

WILLIAM S. DALLAM: AN AMERICAN TOURIST  
IN REVOLUTIONARY PARIS

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**A**s the Spanish proverb says, "He, who would bring home this wealth of the Indies, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him," so it is in traveling, a man must carry knowledge with him if he would bring home knowledge.

Samuel Johnson<sup>1</sup>

Though France is second only to Great Britain in its influence upon the formation of our politics and culture, Americans have always been strangely ambivalent about the French. Our admiration for French ideas and culture has somehow been tinged by suspicions that the French were unprincipled, even corrupt, or given to extremism. Late-eighteenth-century Franco-American relations illustrate this ambivalence. Traditional American hostility to France moderated after 1763 when the Treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War, removing the single enemy powerful enough to impede the colonists' westward migration. French diplomatic and military support for the American Revolution completed the transformation; in just fifteen years France had moved from enemy to ally. For the first time, American enthusiasm for French politics and culture knew no bounds. American taste for things French, however, did not last. By 1793 the radical turn of events in France's own revolution increasingly repelled conservative Americans and sparked serious controversy within Washington's administration. American reaction to the French Revolution eventually played a crucial role in the development of political parties in the United States, and the wars of

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1 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, edited by George Birkbeck Hill and revised by L.F. Powell (6 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-1964), 3:302.

the French Revolution posed a continuing foreign-policy crisis for the first three presidents.<sup>2</sup>

In 1795 William S. Dallam, a young American, traveled to Europe, spending several months in France.<sup>3</sup> During his trip he kept a journal, portions of which survive and are now held by the University of Kentucky, forming part of the Evans Papers.<sup>4</sup> The journal represents an intriguing confluence of developments in American and Kentucky history. On the personal level, the diary reveals Dallam to have been a curious and intelligent young man who traveled to France as part of the grand tour so favored by upper-class Americans and Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What makes Dallam's journal particularly interesting is its historical context. The decade of the 1790s was a time of crisis in Franco-American relations, and Dallam's diary provides a rare glimpse of a private citizen's reactions to both the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and to the politics of the French Revolution.

Dallam's journal also serves as a reminder of the profound changes taking place in the new state of Kentucky. Within seven years of his return from France, William Dallam and his father Richard sold their estates in Maryland, where their family had resided since the late

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2 For an excellent discussion of these topics, see Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), especially chapter 8, "The French Revolution in America."

3 Throughout the early nineteenth century, William Dallam is occasionally mentioned by *The Kentucky Gazette* in reference to his business dealings or his attendance at social functions. When he died at the age of seventy-three on 10 December 1845, Dallam's obituary identified him as a resident of Lexington for nearly forty years. See G. Glenn Clift, *Kentucky Obituaries, 1787-1854* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1977), 144.

4 The four surviving volumes of the journal are in the Evans Papers, box 10a in the Special Collections, University of Kentucky Library, Lexington, Kentucky. This box also contains a typescript of the journal prepared by Mrs. Howard Evans. All references to Dallam's journal are to this typescript. Since the volumes of the journal are unpaginated and since Dallam did not clearly date all entries, this proved to be the least cumbersome method. By using the typescript as an index, anyone interested may locate the appropriate passage in the original. All quotations have been checked against the original manuscript and a number of silent corrections have been made to Mrs. Evans's transcription.

seventeenth century, and moved to Kentucky.<sup>5</sup> This move placed them among the "second generation pioneers" described by Lowell Harrison as those who arrived in Kentucky "when the fields and forests had been won and who developed the farms and plantations, the stores and businesses which helped transform the frontier into a settled community."<sup>6</sup> In Kentucky, families such as the Dallams, influenced by European ideas and wedded to the plantation system of the eastern seaboard, quickly assumed positions as businessmen and community leaders. They brought with them a radically different cultural outlook from the generation of hunters and woodsmen that had originally settled in the area but which had failed to make the transition from frontier to farming. This shift in Kentucky's population was rapid; only a decade separates Daniel Boone and the Dallams.<sup>7</sup>

On 14 December 1794, when the *Columbus* sailed down the Chesapeake Bay, twenty-two-year-old William Dallam began his trip with great anticipation for whatever experience awaited him. Following the prevailing ocean currents, the *Columbus* first headed south towards Bermuda before turning northeast to cross the Atlantic. In the early days of the voyage, Dallam boasted of his immunity to seasickness, but he soon discovered that boredom was his most implacable foe. Dallam was the only passenger and, when not dining with the captain, he spent most of his time in solitude. Within two weeks of starting the voyage, Dallam admitted that, "I have since I left America murdered my time in reading, smoking, drinking, eating and sometimes in contemplation either anticipating pleasures

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5 David E. Dallam, *The Dallam Family: An Effort to Assemble and Preserve The History of an Anglo-American Family from 1690 to 1929* (Philadelphia, 1929) provides some general information concerning the arrival of the Dallam family in America, but it is extremely unreliable in many of its details.

6 Lowell H. Harrison, *John Breckinridge: Jeffersonian Republican* (2<sup>nd</sup> publication series, no. 2; Louisville, Kentucky: The Filson Club Historical Society, 1969), 22.

7 For a discussion of this change in Kentucky's population, see John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 235-63.

of Europe or reflecting on the enjoyments in friendship."<sup>8</sup> Drinking and eating do bulk large in Dallam's diary entries. He sampled various sailors' delicacies, such as sea pye and lobscouse, and, as was typical in the eighteenth century, drank heavily.<sup>9</sup> By late January Dallam, the captain, and the mate had consumed ten gallons of brandy, ten gallons of wine, six gallons of bounce, and a dozen bottles of porter. When informed by the captain that liquor supplies were almost exhausted, Dallam lamented, "I begin to wish more than ever to be landed."<sup>10</sup>

For historians, the tedious voyage did have one important consequence: it drove Dallam into self-reflection. Later, in France, his journal entries frequently became mere lists of things seen, dinners attended, and conquests made. During that long three-month voyage, however, Dallam lacked such distractions, and his journal served as a confidant. His entries provide a window into the mental and cultural world of a young, upper-class, eighteenth-century American.

