

JOHN B. C. LUCAS IN PENNSYLVANIA

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ALTHOUGH John B. C. Lucas was one of the most distinguished of the citizens of western Pennsylvania in the latter part of the eighteenth century, little is known about him today save a bare outline of his career and a few traditions. Slight as available data are, it is possible, however, to fill in some details of his early life and to correct some of the statements made about him.²

Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas (to use the original form of the name that he later shortened and Americanized) was born in Pont-Audemer, on the river Rille in Normandy, France, on August 14, 1758. His father, Robert Edouard Lucas, was for thirty years the first magistrate of that district; his mother was of the noble de l'Arche family. The young man's education was excellent and thorough; he studied law at the schools of Honfleur and Paris and took his degree at Caen in 1782.³ Thereafter he practiced in his home town for some time, but the successful conclusion of the American Revolution and the prospect of a more democratic government in the new nation led him to think more

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² The chief sources for the life of John B. C. Lucas are Frederick Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days, 1804-1821*, 213-215 (St. Louis, 1888); J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis, City and County*, 2: 1408 ff. (Philadelphia, 1883); Anne L. Hunt, "Early Recollections," reprinted in Missouri Historical Society, *Glimpses of the Past*, 1: 41-51 (May, 1934); and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. These accounts are either brief, thin, or inaccurate. It is in Scharf, for instance, that one finds the delightfully ridiculous story that in 1801 Lucas paid a visit to Louisiana, incognito, under the name of Pantreaux! The principal materials of this paper are manuscripts from two sources. For four letters from the Franklin Collection I am indebted to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia and for transcripts of them to the kindness of Miss Gertrude D. Hess, assistant librarian. The remainder of the manuscript material is from the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis. The translations are the author's.

³ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1243 (Washington, 1928).

and more of the desirability of settling in that place. In the meantime he married Anne Sebin, the daughter of a manufacturer in Honfleur.⁴ Tradition has found the reason for his emigration in this marriage to a person beneath his family in rank, but it has also declared that he left home because he could not reconcile his republican principles with the royalist sympathies of his father. What influence the first of these may have had cannot now be determined, but the second is without foundation, for the elder Lucas died in 1783, more than a year before his son left France.⁵

⁴ Her daughter declared that "she was a very handsome, well-educated, and in many respects, a remarkable woman; and although she was beneath him socially, being the daughter of a cloth manufacturer, still he was so taken with her personal charms and mental endowments, that he made her an offer of his hand and heart, and was accepted." —Hunt, "Early Recollections," 41. According to Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, 2:1409, Anne Sebin was born on August 10, 1764; she died in St. Louis on August 3, 1811, and her obituary appeared in the *Louisiana Gazette* (St. Louis) of August 8.

⁵ There is another story, fantastic and not reconcilable with other data, that describes his marriage and emigration. Claude François Adrien de Lezay-Marnésia came to America in 1790 to establish a colony on the Ohio; he did not get nearer to the Scioto than Marietta and presently settled down at Pittsburgh, where he remained until the fall or winter of 1791. During this residence at Pittsburgh apparently he became acquainted with Lucas. At Paris in 1801 Lezay-Marnésia published his *Lettres écrites des rives de l'Ohio*; of these the third, "Lettre a mon fils aîné, Philadelphie, le 15 Décembre, 1791," is almost entirely concerned with Lucas. Descriptions of the Lucas place in Pennsylvania may be accepted as first hand, but the account of the two principal events of Lucas's early life is not now acceptable.

According to Lezay-Marnésia, young Lucas fell in love with a girl named Elise, the daughter of a noble family in Pont-Audemer. Although the families were acquainted and thought well of each other, the young man's father pointed out the difference in rank and the undesirability of asking a woman to marry below her, and concluded by refusing his consent. It was now, in his despair, that Lucas sought out Franklin in Paris. He returned to Normandy determined to go to America, asked Elise to fly with him, collected a small inheritance from an aunt, and sailed from Havre with one attendant. At Philadelphia they were married in a Catholic church. The letters of Franklin obtained for them the advice they sought and they determined on Pittsburgh for their residence. Here they lived an idyllic life until, about five years later, Madame Lucas returned to France to collect a small inheritance. Both families were so overcome by the nobility and the fortitude of the lovers that they made peace offerings of useful and handsome presents. Then, once more, Elise was in the arms of her husband. Lezay-Marnésia, *Lettres*, 114-137.

Did Lezay-Marnésia deliberately make up this account? Did he confuse the stories of Lucas and his wife? Did he possibly confuse the story of the marriage of the elder Lucas with that of the son? No doubt he must have obtained the basis for his account from

Actually the young man believed that America offered him a better future. The estate of his father, according to French custom, was divided between the mother and the children. Since he had four brothers and one sister, his portion was comparatively slight, but this money applied in America might well bring him greater comfort than at home. He was attracted, too, by the freedom of America. Furthermore, his project of farming in the West was not the idle dream of a romantic philosopher but merely the application of real knowledge, for he had had much experience of such a life in France. His happiest moments had always been those spent in the country, and he proposed now not a speculation in land but a life devoted to agriculture. The immediate stimulus was without doubt Benjamin Franklin, to whose influence we owe many emigrants to America.⁶ The plans and the hopes and the family history of Lucas are set forth adequately in the letter that he wrote to Franklin at Passy in January, 1784:

Sir:

Until the present time I have passed my days in my own country and have expected to finish them there. I suffered the inconveniences that her constitution entails rather than dreamed of evading them by emigration. The examples of my forefathers and of my fellow-citizens who lived before me strengthened the instinct that caused me naturally to love the country that had seen my birth and left in my soul no place for any desire for emigration.

The Revolution that your fellow-citizens have effected and that your zealous patriotism aided by your enlightened political ideas has brought to such a happy conclusion was needed to open my eyes efficaciously to my condition and to give me the strength of will to obtain the advantages that I already desired. Yes, it was the recital of your actions and those of your compatriots in that Revolution, of the austerity of your manners, even the simplicity of

Lucas or from one of the neighbors of Lucas, but, in addition to the complete change in the story, errors in fact cast still more doubt: the name of the wife was Anne, not Elise; the elder Lucas was dead for a year before Lucas saw Franklin. And above all the long passages of dialogue between the lovers, and between Lucas and his father, and the extreme tone of "sensibility" make the reader feel that this was in the main a literary indulgence on the part of Lezay-Marnésia.

⁶ It is interesting to note that in the spring of this same year another Frenchman, Dr. Joseph Ignace Guillotin, met Franklin when they were both serving on the commission to investigate mesmerism and that in 1787 Guillotin planned to establish a colony on the Ohio River. For this see the author's "Guillotin Thinks of America," in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 47: 129-158 (April, 1938).

your private life, that made me form my opinion of you and of them, and that made me desire ardently to be able to live among such men.

