

## ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY, EMPEROR OF THE CREEKS

Alexander McGillivray has been described as the most gifted man ever born on the soil of Alabama by a man who was a noted soldier, prolific historian, and president of the United States. He also credits him as a chieftain whose cool and masterly diplomacy enabled his people, the Creeks, to maintain their power and position better than any other Indians against the American early settlers.

Theodore Roosevelt, having the blood of several nations flowing in his veins undoubtedly felt a warm interest and sympathy in the career of McGillivray although he says he was utterly selfish and a chieftain of consummate craft.

Doctor Abraham Flexner, of the Rockefeller Education Board, says: "There is no subject on the face of the earth about which more nonsense has been spoken than the subject of racial characteristics" yet McGillivray displayed the greed of the Scotch, the diplomacy of the French and the craft of the Indian. In addition his character was influenced by the offers of high rank and his cupidity increased by payments of large sums of money by the governments of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States.

The life of Hippo ilk Mico, or the Good Child King, as McGillivray was called in his nation, reads like a fairy story and while many authors have written of him in connection with the early history of the South, the real account of his career yet remains to be compiled.

Lachlan McGillivray, the father of Alexander, having read much of the wonders of America, when a lad of only sixteen, ran away from the home of his wealthy parents in Dunmaglass, Scotland, and came to Charleston. His only property was the traditional shilling, but being a bright lad with a strong body, an honest heart, and a red head he soon attracted the attention of an Indian trader while watching preparations to carry goods into the wilderness on pack horses. The very next day young McGillivray was mounted on a horse, in company with a band of traders driving a large number of pack horses before them towards the Chattahoochee. His master gave him as pay for his efforts a jack knife, which the Scotch lad traded for several deer skins. On his return to

Charleston he sold the skins and the money he received for them proved the foundation of a marvelous fortune for that time.

Being fearless and of fine address he succeeded in extending his trade throughout the country, even going among the French in the neighborhood of Fort Toulouse.

At the Hickory Ground a few miles from that fort he met the beautiful Sehoj Marchand and promptly fell in love with her. Her father was Captain Marchand who once commanded at Fort Toulouse and who was murdered there in 1722, by his own soldiers. Her mother was a full blood Creek of the aristocratic and ruling Wind Clan. She is described as a maiden of sixteen, bewitching, and graceful. While of dark complexion her slightly curling hair and vivacity disclosed her French ancestry. After their marriage, according to the rites of the country, McGillivray established a trading house at Little Tallase on the east bank of the Coosa and took his wife there. Lachlan McGillivray, greatly assisted by his marriage into the powerful Creek family, was enabled to extend his projects and thus became a man of wealth, owning two plantations, and numerous negroes as well as stores in Savannah and Augusta, stocked with goods that attracted the desires of the Indians.

There is an Indian tradition that while carrying her first child the young woman had numerous dreams of great quantities of books, ink, and papers, many more than she had ever seen in her father's house at the fort. Her first baby, born in 1740, was a boy who was given the all conquering name of Alexander and whose ability as a writer, when a man, is amply shown in his letters in the American State Papers. These letters received the commendation of Washington and his cabinet, and guided the destiny of Spanish Florida.

When Alexander reached the age of fourteen his mother gave her consent (which was necessary, as among the Creeks, the children always belong to the mother) and Lachlan took him to Charleston and placed him in a school. Several years later he transferred him to a counting house at Savannah but the boy had no ability for business and preferred to employ his time in reading the histories of the various countries of Europe. He displayed such a taste for study that his father finally took him back to Charleston and placed him un-

der the tuition of his cousin the Reverend Farquhar McGillivray where he received an education in Greek and Latin.

Although grown to manhood Alexander still dreamed of his mother and two beautiful young sisters, Sophia and Jeannet, of his home by the clear Coosa, of hunting trips armed with his bow and arrows, or his blow gun, and the memory becoming too poignant he finally mounted his horse and returned to the scenes of his childhood.

He was eagerly welcomed by the chiefs of his nation, who were having serious trouble with the citizens of Georgia and they called upon him because of his descent from the Wind family to assume their leadership, the tremendous burden of which he carried until his death. This was a task almost unbelievably difficult and no other man could have secured the measure of support he did from such a poorly united band of followers. He was described by Roosevelt as "a born leader and perhaps the only man who could have used aright a rope of sand as was the Creek confederacy." He became the head chief and remained in his nation making his home at one of the McGillivray plantations where he lived in the barbaric state befitting an Indian Emperor as he was designated by his subjects. His authority extended over the Seminole and Chickamauga which with other followers increased adherents to 10,000 warriors.

