



PROJECT MUSE®

Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

Melanie R. Miller

梅勒妮·r·米勒

Published by University of Nebraska Press

由内布拉斯加大学出版社出版

Miller, Melanie R.

米勒, 梅勒妮·r。

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

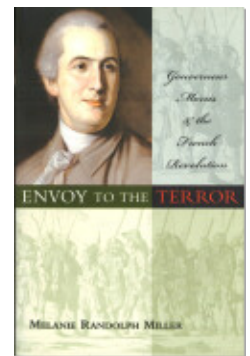
恐怖事件特使:莫里斯与法国大革命。

University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

内布拉斯加大学出版社, 2011 年。

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

项目 muse.jhu.edu/book/41591。



For additional information about this book

想了解更多关于这本书的信息



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

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

Access provided at 3 Apr 2020 05:30 GMT with no institutional affiliation
2020年4月3日5时30分格林尼治标准时间提供无机构附属服务

CHAPTER FOUR

第四章

"I Had Better Leave This Alone, But" — Zeal Gets the Best of Morris *“我最好别管这件事，但是” —— 莫里斯的热情胜过一切*

MORRIS' S LIAISON WITH ADELE DE FLAHAUT was the hook that drew him into the fabric of France. She recognized that his position as an American welcomed in the upper circles could be helpful in pursuing her own vision of France' s political best interests, as well as the personal best interests of her-self and her friends. Although she was associated with Talleyrand and other influential reformers of the Society of Thirty, she also had connections at court, including a friendship with F élix Vicq d' Azyr, Marie-Antoinette' s personal physician and advisor. Morris came to know many of these people well. Yet Morris was not an instrument for Ad è le, and acted on his own convictions, which on many occasions proved contrary to Ad è le' s ideas.

莫里斯与弗拉豪特的联络是把他吸引到法国这块土地上的诱饵。她意识到，他作为美国上层社会的一员，可能有助于她追求自己对法国政治最大利益的看法，以及她本人和朋友的个人最大利益。虽然她与 Talleyrand 和其他有影响力的 30 人协会改革者有联系，但她在宫廷中也有关系，包括与玛丽·安托瓦内特的私人医生和顾问 flixVicq d' azyr 的友谊。莫里斯对这些人中的许多人都很了解。然而，莫里斯不是阿德勒的工具，他按照自己的信念行事，而这些信念在许多情况下被证明与阿德勒的思想相悖。

The first time Morris took an active role was in late July 1789. Ad è le had told him that Louis was considering fleeing to Spain, and they both feared the impact on an already unstable France. He agreed to urge Lafayette, now the commander of the new National Guard, to reassure the king. Morris did not tell him (or Jefferson) about Louis' s projected escape, because it was "a Secret entrusted to me," but suggested creating an association to protect Louis, and proposed a financial plan for France.¹ A few days later, en route to London, he wrote Washington about the escape plan, "known to very few in this

Country.” In fact, the Spanish escape did not materialize, perhaps for the same reasons Louis had rejected an earlier proposal: the fear (which Morris and Jefferson shared) that it would pro-vokes civil war, or that the unscrupulous and ambitious duc d’ Orléans would try to take the throne. Louis would later regret his decision to stay.²

莫里斯第一次发挥积极作用是在 1789 年 7 月下旬。阿德勒告诉他，路易斯正在考虑逃往西班牙，他们都担心这会对已经动荡不安的法国造成影响。他同意敦促现任新国民警卫队司令拉斐特安抚国王。莫里斯没有把路易斯逃跑的计划告诉他(或杰弗逊)，因为这是“托付给我的一个秘密”，但他建议创建一个保护路易斯的协议，并提出了一个法国的财务计划。几天后，在前往伦敦的途中，他给华盛顿写了一封关于路易斯逃跑计划的信，“这个国家很少有人知道”事实上，西班牙逃亡并没有成为现实，也许和路易斯拒绝早期提议的原因是一样的:(莫里斯和杰斐逊都有这种担心)担心西班牙逃亡会助长内战，或者担心肆无忌惮、野心勃勃的德奥尔人会试图夺取王位。路易斯后来后悔留下来