The constitutional form of your republican government, although yet only in its infancy appears to me to be stable enough to make certain the aim of your fellow-citizens and to sustain their souls at the height of grandeur to which they have raised themselves.

I have believed even that the mildness of the climate in the states of your republic, the similarity of the climate to that in which I was born, the fertility of the lands of the Republic, their extent compared to the number of men who inhabit it have justified my desire to augment their number and have made me hope to partake actually of those advantages. In a word, matters in your country are so well disposed for the happiness and prosperity of your countrymen, and particularly for undertaking the kind of life to which I have long aspired, that I have actually formed the resolution of going there to establish myself immediately if the small fortune I possess can suffice for the execution of such a project.

In spite of the importance of your mission at this Court and of the affairs that you have to deal with there, I have hoped that your humanity will make you find in one of your moments of relaxation a kind of satisfaction in discussing with me the detail of the instructions which I must have if the execution of this project is possible and advantageous for me. And to hasten the instant of the audience that I dare beg you to grant me, I take the liberty of giving you in advance an idea of my intentions and of showing you by their simplicity that neither ambition nor cupidity has a part in them.

My name is Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas. I am a Frenchman, twenty-five years old, born in Ponteaudemér,⁷ a town in Normandy where I yet live. I am an advocate in the Royal Baillage where my father held the post of first magistrate for more than thirty years. I am related to the greater part of the notable citizens and office holders in my town—I am also allied to a number of gentlemen in both the city and its environs, through my father and through my mother who was of noble condition before her marriage. My father died nearly a year ago. My mother, who yet lives, has taken her rights in the succession and has chosen a considerable piece of land. The remainder of the succession has been divided equally between me, four brothers, and a sister. The part that comes to me amounts to about fourteen or fifteen thousand francs of capital. It is with this modest sum that I wish to seek in your country the inestimable happiness of a life free, comfortable, and, in a word, natural. I fear already that in your reply you will show me that that is insufficient for such a project. But, nevertheless, I venture to inform you that if this sum seems to you limited, my expectations are not very great.

I have heard that there is yet much uncultivated land in your country

⁷ Lezay-Marnésia wrote this name Ponteau-de-mer, but the *Petit Larousse* gives it as Pont-Audemér.

which one can obtain from the government for the cost of clearing. Well, sir, if that is so, provided with the sum which I have had the honor of telling you that I can furnish for the expenses I will be obliged to make in emigrating and in forming, in the most economical manner, a small establishment in your country to exploit there enough land to support me frugally, with the aid of the necessary slaves or servants, all my desires will be fulfilled. As little as I seek opulence, I fear as much to meet with poverty. My aim is to hold the middle way. This state will maintain me in a certain activity that will have nothing of the indolence of the rich nor the despondency of the miserable.

Perhaps my project appears to you the work of a head warmed by the illusions offered by romantic descriptions or by the philosophic mania by which some in our century are worked up. But I assure you, sir, that I am in neither the one case nor the other.

I have come to know the country life otherwise than by speculation.

From my most tender years I have passed in the country more than six months each year and I have been there during the most rigorous seasons. When I was young, I always wished my lot had caused me to be born the son of a farmer, so much the occupations of the country and the life one follows there have always been to my taste. Never have I been bored an instant with it. I learned that when the position of my father and the need of studying recalled me to the city, and I counted as my happiest moments only those that I have passed in the country.

This first taste has never left me and I shall satisfy it with so much the more pleasure in your country where neither tithes, nor feudal dues, nor the scorn which is attached to the country dweller, nor privilege, nor so many other abuses authorised by the constitution of my country will be able to follow me.

If I were more certain of my departure, I should have the honor of proving to you even today by attestations and certificates worthy of [belief] that I have put forward only what is true of my condition and of my birth. I wait only for the honor of your reply which will show me how effectively with my fortune I can sustain the costs of emigration and establish myself in your country in the manner in which I have explained. Inasmuch as I have no longer to fear the prejudice that the reputation of being an emigrant could carry in my position, I shall obtain openly the means of being known to you and of obtaining your recommendation by making clear to you by the general acknowledgement of the principal personages of my part of the country that I am not unworthy of it. Again I beg that you grant me an audience, for I came here expressly to procure it and I have not the means to make a long stay. I have the honor to be of your excellency

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient
Servant

Lucas Despeintreaux

Paris 9 Jan. 1784⁸

Lucas had his audience with Franklin, was kindly received, and was promised letters of introduction. He returned home, realized on the principal part of his property, and applied for his passport. In this document, issued at Pont-Audemer on March 13, 1784, he was named as "Maitre Jean Baptiste Lucas Sieur des Pintreux advocate of this seat [of justice] where he has practiced his profession with exactitude for three or four years and in the functions of which he has demonstrated his abilities; [he is] the son of M. Lucas, in his lifetime first magistrate of this district, where he acquired a very great reputation for his wisdom and his labors that has made him regretted by everyone." Lucas had declared that he was about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old, and was further described as five feet two and one-half inches tall, long and thin of face, with brown eyes, a long nose, and black eyebrows and lashes. On his travels he was to be accompanied by a young man of fourteen years, who was four feet two inches tall, fat, of fair complexion, with brown hair and brown eyes.⁹ There is no mention in the passport of Mme. Lucas.¹⁰

Shortly after the passport was issued Lucas went back to Paris to settle some of his affairs and to take leave of Franklin. He then departed for London and sailed from that port to Philadelphia in the third week of May. For more than a year his family heard nothing from him. At last one of his brothers wrote to Franklin, still at Passy, for any news that the latter might have received:

Pontaudemer rue Du rampart, 30 June 1785

Sir

One of my brothers, desiring to establish himself in the United States of America, had the honor to address himself to you in order to offer you his services and to ask your protection. It was in the first days of January, 1784,

⁸ Letters to Dr. Franklin, 31: 14 (American Philosophical Society); in French. Several passages in this letter have been translated with some freedom because of grammatical difficulties in the transcript.

⁹ This may have been the young man named Marcellin ("enfant de treize à quatorze ans, d'une physionomie heureuse, d'un caractère ouvert, bon & seul") who figures in the Lezay-Marnésia account, 127 ff.

¹⁰ James H. Lucas Papers (Missouri Historical Society); in French.

that he presented himself at your residence for the first time. My brother is a young man of 27, brunette, of medium height: I describe him in order to recall him to your memory; his name is Lucas Despeintraux, he is of Pontcaudemer a little town of Normandy. You had the goodness, sir, to receive my brother with all possible marks of kindness, you gave him all the explanation necessary for the new establishment that he planned, and you added to all that the promise of giving him on his departure for America letters of recommendation in order that he would be able to find in your republic all the aid and all the facilities which he would need. The happy auspices under which the friends and relatives of my brother saw his enterprise begin consoled them a little for the unhappiness that his departure caused them.

