Travis Innominee & Rachel Perry	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Children of Luvinia Innominee & Forbis Agent:</i>		(Martha Louisiana Lineage)	Born "Big Decade" - some survive raid	Represent the lineage of Hannali's Choctaw-Negro daughter and an educated, itinerant preacher. Suggests a blend of deep roots and broader (Christian) influences.	Listed in Ch.11.
<i>Mary-Luvinia</i>	Luvinia Innominee & Forbis Agent	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Martha-Child</i>	Luvinia Innominee & Forbis Agent	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Survives raid	Surviving youth. "Droll and pleasant," with "bubbling humor and plenty of salt in her" (Ch.18).	Listed in Ch.11. Survives raid (Ch.16). Asks about ghost story in buffalo hokey (Ch.14). Baptized by Hannali (Ch.18).
<i>Gregory-Pitchlynn</i>	Luvinia Innominee & Forbis Agent	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Anne-Chapponia</i>	Luvinia Innominee & Forbis Agent	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Thomas-Academy</i>	Luvinia Innominee & Forbis Agent	Martha Louisiana	"Big Decade" - Survives raid (as infant)	Surviving infant. Represents the youngest generation impacted by the war and the focus of cultural questioning	Listed in Ch.11 (as one of 3 infants with Natchez during raid, Ch.16). Baptized by

				("What is Pale Face?").	Hannali (Ch.18). Asks about "Pale Face" and "Red Man" (Ch.18).
<i>Children of Alinton Innominee & Marie Calles:</i>		(Marie DuShane Lineage)	Born "Big Decade" - some survive raid	Represent the blending of Hannali's Choctaw-French son with a presumably Latina heritage (Marie Calles). Suggests further outward expansion and cultural mixing from Alinton's travels.	Listed in Ch.11. Marie Calles met during Alinton's travels.
<i>Charles-Mexico</i>	Alinton Innominee & Marie Calles	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Asks about ghost skin (Ch.14). Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Pablo-Nieto</i>	Alinton Innominee & Marie Calles	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" - Dies in raid (Ch.16)	Victim of Civil War violence.	Listed in Ch.11. Killed in raid on Hannali House (Ch.16).
<i>Helena</i>	Alinton Innominee & Marie Calles	Marie DuShane	"Big Decade" - Survives raid (as small daughter/infant)	Surviving youth/infant.	Listed in Ch.11 (as one of 3 infants with Natchez during raid, Ch.16). Baptized by Hannali (Ch.18).
<i>Child of Travis Innominee & Second Wife (name not given in OCR):</i>		(Martha Louisiana Lineage)	Born post-Civil War (appears at Hannali's death)	Represents the continuation of Travis's line after the war and the loss of Rachel Perry.	
<i>Catherine</i>	Travis Innominee & Second Wife (name not given)	Martha Louisiana	Appears Ch.20 (Hannali's death)	Present at Hannali's death with her mother (Travis's widow).	With her mother (Travis's widow, not Rachel Perry) at Hannali's death (Ch.20).

Table 4: Key Close Associates, Friends, and Kin of Hannali

Character Name	Relation to Hannali (Friend, Adopted Bro, Ally, Mentor, etc.)	Tribe/Origin/Role	Approx. Period of Association (OCR Inferred)	Nature of Bond/Alliance (OCR Inferred)	Significance to Hannali's Development/Actions (OCR Inferred)	Key Narrative Events (OCR Based)
Silvestre DuShane	Close Friend of young manhood, "Adopted Brother" (Ch.2 implies strong bond)	French / Shawnee Indian	Hannali's youth and early adulthood in new Territory (Ch.2, Ch.4)	Deep friendship, shared adventure, mutual reliance.	Accompanies Hannali on the exploratory journey to the new lands (Ch.4). Connects Hannali to his kinsman Alinton DuShane (elder), leading to Hannali's first major establishment (Poste DuShane) and marriage to Marie DuShane. Represents early cross-cultural alliances and the spirit of frontier exploration.	Travels with Hannali to view new lands (Ch.4). Introduces Hannali to his kinsman Alinton DuShane (Ch.4). Rides with Hannali from Alinton DuShane's post after the initial, somewhat tense, meeting (Ch.4).
Strange Choate	Father-in-law (of Natchez), later deep Ally and Mentor	Cherokee ("Western or early-removed")	From Hannali's marriage to Natchez (Ch.5) through Civil War period (Ch.12, Ch.13)	Initially a practical alliance through marriage. Evolves into a profound intellectual and spiritual kinship, especially regarding "Freedom Indian" (neutrality) stance. Hannali calls him a "Mingo"	Provides Hannali with a crucial alliance with a faction of the Cherokees. Becomes a significant ideological influence, reinforcing Hannali's conservative and neutralist views. Their shared understanding during the Civil War crisis is pivotal. Represents a respected elder and a source of	Father of Natchez; gives Hannali 100 hogs and Natchez in marriage (Ch.5). Lives near Fort Gibson. Provides salt pork to garrison. Has a brother at Grand Saline (Ch.5).