McGillivray was of slender build, tall, with a commanding figure, and the immobile face which showed his Indian blood. Possessed of inordinate ambition and ability and a keen intellect, he was soon surrounded by warriors and adventurers. One of the most interesting of the latter was Leclerc Milfort, a young Frenchman who visited the insurgent colonies in 1776 and who met McGillivray at Coweta, the wartown on the Chattahoochee, where the chief, surrounded by his warriors and wise men, was planning to join in giving aid to the English. Milfort was charmed with the life he saw and he married one of McGillivray's sisters whom he met at a dance. She is described as "a pretty maiden dressed in silk and linen and wearing earrings, bracelets, and clasps of silver. Milfort wrote a book *Sejour dans La Nation Creek*, describing his life in the new world and while it is interesting, Roosevelt says he was such a braggart and hopeless liar that it can only be believed where it is not to his interest to lie about matters. The book did not appear until after Mc-

Gillivray's death and was written with the intent to claim for himself all of the glory which rightfully belonged to the Creek ruler.

McGillivray had great influence at this time and he was approached by the British through Colonel Tait who was stationed on the Coosa; bestowing on the chief the rank and pay of a British colonel they hoped to secure the aid of the Creek Nation in the conflict against the rebellious Americans. He proved himself loyal to their interests throughout the whole war of the Revolution which is not surprising, as his father was a devoted Royalist and it was the English who first conferred honors and emoluments on the proud and ambitious chief. McGillivray was not of a robust constitution and while he led several expeditions during the war his particular ability lay in his great gift of diplomacy and his power to control men, and raise forces for the king.

When the British were forced to evacuate Savannah and Augusta, Lachlan McGillivray hastily collected a large sum of money and valuable objects and sailed for his native land, leaving his wife and family with the hope that they would be allowed to retain possession of his vast properties. He was mistaken in this however, as the Americans proceeded to confiscate all of the estate with the exception of a few negro slaves, who fled to his wife Sehoi who was living on the Coosa.

At this time there entered a man who was to have a vast influence on the life and fortunes of McGillivray. William Panton who proved a loving and powerful friend of the chief was a native of Scotland which was, no doubt, a strong bond between the two men. He was born in Aberdeenshire, and came to Charleston at an early day. He was remarkable for his commercial ability and good sense and soon acquired great estates in Georgia and South Carolina; when these were confiscated he located upon the St. Mary's River. He owned a large trading house at Pensacola and formed a commercial treaty with the Spaniards when they took that place in 1781.

Being greatly attracted by the brilliant mind and his influence with the Indian tribes he sought the friendship of McGillivray and realizing that he had been neglected by the British he soon sheltered him under the care of Spain, know-

ing the advantage it would be to himself as well as the personal advancement of the great chief.

McGillivray was influenced to form this commercial treaty with Spain through the facts that his father's estates had been confiscated; that he had been banished; that he had been threatened with death, and his nation exterminated while the Americans were constantly attempting to take part of his Creek kingdom away from the nation; the Spaniards asked only for his aid in commercial affairs and offered him great advantages in that pursuit and the rank and pay of a colonel and Spanish commissary.

The Provisional Congress appointed a commission headed by Andrew Pickens to treat with the southern Indians and Pickens wrote the Alabama Talleyrand urging him to enter into a treaty of friendship with the United States Government. The able chief replied in the following letter which demonstrates his character: "Little Tallase, 5th Sept. 1785. Sir: . . . The notification you have sent us is agreeable to our wishes, as the meeting is intended for the desirable purpose of adjusting and settling matters, on an equitable footing, between the United States and the Indian nations. At the same time, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that a measure of this nature should have been so long delayed, on your part. When we found that the American independence was confirmed by the peace, we expected that the new government would soon have taken some steps to make up the differences that subsisted between them and the Indians during the war, to have taken them under their protection, and confirmed them in their hunting grounds. Such a course would have reconciled the minds of the Indians, and secured the States their friendship, as they considered your people their natural allies."

Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka was the favorite residence of Colonel McGillivray, and was the place from which he wrote most of the letters which display so forcibly his consummate diplomacy. The commissioners of Congress were delighted with the friendly letter from McGillivray and they arrived at Galphinton to find that only two chiefs and sixty warriors had come to meet them and McGillivray was not one of the chiefs. The commissioners declined to treat with the Indians present but they had hardly

departed before commissioners representing Georgia made a treaty with those present which granted the latter the territory lying on the east of a line, to run from the junction of the Oconee and Ockmulgee to the St. Mary's River, including all of the islands and harbors, and which constitutes more than half of the coast of Georgia.