After being assured of your protection, sir, my brother returned to Pontcaudemer to dispose of all his property before his departure, but the fear of letting pass the favorable season for sailing made him hasten his affairs, and when, by the sale of a portion of his property, he had amassed about 10,000 [francs ?], which he believed sufficient for commencing his establishment, he thought of setting out and left to one of his relatives, to whom he gave a power of attorney, the care of finishing the sale of his property and the settling of his affairs.

It was the []¹¹ March, 1784, when my brother left here to return no more. He went to Paris to settle some affairs before his departure from France and in particular to take leave of you, sir, and after having made a stay there and receiving your commands, he set out for London, where he must have embarked for Philadelphia about the 15th or 20th of May, according to a letter that he wrote about this time to his family and in which he stated that the vessel which carried him waited only for a wind to set sail.

Since this letter neither I nor any other of his relatives or friends have received news of him, which rightly causes me much uneasiness, for he should have written on his arrival to let us know of his safety and to give the necessary orders for forwarding to him the money and effects that remain here. I did not know how to ascertain the fate of my brother or how to remove the anxieties that I have about him, when I thought of addressing myself to you sir, persuaded that you have received replies to the letters with which you had charged him, and you will at least know that he has arrived in Philadelphia. The kindnesses that you have done for him make me believe that you will not refuse to relieve my anxiety on this subject as well as that of the entire family. If you will be pleased to honor me with a reply, sir, and it announces the happy arrival of my brother at Philadelphia, you will make easy all his friends, but it will crown all your goodness, if you can tell me by what means I can send him a letter and to whom I should address it, in order that it may be delivered to him, for I do not know exactly in what place he is living, and I know no one in Philadelphia to whom I can address myself. I

¹¹ The date omitted in the transcript must be the thirteenth of March or later, for the passport is clearly dated March 13, 1784.

beg you, sir, to pardon the liberty I have dared to take with you because of the anxiety caused me by my uncertainty of the existence of my brother. The kindness that you have shown him speaks for your indulgence, and it will be one more proof of the favor that you accorded to him if you will let him know that the letters which he must have written since he arrived in America have not reached us.

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient

Servant

Lucas¹²

That Lucas had reached Philadelphia, been well received by Bache and his wife, and had soon proceeded to Pittsburgh, is all made clear in a letter he wrote four years later to Franklin. In the meantime, no doubt, his family in France had heard from him.

Sir:

When I thought of quitting my country with my wife to go to settle in Pennsylvania, I took the liberty, before realising my project, to forward to you on the 7th of January, 1784,¹³ a letter in which I imparted to you my ideas relative to my emigration and in which also I asked you of your good will to grant me an audience on the following day, that I might receive from you, sir, the information that I needed to decide.

The ninth of the same month I presented myself at your residence and you received me with the kindness and benevolence which distinguish you; you satisfied all my doubts perfectly. I learnt of you a thousand things of which I was entirely ignorant—with particular goodness you even promised me that when I was ready to leave you would give me a letter of introduction to one of your friends in Philadelphia. I availed myself of your kindness to me; on the 20th of March following I had the honor of paying my respects to you at Passy, you gave me a letter of introduction for my wife and myself to Mr. and Mrs. Bache at Philadelphia. I proceeded to that city armed with your recommendation, and my wife and I found these two persons (respectable in every respect) of manners worthy of you.

Since neither the desire for riches nor the passion for commerce had made me quit my country to run across the sea after an uncertain fortune and chimerical enjoyments; since, on the contrary, I had abandoned that country only through an absolutely natural philosophy and in the expectation of finding in the middle of the woods of Pennsylvania the means of letting my days glide by, unknown, independent, occupied with the work of the fields,

¹² Letters to Dr. Franklin, 33:155; in French. Franklin left Passy to set out for America on July 12.

¹³ The date is so in this transcript, but that of the other letter was given as the ninth.

in a word happy with a young wife whom I love—Philadelphia was a place that I sought to leave as soon as I could.

I went to Pittsburgh on the advice that Mr. Bache had given me. I bought there a plantation too small for a covetous settler, but sufficiently large for a reasonable man. It is agreeably situated on a height, at the foot of which is the left bank of the Monongahela, in Washington County six miles from Pittsburgh.

When I was established on this plantation I believed that no one henceforth would hear from me again; that I would keep for your kindnesses a mental gratitude, and that you would no more always be fearing that you would be interrupted when you were occupied in serving your country or that you would be wearied when you were relaxing in order to serve your country the better. But present circumstances show me that I was mistaken.

I left a power of attorney with one of my relatives when I departed from France; in virtue of that act he was to receive certain funds which he promised to send to me at Philadelphia in care of Mr. Richard Bache who likewise promised me the kindness of receiving them for me. I have never heard anything from this relative nor of these funds. I presume that he has forgotten me for he is too rich and too honest a man in my opinion for me to suspect that he has experienced any covetousness for my small property.

I have made so little progress in my knowledge of English that I dare not astound Mr. Bache with my gibberish, of which besides he would be able to understand nothing. It is for this reason, sir, that I have once more put your complaisance to the proof; I beg you to be kind enough to receive the letters that I expect from France next autumn. They will be under cover of your address.

Mr. Saugr[a]in,¹⁴ who has undertaken to carry this to you, has promised me on his arrival to go to Normandy to the relative who holds my power of attorney to recall me to his memory and to engage him to send me as soon as possible a letter of exchange or specie. It is this specie or letter of exchange

¹⁴ Antoine François Saugrain, physician, chemist, physicist, and mineralogist, had been sent with J. N. Picqué as advance agent to pick a location for Guillotin's projected colony on the Ohio. In an attack upon them by Indians Picqué was killed and Saugrain, after many hardships, was now returning to the East. The account of this expedition may be found in the author's "Guillotin Thinks of America," in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (1938). Saugrain arrived in Pittsburgh on June 17 and left for Philadelphia on July 11, 1788. "Dr. Saugrain's Notebooks, 1788," trans. by Eugene F. Bliss, in *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n. s. 19:221-238 (October, 1908).

He arrived in Philadelphia on July 20 and went immediately to see Franklin. Two days later B. F. Bache wrote Lucas, in French, as follows: "My grandfather, being very much indisposed and confined to his bed, desires me to acknowledge the letter that he received from you, by the hands of M. Saugrain, Sunday last, and to assure you that it will be a pleasure to be of use to you in forwarding anything that will come for you to his address." *Franklin Papers*, v. 48, no. 52.

that I pray you to receive for me. The letter of advice I am so bold as to ask you to forward to me by one of the representatives of Washington County at the General Assembly or Council of Pennsylvania or by any other sure occasion that presents itself.

