



OKLA HANNALI



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
COMMISSION TO THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

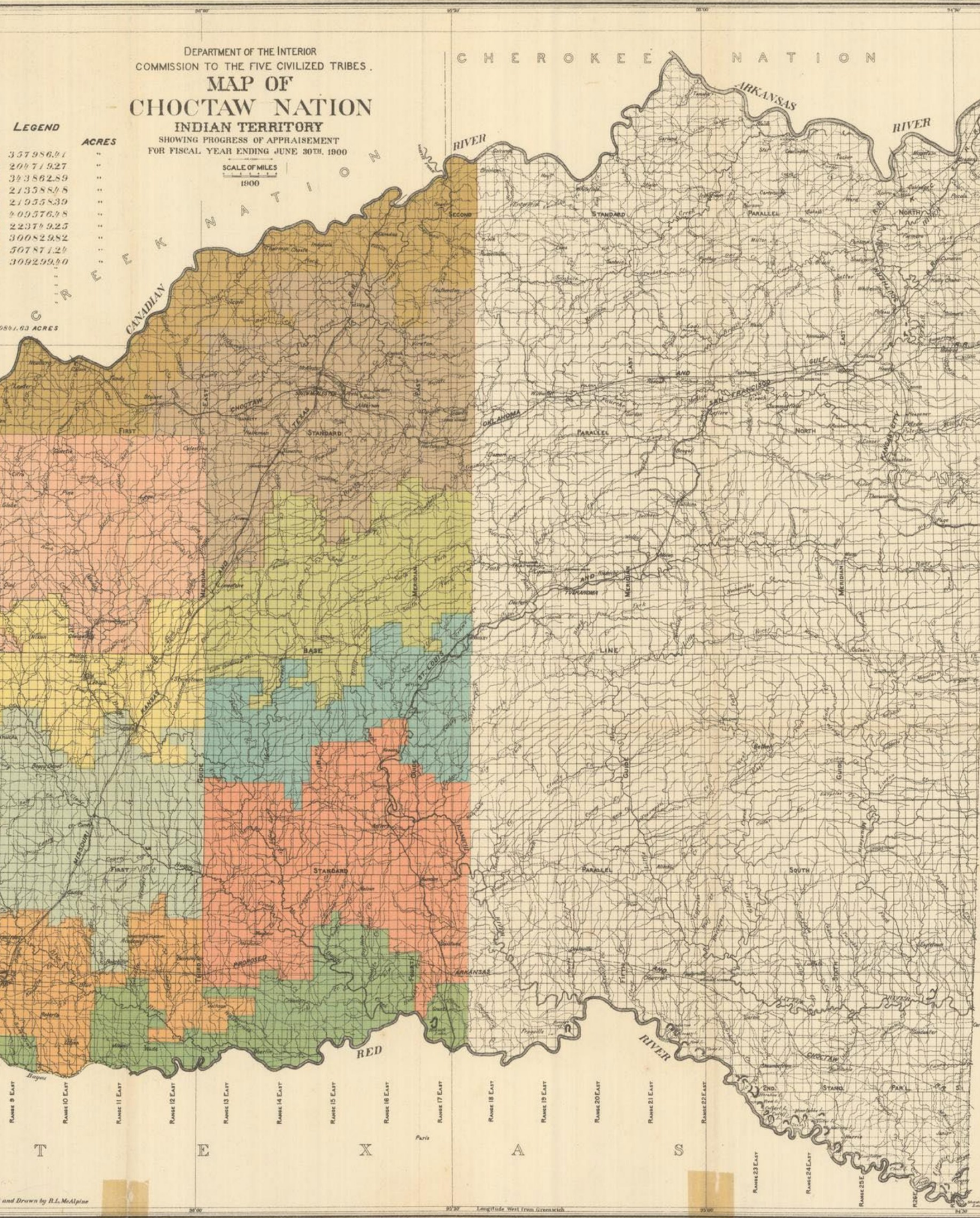
MAP OF CHOCTAW NATION

SHOWING PROGRESS OF APPRAISEMENT
FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30TH, 1900

LEGEND

ACRES	
33798691	"
20971927	"
39386289	"
21358898	"
21955839	"
90957698	"
22379925	"
30082982	"
50787129	"
30929990	"

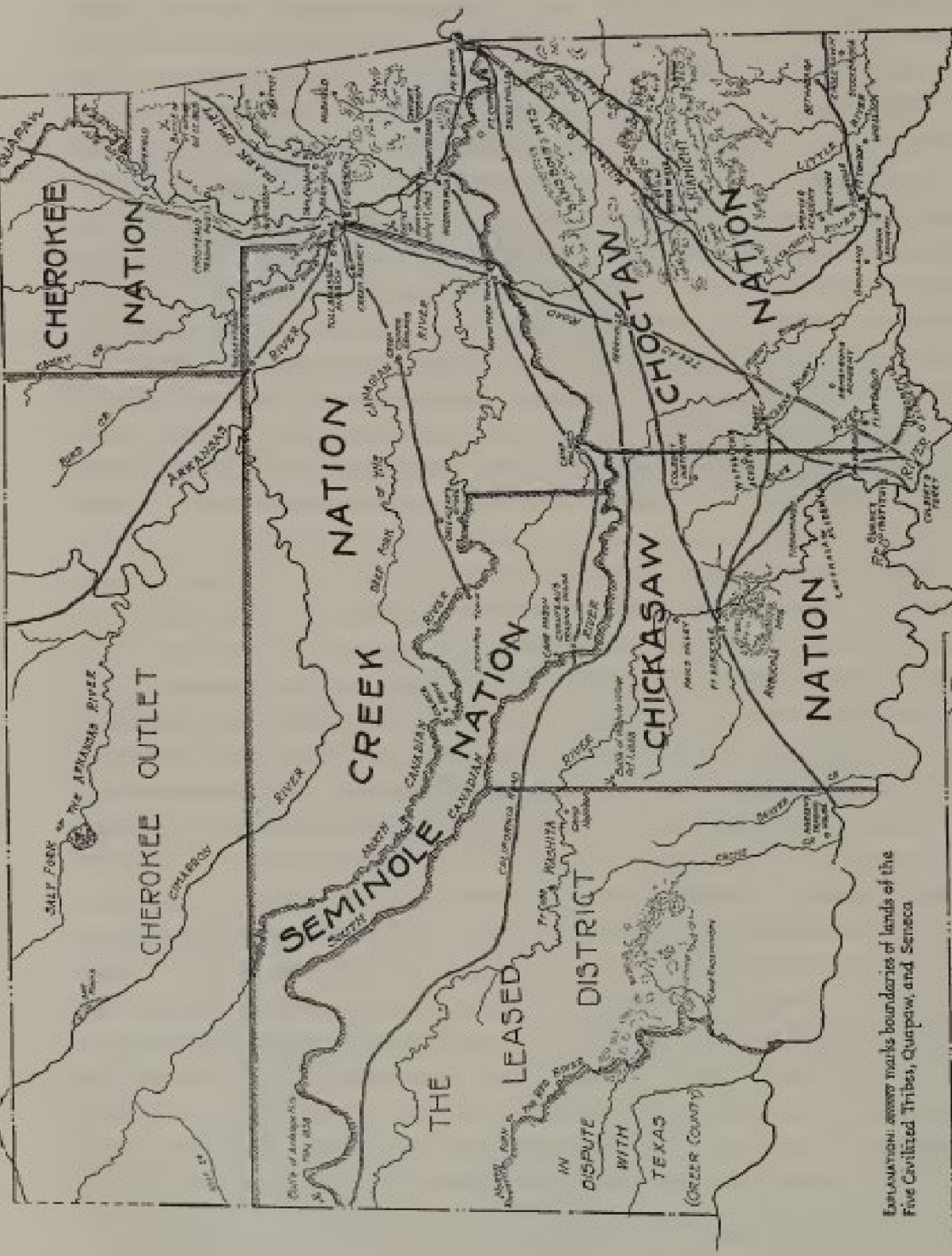
SCALE OF MILES
1900



OKLAHOMA: A History of the Sooner State



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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Introduction

Okla Hannali tells the story of Hannali Innominee and his family through a century of removal, settlement, civil war, and reconstruction. This guide follows the novel chapter by chapter, examining its language, historical borrowings, comedy, and Christian understanding of time and death.

Lafferty's narrator is by turns precise, extravagant, accusatory, and deliberately impossible. The notes supply historical corrections where his account of slavery, racial identity, dispossession, or violence departs from the evidence.

Lafferty first wrote the novel in 1963 and completely rewrote it twice. His preface describes historical reading, museum collections, and stories heard from his family and Indigenous acquaintances. It also names John Joseph Mathews's *The Osages* as an example of a tribal epic.¹

References to the novel use the printed pagination of the University of Oklahoma Press edition of 1991: pages 1–2 for the prologue and 3–221 for the twenty chapters. Roman numerals identify its preliminary pages. The glossary and family tables use the same pagination. These references differ from this guide's page numbers and a PDF reader's count.

The chronology marks inferred dates and historical corrections. The family tables record the novel's relationships and conflicting counts. The glossary explains names and terms, with cross-references for variant names.

¹ R. A. Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, foreword by Geary Hobson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), xv–xvii. The preface gives no dates for the two rewrites.

Footnotes run continuously through the volume. First citations give the edition consulted; later citations use short titles. Notes distinguish acknowledged sources, probable borrowings, and comparisons made by this guide. A biblical or theological parallel does not establish that Lafferty used the edition cited.

Each chapter's outline follows the novel's sequence. References marked n. link to the commentary's notes; parenthetical page numbers refer to the novel.

Sources and influences

In his preface, Lafferty names the Gilcrease Museum, the University of Oklahoma Press's Civilization of the American Indian series, books published by Naylor, and stories learned from his father, his uncle Ed Burke, and Indigenous acquaintances. He had read nearly the whole Oklahoma series as it then stood. He names Mathews's *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* as an example of a people's history told as an epic.²

Several distinctive details occur together in Swanton's collection. The prologue combines the brothers' migration with a separate account of emergence beneath the sea. Its flood story joins details from different narratives. The ballplayers' turkey calls and whole villages losing their possessions through wagers also appear in Swanton. Since he often quotes Cushman, the presence of a detail in both books does not identify which one Lafferty used.³

McReynolds's history closely resembles the novel's accounts of the western expedition, the officials before the Civil War, enlistment totals, and the refugee campaign. McReynolds and Lafferty also share an error: both name the Doaksville innkeeper Israel Folsom, whereas Goode names David. Foreman prints Ward's eyewitness account of the confrontation between Moshulatubbee and LeFlore, as well as the census figures and disputed date. Abel prints Pike's letter with the precise sum Lafferty uses. The editions leave open when Lafferty could have read these passages. The McReynolds text consulted here

² Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, xv–xvii, naming John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

³ John R. Swanton, *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians*, foreword by Kenneth H. Carleton (1931; repr., Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), 27–32, 144–48, 203–7; H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, TX: Headlight Printing House, 1899), 63–66, 184–90, 285–87, 600. For Debo's abridgment, see *History*, ed. and abr. Angie Debo, introduction by Clara Sue Kidwell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999). Debo describes her omissions in the latter edition, 9.

was revised in 1964, after the first draft; Debo's 1972 printing incorporates corrections described in a preface dated 1971.⁴

In Chapter Eight, Lafferty names Dickens's *American Notes* and rearranges its portrait of Pitchlynn. Chapter Nineteen invokes the "chronicles of Drago," probably Harry Sinclair Drago. His *Wild, Woolly, and Wicked* (1960) may supply the saloon catalogue; the texts still need to be compared. The costume, papers, and stolen property associated with Brutus resemble details in Monaghan and Cunningham.⁵

The "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor" recalls Chesterton's account of the English Reformation. Chapter Eighteen's unnamed story closely resembles Borges's "The Other Death."⁶

⁴ Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State*, 4th printing, revised (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 131–32, 170, 203–7, 224–25; William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion, with Limnings of Mission Life* (Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1864), 187; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*, new ed., 2nd printing (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 24–26, 47 n. 10; Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, 2nd ed., 3rd printing (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), x, 69; Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915), 323–24. Debo's preface, dated August 1971, identifies corrections concerning the two Moshulatubbees and population statistics.

⁵ Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1913), chap. 12; Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 89–90, 207. For the proposed Drago title, see Darren L. Ivey, comp., *Trails to the West: An Annotated Guide to Selected Sources on Kansas, the Great Plains, and the American West* (Barton Community College, June 30, 2022), 178. For Brutus, see Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854–1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955), 234, quoted in Frank Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1959), 58; see also Cunningham, 64.

⁶ G. K. Chesterton, *A Short History of England* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1917), chap. 11, 138–40, 149–50; Jorge Luis Borges, "The Other Death," trans. Norman Thomas di Giovanni in collaboration with the author, *New Yorker*, November 2, 1968, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1968/11/02/the-other-death>. See Chapters Three and Eighteen.

Scripture and Catholic worship give the novel much of its language concerning creation, kinship, sacrifice, burial, and death. Particular passages and the historical rites clarify these references. Aquinas's account of divine power helps explain the reference to the *Summa* in Chapter Eighteen. Hannali's expectation of complete knowledge after death is his own belief.

Chronology

The chronology follows Hannali's life. Inferred dates are marked; historical corrections carry citations. Lafferty often anticipates events or recounts them out of order, and some ages and family totals conflict. Page references use the novel's printed pagination.

Before the nineteenth century. The prologue places the origins of the peoples, the forbidden fruit, the Flood, and Nanih Waiya within its sacred history. Mythic sequence; no calendar dates are supplied. (Novel, 1–2).

1800, 1801, or 1802. Hannali is born in Mississippi to Barua and Chapponia, within the Innominees' Catholic Hundred Families. The novel gives conflicting ages. (Novel, 3–4, 8).

Childhood and youth. The bear, Barua's change of allegiance, the fox hunt, farming, trade, and the fiddle describe Hannali's early family life. These episodes have no exact dates. (Novel, 4–8, 12–20).

1820 and 1825. The Doak's Stand treaty exchanges eastern land for a western domain; the Washington treaty cedes part of that western grant. Treaty dates: October 18, 1820, arts. I–IV, 7 Stat. 210; January 20, 1825, art. I, 7 Stat. 234. (Novel, 23–24).

1828. Hannali travels through New Orleans, where he is baptized Louis, and joins the western inspection party. The historical expedition also belongs to 1828; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 131–32. (Novel, 20–21, 29, 33–36).

November 1828. Hannali stakes his future home beside the Canadian River and meets Marie DuShane. The party later reports unfavorably on the country. The stake bears the year and month. (Novel, 38–41).

After the 1828 journey. Martha Louisiana leads the first settlement party west. Hannali follows with John T and Albert Horse, marries Natchez, then Martha, then Marie. Before spring 1830; the narrative does not give an exact wedding year. (Novel, 43, 45–47, 49–53).

Spring 1830. Famous, Travis, and Alinton are born. Hannali has a second corn crop in the ground and begins the Big House. Famous is Natchez's son; Travis is Martha's; Alinton is Marie's. (Novel, 54).

September 27, 1830. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek cedes the remaining eastern Choctaw country, with a qualified provision for individuals to remain. Treaty provisions: arts. III, IV, XIV, 7 Stat. 333; see Chapter Three. (Novel, 25–27).

Before spring 1831. The violent discovery of the three marriages leads Hannali to renounce conjugal relations with all three women. The household remains together. The daughters are already expected when the separation is agreed. (Novel, 61–65, 70–71).

Spring 1831. Luvinia, Hazel or Marie d'Azel, and Sally or Salina are born. Their mothers are Martha Louisiana, Marie DuShane, and Natchez, respectively. (Novel, 70).

1831–33 and the early 1830s. The principal Choctaw removals bring hunger and loss. Hannali carries corn to the newcomers during the novel's Whiskey Decade. The main migrations occurred in 1831–33. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 138. (Novel, 27–28, 71–73).

About 1833. Pitchlynn's dream summons Hannali and others to the western Nanih Waiya. They meet the boy Robert Pike on the road. Inferred from nearly four years in the Territory and the twenty-eight-year recollection in 1861. (Novel, 76–79, 131).

Around 1840. Marie teaches Hannali, Martha, Natchez, and the six children. Falaya's threats intrude on their learning and family life. Dated approximately from the children's ages. (Novel, 80–86).

1842 and 1843. A dying priest visits in 1842. Pitchlynn visits in 1843 and disputes the purposes of prosperity with Hannali. (Novel, 87–92).

Christmas 1844 to Epiphany 1845. Pass Christian's family visits the Big House for stories, shopping, gifts, and feasting, leaving at Epiphany 1845. The Christmas year follows from the explicitly dated departure. (Novel, 93–99).

Approximately 1845–46. The Year of the Big Thunders combines recovery with approaching conflict. Falaya attacks Sally; Hannali's pursuit reaches an army camp. The narrator gives no precise dates for this period. (Novel, 99–106).

About 1847–60. The Great Decade brings schooling, public office, travel, marriages, and grandchildren. The “decade” lasts thirteen years. (Novel, 110–111, 117–119).

1848. Alinton reaches Santa Fe and continues toward California. Jemmy Buster arrives at Hannali House; Famous accompanies him north and returns with Helen Miller. The later pledge wedding of Jemmy and Hazel has no separately stated date. (Novel, 115–118).

1850 and the following years. Travis marries Rachel Perry; Luvinia marries Forbis Agent. Alinton returns with Marie Calles and helps finance the family's enterprises. Only Travis's and Luvinia's marriages are expressly dated 1850. (Novel, 118–119).

Before and during 1861. The Freedom Indians argue for neutrality. Hannali shelters the wounded Robert Pike, while the council and treaty episodes intensify division. The historical corrections to the council and treaties appear in Chapters Twelve and Thirteen. (Novel, 124–142).

Autumn 1861. Crops and boats burn; Albert Horse is killed. Travis and Jemmy leave to defend Opothleyahola's refugees. The household's last common supper precedes the separation. (Novel, 143–144, 148–150).

November 19; December 9; December 26, 1861. Round Mountains, Bird Creek, and Shoal Creek form three distinct engagements in the refugees' flight. Jemmy is dead before the final battle. Historical dates: Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 255–59; see Chapter Fifteen. (Novel, 156–161, 165–171).

During the Civil War; exact date unstated. Falaya murders Sally and lures Hannali away. Hannali kills him, but raiders burn the Big House and kill twenty-three more of the family. Nine household members survive besides Hannali; Robert Pike escapes separately. Helena belongs among the nine. (Novel, 172–185).

1865. Hannali plants again. Travis returns to North Fork Town; Alinton returns impaired, reconciles with Travis, and buys cattle with Hannali's gold. The ten-person household list on p. 190 includes Helena. (Novel, 189–191).

June 19; June 23; July 14, 1865. The novel recounts the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw truces associated with Pitchlynn, Watie, and Colbert. Historical agreements, distinct from later treaties: Abel, *Reconstruction*, 147–49. (Novel, 188–189).

1865–66. Federal negotiations lead to new treaties and land cessions. The Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty also abolishes slavery and addresses freedmen's rights. Treaty provisions: April 28, 1866 treaty, arts. 2–4; Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 86–90. (Novel, 191–193).

Postwar decades. The Children's Decades bring rebuilding, adopted orphans, new schools, altered speech, and Hannali's concern for cultural continuity. The narrator gives these decades no fixed dates. (Novel, 196, 198–203).

About 1870; spring 1870. Hannali takes four unnamed children to the Osage country for baptism. In spring 1870 he accompanies Alinton's cattle drive to Baxter Springs. (Novel, 201, 207–208).

1872 and October 1875. St. Patrick's at Atoka is built under Father Michael Smyth in 1872; Father Isidore Robot becomes resident pastor in October 1875. Historical correction to the novel's 1874 foundation: Michalicka, "First Catholic Church," 481–82; see Chapter Eighteen. (Novel, 204).

January 17, 1881. Pitchlynn dies in Washington. The death date is historical; the racial transformation at the funeral is the narrator's invention. Pate, "Pitchlynn, Peter Perkins"; see Chapter Eighteen. (Novel, 197–198).

Spring and November 1884. Hannali meets David Payne in Dodge City in the spring. Payne's sudden death follows on November 28. The meeting is fictional; poisoning is unproved. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 283–86; see Chapter Nineteen. (Novel, 208–211).

April 22, 1889. The Unassigned Lands open to settlement, more than four years after Payne's death. For the date, see Harrison, Proclamation 288, March 23, 1889. (Novel, 211).

Near the beginning of 1900. Hannali mistakes the opening of 1900 for the new century. His last outing, final summons to Anna-Hata, confession, Communion, and death close the novel. The new century begins in 1901. (Novel, 211–221).



Prologue

Pages 1–2

The prologue tells the history of the world before introducing its central man. Chatah and Chickasah emerge from beneath the Gulf of Mexico; the nations descend from them, disperse, and in some cases return. The sand plum becomes the forbidden fruit. Oklabashih survives a great Mississippi flood, and Nanih Waiya recalls the people's earlier home. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Choctaws are still living in an Age of Patriarchs.

The first people

The opening account includes “all other nations whatsoever” as well as the Choctaws and Chickasaws (p. 1). The people who will soon face removal stand at the center of universal history. Europeans appear as descendants returning to their own homeland after long wanderings. Their arrival can be read as an estrangement within a human family.

Lafferty measures vast reaches of time in familiar terms: “the day before yesterday,” “yesterday,” and “less than yesterday.” More than twenty generations but fewer than thirty have passed since the brothers' emergence. The past is as near as family recollection, anticipating Hannali's claim that childhood remains visible through his “long time ago eyes.” The prologue treats humanity itself as still young; Hannali's later account defends the magnifying work of memory.

Swanton reproduces Cushman's story of the brothers and their migration, and a sea-origin account recorded by Charles Lanman from Peter Pitchlynn. Swanton calls the latter the only version he knows that brings the Choctaws from beneath the ocean. Lafferty joins the brothers to this underwater emergence.⁷

The flood and the mound

Oklabashih is identified as the Choctaw Noah, the flood becomes a Mississippi flood, and Nanih Waiya becomes the Choctaw Babel (p. 2). The people build the new mound in memory of a “Mountain from the Beginning” in their earlier homeland.

Some of this biblical language is already present in the historical material. Cushman calls Ok-la-ta-ba-shih “the Noah of the Choctaws” and describes the boat that saves his family. Swanton reproduces Cushman's longer flood narrative alongside versions in which a survivor escapes on a raft. Cushman's migration narrative also draws comparisons with biblical figures. Lafferty continues these comparisons; Cushman's biblical language has already interpreted the stories he preserves.⁸

⁷ Swanton, *Source Material*, 27–32. The brothers Chahtah and Chikasih lead a west-to-east migration in the account Swanton quotes from H. B. Cushman. In the separate account Charles Lanman received from Peter Pitchlynn, a numerous people emerges from the sea under an unnamed prophet. Lafferty joins the brothers to the sea origin and makes them ancestors of all nations (1). Lafferty may have found the two accounts together in Swanton.

⁸ Cushman, *History* (1899), 285–87, 600; Swanton, *Source Material*, 203–8. Cushman calls Ok-la-ta-ba-shih the Choctaw Noah and gives him a boat for his family and provisions. Swanton also records raft versions with an unnamed survivor. Lafferty's Oklabashih combines the named rescuer with a raft and makes the catastrophe a Mississippi flood (2). Cushman's migration account already invokes Moses and Aaron and Abraham and Lot (63–66). Compare Genesis 6–9 and 11:1–9 (New American Bible, Revised Edition [NABRE]) for the Flood and Babel.

The sand plum and the patriarchs

The sand plum supplies the prologue's brief account of the Fall. Eating it means losing the easy way and having to climb the hard hill forever (p. 1). The phrase "forbidden fruit" explicitly recalls Genesis; the sand plum is the novel's rendering of it.⁹

Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee populate the Age of Patriarchs. With these named leaders, the origin story approaches political history. The closing phrase, "as the White Eyes count the hundreds," acknowledges another calendar while keeping the narrator's own reckoning (p. 2).

Magic and personal authority

The Alikchi are the novel's "magic men"; Aleika is the power that may surround even a private man and make him a person "of a special sort" (p. 2). Such authority need not depend on office. The account anticipates the authority of the chiefs and, later, Hannali. Byington defines *alikchi* as a doctor or physician; historical descriptions also give the practitioner ceremonial duties.¹⁰

Outline

I. The Origin and Early History According to Choctaw

Tradition^{n. 7, n. 8, n. 9}

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."

⁹ Genesis 2:16–17; 3:1–24 (NABRE). Genesis leaves the fruit's species unnamed. Lafferty names a local fruit and condenses the consequences of the Fall into the loss of ease and the continuing hard climb (1).

¹⁰ Cyrus Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language*, ed. John R. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 46 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915), 38, defines *alikchi* as doctor or physician. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 95, describes the *alikchi*'s medicines and ceremonial work. The novel's "magic men" have a historical counterpart. It also calls their power *Aleika*, a term not verified as Choctaw.

- 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 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 One

Pages 3–11

The chapter introduces Hannali through birth, family stories, and an act of political defiance by his father. Hannali's remembered childhood enlarges people, animals, crops, and laughter. Barua transfers his allegiance from Pushmataha to Moshulatubbee while insisting on keeping his land. A short history of contact with Europeans follows. The chapter ends with Hannali's questions about God and motion, an abrupt lesson from a bear, and an invitation to hear the continuing story.

A man in the middle of it

An epic, the narrator says, needs “a man in the middle of it” (p. 3). Hannali will nearly fill a century, although his brother's recollection cannot fix his birth more closely than 1800, 1801, or 1802.

He belongs to the Innominee family, to Mishoweia, to the Hundred Families within that group, and to the Okla Hannali district. His loyalties to these groups will sometimes conflict. The title names both the community and the man. Byington records *okla* as people, tribe, or nation and *hannali* as six; Swanton describes the Six Towns as a

historically distinctive division. The phrase “town or clan” leaves the relation between settlement and kinship unclear.¹¹

Barua, Chapponia, Pass Christian, and Biloxi form the household. Their names reflect the family's mixed inheritance; the narrator remarks that Choctaw names have begun to assume mixed forms (p. 3).

The family bear

Hannali's body is introduced through a dispute over his parentage (p. 4). Barua tries to reclaim him from a she-bear and is mauled; Chapponia succeeds by explaining the mistake. Mother and bear nevertheless doubt the evidence of their own noses. Hannali looks and smells like a cub. The bear stays with the family, and his brothers exploit the uncertainty whenever they announce that his mother is looking for him.

The joke turns Hannali's size into a question of kinship. Chapponia settles by explanation what Barua could not settle by force, and the bear stays within the household.

The enlarged past

The narrator has already described the delayed Choctaw chuckle and Hannali's laughter at a “prenatal witticism or ancestral joke” (p. 4). He generalizes about the people while giving Hannali a peculiar habit: a joke can travel across generations before it sets him laughing.

¹¹ Byington, *Dictionary*, 135, 297, gives *hannali*, six, and *okla*, people, tribe, or nation. Swanton, *Source Material*, 55–57, identifies Okla Hannali with the Six Towns. His discussion of local groups and *iksa* (79–83), and Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 15, show why town, clan, and district cannot be treated as interchangeable. Neither identifies the novel's Mishoweia or Hundred Families.

The narrative moves forward to the older Hannali answering his son Travis, then returns through his recollection to childhood (pp. 4–6). His catalogue enlarges buffalo, bears, wolves, foxes, smaller animals, birds, corn, bushels, men, women, and stories. It is no guide to agricultural yields: the bushels grow along with the ears of corn. Hannali expressly admits exaggeration. His complaint is that the new age has forgotten how to do it.

The story of the man who laughs his organs out carries the catalogue into grotesque comedy. His wife waits until the laughter ends before putting him back together, since otherwise she will have to repeat the job. The joke depends on household good sense surviving an impossible event. The same composure allowed Chapponia to negotiate with the she-bear.

Travis repeats Natchez's judgment of Hannali's magnifying memory. Hannali accepts it and defends the magnification. The "glasses of a boy who needed none" recover a quality of sight that an expert lens-grinder cannot manufacture (p. 6).

The narrator explains Hannali's running sentences as a Choctaw manner of speech and appeals to contemporary Oklahoma barrooms as evidence (pp. 5–6). The old voice is still audible in the narrator's own day, though these examples cannot establish how all Choctaw speakers use either language.

Barua changes allegiance

Barua risks his life by resigning from Pushmataha's district (pp. 6–8). He accuses Pushmataha of accommodation to white power, refuses the chief's order to leave, and declares that his land will belong to whichever district accepts him.¹² He then walks away without dismissal. Pushmataha's eventual laughter allows him to get away with it.

¹² Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 40–41, identifies Pushmataha as chief of the Six Towns and describes his opposition to Tecumseh's alliance and his support for the United States. Barua attacks this allegiance on pages 6–7.

Pushmataha's size varies with the impression he leaves on others. Reports of his great physical size stand beside an account of an average-sized man whose speed, voice, mind, and intensity seem enormous. Like the animals in Hannali's memories, Pushmataha grows in the telling.

Moshulatubbee welcomes Barua into the small club of men who have defied Pushmataha and survived. Homostubbee, Puckshenubbee, and Moshulatubbee are the other living members named in the exchange.¹³ In retelling Pushmataha's story, Moshulatubbee says that he left his grin behind while taking a ramble, a drink, and a nap.¹⁴ He says that he did not know how to perform that trick then, although he has done it with other men since. In his own district, nobody resigns, and those who defy him belong to an entirely dead club (p. 8). Barua's new chief claims to be less forgiving than the one he has left.

Barua remains Okla Hannali while becoming a citizen of Moshulatubbee's district. Five or six families follow him. Hannali will take this position further, becoming almost a minority of one while claiming that the people's main line survives in that minority (pp. 8–9). The conflict between inherited membership and chosen allegiance will return with removal. Barua already belongs to the Catholic Hundred Families; his resistance to white political accommodation does not entail rejection of Christianity.

¹³ Puchshenubbee and Puckshenubbee are forms of Apukshunnubbee's name. The Treaty of Washington, January 20, 1825, art. X, 7 Stat. 234, calls him Puck-she-nubbee and records his death on the journey to Washington. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 48–50, places his death at Maysville, Kentucky, and distinguishes it from Pushmataha's later death in Washington.

¹⁴ Compare Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), chap. 6, "Pig and Pepper," Project Gutenberg, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/11/11-h/11-h.htm>. The Cheshire Cat vanishes while its grin remains. Moshulatubbee's detached grin recalls that distinctive image (8), but he leaves it holding Pushmataha's attention while he rests, then returns to it. The disappearing animal's trick becomes a chief's display of power.

Contact and competing accounts

The second section resumes the prologue's history of returning nations (pp. 9–10). Spanish, French, and English newcomers have been changed by their wanderings. The narrator describes the Choctaws as farmers, speakers of a widely used language, ball players, town builders, and warriors. An informant interrupts this survey with a dispute about horses. Asked for bones to support his claim that the Choctaws always had horses, he demands the location of the narrator's own horses' bones. The retort challenges the questioner's authority without supplying archaeological evidence.

Swanton quotes Cushman on stickball players gobbling like turkeys when they score and on gambling that could strip a village of its possessions. Lafferty condenses these losses into the wager of a town.¹⁵

Year	Event in the novel's chronology
1528	Contact with the Narvaez expedition near Mobile Bay.
1540	Fighting with De Soto's expedition under Tuscalusa.
1699	The French foundation at Biloxi.
1721	The arrival of enslaved Africans at Mobile, followed by escapes to the Choctaws.
1726	The arrival of Mathurin le Petit and the account of the Hundred Families' conversion.
1767	The birth of the figure called the particular Devil of the Indians.
1786	The first treaty with the United States.

In the narrator's sequence on page 10, the unnamed Devil anticipates Andrew Jackson. The French mission gives the Innominees a Catholic ancestry. The mention of escaped slaves introduces the uncertain status of Black people in the Innominee household. The Six Towns

¹⁵ Swanton, *Source Material*, 147–48, quoting Cushman, *History* (1899), 184–90, describes a scorer gobbling like a wild turkey and whole villages losing their possessions through wagers. These distinctive details recur together in Lafferty's brief account (9). McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 95–97, also records scoring calls and wagers of houses.

mission is historically attested; the particular conversion history of the Hundred Families remains uncorroborated.¹⁶

The three divisions are presented through their allegiances: Okla Falaya to the British, Okla Tannaps to the French, and Okla Hannali “confused unto themselves.” McReynolds gives a closely comparable sequence and describes the Six Towns as divided among themselves; Debo presents the divisions in the same order. Swanton emphasizes uncertainty and change in the application of district and group names. Lafferty's arrangement simplifies that history. He also calls the internal wars “slight ones.” Debo describes the civil war of 1748–50 as exceptionally destructive.¹⁷

Questions and the second bear

Hannali asks his father where he comes from, where he goes, what the purpose is, and who thought of it (p. 11). “God thought of it,” Barua answers. When he calls divine ways incomprehensible, however, he admits that he does not understand the borrowed word and doubts that the priest who used it did either. The impressive term explains nothing to Hannali, who still wants an intelligible answer.

¹⁶ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 30; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 97, date the Six Towns mission to 1726. Mathurin le Petit's letter to Father d'Avaugour, July 12, 1730, in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, vol. 68 (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1899), 193–97, recalls his Choctaw ministry and a request that he return. These accounts do not establish the novel's surviving Hundred Families or the escape of slaves to the Choctaws within a week of the 1721 arrivals.

¹⁷ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 92, lists Okla Falaya, Okla Tannaps, and Okla Hannali in Lafferty's order, with the last “divided among themselves”; the novel makes them “confused unto themselves” (10). Compare Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 28–29, for the same sequence and a destructive civil war in 1748–50. Lafferty's “slight ones” understates those conflicts. Swanton, *Source Material*, 55–57, distinguishes the earlier regional groups from subsequent political alignments.

His next question concerns a bird's motion and the possibility of "times between the times." Pass Christian answers as though he had long outgrown such puzzles, although he is twelve and Hannali nine. The difficulty resembles the problem behind Zeno's flying arrow: how can movement be understood if time is broken into separate instants?¹⁸

Hannali gets his next answer from the supposedly wise bear. He wakes it with a stone and asks the first order of business in the world. He reaches the top of a tree before remembering how he climbed it. Saving his skin has answered the question. The first bear welcomed him into a comic kinship; this one is less accommodating to his curiosity.

The telling continues

"They smoke" abruptly returns the reader to the telling (p. 11). Another voice takes up the stories of man, family, and nation. The hundred-year span requires patience, and the listener is invited to join the smokers.

Mingos speak with authority about the life they recount. Hannali stands at the center of the epic announced on page 3, seen through other people's recollections, disputes, and jokes.

Outline

I. The Man and His Origins

1. Epic and Protagonist:

- 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.

¹⁸ Compare Aristotle, *Physics* 6.9, 239b5–9, 239b30–33, trans. R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye, <https://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/physics.6.vi.html>. Zeno's arrow appears motionless when time is treated as a succession of indivisible instants. Hannali's bird and his "times between the times" raise the same problem (11).

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).^{n. 11}
- 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.^{n. 11}
 - b. Sub-Group: Part of the "Hundred Families," an "odd minority" within the Mishoweia.
 - c. Parents: Father Barua Innominee, mother Chapponia. (p. 3)
 - 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 Incident (p. 4):
 - 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. (p. 4)
- 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 finely, could "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. (p. 6)
 - 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). (p. 7)
- 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 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). (p. 7)
- 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 Pushmataha. Homostubbee, Puckshenubbee, and Moshulatubbee himself were the other living 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" him.^{n. 14}
- 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." (p. 8)
- 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. Contact: Met 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, 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.^{n.15}
- 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.^{n.16}
- 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.^{n.16}
- F. The Three Choctaw Nations (Historical Alliances):
 - a. Okla Falaya: Allied with British.
 - b. Okla Tannaps: Allied with French.
 - c. Okla Hannali: "confused unto themselves."^{n.17}
 - 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 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." (p. 11)
- 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."



Chapter Two

Pages 12–21

Chapter Two passes from Hannali's adolescence to his departure in 1828. Years disappear under the narrator's riffling thumb, while a single fox hunt occupies nearly half the chapter. Years of ordinary work yield to the happiness of one memorable day. The narrator extends his extravagant portrait of Hannali's size to Choctaw bodies generally (p. 12).

Prosperity and its limits

Barua's enterprises bear out the distinction between laziness and indolence. He builds a mill that his neighbors decline to use, then makes it a landing for river trade (p. 13). He is willing to build first and find a use afterward. Plows, oxen, mules, boats, and imported goods help the Choctaws prosper. Commercial agriculture was already established among the Choctaws.¹⁹

The same paragraph introduces the acquisition of Black people. The narrator distinguishes receiving fugitives from buying slaves, then moves to a general account of Indigenous captivity, adoption, and eventual freedom (p. 13). His account of welcome seems to explain slavery as a whole. Yet some Choctaws owned enslaved people before

¹⁹ Swanton, *Source Material*, 46–47, quotes Bernard Romans on Choctaw surplus crops, produce grown for traders, and poultry carried to Mobile. The Innominees' cultivation and Gulf trade (13, 18–19) belong to this established commercial setting. See also Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 10.

removal, and Debo records purchases financed by the sale of Mississippi land.²⁰

Martha Louisiana lives among the Innominees, but the narrator does not explain her legal status.

The claimed seven-year limit invites a scriptural comparison. The narrator mocks attempts to identify Native peoples with the lost tribes of Israel, yet uses biblical language to distinguish their captivity practices from perpetual slavery. The biblical provisions concern release in the seventh year after six years of service, and they do not apply uniformly to every enslaved person.²¹

The hunt and the household

Barua's red coat and nine-foot trumpet show his inventiveness at play (pp. 14–15). The small imported trumpet makes his oversized invention sound. The household borrows a ceremony and invents its rules. His instructor has seen a hunt from a hilltop, an appropriately distant qualification for an authority who knows what the spectacle should contain but cannot make these animals perform it.

Pass Christian initially sees his family through an imagined white observer's eyes. He overcomes his embarrassment and joins them. His declaration that they are "bone of my bone and liver of my liver" gives a comic bodily turn to Genesis (p. 15).²² The Catholic family speaks its inherited scriptural language with irreverent affection. Fox promptly tears away the dignity he was briefly anxious to preserve.

²⁰ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 59–60, records slaveholding in Mississippi and purchases of enslaved people with proceeds from land granted under the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 171, distinguishes pre-removal holdings from the later expansion of plantations.

²¹ Exodus 21:2–6 and Deuteronomy 15:12–18 prescribe release after six years for specified Hebrew servants, with provision for permanent service. Leviticus 25:44–46 permits foreign slaves to be bought and inherited (King James Version [KJV]). The novel's seven-year limit (13) collapses these distinctions. None of these biblical laws supplies evidence of a general Choctaw practice.

²² Genesis 2:23 (KJV). Pass Christian turns Adam's recognition of Eve, bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh, into an affirmation of family kinship, substituting liver for flesh (15).

The dogs have to be dragged: the hunters have assembled the props without teaching the animals their parts. Swanton records a specific Choctaw informant's statement that dogs were not employed in hunting, a narrower claim than the narrator's sweeping assertion.²³ Pigs and children join the chase, and the riders repeatedly double back to avoid the standing corn (p. 16).

Barua's invitation to the pigs treats the hunt as a pleasure shared by every creature, including those being dragged through it. Martha gathers Fox into her arms and opposes the cutting of her tail (pp. 17–18). Hannali answers her offer of self-sacrifice with a joke about putting her head on a spear. The narrator calls his tone "kindly malice," but Martha retreats from her protest (p. 18). Fox's whimper finally persuades Barua to take only the tail hair. Retelling preserves the hilarity alongside the bruises and broken bones.

The tune that cannot continue

The growing business brings Silvestre DuShane into the family. The narrator cannot settle his French or Shawnee ancestry; he becomes Choctaw and later Hannali's adopted brother (pp. 19–20). Martha sings to Silvestre's mouth horn, and the fiddle from New Orleans eventually reaches Hannali. Barua's work has stiffened his own fingers, but he sees no obstacle to his son's becoming both farmer and musician. Alapa Homa, the mule-skinner and fiddler in Falaya, supplies his precedent (p. 20).

Barua's dance and feast let the household share Hannali's first playing (p. 20). His life has room for both the farmer's work and the fiddler's pleasure. Martha, however, hears repetition where Hannali finds contentment. The tune returns to its opening and seems able to continue forever. Martha wants it altered; political events will soon force a greater change upon the household.

²³ Swanton, *Source Material*, 54, records Simpson Tubby's statement that Choctaw dogs were not used in hunting. In Lafferty's English hunt, the dogs must themselves be dragged (15–16).

In 1828 Hannali, aged between twenty-six and twenty-eight, leaves with Silvestre, Peter Pitchlynn, Levi Colbert, and other travelers to inspect a possible western home (pp. 20–21). Pitchlynn and Colbert connect the fictional household with a historical exploratory party.²⁴ The narrator has already announced that Hannali's old world will be gone when he returns.

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. The Distinction: 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.

²⁴ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 131–32, identifies Peter Pitchlynn and Levi Colbert as leaders of the Choctaw and Chickasaw delegates in the 1828 exploring party. Lafferty inserts Hannali and Silvestre into this historical expedition (20–21). His description of 1828 as thirty-six years before the Civil War is three years out.

- iii. Gulf Station: Built for pickups by coaster boats (Pass Christian/Biloxi).

D. Innovations and Acquisitions^{n. 19}:

- a. Farming: Among first Choctaws to use iron plows in Okla Hannali soil, draft oxen, then mules. (p. 13)
- b. Negroes: Among first to acquire them.^{n. 20, n. 21}
 - 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 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.^{n. 23}
 - 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 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.^{n. 19}
- 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 roast it we have a feed for everybody..." (p. 20)
 - 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).^{n. 24}
 - c. Levi Colbert (Chickasaw).^{n. 24}
 - 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."^{n. 24}

G. Context: Year is 1828 (33 years before the Civil War began; the novel says 36). Hannali aged 26–28.

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



Chapter Three

Pages 22–28

Chapter Three interrupts Hannali's prosperity to explain why it cannot remain secure. The narrator recounts land cessions, state legislation, divided leadership, and removal, anticipating events beyond the expedition of 1828. Hannali can do little against these forces and nearly disappears from the account. The closing reference to his father's luck returns to the family amid the national catastrophe.

The value of an inhabited country

Settlers want the fields already cleared, the houses already built, and the animals already raised (pp. 22–23). Hannali has helped build exactly what they want. The narrator adopts the calculating voice of exploitation: Indians who resist enslavement are inconvenient; their land can support plantations worked by enslaved Black people. Talk of advancing civilization conceals the intention to seize property others have made valuable.

The narrator explains Native political division through ancestry. Leaders of mixed ancestry become captive decoys and wedges driven into their own nations. Even while conceding that some meant well, he asserts that “the white in them worked against the Indian interest” (p. 23). The opening chapters' French, Natchez, and Choctaw family history complicates this racial explanation of political judgment.

Witnesses and promises

The disappearance of French Louisiana and Spanish Florida produces the “Country Behind God’s Back” (pp. 23–24). In the narrator’s account, the foreign powers had restrained wrongdoing by their presence. The phrase names the freedom of aggressors no longer being watched. These empires pursued interests of their own; the novel casts them as benevolent neighbors.²⁵ The narrator now records what he says went unwitnessed.

The treaties become a sequence of bodily injuries: the Choctaws throw limbs to pursuing wolves, and the wolves continue the pursuit (pp. 23–24). Each concession purchases another promise. Their terms differed. Doak’s Stand in 1820 exchanged an eastern cession for western land; the Washington treaty of 1825 then surrendered part of that western grant. It did not abolish every protection. Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 ceded the remaining eastern country, while providing a qualified option for individuals to remain.²⁶ The same government promised protection and permitted dispossession.

Osages, Quapaws, and Caddoes already live in the supposed refuge (p. 24). Hannali enters the exploring party because farming has taught him how to judge land. The narrator’s promise that “We will be Territory Indians” invites the reader to accompany the migration. The conflict over other people’s homes will travel west with them.

²⁵ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 31–33, describes British, Spanish, and American competition for Choctaw alliances. Florida’s cession was negotiated in 1819 and ratified in 1821; Spain received no purchase payment. See U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, “Acquisition of Florida: Treaty of Adams-Onís (1819) and Transcontinental Treaty (1821),” <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/florida>. The novel makes these competing empires into witnesses whose departure leaves the Indians exposed (23–24).

²⁶ Choctaw treaties: October 24, 1816, arts. I–II, 7 Stat. 152; Doak’s Stand, October 18, 1820, arts. I–IV, 7 Stat. 210; January 20, 1825, arts. I and VII, 7 Stat. 234; Dancing Rabbit Creek, September 27, 1830, arts. III, IV, XIV, 7 Stat. 333. The 1816 text contains no perpetual guarantee. In 1825 the nation ceded part of its western grant, but secured a consent requirement for the contemplated apportionment and subjection to U.S. law. Article XIV in 1830 offered a conditional right to remain. For obstruction of applications and seizure of improvements, see Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 69.

The voice that counts

Lafferty describes a person allowed to attend court but denied an effective voice (p. 25). Forged deeds acquire authority while the dispossessed owner's knowledge becomes inadmissible. He combines different state measures into one prohibition. Georgia enacted racial exclusions from testimony; Mississippi's 1830 statute formally extended specified rights of free white inhabitants while suppressing tribal authority. Formal rights did not guarantee protection in practice.²⁷

Moshulatubbee's confrontation with LeFlore reverses this silencing (pp. 25–27). LeFlore has assembled authority through appointments, resignations, a proposed treaty, and an armed following. The old Mingo answers with a grin. When LeFlore orders his death, the soldiers laugh, cease to obey, and cross over to Moshulatubbee. The narrator admits that his alleged eyewitness is partisan. Moshulatubbee still wins the encounter by the force of his presence.

²⁷ *Laws of the Colonial and State Governments, Relating to Indians and Indian Affairs, from 1633 to 1831, Inclusive: With an Appendix* (Washington City: Thompson and Homans, 1832), 199 (Georgia, 1828, §9), 202 (Georgia, 1829, §15), 242–43 (Mississippi, 1830, §§1–5). Georgia barred specified Indian witnesses in cases involving a white party, with an exception in 1829 for whites residing in the nation. Mississippi extended specified formal rights while abolishing tribal authority. These provisions differ from the novel's uniform prohibition (25). The 1825 Choctaw treaty, art. VIII, nevertheless records claims frustrated by an assumed requirement for white testimony.

Foreman quotes agent W. Ward's account of an unarmed confrontation and LeFlore's cowardice. It is a plausible basis for the novel's unnamed witness, though Ward records neither the grin nor the wholesale defection. Debo describes a negotiated compromise and Moshulatubbee's temporary resignation. She also records divided missionary loyalties: Methodist support for removal and Presbyterian sympathy with its opponents. A shared religion or ancestry did not ensure a common political allegiance.²⁸ In the novel, the victory ends almost immediately in defeat: Moshulatubbee and Nitakechi must sign the cession despite LeFlore's humiliation.

The revolution and its survivors

Jackson's response to the Senate in February 1831 repeats the problem of the courtroom at the national level. The narrator accuses him of refusing to enforce federal protection against the states. Jackson's message gives a legal rationale: he interprets state jurisdiction as limiting federal intervention and defends his withdrawal of troops. Jackson's interpretation leaves the promised protection unenforced.²⁹

²⁸ A likely basis for the unnamed eyewitness is Choctaw agent W. Ward's letter to R. M. Johnson, August 7, 1830, quoted in Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 25–26. Ward describes the unarmed party facing LeFlore, calls LeFlore a coward, and denies that Moshulatubbee fled. Lafferty adds the disabling grin and the enemy's wholesale defection (26–27). Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 52–54, instead emphasizes Gaines's mediation, compromise, and Moshulatubbee's temporary resignation. She also records that Folsom and Garland were already chiefs when they resigned, identifies Alexander Talley with the draft treaty, and suggests that its favorable terms caused its rejection.

²⁹ Trade and Intercourse Act, March 30, 1802, ch. 13, §§4–5, 12, 19, 2 Stat. 139, 141–43, 145. The act penalized intrusion and unauthorized land purchases and permitted military removal of settlers. Jackson's "Special Message," February 22, 1831, answers a resolution of February 15, not February 11 as the novel states: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-3403>. Invoking §19, he argued that extension of state jurisdiction justified withdrawing federal troops. Lafferty paraphrases this argument as a refusal to enforce the act (27).

The “Revolt of the Rich against the Poor” overturns the celebration of Jacksonian democracy (pp. 27–28). The phrase probably recalls Chesterton’s account of the English Reformation, in which political revolution concentrates land and destroys older communities.³⁰ Here the intended beneficiaries are already wealthy, and the victims include Native owners, enslaved workers, and poor whites. The chapter closes on the suffering of winter travel, disease, theft, and death.³¹ Calling the Choctaw loss “only” ten percent makes comparative good fortune appalling.

Outline

III. Chapter Three: The Devil Comes to Rule

1. The Indian South: 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: 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.

³⁰ Chesterton, *Short History of England*, chap. 11, “The Rebellion of the Rich,” 138–40, 149–50. Chesterton’s “revolt of the rich” describes the appropriation of monastic and communal property. Lafferty’s phrase and his account of wealth gained through dispossession (27–28) probably transfer Chesterton’s indictment to Jacksonian America.

³¹ The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, September 27, 1830, art. III, scheduled removal in the falls of 1831, 1832, and 1833. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 138, dates the principal migrations to 1831–33, distinguishing the blizzard of 1831–32 from the following summer’s cholera. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 69–70, discusses uncertain population and mortality figures. Neither supports the novel’s total of twenty thousand deaths among fifty thousand emigrants or its precise ten-percent Choctaw loss (28).

- b. Examples of Half-Blood Chiefs/Advisers: Alexander McGillivray, William McIntosh (Creeks); Major Ridge (Cherokees); Greenwood LeFlore (Choctaws); "too many others." (p. 23)
 - c. Qualifications (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 broken, murdered, driven off?
 - b. October 1803: U.S. Congress ratifies Louisiana Purchase. French ("big-water French," who treated Indians well) ceased being their own people.^{n. 25}
 - c. 1816: Choctaws forced to cede land east of Tombigbee River to U.S. The narrator says the treaty pledged the remaining land "forever"; the 1816 text contains no such guarantee. Analogy: "tossed one of their own limbs to the grizzled wolves."^{n. 26}
 - d. 1817: Mississippi admitted to Union. State laws contained clauses spelling destruction/murder for Choctaw Nation. (p. 23)
 - 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."
 - 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."^{n. 26}
 - 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 Jackson (p. 24)) as President. Interpreted by Five Tribes as sign of impending death and uprooting. (p. 24)
- 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. 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 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.^{n. 26}
- 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": The narrator compresses differing state laws into a blanket bar on an Indian's word against a white man's in court.^{n. 27} Created "limitless" opportunities for fraud. (p. 25)
- 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.^{n. 28}
- c. Resulting Treaty Draft: Agreed to give all Mississippi land to 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.^{n. 26} (p. 27)
- J. Jackson's Defiance of Law:
 - a. Senate Inquiry (Feb 15, 1831; the novel gives Feb 11): Requested Jackson report on Intercourse Act of 1802 (guaranteed federal protection).^{n. 29}

- b. The Narrator's Reading of Jackson's Message (Feb 22, 1831):
 "most dumbfounding." Announced championship of Georgia (vs. Cherokees) and 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.^{n. 30} (pp. 27–28)
- 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."^{n. 31} (p. 28)
 - 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.



Chapter Four

Pages 29–41

Chapter Four returns to 1828, before the removal whose consequences the preceding chapter has anticipated. Hannali travels through New Orleans and St. Louis to inspect the western country. He acquires clothes, winnings, a baptismal name, and experience among important men. The party eventually reports against the land. Hannali nevertheless chooses a place to live and announces a marriage that its intended bride immediately rejects.

French Town and Five Luck

In New Orleans, Hannali converts the proceeds of farming and trade into coin and bank credit. He knows how to dress for his new company: the shirt, cravat, boots, hat, and cane prepare him to travel among notables. His fiddle and carbine remain conspicuous among the new clothes (pp. 29–30).

The gamblers mistake his unfamiliarity with their manners for helplessness. Hannali understands the French remark that he is ripe for taking, lets them win a little, and then takes their money. Their dice have a counterpart in *baskatanje*, the corn-kernel game he already knows.³² Poker is another Choctaw triumph, and the narrator gives its name an unverified Choctaw derivation (p. 31).

³² Swanton, *Source Material*, 159, quotes Culin's description of *baskatanje*: eight corn kernels, blackened on one side, thrown and scored according to the faces showing. Bushnell reports five or seven kernels. Lafferty's cubed kernels turn this two-sided game into a closer counterpart of European dice.

After the game, Hannali survives a blow to the head and a drugged drink, then praises the men's hospitality (pp. 32–33). Does he misunderstand them, or does their malice become insignificant beside his pleasure in the encounter? His strength leaves them looking ridiculous, with his good opinion of them intact.

His proposed stakes include enslaved people and other men's wives, whom he treats as possessions.³³ The narrator refuses Hannali's familiar excuse that he is an ignorant Indian who knows no better: Barua has taught him how to behave (p. 33).

Louis and the fiddler

Baptism gives Hannali the name Louis and makes visible a Catholic allegiance the family already claims. The "Church of Silence" endures through long intervals without a priest (p. 33). Pass Christian can appear as a prosperous French gentleman or as a Choctaw.

On the Caravan, Hannali finds company among working boatmen through music and storytelling. Burning pine draws out shared performances; his fiddle makes him welcome before he has acquired the polish of the notables. The narrator admits the temptation to name the vessel Choctaw, then insists that it was Caravan (p. 34). The correction lends the narrator a historian's authority.

St. Louis's success cannot be explained by its location alone (p. 35). Hannali, too, will owe his standing to practical advantages and a personal force that measurements or qualifications cannot fully explain.

³³ An eighteenth-century French account of Choctaw ball play describes an escalation of wagers from goods to wives and then the players themselves, for limited periods: Swanton, *Source Material*, 140. Hannali likewise proposes wagers in human beings at poker in New Orleans (32).

The land behind the promise

The exploratory party gives Hannali another education. Pitchlynn, Colbert, and McCoy are historical figures among whom the novel places him. McReynolds's account gives forty-two people at St. Louis, the same leading figures, and arrival at Three Forks in November 1828. McCoy's own narrative shows the company growing from thirty-six to forty-two during the journey.³⁴ Cushman's account describes six Indigenous delegates on a "peace-making expedition" among the Osages. They pursue diplomacy in anticipation of removal, though their negotiations differ from the events of Hannali's journey.³⁵

The travelers admire the grass, colored sumac, and rivers; shallow soil and narrow bottoms restrict what the farmers can grow. As Pitchlynn says, "One can't eat district" (p. 36). Colbert's honor is also at stake: he had vouched for the government's assurance of equivalent land.

³⁴ Compare McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 131–32, with Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 35–36: both give forty-two travelers, St. Louis, Pitchlynn and Colbert, McCoy, and a November arrival at Three Forks. McCoy's own account distinguishes thirty-six people at St. Louis from forty-two at the Missouri boundary and dates arrival at the mouth of the Verdigris to November 26: Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington: William M. Morrison, 1840), 349, 351, 365. Of the two, McReynolds is closer to Lafferty in both detail and compression.

³⁵ Cushman, *History* (1899), 393–94, gives two Choctaws, two Chickasaws, and two Muscogees, led by Pitchlynn on a government-funded mission to make peace with the Osages and facilitate a land exchange. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 349, instead lists six Choctaws, thirteen Chickasaws, and four Creeks, besides their attendants and officials. The six in Cushman are therefore not simply McCoy's Choctaw contingent.

The unfavorable report belongs to the 1828 expedition. Lafferty extends its joint southern survey beyond the separation described by McCoy. Later reconnaissance in 1830–31 produced considerably more favorable assessments, especially of southern valleys.³⁶ The narrator judges his own state by the farmers' need for good land. Familiar pecans offer the comfort of home, though the land remains inadequate.

Following fate

Beside the Canadian River, Hannali makes a decision before visiting Silvestre's relatives. He cuts a stake, writes his name and the year, and needs help spelling the month. He has a clear plan for a landing, a house, and a future trade route. The place is only "less no damn good" than the alternatives, yet it can become his place (p. 38). The river will connect his homestead to the western Choctaw country (pp. 38, 40–41).

At the DuShane post, music fails to create the fellowship it created aboard the boat. Alinton will not welcome Silvestre because of an old grievance; Marie looks down on Hannali. When she requests *Femme et Chatte*, he answers with a boisterous tune and explains her objection away by inventing another cat.³⁷ Marie remains unimpressed by his improvisation.

³⁶ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 131–32, 136–37, contrasts the unfavorable 1828 report with the favorable reconnaissance of 1830–31; see also Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 31–38. McCoy's account ends the joint 1828 exploration on December 7: the Choctaws then leave by way of Red River settlements, the Chickasaws return east, and McCoy returns to St. Louis (*History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 366–67). Lafferty keeps the party together for a longer southern survey (40–41).

³⁷ *Femme et Chatte* means "Woman and She-Cat." The exact title occurs in Paul Verlaine's *Poèmes saturniens* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1866), "Caprices," no. 1, where a woman and her cat conceal sharp claws. The title may allude to Verlaine, though his poem postdates the scene's 1828 setting. The novel names no composer or musical setting.

Before leaving, Hannali announces plans for marriage, possession of the post, a house, and food for hungry arrivals. He remembers the coming Indians' need for corn while forgetting the intended bride's name (pp. 39–40). Alinton's threat and Marie's refusal challenge his confidence that he can arrange their future for them.

The chapter ends with the party's bad report, leaving his stake in place. He prepares to live where he expects to be forced, while still judging the promised exchange a failure.

Outline

IV. Chapter Four: French Town, Five Luck, and Following Fate (pp. 29–41)

1. Hannali in New Orleans (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. (p. 29)
 - c. Aptitude: Displayed intuitive understanding of money, akin to his grasp of fiddling and farming.
- C. New Clothes: 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 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).^{n. 32} 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. Knowledge of French: 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 thin wood, pine-resin cloth, traded hog for real pack).
- e. Poker Prowess: Game was poker (described by the narrator as a Noxubee word for five-luck/hazard; derivation unverified). (p. 31) 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 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. The narrator insists that 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. (p. 35)
- F. Exploratory Party Assembles: Met in St. Louis.^{n. 34}
 - 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.^{n. 35}
 - 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 of most stages by Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy.^{n. 34}
 - d. Travel: South and west overland from St. Louis (mule wagons, two failed buggies, mostly horseback). (p. 36)
 - e. Destination: Reached Three Forks of Arkansas River (near present Muskogee, OK) in November 1828.^{n. 34} (p. 36)
- 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 assessment negative. Quotes from Pitchlynn, McCoy, Hannali: "This isn't very good country."^{n. 36}
 - 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. (p. 38)
- 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 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."^{n. 37} 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). (p. 40) 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). (pp. 40-41)
- L. Final Report: Pitchlynn deemed it "better, but still not very good country." Party returned home, gave "bad report on the land."



Chapter Five

Pages 42–55

With revolt ruled out, Hannali sends Martha Louisiana and a party of enslaved Black people west, then follows with John T and Albert Horse. His three marriages bring peoples and trades together at the settlement. He prospers through an arrangement he knows is wrong, while Whiteman Falaya threatens the new household.

The occupied country

Other peoples already inhabit the proposed refuge and have warned the expedition against returning in numbers. Lafferty lists resident communities, travelers, and fragments of distant nations, but these names cannot serve as a reliable census.³⁸ The claim that farming supports more people than hunting presents displacement as an improvement in land use. For the inhabitants, it means having to move, change, or die. Even the agricultural argument fails where the land cannot be farmed successfully (pp. 42–43).

³⁸ McCoy records an Osage objection to the reassignment of an occupied country. On his return in 1828, the chief Monopushe protested that other Osages had sold the land containing his towns and declared that he would remain and defend his rights. McCoy adds that these villagers stayed for another ten years: *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 368–69. Compare the objections to incoming settlers in Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 42–43.

Back in Mississippi, Hannali finds the work of displacement already under way. Masked men confiscate weapons and whip their victims to death. Their boots, trousers, horses, and unsuccessful imitation of Choctaw voices betray them; they remain recognizable despite their covered faces. The narrator places these attacks alongside the force of courts, sheriffs, and armies. Federal power appears unavailable to protect Indians from the states and readily available to suppress their resistance (pp. 43–44).

Nitakechi and Moshulatubbee cannot find a military answer. Hannali follows Pass Christian's proposal to plant food, gather livestock, and establish trades before the refugees arrive. He prepares corn, hogs, cotton, shops, and smithies for them. He might manage the first year, but the great arrivals of the third and fourth years exceed his resources and draw a prayer for help (p. 45).

The census and the first settlers

The district figures show how many people these preparations must sustain. Lafferty reproduces the numbers and September 1830 date in Foreman's *Indian Removal*, making that work a plausible source. Debo gives a different date and clarifies the population categories.³⁹ Hannali has promised food to thousands who will depend on him when they arrive.

³⁹ Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 47 n. 10, gives September 1830 and the district figures 7,505, 6,106, and 5,943. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 69, dates the census to 1831 and explains that the total of 19,554 includes 97 white citizens and 248 enslaved people. Both cite *Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians*, Senate Document 512, 23d Congress, 1st session, vol. 3, 149. Lafferty's agreement with Foreman in both the figures and the disputed date points to that account as a source.

Martha Louisiana leads the first party. Hannali supplies money and directions; she brings people, wagons, and livestock through five hundred miles of country in which they risk capture. Repeated challenges fail to overawe them. Their assurance makes settlement possible before Hannali arrives. The narrative nevertheless calls them “slaves by law” and counts their bodies among the valuable property at risk (p. 46). Hannali has encouraged some to escape other owners, but the passage reports no emancipation.

Recognition and courtship

John T and Albert Horse both accompany Hannali; T is a name pronounced “Tay.” Chizem, the apparently white stranger demanding Hannali’s fiddle, has a Cherokee mother and Scottish father (pp. 47–48). Suppressed laughter reveals a boys’ game, and Hannali revises his first judgment of the gray-eyed stranger. The hooded men imitated Indigenous voices to terrorize their victims; shared amusement makes Hannali and Chizem friends (pp. 47–48).

Chizem introduces the travelers to Strange Choate’s household during a hog scalding. Amid the fiddling and slaughter, Hannali begins to bargain and court. Choate’s pork business supplies Fort Gibson and frontier settlers; Hannali seeks a hundred animals both to feed arrivals and to breed further stock. His request for Natchez follows the request for hogs. Choate tells him to ask her. Her father interprets her repeated “Maybeso” as assent, and his interpretation stands. The narrator gives no age: she is both marriageable and a little girl (pp. 49–51).

Choate gives Hannali a herd and receives him as kin. His “star sparkle” resembles aleika, and Hannali calls this private Cherokee man a Mingo (p. 51), recognizing an authority independent of office or nation. Hannali passes the gift onward, giving John T and Albert Horse twelve hogs each to establish homes.

Three marriages

Hannali marries Natchez through an Indian agent, Martha through an itinerant preacher, and Marie through a mutual French frontier rite requiring priestly confirmation. The ceremonies leave each woman with a different claim to be his wife. Historical reports of Choctaw polygyny offer a comparison, although the novel does not show all three wives knowingly accepting plural marriage.⁴⁰

The wives know different things. Marie thinks Martha his slave and Natchez his cousin; Hannali cannot say what Natchez thinks; only Martha knows the situation. His animal comparisons make his fertility ridiculous and his dismay comic. The narrator is unequivocal: “The whole thing was wrong and Hannali knew it” (p. 53). His plea of ignorance fails. The “fundamental canker” lies within the spring bloom of the household’s prosperity.

The gains are substantial: Cherokee kinship and livestock through Natchez, a community of skilled workers through Martha, and the post, cornland, and river access through Marie. By spring 1830 Hannali has three sons, Famous, Travis, and Alinton. His crops and family flourish, but the subsequent reference to saving his soul recalls the wrong from which this prosperity has grown (pp. 53–54).

⁴⁰ Swanton, *Source Material*, 127, quotes an anonymous French account of Choctaw polygyny and Romans’s account of unions that could end by separation. Hannali’s three ceremonies draw on different traditions, and one bride, Natchez, is Cherokee (Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 49–53).

The new districts and the rider

The three Choctaw districts are reconstituted as Hannali establishes his household. The grouping of chiefs and settlements resembles McReynolds's account, but Lafferty wrongly says Moshulatubbee never entered the Territory. Debo and Foreman place him there.⁴¹

The final encounter reverses Hannali's meeting with Chizem. He first takes the departing rider for his friend Checote, then recognizes Whiteman Falaya on Checote's horse. He sees only the man's back, but knows the posture from remembered descriptions. The mixed-language name means Long White Man.⁴² Courtship had unsettled Hannali's head or liver, the stated seat of his affections. Now, with his new household in danger, his liver knots with fear.

Outline

V. Chapter Five: Settling the Western Country

1. The Peoples Already There

- A. The Question of Settlement: Was Indian Territory truly empty? Were there not Indians already living there?
- B. Residents Encountered: 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").^{n. 38}
- 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.

⁴¹ Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 54, follows the sequence of districts, chiefs, and settlements in McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 169, which cites Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, introductory note by John R. Swanton (1934; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 25–26. He sharpens McReynolds's statement that Moshulatubbee died shortly after migration began into the erroneous assertion that he never entered the Territory. Foreman places him in the West; Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 58, dates his death there from smallpox to 1838, followed by Joseph Kincaid's succession.

⁴² Byington, *Dictionary*, 118, s.v. "falaia," gives "long" and "tall" among the meanings. Whiteman Falaya combines English with this Choctaw adjective. The name enters the story at *Okla Hannali*, 55.

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. (p. 43)
- 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 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. (p. 44)

- H. Violence and Power Imbalance: Indian with gun whipped to death. (p. 44) 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, adopted Pass Christian's plan. Would go to Territory, establish posts, plant corn, amass livestock, set up shops (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.^{n. 39}

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, undeterred by repeated challenges 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). (p. 47)
- 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 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. *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. (p. 49)
- 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). 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."^{n.10} (p. 51)

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; Hannali gave each a dozen hogs.

9. The Three-Forked Lightning: Multiple Marriages^{n.40}

- 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. Descriptions of the Three Women: 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. Hannali's Gains and Guilt

- 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 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. The novel names Joseph Kincaid as first chief and says Old Moshulatubbee died before entering; historically, Kincaid succeeded him in the West in 1838.
 - 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).^{n. 41} 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: Whiteman Falaya.^{n. 42} Riding Checote's bay horse.
- D. Hannali's Reaction: "blood ran scared and his liver knotted up."



Chapter Six

Pages 56–69

Whiteman Falaya enters Hannali's strongest room; Marie DuShane discovers the concealed marriages and nearly kills the other wives. Hannali repents and preserves the family by giving up his sexual life. Around this domestic catastrophe, the narrator recounts decades of visits to Hannali House and Hannali's travels among other peoples.

A house under threat

Falaya's note shows how little Hannali's strength can protect him. The outlaw has passed the armed man, entered his treasury, and left unseen. He threatens a future daughter in the language of livestock, as though she were another part of Hannali's property. The notes in several hands suggest preparation; their writers remain unidentified. McCoy urges compassion for a sick man, while the Indians believe that killing him would be merciful.

The visitors arrive over several decades. The joke about George Washington puts a Caddo chief before an American president; Gopher John's inclusion challenges the imagined listener who would exclude a Black man from the company of great Indians. These men belong to

different generations and could not all have gathered in 1842. Several have identifiable historical counterparts.⁴³

Hannali House bears the marks of his bargains and successive additions in its stone and ironwork. Its resemblance to a great bird makes the settled building seem capable of flight. The “feudal” comparison describes personal authority exercised through households and followers. Substantial Choctaw houses are historically documented, but the accounts do not confirm the narrator’s precise system of a hundred household lords.⁴⁴

Lafferty is mistaken about Doaksville’s being the Territory’s sole prewar inn: Tahlequah already had five hotels in 1849. The earlier account cited for the Doaksville establishment names its keeper as David Folsom. Both McReynolds and Lafferty call him Israel. This shared error makes McReynolds a plausible immediate source.⁴⁵

⁴³ For Gopher John’s \$1,500 loan toward a removal party’s expenses, his 1843 freedom order, and his leadership at Wewoka, see Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 226, 258–59. Pliny Fisk is plausibly the Choctaw Presbyterian minister listed in “An Indian Presbytery,” *New-York Evangelist* 22, no. 43 (October 23, 1851): 170, col. 1. The missionary Samuel Worcester’s surname appears as Worchester in the novel.

⁴⁴ Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 52–53, records Choctaw farms, mills, substantial furnished houses, and commercial hospitality. Lafferty organizes comparable prosperity into his “feudal” pattern of a hundred powerful households (60), later distinguishing northern self-sufficiency from southern plantation interests (99). The numerical scheme and feudal terminology are the narrator’s.

⁴⁵ Goode, *Outposts of Zion*, 187, identifies the Doaksville innkeeper as David Folsom. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 53, excerpts his description but omits the given name; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 170, cites Foreman and supplies Israel, the name repeated by Lafferty (60). The shared error points to McReynolds as a possible immediate source. The sole-inn claim is also incorrect: the *Cherokee Advocate*, January 8, 1849, reports five Tahlequah hotels, quoted in Foreman, 400.

The household broken

Marie discovers the marriages through Martha's chuckle. It reproduces Hannali's rumble so closely that she hears the intimacy she has failed to see. She has scarcely noticed Martha, whom she considers a slave, or Natchez, whom she regards as an insignificant child. Her contempt has made them little more visible than livestock. She now acts on it with a whip. Martha answers, "I am the wife before you," asserting her precedence and her claim to be treated as a person. The scene records no legal emancipation.

Martha first overpowers Marie, who returns with a ferocity Martha cannot withstand. Marie then attacks Natchez, who has merely come to discover the cause of the disturbance. Hannali intervenes only after Natchez has been knocked unconscious and gravely injured. The women's conviction that they have died is comic, but the beating is sustained and brutal. Natchez remains unconscious for three hours and cannot walk for a week.

The narrator attributes Marie's renewed assault to the emergence of her suppressed Shawnee and French inheritance. He explains the violence through ancestry, then turns to common humanity in the family's reckoning (pp. 62–65).

At Natchez's bedside, Marie acknowledges that they have failed to treat one another as people, yet she distributes the blame unevenly. She admits her own blindness and accuses Hannali of knowingly doing wrong. She also faults Martha for accepting the arrangement and Natchez for failing to resist. The injured woman says least and takes no part in choosing the remedy.

Repentance and kinship

Hannali's defense of Martha, "blood of my liver and clay of my clay," recalls the bodily kinship of Genesis. Marie answers, "We are all of the same clay," extending the claim beyond those he personally loves. The family's Indigenous, African, and European connections recall the

country's mixed peoples, but Marie herself crosses these divisions. The appeal to common creation supplies the basis of their equality.⁴⁶

Marie proposes to preserve her own marriage while ending the other two. Hannali accepts a more costly remedy: he will cease sexual relations with all three women. Lafferty leaves the validity of the ceremonies undecided and supplies no rule of canon law. Hannali commits himself irreversibly to repentance. He refuses to divide his wrong into convenient portions, and keeps the women and their children within the family.

Martha insists that the children must not pay for their parents' fault. When Marie wishes that their unborn children might be lost, Martha refuses the wish, even for Marie's child. The narrator eventually reports that their lives grow happier. His earlier description of a widower with three wives acknowledges Hannali's deprivation within the continuing household.

The nations in him

Hannali's travels extend across decades, beyond the domestic sequence just recounted. He did not begin wandering only after the separation: his youthful journey into Spanish Florida precedes removal, and later absences sometimes last eighteen months. The narrator describes his youthful travels as an initiation called the wandering year (pp. 66–67).

Different peoples give Hannali different names: Fiddling Bear, Laughing Bull, Mule Doctor, and the Man with the Talking Horses. The names tell how his hosts knew him. The narrator uses "name rolls" for the literary catalogue that follows, with its remembered individuals (p. 67).

⁴⁶ Hannali's "blood of my liver and clay of my clay" (65) recasts Genesis 2:23, "bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh" (KJV). For the shared material origin invoked by Marie, compare Genesis 2:7 and Job 33:6. The verbal substitution joins the narrator's Choctaw liver idiom to biblical kinship and creation.

The catalogue's rhythms and jokes distinguish namesakes and preserve variant names. Hannali learns languages and medicine, teaches smithery, shares war and feasting, and forms different attachments among different peoples. The closing images of plentiful food, stolen ponies, and enemy scalps show the violence that accompanies the generosity and delight of his travels.

At the close, Hannali passes a pipe between named men, including Jim Pockmark, an attested historical name.⁴⁷ The catalogue has become a gathering of men he remembers. "Who else knew them all?" is a tall-tale boast that also asks how many of these lives might otherwise be forgotten.

Outline

VI. Chapter Six: The Household and the Plains Nations

1. Whiteman Falaya's Threat and Visitors to Hannali House

- 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 outhur things I mean to cut you down your friend Whiteman Falaya."

⁴⁷ Jim Pockmark and Geo. Washington sign the Wichita Agency letter of December 15, 1861, reproduced in Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), 64–65, documentary note (b). The two historical names recur in Hannali's company; their meetings with him are fictional.

- 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 Profile (pp. 56–58):
 - 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. 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, 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 Worchester. Jesuits (rarely). Indian agents/superintendents (Rutherford, Garrett, Drennen, Browning, etc.). Guests almost weekly.^{n. 43}
- 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.^{n. 44+n. 45}

L. The Big House:

- a. 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.
- b. Features: New Orleans ironwork, steepled lookout tower, ruby red window added "force and power."
- c. Appearance: Visitor compared to giant turkey buzzard; Lafferty likens 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.^{n. 44}
- e. Personal Significance: Became large part of Hannali's life after becoming "a widdo were with three wives." (p. 60)

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 Hannali's other marriages.
- 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." (p. 61)
- F. Marie's Metamorphosis: Incident described as "little wind before 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. (pp. 62–63)

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. (p. 66)
- 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 (Apaches), Laughing Bull (Caddoes), Talking String Man (Pawnees), Fat Beaver (Arapahos), Mule Doctor (Comanches), Man with the Talking Horses (Kiowas). (p. 67)
- F. Acquaintances: Knew generations of great Plains Indians. Narrator admits that the list may be tedious; names are magic and belong to the story.
 - a. Detailed Lists: *Cheyennes, Sioux, Arapahos, Crows, Anadarkos, Nez Perces, Comanches, Apaches, Caddoes, Pawnees, Kiowas.*
- G. What Hannali Learned and Taught: 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. (p. 69) Images: buffalo meat piles, Comanche scalps on poles, mass pony raids.
- I. Closing Scene: 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?"^{n. 47}



Chapter Seven

Pages 70–79

Three daughters complete the generation born from Hannali's marriages. He helps his neighbors survive by supplying corn and credit; on the journey to Nanih Waiya, they recover a homeland they can acknowledge as their own.

Kindred and obligation

In spring 1831 Martha Louisiana bears Luvinia; Marie DuShane bears Hazel, also called Marie d'Azel; Natchez bears Sally or Salina. Only Salina's derivation is explained: Natchez names her after her own birthplace, Grand Saline. Martha's children bear Hannali as their last name. The narrator assigns this patronymic practice specifically to Black Choctaws. Outsiders mistake the women's names for surnames and cannot work out the household's relationships. The grandson explains that three marriages have ended while the family remains "one continent kindred" (pp. 70–71). They continue to live together under the restraint of sexual continence.

Corn and the Whiskey Decade

Hannali prepares for removal by working his land. Mingo and Catoosa break resistant sod; he builds fences to withstand deer, buffalo, and hogs. When the exhausted arrivals fail to come to him, he takes his corn to them. Traders protecting their profits threaten his life at Fort Coffee. He escapes, changes his landing, and continues the distribution (pp. 71–72).⁴⁸ The narrator denies the story that Hannali killed three men.

The narrator calls the Territory's crisis during the 1830s the "Whiskey Decade"; it lasts less than ten years. He attributes the drinking to bereavement, displacement, and predatory trade. Hannali expects the survivors to recover within three years, once they recognize that life still offers work and habitation.⁴⁹ The serpent here represents poisoned pleasure. Its meaning changes on the mountain, where an ancient snake welcomes the people home.

⁴⁸ Fort Coffee was established in 1834: McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 73. Lafferty moves from the main arrivals of 1832–33 to Hannali's relief voyage at the fort without giving the voyage a separate date (71–72). For the delayed delivery of promised farming equipment in 1832–33, see Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 28–29.

⁴⁹ Cushman, *History* (1899), 141, describes liquor traffic revived by Mississippi's abrogation of Choctaw laws in 1830; his setting is the eastern homeland. For prohibition, temperance societies, and border sales in the West, see Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 65–66. These accounts do not fix the duration of Lafferty's "Whiskey Decade." Swanton, *Source Material*, 48, describes persimmon beer as introduced rather than aboriginal, and supplies no evidence here for the corn beer and fruit cordials named in the novel (72–73).

The measure of civilization

Catlin's Eagle Dance prompts the narrator to question what ceremonial nakedness can tell a spectator about the dancers' ordinary lives. He answers with Hannali's clothes, tools, and work.⁵⁰ Hannali wears homemade clothing, Martha's weaving, a green turban, or a manufactured hat. He uses a bow because it supplies meat cheaply. His painting and whooping belong to the same life as his craft and calculation (pp. 73–74).

Hannali is “the master of his own culture” (p. 74) because he commands the arts that sustain its life. The long catalogue of occupations explains this claim to civilization. Like a medieval count, he governs an estate that becomes a town. His banking depends on Marie DuShane's accurate ledger: part of his skill lies in knowing when to employ hers.

Hannali gives Marie a piano, Martha a loom, and Natchez spectacles. The women find their own uses for the gifts. All three weave and sometimes wear the glasses; Martha discovers the piano as a person and plays with an assurance the educated visitors have not expected. They recognize her genius even as they disapprove of her place in the family. Their judgment exposes racial contempt (p. 75).

⁵⁰ The explicit visual source is George Catlin's *Eagle Dance*, plate 227 in *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, & Condition of the North American Indians*, vol. 2 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), letter 49; Swanton reproduces it in *Source Material*, plate 6, with Catlin's description at 222. Catlin describes chiefly naked dancers painted with white clay and moving in successive groups. Lafferty uses the ceremonial image to ask how they dressed and worked daily (73–74). His exclusive green-Choctaw/red-Creek distinction is too rigid: Cushman, *History* (1899), 255, describes a Choctaw warrior in a red turban.

A homeland recognized

Nearly four years after his arrival, Hannali dreams a summons to Nanih Waiya. Lafferty distinguishes the Mississippi mound from the older western mountain that, in his account, the mound commemorates. The collected origin traditions do not establish this western identification.⁵¹ Others receive the same summons and converge without hesitation, before anyone publicly declares that the homeland has been found (p. 76).

Robert Pike joins them with a white boy's appetite for the supposedly wild country. The district name Oklafalaya promises adventure to him.⁵² Albert Horse and John T exaggerate the terrifying manners of their southern kindred, then reveal the joke. Hannali gives the boy a buckskin and teaches him to dress it. The men feed him, teach him, and laugh with him until he is delighted to become a brother of those he first feared (pp. 76–79).

⁵¹ Swanton, *Source Material*, 5–10, distinguishes emergence from Nanih Waiya from migration out of the west. His quoted Catlin version has a medicine man lead the migrants with a pole that leans toward their destination until they reach the Mississippi hill. Lafferty reverses the movement and makes the Mississippi mound a memorial of an older western mountain (76–79).

⁵² Swanton, *Source Material*, 56, identifies Oklafalaya, “Long People,” as the western Mississippi division. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 58, describes Okla Falaya or Red River as the southeastern district in the West, later called Apukshunnubbee. Neither corroborates the novel's additional assertion that it nearly became the name of the entire Territory (*Okla Hannali*, 76).

A rock resembling a man proves to be Peter Pitchlynn. Lafferty gives the historical leader the power to summon by dream and calls him the last of the *alikchi*. This magical office, as described here, belongs to the novel. A possible source for this role is the migration legend that Charles Lanman attributes to Pitchlynn and Swanton reproduces. Its prophetic guide leads a people toward a place of settlement.⁵³

The blind rattlesnake guides them to the summit, sees the returning people, and dies, its long vigil complete. The narrator's comparison with a biblical patriarch may recall Jacob's reunion with Joseph and his blessing of Joseph's children.⁵⁴

The narrator leaves the mountain's identity uncertain but affirms that Pitchlynn transmitted the dream. Signal fires announce the discovery across the three districts; whiskey, fiddling, and shouting mark the night's celebration. The capital was later established nearby.⁵⁵ Having accepted the mountain as their own, the people begin to rebuild their nations together.

⁵³ Byington, *Dictionary*, 38, defines *alikchi* as a doctor or physician. Pitchlynn's guiding role may derive from the migration legend Charles Lanman attributes to him, quoted in Swanton, *Source Material*, 30–32. An aged prophet leads the people with a miraculous staff into a fertile country. Lafferty gives the teller of that tradition a comparable role within a new return narrative, using a shared dream to summon the travelers.

⁵⁴ The unnamed patriarch may be Jacob: Genesis 46:30 joins the sight of Joseph alive to readiness for death, while 48:10–11, 21 (KJV) joins failing sight, descendants, and a promised return to the fathers' land. For Pitchlynn's Crawfish People tradition, see Catlin, *Illustrations*, vol. 2, letter 49, quoted in Swanton, *Source Material*, 83–84. That account describes the incorporation of a crawfish people. Lafferty gives the Choctaws successive animal identities and makes the rattlesnake the oldest, represented by the seven-hundred-year-old guardian.

⁵⁵ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 74–76, dates the first council meeting in the Nanih Waya house near present Tuskahoma to 1838 and traces later changes of capital, including Armstrong Academy in 1863. Lafferty's "real capital" (79) asserts the continuing importance of the mountain's vicinity despite those administrative moves.

Outline

VII. Chapter Seven: The Household and the New Homeland

1. The Births of Luvinia, Marie d'Azal, and Salina

- 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. (p. 70)
- C. Family Structure: Together with the three sons, the daughters constituted the entirety of Hannali's children for that generation.
- D. Family Relationships: Later Territory days held mystery regarding relationships.
 - a. Surnames: Not yet fixed among Choctaws or any Indians. (p. 70)
 - 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. Preparing the Land:
 - a. Sod Busting: First plowing of never-broken land. Grass roots thousand years old, entangled, tough ("could be used for durable 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. (p. 71)
- 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. (p. 71) 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 take 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."^{n. 48}
 - 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 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)^{n. 49}: 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"? (p. 73)
- 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. Choctaw Life 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 for painter.^{n. 50}
- 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).^{n. 50} 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. (p. 74) (Choctaw trait, enjoyed noise, answering wolves/coyotes, whooping).

- F. Hannali's Trades: 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. Civilization: "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 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. (p. 75)
 - 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: The Shared Dream

- 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).^{n. 51} 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 to "Oklafalaya" (mispronounced but revered).^{n. 52} 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).^{n. 54} Waited centuries to show place. Looked on them, died ("like the biblical patriarch").
- M. The Original Homeland: Was it the original Mountain from the Beginning? Choctaws came from mountain country before crossing Mississippi. Artificial mound built in MS pine country as 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.^{n. 53}
- 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.



Chapter Eight

Pages 80–92

Around 1840 the children are learning what their bodies and minds can do, and the household becomes a school. A priest brings the sacraments in 1842; Peter Pitchlynn visits in 1843 and argues with Hannali about Choctaw prosperity. Whiteman Falaya can still reach into the Big House with a threat.

One family, different gifts

Famous, Travis, and Alinton run down a deer together. Each turn brings it against another pursuer, so that cooperation defeats an animal swifter than any of them alone. Their faces and complexions are almost indistinguishable, yet Hannali knows them by their running. The football comparison assigns dodging, speed, and “floating deception” to different racial inheritances. The brothers’ resemblance and shared upbringing do not dissuade the narrator from classifying their gifts by race (pp. 80–81).

Marie DuShane gathers nine pupils: Hannali, Martha Louisiana, Natchez, and the six children. Since they renounced conjugal relations, she has called the two women her sisters and Hannali her father; in the classroom they all become her children. Catechisms supply their first reading lessons. Slates and pencils appear in Foreman's list of Choctaw school supplies. The household's Catholic lessons differ from the Protestant mission teaching described by Debo.⁵⁶ Natchez learns quickly and forgets overnight; her difficulty lies in retaining what she understands (pp. 82–84).

Letters and judgment

Hannali turns Cherokee achievement into an argument for Choctaw opportunity. Sequoyah's system serves Cherokee, whereas Roman letters can be adapted to several languages. Sequoyah devised a syllabary, and the alphabet originated long before the date given here. The story about Moses is an unnamed preacher's conjecture. Hannali's claim that Cherokee writing is a dead end reveals his rivalry with the Cherokees.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 44–45, describes Bible reading, prayer, and elementary instruction at mission schools whose chief expense the Choctaws bore. She distinguishes the missionaries' religious aims from the Choctaws' educational and economic reasons for supporting them. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 45 n. 33, records Armstrong's request for slates, pencils, spelling books, copybooks, and quills.

⁵⁷ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 105–6, describes Sequoyah's syllabary; 175 records the use of Roman letters for Choctaw religious texts and newspapers. Elizabeth Knott, "Alphabet Origins: From Kipling to Sinai," Metropolitan Museum of Art, December 22, 2014, <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2014/assyria-to-iberia/blog/posts/alphabet>, dates early alphabetic writing to the early second millennium BC, when Semitic speakers adapted Egyptian signs. The novel's date of about 1200 BC is too late.

Hannali wants the instruments of learning before he quite knows how to use them. Silver, crests, English pens, and unnecessary spectacles promise to make him look educated. Once he begins the letter, he works through the night, asks for books, sends news, and recalls his brother to the duties of kinship. The effort earns a respect that the accessories could only solicit. He also catches the preacher slipping his own sermons among Swift, Montaigne, Shakespeare, and Plutarch (pp. 84–85).

Marie's imperfect spelling hardly disqualifies her from teaching. The narrator answers any condescension from English readers by criticizing their language's spelling. His prediction that Choctaw would never have a standard spelling nevertheless goes too far. Transcription has changed and spelling still varies, but systematic conventions exist.⁵⁸

The daughters and the threat

Hannali's letter asks for books and a family reunion; Whiteman Falaya's note claims a daughter and threatens anyone who touches her. His livestock comparison treats her as a possession. Hannali is frightened by the reach of a man who can enter his private room unseen. Calling Falaya a ghost conveys this helplessness; his supernatural identity remains unproved (p. 85).

The account of the daughters begins when they are nine, then looks ahead through the following years. The trader's remark remains undated, but cannot be treated as an innocent compliment. He measures Sally, Hazel, and Luvinia by how long he would like to possess them. The narrator calls him crude while surrounding the remark with approving descriptions of the girls' attraction. Marie insists that they are everyone's daughters, claiming the obligations of care and kinship (p. 86).

⁵⁸ Swanton's introduction to Byington, *Dictionary*, viii, x–xi, explains editorial changes to the spelling and supplies a phonetic key. The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's "The Choctaw Alphabet," accessed September 29, 2026, <https://dictionary.choctawnation.com/alphabet/>, sets out spelling conventions and identifies common variations.

Christ at the house

The dying priest brings sacramental life. His wasted body faces Hannali's monstrous abundance, and each immediately recognizes the other. Plutarch lies open before Hannali as he encounters greatness in a man spending his remaining strength on scattered families. The priest comes from the Vincentian seminary at what is now Perryville, Missouri.⁵⁹

Hannali declares "Christ has come to our house": he recognizes Christ acting through a dying minister, whose bodily weakness does not diminish the sacraments' power. Aquinas describes God as the principal agent and the minister as his instrument.⁶⁰ The Latin blessing recalls the family name, *Innominee*, to *in nomine*, renewing an allegiance sustained through years without a priest. The gathered family, Black people, Creeks, and Osages receive the sacraments, though the narrative does not specify each rite or recipient (pp. 87–88).

Hannali feeds the priest and gives him another horse so that he can continue. The priest brings sacraments the household's wealth cannot provide. He dies four days later, and another ten years pass before a priest returns (p. 88).

⁵⁹ The seminary is St. Mary's of the Barrens, established in 1818 at what is now Perryville, Missouri. Congregation of the Mission, Western Province, "About Us," under "Vincentian History," accessed September 29, 2026, <https://www.vincentian.org/about-us/>.

⁶⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III, q. 64, a. 1, and a. 5, body and reply to objection 1, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 2nd rev. ed. (1920), <https://www.newadvent.org/summa/4064.htm>. God is the principal agent of the sacraments; the minister acts as an instrument. In a. 5 Aquinas compares this relation to a physician whose bodily health does not determine the efficacy of his medical art, and attributes sacramental grace to Christ acting through his ministers.

Pitchlynn and prosperity

The narrator admires Pitchlynn's charisma but doubts the ordinary biography that makes him John Pitchlynn's son by Sophia Folsom. His proposed adoption rests chiefly on Dickens's report that Peter began learning English as a "young man grown." Those words cannot establish parentage. Lafferty uses them to distinguish two versions of Pitchlynn: a seemingly miraculous national restorer and a man increasingly implicated in white economic life.⁶¹ His escort of twenty-one pupils to the Kentucky academy in 1825 is documented, and later biographical work records his brief enrollment. Neither account establishes that he began learning English there in 1825.⁶²

⁶¹ Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 50 n. 20, identifies Peter's parents as John Pitchlynn and Sophia Folsom. Dickens, *American Notes*, chap. 12, reports Pitchlynn's late study of English but says nothing of adoption. Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 89, presents adoption as his own conjecture and acknowledges that Peter called John his father.

⁶² Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 35–36, records twenty-one Choctaw boys leaving under Pitchlynn's guidance on October 15, 1825, and the academy opening November 1. Speer Morgan and Greg Michalson, introduction to Peter Pitchlynn, "A Man Between Nations: The Diary of Peter Pitchlynn," *Missouri Review* 14, no. 3 (1991): 59–60, <https://doi.org/10.1353/mis.1991.0017>, place his three-month enrollment after that journey.

Catlin and Dickens both describe Pitchlynn's commanding presence. Catlin painted his portrait in 1834. His text gives the name "Peter Pinchlin," from which Lafferty makes a joke about the painter's indifference to exact names.⁶³ Lafferty expressly acknowledges Dickens's *American Notes*, naming the book and chapter before rearranging and shortening its description. Dickens's admiration for Pitchlynn's extraordinary dignity helps Lafferty convey *aleika*, a charisma that ordinary biographical facts seem unable to explain.⁶⁴

Pitchlynn wants household sufficiency to work alongside manufacturing, trade, and plantation exports. Hannali asks what this prosperity does to the people who produce it. When he discourages sales and provides against winter, he puts his commercial skill at the service of particular households. A house is the "rind" of the soul because it protects a way of living. He uses the sterile mule to condemn wealth that fails to sustain such life. His own household has depended on slavery. The documented regional differences do not divide the nation into an innocent north and a slaveholding south.⁶⁵

⁶³ Catlin, *Illustrations*, 2:123, letter 49, calls Pitchlynn Snapping Turtle and "Peter Pinchlin." His portrait, *Há-tchoo-túc-knee, Snapping Turtle, a Half-breed* (1834), was painted at Fort Gibson; Smithsonian American Art Museum, accession 1985.66.296, <https://americanart.si.edu/artwork/ha-tchoo-tuc-knee-snapping-turtle-half-breed-4381>. Lafferty takes the Choctaw name and the variant surname from this account, turning the latter into a joke about Catlin's inexact names.

⁶⁴ Dickens, *American Notes*, chap. 12; Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 90. Lafferty moves the remark about Congress ahead of the lament for lost dress, then joins the physical description to the farewell. He omits "of Nature's making" from Dickens's description of a gentleman. He also leaves out Pitchlynn's admiration for Scott and his argument that assimilation offered the Choctaws their chance of survival.

⁶⁵ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 59–60, distinguishes Red River cotton plantations, prosperous farms along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers, and poorer hill holdings. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 169, places fertile valleys and hill country in all three districts.

Outline

VIII. Chapter Eight: Learning and Prosperity at Hannali House

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. (pp. 80–81)
 - 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. Life in the Moshulatubbee District.

2. Sequoyah and Moses: Literacy Comes to the Innominees^{n. 56}

- A. Marie DuShane's Initiative: Decided her nine pupils (the six children, Hannali, and Martha Louisiana and Natchez, whom she now called her sisters) should learn read/write. All nine became "her children for the hours of instruction." (p. 82)
- 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).^{n. 57}
 - 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).^{n. 56}
 - 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 Natchez").
- D. Acquiring Books: Hannali asked visiting preacher for list of educated man's books. Doubted 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 spelled imperfectly, 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.^{n.58}
- G. Whiteman Falaya's Threat (circa 1840): Hannali found stark note in Big House private room. (p. 85)
 - a. Text (Quote): "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."
 - 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. 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. The other two (Hazel, Luvinia) had deeper attraction. The three were unique.

4. A Dead Man on a Dead Horse^{n. 59-n. 60}: 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 (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. Peter Pitchlynn's Aleika

- 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.^{n. 61}
- 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).^{n. 61}
 - 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. The narrator links the theory to his Choctaw Academy arrival (1825, age 19 if born 1806, fitting "young man grown"); neither the academy record nor Dickens establishes adoption or dates his first English lessons to 1825. Peter led group of 21 most intelligent/promising Choctaw boys.^{n. 62}
- 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).^{n. 63}
 - 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 should build own house ("rind of his soul"). Falaya men "have drunk mules' milk and are sterile theirs is not the way." (p. 91)
- G. Visit's End: Pitchlynn entertained royally ("he was their royalty"). Foreshadows Pass Christian's visit next year (1844).



Chapter Nine

Pages 93–101

Hannali House fills with visiting children, winter feasts, jokes, and gifts. Pass Christian's family brings its French life into the Choctaw household, with no loss of kinship. After the departure at Epiphany, events move quickly toward political division and war. The Texas Road that brought visitors and trade now carries soldiers, among whom Falaya conceals himself after assaulting Sally.

The children's stories

The New Orleans cousins have become French and remain Indian (p. 93). Their swimming upsets the expectation that country children will be stronger than those from the city. The visitors play together while remaining distinctly Choctaw, Creek, and Cherokee. Each group excels at something and takes pleasure in the competition. Their weeping at departure recalls the claim that they are still Indian (p. 99). "Assimilation" alone cannot explain these enduring ties.

Hannali expects a scarecrow to scare crows; its eloquence cannot excuse a field full of them. The joke suggests that a ruler, banker, or protector should likewise be judged by the work of the office. The children take the scarecrow's side, turning this dispute over purpose into comedy. No one doubts that it can speak (pp. 93–94).

In Luvinia's panther story, a captured girl begins ordering her captor about. Cooking makes each demand necessary: corn must be ground, cakes need a fire, and pishofa needs meat and a kettle. The dish is made from hominy and meat, here pork.⁶⁶ Each concession leaves the panther worse off. His appeal to the absence of a signed agreement fails, and the girl finally emerges with her meal (pp. 95–96).

Luvinia also has to contend with her listeners. Nakni Pans-Hata interrupts with a practical objection; she admits forgetting the answer and carries on. Marie Chapponia objects after her own story has been surpassed. The narrator declares the tale true and gives Luvinia the victory. He credits her storytelling to Martha Louisiana, a Black mother in this mixed household.

Hospitality and its limits

At Christmas, Hannali's wealth can be counted in the people he feeds and shelters. Such prodigious hospitality requires labor and invention, including a spit capable of turning a whole buffalo. The narrator connects Christmas with earlier seasonal feasts. Swanton records large winter gatherings but no fixed cycle of four annual Choctaw "potlatches."⁶⁷ The visit follows the Christian calendar, ending at Epiphany. Even amid the abundance, the household feels the absence of a priest and Mass (pp. 96–99).

⁶⁶ Byington, *Dictionary*, 317, s.v. "pishofa," defines the word as "hulled," as corn pounded in a mortar. Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, "History and Development of Choctaw Foods," *Iti Fabvssa*, February 1, 2010, <https://www.choctawnation.com/news/iti-fabvssa/history-and-development-of-choctaw-foods/>, describes *Tanchi Labona*, also called by the Chickasaw name *Pashofa*, as hominy boiled with meat. Pork is usual today; earlier versions used various native animals.

⁶⁷ Swanton, *Source Material*, 224–25, records Simpson Tubby's account of feasts held throughout the year, especially in fall and early winter, with the last near Christmas. He leaves uncertain how much that feast's importance owed to European influence. This account describes no fixed cycle of four seasonal "potlatches."

Marie DuShane goes to North Fork Town to buy goods for the household.⁶⁸ Her use of gold recalls the doubtful value of paper “Choctaw dollars.” In the previous year, their issuers refused redemption until Hannali rode into the store with his horse, rifle, and grin. “Honest” was printed on the notes; the merchants honored them only when an armed man demanded it. The paper comes from an unnamed Doaksville store (pp. 97–98).

Marie Delessert comes to understand Martha and Natchez through friendship, after their place in the household has shocked her. Chapter Seven has already explained the arrangement: the marriages have ended, and the family lives as “one continent kindred” (pp. 70–71). They still owe one another care after sexual relations have ceased.

The road to violence

Violent weather accompanies renewed prosperity in the “Year of the Big Thunders” as political conflict threatens the nations. The narrative passes from Epiphany 1845 through a year into events of 1846 (pp. 99–100). Hannali’s sons approach manhood just as the community’s recovery is threatened (p. 99).

⁶⁸ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 130–31, traces the Texas Road through Three Forks and the Canadian forks toward the Red River; 178 places its crossing with the California Trail at North Fork Town.

Lafferty contrasts a self-sufficient, predominantly full-blood Choctaw North with a South governed by wealthy slaveholders. Hannali's dependence on enslaved labor crosses this division. Debo describes broad Confederate support and pressure against neutrality, together with efforts to avoid the internal warfare that afflicted the Creeks and Cherokees.⁶⁹ Her account does not confirm the novel's claim that every nation was divided in two.

In the account of Texas and Mexico, slavery drives American expansion.⁷⁰ The narrator makes slavery the sole cause of Texan independence and treats the war as predetermined. His comparison of refugees from Texas with removals from the South remains unsubstantiated. The order of January 13, 1846, sent Taylor toward the Rio Grande, beyond the Nueces; Congress authorized prosecution of the war on May 13, four months later. Texas was admitted on December 29, 1845; its state government was inaugurated on February 19, 1846.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 77, 80–83, describes strong full-blood leadership before the Civil War, broad Choctaw support for the Confederacy, pressure against advocates of neutrality, and efforts to avoid the internal warfare suffered by the Creeks and Cherokees.

⁷⁰ Constitution of the Republic of Texas (1836), General Provisions, sec. 9, protected existing slavery, denied Congress the power of emancipation, and guaranteed settlers from the United States the right to bring enslaved people with them. It also prohibited slave importation from elsewhere. Text in Tarlton Law Library, University of Texas School of Law, <https://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/constitutions/republic-texas-1836/general-provisions>.

⁷¹ Texas admission resolution, December 29, 1845, 9 Stat. 108; Texas State Library and Archives Commission, "Texas Makes Its Choice," <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/annexation/part5/page4.html>, on the February 19, 1846, inauguration. James K. Polk's message to Congress, May 11, 1846, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/polko1.asp, reports the January 13 order to occupy the left bank of the Rio Grande and the army's March 11 departure from Corpus Christi. The war act was approved May 13, four months after the order: ch. 16, 9 Stat. 9. Polk's phrase was "shed American blood upon the American soil." His message defends the administration's disputed territorial claim.

Falaya assaults Sally after the chapter's pleasures of childhood and feasting. His sexual taunt and promise to return terrorize the whole family through her suffering. Hannali's "true dark visions" lead him to the injured girl, too late to prevent the violence. He brings her home alive, reads the taunt, and plans his pursuit. The soldiers traveling the road that brought their guests now give her attacker cover (p. 101).

Outline

IX. Chapter Nine: Family Visits and the Assault on Sally

1. Pass Christian Innominees Visit Hannali House (1844) (pp. 92–94)

- 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 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.^{n. 66} 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.

2. Christmas Season at Hannali House

- A. Timing/Tradition: Indians now celebrating Christmas (previously seasonal potlatches). Winter feast became biggest. "Everybody visited Hannali House."^{n. 67}
- 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."^{n. 68}

- 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. (pp. 97-98)
- G. Return Journey: Children huddled under robes in wagon, snowing, ice tinkling on ferry. Sang "chikkih chikkih," gobbled 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 (c. 1845–46) (pp. 99–100)

- A. Family Milestone: Good year for Hannali/family. Three sons became men (approaching 16).
- B. Weather: 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 100–500 each, setting tone).^{n. 69}
- D. External Conflict (US-Mexico War)^{n. 70, n. 71}:
 - a. Background: Texas independence (1836) rooted in slavery. Mexico outraged by slavery and killing of Indians. Many Indians fled Texas to IT (1830–45).^{n. 70}
 - b. US Actions: Congressional resolution approved by Polk admits TX as a slave state (Dec 29, 1845). Taylor ordered to the Rio Grande (the novel says Nueces) to provoke incident (Jan 13, 1846). Annexation/war promise linked. Narrator calculates 3 months of preparation; January 13 to May 13 was 4 months.
 - c. Impact on IT: Army groups move south via Texas Road (near Hannali House). Raw soldiers, clashes ("brushes") with unruly Indians. TX state government inaugurated (Feb 19, 1846; statehood began Dec 29, 1845), 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.



Chapter Ten

Pages 102–111

The watch and the fugitive

Hannali enters the volunteer camp with an announcement whose courtesy makes its violence more startling: he has come to kill one of the commander's men. His extraordinary senses have brought him to Whiteman Falaya, serving as Sergeant Whitman Long. He reads the landscape before dawn. Tracks, odors, animal behavior, and interrupted footsteps disclose what the sentry's answers conceal. The narrator qualifies this power at the outset. Hannali is "almost too Indian to be true," and intuition may be acute sensation operating below conscious recognition (102–6).

The major claims the right to command without accepting its obligations. Two Indians who complained that his soldiers had assaulted their wives or daughters have been hanged. He protects the assailants and murders the complainants, then offers Hannali the same answer. His suggestion that Hannali and Falaya are "two of a kind" makes racial classification a substitute for judgment. Hannali answers with a demand for personal vengeance, claiming a right to punish that the scene leaves unsettled. Cushman's account of

Choctaw execution and its afterlife beliefs helps explain the force of the hanging threat.⁷²

The gold watch turns the confrontation into a contest over who controls the waiting. The major fixes the interval and threatens death at its end. Hannali seizes that control by standing where only he can see the dial. Five minutes pass; then more pass. The major's order remains unspoken, and his two hundred men cannot convert their superiority into action. Lafferty draws comedy from the major's paralysis. Rifles, rope, tree, and watch are ready; the will to use them has failed.

Hannali wins this contest and loses his object. Falaya escapes while everyone watches Hannali watching the watch. His senses have not ceased to work: the vanished scent was information he failed to heed because he was absorbed in a "boy's game." His appeal to God admits defeat. His parting challenge reasserts his courage. The major has been cowed; Falaya is still free.

⁷² Cushman, *History* (1899), 217–18, describes execution by rifle and a belief that the spirit of a hanged person remained at the place of death, unable to join the dead. Swanton quotes the account in *Source Material*, 107–8, but at 108 n. 15 and 110 qualifies its sweeping claim about the absence of hanging with evidence of differing attitudes toward suicide.

Two kinds of wealth

The account of “Welsh Indians” turns from Hannali’s pursuit to the history of acquisition. First the narrator rejects the Madoc legend and exposes the looseness of amateur linguistic comparison. He then makes his own sweeping connection between ancestry and character. Welsh descent becomes an explanation for commercial cunning, slaveholding, and political control. Having dismissed one ethnic fable, the narrator constructs another. The roster of surnames is no substitute for individual genealogies, and the Mandans were devastated by smallpox, not extinguished as the passage asserts.⁷³

Robert M. Jones’s stores, plantations, steamboats, enslaved workers, and loans reinforce one another. Lafferty charges Jones with acquiring his fellow Choctaws through their debts. The metaphor extends enslavement into politics, but the fortune itself rests on the enslavement of Black people. Historical accounts confirm Jones’s exceptional wealth, extensive slaveholding, and pressure for Confederate allegiance. They do not substantiate the claim that Jones imported five hundred enslaved people directly from Africa.⁷⁴

⁷³ Compare Catlin, *Illustrations*, 2:258–61, appendix A: his Madoc hypothesis combines alleged Welsh-Mandan linguistic parallels with the claim that the Mandans had ceased to exist as a nation. Lafferty rejects the Welsh hypothesis but repeats the extinction claim. Mandan survivors of the 1837 epidemic continued in communities with the Hidatsa and Arikara; National Park Service, “Mandan,” updated June 22, 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/knri/learn/historyculture/mandan.htm>. Catlin’s short vocabulary table does not supply Lafferty’s full list on 106.

⁷⁴ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 60, repeats a report of more than five hundred enslaved people. Michael L. Bruce, “Our Best Men are Fast Leaving Us: The Life and Times of Robert M. Jones,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 66, no. 3 (Fall 1988): 296, gives 227 in the 1860 census and Jones’s own estimate of 250–300. Debo, 81 and 83 n. 13, documents his secessionist activity and Confederate representation. Neither account substantiates the novel’s claim that all five hundred were newly smuggled from Africa through the Sabine estuary.

The difference between Jones and Hannali lies in what their wealth serves. Both men accumulate property and influence. Jones's wealth binds other people to himself; Hannali's is directed toward a household whose members develop lives of their own. The narrator's labels, "liberal" and "conservative," belong to this opposition between acquisition and obligation. The moral distinction does not rest securely on the contrast between mixed and unmixed ancestry. Hannali's family gains its reach from precisely the affiliations that a simple racial scheme would exclude. Hannali's compassion has coexisted with his treatment of Martha as property (107–11).

An expansive family

The change in Hannali can be seen in his face. In the claim attributed to Lincoln, a man becomes responsible for his face as his character gradually shows through it. Lafferty reverses a habitual judgment of ugliness: the same bulk becomes interesting through the depth and animation it acquires. The figure of the "chuckling God" preserves the comic excess and honors the life expressed in Hannali's face. An earlier printed account attributes a variant of the saying to Stanton.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ L. E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and His Administration* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891), 184, attributes an earlier printed variant to Edwin M. Stanton: "A man of fifty is responsible for his face!" Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 109, attributes the saying to Lincoln and lowers the age to thirty.

Hannali sends his sons to separate schools so that each may know a different part of the nation. Alinton attends Spencer, Famous Fort Coffee, and Travis Armstrong. These were real institutions within the Choctaws' developing system of publicly supported education.⁷⁶ Famous's schooling also brings him within reach of Strange Choate, his maternal grandfather, whose buggy and trotters make the visits a pleasure. Famous learns from his polished Cherokee cousins while remaining Hannali's son. Through him the friendship of the older men deepens. Strange's political counsel eventually brings Hannali into the Choctaw legislature.

The "Great Decade" lasts thirteen years, approximately 1847–60. Lafferty shows prosperity supporting schooling, office, friendship, travel, and a growing family. The novel extends the family's prosperity to all the Territory Indians (pp. 110–11), although the economic history described above includes much poorer households. The narrator's proposed method, taking bites from every side, follows the family as its members move in different directions. Four buggies and a red wagon carry the household among different peoples and places. Alinton's proposed voyage then opens a longer route. His dead grandfather's unrealized ambition becomes an undertaking for the living.

Outline

X. Chapter Ten: Hannali, Falaya, and Robert M. Jones

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.

⁷⁶ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 60–61, places Spencer, Fort Coffee, and Armstrong in the expansion of Choctaw education following the national legislation of 1842. Tribal funds supported the boarding schools, which usually operated under contracts with mission boards.

- 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.^{n. 72}
- F. The Bluff: Hannali softly asks, "Who have a watch." Major places fine gold watch on stump.
 - 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 Pitchlynns, 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.^{n.74}
 - a. Status: Richest man in Territory, one of richest in country. Represents one "pole" of Choctaws. (p. 107)
 - 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 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. Confederate Allegiance: 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." (p. 109)

3. Hannali's Changed Face and the Great 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).^{n. 76} Family multiplied friendships, connections, numbers. Hannali prospered. Period of prosperity for all Territory Indians (population recovered, farming/ranching learned, prices/weather good, education advanced, selectively adopting white ways). (pp. 110–111)
- 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). (p. 110) 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 seepen 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.



Chapter Eleven

Pages 112–120

The trader picked clean

Pickens knows the languages of bargaining, the proper gifts, and several ways of passing worthless things for valuable goods. His ignorance lies in supposing that his customers are more ignorant than he is. Each telling assigns him to another people: Creeks make him Cherokee, Choctaws make him Creek, and Chickasaws make him Choctaw. No community volunteers to own its fool.

The Kiowas repeatedly pay with the same three beaver pelts, stolen from behind the trader and brought round again. Pickens imagines three thousand. His last three disappear when he runs to see a green buffalo. The supposedly green animal reveals how green the Indian pursuing it is. The tale then changes from fraudulent exchange to demands for gifts. Caddoes take merchandise and mules; Cheyennes take food, water, clothes, and shoes. Each demand appeals to a dwindling remainder: how can he claim to have nothing while something is left?

This reasoning outlives Pickens. A Pawnee takes his flesh for a dog, a Comanche takes his bones for soup, and an Anadarko bags his soul. His corpse and bones continue to object. The Comanche declines the philosophical question of what will remain after the bones are gone, although taking them raises it. The conclusion, “until the next story,” lets Pickens survive in the telling. The tale destroys him completely and can do so again whenever it is told.

Alinton has heard these stories from Hannali. He therefore grins when the traders' greeting assigns him Pickens's name. His education includes recognizing the story others intend to tell about him. The narrator makes mortal danger a joke by assuring us that death from "kidding" is rare.

A river beyond the map

Alinton has misjudged the usefulness of boats, although he has the right map. Once the country opens into plains, a boat loses its advantage over a wagon or pack animal. After three days he recognizes Hannali's warning, gives away all but one boat, and continues upriver for adventure. The abandoned trading venture gives him a "mother lode" of stories from a year of wandering, which he may embellish as he pleases.

Hannali's map proves better than the government's because it records a journey actually made. Alinton can travel through three hundred miles of supposed dry land without leaving his boat. Earlier expeditions had also confused the rivers of this region, although the government map mocked here remains unidentified.⁷⁷ The ascent almost to the mountains, in boats said to float on a mirage or heavy dew, openly exaggerates the feat. The final portage takes twenty hours. In Santa Fe, early in 1848, news of California gold sends Alinton and his companions onward. They buy wagons and more mules and take the California Road (116).

⁷⁷ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 57, 66–68, records two earlier river confusions: Zebulon Pike mistook the Rio Grande for the Red River in 1807, and Stephen H. Long's party followed the Canadian believing it to be the Red River in 1820. The map in *Okla Hannali*, 115–16, has not been identified.

The household's increase

Fair-haired Jemmy Buster is a Texan and part Choctaw, but he receives the welcome Hannali reserves for potentially troublesome whites. When he stammers in Choctaw, Hannali recognizes the kinship his appearance concealed. The depleted herd also carries a smaller version of Pickens's predicament: each passage payment takes another steer, and the offer to accept half a steer mocks Jemmy's inability to preserve the rest.

Hospitality restores Jemmy and his cattle; attachment to Hazel makes recovery the beginning of another "sickness." Famous, who has envied Alinton's journey, accompanies him north. His Cherokee as well as Choctaw ancestry promises protection through another nation. After selling the cattle, he prolongs their stay in Missouri and returns with Helen Miller and an expensive Durham bull. The bull can be priced, but Helen's value is "incalculable." Hannali's teasing comparison with a hundred hogs recalls his own marriage to Natchez and the livestock her father supplied. Like his father, Famous begins married life with livestock, but he misses Hannali's joke.

Marriages and children now arrive in clusters. Jemmy and Hazel hold a pledge wedding; in 1850 Travis takes Rachel Perry as his pledge wife and Luvinia is joined to Forbis Agent. Forbis is both an itinerant preacher and a bookman. Marie's stern instruction removes the first "impediment," which the syntax links to his preaching; bookishness remains welcome. The passage suggests religious correction without describing its terms or a formal conversion. The household can support someone whose reading does not itself create prosperity.

Alinton may be only "Choctaw rich" when he returns with Marie Calles, but he has enough money to finance his brothers' enterprises and assist Forbis. Hannali's old store closes because its original purpose, supplying the destitute, has passed, while the sons divide the expanding work of commerce, farming, and cattle raising. Debo

describes these activities alongside unequal wealth and slaveholding plantations.⁷⁸

Twenty names and one omission

The narrator promises to compress the happy years, as histories habitually do, yet pauses over an account-book list of the children. Five families contribute five, four, four, four, and three names: twenty in all. Hannali has twenty-one grandchildren, so one has disappeared in the copying. The narrator claims responsibility for the omission and insists Hannali would have remembered.

Sally's withdrawal interrupts the happy family history. Whiteman Falaya returns to her as ghost or devil, and the closing questions multiply his violence from one man to a thousand. The language of serpents' seed suggests the enmity of Genesis 3:15, while "sick lions" turns predation into a diseased appetite.⁷⁹ The brief answer, "It happened," makes the approaching catastrophe an accomplished fact in the narrator's time. The household has scarcely finished counting its increase before the history of its destruction begins.

Outline

XI. Chapter Eleven: Alinton's Journey and the Growing Family

1. About Green Indians and the Road West

- A. The Tale of Pickens: Introduced as a "green Indian." (p. 112)
 - a. Identity: Cherokee (per Creeks), Creek (per Choctaws), Choctaw (per Chickasaws). None claim him.

⁷⁸ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 59–60, describes the growth of trading towns, river commerce, farms, orchards, and livestock after Removal. She also distinguishes small household farms from slaveholding cotton plantations along the Red River.

⁷⁹ Genesis 3:15 sets enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between their offspring. Compare the Douay-Rheims Version, Challoner revision (DR), "thy seed and her seed," with Lafferty's "serpents' seed," *Okla Hannali*, 120.

- 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 and Plains Indians" (ironic). (p. 112)
 - 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. (p. 114)
 - 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 Canadian (pp. 115–116):
- a. Motivation: Took three days to realize father Hannali was right about impracticality of river trade. Continued for 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. (p. 115)

- 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).^{n. 77}
- 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.^{n. 77} 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 kidding, initiations. (p. 116) 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. (p. 116) 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. (p. 116)
- 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. Jemmy Buster and the Family's Marriages
 - A. Jemmy Buster's Arrival (1848): Young cattle drover, tow-headed Texan, part Choctaw. (p. 117) Rode up Texas Road to Hannali House. White outside; Hannali moved to give short welcome (suspicious of disreputable whites/rustlers). (p. 117)

- 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). (p. 117) Lost confidence, feared continuing north. Stuttered greeting in Choctaw. (p. 117)
- C. Hannali's Reception: "Practically adopted him on the spot." Jemmy became first addition to Innominee expansion. (p. 117)
- 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). (p. 118)
 - 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.^{n. 78}
- I. Clustering Events:
 - a. Jemmy Buster pledge-married Hazel Innominee. Cattle business 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 (p. 119):
- 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. 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 (from old account book) (p. 119):
- 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. (p. 119)
 - 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. Whiteman Falaya: 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."



Chapter Twelve

Pages 121–132

The Civil War enters the household through the question of allegiance. The narrator announces a different subject from the familiar national struggle: the “murder of the Five Tribes.” In the narrator’s portraits, Albert Pike, Stand Watie, and Peter Pitchlynn help destroy the peoples they claim to lead. Against them stand the Freedom Indians, whose refusal of either army eventually requires threats, violence, concealment, and care for a wounded soldier.

Three diminished men

Pike resembles Michelangelo’s Moses, and his imposing appearance can deceive (121–22). The resemblance is theatrical, reinforced by frontier costume. Lafferty then gives each accusation its respectable translation: theft becomes diversion, assassination the removal of an obstruction, and extermination national growth. The parenthetical phrases expose a language that preserves administrative dignity by concealing suffering. Abel records disputed signatures and Pike’s defense of Indian military rights.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Abel records disputed Creek signatures in *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 193–95, but also credits Pike’s insistence that Indian troops had been organized for the defense of their own country: *Participant in the Civil War*, 159–60.

The narrator credits Watie with courage and military ability denied to Pike, while asking whether they have become instruments of something monstrous (122–23). Calling him “all white by inclination” makes political conduct determine authentic Indianness, a racial division that the portrait itself imposes.

Pitchlynn’s decline hurts because the narrator has admired him. “Peter, will you also go away?” adapts Christ’s question to the Twelve, after which Simon Peter declares that there is nowhere else to go.⁸¹ The shared name makes the threatened defection personal. Pitchlynn had summoned a people through dreams; now his purpose wavers and his aleika fades.

Slaveholding defeats Pitchlynn’s declared purpose. Pitchlynn acquires wealth to serve his people, then finds that the means have bound him to another interest. His alleged ownership of one hundred enslaved people is repeated until his claim to benevolent intention becomes untenable (123–24). Historical accounts establish Pitchlynn’s early advocacy of neutrality and the threats against him; the precise moral sequence here is Lafferty’s construction.⁸² The phrase “hostages to fortune” turns an acquired advantage into a pledge against freedom.⁸³

⁸¹ John 6:67–68 (KJV). Christ’s question addresses the Twelve; Simon Peter answers. Lafferty redirects the question to Peter Pitchlynn.

⁸² S. Orlando Lee to William P. Dole, March 15, 1862, in Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 75–79, especially 77–78, describes Pitchlynn’s advocacy of neutrality and the Texas vigilance committee that threatened him. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 81–82, follows this account. Lafferty makes the political coercion an inward conflict between Pitchlynn’s purpose and his slaveholding interests.

⁸³ Francis Bacon, “Of Marriage and Single Life,” in *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1884), 63. Bacon calls wife and children “hostages to fortune,” impediments to great enterprises. Lafferty applies the familiar phrase to the interests that bind a slaveholder.

The labor of neutrality

Hannali defends his household's independence. Strange Choate brings an old warrior's restraint to neutrality, Famous a young warrior's force, and Forbis Agent his public arguments. Ross's terse advice to remain quiet and comply with treaties receives the paradoxical praise "impossibly heroic" (124).⁸⁴ The novel's "Freedom Indians" are a particular fictional circle, although historical testimony records threats against Choctaw neutralists and Union sympathizers.

The slight Forbis reaches many people with his words. Once access to presses and newspapers closes, Hannali improvises a copying device; when its copies prove poor, the family supplies the labor by hand. The household takes over publication (125). The two newspaper names are historical, but the novel's simultaneous use of them in this setting conflicts with their publication sequence.⁸⁵ Albert Horse then enlists Famous to prevent Forbis's assassination, keeping Hannali out of the counterattack. Their party nearly kills the would-be assassins, who are eventually rescued.

At Hannali House, Pitchlynn argues that the government which drove them out survives as the Union. Hannali answers by recalling the Southern states and the hunger for land that Pitchlynn leaves out. Pitchlynn calls the federal government the "snake we cannot kill" (126). Strange Choate refuses both alternatives. Even his expectation of destruction does not release the people from the duty to act honorably.

⁸⁴ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 203–4, gives Ross's advice in the novel's exact words and names Cooper, Garrett, Rutherford, and Butler in the same order. The repeated wording and order suggest that Lafferty used McReynolds.

⁸⁵ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 59, dates the *Choctaw Telegraph* to 1848 and its successor, the *Choctaw Intelligencer*, to 1850. The Gateway to Oklahoma History catalog gives the latter's run as 1850–52: "The Choctaw Intelligencer," University of North Texas Libraries and Oklahoma Historical Society, <https://gateway.okhistory.org/explore/titles/to2112/>. Lafferty brings both titles into an 1861 publication campaign, compressing the newspaper chronology.

By protesting that Christ was crucified only once, Hannali compares the threatened second desolation of his people with the Crucifixion.⁸⁶ Famous answers Pitchlynn's claim that they have become "people of no moment" by asserting his own significance and that of his father and grandfather (127). Pike's reported hierarchy of caricatures would make their lives derivative and negligible. Hannali rejects both its polytheistic language and its contempt.

The man whom nobody sees

The withdrawal of federal protection supplies the political setting, although the novel places it too late and also misdates South Carolina's secession.⁸⁷ A hunted Union soldier is carried to Hannali House by one of its women. Hannali knows which woman; the narrator does not tell us. Each possible rescuer is credited with the strength and mercy the act requires (128–31).

The tracks have not defeated the Indian trackers. The deeper returning footprints tell them that the woman carried the wounded man. They pretend not to understand and leave the captain puzzled by evidence that is plain to them. Hannali's own promise is equally exact: he will not "see" a soldier in his house. The captain treats this as an assurance that none is there. Hannali proceeds to dress the man's wound while lamenting his failing sight.

⁸⁶ Compare Hebrews 9:25–28, especially the statement that Christ was "once offered" (KJV). Hannali's protest invokes the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice against the prospect of his people's second desolation.

⁸⁷ South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860; December 24 dates its declaration of causes. Davis's February 9, 1861 election preceded his February 18 inauguration. See South Carolina, "Declaration of the Immediate Causes," Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_scaresec.asp; Rice University, Papers of Jefferson Davis, "A Day in History," <https://jeffersondavis.rice.edu/about-jefferson-davis/day-history>. Federal troops withdrew in April–May, rather than the novel's July: William H. Emory's report, May 19, 1861, United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880), 648–49 (hereafter *Official Records*).

Memory defeats this convenient blindness. The wounded Robert Pike is the boy whom Hannali met on the way to Pitchlynn's mountain gathering twenty-eight years earlier (131–32). The earlier protection from imagined mutilation returns as protection from a real pursuit. That interval places the recalled encounter in 1833, after Removal, rather than before it. For years the family shelters him under the shared fiction that no one has seen a soldier in the house. Their refusal to join either army has become a duty to protect this man.

Outline

XII. Chapter Twelve: Neutrality and the Coming War

1. The 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. (p. 121)
- B. The Men Named in the "Ruination":
 - a. General Albert Pike: White man.
 - b. General Stand Watie: Three-quarters Indian blood, "all white by inclination."
 - c. Chief Peter Pitchlynn: Choctaw. (p. 121)
- C. Their Decline: Each underwent tragic changes, became diminished, died broken, leaving question "Why did you do it?"
- D. The Three Portraits: Pike (empty pompous man overtaken by secret evil (p. 121)), Watie (surly man turned weird/ravaging), Pitchlynn (excellent man reduced to ordinary).

2. Profile: Albert Pike ("Moth-eaten Moses") (pp. 121–122)

- A. Pike's Reputation: 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. Pike's Costume and Likeness: Looked like Michelangelo's Moses in "contrived frontier costume." Questioned if appearance masked untrustworthiness. (p. 122)

- C. Opposed Judgments of Pike: Disliked - pompous, empty, provincial, dishonest, murderous. Liked - impressive, untrammelled, flexible, sophisticated, firm. "Two sides of the same handful of coins."
- D. Actions Cataloged^{n. 80}:
 - 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. (p. 122)

3. Profile: Stand Watie ("The sick lion") (pp. 122–123)

- 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 Territory ruin. (p. 123)

4. Profile: Peter Pitchlynn ("The man who lost his magic")

- A. The Loss: Once had magic (*aleika*), but lost it. (p. 123) Last Choctaw magic man (visited/summoned via dreams). Question: How does magic flake off?^{n. 10}
- 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?^{n. 82}

- 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 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!" (p. 124)
- B. Chief John Ross's Stance (Cherokee): "Do nothing, keep quiet, comply with treaties." Position seen as uninspired but "impossibly heroic."^{n. 84}
- 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. (pp. 124–125)
- E. Forbis Agent's Efforts:
 - a. Background: Slight man, unknown origin, looked white but was Indian. Territory orphan raised by missionary, informal education. Bookman. (p. 125)
 - b. Methods: Had broadsheets printed (Baptist Mission press), then cut off. Inserted articles in Choctaw papers (*Intelligencer*, *Telegraph*), until Robert Jones stopped him.^{n. 85} Wrote broadsides by hand, Hannali rigged mimeograph (waxed-stone, grease-carbon), Innominee nation hand-copied. Rode country distributing them. (p. 125)

- c. Opposition: Became nuisance to Choctaw South bigwigs and Texas allies. Men sent to kill him.

F. The Ambush Plot Foiled (pp. 125–126):

- 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 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. (pp. 126–127)
- 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. (p. 126)
- D. Pitchlynn's Rebuttal: Continuation is by North. "This is the snake we cannot kill." (p. 126) Justice unobtainable from North (despite current just man - Lincoln). North passes; choose the "future 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.^{n. 84}
- N. Conclusion: Pitchlynn confused. Magic "flaking off him like bark from a sycamore tree."

7. The Wounded Union Soldier

- 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' defection influential. "Union left the Territory."^{n. 87}
- 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. (pp. 129–130)
- 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 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 only her 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's 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. (pp. 76–79, 131–132)
- 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, maintaining their "Freedom Indian" stance through the fiction of not seeing him.



Chapter Thirteen

Pages 133–142

An assembly without consent

The new assembly at North Fork, meant to unite six peoples, divides them. Men are forbidden to speak; things they have never said enter the minutes; a meeting that reaches no decision is reported as having declared for the Confederacy. This repeated falsification of the record begins the destruction of a people by taking away its voice. The opening comparison with the United Nations of 1945 extends that accusation into Lafferty's own century.⁸⁸

Hannali is a delegate and a host. The man called Six-Town or Six-People represents his neighbors in a six-nation assembly, and his Big House shelters its delegates. His hospitality does more to bring the delegates together than their formal proceedings. His unruly speech about truth rocks, hit dogs, sheep, and false shepherds mixes comedy with rebuke. He will not grant that being represented requires being led. The sheep metaphor is bitter: the supposed guardians endanger their flocks.

⁸⁸ A June council at North Fork is attested by "Communication from Three Delaware Chiefs to Grand Council of Indian Nations on North Fork of Canadian River," June 9, 1861, John Ross Papers, MC.1954.185, item 4026.1273-.1, folder 1106, Gilcrease Museum/Helmerich Center for American Research. The archival catalog describes an appeal for neutrality but does not confirm the novel's claims that dissenters were excluded and proceedings falsified.

The suppression of Native languages initially seems to divide poetry from English prose. The narrator then overturns his own assertion: Pike can indeed play English like an instrument. Pike's eloquence threatens to deceive listeners eager for great speech. The invocation from the Psalms supplies the image of a swift-writing scrivener, who becomes the clerk recording words never spoken. Lafferty draws on the Douay-Rheims tradition to set inspired speech against a falsified record.⁸⁹

The narrator gives Robert M. Jones a creditor's power over the delegates. The assertion that he owns the delegates follows immediately upon the statement that he owns enslaved people. Debt becomes a second form of mastery, extending from houses and education to the very clothes in which the delegates appear. The comedy of shirts and breeches exposes the dependence beneath political dignity. Jones's coercive support for secession has historical testimony behind it. Lafferty relocates the episode and dramatizes the pressure through the delegates' indebted finery.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Psalm 44:2 (DR), corresponding to 45:1 in Hebrew numbering. Lafferty changes "my works" to "my words" and "a scrivener" to "the scrivener." The distinctive wording identifies the Douay-Rheims tradition behind the invocation.

⁹⁰ S. Orlando Lee's letter of March 15, 1862, in Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 77–78, places Hudson's neutrality message and Jones's threats at Doaksville in June 1861. Lafferty transfers them to Boggy Depot in March. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 81, closely summarizes Lee. Julius Folsom's letter to Cushman, September 5, 1891, also recalls Cooper's threats to confiscate land and livestock: Cushman, *History* (1899), 335–36.

Pike's signatures and Brutus's silence

Pike's campaign repeats the council's violence against consent. A signature gives a name authority over people who refuse to be bound by it. In the Opothleyahola episode, the dream of having traveled while asleep converts a forged political identity into a diabolical double. Historical accounts of the disputed signatures name different men. Lafferty follows the pair named by McReynolds and assigns the forgery personally to Pike.⁹¹

Money seems to make it easy to buy allegiance. The exact sum in specie makes the indictment look documented, while the image of a fourteen-year-old boy collecting signatures makes Pike's elaborate maneuvers seem gratuitously vicious. The narrator says Pike also means to provoke wars within the nations he ostensibly recruits. The novel explicitly dates the larger sum to January 1862, distinguishing it from the opening fund. Pike's letter supplies the exact amount. Lafferty recasts appropriations for diplomacy and treaty payments as stolen money used to buy allegiance.⁹²

⁹¹ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 205, gives the same pair of unauthorized names as Lafferty: Opothleyahola and Sands. Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 193–95, instead names Sands, Tallise Fixico, and Mikko Hutke, citing the Loyal Creek delegation's allegation; she treats Opothleyahola's conduct as disputed and prints a conflicting Confederate account. Lafferty follows the version found in McReynolds and assigns the forgery personally to Pike.

⁹² Pike to Elias Rector, January 28, 1862, in Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 323–24, supplies the exact \$265,927.50 quoted in *Okla Hannali*, 136. Pike's December 29 letter identifies congressional treaty appropriations (320); the January letter proposes safeguards against a Choctaw treasurer's speculation. The earlier \$100,000 also has a documentary basis: Abel, *Participant in the Civil War*, 173 n. 468, identifies the appropriation of May 21, 1861. Lafferty recasts these funds as withheld Indian money used to purchase allegiance.

The treaty catalogue repeats this accusation. Each negotiation appears to dispossess a leader, install a false authority, and provoke civil war. Its dates and names create the impression of a ledger, although the documentary treaties do not always support its entries. John Jumper was a recognized chief; Quinahiwi belongs in the Comanche treaty rather than among the Caddoes; the Cherokee treaty does not install Watie as Ross's co-chief. The catalogue also borrows the treaty's formal description of the Wichita people. Lafferty makes the documentary names and language serve an account of one agent systematically manufacturing civil wars.⁹³

⁹³ Confederate States of America, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*, ed. James M. Matthews (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1864), 343–44, 350–53, 359, 385, 410. Lafferty closely follows the treaty's description of the Ta-wa-i-hash as the people called Wichitas by white men (352), but changes other particulars: Qui-na-hi-wi represents the Noconi Comanches (359); Little Town Spicer and Small Cloud Spicer sign as principal and second chief (385); John Ross and Joseph Vann sign as Cherokee principal and assistant chief (410). Jumper signs as a principal Seminole chief (343). Abel's nine main treaties (*Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 157–58) count instruments; the novel's eleven on August 12 counts tribes or factions. Two multitribal instruments were concluded that day.

Brutus may command Pike himself. Pike must leave the carriage and perform; Brutus sits still. The apparent servant possesses the money and perhaps the intelligence that directs the apparent master. Lafferty explicitly invokes Dumas, inviting the reader to recognize historical romance and concealed power without specifying a particular Dumas novel. The description follows a cluster of details in Monaghan, repeated by Cunningham: the carriage, Pike's Sioux dress, and Brutus's custody of tribal papers and payrolls. Lafferty gives Brutus the frock coat and stovepipe hat that the historians assign to Ross.⁹⁴

The description of Pike as a Moses who brings the wilderness to the people reverses the direction of deliverance. The proposed Wichita civil war fails: affection among related communities holds them together when treaties and eloquence have failed.

The catalogue of the dead

False agreement gives way to incited hatred. Names such as Pins, Sticks, and Snakes cease to identify neighbors and become licenses to kill. Watie distinguishes men from Pins, and the narrator briefly adopts his language to expose its horror. Ancestry alone did not determine these political loyalties.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border*, 234, quoted by Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians*, 58, describes Pike's carriage and Sioux costume, with Brutus carrying tribal papers and payrolls. Cunningham adds Brutus's custody of \$63,000 at Pea Ridge (64). These combined details identify a likely source passage for *Okla Hannali*, 138. Lafferty transfers John Ross's frock coat and stovepipe hat to Brutus, moves the scene into the treaty campaign, and makes custody of papers and money suggest secret command. Either Monaghan or Cunningham could have supplied the passage.

⁹⁵ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 204, connects the Cherokee Keetoowah with antislavery and Baptist missionary support. Allegiance nevertheless crossed the novel's racial division: Lee reports Choctaw full-bloods reluctantly entering Confederate service, in Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 78; Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 82–83, describes sustained Choctaw Confederate cooperation. "Full-blood" and "white-man Indian" are polemical categories in this chapter.

Round Mountain opens the rain of blood. The catalogue that follows memorializes places throughout the Territory, from named battles to raids that never received a name. The accumulating losses take the place of a military account of campaigns and their outcomes. The families who perish matter more than the commanders' achievements. Round Mountain, Bird Creek, and Chustenahlah were separate engagements.

The final population figures suggest the scale of the loss. They have a historical antecedent, but the difference between two estimates cannot by itself establish how many people were killed. Debo's account of destitution also complicates the assertion that Choctaw losses were chiefly deaths in regular battle.⁹⁶ Hannali's saying about having more blood returns as an image of bodily loss and a people's diminished communal life.

Outline

XIII. Chapter Thirteen: Nations United and Divided

1. The United Nations at North Fork Town (1861)

- A. Establishment: Founded June 1861, Indian Territory.^{n. 88}
- 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).

⁹⁶ John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 73 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 453, gives Indian Office estimates of 18,000 Choctaws for 1861 and 12,500 for 1865–70; Lafferty dates the latter figure simply to 1865. The United States Office of Indian Affairs, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1865), 39, also estimates 12,500. Their difference is not a count of battle deaths. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 91, reports that one-third of the Choctaws were destitute after the war, a different category from the novel's claim that one-third died, chiefly in battle. Its Territory-wide mortality and widowhood ratios remain uncorroborated.

- 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 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.^{n.88} 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.^{n.90}
- 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 with that..."^{n. 92}
- 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.^{n. 93}
 - 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.^{n. 91}
 - 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 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. 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.^{n. 94}

- 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)^{n. 93}:
 - 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. (Treaties with 11 tribes or factions secured Aug 12).
- i. Park Hill Treaties (Oct 1861): Advantage: Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek gave free hand.
 - 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.^{n. 95}
- B. Stand Watie's Campaign: Reported killing "men" and "Pins." 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."^{n. 101}
- D. Litany of Death: Territory Indians died at numerous locations (Bird Creek, Shoal Creek... long list provided). Included unnamed skirmishes/raids. (p. 142)
- 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. 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.^{n. 96}
- G. Final Outcome: Bloodletting turned remaining Indians into "white men." Hannali's quote recalled: "an Indian is only a white man with more blood in him."



Chapter Fourteen

Pages 143–157

The cost of neutrality

The war that destroys Hannali's property soon divides his family and threatens a whole people. Fire recurs through these scenes. Hannali begins by drawing a candle flame over his face to remove his sparse whiskers. The narrator supports the custom with a claimed personal acquaintance. The flame that Hannali controls so neatly soon becomes the fire consuming his cornfields and boats. He defiantly relishes the smell of his roasting corn even as the crop is destroyed. He promises to build another ferry and restore the crossing. The men who burned the ferry return to complain of the inconvenience they have caused themselves.

His composure cannot protect everyone. Albert Horse has been killed over stolen livestock. Five freeborn Black people have been kidnapped from the settlement below the house, while others face coercive labor contracts or flight. Neutrality brings no immunity. Hannali nevertheless insists on its obligations when Travis and Jemmy prepare to help Opothle Yahola's refugees. In his judgment, an armed man defending his own place remains neutral; men assembling for collective defense have entered the war. Travis denies that this changes either his family membership or the justice of his cause.

Robert Pike proposes another charitable blindness: perhaps Hannali could fail to see Travis if he returned. Hannali refuses to repeat the expedient that shelters Pike, and he will not let Pike leave to fight again. Hospitality has become a form of confinement. At supper he demands undivided affection although the decision dividing them has already been made. The narrator tells us they will never all meet again in this world. Hannali's command to make merry is painful in light of that warning.

Stories at the last supper

Alinton's Pickens buys an invisible ghost skin and proves that he owns it by pointing to its nails. The tale plays on the household's agreement that the visible Robert Pike is an invisible ghost. Both arrangements require an audience willing to accept a useful absurdity, though the purchase merely cheats Pickens while the household fiction preserves a life. Hannali's tale of "Comanche Potatoes" is a coarser joke about buffalo droppings mistaken for food. Natchez rebukes his impropriety. The approaching separation lends weight to the ordinary family jokes; the children's literal questions keep the scene from becoming a ceremonial farewell speech.

The summons that takes Travis away renews Hannali's own earlier experience of a commanding dream (76–79, 150). Jemmy has received no such revelation. The drovers' network has told him what is happening, and conscience brings him to the same decision. Travis and Jemmy then pass the Confederate posts like ghosts, extending the supper's imagery into an actual escape. Four Texans join them.

The Fox and his company

Opothle Yahola appeals to God with the familiarity of an old and difficult friend. His request for a thousand men as good as his younger self is a joke; his reduced request for a hundred is urgent. The "panoramic" God finds only fifty-five or sixty. Yahola's audacious prayer is answered by men who will risk their lives for threatened strangers. The narrator distinguishes this selected company from the entire refugee body. The historical flight was indeed Creek-led and

included Seminoles and Black people, but the novel's exact totals and proportions cannot be treated as a settled census.⁹⁷

Before introducing these defenders properly, the narrator presents their enemies' grotesque caricatures. Alligator, Billy Bow-Legs, Jim Ned, and Halleck Tustennuggee appear as diseased, deformed, cowardly, or ridiculous figures. The narrative then retracts the portraits and restores their experience and courage. Names that seemed fit for comic strips belong to men who have resisted destruction. The praise of Alligator's sense and jocosity has an identifiable antecedent in a Fort Dade letter printed in 1837.⁹⁸

The name Billy Bowlegs belongs to two men whose biographies have been confused.⁹⁹ Ridicule has made these prospective victims seem unworthy of defense; the restored portraits expose that cruelty. The narrator's own description of the Upper Creeks as simple and childlike remains paternalistic, even while he places them above the men who call themselves civilized.

⁹⁷ Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 254–59, estimates fewer than 2,000 fighters and a much larger company of dependents, including Creeks, Seminoles, and Black people. In *Participant in the Civil War*, 79–81, she notes continual arrivals in Kansas and inflated relief claims that make exact totals unreliable. Lafferty's 3,000 refugees, roughly 1,000 potential fighters, and 55–60 exceptional volunteers are three distinct groups (*Okla Hannali*, 147, 152–53).

⁹⁸ "Late from Florida," *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 13, 1837, col. 4, reproduces a Fort Dade letter of March 26. Its unnamed writer calls Alligator "the most sensible, shrewd, active and jocose man" among the Indians he has seen. Lafferty repeats this appraisal at *Okla Hannali*, 146, to overturn the hostile caricature. The newspaper establishes the quotation's earlier form; Lafferty's intermediary is unknown.

⁹⁹ Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 226, 237, traces Alligator's removal and western diplomacy; 248 places the Florida Billy Bowlegs there in 1849. Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 198 nn. 372, 376, identifies the Bowlegs among Opothleyahola's followers as So-nuk-mek-ko. Chris Rein distinguishes that Civil War soldier from the celebrated Florida chief: "The U.S. Army, Indian Agency, and the Path to Assimilation: The First Indian Home Guards in the American Civil War," *Kansas History* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 20 n. 61. The novel's genealogy making Alligator and Bolek brothers and Cow Catcher their grandfather remains unverified.

The defenders' appearances often mislead. Jeremiah Judd looks forbidding, but the children recognize him as their own and climb over him. A member of the Checote family rejects his relatives' Confederate allegiance. White Texans stand beside Black defenders and members of several Indian nations. In mistaking Travis for Hannali, then accepting the son as the father's spirit, Yahola recognizes the kinship Hannali has tried to suspend. Travis carries something of his father into the cause his father will not join.

A court of storytellers

The noise of the final campfire gathering conceals the departure of women, children, livestock, and wagons, while its boasts restore confidence among the men left behind. Jim Ned's shooting plucks, dresses, and roasts a duck in midair; Tracks adds seasoning and a gravy-filled plate; Halleck, professing modesty, adds cornbread made with a third hand. The ludicrous inventions are an exchange of gifts. Each man recognizes the others' skill by enlarging the story. The tales magnify the abilities of men committed to protecting the helpless, reversing the hostile caricatures that made them targets.

The farewell dinner and the campfire briefly hold their companies together before separation. In battle, the gathering becomes a defensive ring. The men could escape if they abandoned their dependents, but their chosen task requires them to keep the women and children within it. Calling them bulls, cows, and calves carries the homely force of Yahola's prayer into the account of battle. The attackers call it a fox hunt, though they are pursuing a people.

Yahola expects Chilly McIntosh, the Creek Confederate, on the following day; Colonel James McIntosh is the more formidable commander expected later. Yahola knows the wind as a brother. His knowledge and the men's prepared brushworks turn the campfires into a moving barrier of flame. The novel places this successful diversion before the battle of November 19. Confederate accounts

place fires during the evening fighting and in a later attack on the wagon train.¹⁰⁰

Round Mountains

At Round Mountains the Fox contrives a late battle so that haste will favor the defenders. The ring cannot be defended at every point. Confederate Chickasaws and Choctaws open breaches, and Texans follow through against the dependents within. This is the novel's account of the November 19 engagement, distinct from Chusto Talasah on December 9. Lafferty places it near Perkins and Stillwater, but historians dispute the battlefield's location.¹⁰¹

The chapter ends before the battle's conclusion, with the narrator's accusation of deliberate national murder. His "snake-hair plant" is the final and most terrible false name: the supposed botanical curiosities are human scalps retained as trophies. The candle, corn, food, and campfire have shown everyday life continuing through the war. The scalps bring the war's violence into ordinary homes.

¹⁰⁰ R. A. Young's report of November 30, 1861, places a rapidly spreading prairie fire in the evening battle of November 19. June Peak's later recollection describes a 1 a.m. fire, a sudden wind, and the rout of Cooper's wagon train. Both are reproduced in Muriel H. Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Civil War Report on the Battle of Round Mountain," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1961–62): 374, 390. Lafferty places his diversion on the preceding morning and gives Yahola prepared brushworks and command of the wind (*Okla Hannali*, 155–56).

¹⁰¹ Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 255–59, distinguishes Round Mountain (November 19), Chusto Talasah or Bird Creek (December 9), and Chustenahlah (December 26, 1861). The first battlefield's location remains disputed. Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Civil War Report," 354–56, rejects the Payne County/Twin Mounds claim in favor of the Keystone region; see also Chad Williams, "Round Mountain, Battle of," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=RO035>. Lafferty places the battle near Perkins and Stillwater.

Outline

XIV. Chapter Fourteen: The Laughing Fox

1. Shaving by Candle

- A. Hannali's Ritual: Shaving by candle flame, singeing off light whiskers. Common practice for full-bloods. (p. 143) 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 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. (pp. 144-145)
- 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. (p. 145)
- 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."^{n. 98,n. 99}
- F. The Leaders: These were the same men, grown older. Alligator (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). (p. 146)
- 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).^{n. 97}

3. The Farewell Dinner

- 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 (buffalo droppings) 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"). (p. 149)
- 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.

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. 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 (Chilly McIntosh, Confederate) coming tomorrow, but not close ("buggy far behind the fray"). Colonel James 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.^{n. 100}

6. Battle of Round Mountains: A Nation Murdered

- A. Timing: Following afternoon (Nov 19, 1861).^{n. 101}
- 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. 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. (p. 157)



Chapter Fifteen

Pages 158–171

The battle everybody lost

The chapter follows three engagements: the conclusion of Round Mountains on November 19, Bird Creek on December 9, and the final defeat at Shoal Creek on December 26, 1861. The twenty days after the first battle and seventeen after the second divide the campaign into periods of grace. Neither brings the refugees to safety. Opothleyahola wins time by spending the strength they will need to survive another encounter.¹⁰²

At Round Mountains, Cooper mistakes military display for effective force. The Indian soldiers understand what his massed cavalry formation invites, but he insists upon it. Opothleyahola has already abandoned the attempt to close every breach in the defensive ring and concentrated his best riflemen. Their volley catches the cavalry before its charge properly begins. The long catalogue names the individual defenders whom Cooper treats as a single obstacle. Last comes Hannali's enormous, lightning-lit shape, with a rifle as excessive as its owner (158–60).

¹⁰² Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 255–59, treats Round Mountain (November 19), Chusto Talasah or Bird Creek (December 9), and Chustenahlah or Shoal Creek (December 26) as separate engagements. Both sides claimed victory after Round Mountain. Cooper received orders to stand ready near the Arkansas line to reinforce McCulloch; the danger passed before he left his camp (255). Lafferty turns this interruption of pursuit into the colonel's night panic (*Okla Hannali*, 160–61).

The novel leaves Hannali's fidelity to his oath of neutrality in doubt. The men later call the apparition Travis's fetch in his father's likeness. The narrator calls their explanation a fiction. They return the favor of Hannali's earlier refusal to see Robert Pike: each story acknowledges an inconvenient presence by denying it. Their story publicly protects his oath (159–60).

Lafferty's title "the battle everybody lost" reverses the familiar indecisive battle in which everyone claims victory. The refugees have held the field, but their dead cannot be buried and their wounded must be hurried away. Cooper withdraws in panic in the novel; Abel's historical account records an order to be ready to reinforce McCulloch. The narrator interprets the retreat through his contempt for the colonel.

The bugle conversation gives the refugees a little pleasure during their flight. The newly orphaned girl imagines a great "buggle animal" answering the little brass horn. Judd and Scott play along and let her suppose that they are fooling the enemy. The narrator immediately reminds us that their pursuers know exactly where they are. The men protect her pleasure even as they flee (161–62).

A household divided

The war divides Hannali's neutral household. Alinton thinks that being Choctaw obliges him to follow the Choctaw majority into Confederate allegiance. Famous hears slogans where his brother hears loyalty. His contempt nearly turns argument into violence. Hannali answers by recalling the harmony of his own three brothers and the "misunderstanding" between Adam's first two sons. He speaks lightly of fratricide just as civil war threatens his family. "House divided," the section's heading, recalls both the Gospel warning and Lincoln's recent use of it.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Mark 3:25 and Genesis 4:1–8 (DR). Lincoln applied the divided-house saying to slavery in his "House Divided" speech, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858, transcript, Lincoln Home National Historic Site, National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/liho/learn/historyculture/housedivided.htm>.

Hannali can stand between his sons, but he cannot enforce their love. The narrator tells us that the three brothers will never be together again. Rachel, too, fears the cost of the quarrel. She thinks that Travis's breach with his father may have made her cease to be a daughter-in-law. Hannali answers that she is his daughter forever, dispensing with the qualification. Famous carries his "sister" to Travis while refusing even to speak to his brother. The quarrel has not ended his duty to her (163–65).

Neutrality keeps Famous busy. He carries Rachel, enters hostile country, speaks for Opothleyahola, and returns from Fort Gibson despite an order for his arrest. The "Cherokee creeper" carries intelligence that contradicts the official account. In the novel, Pegg's Cherokees discover a starving camp where they were promised an armed conspiracy. They refuse to fight after seeing the people whom propaganda has concealed. Desertions from Drew's regiment are documented. The novel's racial division of Cherokee loyalties and its claim that more than half the Pins were killed are less secure.¹⁰⁴

The last reprieve

Bird Creek repeats the earlier battle until the defenders nearly exhaust their ammunition. Cooper again masses his men; the defenders again release a withering volley. This time the sound dies into arrows. The attackers flee just before they could have discovered how little ammunition remains. Lafferty calls the repeated charge a recurring nightmare; for the refugees, each repetition brings them closer to exhaustion. They rely on Seminole medical skill to care for their wounded. The narrator's claim that Seminoles alone practiced medicine among the Five Tribes is contradicted by evidence of Choctaw doctors.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Abel, *Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 255–57, records Pegg's parley, the dispersal or defection of four companies of Drew's regiment, and Ross's December 19 appeal to uphold the Confederate treaty. Abel gives no casualty figure for the Pins.

¹⁰⁵ Swanton, *Source Material*, 226, quoting Folsom through Cushman, records male and female Choctaw physicians, their training, treatment of wounds, and use of herbs and roots. These practitioners contradict the narrator's restriction of medicine to Seminoles.

The next commander, James McIntosh, is competent. His arrival shows how much the earlier reprieves owed to an adversary's failure. Opothleyahola sends women and children toward Kansas although he knows that some will freeze. To protect them, he must choose how they will risk death. The last camp holds veterans of earlier wars and remnants of allied contingents; behind it, propped-up corpses guard the abandoned camp. "Skeleton" describes both the diminished force and the terrible use made of the dead. The present tense of "They smoke and they talk" pauses the narrative before the destruction it has already announced (168–70).¹⁰⁶

Rachel and Travis face the last stand together; Jemmy Buster is already dead. McIntosh's force includes the South Kansas regiment, a Texan formation despite its name.¹⁰⁷ Alligator answers the demand for surrender with "I die," accepting the consequence of his choice. The narrator goes further when he suggests that the defenders' own nature made extermination necessary. The near-total annihilation described here should not be accepted as a casualty report.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Compare McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 206–7, with Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 166, 169–70. Both accounts give McIntosh 1,600 mounted men, divide the approach between the Arkansas and Verdigris, and place Halleck's men at Shoal Creek. Lafferty gives Watie the Arkansas column and turns McReynolds's four-hour resistance into the skeleton force's brief stand. His Cooper also outnumbered the defenders by more than two and a half to one, whereas McReynolds has Cooper facing greater numbers. McIntosh's own report distinguishes 1,600 men brought to Fort Gibson from 1,380 in his marching column: *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883), 22–24.

¹⁰⁷ The South Kansas-Texas Cavalry was the Third Texas Cavalry. Both names head Walter P. Lane's report of December 26, 1861: *Official Records*, ser. 1, 8:28–29. McIntosh lists five of its companies in his column at 22.

¹⁰⁸ McIntosh reported 160 women and children captured at Chustenahlah; Watie described renewed pursuit on December 27; Boudinot recorded seventy-five prisoners subsequently released on Watie's orders: *Official Records*, ser. 1, 8:24, 32–33. These Confederate reports contradict the novel's handful of prisoners and immediate annihilation, though their casualty estimates remain those of the attacking commanders. For the winter flight and uncertain refugee totals, see Abel, *Participant in the Civil War*, 79–82.

The Fox himself escapes. In the account the narrator calls apocryphal, Alligator has him bound and carried to Kansas against his will. Alligator claims the freedom to choose death and denies the Fox that choice. The novel places the Fox's death in the following spring; the historical Opothleyahola lived until March 1863. The surviving Creeks and Seminoles also continued as a community, and some entered Union service.¹⁰⁹ The promise of tenfold revenge prolongs the slaughter.

The closing lament has no named speaker, and its measure differs from the preceding narrative. The Snake becomes a dead mother; the young become a calf seeking milk from a dead cow. The food container is empty, the lodges burned, and the knowledge of how to adorn a lance lost with those who possessed it. Who can do the necessary things after those who knew them have gone? Smoke will no longer rise. Victories and reprisals count for little beside the loss of these signs of daily life (171).

Outline

XV. Chapter Fifteen: The Refugees' Defeat (pp. 158–171)

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.

¹⁰⁹ Anna Eddings, "Opothleyahola," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, January 15, 2010, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=OPoo3>, dates his death to March 22, 1863. A. C. Ellithorpe's letter to William P. Dole, June 9, 1862, describes the first Union Indian regiment as eight Creek and two Seminole companies recruited from the refugees; quoted in Abel, *Participant in the Civil War*, 114–15.

- C. The Defenders: 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 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?: The men's explanation, which the narrator calls a fiction: a double taking his father's form. The novel describes Choctaw fetches/other bodies fighting alongside warriors. (pp. 159–160) (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 speed; "the battle that everybody lost."^{n. 102}

- 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. (pp. 160–161)
- 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). (p. 161) Small group put on Snake tail to harry/report. (p. 161)
- 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. 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...").^{n. 103}
- G. The Parting: Brothers argued bitterly; the three brothers would never be together again. Famous took Rachel Perry (now "sister") in fancy 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.^{n. 104} 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 Nahlah^{n. 102}

- 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 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.**^{n. 102}
 - 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. Doctoring "near as good as" that in Union and Confederate camps.^{n. 105}
- 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.^{n. 104}
- H. The Refugees: Snake Creeks not Unionist force, no booty, starvation camp, no cannons. Not commanded by Union officers. 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.^{n. 104}
- 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).^{n. 108}
- B. Confederate Reaction: Fury at disgraceful retreat. Colonel James McIntosh ("white man McIntosh I worry about" - Alligator) brought from Van Buren, AR. "It was all up with the Snake Creeks now." (p. 169)
- 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. (pp. 169–170) 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).^{n. 106, n. 107}
- F. Watie's Maneuver: 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.^{n. 109}
- 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), imagined immediate execution in Kansas by same officers. Chose to die where they stood.^{n. 106}
- 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.^{n. 108}
- 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!" (p. 171)



Chapter Sixteen

Pages 172–185

The double attack

Chapter Sixteen brings the territorial war into Hannali's household. The opening claim that every town has been destroyed prepares the fall of the last strong house of the Choctaw North. Lafferty makes the loss of this house stand for a civilization's ruin, though the historical devastation varied considerably among the nations.¹¹⁰

Hannali wakes knowing that Sally has been murdered and immediately accuses himself of breaking his parole. He wonders, in his grief, whether God is punishing him; the narrator does not establish that Sally dies because Hannali has sinned. Her body raises a further question. A single stroke killed her before the bloody display was arranged. It looks as though someone staged the scene after the killer left, but no second person is identified. Falaya may have hesitated or acted from divided motives.

¹¹⁰ Writing of conditions in 1865, McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 224–25, records burned homes and one-third of the Choctaws destitute. He also distinguishes Choctaw territory's relatively limited invasion and the smaller factional losses among Choctaws and Chickasaws. His account does not describe the destruction of every town.

Falaya admits his divided motives in his letter. He calls himself a “many pece man,” confesses that killing Sally was difficult for mixed reasons, and says that worse men frighten him. Even the Devil has discovered something he cannot stomach. His warning also lays a trap. With Famous away, the house depends on Hannali’s presence; Falaya draws him toward Hitchiti Meadow while another force approaches his family (173–75). The misspelling “there four” means “therefore.” It gives no count of accomplices.

Hannali recognizes both dangers and goes. “I would have to be two different men in two places” admits the limit of his strength. His demand that God give him strength is a desperate, almost contractual prayer. The narrator calls the coming encounter a “battle with the principality,” describing Hannali’s fight with Falaya in the biblical language of conflict with evil.¹¹¹

Perfect shooting and insufficient time

Falaya breaks his proposed terms. His free shot comes from behind at less than twenty yards instead of four hundred. Hannali expects the treachery and knows that the wound was meant to begin the contest rather than end it. He proves the better marksman. Displaced birds, grasshoppers, and a field rat tell him where Falaya is moving. These are “secondaries”: the consequences of a movement whose immediate cause remains hidden. Knowing the land so well, Hannali can place a shot where Falaya must emerge.

Each combatant in turn becomes a ghost. Wounded, Falaya can no longer move silently: “The ghost is fleshed.” Hannali then approaches him without sound and becomes the ghost himself. The narrator expressly denies anything supernatural in Falaya’s movement. Hannali’s sensing is less easily explained. He reads the signs of movement with practiced skill, but his extraordinary powers may also be at work.

¹¹¹ Ephesians 6:11–12 (DR) joins resistance to the Devil with combat against principalities and powers.

Hannali wins too late. The time measured by his blood loss differs from the “other time” running against the house. He has enough blood and skill to outlast Falaya, but he cannot make the two crises wait for one another. “I’ve a duty to live till another day,” he says in refusing to die with Falaya. When shots sound at home, he abandons his careful advantage, kills Falaya, and receives a second wound. He keeps moving because he has yet to fulfill his duty, though the wound ought to stop him.

The great red flowering

The burning house enlarges the red roses Hannali planted for pleasure into a “great red flowering.” What adorned his home now gives him an image of its destruction. Hannali can identify the defenders by their rifles: Forbis fires too high, Robert Pike tries to make each shot count, and Marie DuShane works at the limit of her little squirrel rifle’s range. Even in the last moments of the defense, he reproaches himself as a father for failing to teach Forbis to shoot.

Hannali’s return terrifies the raiders, but killing them cannot restore what they have destroyed. His final seven-hundred-yard shot even seems artificial to him, like an extravagant story his father would tell. Marie DuShane’s body, her hair still burning, follows this implausible feat. Hannali appeared to be the household’s center; Marie’s kindness and competence made her its life. The sentence “Marie DuShane was the family” gives her the central place in what has seemed Hannali’s story.

The narrator calls Hannali’s collapse a “hiatus,” then finds the word inadequate. A pause cannot describe a world’s end. The word “perhaps” qualifies his suggestion that Five Tribes civilization ended with this house. The house’s destruction represents the wider ruin; the peoples themselves survive. The stone rooms survive, and rebuilding is possible before Hannali can desire it.

The living and the dead

He wakes three hours later, still able to measure time though uncertain whether he is alive. Robert Pike has stanchd his wounds and departed. In rescuing Hannali, he has repaid the sanctuary he received. His letter promises revenge by burning twenty houses. Life in Hannali's family has changed him, yet he proposes to repeat the destruction he has witnessed. His casualty report is incomplete: he wrongly assumes that Natchez and the children must be dead.

Hannali's bull call gradually brings the survivors out. Famous-George first appears as a "dead grandson" because Hannali believes the family dead; the boy's fearful question about safety begins to correct that belief. Natchez has kept four children silent in a covered pit, obeying the instruction to remain hidden until she can see familiar faces. The scene describes their return in the language of resurrection; Hannali had believed them dead.

The reckoning is twenty-three killed by the raiders, with Sally making twenty-four deaths that day. Nine members of the household survive apart from Hannali, and Robert Pike escapes separately. Helena, explicitly rescued from the pit, is absent from the printed list of nine.¹¹² After counting the dead, they must bury them. Hannali saws boards and digs until he bleeds too badly; Natchez, Hazel, and the boys continue beside him.

¹¹² Lafferty, *Okla Hannali*, 183–84: the list headed "Nine were still alive" contains eight names and omits Helena, who has just been rescued from the pit. The later list on 190 includes her among ten survivors with Hannali. Robert Pike is counted separately.

Famous-George tells Hannali that Famous will not return, and Natchez asks the boy whether he is an Alikchi-man.¹¹³ The narrator later proposes that Famous became a new Union captain under another name, but does not identify him. The ten-year-old is already taking up his family's work. He has saved the ponies, helps make the coffins, and knows the Latin prayers that Hannali feared had died with Marie DuShane. He reads from *Subvenite sancti* to *lux perpetua*, the Catholic prayers through which the household commends its dead to God.¹¹⁴

"Everything that follows is epilogue" makes Hannali's remaining life a life after its ending. His "foredeath" is the destruction of the world through which he understood himself. The final assertion that death is an incident rests on faith and comes after twenty-four coffins and exhausting work. Faith allows him to act again and eventually to take pleasure in living. He must do so knowing that the former household cannot return.

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.^{n. 110}
- B. Hannali's Vision: Awakened from daytime nap shaking with horror, an accurate intuition. Rushed to nearby ravine based on the vision's details.

¹¹³ Byington, *Dictionary*, 38, defines *alickchi* as doctor or physician. For the power of foretelling attributed to Choctaw medicine men, see Swanton, *Source Material*, 227, quoting Cushman.

¹¹⁴ *Subvenite sancti* opens the Roman funeral response asking saints and angels to assist the departed; *lux perpetua*, "perpetual light," belongs to the prayer for eternal rest. See Catholic Church, *Rituale Romanum Pauli v pontificis maximi jussu editum et a Benedicto XIV auctum et castigatum* (Rome: Typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1847), "Exequiarum ordo," 148–49, 158. This edition contains the prayers Famous-George reads; the novel does not identify the family's edition.

- C. Self-Recrimination: Cried out asking why God punished them, believing it was because he had broken his parole.
- D. The Discovery: Found Salina Innominee dead in the ravine, a "stark, bloody thing."
 - a. Nature of Death: Identified as peculiar. Single, sudden, 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. (pp. 173–175) Specified duel terms: one free shot for Whiteman at 400 yards ("Nourth rim"), then one would kill the other.
- F. 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").^{n. 111} Cloud approached from SW.

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). (p. 175)
- 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. (pp. 175–176)

- C. Tracking by Secondaries: Lost scent/sight/sound due to wind shift. Used subtle clues: kingbird squabble, nighthawk flush (triangulation), grasshopper clicks, field rat movement. Described as sharp sensing ("giant traveling finger"), almost supernatural. (p. 176)
- 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. (pp. 178–181)

- 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 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." (pp. 178–179)

- 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. The End of Hannali's World: Lafferty declares "hiatus." "The world of Hannali Innominee was ended." (p. 181)

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." (p. 182)

- 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!" (p. 183)
- D. The Survivors Gather:
- a. Grandson Famous-George appeared first, fearful. Confirmed 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 apart from Hannali are claimed; only eight names are listed, omitting Helena. 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.^{n. 112}
- 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 Famous-George's knowledge ("Are you Alikchi-man?").^{n. 113}



Chapter Seventeen

Pages 186–195

When does a war end?

Military surrender leaves factional hatred unresolved. Hannali plants corn in the ruins, while the narrator mourns peoples whose apparent disappearance depends in part on faulty counts and shifting names. The chapter ends by asking whether the civilization can be built again (186–95).

The opening finds a pattern in apparently random violence. The South uses the Territory to protect Texas, while the North enters to remove threats and then withdraws. In the narrator's account, Indian lives pay for the strategic convenience of both sides. He nevertheless admires particular soldiers. Shelby is "splendid," Watie a military genius and a "double-devil"; Tandy Walker preserves his men by withdrawing after inflicting losses. Walker commands Confederate resistance, and Alinton serves in his brigade. The claim that Walker was never driven from a field extends this admiration into historical generalization; Debo's account gives Choctaw service a more restricted scope.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 82–83, records three Choctaw and Chickasaw regiments under Walker, limited Choctaw campaigning, and the burden of supporting refugees. Her account gives no total of twenty undefeated battles. The raider called Charles Quantrill on 187 was William Clarke Quantrill; James L. Huston, "Quantrill's Raiders," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, January 15, 2010, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=QU002>.

The war does not end at Appomattox. Addressing the reader directly and anticipating that mistaken answer, the narrator follows successive surrenders westward until Winchester Colbert signs on July 14. The scene offers little ceremony: a tired horse, a dry cigar, two followers, and an officer's insulting question about literacy. Colbert's "I can" is sufficient. His dignity needs no speech, while the visitor treats the end of a people's war as a small administrative errand.¹¹⁶

Even July 14 fails to end the novel's war. The Green Peach conflict carries it into the 1880s, when Opothleyahola's struggle reappears in Isparhecher. Calling this the Civil War's last battle traces the later conflict to an inherited division. The historical conflict, however, extends beyond the novel's 1882 reference.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Joseph E. Johnston signed on April 26, 1865; North Carolina Division of State Historic Sites and Properties, "April 26, 1865 Agreement," <https://historicsites.nc.gov/all-sites/bennett-place/history/april-26-1865-agreement>. Kirby Smith signed on June 2; Texas State Library and Archives Commission, "The End of the Ordeal," pt. 2, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/civilwar/1865_2.html. The novel prints "Johnson" and May 24. Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian under Reconstruction* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925), 147–49, records the tribal truces with Pitchlynn on June 19, Watie on June 23, and Colbert on July 14, preceding the peace treaties. She names the commissioner Colonel Matthews.

¹¹⁷ John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Isparhecher," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 10, no. 1 (1932): 64–66, dates the Nuyaka skirmish to December 24, 1882, and follows the conflict into 1883. John Q. Tufts's letter of January 7, 1883, and Checote's order closing schools on February 19 are reproduced at 65–66.

The household after the armies

From the Territory, the account returns to ten people: Hannali, Natchez, Hazel, and seven children aged ten or under. Amid the ruin, their surviving provisions are remarkable. Hannali has planted more corn than before, despite four successive burnings. They can rebuild with seed, plows, mules, and hidden gold. The historical devastation was severe, though the narrator's mortality estimates and claims of universal destruction should not be mistaken for an established census.¹¹⁸

The returning sons must also find a way to live. Travis opens a store across the river and initially avoids Alinton. His capital comes from gambling during Union service; his customers buy on credit. Alinton returns physically impaired but unwilling to prolong their estrangement. He visits Travis before going to Texas to buy cattle with Hannali's gold. Their family ties and willingness to extend credit begin to restore the relations on which the larger economy depends (190–91).

Famous returns differently. Alinton reports a long conversation with his dead brother, who could enjoy the smell of coffee, tobacco, and whiskey without consuming them. His judgment of purgatory, better than Texas but inferior to Moshulatubbee, puts a Catholic distinction in the family's local idiom. Hannali and Alinton grin, knowing Famous is dead. Alinton then refuses to treat Travis as an enemy merely because they fought on opposite sides. He accompanies the reconciliation with a sweeping racial joke about white men.

¹¹⁸ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 224–25, says Cherokee battle deaths cannot be counted accurately and civilian mortality permits only rough estimates. His one-third figures concern widows among Union Cherokee women and destitution among Choctaws (225). They provide no basis for Lafferty's Territory-wide death toll on 189.

The forgotten nails

Hannali's "twice-crucified people" recalls the crucifixion image already applied to removal. The second crucifixion is grotesquely unfinished: one hand and one foot are nailed down, and the victim flops like a captured turkey. The cruel arrangement permits a horrible joke. With mock patience, Hannali predicts that officials will return to complete their work. The narrator shortly confirms that they do. In this account, Reconstruction deliberately completes wartime destruction (191).

The two nails are the asserted forfeiture of treaty rights and the demand for land. At Fort Smith, federal commissioners claimed that the Confederate treaties had cost the nations their existing rights. Indian representatives resisted that negotiating claim; it did not state an uncontested legal outcome. The eventual treaties differed substantially among the nations. They also abolished slavery and addressed freedmen's rights, matters largely absent from Hannali's crucifixion image.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ At Fort Smith, Cooley asserted forfeiture of treaty rights and demanded land cessions, emancipation, and provision for freedmen; Abel, *American Indian under Reconstruction*, 188–90. For Choctaw and Chickasaw resistance and the altered settlement, see Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 86–90. In their treaty of April 28, 1866, art. 10 reaffirmed earlier obligations consistent with the new agreement; arts. 2–4 abolished slavery and provided for freedmen (14 Stat. 769–70, 774). The Creek and Seminole land settlements differed: McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 233–34.

The narrator attributes the unequal losses to differences in landholding: individual Confederate titles received protection that communal Unionist tenure did not. He accuses the law of protecting the well connected while allowing common possession to be treated as ownership by nobody. This explanation fails historically. The Choctaws and Chickasaws did cede their Leased District, and their 1866 treaty expressly describes their occupied lands as held in common. The chapter's four Cherokee and Creek enlistment totals recur in the same order in McReynolds. They do not support the narrator's further explanation of land tenure.¹²⁰

Names, numbers, and survivors

The catalogue of incoming peoples recounts repeated uprootings. The narrator invites the reader to skip it, then makes clear what that ease would cost: each unfamiliar name belongs to a history the reader might otherwise forget. The list gathers distinct removals and settlements into a single accusation, rather than recording arrivals under a single act. The narrator also asks whether the arrivals produced intolerable crowding and answers no. He explains that many died or concealed themselves and that few reached the Territory. Those already there received the newcomers with compassion despite their own destitution.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw, April 28, 1866, arts. 3 and 11, 14 Stat. 769–70, 774: the Leased District was ceded for \$300,000; the occupied lands were held in common, with allotment conditional on legislative consent. McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 224–25, gives the same four enlistment figures in the same order as the novel: Cherokee, 2,220 Union and 1,400 Confederate; Creek, 1,675 and 1,575. Lafferty attaches these figures to an explanation of land tenure that the treaty contradicts.

¹²¹ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 239–42, distinguishes the Medicine Lodge treaties of 1867, the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation established by executive order in 1869, and the Kickapoo and Iowa reservations established in 1883. Lafferty's catalogue compresses removals and reservations made under different authorities over nearly two decades.

The Ottawa figures descend from seventeen thousand to fewer than seventeen hundred, then fewer than one hundred and seventy, and finally 149. The rapid decline gives the passage its force. The assertion that these were all the Ottawa people left in the world is false; Ottawa relatives also lived on Walpole Island in Canada. The following catalogue mixes old names, regional designations, and living peoples. Each needs its own history before any conclusion about extinction can be drawn.¹²²

The closing question asks what the survivors can build. Hannali has planted seed corn, and Alinton has bought cattle. Rebuilding has begun, though it will be costly.

Outline

XVII. Chapter Seventeen: Aftermath and Imposition

1. **From Cowskin Prairie to Edward's Post: The Final Raids** (pp. 186–189)
 - A. Nature of Warfare (Civil War): 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.

¹²² The Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, "Notable Moments in Ottawa Tribal History," under "Removal," <https://www.ottawatribe.gov/notable-moments-in-tribal-history>, traces the Kansas migration to 1867–70 and records continuing kinship with Ottawas on Walpole Island, Canada. The novel's global claim of only 149 survivors is therefore false. Its "Fort-Snelling Sioux" also belong to a different removal: Dakota captives were sent to Crow Creek, Dakota Territory, in May 1863; Minnesota Historical Society, "The US-Dakota War of 1862," under "Removal of the Dakota and Ho-Chunk," <https://www.mnhs.org/fortsnelling/learn/us-dakota-war>.

- 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 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.^{n. 115}
- 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.^{n. 115}
 - 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:
 - 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 intact.

I. Territory Surrenders^{n. 116}:

- 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.^{n. 117}

2. They drove the nails they had forgotten: Reconstruction

Treaties^{n. 119}

- A. Territory's Condition (Formal End, 1865): Very bad shape. 12,000 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."^{n. 118}
- B. Provisions for Rebuilding: Game reappeared. Indians reverted to hunting. Hannali still had seed corn/caches, plows, mules; led comeback in Choctaw North. Ten Innominees left (7 aged 10 or under) 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).^{n. 119}
 - b. Nail 2: Five Tribes must forfeit *half* their land as punishment. (Contrast: Southern states didn't forfeit land). Land to be used for other Indians.^{n. 119, n. 120}
- 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.^{n. 121}

3. Whatever happened to all those Ottawa Indians?: Fate of Relocated Tribes^{n. 122}

- A. Scale of Relocation: Later tribes came from Atlantic/Pacific coasts, Canada. Partial list provided: Chiricahua Apache, 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.^{n. 119}
 - 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.^{n. 119, n. 120} (pp. 192–193)
- 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.^{n. 120}
- 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. 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. 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.^{n. 122}
- 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?" (p. 195)



Chapter Eighteen

Pages 196–204

Children and the end of a civilization

The “Children’s Decades” begin with an Indian summer, a return of warmth after frost. The Territory is said to have grown old, yet it is full of children. Families take in orphans whose languages they do not understand and renew a common life that the narrator has pronounced destroyed. His sweeping figures for wartime mortality should be distinguished from established demographic evidence.¹²³

The account reverses the familiar order of the Western. Civilization precedes the Wild West; lawlessness follows its destruction. The Five Tribes had roads, trade, buildings, and settled habits before the celebrated frontier towns arose. This chronology challenges the story of inevitable progress. The narrator’s further claim that the Plains peoples became warlike only when threatened with extinction requires evidence beyond this chronology.

¹²³ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 91–97, describes postwar destitution, refugees, and the rebuilding of schools and government. Her estimate that one-third of the Choctaws were entirely destitute (91) concerns poverty, not the Territory-wide deaths reported in the novel (196).

At Peter Pitchlynn's funeral, the man who spent his last years defending Choctaw interests is pronounced a white man. An "alternate recension" remembers his birth as wholly Indian. These are competing accounts of identity within the novel, not reliable alternatives to his documented parentage. Albert Pike, whom the narrator calls the Indians' second Devil, delivers the eulogy. The honor he offers Pitchlynn prompts imagined thunder from Pushmataha's grave in the same cemetery. The dead chief protests what the living no longer understand.¹²⁴

The narrator invokes Aquinas and an unnamed science-fiction story to ask whether a decisive choice settles a person's past as well as his future. He moves between changing the meaning of an earlier life and changing what actually happened. Aquinas denies that a completed event can be undone. Borges's "The Other Death," which also invokes the *Summa*, is a strong candidate for the unnamed story.¹²⁵ The question recurs throughout the chapter: can an Indian become white so completely that his earlier Indian life seems to belong to another person?

¹²⁴ James P. Pate, "Pitchlynn, Peter Perkins," *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, January 15, 2010, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=PI013>. Pitchlynn returned to Washington as Choctaw delegate in 1867 and continued defending tribal autonomy and common landownership until his death on January 17, 1881. Historic Congressional Cemetery, *American Indian Tour*, revised March 11, 2022, entries 20 and 24, <https://congressionalcemetery.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/American-Indian-Tour-2022.pdf>, records both his burial and Pushmataha's. His documented parentage is discussed in Chapter Eight.

¹²⁵ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* I, q. 25, a. 4, denies that a completed event can be made never to have occurred. Borges's "The Other Death" joins the *Summa*, a changed personal past, and a final paragraph beginning "Poor Damián!" Lafferty's corresponding lament closes an account of altered ancestry and identity (197–98). Borges is therefore a strong candidate for the unnamed story. See Borges, "The Other Death." The consulted 1968 printing falls between Lafferty's first draft and publication; his route of access remains unknown.

The changing household

Hannali first hears the change in Natchez's voice. His wife agrees that the younger people have become "white-people people," yet she too pronounces his name with the new first-syllable stress. The narrator extends the joke to the title of the book, prescribing one pronunciation before the Civil War and another afterward. The stress change gives cultural alteration an audible form within the novel; it does not establish a historical rule of Choctaw pronunciation.

The changes reach English, clothing, buildings, schoolbooks, and legislative language. People think and behave differently, whatever their ancestry or complexion. The narrator's claim that the Five Tribes' languages ceased to be common in the 1870s nevertheless exceeds the evidence. Choctaw newspapers continued to address Choctaw readers, and the national government was still supporting a revised Choctaw New Testament in 1900.¹²⁶

The schoolbook conversation makes the changes comic. Thomas-Academy has learned the terms "Pale Face" and "Red Man" without recognizing the people they are supposed to describe. Hannali explains how repeated words can acquire authority over visible facts. His own term "White Eyes" belongs to the same exchange of names. The boy's objection exposes the schoolbook's careless use of names.

Hannali cannot simply prefer his children to his grandchildren. The younger generation is strong and gentle; its beauty seems less strained, its humor less dangerous. Martha-Child has her mother Luvinia's salt, but hers is refined store salt; her mother's was the sharp stuff of the Territory seeps. Hannali cannot explain why the world grows worse while its people grow better. He loves and admires the surviving children, whose virtues flourish within a damaged common life.

¹²⁶ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 97, 231, 243, records children who spoke only Choctaw during postwar school reconstruction, continuing Choctaw newspaper columns and legal publications, and the Council's appropriation of October 26, 1900, for a revised Choctaw New Testament. Ordinary use of Choctaw continued beyond the novel's 1870s cutoff.

Hannali visits Black Choctaw speakers to hear familiar speech after English has become dominant around him. They preserve what he misses, though their ancestry falls outside the narrator's usual measure of Indianness. The claim that their speech lags by exactly twenty years remains unverified. Emancipation and the long dispute over freedpeople's citizenship belong to the history surrounding this scene.¹²⁷

The house at the top of the hill

The fiddle has become a violin, but Hannali's playing still draws "old powerful stuff" upward from a cellar. He has taken his reading into himself, too: he remembers Plutarch and Leviticus. Discovering the spelling Duchesne in old letters amuses him without diminishing Marie's achievement. She had the courage to teach others before she had mastered everything herself.

The railroads change the places Hannali remembers. In the narrator's list, old towns move and lose their names, undergoing a change of identity like Pitchlynn's. Historically, some towns were abandoned, others competed with the new railroad centers, and others continued.¹²⁸ Hannali's sense of time changes too: a turkey hunt seems to consume five years, and Anna-Hata appears to marry almost immediately after her birth. His least Indian-looking granddaughter remains closest to him. She will later help answer his fear that his people have vanished.

¹²⁷ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 105–9, describes the Choctaw law of May 21, 1883, admitting freedpeople to citizenship with voting rights but excluding them from tribal annuities and imposing restrictions on land and officeholding. Citizenship did not end discrimination in education or marriage.

¹²⁸ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 222–23, describes the growth of railroad and mining centers while older towns away from the rails continued through the tribal period. She places Atoka at Little Boggy, rather than identifying it with Boggy Depot as the novel does (203).

Hannali resists becoming a picturesque relic. His long hair identifies him with the pansfalaya, the Long Hairs, but neither his appearance nor his age reduces him to an “Old Character.”¹²⁹ He remains Senator Innominee in the council house and at the pool table. He takes money from confident newcomers with the practical intelligence that has long sustained his family.

The chapter ends with the return of regular Catholic worship through Father Isidore Robot and St. Patrick’s at Atoka.¹³⁰ On an earlier journey, Hannali carries four unnamed little children to baptism; the later caravans bring the household together. He has kept his faith through the years without a priest, praying his rosary and remembering. The journey grows harder with age, and the familiar road becomes a pilgrimage. The hard hill recalls the labor imposed after the prologue’s forbidden fruit (1). The promise of “a house at the top of the hard hill” carries his hope of a home beyond the losses of history.

Outline

XVIII. Chapter Eighteen: The Children’s Decades (pp. 196–204)

1. The Children’s Decades and Peter Pitchlynn

- A. Post-War Period: Described as “Indian summer” for the Territory- a “frostbit second spring,” end of things, not beginning. Community became youthful rather than aged.
- B. The Children’s Decades:
 - a. Context: People faced extinction; response is either death or prolific reproduction.

¹²⁹ Swanton, *Source Material*, 57, records “Long Hairs” as a Choctaw designation and explains that both men and women formerly wore their hair long.

¹³⁰ John Michalicka, “First Catholic Church in Indian Territory, 1872: St. Patrick’s Church at Atoka,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 50, no. 4 (Winter 1972–73): 481–82, dates the church to 1872 under Father Michael Smyth and Robot’s first resident pastorate to October 1875. Robot was born in France. Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 231, attributes the first Atoka church to Robot in 1875; Lafferty gives 1874 and calls him Bohemian (204).

- b. Demographics: >1/3 Territory Indians killed; >1/2 prime-age men dead. Anticipatory wave of births before/during war. Children survived hardships.^{n. 123}
- 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. (p. 196)
- C. 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."^{n. 124}
- E. Philosophical Paradox (Aquinas/Sci-Fi): Does making a future 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.^{n. 124}
- 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).^{n. 124}
- H. Final Assessment: Pitchlynn = Choctaw star pointing upward. Pike = "what he had been." Closing cry: "Poor Peter Pitchlynn!"^{n. 125}

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 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. (p. 199)
- 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. (p. 199)
- F. Language Shift: In the narrator's account, 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.^{n. 126}
- G. Material Culture Shift: Clothing, tools, housebuilding followed white models. Old timber/stone buildings looked Indian; new houses like Illinois/Missouri/Kentucky. (p. 200) 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." (pp. 200–201)

3. Hannali's Later Life

- A. Grandchildren Raising (circa 1870): Hannali took four unnamed little children 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 lacked. Granddaughters prettier (though less starkly beautiful/talented than mothers Luvinia/Sally/Hazel), easier beauty, more droll/pleasant. Martha-Child had humor, salt (refined store salt vs. mother Luvinia's Territory seep salt – "sharp thing with galena and niter mixed in"). (p. 202) 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."
- 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.^{n. 128}
- E. Perception of Time: Moved rapidly. Hannali felt years slipped like minutes. Still vigorous post-63 (end of war), "primordial 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).^{n. 129} 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: The narrator places Father Isidore Robot's arrival at Atoka in 1874, calls him a Bohemian Benedictine of the same "species" as French Jesuits, and says that he 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."^{n. 130}



Chapter Nineteen

Pages 205–215

The quarter section and the person

David Payne and Hannali hold two different ideas of a full life. Payne wants every man completed by a fixed quantity of land. Hannali has become a “full man” through years, bodily size, experience, and descendants that exceed fixed measures. Payne divides the land into individual holdings; Hannali identifies it with a people. Their disagreement arises during Hannali’s last years of pleasure in the passing West (205–15).

The famous Wild West opens as a twenty-year cloud of dust. Its trails, river crossings, hotels, saloons, lawmen, and celebrated names follow in a catalogue that could supply a playbill. This is “authentic American folklore,” made from historical particulars that popular memory has flattened into one saloon and one showdown. Lafferty’s approximate dates, 1867–1887, mark the span of this spectacle without fixing exact boundaries for western history.¹³¹

¹³¹ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 259, estimates that more than six million cattle were driven north from Texas in 1866–1885. The named chronicler Drago (207) is probably Harry Sinclair Drago; *Wild, Woolly, and Wicked: The History of the Kansas Cow Towns and the Texas Cattle Trade* (1960) is a candidate source. Ivey, *Trails to the West*, 178, records its title and date; the book has not been collated with the novel.

The Territory's "Green Interlude" describes the cattle drivers' respite between Texas and the Kansas railheads. The Indian nations have their own part in the trade: Alinton raises and markets his own cattle, and Hannali accompanies his 1870 drive to Baxter Springs. When the account jumps to Dodge City in 1884, the narrator refuses to apologize for skipping years. A mature man becomes "lord of the years," free to revisit what matters. The narrator claims the same freedom (206–8).

Payne and Hannali meet an unnamed artist, whose pictures offer another view of the West.¹³² He preserves its visible forms. Payne measures the acreage, while Hannali knows the people whose relations to one another and to the land may escape either account. Payne is generous toward the landless and coercive toward those whose landholding defeats his rule. He makes the six-foot man and quarter-section farm a divine specification, more absolute than the Homestead Act itself, which allowed a quarter section or less. Hannali jokes that Payne falls a quarter-inch short of his own specification. Payne appeals to a "sign in the sky" when he cannot cite an authority. His demand would count tribal land as vacant holdings before its people had agreed to relinquish it.¹³³

¹³² The unnamed painter, sculptor, and writer is probably Frederic Remington. The Frederic Remington Art Museum's chronology places him in Kansas in 1883 and Kansas City in 1884, although it records no meeting with Payne in Dodge City. Frederic Remington Art Museum, "Frederic Remington," <https://fredericremington.org/frederic-remington/>.

¹³³ Homestead Act, May 20, 1862, ch. 75, secs. 1, 6, 12 Stat. 392–93, allowed eligible claimants a quarter section or less of public land. The later General Allotment Act, February 8, 1887, ch. 119, sec. 8, 24 Stat. 391, expressly excluded the Five Tribes. Their allotment arrangements followed separate negotiations and legislation; Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 245–47.

Hannali plainly likes Payne. They may find common cause, as Indians and poor settlers, against powerful cattlemen. The narrator goes too far, however, when he claims that Indians scarcely opposed settlement. Choctaw leaders opposed the Boomers, joined intertribal protests, and helped finance Payne's prosecution.¹³⁴ The cattlemen's dealings also differed. The Cherokee Council authorized the Cherokee Outlet lease, which must be distinguished from the narrator's account of fictitious Indians and illegal occupation of all the Unassigned Lands.¹³⁵

The narrator makes Payne a murdered man whose cause triumphs after his death. The historical record supports his repeated incursions, expulsions, and sudden death, but it does not establish the alleged poisoning. Further political and legal action preceded the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889. The novel compresses those intervening years into the triumph of Payne's idea.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Debo, *Rise and Fall*, 219–20, records Choctaw participation in intertribal opposition to the Boomers, resolutions thanking federal authorities for removing intruders, and \$1,540 appropriated to assist Payne's prosecution at Fort Smith. These actions contradict the narrator's denial of Indian opposition (209).

¹³⁵ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 260–65, distinguishes the Unassigned Lands from reservation grazing agreements and the Cherokee Outlet. On May 19, 1883, the Cherokee Council authorized a five-year Outlet lease to the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association for \$100,000 annually (264). The novel's fictitious Indian lessors (210) obscure this transaction with the Cherokee government.

¹³⁶ McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 283–86, records Payne's incursions and sudden death on November 28, 1884, without establishing poisoning. Judge Parker imposed a \$1,000 fine that could not be collected; the law provided no alternative imprisonment (286). Harrison's Proclamation 288 of March 23, 1889, opened specified Creek and Seminole cessions at noon on April 22 and expressly excluded the rest of Indian Territory. Benjamin Harrison, "Opening to Settlement Certain Lands in the Indian Territory," *American Presidency Project*, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/proclamation-288-opening-settlement-certain-lands-the-indian-territory>.

The old voice and the living company

After the public history comes a conversation with Robert Pike, who disputes his own existence. He tells Hannali that he is present only in Hannali's mind. Hannali answers with reports of other witnesses. Neither settles the question. Earlier Robert was invisible because others refused to see him; now Hannali must lend him a voice to hear him. Anna-Hata, like Hannali, is unafraid of the ghost (211–12).¹³⁷

Hannali has not reached 1901. His mistaken celebration of the new century occurred three weeks earlier, at the opening of 1900; Anna-Hata has explained that he must live another year to see it. The calendar briefly defeats the man who can move freely among his years. As he names his dead friends, he wonders how much has gone from the world with them. Even terror once promised encounters and adventures. He has survived to grow tame, and some of those possibilities are gone. He laughs at his own domestication (212).

The Kiowa story recalls an adventure with those he has just named. Chapter Six supplied the name "The Man with the Talking Horses"; only here do we learn how Hannali acquired it (66–67). He makes a horse neigh and supplies its apparent words by ventriloquism. The trick works because he recognizes the animal's markings and remembers its theft. His imperfect Kiowa becomes the stolen Creek horse's imperfect Kiowa and helps to persuade his listeners. The owner's denial grows so elaborate that it confirms what he denies. The narrator makes their credulity the basis for calling the Kiowas childlike (212–13).¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Compare Alfred Wright's 1828 account, quoted in Swanton, *Source Material*, 217: seeing a ghost foretells death, the patient loses hope, and the physician stops treating him. Hannali instead welcomes Robert's ghost (211–12); his family and priest later accept his approaching death without calling a doctor (219).

¹³⁸ Compare Israel Folsom's account of Choctaw ventriloquism in Cushman, *History* (1899), 368, reprinted with reservations in Swanton, *Source Material*, 215. Folsom describes a feared and disreputable practice. Hannali uses it to amuse his children and expose a stolen horse (212–13).

The evening at Eufaula answers Robert's prophecy that Hannali's death will leave no Indians. Eight men sit together, Hannali included, and every one has some Indian ancestry. Only two appear recognizably Indian to an observer. The man with blond hair and a German name proves to be one-quarter Kiowa, and that discovery revives Hannali's forgotten story. Hannali also eats supper with Travis's widow and her daughter Catherine. The narrator counts more than fifty great-grandchildren, further evidence against the claim of total disappearance (213–14).

On the ride home, the horse threatens to reverse the old performance by kicking its rider and making him speak horse. Hannali has supplied the conditions for the exchange, including his familiar flick at the throat, but the reply seems comically independent of him. His grandson plays another trick with language: the tonic's English label denies alcohol while its Choctaw motto contradicts it. Invention, trade, and joking still occupy the family. They reckon Hannali one hundred years old; the narrator prefers ninety-six and credits him with years lived while others slept. His ripe age, broad body, and renewed vine answer Payne's six-foot man with the fullness of this particular life (214).

The swim is an indecorous farewell. Man and horse cross separately, breaking the thin ice, and the narrator invites us to witness their pleasure. This is the last night but one of Hannali's life. Dripping and aglow at his homecoming, he hears the "old Adam voice" announce his final passage through the door. He has enjoyed the night, and now he knows his pleasure will end (215).¹³⁹

Outline

XIX. Chapter Nineteen: The Garish Old Light

1. The Boomers and the End of the Wild West

- A. Introduction: Boomer! Boomer! David L. Payne, King of the Boomers. Questioned if they were land thieves. (p. 205)

¹³⁹ Compare Genesis 3:19 (DR), Adam's sentence to return to the earth. The "old Adam voice" recalls the mortality inherited from him.

- B. Indian Attitudes toward Payne: 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. (p. 205)
 - 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."^{n. 131}
 - c. Trails: Great Western, New Western, Jones & Plummer, Dodge, West Shawnee, East Shawnee (Texas Road), Cox, Chisholm.
 - d. 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 1870 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.^{n.133} Cites 3 million unassigned acres in IT. Proclaims message via "sign in the sky." (p. 209)
 - ii. Hannali: Counters "Land is the people." Pokes fun at Payne's 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.^{n.134}
 - b. Cattlemen's 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.^{n.136}
- I. Payne's Adversaries: Cattlemen (Cherokee Strip Livestock Assoc., others) already illegally possessing unassigned lands via fictitious leases/Army connivance.^{n.135} 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 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 Last Years (pp. 211–215)

- 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, answers Pike's claim to exist only in his mind by citing other witnesses. Recalls Pike's earlier "haunting."^{n. 137}
 - b. Pike: Advises Hannali not to be alone at his age.
- C. Hannali's Reflections: Denies being alone (other familiar ghosts). Glad to see what he mistakes for the new century (early 1900). 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. (p. 212) Used ventriloquism/horse flick trick for children's amusement, fooled credulous Kiowas.^{n. 138} 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 his unnamed daughter-in-law (Travis's widow) and her small daughter Catherine. Plays cards/drinks in a company of 8 men, including Hannali (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." (p. 214)
 - 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-crusted, "all aglow," bulked through Big House door. "Old Adam voice" declared it the last time he would ever walk through that door.



Chapter Twenty

Pages 216–221

The last call

Hannali begins his last day unable to invent a satisfactory ending. His first chuckle chokes him; the man who has made so much of life cannot think how to make a joke of death. He knows that he is dying, calls for his family, and resolves to do it “neat and proper.” He dies in 1900, near the beginning of the year whose century he has miscounted (212, 216).

Anna-Hata hears him twenty miles away. Their communication joins the ordinary work of harnessing a horse to the extraordinary intimacy of the “Alik people.” Hannali dismisses the telephone as an expensive instrument for transmitting birdsong. His granddaughter has heard him without it, and she arrives with a clear voice inherited from Marie DuShane. The Aliki recall the Alikchi and Aleika of the prologue, where special powers can come upon otherwise private persons (2; see also 79, 184, 217).

Anna-Hata’s appearance conceals that inheritance. She is the daughter of Hazel Innominee and Jemmy Buster, and the granddaughter of Hannali and Marie DuShane. Her French and Texan ancestry, blue eyes, and pale hair make her appear white to observers who do not know her. She immediately understands Hannali’s condition and shares his candor: “What are we, white people, that we kid each other?” The joke makes honesty an Indian family inheritance shared

by a granddaughter of mixed ancestry. Hannali recognizes that Indians remain in the world.¹⁴⁰

The account of his life explains the force of “He was a Mingo” (218). He has heard Pushmataha, Apukshunubbee, and Moshulatubbee, crossed political boundaries that have since changed, learned the common trades, and known whole worlds of persons. His authority owes much to the people he has encountered and remembered. Anna-Hata stands beside him and understands him. His experience is irreplaceable; the family will survive him.

The last joke

Anna-Hata’s husband brings the priest and wants a doctor. He is affectionate and practical, and has already obeyed her request without complaining. He cannot accept the company’s certainty that Hannali will die. The priest shares their certainty and prepares Hannali through confession, counsel, Communion, and Extreme Unction. Hannali completes this solemn Christian business in his usual irreverent manner.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Byington, *Dictionary*, 149, s.v. *hata*, gives “pale; white,” a possible descriptive element in Anna-Hata’s name. Her parentage is stated at *Okla Hannali*, 70, 184, 217.

¹⁴¹ *Rituale Romanum*, 83, 85, 88–89, directs that confession and Eucharist precede anointing when time and the patient’s condition permit, matching the sequence at *Okla Hannali*, 219. Communion for the dying is *viaticum*, provision for the final journey; see Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1524–25, Vatican website, <https://www.vatican.va/content/catechism/en.html>.

His curiosity persists. The boy who asked where he came from, where he was going, and who had thought of the world (11) now expects his arguments to be settled. He even bets that every answer will vindicate him. He is approaching the particular judgment, though his promise of immediate total knowledge remains his own opinion. After Communion, Anna-Hata slips a corn cake into his pocket to provide for his journey. Her affectionate household gift accompanies Eucharistic viaticum and recalls accounts of food supplied to the Choctaw dead for their journey.¹⁴²

The last joke concerns the funeral arrangements. Hannali has made the coffin and the rollers needed to move his heavy body; someone must dig the grave, and the priest must return to Muskogee. He calls dying the “key act” whose delay holds everyone up. He is still considering other people’s work and time. When the priest insists that only God can say when he will die, Hannali claims to have heard precisely that instruction. His boast of five minutes is an extravagant wager on his readiness to obey God (219–20).

“Hell is full of men who die with dignity” challenges the husband’s solemnity. Hannali has made his confession; he need not assume the solemn manner Anna-Hata’s husband expects. Anna-Hata answers as his granddaughter should: he can surely do better than five minutes. The narrator awards him three and treats the result as a feat that would have taken most strong men twice as long. Even dying, Hannali outdoes other men in strength (220).

¹⁴² For particular judgment at death, see *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1021–22. Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* I, q. 12, a. 8, distinguishes seeing God from knowing everything God does or can do, a limit Hannali’s wager ignores. Swanton, *Source Material*, 217, 251, records an anonymous French account of food, drink, and equipment placed with a corpse for its journey. Anna-Hata gives the still-living Hannali a corn cake (219); the source names neither that food nor a breast pocket.

Hannali still remembers names, scents, objects, thoughts, and every blade of grass. His undimmed eyes recall the death of Moses in extreme old age. The narrator's claim that Hannali closes his eyes by his own effort takes on the gravity of a patriarch's death.¹⁴³ With him goes the mind that has remembered the world in such detail. The claim that he is "really the last of them" follows this account of his memories, though Anna-Hata survives him (217, 220).

The smoke and talk finally cease. They have accompanied Hannali, his family, and his nation since Chapter One, as well as the doomed Creek camp and the burning Big House. Their ending closes the story and recalls its losses. The last turn to the Okla, the people, returns to the subject of the book's title and creation history. "In the beginning was" gives the ending a biblical cadence.¹⁴⁴

Outline

XX. Chapter Twenty: Hannali's Death

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.

¹⁴³ Deuteronomy 34:7 (DR): Moses dies in old age with his sight undimmed. Hannali's clear eyes and unimpaired memory give his death a similar patriarchal dignity (220).

¹⁴⁴ The smoke-and-talk frame begins at *Okla Hannali*, 11, returns among the Plains peoples (69), accompanies the doomed Creek camp (169, 171), and darkens with the burning Big House (181). The final "In the beginning was" (221) recalls John 1:1 (DR) and the creation history of the prologue (1-2).

- 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?" (p. 217)
- 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..."^{n. 140}
- H. Hannali's Legacy Recounted: Born during Napoleon's rise. Heard 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.^{n. 141} 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 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."^{n. 143}
- 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."^{n. 144}

Family and characters

Relationships and events follow the novel. Parenthetical numbers refer to its printed pages. For historical corrections, see the chapter notes.

Hannali and his first family

Person	Relationship	Life in the novel
Hannali Innominee; Louis	Son of Barua and Chapponia	Farmer, fiddler, provider, legislator, and Catholic patriarch; born in 1800, 1801, or 1802; dies early in 1900 (3, 33, 110–111, 203, 212, 216, 220).
Barua Innominee	Hannali's father	Hereditary chief of Mishoweia; changes allegiance without leaving his land; turns commercial follies into prosperity; refuses removal (3, 6–8, 13, 43).
Chapponia	Hannali's mother	Negotiates with the she-bear and joins the fox-hunt tumult; dead when Hannali returns from the western journey (3–4, 17, 43).
Pass Christian Innominee	Hannali's brother; Marie Delessert's husband	New Orleans boatman and merchant; supplies aid for settlement and later visits with his children (19, 33, 45, 93, 98–99).
Biloxi Innominee	Hannali's brother	Shares the early family work and fox hunt; chooses to remain in Mississippi despite expected dispossession (14–17, 19, 43).
The she-bear	Comic alternative mother	Mistakes Hannali for her cub and remains a family intimate; the brothers keep the joke alive (4).
Silvestre DuShane	Friend and adopted brother	Trader and musician received as Choctaw; travels west with Hannali and introduces his DuShane kindred (19–20, 38).

The three marriages

Hannali marries Natchez first, Martha two days later, and Marie the following day. After the catastrophe in Chapter Six he renounces conjugal relations with all three; the women and children remain one family. See Chapter Six for the canonical questions (51–53, 64–65, 70–71).

Woman	Children by Hannali	Continuing place in the family
Natchez	Famous; Sally or Salina	Strange Choate's Cherokee daughter; survives the raid by sheltering four children; shares Hannali's postwar perplexity (49–50, 54, 70, 183–184, 199).
Martha Louisiana	Travis; Luvinia	Black woman of the Choctaw community; leads the settlement party, plays and tells stories, protects the unborn children; killed after the raid (19, 46, 54, 65, 70, 75, 96, 184).
Marie DuShane; Duchesne	Alinton; Hazel or Marie d'Azel	Daughter of Alinton DuShane; keeps accounts and teaches the family; defends the house and dies in the raid (38, 54, 70, 74, 82–84, 179–180, 184, 202–203).

Sons and daughters

The three sons are born in spring 1830; the three daughters in spring 1831. Martha uses Hannali as her children's patronymic, while the narrator also calls them Innominee (54, 70).

Child	Mother and spouse	Development
Famous Innominee	Natchez; marries Helen Miller	Fort Coffee pupil and forceful neutralist; disappears under another name, perhaps as a Union captain. Alinton later reports meeting his ghost (54, 110, 118, 124–125, 165, 184–185, 190–191).
Travis Innominee; Travis Hannali	Martha; marries Rachel Perry, later an unnamed woman	Armstrong pupil; defends the refugees, serves the Union, then opens a North Fork store. Dead before Hannali's last outing (54, 70, 110, 118, 144, 150, 190, 213).

Child	Mother and spouse	Development
Alinton Innominee	Marie DuShane; marries Marie Calles	Spencer pupil and western traveler; serves with the Confederates, returns impaired, reconciles with Travis, and becomes a cattleman (54, 110, 115–116, 119, 163, 188, 190–191, 207–208).
Luvinia Innominee; Luvinia Hannali	Martha; marries Forbis Agent	Storyteller of the panther's captive; her humor returns in Martha-Child. Killed in the house raid (70, 95–96, 118, 184, 201–202).
Hazel Innominee; Marie d'Azel	Marie DuShane; marries Jemmy Buster	Anna-Hata's mother; survives the raid, brings children to Hannali, and helps bury the dead (70, 118, 183–185, 217).
Sally Innominee; Salina	Natchez; no marriage recorded	Named for Grand Saline; suffers Falaya's attacks and is murdered to draw Hannali from the house (70, 101, 118, 172–173, 184).

Spouses and other close kin

Person	Relationship	Place in the story
Alinton DuShane	Marie DuShane's father	French-Shawnee keeper of the Canadian River post; turns it over to Hannali and dies (38–40, 53).
Strange Choate	Natchez's father; Famous's grandfather	Cherokee pork supplier and mentor; gives Hannali livestock and kinship, then stands with the Freedom Indians (49–51, 110–111, 124, 126–127).
Marie Delessert	Pass Christian's wife	Overcomes her first shock at the household and befriends Martha and Natchez (98–99).
Peter; Marie Chapponia; Joseph; Catherine	Children of Pass Christian	Four of the visiting New Orleans cousins; their French life continues alongside Indian kinship (93, 98–99).
John Barua; Therese; Louis Christian	Children of Pass Christian	The other three visiting cousins; distinct from Hannali's children and grandchildren (93, 98–99).

Person	Relationship	Place in the story
Jemmy Buster	Hazel's husband; Anna-Hata's father	Texan drover of partial Choctaw ancestry; accompanies Travis to defend the refugees; dead before the final camp at Shoal Creek (117–118, 150, 169, 217).
Helen Miller	Famous's wife	Returns with him from Missouri; killed with children in Choke-Cherry Canyon during the raid (118–119, 182, 184).
Rachel Perry	Travis's first wife	Creek woman of the Checote kindred; joins Travis and remains in the final refugee camp (118, 163–164, 169).
Marie Calles	Alinton's wife	Returns with him from his western travels; mother of Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena; killed in the raid (119, 182–184).
Forbis Agent	Luvinia's husband	Orphan raised by a missionary; preacher, bookman, and neutralist writer; defends the house and is killed (118, 124–125, 179, 184).
Travis's widow	His unnamed second wife	Mother of Catherine; receives Hannali for supper at Eufaula and later comes with her daughter to his final illness (213, 218).
Anna-Hata's husband	Unnamed husband of Hannali's granddaughter	Brings the priest from Muskogee and hopes a doctor can save Hannali (217–220).

The grandchildren

The account-book list names twenty grandchildren but states that there were twenty-one (119). Later passages name three additional infants and Nicholas-Nakni; they do not identify the omitted child or fully reconcile the counts. The raid's list calls eight named survivors nine, omitting Helena, who is rescued on p. 183 and included again on p. 190. Catherine belongs to a later household.

Grandchild or group	Parents	Life in the novel
James; Marie-Therese; Henry-Pushmataha; Bartholome; Philip-Nitakechi	Hazel and Jemmy Buster	All five appear in the early account-book list and the roll of those killed in the raid (119, 184).
Anna-Hata	Hazel and Jemmy Buster	Infant survivor; later Hannali's closest granddaughter. Hears his final summons and helps prepare his death (183–184, 203, 216–220).
John-Durham; Francis-Mingo; Strange-Joseph	Famous and Helen Miller	Named in the early list and among the raid victims (119, 184).
Famous-George	Famous and Helen Miller	Survives, preserves the ponies, helps make coffins, and reads the Latin prayers; knows that his father will not return (119, 183–185).
Louis-Hannali; Jude; Matthew-Moshulatubbee	Travis and Rachel Perry	Named in the early list and among the raid victims (119, 184).
Peter-Barua	Travis and Rachel Perry	Survives with Hazel, helps make coffins, and grows into the gentler postwar generation (119, 183, 185, 201).
Charles-Chitoh	Travis and Rachel Perry	Infant rescued from Natchez's hiding place; later praised for strength and character (183–184, 190, 201).
Mary-Luvinia; Gregory-Pitchlynn; Anne-Chapponia	Luvinia and Forbis Agent	Named in the early list and among the raid victims (119, 184).
Martha-Child	Luvinia and Forbis Agent	Survives with Hazel; inherits Luvinia's humor in a gentler form, compared with refined salt (119, 183, 201–202).
Thomas-Academy	Luvinia and Forbis Agent	Infant survivor; later questions the schoolbook terms Pale Face and Red Man (183–184, 190, 200–201).
Charles-Mexico; Pablo-Nieto	Alinton and Marie Calles	Named in the early list and among the raid victims (119, 184).

Grandchild or group	Parents	Life in the novel
Helena	Alinton and Marie Calles	Rescued with Natchez's children; missing from the immediate survivor roll, present in the rebuilt household (119, 183–184, 190).
Nicholas-Nakni	Parents not stated	Named among those killed in the raid; absent from the early account-book list (119, 184).
Catherine	Travis's unnamed widow	Young daughter who shares Hannali's last Eufaula supper and comes with her mother to his final illness (213, 218).

Friends and enemies

The glossary includes the longer catalogues of visitors and Plains leaders.

Person	Connection	Place in the story
John T	Hannali's cousin and traveling companion	Travels west, begins a household with Hannali's gift of hogs, and joins the mountain pilgrimage (30, 46–47, 51, 76).
Albert Horse	Friend and fellow settler	Protects Forbis with Famous; later killed after resisting livestock theft (46–47, 51, 76, 125–126, 144).
Chizem	Cherokee-Scottish fiddler and friend	Tests Hannali by demanding a fiddle as part of a joke and introduces him to Strange Choate (47–49).
Robert Pike	Boyhood acquaintance; sheltered Union soldier	Saved by Hannali's household, then saves Hannali after the raid; returns in old age, perhaps as a ghost (76–79, 130–132, 182, 211–212).
Whiteman Falaya; Sergeant Whitman Long	Predatory enemy of the family	Threatens and attacks Sally, murders her, and draws Hannali into a fatal duel while the house is attacked (55–57, 85, 101–106, 172–179).
The unnamed visiting priest	Minister to the household in 1842	Brings the sacraments while gravely ill; accepts Hannali's provisions and dies four days later (87–88).

Person	Connection	Place in the story
The priest at Hannali's death	Minister brought from Muskogee	Hears confession, gives Communion and Extreme Unction, and joins the final comic exchange (218–220).

Public figures

Figure	Place in the narrative	Relation to Hannali's world
Pushmataha	Choctaw chief	Receives Barua's defiance; remains a remembered example of commanding national leadership (6–8, 198, 218).
Moshulatubbee	Choctaw chief	Accepts Barua's allegiance, confronts LeFlore, and later finds no answer to removal (7–8, 25–27, 45).
Nitakechi	Choctaw chief	Faces the choice of revolt or removal and enters the cession under pressure (26–27, 44–45, 54).
Greenwood LeFlore	Choctaw leader in the removal account	The narrator portrays a self-interested leader through his rivalry with Moshulatubbee (25–27, 54).
Peter Pitchlynn	Choctaw explorer, leader, and advocate	Guides national renewal, disputes prosperity and allegiance with Hannali, and receives the narrator's troubled elegy (35–36, 78–79, 88–92, 123–124, 126–127, 197–198).
Levi Colbert	Chickasaw delegate	Companion on the western inspection; his pledged confidence in the promised land turns to disappointment (20, 35–37, 53).
Robert M. Jones	Wealthy Choctaw Confederate advocate	Builds his wealth on slavery and political dependency; blocks Forbis's neutralist publication (107–109, 125, 136).
John Ross	Cherokee chief	Supplies the difficult advice to remain quiet and honor treaties; his nation's divided allegiance enters the treaty narrative (124, 133–140).

Figure	Place in the narrative	Relation to Hannali's world
Opothleyahola; Opothle Yahola; the Laughing Fox	Creek leader	Friend and moral counterpart to Hannali; gathers refugees and defends their flight with a company drawn from many peoples (137, 144–157, 163, 169–171).
Alligator; Billy Bolek; Jim Ned; Halleck Tustennuggee	The Fox's veteran allies	Initially caricatured, then restored as defenders, storytellers, and companions at the refugees' last stands (145–146, 150–155, 169–170).
Albert Pike	Confederate commissioner	The narrator's second Devil; makes eloquence and treaty-making instruments of division, then speaks over Pitchlynn's grave (121–122, 133–140, 198).
Stand Watie	Cherokee Confederate commander	The narrator admires his military ability and condemns the purposes it serves; follows his campaign through surrender (122–123, 140–141, 186–188).
Andrew Jackson	President in the removal account	The narrator's first or particular Devil; represents the federal failure to protect Choctaw possession (10, 24–25, 27–28).
Father Isidore Robot	Catholic priest at Atoka	Associated with the renewal of regular worship at St. Patrick's; Hannali repeatedly brings his family there (204).
David L. Payne	Boomer advocate	Argues with Hannali that a man requires an individual 160-acre holding; his death closes the narrator's Wild West account (208–211).



Names and terms

Page references are to the novel's printed pages. Entries describe the novel's usage unless a historical or linguistic source is expressly identified. Cross-references connect variant names and related entries.

A

Absentee-Shawnees. The Shawnee division named in the account of Pike's contested treaty making and among the nations Hannali remembers at the end of his life. The novel distinguishes them from the Mixed-Band Senecas and Shawnees. (pp. 140, 218). See also Confederate treaties.

Account book. The narrator's claimed source for twenty named grandchildren. One of Hannali's twenty-one has been omitted from the transcription. (p. 119).

Adam voice. See Old Adam voice.

Age of the Patriarchs. The narrator's name for the age of Homostubbee, Puchshenubbee, Pushmataha, and Moshulatubbee. It completes the prologue's biblical sequence of forbidden fruit, Flood, and Babel. Puchshenubbee is spelled Puckshenubbee in Chapter One. Compare Genesis 11:10–32; see the prologue notes. (pp. 2, 8).

Agent, Forbis. Luvinia's husband, a missionary-raised orphan, itinerant preacher, and bookman. Marie DuShane corrects his preaching; Alinton helps support his household. Denied access to print, he continues his campaign for neutrality in handwritten broadsides. He dies defending the Big House. (pp. 118–119, 124–125, 179–180, 184).

Aionais. Alternative name for the Hainai in the novel's account of Pike's treaties. The narrator treats "Cashao" as a defective representation of the chief Kutchaw's name and makes the disputed signature a cause of division. See the historical qualifications in Chapter Thirteen. (p. 139). See also Confederate treaties.

Alabaster Hills. One destination of the expanding Innominee family during the Big Decade, named beside the Great Salt Plains and Wichita Mountains. (p. 111). See also Great Decade.

Alapa Homa. A mule-skinner and fiddler in Falaya whom Barua cites as a precedent for Hannali's farming and music. (p. 20).

Aldrich, Cyrus. Minnesota congressman condemned in the narrator's postwar indictment for advocating Indian removal and destruction. See Chapter Seventeen. (p. 194). See also Displaced peoples catalogue.

Alikchi / Aleika. The prologue distinguishes the Alikchi, its 'magic men,' from Aleika, the magic that may surround an ordinary person. Byington defines alikchi as a doctor or physician. Aleika is defined here from the novel; its use elsewhere as a Choctaw word is unverified. See Byington, *Dictionary*, 38, and the prologue notes. On page 88, Aleika describes Peter Pitchlynn's commanding presence. (pp. 2, 88).

Alikchi-man. Natchez applies the term to Famous-George, who claims to know that his father will not return. Byington defines alikchi as doctor or physician; here it suggests special knowledge of an absent person. See Byington, *Dictionary*, 38, and Chapter Sixteen. (pp. 184–185).

Aliki. Designation for Hannali and Anna-Hata when they speak across twenty miles without an instrument. The spelling differs from the prologue's Alikchi and Aleika. (p. 217).

Alinton Innominee. Hannali's son by Marie DuShane and husband of Marie Calles. The quickest, rather than the fastest, of the brothers in their childhood hunt, he becomes a western traveler and returns with uncertain riches. He supports the family's enterprises and Forbis Agent. Confederate service divides him from his brothers; afterward he reconciles with Travis and buys cattle with Hannali's gold. Famous visits him as a ghost. Hannali accompanies Alinton's 1870 drive to Baxter Springs. (pp. 54, 80–81, 110–111, 115–116, 119, 163–164, 190–191, 207–208). See also Innominee family; Gold.

Alligator. Seminole defender who jokes at the last campfire. The narrator revises his earlier hostile portrait of him. The novel calls him Bolek's brother. (pp. 145–146, 153–155).

Anadarko Agency. The place where Hannali imagines Quannah Parker as a "tame Indian," comparing Parker's confinement with his own settled life. (p. 212). See also Names in the wandering years.

Anadarkos. People the novel places among the earlier inhabitants of the Territory, Hannali's Plains acquaintances, and the defenders of Yahola. Pike's dealings with Jose Maria, Pock Mark, and Jim Pockmark are examples of factional division in the narrator's account. (pp. 43, 68, 139, 147). See also Caddoes; Confederate treaties; Names in the wandering years.

Anna-Hata. Daughter of Hazel Innominee and Jemmy Buster; granddaughter of Hannali and Marie DuShane. Hannali recognizes her as Indian despite her white appearance. She corrects his calculation of the century, hears his distant call, arranges for a priest, and shares his candor and humor at his death. (pp. 211–212, 216–220).

Anna-Hata's husband. Unnamed white husband who brings the priest from Muskogee and urges the family to summon a doctor. He accepts his wife's communication with Hannali but protests their joking acceptance of death. (pp. 217–220).

Apaches. One of the peoples among whom Hannali lives in his traveling years. They call him Big Frog, and the catalogue names the leaders he knew. Later passages place Apaches in the histories of removal and the Wild West. (pp. 66–68, 192, 207). See also Names in the wandering years; Displaced peoples catalogue.

Apukshunubbee. One of the three Medal Mingos Hannali remembers hearing in youth. Compare the earlier forms Puchshenubbee and Puckshenubbee and the name discussion in the notes to Chapter One. (pp. 2, 7–8, 218). See also Age of the Patriarchs; Puchshenubbee.

Aquinas, Thomas. The narrator invokes the *Summa* when asking whether a decisive act can change a man's past as well as his future. Aquinas denies that a completed event can be made not to have happened; his account of eternal knowledge also preserves contingency. The novel's formulation is not a verbatim scholastic question. See *Summa theologiae* I, q. 25, a. 4, and I, q. 14, a. 13; Chapter Eighteen also discusses the possible parallel with Borges's "The Other Death." (pp. 197–198). See also Pitchlynn, Peter.

Arapahos. People among whom Hannali travels and receives the name Fat Beaver. Left Hand, Little Raven, Storm, Flat War Club, Crane, and Bull belong to the novel's roll call of his acquaintances. (pp. 67–68). See also Names in the wandering years.

Arkansas River. A major waterway for the novel's travel and trade. Through the Canadian River it connects Hannali's post with Fort Smith, Little Rock, Arkansas Post, and New Orleans; it also shapes the borders and movements of the neighboring nations. (pp. 38, 53–54). See also Canadian River; Fort Gibson; Fort Smith.

Arkansas West. The early designation used for the country later called Indian Territory. Silvestre DuShane has connections there before Hannali's journey, and Martha Louisiana leads the moving household toward it. (pp. 19, 46). See also Exploration of 1828.

Armstrong Academy. Historical Choctaw boarding school in the Pushmataha district; Travis attends it in the novel. See the notes to Chapter Ten. (p. 110).

Atoka. Town where Hannali and his family can again attend Catholic worship. The novel compresses the church's history: St. Patrick's was built in 1872, and the French Benedictine Isidore Robot became resident pastor in October 1875. See Michalicka, "First Catholic Church in Indian Territory," 481–82, and the notes to Chapter Eighteen. (pp. 203–204). See also Church of Silence; Boggy Depot.

B

Babel. Biblical counterpart invoked when the prologue makes Nanih Waiya the mound built after the Flood. The narrator incorporates Babel into his universal Choctaw history. Compare Genesis 11:1–9 and the prologue notes. (p. 2). See also Chatah and Chickasah; Flood; Nanih Waiya.

Bacon, Francis. English essayist whose phrase “hostages to fortune” describes the constraint imposed by acquired interests. The novel applies it to Pitchlynn’s slaveholding. See Bacon, “Of Marriage and Single Life,” and the notes to Chapter Twelve. (p. 124).

Banking. Hannali’s unchartered bank, with Marie DuShane keeping its accounts, extends his trade in neighbors’ produce and imported goods. In debate with Pitchlynn, he measures financial success against the welfare of the people who depend on him. (pp. 75, 91, 97–98). See also Choctaw dollars; Falaya system; Marie DuShane.

Baptist Mission. The press used by Forbis Agent for his neutrality broadsheets before Southern sympathizers cut off his access. (p. 125). See also Agent, Forbis; Freedom Indians.

Barnard Hotel. The Wellington hotel where the novel places Payne’s fatal collapse after a rally. Its suggestion that he was poisoned is unconfirmed. See the biographical evidence in Chapter Nineteen. (p. 211). See also Boomers; Payne, David L.

Barua Innominee. Hannali’s father and Mishoweia’s hereditary town chief in the novel. A member of the Catholic Hundred Families, he changes his allegiance from Pushmataha to Moshulatubbee while retaining his land and Six Towns identity. His insistence on continuity despite becoming a minority anticipates Hannali’s position. (pp. 3–4, 6–8, 11).

Bashih. Hannali’s large boat, which the visiting Innominee children are allowed to fire up. They handle it with the competence of experienced river children. (p. 94). See also Children visiting the Big House.

baskatanje. Choctaw corn game invoked when Hannali is introduced to dice. Swanton reproduces Culin's account of marked kernels thrown as dice and compares differing local versions (*Source Material*, 159). Hannali is proficient at it in the novel. See the notes to Chapter Four. (p. 30).

Baxter Springs. Kansas destination of Alinton's drive of one thousand of his own cattle in spring 1870. The episode connects the family's cattle business with the novel's Wild West catalogue. (pp. 206–207). See also Cattle; Kansas cattle trade.

Bears. Bears are familiar companions in Hannali's childhood: a she-bear joins family memory, and another gives counsel on self-preservation. At his death Anna-Hata affectionately calls him the old bear. The comedy depends on the narrator's literal treatment of these encounters. (pp. 4, 11, 220). See also Old Adam voice.

Bent St. Vrain. Trading enterprise invoked as one of the older western civilizations that preceded the Wild West. It contradicts the familiar story of civilization advancing into an empty frontier. (p. 197). See also Civilization.

Berthelet. The French-Canadian trader to whom the novel apprentices Robert M. Jones. Trading journeys and languages give Jones the skills he later uses in his commercial empire. (p. 108). See also Jones, Robert M.

Bethany, Charles. One of four white Texans who join Travis and Jemmy on their way to Yahola's camp. (p. 150).

Big Bend. Bend of the Arkansas reached by Stand Watie in the novel's account of the movement toward the final Snake Creek camp. His force leaves the river at Lutchapoga but arrives after the decisive action. (p. 170). See also Chustenahlah.

Big Decade. See Great Decade.

Big House. Hannali's expanding home, estate, workplace, treasury, and center of hospitality. Its stone, ironwork, tower, and additions record the stages of his life. The narrator relates the northern Big Houses to mutual protection and a feudal ideal. The burning of Hannali's house destroys his former world, although its stone core survives and the household rebuilds. His last passage through its door joins pleasure in living to the knowledge of approaching death. (pp. 56, 59–60, 96, 178–181, 183, 189, 215–216). See also Big House visitors; Falaya system; Foredeath; Great red flowering; Hospitality; Manor system.

Big House visitors. Visitors to Hannali's house over several decades include Benjamin Love, Benjamin Perryman, Black Dirt, Pliny Fisk, Drennen, Ya-Ya-Hadge, Roman Nose Thunder, Philip Henry Sheridan, and Samuel Rutherford. Missionaries include Isaac McCoy and Samuel Worcester, spelled Worchester in the novel. (pp. 59, 127). See also Big House; Names in the wandering years.

Big Lime. The narrator's name for the limestone beneath the shallow soils examined by the delegation. Its resistance to plowing leads the party to distinguish attractive grassland from adequate cornland. (p. 37).

Big Thunders, Year of the. See Year of the Big Thunders.

Billy Vessels. Football player named with Louis Weller in the comparison for Famous's floating deception. The reference brings a twentieth-century athletic image into the brothers' nineteenth-century deer hunt; it does not establish the narrator's racial generalizations about runners. (p. 81). See also Famous Innominee.

Biloxi Innominee. Hannali's brother, who works with him in the family enterprises and drags six unwilling dogs through the fox hunt. He declines the fiddle that eventually reaches Hannali. He remains in Mississippi when Hannali moves west. (pp. 14–17, 19, 43).

B.I.T. Abbreviation expanded by the narrator as Beautiful Indian Territory, a name used by cattle drivers both seriously and derisively. (pp. 206, 210).

Black Kettle. One of the great Plains acquaintances Hannali recalls in his final days. The novel gives no further biography. (p. 212). See also Names in the wandering years.

Black members of the Choctaw community. Martha Louisiana and her people are essential to the settlement's labor, skill, music, and family life. The novel distinguishes enslavement, emancipation, adoption, and free Black participation. For historical qualifications to its claims about the later disappearance or assimilation of distinct communities, see Chapters Two, Five, Thirteen, and Eighteen. (pp. 13, 46, 53, 70, 135, 147, 203). See also Martha Louisiana; Slavery.

Blau. German from St. Louis investigating buffalo hide as shoe leather; carries a marksmanship medal that prompts Alligator's joke. (p. 153).

Blood and clay. Pass Christian's "bone of my bone and liver of my liver" affirms kinship with his brothers; Hannali's "blood of my liver and clay of my clay" names Martha Louisiana as his people. Marie answers that all share the same clay. Compare Genesis 2:23 and the notes to Chapters Two and Six. (pp. 15, 65). See also Continent kindred; Clay-footed; Martha Louisiana.

Blue Stem Country. A regional name for the new Territory, introduced before the account of Indian removal. (p. 24). See also Exploration of 1828.

Blue-Eyed Company. The novel's designation for the Choctaws of white ancestry who keep other Confederate Indians obedient during the retreat from Round Mountains. A corresponding historical unit has not been identified. (p. 161).

Boeuf Valley. The route through Arkansas followed by Hannali, Albert Horse, and John T after crossing the Mississippi. Reports along the way tell Hannali that Martha Louisiana's party is ahead of them. (p. 47). See also Horse, Albert; Martha Louisiana.

Boggy Depot. The town assigned to the Pushmataha district in the novel's account of the new Territory. It later hosts the Choctaw-Chickasaw meeting at which neutrality gives way to Confederate alignment. The railway-era narrative should not be read as a literal renaming of Boggy Depot as Atoka; see the notes to Chapter Eighteen. (pp. 54, 79, 135, 203). See also Atoka; Choctaw districts; Confederate treaties.

Books. The preacher's proposed reading list includes Swift, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Plutarch, Irving, Roman history, and his own *Collected Sermons of Absalom MacGreggor*. Hannali spots that last recommendation's self-interest. (p. 84). See also Choctaw writing; Agent, Forbis.

Boomers. Settlers and advocates seeking to open lands in Indian Territory to homesteading. David L. Payne leads the movement described here. (pp. 205, 209–211).

Bow-Legs, Billy (Bolek). Seminole defender, called Alligator's brother in the novel. The name Bowlegs has several historical bearers. See the identifications in the notes to Chapter Fourteen. Cow-Catcher is their grandfather in the novel's genealogy, not their father. (pp. 145–146, 154).

Brutus. Pike's attendant, named in earlier histories and associated with his papers and money. The novel imagines that Brutus may secretly command his master. See the historical distinctions in the notes to Chapter Thirteen. (p. 138).

Buffalo. Buffalo appear as animals and as figures of human power. Hannali kills a bull with a club; later his fenced herd tests the limits of confinement. Anna-Hata calls him an old buffalo bull at his death. (pp. 57, 97, 220). See also Fences.

Buffalo Hump. A Plains visitor to the Big House and one of the men Hannali recalls in old age. The later catalogue uses the form Bull Hump; the resemblance alone does not establish the men's historical identities. (pp. 59, 68, 212). See also Names in the wandering years.

Bugle animal. The orphaned Snake girl's imagined creature answering Scott's captured horn. Judd and Scott sustain her joke while the pursuing force follows their movements. (pp. 161–162).

Bung starter. The barroom implement used to strike Hannali in New Orleans. He answers the assault by introducing a supposed Choctaw game of taking turns striking one another, turning the attack into a test the gamblers cannot endure. (p. 32). See also baskatanje.

Buster, Jemmy. See Jemmy Buster.

C

Caddoes. People encountered in the Territory before the main removal and among Hannali's Plains acquaintances. They enter the stories of trade, Pickens the green trader, Confederate treaty making, and Yahola's defenders. The narrator jokingly compares their language to happy barking. (pp. 43, 68, 113, 139, 147, 154). See also Anadarkos; Confederate treaties; Names in the wandering years.

Cagoulard society. The narrator's proposed French-Louisiana predecessor for the masked Peckerwoods who intimidate Indians. The claimed connection between these hooded groups remains unverified. See Chapter Five. (p. 44). See also Peckerwoods.

California Road. Western route connected in Hannali's plans with his post's advantageous position near the Texas Road. Alinton's journey takes him from the Canadian River and Santa Fe toward California, extending his wandering year. (pp. 53, 112, 116). See also Canadian River; Alinton Innominee.

Calles, Marie. Alinton's wife when he returns from his western journey. Their children listed here are Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena. Marie and the two boys die in the raid; Helena survives in Natchez's care. (pp. 119, 183–184).

Canadian River. Alinton's impractical commercial route and successful route of adventure toward Santa Fe; its extent exposes the novel's erroneous government map. (pp. 115–116).

Caravan. The steamboat named as Hannali's conveyance from New Orleans toward St. Louis. The narrator admits that Choctaw would have been a tempting substitute for its name. (p. 34).

Catherine. The name belongs to two different children. Pass Christian and Marie Delessert have a daughter Catherine among the Christmas visitors. Much later, Hannali dines with the young Catherine who is the daughter of Travis's unnamed widow; she and her mother also attend his final illness. The text does not expressly identify Travis as this later child's father. (pp. 93, 213, 218). See also Children visiting the Big House; Pass Christian Innominee; Travis Innominee.

Catlin, George. Artist invoked for the Choctaw Eagle Dance and for both the portrait and verbal description of Peter Pitchlynn. The dance image helps the narrator distinguish ceremonial appearance from ordinary life. See the Catlin sources in Chapters Seven and Eight. (pp. 73, 90). See also Eagle Dance; Pitchlynn, Peter.

Catoosa. The white mule Hannali buys from a Creek owner, ranked second only to his black mule Mingo. Together they pull through the most resistant sod. (p. 71).

Cattle. A family business linking Jemmy Buster, Famous, and Alinton to the trail drives of the Territory's Wild West period. Hannali buys cattle with saved gold after the war; Alinton's own herd goes to Baxter Springs. (pp. 117–119, 191, 207). See also Jemmy Buster; Baxter Springs; Kansas cattle trade.

Chatah and Chickasah. The brothers from whom the prologue derives all nations. Swanton preserves accounts of brothers leading migrations and, separately, a sea-origin narrative transmitted by Lanman from Pitchlynn. Lafferty joins the brothers to emergence beneath the Gulf of Mexico and extends their ancestry to all humanity. See Swanton, *Source Material*, 27–33, 36, and the prologue notes. (pp. 1–2).

Checote, Charles. Member of Yahola's defending company whose Confederate family connections show how the war divides relatives. (p. 154).

Checote neighbor. The Creek neighbor whose pasture can be seen across the river and whose horse Whiteman Falaya steals. The passage does not give a first name or establish that this is Samuel Checote. (pp. 55, 58). See also Whiteman Falaya; Checote, Samuel.

Checote, Samuel. Named among the Creek signers of Pike's treaty. The later Chief Checote leads one faction in the narrator's account of the Green Peach War. The novel separately mentions Charles Checote, Ophelia Checote, and Hannali's unnamed Checote neighbor; the text does not establish their exact relationships. (pp. 137, 154, 189). See also Checote, Charles; Checote neighbor; Children visiting the Big House; Confederate treaties.

Cherokee creeper. The low-growing vine supplies the image for a Cherokee news network the pursuers cannot control. Famous uses it to find the hidden refugee camp; he and other messengers also carry testimony that challenges the official account. (pp. 164, 166).

Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. Cattlemen's association opposing agricultural settlement that threatened its grazing interests. Its lease covered the Cherokee Outlet, a different tract from the Unassigned Lands. See the lease history in the notes to Chapter Nineteen. (p. 210).

Cherokees. The nation of Natchez and Strange Choate, across the river from Hannali's new settlement. Cherokee schooling, kinship, news networks, and divided wartime allegiances recur throughout the novel. The Pins' aid to the Snake refugees shows the divisions among Cherokees. (pp. 49, 53, 82, 110, 140, 164, 166). See also Cherokee creeper; Strange Choate; Natchez; Indian Civil Wars.

Cheyennes. Hannali's especially favored people among his Plains hosts. They name him Fiddling Bear, and their leaders receive the longest catalogue in the account of his traveling life. (pp. 66–67, 69). See also Names in the wandering years.

Chickasaws. Nation paired with the Choctaws in the prologue's brother narrative and in the exploration of the western country. The Colbert family supplies important leaders and connections; Winchester Colbert's truce closes the novel's account of the Civil War. See the treaty and chronology notes to Chapters Three, Thirteen, and Seventeen. (pp. 1–2, 20–21, 35–36, 137, 188–189). See also Chatah and Chickasah; Colbert family; Colbert, Winchester.

Children visiting the Big House. The Christmas visitors include Pass Christian's children Peter, Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, and Louis Christian. John and Emily Sapulpa, Ophelia Checote, Josephine Horse, Amanda T, Robert Harkins, Seoma Big, and the Choate nieces join them. Some of their parentage remains unknown. (pp. 93–94). See also Christmas and Epiphany; Pass Christian Innominee; Bashih.

Children's Decades. The narrator's name for the young postwar generation. (p. 196).

Chizem. The gray-eyed stranger whose threatening demand for Hannali's fiddle becomes a shared joke. The narrator identifies his mother as Cherokee and his father as Scottish. He introduces the travelers to Strange Choate and plays Hannali's fiddle. (pp. 47–49, 53).

Choate, Strange. See Strange Choate.

Choctaw Academy. The Kentucky school named in the narrator's speculative reconstruction of Pitchlynn's youth. Chapter Eight distinguishes Pitchlynn's documented parentage from the narrator's adoption theory. (p. 89). See also Pitchlynn, Peter.

Choctaw districts. The novel distinguishes Okla Hannali, Okla Tannaps, and Okla Falaya in Mississippi, then Moshulatubbee, Pushmataha, and Oklafalaya in the Territory. The North-South division structures the debate about commerce, land, and allegiance. See the geographical and historical qualifications in Chapters One, Five, and Nine. These political districts do not correspond to all the older divisions of Choctaw society. (pp. 7, 10, 54, 91, 99–100). See also Falaya system; Big House; Doaksville.

Choctaw dollars. Store-issued paper bearing the assurances "One Dollar Honest" or "Five Dollar Honest." When the unnamed Doaksville issuer evades redemption, Hannali enters the store on horseback and obtains payment. Identification of the notes with Robert M. Jones or an official tribal issue has not been established. (pp. 97–98).

Choctaw trade tongue. See Mavila-Choctaw trade tongue.

Choctaw writing. The family's lessons distinguish an alphabet usable across languages from Sequoyah's Cherokee syllabary. Hannali's comic argument about the lack of an alphabet overlooks written Choctaw and its publications. See the language and publication history in Chapters Eight and Eighteen. (pp. 82–85, 200–201). See also Books; English.

Choctaws. The central people of the novel, with differing districts, households, religious inheritances, and political choices. The prologue makes their origins universal; Hannali's family story carries the national history through removal, rebuilding, war, and survival. (pp. 1–2, 7, 10, 54, 99, 196, 217). See also Chatah and Chickasah; Choctaw districts; Five Tribes.

Choke-Cherry Canyon. The place behind the Big House where Helen Miller takes children during the raid. Robert Pike's note tells Hannali that the raiders killed them there. (p. 182). See also Big House; Miller, Helen.

Christmas and Epiphany. The prolonged family gathering of gifts, food, and visits affirms their Catholic faith despite the absence of a priest and Mass. Pass Christian's family leaves on Epiphany 1845. The seasonal abundance precedes the Big Thunders and the developing national division. (pp. 93, 96, 99). See also Children visiting the Big House; Church of Silence; Year of the Big Thunders.

Chronicles. The narrator distinguishes the epic quality Hannali claims from chronological record keeping, later questions victorious Spanish chronicles, and finally names Drago's Wild West chronicles. Each use raises questions about the historian's authority and the limits of a written record. (pp. 3, 10, 207). See also Kansas cattle trade.

Chuckling. Hannali's deep bodily laughter and the narrator's recurring Choctaw characteristic. It carries remembered pleasure, exaggeration, sympathy, and defiance. (pp. 4, 31, 48, 109, 220). See also Clay-footed; Death; Jokes and laughter.

Church of Silence. The narrator's phrase for Hannali's life as a Catholic during long periods without access to a priest. Baptism in New Orleans gives him the Christian name Louis; the family's religious allegiance precedes that occasion. (p. 33).

Chustenahlah. The battle of December 26, 1861, called Chuste Nahlah and Shoal Creek in the novel. McIntosh's attack defeats the final remnant, while refugees continue toward Kansas. It is distinct from the December 9 battle at Bird Creek. See the chronology in the notes to Chapter Fifteen. (pp. 165–166, 168–171).

Chusto Talasah. The December 9, 1861 engagement at Bird Creek, also called Caving Banks or Little High Shoals. In the novel the defenders repel Cooper but exhaust nearly all their ammunition. See the chronology in the notes to Chapter Fifteen. (pp. 165–168).

Cigars. Cigars accompany conversation, judgment, and ceremony. The narrator grants the cigar the pipe's sacred standing; a dry cigar also figures in Winchester Colbert's exchange with the Union major at the war's end. (pp. 11, 188–189). See also Colbert, Winchester.

Cimarron River. River crossed by Yahola's people before the Round Mountains action, accompanied by a delayed crossing and ambush. This is a different episode from the later Wild West catalogue's Cimarron Crossing. (p. 156). See also Round Mountains; Kansas cattle trade.

Civilization. The novel disputes common judgments of who is civilized. Hannali can paint his face, farm, bank, and remain master of his culture; the Snake Creeks can be called least civilized and most civil. The narrator later insists that the Wild West followed the ruin of established civilizations. His claim that civilizations were ruined does not establish that the peoples themselves disappeared. (pp. 74, 152, 195, 197). See also Five Tribes; Displaced peoples catalogue.

Clan thing Devil. An opaque section heading introducing national schism and Whiteman Falaya's renewed attack on Sally. (pp. 99–101). See also Whiteman Falaya.

Clay-footed. The novel's recurring adjective for Hannali's luck, rustic self-presentation, grief, music, and embodied life. Its affectionate and self-deprecating uses are broader than a simple claim of clumsiness or moral weakness. (pp. 31, 33, 48–49, 53, 63, 214). See also Blood and clay; Chuckling.

Coal Law of 1873. One of the later laws the narrator compares with the constitution printed at Doaksville in 1852. He argues that both the language of government and its way of thinking have changed. See the qualifications concerning Choctaw literacy and cultural survival in Chapter Eighteen. (p. 201). See also Choctaw writing; English.

Colbert family. Chickasaw family whom Hannali knows through travel, friendship, and politics. Levi accompanies the western journey; Pitman's wealth becomes the standard beside which Hannali's gold is measured; Winchester appears at the war's end. The text also places a young Colbert among Yahola's volunteers. (pp. 20–21, 53, 59, 75, 147, 188–189). See also Colbert, Levi; Colbert, Winchester; Elites.

Colbert, Levi. The historical Chickasaw leader named among Hannali's companions on the journey of 1828. McReynolds identifies him as head of the Chickasaw delegation. Foreman's extended account of a later exploration in 1830–31 concerns a separate journey. See the notes to Chapter Four. (pp. 20–21).

Colbert, Winchester. Chickasaw governor whose July 14, 1865, agreement closes the chapter's account of the Civil War. The tired horse, cigar, and literacy exchange are details of the novel's dramatization. See the historical comparison in the notes to Chapter Seventeen. (pp. 188–189).

Comanche Potatoes. Buffalo droppings passed off as food in Hannali's story about the newly arrived Creeks. The name does not identify an edible prairie tuber. Told at the family's last common supper, the coarse joke draws a protest from Natchez and leaves the children asking for a proper ghost story. (pp. 148–149). See also Pike, Robert.

Comanches. Plains people among whom Hannali travels and receives the name Mule Doctor. The Comanche leaders' roll call and the joke about "Comanche Potatoes" are different uses of the name, the latter referring to buffalo droppings. (pp. 67–68, 149). See also Comanche Potatoes; Names in the wandering years.

Confederate treaties. Chapter Thirteen treats Pike's 1861 agreements as deliberate attempts to divide Indian nations. Motey Canard, George Cloud, Tacusa Fixico, Ochillas, and the Spicers appear in lists of signers; John Chupco is among the leaders the narrator says were excluded. Wichita Agency and Park Hill are principal settings, and the Osage divisions supply another example of the argument. Forged signatures, manufactured chiefs, and deliberately created internal wars are the narrator's allegations; the treaty texts alone do not substantiate them. See Chapter Thirteen. (pp. 135–140). See also Aionais; Checote, Samuel; Freedom Indians; Indian Civil Wars; Pike, Albert; Quinahiwi; Small Cloud Spicer; Watie, Stand.

Congressional Cemetery. Washington burial place of Peter Pitchlynn and Pushmataha. Their shared burial ground enables the novel's imagined underground protest against Pike's eulogy. See Historic Congressional Cemetery, *American Indian Tour*, entries 20 and 24, and Chapter Eighteen. (p. 198).

Continent kindred. The grandson's description of the household after the three marriages end. Continent means sexually restrained; kinship and obligations persist under that discipline. (pp. 70–71).

Contingent form. The condition in which Famous returns to Alinton after his disappearance. He can converse and enjoy the smell of coffee, tobacco, and whiskey but cannot consume them. (p. 190). See also Famous Innominee; Foredeath.

Cooper, Douglas. Indian agent turned Confederate commander in the novel. He directs the attacks at Round Mountains and Bird Creek; his massed tactics become a principal target of the narrator's military criticism. See the historical comparisons in Chapters Twelve, Fourteen, and Fifteen. (pp. 127, 158, 161, 165–169). See also Chusto Talasah; Round Mountains.

Corn. Hannali's attempt to give corn to arriving Indians conflicts with traders' profits; after the war his remaining seed corn helps renew cultivation. The corn cake placed in his pocket carries sustenance into his final journey. (pp. 71–72, 189–190, 219). See also Fort Coffee; Corn cake.

Corn cake. Food Anna-Hata slips into Hannali's breast pocket for his last journey after he receives Communion and Extreme Unction. (p. 219).

Country Behind God's Back. The narrator's name for the Indian South after the disappearance of French and Spanish witnesses to U.S. expansion. The phrase describes wrongdoing freed from outside observation. (p. 24).

Coup. The verb in the final lament after the Snake refugees' defeat. The lament places the enemy's counted coup beside the dead mother, empty parfleche, burned lodges, and extinguished smoke. No source for the lament has been established; see Chapter Fifteen. (p. 171). See also Chustenahlah.

Creeks. The nation to which Martha Louisiana belongs and into which Hannali is adopted. The novel gives the Upper or Snake Creeks the central refugee story while distinguishing them from the predominantly Confederate Lower Creek faction. Charles Checote is one of the family exceptions to these racial and political categories; see Chapters Thirteen through Fifteen for historical qualifications. (pp. 46, 53, 137, 145–146, 151, 154, 163, 189). See also Checote, Charles; Martha Louisiana; Opothleyahola; Indian Civil Wars.

Cross-Timbers. Landscape named as one end of the vast political world of the Plains horse Indians. The phrase gives scale to the narrator's defense of their accomplishments. (p. 68). See also Names in the wandering years.

Crows. People included among Hannali's Plains acquaintances, though the narrator says they were not his special people. Big Prisoner, Kit Fox, Standing Alligator, and Plenty Coups form their short name roll. Crow Indian in the preceding catalogue is identified as a Cheyenne. (pp. 67–68). See also Names in the wandering years.

Crucifixion. Christian image used in the counsel about a people's repeated suffering and in the postwar language of dispossession. Hannali understands historical suffering through a Catholic analogy with Christ's Passion. (pp. 127, 191). See also Church of Silence; Foredeath.

Curers. The novel's list of Seminole healers includes herbalists, fever breakers, bone setters, and psycho-healers. Their healing work contradicts the hostile caricatures of the refugee defenders. See Chapter Fifteen. (p. 166). See also Alligator.

Cushman. Historian named, with an explicit qualification, among the authorities reporting Pitchlynn's parentage. The reference shows that the narrator knows Cushman's history; it does not establish Cushman as the source of every episode. See the source discussion in Chapter Eight. (p. 89). See also Debo, Angie; Foreman, Grant; Pitchlynn, Peter.

D

Dancing Rabbit Creek, Treaty of. The Choctaw treaty signed September 27, 1830, ceding the remaining eastern country and providing for removal, with a qualified option to remain in article XIV. The novel presents it as the outcome that even Moshulatubbee's triumph over LeFlore cannot prevent and as another broken assurance. The treaty leads to departure from Mississippi and rebuilding in the west. See the treaty text and Chapters Three and Five. (pp. 25–28).

De Soto, Hernando. Spanish expedition leader opposed by Tuscalusa in the prologue's historical continuation. The narrator challenges the Spanish claim of victory by imagining the practical outcome from the other side. See Chapter One. (p. 10). See also *Chronicles*.

Dead man club. Moshulatubbee's joke about the men who have defied Pushmataha and lived. By admitting Barua to this company, the forbidding elders acknowledge him as kin and turn a threat of violence into a joke. (p. 8). See also Barua Innominee; Age of the Patriarchs.

Death. Hannali prepares his coffin and receives confession, Communion, and Extreme Unction, then jokes with Anna-Hata about completing his final business. The priest affirms that God determines death. Hannali's readiness and humorous answer accord with their shared faith, and the scene ends with his memory unbroken. (pp. 219–220). See also Anna-Hata; Corn cake; Extreme Unction; Foredeath.

Debo, Angie. Historian named among the authorities for Pitchlynn's parentage. The guide uses her historical work to test the narrator's claims, including the account of postwar language and cultural change. See the source discussions in Chapters Eight and Eighteen. (p. 89). See also Cushman; Foreman, Grant; Pitchlynn, Peter.

Defamation and reputation. The narrator attacks the protection granted to celebrated historical figures, naming Caesar, Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, Edward the Confessor, Erasmus, Galileo, Harvey, Darwin, Franklin, Jefferson, Martel, Nelson, Newton, and others before challenging Pike. Later he reproduces grotesque portraits of the Seminole defenders only to overturn them. (pp. 122, 145–146). See also Alligator; Brutus; Pike, Albert.

Delawares. People placed among earlier Territory inhabitants and the later removal catalogue. Jim Ned's Delaware and Black ancestry becomes part of the narrator's account of the persecuted peoples represented in Yahola's defense. (pp. 43, 145–146, 192). See also Displaced peoples catalogue; Ned, Jim.

Delessert, Marie. See Marie Delessert.

Devil. A recurring moral designation applied to Jackson, Pike, and Whiteman Falaya. Its uses connect national policy with personal persecution, while the household scenes also use devil language for destructive human impulses. (pp. 10, 24, 62, 99, 127, 173–174, 187). See also Clan thing Devil; Whiteman Falaya; Jackson, Andrew; Pike, Albert.

Devil Cherokees. Robert Pike's name for the raiders in his note after the massacre. The phrase identifies his accusation, but does not by itself establish their unit or prove Stand Watie's personal direction of the attack. (p. 182). See also Big House; Pike, Robert.

Dickens, Charles. Writer whom the novel cites as an admiring witness to Peter Pitchlynn on an Ohio River steamboat. The narrator turns Dickens's report about Pitchlynn learning English late into a speculative adoption theory. See *American Notes*, Chapter XII, and the corrections in Chapter Eight. (pp. 89–90). See also Choctaw Academy; Pitchlynn, Peter.

Displaced peoples catalogue. The postwar lists accumulate the names of displaced peoples and their recorded subdivisions. Among them are Cahokias, Cayugas, Conchas, Conestogas, Eries, Nemaha Iowas, Kaskaskias, Wildcat Kickapoos, Lipans, Miamis, Michigameas, Modocs, Mohawks, Manchokatonx, Mantantan, Menominee, Assiniboin, Nadoues-Sioux, and Fort-Snelling Sioux. The narrator includes Minnesota Indians and other regional groupings. The catalogue does not establish that every named people moved after the Civil War or ceased to exist. See the chronological and historical qualifications in Chapter Seventeen. (pp. 192, 194–195). See also Civilization; Five Tribes.

Doaks and Timms Mercantile Company. The established Doaksville concern that the novel says Jones and Berthelet displaced. (p. 108). See also Berthelet; Doaksville; Jones, Robert M.

Doak's Stand, Treaty of. The treaty of October 18, 1820, exchanging an eastern Choctaw cession for a western tract. The 1825 Washington treaty subsequently reduced that grant. Lafferty presents the sequence as concessions to an insatiable pursuer; the explorers' disappointment exposes the difference between promised land and the conditions they find. See the treaty texts and Chapters Three and Four. (pp. 24, 36–37).

Doaksville. Major town of the novel's southern Choctaw world, associated with Israel Folsom's inn, Jones's commerce, the disputed paper dollars, and the printed constitution. Pitchlynn invokes its trade as a necessary counterpart to Hannali's self-sufficient estate. For the later railway changes, see Chapter Eighteen. (pp. 54, 60, 91, 97–98, 108, 201, 203). See also Choctaw dollars; Falaya system; Folsom, Israel.

Dodge City. Kansas cattle town where Hannali meets Payne and an unnamed artist in the spring of 1884. (pp. 207–208).

Drago. The surname behind the “chronicles of Drago” invoked for the Wild West saloon names. Harry Sinclair Drago's *Wild, Woolly, and Wicked* (1960) is a plausible source, but the exact borrowing is unconfirmed. See the bibliographical evidence in Chapter Nineteen. (p. 207). See also Chronicles; Kansas cattle trade.

Dreams. Dreams summon Hannali toward Nanih Waiya, inspire Alinton's trading journey, and raise questions about perception at a distance. Opothleyahola's bad-dream explanation for his treaty signature is a different, sardonic use of the same idiom. (pp. 76, 79, 111, 137). See also Old Adam voice; Alik; Confederate treaties; Nanih Waiya.

Drew, John. Commander of the Cherokee regiment sent to support Cooper. In the novel many of his Pin soldiers refuse the campaign after talking with Yahola's people. See the historical distinctions in Chapter Fifteen. (pp. 165–166). See also Cherokees; Chusto Talasah.

Dull Knife. Cheyenne leader included in Hannali's traveling acquaintances and the Wild West catalogue. Near the end Hannali names him again among the men whose disappearance marks his own isolation. (pp. 67, 207, 212). See also Names in the wandering years; Kansas cattle trade.

Dumas, Alexandre. The narrator invokes Dumas when suggesting that Brutus secretly governs Pike. This possible reversal of servant and master has not been established historically. (pp. 136, 138). See also Brutus.

Durant family. The household south of Hannali's that receives the dying priest after he leaves the Big House. The name here denotes a family, not a reference to the later city. (p. 88). See also Church of Silence.

Durham bull. Valuable breeding animal Famous brings back with Helen Miller; its stated monetary worth is contrasted with her incalculable value. (p. 118).

DuShane, Alinton. Marie DuShane's father and Alinton Innominee's maternal grandfather. He gives Hannali the trading post and dies soon afterward. His grandson later takes up his unrealized plan for a trading voyage up the Canadian River. Old letters give his surname as Duchesne, provoking Hannali's affectionate recollection of Marie's teaching. (pp. 38–40, 53, 111, 202–203).

DuShane, Marie. See Marie DuShane.

DuShane, Silvestre. The trader hired to run the Innominees' store and depot. His French or Shawnee ancestry remains uncertain in the narration, but his acceptance as Choctaw is explicit. A musician, Hannali's close friend, and later his adopted brother, he accompanies the western journey. (pp. 19–20).

E

Eagle Dance. The ceremonial performance in Catlin's sketch. The narrator contrasts it with everyday Choctaw dress and work, arguing that the spectacle cannot represent the Choctaws' whole way of life. See the Catlin discussion in Chapter Seven. (p. 73). See also Catlin, George; Civilization.

Eggs, white men's. Barua's comic accusation that Pushmataha has sucked white men's eggs. He mocks Pushmataha's accommodation of white men with an embarrassing bodily image, which returns in Hannali's final recollections. (pp. 6–8, 214). See also Barua Innominee.

Elites. The narrator's collective name for the exceptional volunteers answering Yahola's appeal; distinct from the larger refugee population. (pp. 147, 150, 152, 155).

English. The novel associates English with intertribal communication, altered pronunciation, and changing public language after the war. Its sweeping claims of Indigenous-language disappearance are contradicted by surviving publications and later testimony. See Debo, *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, 97, 231, 243, and the notes to Chapter Eighteen. (pp. 83, 85, 199–201). See also Choctaw writing; DuShane, Alinton.

Eufaula. Town where Hannali dines with Travis’s widow and Catherine, then drinks and plays cards with friends on the last night but one of his life. (p. 213).

Evans, Eneas. One of the four Texans who ride with Travis and Jemmy to aid Yahola. (p. 150).

Exploration of 1828. The delegation that includes Pitchlynn, Levi Colbert, Hannali, and Silvestre DuShane examines the proposed western country. Its route and judgments bring the Boston and Winding Stair mountains, Blue River, Clear Boggy, and False Washita into the story. The explorers repeatedly judge attractive grassland by its suitability for growing corn. The 1828 journey is distinct from the 1830–31 exploration described by Foreman; see Chapters Two and Four. (pp. 20–21, 34–42). See also Big Lime; Caravan; False Washita.

Extreme Unction. Traditional name for the sacrament of anointing administered to Hannali during his final illness. The scene also includes confession and Communion. See the sacramental context in the notes to Chapter Twenty. (p. 219).

F

Falaya system. The commercial and plantation economy that Pitchlynn asks Hannali to balance against the Big House’s self-sufficiency. The debate considers commercial prosperity and its human cost. The Northern and Southern types simplify the variety of Choctaw households for this comparison. See Chapters Eight through Ten. (pp. 91, 99–100, 108–109). See also Banking; Big House; Choctaw districts; Doaksville.

Falaya, Whiteman. See Whiteman Falaya.

False Washita. The older name for the Washita as explained by the narrator, distinguishing it from the similarly pronounced Ouachita in Louisiana. (pp. 40–41).

Famous Innominee. Hannali's son by Natchez, husband of Helen Miller, and father of Famous-George. His floating deception distinguishes him in the brothers' deer hunt. A Fort Coffee pupil close to his grandfather Strange Choate, he becomes a cattleman and forceful defender of neutrality. After his disappearance, the narrator proposes that he became an unnamed Union captain. Alinton later reports a visit from his dead brother in contingent form, retaining his appetites and humor. No historical counterpart to Famous has been identified. (pp. 54, 80–81, 110, 117–118, 124–127, 163–164, 184–185, 190–191). See also Innominee family; Miller, Helen; House divided.

Famous-George. Ten-year-old son of Famous Innominee and Helen Miller. He saves the ponies, returns first at Hannali's call, knows his father will not return, helps make coffins, and reads the Latin burial prayers. (pp. 183–185).

Femme et Chatte. "Woman and She-Cat," the tune Marie DuShane asks Hannali to play. She rejects his rendition; he replies that it concerns the girl's other cat. A historical tune under this title has not been identified. (p. 39).

Fences. Hannali's demanding standards for fences reflect the strength and persistence needed for settled farming. Fences protect crops while restricting the freedom of animals and men accustomed to roaming. (pp. 71, 97). See also Buffalo; Big House.

Fetch. The double invoked to explain the Hannali-like figure fighting beside Travis. The later explanation also preserves the claim that Hannali has kept his oath of neutrality. (pp. 159–160).

Fiddle and violin. Pass Christian's gift reaches Hannali after Biloxi and Barua decline it. Fiddling becomes his art and a means of fellowship with Chizem and his Plains hosts, although Marie initially rejects his playing. Pitchlynn's performance supplies the remembered model of a violin rather than a fiddle. In old age Hannali draws powerful music from the cellar. The change from fiddle to violin suggests that his art has deepened while retaining the pleasures of his early playing. (pp. 19–20, 39, 48–49, 67, 202). See also Chizem; Femme et Chatte.

Five Luck. One of the narrator's proposed Choctaw meanings for poker, alongside Five-Hazard, in the New Orleans chapter. The etymology is unverified. See the language-source limits in Chapter Four. (p. 31). See also baskatanje; Bung starter.

Five Tribes. Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles: the peoples whose shared history in the Territory is the novel's central historical subject. The conventional label Five Civilized Tribes raises its recurring question of what it means to be civilized. (pp. 20–21, 35, 53, 195, 197). See also Cherokees; Chickasaws; Choctaws; Creeks; Civilization.

Flood. The prologue's great Mississippi flood, survived by Oklabashih the raft builder and followed by the construction of Nanih Waiya. The Noah and Babel parallels combine biblical and Choctaw accounts of origins. Compare Genesis 6–11 and the prologue notes. (p. 2). See also Babel; Chatah and Chickasah; Nanih Waiya.

Folsom, David. A Choctaw chief who supports LeFlore's consolidation of authority and accompanies him against Moshulatubbee in the novel. He is distinct from the minister Israel Folsom whose account Cushman preserves. See the notes to Chapter Three. (p. 26). See also Folsom, Israel.

Folsom, Israel. The novel credits Israel Folsom with Doaksville's inn. Goode's account instead names David Folsom as the public-house keeper. McReynolds also names Israel, which may indicate that Lafferty used his account. The Territory's supposed sole inn is also contradicted by a contemporary report of five hotels at Tahlequah. See Goode, *Outposts of Zion*, 187; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 53, 400; McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 170; and the notes to Chapter Six. (p. 60). See also Folsom, David; Big House; Doaksville.

Folsom, Sophia. Mother of Peter Pitchlynn in the historical parentage that the narrator first reports and then speculatively revises. See the biography and source notes to Chapters Eight and Eighteen. (pp. 89, 198). See also Pitchlynn, Peter.

Forbidden fruit. The sand plum in the prologue's account of the lost first ease. Eating it begins hard labor and history in a Choctaw recasting of the biblical Fall. Compare Genesis 3 and the prologue notes. (p. 1). See also Flood; Chatah and Chickasah.

Foredeath. Hannali's name for surviving the destruction of his former world. His faith and remaining obligations enable him to act again after this death within life. (p. 185).

Foreman, Grant. Historian named among the authorities for Pitchlynn's parentage. His work provides a source for comparison; citing him does not establish that the novel follows his chronology or accounts. See the source distinctions in Chapters Four, Eight, and Seventeen. (p. 89). See also Cushman; Debo, Angie; Exploration of 1828.

Fort Coffee. The landing where traders prevent Hannali from distributing free corn and threaten his life. He escapes and moves his next landing upriver. (p. 72).

Fort Coffee Academy. Historical Choctaw boarding school on the Arkansas River; Famous attends it and visits his grandfather Strange Choate nearby. See the notes to Chapter Ten. (p. 110).

Fort Gibson. Army post connected with Hannali's trading country and Strange Choate's pork business. Its Civil War episodes involve retreat, contested occupation, and inquiry at different dates and under different allegiances. (pp. 49, 53, 161, 166, 185). See also Strange Choate; Forts.

Fort Reno. Fort whose troops arrest Payne and his followers in the Boomer narrative. The arrests show the conflict among cattle interests, farmers, federal authority, and Indian land rights. See Chapter Nineteen. (pp. 207, 210). See also Boomers; Payne, David L.

Fort Smith. An administrative and military center downstream from Hannali's post, connected to it by trade. (pp. 53, 136). See also Arkansas River; Forts.

Fort Towson. Place associated with the beginning of Jones's plantation wealth and with the later railway-era account of Doaksville. The old military post, the later railway town, and Doaksville are distinct places; see Chapter Eighteen. (pp. 108, 203). See also Doaksville; Jones, Robert M.

Forts. Army posts that serve as stopping places, markets, centers of government authority, and wartime positions in the novel. The withdrawal from Washita, Arbuckle, Cobb, and Gibson leaves the Unionist Indians feeling abandoned. Coffee, Gibson, and Smith also belong to Hannali's peacetime trading network. See Chapter Twelve for chronology. (pp. 53–54, 60, 72, 128). See also Fort Coffee; Fort Gibson; Fort Smith; Indian Civil Wars; Kansas cattle trade.

Fourth Texas Cavalry. The novel's unit label for Texas troops pursuing Opothleyahola's refugees. Their anti-Creek jingle precedes the battle, and the defenders' rifles break their assault. See Chapter Fifteen for the historical units and the later South Kansas designation. (pp. 146, 151, 157, 160). See also Indian Civil Wars; Round Mountains.

Fox. The elderly vixen pressed into service for Barua's hunt. She resists the hunters, breaks her tether, and receives Martha Louisiana's protection. Barua ultimately takes only the hair from her tail. The narrator treats her as a person and presents the hunt from her side. The later names Fox-Hard-to-Kill, Fox-Know-the-Way, Fox-Come-Again, and Fox-Laugh-in-the-Sun extend the fox story to Opothleyahola. They have not been established as an independent folklore classification. (pp. 15–18, 163).

Freedom Indians. The novel's name for Hannali's circle of determined neutralists. They defend themselves and eventually shelter a Union soldier in secret. No independent historical organization of this name has been established. (pp. 124, 132).

Freeholding. The novel's term for Hannali's household independence under communal tribal tenure, before later changes to individual ownership. See the land and treaty distinctions in Chapters Ten and Seventeen. (pp. 109, 136, 193). See also Falaya system; Freedom Indians.

French inheritances. The Innominee and DuShane families share French language, river commerce, music, Catholic affiliation, and mixed family histories. These inheritances cross racial lines: Marie's assumptions change, and her teaching survives in her descendants and Hannali's remembered French. (pp. 10, 19, 30, 33, 38, 62, 88, 93, 202, 204). See also Church of Silence; Marie DuShane; Fiddle and violin.

French river towns. The steamboat journey passes Baton Rouge and Natchez, recalls Natchez's Fort Rosalie name, and sets Vicksburg's Fort Nogales and Walnut Hill names beside newer ambitions at Cairo and Cape Girardeau. St. Louis is the city "hatched out of a big egg." (pp. 34–35). See also Caravan.

French Town. The New Orleans setting of Hannali's gambling and barroom encounters. Dauphin and Conti streets, articulate strangers, and the sudden change from friendliness to violence shape his first experience of the city. (pp. 29–32). See also Bung starter; Five Luck.

G

Gaines Creek. The creek near the U.S. military camp where Hannali demands Whiteman Falaya during the Mexican War. (pp. 102–105). See also Whiteman Falaya; Mexican War.

Galena and niter. Minerals named in the contrast between Luvinia's sharp natural salt and Martha-Child's refined store salt. The two salts characterize the two generations. (pp. 201–202). See also Luvinia Innominee; Martha-Child.

Garland, John. The district chief whose abdication helps Greenwood LeFlore claim leadership of the whole Choctaw nation. The narrator casts him as LeFlore's instrument and Nitakechi's rival. (p. 26). See also LeFlore, Greenwood; Nitakechi.

Garrett, William. The Creek Indian agent whom the narrator includes among officials who joined the Confederacy and influenced Peter Pitchlynn. (p. 127). See also Indian Civil Wars.

German men. Two distinct men appear: Blau, the visitor from St. Louis investigating buffalo hides as shoe leather, and the unnamed man with a German surname whose Kiowa ancestry Hannali discovers at Eufaula. (pp. 153, 213–214). See also Man with the Talking Horses.

Ghost skin. The invisible hide sold to Pickens in a dinner-table tale. He knows it remains on his wall because he can see the nails that hold it up. (p. 149). See also Ghosts and invisibility.

Ghost-crazy killers. The narrator's term for violent men associated with the destructive seed of Whiteman Falaya. (p. 120).

Ghosts and invisibility. Robert Pike becomes invisible through Hannali's refusal to acknowledge a soldier in his neutral house; in old age he appears as a ghost who claims to exist only in Hannali's mind. Falaya's stealth produces a different ghostly effect, while Pickens's ghost skin turns invisibility into a trading joke. (pp. 130–131, 148–150, 176–177, 211–212). See also Ghost skin; Neutrality.

Gibson Road. Route of Cooper's hurried withdrawal after the battle the novel calls Round Mountains. In this account, both armies retreat from the same field. (pp. 160–161). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Gilcrease Museum. Tulsa collection acknowledged by Lafferty as a resource for the novel. His preface praises Thomas Gilcrease and the range of books, manuscripts, pictures, and other materials available there. (p. xvi).

Glidden, Joseph F. The narrator associates Glidden's barbed wire with the end of the open cattle range. Glidden's "Improvement in Wire-Fences," U.S. Patent 157,124, was issued in 1874. (p. 206). See also Kansas cattle trade.

God. Hannali's questions about God extend from childhood curiosity to the justice of repeated suffering and his last private reckoning. Yahola also addresses God in his extravagant appeal for defenders. Both men speak familiarly to God, expressing complaint within faith. Hannali contrasts knowing God with Pike's grand talk of gods. (pp. 11, 127, 146–147, 172, 220). See also Hard hill; Mass.

Gold. Hannali's stored wealth supports his independence. His concealed gold survives the destruction and finances Alinton's postwar cattle purchases. The novel shows him gambling, lending, saving, and providing for his family. (pp. 29, 32, 56, 75, 191). See also Alinton Innominee; Manor system.

Goodnight, Charles. Named among the fictional white visitors to Hannali House and later among the cattle-era promoters. (pp. 59, 207). See also Kansas cattle trade; Big House.

Gopher John. Black Seminole leader included among Hannali's fictional visitors. The narrator makes his leadership decisive in a removal party's survival and associates him with Wewoka. (p. 59). See also Big House.

Grand Saline. Salt-seep locality also called Salina, where Natchez was born. She names her daughter Salina after it. Strange Choate had lived there and still had a brother there. (pp. 49, 70). See also Natchez; Sally Innominee.

Grasshopper Creek Indian. Hannali's joking description of Shakespeare after hearing the name on a preacher's reading list. It converts an unfamiliar literary name into an imagined Indian performing a spear dance. (p. 84). See also MacGreggor, Absalom.

Graven Indian. The apparently carved figure on the mountain that proves to be Peter Pitchlynn waiting for the men summoned by dream. (p. 78). See also Nanih Waiya.

Gray Ghost. A name in Hannali's late roll call of vanished companions and earlier Indian figures. The chapter does not identify its bearer. (p. 212).

Grease-carbon apparatus. Hannali's waxed-stone, grease-carbon device for copying Forbis Agent's neutralist broadsides once printing presses are closed to them. The narrator calls it a primitive mimeograph, but its poor legibility leaves the household copying sheets by hand. (p. 125). See also Neutrality.

Great Crossing. Kentucky location of the Choctaw Academy in the narrator's account of Peter Pitchlynn's early education. The novel's reconstruction of his upbringing is disputed. (p. 89).

Great Decade. The Innominees' approximately thirteen prosperous years, 1847–1860, also called the Big Decade and a baker's-dozen decade. Schooling, public service, travel, commerce, friendship, marriages, and grandchildren enlarge their world before the war. (pp. 110–111, 118–119). See also Innominee family; Armstrong Academy; Fort Coffee Academy; Account book.

Great red flowering. The burning house appears as a terrible enlargement of Hannali's cultivated red roses. (pp. 178–179). See also Big House.

Great Salt Plains. One destination of the Innominees' family travels during the Great Decade, alongside the Alabaster Hills and Wichita Mountains. (p. 111). See also Great Decade.

Green Interlude. The narrator's name for Indian Territory's place between a cattle drive's Texas beginnings and its Kansas railhead destination. The Territory is also a source of cattle raised by its own people. (pp. 206–207). See also Kansas cattle trade.

Green Peach War. Later Creek conflict presented as the continuation of Civil War divisions. The novel gives 1882; the historical conflict extended into 1883. (p. 189). See also Isparhecher; Indian Civil Wars.

Green turban. Hannali's distinctive turban, wound in Creek fashion. He removes it respectfully for the exhausted visiting priest. (pp. 73–74, 87).

Grudge against death. Hannali's answer when Hazel fears that he will be killed searching for Martha Louisiana. His grievance against death becomes the reason death should fear him. The defiance leads directly to the recovery and burial of the dead. (pp. 184–185). See also God; Hannali Innominee.

Gulf of Mexico. The cavern beneath the Gulf is the place of emergence in the prologue. Later the Gulf becomes the commercial destination of Barua's river produce. (pp. 1, 13).

Gumbo. Strange Choate's contemptuous counterpart to the North's mud when he urges the family to remain free of both sides in the Civil War. (p. 127). See also Neutrality.

Gun shop. The elites repair the Snake Creeks' poor weapons and teach rifle fire before the refugee march. Yahola, in turn, teaches the assembled fighters tactics. (p. 152). See also Henrys and other firearms.

H

Hainai and Kutchaw. The narrator contrasts Kutchaw, whom he calls the Hainai chief, with Cashao on the Confederate treaty and alleges a forged signature followed by civil war. The difference in spelling does not establish the alleged forgery. (p. 139). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Haley, Major. The envoy of Andrew Jackson whom the narrator blames for engineering the attempted removal treaty and Greenwood LeFlore's temporary ascendancy. (p. 26). See also LeFlore, Greenwood.

Halleck Tustennuggee. Seminole veteran first caricatured by the narrator, then treated with respect. His professed modesty precedes the campfire's most extravagant shooting boast. He commands the novel's skeleton force covering the refugees' escape at Shoal Creek. McReynolds also names him as the infantry commander at historical Chustenahlah; *Oklahoma*, 207. See Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen. (pp. 145–146, 154, 159, 170). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Hand talk. Sign communication observed among the Plains Indians watching the exploration party and later learned by Hannali during his travels. (pp. 42, 69). See also Names in the wandering years.

Hannali House. See Big House.

Hannali Innominee. The central figure: farmer, trader, fiddler, traveler, senator, father, and finally Mingo. Son of Barua and Chapponia, brother of Pass Christian and Biloxi. His three sons and three daughters form the household whose losses and survival the novel follows. His death falls in 1900; the novel gives inconsistent ages for him. (pp. 3–4, 54, 67, 70, 111, 184, 212, 214, 218, 220). See also Innominee family; Hannali, pronunciation of; Mingo.

Hannali, pronunciation of. The narrator assigns second-syllable stress before the Civil War and first-syllable stress afterward. Natchez inadvertently adopts the later pronunciation as customs change after the war. (p. 199). See also Identity and assimilation; Natchez.

Hannali's crafts and household economy. Hannali supports his independence through farming, smithing, shoemaking, harness making, carpentry, gunsmithing, milling, trade, and banking. The household's musical instruments, loom, ledger, store, and boats give other family members distinct roles. He weighs potential profit against his neighbors' needs. The narrator treats the surviving fences in Pittsburg and Haskell counties as traces of his labor. (pp. 71, 74–75, 91). See also Manor system; Loom; Big House.

Hannali's traveling names. The Plains peoples name Hannali Fiddling Bear among the Cheyennes, Big Frog among the Apaches, Laughing Bull among the Caddoes, Talking String Man among the Pawnees, Fat Beaver among the Arapahos, Mule Doctor among the Comanches, and the Man with the Talking Horses among the Kiowas. The names record the friendships formed on his travels and his hosts' impressions of him. (p. 67). See also Man with the Talking Horses; Names in the wandering years.

Hard hill. The prologue's image of life after the forbidden sand plum returns in the promise of a house at the top of the hard hill, following Hannali's pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Church at Atoka. His late religious hope answers the hardship described in the prologue and traced through his people's history. (pp. 1, 204).

Harjo, Oktarharsars (Sands). Creek leader called Sands by white people, second to Opothleyahola and acting chief in the novel. At the last campfire before Round Mountains, he urges departure and correctly warns that the Confederate advance guard has ridden through the night. The narrator's allegation that Pike forged his name is disputed. (pp. 137, 145, 153, 155). See also Indian Civil Wars; Opothleyahola.

Harkins, George W. Named as the first chief of the reconstituted Oklafalaya district in the Territory. He is distinct from the boy Robert Harkins visiting Hannali's house. (p. 54). See also Harkins, Robert.

Harkins, Robert. Choctaw child among the winter visitors to Hannali House, extraordinarily accurate at knocking squirrels from trees with throwing sticks. The claim that he is George W. Harkins's brother is not established by the text. (pp. 93–94). See also Big House.

Haskell Indians. Football team whose player Louis Weller supplies an anachronistic comparison for Famous's floating movement. (p. 81).

Ha-tchoo-tuck-nee. Peter Pitchlynn's Choctaw name as given in the novel's account of George Catlin, with the translation Snapping Turtle. It returns in the later inquiry into Pitchlynn's double representation. (pp. 90, 198).

Hatred. The narrator describes hatred as changing its targets and disguises. It is directed at withdrawing Union soldiers and accompanies violence against Indian communities. (pp. 128, 141, 192). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Hazel Innominee. Daughter of Hannali and Marie DuShane, also called Marie d'Azal. Wife of Jemmy Buster and mother of Anna-Hata. She survives the raid, helps recover Natchez and the hidden children, and helps bury the dead. (pp. 70, 86, 118–119, 183–185, 217). See also Innominee grandchildren; Jemmy Buster.

Helena. Daughter of Alinton Innominee and Marie Calles, rescued from Natchez's covered pit. Her name is omitted from the printed list of nine survivors although her rescue has just been narrated. (pp. 119, 183–184). See also Innominee grandchildren.

Hell. Both an expletive in Hannali's comic idiom and a theological destination in his final attack on the dignity of dying. (pp. 214–215, 220). See also God.

Henderson, James. Named as the first state governor receiving authority from the last president of the Republic of Texas, Anson Jones, in the chapter's account of annexation and war. (p. 100). See also Mexican War.

Henrys and other firearms. The raiders' Henrys, Spencers, and Sharps contrast with Forbis Agent's ineffective shooting and the defenders' desperate conditions. (p. 179). See also Great red flowering.

Hewahnackee, George. Creek boy who, with John Sapulpa, climbs the great pecan trees better than Hannali's own sons. (p. 94). See also Big House.

Hitchiti Meadow. Ground on Hannali's land where he fights Falaya. The promised four-hundred-yard opening shot becomes an ambush at less than twenty yards. Birds, rodents, and grasshoppers help Hannali locate the concealed shooter. (pp. 173–178). See also Great red flowering.

Hobson, Geary. Author of the foreword to the 1991 University of Oklahoma Press edition. The foreword emphasizes survival and dates Hannali's death to 1900. (pp. xii, xiii, xiv).

Hog hominy. Corn food carried by Hannali on the mountain journey. It also appears in the exclamation "Hog hominy hell" spoken by the unnamed Choctaw informant who contests the received history of horses. (pp. 9, 76).

Hokeys, buffalo. Buffalo dung presented as Comanche potatoes in the dinner-table story of the Creeks' arrival. The joke is scatological; the objects are not prairie turnips. (p. 149). See also Ghost skin.

Homestead Act. The 1862 law invoked by Payne's Boomers. It allowed a quarter section or less, whereas the fictional Payne treats exactly 160 acres as the divine measure of a complete man. Homesteading differs from the later division of tribal lands into allotments. (pp. 206, 208–210). See also Land; Kansas cattle trade.

Hominy Falls. Place where the traveling Innominees visit Osage friends during the Great Decade. (p. 111). See also Great Decade.

Homostubbee. One of the prologue's four named patriarchs. He also appears among those who had defied Pushmataha and lived, qualifying for Moshulatubbee's comic company of dead men. (pp. 2, 8).

Hooded men. Disguised men who terrorize Indian settlements before removal. Their ordinary boots, trousers, and recognizable horses betray them. The narrator distinguishes their violence from older masked ceremonies. (p. 44).

Horse, Albert. Hannali's friend and early traveling companion, distinct from John T and from Hannali's sons. He helps defeat the attack on Forbis Agent and secures care for the wounded assailants. He is later killed over stolen livestock. (pp. 47–48, 51, 76, 125–126, 144). See also John T; Neutrality.

Horse Indians. The narrator's term for the mounted Plains peoples whose abilities he praises against the reader's imagined contempt. It is contrasted with the largely foot-fighting Creeks in Yahola's company. (pp. 68, 152). See also Names in the wandering years.

Horses. Transport, work, and the occasions of Hannali's extraordinary perception and ventriloquism. The opening dispute about pre-Spanish horses belongs to the novel's quarrel over accepted history; the final swimming horse accompanies Hannali's last great evening. (pp. 9, 67, 102, 212–215). See also *Man with the Talking Horses*.

Hospitality. Hannali House receives and feeds strangers and serves as a social center. The narrator contrasts its abundance with the less generous treatment a solitary, powerless traveler might receive. Benjamin Love and George Lowrey occur among the visitors named at the house. (pp. 59, 67, 96–97). See also *Big House*.

House divided. Hannali prevents Famous and Alinton from carrying their wartime opposition into violence against each other. The phrase recalls Mark 3:25; it also recalls Lincoln's use of it in American politics. (pp. 163–164). See also *Famous Innominee*; *Alinton Innominee*; *Neutrality*.

Hudson, George. Choctaw chief whose neutrality message is suppressed by Robert Jones in the novel. The historical account used in the commentary places the confrontation at Doaksville in June 1861, rather than the novel's March meeting at Boggy Depot. (p. 135). See also *Jones, Robert M.*; *Neutrality*.

Hundred Families. The Catholic minority within Mishoweia, the Innominees' town or clan. The novel associates its conversion with the early French missions and makes that inheritance sustain the household through long intervals without a priest. Its precise historical identification remains unverified. (pp. 3, 8, 10). See also *Mishoweia*; *Le Petit*, *Mathurin*; *Sacraments*.

Hunter, General. Union commander whose possible invasion becomes Cooper's reason for retreating from the battle the novel calls Round Mountains. The narrator treats this anxiety as part of Cooper's loss of nerve. (pp. 161, 165). See also *Indian Civil Wars*.

I

Identity and assimilation. Changes of language, dress, schools, names, and custom disturb Hannali and Natchez. The company of mixed ancestry at Eufaula and Anna-Hata's final visit show Indian identity persisting despite these outward changes. (pp. 198–200, 203, 213–214, 217). See also Hannali, pronunciation of; Natchez; Names in the wandering years.

Illinois River. River whose valley the exploration party considers while judging the proposed western homeland. Admiration for the landscape does not remove its doubts about the farming country. (p. 37).

In nomine Patris. The Latin opening of the Sign of the Cross, "In the name of the Father." The narrator proposes it as the mnemonic source of the surname Innominee when a priest's blessing renews the household's long, precarious connection with the Church. (p. 88). See also Innominee family; Latin.

Inchukahata. One of the Choctaws who shares the mountain dream and joins Hannali on the journey to Nanih Waiya. (p. 76). See also Nanih Waiya.

Incomprehensible. Barua's answer to Hannali's questions about God. When pressed to explain the word, he says it means not knowing what it means. The joke does not satisfy the boy's curiosity. (p. 11). See also God.

Indian Civil Wars. The narrator's account of war within and between Indian communities, which he attributes to Pike's treaty making. His roll of losses includes Round Mountains, 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, and Flat Rock. The roll has not been independently verified as a gazetteer; it does not establish that Pike designed every conflict. (pp. 133, 137–142, 189). See also Green Peach War; Neutrality.

Indian removal. The forced loss of the eastern homelands and migration into the Territory, followed by further removals of other peoples. The narrative describes political pressure, dispossession, violence, and the work of rebuilding. The commentary qualifies the later population claims and assertions of universal extinction. (pp. 22–28, 43–45, 192, 194). See also Land; Displaced peoples catalogue.

Indian South. The southeastern homeland described as the country behind God's back after French and Spanish counterweights to American expansion disappear. (p. 24). See also Indian removal.

Indian Territory. The western setting in which the Choctaws reconstitute their nation and Hannali builds his household. The novel depicts an inhabited country with political and cultural institutions, rejecting the idea of an empty frontier. (pp. 36–38, 54, 79, 192, 206). See also Land; Green Interlude.

Indian treaties. Agreements through which the novel traces the struggle over land, protection, and political authority. The chapter notes compare the treaty documents with the narrator's allegations of forgeries, blanket forfeiture, and factional landholding. (pp. 27, 137–140, 191–193). See also Intercourse Act of 1802; Leased District; Indian Civil Wars.

Innominee, Alinton. See Alinton Innominee.

Innominee family. The central household spans several generations and includes people of Choctaw, Cherokee, Black, French, Shawnee, and other backgrounds. Hannali's wives are Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and Marie DuShane, married in that order. Their later separation ends sexual relations while preserving what the narrator calls one continent kindred. The narrator connects the surname with the Latin blessing *In nomine Patris*. (pp. 3, 51–52, 54, 66, 70–71, 88, 119, 183–184, 214). See also Hannali Innominee; Innominee grandchildren; *In nomine Patris*.

Innominee, Famous. See Famous Innominee.

Innominee grandchildren. The old account book lists twenty names while claiming twenty-one. To Jemmy and Hazel belong James, Marie-Therese, Henry-Pushmataha, Bartholome, and Philip-Nitakechi; to Famous and Helen, John-Durham, Famous-George, Francis-Mingo, and Strange-Joseph; to Travis and Rachel, Louis-Hannali, Peter-Barua, Jude, and Matthew-Moshulatubbee; to Forbis and Luvinia, Mary-Luvinia, Martha-Child, Gregory-Pitchlynn, and Anne-Chapponia; to Alinton and Marie Calles, Charles-Mexico, Pablo-Nieto, and Helena. Later children include Thomas-Academy, Charles-Chitoh, and Anna-Hata. Nicholas-Nakni appears in the death list without established parentage. The text provides no basis for supplying a missing child. (pp. 119, 183–184, 190). See also Innominee family; Helena; Martha-Child.

Innominee, Sally (Salina). See Sally Innominee.

Innominee, Travis. See Travis Innominee.

Intercourse Act of 1802. The federal Trade and Intercourse Act of March 30, 1802, invoked in the dispute over federal protection of Indian lands. It is distinct from the U.S.–Georgia cession agreement of the same year. (p. 27). See also Indian treaties.

Intuition. Hannali's apparently immediate knowledge often begins in acute sensation: tracks, smells, disturbed animals, and minute changes in familiar ground. The narrator explicitly asks where such sensing passes into intuition. (pp. 102, 176–177). See also Hitchiti Meadow.

Irish blood. The paragraph on French and Irish influence in the Choctaw North names the Rileys among families helping sustain contact with Catholic faith. These Catholic connections persist despite the outward changes Hannali laments. (p. 204). See also Identity and assimilation.

Irving, Washington. Author on Hannali's recommended reading list. Hannali remembers him as civil and well spoken during his visit to the Territory. (p. 84). See also MacGreggor, Absalom.

Isadowa. Treaty signatory for the Wichitas in the narrator's account. The narrator restricts his authority to the Leeper Creek settlement. (p. 139). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Ishtaboli. Choctaw ball game whose intense competition, wagers, and turkey cries appear in the opening survey. Its balls supply the later comparison for the enormous hailstones of the Year of the Big Thunders. (pp. 9, 14, 99).

Isparhecher. Creek leader in whom the narrator sees Opothleyahola's struggle continuing during the Green Peach conflict. (p. 189). See also Green Peach War.

J

Jacks-Fork and Kiamichi. Rivers and mountains of the southern Choctaw districts. The Kiamichi divides Pushmataha from Oklafalaya; the mountain reached by dream stands near the meeting of three districts. (pp. 37, 40, 54, 77, 79). See also Nanih Waiya; Moshulatubbee District.

Jackson, Andrew. The narrator's particular Devil of the Indians and central political antagonist in the account of removal. The borrowed phrase "Revolt of the Rich against the Poor" frames his ascendancy as dispossession; the alleged childhood encounter with Pitchlynn is explicitly apocryphal. (pp. 10, 24, 27–28, 89). See also Indian removal; Haley, Major.

James brothers. Frank and Jesse James appear in the narrator's account of Confederate irregulars. The compressed list does not establish identical service histories for the two men. (p. 187). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Jayhawkers. Abusive name directed at withdrawing Union soldiers in the novel's account of 1861. (p. 128).

Jemmy Buster. Texan drover of partial Choctaw ancestry who reaches Hannali House in 1848, recovers there, marries Hazel, and enters the cattle business with Famous. He rides with Travis to aid Opothleyahola's refugees. He is already dead at the final camp before Shoal Creek; the circumstances of his death are not specified. (pp. 117–119, 147, 150, 169). See also Hazel Innominee; Innominee grandchildren.

Jim Pockmark. Anadarko figure named among Hannali's acquaintances and again in the account of opposition to Jose Maria's treaty. The text names both Pockmark and Jim Pockmark without establishing that they are the same man. (pp. 68–69, 139). See also Names in the wandering years; Jose Maria.

Jo Shelby. Confederate commander whose raids the narrator distinguishes from the conduct of irregular bands. (p. 187). See also Indian Civil Wars.

John T. Hannali's cousin and traveling companion, distinct from Albert Horse. T is his name, initially pronounced Tay; he later accepts Tee. He establishes his own home and joins the mountain journey. (pp. 47–49, 51, 76, 102). See also Horse, Albert; Nanih Waiya.

Johnston, Joseph E. The commander called "Joe E. Johnson" in the novel's sequence of Confederate surrenders. His surrender extends the novel's account of the war beyond Lee's surrender. (p. 188). See also Kirby Smith, Edmund.

Jokes and laughter. Exaggeration, mock fights, teasing, and sudden jokes recur through the novel. Their humor keeps the characters recognizable even in scenes of grief and cruelty. Hannali refuses solemn dignity even at death. (pp. 4–5, 48, 77, 146, 219–220). See also Magnified years; Chuckling.

Jones, Anson. Last president of the Republic of Texas in the novel's account of the transfer to state government. (p. 100). See also Henderson, James; Mexican War.

Jones, Robert M. Choctaw planter, slaveholder, merchant, and secessionist. The novel opposes his control through wealth and debt to Hannali's household economy. Lake West is one of his plantations; the novel does not call it his largest. (pp. 107–109, 125, 135–136). See also Manor system; Hudson, George.

Jose Maria. Anadarko figure whose treaty signing the narrator attributes to a minority called the Mexican Consensus. The account describes a treaty faction without establishing its allegiance to Mexico. (pp. 68, 139). See also Jim Pockmark; Indian Civil Wars.

Josephine Horse. Choctaw child among the visitors during the Pass Christian family's stay. The shared surname does not establish that she is Albert Horse's daughter. (p. 93). See also Big House.

Judd, Jeremiah. Powerful, black-bearded defender whose forbidding manner does not prevent the Creek children from claiming him as their own. He also figures in the bugle comedy and the retreat. (pp. 153–154, 161–162). See also Neutrality.

Jumper, John. Seminole leader in the hospitality and treaty narratives. Although the narrator calls him a man of no standing, the Confederate treaty identifies him as a principal chief. (pp. 59, 138). See also Indian Civil Wars.

K

Kadohadachos. Named among the Caddoan remnants already in the western country before the main southeastern removals. (p. 43). See also Indian Territory.

Kaintucks. Vernacular name for the Kentuckians encountered in New Orleans. Hannali measures their reputed size against the larger men of his remembered Choctaw world. (p. 30). See also Magnified years; New Orleans.

Kansas. Destination of refugees fleeing the Confederate attacks, later the railhead country of the cattle drives and the base of Payne's Boomers. The railhead catalogue names Abilene, Wichita, Dodge City, Caldwell, Baxter Springs, Ellsworth, Hays City, and Newton. (pp. 169–170, 206, 209–210). See also Kansas cattle trade.

Kansas cattle trade. The novel's frontier catalogue names the people and institutions of the Kansas cattle trade. Railroads include the Hannibal and St. Joe, Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western, Kansas Pacific, Missouri Pacific, and Santa Fe; stage lines include Sawyer and Ficklin and the Butterfield Overland Dispatch. Promoters include Joseph McCoy, T. C. Henry, Charles Goodnight, and Shanghai Pierce. Hotels include Drovers' Cottage, Abilene House, Grand Central, the Occidental, Texas House, Douglas Avenue, and Southwestern. Vice districts include McCoy's Addition, Nauchville, Hide Park, Delano, and Hells' Half Acres; saloons include the Alamo, Joe Brennan's, Keno House, and Red Beard's Dance Hall. Lawmen include Pat Sughrue, Mysterious Dave Mather, Bill Tilghman, Bat Masterson, Wyatt Earp, Tom Smith, Wild Bill Hickok, Brooky Jack Norton, Billy Brooks, Mike Meagher, and Charlie Brown. Forts include Lyon, Dodge, Harker, Hays, Wallace, Sill, and Reno; encounters named include Adobe Walls, Pawnee Fork, and Cimarron Crossing. The narrator draws on western folklore. (pp. 206–208). See also Green Interlude; Glidden, Joseph F.; Goodnight, Charles; Trail drives.

Ki-is-qua. Kichai signatory in the narrator's account of the August 12 treaty. The narrator alleges that replacing a first chief deliberately produced civil war; the claim has not been independently corroborated. (p. 138). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Kill the big Choctaw. The threat made by traders when Hannali offers free corn to the starving arrivals. His escape and later deliveries from another landing continue the conflict between his relief work and the traders' profits. (pp. 70–73).

Kincaid, Joseph. Choctaw leader listed among the possible supporters of Nitakechi's proposed resistance. The novel identifies him as the first Moshulatubbee district chief in the Territory and as a close friend of Hannali. (pp. 44, 54, 59). See also Nitakechi; Moshulatubbee District.

Kiowas. Plains people among whom Hannali travels. They feature in the Pickens trading comedy, the talking-horse episode, and the final discovery of a Kiowa grandparent in an apparently German companion. These portraits alternate between praise and caricature. (pp. 68–69, 112–113, 151, 176, 212–214). See also *Man with the Talking Horses*; *Names in the wandering years*.

Kirby Smith, Edmund. Confederate commander named in the sequence of surrenders. The novel gives May 24, 1865; the commentary distinguishes the May 26 negotiation from Kirby Smith's June 2 signature. (p. 188). See also *Indian Civil Wars*.

L

Lafferty's family sources. In the preface, Lafferty traces part of his Indian knowledge to family stories. He names four Irish homesteaders: his father Hugh Lafferty, Ed Burke, Frank Burke, and MaGuire. Ed Burke's work at the Anadarko agency and Lafferty's mother's teaching supply further personal connections alongside the printed research. (p. xvi). See also *Gilcrease Museum*; *Notebooks*.

Lake West. Robert M. Jones's plantation is named as a possible exception to Hannali's greatest-house claim. The narrator suggests that another Jones house farther downriver may have been larger still. (p. 108). See also *Jones, Robert M.*; *Big House*.

Land. Homeland, common estate, livelihood, and object of speculation. Hannali's "Land is the people" challenges Payne's fixed individual measure. The dream mountain renews the people's attachment to their land, which confiscation and allotment later threaten. The narrator's universal claims about factional land titles are historically unsound. (pp. 36–38, 79, 91, 192–193, 208–209). See also *Nanih Waiya*; *Homestead Act*; *Leased District*.

Latin. Language of the blessing linked to the Innominee surname and of the funeral prayers read by Famous-George. The prayers beginning *Subvenite sancti* and invoking perpetual light belong to the burial rite; their reading does not make the scene a Mass. (pp. 88, 185). See also *In nomine Patris*; *Mass*.

Laughing Fox. The epithet describes Opothleyahola's cunning, endurance, humor, and tactical leadership. (pp. 145–147, 152, 159, 171). See also Neutrality.

Lavaca and Mary Choate. Natchez's nieces, visiting from Sebastian County. Their laughter differs from the straight-faced joking of their Choctaw hosts. The text does not identify their father by name. (pp. 93–94). See also Natchez; Big House.

Law. A source of both communal order and dispossession. The novel opposes the laws imposed on Indian people to their own customs and treaties, then treats the later Permit, Timber, and Coal laws as signs of a changed political language. (pp. 7–8, 25, 27, 201). See also Indian treaties; Intercourse Act of 1802; Homestead Act.

Le Petit, Mathurin. Jesuit whom the novel places among the Choctaws in 1726. It connects the French missions with the Catholic Hundred Families; that named community has not been independently identified. (p. 10). See also Hundred Families.

Leased District. Western Choctaw-Chickasaw territory ceded under the 1866 treaty. Its cession qualifies the narrator's claim that these nations lost no land. The treaty also contradicts his universal contrast between Confederate individual title and loyalist common ownership. (pp. 192–193). See also Land; Indian treaties.

Lee, Robert E. One of the men whose reputation the narrator considers immune to criticism. His surrender later supplies the conventional ending of the Civil War that the narrator extends through other Confederate forces and continuing Indian conflicts. (pp. 122, 188). See also Defamation and reputation; Indian Civil Wars.

LeFlore, Greenwood. Leader whose effort to become sole chief culminates in the narrator's humiliating encounter with Moshulatubbee. He remains in Mississippi when others remove. The narrator explains his politics in racial terms; that explanation is not established history. (pp. 23, 25–27, 54). See also Garland, John; Moshulatubbee.

LeFlore, Thomas. Visitor to Hannali House whom the narrator contrasts favorably with Greenwood LeFlore and credits with restoring honor to the family name. (p. 59). See also LeFlore, Greenwood; Big House.

Leviticus. Biblical book whose unread corners Hannali finally completes in old age. His slow, persistent reading is a lifelong occupation, like his music and correspondence. (p. 202). See also God.

Licensed traders. Traders accused by the narrator of profiting from removed Indians' hunger by reselling corn at greatly increased prices. Hannali's relief store answers this exploitation. (pp. 72–73). See also Indian removal; Manor system.

Light Horse Indian Police. Mounted police force associated in the novel with Peter Pitchlynn's leadership. (p. 88).

Lincoln, Abraham. Appears through portrait comparison, an attributed saying about faces, the meeting with Pitchlynn, and the call for troops. These are separate episodes, not a single authenticated quotation or conversation. (pp. 59, 109, 123, 128). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Linney, John. Signer in the narrator's account of an agreement rejected by the Absentee Shawnees. The narrator denies his chiefly authority. (p. 140). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Little Osage River. River followed by Famous and Jemmy while selling their cattle in Kansas and Missouri. Famous's delayed return brings both a Durham bull and Helen Miller. (p. 118). See also Jemmy Buster; Miller, Helen.

Little Osages. Faction whose rejection by Pike, according to the narrator, drives it toward the Union. (p. 139). See also Indian Civil Wars.

Little River, Mountain Fork, and Muddy Boggy. Waterways named in the southern part of the Choctaw scouting journey. The party encounters them during its disappointing first survey of the future homeland. (p. 41). See also Land; Indian removal.

Little Rock. Downstream destination in the network linking Hannali's trading post to the Arkansas River and New Orleans. (p. 53). See also New Orleans.

Little Tom Spicer. The name the narrator treats as a corrupted title and evidence of forgery. The treaty itself lists Little Town Spicer as chief and Small Cloud Spicer as second chief; that record does not prove the proposed etymology or forgery. (p. 140). See also Indian treaties.

Liver. The novel locates affection and powerful feeling in the liver. Hannali's expressions of love and Anna-Hata's earthy jokes about his final weakness both refer to the liver. (pp. 49, 63, 219).

Lokar Poker Town / Lutchapoga. Creek town visited during the family's travels and named again in Watie's attempted interception. The novel explicitly identifies Lutchapoga with the later Lokar-Poker town within present Tulsa. (pp. 111, 170). See also Great Decade.

Long, Whitman. See Whiteman Falaya.

Loom. Martha Louisiana's weaving and the shared household loom help make the family self-sufficient. Later weaving supplies clothes described as white-man shirts. (pp. 74–75, 200). See also Martha Louisiana; Manor system.

Louis. The Christian name Hannali receives at baptism in New Orleans. (p. 33). See also Hannali Innominee; New Orleans.

Lower Creeks. Creek faction contrasted with Yahola's Upper Creeks in the novel's wartime account. The later claim that none of its land was taken follows the narrator's faulty general theory of wartime allegiance and individual title. (pp. 146, 151, 193). See also Leased District; Indian Civil Wars.

Luvinia Innominee. Daughter of Hannali and Martha Louisiana, also named Luvinia Hannali under the patronymic custom. Wife of Forbis Agent, teller of the panther story, and mother of Martha-Child. She is killed in the raid; her stories and sharp humor are remembered afterward. (pp. 70, 86, 95–96, 118–119, 184, 201–202). See also Martha Louisiana; Martha-Child; Innominee grandchildren.

M

MacGreggor, Absalom. Supposed author of collected sermons on the preacher's recommended reading list. Hannali suspects that the visitor has slipped in his own work. The list also includes a *History of Rome for the Young Student*, whose exact edition is unidentified. (p. 84). See also Irving, Washington; Montaigne, Michel de.

Madoc. Prince associated with the legend of a Welsh voyage to America before Columbus. The narrator rejects the legend before proposing a later Welsh connection among Choctaws. He treats amateur comparisons with Hebrew, Phoenician, and Basque, and the Welsh words mawr, modryb, and nos, as dubious evidence. These comparisons lack a sound linguistic basis. (pp. 106–107). See also Welsh Indians.

Magnified years. Hannali remembers his early years with enlarged animals, crops, people, and jokes. He acknowledges the exaggeration, but the scale of his memories measures what the later age seems to have lost. A lens grinder cannot recover that remembered world. (pp. 5–6, 18–19). See also Hannali Innominee.

Man and the Family and the Nation. The three subjects the narrator names as the strands of his story. The family's fortunes repeatedly tell the history of the nation. (p. 11). See also Innominee family; Indian Territory.

Man with the Talking Horses. Kiowa name for Hannali, first listed in his travels and much later explained through ventriloquism and recognition of a stolen horse. His final horse answers him during the ride and swim home. (pp. 67, 212–215). See also Horses; Kiowas.

Mandan people. A people drawn into the chapter's discussion of supposed Welsh connections. The narrator's claim that they were completely wiped out is inaccurate: the smallpox catastrophe of 1837 left survivors. (p. 106). See also Madoc.

Manor system. The household economy of the Choctaw North, defended by Hannali and compared with the Middle Ages. Pitchlynn hopes to combine its self-sufficiency with wider commerce; Hannali sees excessive surplus and forced dependence as a loss of freedom. (pp. 60, 75, 90–92). See also Land; Jones, Robert M.; Big House.

Maps. Alinton's western journey depends on the discrepancy between Hannali's hand-drawn Canadian River map and official geography. The official map confuses rivers that share a name. (pp. 38, 115–116). See also Alinton Innominee.

Marie Chapponia. Child of Pass Christian and Marie Delessert. She protests the impossibility of Luvinia's panther story after it surpasses her own; she is not that story's teller. (pp. 93, 96). See also Luvinia Innominee.

Marie Delessert. Pass Christian's wife and mother of the visiting New Orleans cousins. Initially shocked by Hannali's household arrangements, she becomes especially close to Martha Louisiana and Natchez. The narrator portrays her reserve alongside Natchez's quick wit and Martha's compassionate humor. Her reserve contrasts with their sudden adventures. (pp. 93, 98–99). See also Innominee family; Children visiting the Big House; Pass Christian Innominee.

Marie DuShane. Hannali's third wife, daughter of Alinton DuShane and mother of Alinton and Hazel. Her discovery of the earlier marriages brings on the violent household crisis and eventual continence. She keeps the bank's accounts, teaches the family to read, and gives its learning a religious purpose. She defends the house with her rifle and dies in the raid, her hair still burning. Famous-George uses what she taught him when he reads the Latin burial prayers. (pp. 38–40, 52, 60–66, 70, 75, 82–84, 179–181, 184–185). See also Big House; Innominee family.

Martha Louisiana. Black Choctaw woman who leads Hannali's people west, becomes his second wife, and bears Travis and Luvinia. Weaver, singer, pianist, and defender of Natchez, she resists Marie's attack and rejects the wish that their unborn children might die. The raiders later kill her. (pp. 17–19, 46, 52, 61–65, 70, 74–75, 184). See also Innominee family; Loom; Luvinia Innominee.

Martha-Child. Daughter of Forbis Agent and Luvinia, one of the household survivors. Her pleasant, droll humor is compared with refined store salt, in contrast to her mother's fiercer natural sharpness. (pp. 119, 184, 201–202). See also Galena and niter; Luvinia Innominee; Innominee grandchildren.

Mass. The household cannot celebrate Mass at Christmas 1844 because no priest is available. Famous-George later reads funeral prayers; he does not celebrate Mass. (pp. 99, 185). See also Latin; God.

Mavila-Choctaw trade tongue. The narrator's name for a shared trade speech, described as a pidgin through which Choctaw influence extends across a wide region. This trade speech differs from Choctaw itself and from the English later used between tribes. See Chapter One and the entry English. (p. 9). See also Choctaw writing; English.

Maybeso. Natchez's recurring answer to Hannali's proposal and to difficult questions. Strange Choate interprets it as yes; Marie later refuses its uncertainty when demanding a reckoning. (pp. 50–51, 64). See also Natchez.

McAlester. Railroad town paired with Perryville in the narrator's compressed account of older settlements shifting location and identity. (p. 203). See also Identity and assimilation.

McCoy, Isaac. Baptist missionary associated with the exploration narrative and fictional hospitality catalogue. He asks the Indians to regard Falaya compassionately as a sick man. (pp. 36, 58–59). See also Big House.

McCulloch, Ben. Confederate commander associated with reinforcements for Cooper's renewed attack on Yahola's refugees. (p. 165). See also Indian Civil Wars.

McGillivray, Alexander. Creek leader cited in the narrator's argument that men of mixed ancestry often subordinated tribal interests to outside powers. The argument assumes that ancestry determines political loyalty. (p. 23).

McIntosh, Chilly. Creek Confederate leader mocked by Yahola as a distant observer of fighting. He is distinct from the white colonel James McIntosh, whose later approach Yahola expects. (p. 155). See also McIntosh, James; McIntosh families.

McIntosh families. Prominent Creek families on the Confederate side in the treaty narrative. A young McIntosh nevertheless joins Yahola's relief force, showing that surname and ancestry do not determine allegiance. (pp. 137, 147). See also McIntosh, Chilly; McIntosh, William.

McIntosh, James. White Confederate colonel whose decisive advance contrasts with Cooper's failures. He commands the final attack at Shoal Creek. (pp. 155, 169–170). See also McIntosh, Chilly; Indian Civil Wars.

McIntosh, Roley. Named among the novel's Indian visitors to Hannali House. (p. 59). See also Big House.

McIntosh, William. Creek leader in the narrator's indictment of mixed-ancestry political intermediaries; the later discussion identifies Chilly as his son. He is distinct from James McIntosh. (pp. 23, 155). See also McIntosh families.

McReynolds, Edwin C. Historian named among the authorities whom the narrator questions in his alternative account of Peter Pitchlynn's origins. (p. 89).

Medicine. Practical healing learned in Hannali's travels and supplied by Seminoles in Yahola's camp. The novel's claim that the Seminoles alone practiced medicine among the Five Tribes is contradicted by evidence of Choctaw physicians. (pp. 69, 166).

Merriwether, Jeff. One of the four Texans who join Jemmy Buster and Travis on the way to Yahola's camp. (p. 150). See also Jemmy Buster; Neutrality.

Mexican War. The approaching war brings troops onto the Texas Road and gives Falaya the military alias Whitman Long. The narrator links annexation to slavery and territorial expansion. Hannali's pursuit brings him before the officer protecting Falaya. The novel misstates Taylor's orders: the January 1846 order directed him toward the Rio Grande, not the Nueces. See Chapter Nine for the historical account and Chapter Ten for the pursuit. (pp. 100–106). See also Gaines Creek; Whiteman Falaya; Taylor, Zachary; Texas Road.

Miller, Helen. Famous's wife, whom he brings home from Missouri. Mother of John-Durham, Famous-George, Francis-Mingo, and Strange-Joseph. She is killed with children whom she tries to protect in Choke-Cherry Canyon. (pp. 118–119, 182, 184). See also Famous Innominee; Innominee grandchildren.

Millerton / Old Miller Court House. Settlement among the novel's principal towns of Oklafalaya. The narrator says he has been told that its older name came from Old Miller's imposing residence rather than a courthouse, then complains that Millerton has displaced the old name. (pp. 54–55). See also Okla Falaya; Railroads and towns.

Mingo. Chiefly title that the novel treats as an authority earned over a life rather than conferred by office alone. It belongs to Pushmataha and Moshulatubbee, to Nitakechi's example, and finally to Hannali. Byington's *mi^oko* includes chief and king. (pp. 6–7, 59, 216, 218). See also Hannali Innominee; Moshulatubbee; Nitakechi.

Mingo and Catoosa. The two exceptional work mules with which Hannali cultivates his new land. The joke gives one mule the chiefly title Mingo. (p. 71). See also Mingo.

Mishoweia. The town or clan to which the Innominees belong. The Hundred Families form a minority within it. The three names identify different groups. (pp. 3, 8, 10). See also Hundred Families; Innominee family.

Mississippi. The eastern homeland from which the Innominees and other Choctaws are driven. The novel describes its laws and political pressure as forces that destroy tribal authority. (pp. 3, 22–28). See also Indian removal.

Mississippi River. River of the prologue's great flood and earlier migration, then the route of Hannali's steamboat journey. The people's origin story and Hannali's travels both involve its crossing. (pp. 2, 34–35). See also Nanih Waiya; New Orleans.

Mixed Band Senecas and Shawnees. Community whose Confederate treaty is attributed to Lewis Davis and Joseph Mohawk. The narrator later groups many peoples together as though they formed one administrative body, obscuring their distinct identities and histories. (pp. 140, 192). See also Mohawk, Joseph; Displaced peoples catalogue.

Mohawk, Joseph. One of the two men named in the novel's account of the Mixed Band Seneca and Shawnee treaty. The narrator attributes ambition for military command to him. (p. 140). See also Mixed Band Senecas and Shawnees.

Montaigne, Michel de. French author on the preacher's recommended reading list. Hannali expects Marie DuShane to explain difficult French words. (p. 84). See also MacGreggor, Absalom.

Morals. Hannali sometimes excuses himself as an uninstructed clay-foot Indian. The narrator rejects the excuse: Barua has taught him right from wrong. (pp. 33, 53). See also Innominee family.

Moses. Biblical lawgiver invoked in the discussion of writing and in the portrait of Albert Pike as Michelangelo's Moses. Pike's impressive appearance lends him authority, but the wilderness metaphor makes him a false deliverer. (pp. 83, 121–122, 138, 198).

Moshulatubbee. Mingo of Okla Tannaps, known for his unnerving nuthatch grin. He accepts Barua's defection and confronts LeFlore. The novel's claim that he never entered the Territory is historically incorrect. (pp. 2, 7–8, 26–27, 54, 218). See also LeFlore, Greenwood; Moshulatubbee District.

Moshulatubbee District. Northern division of the reconstituted Choctaw Nation and the location of Hannali's household. The narrator associates it with self-sufficient houses and contrasts it with the commercial South. His racial generalizations oversimplify its inhabitants and politics. (pp. 54, 60, 79, 91, 99). See also Manor system; Jacks-Fork and Kiamichi.

Mouth horn. Small musical instrument played by Silvestre DuShane while Martha Louisiana sings. The passage does not determine whether it is a harmonica, jaw harp, or another instrument. (p. 19). See also Martha Louisiana.

Mules' milk. Hannali's taunt that the men of Falaya have become sterile. He uses the insult to attack the southern Choctaws' excessive commerce and defend the northern way of life. (pp. 88, 91, 109). See also Manor system.

Muskogean languages. Related languages used at the intertribal assembly, including Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole varieties. The narrator compares them while defending the speeches' expressive force. (p. 134).

Muskogee. Town from which Anna-Hata sends for the priest who attends Hannali's last illness. (pp. 217, 219). See also Hannali Innominee.

Mystery. The word describes outsiders' confusion about the family, conflicting accounts of Peter Pitchlynn, and the unexplained staging of Sally's murder. The text settles none of these questions. (pp. 70–71, 88, 173). See also Innominee family; Sally Innominee; Pitchlynn, Peter.

N

Nails. Visible fasteners provide the absurd evidence for Pickens's invisible ghost skin. In the postwar account, two metaphorical nails complete the narrator's crucifixion image: canceled treaty obligations and confiscated land. (pp. 149, 191). See also Ghost skin; Indian treaties.

Nakni Pans-Hata. Listener who interrupts Luvinia's panther story to ask why the swallowed girl has not been digested. (p. 95). See also Luvinia Innominee.

Name rolls. Catalogues of remembered people, which the narrator defends as essential to his story. He associates names with the soul. (pp. 67–69). See also Names in the wandering years.

Names in the wandering years. The narrator records Hannali's friendships in long name rolls. The Cheyenne catalogue includes Black Moccasin, High Wolf, High-Backed Wolf, Painted Thunder, Gray Hair, Dull Knife, Seven Bulls, Limber Lance, Left Hand Shooter, Wooden Leg, Walking Rabbit, Hail (Autsite), Wild Hog, White Elk, Sun Maker, Little Wolf, Roman Nose, Roman Nose Thunder, Walking Coyote, Crazy Mule, Crow Indian, Raccoon (Mats-Kumh), Little Horse, Panther, Porcupine Bear and Porcupine, Rolling Bull, Plenty Camps, Island, Black Moon (said by the narrator to mean Black Sun), Bad Face, Wearing Horns (Lahika), Lean Bear, Dry Throat, Six Feathers, Stone Calf, Tobacco, Gray Beard, and Whistling Elk.

The Sioux roll includes Black Leg, High Backbone, Bloody Knife, Red Cloud, American Horse, Crow King, Crazy Horse, Spotted Tail, Cut Belly, and Little Big Man; another Little Wolf is identified as Sioux.

Arapaho names include Left Hand (Nawat), Little Raven, Storm, Flat War Club, Crane, and Bull.

Crow names include Big Prisoner, Kit Fox, Standing Alligator, and Plenty Coups.

Anadarkos include Pockmark, Jim Pockmark, and Jose Maria; Nez Perces include Looking Glass, Tap-Sis-Li, White Bird, Joseph, and Hush-Hush-Cute.

Comanche names include Bull Hump, Shavehead, Horseback, Paha-Yuca, Ten Bears, Traveling Wolf (Ishacoly), Shaking Hand, Morning Voice, Katemsie, Sun Eagle, Coyote Droppings (Ishatai), Mo-Wi, Black Horse, Toshaway, and Quannah Parker.

Apache names include Leading Bear, Thin Man, Taza, Zele, Victorio, Red Sleeve, and Goyathlay, called Geronimo in the passage.

Caddoes include Chowaw-hana, Quina-hiwa, Red Bear, and White Antelope.

Pawnees include Sky Chief, Pita-Leshar, Kokaka, and Dusty Chief.

The Kiowa roll includes Satanta, Satank, Little Mountain, Thunder Man, One Braid, Stiff Neck, Guibadai (Appearing Wolf), Light Hair, Big Tree, Eagle Tail, White Cowbird, Poor Buffalo, No-Shoes, Kicking Bird (Tene-Angopte, Striking Eagle), Timbered Mountain, Lone Wolf, Gotebo, and Funny Man. The names and groupings follow the novel. Similar names alone cannot identify particular historical people. (pp. 66–69). See also Jim Pockmark; Jose Maria; Kiowas; Nez Perces.

Nanah Waiya. The prologue distinguishes a Mississippi memorial mound from an older western mountain. On the dream journey, the people recognize a mountain as their recovered place of beginning. Their recognition renews the nation, although the narrator leaves the mountain's literal identity open. (pp. 2, 76, 78–79, 204). See also Graven Indian; Land; Inchukahata.

Napoleon. The final retrospect measures Hannali's long life from the days of Napoleon's rise to power. (p. 218). See also Hannali Innominee.

Narváez expedition. The narrator's opening chronology places an encounter with Narváez's Spaniards near Mobile Bay in 1528 before the battle with De Soto's expedition in 1540. (p. 10).

Natchez. Daughter of Strange and Sarah Choate, Hannali's first wife, and mother of Famous and Sally. She is Cherokee, despite her name. She survives Marie's violence and the later raid, protecting children in a covered pit. No exact age is given at her marriage. (pp. 49–51, 61, 63–65, 70, 83, 183–184, 199). See also Maybeso; Grand Saline; Hannali, pronunciation of.

Natchez, Mississippi. River city passed by the travelers aboard the Caravan. (p. 34). See also Natchez; Natchez people.

Natchez people. People whose name Strange Choate gives his small daughter. The comparison does not make Natchez a member of that people. (p. 49). See also Natchez.

Natchez Road. Road near Doak's Stand in the chapter's account of the treaty and its consequences. (p. 24). See also Indian removal.

Naylor Company. Publisher praised in Lafferty's preface as a source of useful books about Indians and the region. (p. xvi).

Ned, Jim. Defender described as of Delaware and Black ancestry. After introducing him through hostile caricature, the narrator gives him an extravagant campfire rifle story: a duck is killed and prepared for eating in midair. (pp. 145–146, 154). See also *Neutrality*.

Negroes. The novel's historical term for Black people. Its Black Choctaw and Seminole figures include enslaved and free people, family members, skilled workers, and military defenders. (pp. 10, 13, 46, 61, 138, 144, 147, 203). See also *Martha Louisiana*; *Gopher John*; *Ned, Jim*.

Neosho River. River valley followed by the scouting party. Grand Saline, Natchez's birthplace and the source of Salina's name, is associated with the same river under its Grand River name. (pp. 36, 70). See also *Grand Saline*.

Neutrality. The Freedom Indians' effort to remain outside the war while protecting their households and refugees. Hannali's sworn commitment is strained by rescue and self-defense; Yahola's defenders become combatants despite their initial refusal to join either side. (pp. 124–127, 148, 150, 163, 172, 180). See also *House divided*; *Indian Civil Wars*; *Ghosts and invisibility*.

New Orleans. City of Hannali's baptism, gambling triumph, French connections, and purchasing and banking arrangements. Pass Christian lives there and sends books north. (pp. 29–34, 75, 84). See also *Louis*; *MacGreggor*, *Absalom*.

Nez Perces. Hannali knows several of their leaders in the wandering-years catalogue. The narrator later includes the Nez Perces among the peoples displaced into Indian Territory. (pp. 68, 192). See also *Names in the wandering years*; *Displaced peoples catalogue*.

Nicholas-Nakni. Name in the list of family members killed by the raiders. The text does not establish his parents or identify him as the child missing from the earlier account-book list. (p. 184). See also *Innominee grandchildren*.

Nighthawk. A nighthawk, a kingbird, grasshoppers, and a field rat betray Falaya's hidden movements. Hannali locates his adversary by reading these small disturbances; the narrator distinguishes Falaya's stealth from Hannali's almost supernatural perception. (p. 176). See also *Hitchiti Meadow*.

Nitakechi. Pushmataha's nephew, district chief, and the novel's last Mingo before Hannali. He is considered as a possible leader of resistance to removal and later appears among Hannali's revered visitors and lost companions. (pp. 26–27, 44–45, 54, 59, 212). See also Mingo; Indian removal.

Noah. Biblical patriarch with whom the prologue compares Oklabashih, the great raft builder. (p. 2). See also Nanih Waiya.

North Fork Town. Town near Hannali's landing and the meeting of the Canadian River with its North and Deep Forks. It is the site of an intertribal assembly, Alinton's store investment, and Travis's postwar business. The narrator later pairs its decline with the growth of Eufaula beside the railroad. (pp. 53, 97, 119, 133–134, 144, 190, 203). See also Alinton Innominee; Travis Innominee.

Notebooks. In his preface, Lafferty describes the first 1963 version of the novel as an overflow from crowded notebooks and says that he subsequently rewrote it twice. (p. xvii).

Novembre. The French month Hannali has help writing on the stake marking his 1828 claim. The difficulty precedes his later confident command of reading and writing. (p. 38). See also Land; New Orleans.

Noxubee Indians. People to whom the narrator attributes the term behind poker, glossed as five-luck or five-hazard. The proposed etymology has not been established as the origin of the English word. (p. 31). See also New Orleans.

O

Okla. People, tribe, or nation in Byington's dictionary. Lafferty calls the Choctaws 'the People' and uses okla in the names of their divisions. In the novel's title, the word connects Hannali with his people. Its English equivalent varies with context. Byington, *Dictionary*, 297. (pp. 10, 221).

Okla Falaya. The Long People. One of the Choctaw divisions in the Mississippi history, associated by the narrator with the British. In the Territory, Oklafalaya or the Red River District lies south of the mountains and east of the Kiamichi. Robert Pike hears in its name a romantic promise of wild country. The shared name does not establish political continuity between the Mississippi and Territory divisions. Swanton, *Source Material*, 56–57; see Chapter One. (pp. 10, 54, 76). See also Okla Hannali; Okla Tannaps; Pike, Robert.

Okla Hannali. The Six Towns division in Mississippi and Hannali's birthplace. His father Barua changes political allegiance while remaining on his land and retaining an Okla Hannali identity. Okla means people and hannali means six; the title does not mean "Hannali People." Its resemblance to Hannali's name associates the man with his community. Byington, *Dictionary*, 135, 297; see Chapter One. (pp. 3, 7–8, 10). See also Okla; Okla Falaya; Okla Tannaps.

Okla Tannaps. The Mississippi division led by Moshulatubbee, to which Barua transfers his allegiance. The narrator associates it with the French. It precedes the Moshulatubbee District established in Indian Territory. Swanton renders the name People of the Opposite Side or Party and notes that it may have been used reciprocally. Swanton, *Source Material*, 56–57; see Chapter One. (pp. 7–8, 10). See also Okla Hannali; Okla Falaya.

Oklabashih. The prologue's counterpart to Noah, a great raft builder who survives an extraordinary Mississippi flood. Cushman already compares Ok-la-ta-ba-shih with Noah. The biblical resemblance therefore cannot by itself establish a wholly independent, unchanged Choctaw tradition. Cushman, *History* (1899), 600; see the Prologue. (p. 2).

Oktarharsars Harjo (Sands). See Harjo, Oktarharsars (Sands).

Old Adam voice. Hannali's inward recognition of mortality on his last return to the Big House. The voice tells him that he will never walk through its door again. Its biblical name connects his death with the condition of fallen Adam; no separate supernatural speaker is identified. Genesis 3:19; see Chapter Nineteen. (p. 215). See also Talking horse; Death.

Old Miller Court House. See Millerton / Old Miller Court House.

Old Wild West Days. The narrator's name for the cattle-drive era, which he reduces to a twenty-year dust cloud beside the longer history of the Territory peoples. He enjoys its vigorous folklore but gives it a small place in that history. Alinton's later drives connect the Innominees to it. (pp. 205–208). See also Kansas cattle trade; Trail drives.

One Hundred Families. See Hundred Families.

Opiahoma. Nitakechi's brother, named among the men capable of taking subordinate command if the Choctaws resist removal by force. The proposed rising does not take place. (pp. 44–45).

Opothleyahola. Muscogee leader called the Laughing Fox. He rejects the Confederate agreement, gathers refugees, and leads their resistance before being carried toward Kansas. His appeal to God brings the novel's extraordinary defending company. The forged-signature narrative is disputed history; the novel also places his death too early, in the spring after the 1861 campaign, whereas he died in March 1863. See Chapter Fifteen. (pp. 137, 144–147, 170). See also Panoramic God; Round Mountains; Shoal Creek.

Osages. People already occupying the western country before the southeastern removals. In one episode, Osage corn enters the exploitative removal trade. Later, the novel depicts Pike's treaty with the Big Osage faction as a cause of conflict with the Little Osages. (pp. 24, 43, 72, 139). See also Tribes and tribal names; Confederate treaties.

Osages: Children of the Middle Waters. John Joseph Mathews's book, named in Lafferty's Preface, xv, as an example of an Indigenous author writing his people's epic and as a model for *Okla Hannali*.

Ottawa Indians. People whose relocated community supplies Chapter Seventeen's descending population figures, ending at 149. The narrator wrongly extends this local number to all surviving Ottawa people. The Oklahoma tribe's history records continuing family connections in Canada. Ottawa Tribe, "Notable Moments in Ottawa Tribal History," "Removal"; see Chapter Seventeen. (p. 194).

P

Pablo-Nieto. Son of Alinton Innominee and Marie Calles, named in the household birth list and among those killed in the attack on Hannali House. The printed name is Pablo, although OCR renders the birth-list name as Fabio. (pp. 119, 184).

Pale Face and Red Man. Schoolbook names questioned by Thomas-Academy, who observes that the supposedly pale people are ruddy and his own people brown. His objection anticipates Anna-Hata's refusal to let her appearance determine her belonging. Hannali returns to such labels when he jokes about dying of white-people pneumonia. (pp. 200, 217–218). See also Thomas-Academy; Okla.

Panoramic God. God as addressed by Opothleyahola, whom the narrator calls a panoramic deist. Fifty-five or sixty exceptional defenders answer his appeal for a hundred. The narrator jokes about the shortfall while praising the defenders' courage and fellowship. (pp. 146–147, 150).

Pansfalaya. The novel's form of a Choctaw designation meaning Long Hairs. Swanton's historical explanation includes both men and women. Swanton, *Source Material*, 57. (p. 203).

Parfleche. The empty container in the final lament for the defeated Creeks. Together with burned lodges and smoke that will not rise again, it suggests the loss of food and shelter and the fear that no succeeding generation will take their place. (p. 171). See also Smoke and talk; Shoal Creek.

Parole. The promises that bind Hannali's neutrality and Robert Pike's refuge. Hannali refuses to see the wounded Union soldier, but forbids him to leave and resume fighting. He later blames his own broken word for the catastrophe. This accusation comes from Hannali in his anguish; God gives no such judgment in the passage. The attack on the house releases Robert from his pledge. (pp. 130, 150, 159–160, 172, 179, 182). See also Pike, Robert; Opothleyahola.

Particular judgment. The individual judgment after death. Hannali expects it shortly and adds his own confident opinion that all knowledge will then be given to him. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1021–1022; see Chapter Twenty. (p. 219). See also Priest at Hannali's death.

Pass Christian Innominee. Hannali's educated brother and a boatman whose travels reach New Orleans. He brings home the red coat and fiddle, joins the family's unruly fox hunt, and later helps finance Hannali's establishment in the Territory. His wife is Marie Delessert. Their children are Peter, Marie Chapponia, Joseph, Catherine, John Barua, Therese, and Louis Christian. (pp. 14, 18–19, 45, 93).

Payne, David L. Leader of the Boomer movement. In his fictional conversation with Hannali, he claims that 160 acres will make a person complete, as God intends. Hannali answers that land is the people. The novel's certainty that Payne was poisoned is unsupported, as is its denial of significant Indian opposition to his movement. See Chapter Nineteen. (pp. 205, 208–211). See also Quarter section.

Peckerwoods. The narrator's name for the white intimidators who hood themselves and terrorize Choctaw settlements before removal. Their familiar horses and clothing expose them. This violence helps explain why the proposed Indian revolt proves impracticable. See Chapter Five. (pp. 44–45). See also Cagoulard society.

Pegg, Major. Cherokee officer whose men parley with Opothleyahola's camp before Bird Creek. Their encounter discredits the official portrayal of the refugees; some remain to fight beside them. (pp. 166–167).

Perry, Rachel. Creek woman who becomes Travis's pledge wife in 1850. Hannali refuses to reduce her to a daughter-in-law when Travis joins the war: she remains his daughter. Famous takes her to Travis, and she is still with him in the final camp before Shoal Creek. The novel does not place her among the dead or survivors found at Hannali House. (pp. 118–119, 163–164, 169). See also Travis Innominee; Shoal Creek.

Peter and Therese Innominee. Two of the seven children of Pass Christian and Marie Delessert named during the cousins' visit. Peter is not Peter-Barua, and Therese is not Jemmy and Hazel's daughter Marie-Therese. (pp. 93, 119). See also Pass Christian Innominee; Peter-Barua.

Peter-Barua. Son of Travis and Rachel Perry. Hazel brings him out of hiding after the attack on Hannali House. He later helps renew the family and acquires the gentleness and adaptability the narrator finds in the new generation. (pp. 119, 183, 190, 201). See also Perry, Rachel; Travis Innominee.

Philip-Nitakechi. Son of Jemmy Buster and Hazel Innominee. He asks about the invisible ghost skin and is later named among the dead after the attack on the house. (pp. 119, 149, 184).

Philosophers and heroes. Socrates, Plato, Pericles, Trajan, Newton, Voltaire, and Rousseau appear in the narrator's catalogue of reputations defended as though they were sacred. Tancred, William of Falaise, Wellington, and William Penn join the saints, monarchs, and heroes of particular constituencies. The list prepares the attack on the reputation of Albert Pike. (p. 122). See also Pike, Albert.

Piano. One of the three gifts Hannali brings the women after the end of their marriages. Marie DuShane begins with the French tunes of her schooling; Martha Louisiana recognizes the instrument as a person and plays with a power that astonishes educated visitors. (p. 75).

Pickens, the green Indian. The outwitted trader of the opening tale. His tribal identity changes with the teller; successive encounters strip him of goods, body, bones, and soul. (pp. 112–114).

Pike, Albert. Confederate treaty commissioner and military officer whose imposing appearance, in the narrator's account, conceals a destructive counterfeit of authority. The novel accuses his treaty campaign of deliberately creating internal wars, an intention the treaty texts alone cannot establish. His mysterious relation with Brutus belongs to the fiction. (pp. 121–123, 134, 136–142). See also Confederate treaties; United Nations.

Pike, Robert. White boy from Missouri who joins Hannali's journey to the mountain gathering and finds friends among the Choctaws. Years later, as a wounded Union soldier, he is sheltered in Hannali House under the fiction that he cannot be seen. He defends the house, tends Hannali's wounds, and leaves a letter mistakenly assuming the absent family dead. In the final years he returns as a ghost who questions his own existence and predicts the Indians' disappearance. The living family casts doubt on his prediction. (pp. 76–77, 79, 130–132, 149–150, 179, 182, 184, 211–212). See also Parole; Talking horse; Smoke and talk.

Pins. Cherokee factional designation associated with the Keetoowah. In the war chapters, calling victims Pins instead of men denies their humanity. Pins later shelter and support the refugees. The narrator's division of Cherokee parties into fixed racial camps oversimplifies shifting allegiances. See Chapters Thirteen and Fifteen. (pp. 141, 164–167). See also Ross, John; Watie, Stand.

Pishofa. The dish demanded by the girl said to be inside Luvinia's panther. The tale specifies a kettle, a pig, and the preparation of pishofa, treating the impossible visitation as an ordinary household demand. (pp. 95–96).

Pitchlynn, John. Interpreter and father of Peter Pitchlynn. The novel questions his fatherhood in its magical account of Peter's identity. The historical account identifies John and Sophia Folsom as Peter's parents. See Chapter Eight. (pp. 89–90). See also Pitchlynn, Peter.

Pitchlynn, Peter. Choctaw leader, explorer, diplomat, reader, and musician whom the novel recasts as its last *alikchi*. He summons the mountain gathering, disputes Hannali's household economy, and later loses political confidence. His Washington life and burial raise questions about his identity and freedom, especially the meaning of becoming white. The novel invents his parentage and treats racial identity as changeable; his documented parents were John Pitchlynn and Sophia Folsom. See Chapters Eight, Twelve, and Eighteen. (pp. 35, 78–79, 88–92, 123–124, 126–127, 197–198, 202). See also Plutarch; *Summa Theologica*; Underground thunder.

Plutarch. Ancient biographer named in Hannali's proposed reading and associated with Peter Pitchlynn's remark that literature invents great men whom life has yet to produce. Hannali is reading him when the priest arrives. (pp. 84, 87). See also Reading.

Poste DuShane. Alinton DuShane's trading establishment on the Canadian, near the site Hannali chooses for his home. Hannali announces that he will take over the post and marry Marie, to the indignation of both father and daughter. He also prepares to receive the refugees there. (pp. 38–40).

Potatoes, Comanche. See Comanche Potatoes.

Potlatch. The narrator's term for the overflowing exchange of gifts during the visit of Pass Christian's family. The passage does not establish a distinct Choctaw institution called potlatch. (p. 96).

Powder Face. One of the absent friends Hannali names during his conversation with Robert Pike's ghost, when he considers his losses and loneliness. (p. 212).

Priest at Hannali's death. Unnamed Catholic priest brought from Muskogee. He hears Hannali's confession, counsels him, administers Communion and Extreme Unction, and insists upon God's authority over the time of death. (pp. 217–220). See also Particular judgment; Sacraments.

Priest, the visiting. Unnamed Catholic priest who reaches Hannali House in 1842 while dying of tuberculosis. He administers the sacraments, accepts a replacement horse, and dies four days later at a Durant household. A historical identity has not been established. (pp. 87–88). See also Sacraments; Priest at Hannali's death.

Principality. A biblical term for a spiritual power, used to describe Hannali's confrontation with Falaya in the language of Ephesians 6:12. It gives the conflict a spiritual seriousness while leaving Falaya's nature uncertain. Falaya himself insists that he is human. Ephesians 6:12; see Chapter Sixteen. (pp. 172, 175–176).

Puchshenubbee. One of the chiefs named among the Choctaw patriarchs in the prologue. Despite the similar names, he is distinct from Pushmataha. (p. 2). See also Pushmataha; Apukshunubbee.

Purgatory. Famous's reported condition after death, measured in local terms: better than Texas, worse than Moshulatubbee. The family jokes as it mourns him. (p. 191).

Pushmataha. Chief from whose district Barua resigns. His voice, speed, and authority make him seem gigantic; his laughter finally relieves the tension of Barua's defiance. The underground thunder at Peter Pitchlynn's burial later recalls his formidable presence. (pp. 6–7, 198).

Q

Quanah Parker. Comanche leader named in Hannali's long roll of acquaintances and again in the catalogue of Plains leaders during the Old Wild West Days. The novel also spells the name Quannah. (pp. 68, 207). See also Names in the wandering years; Old Wild West Days.

Quantrill. Confederate guerrilla called Charles Quantrill in the novel's catalogue of raiders. The historical commander was William Clarke Quantrill. Lafferty places him between Jo Shelby and Stand Watie in a sharply graded account of military skill and murderous violence. See Chapter Seventeen. (p. 187). See also Watie, Stand.

Quarter section. A surveyed tract of 160 acres. Payne treats this administrative measure as the natural and divinely intended amount of land for every man. (pp. 208–209).

Quinahiwi. Named by Lafferty as a Caddo signatory. The Confederate treaty text identifies Qui-na-hi-wi as a principal chief of the Noconi Comanches. See Chapter Thirteen and the Comanche treaty of August 12, 1861, signature list. (p. 139). See also Confederate treaties.

R

Railroads and towns. Railroads change the geography of Hannali's old age. The narrator pairs Doaksville with Fort Towson, North Fork with Eufaula, Skullyville with Spiro, Boggy Depot with Atoka, and Perryville with McAlester, presenting them as towns moved to the rails. The historical changes differed from town to town. See Chapter Eighteen. (p. 203). See also Millerton / Old Miller Court House; Skullyville.

Rattlesnake and uski. The ancient rattlesnake that guides the men to Nanih Waiya is called the remnant of the oldest Choctaw uski or clan. It sees the returning people and dies. Pitchlynn may have contrived the event, yet the gathering retains its sacred meaning. The narrator does not settle the question of fraud or present the episode as a straightforward ethnographic record. (pp. 78–79). See also Pitchlynn, Peter.

Reading. Hannali's proposed library includes Swift, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Plutarch, Irving, a history of Rome, and the visiting preacher's suspiciously self-promoting sermon collection. He wants to learn, weighs the recommendations against people he knows, and jokes about the preacher's authority. He also requests fine pens and paper. (pp. 84–85). See also Plutarch; Slates.

Rector, Elias. Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Fort Smith to whom Pike reports the amount of specie in his hands. The narrator uses the letter to connect Confederate diplomacy with the handling of Indian funds. (p. 136). See also Pike, Albert.

Red Fork. Name used for the Cimarron in the war narrative. The narrator places Round Mountains north of that river. The historical site remains disputed. (p. 156). See also Round Mountains.

Red River. Southern waterway and boundary in the novel's territorial geography. Its crossings become landmarks of the cattle drives; Alinton compares the treeless upper Canadian landscape with the Red River country. (pp. 116, 206). See also Texas Road; Trail drives.

Repeating rifles. The defenders' extraordinary rifles turn the campfire boasts into devastating fire at Round Mountains. Later Sharps carbines and .52 Spencers arm the raiders who attack Hannali House. (pp. 154, 159, 179).

Revolt of the Rich against the Poor. The narrator's borrowed phrase for the Jacksonian revolution. It reverses the movement's familiar popular image by emphasizing Indian dispossession. (p. 27).

Robot, Isidore. French Benedictine missionary associated with the Catholic mission at Atoka. The novel mistakenly calls him Bohemian. Michalicka, "First Catholic Church," 481–482; see Chapter Eighteen. (p. 204).

Roses. Hannali's red flowers before the Big House return in the description of the fire that destroys it. The great red flowering recalls his pleasure in the roses at the moment of destruction. (p. 179).

Ross, John. Cherokee principal chief whose early neutrality gives way to Confederate alliance. The novel praises the difficulty of his original policy. The treaty does not install Stand Watie as his co-chief. See Chapter Thirteen. (pp. 124, 140).

Round Mountain Landing. Landing twenty miles upriver from Fort Coffee where Hannali gives away corn after traders prevent his first attempt to feed arriving people. It is distinct from the later Round Mountains battlefield. (p. 72). See also Round Mountains; Whiskey Decade.

Round Mountains. The novel's name for the battle of November 19, 1861, in which Opothleyahola's refugees confront Confederate pursuers. Both sides suffer so severely that the narrator calls it a battle everybody lost. The novel locates it near Stillwater and Perkins; the exact historical site remains disputed. See Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen. (pp. 141, 151–152, 156–162). See also Opothleyahola; Snake-hair plant; Shoal Creek.

Ruby-red window. Window in the Big House, described alongside its massive timbers and elaborate structure. (p. 60).

S

Sacraments. The household maintains its Catholic life through long intervals without a priest. The visiting priest administers the sacraments in 1842; at Hannali's death the priest hears confession and gives Communion and Extreme Unction. Hannali receives these sacraments amid his family's affection and jokes. See Chapters Eight and Twenty. (pp. 87–88, 219). See also Priest, the visiting; Priest at Hannali's death; Particular judgment; St. Patrick's Church.

Saint Peter. Black member of the defending company, praised for his value in a fight. (p. 154).

Sally Innominee. Daughter of Hannali and Natchez, named Salina after Grand Saline, her mother's birthplace. Marie describes her beauty as sparkling. Hannali brings her home alive after Falaya's first assault, whose effects persist. Falaya later murders her to draw Hannali away from the house. A single blow kills her; responsibility for the subsequent bloody staging remains unexplained. (pp. 70, 85–86, 101, 172–174, 184). See also Whiteman Falaya; Grand Saline; Hitchiti Meadow.

Sand plum. The forbidden fruit of the prologue: eating it leaves the Choctaws to climb the hard hill forever. The story recalls Genesis 3, although Genesis does not identify the fruit. The house at the top of the hard hill in Chapter Eighteen gives this labor a destination. No independent Choctaw source for its use as the forbidden fruit has been established. Genesis 3:17–19; see the Prologue and Chapter Eighteen. (pp. 1, 204). See also St. Patrick's Church.

Santa Fe and the Canadian. Alinton's attempted boat trade becomes an adventure when wagons prove easier than river navigation. The government map confuses two Red Rivers; the novel names the Prairie Dog Town Creek Branch and Salt Fork among the southern river's branches. Alinton continues along the Canadian toward the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, makes a grueling portage to Santa Fe, then heads toward California. His father's geographical knowledge proves more useful than official cartography. (pp. 111, 115–116). See also Wandering year; Red River.

Sapulpa children and Ophelia Checote. John and Emily Sapulpa and Ophelia Checote are Creek children visiting from across the river. John's prowess in the pecan trees adds to the competition among the cousins and neighboring children, each with a special gift. The passage provides no grounds for identifying them with similarly named historical adults. (pp. 93–94).

Scarecrow. The talking and whistling occupant of Hannali's field. The children bring home its request for a new coat, which Hannali refuses because it has failed to scare the crows. He judges the talking scarecrow by the ordinary duties of its job. (pp. 93–94). See also Talking horse.

Scent and memory. Hannali remembers as acutely as he perceives. He distinguishes settlements by smoke and recognizes Falaya's presence and absence by scent. At the end he recalls every scent, word, and touch, as though his memory held the whole world of his long life. (pp. 38, 105, 131, 176, 220). See also Smoke and talk.

Scott, Sudden (Scioto). One of the four white Texans who arrive with Travis and Jemmy to defend Yahola's people. (p. 150).

Scrip. See Choctaw dollars.

Self-sufficiency. The household economy defended by Hannali against the plantation and market ambitions of the Choctaw South. His commitment is moral and political as well as economic. Slavery, trade, his sons' differing enterprises, and the destruction of the house expose its limits. (pp. 91–92, 99, 109, 123). See also Slavery; Pitchlynn, Peter.

Senator Innominee. Hannali's public title, used in his later years both in the Tuskahoma Council House and at the Eufaula pool table. The same title honors his political standing and, comically, his skill at pool. (p. 204). See also Tuskahoma.

Sequoyah. Creator of the Cherokee syllabary. The narrator compares his achievement with Moses and uses the comparison to argue for the advantages of imperfect writing systems. His argument oversimplifies the history of alphabetic writing. See Chapter Eight. (pp. 82–83).

Severalty. Individual ownership of land, contrasted with communal tenure in the narrator's explanation of postwar losses. The Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty's description of existing common ownership contradicts the passage's broad factional division. See Chapter Seventeen. (p. 193).

Shoal Creek. The novel's name for the final December 1861 engagement of Opothleyahola's fleeing people, historically Chustenahlah. Its skeleton camp contains reduced contingents, exhausted defenders, and a few families including Travis and Rachel. The campaign ends in a lament that depicts near-annihilation. The losses described there are not a verified casualty count. See Chapter Fifteen. (pp. 169–171). See also Skeleton camp; Opothleyahola; Perry, Rachel.

Shulush-Homa. Earlier Choctaw chief said to grasp the meaning of a written message by rubbing it against his cheek. Hannali's intuitive knowledge of Falaya's note recalls this story before a literate member of the household reads the words aloud. (p. 57).

Silver Saddle. Blue-eyed, dark-brown interpreter able to translate for the Plains Indians in Yahola's company. (p. 154).

Skeleton camp. The depleted final camp before Shoal Creek, inhabited by the remaining veterans and contingents reduced to symbols. Behind it, propped-up corpses serve as decoy guards in the abandoned camp. (pp. 169–170).

Skullyville. Principal settlement of the Moshulatubbee District in the novel. It later appears among the commercial centers associated with the wealthy Choctaw faction and among the old towns displaced in the narrator's account of the railway age. (pp. 54, 107, 203). See also Railroads and towns; Welsh Indians.

Slates. Reusable tablets and slate pencils in Marie DuShane's schoolroom, delivered from Tamaha Landing with ten penny catechisms, books, paper, wax, and quills. She treats all nine members of the household as her pupils. Natchez's struggle with the letters provides much of the comedy. (pp. 82–84).

Slavery. Hannali helps enslaved people escape west, yet unequal relations persist in his household. Robert Jones's plantation wealth and Pitchlynn's slaveholding enter the political argument over the Civil War. The narrator's contrast between Indian and white slavery can obscure coercion. (pp. 13, 46, 108, 123, 144). See also Self-sufficiency; Pike, Albert.

Small Cloud Spicer. Name appearing beside Little Tom Spicer in the novel's account of the Seneca treaty. The narrator reinterprets the names as chiefly titles and alleges forgery. Neither the etymologies nor the forgery allegation is established. See Chapter Thirteen. (p. 140). See also Confederate treaties; Surnames.

Smoke and talk. Smoking and conversation accompany the telling of the stories of person, family, and nation. Passing the pipe includes listeners in the telling; Hannali also smokes among his Plains friends. When the smoke ceases at his death, it recalls the earlier losses evoked by the Creek lament and the destruction of the Big House. (pp. 11, 69, 171, 181, 218, 221).

Snake-hair plant. The narrator's euphemistic description of human scalps allegedly preserved in Texas homes after Round Mountains. (p. 157).

Snowbird dance. Natchez's barefoot dance in the first snow. Her exuberance contrasts with Marie Delessert's reserve as the visiting household gets to know its relatives. (p. 99).

South Kansas Regiment. The Confederate formation named among McIntosh's troops before Shoal Creek. This was the Third Texas, also styled South Kansas-Texas, Cavalry. The same passage names the South Arkansas Mounted Riflemen. See Chapter Fifteen. (p. 169). See also Shoal Creek.

Spencer Academy. Historical Choctaw boarding school near Doaksville; Alinton attends it in the novel. (p. 110).

St. Patrick's Church. Atoka church to which Hannali repeatedly leads his family. The repeated journey resembles a pilgrimage and anticipates a final home. The narrator names the Rileys among the families who sustained Catholic life in the North. (p. 204). See also Sand plum; Robot, Isidore.

Steamboats and river towns. Hannali's 1828 journey up the Mississippi takes him through a changing succession of towns and introduces him to the boatmen. The boats include the Phillip Pennywit and Rodney. The narrator gives Vicksburg's earlier names as Fort Nogales or Walnut Fort and Walnut Hill, and finds no easy geographical explanation for St. Louis's ascendancy. (pp. 34–35). See also Three Forks; Pass Christian Innominee.

Strange Choate. Cherokee father of Natchez and grandfather of Famous and Sally; his wife is Sarah. He gives Hannali a hundred hogs and welcomes him into the family. Hannali recognizes the star sparkle of a Mingo in him. His household helps educate Famous, and his counsel draws Hannali into politics. A former warrior, he steadily advocates neutrality and honorable conduct even when he expects destruction. (pp. 49–51, 110–111, 124, 126–127).

Strange-Joseph. Son of Famous Innominee and Helen Miller, named in the birth list and among those killed at Hannali House. (pp. 119, 184).

Subvenite sancti; lux perpetua. Latin expressions marking the range of prayers Famous-George reads from a book at the family burial. The first summons the saints to assist the departed; the second asks for perpetual light. *Rituale Romanum* (1847), 148–149, 158; see Chapter Sixteen. (p. 185).

Summa Theologica. Aquinas's work, invoked in the account of Peter Pitchlynn's decisive failure. The narrator asks whether a person can freely choose what seems to have been settled before the choice. No exact article corresponding to this formulation has been established. See Chapter Eighteen. (p. 197).

Sundown Day. Falaya's phrase for the approaching end of his own life and Hannali's household. Falaya claims this ending as his choice; Hannali furiously refuses it for his family. Some of the household survive, leaving his promised ending incomplete. (pp. 175, 179). See also Whiteman Falaya.

Surnames. Names in the novel may change with experience and need not follow a fixed rule of inheritance. Martha Louisiana calls her children Travis Hannali and Luvinia Hannali; the wandering-year catalogue explains names that grow upon a person. These examples describe the novel's characters and cannot establish a universal Indigenous naming practice. (pp. 4, 47, 67–68, 70–71, 140). See also Names in the wandering years; Small Cloud Spicer.

T

Talking horse. Hannali's apparent animal interlocutor. An earlier performance, explained as ventriloquism, prepares the horse's comic reply during Hannali's final ride home. (pp. 212–215).

Tallago Valley. The prologue's location of Nanih Waiya in Mississippi. Its hand-built mound commemorates an earlier Mountain from the Beginning, which the people later recognize in the western mountain. (pp. 2, 78). See also Rattlesnake and uski.

Tamaha. River landing from which the school supplies for Marie DuShane arrive. It belongs to the network of boat traffic through which goods, books, and visitors reach Hannali House. (p. 82).

Taylor, Zachary. General named as a guest at Hannali House in 1842 and later as a commander in the approaching Mexican War. The household visit is fictional. For the novel's polemic and errors in the war chronology, see Chapters Six, Nine, and Ten. (pp. 58, 100).

Telephone. The instrument whose voice Hannali dismisses as birdlike. During his final illness, he communicates with Anna-Hata without an apparatus, using the capacity the novel associates with the old Alikí people. (p. 217).

Territorial laws. The Permit Law of 1867, Timber Law of 1871, and Coal Law of 1873 mark what the narrator sees as a change in the language and assumptions of Choctaw government. He calls the earlier laws wholly Indian and the later ones wholly white. This division oversimplifies the legal history. See Chapter Eighteen. (p. 201).

Texas and the Mexican War. See Mexican War.

Texas Fourth Cavalry. See Fourth Texas Cavalry.

Texas Road. Route passing Hannali House toward Texas. It carries traders, family travelers, and the troops whom Hannali follows in pursuit of Falaya. Famous's cattle drive uses a road the narrator successively calls the Osage Trace, East Shawnee Trail, and Texas Road; the later trail catalogue returns to the same corridor. (pp. 96, 100–101, 118, 206). See also Trail drives.

Thomas-Academy. Son of Forbis Agent and Luvinia, rescued as an infant after the house is attacked. He later questions the schoolbook names Pale Face and Red Man by comparing them with the skin colors he sees. (pp. 183–184, 200–201). See also Pale Face and Red Man.

Three Forks. The Arkansas River region near the mouths of the Verdigris and Grand or Neosho. The 1828 exploring party reaches it after traveling through the Ozarks; the Canadian enters the Arkansas farther downstream. The region's beauty does not remove the delegation's concern about shallow soil and narrow bottomlands. (pp. 36–37).

Three Forks of the Canadian. The branching river country near Hannali's settlement, distinct from the better-known Three Forks of the Arkansas. North Fork Town lies on the North Fork below the Deep Fork junction, while Hannali's house and landing face the main Canadian. (pp. 38, 53, 97). See also Three Forks; Tamaha.

Three-forked lightning. The image for Hannali's attraction to Natchez, Martha Louisiana, and Marie DuShane. Their different temperaments strike him as one overwhelming event. The narrator tells the marriages successively before revealing that Hannali has married all three. His questions about unfrying fish and unbaking bread acknowledge that they cannot simply be undone. (pp. 51–53).

Tonic. The grandson's bottled remedy praised by Hannali during his final ride. Its label denies alcohol, while the Choctaw words contradict that denial. Hannali's pride in his grandson and the survival of Choctaw both figure in the drinking joke. (p. 214).

Tracks. Exceptional scout and rifleman who enlarges Jim Ned's duck-shooting boast by adding seasoning, a plate, and gravy. (pp. 153–154).

Trail drives. The family participates in the cattle trade of the Old Wild West Days. The route catalogue includes the Jones and Plummer Trail and East and West Shawnee Trails; crossings include Spanish Fort, Doan's Store, Red River Station, and Colbert's Ferry. Preston, Denison, and Fort Worth stage herds for the Kansas railheads. Alinton later drives his own cattle and acts for other owners. (pp. 118, 206–208). See also Texas Road; Old Wild West Days; Kansas cattle trade.

Trail Indians. People arriving in the Territory exhausted and dispossessed after removal. Hannali's attempt to feed them brings him into conflict with the licensed traders. The phrase describes their displacement and does not name a separate Indigenous people. (pp. 72–73). See also Round Mountain Landing; Whiskey Decade.

Travis Innominee. Son of Hannali and Martha Louisiana, educated at Armstrong Academy. He marries Rachel Perry, joins Opothleyahola's defenders, and later serves the Union. After the war he initially avoids Alinton, opens a North Fork Town store with gambling winnings, and then receives his brother in reconciliation. He has died by Hannali's final outing. His unnamed second wife is left with her young daughter Catherine. (pp. 54, 80–81, 110, 118, 147, 150, 159, 163–164, 190–191, 213). See also Perry, Rachel; Travis's widow; Innominee family; House divided.

Travis's widow. Travis's unnamed second wife, widowed by Hannali's final ride. He treats her as a daughter. Her small daughter is Catherine, and both come to Hannali's last illness. (pp. 213, 218).

Treaties, Confederate. See Confederate treaties.

Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. See Dancing Rabbit Creek, Treaty of.

Treaty of Doak's Stand. See Doak's Stand, Treaty of.

Tribes and tribal names. The novel names many Indigenous peoples in its accounts of life before and after the southeastern removals. Later names include Ojibways or Chippewas, Otos, Peorias, Poncas, Quapaws, Potawatomis, Sac and Fox, Senecas, Shawnees, Stockbridge, Tamoroas, Tawakonis, Tonkawas, Wacos, and Wildcat Kickapoos. The mixed-band list also names Oneidas, Onedagas, Piankashaws, Tuscaroras, Weas, and Wyandots. The lament names Teton, Yankton, Santee, and Fort-Snelling Sioux, Ouiskonche, and Songeskiton. Such lists combine peoples, local groups, and older designations; their appearance does not prove extinction or one shared removal history. See Chapter Seventeen. (pp. 43, 192, 194–195). See also Ottawa Indians; Osages.

Trumpet. Barua's nine-foot brass instrument for the fox hunt. When the new trumpet will not sound, he inserts a smaller manufactured trumpet as its mouthpiece and gains an unexpectedly rich resonance. (pp. 14, 16).

Tukabatchee Town. The closed center of the Snake Creeks in the novel, remembered as a place Hannali has visited. The refugees leave it before their flight to Round Mountains. A final horse joke returns to it when Hannali pretends to make a Kiowa horse confess a Creek origin. (pp. 148, 151, 162–163, 213).

Tuscalusa. Leader named in the prologue's chronology of the 1540 conflict with de Soto. The Spaniards record a victory; the account includes no Choctaw chronicle to answer them. See Chapter One. (p. 10).

Tuskahoma. The town associated with the Choctaw capital near the Territory's Nanih Waiya. In his later years Hannali speaks as Senator Innominee in the brick Council House there. (pp. 79, 204). See also Senator Innominee.

Tustennuggee, Halleck. See Halleck Tustennuggee.

U

Underground thunder. The rumbling reported during Albert Pike's eulogy for Peter Pitchlynn. The narrator imagines Pushmataha objecting to the official praise from beneath the cemetery. (pp. 196, 198). See also Pitchlynn, Peter; Pushmataha.

United Nations. The novel's name for the intertribal assembly at North Fork in 1861. Its promised common deliberation is subverted. The name invites a critical comparison with the organization founded in 1945. (pp. 133–135).

V

Vessels, Billy. See Billy Vessels.

Vine, Cherokee creeper. See Cherokee creeper.

Violin. See Fiddle and violin.

Visitors at Hannali House. See Big House visitors.

W

Walker, Tandy. Choctaw Confederate commander whose tactical skill the narrator admires. Alinton serves in the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Battalion of his brigade; its Reserve Squadron is led by Captain George Washington, identified as a Caddo chief. The narrator praises Walker with the boast that he was never driven from a field. (pp. 187–188).

Wandering year. The youthful adventure year that the narrator extends through Hannali's lifelong travel. Its stories become a man's stock in trade. Alinton's journey also becomes a wandering year, although outsiders cannot easily verify his tales. A specific Choctaw rite matching this description has not been independently verified. (pp. 66–67, 69, 116). See also Names in the wandering years; Talking horse.

Washita and Ouachita. Two rivers distinguished in the account of the western exploration. The novel calls the northern river the False Washita to prevent confusion with the Ouachita. (pp. 40–41).

Watie, Stand. Cherokee Confederate commander and rival of John Ross. The narrator admires his military ability while condemning his violence against the Pins and fleeing Creeks. The novel's account of the Cherokee treaty is misleading: the printed October 7, 1861, agreement does not list Watie as a signatory or install him as Ross's co-chief. See Chapter Thirteen. (pp. 121–123, 140–141, 167, 171, 187–188). See also Pins; Ross, John; Confederate treaties.

Waxed-stone apparatus. See Grease-carbon apparatus.

Welsh Indians. The narrator rejects Madoc's pre-Columbian legend but proposes a later Welsh contribution to Choctaw history. His surname list includes Robert Cole, Robert Jones, George Harkins, Sidney Bowen, David Folsom, John Morgan, George Gaines, William David, W. N. Jones, the Pitchlynns, Kincaids, Pebworths, John Garland, George Hudson, Frank Owen, S. D. Griffiths, F. G. Wynn, and W. A. Williams. The list and the word comparisons do not independently prove ancestry or linguistic relationship. See Chapter Ten. (pp. 106–107). See also Madoc.

Whiskey Decade. The narrator's name for destructive drinking amid the distress of removal in the 1830s. He says the crisis lasted less than ten years and pictures whiskey's devastation as a winged serpent. Hannali remains confident that his people will recover. (pp. 72–73).

White Eyes. The narrator's recurring name for white people. The prologue uses their reckoning of years to tell Choctaw origins; Thomas-Academy later questions the racial names in their schoolbooks. (pp. 1–2, 200). See also Pale Face and Red Man.

Whiteman Falaya. The outlaw who threatens Hannali through notes and repeated intrusions, attacks Sally, and eventually murders her to draw her father away from the house. He serves as Whitman Long among U.S. troops in the Mexican War episode and escapes Hannali's first pursuit. His last letter describes a divided man afraid of still worse raiders. Hannali kills him in their duel while the household is attacked. His ghostlike stealth suggests spiritual warfare, although he insists that he is human. Falaya means long or tall; Byington, *Dictionary*, 118, falaia. (pp. 55–58, 101, 103–105, 172–178). See also Sally Innominee; Principality; Gaines Creek; Mexican War.

Wichita Mountains. Source of granite blocks carried to Hannali's Big House and one of the regions later visited by the expanding family. (pp. 60, 111).

Wood cards. Shingle-thin cards and cotton cards stiffened with pine resin precede the manufactured decks prized by Choctaw players in the novel. The account introduces Hannali's poker victory in New Orleans. Its proposed Noxubee origin for the word poker remains unverified. See Chapter Four. (p. 31).

Worcester, Samuel. Missionary named among the fictional guests entertained at Hannali House. The novel spells his name Worchester. (p. 59). See also Big House visitors.

Y

Year of the Big Thunders. The narrator's name for a stormy but fertile period of recovery, when Hannali's sons approach manhood and political divisions develop beneath the prosperity. The family departs at Epiphany 1845, a year passes, and the narrative proceeds into events of 1846. The period therefore cannot be dated simply to 1845. (pp. 99–100).

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