McGillivray wrote to James White, Superintendent of Creek Indians, April 8, 1787, that the reason the Creek chiefs signed the treaty was because they found the Georgians with an armed body of men, prepared for hostilities, and he added: "If I fall by the hand of such, I shall fall the victim of the noblest of causes, that of maintaining the just rights of my country. I aspire to the honest ambition of meriting the appellation of the preserver of my country, equally with the Chiefs among *you*, whom, from acting on such principles, you have exalted to the highest pitch of glory."

He was independent, being paid by Spain, supported by his wealthy partner Panton, adored by his own tribe and encouraged by the adherence of many Cherokee and Choctaw; and he was in a position to dictate terms to the supplications of the United States Government. Hostilities continued and Congress endeavored to persuade Colonel McGillivray to make a treaty but refused to concede terms on his unreasonable demands.

During the year 1789 the Federal Government tried in many ways to gain the friendship of McGillivray who refused to consider one treaty but agreed to meet commissioners on September 15. He wrote Panton in a very exultant strain: "In this do you not see my cause of triumph, in bringing these conquerors of the Old, and masters of the New World, as they call themselves, to bend and supplicate for peace, at the feet of a people whom, shortly before, they despised and marked out for destruction . . ." This was one of the triumphant moments of the life of the "honored and beloved man" and he fully displayed his power and scorn. He continued in the following picturesque language: "My people being all at home, and the great ceremony of kindling the new fire being just over, I deem it the fittest time to meet these commissioners, and have accordingly made the broken days, of which nine are left, to set out in. In conducting the business of the treaty. I will, . . . confine it to fixing our

limits and the acknowledgment of the independence of my nation." He declared that he would refuse a commercial treaty and that if the stipulations clashed with those already entered into with Spain he would not hesitate to cut short the negotiations. He stated: "The commissioners of the United States say, it would give them great pleasure to have a private conversation, previous to our entering into the business of the treaty, as it would tend to make it go on agreeably, and with more ease. I need not interpret this paragraph to you, when you already know that I have, for some time past, been endeavoring to recover my house and lands, with my family estate, which . . . is more than 39,999 pounds sterling, the offer of which is now, I expect, to be pressed upon me." He gives a detailed statement as to his obligations to Panton for his support and the expenses of the government and while he did not doubt his continued generosity it was distasteful to "the feeling heart, to be beholden to subsist on the bounty of private friendship" and states his position as being offered the restoration of his property, of more than one hundred thousand dollars on the one hand or not having the wherewithal to pay an interpreter on the other. He complains bitterly of the miserable pittance furnished him by his Catholic Majesty and which he had some time since refused, and added: "if they want my services, why not a regular establishment made, as was done by the English, with a competent salary affixed, and allowance for two interpreters . . ."

Panton was under the deepest obligations as McGillivray had been in a position to make it possible for him to gain boundless wealth. He had trading houses in all the large posts in Florida, and a store in Pensacola where he employed fifteen clerks. He was the owner of immense "skin-houses" where pelts were assorted and prepared for shipment to foreign markets. His establishments extended as far west as the Mississippi River and he also was the owner of fifteen schooners which were employed in his trade. Naturally he was alarmed at the menace of a new commercial treaty with the Americans.

Pickett in his interesting *History of Alabama* says of McGillivray: "This able and ingenious Indian, Scotchman or Frenchman, (for who can tell which blood most influenced

his disposition,) kept Panton, Spain, and the United States in a state of feverish excitement, while Georgia was horribly harrassed, and made to feel his malignant resentment, for the banishment of his father and the confiscation of his patrimony."

Washington appointed General Pickens and three other men to serve as commissioners in an effort to secure a peace with the Creek emperor. Arriving at Savannah with provisions to feed the Indians while at the treaty ground they were met at Rock Landing, on the Oconee, by McGillivray and a band of two thousand Indians. The chief treated privately with the commissioners for two days, much to their satisfaction, after which the Americans visited the various chiefs, joined in the ceremony of the black drink and were finally conducted to the place of council with much ceremony. The Indians refused to sign the treaty when it was read to them and departed for their homes. McGillivray also left and he sent a letter stating the position of his people and adding: "We sincerely desire a peace, but cannot sacrifice much to obtain it. As for a statement of our disputes, the honorable Congress has long been in possession of, and has declared that they will decide on them on principles of justice and humanity. 'Tis that we expect."