I should take care not to take such a liberty, sir, if I did not know perfectly that every moment of your time is marked by some act of benevolence and that as a private man you do not less love to be of use than as a statesman. I have the honor to be with the most profound respect

Sir, of your excellency

the very humble and very obedient

Servant, Lucas Despeintraux

For Mr. Franklin

Washington County July 28, 1788¹⁵

Such were the circumstances that led to the emigrating of John B. C. Lucas. "Montpelier," the property that he purchased in 1784 on the Monongahela five or six miles above Pittsburgh, was to be his home until 1805. According to the Marquis de Lezay-Marnésia, who was his neighbor during 1791, this pleasant, high spot had once been inhabited by a Frenchman who had given it the name, but that first settler had abandoned the place years ago.¹⁶ It is unfortunate that Lezay-Marnésia does not seem more reliable, for he wrote in great detail concerning the early labors of the Lucases and their one helper. The garden, the furnishings of the rude cabin that sheltered the lovers, the cows, the chickens, the pigeons in their barnyard, the birth of their first child, these were but some of the subjects that our philosopher touched on in his glowing account of the patriarchial existence of the convention-defying pair.¹⁷ But there is nothing to confirm Lezay and much to cast

¹⁵ Letters to Dr. Franklin, 36:74; in French. The date given in the transcript (and that in the Hayes Calendar) is obviously wrong; judging by the data given in note 14, I think Lucas's letter must have been written on June 28.

¹⁶ Lezay-Marnésia, *Lettres*, 113-114.

¹⁷ The making of the garden offers a good average sample of his style: "Ils commencèrent par tracer un jardin spacieux. Il devoit être l'empire particulier d'Elise. Ce fut avec goût qu'il fut tracé, ce fut avec ardeur qu'on s'en occupa. La terre docile résistait faiblement à des mains courageuses, & bientôt on put lui confier les graines de l'Europe les plus précieuses. Sur ce sol fertile, & presque vierge encore, elles prospèrent au-delà de l'espérance. . . . Au bout de l'allée principale, un autel de gazon, ombragé d'arbres odoriférans & riches des plus belles fleurs, fut élevé. C'est-là que chaque soir Elise, son époux & Marcellin venoient faire à l'Eternel l'offrande de leurs cœurs. Pat-

doubt upon his pretty composition. The books that he allowed Lucas are for the most part reasonable in choice, but we do not actually know that they were to be found at "Montpelier."¹⁸

During the first years Lucas supported himself by farming and presently augmented his income by trading in the western country. Billon declared that "in his early years in Pennsylvania he made some trading voyages down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Madrid,"¹⁹ but failed to be specific or show authority. In 1791, the same writer said, Lucas made another voyage, and it was on this occasion that he brought young Brackenridge to Ste. Genevieve. This trip, though he did not clearly state the date, Henry Marie Brackenridge described in his *Recollections*.²⁰ The elder Brackenridge, having decided that his son, then five years old, should learn French by living among the French, sent the boy with Lucas to the West. In the spring they left Pittsburgh in a boat with thirty soldiers and an ensign. At Cincinnati they parted from the military, and the party, now consisting of Lucas, another man, the young Brackenridge, and another boy of his age, went on to Louisville. From there they went to L'Anse à la Grasse (New Madrid) where they remained for a couple of weeks. The trip north to Ste. Genevieve

riarches comme Abraham & Sarra, comme eux sans pretres & sans temple, leur culte n'en étoit pas moins exact, moins tendre & moins religieux." The firstborn son was carried to this altar and laid among the flowers. A few moments later, "le père prit son fils dans ses bras, l'éleva vers le Ciel, & prononça l'hymne de la reconnaissance & de l'amour," which Lezay quotes. Lezay-Marnésia, *Lettres*, 130, 134-135.

¹⁸ This select library of English and French works included "the Bible, some excellent sermons, a small number of good writings on agriculture, the most excellent of the Moralists, some distinguished historians, the soundest books on America and its products, the harmonious and tender Racine, the great Corneille, the good La Fontaine, the divine Télémaque, the Seasons of Tompson [*sic*], those of M. de Saint-Lambert, the Georgiques and the Jardins of M. l'Abbé de Lille, and amiable Verger of M. de Fontannes: such was his collection." Lezay-Marnésia, *Lettres*, 133-134.

¹⁹ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 214.

²⁰ Henry M. Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, 13-19 (Philadelphia, 1868). The evidence is too lengthy to introduce here, but from various references in the *Recollections* he must have left Pittsburgh in the spring of 1791, left Ste. Genevieve in the summer of 1794, been deposited by Lucas at Gallipolis in the fall of 1794, and been taken by Wilkinson to Pittsburgh in the fall of 1795, for he states that he was then "in the tenth year of my age," and we know that he was born in 1786.

Lucas and the boy made on horseback. Here the boy was placed in the home of M. Beauvais and saw no more of Lucas for a time.²¹

For another trip to the western country we have a good deal of detail. Lucas started down the Ohio in mid-April, 1793, in a government boat commanded by Captain Bond of the United States Army who was taking a number of soldiers to Cincinnati.²² They arrived at that place in ten or twelve days. He remained there a week or two and then, accompanied by Captain Peyroux of Ste. Genevieve and Thomas Power, left in another boat. They arrived at Louisville on June 8, and there Lucas found time to write his wife:

Louisville 9 June 1793

Good little mother We arrived yesterday at Louisville and shall leave in two hours. The bateau of Mr. du back²³ we overtook from Cincinnati, from which place we have traveled together as far as here and shall continue so as far as the mouth of the Ohio. Mr. La Cassaigne²⁴ left Louisville for New Orleans about a month ago. He charged Mr. [?] to give me the few things that I left with him last year and in a moment I am going to look for them. Mr. Vigo²⁵ leaves us today to go by land to Post Vincennes. I heard read yesterday a letter from Major Hamtramck, commandant at the Post, advising Mr. Vigo to take twenty soldiers from Steuben to escort him to the post. Mr. Vigo is accused by the Indians of having brought the smallpox to the post in his boat last autumn. This sickness until now was unknown at the post and among the Indians. In the course of the winter and of last spring half of the inhabitants of the post have died of this disease and the Indians of the neighborhood have been so severely attacked that a great number of them are dying every day—These misfortunes have excited the anger of the Indians against Mr. Vigo. A number of them are resolved on his death. It has been reported

²¹ For Brackenridge see the author's "Henry Marie Brackenridge and his Writings," *ante*, 20: 181-196 (September, 1937).

