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Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

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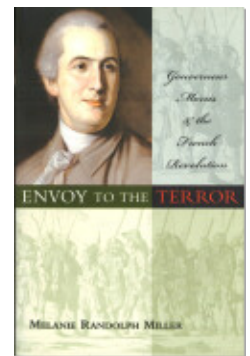
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CHAPTER ONE

第一章

Before Paris 在巴黎之前

THE THIRTY-SEVEN-YEAR-OLD MAN who arrived in France in 1789 had already lived a remarkable life in America, and from his writings it appears he believed the best part of it was already over. He was wrong. The next five and a half years in France were to be his prime, when his thoroughly American personality and experience blazed on the French stage, in front of an audience whose sophistication matched his own. Gouverneur Morris loved the French and threw himself into their affairs with an energy matched by no one else except perhaps his long-time adversary, Thomas Paine.

这位于 1789 年来到法国的三十七岁的老人，在美国已经过着了不起的生活，从他的作品来看，他似乎认为美国最好的部分已经结束了。他错了。在法国接下来的五年半时间是他的黄金时期，当他在一辆与自己的成熟程度相当的奥迪面前，在法国的舞台上展现出他完全的美国人的个性和经历。莫里斯高维尼尔热爱法国人，他投身于法国人的事业中的精力，可能除了他的长期对手托马斯·潘恩以外，没有人比得上他。

He left America with an established reputation. It was not, in some respects, a particularly good one. "Of all the men in this country, who have been public men, perhaps there is not one who is more generally disliked," Edward Rutledge wrote in 1791. "However [Morris] stands very high in the opinion of the President."¹ Morris' s brilliance, attractive to many, threatened others, and his unbridled exuberance left some with the impression that he was no more than a "flutterer upon the surface."² Throughout his life, Morris displayed a singular indifference to currying public favor, which in his own day offended acquaintances and to this day contributes to the tendency of many historians to dismiss him out of hand.

他离开美国的时候已经有了一定的声誉。从某些方面来说，这并不是一个特别好的问题。爱德华·拉特利奇在 1791 年写道：“在这个国家所有当过公众人物的男人中，也许没有一个人比他更不受欢迎。”。“然而，(莫里斯)在总统眼中的地位非常高。”莫里斯的才华吸引了许多人，但

也使其他人感到威胁，他的肆无忌惮给一些人留下了这样的印象:他只不过是一个“表面上的夸夸其谈者”在他的一生中，莫里斯对讨好公众表现出一种特殊的漠不关心，这在他自己的时代冒犯了熟人，直到今天，许多历史学家仍倾向于立即将他排除在外。

Morris went to France on business and perhaps to relieve a heart that had been unlucky in love. Since it is impossible to fully appreciate the man who arrived in Paris that dreary February without knowing the rudiments of his life beforehand, a brief biography is required.

莫里斯去法国出差，也许是为了安抚一颗在爱情中不幸的心。由于不可能完全欣赏这个在那个沉闷的二月来到巴黎的人，事先不知道他生活的起伏，所以需要一本简短的传记。

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On November 19, 1760, Lewis Morris, Jr., sat down at his house in the estate of Morrisania (now part of the Bronx) to write his will. In this document, Morris, a judge of the Vice Admiralty Court of New York, demonstrated the same sly humor he passed on to his youngest son, Gouverneur.

1760年11月19日，小刘易斯·莫里斯坐在他位于 Morrisania(现在是布朗克斯的一部分)的房子里写下了他的遗嘱。在这本纪录片中，纽约海军部副法官莫里斯用他传给小儿子高云尼尔的同样狡猾的幽默：

*My Actions have been so inconsiderable in the World that the Most durable Monument will but perpetuate my folly. . . . My desire is that nothing be mentioned about me, not so much as a line in a News Paper to tell the World I am dead. That I have lived to very little purpose my Children will remember with concern when they see the small Pittance I have left them, for Children judge of the Wisdom Goodness and affections of their Parents by the Largeness of the bequests coming to them but what I have left them is honestly acquired, which gives me a satisfaction that Ill got thousands cannot bestow.*³

我的行为在世界上是如此微不足道，以至于最持久的纪念碑只会使我的愚蠢永存……。我的愿望是不要提到任何关于我的事情，甚至不要在一份新闻报纸上写一行字告诉世界我已经死了。我活着没有什么意义，我的孩子们看到我留给他们的微薄收入时，他们会关切地记得，因为孩子们通过他们得到的大量遗产来判断他们父母的智慧和感受，但我留给他们的东西是诚实地获得的，这给了我一种满足感，而我得到的成千上万的遗产是无法给予的

The Morrisses were one of the leading families of New York, not as powerful as the Livingstons, but still well connected and very successful. Gouverneur's⁴ forbears included judges and royal governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

莫里斯一家是纽约最有影响力的家族之一，虽然没有利文斯顿一家那么有影响力，但是他们仍然有很好的社会关系并且非常成功。高维尔的祖先包括新泽西州和宾夕法尼亚州的法官和皇家总督

Gouverneur was born in 1752. His elder brothers were half brothers, children of an earlier marriage, far older than Gouverneur and his four full sisters, who were borne by Sarah Gouverneur Morris. The name "Gouverneur" was Huguenot.