Many critical events took place in the National Assembly during Morris’ s six weeks in London: the voluntary renunciation of feudal privileges (including personal servitude, venality of office, seigneurial dues, the tithe, and ecclesiastical privileges), adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the decrees establishing the fundamentals of the new constitution. The Declaration of the Rights of Man—a “liberal but hardly

在莫里斯在伦敦的六个星期里，国民议会发生了许多重大事件:自愿放弃封建特权(包括个人奴役、官职腐败、封建税、什一税和教会特权)、通过《人权宣言》和确立新宪法基本原则的法令。《人权宣言》——一部“自由主义但不自由”的作品

democratic document”³—provided for imprescribable rights of “liberty, property, security, and freedom from oppression,” and stated that sovereignty resided in the nation, not the monarch, who was subject to the law.

“民主文件”³—规定了“自由、财产、安全和免受压迫的自由”的不受限制的权利，并声明逾越节居住在国家，而不是君主，他受法律管辖。

On his way back in to Paris, Morris observed men taking advantage of the termination of hunting restrictions, killing partridge right and left. “[T]he Postilion turns around to me: ‘C’ est un beau Privilège que les français se sont acquis Monsieur.’ — ‘Oui Monsieur, mais il me paroît que ce Privilège ne vaudra pas autant l’année prochaine.’ ” [“It’s a great privilege which the French have acquired, Monsieur.” “Yes, Monsieur, but it seems to me that this privilege will not be worth as much a year from now.”]⁴

在返回巴黎的路上，莫里斯看到人们利用狩猎限制的终止，到处杀害鹧鸪。“邮差转过身来对我说：‘这是法国人最好的礼物，先生。’”⁴是的，先生，但是我模仿了这个首要任务，它不是我的任务。“先生，这是法国人获得的一大特权。”“是的，先生，但是在我看来，这种特权在一年之后就不再有价值了。”图4

Before Morris left for London, he had received a request—via Adèle—to confer with the constitutional committee of the National Assembly. He provided a memorandum, very likely a document published by Sparks entitled “Observations on Government” (in retranslation it lacks Morris’ s usual polish).⁵ If so, it cannot have been welcome to the committee, for it stated bluntly that France was not ready for a free government, and urged retention of the orders, on much the same basis as he had urged a hereditary Senate in America. The notion of equality was no obstacle: in destroying orders, he queried the committee, “do you destroy the natural inequality of man, or the artificial inequality of society? In attacking one effect, do you remove the general cause?” Titles and nobility gratify human vanity, he suggested, as he had in the American convention, and since the only means to preserve good government was to ensure it served the self-interests of its most powerful citizens, the use of noble titles was an excellent tool.

在莫里斯动身前往伦敦之前，他收到了一份通过 Adèle 提出的与国民议会制宪委员会协商的请求。他提出了一份备忘录，很可能是斯帕克斯出版的一份文件，题为“对政府的观察”（重译后，缺少了莫里斯惯用的政治口吻）。⁵如果是这样的话，委员会会不会欢迎这份备忘录，因为它直截了当地指出，法国还没有准备好建立一个自由政府，并敦促恢复命令，其基础与他敦促美国实行世袭制的参议院基本相同。平等的概念并不是障碍：在摧毁秩序时，他质问委员会，“你是摧毁了人类的天然不平等，

还是人为的社会不平等？”？在攻击一种结果时，你是否排除了一般原因？”他说，头衔和贵族能够满足人类的虚荣心，就像他在美国惯例中所说的那样。由于维护良好政府的唯一手段是确保它为最有权势的公民的自身利益服务，因此使用贵族头衔是一个极好的工具。

Jefferson had refused a similar request to give advice on the new constitution, ostensibly for reasons of propriety. However, Lafayette asked Jefferson to host a dinner in late August at which critical constitutional issues were to be resolved by the chief spokesmen of the competing positions. The “Patriots” now consisted of two groups, the monarchiens or, as Jefferson described them, the “moderate royalists who wanted a constitution nearly similar to that of England,” and the “republicans” (Jefferson’s term), who wanted a single chamber and to give the king a temporary legislative veto.

