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Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

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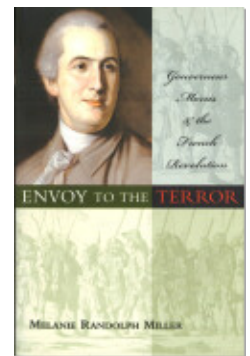
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CHAPTER TEN

第十章

The End of the Monarchy 君主制的终结

MORRIS' S TENURE AS MINISTER—from April 1792 to July 1794—can fairly be broken down into two periods: before and after the fall of the king. The division is appropriate, for August 1792 appears to have marked the end of Morris' s secret involvement in French affairs, and the start of a necessary dedication to American difficulties resulting from the new government and war between France and England. During the first period, the demands on him in his capacity as minister were few, for there was little he could do on behalf of American commercial interests while the French government was in upheaval. Nor did he do anything in the way of business, except for working on a land sales agreement with Constable and James LeRay de Chaumont.

莫里斯的大臣任期从 1792 年 4 月到 1794 年 7 月可以大致分为两个时期:国王倒台前。这种分歧是恰当的, 因为 1792 年 8 月似乎标志着莫里斯秘密介入法国事务的结束, 也标志着美国开始致力于解决新政府和法国与英国之间的战争所造成的困难。在第一个时期, 作为部长, 对他的要求很少, 因为在法国政府动荡的时候, 他几乎不能代表美国的商业利益做什么。除了与康斯特布尔和詹姆斯·勒雷·德肖蒙签订土地出让协议外, 他也没有做任何有关生意的事情。

He therefore had the time to follow a path into deepening entanglement in the king' s concerns. The merits of his decision to continue his role as French advisor after his appointment as American minister raise interesting, if troubling, issues and once more demonstrate the complexity of this deep-thinking but also deep-feeling and thus not entirely consistent man. As described by Theodore Roosevelt, the belief “that his own exertions were all that lay between the two unfortunate sovereigns and their fate roused his gallantry and blinded him to the risk he himself ran, as well as to the hazard to which he put his country' s interests.” Whether one can conclude with Roosevelt that it is “impossible to blame Morris for what he did,” it is hard

to disagree with him that Morris believed "he could not honorably withdraw"¹
from his efforts.

因此，他有时沿着一条道路走下去，深深地陷入国王所关心的问题中。在他被任命为美国部长之后，他决定继续担任法国顾问，这一决定的好处引起了一些有趣(虽然令人不安)的问题，并再次表明了这个思想深刻但感情深厚的人的复杂性，因此并非完全持反对意见。正如西奥多·罗斯福所描述的那样，“他自己的努力是两个不幸的君主和他们的命运之间的关系，这种信念激起了他的勇气，蒙蔽了他自己所冒的风险，以及他把他的国家利益置于危险之中。”不管人们是否可以和罗斯福一样得出这样的结论：“不可能把莫里斯的所作所为归咎于他”，很难不同意他的观点，即莫里斯相信“他不能体面地撤销”自己的努力

Yet Morris was not simply trying to save the king; he was trying to steer France safely past what he called the Scylla and Charybdis of despotism and anarchy. Perhaps the greatest and most widely held misconception of Morris by historians is that he was an "anachronism" who wanted a return to prerevolutionary France.² He did not. Like Jefferson, he wanted France to have as "as full a portion of liberty dealt out to them as the nation can

然而，莫里斯不仅仅是在试图拯救国王，他还在试图安全地驾驶法国渡过他所谓的“锡拉”(Scylla)和“卡里布底”(Charybdis)的专制和无政府状态。也许历史学家对莫里斯最大、最广泛的误解是，他是一个“时代错误”，想要回到革命前的法国。像杰斐逊一样，他希望法国“尽可能地给予他们一部分自由

bear,"³ in the form of a monarchy with a functional constitution—a view Jefferson had at the outset, then discarded, and later readopted. He had no illusions about the capacity of Louis XVI, but believed him far preferable to a despot springing from one of the factions. He opposed a privileged aristocracy, and he despised the *ancien régime*—but he opposed establishment of a republic in France, not because he did not prize it above all other political forms, but because he was convinced (correctly) that it would not work in that country, a country he had quickly perceived was “not yet fitted by education and habit for the enjoyment of free-dom.”⁴ “The true Object of a great Statesman,” he wrote to William Carmichael, “is to give to any particular Nation the kind of Laws which is suitable to them, and the best Constitution which they are capable of.”⁵ This one statement, which echoes the philosophy of King Solon of Athens, expresses Morris’ s political philosophy more than any other. All of his actions hewed to that maxim, and it is evident that his conscience was clear. In the fall of 1792, after the monarchy was toppled, he wrote to Robert that “If I had foreseen the events of [August 10] I should have pursued the same conduct.”⁶ There is no question that he thought the matter through and believed that honor required him to continue; not only his own honor but what he considered to be his country’ s honor, in fulfilling its obligation to France.

这种观点最初是由杰斐逊提出的，后来被抛弃，后来又被重新选择。他对路易十六的能力并不抱有幻想，但他相信他更喜欢一个能干的人，而不是一个从某个派系中产生的暴君。他反对私有制的贵族统治，蔑视旧制度——但他反对在法国建立共和国，不是因为他没有把它置于所有其他政治形式之上，而是因为他确信(正确地)这种制度在那个国家行不通，他很快就意识到，那个国家“尚未具备享受自由的教育和习惯”他在给威廉·卡迈克尔的信中写道：“一个伟大政治家的真正目标，是给予任何一个国家适合他们的法律，以及他们能够实现的最好的宪法。”⁵这句话呼应了雅典国王梭伦的哲学，表达了莫里斯的政治哲学。他所有的行动都遵循这一准则，很明显，他的良心是清白的。1792年秋天，君主政体被推翻后，他写信给罗伯特说：“如果我预见到了[8月10日]的事件，我就会采取同样的行动。”毫无疑问，他深思熟虑，认为荣誉要求他继续履行对法国的义务，不仅是他自己的荣誉，而且是他认为是他的国家的荣誉。

During the thirty-two months starting from the time news of Morris’ s nomination arrived until the news of his recall, the French government experienced changes of power entailing eight different representatives of foreign affairs.⁷ Six of them were condemned as traitors, one was murdered,

one was guillotined, one was imprisoned, and one defected to the Austrians. Since each successive administration was the mortal enemy of its predecessors, the complaint that Morris was not on "good terms" with the French government is patently preposterous; as he pointed out repeatedly, "good terms" with any one ministry would have made him automatically suspect with the next. This is in fact precisely what happened: his good relations with the members of the last royal government, to which he was originally accredited, contaminated him for good.

从莫里斯被提名的消息传来到他被罢免的消息之前的三十二个月里，法国政府经历了权力的更迭，产生了八位不同的外交事务代表。其中六人被判为叛徒，一人被处以谋杀罪，一人被斩首，一人被监禁，还有一人叛逃到奥地利。由于历届政府都是前任政府的死敌，有关莫里斯与法国政府“关系不好”的抱怨显然是荒谬的；正如他反复指出的那样，与任何一个部委“关系好”，都会让他无意识地对下一个部委产生怀疑。事实正是如此：他与最后一届王室政府成员的良好关系使他受到了永久的污染。

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With the nominations confirmed, Jefferson sat down in late January 1792 and drafted his instructions to the three new ministers.⁸ The tone of his letter to Morris was noticeably cooler than the one to Pinckney, but he
随着提名的确认，杰斐逊在1792年1月下旬坐下来，起草了他对三位新部长的指示

was civil. "To you it would be more than unnecessary to undertake a general delineation of the functions of the Office to which you are appointed," Jefferson wrote. "I shall therefore only express our desire, that they be constantly exercised in that spirit of sincere friendship and attachment which we bear to the French Nation; and that in all transactions with the Minister, his good dispositions be conciliated by whatever in language or attentions may tend to that effect." This was an undoubted reference to the negative reports he had been receiving from Short and others about Morris, and he added:

很有礼貌。杰斐逊写道：“对你来说，对你被任命的办公室的职能进行一般性的描述是完全没有必要的。”。“因此，我只想表达我们的愿望，希望他们能本着我们对法兰西民族所怀有的真诚的友谊和忠诚的精神来行事，并希望在同迷你船长的一切交往中，无论用什么样的语言或殷勤，都能调和他的好脾气。”这无疑是对肖特和其他人关于莫里斯的负面报道的指责，他补充道：

With respect to their Government, we are under no call to express opinions which might please or offend any party; and therefore it will be best to avoid them on all occasions, public or private. Could any circumstances require unavoidably such expressions, they would naturally be in conformity with the sentiments of the great mass of our countrymen, who having first, in modern times, taken the ground of Government founded on the will of the people, cannot but be delighted on seeing so distinguished and so esteemed a Nation arrive on the same ground, and plant their standard by our side.

关于他们的政府，我们没有被要求表达可能使任何一方高兴或冒犯他们的意见；因此，在任何场合，无论是公开场合还是私下场合，我们最好避免表达这些意见。如果在任何情况下都不可避免地需要这样的表述，那么它们将完全符合我们广大同胞的感情，他们在现代首先建立了以人民意志为基础政府，看到一个如此杰出和受人尊敬的国家来到同一块土地上，并把他们的标准植根于我们身边，他们不能不感到高兴。

The most important of Morris' s duties would be the "patronage of our Commerce and the extension of it' s [sic] privileges, both in France and her Colonies," a goal Jefferson and Morris shared. He requested a twice monthly letter of "interesting occurrences in France, of the general affairs of Europe," newspapers, and "such other publications as may be important

enough to be read by one who can spare little time to read anything." Morris should use the English packet, and "by those packets I would wish always to receive a letter from you by way of corrective to the farrago of news they generally bring." Secret communications were to be sent through the American consul at Le Havre.

莫里斯最重要的职责是“在法国和她的殖民地支持我们的商业并扩大它的特权”，这是杰弗逊和莫里斯共同的目标。他要求每月写两封信，写上“法国发生的有趣事件，欧洲的一般事务”、报纸和“其他重要的出版物，以便那些几乎没有时间阅读任何东西的人阅读”莫里斯应该使用英文包装，并且“通过这些包装，我希望总能收到你的来信，以纠正他们通常带来的杂乱无章的新闻。”秘密通讯将通过美国驻勒阿弗尔领事馆发出。

From the time of his appointment, Morris' s friendship with Jefferson, already impaired by Short and others, continued to decline, leaving for the most part only the cold ties of official communication.⁹ On Jefferson' s side, those communications were to be markedly infrequent, leaving Morris without direction for many months at a time in the midst of France' s greatest upheaval—one gap, during the height of the Terror, was about nine months. Some of the problem was due to delays in delivery, but there was quite a bit of truth to Morris' s wry comment to Pinckney that "[o]ur Secretary of State seems much attached to Brevity, and

从他被任命开始，莫里斯与杰弗逊的友谊就已经被肖特和其他人破坏了，并且继续下降，在很大程度上只留下了冷淡的官方交流。⁹在杰弗逊那边，这些交流显然很少，使得莫里斯在法国最大的动荡时期有好几个月没有方向。在恐怖活动最激烈的时期，有一次差距大约持续了9个月。一些问题是由于交付的延迟，但是莫里斯对平克尼的嘲讽说“你们的国务卿似乎很重视简洁，而且

reminds me of a Bromide of his Predecessor, that least said is soonest mended.”¹⁰

让我想起了他的前任的一句名言，说得最少最快就能弥补

When news of his nomination arrived, Morris was in London, winding up business matters before leaving for America. He had many reasons to return home, including Robert's worsening situation. He was particularly concerned for Robert's family: "[S]hould you fall during my Absence there is no Person I know of either able or willing to see that they have Justice done them," he wrote anxiously to his old friend.¹¹ Another worry was the continuing lack of profit from Morrisania, which he had left under the eye of his nephew, James Morris. James had written that winter to say that Gouverneur's "Farm looks well." Morris replied tartly, "I am glad of it for good Looks are good Things, but I should be glad to hear a little of some resulting Income to repay my great Advances." In the three years since he had left Morrisania, he told his nephew, he had received from it "just one Apple. I think you will agree with me that it ought to have been a golden one."¹²

当获得提名的消息传来时，莫里斯正在伦敦，结束商业事务，然后前往美国。他有很多理由回家，包括罗伯特日益恶化的情况。他特别关心罗伯特的家人：“我不在的时候，没有一个我认识的人能够或者愿意看到他们受到正义的惩罚，”他焦急地写信给他的老朋友。另一个担心是他在侄子詹姆斯·莫里斯的眼皮底下离开了 Morrisania，从那里继续得不到利润。那年冬天，詹姆斯曾写信说古佛尼尔的“庄园看起来不错”莫里斯尖刻地回答说：“我很高兴，因为外表是好东西，但是我很高兴听到一些由此产生的收入来偿还我的巨额预付款。”他告诉自己的侄子，离开 Morrisania 后的三年里，他从苹果公司得到的“只有一个苹果”。我想你会同意我的看法，那本应该是一部黄金电影。”图 12

Having told Short that he would "bett ten to one against my being appointed any where," Morris must have been stunned to find out other-wise, for his diary entry of February 6 records simply that he was told about his nomination by William Constable.¹³ He also learned that it was hanging "by the Eyelids," and it was not until March 20 that he had word that he was confirmed; he did not receive his credentials until April 6.¹⁴

莫里斯告诉肖特，他“十之八九不会让我被任命到任何地方”，但他肯定惊讶地发现，在 2 月 6 日的日记中，他只是简单地记录了威廉·康斯特布尔(William Constable)对他的提名。¹³他还得知，提名挂在“眼皮边”，直到 3 月 20 日，他才得到确认的消息；他直到 4 月 6 日才收到资格证书。¹⁴

His appreciation of the honor was nearly submerged by his conviction that the assignment would be both arduous and thankless. He expressed his

reluctance plainly to Robert. "The mission to France must be a stormy one, let it fall on whom it may," he told Robert unerringly. "To stand well with all Parties is impossible." He had thus hesitated. "Did I consult only my own Feelings and my own Interest I should certainly not accept it." However, Morris continued, "I shall endeavor by serving essentially the United States to justify the Opinion of the president and the Attachment of my Friends." His letter to Washington showed the same reserve, less forcefully expressed. "If I know my own Heart this Intelligence is far less agreeable to me on my own Account than on that of the Public," he wrote. "I am sure that a Rejection [by the Senate], from whatever Cause it may have arisen, would have been attributed to Disunion in our Counsels."¹⁵

他深信这项任务将是艰巨而费力不讨好的，这几乎淹没了他对这一荣誉的赞赏。他直截了当地向罗伯特表示了他的不情愿。他准确无误地告诉罗伯特：“去法国的任务一定要有风暴，让它落在任何可能的人身上。”。“与各方站在一起是不可能的。”他就这样犹豫了一下。“如果我只顾自己的感受和利益，我当然不会接受。”然而，莫里斯继续说，“我将努力从本质上为美国服务，证明总统的意见和我的朋友的附件是正确的。”他写给华盛顿的信也表现出了同样的保留态度，没有那么有力地表达。他写道：“如果我了解自己的内心，那么这份智慧对我来说就远不如对公众的智慧那么容易接受。”。“我相信，(参议院)的否决，无论是出于什么原因，都会在我们的法律顾问中被归咎于分裂。”

图 15

Having determined to accept, Morris did not leave London for another month. He wrapped up business (he "quitted business" except for land sales) and tried to settle accounts with the cagey Daniel Parker. He may have taken his time to allow the disappointed Short to stay in Paris as long as possible. "I am sure that the Interests of the United States cannot be in

莫里斯决定接受，但又过了一个月才离开伦敦。他结束了自己的生意(除了卖地之外，他“退出了生意”)，并试图与谨慎的丹尼尔·帕克(danielparker)算账。他可能不慌不忙地让失望的肖特尽可能长时间地呆在巴黎。“我相信，美国的利益不可能

better Hands than yours," he wrote the new minister to The Hague, a compliment that probably made Short angrier than ever.¹⁶ He was allotted a year's salary (\$9,000) for his "outfit," and he purchased new plate, horses, malmsey and Madeira, a coach, and books. He offered the job of secretary to Robert's son, who declined.¹⁷

他拿到了一年的薪水(9000美元)来买他的“衣服”，还买了新的盘子、马匹、马车和马德拉、马车和书。他给罗伯特的儿子提供了秘书的工作，罗伯特的儿子拒绝了

He wrote to Oliver Ellsworth, Rufus King, and Hamilton, pressing them to send him "Intelligence Opinions Advice," because "a Minister who knows not those Affairs of his Country which are known to many others is placed in an awkward Situation; besides, there is always a Kind of Traffic in Articles of Intelligence among the Members of the diplomatic Body in which Beads and Wampum are sometimes given for Gold, to the Satisfaction of both Parties."¹⁸

他写信给奥利弗·埃尔斯沃思, Rufus King 和 Hamilton, 要求他们给他送来“情报意见建议”，因为“一个大臣如果不知道他的国家的事务，而这些事务又被许多人知道，那么他就会处于一种尴尬的境地;此外，在外交机构的成员之间总是有一种情报交易，在这种交易中，珠子和贝壳珠有时被用来换取金子，给双方的萨蒂派。”图 18

"I cannot avoid expressing to you how much I am gratified by your good Opinion," Morris wrote to Ellsworth, indicating knowledge of the details of the Senate vote. At the same time, he was stung by the opposition. That spring his brother-in-law Samuel Ogden wrote him from New York that

莫里斯在给埃尔斯沃思的信中写道：“我无法不向你表达我对你的好意有多么高兴。”这表明我知道参议院投票的细节。与此同时，他也被反对派刺痛了。那年春天，他的妹夫塞缪尔·奥格登从纽约给他写信说