Washington was greatly inclined to make war on the Creeks after learning of their refusal to sign the treaty but decided on another plan when he discovered that the war would cost the government fifteen million dollars. He felt that he could influence the chief to his way of thinking if he could see him face to face and with this object he delegated Colonel Marinus Willett, a distinguished veteran of the Revolution, as a secret agent to visit McGillivray and prevail upon him to return with him to the seat of government. Colonel Willett, after a long and arduous journey, finally met McGillivray and the letter from Washington being delivered, they spent two days in discussing matters; they then repaired to Hickory Ground and McGillivray sent out ten broken days for the chiefs of the Lower Towns to meet at Ositchy. On May 12 McGillivray and Washington's agent set out for the meeting place to await the arrival of the chiefs. Colonel Willett urged the Indians in a long address to send a delegation of chiefs with Colonel McGillivray to New York where



Washington would make a treaty with them, "as strong as the hills and lasting as the rivers." To which the Creeks replied: ". . . our beloved Chief shall go with you, and such others as we may appoint. We will agree to all things which our beloved Chief shall do."

McGillivray, accompanied by his nephew and two servants who always went with him, joined Colonel Willett; all were mounted, on horseback and were followed by pack horses. Travelling in a north easterly direction they arrived at Stone Mountain where they were joined by the chiefs of Coweta and Cusseta. At the home of General Pickens the party received a cordial welcome, being joined there by the Tallase King, Chinnobe, "the great Natchez warrior," together with other chiefs. Setting out with three wagons in which were carried twenty-six warriors, with four on horseback while the agent rode in a sulkey. Colonel McGillivray and his suite rode horses and the journey by way of Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Philadelphia was that of a conquering hero which no doubt greatly appealed to the vanity of the chief. He was received by the most prominent citizens and treated with distinguished consideration. At Guilford Court House, North Carolina, the Creek ruler was enabled to perform a kindly act in ransoming a Mrs. Brown and her children from the Indians who had held them as slaves since murdering her husband and taking her and her little family prisoners several years before. He provided for them at one of his houses for more than a year and Mrs. Brown displayed the deepest gratitude when she met her preserver at Guilford.

On reaching Elizabethtown Point they proceeded to New York by sloop. There they were welcomed by the new Tammany Society with much pomp and ceremony. Doubtless the Tammany Indians made a more gorgeous appearance than did the real warriors after their long and arduous journey through the wilderness. The Indians were marched up Wall Street by the Federal Hall where Congress was in session; and from there to the house of President Washington who received them with great ceremony. The delegation next visited the Secretary of War, following which they were delighted with a "sumptuous and elegant entertainment, at the City Tavern."

The Spaniards, ever alert, had learned that McGillivray had gone to New York, and not wishing to lose the benefit of his

power, they sent an agent with a large sum of money to try to hold him in their favor. Washington discovered the plan and had the man watched so that he was powerless to effect his designs.

The negotiations with the Indians were very formal and Henry Knox, Secretary of War, having been appointed to act as commissioner for the United States, a treaty was concluded on August 7; it was ratified in the Hall of Representatives and the terms were very advantageous for our government. Washington, with great shrewdness, entered into a secret treaty with McGillivray which provided "that after two years from date the commerce of the Creek nation should be carried on through the ports of the United States . . . that the chiefs of the Okfuskees, Tookabatchas, Tallases, Cowetas, Cussetas, and the Seminole nation should be paid annually by the United States \$100 each, and be furnished with handsome medals; that Alexander McGillivray should be constituted agent of the United States with the rank of brigadier-general and the pay of \$1,200 per annum; that the United States should feed, clothe, and educate Creek youth at the North, not exceeding four at one time."

The treaty being signed General McGillivray took the oath of allegiance to the United States, having acquired many high honors, and a fair salary. On his return home he ignored his compact with the United States and entered into an intrigue with Spain by which he was made Superintendent-general of the Creek nation and received a salary of \$2,000 a year, which was increased two years later to \$3,500.