高维尔出生于1752年。他的哥哥们是同父异母的兄弟，是前一段婚姻的女儿，比高云尼尔和他的四个同胞姐妹大得多，她们都是莎拉·高云尼尔·莫里斯所生。“高维尔”的名字是胡格诺教。

Lewis Morris, Jr., died when Gouverneur was ten. His will directed that Gouverneur receive the "best Education that is to be had in Europe or America," and Gouverneur learned French from a tutor, attended the Academy of Philadelphia, and, at the age of twelve, entered King's College in New York. A year later, he scalded his right arm severely, apparently leaving it half useless and scarred. This must have been a considerable blow to an adolescent boy, but he apparently coped with it or it healed, for it is not mentioned in the later papers reviewed for this work.

小路易斯·莫里斯在高云尼尔十岁时去世。他在遗嘱中指示 Gouverneur 接受“欧洲或美洲所能接受的最好的教育”，Gouverneur 从一位导师那里

学习法语，进入费城学院学习，十二岁时进入了纽约的国王学院。一年后，他的右臂严重烫伤，显然留下了一半的伤痕和疤痕。这对于一个青春期的男孩来说一定是一个相当大的打击，但是他显然应付过来了或者痊愈了，因为在这项工作的后续文件中没有提到这一点。

Gouverneur's mathematical talent and grasp of economics were re-markable. His first public demonstration of these gifts was at the age of eighteen, when he anonymously published several essays criticizing a loan bill before the New York assembly. His calculations were sophisticated and his language convincing, and when he became known as the author his expertise was considered established. He received his bachelor's degree in 1768 and went on to study law.⁵ When 1774 arrived, with the first violent stirrings of revolution, Morris was quickly drawn into the conflict, although his first impulse, as it was for so many others of propertied background and conservative bent, was that the colonies should seek compromise with England, accepting mercantile regulation from London but taxing themselves and providing for their own defense. When these proposals met rejection, however, and the British fired on American soldiers in Lexington, Morris cast his lot with the rebels, though he did not immediately rule out

高维尼尔的数学天赋和对经济学的掌握是值得注意的。他第一次公开展示这些天赋是在十八岁的时候，当时他匿名发表了几篇文章，在纽约议会前批评一项贷款法案。他的计算很精密，他的语言也很有说服力，当他被称为作者时，他的专业知识被认为是成熟的。当1774年到来时，伴随着第一次激烈的革命浪潮，莫里斯很快被卷入了这场冲突，尽管他的第一个冲动，就像许多其他拥有资产背景和保守倾向的人一样，是殖民地应该寻求与英国的妥协，接受伦敦的商业规则，但是向自己征税，并为自己提供保护。然而，当这些建议遭到反对，英国人在列克星敦向美国士兵开火时，莫里斯与叛军站在了一起，尽管他没有立即排除这种可能性

the hope of reconciliation.⁶ In this decision he was on the side of his half brothers Lewis and Richard and his brother-in-law Samuel Ogden, and opposed to his mother and his half brother Staats. The family divisions, particularly the split with his mother, must have been painful; he was not permitted to see her after the war began in earnest, for Morrisania was behind British lines most of the time.

在这个决定中，他站在同父异母的兄弟刘易斯和理查德以及他的妹夫塞缪尔·奥格登一边，反对他的母亲和同父异母的兄弟斯塔茨。家庭的分裂，尤其是和母亲的分裂，一定很痛苦；战争开始后，他没有坚定地去看望母亲，因为 Morrisania 大部分时间都在英国的后方。

It should be noted here that Morris' s choice of the revolutionary side in the American conflict was not at all inconsistent with his later efforts to slow down the French Revolution; as the chapters that follow will establish, his principles remained the same throughout. Many if not most intellectual historians of the American conflict view it as an effort primarily to preserve a status quo of existing rights:⁷ a large degree of self-government that many Americans, including Morris, felt was being threatened, and a security in property that they also saw as threatened because they had no say in the government that was taking it.