Some damned scoundrel has lately published a pamphlet under the signature of "massachusettsie" [illegible] [which] called stricture on the great departments—every body is abused but Hamilton—You are lashed with a degree of bitterness your friends are surprized at. I think it written in Philadelphia by one of your Old Friends.¹⁹

最近有个该死的恶棍出版了一本小册子，上面有“麻省难以辨认”的签名，称之为对各大部门的限制——每个人都受到了虐待，但汉密尔顿——你受到了一定程度的痛苦的折磨，你的朋友们对你寄予厚望。我想这是你的一个老朋友在费城写的

Morris responded that he could not
莫里斯回答说不能

but suffer when I hear that I am traduc' d altho it has so often hap-
pen' d that I ought to be callous. If the Consciousness of Integrity be a
sufficient Shield the Darts of Malice can never touch my Bosom for I can
fairly stand forth and challenge the World to produce against me a single
Instance of mean or cruel or dishonest or dishonorable Conduct. . . . The
best Reply which I can make is faithfully to serve my Country whenever
called on and in whatever Way.²⁰

但是当我听说我受到牵连的时候，我就会感到痛苦，因为我经常受到牵连，所以我应该是冷酷无情的。如果正直的意识是一个足够的盾牌，恶意的飞镖永远不能碰到我的胸部，因为我可以公平地站出来，挑战世界对我产生一个单一的例子，卑鄙或残忍或不诚实或不光彩的行为..。我所能做的最好的回答就是无论什么时候被召唤，无论以什么方式，忠实地为我的国家服务

*Of course, Morris was well aware of antagonism in Paris, exemplified by publications in Brissot' s paper Le Patriote Français, calling Morris an "American intriguer" with the "enemy of our liberty."*²¹ James Swan was uneasy about these attacks, probably because he hoped to exploit Morris' s new position. He went to see Brissot, and reported to Morris on the con-versation:

当然，莫里斯非常清楚巴黎的敌对情绪，例如 Brissot 报纸《法国爱国者》的出版物就把莫里斯称为“我们自由的敌人”中的“美国的阴谋家”²¹詹姆斯·斯旺对这些攻击感到不安，可能是因为他希望利用莫里斯的新职位。他去见了布里索特，向莫里斯报告了谈话的情况：

[Brissot] introduced the subject himself, and observed that he was sure of the facts, & knew your intimacy with the Royal party, & your sentiments on the Constitution. I mention' d many faults in that [con-stitution] which were too striking not to meet his ideas, & were too great not to receive the disapprobation of you & every sensible person. He concluded that he who was friend to the aristocrates, or were intimate with the present [illegible] of the executive, must be enemies to the opinions of the majority of the people, for that majority was opposed to the present Ministry—& therefore the greatest part of the nation could have no confidence in you. [布里索特]亲自介绍了这个问题, 并指出他对事实很有把握, 也知道你与王室党派的密切关系, 以及你对宪法的看法。我提到了那个宪法的许多缺点, 它们太惊人了, 不符合他的思想, 也太伟大了, 不能不得到你和每一个明智的儿子的反对。他的结论是, 与贵族为友, 或者与现任行政长官[难以辨认]关系密切的人, 一定是大多数人民意见的敌人, 因为大多数人反对现任的内阁——因此全国大多数人不能信任你。

Brissot acknowledged Morris' s "personal abilities," but declared
布里索特承认莫里斯的“个人能力”, 但宣称

[O]ne could not have confidence in a declared enemy to the Const' n.—He observed slightly on S——' s [Short' s] abilities, that altho' not great, yet were equal to the services that might be required— & that he had lately prudently kept silence on the Constn.

他略微注意到肖特的能力, 虽然不大, 但却能胜任可能需要的服务, 而且他最近在委员会上谨慎地保持沉默。

Swan then “insidiously” informed Brissot that Short had passed him over in choosing an agent to represent American interests in Assembly com-mittee discussions. Brissot was “mortified into a rage,” and promptly denounced Short. Nonetheless, said Swan,

斯万随后“不知不觉地”告诉布里索特, 肖特在议会委员会的讨论中選擇了一名代表美国利益的代理人, 而没有选择他。布里索特被“羞辱得暴跳如雷”, 立即公开指责肖特。尽管如此, 斯旺说,

On the whole I found an uncommon rancour against you, & which I suspect is fed by some interest concealed, & a fear that your influence might operate against his plans on the appropriation of the balance due by the

U.S. to France. This I could soon arrange with him.²²

总的来说，我对你有一种不同寻常的怨恨，我怀疑是因为你隐瞒了一些利益，我担心你的影响可能会对他的计划产生不利影响，使他无法挪用美国欠法国的余额。这件事我很快就可以和他商量

Swan' s comment in this last paragraph is striking, in view of the difficulties Morris would run into with Brissot' s associates concerning the debt. 斯万在最后一段的评论是惊人的，考虑到困难的情况下，莫里斯会遇到布里索的同事关于债务。

Morris was sufficiently concerned to write to Chaumont about the newspaper attacks,

莫里斯非常关心肖蒙，于是写信告诉他关于报纸袭击事件的情况，

the Object of which is doubtless to injure me in America. If my Appointment be disagreeable to good Men with you I certainly ought not to accept it, but if it be agreeable I ought not to be traduced. . . .

它的目的无疑是要在美国伤害我。如果我的任命对你的好人不合意，我当然不应该接受，但如果合意的话，我不应该受到中伤.....。

Let me bear what Blame I may deserve but no more.²³

让我承担我应该承担的责任，但不能再多了

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Shortly after the start of the year 1792, Morris was asked at a social gathering to cast a horoscope for France and answered "that it might be done in three words *Guerre Famine Peste*." Eighteen months later he would remember that grim prediction, and would "pray God" that while part of it had been fulfilled, the rest of it would "be not fully accomplished."²⁴

1792年年初不久，莫里斯在一次社交聚会上被要求为法国算命，他回答说：“可以用三个字来算。”18个月后，他会想起那个可怕的预言，并且会“向上帝祈祷”，尽管其中的一部分已经实现了，但是其余的部分“还没有完全实现”图24

Morris no longer advocated war, but he knew that France, goaded by Brissot and the Girondins, was proceeding rapidly toward it. The Assembly had issued an ultimatum to Austria in January, requiring the emperor to declare by March 1 whether Austria would stay out of a European concert of powers against France. Emperor Leopold died in early March, to be replaced by the less moderate Francis II. Meanwhile, Talleyrand's mission to London—he went twice—did not go well. Morris, though he opposed the mission, had not neglected civility, introducing Talleyrand to the Churches, and visiting him while in London. He told the disapproving Duchess of Gordon that Talleyrand was a "sensible pleasant Man. His Morals not exemplary but that Matter much exaggerated." Nonetheless, King George expressed the view of London society when he told Grenville that he was glad Talleyrand and his suite did not have letters of credence "and therefore may receive the contempt their characters entitle them to. I know I need not recommend the greatest caution to Lord Grenville in conversing with persons much fitter to be employed with the new club in St. James' s Street than with any servants of the crown."²⁵

莫里斯不再主张战争，但是他知道法国在布里索和吉伦特的鼓动下，正在迅速地 toward 战争进发。阿西姆曾在1月份向奥地利发出最后通牒，要求奥地利皇帝在3月1日之前宣布，奥地利是否会置身于欧洲针对法国的权力保护之外。利奥波德皇帝于三月初去世，取而代之的是温和派的弗朗西斯二世。与此同时，Talleyrand的伦敦之行(他去了两次)并不顺利。莫里斯虽然反对传教，但并没有忽视礼貌，他把Talleyrand介绍给了教会，并在伦敦期间拜访了他。他告诉不赞成他的戈登公爵夫人，Talleyrand是一个“理智和蔼的人。他的道德并非典范，但物质却受到了极大的赞扬。”尽管如此，乔治国王表达了伦敦社会的观点，他告诉格伦维尔，他很高兴Talleyrand和他的套房没有信用证，“因此可能会受到他们的性格赋予他们的蔑视。我知道我不必向格伦维尔勋爵建议，在与圣詹姆斯街新俱乐部雇用的人交谈时，要比与王室的任何仆人交谈时要谨慎得多图25

According to the well-informed Count Woronzow, Talleyrand hurt him-self by

boasting of funds he carried for bribes, hobnobbing with the opposition (a familiar complaint to Morris!), and for bringing Stephen Sayre along.²⁶ He was also criticized in France. The *Gazette Universelle*, the monarchien²⁷ paper that had gone after Morris the previous fall, poked fun at the erstwhile bishop's mission. No one knows the progress of Talleyrand's negotiations, it reported. "[H]e has actually seen M. Burke. It is said he has made a conquest of this last. If he were able to achieve his conversion, it would be an even greater miracle than obtaining what he went over there for." In May, the English gave assurances of neutrality, which Talleyrand described as a success, though Morris believed it was as meaningless as it later proved.²⁸

根据消息灵通的沃伦佐伯爵的说法，Talleyrand通过吹嘘自己携带的用于贿赂的资金伤害了他自己，与反对派亲密接触(这对莫里斯来说再熟悉不过了!)²⁶。他在法国也受到批评。去年秋天继莫里斯之后出版的《世界新闻报》(*The Gazette Universelle*)对前任主教的使命进行了调侃。报道称，没有人知道Talleyrand新贸易协定的进展。“他实际上看到了伯克先生。据说他已经征服了这最后一块土地。如果他能够实现他的转变，那将是一个比得到他去那里的目的更大的奇迹。”今年5月，英国保证中立，Talleyrand称之为成功，但莫里斯认为中立毫无意义

In March, the French ministry changed again. "The Ministerial Seats resemble electrical Chairs," Morris wrote to Short, "which give every Occupant a kick in the Breeches." Bertrand de Moleville (a key supporter of the king who was minister of the marine [navy]) broke off with Lafayette and Narbonne over Austria, and the king dismissed Narbonne amid allegations of "notorious Peculation."²⁹ In retaliation, impeachment charges for the crime of *lèse-nation* (treason) were brought against the hap-

今年3月，法国外交部再次发生变化。“部长座椅类似于电椅，”莫里斯在给肖特的信中写道，“这种椅子能让每个乘客在马裤里感到一阵刺激。”在奥地利问题上，伯特兰德·德·莫尔维尔(伯特兰德·德·莫尔维尔是国王的关键支持者，曾任海军部长)与拉菲·埃特(Lafayette)和纳尔邦尼(Narbonne)分道扬镳，国王因纳尔邦尼被指“恶名昭彰的侵吞”而将其免职²⁹为了报复，对联邦政府提出了叛国罪的弹劾指控

less foreign minister Delessart at the behest of Brissot and Narbonne's supporters. This episode was an excellent example of the constitutional defects criticized by Morris: while the constitution purported to give the king power over foreign affairs, it effectively denied him that power by making his ministers subject to Assembly impeachment. Brissot privately admitted the charges against Delessart were unfounded but would keep Delessart out of the ministry for some months—indeed, it was long enough for him to be killed in the September Massacres. “Brissot was faithful to his party,” observed Dumont, “but a traitor to integrity.”³⁰

外交部长德莱萨特应 Brissot 和纳邦支持者的要求减少了。这一事件是莫里斯批评的宪法缺陷的一个很好的例子：宪法声称赋予国王处理外交事务的权力，但实际上却通过让他的部长们受到议会弹劾而剥夺了他的这种权力。布里索私下承认对德莱萨特的指控是没有根据的，但是他会让德莱萨特离开魔法部几个月——事实上，这段时间足以让他在九月屠杀被杀。“布里索对他的政党很忠诚，”杜蒙说，“但他是一个正直的叛徒。”图 30

Moleville was also targeted by Brissot and the Girondins. The Assembly adopted a vote of no confidence against him (Louis rejected it), and on March 9, the same day Narbonne was dismissed, Moleville resigned. This was a blow to Swan's hopes for provisioning the French navy. He told Morris that “the minister who shall succeed him will be of the enraged party, & I shall find it very difficult to get his ear, without sacrificing half to the Creatures whose influence shall have named him, & which will be lost, as it is impossible, under the terrible situation under which this country is, that that party can long exist.”³¹

莫里维尔也是布里索特和吉伦特人的目标。议会通过了对他的不信任投票(路易斯否决了它)，并在 3 月 9 日，纳邦被解雇的同一天，摩尔维尔辞职。这是对斯旺供应法国海军的希望的一个打击。他告诉莫里斯，“接替他的牧师将是被激怒的一方，我会发现很难得到他的耳朵，如果不牺牲一半的生物，他们的影响力将提名他，这将失去，因为这是不可能的，在这个国家的可怕情况下，该党可以长期存在。”图 31

In mid-March, still in London, Morris received a letter from Terrier de Monciel and Br émond, and a visit from their associate Jaubert, asking for advice. Monciel, a long-time associate of Théodore Lameth (brother of Alexander Lameth and now a supporter of the king), had worked with Morris the previous spring to repeal the Assembly's four-year exclusionary decree.³² It is another mark of Morris's influence that he obtained the king's approval, through Moleville, to have Monciel send the king “direct Intelligence,” and Monciel—previously suspect because of his connection with the Lameths—thereafter became one of the inner circle. (Morris kept his

association with Monciel hidden. When they encountered each other in public, they pretended not to know each other.)³³ Morris' s trust was not misplaced. Though largely ignored in recent works, at least two historians of the nineteenth century concluded that Monciel deserves recognition as a man of energy and intelligence, and a devoted friend of the doomed king.³⁴

三月中旬，仍在伦敦的莫里斯收到了一封来自 TerrierdeMonciel 和 Br é mond 的信，还有一封来自他们的合伙人 Jaubert 的信，信中询问了他们的建议。蒙谢尔是斯奥多尔·拉梅斯(thodoreLameth，亚历山大·拉梅斯的兄弟，现在是国王的支持者)的长期合作伙伴，去年春天，他曾与莫里斯一起废除议会长达四年的排他性法令。蒙谢尔通过 Moleville 获得国王的批准，让蒙谢尔派遣国王“直接情报”，蒙谢尔此后成为内部圈子的一员，这也是莫里斯影响力的一个标志。蒙谢尔之前因为与拉梅斯家族的关系而受到怀疑。(莫里斯隐瞒了他与蒙谢尔的关系。当他们在公共场合相遇时，他们假装不认识对方)³³莫里斯的信任没有错。尽管在最近的著作中被大量忽略，但至少有两位十九世纪的历史学家得出结论认为，蒙谢尔作为一个精力充沛、智慧超群的人，以及这位注定要灭亡的国王的忠实朋友，是值得承认的

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Despite Morris' s recommendations, it was Dumouriez' s influence that produced the first Girondin ministry. Dumouriez, whom Ad è le called a “great Rascal,” was a veteran of the Seven Years' War. He had cultivated both the Girondins and the court, through his friend de Laporte, keeper of the Civil List.³⁵ Morris was nonplussed by Dumouriez' s appointment as

尽管莫里斯提出了建议，但正是杜穆里埃斯的影响力产生了第一个吉伦丁牧师。杜穆里埃斯被公众称为“大流氓”，他是七年战争的老兵。通过他的朋友德·拉波特，他培养了吉伦特人和法庭

foreign minister, because although he was told it was a "Sacrifice to the Jacobins," he knew that Dumouriez had been previously determined, if appointed, to "destroy at the Peril of his Life the Jacobin and all other Clubs and to effect a Change in the Government."³⁶ Morris' s information was correct; while Dumouriez publicly backed Brissot' s call for war with Austria, he secretly hoped for a short war that would restore royal authority. At his direction, as a concession to the Girondins, one of their associates, Roland de La Platière, was chosen for the interior and Étienne Clavière was appointed head of finances. The king replaced Narbonne with de Grave, a career soldier, whom Morris considered ineffective; evidently Roland' s politically powerful wife agreed, for in early May she succeeded in having de Grave replaced by a staunch Girondin, Servan de Gerbey, heightening tension in the cabinet.³⁷

因为尽管有人告诉他这是“对雅各宾派的牺牲”，但他知道，杜穆里埃斯此前已经决定，如果任命他，“将雅各宾派和其他所有俱乐部置于生命危险之中，并实现政府的变革。”³⁶ 莫里斯的消息是正确的；尽管杜穆里埃斯公开支持布里索特与奥地利开战的呼吁，但他私下里希望发动一场短暂的战争，恢复王室作家的尊严。在他的指示下，作为对吉伦特人的让步，他们的支持者之一 Roland de La Platière 被选为内政部长，艾蒂安·克拉维埃被任命为财政部长。国王用德格雷夫取代了纳尔邦尼，德格雷夫是一名职业军人，莫里斯认为德格雷夫效率低下。罗兰在政治上很有权势的妻子也同意了，因为在五月初，她成功地把德格雷夫换成了一个坚定的吉伦丁，瑟凡·德格雷夫，这加剧了内阁的紧张气氛

The new ministers claimed an interest in promoting commerce with the United States. This news was immensely gratifying to Jefferson, not just on its own merits but because "notwithstanding the very general abuse of the Jacobins [Jefferson, out of date on the French factions, meant the Girondins, not the "new" Jacobins such as Robespierre], I begin to consider them as representing the true revolution-spirit of the whole nation, and as carrying the nation with them," he told Madison. "The only things wanting with them is more experience in business, and a little more conformity to the established style of communication with foreign powers." Jefferson made a telling addition: "I sincerely wish our new minister may not spoil our chance of extracting good from the present situation of things."³⁸ The Girondins did not make good on their assurances until the following February, in the exigencies of war, when they opened up the French West Indies to American ships. News of the decree arrived in America in May 1793, just before the Girondins Jefferson admired were ousted and imprisoned.

新部长们声称有意促进与美国的贸易往来。这个消息让杰斐逊非常高兴，不仅仅是因为它本身的优点，还因为“尽管杰斐逊总是滥用雅各宾派[过时的杰斐逊指的是吉伦派，而不是像 Robespierre 这样的“新”雅各宾派]，我开始认为他们代表了整个国家真正的革命精神，并且承载着整个国家，”他告诉麦迪逊。“他们唯一需要的是更多的商业经验，以及更符合与外国势力的既定沟通方式。”杰斐逊做了一个生动的补充：“我真诚地希望我们的新总统不要破坏我们从现状中获得好处的机会。”³⁸直到第二年二月，在战争的紧急情况下，吉伦特人才兑现了他们的承诺，他们向美国船只开放了法属安的列斯。1793年5月，这项法令的消息传到了美国，就在吉伦特派的杰斐逊被驱逐和监禁之前。

On April 20, 1792, France declared war on Austria, on the grounds that its ultimatum had not been met. Dumouriez planned to seize Belgium, but the Flemish failed to respond to the French invitation to revolt. The first maneuvers turned out badly for France, and there was trouble between ci-devant (formerly noble) officers and the troops. When a general was murdered by his men in retaliation for a defeat, many other officers resigned, including the comte de Rochambeau, the experienced general who headed the Army of the North and whose help had been indispensable to the success of the American Revolution. "[T]he Troops are every where in Mutiny and La Fayette's Army without Necessaries of

1792年4月20日，法国向奥地利宣战，理由是奥地利的最后通牒没有得到满足。杜穆雷兹计划占领比利时，但是弗拉芒人没有回应法国的叛乱邀请。第一次军事演习对法国不利，军官(以前是贵族)和部队之间发生了矛盾。当一个普通士兵为了报复一次失败而被他的手下杀害时，许多其他官员辞职了，包括领导北方军的经验丰富的将军罗尚博伯爵，他的帮助对美国革命的成功是不可或缺的。“兵变中到处都是军队，拉斐特的军队没有必要

every Kind," Morris recorded grimly in mid-May. "The Horses dead, the Soldiers sick and weary, and the Officers apprehensive and discontented." ³⁹ The remaining generals met at Valenciennes, and declared jointly that an offensive attack was impracticable, recommending that the king ask for peace. In some of the provinces, counterrevolutionaries prepared to welcome invaders. 每一种," 莫里斯在五月中旬冷酷地录制了这首歌。马死了, 士兵们病了, 疲惫不堪, 军官们惶恐不安其余的将军们在瓦朗谢讷会面, 共同宣布进攻是不可行的, 建议国王要求和平。在一些省份, 反革命分子削减了对入侵者的欢迎。

Morris had returned to Paris on May 6. In spite of the threat of invasion, he selected and began furnishing his official residence, on rue de la Planche on the Left Bank, at 3,500 livres in annual rent. He had not seen Adèle since January. After they "celebrated" their reunion in the usual style, Adèle begged Morris' s "Permission and Approbation" to join Talleyrand in London. Annoyed, Morris gave her "the former but tell her that the latter is impossible." ⁴⁰ It appears that she did not go. She told Morris that St. John de Crèvecoeur (formerly French consul at New York) had told her that Dumouriez would refuse to receive Morris; Crèvecoeur confirmed it the next day. "We shall see," was Morris' s only remark, but he asked Monciel and Jaubert to look into the matter. He did not record what they found out, and Short, despite his lengthy account to Jefferson, said nothing; as previously noted, Morris dismissed the idea that Short was responsible. On May 15, Short grudgingly took Morris to meet Dumouriez :

莫里斯已于5月6日返回巴黎。尽管面临入侵的威胁, 他还是选择并开始装修他位于左岸rue de la Planche的官方居所, 年租金为3500里弗。自从一月份以来, 他就再也没有见过阿德勒。在他们以通常的方式“庆祝”重聚之后, 阿德勒恳求莫里斯的《许可与认可》(Permission and approbation) 让他加入Talleyrand。莫里斯很生气, 给了她“前者, 但告诉她后者是不可能的。” ⁴⁰ 看来她没有去。她告诉莫里斯, 圣约翰德克雷(前法国驻纽约领事)告诉她, 杜穆里埃兹将拒绝接收莫里斯; 克雷第二天确认了这一消息。“我们走着瞧,” 莫里斯只说了一句话, 但他请蒙谢尔和乔伯特调查此事。他没有记录他们发现了什么, 肖特, 尽管他的长期帐户杰弗逊, 没有说什么; 正如支吾注意, 莫里斯驳回的想法, 肖特负有责任。5月15日, 肖特不情愿地带着莫里斯去见杜穆里埃斯:

I tell him that I have a small favor to ask of the king, which is that he will receive me without a sword because of my wooden leg. He says there will be no difficulty as to that matter and adds that I am already

acquainted with the king. I reply that I never saw his Majesty but in public nor ever exchanged a Word with him in my life, altho some of their Gazettes have made of me one of his Ministers; and that I am perswaded⁴¹ he would not know me if he should see me.

我告诉他我想请国王帮个小忙，因为我的木腿，他不用剑也能接受我。他说这件事不会有什么困难，并补充说我已经认识国王了。我回答说，我一生中除了在公共场合从未见过国王陛下，也从未与他交谈过一句话，尽管他们的一些公报把我列为国王的大臣之一，而且我对国王陛下感到厌烦，即使他见到我，也不会认出我来

Dumouriez pointed out that there was a "general Idea" that Morris was close to the king. A remarkable declaration followed:

杜穆里埃斯指出，人们普遍认为莫里斯与国王关系密切。随后，他发表了一份引人注目的声明：

I tell him that I am naturally frank and open and therefore do not hesitate to say that in the Time of the Constituent Assembly I endeavor' d, being then a private Individual and prompted by my Regard for this Nation, to effect certain Changes in the Constitution which appear' d to me essential to its' [sic] Existence. That I was not success-ful, and being at present a public man I consider it as my Duty not to meddle with their Affairs.

我告诉他，我天生坦率和开放，因此毫不犹豫地说，在制宪议会期间，我作为一个个人，在我对这个国家的关注的推动下，对宪法进行了某些在我看来对它的存在至关重要的修改。我不是一个成功的人，而且现在我是一个公众人物，我认为不干涉他们的事情是我的责任。

When he reported the meeting to Jefferson, Morris repeated these words nearly verbatim.⁴²

当他向杰弗逊报告这次会议时，莫里斯几乎一字不差地重复了这些话

In view of Morris' s conduct during the decisive summer of 1792, the avowal that he was now, as he told Jefferson, a "meer Spectator," is strange, if not downright misleading. If he genuinely intended to keep out of French affairs, however, it did not last. The princesse de Tarente, one of the queen' s ladies, asked him for advice for the queen, and he recommended she "march in the Line of the constitution." On the very day Morris saw Dumouriez, Montmorin asked him for a draft constitution, which he apparently provided. He also reviewed a defense Montmorin was making to the Assembly in connection with an attack by Brissot' s paper.⁴³

鉴于莫里斯在 1792 年那个决定性的夏天的所作所为，他对杰弗逊所说的他现在是一个“更好的旁观者”的声明即使不是彻头彻尾的误导，也是很奇怪的。然而，如果他真的打算置身于法国事务之外，这种情况并没有持续下去。女王的侍女之一德塔伦特公主向他征求意见，他建议女王“按照宪法的规定行进”就在莫里斯见到杜穆里埃斯的那一天，蒙特莫林向他要一份宪法草案，显然他已经提供了。他还审查了蒙特莫林就布里索文件的攻击向议会提出的辩护

Prussia now announced plans to join Austria' s side; it would formally enter the war on July 3. Morris' s informants reported that the foreign and é migr é troops were massing in great strength. Throughout the kingdom there were incidents of violence, fueled by fears of famine and of invasion. In January and February, there had been riots in Paris due to lack of sugar and soap; grain shipments were stopped by mobs in Dunkirk and Noyon. Food requisitioned for the army drove up prices, and by June there were calls for the death penalty against hoarders.

普鲁士现在宣布计划加入奥地利一方，并将于 7 月 3 日正式参战。莫里斯的线人报告说，外国部队和移民部队正在集结大量兵力。由于害怕饥荒和入侵，整个王国都发生了暴力事件。今年 1 月和 2 月，由于缺少糖和肥皂，巴黎发生了骚乱，敦刻尔克和努瓦永的暴徒阻止了粮食运输。军队征用的食品推高了物价，到了六月份，有人呼吁对囤积者判处死刑。

Morris was not optimistic about what he considered to be the anarchy convulsing France—the French term was fermentation—and the threat from foreign powers. His June 10 letter, "No. 1" of his dispatches to Jefferson, catalogued the terrible problems he perceived. He believed bankruptcy was imminent:

莫里斯对他所认为的动荡的法国的无政府状态和外国列强的威胁并不

乐观。他在6月10日写给杰斐逊的第一封信中，列举了他所看到的可怕的问题。他认为破产迫在眉睫：

*The Estate of the Clergy is consumed and the Debt is as great as at the Opening of the States General. . . . The Abolition of Tithes, of feudal Rights, and burthensome Taxes, was so pleasant that a cold Examination of Consequences could not be admitted; still less an Enquiry into the strict Measure of Justice. Next to the Abolition came on those philosophical and mathematical Arraignments of the Fisc which are very beautiful and satisfactory, and to which there lies but one Objection of any Consequence which is that they are inexecutable.*⁴⁴

神职人员的财产消耗和债务是一样巨大的在开放的美国总。。废除什一税、封建权利和繁重的赋税是多么令人愉快，以至于对后果的冷酷审查是不能接受的，更不用说对严格的正义措施的探究了。除了废除之外，还有一些哲学和数学方面的问题，这些问题是非常美妙和令人满意的，对于这些问题，只有一个结论是不能执行的

*As a result, "[t]he Dilapidation in every Department is unexampled," he wrote. He had heard that 180,000 foreign troops were mobilized (the number was actually 100,000).*⁴⁵

因此，“每个部门的破损程度都是无可比拟的，”他写道。他听说动员了18万外国军队(实际上是10万)

The foreign monarchs intended to install either a military government or an absolute monarchy, believing these alternatives more acceptable to

外国君主们打算建立一个军事政府或绝对君主制，认为这些选择更容易被接受

the French than a restoration of the vengeful émigrés, who sought what Morris described contemptuously as a “kind of Monarchy whose only Limits were found in those noble, legal and clerical Corps by which the People were alternately oppressed and insulted.” However, neither did the allied monarchs want establishment of a “free and well poiz’ d System” — a constitutional monarchy—that would “inevitably extend itself, and force the neighboring Powers to relax from their Tyranny.” This is one of many times that Morris expressed the wish that France could be the means of extending reform throughout Europe, and he blamed the “inconsiderate Partizans of Liberty” for the failure. “In their Eagerness to abolish antient Institutions they forgot that a Monarchy without intermediate Ranks is but another name for Anarchy or Despotism. The first, unhappily, exists to a Degree scarcely to be paralleled,” and might drive the French to embrace “Despotism as a Blessing, if accompanied with Security to Person and Property, such as is experienced under the worst Governments of Europe.”

他们寻求莫里斯轻蔑地描述为“一种君主制，其唯一的局限在于那些贵族、法律和宗教团体，人民时而受到压迫，时而受到侮辱。”然而，同盟国的君主也不希望建立一个“自由和良好的政体”——君主立宪制——这将“不可避免地扩张自己，迫使邻国摆脱专制统治”这是莫里斯多次表示希望法国能够成为将改革扩展到整个欧洲的手段之一，他指责“自由党人”的失败。“他们急于废除古老的制度，忘记了没有中级军衔的君主制只不过是政府或专制的另一个名称。第一种，不幸的是，存在的程度几乎不能与之相比，”并且可能驱使法国人接受“专制作为一种祝福，如果伴随着人身和财产的安全，就像欧洲最糟糕的政府所经历的那样。”

“The best Picture I can give of the French nation is that of Cattle before a Thunder Storm,” he told Jefferson, and “every Member of [the Government] is engaged in the Defence of himself or the Attack of his Neighbor.”⁴⁶

他对杰斐逊说：“我能给出的法国最好的照片是雷雨前的牛群，政府的每一个成员都忙于保卫自己或者攻击他的邻居。”⁴⁶

• • •
...

As the Girondins fanned fears that the court was plotting with foreign courts, a suspicion well-founded with respect to Marie-Antoinette, who was trying to sabotage the war effort, there were concerted efforts to strip the king of any remaining power.⁴⁷ At the end of May, the Assembly decreed dissolution of the

king' s constitutional guard of eighteen hundred men. Servan then proposed establishing an army of twenty thousand men from around the country, the *fédérés*, ostensibly to protect Paris from invading troops but in reality to back the Assembly against the court and possibly to force the king to abandon Paris with the Assembly should attack become imminent.⁴⁸ Over Dumouriez' s opposition, the decree was passed on June 6.

当吉伦特人煽风点火，担心法庭与外国法庭密谋的时候，有充分理由怀疑试图破坏战争努力的玛丽·安托瓦内特组织，他们齐心协力，剥夺国王的任何剩余权力。随后，塞尔万提议从全国各地建立一支由 2 万人组成的军队——*frs*——表面上是为了保护巴黎免受入侵军队的侵犯，但实际上是为了支持议会反对法院，并可能迫使国王在议会发动进攻时放弃巴黎。

As noted previously, Dumouriez, who allegedly wanted to deny Morris for daring to criticize the constitution, was himself seeking a counterrevolution. According to Lord Gower, Dumouriez hoped to prove that Servan and Roland had conspired to abduct Louis, and that Clavière had tried to appropriate 6⁴⁹ million livres of "secret service money" to cover private speculation debts. A few days after he heard this story, Morris went to Dumouriez' s ("The Society is noisy and in a bad Style. The Dinner is still Worse"), to present Washington' s letter felicitating the king on the new

正如前面提到的，杜穆里埃斯据称想否认莫里斯敢于批评宪法，他自己也在寻求反驳。根据高尔勋爵的说法，杜穆里埃斯希望证明塞尔万和罗兰密谋绑架路易斯，而克拉维试图挪用 600 万里弗的“特勤局的钱”来偿还私人投机债务。晚餐更糟糕”），以呈现华盛顿的信庆祝国王的新

constitution and to talk about French-American commercial relations. The foreign minister told him there was "no Danger to the Constitution at present, that it will triumph over every Obstacle and must amend itself. I think," said the informed and thus skeptical Morris, "he cannot believe one Half of what he says."⁵⁰

法国宪法和谈论法国和美国的商业关系。外交部长告诉他“目前宪法没有危险，它将战胜每一个障碍，必须修改自己。”。“我认为，”知情而又持怀疑态度的莫里斯说，“他说的话一半都不能相信。”⁵⁰

At about this time, Louis fell into a deep depression and spoke very little. Probably as a result, Morris, when he presented his credentials at court on June 3, was unimpressed, commenting that the king's "Tone of Voice and his Embarrassment mark well the Feebleness of his Disposition." Yet Louis would soon show that he had no shortage of passive courage, or what Morris called "an uncommon firmness in suffering."⁵¹

大约就在这个时候，路易斯陷入了深深的沮丧之中，说起话来十分激动。也许是因为这个原因，6月3日，莫里斯在宫廷上呈上他的证件时，并不为之所动，他评论说，国王的“语调和尴尬恰恰标志着他性格的软弱。”然而，路易斯很快就表明，他并不缺乏消极的勇气，或者莫里斯所说的“一种不同寻常的坚定的忍耐力”⁵¹

Morris persisted some while longer in the view that the monarchs should take no action. Events were swiftly overtaking that strategy, yet as late as June 10, the same day he wrote to Jefferson about the dismal state of affairs, he told the distressed Vicq d' Azyr that the king and queen "must persuade themselves they are out of danger," for "the present Troubles are but the Corruscations which succeed a Storm." Morris would soon realize he was wrong: Louis was in an increasingly vulnerable position. He agreed to the decree dissolving his constitutional guard, a move that Morris for some reason recommended,⁵² but refused to sanction the *fédérés* and another decree permitting deportation of nonjuring priests, and on June 13 the protesting Roland, Servan, and Clavière were dismissed. The result was a groundswell of outrage against the king, which the Brissotins fed by extolling the dismissed ministers. When Dumouriez, taken aback by the protest, was unable to change Louis' s decision, he resigned and went to command the Army of the North.⁵³

Monciel replaced Roland as minister of the interior, despite Morris' s urging to take foreign affairs, a position in which he could have been helpful to American interests. De Lajard, "a Creature of Monsieur de Lafayette," replaced Servan as minister of war, and Chambonas replaced Dumouriez in foreign affairs.⁵⁴

莫里斯还坚持了一段时间，认为君主不应该采取行动。事态发展迅速超越了这一战略，但直到6月10日，也就是他写信给杰斐逊谈论这一悲

惨事态的同一天，他告诉苦恼的阿兹尔维克王子(Vicq d' azyr)，国王和王后“必须自力更生，摆脱危险”，因为“目前的麻烦不过是接替风暴的灾难。”莫里斯很快就会意识到他错了：路易斯处于一个越来越脆弱的位置。他同意法令解散他的宪法卫队——莫里斯出于某种原因建议采取这一行动——但拒绝批准 *fdrs* 和另一项允许驱逐不服刑的牧师的法令，6月13日，抗议的罗兰、塞尔万和加尔维再次被解散。结果引起了对国王的愤怒浪潮，布里索廷夫妇赞扬了被解职的大臣们。当杜穆里埃斯被抗议活动吓了一跳，无法改变路易斯的决定时，他辞职并前往指挥北方军。蒙谢尔取代罗兰成为内政部长，尽管莫里斯敦促处理外交事务，这个职位本可以有助于美国的利益。“拉法耶特先生的宠儿”德拉贾德取代塞尔万担任战争部长，尚博纳斯取代杜穆里埃斯担任外交部长

*Morris had no faith that the new ministry would hold in the face of Girondin opposition. On June 17, he heard that the Jacobins had pre-sented a petition to the Assembly for suspending the king. "On the whole, Sir, we stand on a vast Volcano," Morris wrote to Jefferson. "We feel it tremble and we hear it roar but how and when and where it will burst and who may be destroy' d by its Eruptions is beyond the Ken of mortal Foresight to discover." Moleville had told him in early June that Lafayette might march on Paris to rout out the Girondins, hoping to change the con-stitution by what George Lefebvre calls a "military coup d' é tat." Morris was appalled: "If this is true he will ruin himself and injure the royal Family,"*⁵⁵

莫里斯不相信新部会顶住 Girondin 的反对。6月17日，他听说雅各宾派提前向议会递交了一份请愿书，要求将国王停职。“总的来说，先生，我们站在一座巨大的火山上，”莫里斯在给杰斐逊的信中写道。“我们感觉到它在颤抖，我们听到它在咆哮，但它如何、何时、何地爆发，以及谁可能被它的爆发所毁灭，这些都是凡人的远见所无法发现的。”莫勒维尔在六月初告诉他，拉法耶特可能会向巴黎进军，击溃吉伦特派，希望通过乔治·勒菲弗尔所说的“军事政变”来改变现状莫里斯大为震惊：“如果这是真的，他会毁了自己，伤害王室。”

In mid-June, this report was confirmed, and he repeated it to Jefferson, adding that he was "not sanguine as to the Success." The country's political situation was critical:

六月中旬，这份报告得到了证实，他向杰弗逊重复了这份报告，并补充说他“对成功并不乐观”该国的政治局势十分危急：

[W]hile a great Part of the Nation is desirous of overturning the present Government in order to restore the antient Form, and while another Part still more dangerous from Position and Numbers are desirous of introducing the Form of a federal Republic, the moderate Men, attack'd on all Sides, have to contend alone against an immense Force.

尽管国家的一大部分人希望推翻现任政府以恢复原来的形式，而另一部分人由于立场和数量而更加危险，希望建立一个联邦共和国的形式，那些四面受敌的温和派人士，不得不独自对抗一支巨大的力量。

"I cannot go on with the Picture," Morris concluded, "for my Heart bleeds when I reflect that the finest Opportunity which ever presented itself for establishing the Rights of Mankind throughout the civilized World is perhaps lost and forever." This description is echoed by the French Revolution historian Michel Reinhard: "The Assembly, profoundly divided, oscillated further to the right and further to the left, while the center, intimidated, found it preferable to throw the ballast overboard than to save the constitution." ⁵⁶

“我不能继续画下去，”莫里斯总结说，“因为当我想到在整个文明世界建立人类权利的最好机会可能永远地失去时，我的心在流血。”法国大革命历史学家米歇尔·莱因哈德(Michel Reinhard)也有同样的描述：“大会严重分裂，进一步向右、向左摇摆，而中间派则感到受到了威胁，发现抛弃压舱物比保留意见更好。” ⁵⁶

Lafayette did not march, but sent a letter to the Assembly denouncing the Jacobins, published on June 18. It was applauded in the Assembly, but the popular political societies and the Paris sections ⁵⁷ rejected it vehemently, and Robespierre and Danton called Lafayette a traitor. The following day, Brémond told Morris that there was "to be a Sort of Riot Tomorrow about fixing a Maypole before the Châteaueau [the Tuileries Palace]." This referred to a celebration of the anniversary of the Tennis Court Oath, but there was also a plan to petition the king to retract his veto against the *fédérés*.

On June 20, radical members of the sections of Paris entered and occupied the palace. For four long hours, Hardman writes, the king "stood on a window seat with nothing between him and the mob but a table and a handful of grenadiers"; among those "grenadiers" were his minister of the interior, Monciel, and his minister of war, de Lajard. It would have "taken only one treacherous citizen, one wretched soul, to plunge France into everlasting mourning," Monciel told the muttering Assembly the next day. At the mob's insistence, Louis donned a phrygian cap and toasted the nation, but refused to sanction the decrees. Pétion, the mayor of Paris, who had demonstrated his prudence and principles when he told Talleyrand that he would "not fall out with the Fous & enragés because it is they and not the reasonable People who support Revolutions," did not arrive to disperse the mob until six o' clock.⁵⁸

拉法耶没有参加游行，但在6月18日发表了一封公开信给议会，谴责雅各宾派。它在议会中受到称赞，但受欢迎的政治团体和巴黎部分⁵⁷强烈反对，Robespierre和丹顿称拉斐特是叛徒。接下来的一天，布尔蒙德告诉莫里斯，“明天将会有一场关于在杜伊勒里宫酒庄前修理五朔节花柱的骚乱。”这是为了庆祝网球厅宣誓的周年纪念，但也有一个计划是向国王请愿，要求收回他对国王的否决。6月20日，巴黎地区的激进分子进入并占领了皇宫。哈德曼写道，整整四个小时，国王“站在靠窗的座位上，除了一张桌子和几个掷弹兵，他和暴民之间什么也没有”；在这些“掷弹兵”中，有他的内政部长蒙谢尔和他的战争部长德拉杰尔。蒙谢尔第二天告诉议会，“只需要一个背信弃义的公民，一个可怜的灵魂，就能让法国陷入永恒的悲痛之中。”。在暴民的坚持下，路易戴上弗里吉亚式的帽子，向这个国家举杯庆祝，但拒绝批准这些法令。⁵⁸巴黎市长斯蒂安表现出了他的审慎和原则，他告诉Talleyrand，他不会“因为支持革命的是他们，而不是理智的人民而与Fous&enrages闹翻”

Morris was shocked. "The Constitution has this Day I think given its last Groan," he observed. He recommended to Monciel that P é t ion be suspended and the other "Ringleaders" of June 20 be prosecuted; the d é partement of Paris did suspend P é t ion, but it did not last.⁵⁹ On June 25, the "Pomp of War was parading under my Window," Morris wrote. "The Chateau was to have been attacked again but apprehending opposition the plan was abandoned."⁶⁰

莫里斯震惊了。他说：“我认为，鉴于宪法的最后一次呻吟，今天是宪法日。”。他建议 Monciel 暂停对 P 的起诉，并起诉 6 月 20 日的其他“头目”，巴黎当局确实暂停了 P 的起诉，但并没有持续多久。“城堡本来会再次遭到攻击，但由于担心遭到反对，计划被放弃了。”⁶⁰

On June 28, Lafayette came to the Assembly to denounce the events of June 20. Morris predicted correctly that Lafayette's "Visit can produce Nothing"; though Lafayette was applauded, he was unable to rally the National Guard, and returned to his troops on June 29.⁶¹ Morris saw him at court before he departed and his old friend spoke to him "on the Ton of antient Familiarity." Morris spoke forcefully, telling the discouraged general that if he did not return to his troops soon he would be imprisoned and tried as a traitor; and "that he must determine to fight for a good Constitution or for that wretched Piece of Paper which bears the Name. That in six weeks" —Morris had it down to the very day— "it will be too late." They argued a bit more about the proper form of a legislature, and with that stalemate, "[h]ere ends our Colloquy." They would not see each other again for more than five years.⁶²

6 月 28 日，拉法耶特来到大会谴责 6 月 20 日的事件。莫里斯正确地预测了拉法耶特的“访问不会产生任何结果”；尽管拉法耶特受到了掌声，但他未能召集国民警卫队，并于 6 月 29 日返回他的部队。⁶¹莫里斯在他离开之前在法庭上看到了他，他的老朋友跟他说“关于古怪的熟悉的吨”莫里斯强有力地，告诉沮丧的人们，如果他不尽快返回他的部队，他将会被监禁，并被当作叛徒受审；”他必须下定决心为一部好宪法而战，或者为那张带有名字的可怜的文件而战。“六个星期后”——莫里斯一直坚持到了最后一天——“就太晚了。”他们就立法机关的适当形式进行了一些争论，结果陷入了僵局，“我们的谈话还没有结束。”他们有五年多的时间不再见面了

Morris' s efforts that summer had the same goal he had always sought: a workable constitution. The only available instrument, in his view, was the king, and he resumed dictating memoirs to Br é mond, delivered to the king by Monciel, sometimes as Morris' s advice, sometimes as Monciel' s. They came up

with several projects to exploit the popular indignation roused by the invasion of the Tuileries. A statement by the king was sent to the armies, and Monciel ordered it recorded in the municipal registers. The statement, which at least one historian believes was written by Monciel (and thus Morris was at least a coauthor), was apparently well written, and enhanced sympathies already aroused by the king's courage.⁶³ Monciel also ordered the *départements* (the country's new administration subdivisions) to block the *fédérés* from marching toward Paris, on the grounds that the decree for their creation had been vetoed. The *directoire* (administrators) of the *département* of the Somme sent an address to Louis pledging its loyalty, and Monciel sent a copy to all the *départements*, with an account of June 20.⁶⁴

莫里斯那个夏天的努力有着他一直追求的目标:一个可行的宪法。在他看来,唯一可用的工具就是国王,他继续口述回忆录给 *Brémond*, 由蒙谢尔交给国王,有时是作为莫里斯的建议,有时是作为蒙谢尔的建议。他们想出了几个计划,利用入侵杜伊勒里宫激起的民愤。国王发给军队一份声明,蒙西尔下令将其记录在市政登记册上。这份声明,至少有一位历史学家认为是蒙谢尔写的(因此莫里斯至少是合著者之一),显然写得很好,国王的勇气已经激起了更多的同情。蒙谢尔还命令各党派(国家的新行政分支机构)阻止法国军队向巴黎进军,理由是创建法国军队的法令已经被否决。索姆河议会的行政长官向路易发出了一份请愿书,保证效忠他。蒙谢尔把请愿书的副本寄给了所有的议会,并附上了6月20日的帐目

The hope was to provoke demonstrations against the Assembly, leading to its dissolution and a new constitution. These efforts were apparently well received in some larger towns, and in Paris thousands signed a petition demanding that the ringleaders of June 20 be punished. The

他们希望激起反对国民议会的示威,导致国民议会解散,并制定新宪法。这些努力在一些较大的城镇受到了热烈欢迎,在巴黎,数千人签署了一份请愿书,要求惩罚6月20日的头目。这个

Girondins were alarmed, and on July 2, in front of the Assembly, the fiery Girondin deputy Isnard attacked Monciel for acting without authority. "They ask where are the traitors! Eh bien! There is one!" cried Isnard, pointing at Monciel. Monciel demanded the right to respond in writing, and attempted to leave the shouting Assembly, but his way was blocked, and a guard had to clear a way out. The incident must have been terrifying, but that day Morris recorded only that Monciel told him that the French were "too rotten for a free Government."⁶⁵

吉伦特人感到震惊，7月2日，在议会面前，脾气暴躁的吉伦特代理人伊斯纳德攻击蒙西尔未经授权擅自行动。“他们问叛徒在哪里！好极了！有一个！”伊斯纳德指着 Monciel 喊道。蒙西尔要求以书面形式作出回应的权利，并试图离开大喊大叫的议会，但他的路被堵住了，一名卫兵不得不清出一条路来。这一事件一定让莫里斯感到恐惧，但那天，莫里斯只记录了蒙谢尔告诉他，法国“太腐败了，不适合自由政府”⁶⁵

THE FIRST ESCAPE PLAN: COMPIÈGNE. 第一个逃生计划:compigne。

Morris was now convinced that the king should leave Paris. On June 23, he took what may have been his first conspiratorial stroll in the garden with Montmorin, Bertrand de Moleville, and Malouet (a moderate constitutionalist). Morris, as always, advocated forceful action, and "in order to see what Stuff they are made of I tell them what Measures would put an End to all Troubles; but these Measures are deep and dangerous and when we go into M. de Montmorin's Closet he sickens." In fact, Montmorin was involved, undoubtedly more than Morris knew, with the queen's dealings with the allies, and wrote regularly to his royalist friend the comte de la Marck; Montmorin would later tell la Marck that he felt all the escape plans were too dangerous.⁶⁶ He continued to resist the thought of escape, but Moleville, along with the marquis de Lally-Tolendal (a former monarchien deputy who had returned from Switzerland to help the king) and the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, another monarchien, had already concocted a plan for the king to escape with Lafayette's help.⁶⁷

莫里斯现在确信国王应该离开巴黎。6月23日，他和蒙莫兰、伯特兰德·德·莫尔维尔(Bertrand de Moleville)以及马洛埃(一位温和的治安官)一起在花园里漫步，这可能是他第一次与阴谋论者一起漫步。莫里斯一如既往地主张采取强有力的行动，并且“为了弄清楚这些措施是由什么组成的，我告诉他们什么措施可以结束一切麻烦；但是这些措施是深奥而危险的，当我们走进蒙特莫林先生的衣橱时，他感到恶心。”蒙莫兰后来告诉拉

马克，他觉得所有的逃跑计划都太危险了。他继续抵制逃跑的念头，但是拉里-托伦达侯爵(从瑞士回来帮助国王的前僧侣代理人)和另一位僧侣克莱蒙特-通内尔伯爵已经制定了一个计划，让国王在拉法叶的帮助下逃跑

Moleville apparently took the American into his confidence, and there-after⁶⁸ Morris and Monciel worked with him. On June 28, Morris and Monciel discussed using Lafayette to cover the king's "Sortie from Paris." On June 29, after completing another "Counsel to be given by Monciel to the king," Morris wrote in his diary that "[t]he principal Object is to get a Decision" —presumably⁶⁹ from the king.

莫里维尔显然对这位美国人很有信心，在莫里斯和蒙西尔与他一起工作之后，莫里斯和蒙西尔就利用拉斐特报道国王的《从巴黎出击》一事进行了讨论。6月29日，在完成另一项“蒙谢尔给国王的建议”后，莫里斯在日记中写道，“主要目的是得到国王的决定”——大概是国王的决定

The escape plots of that summer were many and complicated and are difficult to perfectly reconstruct because of the inconsistencies inherent in the records, which reflect incomplete recollections and deliberate omissions, as well as personal prejudices and outright denials.⁷⁰ These records include the memoirs of several of the principals, as well as a memorandum written in haste by Morris in 1796 in Vienna for Mme Royale (the king's surviving child), a document in many respects inconsistent with

这些记录包括几位主要人物的回忆录，以及莫里斯1796年在维也纳为王后夫人(国王幸存的孩子)匆忙写的一份备忘录，这份文件在许多方面都不符合事实

Morris' s diary entries and the other memoirs.⁷¹ However, studying these documents together permits a general picture of the course of events to emerge. 然而，把这些文件放在一起研究，就可以对事件的发展过程有一个大致的了解。

Moleville initially recoiled from relying on Lafayette. "La Fayette! La Fayette!" the councilor reported protesting when it was proposed by Clermont-Tonnerre. "[I]s it possible you can depend on such a man after all we have seen of his conduct?" Yet there appeared to be no alternative, and Moleville transmitted the "first" plan—for Lafayette to rally the National Guard and destroy the Jacobins—to the king before Lafayette' s arrival in Paris in late June. When the Guard did not respond to Lafayette' s call, Lafayette gave Lally-Tolendal another escape plan, which Monciel or Moleville passed on to Louis on July 9.⁷²

摩尔维尔最初不愿依赖拉法耶。“拉菲特！拉菲特！”议员报告说，当克莱蒙-托内尔提出这个建议时，议员提出了抗议。“在我们看到他的所作所为之后，你还能指望这样一个人吗？”然而，似乎别无选择，莫里维尔在拉斐特于6月下旬抵达巴黎之前，向国王转达了“第一”计划——拉斐特集结国民警卫队，消灭雅各宾派。⁷² 7月9日，当警卫队没有回应拉法耶特的呼叫时，拉法耶给了拉利-托伦达另一个逃跑计划，蒙谢尔或 Moleville 把这个计划交给了路易斯

The king was to be brought out under the cover of apparently legitimate troop movements. Lafayette' s Army of the Rhine and General Luckner' s Army of Flanders would exchange positions, which meant that at one point, Lafayette' s army would be near the royal ch[^]teau at Compi[^]gne, within twenty leagues of Paris. (The constitution prohibited Louis from going farther than this distance from Paris, and he was determined to obey this restriction.)⁷³ The generals would inform the Assembly that Louis intended to exercise his right to travel, and escort the king.⁷⁴ Louis would then publicly forbid his brothers and the allied forces from further advance into France. The escape was by most accounts to take place on July 15.⁷⁵

国王将在明显合法的军队调动的掩护下被带出来。拉斐特的莱茵河军队和拉克纳将军的佛兰德军将交换阵地，这意味着拉斐特的军队一度会接近贡比涅的皇家城堡，离巴黎有二十里格。（宪法禁止路易斯走得离巴黎这么远，他决心遵守这个限制。）将军们会通知议会，路易打算行使他的旅行权，并护送国王。然后路易会公开禁止他的兄弟和盟军进一步进入法国。据大多数人说，越狱发生在7月15日

The royal family itself was divided both as to goals and means. The king supported a constitutional monarchy, but the queen wanted her husband restored to supremacy, by foreign intervention. Although she feared that a victorious Austria would partition France, she thought Prussia' s entry into

the war would forestall this. She resisted escape, pinning her hopes on what would be the Brunswick Manifesto, in the fatally misguided belief that this official threat of invasion by Austria and Prussia, joined with the demand for restoration of Louis' s authority, would convince the French of Louis' s good intentions.⁷⁶

王室本身在目标和手段上也存在分歧。国王支持君主立宪制，但王后希望她的丈夫通过外国干涉恢复至高无上的地位。虽然她担心胜利的奥地利会分裂法国，但她认为普鲁士加入战争会先发制人。她拒绝逃跑，把希望寄托在未来的布伦瑞克宣言上，认为奥地利和普鲁士的正式入侵威胁，加上要求恢复路易的权威，会使法国相信路易的善意

In the meantime, the fermentation continued. In early July, Isnard suggested that Lafayette had committed treason by leaving his troops to come to Paris. The Assembly sidestepped the king' s veto of the fédérés by inviting them to Paris for the July 14 celebrations. Vergniaud delivered an incendiary address that effectively accused Louis of treason, placing responsibility for the military reverses on the king, and asking rhetorically whether the court sought the blood of the émigré troops or of its own troops. Duranthon resigned as minister of justice, citing nervous strain, and was replaced by de Joly, a Girondin and a friend of Lafayette. (There may have

在此期间，发酵继续进行。七月初，伊斯纳德断言拉法耶特离开他的军队来到巴黎，犯了叛国罪。议会规避了国王对议会的否决，邀请他们到巴黎参加7月14日的庆祝活动。维尔尼奥德发表了一次不经意的演说，有力地指责路易斯叛国，把军事上的失败归咎于国王，并在口头上问道，宫廷是想要米格部队的鲜血还是自己部队的鲜血。杜兰松以紧张为由辞去了司法部长的职务，接替他的是吉伦丁和拉斐特的朋友德·乔利。(可能有

been more to Duranthon's resignation than nerves. Two days earlier, Morris recorded that the queen and Mme Elisabeth (Louis's sister) had sent Monciel "a Hint to beware of Duranthon").⁷⁷ On July 6, Morris heard that Danton had made a chilling announcement that "they would get Rid of" the "Intrigues of the Court" on July 14.

与其说是因为紧张，不如说是因为Duranthon的辞职。7月6日，莫里斯听说丹东在7月14日发表了一份令人不寒而栗的声明，宣布“他们将摆脱”“宫廷阴谋”。

On July 7, the famous "Lamourette's Kiss" took place in the fractious Assembly: for a heartbeat of time, at the behest of Lamourette, the bishop of Lyon, the members put aside their differences and when he asked "those who abjure and execrate both a republic and two chambers" to rise, they stood as one. The king hurried over to add his support, the queen appeared ecstatic, and Brissot quietly pocketed the inflammatory speech he had planned to deliver.⁷⁸ Morris disapproved of the monarchs' apparent naïveté, but took advantage of the momentary truce to present a formal request for a commercial treaty with America. He also asked for rescission of recent decrees adverse to American commercial interests, decrees resulting from what historian Lawrence Kaplan calls the "revolutionary renaissance of French mercantilism," a phenomenon Morris had long anticipated but which utterly dismayed Jefferson.⁷⁹

7月7日，著名的“拉穆雷特之吻”(Lamourette's Kiss)在难以驾驭的议会(Assembly)上举行：在Lamourette主教的要求下，议会成员们暂时搁置了分歧，当他要求“那些同时放弃和诅咒一个共和国和两院的人”站起来时，他们站成了一个整体。王后欣喜若狂，布里索悄悄地收起了他计划发表的煽动性演讲。莫里斯不赞成君主显然的天真，但利用暂时的休战提出了与美国签订商业条约的正式请求。他还要求废除最近不利于美国商业利益的法令，这些法令源于历史学家劳伦斯·卡普兰所称的“法国重商主义的革命重生”，这是莫里斯早就预料到的现象，但却让杰斐逊大失所望。

While Morris noted sourly that he was "not pleas'd" with the queen's seeming embrace of Lamourette's Kiss, she did not really believe that the court and the Assembly were reconciled. Within days, she wrote again asking the foreign powers to publish a manifesto. Montmorin probably informed Morris of its proposed contents, for he reported to Jefferson that it would "disavow the Constitution and claim for the King (what it calls) his Rights . . . these broad Terms will mean whatever Power may chuse to explain them."⁸⁰

尽管莫里斯酸溜溜地指出，王后似乎接受了拉莫雷特的吻，他“没有恳求”，但她并不真的相信法庭和议会已经和解。几天之内，她又写信

要求外国列强发表一份宣言。蒙莫兰可能通知了莫里斯关于其提议的内容，因为他向杰斐逊报告说，它将“否认宪法，并声称国王(它所称的)他的权利.....这些宽泛的术语将意味着任何权力可能选择解释他们。”⁸⁰

*The queen's mistrust was justified: only two days after the tearful embraces in the Convention, Brissot delivered "a fiery Discourse against the king," naming the court as the center of a traitorous conspiracy and denouncing Monciel's effort to rally the country's départements. He demanded that the Assembly declare la patrie est en danger (the country is in danger) and pointed to the constitutional provision that "if the king does not formally oppose factions formed in his name against the constitution, he will be considered to have abdicated."*⁸¹

女王的不信任是有道理的:在大会上泪流满面的电磁脉冲响起仅仅两天后，布里索特发表了“一场激烈的反对国王的演说”，称法庭是一场叛变阴谋的中心，并谴责蒙谢尔团结国内各党派的努力。他谴责议会宣布国家面临危险(国家处于危险之中)，并指出宪法规定，“如果国王不正式反对以他的名义组成的反对宪法的派系，他将被视为已经退位⁸¹

The next day was July 10, the day the king was to make his decision about Lafayette's proposal for escape. It was a very hot day. In the morning, Morris wrote to Jefferson of his expectation that "[t]his Day the King will commence a new Career" —a reference so oblique the otherwise uninformed Jefferson could not possibly understand it—but the day passed and he heard nothing. He went to look for the minister of the navy

第二天是7月10日，国王就拉斐特的逃跑计划作出决定。那天天气很热。早晨，莫里斯写信给杰斐逊说，他期望“他的国王有一天会开始一个新的职业生涯”——这是一个拐弯抹角的说法，否则不知情的杰斐逊不可能理解——但是这一天过去了，他什么也没有听到。他去找海军部长了

to discuss the American debt, but he had gone to court. That evening, Morris learned that Louis' s ministers had resigned because, as Br é mond told him the following morning, "their Majesties flash' d in the Pan."⁸²

讨论美国的债务问题，但是他已经上了法庭。那天晚上，莫里斯得知路易斯的大臣们已经辞职，正如布莱蒙德第二天早上告诉他的那样，“国王和王后陛下一闪而过。”⁸²

The king had wanted to proceed, but the queen refused to rely on Lafayette. "[I]t would be too appalling to owe our lives to that man twice," she is recorded to have said, in a reference to the humiliation of the October Days. The king acquiesced, and gave Moleville his refusal, instructing him to thank Lafayette for his willingness "to incur so much danger."⁸³

国王想继续前进，但是王后拒绝依靠拉法耶。“把我们的生命两次归功于那个男人，这太可怕了，”据记录，她曾这样说过，指的是10月的羞辱日。国王默许了，拒绝了莫里维尔，指示他感谢拉法叶愿意“冒这么大的危险”⁸³

Morris told Jefferson that the ministers resigned because they "found themselves seriously compromised" by the king' s refusal. They continued to serve *par interim*, reluctantly; later that month, Monciel implored the king to announce his replacement as minister. Otherwise, he told Louis, Brissot was about to have him impeached for treason. Monciel continued in the inner circle of the king' s counselors, however. Since he was not well known, he could pass by unnoticed, and often visited the king late in the evening, to brief him about the council' s meetings.⁸⁴

莫里斯告诉杰斐逊，大臣们辞职是因为国王的拒绝“使他们严重受损”。他们不情愿地继续担任临时部长；当月晚些时候，蒙谢尔恳求国王宣布他的继任者。否则，他告诉路易斯，布里索特将以叛国罪弹劾他。然而，蒙西尔继续在国王谋士的核心圈子里活动。由于他不为人所知，所以他可以悄无声息地经过，经常在深夜拜访国王，向他简要介绍议会的会议情况

On July 11, the Assembly adopted the *patrie en danger* decree, transferring yet more power to the Assembly from the already feeble executive, encouraging those who hoped to overturn the monarchy (*d é ch é ance*), and marking the defeat of the *Feuillants*.⁸⁵ Yet the king' s supporters had not abandoned hope. On the twelfth, Monciel met with Louis' s secretary Pellenc who, he reported to Morris, "says that Things may yet be arranged." Morris ate dinner with his landlord, M. Perregaux, who told him that Lafayette and Luckner were expected in town the following day, indicating that the escape might still take place. Morris, clearly very tense, drank too much and "return[ed] Home much heated."⁸⁶ He did not sleep that night.

7月11日，国民议会通过了国王的危险法令，将更多的权力从已经衰弱的行政部门转移到国民议会，鼓励那些希望推翻君主制的人，并标志着费亚兰特的失败。12日，蒙谢尔会见了路易斯的秘书佩林克，他向莫里斯报告说，“事情可能还没有安排好。”莫里斯和他的房东普雷戈先生一起吃饭，房东告诉他拉法叶和卢克纳第二天会到城里来，表示逃跑还有可能发生。莫里斯显然非常紧张，喝得太多，“回家时热得要命。”那天晚上他没有睡觉

The rumor of the generals' arrival spread rapidly through the nervous city. Yet nothing happened. Though "tormented with nervous Heaviness" for lack of sleep, Morris went forward with one of his first dinner parties at his new residence, a small and probably strained group under the circumstances, with the Flahauts, Moleville, Adèle's niece Mlle Duplessis, and M. Saint-Pardoux.⁸⁷

将军们到来的谣言在这个神经紧张的城市里迅速传开了。然而什么也没有发生。尽管由于缺乏睡眠而“被神经质的沉重折磨着”，莫里斯还是在他的新住所举办了他的第一次晚宴，这是一个小型的，在环境下可能有些紧张的聚会，有弗拉霍特人，Moleville人，阿德勒的侄女杜普莱西斯小姐，还有m

After dinner, he was visited by his friend Mme d' Albani, widow of the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Stuart. Morris saw her and his friend Mme du Bourg so frequently during this period that it permits speculation that they, too, were in on the escape plot. However, he recorded no news of the day, other than the fact that Mayor Pétion had been restored by the Assembly. On the following day, July 14, Pétion was the hero of the Champ-de-Mars fête, while the queen, depressed, listened to shouts of

晚餐后，他的朋友 Charles Stuart 王子的遗孀 md' albani 夫人拜访了他。在这段时间里，莫里斯经常看到她和他的朋友布尔格夫人，这使得人们猜测他们也参与了越狱计划。然而，他没有记录当天的任何消息，只是说市长的职位已经被议会恢复了。第二天，也就是7月14日，佩蒂翁成了战神广场的英雄，而女王则沮丧地听着人们的喊叫声

"Vive Pétion, le vertueux Pétion!" and "À bas le veto!" below her window.⁸⁸ On Sunday, July 15, the date fixed for the escape, Morris went to court for the weekly lever du roi. "Nothing new," he recorded.⁸⁹

"活着，活着!" 还有" 否决!" 88.7月15日星期天，也就是逃跑的日子，莫里斯为了每周一次的"国王杠杆"去了法院。"没什么新鲜的，"他记录道

THE SECOND ESCAPE PLAN: ROUEN.

第二个逃跑计划:ROUEN.

Morris was dismayed but not surprised by the king's change of heart. "I think there is a Want of Mettle which will ever prevent them from being truly royal," he commented, and promptly embarked on drafting a "Discourse" for Monciel, "in the View, if their Majesties come round, to strike a still more important Stroke." The "Stroke" is unexplained, but according to his 1796 memorandum as well as Moleville's Memoires, the king's refusal to escape led his supporters to take steps to try to assure that the king could defeat any attack against him "as soon as the conspirators found themselves in force." The group began efforts to raise what Morris called a "sort of royal army, an extremely delicate proceeding which could not fail to compromise those mixed up with it if the enemies of the King were to get the upper hand."⁹⁰

莫里斯对国王的改变心意感到沮丧，但并不感到惊讶。“我认为他们缺乏勇气，这将永远阻止他们成为真正的王室成员，”他评论道，并立即着手为蒙谢尔起草一份“演讲稿”，“如果国王和王后陛下回心转意，就可以发表更重要的演讲。”“中风”是无法解释的，但根据他1796年的备忘录以及莫尔维尔的回忆录，国王拒绝逃跑的行为，促使他的支持者采取措施，试图确保“一旦阴谋者发现他们已经开始行动”，国王就可以击败任何针对他的攻击这个小组开始努力组建一支莫里斯称之为“某种皇家军队，这是一个极其微妙的程序，如果国王的敌人占了上风，那些与之混杂在一起的人不可能不妥协。”⁹⁰

One of the agents mentioned in Morris's 1796 memorandum was David d'Angremont, secretary of the administration of the National Guard.⁹¹ Moleville also employed a loyal ex-Guardsman to recruit agents, and established a safe house for those loyal to Louis. To finance these secret activities, the king needed money, since his civil list was exhausted; he apparently had only 5,000 louis d' or (worth about 450,000 livres) and 600,000 to 700,000 assignats.⁹² Some time in July, Moleville obtained another 600,000 livres,

allegedly using his own money in part, and about another 1.5 million livres from another friend of the king. It is a powerful testimony to the strength of the connection between the desperate monarch and the American minister that the king thereafter sent word through Monciel asking Morris to "supervise what was being done in his service and to become guardian of his papers and of his money." According to Morris, he told the king that "his house did not strike him as any safer than the palace," since he had "long been an object of hatred to the conspirators," but he agreed. On July 24, Monciel brought him "the King's Money at his Majesty's Request, who tells him at the same Time that I have always given him good Advice and he has the greatest Confidence in me." The amount received was 547,000 livres.⁹³ By August 2, "539,005 livres were already being used according to the orders of the King"; specifically, for distribution to "counter-conspirators."

莫里斯在 1796 年的备忘录中提到的特工之一是国民警卫队行政秘书大卫·安格里蒙特。为了资助这些秘密活动，国王需要钱，因为他的文官名单已经用完了；他显然只有 5000 路易德尔（约合 45 万里弗）和 60 万至 70 万转让人。这有力地证明了这位绝望的君主与美国大臣之间的紧密联系：此后，国王通过蒙谢尔传话给莫里斯，要求他“监督他的工作，并成为他的文件和金钱的守护者”据莫里斯说，他告诉国王，“在他看来，他的房子并不比宫殿更安全”，因为他“长期以来一直是阴谋者仇恨的对象”，但他同意了。7 月 24 日，蒙谢尔应国王陛下的要求带给他“国王的钱，国王陛下同时告诉他，我一直给他很好的建议，他对我有极大的信心。”⁹³ 到 8 月 2 日，“根据国王的命令，已经使用了 539005 里弗”，具体地说，是用于向“反阴谋者”进贡

On July 17, Brémond had given Morris "a melancholy Account of the Situation," and Morris told Montmorin bluntly that the king should get out of Paris. The ex-minister and loyal old friend of Louis was seemingly seized by the same paralysis that gripped the king, for he "thinks other-wise and fosters a thousand empty Hopes and vain Expectations," Morris recorded. Morris was definitely not optimistic. The day before, he had written to Short that a "new Form of Government" would probably soon be established in France and it is obvious that he did not think it would be a monarchy.⁹⁴

7月17日，布尔蒙德给莫里斯“一份忧郁的情况说明”，莫里斯直截了当地告诉蒙特莫林国王应该离开巴黎。莫里斯记录道，这位前任大臣和路易斯忠实的老朋友似乎也被困在困扰国王的瘫痪状态中，因为他“认为别人的智慧造就了一千个空洞的希望和空洞的期望”。莫里斯绝对不乐观。前一天，他写信给肖特说，法国可能很快就会建立一种“新的政府形式”，很明显，他认为那不会是一种君主制

His diary entries in these weeks as the noose tightened around the court are brief, but the reader can clearly detect the escalating tension. On July 19, two days after he spoke to Montmorin about the king's need to escape, Morris asked Montmorin for a passport "for the Interior of the Kingdom."⁹⁵ Just what he had in mind is frustratingly uncertain: perhaps he planned to follow the king if an escape took place; perhaps he intended to place himself in advance at the proposed retreat. His memo-randum of 1796 gives no clue.

这几周，随着法庭上的绞索越来越紧，他在日记中的记录非常简短，但读者可以清楚地察觉到紧张局势的升级。7月19日，就在莫里斯向蒙特莫林提出国王需要逃亡的问题两天后，莫里斯向蒙特莫林申请了一本“王国内政”护照⁹⁵他心中的计划令人沮丧地捉摸不定：也许他打算在逃亡发生时跟随国王；也许他打算提前到达拟议的撤退地点。他在1796年的备忘录中没有给出任何线索。

Also on July 19, Moleville learned of a plot to assassinate the king, to take place on July 29. "Three hundred men were to assemble at the mayor's hotel, on the pretense of guarding Pétion from a supposed plot against his life, but, in reality, to prevent him" from protecting the king, Moleville wrote later. Meanwhile, the faubourgs⁹⁶ were to attack the palace. Moleville once more urged Louis to leave Paris and, to defuse the immediate plot, printed up allegations of the conspiracy and had them posted around Paris.⁹⁷

也是在7月19日，莫勒维尔得知了一个暗杀国王的阴谋，将在7月29日发生。莫勒维尔后来写道：“三百人将聚集在市长的旅馆里，假装要保护皮蒂安免受所谓的反对他生命的阴谋之害，但实际上是要阻止他”保护国王。与此同时，九十六号郊区将进攻皇宫。莫勒维尔再次敦促路易

斯离开巴黎，为了平息这场即兴阴谋，他把这场阴谋的指控印刷出来，并在巴黎各地张贴

Meanwhile, Morris and Br é mond had prepared a plan of action for Louis to follow should he triumph in Paris or escape to a location outside the capital. On July 20, "in Consequence of the Memoire," Morris wrote, "a Conversation has taken Place between him and Monsieur de Montmorin and M. de Bertrand." (Unfortunately, it is not clear from the context who "him" refers to, Monciel or Louis.) They apparently agreed to get the king to Rouen, for on that day Lord Gower, who had received a visit from Morris, wrote to Grenville that he would not "be surprized if I have to inform your Lordship of His Most Christian Majesty' s arrival at Rouen where he will find a great majority of the inhabitants ready to support his cause." ⁹⁸

与此同时，莫里斯和布莱蒙德已经为路易斯准备了一个行动计划，一旦他在巴黎取得胜利，或者逃到医院外的某个地方，他就可以跟着去。7月20日，“由于有了回忆录，”莫里斯写道，“他与蒙特莫林先生和伯特兰先生进行了一次对话。”（不幸的是，从上下文看不清楚“他”指的是谁，蒙谢尔还是路易。）他们显然同意把国王送到卢昂，因为那一天，高尔勋爵接到了莫里斯的拜访，他写信给格伦维尔说，“如果我不得不告诉阁下，陛下陛下已经到达卢昂，他会发现绝大多数居民已经准备好支持他的事业，他不会感到惊讶。” ⁹⁸

Yet once again their plans ran into the intransigence of the queen. On July 24, probably in response to the news of the planned assassination, Marie-Antoinette wrote her confidant, the Swedish count Fersen that she was in danger and that the manifesto must be published; she still preferred to rely on the foreign powers than take a chance on independent action. As

然而，他们的计划再一次遇到了女王的不妥协。7月24日，可能是对暗杀计划的回应，玛丽·安托瓦内特给她的密友，瑞典的费尔森伯爵写信说她处境危险，宣言必须公布；她仍然宁愿依靠外国势力，也不愿冒险采取独立行动。作为

for Louis, he "hoped for little, but still he hoped; he believed to the last that it was a sacred duty for him to devote himself to the people confided to his care." Morris, Monciel, and Br é mond met to "consider what is to be done in the case of a Suspension" of the king, and a few days later Lord Gower advised Grenville that "notwithstanding the opinion of his friends, at least many of them, His Majesty is determined to remain at Paris." Morris heard "fresh Accounts of Murders and Assassinations from the South of France," and that "the Austrians speak of spending their Winter at Paris with the utmost Confidence."⁹⁹

对于路易斯来说，他“希望不大，但仍然抱有希望；他坚信，把自己奉献给那些托付给他照顾的人是他的神圣职责。”莫里斯、蒙谢尔和布莱蒙德三人会面，讨论如何处理国王被停职的问题。几天后，高尔勋爵告诉格伦维尔说，“尽管他的朋友们，至少是许多朋友都这么认为，但陛下决心留在巴黎。”莫里斯听到“关于法国南部谋杀和暗杀的最新报道”，“奥地利人谈到在巴黎度过他们的冬天时充满了极大的信心。”⁹⁹

On the evening of July 25, Santerre, head of the National Guard of the radical faubourg Saint-Antoine, and Westermann, a member of the central committee of the *fédérés*, met at a Paris restaurant to plan an immediate attack on the Tuileries. At two in the morning the tocsin rang to summon people to march. No one responded. The following afternoon, Morris ate lunch with Ad è le, who "mentions a Conspiracy against the Life of the King but will not name her Informant. I talk to her very seriously and near to scolding."¹⁰⁰

7月25日晚，激进的圣安东尼郊区国民警卫队队长 Santerre 和 fdrs 中央委员会成员 Westermann 在巴黎的一家餐厅会面，计划立即进攻杜伊勒里宫。凌晨两点钟，警钟响起，号召人们前进。没有人回应。第二天下午，莫里斯与阿德勒共进午餐，阿德勒“提到了反对国王生命的阴谋，但不愿透露她的告密者的姓名。我跟她说话很认真，几乎要骂她。”¹⁰⁰

Morris was still working on a new constitution and a letter for the king to send to the Assembly, whenever the Brunswick Manifesto finally appeared.¹⁰¹ Monciel delivered the letter to Louis on the thirtieth, the same day that a battalion of five hundred *fédérés* from Marseilles marched into town, singing the war song that would thereafter bear their name. That night there was a brawl between National Guard supporters of the king and the Marseillais, and a guardsman was killed. Morris found the company at Mme d' Albani' s terrified by the news. When he met with Br é mond and Monciel the next morning, Br é mond called for bloody retribution, but after he left Morris and Monciel "agreed not to permit any of those horrible Things which his Indignation would lead him to."¹⁰²

布伦瑞克宣言最终出现时，莫里斯仍在制定新宪法，并将一封信交给议会。那天晚上，国民警卫队的国王支持者和马赛人发生了一场打斗，一名卫兵被打死。莫里斯发现阿尔巴尼夫人的公司被这个消息吓坏了。第二天早上，当布莱蒙德和蒙谢尔见面时，布莱蒙德要求进行血腥的报复，但在他离开莫里斯和蒙谢尔之后，“同意不允许他的愤怒导致的任何可怕的事情发生。”¹⁰²

Events were accelerating. Rumors of the manifesto began to reach Paris on July 28. On July 31, the Paris section of Mauconseil declared that it did not recognize Louis as the king of the French.¹⁰³ The Girondins belatedly began to realize that their goal—a submissive king and a ministry under their control—was in serious danger, and secretly contacted the king through his valet de chambre, de Thierry, to negotiate a return of Clavière, Roland, and Servan to the ministry in exchange for preservation of the monarchy. Louis rejected the approach and rebuked de Thierry. “Tell your master,” Vergniaud advised the valet frankly, “that we are not lying about the danger, but after this moment it will not be in our power to save them.”¹⁰⁴ According to Moleville, the Girondins’ demand was founded in speculation, or so he was informed by Malesherbes, who did not “doubt

事态正在加速发展。有关这份宣言的传言于7月28日开始传到巴黎。7月31日，Mauconseil的巴黎分部宣布不承认路易为法国国王。吉伦特派迟迟没有意识到他们的目标——一个顺从的国王和一个在他们控制之下的部门——正处于严重的危险之中，他们通过自己的贴身男仆 deThierry 秘密联系国王，谈判归还拉尔维、罗兰和仆人，以换取维护君主制。路易拒绝了这种做法，并斥责了蒂埃里。“告诉你的主人，”维尔热尼奥坦率地对贴身男仆说，“我们对危险的事情没有撒谎，但是过了这一刻，我们就没有力量去救他们了。”¹⁰⁴ 根据莫勒维尔的说法，吉伦特人的要求是建立在侵吞的基础上的，或者说他是从马莱舍布那里得到的消息，而马莱舍布并不“怀疑”

but there is some dirty finance business under it, and that Clavière has promised a great deal of money to these gentlemen.” (While Brissot’s biographer roundly denounces Moleville’s accusation that Brissot demanded 12 million livres to save the king, Clavière’s venality is established.)¹⁰⁵ On July 27 and 29, de Joly suggested to the king several alternatives to restoring Roland and Servan, including Pétion and Camus (the deputy Morris had bribed the year before). Louis rejected the suggestions.¹⁰⁶

但是这背后有一些肮脏的金融交易，而且克拉维已经答应给这两位先生一大笔钱。”(布里索的口诛笔伐严厉谴责了莫里维尔关于布里索索要1200万里弗来拯救国王的指控，而克拉维雷的腐败行径则被证实了。)7月27日和29日，德·乔利向国王提出了几个替代罗兰和塞尔凡的办法，其中包括提昂和加缪(莫里斯副手前一年曾行贿)。路易斯拒绝了这个建议

The king’s friends still hoped he would go to Rouen, and Morris and Monciel agreed on a message to go to Lafayette. Lafayette was again under attack by Robespierre and Brissot. On July 29 the journalist gave “evidence” to the Assembly of Lafayette’s purported intention to march on Paris. “I verily believe that if Mr. de La Fayette were to appear just now in Paris unattended by his Army he would be torn to Pieces,” Morris wrote to Jefferson on August 1. “Thank God we have no Populace in America and I hope the Education and Manners will long prevent that Evil.”¹⁰⁷

国王的朋友们仍然希望他去卢昂，莫里斯和蒙西尔同意带个口信去拉斐特。拉法耶再次遭到罗伯斯庇尔和布里索的袭击。7月29日，这位记者对拉法耶特大会声称的向巴黎进军的意图给予了“证实”。莫里斯在8月1日写给杰斐逊的信中说：“我坚信，如果拉菲特先生现在在巴黎无人看管的情况下出现在他的军队面前，他会被撕成碎片。”。“感谢上帝，美国没有平民，我希望教育和礼仪能够长期阻止这种邪恶。”¹⁰⁷

THE THIRD ESCAPE PLAN: GAILLON. 第三个逃跑计划:盖隆。

Time was running out, and the plan was apparently revised: the royal family was to go only as far as the castle of Gaillon in Normandy, en route to Rouen. Gaillon offered the advantage of being exactly twenty leagues from Paris and only thirty-six miles from the sea, should escape from France prove necessary. De Laporte would invite Montmorin and Clermont-Tonnere to dine, and they would hide the royal family in their coaches. A detachment of the Swiss Guard would be sent to divert the sentinel at the city barrier, and another fifteen hundred would depart Courbevoie (where they were stationed) to guard the

king' s escape route. On arrival at Gaillon, the king, probably using Morris' s and Monciel' s memorandum, would write to the "assembly, the municipality, and to all the d é partements, informing them of the circumstances and motives which have obliged him to withdraw from Paris," wrote Moleville.¹⁰⁸

时间不多了，计划显然被修改了：皇室只能前往诺曼底的加永城堡，然后前往卢昂。盖隆有个好处，离巴黎正好二十法里，离海只有 36 英里，应该可以逃离法国。拉波特会邀请蒙特莫林和克莱蒙特-托内雷共进晚餐，他们会把皇室成员藏在他们的马车里。一支瑞士卫队将被派去引开城堡的哨兵，另外一千五百人将离开库贝沃伊(他们被指示的地方)去守卫国王的逃跑路线。莫里维尔写道，国王一抵达加永，可能会使用莫里斯和蒙谢尔的备忘录，就会写信给“议会、市政府和所有党派，告诉他们迫使他撤出巴黎的情况和动机”

On August 1, the day that Lazare Carnot, a radical Montagnard deputy, decided that pikes should be fabricated and issued to all citizens, Morris wrote his fifth dispatch to Jefferson:

8 月 1 日，激进的蒙塔格纳德州议员拉扎尔·卡诺(LazareCarnot)决定制造长矛，并向所有公民发放，莫里斯在给杰斐逊的第五封信中写道：

In the present State of Things it seems evident that if the King be not destroy' d he must soon become absolute. I think the Prime-Movers of the Revolution [Morris' s description of Lafayette and the Feuillants] . . . will therefore declare their Adherence to his Majesty grounded on the

在目前的情况下，很明显，如果国王不被消灭，他必须很快成为绝对的。我认为革命的主要推动者[莫里斯对拉法叶特和费昂特的描述].....因此会宣布他们坚持他的陛下的基础上

Abolition of the Constitution by the Assembly and their Masters the
109
Jacobine Club.

议会及其主人雅各宾派俱乐部废除宪法

He told Jefferson that the king had not after all commenced "a new Career," but declined to explain or to describe the new "Plans in Agitation at present to establish a good Constitution" because

他告诉杰斐逊，国王毕竟还没有开始“一个新的职业生涯”，但拒绝解释或描述新的“计划在鼓动目前建立一个良好的宪法”，因为

should my Letter miscarry it would occasion much of that Noise and Nonsense in which it is unpleasant to find one's Name. And the wrongheaded People who get hold of such Things cannot distinguish between a Person who has obtain'd exact Information of what is doing and those who are Actors in the Business.

如果我的信流产了，就会引起大量的喧嚣和无稽之谈，在其中找到一个人的名字是不愉快的。掌握这些东西的人不能区分哪些人获得了正在做的事情的确切信息，哪些人是做生意的演员。

This jarring disclaimer of participation, though patently untrue, was logical: Morris had good reason to think his letters were not secure and it would have been extremely dangerous to describe his actions. He may also have hoped that this statement would help inoculate the American government against reproach should he be caught and denounced.¹¹⁰ Morris then expressed his grave doubts of success for either the escape or a new constitution:

这个不和谐的免责声明虽然明显不真实，但却是逻辑的：莫里斯有充分的理由认为他的信件不安全，而且描述他的行为将是极其危险的。莫里斯也许还希望，如果他被抓住并受到谴责，这一声明将有助于美国政府免受指责。然后，莫里斯表达了他对越狱或新宪法能否成功的严重怀疑：

I dare not say that I hope this will take Place. I ardently wish it but I have Doubts and Fears because I have no Confidence in the Morals of the People. The King is anxious to secure their permanent Happiness but Alas they are not in a State of Mind to receive Good from his Hands. Suspicion, that constant Companion of Vice and Weakness, has loosened every Band of social Union and blasts every honest Hope in the Moment of its budding.

我不敢说我希望这会发生。我热切希望它，但我有疑虑和恐惧，因为我对人民的道德没有信心。国王渴望得到他们永久的幸福，可惜他们没有心情接受他手中的善。怀疑，这个邪恶和软弱的永恒伴

侣，已经松开了社会的每一个联盟，在每一个萌芽的时刻摧毁了每一个诚实的希望。

Morris closed with an expression of faint hope that the king might still survive. 莫里斯最后带着微弱的希望表情说，希望国王还能活下来。

On August 2, Monciel told Morris that the Girondins were making another attempt to have him arrested and sent to Orléans. Unfazed, they discussed distribution of money to "counter-conspirators" who "were to repair to certain places and there to fight under these chiefs." ¹¹¹ During the next few days, they prepared an "Address" to the Marseillais. Brémond, who did the footwork of buying specie, told them he could purchase the "correspondence of the Jacobins" ¹¹² for 1,000 louis.

8月2日，蒙谢尔告诉莫里斯，吉伦特派又一次试图逮捕他并将其送往奥尔良。他们不慌不忙地讨论了把钱分配给“反阴谋者”的问题，这些“反阴谋者”“要去某些地方，在这些首领的领导下作战”在接下来的几天里，他们准备了一份致马赛“地址”。布莱·蒙德负责购买硬币，他告诉他们，他可以用1000路易购买“雅各宾派的信件”

On August 3, the Moniteur published the Brunswick Manifesto. The declaration, Morris wrote later to Mme du Bourg, could be "rendered in a

8月3日，《通报》发表了《布伦瑞克宣言》。莫里斯后来在给Bourg夫人的信中写道，这份声明可以“用一张

few words. 'Be all against me, for I am opposed to you all; and make a good resistance, for there is no longer any hope.' " Morris was scornful. "As for me, I never had a very exalted idea of the effect which could be produced by manifestos," he told his friend.¹¹³

几句话。你们都要与我作对，因为我与你们众人作对。你们要作好抵抗，因为没有指望了。”莫里斯轻蔑地说。他告诉他的朋友：“至于我，我从来没有对宣言所能产生的影响有过一个非常崇高的想法。”

Yet the manifesto was worse than unhelpful to the court, for it played right into the hands of the king's opponents.¹¹⁴ Although Louis sent a letter to the Assembly disavowing the manifesto—probably drafted by Morris and Monciel, for it reflected their view of the manifesto and their strategy for the king—it had no effect. Fear of invasion and suspicion of the king's complicity fueled a petition to the Assembly by forty-seven of the forty-eight Paris sections, denouncing the king. On August 4 the fédérés central committee met to plan an attack. Santerre pushed for August 5, but at Pétion's objection they changed it to August 9.¹¹⁵ Lally-Tolendal's Mémoire contains minutes of a meeting that day at Montmorin's. Malouet had received an anonymous tip about the plan, and he, Moleville, Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tolendal, and probably Morris met to hammer out the last details of a new effort at escape.¹¹⁶ (Morris is not mentioned by Malouet but Morris recorded that he went to Montmorin's after dinner, "where I find a Family in deep Distress.")¹¹⁷ They agreed that the duc de Liancourt would precede the royal family to Rouen, and that Lafayette would join them there.

然而，这份宣言对宫廷毫无帮助，因为它正中国王的反对者的下怀。尽管路易向议会发出了一封信，否认这份宣言(可能是莫里斯和蒙谢尔起草的)，因为它反映了他们对这份宣言的看法和他们为国王制定的战略，但它没有任何效果。由于害怕入侵和怀疑国王是同谋，巴黎四十八个区中的四十七个向议会提出请愿，谴责国王。8月4日，国防部中央委员会开会计划进攻。Santerre极力推动8月5日的会议，但在Pétion的反对下，他们将会议改为8月9日。Lally-Tolendal的memoire包含了当天在蒙莫兰的会议记录。马洛埃收到了一个关于这个计划的匿名消息，他，Moleville，克莱蒙特-托内雷，拉利-托伦达尔，可能还有莫里斯见面商讨了一个新的逃跑计划的最后细节他们一致同意，利安科特公爵先于王室成员前往卢昂，拉斐特将与他们一同前往。

According to Malouet, Montmorin went to see the king and reported that he had agreed but told Montmorin to work with Monciel who was, he said, working on another escape plan with Sainte-Croix (minister of foreign affairs since August 2). This statement is confusing, because the preponderance of the evidence—Morris's entries regarding frequent visits to Montmorin, almost-daily

meetings with Monciel, Moleville, and by now, Sainte-Croix, along with the outlines of the plan in Moleville and Malouet's memoirs—strongly indicates that they were all working together.¹¹⁸

据马洛埃说，蒙特莫林去见国王，并报告说国王已经同意，但他告诉蒙特莫林与蒙谢尔合作，蒙谢尔说，蒙谢尔正在与圣克罗伊(8月2日起担任外交部长)一起制定另一个逃跑计划。这种说法令人困惑，因为证据的准备工作——莫里斯关于频繁访问蒙莫兰、几乎每天都与 Moleville 蒙谢尔(Monciel)和目前圣克罗伊(Sainte-Croix)会面的记录，以及在 Moleville 的计划大纲和马卢埃的备忘录——都有力地表明，他们在共同努力

There is also persuasive evidence in Morris' s diary that Lord Gower and Lady Sutherland were apprised of this plan, and may have been participants. Morris' s regular visits to the British, often followed by dispatches from Gower to Grenville with information undoubtedly received from Morris, establish the degree of intimacy between the diplomats. After the meeting at Montmorin' s on the night of August 4, Morris returned home to find Lady Sutherland at his door.

在莫里斯的日记中也有令人信服的证据表明，高尔勋爵和萨瑟兰夫人被告知了这个计划，而且可能是个特例。莫里斯定期访问英国，随后又从高尔发往格伦维尔，无疑从莫里斯那里得到情报，这证实了外交官之间的亲密程度。8月4日晚，莫里斯在蒙莫兰餐厅开完会后回到家中，发现萨瑟兰夫人站在他的门口。

[S]he comes to obtain an Interview between me and the Chevalier de Coigny. I tell her that I will be at Home if he will call on me tomorrow. He comes to interview me and the Chevalier de Coigny. I tell her that I will be at Home if he will call on me tomorrow. He comes to interview me and the Chevalier de Coigny. I tell her that I will be at Home if he will call on me tomorrow.
他前来采访我和科尼骑士。我告诉她，如果他明天来看我，我就在家里

row. He wishes to give my Ideas direct to the Queen without passing thro
the Medium of Monsieur de Montmorin.¹¹⁹

他希望通过蒙特莫兰先生的媒介，直接把我的想法告诉女王

"They all expect," Morris went on, "to be murdered this Evening at the Chateau."

"他们都希望，"莫里斯继续说道，"今晚在城堡里被谋杀。"

Morris and Monciel met with Coigny two days later and "digest[ed] a Petition for the Marseillois calculated to make the King declare himself. Monsieur de Coigny is to push the same Point with the Queen."¹²⁰ This statement is cryptic; it may refer to a petition to the Assembly, written by Robespierre for the *fédérés*, denouncing the court and other internal enemies.¹²¹ Alternatively, it could have been the "Address" Morris mentioned writing on August 3, prepared as a counterstroke, to be presented by the king and welcomed by paid loyalist agents who had infiltrated the Marseillais. The desire to have the king "declare himself" and to "push the same Point" with the queen reflects Morris' s frustration with what he always saw as Montmorin' s weak-kneed counsel. Malouet frankly admitted that Morris "gave His Majesty, although more fruit-lessly than we did, much more vigorous advice," and Morris wrote later that

莫里斯和蒙西尔两天后与科尼见了面，并“消化了一份为马赛人请愿的请愿书，这份请愿书的目的是让国王自首。”。德科尼先生也要向女王提出同样的要求。”这个声明是含糊其辞的，它可能指的是罗伯斯庇尔写给议会的一份请愿书，谴责法院和其他内部机构。或者，它可能是8月3日莫里斯提出的作为回击的“地址”，由国王提出，并受到渗透进马赛的有钱的忠诚特工的欢迎。希望国王“宣布他自己”并与王后“推同一点”的愿望反映了莫里斯对他一直视为蒙特莫林软弱无力的律师的失望。马卢埃特坦率地承认，莫里斯“给了陛下更有力的建议，尽管比我们多水果，”莫里斯后来写道

the Court was involv' d in a Spirit of little paltry Intrigue unworthy of Anything above the Rank of Footmen and Chambermaids. Every one had his or her little project and every little Project had some Abettors. Strong manly Councils frightened the weak, alarmed the envious and wounded the enervate mind of the lazy and luxurious. Such counsels therefore (if perchance any appeared) were approved but not adopted, certainly not follow' d.¹²²

宫廷里陷入了一种微不足道的阴谋之中，不值得做任何男仆和女仆

以上的事情。每个人都有自己的小计划，每个小计划都有一些教唆者。强壮的男子汉议会吓坏了软弱的人，惊动了嫉妒的人，伤害了懒惰而奢侈的人那低能的心灵。因此，这种建议(如果偶然出现的话)得到了批准，但没有被采纳，当然也没有被采纳

Morris made his regular semiweekly visit to court to attend the royal lever on August 5. "Nothing remarkable, only that they were up all Night expecting to be murdered," he wrote dryly. Moleville, who was also present, was more eloquent:

8月5日，莫里斯每半周定期访问朝廷，参加王室会议。“没什么特别的，只是他们整晚都在等着被谋杀，”他干巴巴地写道。莫尔维尔也是一名辩护律师，他的辩才更为雄辩：

The court was never more brilliant . . . than on that day. . . . I left the palace, my eyes running over with tears; yet I was far from imagining, at that moment, that I had seen the royal family for the last time.

法庭从来没有比那一天更辉煌。我离开了宫殿，泪水夺眶而出；然而，在那一刻，我完全没有想到，我已经最后一次见到了王室。

*That night, at the Jacobin Club, Robespierre announced discovery of a "new plan" for the king' s escape.*¹²³

那天晚上，在雅各宾俱乐部，罗伯斯庇尔宣布发现了国王逃跑的“新计划”

Very early on August 6, Moleville was visited by an agent who had reconnoitered Gaillon and Rouen. The report was promising: Rouen was "entirely in favor of the King" and three thousand troops would be sufficient to guard the castle. Moleville promptly sent a message to the king recommending departure either that night or the next. He waited anxiously all day for a reply. Finally, at six o' clock, word came to "suspend the preparations for their departure until farther notice; as it was their majesties intentions to reserve that step for the last extremity."

8月6日早些时候,一名侦察过盖隆和卢昂的特工造访了莫勒维尔。报告很有希望:卢昂“完全支持国王”,3000人的军队足以守卫城堡。莫勒维尔立即给国王发了一封信,建议他在当天晚上或者下一天出发。他等了一整天才得到答复。最后,在六点钟的时候,传来消息:“暂停他们离开的准备工作,直到另行通知为止,因为陛下打算把这一步留到最后一刻。”

These fatal words were like a thunderbolt to me. "What do they mean by the last extremity?" cried I, with as much rage as despair. "Who can the idiots or traitors be, who have suggested such a pernicious resolution?" 这些致命的话对我来说就像晴天霹雳。“他们所说的最后一条路是什么意思?”我愤怒而绝望地喊道。“谁会是这样一个有害的决议的白痴或者叛徒呢?”

He rushed over to see Montmorin. Montmorin agreed to write to the king, though he had no hopes of success

他赶去见蒙特莫林,蒙特莫林同意给国王写信,尽管他没有成功的希望

because I am sure that they are swayed by different counsel than ours. The king is ruined, my friend, and so are we all. You laughed at me six months ago, when I told you it would come to a republic: you will find that I was not deceived; I believe it is at no great distance; perhaps it will not last long; but that will depend upon the fate of the king. If he is assassinated, the republic will certainly be of short duration; but if he shall be formally tried, and consequently condemned, you will not have the monarchy so soon re-established.

因为我相信他们被不同的意见所左右。国王完蛋了,我的朋友,我们都完蛋了。六个月前,当我告诉你共和国即将成立的时候,你曾嘲笑过我。你会发现我没有受骗,我相信这并不遥远,也许这不会持续很久,但这将取决于国王的命运。如果他被暗杀,共和国的存

续期肯定会很短;但如果他被正式审判,并因此受到谴责,那么君主制就不会这么快重新建立。

"As for me," the weary former minister told Moleville, "I shall never see it." Less than four weeks later, Montmorin was dead.

“至于我,”这位疲惫不堪的前部长告诉莫尔维尔,“我将永远看不到它。”不到四个星期后,蒙特莫林去世了。

*Moleville learned later that the queen opposed going to Gaillon, largely because it required relying on the duc de Liancourt. "Mr. Bertrand does not consider," he reported that she said, "that he is throwing us into the hands of constitutionalists."*¹²⁴

莫勒维尔后来了解到,女王反对前往加永,主要是因为这需要依赖利安科特公爵。“伯特兰先生没有考虑到,”他报告说,她说,“他把我们扔到了立宪主义者手中。”¹²⁴

*Morris' s diary gives no indication whether he was privy to these events. The next day, August 7, Monciel told Morris that he had met with Louis, and apparently the stubborn king told him, "The public Mind is much better than it was and will mend."*¹²⁵ *Nonetheless, according to Malouet, the king' s supporters had already met that morning to plan a new effort to use the Swiss Guard to get the king to Pontoise (about halfway to Gaillon, and a quarter of the way to Rouen). Montmorin wrote the king that he could delay no longer, and that the following morning before daylight*

莫里斯的日记没有说明他是否知道这些事件。第二天,也就是8月7日,蒙谢尔告诉莫里斯,他已经见过路易斯了,很明显,这位顽固的国王告诉他,“公众的心智已经比以前好多了,而且会好起来的。”尽管如此,根据马卢埃的说法,国王的支持者那天早上已经聚集在一起计划新的行动,利用瑞士卫队将国王送到蓬图瓦兹(大约到加永的一半路程,到卢昂的四分之一路程)。蒙特莫林写信给国王说,他不能再耽搁了,第二天早晨天亮之前

loyal members of the National Guard would escort the royal family from the Tuileries to a coach on the Champs-Élysées, where they would be met by four companies of Swiss Guards sent from Courbevoie.¹²⁶ The letter received no response, and this time Montmorin went to talk to Louis.

忠诚的国民警卫队成员将护送皇室成员从杜伊勒里宫出发，前往香槟酒馆的一辆马车，在那里他们将遇到从库尔贝沃伊派来的四队瑞士警卫。

Madame Elisabeth told him that the insurrection was not really close at hand; that Santerre and Pétion had promised, and that they had received 750,000 livres to bring the Marseillais over to his Majesty's side. The King was no longer uneasy, but determined not to leave Paris. In spite of Montmorin's entreaties, the best he could obtain was designation of Maréchal de Mailly to command the Tuileries, and instructions for the commandant of the Swiss Guards and to brave Acloque to watch the moves of the Jacobins . . . It was obvious that these precautions were insufficient against a raging though undisciplined mob.¹²⁷

伊丽莎白夫人告诉他，起义并不近在咫尺，桑特和佩蒂翁已经答应了，他们已经收到了七十五万里弗，要把马赛号引到陛下那边去。国王不再感到不安，但决心不离开巴黎。尽管蒙特莫林恳求，他所能得到的最好结果是指派马查尔德梅利指挥 Tuileries，并指示瑞士卫队司令和勇敢的阿克洛克监视雅各宾派的行动……很明显，这些预防措施不足以对付一群愤怒但缺乏共识的暴徒

Although Malouet does not say whether orders had already been given to go forward with the plan, it is a fact that on August 9, between two and three o'clock in the morning, two battalions of Swiss guardsmen lodged at Courbevoie left for Paris to go to the palace.¹²⁸

虽然马卢埃没有说是否已经下令执行该计划，但事实是，在8月9日凌晨2点至3点之间，两营驻守在 Courbevoie 的瑞士警卫队前往巴黎宫殿

The report that Santerre and Pétion had been bribed to bring the Marseillais over to the king's side is intriguing because of the sketchy indications in Morris's diary and 1796 memorandum that he was engaged in just such an effort using the king's money. However, there is no evidence that after June 20 Morris thought the king should stay in Paris; quite the contrary. Rather, his goal was to protect Louis if he hadn't escaped before the insurrection began. Malouet later severely criticized what he called a "miserable intrigue" of dealings with the most "furious Jacobins" and the plan to bribe Pétion and Santerre, efforts that he alleged created false

hopes of a counterrevolution. Since it seems clear that Morris, Mont-morin, and Moleville were engaged in some such effort, they must not have told Malouet. This conclusion is given support by an otherwise puzzling statement in Morris' s entry of July 21. He went that day to Mont-morin' s, but finding Malouet present, "of course I do not as I intended confer with Montmorin and Bertrand [de Moleville]." ¹²⁹

莫里斯的日记和 1796 年的备忘录中提到他正在利用国王的钱进行这样的勾心斗角的勾当。然而，没有证据表明，6 月 20 日之后，莫里斯认为国王应该留在巴黎；恰恰相反。相反，他的目标是保护路易，如果他没有逃脱前暴动开始。马卢埃后来严厉批评了他所称的与最“愤怒的雅各宾派”打交道的“可悲阴谋”，以及贿赂 *P é tition* 和桑特雷的计划，他声称这些努力制造了反革命的虚假希望。既然莫里斯、蒙特莫林和莫里维尔显然都参与了这样的活动，他们一定没有告诉马卢埃。这一结论得到了莫里斯 7 月 21 日条目中另一则公开声明的支持。那天他去了蒙特莫林，但发现马卢埃在场，“当然，我没有按照我的意愿同蒙特莫林和伯特兰[德莫尔维尔]商量。” ¹²⁹

Morris must have been aware of the escape plan of August 7; however, his diary says only "[t]his Morning I write." That night, after the king had rejected the plan, Malesherbes came to Montmorin' s to join a final discussion, one at which Morris was apparently present. According to Malouet,

莫里斯一定知道 8 月 7 日的逃跑计划，然而，他的日记上只写了“我早上写的”那天晚上，在国王拒绝了这个计划之后，马勒舍布来到蒙莫兰参加最后一次讨论，显然莫里斯也在场。根据马洛埃的说法，

Malesherbes told the group that the only measure remaining, a desperate one, was that the king should offer to accept a regency. The group then received from the king a copy of a letter from the Girondins Vergniaud and Guadet proposing essentially the same thing.¹³⁰ "The coincidence stunned us. We found a great many problems with the proposal . . . the monarchy would be nullified," and "a council named by the republicans would make us responsible for any unpopular acts." They did not break up until late that night, in great anguish, never to be reunited. The next day Malouet advised de Laporte to burn his papers and to ask the king to burn any papers he had received from Malouet. "The good prince told me the next day through Monciel that he had burned them himself; and in fact they found nothing relating to me in his iron chest."

马勒舍布告诉大家，唯一的措施，一个绝望的措施，是国王应该提出接受摄政。随后，这群人从国王那里收到了一封来自吉伦特·维尔尼奥德和瓜德特的信件的复印件，信中提出了基本上相同的事情。我们发现这项提案存在很多问题……君主制将被废除，”而且“由共和党人任命的委员会将要求我们对任何不受欢迎的行为负责。”他们直到深夜才分手，痛苦万分，再也没有团聚。第二天，马洛埃建议德·拉波特烧掉他的文件，并要求国王烧掉他从 Malouet 收到的所有文件。“第二天，这位好心的王子通过蒙谢尔告诉我，他自己把它们烧掉了；事实上，他们在他的铁箱子里没有找到任何与我有关的东西。”

On the morning of Thursday, August 9, another hot day in a series of hot days—and the last full day of the monarchy—Monciel made his regular¹³¹ appearance at Morris' s door, bringing 200,000 more livres from the king. Morris dressed and went to court, and then to a meeting on land sales. From there he went to the Louvre where he passed what would be his last "happy Moment" with Adèle, and then dined with the British ambassador. "Afterwards call at Mon. Montmorin' s and go thence to Madame d' Albani' s, where I stay till near twelve. Paris is in great Agitation."

8月9日星期四上午，也就是君主制的最后一个完整日子，蒙谢尔出现在莫里斯的门前，从国王那里又带来了20万里弗。莫里斯穿戴整齐，上了法庭，然后参加了一个卖地会议。从那里他去了卢浮宫，在那里他与阿德勒度过了他最后的“快乐时光”，然后与英国大使共进晚餐。”“后来在星期一来拜访。去蒙特莫林，然后去阿尔巴尼夫人家，在那里我一直待到快十二点。巴黎正处于巨大的动荡之中。”

In the very early morning of August 10, 1792—probably not long after Morris arrived home from Mme d' Albani's—young Thomas Waters Griffith and another American disguised themselves as *fédérés* and wandered the streets of Paris, alive with curiosity. After visiting the Jacobin Club and listening to a debate regarding the proposed attack on the Tuileries, the two tourists, exhausted, went home to bed, convinced that the king's Guard could repulse any offensive. It was a short-lived belief. Roused out of bed a few hours later by the sound of firing—“the Cannon begin, and Musquetry mingled with them announce a warm Day,” Morris recorded in his diary not far away—Griffith, still in disguise, hurried over to the quay opposite the Louvre, where he got an excellent view of the assault.¹³²

1792年8月10日清晨，也许就在莫里斯从阿尔巴尼夫人家回到家后不久，年轻的托马斯·沃特斯·格里菲斯和另一个美国人乔装成菲尔德·格里菲斯，满怀好奇地在巴黎街头游荡。在参观了雅各宾俱乐部并就进攻杜伊勒里宫的提议进行了辩论之后，两位游客筋疲力尽地回家睡觉，他们相信国王的卫队可以击退任何进攻。这是一种短暂的信仰。几个小时后，被枪声吵醒了，莫里斯在他的日记里写道：“大炮开始了，穆斯奎特和他们混在一起，宣布了一个温暖的日子。”仍然乔装打扮的格里菲斯匆忙赶到卢浮宫对面的码头，在那里他看到了袭击的绝佳景象

At 7:30 that morning, Roederer, a *Feuillant* and an administrator of Paris, who had counseled the monarchs over the summer, had come to the palace to urge the monarchs to save their children and take sanctuary in the Assembly. Marie-Antoinette resisted to the last: “Are we alone, then, abandoned by all?”