Andrew Ellicott, a Quaker of Pennsylvania was engaged by the Federal Government to survey the line between the Creeks and Georgians and he went to the Oconee with James Seagrove who had been appointed Superintendent of the Creek nation. McGillivray, although urged, delayed in gaining the consent of the Indians for the running of the line. The chieftain was greatly harrassed at this period by the notorious William Augustus Bowles who hated Panton and General McGillivray and did all in his power to discredit the latter. He entered the Creek nation, denounced the beloved chief as a traitor to his people and endeavored to supplant him. He was accompanied by many bad men who had great influence with the Indians and he tried to stir up a rebellion. Bowles

claimed that neither Spain nor the United States had any right to control the Indians; that England had never ceded the country to either of these powers and that McGillivray had made an attempt to sell his people to Spain, and then to the Federal Government. McGillivray for the first time began to lose the confidence of the Indians. Harrassed on all sides he left New Orleans and Bowles claimed that he had fled, never to return to his home on the Coosa. However he appeared frequently in New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola during that winter and he was treated with great consideration by the authorities of Spain. McGillivray professed to be disgusted with his visit to New York and disclaimed the title of general. He still had power enough to cause the arrest of Bowles who was brought to New Orleans in chains and sent to Madrid. After a lurid career in England, imprisonment in Manila and a period spent as a free booter and pirate when he preyed on the vessels of Panton, Bowles finally ended his inglorious career in a dungeon in the Moro Fort at Havana, Cuba.

McGillivray returned to the Coosa and was soon joined by one Captain Don Pedro Oliver, a Frenchman in the Spanish service. It was generally thought that McGillivray acted through Oliver in his connections with Spain and his presence was looked upon with suspicion by the agents of the United States. General James Robertson knew him well and called him "the biggest devil" among the Spaniards,—“half Spaniard, half Frenchman, half Scotchman, and altogether Creek scoundrel”—which description displays his powers of invective rather than his knowledge of fractions.

During the year 1792 many large meetings were held in the Creek and Cherokee nations where McGillivray appeared only a visitor. Oliver and Panton in speeches urged the Indians not to allow the line to be run between the Creeks and Georgians and Governor Carondelet sent a large body of Shawnee, well armed and equipped to assist in defeating the measure. McGillivray turned over his house to Oliver, removed his negroes to Little River, and repaired to Pensacola.

There was a large colony of wealthy and intelligent persons of mixed blood who had plantations on Little River where they could feed their great droves of cattle on the wild vegetation that was always safe from frost. Among these

people dwelt Sophia McGillivray Durant, the wife of Benjamin Durant, a man of Huguenot descent, and the beautiful sister of the Creek chief. She had an air of authority that surpassed that of her brother and she was much more familiar with the Creek language owing to his having spent so many years out of the nation; on many occasions when he held councils in the vicinity of her home she would deliver his speeches much to the interest of the chiefs who listened with pleasure. During McGillivray's stay in New York the Creeks started an uprising on a settlement in which they threatened to put the inhabitants to death. Mrs. Durant, with characteristic McGillivray boldness, with her negro maid, mounted horses and rode three days, camping out at night, to the Hickory Ground, assembled the chiefs, and holding over them the vengeance of her brother she forced the arrest of the leaders and thus ended what would have been a bloody project. This remarkable woman gave birth to twins two weeks later at Hickory Ground.

McGillivray carried on a correspondence with the Secretary of War regarding the treaty made in New York and called his attention to the fact that he had not guaranteed that the chiefs would agree to make the south fork of the Oconee the boundary or that he would be able to restore the negroes who had changed hands so often. He attempted to place the blame of all the disturbances on Spain because of interference in their affairs.

General McGillivray suffered from a serious fever in the summer of 1792 while at Mobile. His end was fast approaching and he returned to his favorite abode on Little River.

The letter which Panton sent to Lachlan McGillivray, in Scotland announcing the death of his son is full of interest and gives a vivid picture of the last days of this remarkable man. Writing from Pensacola April 10, 1794 he said: ". . . Your son, sir, was a man that I esteemed greatly. It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other, which first brought us together, and, the longer we were acquainted, the stronger was our friendship.

"I found him deserted by the British, without pay, without money, without friends, and without property, saving a few negroes, and he and his nation threatened with destruction by the Georgians, unless they agreed to cede them the

better part of their country. I had the good fortune to point out a mode by which he could save them all, and it succeeded beyond expectation.

“. . . He died on the 17th February, 1793, of complicated disorders—inflamed lungs and the gout on his stomach. He was taken ill on the path, coming from his cow-pen, on Little River, where one of his wives, Joseph Curnell's daughter, resided, and died eight days after his arrival here. No pains, no attention, no cost was spared, to save the life of my friend; but fate would have it otherwise, and he breathed his last in my arms.

“. . . He died possessed of sixty negroes, three hundred head of cattle, with a large stock of horses.