The portion of Dallam's journal devoted to the voyage of the *Columbus* serves as a reminder of the dangers inherent in eighteenth-century travel. The ocean was infested with privateers eager to prey upon helpless merchant vessels;<sup>11</sup> frequent and violent storms battered the *Columbus*, frightening both Dallam and the crew. In early January the *Columbus* rode out a storm pronounced by the captain as being "the most tremendous gale" he had witnessed in his twenty years' experience. The unrelenting turbulence kept the crew on deck for sixty straight hours, causing William to confide to his journal that to describe "the distressful situation. . . would require the most horrid imagination."<sup>12</sup> On one occasion, when the *Columbus* seemed

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8 Dallam, *Journal*, 2.

9 Sea pye "is composed of beef, chickens, butter, suet, flour, pepper and salt and baked," while lobscouse was made of "potatoes, fat beef, biscuit and water." *Ibid.*, 7.

10 Dallam took their liquor consumption as "evidence we have lived jovially." Despite the amount of alcohol consumed, he asserted that, "None of us have been the least intoxicated unless myself according to rule once a year and that on New Years Day." *Ibid.*, 11. Bounce was probably some kind of alcoholic drink, possibly a type of fortified wine.

11 "Every vessel that heaves in sight we suspect to be a privateer." *Ibid.*, 3.

12 *Ibid.*

in danger of shipwreck, the captain contemplated taking to the ship's boats, abandoning the *Columbus* to its fate. The day after this particular crisis had passed, Dallam remained shaken, imagining himself "floating [as] an inanimated corpse in the wild sea tossed insensibly by every curling wave and . . . a sweet repast for some voracious inhabitant of the water."<sup>13</sup>

As the voyage dragged on, Dallam found it increasingly difficult to dispel gloomy thoughts. Before he left home, William's friends had reminded him of the risks involved, and the storms forced him to reflect on their predictions "that I never should return to America and also of the fate of my relations that have before me commended themselves to the power of the seas and always received inhospitable treatment." In his dreams Dallam was often transported back to his friends in America. Upon waking "my heart gives a moan and I add there is more pleasure in my sleeping than my waking thoughts."<sup>14</sup> Such dark moods led Dallam to question whether his trip to France would gain him any real advantage. During one bout of depression, Dallam found some solace in remembering how his trip came about. While returning home from school in Annapolis, Dallam had contemplated the benefits of a trip to Europe. He was surprised and pleased when "the almost first salute of my father . . . was how I would like an excursion there." More than a coincidence, Dallam saw this as proof that Providence had taken a hand in sending him to Europe:

I have often since enquired of myself why I should have anticipated such an event if it was not to recommend me to the undertaking. . . . It may be asked how can I hope Heaven would be thus particularly kind to me to point out a mode for promotion? I answer by adding Providence is equally beneficent to all and if we will investigate shall discover that in many acts every person has had a kind of supernatural advice.<sup>15</sup>

His eagerness to find portents in coincidence seems more representative of the thinking of Cotton Mather than of Voltaire and

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13 *Ibid.*, 14.

14 *Ibid.*, 9.

15 *Ibid.*, 5.

provides the first hint of how distant Dallam's mental world was from the rationalism associated with the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

Whenever possible, Dallam turned to reading as a refuge from boredom. On 5 January he complained that because of rough weather he had "not had an opportunity to look in a book this ten days which has caused my time to pass away dull and tedious and compelled me often to wish we were arrived at our destined port."<sup>16</sup> Dallam's taste in reading during the trip provides further evidence that he would have found many of the ideas of the late French Enlightenment uncongenial. During the voyage Dallam repeatedly returned to one of his favorite books, a volume of Alexander Pope's poetry. Dallam's interest in Pope seems to place him within the Enlightenment tradition, especially his delight in *An Essay on Man*. This poem was Pope's attempt to translate philosophy into verse and remains of great interest to any student of the Enlightenment. In the poem, Pope presents a Newtonian world governed by regular and reasonable laws, and the reader is urged to adopt a cheerful stoicism towards life.<sup>17</sup> The poem's philosophy is aptly summarized at the end of the first epistle by the line, "Whatever is, is RIGHT." This line, the best-known quotation from the entire work, dots the pages of Dallam's diary which deal with his voyage—particularly when he was distressed over his health or the weather. Even when his chicken coop was washed overboard during a storm, Dallam consoled himself with "whatever is, is right."<sup>18</sup> Such use of Pope borders on the trivial, but Dallam's attachment to him links his intellectual tastes to the earliest phase of the Enlightenment, a phase strongly associated with the ideas of such British thinkers as John Locke, Isaac Newton, and Samuel Clarke. This early, moderate phase of the Enlightenment probably had the

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16 Ibid., 4.

17 Not surprisingly, Pope's contemporaries interpreted his *Essay On Man* (1713) in a variety of ways. One reading, accepted by many philosophes, saw Pope as promoting deism, an interpretation that Pope himself publicly rejected. For a discussion of Pope in relation to the religious and philosophical views of his time, see Maynard Mack's introduction to *An Essay on Man* (10 vols.; Twickenham edition; London: Methuen, 1950), III, xv-xlvi.

18 Dallam, *Journal*, 7.

greatest impact on American culture, since the ideas of Pope or Newton could be more easily grafted onto America's Calvinistic rootstock.

Clearly, ideas associated with the later, more radical phase of the Enlightenment troubled Dallam. On 12 January 1795, he wrote that, "For amusement and variety I opened a book stiled the advice of a father to his son and discovered it not only replete with every christian sentiment but with what perhaps more recommended it to my taste, the most refined expression, language as rich as Demosthenes' as pure as Cicero's and as smooth as Homer's."<sup>19</sup> What especially impressed Dallam was the author's attack on David Hume's views concerning miracles. In 1748 the Scottish philosopher Hume had published *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding*. The tenth chapter of that work was an essay "On Miracles." Hume had written this piece over a decade earlier but had withheld it from publication on the advice of friends who warned of strong public reaction. Their fears proved to be well founded, for when the essay appeared, it provoked a scandal.<sup>20</sup> The controversy centered on Hume's basic argument "that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact it endeavours to establish."<sup>21</sup> It is unlikely that Dallam read Hume's essay, but he did copy out the above quotation into his journal, probably taking it from *Advice from a father*. Dallam found this book's counter-arguments more powerful than Hume's position and took the time to summarize

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19 Although Dallam did not mention the exact title of this work, it was almost certainly *Advice from a father to a son, upon the subject of religion. Originally intended for private use. By a clergyman of the established church* (1792).