“Yes, Madame, you are alone,” Roederer replied. The

那天早上7:30，罗德勒，一个巴黎的行政官员，一个夏天为君主提供咨询的人，来到皇宫，敦促君主们拯救他们的孩子，并在议会中寻求庇护。玛丽·安托瓦内特坚持到最后：“那么，我们是孤独的，被所有人抛弃吗？”“是的，夫人，你是一个人，”罗德勒回答。这个

loyal Swiss Guard remained to defend the chateau. Many of the National guardsmen who were with them tore off their crosses of Saint-Louis, broke their swords, and fled.¹³³

忠诚的瑞士侍卫队留下来保卫城堡。许多与他们同行的国民警卫队士兵撕下 Saint-Louis 的十字架，折断剑，逃之夭夭

The first cannon shots came at ten o' clock in the morning. The doors of the Tuileries had been forced half an hour before, and the crowds, led by Westermann, burst in. After a brief exchange of words, in which Westermann demanded that the defending troops "join la Nation," shots rang out from the defending side, infuriating the crowd. The slaughter began, and the Swiss Guards "wherever found are murder' d," Morris wrote.¹³⁴

第一声炮响是在早上十点钟。半小时前，杜伊勒里宫的大门已被撬开，维斯特曼率领的人群涌了进来。在简短的交谈中，韦斯特曼要求防守部队“加入国家”，随后防守方的枪声响起，激怒了观众。大屠杀开始了，瑞士卫兵“无论发现什么都被谋杀了，”莫里斯写道

After watching this edifying scene for some hours, Griffith and his friend walked over to see the National Guard barracks at the Carrousel, which had also been attacked, on fire. They encountered patrols bearing heads on pikes, a grisly sight that led Griffith's friend to decide to leave Paris immediately, before the barriers were closed. Griffith made his way across the river and walked through the bloodstained palace, where many of the dead still lay. It was exceedingly hot, and the royal family was stifling in the Assembly.

格里菲斯和他的朋友看了几个小时这个富有启发性的场景后，走到卡鲁塞尔的国民警卫队兵营，那里也遭到了袭击，并且着火了。他们遇到了挂着人头的巡逻队，这一可怕的情景让格里菲斯的朋友决定在栅栏关闭之前立即离开巴黎。格里菲斯穿过河流，走过血迹斑斑的宫殿，那里还躺着许多死者。天气非常炎热，王室成员在议会中仍然举步维艰。

Monciel had called on Morris first thing in the morning as usual, and his report was "tranquilizing," but the American minister soon learned otherwise. Adèle sent her son to take refuge, and followed later in the day. Morris had previously invited "a Company" to dine, but few of his guests appeared. "Mr. Huskisson, the Secretary to the British Ambassador, comes in the Evening. He gives a sad Account of Things."¹³⁵

蒙西尔像往常一样，早上第一件事就是拜访莫里斯，他的报告“令人安静”，但是这位美国部长很快就得知不是这样的。阿德勒把她的儿子送去避难，当天晚些时候也跟着去了。莫里斯先前曾邀请“一家公司”共进晚餐，但几乎没有客人出现。“晚上，英国大使馆的秘书赫斯基森先生来了。他对事情作了一个悲伤的叙述。”¹³⁵

Elsewhere in Paris, suspected counterrevolutionaries were being hunted down. A crowd broke into Clermont-Tonnerre's house looking for hidden arms; he was taken to the section. As nothing suspicious was found, he was released, but he was recognized in the street and severely beaten. He staggered, dying, into the home of Mme de Brassac, and collapsed.¹³⁶ "Your friend is dead, murdered," wrote the count's wife in desperate haste to Malouet. "There is no longer any place in France for a virtuous man. Flee . . ." Malouet left his home that night and moved from one hiding place to another over the next few weeks. Morris's agent, d' Angremont, was captured. He had "the courage to be silent," but was quickly condemned and would be beheaded by the guillotine on August 22, one of its first political victims. De Laporte met the same fate on August 24.¹³⁷ Montmorin, who had joined Malesherbes and a number of other nobles in the defense of the Tuileries, was found hiding in the home of a laundress, arrested, and taken to prison.¹³⁸ Mme de Montmorin would later be guillotined. De Joly was also put under arrest, but was released a little over a week later.

在巴黎的其他地方，疑似反革命分子正在被追捕。一群人闯进了克莱蒙特-托内尔的房子，寻找隐藏的武器；他被带到了那个区域。由于没有发现什么可疑的东西，他被释放了，但他在街上被认出来，遭到毒打。

“你的朋友死了，被谋杀了，”伯爵的妻子绝望地匆忙赶往 Malouet 写道。“在法国，一个正直的人已经没有立足之地。那天晚上，马卢埃特离开了家，在接下来的几个星期里从一个藏身之处搬到另一个藏身之处。莫里斯的经纪人安格蒙特被捕了。他有“保持沉默的勇气”，但很快就遭到谴责，并将于 8 月 22 日被斩首，这是断头台上最早的政治受害者之一。德·拉波特在 8 月 24 日遭遇了同样的命运。¹³⁷ 蒙特莫林曾与马来西亚和其他一些贵族一起保卫图伊勒里宫，后来被发现躲在一个洗衣工的家里，遭到逮捕，并被送进了监狱。德·若利也被逮捕，但一个多星期后被释放。

On August 11, Morris wrote
8月11日，莫里斯写道

A sleepless Night renders me heavy during this Day. The King & Queen remain yet at the Assembly which goes on rapidly under the Dictée of the Tribunes. We are quiet here. Things are taking on their new Order. The Weather continues to be very hot. Mr. de St. Pardou calls in the Evening and seems to be torn to pieces by Affliction. I desire him, if he sees the royal Family, to tell them that Relief must soon arrive.

一个不眠之夜使我在这一天感到沉重。国王和王后仍然留在大会上，大会按照护民官命令迅速进行。我们这里很安静。事情正在向他们的新秩序发展。天气仍然非常炎热。德圣帕杜先生在夜晚召唤，似乎被痛苦撕成碎片。如果他看到皇室成员，我希望他告诉他们救济品必须很快到达。

The “Relief” Morris spoke of was his fast-waning hope that Lafayette would come to the rescue; but, though he had the commissioners bearing the news of August 10 to his army arrested—which led to a decree of treason against him—Lafayette could not rally his troops. There would be no triumphant return for the general.

莫里斯所说的“救济”是他对拉斐特能够出手相救的希望正在迅速消退；但是，尽管他让专员们把8月10日的消息告诉了他的军队，但是拉斐特却无法集结他的军队。将军是不可能凯旋而归的。

*In the early morning of August 12, Monciel and his wife took refuge with Morris. That afternoon, Mme d’Albani came to visit. “She is violently affected and afflicted,” he noted, and added inconsequentially, “[t]he Weather is very warm still and even oppressive. The State of the Air is evidenced by some Perch which, alive in the Morning at six o’clock are spoil’ d at Dinner. So rapid a State of putrefaction I never yet saw.”*¹³⁹

8月12日清晨，蒙谢尔和他的妻子向莫里斯寻求庇护。那天下午，阿尔巴尼夫人来访。“她受到了严重的影响和折磨，”他指出，并无关紧要地补充说，“天气仍然非常暖和，甚至令人难以忍受。空气的状态是由某种鲈鱼引起的，这种鲈鱼在早上六点钟还活着，可是在吃晚饭的时候就坏了。我从未见过如此迅速的腐烂。”¹³⁹

Griffith was still in Paris, and on August 13 he watched the royal family being taken to the prison of the Temple. Afterward—perhaps the same day—he went to see the American minister. Griffith had met Morris that spring, when he and an acquaintance presented themselves with a request for

introductions to Lafayette, for the two young American idealists hoped to serve under him. Morris had complied, but tactfully suggested they defer enlisting, "declaring prophetically that the Constitution would be crushed, and the marquis be overthrown with the king at the same time." They took his advice and were later extremely grateful.¹⁴⁰

格里菲斯当时还在巴黎，8月13日，他目睹了皇室成员被带到圣殿的监狱。之后——也许是同一天——他去见了美国部长。那年春天，格里菲斯遇到了莫里斯，当时他和一个熟人提出请求，希望介绍两位年轻的美国理想主义者到拉斐特去。莫里斯照办了，但委婉地建议他们推迟参军，“预言性地宣布宪法将被粉碎，侯爵将同时被国王推翻。”他们接受了他的建议，后来非常感激

"I found at his house a number of gentlemen and ladies, who [Morris told him] from former intercourse with America, and in many cases services rendered to the United States, considered themselves entitled to protection in the hotel of the minister." Morris took Griffith aside, and called him "to witness" that

“我在他家里发现了一些绅士和女士，他们(莫里斯告诉他)从前和美国的交往中认为他们有资格在部长的旅馆里保护安全莫里斯把格里菲斯叫到一边，叫他“见证”这一切

if my protection of these persons should become a matter of reproach to me, here or at home (and I have reason to expect it will, from what I have already experienced), that I did not invite them to come, but
如果我对这些人的保护成为我在这里或在家里的责备(我有理由期待，从我已经经历的事情)，我没有邀请他们来，但

that I will not put them out now that they are here, let the consequences
141
be what they may.

既然他们都在这里，我就不把他们赶出去，随他们去吧

Just who these people were is uncertain. The Monciels, Mme de Flahaut, and later Sainte-Croix, are the only refugees we know of specifically, and they had not rendered any services to the United States. However, it is very likely that although Morris did not record their names in his diary, many other people came to seek sanctuary with him on any grounds available, including military service to the United States; for example, on August 14, General Duportail, former minister of war and a one-time strategist for Washington, came for help. Morris was besieged by requests for passports, from Americans and non-Americans. Mme d' Albani asked him to ask Lord Gower for a British passport; "he, as I expected, refuses to grant it." Nonetheless, she managed to escape
142
to Ghent by the end of the month.

这些人到底是谁还不确定。蒙西尔夫妇，弗拉豪特夫人和后来的圣克罗斯伊夫妇是我们所知道的唯一具体的难民，他们没有向美国提供任何服务。然而，很有可能的是，尽管莫里斯没有在他的日记中记录他们的名字，但许多其他人以任何可能的理由来寻求他的庇护，包括在美国服兵役；例如，8月14日，前战争部长、华盛顿一度的战略家杜波泰尔将军来寻求帮助。莫里斯被美国人和非美国人的护照申请所包围。阿尔巴尼夫人要求他向高尔勋爵申请英国护照；“正如我所料，他拒绝批准。”尽管如此，她还是设法在月底逃到了根特

Morris was on the right side of international law in this situation, for the people he harbored had not been formally identified as criminals. Moreover, there was and is a recognized exception to the rule that a minister cannot grant asylum to foreign nationals, if the asylum is a "temporary measure [to protect] individuals physically in danger from mob disorder or mob rule."
143
The chargé of Malta and the Swedish ambassador also harbored people, including Narbonne, and the Gowers hid a Swiss Guard.
144

在这种情况下，莫里斯站在国际法的正确一边，因为他庇护的那些人还没有被正式认定为罪犯。此外，部长不能给予外国国民庇护的规则有一个公认的例外，如果庇护是“一项临时措施，以保护身体处于危险之中的个人免受暴民骚乱或暴民统治”¹⁴³。马耳他的宪章和瑞典大使也使包括纳邦在内的人民生活困苦，高尔一家藏了一个瑞士卫队

On August 16, one week after his last visit to the court of Louis XVI, Morris wrote to Jefferson. "[A]nother Revolution has been effected in this City. It was," he told the secretary of state simply, "bloody."
145

8月16日，在他最后一次拜访路易十六的法庭一周后，莫里斯给杰斐

逊写了一封信。“这个城市又发生了一场革命。他简单地告诉国务卿，这是“血腥的” 145

Lafayette, he went on—the general would not flee for three more days—was the only hope for overturning the new regime, but he had no faith in him or in the other “moderate or middle men” who “hoped to ballance the two Extremes and govern the Kingdom by playing off one sett against the other.” Of the moderates, only Lafayette had any force to call on, and “I rather think that the precious moment will be suffered to pass away. I have long been convinced that this middle party, who by the bye were the prime movers of the revolution, must fall to the Ground.”

他接着说，拉斐特(Lafayette)——将军不会再逃亡三天——是推翻新政权的唯一希望，但他对拉斐特或其他“温和派或中间派”没有信心，这些人“希望平衡两个极端，通过挑拨两个极端来治理王国”在温和派中，只有拉法耶特有任何力量可以召唤，并且“我宁愿认为这个珍贵的时刻将被忍受而逝去。长期以来，我一直相信，这个中间党派，再见了，他们是革命的主要推动者，必须倒台。”

Morris viewed immediate action as essential. Otherwise,
莫里斯认为立即采取行动是必要的，否则，

those who are now silent from fear, will habituate themselves by Degrees to speak favorably of the present Government, in order to lull Suspicion . . . and thus a public Opinion will appear . . . If by this means the new republic takes a little root, foreign powers will I believe find it a difficult matter to shake it to the ground, for the

那些现在因为恐惧而保持沉默的人，为了平息猜疑，他们会逐渐习惯于对现任政府发表有利的言论.....因此，公众舆论将会出现.....如果通过这种方式，新共和国能够生根发芽，那么我相信外国势力会发现很难将其撼动到地面上，因为美国政府的政治立场已经完全改变

French Nation is an immense Mass which it is not easy either to move or to oppose.

法兰西民族是一个庞大的民族，既不容易动摇，也不容易反对。

With these remarks, Morris accurately pronounced the end of the hopes of the "moderate men," the idealistic group that had sat down in Jefferson's residence in August 1789 to demarcate the proper scope of the executive and legislative power in France. The events of August 10 were, to Morris, the inevitable result of those deliberations, and thus no surprise, horrifying though they were. He said as much to Thomas Pinckney:

通过这些话，莫里斯准确地宣告了“温和派”希望的终结。1789年8月，这个理想主义团体坐在杰斐逊的住所里，划定了法国行政和立法权的适当范围。对莫里斯来说，8月10日的事件是这些审议的必然结果，因此，尽管它们是令人震惊的，但并不令人感到惊讶。他对托马斯·平克尼(Thomas Pinckney)也说了同样的话：

I foresaw not only a Struggle between the two Corps which the Constitution had organized viz. the Executive (so called) and the Legislative but I was convinced that the latter would get the better. . . . It is nevertheless a painful Reflection that one of the first Countries in the World should be so cruelly torn to Pieces.

我不仅预见到宪法所组织的两个团之间的斗争，即行政部门(所谓的行政部门)和立法部门之间的斗争，而且我还相信后者将获得胜利。然而，世界上最早的国家之一竟然被如此残酷地撕成碎片，这是一个令人痛苦的反思。

Morris knew that the violence had just begun, and dreaded it:
莫里斯知道暴力事件才刚刚开始，他很害怕：

The Storm which lately raged is a little subsided but the Winds must soon rise again perhaps from the same perhaps from another Quarter but that is of little Consequence since in every Case we must expect a like Rape and Devastation. A Man attached to his fellow Men must see with the same Distress the Woes they suffer whether arising from an Army or from a Mob and whether those by whom they were inflicted speak french or german.

最近肆虐的暴风雨稍微平息了一点，但是风也许很快就会从另一个地区卷土重来，也许是从同一个地区卷土重来。一个依附于他的同胞的人必须以同样的痛苦来看待他们所遭受的苦难，不管是来自军

队还是来自暴徒，也不管他们所遭受的苦难是来自法语还是德语。

While Jefferson would rejoice at the news of the monarchy' s overthrow, Morris could not. "An american," he told Pinckney,
虽然杰斐逊会为君主制被推翻而欢欣鼓舞，但莫里斯却不会，

*has a stronger Sympathy with this Country than any other Observer and
nourished as he is in the very Bosom of Liberty he cannot but be deeply
afflicted to see that in almost every Event this Struggle must terminate
in Despotism. Yet such is the melancholy Spectacle which presents itself to
my Mind and with which it has long been occupied. I earnestly wish and
pray that Events may prove all my Reasonings to have been falacious and
all my Apprehensions vain.*
146

他比任何观察家都更同情这个国家，正如他在自由的怀抱中一样，
他不得不深深地痛苦地看到，这场斗争几乎在每一次事件中都必然
以专制主义而告终。然而，这就是出现在我脑海中的忧郁景象，它
长期以来一直被占据着。我真诚地希望并祈祷，事实会证明我所有
的推理都是错误的，我所有的理解都是徒劳的

*The attempts to help the king had failed utterly. Among those who
have meditated on that summer, there are some who argue*

帮助国王的企图彻底失败了。在那个夏天冥想过的人中，有些人
认为

those efforts were counterproductive; that the suspicion that the king would try to escape was itself a principal cause of the attack of August 10; and that the secret efforts to counter the tide against the king lulled Louis and Marie-Antoinette into a dangerously false sense of security.¹⁴⁷ These comments have the benefit and thus the hollow-ness of being made after the fact. For those, like Morris, who hoped to salvage a constitutional monarchy and also to save the monarchs' lives, there were no other choices; the Girondins and the monarchs gave them none.

这些努力适得其反;怀疑国王企图逃跑本身就是8月10日攻击的主要原因;秘密反击国王的努力使路易和玛丽·安托瓦内特产生了一种危险的虚假安全感。对于那些像莫里斯一样希望拯救君主立宪制并拯救君主生命的人来说,他们别无选择;吉伦特人和君主们没有给他们任何选择。

It is perhaps not well known that the British government, in the spring of 1792, was also trying to help the king escape.¹⁴⁸ Its activity raises the interesting question of what the United States might have done had it been in equally close proximity. In a way, Morris answered this question, even though he did not tell his government what he was doing. As America's sole official representative *in situ*, he acted on America's behalf in what he believed to be in France's best interests. This was certainly not in accordance with the ordinary definition of the role of a diplomat; but this was no ordinary situation. It would have been impossible to receive timely instructions from Jefferson and Washington, even if the mails had been secure. The fact that his efforts failed should not itself require a finding that his means were illegitimate, or obscure the uprightness of his intentions.

英国政府在1792年春天也试图帮助国王逃跑,这也许并不为人所知。在某种程度上,莫里斯回答了这个问题,尽管他没有告诉他的政府他在做什么。作为美国在当地唯一的官方代表,他代表美国行事,他认为这符合法国的最大利益。这当然不符合外交官的一般职责,但这不是一般的情况。即使邮件是安全的,也不可能及时收到杰斐逊和华盛顿的指示。他的努力失败这一事实本身并不需要发现他的手段是不合法的,或者掩盖了他的意图的正确性。