²² Except where otherwise cited, the detail of this trip is drawn from a letter by Lucas in the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), January 5, 1825.

²³ Possibly the Chevalier Gabriel Du Bac who came to America as one of the Gallipolis colonists in 1790. A few years later he settled in Pittsburgh where he lived for a number of years as a merchant. F. A. Michaux declared that he made several voyages by river to New Orleans.

²⁴ Michael Lacassagne had been a resident of Louisville for "more than 15 years" when André Michaux dined with him on August 2, 1795. André Michaux, *Journal*, 1793-1796, 66 (Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, vol. 3—Cleveland, 1904).

²⁵ For François (Francisco) Vigo, 1747-1836, merchant of the early West, see Stella M. Drumm's sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 19: 270.

that these same Indians are determined to lie in wait along his way to the post in order to assassinate him. They reproach him among other things with spying upon them and betraying them to Congress. These unhappy circumstances do not augur well for his end. Mr. Vigo tells me that the persons who have turned the Indians against him have done so through commercial jealousy, that he knows who these persons are, that provided he can arrive safely at Vincennes he hopes soon after to be in the way of dissipating the storm which seems to threaten him. I hope with all my heart that he can manage it so. Let us return to ourselves.—Good little one, one of our small affairs is more important to us than a thousand of those of others I hope that you will not give yourself up to disagreeable reflections during my absence. Distract yourself as much as you can and believe always that your little father loves you with all his heart and that he thinks only of dispatching his business as quickly as possible and returning to his good little mother all whose affection he hopes to deserve. If it is an unhappiness for me to be far away from you, I find some sort of consolation in thinking most that I love your good qualities and in renewing my consciousness of them. Kiss our little ones, dear, be as industrious as you can and I shall do as much for my part. We shall have the pleasure of bringing nearer the fruit of our labors and together we shall extract from them the greatest sum of pleasure that we can. This is the last place from which I can write to you between here and the Illinois. Do not be disturbed if you have no more news. Opportunities in the Illinois country are very rare; in such event you must not charge me with negligence. Goodbye, good little wife, I embrace you with all my heart and am always your friend Lucas

Mrs. Lucas

I learn that Mr. Tardivieux²⁶ has gone down to New Orleans with Audrain and Luzieres.²⁷ I am afraid that he has not commissioned anyone in the Illi-

²⁶ Barthelemi Tardiveau settled in western America at least as early as 1778. Later he and his brother Pierre were actively associated in Genet's scheme. For a brief note on him, see the author's "The Library of Barthelemi Tardiveau," in *Illinois State Historical Society, Journal*, 29: 89-91 (April, 1936).

²⁷ This must be the Chevalier Pierre Charles de Hault de Lassus de Luzières who later settled at Nouvelle Bourbon in Upper Louisiana and whose eldest son was the last Spanish governor of that district. At this time he was engaged with Tardiveau and Audrain in a scheme to remove a considerable number of the Gallipolis colonists to a new location in Upper Louisiana. All three of these persons were in New Orleans in April, 1793. Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 1: 359-368, 373-409 (Chicago, 1909).

André Michaux was in Pittsburgh from July 27 to August 14, 1793, and wrote in his *Journal* (p. 31) this statement concerning Audrain and Luzières: "A Frenchman who has resided in America for 14 years and whose business consists in shipping supplies of flour to New Orleans, told me that he would give me Letters for Illinois addressed to the

nois country to settle my affairs with him. Goodbye once more.—²⁸

Lucas then went on immediately to New Madrid and for more than a year remained in the western settlements. Here is his own summary of these movements:

I went from thence to Ste. Genevieve, visited Kaskaskia, went to St. Louis in July, stayed 2 or 3 days with Mr. Gabriel Cerre,²⁹ went back to Kaskaskia, from thence to Ste. Genevieve, from thence to Prairie du Rocher, fell sick

Commandant of the Post of St. Louis. He is at present settled in Pittsburgh and his name is Pierre Audrain. This Audrain is said to be in partnership with one Louisere or Delouisiere who was exiled from France for having been concerned in the plot to deliver Havre to the combined English and Spanish fleets. This Louisere is at present absent from Pittsburgh." Audrain had left New Orleans late in April to go back East to collect his colonists.

Lezay-Marnésia (p. 141) speaks of Luzières whom he found near Pittsburgh in 1791: "A huit lieues au dessus de Montpellier, en remontant la rivière, s'est fait un autre établissement Français. Sur une plantation vaste & riche, avec sa femme, un fils, sa fille, d'une figure charmante, & remplie de talens, mariée à un jeune homme instruit, honnête, aimable, M. de Lassus *ci-devant*, car tout la monde à présent l'est en France, ci-devant trésorier du Hainault, s'est fixé. Arrivé avec une somme considérable & beaucoup de meubles opulens, suivi d'ouvriers de différentes professions & de cultivateurs, il n'a pas eue, comme M. des Pintreaux tout à vaincre, tout à créer. Desirer, ordonner, diriger, c'est à quoi se sont bornés ses soins. Il a bientôt eu bâti une maison, non magnifique, mais agréable & riante, convenable aux besoins de l'homme riche qui n'est pas fastueux. De jolis jardins l'entourent, & les habitans y trouvent le calme, l'union & l'intérêt toujours soutenus, tout ce qui peut satisfaire le goût ingénieux & les desirs modérés."

²⁸ Addressed: "M^r Lucas / on the Mononahila river / Six miles from Pittsburgh / Pennsylvania." James H. Lucas Papers; in French. The script is not always easy to decipher. The letter of Lucas is contained on the first two pages. On the third page is what appears to be the undated portion of a letter from his family. There is no beginning, the copy is blotted and torn, the script is difficult. Although it is not signed, there is little question that it was from Madame Lucas. Following some playful and affectionate personalities, she assures Lucas that their oats have not been damaged by the heavy rains of which Audrain wrote to Tardiveau—in fact the crop is of even better quality than that Lucas himself sowed. The corn is excellent, the hay in very good condition, and the potatoes likewise. The neighbors continue their friendship. She has planted the sixteen-acre field in wheat and expects to seed all the land early in September. At the bottom of the pages is a childish note signed Edouard Lucas.