20 For an account of the essay and its publication, see Peter Gay, *The Rise of Modern Paganism*, volume 1 of *The Enlightenment* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966), 404-407. On the influence of Hume's essays in eighteenth-century America, see Douglass Adair, "'That politics may be reduced to a science': David Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist," in Trevor Colbourn, ed., *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays by Douglass Adair* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 75-106.

21 David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning Principles of Morals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975; originally published in 1751), 115-16.

carefully the points made supporting belief in miracles, points which he admired "as being justly true."<sup>22</sup>

Further evidence of Dallam's religious views appears in the diary's entry for 6 February 1795. "Indisposed and sensible of the uncertainty of life," Dallam wrote his will. He began by stating, "I believe in the doctrine of future felicity and entirely abhor the opinion of those who proclaim this world as the only Heaven."<sup>23</sup> This statement, when coupled with Dallam's comments on Hume, suggests that he never seriously questioned his religious beliefs. Yet ironically, Dallam's statement is hardly a ringing testament to religious orthodoxy; after all, Rousseau said as much in *Emile*, which was burned for containing views against Christianity.

Dallam's religious views reinforce what we know about the intellectual climate of eighteenth-century America. Henry May, author of *The Enlightenment in America*, has explored the conflict between Enlightenment ideas and America's Calvinistic Protestantism.<sup>24</sup> He identifies four phases of the European Enlightenment: a moderate phase, marked by an accommodation between religion and the Newtonian worldview; a skeptical phase, in which the influence of Voltaire and Hume began to undermine the earlier truce; a revolutionary phase culminating in the French Revolution's attempts to regenerate humankind; and a final phase in which America's Enlightenment went down to defeat, borne under by a rising tide of religiosity. In America, May argues, the first, moderate phase was the most influential, while the second, radical phase had little lasting effect. Radical skepticism concerning religion never had a wide appeal in America, and Dallam would appear to support May's analysis.

In late February, as the *Columbus* neared the European coast, Dallam, desperate for the voyage to end, had grown impatient with the captain. Upon entering the English Channel, the *Columbus* was buffeted by yet another storm, and the captain feared that they would

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22 Dallam, *Journal*, 5.

23 *Ibid.*, 12.

24 Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).



be driven against a lee shore. Earlier in the voyage Dallam had thought himself blessed to have "an old judicious sailor" as captain, but now he judged the old seaman as "very timorous."<sup>25</sup> While the *Columbus* survived the storm, the ship was so severely battered that the captain had no alternative but to put into the nearest harbor for repairs. The captain's decision seems to have been a reluctant one, since the nearest ports were in the south of England, then at war with France. Fortunately, the United States had maintained neutrality in this conflict, and as a neutral ship the *Columbus* had the right to put in for repairs before sailing on to France, but all aboard were aware that the British could find a pretense for seizing the ship and its cargo. Despite the potential problems and his own impatience to reach France, Dallam acquiesced in the captain's judgment: "It would be the height of imprudence to remain at sea."<sup>26</sup> A late winter storm prevented an immediate landfall, but finally on 3 March the *Columbus* reached Sandown Bay. There it took on a pilot who guided the ship into Portsmouth harbor.

For almost two weeks, while the *Columbus* was being fitted with a new rudder, Dallam "participated in every amusement the place afforded."<sup>27</sup> Attending the theater, he found the scenery and actors rather plain. English women, however, were more to his taste, and he judged them "handsomer than in America."<sup>28</sup> During his stay, Dallam proved his ability to make himself agreeable. An English acquaintance invited him to join a hunting party in Southampton, some twenty-four miles from Portsmouth, but bad weather thwarted the venture. Throughout his visit, Dallam enjoyed complete freedom of movement; he visited the harbor's fortifications and was given a guided tour through the dockyards, normally an area where "entrance is prohibited to all strangers."<sup>29</sup>

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25 Dallam first wrote "rather timerous" [*sic*] but crossed it out and replaced it with "prudent into an extreme." *Ibid.*, 8.

26 *Ibid.*, 18.

27 *Ibid.*, 21.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Ibid.*, 19.

Although considering himself a staunch patriot and republican, Dallam was unprepared for the rough-and-tumble of eighteenth-century British politics. During his tours of the dockyards, Dallam encountered naval officers and was startled "to hear men in every company canvass with such freedom the acts of Government and reprehend the ministerial measures."<sup>30</sup> Dallam also purchased "a book written by Captain James in which he freely expatiates upon the abuses in the Government. I suppose he must have great interest or the minister would notice him as a libeler. I purpose forwarding it to America by the earliest opportunity."<sup>31</sup> In these two episodes, it is unclear whether Dallam was shocked because military officers felt free to express their political opinions or whether he was surprised to hear subjects of a monarchy criticize their government.

While the war did not hamper Dallam's freedom of movement, he did encounter ample evidence of the ongoing conflict between France and England. The harbor off Spithead was filled with "the grand spectacle" of a large British fleet.<sup>32</sup> In one dockyard, Dallam boarded "the *America*, a ship presented by the American government to France." This seventy-four-gun warship had been recently captured by the British in battle. "The blood is now on her and it is surprising to see the number of holes made in her by the cannon balls."<sup>33</sup> In the harbor itself, Dallam saw the burnt hulk of another captured French warship, the *Imperateur*.

Ships were not the only casualties Dallam encountered at Portsmouth. The truth also received a severe mauling when Dallam encountered a British naval officer eager to tell him the dramatic story of the sinking of the *Vengeur*. A French battleship, the *Vengeur* had gone down in June 1794, in the midst of a general engagement between the French and British fleets. The officer assured Dallam that he had been "in stone throw of the *Vengeur* when she sunk." After describing how the French officers refused to surrender and walked

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30 *Ibid.*, 20.

31 *Ibid.*, 21.

32 *Ibid.*, 19.

33 *Ibid.*

the quarterdeck of the sinking ship "with a pipe in their mouths with the greatest indifference," the officer paid tribute to the exemplary bravery of the crew. Unknowingly, Dallam had just encountered one of the great triumphs of wartime propaganda. While the *Vengeur* did indeed sink during battle in June 1794, the stories of her crew's defiance unto death were complete fabrications. Stung by the results of the naval battle, the French government had tried to salvage honor from defeat by concocting the story of the *Vengeur's* refusal to surrender. This story was circulated widely in the French press and was soon picked up by British newspapers. The story of the *Vengeur* was widely believed on both sides of the channel, and the fraud was not exposed until the 1830s.<sup>34</sup> Dallam's encounter with the "eyewitness" helps explain how this story gained such a hold on the public imagination.

The only potentially unpleasant episode between the Americans and the British occurred as the *Columbus* prepared to leave Portsmouth. On 13 March a press-gang boarded the ship to search the crew for deserters from British ships.<sup>35</sup> The entire crew were examined individually by the lieutenant in charge of the gang. No one was detained, and Dallam recorded the event without further comment, which is remarkable considering that deep resentment over the boarding of American ships by British press-gangs was to be a leading cause of the War of 1812. Despite this incident, Dallam appears to have enjoyed his enforced stay in England.

As the *Columbus* left Portsmouth, Dallam's thoughts turned to his imminent encounter with America's sister republic.<sup>36</sup> During the long

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34 Thomas Carlyle's essay "The Sinking of the *Vengeur*" remains the best account of the entire episode. This essay first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1839. For a brief discussion of Carlyle's role in exposing the lie, see John D. Rosenberg, *Carlyle and the Burden of History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 41.

35 Dallam, *Journal*, 21.

36 When dealing with an intellectual movement, such as the Enlightenment, historians are tempted to substitute vague references to "climate of opinion" or "influence" for hard evidence. The problem is that the origins of anyone's ideas are extremely hard to trace. Literary historian Paul Merrill Spurlin, in his studies of French cultural influence on eighteenth-century America, warns against generalizing from insufficient data. Spurlin suggests that one way to avoid jumping to conclusions is to start with seemingly trivial but nonetheless fundamental questions. How well did

voyage Dallam had devoted time to the study of French grammar. Despite days "engaged in reading French exercise books," his grasp of French remained superficial.<sup>37</sup> When, after the three-month voyage, Dallam finally disembarked at St.-Valery, he was able to communicate with the town's mayor only in Latin, even though he found himself "very deficient in the knowledge of that language."<sup>38</sup> Dallam's inability to communicate in French again became apparent while sightseeing during his first day in Paris. He stepped into the meeting hall of the Convention but left after a few minutes. The deputies, he confided to his diary, "were there upon the subject of a new Government or a new form—I was but little interested being unacquainted with the language."<sup>39</sup> Dallam's difficulty with the language raises questions of how much his perceptions of France were clouded by his inability to converse directly with the French people. Though Dallam worked to improve his French throughout his stay in Paris and bought a number of French books, at no point did he make significant progress toward fluency. In September 1795, six months into his European trip, Dallam was still forced to admit that he "could not speak French."<sup>40</sup>

In spite of his linguistic deficiencies, Dallam by no means led a solitary existence. Within days of his arrival, he had taken his place in a large American community. At the coastal city of Havre he met "upwards of forty American captains some of them very genteel men" as well as others whom he described as "Merchants and Gentlemen." This group of Americans possessed a clear sense of identity and appears to have exercised a form of self-regulation. On 1 April Dallam recorded:

We this day had a convention to reprimand (*sic*) a certain American Captain whom it was said spoke disrespectfully of the French Government—he declared himself a wellwisher to all republics that

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Americans know the French language? How widely available were French books? Only then can students of eighteenth-century America move on to broader questions of French influence. Paul Merrill Spurlin, *The French Enlightenment in America: Essays on the Times of the Founding Fathers* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 3.

37 Dallam, *Journal*, 14.

38 *Ibid.*, 22.

39 *Ibid.*, 26.

40 *Ibid.*, 62.

were happy—we then saluted him as an American and gave him our hand in token of our approbation.<sup>41</sup>

Dallam's account contains an interesting ambiguity. In his defense, the captain had pledged support to republics that were "happy," a term that in 1795 many Americans would not have applied to France. The American decision to discipline one of their own may have been a form of self-defense. Although the Great Terror had ended months earlier, France was still a country in turmoil. In most major French cities, government officials maintained an extensive network of informers called *mouches* or "flies." *Mouches* were constantly on the lookout for anti-government opinion or counter-revolutionary activities. No doubt the expatriates at Havre feared that an American openly criticizing conditions in France could easily have brought their entire community under suspicion.

This unofficial "convention" of Americans appears also to have had some standing with the French government. On 3 April "the Americans assembled today in the Agents of Commerce [sic] Apartment to give their opinion relative to four men who were taken up for the want of a pass and called themselves Americans. I was appointed secretary, pro tempore, we determined two to be Americans and two not."<sup>42</sup> This episode suggests that Americans enjoyed a special status in France. None of the four men had the appropriate documents but being an American apparently gained some consideration from French officials. It would be interesting to know what criteria were used to determine who was and who was not an American.

These two episodes also underscore France's uncertain political situation. In 1795 the French were just emerging from the greatest crisis of the French Revolution. For the past two years the French republic had been threatened by civil war, foreign invasion, and political unrest in many major cities, especially Paris. The temporary government created to meet these challenges had been led by the Committee of Public Safety, a board of twelve men who exercised

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41 *Ibid.*, 24.

42 *Ibid.*

almost dictatorial powers. This emergency government had enjoyed some success but at great costs, and in July 1794 it fell from power. By the time Dallam arrived, the French were trying with limited success to find a way to stabilize the revolution. There remained a great deal of discontent, ranging from counter-revolutionaries to ultra-revolutionaries.

During Dallam's journey from the coast to Paris, evidence of this political and social turmoil became increasingly obvious. The day before he arrived in Rouen, three to four thousand inhabitants from the surrounding area had invaded the city in search of bread, which Dallam took care to note as "very scarce." The tocsin had been sounded and Rouen's militia had assembled to prevent pillaging. The invaders had to content themselves with cutting down a few liberty trees.<sup>43</sup> The troubles of Rouen's hungry received less space than Dallam's grumblings over the high cost of travelling by post. Price aside, Dallam was able to travel and find lodging with remarkable ease. Apparently the chronic food shortages had no direct effect upon the quality of his life, either on the road or in Paris.

Upon his arrival in Paris on 6 April, Dallam took rooms at the Maison de Philadelphia where he immediately fell in with a circle of Americans: "I have met with many Americans in Paris chiefly from Boston."<sup>44</sup> One well-connected American named John H. Purviance, soon to be private secretary to James Monroe, the American minister to France, was one of the first to show Dallam the sights. Dallam noticed the scars that six years of revolution had inflicted on the city, especially the Tuilleries, which still bore the "signs of the cannon balls that were fired against the palace at the king and his guards."<sup>45</sup> Within days of his arrival, Dallam made his way to the home of James Monroe. The American minister to France impressed Dallam as an "honest patriot," and he pronounced himself "extremely pleased with

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43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 27. The Bostonians were part of a large group of New Englanders who were in Paris to press claims against the French for their seizure of commercial cargoes. See Harry Ammon, *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 133.

45 Dallam, *Journal*, 26.

Mrs. Monroe, a charming woman." At the Monroes' home Dallam also met the revolutionary pamphleteer Thomas Paine, a long-term guest in the Monroe household, and found him "much weather-beaten" but sociable and free. Both Monroe and Paine were enthusiastic supporters of the French Revolution and accepted the "premise that the survival of freedom in America was dependent upon the advancement of republicanism in Europe."<sup>46</sup> Monroe's political views conflicted with those of President George Washington and the majority of his administration, who saw France's popular revolution as a path to anarchy. Monroe's objections to Washington's pro-British foreign policy would lead to the minister's recall late in 1796.<sup>47</sup>

Monroe's mission, however, was far from a complete failure. When he arrived in Paris in early August 1794, Franco-American relations were at their lowest point since the French and Indian War. French suspicions were growing that the United States was an ingrate country, willing to sacrifice its treaty obligations with France in favor of closer commercial ties with Great Britain. Washington's desire to allay these suspicions had led him to select Monroe, a member of the Republican opposition in the United States Senate and an open supporter of the French Republic, as the new minister. In this regard, Washington made a wise choice. Within a few months of his arrival in Paris, Monroe had reestablished cordial relations between the two republics, creating the brief era of good feelings from which Dallam benefited.

Dallam's growing friendship with Monroe quickly drew him into a circle possessing decided views on both the French Revolution and Franco-American relations, allowing him to assume a minor role in Monroe's efforts to improve relations between the two countries. The high point of Monroe's public-relations campaign came on the Fourth of July 1795. In preparation for the celebration, Monroe let it be known that he "expected all Americans in Paris would dine with him

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46 Ammon, *Monroe*, 135.

47 For Monroe's defense of his term as ambassador, see his *A View of the Conduct of the Executive, in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, connected with the mission to the French Republic* (Philadelphia, 1797), reprinted in S.M. Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe* (7 vols.; New York, 1900), 3:383-457.

on that day." Dallam eagerly attended and pronounced the party "a superb entertainment." The guest list included a hundred Americans, fifty government officials, and ten foreign ministers. The dinner opened with a procession to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" and "several patriotic hymns." During the meal, fifteen toasts were drunk. The president of the Convention personally proposed the toast to the United States, and Monroe responded with the "republic of France." With that many toasts it is easy to believe that the day passed "in the greatest harmony and jocularity. Many of the company were merry and gave us very enlivening songs after dinner."<sup>48</sup> The Independence Day celebration accomplished its goal of reassuring the French that the United States stood in solid support of the French Republic.

Though typically gregarious and friendly, the American community was not without tension. Political discussions of patriotism and revolution sometimes spilled over into areas of personal honor, resulting in challenges. On 19 April Dallam "had a dispute with a Mr. Anderson from Virginia—the issue was an offer to fight him across the room. The pistols were brought but he considered afterwards and preferred acknowledging he was in the wrong or that he had no idea of insulting me."<sup>49</sup> On another occasion Dallam witnessed a quarrel between two Americans: "I was today much affected with a dispute between my friends Eustace and Spring but they both being men of honor and bravery—the dispute was happily settled and they parted with the highest esteem for each other."<sup>50</sup>

General John Skey Eustace, one of the men involved in the altercation, soon became Dallam's closest friend in Paris. A native of New York, Eustace had served in the Continental Army during the American Revolution. A colonel at the war's end, Eustace traveled in South America before heading for Europe. Finding himself in Bordeaux at the outbreak of the French Revolution, Eustace quickly became an ardent supporter of the "patriots." An excitable person,

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48 Dallam, *Journal*, 46; see also Ammon, *Monroe*, 139.

49 Dallam, *Journal*, 30.

50 *Ibid.*, 39.



prone to fall into debt and to engage in public outbursts, Eustace had worn out his welcome in Bordeaux and in April 1792 was on the verge of returning to the United States when France declared war on Austria. Eustace quickly moved to Paris where he obtained a commission in the French army. He was in and out of service from 1792 until Dallam met him in the spring of 1795. Eustace's career leaves the impression that he was little more than an opportunist, trading on his status as an American patriot and officer.<sup>51</sup>

At their first meeting, Eustace struck Dallam as "a man of a satirical genius—quite plain and easy in his manners."<sup>52</sup> Soon the two men were inseparable, with Eustace assuming the role of guide and mentor. By the end of his stay, Dallam would write, "I really esteem [Eustace] rather as a father than in any other light and can never venture to do any one thing without his advice and admonition."<sup>53</sup> In Dallam's eyes, Eustace was a "good patriot" who had written a book "by himself upon the crimes of King George."<sup>54</sup> More at ease in French, Eustace had survived several changes of regimes in France and certainly had enough experience to teach Dallam about revolutionary politics.

Dallam's inability to communicate satisfactorily, a constant source of irritation for any tourist, led him to explore ways of improving his French. One solution seemed to be a tutor. On 15 April Dallam engaged as tutor an elderly French gentleman, one M. Boulnois, and agreed to take lessons daily between 5:00 a.m. and

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51 Most of these biographical details are from Yvon Bizardel, *The First Expatriates: Americans in Paris During the French Revolution* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston: 1975), 105-110. However, Bizardel must be used with caution. He argues that Eustace lived on the "fringes of the American circle in Paris, which he held in contempt" and also states that he lived a Spartan life "far from Paris pleasures and café gossip" (222-23). As will become apparent, Dallam's journal contradicts this vision of Eustace as a simple patriot who refused to socialize with frivolous Americans.

52 Dallam, *Journal*, 26.

53 *Ibid.*, 40-41.

