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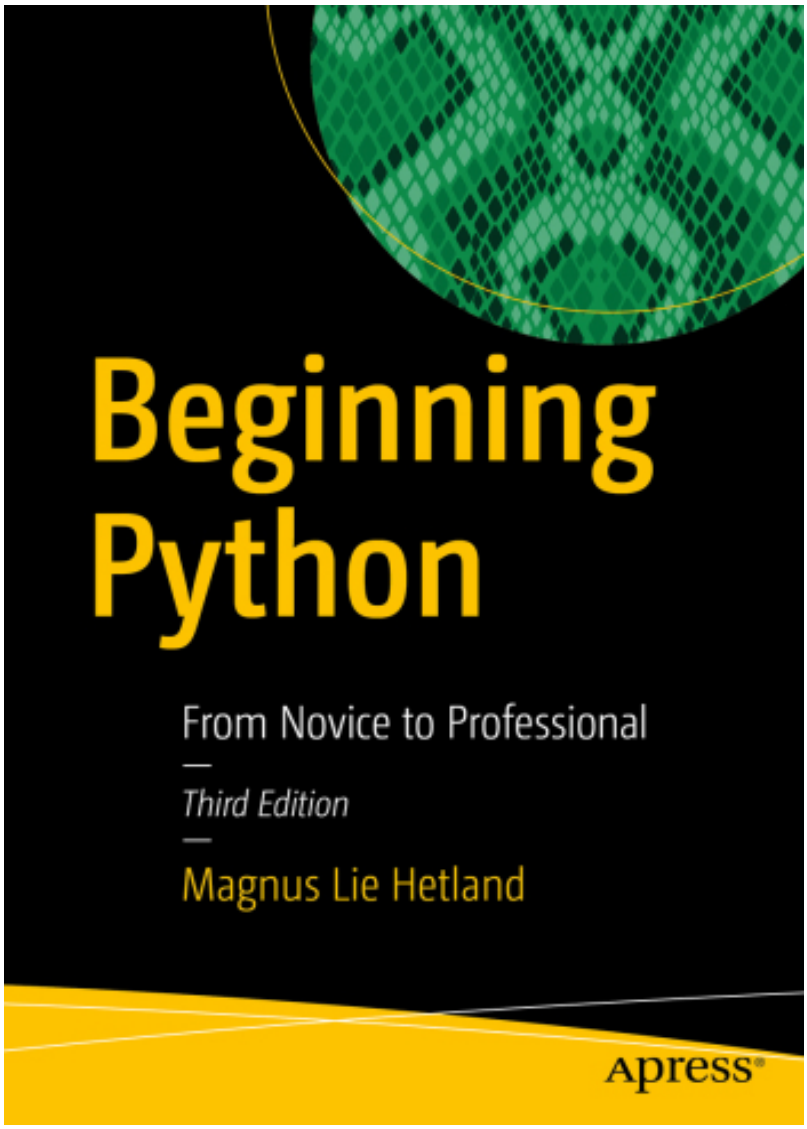

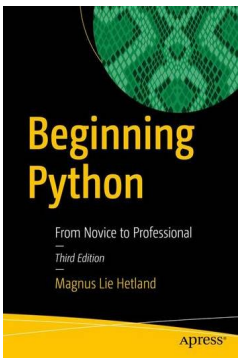

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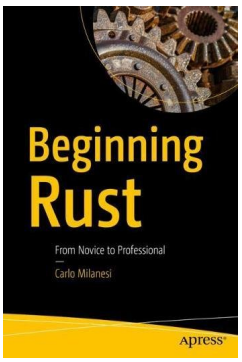

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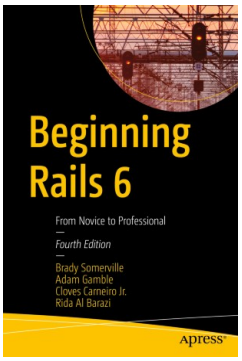

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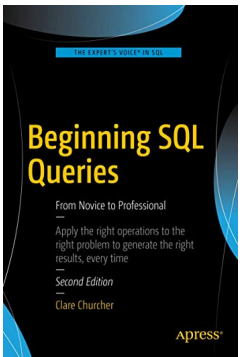

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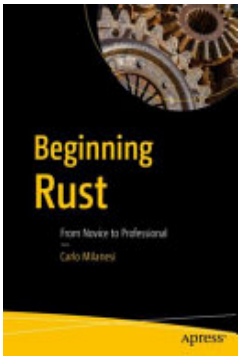

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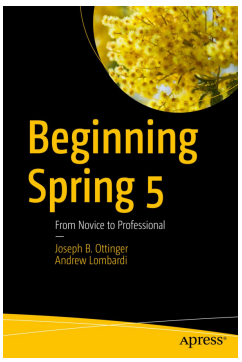

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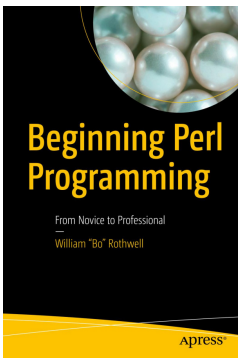

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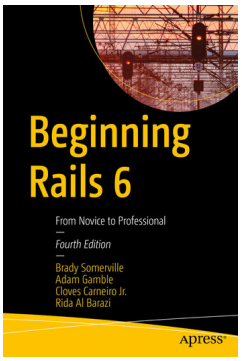

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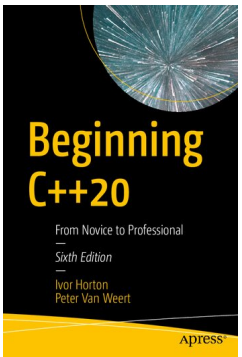

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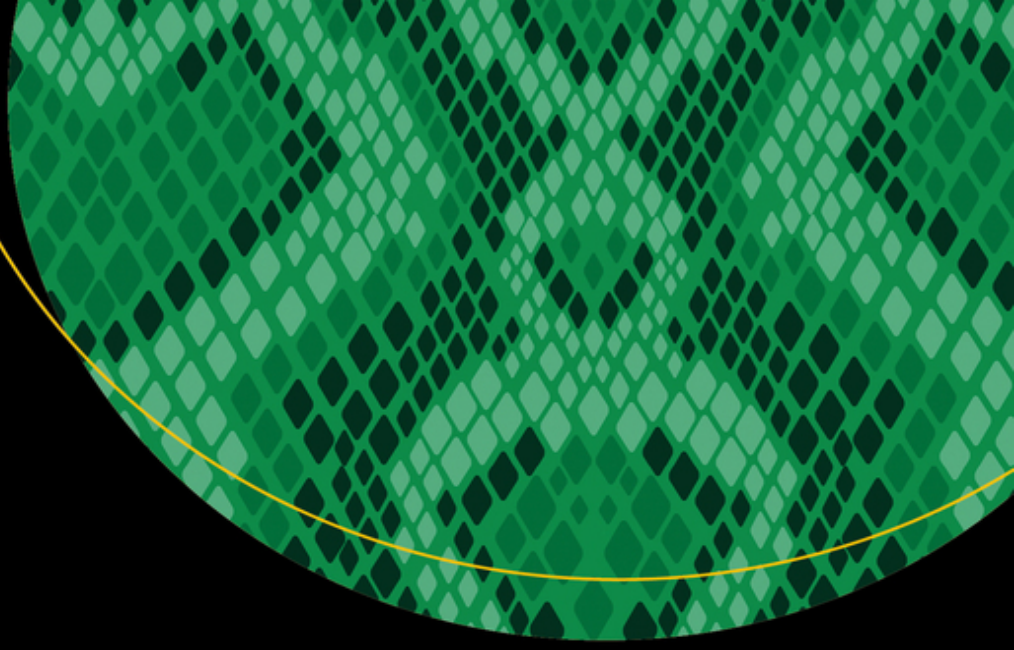

Beginning Python

From Novice to Professional

Third Edition

Magnus Lie Hetland

Apress®

Magnus Lie Hetland

Beginning Python

From Novice to Professional

3rd ed.

Magnus Lie Hetland
Trondheim, Norway

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For Kjersti and Tor.

Preface

To quote the old Monty Python song: "Here comes another one / Here it comes again / Here comes another one / When will it ever end?" Since the previous edition, Python 3 has become much more widespread, so this edition has fully transitioned to the Py3 world. There have been other changes as well, with packages in the Python ecosystem coming and going and coding practices going in and out of fashion. Where it has been necessary or useful, the book has been rewritten, but its origins are still visible. For example, when the original *Practical Python* came out at the beginning of the millennium, Usenet was still in semi-widespread use, though nowadays most Internet users probably haven't even heard of it. So when the fourth code project (Chapter 23) involves connecting to an NNTP server, this is more of a historical curiosity than skills you are likely to apply directly in a mainstream programming career. Still, I've kept some of these more quirky parts of the book, as they still work well as programming examples and as they are part of the history of the book.

All the people who helped previous editions see the light of day still deserve as many thanks as before. This time around, I would in particular like to extend my thanks to Mark Powers, who has been a paragon of patience when my progress faltered. I'd also like to thank Michael Thomas, who has done a great job of checking the technical aspects of the book (… and pointing out all the Python 2–style print statements I had missed; I hope I got them all). I hope you enjoy this updated edition, even though, as Terry Jones says about the song mentioned initially, "Obviously it would be better with a full orchestra."

Preface to the Second Edition

Here it is—a shiny new edition of *Beginning Python* . If you count its predecessor, *Practical Python* , this is actually the third edition, and a

book I've been involved with for the better part of a decade. During this time, Python has seen many interesting changes, and I've done my best to update my introduction to the language. At the moment, Python is facing perhaps its most marked transition in a very long time: the introduction of version 3. As I write this, the final release isn't out yet, but the features are clearly defined and working versions are available. One interesting challenge linked to this language revision is that it isn't backward-compatible. In other words, it doesn't simply add features that I could pick and choose from in my writing. It also changes the existing language, so that certain things that are true for Python 2.5 no longer hold.

Had it been clear that the entire Python community would instantly switch to the new version and update all its legacy code, this would hardly be a problem. Simply describe the new language! However, a lot of code written for older versions exists, and much will probably still be written, until version 3 is universally accepted as The Way To Go™.

So, how have I gotten myself out of this pickle? First of all, even though there are incompatible changes, most of the language remains the same. Therefore, if I wrote entirely about Python 2.5, it would be mostly correct for Python 3 (and even more so for its companion release, 2.6). As for the parts that will no longer be correct, I have been a bit conservative and assumed that full adoption of version 3 will take some time. I have based the book primarily on 2.5 and noted things that will change throughout the text. In addition, I've included Appendix D, which gives you an overview of the main changes. I think this will work out for most readers.

In writing this second edition, I have had a lot of help from several people. Just as with the previous two versions (the first edition, and, before it, *Practical Python*), Jason Gilmore got me started and played an important role in getting the project on the road. As it has moved along, Richard Dal Porto, Frank Pohlmann, and Dominic Shakeshaft have been instrumental in keeping it going. Richard Taylor has certainly played a crucial role in ensuring that the code is correct (and if it still isn't, I'm the one to blame), and Marilyn

Smith has done a great job tuning my writing. My thanks also go out to other Apress staff, including Liz Berry, Beth Christmas, Steve Anglin, and Tina Nielsen, as well as various readers who have provided errata and helpful suggestions, including Bob Helmbold and Waclaw Kusnierczyk. I am also, of course, still thankful to all those who helped in getting the first two incarnations of this book on the shelves.

Preface to the First Edition

A few years ago, Jason Gilmore approached me about writing a book for Apress. He had read my online Python tutorials and wanted me to write a book in a similar style. I was flattered, excited, and just a little nervous. The one thing that worried me the most was how much time it would take, and how much it would interfere with my studies (I was a Ph.D student at the time). It turned out to be quite an undertaking, and it took me a lot longer to finish than I had expected.

Luckily, it didn't interfere too much with my school work, and I managed to get my degree without any delays.

Last year, Jason contacted me again. Apress wanted an expanded and revised version of my book. Was I interested? At the time, I was busy settling into a new position as associate processor, while spending all my spare time portraying Peer Gynt, so again time became the major issue. Eventually (after things had settled down a bit, and I had a bit more time to spare), I agreed to do the book, and this (as I'm sure you've gathered) is the result. Most of the material is taken from the first version of the book, *Practical Python* (Apress, 2002). The existing material has been completely revised, based on recent changes in the Python language, and several new chapters have been added. Some of the old material has also been redistributed to accommodate the new structure. I've received a lot of positive feedback from readers about the first version. I hope I've been able to keep what people liked and to add more of the same.

Without the persistent help and encouragement from several people, this book would never have been written. My heartfelt

thanks go out to all of them. In particular, I would like to thank the team that has worked directly with me in the process of writing the book: Jason Gilmore, for getting the project off the ground and steering it in the right direction; Beckie Stones, for keeping everything together; Jeremy Jones and Matt Moodie for their technical comments and insights; and Linda Marousek for being so patient with me. I'm also grateful to the rest of the team for making the process as smooth as it has been. But this book wouldn't be what it is without several people who worked with me on the previous version: I'd like to thank Jason Gilmore and Alex Martelli for their excellent technical editing (Jason on the entire book, and Alex on the first half) and for going above and beyond the call of duty in dispensing advice and suggestions; Erin Mulligan and Tory McLearn for holding my hand through the process and for nudging me along when that was needed; Nancy Rapoport for her help polishing my prose; and Grace Wong for providing answers when no one else could. Pete Shinners gave me several helpful suggestions on the game in Project 10, for which I am very grateful. My morale has also been heavily boosted by several encouraging emails from satisfied readers—thanks! Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, and my girlfriend, Ranveig, for putting up with me while I was writing this book.

Introduction

A C program is like a fast dance on a newly waxed dance floor by people carrying razors.
—Waldi Ravens
C++: Hard to learn and built to stay that way.
—Anonymous
Java is, in many ways, C++ −−.
—Michael Feldman
And now for something completely different . . .
—Monty Python's Flying Circus

I've started this introduction with a few quotes to set the tone for the book, which is rather informal. In the hope of making it an easy read, I've tried to approach the topic of Python programming with a healthy dose of humor, and true to the traditions of the Python community, much of this humor is related to Monty Python sketches. As a consequence, some of my examples may seem a bit silly; I hope you will bear with me. (And, yes, the name Python is derived from Monty Python, not from snakes belonging to the family Pythonidae.) In this introduction, I give you a quick look at what Python is, why you should use it, who uses it, who this book's intended audience is, and how the book is organized.

So, what is Python, and why should you use it? To quote an old official blurb, it is "an interpreted, object-oriented, high-level programming language with dynamic semantics." Many of these terms will become clear as you read this book, but the gist is that Python is a programming language that knows how to stay out of your way when you write your programs. It enables you to implement the functionality you want without any hassle and lets you write programs that are clear and readable (much more so than programs in most other currently popular programming languages).

Even though Python might not be as fast as compiled languages such as C or C++, what you save in programming time will probably

be worth using it, and in most programs, the speed difference won't be noticeable anyway. If you are a C programmer, you can easily implement the critical parts of your program in C at a later date and have them interoperate with the Python parts. If you haven't done any programming before (and perhaps are a bit confused by my references to C and C++), Python's combination of simplicity and power makes it an ideal choice as a place to start.

So, who uses Python? Since Guido van Rossum created the language in the early 1990s, its following has grown steadily, and interest has increased markedly in the past few years. Python is used extensively for system administration tasks (it is, for example, a vital component of several Linux distributions), but it is also used to teach programming to complete beginners. The US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) uses Python both for development and as a scripting language in several of its systems. Industrial Light & Magic uses Python in its production of special effects for large-budget feature films. Yahoo! uses it (among other things) to manage its discussion groups. Google has used it to implement many components of its web crawler and search engine. Python is being used in such diverse areas as computer games and bioinformatics. Soon one might as well ask, "Who isn't using Python?"

This book is for those of you who want to learn how to program in Python. It is intended to suit a wide audience, from neophyte programmer to advanced computer wiz. If you have never programmed before, you should start by reading Chapter 1 and continue until you find that things get too advanced for you (if, indeed, they do). Then you should start practicing and write some programs of your own. When the time is right, you can return to the book and proceed with the more intricate stuff.

If you already know how to program, some of the introductory material might not be new to you (although there will probably be some surprising details here and there). You could skim through the early chapters to get an idea of how Python works, or perhaps read through Appendix A, which is based on my online Python tutorial "Instant Python." It will get you up to speed on the most important

Python concepts. After getting the big picture, you could jump straight to Chapter 10 (which describes the Python standard libraries).

The last ten chapters present ten programming projects, which show off various capabilities of the Python language. These projects should be of interest to beginners and experts alike. Although some of the material in the later projects may be a bit difficult for an inexperienced programmer, following the projects in order (after reading the material in the first part of the book) should be possible.

The projects touch upon a wide range of topics, most of which will be very useful to you when writing programs of your own. You will learn how to do things that may seem completely out of reach to you at this point, such as creating a chat server, a peer-to-peer file-sharing system, or a full-fledged graphical computer game. Although much of the material may seem hard at first glance, I think you will be surprised by how easy most of it really is. If you would like to download the source code, it's available from the Source Code/Download section of the Apress web site (`http://www.apress.com`).

Well, that's it. I always find long introductions a bit boring myself, so I'll let you continue with your Pythoneering, either in Chapter 1 or in Appendix A. Good luck, and happy hacking.

Contents

Other documents randomly have different content

and its Minister," and complained "in the language of a friend afflicted but not irritated." Genêt's recall "was received with universal joy" in America, "as a confirmation that his ... conduct was attributable only to himself"; and "not even the publication of his private instructions could persuade the American Government to ascribe any part of it to this [French] republic."[683]

Marshall further points out "the exertions of the United States to pay up the arrearages" of their debt to France; America's "disinterested and liberal advances to the sufferers of St. Domingo ... whose recommendation was that they were Frenchmen and unfortunate"; and other acts of good-will of the American Government toward the French Republic.

He then makes a characteristically clear and convincing argument upon the points at issue between France and America. France complained that one article of the Jay Treaty provided that in case of war the property of an enemy might be taken by either out of the ships of the other; whereas, by the Treaty of 1778 between France and America, neither party should take out of the vessels of the other the goods of its enemy. France contended that this was a discrimination against her in favor of Great Britain. Marshall shows that this provision in the Jay Treaty was merely the statement of the existing law of nations, and that therefore the Jay Treaty gave no new rights to Great Britain.

Marshall reminds Talleyrand that any two nations by treaty have the power to alter, as to their mutual intercourse, the usages prescribed by international law; that, accordingly, France and America had so changed, as between themselves, the law of nations respecting enemy's goods in neutral bottoms. He cites the ordinance of France herself in 1744 and her long continued practice under it; and he answers so overwhelmingly the suggestion that the law of nations had not been changed by the rules laid down by the "Armed Neutrality" of the Northern Powers of Europe in the war existing at the time of that confederation, that the resourceful Talleyrand made no pretense of answering it.

The stipulation in the Franco-American Treaty of "protecting the goods of the enemy of either party in the vessels of the other, and in turn surrendering its own goods found in the vessels of the enemy," extended, Marshall insists, to no other nation except to France and America; and contends that this could be changed only by further specific agreements between those two nations.

Marshall wishes "that the principle that neutral bottoms shall make neutral goods" were universally established, and declares that that principle "is perhaps felt by no nation on earth more strongly than by the United States." On this point he is emphatic, and reiterates that "no nation is more deeply interested in its establishment" than America. "It is an object they [the United States] have kept in view, and which, if not forced by violence to abandon it, they will pursue in such manner as their own judgment may dictate as being best calculated to attain it."

"But," he says, "the wish to establish a principle is essentially different from a determination that it is already established.... However solicitous America might be to pursue all proper means, tending to obtain for this principle the assent of any or all of the maritime Powers of Europe, she never conceived the idea of attaining that consent by force."[684] "The United States will only arm to defend their own rights," declares Marshall; "neither their policy nor their interests permit them to arm, in order to compel a surrender of the rights of others."

He then gives the history of the Jay Treaty, and points out that Jay's particular instructions not to preserve peace with Great Britain, "nor to receive compensations for injuries sustained, nor security against their future commission, at the expense of the smallest of its [America's] engagements to France,"[685] were incorporated in the treaty itself, in the clause providing that

"nothing in this treaty shall, however, be construed or operate contrary to former and existing public treaties with other sovereignties or states."[686] So careful, in fact, was America to meet the views of France that "previous to its ratification" the treaty was submitted to the French Minister to the United States, who did not even comment on the article relating to enemy's goods in neutral bottoms, but objected only to that enlarging the list of contraband;[687] and the American Government went to extreme lengths to meet the views of the French Minister, who finally appeared to be satisfied.

The articles of contraband enumerated in the Jay Treaty, to which the French Government objected, says Marshall, were contraband by the laws of nations and so admitted by France herself in her treaties with other countries.[688]

Answering the charge that in the treaty the United States had agreed that more articles should be contraband than she had in compacts with other Powers, Marshall explains that "the United States, desirous of liberating commerce, have invariably seized every opportunity which presented itself to diminish or remove the shackles imposed on that of neutrals. In pursuance of this policy, they have on no occasion hesitated to reduce the list of contraband, as between themselves and any nation consenting to such reduction. Their preëxisting treaties have been with nations as willing as themselves to change this old rule." But these treaties leave other governments, who do not accept the American policy, "to the law which would have governed had such particular stipulation never been made"—that is, to the law of nations.

Great Britain declined to accept this American view of the freedom of the seas; and, therefore, America was forced to leave that nation where it had found her on the subject of contraband and freedom of ocean-going commerce. Thus, contends Marshall, the Jay Treaty "has not added to the catalog of contraband a single article ... ceded no privilege ... granted no right," nor changed, in the most minute circumstance, the preëxisting situation of the United States in relation either to France or to Great Britain. Notwithstanding these truths, "the Government of the United States has hastened to assure its former friend [France], that, if the stipulations between them are found oppressive in practice, it is ready to offer up those stipulations a willing sacrifice at the shrine of friendship."[689]

Stating the general purposes of the United States, Marshall strikes at the efforts of France to compel America to do what France wishes and in the manner that France wishes, instead of doing what American interests require and in the manner America thinks wisest.

The American people, he asserts, "must judge exclusively for themselves how far they will or ought to go in their efforts to acquire new rights or establish new principles. When they surrender this privilege, they cease to be independent, and they will no longer deserve to be free. They will have surrendered into other hands the most sacred of deposits—the right of self-government; and instead of approbation, they will merit the contempt of the world."[690]

Marshall states the economic and business reasons why the United States, of all countries, must depend upon commerce and the consequent necessity for the Jay Treaty. He tartly informs Talleyrand that in doing so the American Government was "transacting a business exclusively its own." Marshall denies the insinuation that the negotiations of the Jay Treaty had been unusually secret, but sarcastically observes that "it is not usual for nations about to enter into negotiations to proclaim to others the various objects to which those negotiations may possibly be directed. Such is not, nor has it ever been, the principle of France." To suppose that America owed such a duty to France, "is to imply a dependence to which no Government ought willingly to submit." [691]

Marshall then sets forth specifically the American complaints against the French Government, [692] and puts in parallel columns the words of the Jay Treaty to which the French objected, and the rules which the French Directory pretended were justified by that treaty. So strong is Marshall's summing up of the case in these portions of the American memorial that it is hard for the present-day reader to see how even the French Directory of that lawless time could have dared to attempt to withstand it, much less to refuse further negotiations.

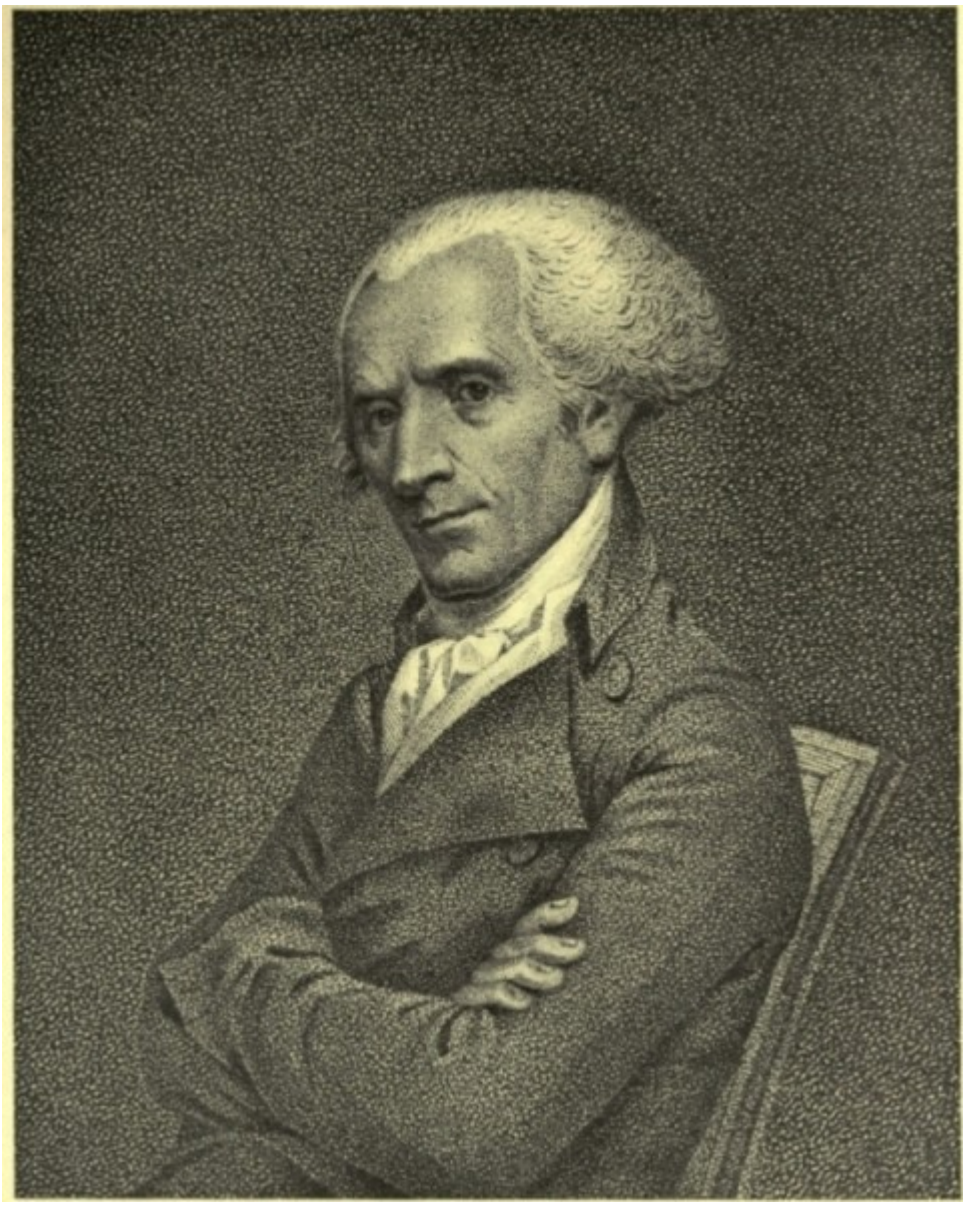
Drawing to a conclusion, Marshall permits a lofty sarcasm to lighten his weighty argument. "America has accustomed herself," he observes, "to perceive in France only the ally and the friend. Consulting the feelings of her own bosom, she [America] has believed that between republics an elevated and refined friendship could exist, and that free nations were capable of maintaining for each other a real and permanent affection. If this pleasing theory, erected with so much care, and viewed with so much delight, has been impaired by experience, yet the hope continues to be cherished that this circumstance does not necessarily involve the opposite extreme."[693]

Then, for a moment, Marshall indulges his eloquence: "So intertwined with every ligament of her heart have been the cords of affection which bound her to France, that only repeated and continued acts of hostility can tear them asunder."[694]

Finally he tells Talleyrand that the American envoys, "searching only for the means of effecting the objects of their mission, have permitted no personal considerations to influence their conduct, but have waited, under circumstances beyond measure embarrassing and unpleasant, with that respect which the American Government has so uniformly paid to that of France, for permission to lay before you, citizen Minister, these important communications with which they have been charged." But, "if no such hope" remains, "they [the envoys] have only to pray that their return to their own country may be facilitated."[695]

But Marshall's extraordinary power of statement and logic availed nothing with Talleyrand and the Directory. "I consider Marshall, whom I have heard speak on a great subject,[696] as one of the most powerful reasoners I ever met with either in public or in print," writes William Vans Murray from The Hague, commenting on the task of the envoys. "Reasoning in such cases will have a fine effect in America, but to depend upon it in Europe is really to place Quixote with Ginés de Passamonte and among the men of the world whom he reasoned with, and so sublimely, on their way to the galleys. They answer him, with you know stones and blows, though the Knight is an *armed* as well as an eloquent Knight."[697]

The events which had made Marshall and Pinckney more resolute in demanding respectful treatment had made Gerry more pliant to French influence. "Mr. Gerry is to see Mr. Talleyrand the day after to-morrow. Three appointments have been made by that gentleman," Marshall notes in his Journal, "each of which Mr. Gerry has attended and each of which Mr. Talleyrand has failed to attend; nor has any apology for these disappointments been thought necessary."[698] Once more Gerry waits on Talleyrand, who remains invisible.[699] And now again Beaumarchais appears. The Directory issues more and harsher decrees against American commerce. Marshall's patience becomes finite. "I prepared to-day a letter to the Minister remonstrating against the decree, ... subjecting to confiscation all neutral vessels having on board any article coming out of England or its possessions." The letter closes by "requesting our passports."[700]



ELBRIDGE GERRY

Marshall's memorial of the American case remained unread. One of Talleyrand's many secretaries asked Gerry "what it contained? (for they could not take the trouble to read it) and he added that such long letters were not to the taste of the French Government who liked a short address coming straight to the point."[701] Gerry, who at last saw Talleyrand, "informed me [Marshall] that communications & propositions had been made to him by that Gentleman, which he [Gerry] was not at liberty to impart to Genl Pinckney or myself."

Upon the outcome of his secret conferences with Talleyrand, said Gerry, "probably depended peace or war."[702]

Gerry's "communication necessarily gives birth to some very serious reflections," Marshall confides to his Journal. He recalls the attempts to frighten the envoys "from our first arrival"—the threats of "a variety of ills ... among others with being ordered immediately to quit France," none of them carried out; "the most haughty & hostile conduct ... towards us & our country and yet ... an unwillingness ... to profess the war which is in fact made upon us." [703]

A French agent, sent by the French Consul-General in America, just arrived in Paris, "has probably brought with him," Marshall concludes, "accurate details of the state of parties in America.... I should think that if the French Government continues its hostility and does not relax some little in its hauteur its party in the United States will no longer support it. I suspect that some intelligence of this complexion has been received ... whether she [France] will be content to leave us our Independence if she can neither cajole or frighten us out of it or will even endeavor to tear it from us by open war there can be no doubt of her policy in one respect—she will still keep up and cherish, if it be possible, ... her party in the United States." Whatever course France takes, Marshall thinks will be "with a view to this her primary object."

Therefore, reasons Marshall, Talleyrand will maneuver to throw the blame on Pinckney and himself if the mission fails, and to give Gerry the credit if it succeeds. "I am led irresistibly by this train of thought to the opinion that the communication made to Mr. Gerry in secret is a proposition to furnish passports to General Pinckney and myself and to retain him for the purpose of negotiating the differences between the two Republics." This would give the advantage to the French party in any event.

"I am firmly persuaded of his [Talleyrand's] unwillingness to dismiss us while the war with England continues in its present

uncertain state. He believed that Genl Pinckney and myself are both determined to remain no longer unless we can be accredited." Gerry had told Marshall that he felt the same way; "but," says Marshall, "I am persuaded the Minister [Talleyrand] does not think so. He would on this account as well as on another which has been the base of all propositions for an accommodation [the loan and the bribe] be well pleased to retain only one minister and to chuse that one [Gerry]." [704]

Marshall and Pinckney decided to let Gerry go his own gait. "We shall both be happy if, by remaining without us, Mr. Gerry can negotiate a treaty which shall preserve the peace without sacrificing the independence of our country. We will most readily offer up all personal considerations as a sacrifice to appease the haughtiness of this Republic."[705]

Marshall gave Gerry the letter on the decree and passport question "and pressed his immediate attention to it." But Gerry was too excited by his secret conferences with Talleyrand to heed it. Time and again Gerry, bursting with importance, was closeted with the Foreign Minister, hinting to his colleagues that he held peace or war in his hand. Marshall bluntly told him that Talleyrand's plan now was "only to prevent our taking decisive measures until the affairs of Europe shall enable France to take them. I have pressed him [Gerry] on the subject of the letter concerning the Decree but he has not yet read it."[706]

Talleyrand and Gerry's "private intercourse still continues," writes Marshall on February 10. "Last night after our return from the Theatre Mr. Gerry told me, just as we were separating to retire each to his own apartment, that he had had in the course of the day a very extraordinary conversation with" a clerk of Talleyrand. It was, of course, secret. Marshall did not want to hear it. Gerry said he could tell his colleagues that it was on the subject of money. Then, at last, Marshall's restraint gave way momentarily and his anger, for an instant, blazed. Money proposals were useless; Talleyrand was

playing with the Americans, he declared. "Mr. Gerry was a little warm and the conversation was rather unpleasant. A solicitude to preserve harmony restrained me from saying all I thought."[707]

Money, money, money! Nothing else would do! Gerry, by now, was for paying it. No answer yet comes to the American memorial delivered to Talleyrand nearly three weeks before. Marshall packs his belongings, in readiness to depart. An unnamed person[708] calls on him and again presses for money; France is prevailing everywhere; the envoys had better yield; why resist the inevitable, with a thousand leagues of ocean between them and home? Marshall answers blandly but crushingly.

Again Talleyrand's clerk sees Gerry. The three Americans that night talk long and heatedly. Marshall opposes any money arrangement; Gerry urges it "very decidedly"; while Pinckney agrees with Marshall. Gerry argues long about the horrors of war, the expense, the risk. Marshall presents the justice of the American cause. Gerry reproaches Marshall with being too suspicious. Marshall patiently explains, as to a child, the real situation. Gerry again charges Marshall and Pinckney with undue suspicion. Marshall retorts that Gerry "could not answer the argument but by misstating it." The evening closes, sour and chill.[709]

The next night the envoys once more endlessly debate their course. Marshall finally proposes that they shall demand a personal meeting with Talleyrand on the real object of the mission. Gerry stubbornly dissents and finally yields, but indulges in long and childish discussion as to what should be said to Talleyrand, confusing the situation with every word.[710] Talleyrand fixes March 2 for the interview.

The following day Marshall accidentally discovers Gerry closeted with Talleyrand's clerk, who came to ask the New Englander to attend Talleyrand "in a particular conversation." Gerry goes, but reports that nothing important occurred. Then it comes out that

Talleyrand had proposed to get rid of Marshall and Pinckney and keep Gerry. Gerry admits it. Thus Marshall's forecast made three weeks earlier[711] is proved to have been correct.

At last, for the first time in five months, the three envoys meet Talleyrand face to face. Pinckney opens and Talleyrand answers. Gerry suggests a method of making the loan, to which Talleyrand gives qualified assent. The interview seems at an end. Then Marshall comes forward and states the American case. There is much parrying for an hour.[712]

The envoys again confer. Gerry urges that their instructions permit them to meet Talleyrand's demands. He goes to Marshall's room to convince the granite-like Virginian, who would not yield. "I told him," writes Marshall, "that my judgment was not more perfectly convinced that the floor was wood or that I stood on my feet and not on my head than that our instructions would not permit us to make the loan required."[713] Let Gerry or Marshall or both together return to America and get new instructions if a loan must be made.

Two days later, another long and absurd discussion with Gerry occurs. Before the envoys go to see Talleyrand the next day, Gerry proposes to Marshall that, with reference to President Adams's speech, the envoys should declare, in any treaty made, "that the complaints of the two governments had been founded in mistake." Marshall hotly retorts: "With my view of things, I should tell an absolute lye if I should say that our complaints were founded in mistake. He [Gerry] replied hastily and with warmth that he wished to God, I would propose something which was accommodating: that I would propose nothing myself and objected to every thing which he proposed. I observed that it was not worth while to talk in that manner: that it was calculated to wound but not to do good: that I had proposed every thing which in my opinion was calculated to accommodate differences on just and reasonable grounds. He said that ... to talk about justice was saying nothing: that I should involve our country in a war and should bring it about in such a manner, as

to divide the people among themselves. I felt a momentary irritation, which I afterwards regretted, and told Mr. Gerry that I was not accustomed to such language and did not permit myself to use it with respect to him or his opinions."

Nevertheless, Marshall, with characteristic patience, once more begins to detail his reasons. Gerry interrupts—Marshall "might think of him [Gerry] as I [he] pleased." Marshall answers moderately. Gerry softens and "the conversation thus ended."[714]

Immediately after the bout between Marshall and Gerry the envoys saw Talleyrand for a third time. Marshall was dominant at this interview, his personality being, apparently, stronger even than his words. These were strong enough—they were, bluntly, that the envoys could not and would not accept Talleyrand's proposals.

A week later Marshall's client, Beaumarchais, called on his American attorney with the alarming news that "the effects of all Americans in France were to be Sequestered." Pay the Government money and avoid this fell event, was Beaumarchais's advice; he would see Talleyrand and call again. "Mr. Beaumarchais called on me late last evening," chronicles Marshall. "He had just parted from the Minister. He informed me that he had been told confidentially ... that the Directory were determined to give passports to General Pinckney and myself but to retain Mr. Gerry." But Talleyrand would hold the order back for "a few days to give us time to make propositions conforming to the views of the Government," which "if not made Mr. Talleyrand would be compelled to execute the order."

"I told him," writes Marshall, "that if the proposition ... was a loan it was perfectly unnecessary to keep it [the order] up [back] a single day: that the subject had been considered for five months" and that the envoys would not change; "that for myself, if it were impossible to effect the objects of our mission, I did not wish to stay another day in France and would as cheerfully depart the next day as at any other time."[715]

Beaumarchais argued and appealed. Of course, France's demand was not just—Talleyrand did not say it was; but "a compliance would be useful to our country [America]." "France," said Beaumarchais, "thought herself sufficiently powerful to give the law to the world and exacted from all around her money to enable her to finish successfully her war against England."

Finally, Beaumarchais, finding Marshall flint, "hinted" that the envoys themselves should propose which one of them should remain in France, Gerry being the choice of Talleyrand. Marshall countered. If two were to return for instructions, the envoys would decide that for themselves. If France was to choose, Marshall would have nothing to do with it.

"General Pinckney and myself and especially me," said Marshall, "were considered as being sold to the English." Beaumarchais admitted "that our positive refusal to comply with the demands of France was attributed principally to me who was considered as entirely English.... I felt some little resentment and answered that the French Government thought no such thing; that neither the government nor any man in France thought me English: but they knew I was not French: they knew I would not sacrifice my duty and the interest of my country to any nation on earth, and therefore I was not a proper man to stay, and was branded with the epithet of being English: that the government knew very well I loved my own country exclusively, and it was impossible to suppose any man who loved America, fool enough to wish to engage her in a war with France if that war was avoidable."

Thus Marshall asserted his purely American attitude. It was a daring thing to do, considering the temper of the times and the place where he then was. Even in America, at that period, any one who was exclusively American and, therefore, neutral, as between the European belligerents, was denounced as being British at heart. Only by favoring France could abuse be avoided. And to assert Neutrality in the French Capital was, of course, even more dangerous than to take this American stand in the United States.

But Beaumarchais persisted and proposed to take passage with his attorney to America; not on a public mission, of course (though he had hinted at wishing to "reconcile" the two governments), but merely "to testify," writes Marshall, "to the moderation of my conduct and to the solicitude I had uniformly expressed to prevent a rupture with France."

Beaumarchais "hinted very plainly," continues Marshall, "at what he had before observed that means would be employed to irritate the people of the United States against me and that those means would be successful. I told him that I was much obliged to him but that I relied entirely on my conduct itself for its justification and that I felt no sort of apprehension for consequences, as they regarded me personally; that in public life considerations of that sort never had and never would in any degree influence me. We parted with a request, on his part, that, whatever might arise, we would preserve the most perfect temper, and with my assuring him of my persuasion that our conduct would always manifest the firmness of men who were determined, and never the violence of passionate men."

"I have been particular," concludes Marshall, "in stating this conversation, because I have no doubt of its having been held at the instance of the Minister [Talleyrand] and that it will be faithfully reported to him. I mentioned to-day to Mr. Gerry that the Government wished to detain him and send away General Pinckney and myself. He said he would not stay; but I find I shall not succeed in my efforts to procure a Serious demand of passports for Mr. Gerry and myself."[716]

During his efforts to keep Gerry from dangerously compromising the American case, and while waiting for Talleyrand to reply to his memorial, Marshall again writes to Washington a letter giving a survey of the war-riven and intricate European situation. He tells Washington that, "before this reaches you it will be known universally in America[717] that scarcely a hope remains of" honorable adjustment of differences between France and America;

that the envoys have not been and will not be "recognized" without "acceding to the demands of France ... for money—to be used in the prosecution of the present war"; that according to "reports," when the Directory makes certain that the envoys "will not add a loan to the mass of American property already in the hands of this [French] government, they will be ordered out of France and a nominal [formally declared] as well as actual war will be commenc'd against the United States."[718]

Marshall goes on to say that his "own opinion has always been that this depends on the state of war with England"; the French are absorbed in their expected attack on Great Britain; "and it is perhaps justly believed that on this issue is stak'd the independence of Europe and America." He informs Washington of "the immense preparations for an invasion" of England; the "numerous and veteran army lining the coast"; the current statement that if "50,000 men can be" landed "no force in England will be able to resist them"; the belief that "a formidable and organized party exists in Britain, ready, so soon as a landing shall be effected, to rise and demand a reform"; the supposition that England then "will be in ... the situation of the batavian and cisalpine republics and that its wealth, its commerce, and its fleets will be at the disposition of this [French] government."

But, he continues, "this expedition is not without its hazards. An army which, arriving safe, would sink England, may itself be ... sunk in the channel.... The effect of such a disaster on a nation already tir'd of the war and groaning under ... enormous taxation" and, intimates Marshall, none too warm toward the "existing arrangements ... might be extremely serious to those who hold the reins of government" in France. Many intelligent people therefore think, he says, that the "formidable military preparations" for the invasion of England "cover and favor secret negotiations for peace." This view Marshall himself entertains.

He then briefly informs Washington of Bonaparte's arrangement with Austria and Prussia which will "take from England, the hope of once more arming" those countries "in her favor," "influence the secret [French] negotiations with England," and greatly affect "Swisserland." Marshall then gives an extended account of the doings and purposes of the French in Switzerland, and refers to revolutionary activities in Sardinia, Naples, and Spain.

But notwithstanding the obstacles in its way, he concludes that "the existing [French] government ... needs only money to enable it to effect all its objects. A numerous brave and well disciplined army seems to be devoted to it. The most military and the most powerful nation on earth [the French] is entirely at its disposal.[719] Spain, Italy, and Holland, with the Hanseatic towns, obey its mandates."

But, says he, it is hard to "procure funds to work this vast machine. Credit being annihilated ... the enormous contributions made by foreign nations," together with the revenue from imposts, are not enough to meet the expenses; and, therefore, "France is overwhelmed with taxes. The proprietor complains that his estate yields him nothing. Real property pays in taxes nearly a third of its produce and is greatly reduc'd in its price."[720]

While Marshall was thus engaged in studying French conditions and writing his long and careful report to Washington, Talleyrand was in no hurry to reply to the American memorial. Indeed, he did not answer until March 18, 1798, more than six weeks after receiving it. The French statement reached Marshall and Pinckney by Gerry's hands, two days after its date. "Mr. Gerry brought in, just before dinner, a letter from the Minister of exterior relations," writes Marshall, "purporting to be an answer to our long memorial criminating in strong terms our government and ourselves, and proposing that two of us should go home leaving for the negotiation the person most acceptable to France. The person is not named but no question is entertained that Mr. Gerry is alluded to. I read the letter and gave it again to Mr. Gerry."[721]

The next day the three envoys together read Talleyrand's letter. Gerry protests that he had told the French Foreign Minister that he would not accept Talleyrand's proposal to stay, "That," sarcastically writes Marshall, "is probably the very reason why it was made." Talleyrand's clerk calls on Gerry the next morning, suggesting light and innocent duties if he would remain. No, theatrically exclaims Gerry, I "would sooner be thrown into the Seine."[722] But Gerry remained.

It is impossible, without reading Talleyrand's answer in full, to get an idea of the weak shiftiness to which that remarkable man was driven in his reply to Marshall. It was, as Pinckney said, "weak in argument, but irritating and insulting in style."[723] The great diplomat complains that the Americans have "claimed the right to take cognizance of the validity of prizes carried into the ports of the United States by French cruisers"; that the American Government permitted "any vessels to put into the ports of the United States after having captured the property of ships belonging to French citizens"; that "a French corvette had anchored at Philadelphia and was seized by the Americans"; and that the Jay Treaty was hostile to France.

But his chief complaint was with regard to the American newspapers which, said Talleyrand, "have since the treaty redoubled the invectives and calumnies against the [French] republic, and against her principles, her magistrates, and her envoys";[724] and of the fact that the American Government might have, but did not, repress "pamphlets openly paid for by the Minister of Great Britain" which contained "insults and calumnies." So far from the American Government stopping all this, snarls Talleyrand, it encouraged "this scandal in its public acts" and, through its President, had denounced the French Directory as endeavoring to propagate anarchy and division within the United States.

Talleyrand then openly insults Marshall and Pinckney by stating that it was to prevent the restoration of friendship that the American

Government had sent "to the French republic persons whose opinions and connections are too well known to hope from them dispositions sincerely conciliatory." Appealing directly to the French party in the United States, he declares that he "does not hesitate to believe that the American nation, like the French nation, sees this state of affairs with regret, and does not consider its consequences without sorrow. He apprehends that the American people will not commit a mistake concerning the prejudices with which it has been desired to inspire them against an allied people, nor concerning the engagements which it seems to be wished to make them contract to the detriment of an alliance, which so powerfully contributed to place them in the rank of nations, and to support them in it; and that they will see in these new combinations the only dangers their prosperity and importance can incur."[725]

Finally, with cynical effrontery, Talleyrand actually proposes that Gerry alone shall conduct the negotiations. "Notwithstanding the kind of prejudice which has been entertained with respect to them [the envoys], the Executive Directory is disposed to treat with that one of the three, whose opinions, presumed to be more impartial, promise, in the course of explanations, more of that reciprocal confidence which is indispensable."[726]

Who should answer Talleyrand? Marshall, of course. "It was agreed ... that I should ... prepare an answer ... in which I should state that no one of the ministers could consent to remain on a business committed to all three."[727] In the discussion leading to this decision, "I," writes Marshall, "was perfectly silent." Again Dutrimond, a clerk of Talleyrand's, calls on Gerry, but sees Marshall instead, Gerry being absent.

Dutrimond's advice to Marshall is to leave France. The truth is, he declares, that his chief must order the envoys out of France "in three days at farthest." But spare them Gerry; let him remain—all this in polite terms and with plausible argument. "I told him," relates

Marshall, "that personally nothing could be more desirable to me than to return immediately to the United States."

Then go on your own initiative, urges Talleyrand's clerk. Marshall grows evasive; for he wishes the Directory to order his departure. A long talk ensues. Dutrimond leaves and Gerry returns. Marshall relates what had passed. "To prevent war I will stay," exclaims Gerry. "I made no observation on this," dryly observes Marshall in his Journal.[728]

Beaumarchais again tries his luck with Marshall, who replies that he will go home by "the direct passage to America" if he can get safe-conduct, "tho' I had private business of very considerable consequence in England."[729] Otherwise, declares Marshall, "I should embark immediately for England." That would never do, exclaims Beaumarchais; it would enrage the Directory and subject Marshall to attacks at home. Marshall remarks that he prefers to sail direct, although he knows "that the captains of privateers had received orders to cruise for us ... and take us to the West Indies." [730]

Beaumarchais sees Talleyrand and reports that the Foreign Minister is horrified at the thought of Marshall's returning by way of England; it would "irritate this government" and delay "an accommodation"; it would blast Marshall's reputation; the Directory "would immediately publish ... that I was gone to England to receive the wages I had earned by breaking off the treaty with France," Marshall records of the representations made to him.

"I am entitled to safe conduct," cries Marshall; and "the calumny threatened against myself is too contemptible to be credited for a moment by those who would utter it." I "despise" it, exclaims the insulted Virginian.[731] Thus back and forth went this fantastic dance of corrupt diplomacy and cautious but defiant honesty.

At the long last, the interminable Gerry finished his review of Marshall's reply to Talleyrand and made a lengthy and unctuous

speech to his colleagues on the righteousness of his own motives. Pinckney, intolerably bored and disgusted, told Gerry what he thought of him. The New Englander peevishly charged Marshall and Pinckney with concealing their motives.

"It is false, sir," shouted Pinckney. Gerry, he said, was the one who had concealed from his colleagues, not only his purposes, but his clandestine appointments with Talleyrand. Pinckney rode Gerry hard, "and insisted in plain terms on the duplicity which had been practiced [by Gerry] upon us both." The latter ridiculously explained, evaded, and, in general, acted according to the expectation of those who warned Adams against his appointment. Finally, however, Marshall's reply was signed by all three and sent to Talleyrand.[732]

The calmness, dignity, and conclusiveness of Marshall's rejoinder can be appreciated only by reading the entire document. Marshall begins his final statement of the American case and refutation of the French claims by declaring what he had stated before, that the American envoys "are ready to consider and to compensate the injury, if the American Government has given just cause of complaint to that of France"; and points out that the negotiations which the American envoys had sought fruitlessly for six months, if taken up even now, would "demonstrate the sincerity of this declaration."[733] This offer Marshall repeats again and again.

Before taking up Talleyrand's complaints in detail, he states that if the envoys cannot convince Talleyrand that the American Government is not in the wrong on a single point Talleyrand mentions, the envoys will prove their good faith; and thus, with an offer to compensate France for any wrong, "a base for an accommodation" is established. Every grievance Talleyrand had made is then answered minutely and at great length. History, reason, evidence, march through these pages like infantry, cavalry, and artillery going to battle. Marshall's paper was irresistible. Talleyrand never escaped from it.

In the course of it there is a passage peculiarly applicable to the present day. Answering Talleyrand's complaints about newspapers, Marshall says:—

"The genius of the Constitution, and the opinions of the people of the United States, cannot be overruled by those who administer the Government. Among those principles deemed sacred in America, ... there is no one ... more deeply impressed on the public mind, than the liberty of the press. That this liberty is often carried to excess, that it has sometimes degenerated into licentiousness, is seen and lamented; but the remedy has not been discovered. Perhaps it is an evil inseparable from the good with which it is allied; perhaps it is a shoot which cannot be stripped from the stalk, without wounding vitally the plant from which it is torn."

At any rate, declares Marshall, there is, in America, no redress for "the calumnies and invectives" of the press except "legal prosecution in courts which are alike open to all who consider themselves as injured. Without doubt this abuse of a valuable privilege is [a] matter of peculiar regret when it is extended to the Government of a foreign nation." It never is so extended "with the approbation of the Government of the United States." But, he goes on to say, this is unavoidable "especially on points respecting the rights and interests of America, ... in a nation where public measures are the results of public opinion."

This practice of unrestricted criticism was not directed toward France alone, Marshall assures Talleyrand; "it has been lavished still more profusely on its [France's] enemies and has even been bestowed, with an unsparing hand, on the Federal [American] Government itself. Nothing can be more notorious than the calumnies and invectives with which the wisest measures and most virtuous characters of the United States have been pursued and traduced [by American newspapers]." It is plain, therefore, that the American Government cannot influence the American press, the excesses of which are, declares Marshall, "a calamity incident to the nature of liberty."

He reminds Talleyrand that "the same complaint might be urged on the part of the United States. You must well know what degrading and unworthy calumnies against their Government, its principles, and its officers, have been published to the world by French journalists and in French pamphlets." Yet America had not complained of "these calumnies, atrocious as they are.... Had not other causes, infinitely more serious and weighty, interrupted the harmony of the two republics, it would still have remained unimpaired and the mission of the undersigned would never have been rendered necessary."[734]

Marshall again briefly sums up in broad outline the injuries which the then French Government had inflicted upon Americans and American property, and finally declares: "It requires no assurance to convince, that every real American must wish sincerely to extricate his country from the ills it suffers, and from the greater ills with which it is threatened; but all who love liberty must admit that it does not exist in a nation which cannot exercise the right of maintaining its neutrality."

Referring to Talleyrand's desire that Gerry remain and conduct the negotiations, Marshall remarks that the request "is not accompanied by any assurances of receding from those demands of money heretofore made the consideration on which alone the cessation of hostility on American commerce could be obtained." No one of the three American envoys had power to act alone, he maintains. In spite of neglect and insult Marshall still hopes that negotiations may begin; but if that is impossible, he asks for passports and safe-conduct.

Marshall made his final preparations for sailing, in order, he says, "that I might be in readiness to depart so soon as the will of the government should be signified to me." He was so hurried, he declares, that "I could not even lay in a moderate stock of wine or send my foul linen to be washed."[735] The now inescapable Beaumarchais saw Marshall again and told him that Talleyrand said

that "I [Marshall] was no foreign minister; that I was to be considered as a private American citizen, to obtain my passport in the manner pursued by all others through the Consul ... I must give my name, stature, age, complexion, &c., to our Consul."

Marshall answered with much heat. Beaumarchais conferred with Talleyrand, taking Marshall's side. Talleyrand was obdurate and said that "he was mistaken in me [Marshall]; that I prevented all negotiation and that so soon as I was gone the negotiation would be carried on; that in America I belonged to the English faction, which universally hated and opposed the French faction; that all I sought for was to produce a rupture in such a manner as to throw the whole blame on France." Marshall replied that Talleyrand "endeavored to make our situation more unpleasant than his orders required, in order to gratify his personal feelings," and he flatly refused to leave until ordered to go.[736]

Finally Marshall and Pinckney received their passports. Pinckney, whose daughter was ill and could leave France at that time only at the risk of her life, had serious difficulty in getting permission to stay in the south of France. On April 24, Marshall sailed for home. It is characteristic of the man that, notwithstanding his humiliating experiences and the failure of the mission, he was neither sour nor depressed. He had made many personal friends in Paris; and on taking ship at Bordeaux he does not forget to send them greetings, singling out Madame de Villette for a gay message of farewell. "Present me to my friends in Paris," he writes the American Consul-General at the French Capital, "& have the goodness to say to Madam Vilette in my name & in the handsomest manner, every thing which respectful friendship can dictate. When you have done that You will have rendered not quite half justice to my sentiments."[737]

Gerry, to whom Pinckney and Marshall did not even bid farewell, [738] remained in Paris, "extremely miserable."[739] Infinitely disgusted, Pinckney writes King that Gerry, "as I suspected, is resolved to remain here," notwithstanding Pinckney's "warm

remonstrances with him on the bad consequences ... of such conduct and on the impropriety of" his secret "correspondence with Talleyrand under injunction not to communicate it to his colleagues." Pinckney says: "I have made great sacrifices of my feelings to preserve union; but in vain. I never met with a man of less candour and so much duplicity as Mr. Gerry. General Marshall is a man of extensive ability, of manly candour, and an honest heart."[740]

FOOTNOTES:

[658] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 167. This lady was "understood to be Madame de Villette, the celebrated Belle and Bonne of Voltaire." (Lyman: *Diplomacy of the United States*, ii, footnote to 336.) Lyman says that "as to the lady an intimation is given that that part of the affair was not much to the credit of the Americans." (And see Austin: *Gerry*, ii, footnote to 202.) Madame de Villette was the widow of a Royalist colonel. Her brother, an officer in the King's service, was killed while defending Marie Antoinette. Robespierre proscribed Madame de Villette and she was one of a group confined in prison awaiting the guillotine, of whom only a few escaped. (*Ib.*)

[659] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 167.

[660] Beaumarchais was one of the most picturesque figures of that theatrical period. He is generally known to-day only as the author of the operas, *The Barber of Seville* and the *Marriage of Figaro*. His suit was to recover a debt for supplies furnished the Americans during the Revolution. Silas Deane, for our Government, made the original contract with Beaumarchais. In addition to the contest before the courts, in which Marshall was Beaumarchais's attorney, the matter was before Congress three times during the claimant's life and, through his heirs, twice after his death. In 1835 the case was settled for 800,000 francs, which was nearly 2,500,000 francs less than Alexander Hamilton, in an investigation, ordered by Congress, found to be due the Frenchman; and 3,500,000 livres less than Silas Deane reported that America owed Beaumarchais.

Arthur Lee, Beaumarchais's enemy, to whom Congress in 1787 left the adjustment, had declared that the Frenchman owed the United States two million francs. This prejudiced report was the cause of almost a half-century of dispute, and of gross injustice. (See Loménie: *Beaumarchais et son temps*; also, Channing, iii, 283, and references in the footnote; and Perkins: *France in the American Revolution*. Also see Henry to Beaumarchais, Jan. 8, 1785; Henry, iii, 264, in which Henry says: "I therefore feel myself gratified in seeing, as I think, ground for hope that yourself, and those worthy and suffering of ours in your nation, who in so friendly a manner advanced their money and goods when we were in want, will be satisfied that nothing has been omitted which lay in our power towards paying them.")

[661] Marshall's Journal, ii, Dec. 17, 36.

[662] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 167; Marshall's Journal, Dec. 17, 36-37.

[663] Marshall's Journal, Dec. 17, 38. The "*Rôle d'équipage*" was a form of ship's papers required by the French Government which it was practically impossible for American masters to furnish; yet, without it, their vessels were liable to capture by French ships under one of the many offensive decrees of the French Government.

[664] Marshall's Journal, Dec. 17, 38.

[665] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 168.

[666] This account in the dispatches is puzzling, for Talleyrand spoke English perfectly.

[667] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 230.

[668] King to Secretary of State (in cipher) London, Dec. 23, 1797; King, ii, 261. King to Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, Dec. 23, 1797; *ib.*, 263.

[669] King to Pinckney (in cipher) London, Dec. 24, 1797; King, ii, 263-64.

[670] Pinckney to King, Dec. 27, 1797; King, ii, 266-67.

[671] Marshall's Journal, Dec. 18, 1797, 38.

[672] *Ib.*, Jan. 2, 1798, 39.

[673] Marshall's Journal, Jan. 2 and 10, 39.

[674] *Ib.*, Jan. 22, 40.

[675] *Ib.*, 40.

[676] *Ib.*, Jan. 31.

[677] The Ellsworth mission. (See *infra*, chap. XII.)

[678] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 169.

[679] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 169-70.

[680] *Ib.*, 170.

[681] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 170.

[682] Marshall's Journal, 39; also see Austin: *Gerry*, ii, chap. VI.

[683] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 170-71.

[684] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 172.

[685] *Ib.*, 173.

[686] *Ib.*

[687] *Ib.*

[688] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 175.

[689] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 175.

[690] *Ib.*, 176.

[691] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 177.

[692] *Ib.*, 178.

[693] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 181.

[694] *Ib.*, 181-82.

[695] *Ib.*, 182.

[696] British Debts cases. (See vol. I, chap. V.)

[697] Murray to J. Q. Adams, Feb. 20, 1798, *Letters*: Ford, 379. Murray thought Marshall's statement of the American case "unanswerable" and "proudly independent." (*Ib.*, 395.) Contrast Murray's opinion of Marshall with his description of Gerry, *supra*, chap. VII, 258, and footnote.

[698] Marshall's Journal, Jan. 31, 1798, 40.

[699] *Ib.*, Feb. 2.

[700] *Ib.*, Feb. 2, 41.

[701] Marshall's Journal, Feb. 3, 42.

[702] *Ib.*, Feb. 4, 42.

[703] *Ib.*, 42-43, 46.

[704] Marshall's Journal, Feb. 4, 42-45.

[705] Marshall's Journal, Feb. 5, 45-46.

[706] *Ib.*, Feb. 6 and 7, 46.

[707] Marshall's Journal, Feb. 10, 47-48.

[708] Undoubtedly Beaumarchais. Marshall left his client's name blank in his Journal, but Pickering, on the authority of Pinckney, in the official copy, inserted Beaumarchais's name in later dates of the Journal.

[709] Marshall's Journal, Feb. 26, 52-60.

[710] Marshall's Journal, Feb. 27, 61-67.

[711] *Ib.*, Feb. 28, 67-68. See *supra*, 312.

[712] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 186-87; Marshall's Journal, March 2, 68-72.

[713] Marshall's Journal, March 3, 74.

[714] Marshall's Journal, March 6, 79-81.

[715] Marshall's Journal, 82-88; *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 187-88.

[716] Marshall's Journal, March 13, 87-93.

[717] This would seem to indicate that Marshall knew that his famous dispatches were to be published.

[718] France was already making "actual war" upon America; the threat of formally declaring war, therefore, had no terror for Marshall.

[719] Here Marshall contradicts his own statement that the French Nation was tired of the war, groaning under taxation, and not "universally" satisfied with the Government.

[720] Marshall to Washington, Paris, March 8, 1798; *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1897, ii, 303; also MS., Lib. Cong.

[721] Marshall's Journal, March 20, 93.

[722] Marshall's Journal, March 22, 95.

[723] Murray to J. Q. Adams, April 3, 1798, quoting Pinckney; *Letters*: Ford, 391.

[724] The exact reverse was true. Up to this time American newspapers, with few exceptions, were hot for France. Only a very few papers, like Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, could possibly be considered as unfriendly to France at this point. (See *supra*, chap. I.)

[725] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 190-91.

[726] *Ib.*, 191.

[727] Marshall's Journal, March 22, 95.

[728] Marshall's Journal, March 22, 95-97.

[729] The Fairfax purchase.

[730] Marshall's Journal, March 23, 99.

[731] Marshall's Journal, March 29, 99-100.

[732] *Ib.*, April 3, 102-07.

[733] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 191.

[734] *Am. St. Prs., For. Rel.*, ii, 196.

[735] This would seem to dispose of the story that Marshall brought home enough "very fine" Madeira to serve his own use, supply weddings, and still leave a quantity in existence three quarters of a century after his return. (*Green Bag*, viii, 486.)

[736] Marshall's Journal, April 10 and 11, 1798, 107-14.

[737] Marshall to Skipwith, Bordeaux, April 21, 1798; MS., Pa. Hist. Soc.

[738] Murray to J. Q. Adams, April 24, 1798; *Letters*: Ford, 399.

[739] Same to same, May 18, 1798; *ib.*, 407.

[740] Pinckney to King, Paris, April 4, 1798, enclosed in a letter to Secretary of State, April 16, 1798; Pickering MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRIUMPHANT RETURN

The present crisis is the most awful since the days of Vandalism. (Robert Troup.)

Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute. (Toast at banquet to Marshall.)

We shall remain free if we do not deserve to be slaves. (Marshall to citizens of Richmond.)

What a wicked use has been made of the X. Y. Z. dish cooked up by Marshall. (Jefferson.)

While Talleyrand's drama of shame was enacting in Paris, things were going badly for the American Government at home. The French party in America, with whose wrath Talleyrand's male and female agents had threatened our envoys, was quite as powerful and aggressive against President Adams as the French Foreign Office had been told that it was.[741]

Notwithstanding the hazard and delay of ocean travel,[742] Talleyrand managed to communicate at least once with his sympathizers in America, whom he told that the envoys' "pretensions are high, that possibly no arrangement may take place, but that there will be no declaration of war by France."[743]

Jefferson was alert for news from Paris. "We have still not a word from our Envoys. This long silence (if they have been silent) proves things are not going on very roughly. If they have not been silent, it proves their information, if made public, would check the disposition to arm."[744] He had not yet received the letter written him March 17, by his agent, Skipwith. This letter is abusive of the

Administration of Washington as well as of that of Adams. Marshall was "one of the declaiming apostles of Jay's Treaty"; he and Pinckney courted the enemies of the Revolutionary Government; and Gerry's "paralytic mind" was "too weak" to accomplish anything.[745]

The envoys' first dispatches, sent from Paris October 22, 1797, reached Philadelphia on the night of March 4, 1798.[746] These documents told of the corrupt French demands and machinations. The next morning President Adams informed Congress of their arrival.[747] Two weeks later came the President's startling message to Congress declaring that the envoys could not succeed "on terms compatible with the safety, the honor, or the essential interests of the nation" and "exhorting" Congress to prepare for war.[748]

The Republicans were dazed. White hot with anger, Jefferson writes Madison that the President's "insane message ... has had great effect. Exultation on the one side & a certainty of victory; while the other [Republican] is petrified with astonishment."[749] The same day he tells Monroe that the President's "almost insane message" had alarmed the merchants and strengthened the Administration; but he did not despair, for the first move of the Republicans "will be a call for papers [the envoys' dispatches].[750] In Congress the battle raged furiously; "the question of war & peace depends now on a toss of cross & pile,"[751] was Jefferson's nervous opinion.

But the country itself still continued French in feeling; the Republicans were gaining headway even in Massachusetts and Connecticut; Jefferson expected the fall elections to increase the Republican strength in the House; petitions against war measures were pouring into Congress from every section; the Republican strategy was to gain time. Jefferson thought that "the present period, ... of two or three weeks, is the most eventful ever known since that of 1775."[752]

The Republicans, who controlled the House of Representatives, demanded that the dispatches be made public: they were sure that these papers would not justify Adams's grave message. If the President should refuse to send Congress the papers it would demonstrate, said the "Aurora," that he "suspects the popularity of his conduct if exposed to public view.... If he thinks he has done right, why should he be afraid of letting his measures be known?" Let the representatives of the people see "*the whole* of the papers ... a *partial* communication would be worse than none."[753]

Adams hesitated to reveal the contents of the dispatches because of "a regard for the *personal safety* of the Commissioners and an apprehension of the effect of a disclosure upon our future diplomatic intercourse."[754] High Federalist business men, to whom an intimation of the contents of the dispatches had been given, urged their publication. "We wish much for the papers if they can with propriety be made public" was Mason's reply to Otis. "The Jacobins want them. And in the name of God let them be gratified; it is not the first time they have wished for the means of their destruction." [755]

Both Federalists who were advised and Republicans who were still in the dark now were gratified in their wish to see the incessantly discussed and mysterious message from the envoys. The effect on the partisan maneuvering was as radical and amusing as it is illuminative of partisan sincerity. When, on April 3, the President transmitted to Congress the dispatches thus far received, the Republicans instantly altered their tactics. The dispatches did not show that the negotiations were at an end, said the "Aurora"; it was wrong, therefore, to publish them—such a course might mean war. Their publication was a Federalist trick to discredit the Republican Party; and anyway Talleyrand was a monarchist, the friend of Hamilton and King. So raged and protested the Republican organ. [756]

Troup thus reports the change: The Republicans, he says, "were very clamorous for the publication [of the dispatches] until they became acquainted with the intelligence communicated. From that moment they opposed publication, and finally they carried a majority against the measure. The Senate finding this to be the case instantly directed publication."[757] The President then transmitted to Congress the second dispatch which had been sent from Paris two weeks after the first. This contained Marshall's superb memorial to Talleyrand. It was another blow to Republican hopes.

The dispatches told the whole story, simply yet with dramatic art. The names of Hottenguer, Bellamy, and Hauteval were represented by the letters X, Y, and Z,[758] which at once gave to this picturesque episode the popular name that history has adopted. The effect upon public opinion was instantaneous and terrific.[759] The first result, of course, was felt in Congress. Vice-President Jefferson now thought it his "duty to be silent."[760] In the House the Republicans were "thunderstruck."[761] Many of their boldest leaders left for home; others went over openly to the Federalists.[762] Marshall's disclosures "produced such a shock on the republican mind, as has never been seen since our independence," declared Jefferson.[763] He implored Madison to write for the public an analysis of the dispatches from the Republican point of view.[764]

After recovering from his "shock" Jefferson tried to make light of the revelations; the envoys had "been assailed by swindlers," he said, "but that the Directory knew anything of it is neither proved nor probable." Adams was to blame for the unhappy outcome of the mission, declared Jefferson; his "speech is in truth the only obstacle to negotiation."[765] Promptly taking his cue from his master, Madison asserted that the publication of the dispatches served "more to inflame than to inform the country." He did not think Talleyrand guilty—his "conduct is scarcely credible. I do not allude to

its depravity, which, however heinous, is not without example. Its unparalleled stupidity is what fills me with astonishment."[766]

The hot-blooded Washington exploded with anger. He thought "the measure of infamy was filled" by the "profligacy ... and corruption" of the French Directory; the dispatches ought "to open the eyes of the blindest," but would not "change ... the *leaders* of the opposition unless there shou'd appear a manifest desertion of the followers."[767] Washington believed the French Government "capable [of] any thing bad" and denounced its "outrageous conduct ... toward the United States"; but he was even more wrathful at the "inimitable conduct of its partisans [in America] who aid and abet their measures." He concluded that the Directory would modify their defiant attitude when they found "the spirit and policy of this country rising with resistance and that they have falsely calculated upon support from a large part of the people thereof."[768]

Then was heard the voice of the country. "The effects of the publication [of the dispatches] ... on the people ... has been prodigious.... The leaders of the opposition ... were astonished & confounded at the profligacy of their beloved friends the French." [769] In New England, relates Ames, "the Jacobins [Republicans] were confounded, and the trimmers dropt off from the party, like windfalls from an apple tree in September."[770] Among all classes were observed "the most magical effects"; so "irresistible has been the current of public opinion ... that ... it has broken down the opposition in Congress."[771] Jefferson mournfully informed Madison that "the spirit kindled up in the towns is wonderful.... Addresses ... are pouring in offering life & fortune."[772] Long afterwards he records that the French disclosures "carried over from us a great body of the people, real republicans & honest men, under virtuous motives."[773] In New England, especially, the cry was for "open and deadly war with France."[774] From Boston Jonathan Mason wrote Otis that "war for a time we must have and our fears ... are that ... you [Congress] will rise without a proper *climax*.... We pray that

decisive orders may be given and that accursed Treaty [with France] may be annulled.... The time is now passed, when we should fear giving offense.... The yeomanry are not only united but spirited." [775]

Public meetings were held everywhere and "addresses from all bodies and descriptions of men" poured "like a torrent on the President and both Houses of Congress."[776] The blood of Federalism was boiling. "We consider the present crisis as the most awful since the days of Vandalism," declared the ardent Troup.[777] "Yankee Doodle," "Stony Point," "The President's March," supplanted in popular favor "Ça ira" and the "Marseillaise," which had been the songs Americans best loved to sing.

The black cockade, worn by patriots during the Revolutionary War, suddenly took the place of the French cockade which until the X. Y. Z. disclosures had decorated the hats of the majority in American cities. The outburst of patriotism produced many songs, among others Joseph Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia!" ("The President's March"), which, from its first presentation in Philadelphia, caught the popular ear. This song is of historic importance, in that it expresses lyrically the first distinctively National consciousness that had appeared among Americans. Everywhere its stirring words were sung. In cities and towns the young men formed American clubs after the fashion of the democratic societies of the French party.

> "Hail, Columbia! happy land!
> Hail, ye heroes! heaven-born band!
> Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause,"—

sang these young patriots, and "Hail, Columbia!" chanted the young women of the land.[778] On every hilltop the fires of patriotism were signaling devotion and loyalty to the American Government.

Then came Marshall. Unannounced and unlooked for, his ship, the Alexander Hamilton, had sailed into New York Harbor after a voyage

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