这里应该指出，莫里斯选择美国冲突中的革命一方，与他后来为减缓法国大革命所做的努力并不矛盾；正如接下来的章节所描述的那样，他的原则始终如一。许多(如果不是大多数)了解美国冲突的英特尔历史学家认为，这主要是为了维持现有权利的现状：包括莫里斯在内的许多美国人感到受到威胁的很大程度的自治，以及他们也认为受到威胁的财产安全，因为他们在接管这些财产政府中没有发言权。

Morris was now in his early twenties, and the rough outlines of his personality were established. His heritage gave him a strong sense of superiority, which he did not hesitate to express; for example, he complained at one point of a recruitment policy by which "a herd of Mechanics are preferred before the best Families in the Colony."⁸ He was a tall, striking, highly intelligent, and witty young man, seemingly worldly but still in fact quite young. Although his talents quickly promoted him into the foremost counsels, it was some time before Morris' s maturity matched his abilities, and he occasionally irritated his colleagues. He was known as a ladies' man: "Tell the women they must all love me for I love them all," he directed his friend Robert R. Livingston, and he was greatly appreciated in return.⁹ He may not have crossed the line of propriety, but he gained the reputation of being immoral and irreligious, allegations that were to be repeated fifteen years later when his appointment as minister was debated.

莫里斯现在二十出头，他的性格已经大致勾勒出来了。他的血统给了

他一种强烈的优越感，他毫不犹豫地表达了这种感觉；例如，他曾抱怨过一次征聘政策，根据这项政策，”在殖民地最好的家庭面前，首选一群机械兵”他是一个高大、引人注目、聪明机智的年轻人，看似世故，但实际上仍然相当年轻。虽然他的才能很快使他成为最重要的顾问，但是莫里斯的成熟程度与他的能力相匹配还需要一段时间，而且他偶尔会激怒他的同事。他可能没有越过礼节的界限，但他获得了不道德和无宗教信仰的名声，15年后当他被任命为罗伯特·李维顿时，这些指控再次被提起。

Morris was elected to the New York Provincial Congress, and distinguished himself with his sophisticated recommendations regarding financing the war. In the spring of 1776, he was appointed to a committee formed to confer with George Washington on New York matters, an assignment that led to their friendship. From September through November, however, he did not attend the sessions but went to Boonton, New Jersey, and gave no satisfactory explanation. He told the Congress that he was detained by a “series of accidents too trifling for recital,” which biographers of this part of his life condemn as insultingly unconcerned. It clearly seemed so to his exasperated friends: Robert Livingston wrote to Edward Rutledge that Gouverneur was enjoying “his jest and ease while his friends

莫里斯当选为纽约省级议会总统，并就资助这场战争提出了深刻的建议。1776年春天，他被任命为一个委员会成立与乔治华盛顿商讨纽约问题，这项任命导致了他们的友谊。然而，从9月到11月，他没有出席会议，而是前往新泽西州的布恩顿，没有给出令人满意的解释。他告诉国会，他是因为“一系列微不足道的事而被拘留的”，他这部分生活的传记作者谴责这些事故是无礼的漠不关心。在他那些恼怒的朋友们看来，情况显然是这样的：罗伯特·利文斯顿给爱德华·拉特利奇写信说，高维尔“在他的朋友们面前享受着他的玩笑和安逸

are struggling with every difficulty and danger and blushing while they make those apologies for him which they do not themselves believe.”¹⁰ Yet his statement to Congress was precisely the sort of dismissive phrase Morris was to use in many letters from Europe in which he failed to mention extremely significant activities and personal difficulties (such as ill-ness) to his correspondents.

当他们为他道歉的时候，他们正在与每一个困难和危险作斗争，脸红了，而他们自己并不相信。”¹⁰ 然而，他在国会的发言恰恰是那种轻蔑的措辞，莫里斯在许多欧洲来信中都使用了这样的措辞，在这些信中，他没有向他的记者提及极其重要的活动和个人困难(例如病态)。

In 1777 Morris was elected to the Continental Congress. Once again, he delayed attending for nearly three months, adding to his reputation for irresponsibility. When he arrived in York in January, Washington and his troops were suffering at Valley Forge. Morris was appointed to a committee to help restore army morale, and he worked closely with Washington in drafting a reform bill. Morris' s admiration for Washington was probably greater than for any other man he was ever to know, and the general was a fatherly figure for him. He probably influenced Morris for the better, for thereafter Morris showed far more attention to his obligations to the war effort. While at Valley Forge, Morris became friends with the marquis de Lafayette, five years his junior.