54 *Ibid.*, 29. Eustace's book was *Letters on the crime of George III, addressed to Citizen Dents; by an American officer, in the service of France* (Paris, [1794]). This work was also issued with a title page in French, but the text was in English. The French title page carried the imprint "Paris, de l'Imprimerie des Sans-Culottes" which suggests that Eustace may have been associated with the more radical factions during the Terror.

6:00 a.m. This early hour soon proved impractical, especially after Dallam became an avid theater-goer.<sup>55</sup> Like John Adams, another eighteenth-century student of French, Dallam may have concluded that attending the theater was an excellent way to learn the language.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately for his studies, the French theaters held other attractions besides learning proper diction. After attending a performance of the opera *Pollux and Castor*, Dallam wrote, "The dancing exceeds all fancy. The girls wore thin silk pantaloons under their dress which you scarce could distinguish from their skin and show their ankles without any hesitation. I was in raptures."<sup>57</sup> Needless to say, lessons with M. Boulnois got pushed later and later in the day.

Dallam possessed unbounded enthusiasm for the company of women, and his journal is littered with references to his various liaisons. He soon discovered those places in Paris most suitable for meeting women and appears to have missed no opportunity to make a conquest.<sup>58</sup> Dallam is also surprisingly frank about his interest in prostitutes:

Paris of all European towns must be most devoted to pleasure of all kinds — the rue Vivienne in which I live is eternally crowded with fine young blooming girls so much governed by humanity that it only requires a smile to convey every idea you could wish. They run into your arms as eager as a man chased by his enemy would escape into an asylum. The time that [Maximilien] Robespierre was a member of the convention he had 1200 girls one night taken up in the Palace Egalité formerly the residence of Duke Orleans, and now to walk in it in the evening you see crowds of those girls parading on every side from thirteen to twenty five years old all of whose business it is to gratify men in the enjoyment of sensual pleasure.<sup>59</sup>

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55 "Since in Paris I have passed my mornings in reading, my evenings in viewing the city and nights at the different theatres." Dallam, *Journal*, 28.

56 In fact, Adams noted "two ways of learning french commonly recommended—take a Mistress and go to the Commedie." While Adams chose to attend the theater, Dallam appears to have been an eager initiate into both methods. Quoted in Spurlin, *French Enlightenment in America*, 43.

57 Dallam, *Journal*, 27.

58 "In the evening took a walk through the Elisian fields which is the general rendezvous of men and women at night." *Ibid.*, 29.

59 *Ibid.*, 40.

On another occasion, Dallam was "accosted by a young girl in the street who wished me to walk home with her—Beckoned to by a charming girl a little distance from my house whom I shall visit—but with all the girls with whom I have been acquainted I prefer my watchmaker, the daughter of one of the richest bankers in Paris who was guillotined."<sup>60</sup> Such episodes reveal a certain obtuseness on Dallam's part. He never seems to have reflected upon the harsh economic conditions that forced some of these young women into a life on the streets.

Heavy drinking continued to form a regular part of Dallam's social life. Friends dropped by several times a week to sample the wines that Dallam had purchased. For the evening of 9 May, Dallam recorded "a debauch with several Americans until four in the morning."<sup>61</sup> The night of 17 May was passed in "a jovial party for which I repented in the morning, being extremely unwell."<sup>62</sup> Immediately before leaving Paris on 11 July 1795, Dallam obliquely referred to the debilitating effects of late hours and alcohol: "I leave my friends who remain behind in Paris with regret although my health requires an excursion in the country."<sup>63</sup> With good reason had Thomas Jefferson warned a friend in 1789 that "in France a young man's morals, health and fortune are more irresistibly endangered than in any country in the universe."<sup>64</sup>

Womanizing and drinking were not Dallam's only interests. One of the most puzzling aspects of his journal consists of references to business dealings among his circle of acquaintances. Money was loaned; currency was exchanged; land sold, and letters of credit drawn on French bankers and merchants. All these activities suggest that Dallam's family had significant business interests in France and that his trip was not solely for pleasure. On 20 June, Dallam writes that he "purchased 1140 acres of land from Thorn which I sold to

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60 *Ibid.*, 33.

61 *Ibid.*, 32.

62 *Ibid.*, 34.

63 *Ibid.*, 48.

64 Quoted in Spurlin, *French Enlightenment in America*, 32.

Clapp for sixty guineas profit."<sup>65</sup> Such deals most likely involved land in Kentucky. American Revolutionary War veterans were granted certificates allowing them to claim lands west of the Alleghenies. Since many veterans were not interested in moving west, a lively trade developed in these certificates. As a veteran, Dallam's father, Richard Dallam, would have received a land grant, and surviving family correspondence reveals that the entire family was involved in numerous Kentucky land deals in the late 1790s and early 1800s.<sup>66</sup> During William's stay in Paris, he received several letters from his father which contained letters of credit to be deposited with French bankers. In these business dealings, Dallam was entering into an unsavory area of Franco-American relations. Harry Ammon, the biographer of James Monroe, points out that during the mid 1790s the French felt "considerable resentment over the speculating activities of Americans in Paris, the bad faith of representatives of land companies and the greed of American merchants."<sup>67</sup>

In politics Dallam inhabited a Manichaean world divided between patriots and aristocrats. Throughout his journal, Dallam used phrases such as "he appears to be an honest patriot" as a stamp of approval.<sup>68</sup> In Dallam's usage, the label patriot seems to mean someone who supports both the United States and the French Republic. Not all Americans were good patriots, as evidenced by the episode at Havre, when an American had to satisfy forty of his fellow-countrymen that he sincerely supported all republics. Conversely, being labeled an aristocrat could produce dire consequences. On 3 May Dallam recorded, "My friend Major Thorn had a quarrel and beat an American aristocrat"; in the weeks that followed, aristocrats came under increasing condemnation.<sup>69</sup> On 17 May, the French government ceased to accept as legal tender any

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65 Dallam, *Journal*, 42. The business dealings of these American expatriates and tourists should prove to be an interesting area for further investigation.

66 In 1802 both Richard Dallam and his son William sold their lands in Maryland and moved to Kentucky. The Dallams' business correspondence is contained in the Evans Papers, box 11.

67 Ammon, *Monroe*, 145.

68 Dallam, *Journal*, 30.

69 *Ibid.*, 33.