²⁹ Gabriel Cerré came from Canada to Kaskaskia in 1755 and about fifteen years later settled in St. Louis, where he died in 1805. For an account of him see W. B. Douglas, "Jean Gabriel Cerré," in *Missouri Historical Society, Collections*, 2: 58-76 (April, 1903).

at Mr. Barbeau's,³⁰ sickness continued two or three months. The season was too far advanced; I was too feeble, and unable to return home before winter. Remaining during the winter chiefly at Kaskaskia, some time at General Edgar's³¹ house, some time at Mr. Francois Janis'.³² Was every day in the company of Mr. Wm. Morrison.³³ Was from time to time at Ste. Genevieve, at Col. Vallie's³⁴ house, at Mr. Pratte's³⁵ (now living). General B. Pratte³⁶ saw me off and on at his father's house, and in Ste. Genevieve. I was on New Year's Day, 1794, at Squire Whitesides,³⁷ (Whitesides Station); remained at his house two or three days. His widow, Mrs. Hubart, is now living within nine or ten miles of St. Louis. Was at Kaskaskia from time to time, until the 24th of May, 1794; took my departure from that place to Vincennes. Time and circumstance well known to Gen. Edgar, Wm. Morrison, Francois Janis, &c. Mr. Richard Buatré³⁸ and others, accompanied me from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. Arrived at Vincennes, remained with Col. Vigo (now living). Went to Louisville with Richard and Butre [*sic*]; remained a few days with Mr. La Cassagne. Went from thence to Lexington . . . thence to Danville; waited about two weeks for a party, in order to cross the wilderness, the pre-

³⁰ Jean Baptiste Barbeau (1722-1810) was a leading citizen of Prairie du Rocher throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century. Concerning him and the other persons Lucas mentions in this letter, much information can be found in Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Cahokia Records*, 1778-1790, and *Kaskaskia Records*, 1778-1790 (*Illinois Historical Collections*, vols. 2 and 5—Springfield, 1907, 1909).

³¹ John Edgar was born in Ireland and came to Kaskaskia in 1784. For twenty-five years he was justice of the court of common pleas. He died in 1830.

³² The Janis family was prominent in Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve. The first member arrived in the Illinois country before the middle of the eighteenth century.

³³ William Morrison (1763-1837) went to Kaskaskia before August, 1790, as the representative of Bryan and Morrison, merchants. He was long a prominent resident of that place. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 13: 230-231.

³⁴ François Vallé (1758-1804) served for a number of years as commandant at Ste. Genevieve. Mary Louise Dalton, "Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family," in *Missouri Historical Society, Collections*, 2: 54-82 (October, 1906).

³⁵ Jean Baptiste Pratte was an early settler at Ste. Genevieve. His estate was inventoried on January 2, 1827.

³⁶ Bernard Pratte, son of Jean Baptiste Pratte and Marie Anne Lalumandière, was born in Ste. Genevieve, moved to St. Louis in 1793, married there the next year, and flourished as a merchant and fur trader in that place until his death, on April 1, 1836. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 466-467.

³⁷ There were a number of persons named Whitesides living on either side of the river at the end of the century. It is not certain whether Whitesides Station was near Kaskaskia or Ste. Genevieve.

³⁸ The initial letter of this name is almost illegible. It is possible that this man was a member of the Buyat family of Kaskaskia.

ceding one having been beaten back by the Indians, who killed four ministers. Was kicked by a horse on the mountain; was detained at the foot of the mountain, in Fayette County, about ten or twelve days; arrived at my house about three days before harvest.³⁹

By this time Lucas was taking a definite interest in political affairs. In 1794 he was a judge of the court of common pleas in his district. From 1792 to 1798 he served in the Pennsylvania house of representatives.⁴⁰ In 1801 he is supposed to have made a secret and confidential tour of Louisiana for Jefferson, but there is no evidence to support the story.⁴¹ He was appointed an associate judge in Allegheny County some time following his retirement from the assembly and in January, 1803, he caused the impeachment of his colleague, Judge Addison, "on the charge of having illegally prohibited him from addressing the grand

³⁹ Such is Lucas's account of his movements. Brackenridge does not agree, if we are to interpret him as previously indicated. If Lucas brought the boy from Pittsburgh in the spring of 1791 and called for him at Ste. Genevieve after "nearly three happy infantile years," he must have started back to Pittsburgh with him in the summer of 1794. According to Brackenridge they stopped first at Kaskaskia, where Lucas had business; here Thomas Power was with them. After two days at Kaskaskia, they went on by boat to Louisville, and then started for Pittsburgh, but because the boy was sick Lucas left him in the care of Dr. Saugrain at Gallipolis. Brackenridge, *Recollections*, 27-33. The discrepancy in the records may be accounted for by the fact that each was writing long after the event. Brackenridge did not publish his account until forty years later, in 1834. Thirty-two years after the trip Lucas wrote his letter in answer to political enemies who accused him of a part in the Whiskey Insurrection. Either may have forgotten details but since Lucas was a grown man and the other only a boy of nine, Lucas is probably the more to be relied upon. There is certainly no question that Lucas was away from Pittsburgh in 1793, for in addition to the letter to Madame Lucas quoted above, we have a note made by André Michaux, dated August 13, 1793: "There is another Frenchman residing in Pittsburgh, Mr. Lucas de Pentareau, an excellent Democrat, now absent." Michaux, *Journal*, 31.

⁴⁰ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1243. An anecdote of one of his elections is related by William H. Denny, a neighbor of Lucas on Coal Hill, in his introduction to the *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, 1781-1785*, 225-228 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, vol. 7—Philadelphia, 1850).

⁴¹ "Lucas was a man of remarkable prudence and judgment. Jefferson selected him, in the beginning of his administration, to go West and ascertain the temper of the French and Spanish residents of Louisiana. This was about 1801. He went incognito to St. Louis, and thence to Ste. Genevieve and New Orleans, taking the name of *Pantreaux*." Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, 2: 1409. This story is quite absurd. Lucas was well known in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve and the alias was his own name, too! There is no evidence in any of the published letters of Jefferson nor in the Calendar of the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress that Lucas went on such a mission.

jury of the Allegheny County court in December 1800 and June 1801."⁴² In 1802 he had been elected to Congress as a Democrat, succeeding his friend Albert Gallatin, and an echo of the impeachment is found in a very interesting letter of congratulation from Pierre Audrain to Lucas:

Detroit 12th april 1803

Dear Sir

I Congratulate you upon the Compleat Victory you have obtained over the overbearing proud, Scotch Judge; this event, will, I hope, be a lesson to all those men, who possessing a little more learning than others, become assuming, and arrogant. I also sincerely rejoice in your being elected a Representative in Congress; I share in the pride of seeing a Country-man of mine Set in that august body; now Geneva, France, & Ireland will be united in Support of Republican principles, in which System Penn-Sylvania Shines eminently; what happiness you will enjoy next winter in the federal City! You shall spend the forepart of the day in Congress, and the evenings in a circle of the most distinguished characters in the Union, a Jefferson, a Madison, a Galatin,—&c. &c. &c. *oh mon ami! la cour de Buonaparte n'est pas a Comparer a celle du capitol de la ville Foederalle; l'une en impose par son luxe, et son oeil militaire, L'autre est attrayant par son Simplicité, sa majesté Philosophique, et surtout par l'affabilité du chef. Si je n'étais pas aussi vieux, ou si ma situation de Prothonotaire me permettai de m'absenter, J'irois passer l'hiver a la citee foederalle.* Who knows but perhaps I might get some commission or other under Government. I am told that our old Friend Lecouteuse has got one for this place, and that he is expected here every day. Our People are now circulating a petition to Congress for next sessions praying that this part of the Indiana Territory may be erected into a Separate Government; flattering hopes are entertained on that Subject, and if success crowns the prayer, this place will become of some importance; population will greatly increase, and our people relieved of the hardship of going to Poste Vincennes to get Justice in any action removed from our Common Pleas to the General Court, a distance of more than 700 miles, through a wild country inhabited by Indians; if I can procure a copy of the Petition, I shall inclose it to you, and shall thank you for your opinion; you might perhaps, if you have an opportunity, confer on that subject with Messrs. Smiley⁴³ and Find-

⁴² Claude M. Newlin, *Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge*, 241 (Princeton, N.J., 1932). There was also published an account of the trial: *Trial of Alexander Addison, Esq., President of the Court of Common Pleas, in the Circuit consisting of the Counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny, on an Impeachment, by the House of Representatives, before the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, [Lancaster,] 1803.

⁴³ John Smilie was born in Ireland in 1741 and settled in Pennsylvania in 1760. After the Revolutionary War, in which he saw service, he moved to Fayette County. He was a member of the state House of Representatives, 1784-86, and of the Senate, 1790-93. He

ley⁴⁴ your colleagues and our Common friends. I have no doubt in my mind that if you would patronize it, Congress would grant it. then the President would have to appoint a Governor, a Secretary, and three Judges of the general Court, whose residence (being necessarily at Detroit) would considerably add to our present Situation; Should this be the case a very important object for this place would be the choice of Governor; the peace & happiness of the Country would require that he could speak the french language, on account of our poor illiterate Canadians, amongst whom very few indeed understand the english language; it would also be very advantageous if one or two of the Justices of the General Court understood french. this part of the union is of more importance than many would think. We have two ports of entry, one at Detroit, the other at Michillimackinac, the Collection of duties is considerable, and may easily be ascertained in the treasury department; we are separated from the british upper Canada by a small river, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile broad, and many british subjects are settled amongst us, under the Sanction of Jay & Greenville treaty, and we often feel the effects of their factions & cabals, of which we would be entirely freed, by the residence of a Governor & a Supreme Court. duties would be better secured, because the officers of the Revenue would pay closer attention to their duties in collecting & preventing contraband which is daily practiced, particularly at this place.

As my situation here depends upon the will & pleasure of the Governor, I do not like to have any hand in that petition, for fear of displeasing, therefore I beg you not to mention any thing on this subject, but to our friends findley & Smiley; you will oblige me in acquainting me with your and their opinion. Lieut. Pinkney,⁴⁵ paymaster, who carries this letter, is to return soon to this post, and will take charge of your answer, if you sent it to his quarters at Pittsburgh.

If you and your Colleagues approve of the petition, and are willing to

was elected to Congress as a Democrat, serving from 1793-95 and from 1799 till his death at Washington, on December 30, 1812. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1533.

⁴⁴ William Findley was born in Ireland in 1741 or 1742. He served in the Revolution and afterwards settled in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. He was almost constantly in public office: member of the general assembly, 1785-86; of the executive council, 1789-90; of the state house of representatives, 1790-91; member of Congress, 1791-99; of the state senate, 1799-1802; and of Congress, 1803-1817. He died April 4, 1821. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 966.

⁴⁵ Audrain presently had reason enough to dislike Pinkney. On October 23, 1804, he wrote of the seduction of his daughter Maria by the paymaster. The girl was then sixteen years old and three days before the date of the letter she had disappeared from home (the child had died two months after birth). Her brother James challenged and denounced Pinkney without effect. James later settled in Missouri. Apparently Audrain had three children in addition to James and Maria. John B. C. Lucas Papers (Missouri Historical Society).

Support it, I will transmit you in time my ideas and opinion on the probable happy effects it will produce on the politics of this Country. the greatest number of merchants are British, or foederalists, of course dangerous for our Canadians, who are too easily led, or persuaded—&c. a Republican Governor, Secretary, and Judges of the Gen. Court would in a moment change the politics and establish Republicanisme for ever.

I have lost the most valuable friend I had in this country, I mean Colonel Hamtramck⁴⁶ Commandant at this post, and whom you must have seen and perhaps known in Pittsburgh, where he resided a considerable time with his family—he was an old acquaintance of mine, and we have always lived in the greatest intimacy. he hath left a widow and five young children to lament his loss, and his affairs, I am sorry to say, are in the most deranged situation, and it is supposed that the property he leaves will hardly be sufficient to discharge his debts, What will become of the poor Widow and her orphan children, I do not know, unless Congress should do something for them either by granting money or half-pay. &c. probably a petition will be presented to Congress at their next Sessions on that Subject, and I have no doubt but it will be patronized by every member who knew him, and is truly acquainted with the distressed Situation of the widow and children.⁴⁷

I wrote sometime ago to Mr. Smilie, but perhaps my letters miscarried, for I have received no answer, perhaps he has forgot me, or had not time to write; please to give him my cordial Compliments as also to Mr. Findley, if you have an opportunity to see them.

I hope M^{rs}. Despintraux enjoys her health, please to present her my respects and my wife's compliments, we will hear from you with great pleasure.

expecting your answer by return of Lieut. Pinkney, I conclude in assuring that I am and shall ever be

Your very humble Serv^t. & friend
Peter Audrain⁴⁸

Some idea of the part that Lucas played in the setting up of territorial government in Michigan may be gained from a series of letters from Tarleton Bates, at Pittsburgh, to his brother Frederick. On January 28, 1804, Tarleton informed his brother that Lucas had written that he wished the younger Bates appointed secretary at Detroit. Nine days later Tarleton declared that Lucas, chairman of the committee on the

⁴⁶ John Francis Hamtramck, U. S. A., died in Detroit on April 11, 1803, in his forty-sixth year.

⁴⁷ The widow married Judge Jesse B. Thomas in 1805. For the family, see Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 372-373; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:215-216.