1777年，莫里斯当选为大陆会议议员。他又一次推迟了近三个月才参加会议，使他不负责任的名声雪上加霜。当他一月份抵达约克时，华盛顿和他的军队正在福吉谷遭受苦难。莫里斯被任命为帮助恢复军队士气的承诺人，他与华盛顿密切合作起草改革法案。莫里斯对华盛顿的钦佩可能比他所认识的任何其他人都要高，而这位将军对他来说就像一个慈父。他可能影响莫里斯的赌注，因为从那以后，莫里斯表现出更多的注意力，他的义务，以战争的努力。在福吉谷时，莫里斯与比他小五岁的拉法耶特的马奎斯成了朋友。

He was by now regarded as “probably the foremost publicist of the Congress,” as he himself boasted, drafting virtually all of its important publications.¹¹ When the Carlisle Commission arrived from England in 1778, offering an olive branch, Morris wrote Congress' s succinct and forceful rejection. The rejection of the commission was largely due to the news that France had signed treaties with the United States, and France' s minister, Conrad Gérard, arrived in Philadelphia in July to present his credentials. Morris helped design protocol for the new nation' s diplomatic obligations, and chaired the committee that drafted instructions for the new American minister to France, Benjamin Franklin.

¹¹ 当卡莱尔委员会 1778 年从英国来到这里，向国会伸出橄榄枝时，莫

里斯写下了国会简洁而有力的拒绝。该委员会遭到拒绝的主要原因是，有消息称，法国已与美国签署了条约，法国外长康拉德·格拉尔(Conradgrard)于7月抵达费城，递交国书。莫里斯帮助设计了这个新国家的外交义务的协议，并且担任了委员会的主席，该委员会起草了美国新任驻法国部长本杰明·富兰克林的指示。

Despite his important duties, Morris' s exuberance occasionally got the better of him. A story often told about Morris is that one night at dinner, in pursuance of a bet with Alexander Hamilton, he took the liberty of slapping Washington on the back, saying, "Wasn' t it so, my old boy?" Washington made no response, his frosty silence a stinging reproof, and the dinner party dissolved in awkwardness.¹² However—if this episode actually took place—Washington' s impregnable sense of dignity did not lead him to end his friendship with Morris. Morris undoubtedly made him laugh, and the heavily burdened general must have found him a diverting relief.

尽管他的职责很重要，但莫里斯的热情偶尔还是占了上风。关于莫里斯的一个故事经常被提到：一天晚上，在吃饭的时候，他冒昧地拍了拍华盛顿的背，说：“难道不是吗，我的亚历山大·汉密尔顿？”华盛顿没有做出任何回应，他那冷若冰霜的沉默是一种尖锐的谴责，晚宴在尴尬中结束了。然而，即使这件事真的发生了，华盛顿坚不可摧的尊严感并没有让他结束与莫里斯的友谊。毫无疑问，莫里斯逗得他哈哈大笑，这位背着沉重包袱的将军一定觉得他轻松愉快。

Nonetheless, Morris' s disregard of discretion meant he was constantly involved in disputes, so much so that he was called an "Elephant in War—after-times more destructive to his Friends than his Antagonists."¹³ Perhaps as a result, he was not reelected to Congress in October 1779. He did not com-

尽管如此，莫里斯对自由裁量权的漠视意味着他经常卷入争端，以至于他被称为“战争中的大象——此后，他对朋友的破坏力比对手大了倍。”¹³也许正因为如此，他在1779年10月没有再次当选国会议员。他没有回来

plain. His experiences had, he believed, sated his desire for public office and he "thank[ed] God there are ambitious Men in the World who will spare me." ¹⁴

平原。他相信，他的经历满足了他担任公职的愿望，他“感谢上帝，世界上有雄心勃勃的人会宽恕我。”图14

Shortly thereafter, Morris was nominated to be Benjamin Franklin's secretary in Paris, despite opposition from some members of Congress. ¹⁵ They needn't have worried: an accident that deprived Morris of his leg also required him to withdraw from consideration. In mid-May 1780, Morris was thrown from a carriage when his untethered horses started suddenly, and his left leg was crushed. There was apparently some question as to whether amputation was necessary, but the specialists who attended him recommended it, and he agreed. Recuperation took six months, most of which he spent in the home of his friends George and Elizabeth Plater. Morris fell in love with the refined and lovely Elizabeth, and she must have been affected as well, for they exchanged obliquely romantic letters long after his departure. Eventually, Elizabeth convinced him to cease his pursuit, and he never saw her again. In 1790, while in London, he heard of her death, and was deeply affected:

此后不久，尽管遭到一些国会议员的反对，莫里斯还是被提名为本杰明·富兰克林在巴黎的秘书。1780年5月中旬，莫里斯从一辆马车上摔了下来，突然，他那两匹没拴住的马开始猛冲，他的左腿被压断了。显然有些问题是关于是否需要截肢，但是专家们建议他这样做，他也同意了。康复过程持续了六个月，其中大部分时间是在朋友乔治和伊丽莎白·普拉特的家中度过的。莫里斯爱上了优雅可爱的伊丽莎白，她一定也受到了影响，因为在他离开很久之后，他们就间接地写了一些浪漫的信。最后，伊丽莎白终于说服他停止穿这身衣服，他再也没有见过她。1790年，在伦敦，他听说了她的死讯，深受感动：

Just as I am coming away from this Place Mrs. Beckford informs me that Mrs. Plater is dead. I get away as soon as possible that I may not discover Emotions which I cannot conceal. Poor Eliza! My lovely friend; thou art then at Peace and I shall behold thee no more. Never. Never. Never. ¹⁶

就在我离开这个地方的时候，贝克福德太太告诉我普莱特太太死了。我尽可能快地离开，这样我就不会发现我无法隐藏的情感。可怜的伊莱莎！我可爱的朋友，你现在安息了，我再也不看你了。从来没有。从来没有。永远不会。¹⁶

Morris never expressed self-pity for the loss of his leg; his fatalism on such matters was expressed by his often-repeated maxim, "Whatever is, is." His papers rarely mention the matter, and he generally treated it with humor.

Putting up at an inn in Coblenz in 1790, he wrote in his diary:

莫里斯从未对失去一条腿表示过自怜;他在这些问题上的宿命论通过他经常重复的格言表达出来:“无论是什么,现在就是。”他的论文很少提到这个问题,他一般都以幽默的方式处理它。1790年,他在Coblenz的一家客栈里,在日记中写道:

*The Wine here is good and a Bottle makes a good Night Cap for my short Bed, out of the foot of which however I can poke only one Leg, having left
17
the other in America.*

这里的酒很好,一个瓶子可以给我的短床做一个很好的睡帽,不过我只能戳一条腿,另一条腿留在美国了

Yet it must have been a considerable burden. In 1790 his hopes were raised by a British maker of prosthetics for a more workable limb, and he was sorely disappointed when it proved useless.

然而,这一定是一个相当大的负担。1790年,一家英国义肢制造商为他提供了一种更加可行的义肢,他由此燃起了希望,但当事实证明这种义肢毫无用处时,他大失所望。

A year after the accident, Gouverneur went to work as the assistant to Robert Morris (no relation), one of America's most successful businessmen. Robert was another father figure to Gouverneur, although the younger man saw Robert's weaknesses clearly and would spend much time in Europe trying to salvage his affairs as they began to slide. Robert had been appointed as Superintendent of Finance, a position created in the hopes of rescuing

事故发生一年后,高云尼尔去为美国最成功的商人之一罗伯特·莫里斯(与莫里斯无亲属关系)做助理。罗伯特对于政府官员来说是另一个父亲的形象,尽管这个年轻人清楚地看到罗伯特的弱点,并且会花很多时间在欧洲试图挽救他的事业,因为它们开始下滑。罗伯特被任命为财务总监,这个职位是为了挽救危机而设立的

America from its desperate financial difficulties as peace became an expectation rather than a hope. The efforts of the two men meant that American troops had supplies in time to join the French in the battle of Yorktown.

美国从绝望的财政困境中走了出来，因为和平变成了一种期望，而不是希望。这两个人的努力意味着美国军队及时获得了补给，在中东约克镇围城战役与法国人会合。

They also worked to restore a working level of national credit and established a national bank. In July 1782, they submitted a report to Congress on the public credit, which is still considered a remarkable piece of work, forming the basis for Alexander Hamilton's more famous "Report on the Public Credit" ten years later. The plan called for national assumption of the state war debts and issuance of new loan certificates in exchange. Despite intense pressure from the army, which faced a near mutiny for nonpayment, the plan¹⁸ was not adopted.

他们还努力恢复国家信贷的运行水平，并建立了一家国家银行。1782年7月，他们向国会提交了一份关于公共信用的报告，这份报告至今仍被认为是一件了不起的作品，为十年后亚历山大·汉密尔顿更著名的《公共信用报告》奠定了基础。该计划要求国家承担国家战争债务，并发放新的贷款证书作为交换。尽管军方施加了巨大压力，由于拒付兵变款项，这一计划几乎遭到兵变，但最终没有得到采纳