“. . . I advised, I supported, I pushed him on, to be the great man. Spaniards and Americans felt his weight, and this enabled him to haul me after him, so as to establish this house with more solid privileges than, without him, I should have attained. This being the case, if he had lived, I meant, besides what he was owing me, to have added considerably to his stock of negroes. What I intended to do for the father, I will do for his children. This ought not to operate against your making that ample provision for your grand-son, and his two sisters, which you have it in your power to make. They have lately lost their mother, so that they have no friends, poor things, but you and me. My heart bleeds for them, and what I can, I will do. The boy, Alleck, is old enough to be sent to Scotland, to school, which I intend to do, next year, and then you will see him.” This letter of Panton's was found in the records of the District Court at New Orleans.

General McGillivray was interred in the beautiful garden of Panton,<sup>1</sup> in Pensacola, and Masonic honors were paid him.

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<sup>1</sup>Traces of Panton's buildings in Pensacola may still be seen in the lines of the walls of the warehouse, home, and kitchen. The warehouse was very substantially built of hard brick and good mortar; it was a two story, attic, and basement structure, the latter with walls two feet thick. The square in which these buildings stood and which includes the garden where McGillivray was buried is now grown up in trees and bushes and has much the appearance of a jungle. These facts were secured through the courtesy of Mr. J. C. Yonge of Pensacola, who has devoted much of his time to the collection of documents relating to Florida history. The exact location of the grave is not known: some persons think that McGillivray's body was moved but Mr. Yonge has found nothing to prove it.

He was a great loss to Panton and his passing caused deep sorrow to the Indians whose champion he had been for many years.

He was a very striking looking man, six feet tall, and erect in carriage. He had remarkably fine, piercing eyes and his forehead must have been very noticeable as all writers in describing him speak of the extraordinary expansion which commenced at his eyes and widened to the top of his head. He is said to have been handsome and to have had long tapering fingers with which he wielded a pen with remarkable rapidity. He was dignified and his manners were polished. He ordinarily dressed in a combination of Indian and American garments but he was provided with uniforms of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States which he wore on proper occasions, being careful not to appear in his American uniform when he was to meet Spaniards.

In his homes he entertained distinguished visitors with lavish hospitality and while he was ambitious and unscrupulous he had many fine traits, the best of which was his kind heart; he was celebrated for his kindness to captives and his last work in behalf of his nation was an effort to secure teachers for them.

John Pope in his book *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States*, published in 1792 gives a graphic account of his visit in the home of Chief McGillivray. He says that McGillivray owing to "the concurrent approbation which he hath merited and received from the whole Nation, may with Propriety, be said to hold imperial Power, having many Kings and Princes subordinate." Pope first went to McGillivray's home on the Coosa but finding him absent he was conducted to his upper plantation about six miles distant where he found the chief superintending the building of a new log house with dormer windows on the same spot where his father had lived. He was received "with Frankness and Civility: . . . This Gentleman to Appearances is at least Five and Forty, tho' in Fact only thirty-two Years of Age—Dissipation marked his Juvenile Days, and sapped a Constitution originally delicate and feeble. He is subject to an habitual Head-Ache and Cholic, notwithstanding which his Temper is placid and serene, and at Intervals of Ease quite joyous. He possesses an Atticism of Dic-

tion aided by a liberal Education, a great Fund of Wit and Humor, meliorated by perfect good Nature and Politeness. His Lady considered the Mode of Education to which she was subjected in the Early Part of Life, is a Model of Prudence and Discretion; and could her Complexion, which is *olive*, be commuted for the lovely Tints of *red* and *white*, she would be 'A Woman loveliest of the lovely Kind, Perfect in Body, and Complete in Mind.' " By this wife the General had two children, Alexander and Elizabeth and Pope says of them: "They speak the English Tongue as well as Children of a similar Age usually do among us . . ." He further says: "Our President, whilst M'Gillivray was in New York, complimented him with a Selection of elegantly bound Books; as also with the Golden Epaulet which he has worn throughout the War. The latter M'Gillivray considers as a great Honor conferred upon him; and therefore, says, he '*prizes it far above Rubies and much fine Gold.*'

"He receives annual Presents from his Father in Scotland, which he modestly displays to his Friends, saying, 'those I received from my natural, these—from my political and adopted Father.' "

Absalom H. Chappell in "Miscellanies of Georgia" describes McGillivray as: "by all odds the foremost man of Indian blood and raising that Anglo-America has ever seen . . ."

CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN.