From Ally to Enemy: The XYZ Affair and a Diplomatic Crisis in the Franco-American Relations

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The XYZ Affair was the most significant political incident during twenty years of the Franco-American alliance (1778–1798). It was the leading cause of the diplomatic crisis and the Quasi-War in relations between two countries from 1798 to 1800. Based on sources such as treaties, monographs, and other documents from the American side which are related to the topic, the article aims to analyze the crisis in Franco-American diplomacy after twenty years of establishing the alliances through the XYZ Affair and the Quasi-War. The study focuses on presenting the breakdown of trust in the Franco-American relations that led to the emergence of the XYZ Affair; the diplomatic crisis in the Franco-American relations known as the XYZ Affair and the Quasi-War between both countries and efforts of two countries to find a peaceful solution. The research shows that the XYZ Affair had been the biggest conflict case in the history of the Franco-American relations since 1778. In fact, America's interest and honour in the XYZ Affair was the fundamental cause leading to the severe crisis in relations between two countries. The article contributes to clarifying the history of the XYZ Affair, the Quasi-War, the Franco-American relations, and a part of American diplomatic history in the first half of the founding era of the United States.

Keywords: the XYZ Affair, Jay Treaty, France, America, John Adams, Jean Hottinguer, Pierre Bellamy, Lucien Hauteval.

От союзника к врагу: дело XYZ и дипломатический кризис во франко-американских отношениях

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Дипломатический кризис во франко-американских отношениях, известный как дело XYZ, был самым значительным политическим инцидентом за двадцать лет франко-американского союза (1778–1798 гг.). Это была основная причина квазивойны между двумя странами, длившейся с 1798 по 1800 г. Цель статьи состоит в том, чтобы, основываясь на договорах, монографиях и других американских источниках, через дело

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XYZ проанализировать крах доверия между Францией и США и квазивойну между обеими странами, а также усилия двух стран по поиску мирного решения проблемы. Результат показывает, что дело XYZ было крупнейшим конфликтом в истории франко-американских отношений с 1778 г. Фактически интересы и честь Америки в деле XYZ явились фундаментальной причиной серьезного кризиса в отношениях между двумя странами. Проведенное исследование способствовало прояснению истории дела XYZ, квазивойны, франко-американских отношений и части истории американской дипломатии на заре основания Соединенных Штатов.

Ключевые слова: дело ХҮZ, Договор Джея, Франция, Америка, Джон Адамс, Жан Хоттингер, Пьер Беллами, Люсьен Отваль.

Introduction

After the American Revolutionary War, the mission of rebuilding diplomatic relations with the European powers, especially with Great Britain, was of paramount importance for the US to protect the young republic because these countries constituted its largest market and main source of goods supply¹. Carrying out the above mission, in 1785, John Adams was dispatched to London by the Washington government to re-establish relations and negotiate an Anglo-American trade agreement². The efforts of John Adams and then Gourverneur Morris only reconstructed the US diplomatic relations with the London government but did not result in a trade agreement with both countries³. So, in 1797, the Washington government sent John Jay to realize a previously impossible mission⁴. In a short time, Great Britain and the US quickly signed the Treaty of Amity Commerce and Navigation between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, also known as the Jay Treaty. This event led the French government to consider the US a "traitor" for siding with Great Britain against them⁵. France changed its attitude by seizing merchant ships, which seriously affected the US's neutral trade. There was a risk of France breaking the alliance with the US in the near future. In this situation, in 1797, US President John

¹ Sang N. V.: 1) The Reconstruction of the British-American Relations: From the American Revolutionary War to the War of 1812 // UED Journal of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education. 2019. Vol. 9 (5). P. 50–58; 2) Quan hệ Anh-Mỹ từ học thuyết Monroe đến chiến tranh Mỹ-Mexico (1823–1846) [The British-American Relations from the Monroe doctrine to Mexico-American war (1823–1846)]. Hanoi, 2021. P. 18.

² John Adams was chosen to realize the mission to London because of his good relationship with Great Britain at that time. Adams was among those in the list of rebels in 1777 whom King George III of Great Britain was ready to pardon . At the same time, he was also considered the greatest man of the US after Washington (*Allen H. C.* Great Britain and the United States: A History of Anglo-American Relations (1783–1952). New York, 1995. P. 266; *Sang N. V.* Quan hệ Anh-Mỹ từ học thuyết Monroe đến chiến tranh Mỹ-Mexico (1823–1846) [The British-American Relations...] P. 17–18).

³ During his time in London, Morris failed to resolve trade and territorial dispute issues in the North-West between two countries, but he convinced British Foreign Secretary Lord Grenville to send George Hammond as Secretary of State. He arrived in Philadelphia in August 1791. This event marked the first success of the American government in rebuilding relations with Great Britain. Soon after, the US government sent Thomas Pinckney with a similar mission to London. *Bemis S. F.* The London Mission of Thomas Pinckney, 1792–1796 // The American Historical Review. 1923. Vol. 28, no. 2. P. 228–247.

⁴ John Jay arrived in London with a mission of performing three tasks: demand Great Britain to compensate American merchants for sustained losses due to the Orders in Council; settle disputes related to peace treaties; negotiate a trade treaty (*Green J. M.* Relations between United States and Great Britain, 1776–1915. Los Angeles, 1919. P.15).

⁵ Nathaniel C. Quasi-War. URL: https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/quasi-war/ (accessed: 15.05.2021).

Adams dispatched three ministers to France to defuse tensions and to negotiate a trade agreement and protect neutral commerce at sea. In Paris, the American delegation was approached by three French diplomats: Jean Hottinguer (X), Pierre Bellamy (Y), and Lucien Hauteval (Z). These people suggested that the American delegation give a bribe and a loan to Talleyrand, the French Foreign Minister of Directory, in order to conduct negotiations⁶. In April 1798, the plot of three French diplomats was revealed to the public in the US. This created a wave of reaction in American society and became known as the XYZ Affair. As a result, two countries entered into a profound political crisis with the outbreak of the Quasi-War, also known as the Undeclared War. In 1800, thanks to the signing of the Treaty of Mortefontaine, France and the US officially restored peaceful relations, ending the political and diplomatic crises in their relations caused by the XYZ Affair.

The breakdown of trust in the Franco-American alliance and the emergence of the XYZ Affair

In 1775, the revolution of the inhabitants of thirteen British colonies in North America against the British ruler broke out. During the first period of the revolution, the colonists received great support of military volunteers from European countries⁷. After the Saratoga battle, in February 1778, France became the most important ally that backed the American revolution⁸ by signing the Treaty of Alliance and the Treaty of Amity and Commerce. Thanks to France's assistance, the colonies quickly prevailed on the battlefield and ended the American Revolutionary War five years later. However, the young republic soon became embroiled in the conflict between Great Britain and France during the Napoleonic Wars.

On February 1, 1793, the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France forced the European feudal nations to join against France⁹. Because the war took place mainly at sea, Great Britain wanted to reduce France's power through a policy of restricting trade between the US and France. In June 1793, the British government enacted a Council Ordinance declaring that all ships arriving at any port of France or places occupied by France must be brought to Great Britain. Their goods would be sold there or sold to countries friendly with Great Britain¹⁰. France also wanted to block trade exchanges between the US

⁶ Young C. J. Serenading the President: John Adams, the XYZ Affair, and the 18th-Century American Presidency // Federal History. 2014. Vol. 6. P. 108–122.

⁷ Typical international military volunteers in the American Revolution were Baron von Steuben (Prussia), Bernardo de Gálvez (Spain), Marquis de Lafayette, Johann de Kalb (France), Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Kazimierz Pulaski (Poland). See: *Chavez T. E.* Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift. New Mexico, 2002; *Dull J. R.* A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution. New Haven, 1985; *Grzelonski B.* Polacy w Wojnie o Niepodległość Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki // Kwartalnik Historyczny. 1976. Vol. 2. P. 347–352; *Sang N. V.* Tadeusz Kosciuszko — Người anh hùng Ba Lan trong cuộc chiến tranh giành độc lập của Mỹ [Tadeusz Kosciuszko — a Polish Hero in the American Revolutionary War] // Tạp chí Nghiên cứu Châu Âu [European Studies Review]. 2020. Vol. 235. P. 80–88.

⁸ Corwin E. S. French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778. New York, 1970; Ross M. Louis XVI, Forgotten Founding Father, with a survey of the Franco-American Alliance of the Revolutionary period. New York, 1976.

⁹ This war involved countries such as Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia (*Black J.* British Strategy and the Struggle with France 1793–1815 // The Journal of Strategic Studies. 2008. Vol. 31, no. 4. P. 553–569; *Emsley C.* British Society and the French Wars, 1793–1815. New York, 1979).

¹⁰ Hannay J. History of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States of America. Toronto, 1905. P.3.

and Great Britain. It especially concerned the American support France hoped to get as they did during the revolutionary period. In fact, President Washington had an absolutely opposing view to what the French hoped. Despite the treaty of alliance with France signed in 1778, the Washington government was still very wary¹¹. Washington believed that the fledgling republic with its immature economic potential could not afford a war, so he advocated for a neutral foreign policy¹². Washington chose not to support Great Britain or France but kept "friendly and fair" relations with all countries participating in the war¹³. The Washington government dispatched diplomats to European countries to carry out the mission of maintaining the peace and neutrality of the US. In 1794, the US and Great Britain signed the Jay Treaty¹⁴. The treaty created a wave of outcry from the American and French public¹⁵. France considered the treaty extremely unfair, even a betrayal of the US to the alliance between two countries. Indignant at the US's action, France since 1796 had begun to take action against the Adams government. France closed all ports for ships from neutral countries and allowed French ships to seize any ship suspected of carrying British goods¹⁶. In 1798, more than 300 American ships trading with Great Britain were captured

¹¹ Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and France, February 6, 1778. URL: http://avalon.law.yale. edu/18th_century/fr1788-1.asp (accessed: 20.01.2019).

¹² Thomas C. M. American Neutrality in 1793: A Study in Cabinet Government. New York, 1931; The Proclamation of Neutrality 1793. URL: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/neutra93.asp (accessed: 15.05.2021); Schmitt G. J. Washington's proclamation of neutrality: Executive energy and the paradox of executive power // Political Science Reviewer. 2000. Vol. 29. P. 121–159.

¹³ Danielle S. The Presidency of George Washington: Inspiring a Young Nation. Minnesota, 1971. P.30–31.

¹⁴ This treaty includes 28 articles related to matters such as: friendly relations (article 1); withdrawal of troops from the border (article 2); commerce, navigation and taxation (article 3); survey of the Mississippi River (article 4); appointment of the council to define the St Croix river (article 5); debt recovery for the US (article 6); debt recovery of Great Britain (article 7); fees payable to the councils (article 8); land use rights of Great Britain and the US (article 9); privacy debts and property protection (article 9); freedom of navigation and commerce (article 10); equal and reciprocal free trade (article 11); trade between the US and the British West Indies (article 12); trade exchange between the US and the British East Indies (article 13); freedom to commerce, navigation and movement of citizens (article 14); taxation of cargo ships (article 15); consular establishment (article 16); inspection and arrest of merchant ships (article 17); regulations on contraband (article 18); prohibition of battleships of two countries from attacking other ships and regulations on sanctions (article 19); piracy (article 20); commissions from third countries (article 21); revenge (article 22); freedom to navigation of warships (article 23); foreign private sector (article 24); commercial protection of citizens at sea (article 25); bilateral assistance (article 26); extradition of criminals (article 27); validity of the articles (article 28). See: British-American Diplomacy the Jay Treaty; November 19, 1794. URL: http:// avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/jay.asp (accessed: 20.01.2021); Daszyńska J. A. Kryzysy i Kompromisy w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki czasów Ojców Założyczieli. Lodz. 2018. P. 110; Mazurak Z. Traktat Jaya (1794). Z Dziejów Stosunków Amerykańsko-Brytyjskich // Studia Historyczne. 2014. Vol. 57 (225). P. 22–27; Miller H. Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America. Vol. 2: Documents: 1-40: 1776-1818. Washington, 1931; Sang N. V. The Reconstruction of the British-American Relations: From the American Revolutionary War to the War of 1812 // UED Journal of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education. 2019. Vol. 9 (5). P. 50-58.

¹⁵ The Jay Treaty secured the American's access to commerce in the British Isles and a part of the British West Indies but failed to solve the problem of ship seizure and to establish the principle of American neutral commerce. Therefore, when the content of the treaty was leaked, it caused a wave of strong protests from American society. The treaty was approved by the US government on August 14, 1795, ratified by Great Britain on October 28, 1795, and officially declared on February 29, 1796 (*Miller H.* Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America. P. 245–264; *Weeks W. E.* Building the Continental Empire: American Expansion from the Revolution to the Civil War. Chicago, 1997. P. 23).

¹⁶ XYZ Affair 1797–1798. URL: https://www.americanhistorycentral.com/entries/xyz-affair/ (accessed: 15.05.2021).

by the French. The French government tensely sought to resist the US's effort by refusing to accept the new American Ambassador Charles Cotesworth Pinckney¹⁷. Two countries faced a poiltical crisis and, even later, were on the brink of a war.

In the tense atmosphere, the immediate objective of the US was to avoid the outbreak of the war with France . In the long term, they had to protect maritime trade and to strengthen the Franco-American alliance. Addressing the above situation, President John Adams hastily convened a special meeting of the Congress on May 16, 1797 to discuss issues of new conflicts in relations with France. At the Congress, many questions in the Franco-American relations were discussed. John Adams was interested in the minister who could realize a special diplomatic mission. The goal of the mission concerned defending national neutrality, expanding the US Navy, and preventing a war with France Based on Adams' suggestion, the Congress decided to select John Marshall¹⁸, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry¹⁹ as the diplomatic delegation representing the US. Adams then instructed the delegation that their special mission was to avoid the war with France, to conclude a trade agreement similar to the Jay Treaty, to reject any requests of a loan and to become flexible in discussions of financial conditions²⁰. Even so, while the delegation was on their way to France, Adams also proposed to the Congress to prepare for the war with France if the diplomats' mission failed²¹.

¹⁷ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825) in Charleston, South Carolina was an American statesman, soldier and diplomat. He served in the Revolutionary War and was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. From September 1796 to May 1797, he served as the US Secretary of State to France. He was then nominated twice a presidential candidate by the Federalist Party in 1804 and 1808, but failed both times. Washington was looking for a political figure who could be sent to France and ultimately chose General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. Pinckney's personal prowess was well known to Washington because the former used to serve as his assistant for a short time during the Revolution. In fact, Washington had previously tried to bring Pinckney into his administration three times. Washington offered Pinckney the positions of deputy justice of the Supreme Court in 1791, Secretary of War in 1794, and Secretary of State in 1795. Pinckney declined the offer as his debts were so high that he could not give up his lucrative law practice. In 1796, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney agreed to serve and became US Secretary of State to France. Here, the French government did not accept him and reminded him that foreigners could only stay in this country for 30 days without an official permission. When he refused to apply for admission, he was asked to leave the country. In carrying out his duties, the French implied that Franco-American tensions could be resolved through money. In response, Pinckney replied: "Millions for defense, but not a penny for tribute". See: Marvin R. Z.: 1) The First Pinckney Mission to France // The South Carolina Historical Magazine. 1965. Vol. 66, no. 4. P. 205-217; 2) Charles Cotesworth Pinckney: Founding Father. Chapel Hill, 2014; XYZ Affair. URL: https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/xyz-affair (accessed: 15.05.2021); Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. URL: https://www.nps.gov/people/charles-cotesworth-pinckney.htm (accessed: 15.05.2021).

¹⁸ John Marshall (1755–1835) was in Virginia. He served in the Continental Army; was a representative of Virginia in the US House of Representatives (1799–1801); US Secretary of State (1800–1801); Fourth Chief Justice of Supreme Court of the US (1800–1801). See: *Richard B.* John Marshall: The Man Who Made the Supreme Court. New York, 2018.

¹⁹ Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814) was an American politician and diplomat. He served as Governor of Massachusetts (1810–1812) and Vice President of the US (1813–1814). See: Elbridge Gerry: Vice president of United States. URL: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Elbridge-Gerry (accessed: 15.05.2021).

²⁰ British-American Diplomacy the Jay Treaty; November 19, 1794. URL: http://avalon.law.yale. edu/18th_century/jay.asp (accessed: 20.01.2021); *Daszyńska J.A.* Kryzysy i Kompromisy... P.110; *Mazurak Z.* Traktat Jaya (1794). P.22–27.

²¹ Adams proposed to the Congress that the US should form a permanent military force to quickly complete the construction of three frigates (Congress, President, and Cheaspeake) since 1796 and to equip American merchant ships with weapons. On mainland, Adams suggested the size of the forces be increased to strengthen supervision over key ports, and regulations concerning organization, equipment and training

In early October 1797, the American diplomatic delegation met in Paris. All members of the delegation said that the future of peace for the Franco-American relations was not promising. They considered the Directory a cause of hindrance to their objective and mission²². In fact, in France, the bourgeois revolution brought about significant changes in the political situation. In early 1797, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand was chosen Foreign Minister²³. In fact, Talleyrand had lived for a long time in the US and had close relationships with many politicians, having gained a wide knowledge of the US. Therefore, he was expected to be the Americans' hope for peace in relations with France. However, contrary to the popular beliefs, he had an unfriendly view of the Adams government. He considered Adams a threat to France's interests²⁴. Nevertheless, Talleyrand and the French government did not think there was a risk of war between two countries. Perceiving the US as a threat, Talleyrand decided to take steps to slow down the negotiation process²⁵. His strategy was mainly to prolong the delay.

Meanwhile, upon arriving in Paris in October 1797, the American delegation immediately requested a meeting with Talleyrand. However, after a brief meeting on October 8, 1797, Talleyrand informed the American delegation that he was writing a report on the US's policy and wanted to postpone the negotiations until the report was completed and approved by the Directory²⁶. After this meeting, most of the subsequent meetings between the two sides took the form of informal negotiations through the intermediary role of diplomats Jean Hottinguer (X), Pierre Bellamy (Y), and Lucien Hauteval (Z). On October 17, Nicholas Hubbard, a Dutch banker, informed that Jean Hottinguer (X) wanted to meet Pinckney²⁷. At the meeting between the two sides, Jean Hottinguer informed Pinckney of a series of requests from France, emphasizing that Talleyrand would only meet if they agreed to meet the following conditions: 1) the US must agree to provide France with a low-interest loan; 2) the US must agree with all claims for damage due to the fact that the American owners of merchant ships were captured or sunk by the French Navy if they so claimed France; 3) the US must give a bribe valued £50,000 to Talleyrand; 4) the President of the US must apologize for his actions against this nation²⁸.

of self-defense militias be issued. Among these proposals, the completion of the construction of frigates and the provision of a small fund source for the protection of the ports were passed by the Congress. Other proposals were rejected (*Melvin I. U.* The American Presidents: Critical Essays. London, 2004. P. 29).

²² Lyon E. W. The Directory and the United States // The American Historical Review. 1938. Vol. 43, no. 3. P.514–532.

²³ Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838) was a French statesman and diplomat. He was foreign minister during the Directory period (1797–1799). He participated in the coup that brought Napoleon to power. In 1807, concerned about Napoleon's growing power, Talleyrand resigned from office. In 1814, he negotiated to restore the Bourbon monarchy. Talleyrand represented France at the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815). See: Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, prince de Bénévent: French statesman and diplomat. URL: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Maurice-de-Talleyrand-prince-de-Benevent (accessed: 15.05.2021).

²⁴ The main problems in the relations between the US and France during the first years of the Adams administration and the Directory were the US's trade policies, the Jay Treaty, and the election of Adams (*Melvin I. U.* The American Presidents. P.29).

²⁵ Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and France, February 6, 1778. URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fr1788-1.asp (accessed: 20.01.2019).

²⁶ Grzelonski B. Polacy w Wojnie o Niepodległość Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki. P. 347–352.

²⁷ Stinchcombe W. Talleyrand and the American Negotiations of 1797–1798 // The Journal of American History. 1975. Vol. 62, no. 3. P. 575–576.

²⁸ The reasons why Talleyrand suggested the above three conditions were as follows: firstly, Talleyrand understood the US very well and their objective to rebuild Franco-American relations so he thought that

Pinckney then notified remaining commissioners of Talleyrand's demands. All demands were rejected even though they knew that diplomats from other countries had paid bribes to meet Talleyrand²⁹. Failing to convince Pinckey, Hottinguer referred the delegation to Pierre Bellamy (Y). At the meeting, Bellamy explained Talleyrand's demands in a more detailed manner, which emphasized that the American delegation had to pay a lot of money³⁰. Similarly to the previous time, there was no further advance. However, the French did not give up: Talleyrand dispatched Lucien Hauteval (Z) to meet Elbridge Gerry. Talleyrand hoped that the close relationship between the two of them would bring a more positive outcome³¹. Hauteval assured Gerry of establishing peace in relations between the two countries and continued to insist on the bribe and loan as a prerequisite for the peace solution. After the failure in this negotiation and France's signing of the Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria on October 17, 1797, Hottinguer and Bellamy returned to meet the American delegation. This time, the French presented a difficult prospect, even threatening that the fate of the US would be similar to the one of Venice defeated by France. In response, Pinkney expressed the viewpoint of the American delegation on the bribe and loan when asserting: "Millions for defense, but not a penny for tribute"32. Soon after, the American delegation announced the cessation of informal negotiations with Talleyrand's representatives from November 1797. At the same time, Marshall sent an official dispatch to US Secretary of State Timothy Pickering to explain the situation in France. These diplomatic notes were an important part of the future outbreak of the XYZ Affair. Although the American delegation announced the cessation of negotiations, in reality, Talleyrand continued to conduct informal negotiations through secret contacts with each commissioner in order to divide internal trust. Negotiations lasted throughout the winter of 1797 but failed to lead to an agreement. After several unsuccessful attempts, on April 24, 1798, Marshall returned to the US³³, while Pinckney went to the South of France for personal reasons, and Gerry remained in Paris in an attempt to seek for negotiations³⁴.

In the US, it was not until March 4, 1798, that President Adams received the first dispatch from the negotiating delegation. On March 19, 1798, Adams informed the Congress that the diplomatic mission to France had failed and once again called the US to prepare for a war. Adams did not want to reveal the letters because he thought they would put the

the negotiation delegation would concede to France's suggestions. Secondly, Talleyrand in his role of the Foreign Minister did not have much influence in the Directory, especially in France's foreign policy towards Europe, but with regard to the US it was different. He was free to exert his influence without being restricted by the Directory because nobody understood the US better than him, and the Directory was not too concerned about relations with the US during this time. Thirdly, the aforementioned bribes were concealed by Talleyrand and his associates and were not reported to the Directory (*Stinchcombe W.* The Diplomacy of the WXYZ Affair // The William and Mary Quarterly. 1977. Vol. 34, no. 4. P. 590–617).

²⁹ Ibid. P. 590-617.

³⁰ Ibid

 $^{^{31}}$ Before that, Lucien Hauteval and Elbridge Gerry had many meetings in the US, especially the meeting in Boston in 1792.

³² Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. URL: https://www.nps.gov/people/charles-cotesworth-pinckney. htm (accessed: 15.05.2021); *Roger B.* The American Past: A History of the United States from Concord to Hiroshima, 1775–1945. New York, 1947. P. 26.

³³ Stinchcombe W. The Diplomacy of the WXYZ Affair. P. 590–617.

³⁴ Smith J. M. Background for Repression: America's Half-War with France and the Internal Security Legislation of 1798 // The Huntington Library Quarterly. 1954. Vol. 18 (1). P. 37–58.

lives of Gerry, Pinckney, and Marshall in danger. Meanwhile, Thomas Jefferson, Vice President of the US, and supporters of France did not believe that the French Foreign Minister demanded a bribe, and wanted to prove that France was ready to negotiate. While waiting for the return of the delegation, President Adams rushed to prepare for a war. The pro-war Federalists actively urged the Congress to support Adams. In contrast, Democratic-Republican leaders questioned Adams's motive and demanded that he disclosed a diplomatic letter describing the negotiations in France³⁵. On April 2, 1798, the House of Representatives voted in favour of disclosing the full text of official dispatches from France by the President. Not only the Congress but also most Americans eagerly awaited this because its outcome could determine whether the nation would maintain peace or get caught up in the spiral of a European war. Under pressure from many sides, Adams agreed because he knew the envoys had left France safely. He was also aware that the disclosure of the documents would bring a great advantage to waging his war. In documents sent by Adams to the Congress, he did not name any French intermediary diplomats. Instead, he used codes adopted by American envoys to refer to one another, specifically: Jean Hottinguer (X), Pierre Bellamy (Y), and Lucien Hauteval (Z). The disclosure of documents related to the negotiations with the figures mentioned above caused an outcry in American society known as the XYZ Affair. It broke the good Franco-American alliance, pushed two countries into a profound crisis, and precipitated the brink of a war.

The crisis of the XYZ Affair and the Outbreak of the Quasi-War

When written negotiations with France were released and France's diplomatic plot — revealed, many Federalists were shocked³⁶. Supporters of France in the US administration were dismayed because they were completely unprepared and did not think that France would take such actions against its ally.

The outrage gave rise to a wave that spread across the US when newspapers quickly covered the XYZ Affair. The pro-French public opinion changed their attitude by taking out the anger on their ally. In Philadelphia, the capital of the US, the distressing wave of news as well as the change in public mood was felt most quickly and strongly. French songs, such as "La Marseillaise"³⁷ and "Ah, ça ira"³⁸, were scorned and replaced with songs

³⁵ Kramer E. F. Some New Light on the XYZ Affair: Elbridge Gerry's Reasons for Opposing War with France // New England Quarterly. 1956. Vol. 29, no. 4. P. 509–513.

³⁶ At this time, the US had two parties, namely, the Democratic-Republican Party led by Thomas Jefferson and the Federalist Party led by Alexander Hamilton. When Andrew Jackson became President, Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans prevailed and renamed the party the Democratic Party. The Federalist Party ceased to exist, and a new party was born, the Whig Party, later renamed the Republican Party (*Huy L. Q.* Đôi điều cần biết về nước Mỹ [A few things to know about the United States]. Ho Chi Minh, 1999. P. 37).

³⁷ La Marseillaise was the national anthem of France composed by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle in Strasbourg on April 24, 1792 after France declared war against Austria. On July 14, 1795 the song was officially recognized as the national anthem of France (La Marseillaise. URL: https://www.britannica.com/topic/La-Marseillaise (accessed: 15.05.2021)).

³⁸ Ah, ça ira was a symbolic song for the Bourgeois Revolution in France. The song was first published in May 1790. The title and lyrics of the song were inspired by Benjamin Franklin's customary response when he was asked about the American Revolution War during his mission in France: "Ça ira, ça ira" (It will be fine). See: Patriotic Songs. URL: https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/music-patriotic-songs (accessed: 15.03.2021); Ah, ça Ira. URL: https://www.allaroundthisworld.com/listen/european-songs-for-kids/ah-ca-ira/.YZ8vzi3r5QI (accessed: 25.11.2021).

like "Hail Columbia"³⁹ and "Adams and Liberty"⁴⁰. In contrast to the backlash Adams received when he supported the idea to wage a war with France, he became an American hero just overnight. Previously, Adams was ignored by the public, but this time, his every appearance in public was met with enthusiasm. Individual armed groups were formed to patrol the city in search of the "disorganized" French. The public's reaction was similar in many other parts of the US⁴¹. From New York, the Federalists joyfully declared that the disclosure of such documents produced "the most magical effects", aroused "a spirit of intense and fervid indignation towards with the French rulers". In Baltimore, the public assumed that the XYZ Affair united "all classes of people" against the French. Even in the South and the once-pro-French countryside, outrage also flared when the documents about the XYZ were disclosed. The Virginians became angry and vowed to support the Adams government in its confrontation with the French to the end.

The American angry reaction against France lasted during the summer of 1798 taking different forms. They expressed it with symbolic gestures, such as wearing shirts with the image of a black rooster. One group established a volunteer militia with the goal of logistics supply in case of a war with France. A number of self-defence women's militias were also organised for a similar purpose. The townspeople in the coastal areas donated thousands of dollars to build a fleet of small ships for the fledgling US Navy. Most notably, citizens from all parts of the allies attended hundreds of local meetings. At these meetings, they adopted decisions that strongly supported the government's readiness for the war with the French. In addition, hundreds of people sent petitions to President Adam showing their approval and proposing measures against France. They asserted that national solidarity had been growing in an unprecedented manner since the colonial revolution. After reviewing hundreds of petitions, John Adams considered them evidence of public support regarding the XYZ Affair and the war with France.

The Federalists raised the slogan: "Millions for defense, but not a penny for tribute", which became an appeal to rally forces against France. The Congress commissioned 1,000 private soldiers to defend against France's hostility and established the US Navy on April 30, 1798. In another move, Adams persuaded the Congress to complete the manufacture of six frigates, giving the Navy 25 battleships to use when the action against the French took place⁴². In his gallant message on June 2, 1798 to the Congress, President Adams proclaimed: "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured as the representative of a great, free, power-

³⁹ The music was composed in 1789 by Philip Phile for George Washington's first inauguration and was titled "The President's March". It later became the *Hail Columbia* song when Philadelphia Lawyer Joseph Hopkinson (1770–1842) wrote the lyrics in 1798. It was considered one of the unofficial national anthems of the US until 1931, when "The Star-Spangled Banner" was set as the official national anthem. See: *Hart C. H.* Hail Columbia and Its First Publication: A Critical Inquiry // Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. 1910. Vol. 34, no. 2. P. 162–65; Hail Columbia. URL: https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/hail-columbia/ (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁴⁰ Adams & Liberty was written by Robert Treat Paine Jr. in 1798 at a time when the New England Federalists were campaigning for a war with France and serving to support the Confederacy, John Adams in the 1800 US presidential election (*Schmitt G. J.* Washington's proclamation of neutrality. P. 121–159).

⁴¹ Thomas M. R. "Not One Cent for Tribute": The Public Addresses and American Popular Reaction to the XYZ Affair, 1798–1799 // Journal of the Early Republic. 1983. Vol. 3 (4). P. 390.

⁴² The Quasi-War. URL: https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/quasi-war (accessed: 15.05.2021).

ful, and independent nation"⁴³. On June 13, 1798, the Congress passed *the Act to Suspend the Commercial Intercourse between France and the US*⁴⁴, and subsequently — *the Additional Act to Act More Effectively to Protect American Commerce and Coasts*⁴⁵. On June 25, 1798, they enacted a statute authorizing the President to protect American merchant ships against the French's seizure⁴⁶. July 7, 1798, the crisis and anti-French wave reached its peak when the Congress voted for passing an Act to annul the alliance treaties and conventions with France of 1778 and 1788⁴⁷. These events marked the climax of the crisis of the XYZ Affair and the official outbreak of the Quasi-War. Two days later, the Congress authorized the President to allow American battleships to attack French ships with the guidelines: "*submit, capture and bring in any armed French ship*"⁴⁸. In fact, during the course of the Quasi-War, the US did not issue any formal declaration of war against France in response to the capture of American ships.

Benjamin Stoddert, US Secretary of the Navy, recognized that the US' fledgling fleet could not effectively patrol the entire Atlantic Ocean. Therefore, he believed it should aim at the sea zone where the French concentrated a large number of bases, and which was frequented by the French ships. He wrote to President Adams to present his views: "I feel the whole force has a decisive importance in any issue in West Indies" Based on this proposal, the US Navy almost took interest and sought to prevent the French in the entire Caribbean, which was also considered to be the main battle in the Quasi-War. As soon as it was declared, the US gained its first victory over France. The USS Delaware battleship, under the command of Captain Stephen S. Decatur, captured the French destroyer La Croyable off the coast of New Jersey⁵⁰.

After the first battles, the US Navy sent out patrols along the the Caribbean coast to look for French ships. The battles between the US Navy and the French force broke out, the most famous of which involved 38-gun USS Constellation commanded by Thomas Truxton⁵¹. The first battle took place on 9 February 1799 with the participation of France's 36-gun L'Insurgente frigate. The French attempted to board the Constellation, but Truxton

 $^{^{43}}$ Lyon E. W. The Franco-American Convention of 1800 // The Journal of Modern History. 1940. Vol. 12, no. 3. P. 305–333.

⁴⁴ The content of the Act consists of eight sections specifying the suspension of activities between the US and France as well as the French territories. Suspension time was until March 1800.

⁴⁵ An Act in Addition to the Act More Effectually to Protect the Commerce and Coasts of the United States. URL: https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/5th-congress/session-2/c5s2ch62.pdf (accessed: 15.05.2021).

 $^{^{46}}$ DeConde A. The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797–1801. New York. 1966. P.124.

⁴⁷ An Act declare the treaty heretofore concluded with France, no longer obligatory on the United States. URL: https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/5th-congress/session-2/c5s2ch68.pdf (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁴⁸ Sidak J. G. The Quasi-War Cases-and Their Relevance to Whether "Letters of Marque and Reprisal" Constrain Presidential War Powers // Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy. 2005. Vol. 28, no. 2. P. 481.

⁴⁹ The Quasi-War. URL: https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/quasi-war (accessed: 15.05.2021).

Delaware makes first Quasi-War Capture; 7 July, 1798. URL: https://www.navalhistory.org/2011/07/08/delaware-makes-first-quasi-war-capture-7-july-1798 (accessed: 15.05.2021); Sweetman J. American Naval History: An Illustrated Chronology of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps, 1775 — present. Maryland, 2002. P. 16.

⁵¹ Constellation was designed by Joshua Humphreys and Josiah Fox and was built in Baltimore, Maryland. On September 7, 1797, Constellation was officially launched and commanded by Captain Thomas Truxtun. The ship served in the War of 1812, in the Second Barbary War, and also served in the South Atlantic, Pacific Ocean, and in the West Indies and the Opium Wars. In 1853, the ship was disassembled at the

fired on the L'Insurgente, which led to the surrender of the French force. Before the war with the French, to increase the power of the Navy the US Congress passed an additional Act to suspend commerce intercourse between the US and France on February 9, 1799, which allowed the President to order the arrest of any ship (including American ships) engaging in illegal trade with France⁵². Then, on March 2, 1799, the Congress passed the Navy Act to build and strengthen the specialization-directed force⁵³. France also took typical retaliation actions, such as the battle on November 20, 1798, when a pair of French frigates, Insurgente and Volontaire, attacked and occupied the American USS Retaliation coast guard cutter commanded by Lieutenant William Bainbridge⁵⁴. Then on 1 February 1800, Constellation fought with a 52-gun La Vengeance frigate. After five hours of fighting, the French ship escaped in the dark⁵⁵.

As far as the whole situation of the Quasi-War is considered, the the US always victoriously prevailed in the battles between two sides. Nevertheless, the US's objective of protecting maritime commerce was not achieved. USS Enterprise, USS Eagle, and USS Experiment were the most successful American battleships, having captured 25 French privates. However, despite the US's effective military activities, France captured about 2,000 American ships during this conflict. If the war had continued, it would have seriously affected the US's neutral maritime trade, especially with Great Britain and its colonies in the Caribbean. That made the US consider a peace solution with France not to push the US into a grave and extensive crisis. Meanwhile, the change of political situation in France during the recession of the French revolution also changed the attitude towards the U.S. Talleyrand, who contributed to the XYZ Affair and the political crisis in the Franco-American relations, also felt anxious about the cost of an all-out war. Thus he hinted that he would meet a new American diplomat to discuss the solution to end the Quasi-War.

Franco-American diplomatic efforts to find peace

Despite the public and Federalists' desire for war, since as early as 1799, President John Adams had expressed eagerness to find a diplomatic solution to the military conflict between two countries⁵⁶. In addition to what has been already mentioned above, one of the reasons why Adams wanted to settle peace with France was that the presidential elec-

Gosport Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Virginia. 79. See: USS Constellation (Frigate), 1797–1853. URL: https://www.pinterest.ru/pin/436427020141933744/ (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁵³ An Act for the Government of the Navy of the United States. URL: https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/5th-congress/session-3/c5s3ch24.pdf (accessed: 15.05.2021).

An Act Further to Suspend the Commercial Intercourse between the United States and France, and the Dependencies Thereof. URL: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/qw06.asp (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁵⁴ USS Retaliation was firstly a French private ship named Croyable built in Baltimore, Maryland. On July 7, 1798, the American battleship Delaware commanded by Captain Stephen Decatur Sr. captured the Croyable frigate off the coast of Great Egg Harbor Bay, New Jersey. The US Navy purchased Croyable on 30 July 1798 and took the ship to Philadelphia, renamed it into Retaliation and placed the ship in command of Lieutenant William Bainbridge. On 28 October 1798, the Retaliation departed from Norfolk along with Montezuma and Norfolk at sea in the West Indies to protect American commerce. Here Retaliation engaged two French frigates. During this battle, the American ship was captured off the cost of the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe. 250 sailors on this ship were held prisoners by the French until February 1799 (Schlesinger A. M. Niên giám Lịch sử Hoa Kỳ [The Almanac of America History]. Hanoi, 2004. P. 334).

⁵⁵ Quasi-War. URL: https://www.americanhistorycentral.com/entries/quasi-war (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁵⁶ Schlesinger A. M. Niên giám Lịch sử Hoa Kỳ [The Almanac of America History]. P. 335.

tion would take place in 1800. The changes in the Franco-American relations would affect Adams in the competition for the office of President of the US. Meanwhile, Napoleon, realizing the difficulty of the situation in France, was willing to negotiate with the US⁵⁷, while Talleyrand found that it was not beneficial to prolong the war with the US so he tried to find a way to finish it⁵⁸. In addition, another reason for a peaceful resolution of this war could have stemmed from the end in the confrontation between the American and Spanish navies near New Orleans, Louisiana, which was achieved by the Peace of Cadiz in July 1799. Spain's withdrawal from the war most likely served as an impetus for changing the course of French foreign policy to a conciliatory one.

Talleyrand in his quest for peace with the US, saw William Vans Murray as hope for re-building relations between two countries⁵⁹. On the American side, Adams established a diplomatic commission to accomplish this objective on February 18, 1799. The creation of this commission demonstrated the efforts of the US to peacefully and amicably resolve the differences and conflicts between the US and the French revolutionary government⁶⁰. The commission included William Vans Murray⁶¹, Oliver Ellsworth, and William Richardson Davie⁶² with the mission to: 1) terminate treaties signed between France and the US in 1778; 2) ensure the right to neutral freedom of the US; 3) compensate for damages caused by transportation; 4) end the Quasi-War⁶³. However, in fact, until 1800, the above commission had not come to France to conduct negotiations⁶⁴.

On the French side, Talleyrand continued the policy of restoring normal relations between the two countries. On May 15, 1799, he asked the Minister of the Navy and Colonies to order a ban on the detention of Americans captured from American ships⁶⁵. He then directed the minister of police on 7 July to release American prisoners apprehended in Orleans. However, the upheavals of French history in the autumn of 1799 threatened to change French foreign policy. Reinhard replaced Talleyrand as Foreign Minister. Compared to Talleyrand, Reinhard had a tough attitude in foreign policy towards the US. However, the plans conceived by Reinhard were never realized because Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the Directory in a coup d'état of 19 Brumaire (November 9, 1799)⁶⁶. A few days

⁵⁷ John R. E., Alice M. Nước Mỹ: Những điều nên biết (từ năm 1492 đến nửa đầu thế kỷ XX) [The United States of America: Things to Know (from 1492 to the first half of the twentieth century)]. Hanoi, 2016. P. 127.

⁵⁸ Lyon E. W. The Franco-American Convention of 1800. P. 305–307.

⁵⁹ Talleyrand used Louis-Andre Pichon as a secretary of the French ambassador with special instructions to the Hague to cultivate the friendship of the US Secretary of State and stated his views on the possible relationship between France and the US. Pichon was considered a good choice because he got acquainted with Murray in the US many years ago and was also very familiar with the US and the Americans.

⁶⁰ Lyon E. W. The Franco-American Convention of 1800. P. 306.

⁶¹ William Vans Murray (1760–1803) was an American lawyer and politician. He was a member of Maryland House of Delegates (1788–1790), the US House of Representatives (1791–1797), and the US Ambassador to the Netherlands (1797–1801). Before undertaking his mission to France, Murray played a huge role in the Dutch-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1782. At this time William Vans Murray was in Europe in the role of US Secretary of State in the Netherlands. He was the man who played an important role in connecting the revolutionary France with President Adams.

⁶² Oliver Ellsworth was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the US and was considered the most important person in the negotiations. William Richardson Davie was the Governor of North Carolina.

⁶³ Lyon E. W. The Franco-American Convention of 1800. P. 305–313.

⁶⁴ Ibid. P. 306.

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⁶⁶ Lien P. N., Thanh D. T., Nga P. T., Trung D. Lịch sử thế giới cận đại [History of Pre-Modern]. Hanoi, 2011. P.75.

later, Talleyrand reinstated his former position. Fulwar Skipwith, the former American Consul-General in Paris, recognized the importance of this change and wrote to Talleyrand on 28 November 1799, expressing his delight at the minister's return when the American commissioners were coming. In addition, on December 14, 1799, the death of Washington, the hero of the US, the great figure of American history in the national founding era, created a great opportunity to make Franco-American relations closer⁶⁷. At Talleyrand's suggestion, an ordinance was issued to erect a statue to Washington. Bonaparte ordered ten-day mourning for Washington in the military, which increased the sympathy of the public and the US government towards France⁶⁸.

In March 1800, American and French diplomats finally met in Paris. During bilateral negotiations, the representative of France proposed three principles for resolving differences in relations between two countries: 1) to re-establish treaties and conventions as before the outbreak of the Quasi-War; 2) to reclaim the jurisdiction of the French consuls in the US; 3) to demand to amend the treaties so that France would enjoy the same rights as the US gave Great Britain in Jay Treaty⁶⁹. The US partially accepted the conditions proposed by the French side. The US accepted that France's position would be enhanced in the same way as that of Great Britain with regard to commerce and navigation under the terms of Jay Treaty⁷⁰. However, the issue of special interest to both parties was the compensation for each side's damages. The French outlined the damages they suffered when the XYZ Affair and the Quasi-War broke out: trade stagnation between two countries, the denial of France's consular jurisdiction in the US; the suspension of the French special commissioners in the US. The American commission proposed that the compensation for damages related to the search and seizure of American merchant ships by France "was a prerequisite" for the discussion of the following issues of the treaty⁷¹. France sought to avoid and limit reparations to the US. According to Talleyrand, if it was absolutely necessary for them to pay, payments should be arranged in as small a quantity as possible and for as long time as possible⁷². The issues concern, such as free trade under the principle of "free trade, free movement of goods", the right to neutrality and compensation for damages from both sides, were discussed by delegations of two countries many times.

After formal and informal discussions, the two sides agreed on the content of the difference in viewpoints, especially on the financial question. On December 16, 1800, two countries signed a peace agreement known as the Convention of 1800 or the Treaty of Mortefontaine. The Treaty consisted of 27 articles, of which Article 1 affirmed peace in Franco-American relations: "Establish a firm and inviolable peace, a true and Heartfelt friendship between the French Republic and the US of America" The treaty also included provisions that focused on addressing specific issues of the political crisis caused by the

⁶⁷ Lyon E. W. The Franco-American Convention of 1800. P. 312.

⁶⁸ Napoleon Bonaparte was the First Consul in the French government which established under the name "Consulate". This government lasted from 10 November 1799 to 18 May 1804. Other Consuls in this government were Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès and Pierre-Roger Ducos (*Bell D. A.* Napoleon: A Very Short Introduction. New York, 2018).

⁶⁹ Lyon E. W. The Franco-American Convention of 1800. P. 314–315.

⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 314.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² France-Convention of 1800: Text of the Treaty. URL: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/fr1800.asp (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁷³ Ibid.

XYZ Affair and the Quasi-War, namely: 1) End the war between two countries; 2) Declare the termination of the treaties signed between two countries in 1778 and the convention on November 14, 1788. The contents, commitments and provisions of the above-mentioned treaties and conventions will be discussed by two countries in the future; 3) The Parties declare to return each other's seized ships and cargoes (except for contraband) based on the provided evidence of ownership of ships and cargoes; 4) Two countries establish free trade relations. The US and France give each other the most favoured nation in commercial activities; 5) The US agrees to compensate to its citizens for damages caused by France in terms of commerce and navigation at sea. The US agrees to compensate to its citizens for claimed damages with the amount of USD 20 million⁷⁴.

Considering the content of the Convention of 1800, it ended the political and diplomatic crises in the Franco-American relations. Both France and the US benefited from the restoration of peace and the provisions of the Treaty. France revived its political interests, especially commercial and maritime, in North America, while the US was able to strengthen its diplomacy with European countries, to avoid confrontation in Anglo-American relations, to develop maritime trade with France and Great Britain. Although the US had to compensate for damages to American ships and cargoes seized by the French side was a loss to the American side, the signing of the treaty with France was considered a diplomatic success in the the post-revolutionary US context when they could not fully conduct and implement a neutral foreign policy as well as maritime trade. The US had favourable conditions in carrying out the Louisiana Purcharse and developing trade⁷⁵. After the Treaty was signed, the Franco-American relations were quickly rebuilt, the most specific evidence of which was the celebration of the election of Thomas Jefferson US President in 1800. At the meeting to celebrate the new US president in Philadelphia, 30 delegates out of 150 guests were representatives of France⁷⁶.

Conclusion

The loss of France's trust in its ally in competition with the British affected the interests of the US. Despite the Adams government's diplomatic efforts to restore trust and commitment to the Franco-American alliance treaties, the actions of the French government, especially those of Talleyrand, pushed the Franco-American relations to the brink of war. Bribes and act of insulting the national honour of the US caused the XYZ Affair and precipitate the political crisis in the Franco-American diplomatic relations. After all, the essence of the crisis was the fight by the Americans to defend their honour in the XYZ Affair and to claim damages inflicted by the French on neutral maritime trade. The treaty between two countries ended an alliance that was only suitable for the period of Amerian Revolutionary War. This also opened a new period of trade with France on terms similar to the ones the US applied to Great Britain in Jay Treaty. Above all, for the US, the greatest significance of this treaty was that it ensured the rebuilding of the Franco-American relations that had been stagnated by the XYZ Affair and the Quasi-War. That was what the

 $^{^{74}}$ France-Convention of 1800: Text of the Treaty. URL: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/fr1800.asp (accessed: 15.05.2021).

⁷⁵ *Rodriguez J. P.* The Louisiana Purchase: A Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia. California, 2002. P. 205.

⁷⁶ Hastedt G. Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy. New York, 2004. P. 173.

Adams government expected most in relations with European countries in the early periods of the founding fathers era of the US. In addition, the recovery of the Franco-American relations after the XYZ affair opened the neutral trade between the US,France, Great Britain, and other European countries in the Caribbean. However, the XYZ affair also impacted the American neutral trade with European countries in the future. It became a disputed issue in the relations between the US and European countries in the next period, especially in the relations between the US, Great Britain, and France. This was one of the causes leading to the outbreak of the War of 1812 in the British-American relations.

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