杰斐逊曾经拒绝过一个类似的请求，表面上是出于礼节的原因，要求他就新宪法提供建议。然而，拉斐特请杰斐逊在八月底举办一次晚宴，在晚宴上，两个竞争立场的主要发言人将解决关键的宪法问题。“爱国者”现在分为两派，一派是君主主义者，也就是杰斐逊所说的“温和的保皇派，他们希望宪法与英格兰的宪法接近”，另一派是“共和派”（杰斐逊的任期），他们希望只有一个议院，并给予国王暂时的立法否决权。

Some thirty years later, Jefferson claimed that he had agreed to the dinner with reluctance, and was merely a “silent witness” to the discussion, for he “knew too well the duties I owed to the king, to the nation, and to my own country to take any part in councils concerning their internal government.”⁶ However, on August 26—the very night the dinner was held—Major Haskell wrote to William Constable that Jefferson was “to this revolution what a key and main Spring are to a watch. He winds them up

大约三十年后，杰斐逊声称他勉强同意了晚宴，只是在讨论中做了一个“沉默的见证人”，因为他“非常清楚我对国王，对国家，对我自己的国家应尽的义务，我不能参加任何有关国内治理的议会。”⁶然而，在8月26日晚宴举行的当晚，哈斯克爾少校写信给威廉·康斯特布尔说，杰斐逊“对于这场革命来说，就像春天对于手表一样重要。他给它们上了发条

& puts them into motion." The British ambassador reported something similar to London: "Mr. Jefferson . . . has been a great deal consulted by the principal leaders of the Tiers État; and I have great reason to think it is owing to his advice that the order called itself L' Assemblée Nationale." Since Jefferson had helped draft a version of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, it defies credulity to think that he sat silently in this critical debate which "decided the fate of the constitution." 7

让他们行动起来”英国大使报告了类似于伦敦的情况：“杰斐逊先生……第三层主要领导人经常征求他的意见；我有充分的理由认为，正是由于他的建议，这项命令才被称为国家集会。”由于杰斐逊帮助起草了一个版本的《人权宣言》，认为他静静地坐在这场关键的辩论中“决定了宪法的命运”是不可信的图 7

The majority of the guests that night agreed on the veto and on a sin-
那天晚上大多数的客人都同意了否决权和罪过-

gle-body legislature chosen by the people.⁸ Morris flatly disagreed with these decisions, for the temporary nature of the veto would further weaken the king, and he had little faith in the National Assembly, which he had observed in session and of which he told Robert "it is impossible to imagine a more disorderly" body. Before his departure to London, he had dined with the president of the Assembly, and told him

8 莫里斯断然不同意这些决定，因为否决权的临时性会进一步削弱国王，而且他对国民议会几乎没有信心，他在会议期间观察到国民议会，并告诉罗伯特“想象不出一个更混乱的”机构。在动身前往伦敦之前，他与议会主席共进晚餐，并告诉了他

frankly that it was simply impossible for such a Mob to govern this Country—they have unhinged every Thing—the executive Authority is reduced to a Name. Everything almost is elective and consequently Nobody obeys. It is an Anarchy beyond Conception and they will be obliged to take back their Chains for some Time to come at least.

坦率地说，这样一群乌合之众根本不可能统治这个国家——他们把一切都弄乱了——行政当局只剩下一个名字。任何事情几乎都是可选择的，因此没有人服从。这是一个超越概念的无政府状态，他们将不得不收回他们的锁链至少在一段时间内来。

He reported the conversation to Robert, adding,
他向罗伯特报告了这次谈话，并补充说：

And so much for that licentious Spirit which they dignify with the Name of Love for Liberty. Their Literati whose Heads are turned by romantic Notions picked up in Books and who are too lofty to look down upon that Kind of Man which really exists, and too wise to heed the Dictates of common Sense and Experience, have turned the Heads of their Countrymen and they have run amuck at such a Don quixote Constitution as you are blessed with in Pensilvania.

他们以热爱自由之名扬名的放荡精神也就到此为止了。他们的文人，他们的头脑被书中的浪漫主义观念所扭转，他们太高傲而不敢轻视那种真正存在的人，他们太聪明而不听从常识和经验的指令，他们已经扭转了他们同胞的头脑，他们疯狂地践踏着你在 *Pensilvania* 所拥有的堂吉珂德式的宪法。

"You will judge the Effects of such a Constitution upon a People supremely depraved," he added. "They are devilish wicked—" ⁹ He was not alone in his alarm. Many of the "Patriots" were now having second thoughts, including his friend Mme de Tessé (Lafayette's cousin, whom he met through Jefferson), who told him humbly that she no longer considered him "trop aristocrate." ¹⁰

“你会判断这样一部宪法对一个极度堕落的人民的影响，”他补充说。“他们是恶魔般的邪恶——”⁹他并不是唯一惊慌的人。许多“爱国者”现在都改变了主意，包括他的朋友德·苔丝夫人(拉法耶特的表妹，他通过杰斐逊认识的)，她谦恭地告诉他，她不再认为他是“过分的贵族”图 10

The price of bread was again rising in Paris, raising fears of civil war. Morris discussed the shortages with Lafayette, who, although he professed

巴黎的面包价格再次上涨，引发了人们对内战的担忧。莫里斯与拉法耶特讨论了货物短缺的问题

anxiety about the lack of bread, would not engage in any specific projects.

"This Man is very much below the Business he has undertaken," Morris complained in his diary, "and if the Sea runs high he will be unable to hold the Helm." Morris had regularly talked to Necker about supplying Paris with flour, also without results, for he "treats the Idea of Responsibility of the Nation for such Use of public Money with Contempt." Morris persisted, however, working with de Corny and the American businessman James Swan. He held back one of Robert's vessels so that he could include orders for flour, but grew so impatient with Lafayette that by September 30 he told the marquis he would drop the affair if nothing was done. He also told Lafayette that he must reestablish control of his troops, and "the serious Truth, that if the People of this Metropolis want, they will send their Leaders to the Devil at once and ask again their Bread and their Chains."¹¹

对面包缺乏的焦虑，不会从事任何具体的项目。莫里斯在日记中抱怨道：“这个人远远低于他所从事的事业，如果海水涨得太高，他就无法掌舵。”莫里斯经常向内克河谈论向巴黎供应面粉的事情，但也没有结果，因为他“蔑视使用公共资金的国家责任理念”然而，莫里斯与德·科尼和美国商人詹姆斯·斯旺合作。他扣留了罗伯特的一个容器，以便他可以包括面粉订单，但变得非常不耐烦的拉法叶，到9月30日，他告诉侯爵，他将放弃这件事，如果什么都不做。他还告诉拉法耶特，他必须重新控制他的军队，以及“严肃的事实，如果这个大都会的人民想要，他们会立刻把他们的领袖送到魔鬼那里，并再次要求他们的面包和锁链

Morris's warnings proved valid. Although Lafayette was popular, he was not in control of his soldiers, and the weakness was ominous; nor had he—or anyone else in the government—come to grips with the bread crisis. A few days after their discussion came the October Days. Louis's refusal to sanction the August decrees had helped foment rumors of a royalist plot to undo the new reforms and the National Assembly, and Lafayette's National Guard was eager to return to Versailles to "guard" the king from the royalist "conspirators" who surrounded him. They were led by legions of angry women demanding bread. Lafayette resisted the Guard's demands at first, but fear for the king finally sent him down the road. "Lafayette has marched by Compulsion, guarded by his own Troops who suspect and threaten him," wrote Morris, shaken by the news. The next day he learned of the king's agreement to sanction the Rights of Man and abolition of feudalism, and of the royal family's forced return to Paris, escorted by Lafayette:

莫里斯的警告被证明是正确的。虽然拉法耶特很受欢迎，但他无法控制自己的士兵，这种弱点是不祥之兆；他和政府中的其他任何人都无法控

制面包危机。他们讨论几天之后，就到了十月节。路易拒绝批准 8 月的法令，助长了有关罗伊主义阴谋破坏新的改革和国民议会的谣言。拉斐特的国民警卫队急于返回凡尔赛，以“保护”国王免受包围他的保皇主义“阴谋家”的“保护”。他们由要求面包的愤怒妇女军团领导。拉法耶一开始拒绝了警卫队的要求，但是由于国王的恐惧，他最终被送上了路。莫里斯听到这个消息后感到震惊，他写道：“拉法叶被强迫行军，由他自己的军队看守，他们怀疑并威胁他。”。第二天，他得知国王同意批准人权和废除封建制度，并同意王室在拉斐特的护送下被迫返回巴黎：

What an unfortunate Prince! The Victim of his Weakness, and in the Hands of those who are not to be relied on even for Pity. What a dreadful Lesson it is for Man that an absolute Prince cannot with Safety be indulgent. The Troubles of this Country are begun, but as to the End it is not easy to foresee it.

