



PROJECT MUSE®

Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

Melanie R. Miller

梅勒妮·r·米勒

Published by University of Nebraska Press

由内布拉斯加大学出版社出版

Miller, Melanie R.

米勒, 梅勒妮·r。

Envoy to the Terror: Gouverneur Morris and the French Revolution.

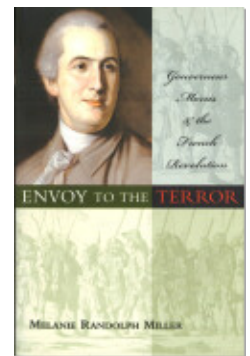
恐怖事件特使:莫里斯与法国大革命。

University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

内布拉斯加大学出版社, 2011 年。

Project MUSE muse.jhu.edu/book/41591.

项目 muse.jhu.edu/book/41591。



For additional information about this book

想了解更多关于这本书的信息



<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/41591>

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/41591>

Access provided at 3 Apr 2020 05:32 GMT with no institutional affiliation
2020年4月3日5时32分格林尼治标准时间提供无机构附属服务

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

第十四章

Departure

离境

MORRIS, though he was well aware of the animosity against him, apparently knew nothing of Cusack's letter and the resulting demand for recall. A few days after it was sent, he wrote a memo on the need to import war materiel and the problem of exportation of specie. It was cordially received by Deforgues, who promised to send it to the Committee of Public Safety.¹ For the next several months, matters remained essentially the same between Morris and the government, or even improved, for, as he told Washington, as long as they believed Morris would be recalled, they treated his communications "with Indifference and Contempt." When time elapsed with no word from America, however, they made "Overtures for Conciliation."²

莫里斯虽然很清楚人们对他的敌意，但他对库萨克的信以及随之而来的罢免要求一无所知。这封信寄出几天后，他写了一份备忘录，说明进口战争物资的必要性和硬币出口的问题。在接下来的几个月里，莫里斯和政府之间的关系基本上保持不变，甚至有所改善，因为正如他告诉华盛顿的那样，只要他们相信莫里斯会被召回，他们就会“漠不关心和轻蔑”地对待他的来文然而，当美国没有发表任何声明的时候，他们提出了“和解提案”图2

It was not until July 29 that Morris received firm word of his replacement, from Livingston, who read it in a New York paper. There had been rumors, including a recurring story that Jefferson was en route to replace him; in May, Swan wrote Morris that Jefferson had been spotted in Paris.³ Meanwhile, the Great Terror had reached its bloody culmination. On July 23, Morris wrote Randolph that there was a "considerable ferment of parties, whose object on the one hand is to overturn, and on the other to preserve the colossal Power of the two great Committees," and "[s]ooner or later that ferment must lead to an Explosion."⁴ The explosion occurred six days later on July 27: the next day, Livingston scrawled a breathless

直到7月29日，莫里斯才从利文斯顿那里得到确切的更换消息，利文斯顿在纽约的一份报纸上读到了这一消息。有谣言，包括一个反复出现的故事，杰斐逊正在路上接替他；在五月，斯万写信给莫里斯，杰斐逊已经在巴黎出现。7月23日，莫里斯在给伦道夫的信中写道，当时“党内发生了相当大的骚动，一方面要推翻这个政党，另一方面要维护两大委员会的巨大权力”，“这种骚动或后来的骚动一定会导致一场大爆炸。”4. 爆炸发生在6天后的7月27日：第二天，利文斯顿潦草地写下了一篇令人窒息的文章

message to Morris in Seine-Port:

给 Seine-Port 的莫里斯的信息:

Dear Sir, The barriers being shut this letter will perhaps not reach you ere you have been informed of the Great Events which took place yesterday & last night. Robespierre, Couthon, Ste. Just & the younger Robespierre were arrested by order of the Convention. . . . They endeavored to cause an insurrection of the people in their favor but did not succeed, the alarm however was great & every body under

亲爱的先生，障碍被关闭，这封信可能不会到达你之前，你已被告知的重大事件，发生在今天和昨天晚上。罗伯斯庇尔，Couthon，斯蒂夫斯特和年轻的罗伯斯庇尔根据大会的命令被逮捕..。他们试图引起人们对他们有利的起义，但是没有成功，然而警报是巨大的&每个人下面

arms during the whole of the night. St. Just has killed himself—Robespierre the elder attempted to kill himself & is now half dead from his wounds—Couthon is also dangerously wounded—they are all to be guillotined today being near 80 in number.⁵

整个晚上的手臂。圣贾斯特已经自杀了一 Robespierre 这位老人试图自杀，现在已经因伤势过重半死—库森也受了重伤—他们今天都被送上断头台，人数接近 80 人

The tenuous cohesion of the Committee of Public Safety had disintegrated after the Law of 22 Prairial (June 10), which dispensed entirely with due process. On July 27, Barère, Billaud-Varenne, and Collot d'Herbois, fearing their own denunciation, turned on the Robespierrists and obtained their arrest in a wild session of the National Convention. Later that day Livingston reported to Morris that "Paris is quiet & every Body rejoiced at the downfall of Robespierre." Within a week of their execution, more than four hundred "suspects" were released from prisons in Paris. The Terror was over, and the Reaction began. On August 2, four days after Robespierre's death, James Monroe arrived in Paris.

公共安全委员会脆弱的凝聚力在最高牧月 22 日法令(6 月 10 日)之后瓦解了，该委员会完全摒弃了正当程序。7 月 27 日，巴雷、比劳德·瓦伦内和克洛德·赫尔波依斯害怕自己的谴责，转而攻击罗宾斯党人，在国民大会的一次疯狂会议上逮捕了他们。当天晚些时候，利文斯顿向莫里斯报告说：“巴黎很安静，每个人都为 Robespierre 的衰落而欢欣鼓舞。”在他们被处决后的一个星期内，四百多名“嫌疑犯”从巴黎的监狱中被释放。恐怖结束了，反应开始了。8 月 2 日，也就是罗伯斯庇尔去世四天后，詹姆斯·门罗抵达巴黎。

Morris later commented to Washington that the eager new minister was lucky he had not arrived while Robespierre was still in power, "for, if I may judge by what fell within my observation he would have been a little too well with that party to be viewed in a neutral light by their opponents." As it turned out, Monroe was soon persuaded by his acquaintances in France that "Robespierre and his associates merited their fate." Morris had a different, and in the view of historian Henry Bertram Hill, a more "balanced judgment" about Robespierre; Hill notes the irony that it came from "a man whom Monroe considered too much in sympathy with the conservatives to be a worthy representative of the United States in France."⁶ In January 1795, Morris wrote to Washington that Robespierre could, if more courageous, have been the "master of France" and could have placed Louis's son on the throne. He also noted that while Robespierre was charged with the "many shocking

murders” of the Revolutionary Tribunal, he had actually been absent from the committee during the period “most deeply marked by the blood of the innocent.”

莫里斯后来对华盛顿说，这位急切的新部长很幸运，他没有在 Robespierre 仍然掌权的时候到任，“因为，如果我可以根据我观察到的情况来判断的话，他对那个政党有点太好了，不能让他们的反对者以中立的眼光看待他。”事实证明，门罗很快就被他在法国的无罪判决说服，“罗伯斯庇尔和他的助手们命中注定。”在历史学家亨利·伯特伦·希尔(Henry Bertram Hill)看来，莫里斯对 Robespierre 有着不同的“平衡判断”，希尔指出，具有讽刺意味的是，这个判断来自“一个被门罗认为过于同情保守派的人，不值得成为美国在法国的代表”1795年1月，莫里斯写信给华盛顿说，如果 Robespierre 更勇敢一些，就可以成为“法国的主人”，让路易的儿子登上王位。他还指出，尽管 Robespierre 被指控犯有革命法庭的“许多令人震惊的谋杀罪”，但在“无辜者鲜血淋漓”的时期，他实际上并未出席委员会

Morris continued:

莫里斯继续说道:

[T] here was throughout the Convention such a complicity in crime that the greater Culprits found protection in the fears of the lesser. A day of final reckoning must come and as the French people enjoy more pleasure at the execution of a Conventionalist than from any other festival it is to be hoped that they will at length be offered up as expiatory sacrifices to justice and humanity.