After Robert resigned in early 1784, he and Gouverneur devoted their time to business. Gouverneur then resided in Philadelphia, and he acted as Robert's attorney in contract cases, an assignment which took him to Virginia, where he visited Washington at Mount Vernon in 1785 and 1788. In 1787, he purchased the estate of Morrisania from his half brother Staats, who remained in England. The purchase would stretch Gouverneur beyond his means until he had made a secure fortune in Europe, but he considered being a farmer his "great Desideratum;" he loved the house and it gave him great comfort and pleasure throughout his life.¹⁹

1784年初罗伯特辞职后，他和高福尼尔把时间都花在了商业上。古韦尼尔当时住在费城，在合同案件中担任罗伯特的律师，这项任务把他带到了弗吉尼亚州，他在1785年和1788年访问了华盛顿弗农山庄。1787年，他从留在英格兰的同父异母兄弟 Staats 手中购买了 Morrisania 的地产。这笔买卖会使古韦尼尔入不敷出，直到他在欧洲发了一笔可观的财，但他认为当一个农民是他“最大的愿望”，他热爱这所房子，它给他一生带来极大的舒适和快乐

Morris was elected—barely—by the Pennsylvania General Assembly as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. He was chosen against his own request, for he wished to attend to Morrisania. He proved to be one of the most outspoken and eloquent members of the convention, and many

believed his contribution to the Constitution was surpassed only by James Madison and James Wilson. Others gave mixed reviews. One delegate described him as:

莫里斯勉强当选为费城制宪会议的代表，由宾夕法尼亚州议会选举产生。他拒绝了自己的请求，因为他想去 Morrisania。他被证明是大会上最直言不讳和最雄辩的成员之一，许多人认为他对宪法的贡献仅次于詹姆斯·麦迪逊和詹姆斯·威尔逊。其他人给出了褒贬不一的评价。一位代表形容他为：

one of those Genius' s in whom every species of talents combine to render him conspicuous and flourishing in public debate . . . he charms, captivates, and leads away the senses of all who hear them. With an infinite stretch of fancy he brings to view things when he is engaged in deep argumentation, that render all the labor of reasoning easy and pleasing. But with all these powers he is fickle and inconstant,—never pursuing
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one train of thinking,—nor ever regular . . .

其中一个天才的每一种天赋结合起来，使他显着和繁荣的公开辩论... 他的魅力，迷住，并带走了所有听到他们的感官。当他在进行深入的论证时，他会用无穷的想象力去观察事物，使所有的推理工作变得轻松愉快。但是，尽管拥有这些能力，他却变幻无常，乱七八糟，从不追求一种思维方式，也从不规律...20

His insistence on the pragmatic guidepost of self-interest was not popular in a time of rhetorical self-sacrifice and acclamation of the common good. Madison referred to him as "a member who on all occasions, has inculcated so strongly, the political depravity of men, and the necessity of
他坚持实用主义的自我利益指导原则，在一个自我牺牲和鼓掌共同利益的时代并不受欢迎。麦迪逊称他为“一个在任何情况下，都强烈反对人类政治堕落的成员，以及反对政治堕落的必要性

checking one vice and interest by opposing to them another vice & interest.”²¹ Yet Morris’ s refusal to idealize humanity and his practical ability to foresee difficulties with inappropriate language were essential elements in the Constitution’ s evolutionary ferment, and even if the delegates did not often adopt his proposals he frequently got them to modify their own, and the result was markedly improved.

通过反对一种恶习和兴趣，来检查另一种恶习和兴趣”²¹然而，莫里斯拒绝将人性理想化，他用不恰当的语言预见困难的实际能力是宪法进化的基本要素，即使代表们不经常采纳他的提案，他也经常让他们修改自己的提案，结果得到了显著的改善。

Arthur Kaufman, who has made the only in-depth study of Morris’ s constitutional views, concludes that he had a remarkably sophisticated grasp of the functions of checks and balances and that this understanding was central to his suggestions for designing a successful republic. Specifically, in order to assure civil liberty (the right to property and the right to be left alone) and then, secondarily, political liberty (the right to participate in government and hold it accountable)—the principal goals for which the colonies had gone to war—Morris believed it was necessary to temper the influence of the popular will, to keep the executive independent of the legislature, and to assure the cooperation of the rich. He therefore advocated a bicameral legislature, with one house popularly elected and the other, consisting of the wealthy, appointed for life by the executive. His argument in favor of this approach was similar to that he would make in France, and it is a bald but realistic appraisal of men’ s motives:

亚瑟·考夫曼(ArthurKaufman)是唯一深入研究莫里斯宪法观点的人。他得出结论称，莫里斯对制衡机制的作用有着非常深刻的理解，而这种理解正是他为设计一个成功的共和国而提出的建议的基础。具体来说，为了确保公民自由(财产权和不受干涉的权利)，其次是政治自由(参与政府并对其负责的权利)——这是殖民地发动战争的主要目标——莫里斯认为有必要调和人民意愿的影响，保持行政独立于立法机构，并确保富人的合作。因此，他提出了一个两院制，一个由人民选举产生，另一个由富人组成，终身由行政部门任命。他赞成这种方法的论点与他在法国的论点类似，这是对人类动机的一种直白而现实的评价：

The Rich will strive to establish their dominion & enslave the rest. They always did. They always will. The proper security agst. them is to form them into a separate interest. The two forces will then controul each other. Let the rich mix with the poor and in a Commercial coun-try they will establish an oligarchy. Take away commerce and the democracy will

富人将努力建立他们的统治，奴役其余的人。他们总是这样。他们永远都会这样。适当的安全措施。就是将它们组成一个单独的利益。这两种力量就会相互冲突。让富人和穷人混在一起，在一个商业国家，他们将建立一个寡头政治。没有商业，民主就会胜利

*The lower house, he asserted, "originating from the people, will ever be subject to precipitancy, changeability and excess;" it must be countered by "ability and virtue" in the second chamber and a strong executive and judiciary.*²³ *Morris also advocated a property requirement for the popularly elected house, because "property was the main object of Society," something Madison would repeat in The Federalist. As a result, Morris was accused of himself being an aristocrat, as he would later be described in France. However, Morris was not alone in his belief that ownership of some modest amount of property was essential to ensuring the responsibility of the electorate by requiring that it have a vested interest in the stability of the state. He did favor giving the wealthy—the American aristocracy, an aristocracy already in existence—control of the upper house, in order to control the*

他断言，下议院“起源于人民，永远不会受到急躁、易变和过度的影响”；必须用第二议院的“能力和美德”以及强有力的行政和司法制度来反击。²³莫里斯还主张对民选议院提出财产要求，因为“财产是社会的主要目标”，麦迪逊在《联邦党人》(The Federalist)杂志中会重复这一点。结果，莫里斯被指控为贵族，后来他在法国也被这样描述。然而，莫里斯并不是唯一一个认为拥有少量财产对确保电子公司的责任至关重要的人，因为他要求电子公司对国家的稳定具有既得利益。他的确赞成让富有的美国贵族控制参议院，以便控制参议院

members of that aristocracy as well as the general populace, for he feared not only "democracy" (as direct popular rule was then called), but oligarchy. He told the convention:

他不仅害怕“民主”(当时人民直接统治),而且害怕奥利加奇。他在大会上表示:

*He had long learned not to be the dupe of words. The sound of Aristocracy therefore had no effect on him. It was the thing, not the name, to which he was opposed, and one of his principal objections to the Constitution as it is now before us, is that it threatens this Country with an Aristocracy. The aristocracy will grow out of the House of Representatives. Give the votes to people who have no property, and they will sell them to the rich who will be able to buy them.*²⁴

他早就学会了不受言语的愚弄。因此,贵族阶级的声音对他没有影响。他反对的是宪法本身,而不是它的名字。他反对现在摆在我们面前的宪法的主要原因之一,就是它威胁到了这个国家的贵族统治。贵族将从众议院中产生。把选票给那些没有财产的人,他们就会把选票卖给有能力购买的富人。²⁴

*A strong executive was always central to Morris' s philosophy, and he had considerable impact on the design of the presidency, including terms, power to appoint Supreme Court justices, and the veto with a three-quarters override requirement (he had hoped for an absolute veto). Yet he was no monarchist: he told the convention that he was "as little a friend to monarchy as any gentleman . . . The way to keep out monarchichal Govt. was to establish such a Repub. govt. as wd. make the people happy and prevent a desire of change." Kaufman agrees that Morris' s conduct and other speeches establish the sincerity of this preference for a republic, despite George Mason' s later allegation that Morris had stated that an American monarchy was inevitable.*²⁵

As Kaufman put it:

一个强有力的执行官一直是莫里斯哲学的核心,他对总统的设计产生了相当大的影响,包括任期、任命最高法院法官的权力,以及四分之三推翻要求的否决权(他曾希望获得绝对否决权)。然而,他并不是君主制的拥护者:他在会议上说,他“和其他绅士一样,不是摩纳哥的朋友.....这是阻止君主政府的方法。”。就是建立这样一个共和国。政府。当然。让人民快乐,阻止改变的欲望”考夫曼同意莫里斯的行为和其他演讲确立了这种对共和国的偏爱的诚意,尽管乔治·梅森后来指控莫里斯声称美国君主制是不可避免的:

While he recognized that the people must be involved in the legislative power, and must be able to hold their government accountable, Morris sought through his vision of a separation of powers to institute a check on the popular will, not to prevent its expression, but to diminish its influence. Understanding that civil liberty and commerce are mutually reinforcing, he sought to prevent the means for the poor to 'level' the rich and the rich to oppress the poor. Believing in the inevitability of an aristocracy, he recognized both its dangers and its advantages in a commercial republic.²⁶

虽然他认识到人民必须参与立法权力，必须能够让他们的政府负责，莫里斯通过他的权力分立的愿景寻求对公众意愿的制约，不是阻止它的表达，而是减少它的影响力。由于认识到公民自由和公平是相辅相成的，他试图阻止穷人“拉平”富人和富人压迫穷人的手段。他相信贵族统治是不可避免的，因此认识到在商业共和国中贵族统治的危险和优势

Most historians consider these views to establish that Morris was a “conservative” and an elitist, particularly in contrast to men such as Jefferson. Yet Morris had already seen, in Pennsylvania, the effects of a constitution creating a weak executive and single chamber, including legislative grid-lock and riots fueled by economic differences. He would see these same effects again in France.

大多数历史学家认为这些观点确立了莫里斯是一个“保守主义者”和精英主义者，尤其是与杰斐逊这样的人相反。然而，莫里斯在宾夕法尼亚州已经看到了一部宪法造成了一个软弱的行政部门和一个单一的议会，其中包括由于经济差异而引发的立法锁定和骚乱。他会在法国再次看到同样的效果。

He did not hesitate to denounce the Constitution' s recognition of slavery in connection with apportionment of representation, calling it the "curse of heaven in the States where it prevailed."

他毫不犹豫地谴责《宪法》在分配代表权方面承认奴隶行为，称之为“占上风的各州的天谴”

*The admission of slaves into the Representation when fairly explained comes to this: that the inhabitant of Georgia and S.C. who goes to the Coast of Africa, and in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity tears away his fellow creatures from their dearest connections & damns them to the most cruel bondages, shall have more votes in a Govt. instituted for the protection of the rights of mankind, than the Citizen of Pa. and N. Jersey who views with a laudable horror, so nefarious a practice. . . . He would sooner submit himself to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the U. States, than saddle posterity with such a Constitution.*²⁷

在公平公正的解释之后，承认奴隶加入代表权意味着：那些前往非洲海岸的格鲁吉亚和 S.C. 居民，无视人类最神圣的法律，将他们的同胞从最亲密的关系中拉走，并诅咒他们成为最残酷的奴隶，应该在一个政府中获得更多的选票。比起宾夕法尼亚州和新泽西州的公民，为了保护人类的权利而制定的法律更加邪恶。他宁愿为支付美国所有黑人的工资而缴纳税款，也不愿意用这样一部宪法来为自己辩护

It is a measure of the respect Morris had earned that he was chosen to draft the separate articles into the final document. Madison later acknowledged that:

莫里斯被选中起草单独的条款并将其纳入最后文件，这是对他赢得的尊重的一种衡量。麦迪逊后来承认：

*The finish given to the style and arrangement of the Constitution fairly belongs to the pen of Mr. Morris; the task having, probably, been handed over to him by the chairman of the Committee . . . A better choice could not have been made, as the performance of the task proved.*²⁸

宪法的风格和编排完全属于莫里斯先生的笔下；委员会主席可能已经把这项任务交给了他。正如这项任务的执行情况所证明的那样，这是最好的选择

After the Convention, Morris returned to business, refusing Hamilton's importunities to contribute to the Federalist.²⁹ Robert's affairs needed attention, and Gouverneur needed to make money for Morrisania. As he wrote his old friend William Carmichael in Madrid,

罗伯特的事务需要处理，高凡尼尔需要为 Morrisania 赚钱。当他在马德里给他的老朋友威廉·卡迈克尔写信时，

[B]y acquiring Property I have placed myself in the common Situation of desiring more but . . . let me assure you that the thirst of Riches has never yet vitiated my Palate. I wish not to accumulate but to enjoy. And Age has pointed out a different Path towards Enjoyment from that which delighted my youthful Footsteps. In a Word, I wish to possess what I possess in Peace and for that purpose want lively Property.³⁰

获得财产我把自己置于渴望更多财富的共同境地，但是.....让我向你保证，对财富的渴望从未使我的味蕾失去活力。我不想积累，只想享受。年龄已经指出了一个不同的道路，通往享受从愉悦我的青春的脚步。总而言之，我希望平静地拥有我所拥有的东西，为此目的，我希望拥有活生生的财产

As it turned out, peace would not be Morris' s lot for many years to come. 事实证明，在未来的许多年里，和平不会是莫里斯的命运。