多么不幸的王子！软弱的受害者，在那些即使是怜悯也不能依靠的人的手中。对人类来说，一个绝对的君主不能在安全的情况下放纵自己，这是多么可怕的教训啊。这个国家的麻烦已经开始了，但要预见它的结局并不容易。

A high wind and chill rain were lashing Paris that day, and Morris saw in it the reflection of the political storm, which stirred him to make one of his infrequent but feeling references to religion:

那天，一场狂风骤雨袭击着巴黎，莫里斯从中看到了政治风暴的影子，这激起了他对宗教的一种罕见的感触：

"I Had Better Leave This Alone, But" —Zeal Gets the Best of Morris

“我最好不要管这件事，但是”——莫里斯的热情最好 39

Man, turbulent like the Elements, disorders the moral World but it is Action which supports Life. It is thine alone, Almighty Parent, to direct the Storm, to bring Order from Confusion, and render the Inconsistency of
*Man subservient to the Regularity of thy Laws.*¹²

人，像元素一样动荡不安，扰乱了道德世界，但是支撑生命的是行动。全能的父亲，只有你才能引导这场风暴，从混乱中恢复秩序，使人类的不屈服服从于你法律的规律

While the October Days exposed Lafayette's inability to command his troops, it also placed him in the undisputed role of power broker for the monarchy. Morris talked to Lafayette several times about the need for a new ministry, telling him "he must have Men of Talents and Firmness," and suggesting
*names.*¹³
In a conversation that may have begun as face-tious but became serious, he and Adèle put together a proposed ministry of men they believed could do France the most good. It included Talleyrand, who was toying with the
*thought of replacing Necker.*¹⁴

虽然十月日暴露了拉法耶特无法指挥他的军队，但这也使他成为了君主制无可争议的权力掮客。莫里斯和拉法耶多次谈到有必要建立一个新的部门，告诉他“他必须有才能和坚定的人”，并提出了名字。¹³在一次谈话中，他和阿德勒一起提出了一个他们认为对法国最有利的部门。这次谈话开始时可能是面子上的，但后来变得严肃起来。其中包括正在考虑换掉内克尔的特莱-兰德

Morris was aware that his counsel was not welcome. As he told
莫里斯知道他的律师不受欢迎

Lafayette on October 16:

10月16日，拉法叶：

I know the folly of offering opinions, which bear the appearance of advice, but a regard for you and the sincerest wishes for the prosperity of this kingdom pushed me beyond the line, which caution would have drawn for
*one of less ardent temper.*¹⁵

我知道提出看似忠告的意见是愚蠢的，但是对你的尊重和对这个王国繁荣的最真诚的祝愿把我推到了极限，对于一个不那么热情的人来说，谨慎是不可取的

Morris did not add the other compelling motive, his perception that Lafayette had poor judgment and Jefferson, who had been a key advisor, had left France for America on September 28. He was not alone in his belief that the monarchy

was in desperate need of strong and talented administrators with "Principles favorable to Liberty. That without Talents the Opportunity of regaining executive Authority will be lost." ¹⁶

莫里斯没有加入另一个令人信服的动机，他认为拉法耶特的判断力很差，而杰弗逊曾经是一个关键的顾问，于9月28日离开法国去了美国。他并不是唯一一个相信君主制迫切需要拥有“有利于自由的原则”的强大而有才华的行政官员的人。如果没有天赋，重新获得行政权力的机会就会丧失。”图16

Lafayette had his own ideas, however. He calmly acknowledged to Morris that two of his own nominees lacked ability. A third, the talented but corrupt comte de Mirabeau, ¹⁷ *lacked morals, but that, said Lafayette, could be addressed. Morris objected. The conversation was probably unpleasant, and Lafayette was "very desirous to get rid of me and I take my Leave," Morris wrote that night. "I am vexed to find that by Littleness the Little are to be placed where Greatness alone can fill the Seat."* ¹⁸ *He told himself that he would not "again trouble" Lafayette with advice "unless he asks it, and perhaps not then."*