				(Ch.5). "Cementing of friendship" via grandson Famous (Ch.10).	wisdom beyond Choctaw circles. His "star sparkle" (Ch.5) suggests a spiritual depth.	Becomes a close friend and counselor to Hannali, especially during the "Big Decade" (Ch.10). Influences Hannali's entry into politics (Ch.10). Key figure in discussions about neutrality during Civil War (Ch.12, Ch.13). His full-blood Cherokee faction aligns with Hannali's views (Ch.10).
Robert Pike (the younger)	White boy met on journey, later "Invisible Unionist Soldier" / "Ghost" in Hannali House	White (from Missouri)	Brief encounter Ch.7; Reappears Ch.12 (wounded soldier) - Ch.16 (leaves post-raid)	Initial curiosity/pity from Hannali's party. Later, a protected, secret guest, forming an unusual, unspoken bond of shared sanctuary and mutual respect despite being on opposing	Represents an unexpected intersection of lives from vastly different backgrounds. His secret presence in Hannali House during the war underscores Hannali's complex morality and commitment to a personal code that transcends formal allegiances. He becomes a keeper of Hannali's "secret"	Met as a 14-year-old boy by Hannali's party en route to Nanih Waiya (Ch.7). Wounded Union soldier, tracked to near Hannali House; hidden there by one of the women

				"sides" (though Hannali is neutral).	humanity during a brutal time. His letter after the raid provides crucial information.	(Ch.12). Lives as an unseen "ghost" for several years. Revealed to Hannali by his own voice after the raid (Ch.16). Leaves a note detailing the family's fate and vowing revenge on raiders (Ch.16).
Chizem (the gray-eyed Indian)	Friend / Fellow Traveler / Fiddle Player	Cherokee (mother) / Scottish (father)	Meets Hannali Ch.5 (during journey to new territory)	Instant camaraderie based on shared "Choctaw chuckler" nature and mutual recognition (after initial "big bluff" game).	Introduces Hannali to Strange Choate's settlement. Represents another cross-cultural individual with whom Hannali forms a quick bond. His fiddle playing ability is noted.	Encounter s Hannali on the trail; they engage in an Indian "big bluff" game before recognizing each other's nature (Ch.5). Leads Hannali's party to Strange Choate's farm. Plays Hannali's fiddle for pig scalders better than Hannali that night (Ch.5). Listed as a "man with

						a future" whose friendship Hannali held (Ch.5). Mentioned as a "gray-eyed Indian" visiting Hannali House (Ch.6).
Peter Pitchlyn n	Choctaw Leader, Ideological Counterpart , later "Poor PeterPitchlynn"	Choctaw (ambiguous white/Indian parentage debated by narrator)	Ch.4 (exploratory party) - Ch.18 (death in Washington)	Complex: initial shared purpose (exploratory party), later ideological divergence (Ch.12), but underlying respect seems to remain. Hannali views his later transformation with some pity.	A central figure in Choctaw politics alongside Hannali. Represents a different path for Choctaw leadership – more engaged with US systems, assimilationist tendencies ("wanted to turn Indians into white men," Ch.12). His "loss of magic" is a key theme. Their interactions highlight the internal debates over the Choctaw Nation's future.	Leads exploratory party with Levi Colbert that Hannali joins (Ch.4). Key figure in Removal treaties. Called men to Nanih Waiya via dream (Ch.7). Debates with Hannali & Strange Choate about Choctaw future/Civil War alignment (Ch.12). Owns 100 slaves. Chooses Confederacy. Dies in Washington D.C.; eulogy by Albert

						Pike (Ch.18).
Plains Indian Leaders (Collective - e.g., Jim Pockmark, Timbered Mountain, Black Moccasin, etc.)	Contacts from "Wandering Years," Respected Acquaintances	Cheyenne, Kiowa, Caddo, Apache, Sioux, Arapaho, Comanche, etc.	Hannali's "Wandering Years" (spanning decades, Ch.6, Ch.10)	Mutual respect, based on Hannali's presence, storytelling, and ability to connect across cultures. He is given various names by different tribes.	These relationships broaden Hannali's identity beyond just "Choctaw," making him a figure known across the Indigenous West. They represent a network of inter-tribal connections and a different sphere of Hannali's life – that of the traveler and cultural observer/participant. Showcases Hannali's adaptability and the respect he commands.	Hannali travels among them for many years, learning languages, customs, and engaging in their life (Ch.6, Ch.10). He is known by various names: "Fiddling Bear" (Cheyennes), "Man with the Talking Horses" (Kiwias), etc. (Ch.6). He "knew every leading Cheyenne in their grand decades" (Ch.6).