*assignat* that bore the portrait of Louis XVI.<sup>70</sup> That same day a decree required every person to show support for the government by wearing a cockade in his hat. Dallam was pleased by these actions because he believed "it hurts the aristocrats."<sup>71</sup> Though rather superficial, such political statements reflected developments in both France and the United States.

To be perceived as an aristocrat on the streets of Paris was dangerous. By 1795 language and dress had become so politicized that any hint of luxury in clothing or formality of speech could label someone as an enemy of the revolution. In late May, during a time of political disturbances in Paris, Dallam learned to appreciate this politics of appearances.

Every person was compelled to wear a cue instead of his hair being turned up—the people saying those who turned up their hair were Aristocrats—the people were very friendly to General Eustace and myself. As we were walking through the guards they came to us and addressed us in the most friendly way advising us to cue our hair—which we instantly done.<sup>72</sup>

In the spring of 1793, Parisian sans-culottes had circulated a petition which explained how to identify an aristocrat. The term had ceased to bear any relation to noble status and had come to signify anyone who did not fully support the revolution. Among the many distinguishing marks listed were the refusal to "wear a cockade of three inches in circumference" and the refusal to "glory in the title and the hairstyle of the sans-culotte."<sup>73</sup> Dallam's experiences testify to the persistence of political attitudes associated with the Terror. A frustrating omission in Dallam's account is his failure to explain why the crowd warned the two Americans rather than attacking them.

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70 *Assignats* were originally government bonds, but from 1790 they came to function as paper currency which was "assigned" (secured) on the nationalized property of the church.

71 *Ibid.*, 35.

72 *Ibid.*, 36.

73 A translation of this petition may be found in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, volume 7 of *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 331-32.

Possibly Eustace was recognized by a member of the group or their status as Americans protected them.

During his stay in Paris, Dallam was in some danger of being mistaken for an aristocrat. In 1795 Paris became infested with a group of young men who openly expressed contempt for the austerity of the Jacobin republic and openly derided the patriotic fervor of the sans-culottes. This group, predominately middle class and numbering between two and three thousand, was labeled the *muscadins* (perfumed ones) or the *jeunesse dorée* (gilded youth). These young men were easily identified by their dandified dress and their tendency to dine out at the restaurants of the Palais Royal, even though severe food shortages existed.

In appearance, Dallam must have resembled these young enemies of the revolution. He had purchased new suits of clothes upon arriving in Paris, and he frequently dined out in Parisian restaurants. Furthermore, Dallam took an apartment in the neighborhood of the Palais Royal and the Stock Exchange, an area known as the stronghold of the "gilded youth." Being an American may have protected him from more trouble than he realized, almost certainly on the one occasion when he ran afoul of the authorities. On the night of 4 June, "being out late without my passport I was taken up by the guard for the first time and conducted home."<sup>74</sup> Whatever the reason, Dallam was lucky to have escaped a night in jail.

Dallam also displayed an interest in American politics, but his journal provides no clear evidence concerning his personal opinions.<sup>75</sup> News from America was provided by letters from family and friends. These sources were supplemented by newly arrived Americans, who were eagerly questioned about the political scene at home. Understandably, a major concern was how the war in Europe might affect the United States. In early July, after an evening with a group of fellow citizens, Dallam summed up their discussion:

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<sup>74</sup> Dallam, *Journal*, 38.

<sup>75</sup> At a dinner party on 28 April "our conversation was mostly on politics partly on Genét's conduct in America." On 17 June they "had some conversation relative to the present situation of affairs in America and Europe." See *ibid.*, 30, 41.

We had a long conversation on the situation of Europe and the conduct of England towards America and whether a war cutting off our trade could injure us or not or whether it would not encourage the industrious cultivation of our lands and the improving attention of our artificers to our manufactures and whether it would not insure to the hazardous fisherman a more certain provision, to the merchant more honesty and to the luxurious spendthrift more frugality and in fine whether it would not be the only resort to insure our prosperity and independence (for whilst confined at home no enemy need we dread).<sup>76</sup>

This conversation provides some clues to Dallam's politics with regard to America. The belief that a cessation of trade with England could do no lasting harm to the United States but rather would benefit the country by encouraging home industry and curbing consumption of foreign luxuries seems to place Dallam in the political camp of Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe. Dallam's rejection of all "aristocrats" and his willingness to support openly the French Republic provides additional support for this view.

Given the Americans' speculations in western lands, Kentucky's growing discontent with the new federal government was another area of concern. On 6 July, while dining with some French and American friends:

We had much talk on the local situation of Kentucky and the possibility that that state would withdraw from the confederacy and declare itself independent—the reasons alleged were the Allegany [*sic*] mountains appeared as by nature intended for a demarkation line and the wish of the Kentuckians to enjoy a free navigation down the Mississippi which the general government did not encourage.<sup>77</sup>

As was so often the case, however, Dallam gave no clear indication of his own views.

Dallam was equally reticent in his descriptions of French politics. During May 1795, Dallam witnessed the growing struggle for power between the people of Paris and the Thermidorean Convention. Many Parisians deeply resented the Thermidorean rejection of the Terror, particularly its dismantling of price controls on bread and other

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76 *Ibid.*, 45-46.

77 *Ibid.*, 47-48.

staples. Throughout the spring of 1795 this discontent erupted into street riots and attacks on the government itself, resulting in new rounds of repression and executions. On 7 May Dallam

went to see sixteen men guillotined—I had no idea that men could leave this life with such indifference—one of them was smiling when his head was acutting off—all of them appeared conscious of their innocence and Fuyatanville, who was formerly general accuser's last words were "remember and remark whether you have more bread after my death than before." The sixteen were executed in fourteen minutes. I stood in about eight yards distant from the guillotine and attended well to their countenance which never changed.<sup>78</sup>

On this occasion, Dallam witnessed an important episode in the dismantling of the Terror. The Thermidoreans had used the trial of the public prosecutor Fouquier-Tinville and fourteen jurymen from the Revolutionary Tribunal as an opportunity to put the entire Terror on trial and shift all blame for the episode onto Robespierre and his "faction," most of whom were conveniently dead.