整个《公约》就是这样一种共谋犯罪，以至于较大的罪犯在较小的人的恐惧中找到了保护。最后审判的日子必须到来，因为法国人民对处决一位公约主义者的喜悦超过了其他任何节日，希望他们最终将被作为对正义和人道的赎罪祭献。

*It is yet another thread of irony in this story that just a few months after this letter, Jefferson wrote of the "atrocities of Robespierre" as a "tremendous obstacle to future attempts at liberty."*⁷

这是这个故事中另一个具有讽刺意味的线索，就在这封信发表几个月后，杰斐逊写道“罗伯斯庇尔的暴行”是“未来自由尝试的障碍”图7

*Morris was gracious to the new minister. Monroe took over his lease on rue de la Planche, and Morris invited the Monroes to dinner for his last night at Seine-Port.*⁸ *Although Morris presented him to the commissioners of foreign relations on August 8, it was some time before Monroe could get anyone's attention in the turmoil following Thermidor, and no one would receive his credentials. He finally presented them to the National Convention, where he was greeted with great acclaim.*⁹

莫里斯对新部长很亲切。尽管莫里斯在8月8日把门罗介绍给外交关系委员会，但门罗在热米多事件后引起了人们的注意已经过了一段时间，而且没有人会收到他的证件。最后，他把它们带到了国民大会上，在那里他受到了热烈的欢迎

*To the extent Morris knew of Monroe's vituperative attacks on him in the United States, his cordiality must have been a little forced. "Before I left Paris Mr. Monroe called on me and explained his conduct and his views," he wrote in one of the first entries in a new diary volume. "He begins to find out that fine words are of little value and his letters from America shew me that something more is expected (and justly expected) there for the many violences committed against our merchants."*¹⁰

既然莫里斯知道门罗在美国对他的辱骂，他的热诚一定是有点勉强的。“在我离开巴黎之前，门罗先生拜访了我，向我解释了他的行为和观点，”他在一本新的日记中的第一批条目中写道。“他开始发现，美言几乎没有什么价值，他从美国寄来的信件告诉我，对于我们的商人犯下的许多暴行，人们还有更多的期待(而且是正当的期待)。”图10

Shortly after Monroe arrived, Morris was called on by a person "in the habit of telling me what passed." The visitor told Morris

门罗到达后不久，莫里斯被一个“习惯于告诉我发生了什么事”的人叫去来访者告诉莫里斯

"This new Minister you have sent us will never do here." "Why?" "He is either a blockhead himself or thinks that we are so." "I can't suppose either to be the case, as I knew him to be strongly attached to your Revolution. I should think he would succeed very well." "No, it is impossible. Only think of a man's throwing himself into the arms of the first person he met on his arrival and telling him he had no doubt but

that if they would do what was proper here, he and his friends in America would turn out Washington." "I cannot believe the fact."

¹¹
"You may rely on it. 'Tis true."

“你派来的这位新部长在这里是做不到的。”“为什么?”“他要么自己是个傻瓜,要么认为我们就是傻瓜。”“我也不愿意这样,因为我知道他对你们的革命有强烈的感情。我想他会成功的。”“不,不可能。只要想想一个人投入到他抵达时遇到的第一个人的怀抱中,并告诉他,他毫无疑问,但如果他们在这里做了正确的事,他和他在美国的朋友们就会出卖华盛顿。”“我无法相信这个事实。”“你可以相信它。这是真的。”图 11

Morris' s skepticism that Monroe' s arrival would improve matters was justified; they got worse. This was because the tensions in French-American relations had everything to do with the war and with the situation in France and nothing to do with the political views of the American minister. Morris would hear in London that "that Mr. Monroe found it difficult to change principles fast enough to keep pace with the changes in the French Government." ¹² *Two years and four months after his triumphant reception, an angry and bitter Monroe would be recalled from France.*

莫里斯怀疑门罗的到来是否能够改善局势是有道理的;事情变得更糟了。这是因为法美关系的紧张与战争和法国的局势有关,与美国部长的政治观点无关。莫里斯会在伦敦听到“门罗先生发现很难快速地改变原则以跟上法国政府的变化。”¹²在他举行三和平会议两年零四个月后,愤怒而痛苦的门罗将被从法国召回。

As for himself, "I of course thank God am quit," Morris wrote Short.¹³ But despite his professions of relief, he confessed to his diary that he was not at peace:

至于他自己, "我当然感谢上帝, 我不干了," 莫里斯写道。¹³ 但是尽管他表示如释重负, 他在日记中承认他并不平静:

[S]o far as I am personally concerned at least I have the Consolation to have made no Sacrifice either of personal or national Dignity and I believe I should have obtain' d every Thing if the American Government had refused to recall me. I rejoice that I am no longer in the pitiful situation which I have so long endured. For the rest Experience must decide¹⁴ and I hope that events will be favorable to America.

就我个人而言, 至少我可以安慰自己没有牺牲个人或国家的尊严, 我相信, 如果美国政府拒绝召回我, 我应该得到一切。我很高兴, 我不再处于我长期忍受的那种可怜的原地生活。至于其他的, 必须由经验来决定, 我希望事情会对美国有利

Morris' s time before departure was occupied with arrangements for shipping his belongings to America. When the furnishings of the wealthy had been put on the auction block over the preceding years, he had invested a great deal of money in paintings, furniture, art objects, telescopes, wine, and more.¹⁵ Jefferson shipped eighty-six cases of French furnishings back to America; "by comparison Gouverneur Morris brought back much less," according to a paper presented in 1996 at a forum on French influence in American arts, "but the quality of his acquisitions is much superior."¹⁶

莫里斯出发前的时间忙于把他的财产用船运到美国。¹⁵ 1996年, 在一个关于法国对美国艺术影响的论坛上, 杰弗逊用船运回了 86 箱法国家具, "相比之下, 高维尔·莫里斯带回来的要少得多。" 图 16

The extent of these purchases—according to Fiechter, he spent \$41,000, twice his living costs for the same period—indicates that sometime between 1791 and 1794, Morris' s financial situation improved considerably.¹⁷ Untangling the complexities of his financial ventures is fodder for another book, but it is likely that land sales had a lot to do with it. While minister, he had worked with Chaumont and the Belgian banker DeWolf to sell tracts of lands near the St. Lawrence owned by the American entrepreneur Alexander Macomb. Morris was not a partner, but probably received commissions, and they would have been sizable.¹⁸

根据菲奇特的说法, 他花了 4.1 万美元, 是同期生活成本的两倍。这些购买的规模表明, 在 1791 年至 1794 年间的某个时候, 莫里斯的财务状况有了相当大的改善。¹⁷ 解开他的金融企业的复杂性是另一本书的素

材，但很可能与土地出售有很大关系。在担任部长期间，他曾与肖蒙(Chaumont)和比利时银行家德沃尔夫(DeWolf)合作，出售美国企业家亚历山大·马科姆(Alexander Macomb)在圣劳伦斯附近拥有的土地。莫里斯不是合伙人，但可能接受过通讯任务，而且任务规模相当可观

After his recall, Morris resumed business dealings with Swan, who had managed the remarkable feat of sustaining a commercial relationship with each succeeding regime, and seems to have prospered from the Terror. "[T]here is immense sums to be made," he had written happily from Paris to Morris in 1793, explaining why he was too busy to accept an invitation to dine at Seine-¹⁹Port. Swan obtained a provisioning contract in late 1791, and in early 1794 the French used his company to deal with neutral countries.²⁰ If Morris was involved in these contracts, they certainly would have made sure that his name was not used, and it is therefore difficult to be certain of the extent of their business together after Morris left France, though it clearly did exist.²¹

在他被召回之后，莫里斯继续与斯旺的生意往来，斯旺成功地与随后的每个政权维持了商业关系，并且似乎从恐怖活动中获得了成功。¹⁹斯旺在1791年底获得了一份供应合同，1794年初，法国人利用他的公司与中立国家打交道。²⁰如果莫里斯参与了这些合同，他们肯定会确保不使用他的名字，因此很难确定莫里斯离开法国后他们之间的生意到底有多大

• • •
•••

By early October 1794, Morris, suffering from an attack of gout, was finally ready to depart. He endured one final delay, an insulting one in his view, in obtaining his passport. "I am sure that a french Minister in america would not be thus treated," he wrote stiffly to Monroe.²² The delay was intentional: Morris planned to go to Switzerland before returning through France to embark for America. Buchot, who had retained his place after Thermidor, suggested to the Committee of Public Safety that in view of Morris' s "well-known political principles" he should not be allowed to return to France at all. Apparently Morris was so advised, for he renounced his intention to embark at Le Havre, and his passport was granted immediately.²³

到1794年10月初，患痛风病的莫里斯终于准备离开了。他忍受了最后一次延误，在他看来，这是一次侮辱性的延误。“我相信在美国的法国部长不会受到这样的待遇，”他生硬地写信给梦露。²²拖延是有意为之的：莫里斯计划先去瑞士，然后再从法国返回美国。布肖特在 Thermidor 之后继续留任，他向公共安全委员会建议，鉴于莫里斯的“众所周知的政治原则”，根本不应允许他返回法国。显然，莫里斯得到了这样的建议，因为他放弃了在勒阿弗尔登船的打算，他的护照立即获得批准

His first entry in his diary after a gap of nearly two years began with a look back:

在经历了近两年的空白之后，他首次在日记中写道：

Sunday, 12 Octr 1794. Left Paris at ten o' clock. . . . In how many ways Reflection and Experience inculcate the important Maxim not to govern too much! . . . Constantly successful in the field [France] is run-ning to Ruin with a Rapidity that is as yet unknown in the History of human Affairs.²⁴

1794年12月12日，星期日。十点钟离开巴黎。反思和经验在多少方面反复灌输了重要的格言：不要过多地参与政治！...在战场上不断取得成功[法国]正以人类历史上从未有过的速度走向毁灭

He spent the next two nights at Seine-Port. Mme de Damas was there, and on the last evening, another woman friend joined them. He departed the next day; the parting was "marked by strong Emotion." Mme de Damas was "in agony which affects me much."²⁵

接下来的两个晚上，他都在塞纳港度过。达马斯夫人也在那里，最后一

天晚上，另一位女性朋友也来了。第二天他就离开了，离别时“情绪激动”达马斯夫人“非常痛苦，这对我影响很大。”图 25

*He would never return to France. Nor did he, as originally intended, return immediately to America, but stayed four more years in Europe. Despite telling Randolph that the "history you give of my recall is perfectly satisfactory," he was stung by it, and perhaps he did not relish returning in what may have felt like dishonor. In this regard, Washington's letters of support may have helped, or he may have thought they signaled the degree to which others saw him as disgraced.*²⁶

他再也不会回到法国了。他也没有像最初打算的那样立即返回美国，而是在欧洲又呆了四年。尽管他告诉伦道夫“你给我的回忆历史是非常令人满意的”，他还是被这句话刺痛了，也许他并不喜欢回到那个让他觉得丢脸的地方。在这方面，华盛顿的支持信可能有所帮助，或者他可能认为它们表明了其他人认为他丢脸的程度

He indirectly indicated his feelings to Randolph in late August 1794, suggesting that the United States should not have allowed itself to be "insulted" by acceding to a recall request on the basis of reciprocity, and made a "kind of Testamentary request" on Monroe's behalf that speaks eloquently of his own sense of injury. "[S]hould any of the Factions or parties which may prevail in this Country solicit his recall supposing

1794年8月下旬，他间接地向伦道夫表达了自己的感情，暗示美国不应允许自己在互惠基础上接受召回请求而“受到侮辱”，并代表门罗提出了“某种遗嘱请求”，雄辩地说明了他自己的受伤感。“本国可能盛行的任何派系或党派，如果他认为有必要罢免他，应该如何处理？”

always that his Conduct be proper in Regard to the United States" —a pointed remark— "I ask then for him (under that restriction) the Confidence and protection of the American Government to the End that it may be felt and known here. I hope," he reiterated, "a thorough Conviction may be made to exist that he is unmovable."²⁷

“我请求他(在这种限制之下)为美国政府的信任和保护达到目的，以便在这里可以感受到和了解到。“我希望，”他重申，“可以使一个彻底的信念存在，他是不可动摇的。”图 27

If he delayed returning because of a sense of humiliation, however, he said nothing. He told his brother-in-law in 1796 that he needed to settle some affairs in which "Reputation as well as Property are concerned," and added,

然而，如果他因为羞辱感而推迟返回，他什么也没说。他在 1796 年告诉他的妹夫，他需要解决一些事情，“名誉和财产都是关系到的，”并补充说，

I had Reason to apprehend being called again in to public Life were I in America, but so long as I continue abroad, I can trust to the Industry of my Enemies for keeping me in a private Station.²⁸

如果我在美国，我有理由担心再次被召入公共生活，但只要我继续在国外生活，我就可以相信我的敌人工业会把我留在一个私人的岗位上

The "affairs" included continuing to work for Lafayette's release. A factor of probably greater importance was Adèle, whose story has been neglected for some time.

这些“风流韵事”包括继续为拉斐特的释放工作。一个可能更重要的因素是阿德勒，他的故事被忽略了一段时间。

• • •
•••

On June 20, 1793, Morris wrote to Angelica Church, thanking her for her kindness to a "deserving Woman of my Acquaintance whose Heart has been much bruised by Misfortune and who merits a better Fate than she has hitherto experienced."²⁹ The woman was Adèle. She was living in a London apartment paid for by Lord Wycombe, and she saw Talleyrand regularly until his departure for America.³⁰ Morris also provided funds for her, but though Adèle

de Flahaut may have been sickly, she clearly had inner strength. She soon found another resource besides her lovers, which was her pen: she spent much of her time in London using the literary skills Morris had so admired to write romantic novels, and achieved a striking success.³¹

1793年6月20日，莫里斯写信给安吉莉卡·丘奇，感谢她对“我认识的一个值得称赞的女人的善意，她的心因为不幸而受到伤害，她应该得到比她迄今所经历的更好的命运。”那个女人叫阿德勒。她住在伦敦的一间公寓里，费用由维康伯爵支付，在他动身前往美国之前，她经常去 Talleyrand。除了她的情人，她很快就找到了另一个资源，那就是她的笔：她在伦敦花了很多时间用莫里斯所崇拜的文学技巧写浪漫小说，并取得了惊人的成功

Her husband was not with her. The pitiful but gallant M. de Flahaut had been arrested in connection with an ill-advised effort by Bertrand de Moleville to send assignats, which apparently proved to be fraudulent, to a friend in France. Flahaut managed to escape in 1793—his family bribed the jailers—but while waiting to cross the Channel, he heard that his attorney had been arrested in reprisal. He turned himself in, hoping to act as an exchange for the release of the attorney; he was executed.³² A hand-written memoir of his trial is in Morris' s papers, indicating that Morris

她丈夫没有和她在一起。可怜而勇敢的德·弗拉豪特先生因伯特兰·德·莫尔维尔不明智地企图向法国的一个朋友发送一批显然证明是欺诈性的货物而被捕。1793年，弗拉豪特设法逃脱——他的家人贿赂了看守——但在等待渡过英吉利海峡时，他听说他的律师因为报复而被捕。他自首，希望以此作为释放律师的交换条件；他被处决了。莫里斯的文件中有一份他受审的手写备忘录，表明莫里斯

may have tried to help him. His death, so often desired by Morris in the carefree early days of his affair with Adèle, probably sobered them both, and may well have tainted the relationship from then on.

可能试图帮助他。他的死，在莫里斯与阿德勒的恋情无忧无虑的早期，是莫里斯经常渴望的，很可能使他们两人都清醒了，而且很可能从那时起就玷污了他们之间的关系。

It is uncertain how often Adèle and Morris wrote each other. His papers contain few letters from her, and it is possible that letters on both sides were never received. On December 24, 1793, she sent him a letter that said, "Not a line from you and yet I write, and will even always write." She planned to return to France, she told him. "I don't feel guilty in the least for having abandoned you so long . . . [I]t seems to me there can be no question of excuses between us because, on my side at least, there can be no wrongs."³³ Her protest that she had written frequently without response is open to doubt. This was above all a pragmatic woman with a child to support, and it seems highly coincidental that her first letter in perhaps a year to get through to Morris was one written when Talleyrand was leaving England, and that two more letters, which she wrote Morris in the next two weeks, were received.³⁴

阿德勒和莫里斯通信的频率不得而知。他的文件里几乎没有她的信，可能双方的信件都没有收到。1793年12月24日，她给他写了一封信，上面写道：“你一封信也不给我，但我会写信，甚至永远写下去。”她告诉他，她打算回法国。“抛弃你这么久，我一点也不觉得内疚……在我看来，我们之间没有任何借口，因为至少在我这边，没有错误。”她抗议说她经常写信而没有得到回复，这使人怀疑。这首先是一个务实的女人，有一个孩子要抚养，而且看起来非常巧合的是，也许一年来她给莫里斯写的第一封信是在Talleyrand离开英格兰时写的，而且在接下来的两个星期里她又给莫里斯写了两封信

In any event, though Morris clearly missed her, and later events demonstrated that she was still his strongest attachment, he too consoled himself in her absence. He carried on a flirtation with Élise de Foucault, Chau-mont's sister, and invited her to Seine-Port. He was also sexually involved with a woman named Mme de Simon. There is very little information about her, but she visited him at Seine-Port in early 1794, and she was there again on his last night in France, though she disappointed him by wishing to be sage.³⁵ Though they parted with "strong Emotion," the tie was weak, for he was uninterested in resuming the affair when she appeared in Germany.³⁶

无论如何，尽管莫里斯显然很想念她，后来又发生了一些事情，说她仍然是他最依恋的人，但他在她不在的时候也安慰了自己。他和周蒙的

妹妹李斯·德·福柯调情，请她到塞纳港去。他还和一个名叫德西蒙夫人的女人发生了性关系。关于她的信息很少，但她于1794年初在 Seine-Port 拜访了他，在他在法国的最后一个晚上，她再次出现在那里，尽管她希望成为圣人，使他失望

*Perhaps Adèle learned of these liaisons, but it is unlikely that they figured in her eventual decision to break with Morris. They met again in March 1795 in Altona, near Hamburg, after a two-and-a-half year interval that had been grueling for them both. Morris had spent a lonely winter after leaving France, ill and clearly heartsick. "Another Year is added to the many which have been lost in the abyss of eternal Duration," he wrote on December 31, 1794, in Hamburg. A week later he went to a play to "drown in my Tears all Thought of my own Situation," and added, "Oh God I humbly thank thee for that Sensibility which thus opens my Heart to fancied Joy and Woe. Sweet Sensibility how gently dost thou lead us along the Road of Life which but for thee would be a cold and barren Desert."*³⁷

也许阿德勒已经知道了这些关系，但是他们不太可能因为她最终决定和莫里斯分手而改变主意。1795年3月，他们在汉堡附近的阿尔托纳再次相遇，经历了两年半的折磨之后。离开法国之后，莫里斯度过了一个孤独的冬天，他显然病得很重，很伤心。1794年12月31日，他在汉堡写道：“在永恒的深渊中迷失的许多人又多了一年。”。一个星期后，他去看一出戏，“沉浸在我的眼泪里，想想我自己的处境”，并补充说，“哦，上帝，我谦卑地感谢你的感受力，这使我的心敞开，充满欢乐和悲伤。甜蜜的情感，你是如何温柔地带领我们走上生命之路，如果没有你，这条路将是一片寒冷而贫瘠的沙漠。”图37