⁴⁸ The original letter, in the James H. Lucas Papers, is in English and French as reproduced. At this time Audrain was receiver of public moneys at Detroit. Later he served as clerk of the commissioners on land claims and as a member of that board.

bill to divide Indiana, had strong hopes that the division would take place. Later in that month it appears that Audrain was being considered for a place. Finally, nearly a year later, on January 14, 1805, Tarleton wrote that the bill had been reported and that Lucas said the division would take place in the spring.⁴⁹

An interesting and too rare glimpse of the home life of Lucas is furnished by a letter from his wife to Lucas at Washington, D.C.:

Montpelier, 9 January 1805⁵⁰

Dear husband

All are asleep here. I am going to profit by this quiet moment to talk to you, I shall begin by wishing you a happy new year and success in all your undertakings. Messrs. Montagne and Iriche⁵¹ dined with me yesterday. The latter interested me very much when I learned that he had seen you recently in Washington. I had had the pleasure earlier of receiving here two persons who had seen you this winter at the City. You embarrass me much when you speak of New Orleans and Louisiana—I know that country only by report; you are more experienced and better informed; you must also be the wiser. It is for you to decide on that. I will say, however, that the matter will be quite agreeable to me. If our children are provided for and I am certain not to survive you . . . Believe, my little father, that your arrangements are always mine. Let us talk of our children.⁵² Robert is very big; he is a beautiful child. He goes to school every day with Charles who has become very attractive and amiable. Big Adrien is always a good boy, very affectionate and sensible; I believe that he loves you extremely. Miss Nancy is charming, she is good and beautiful, she loves you always very much. . . . Our sweet James has the appearance of a Hercules. He told me some time ago that another

⁴⁹ Mrs. Elvert M. Davis, ed., "Letters of Tarleton Bates," *ante*, 12:48-51 (January, 1929).

⁵⁰ The folder in which this letter is found gives the date for it as 1806, but since the family had left Montpelier before that time and since it was obviously written during Lucas's service in Congress the date must be 1804 or 1805. The fact that Madame Lucas refers to the prospect of settling in Louisiana suggests 1805 as the proper date.

⁵¹ Nathaniel Irish was a county commissioner during the first years of the nineteenth century. Montagne was probably James Mountain, a lawyer of Pittsburgh.

⁵² The Lucas children were: Robert, major, U. S. A., born in 1788, educated at West Point, died in service on February 8, 1814; Charles, born on September 24, 1792, killed by Thomas Benton in a duel on September 27, 1817; Adrian, born in 1794, died in 1831; William, born in 1798, died in July, 1837; Anne, born on September 23, 1796, married Theodore Hunt and Wilson Price Hunt, died in 1879; James, born in May, 1800, died in 1873. As already indicated, Mrs. Lucas died at St. Louis on August 3, 1811, and John B. C. Lucas died on August 29, 1842. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 213-215.

winter he will build a Congress at the rope-walk so that you will not have to go to Congress at Washington; and that at his congress you, Bates, Montagne shall read the newspapers, the dictionaries, and letters, and that he and I shall go every day to see papa and kiss him. If you could hear the little conversations of your children! If you could know they love you!

Goodbye, my little father, I love you and embrace you with all my heart.—
Sebin Lucas.

Above all write often

The last I wrote you was the 26th of December and the last I received from you was the 28th of the same month. I have \$85 from you. I will send you the detail of my expenses when it is not so cold, for the ink has been freezing to the pen for a long time. The new schoolmaster is a learned man. Mr. [Destar] went to France about six weeks ago; I suppose he must have written you a letter of farewell.⁵³

Lucas's period of residence in Pennsylvania was now drawing to a close, for on March 22, 1805, he received from James Madison, secretary of state, his appointment by Jefferson as judge of the territory of Louisiana.⁵⁴ He also was to serve many years on the board of land commissioners at St. Louis. At this time he received the following letter from Hugh Henry Brackenridge, which adds a bit more to our understanding of Lucas:

Carlisle March 25 1805

Dear Sir,

Wishing to create some small fund in the hands of Mr. Bates⁵⁵ for a particular purpose, I have placed your note to me with him, that you may take it up when convenient. I have done the same with several other small memoranda from friends of money advanced to them for their use.

You have acquired fresh credit on several questions in the Congress of the United States & we hear no more surprise expressed that Alexander Addison was removed at your instance, or for an insult to you. It wasn't generally known before that you had had the advantages of a liberal education, much less that you were learned in the Civil law, and not unskilled in our Municipal Jurisprudence.

I have been made to suffer much in mind for a year past from the spirit of hostility which is abroad to all law & judicial proceedings, and from the indisposition of Mrs. Brackenridge who was [?] by an hepatitis or complaint

⁵³ James H. Lucas Papers; in French. One brief passage is not decipherable. The proper name in the postscript is uncertain. The amount of money was given as *gourdes*.

⁵⁴ Madison's official letter is in the John B. C. Lucas Papers.

⁵⁵ Probably Tarleton Bates (1775-1805). For him see Mrs. Elvert M. Davis, ed., "Letters of Tarleton Bates," *ante*, 12: 32-35 (January, 1929).

of the liver, but who now seems to have got over it. We have a rumour here that you are appointed Chief Justice of Upper Louisiana; if so I congratulate you, and on my own part felicitate myself that I contributed a little to your first rise, or to the opportunity given you to make yourself known. And in all matters this is some thing. *Il n'y a que le premier pas qui coute*. I do not say this as claiming an obligation, or objecting the having rendered service however small it may have been, but as explaining why it is that I take a more than common interest in your elevation, and feel that a part of my own happiness.

I am with great good will, and much respect
Your most Obedient
humble Servant
H. H. Brackenridge.⁵⁶

Lucas sold Montpelier for \$5,000⁵⁷ and on June 7, 1805, the family started for the West.⁵⁸ Perhaps the best farewell to him here will be the opinion of Frederick Bates, secretary of Missouri Territory:

Judge Lucas . . . is a civil lawyer, and a man of superior parliamentary information. His wit, his satire, and his agreeable combination of images are surpassed by few. He is a man withall more sternly independent in principle and conduct than most of my acquaintances. If a *slave* approaches him in the tone and attitude of a suppliant, he spurns him from his presence. He is only acceptable to those who know the dignity of their nature, and how to speak the language of freedom.⁵⁹

In 1807, or in any other year of his life, these words sum up the character of this unbending republican.

⁵⁶ John B. C. Lucas Papers.

⁵⁷ Denny, *Military Journal*, 227.

⁵⁸ This trip Mrs. Hunt sketched in her "Early Recollections," 43ff.

⁵⁹ Frederick Bates to Augustus B. Woodward, St. Louis, June 18, 1807, in T. M. Marshall, ed., *The Life and Letters of Frederick Bates*, 1: 147 (St. Louis, 1926).