In his remarks on the scaffold, Fouquier-Tinville identified the issue which posed the greatest threat to the Convention, the scarcity of bread. Two weeks later, a popular insurrection overran the Convention hall. Dallam noted:

This day Paris has been in the utmost consternation. The general or tocsin was beat and all the citizens called to arms occasioned by want of bread. There have been many instances where women have been found drowned with their children and such daily occur driven to it by the scarcity of corn. The french being more attached to that than any other necessity whatsoever, and devour as much as two Americans. There was a body of women and men attacked the convention and bursted open the doors but were repulsed by the guards there being stationed in the convention five thousand men armed.<sup>79</sup>

This attack on the Convention provoked a week-long crisis in which the government used military force against the people of Paris. Dallam's version of these events is fairly accurate, but his

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 32. Dallam's phonetic spelling of Foquiter-Tinville's name is further evidence of his uncertain grasp of French.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 36.



dispassionate tone is surprising. Cushioned from the food shortages that made the people so desperate, Dallam expressed no sympathy for their plight. Nor did he display any greater understanding or sympathy for the peasants. Upon his arrival in France, Dallam had noticed that the French countryside was filled with "miserable" houses "resembling Indian huts though often not so good."<sup>80</sup> When in August, Dallam and General Eustace journeyed north to tour Holland and passed through French villages, William wondered "whether the peasants in this valley were not more happy returning from their labor to a course of fare devoid of care than now reading news papers [and] discussing political returns."<sup>81</sup> He doubted if these peasants were likely to find contentment by raising their sons with ideas of equality and independence. Instead, the best course would be to teach them how to be good farmers.

The last surviving volume of Dallam's journal is devoted to his trip to Holland with General Eustace. Although not yet annexed to France, Holland was under French control in 1795, and there were efforts to export to it the ideals of the French Revolution. This trip casts additional light on Dallam's politics.<sup>82</sup> In Tournay, Dallam made the acquaintance of Dominique Viernot "a young gentleman who as he says has to visit the cathedral every day to see it does not fall down being posted here to guard the tower when there are not four soldiers in the place but it serves his turn as it prevents his joining the army, he is very rich and keeps batchelor's [sic] hall."<sup>83</sup> Dallam found the young man charming and visited him on several occasions, apparently having lost his fervor against such "aristocrats"; any Parisian sans-culottes, however, would have immediately identified Viernot as a *muscadin*. Dutch reactions to the French Revolution led Dallam to make some interesting political distinctions. Only while in Holland did Dallam use the label "democrat," not a term of praise in his political vocabulary. While in Rotterdam during late August,

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80 *Ibid.*, 23.

81 *Ibid.*, 48.

82 It should be added that throughout his trip to Holland, Dallam persisted in his heavy drinking and pursuit of women.

83 *Ibid.*, 55.

Dallam called on a wine merchant named Van Dikes, "an old republican gentleman." Besides two pretty daughters, the merchant also had "as a mark of his attachment for liberty an engraving of Gen. Washington set in gilded frame placed in his room."<sup>84</sup> Dallam himself revered George Washington, "American's worthy friend," as a model of patriotism and had celebrated his birthday while on board the *Columbus*. Later that same day, Dallam dined with a Mr. Vanderhaven, "a warm democrat who is a member of a democratic club instituted here." Dallam thought Vanderhaven "a genteel clever young man" but interestingly called Van Dikes a republican, a term Dallam applied to himself, and Vanderhaven a democrat.

In the United States a growing number of conservative supporters of the American Revolution were basing their politics on precisely this distinction. A solid republic was the bulwark of freedom, while a democracy inevitably degenerated into despotism. By the 1790s many such "republicans" were convinced that America had been corrupted by the ideas of the French Revolution and had started down the path to democracy.<sup>85</sup> Many supporters of the French Revolution, however, saw the United States Constitution as a betrayal of the American Revolution. Dallam was surprised to learn that "the Holland democrats think the American Constitution too aristocratic."<sup>86</sup>

The American debate between republicans and democrats was related to the political struggles Dallam witnessed in revolutionary France. Like the American "republicans," the French Thermidoreans were committed to the republican form of government. However, they desired a republic in which the wealthy ruled and the laboring classes

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84 *Ibid.*, 57.

85 See Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1993), 229-43. As late as 1814, Gouverneur Morris was denouncing "democracy! savage and wild. Thou who wouldst bring down the virtuous and wise to thy level of folly and guilt! Thou child of squinting envy and self-tormenting spleen. Thou persecutor of the great and good!" (quoted in Wood, 230). It is important to note that Gouverneur Morris was Monroe's predecessor as United States minister to France. Throughout his two years as minister, Morris was openly royalist in his sympathies, and as early as February 1793 the French government was demanding his recall. Morris was the very model of the "American aristocrat" that Dallam professed to despise.

86 Dallam, *Journal*, 60.

knew their place. Popular democracy was seen as a threat to both political liberty and social stability. The Thermidoreans were willing to use the democratic rhetoric of the sans-culottes, but they quickly squelched any attempt to make that rhetoric a reality. Committed to equality, the sans-culottes viewed the Thermidoreans as politically and morally flabby, more committed to luxury and pleasure than to helping the people. Dallam was in basic agreement with the Thermidorean regime. The austere demands of equality held no appeal for a young man intent upon sampling the pleasures of Europe.

The last surviving volume of Dallam's journal provides no real conclusion to his trip. The final entries from October 1795 detail a quick trip across the North Sea from Holland to England. Once in London, Dallam embarked upon a new round of theater-going and sightseeing. Whether he returned to France is unknown, as is the date of his return to the United States. When Dallam resurfaces in the historical record, he is much more obscure. Business correspondence shows that sometime in 1802 both William Dallam and his father sold their estates in Maryland and moved to Kentucky. Dallam settled in the Lexington area, and over the years his name appears in the pages of the *Kentucky Gazette* in connection with various land and business deals. Surviving letters suggest that Dallam became a devoted husband and father. In politics he continued to identify with the Jeffersonian camp. In March 1809 Dallam was listed as attending a dinner in Lexington held in honor of James Madison's election to the presidency.<sup>87</sup> As Dallam settled into a life of bourgeois comfort, it would be interesting to know what he told his friends and family about his European experiences. People of the eighteenth century were convinced that travel broadened the mind. In going to France William Dallam had visited that century's fountainhead of radical ideas and politics. Ironically though, his journal fails to show that his travels became anything more than a source of memories of indiscretions and dramatic stories with which to regale his friends.

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87 *Kentucky Gazette*, 6 March 1809.