Table 5: Figures of Indigenous and External Leadership Interacting with or Impacting Hannali Innominee

Leader/Figure Name	Affiliation/Role	Relationship with Hannali	Nature of Power/Influence	Key Interactions/Events	Thematic Representation
Pushmataha	Choctaw Chief (pre-Removal) / "General" (US Army)	Original Chief of Hannali's family's district. Barua (father) defied his leadership.	Traditional authority, military prowess, significant influence during early Removal era.	Barua's defection from his district (Ch.1). His policies are central to the initial stages of Choctaw land cessions and the path towards Removal.	Pre-Removal Choctaw sovereignty; early negotiations and conflicts with US expansionism ; the complexities of leadership during a period of immense pressure.
Moshulatubbee	Choctaw Chief (Okla Tannaps)	Ally (Barua joins his district). Respected traditional leader.	Traditional authority, resistance to assimilation, represents a different Choctaw leadership faction.	Barua joins his district (Ch.1). Confrontation with Greenwood LeFlore (Ch.3). His district becomes a refuge for those disillusioned with Pushmataha's path.	Choctaw traditionalism; resistance to assimilationist pressures; internal Choctaw political divisions; integrity of leadership.
Greenwood LeFlore	Choctaw Chief (Okla Falaya faction) / "President"	Antagonist (to traditional Choctaw ways), central figure in Removal.	Assimilationist political power, treaty negotiator, controversial figure in Choctaw history.	Key figure in Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (Ch.3). His actions lead to Choctaw land cessions and Removal, directly impacting Hannali's community and future.	The painful process of assimilation and land cession; the difficult choices faced by Indigenous leaders under US pressure; internal divisions within the Choctaw Nation.
Peter Pitchlynn	Choctaw Leader / Chief (Historical Figure)	Ideological Counterpart, "Progressive" leader. Co-leader of exploratory	Advocate for education, negotiation with US, and adaptation.	Exploratory mission to new lands with Hannali (Ch.4, Ch.18).	Choctaw adaptation and survival through negotiation;

		party with Hannali.	Significant political influence.	Represents a different path for Choctaw survival, often contrasting with Hannali's more traditional views. Becomes "Poor Peter Pitchlynn" later (Ch.18).	internal debates on the future of the Nation; the "loss of magic" in the face of overwhelming change.
Robert M. Jones	Welsh-Choctaw / Planter / Slave Owner (Pro-Confederacy)	Major Antagonist/Ideological Foil (to Hannali's neutralist faction).	Immense economic and political power in Indian Territory; controls pro-Confederacy Choctaws.	"Owns the Choctaws" (Ch.10, Ch.13). Drives Choctaw alignment with Confederacy, directly opposing Hannali's neutrality. Creates significant internal conflict.	The rise of a new, often mixed-blood, elite in Indian Territory; the corrosive influence of slavery and wealth on traditional structures; the internal divisions leading to the "Thirteen Civil Wars."
John Ross	Cherokee Chief (Historical Figure)	Peer / Leader of Major Allied Tribe.	Significant Cherokee leader; attempted neutrality before Confederate alignment.	Visited Hannali House (Ch.6). His leadership and the Cherokee Nation's experiences parallel and influence the Choctaw situation, especially during the Civil War. His name forged on treaty (Ch.13).	Broader Indigenous struggles for sovereignty; the challenges of inter-tribal relations and alliances during a period of immense external pressure.
Opothleyahola	Creek Chief / Leader of Neutral Indians	Ally of Circumstance / Respected Figure of Resistance.	Leads significant Indigenous resistance to Confederate alignment.	His "Thirteen Civil Wars" (Ch.13) define the brutal conflict in Indian Territory. Hannali's son Travis joins his forces (Ch.14),	Indigenous resistance against overwhelming odds; the devastating impact of internal and external conflicts on

				indicating ideological alignment against forced Confederate allegiance. His name forged (Ch.13).	all tribes; the moral complexities of neutrality and alliance during the Civil War.
Albert Pike	Confederate Commissioner / White Man	External Antagonist / Manipulator.	Deceptive political maneuvering; uses funds and division to secure treaties.	Architect of treaties forcing Indian Territory into the Civil War (Ch.13). Directly responsible for the "Thirteen Civil Wars" and the ensuing devastation affecting Hannali's community.	External colonial/political manipulation ; the use of deceit and "divide-and-conquer" tactics against Indigenous nations; the devastating consequences of the American Civil War on Indian Territory.
The Devil (Andrew Jackson)	US President	Symbolic Antagonist / Architect of Removal.	Ultimate political authority driving Indian Removal policies.	Election in 1828 seen as doom for Five Tribes (Ch.3). Policies directly lead to Choctaw land cessions and the Trail of Tears. "Sworn Devil of the Indians."	The overwhelming and often brutal power of the US government; the "century of dishonor"; the systemic dispossession of Indigenous peoples.