Adèle had briefly taken charge of the young duc d'Orléans, and Morris agreed to act as surety for money for him. She wanted to return to France,

阿德勒曾短暂地接管过这位年轻的德奥尔兰公爵，莫里斯同意为他担保。她想回法国，

something Morris could not offer her; they apparently quarreled, and he left Germany abruptly for London in the late spring. When he heard a rumor that she was engaged to the Portuguese ambassador de Souza, he had been away nearly a year, but he rushed back to Altona. They resolved nothing, and over the next year he went on forays throughout Europe, compulsively returning at intervals, having brief affairs in the meantime. On one visit he ran into Wycombe who told him that Adèle had tried to trap him into marriage. "She had nearly caught him and he seems to be very angry at it." As Swiggett points out, the conversation reflected badly on both men, but wounded pride undoubtedly had much to do with it.³⁸ Whether Morris wanted to renew his long-ago promise of marriage is uncertain. It does seem certain that despite his enduring attraction to her they were no longer at ease together.

莫里斯不能给她的东西，他们显然吵架了，他在春末突然离开德国去了伦敦。当他听说她和葡萄牙大使 deSouza 订婚时，他已经离开了将近一年，但他赶回了阿尔托纳。他们没有解决任何问题，接下来的一年里，他继续在欧洲各地游荡，时不时地强迫性地回来一趟，同时也有一些简短的事情。在一次拜访中，他偶然遇到了怀科姆，怀科姆告诉他，阿德勒曾试图诱骗他结婚。“她差点就抓到他了，他似乎对此很生气。”正如斯威格特所指出的那样，这次谈话对两人都产生了不利影响，但受伤的自尊心无疑与此有很大关系。莫里斯是否愿意重申他很久以前的婚姻承诺，目前还不确定。似乎可以肯定的是，尽管他对她有着持久的吸引力，他们在一起却不再自在。

By the end of September 1797, after a summer back in Altona, during which matters remained open and Morris was uncharacteristically aim-less, Adèle could stand her exile no longer and decided to risk returning to France. Talleyrand was there and in a strong position with the new Directory and this undoubtedly influenced her decision. On September 21, 1797, Morris called on her, and in what appears to have been a conversation in which he tried to convince her not to leave, he recorded stiffly that she assured him that the Directory was not enforcing the decrees against the émigrés. Perhaps she left that day or the next. The brevity of the next few diary entries is eloquent of his distress, and he spent the days on long, lonely walks. He would never see her again.

1797年9月底，在阿尔托纳度过了一个夏天之后，事情仍然没有结

束，莫里斯一反常态地没有目标，阿德勒再也不能忍受自己的流亡，决定冒险返回法国。Talleyrand在那里，并且在新的目录中处于强有力的地位，这无疑影响了她的决定。1797年9月21日，莫里斯拜访了她，在一次似乎是劝说她不要离开的交涉中，他生硬地记录说她向他保证，目录并没有强制执行反对米格尔的法令。也许她那天或者第二天就走了。接下来几篇简短的日记雄辩地描述了他的痛苦，他花了几天时间漫长而孤独地散步。他再也见不到她了。

De Souza, probably put off by the appearance of Morris and Wycombe, had broken off with Adèle, but in 1802 they met again in Paris and married.³⁹ Morris continued as a bachelor until 1809. While he was certainly not celibate during the many years before he married Anne Randolph, it is unlikely that he ever loved another woman as he had loved Adèle de Flahaut.

德·索萨可能是因为莫里斯和威科姆的出现而不高兴，所以和阿德勒分手了，但是1802年他们在巴黎再次相遇，并在婚礼上重逢。虽然在他与安妮·伦道夫结婚之前的许多年里，他肯定不是独身主义者，但他爱另一个女人的可能性不大，因为他曾经爱过弗拉豪特广场。