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			during early Removal era.	initial stages of Choctaw land cessions and the path towards Removal.	with US expansionism ; the complexities of leadership during a period of immense pressure.
Moshulatubbee	Choctaw Chief (Okla Tannaps)	Ally (Barua joins his district). Respected traditional leader.	Traditional authority, resistance to assimilation, represents a different Choctaw leadership faction.	Barua joins his district (Ch.1). Confrontation with Greenwood LeFlore (Ch.3). His district becomes a refuge for those disillusioned with Pushmataha's path.	Choctaw traditionalism; resistance to assimilationist pressures; internal Choctaw political divisions; integrity of leadership.
Greenwood LeFlore	Choctaw Chief (Okla Falaya faction) / "President"	Antagonist (to traditional Choctaw ways), central figure in Removal.	Assimilationist political power, treaty negotiator, controversial figure in Choctaw history.	Key figure in Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (Ch.3). His actions lead to Choctaw land cessions and Removal, directly impacting Hannali's community and future.	The painful process of assimilation and land cession; the difficult choices faced by Indigenous leaders under US pressure; internal divisions within the Choctaw Nation.
Peter Pitchlynn	Choctaw Leader / Chief (Historical Figure)	Ideological Counterpart, "Progressive" leader. Co-leader of exploratory party with Hannali.	Advocate for education, negotiation with US, and adaptation. Significant political influence.	Exploratory mission to new lands with Hannali (Ch.4, Ch.18). Represents a different path for Choctaw survival, often contrasting with Hannali's more traditional views. Becomes "Poor Peter Pitchlynn" later (Ch.18).	Choctaw adaptation and survival through negotiation; internal debates on the future of the Nation; the "loss of magic" in the face of overwhelming change.

Robert M. Jones	Welsh-Choctaw / Planter / Slave Owner (Pro-Confederacy)	Major Antagonist/Ideological Foil (to Hannali's neutralist faction).	Immense economic and political power in Indian Territory; controls pro-Confederacy Choctaws.	"Owns the Choctaws" (Ch.10, Ch.13). Drives Choctaw alignment with Confederacy, directly opposing Hannali's neutrality. Creates significant internal conflict.	The rise of a new, often mixed-blood, elite in Indian Territory; the corrosive influence of slavery and wealth on traditional structures; the internal divisions leading to the "Thirteen Civil Wars."
John Ross	Cherokee Chief (Historical Figure)	Peer / Leader of Major Allied Tribe.	Significant Cherokee leader; attempted neutrality before Confederate alignment.	Visited Hannali House (Ch.6). His leadership and the Cherokee Nation's experiences parallel and influence the Choctaw situation, especially during the Civil War. His name forged on treaty (Ch.13).	Broader Indigenous struggles for sovereignty; the challenges of inter-tribal relations and alliances during a period of immense external pressure.
Opothleyahola	Creek Chief / Leader of Neutral Indians	Ally of Circumstance / Respected Figure of Resistance.	Leads significant Indigenous resistance to Confederate alignment.	His "Thirteen Civil Wars" (Ch.13) define the brutal conflict in Indian Territory. Hannali's son Travis joins his forces (Ch.14), indicating ideological alignment against forced Confederate allegiance. His name forged (Ch.13).	Indigenous resistance against overwhelming odds; the devastating impact of internal and external conflicts on all tribes; the moral complexities of neutrality and alliance during the Civil War.
Albert Pike	Confederate Commission	External Antagonist / Manipulator.	Deceptive political maneuvering;	Architect of treaties forcing Indian Territory	External colonial/political

	er / White Man		uses funds and division to secure treaties.	into the Civil War (Ch.13). Directly responsible for the "Thirteen Civil Wars" and the ensuing devastation affecting Hannali's community.	manipulation ; the use of deceit and "divide-and-conquer" tactics against Indigenous nations; the devastating consequences of the American Civil War on Indian Territory.
The Devil (Andrew Jackson)	US President	Symbolic Antagonist / Architect of Removal.	Ultimate political authority driving Indian Removal policies.	Election in 1828 seen as doom for Five Tribes (Ch.3). Policies directly lead to Choctaw land cessions and the Trail of Tears. "Sworn Devil of the Indians."	The overwhelming and often brutal power of the US government; the "century of dishonor"; the systemic dispossession of Indigenous peoples.