然而，拉法耶有他自己的想法。他冷静地向莫里斯承认，他自己提名的两位候选人缺乏能力。第三个人，才华横溢但腐败的德米拉博伯爵，17岁，缺乏道德，但是，拉法耶特说，这个问题可以解决。莫里斯反对。那天晚上，莫里斯写道，谈话可能很不愉快，拉法耶特“非常渴望摆脱我，我要走了”。“我很恼火地发现，因为卑微，小人物将被安置在只有伟大才能填满座位的地方。”¹⁸他告诉自己，他不会再用忠告“麻烦”拉法叶了，“除非他问起来，也许到时候不会。”

However, it was foreign to Morris' s nature to remain silent in the face of actions with which he profoundly disagreed. Before long, Morris suc-cumbed to pleas from friends of Lafayette, and sent him a letter on the state

然而，对于莫里斯坚决反对的行动保持沉默，这与他的天性格格不入。不久，莫里斯听从了拉斐特的朋友们的请求，给他写了一封关于这个州的信

of affairs in France.¹⁹ The letter again asserted that the constitution as drafted would fail because it made the executive fatally weak, with all significant powers subject to the review of the legislature. The king could not propose laws, and the veto could only block legislation for a maximum of two years. His ministerial appointments could be impeached by the Assembly. Because such a constitution could not function, able ministers were all the more essential. "I consider the present time as critical," Morris told Lafayette accurately, "and that if neglected many inseparable mischiefs must pursue."

19 这封信再次断言，目前起草的宪法将会失败，因为它使行政部门变得致命的软弱，所有显著的权力都要接受立法部门的审查。国王不能支持法律，否决权最多只能阻止立法两年。他的部长任命可能会受到议会的弹劾。由于这样一部宪法不能发挥作用，能干的部长们就显得更加重要了。莫里斯准确地告诉拉斐特，“我认为现在是关键时期，如果忽略了许多不可分割的错误，就必须追究。”

Morris never varied from these views, but it is an indication of how little Lafayette was listening that not long after he told Morris that "notwithstanding my Criticisms . . . I must acknowledge that their Constitution is better than that of England." Morris was astounded, and told Lafayette bluntly that he was "much mistaken if he imagines that to be my Opinion."²⁰ As events proved, the Constitution of 1791, as it would be called, proved unworkable and was eventually universally rejected.

莫里斯从来没有改变过这些观点，但这表明，在他告诉莫里斯“不能抵挡我的批评……我必须承认他们的宪法比英国的宪法好”之后不久，拉法耶特听得多么少莫里斯大吃一惊，他直截了当地告诉拉法耶特，“如果他把这当成我的意见，那他就大错特错了。”事实证明，所谓的1791年宪法是行不通的，最终被普遍否决。

The American's forthright remarks were undoubtedly an unwelcome contrast to the flattering subservience of others. On October 19, Mirabeau staged a demonstration at the National Assembly, passing a unanimous vote of thanks to Lafayette, moving him to tears. Morris believed him gulled, commenting that "La Fayette has committed a great Blunder in opening himself to the unscrupulous Mirabeau. If he employs him it will be disgraceful, and if he neglects him it will be dangerous."²¹ At about this time, Lafayette was offered a position by Montmorin on behalf of the royal party, in the hopes of ensuring his loyalty. He declined, but mentioned it to Morris, who noted that Lafayette "shews clearly in his Countenance that it is the Wish of his Heart" to obtain such a position, a "Kind of Dictatorship such as Generalissimo." Morris called this

毫无疑问，这位美国人直率的言论与其他人奉承谄媚的态度形成了不

受欢迎的对比。10月19日，米拉博在国民议会上演了一场示威游行，全票通过了对拉斐特的感谢，让他感动得流下了眼泪。莫里斯相信他的话，他说：“拉斐特向无耻的米拉博开放自己，犯了一个大错。如果他雇用他，那将是可耻的，如果他忽视他，那将是危险的。”大约在这个时候，蒙特莫林为拉斐特提供了一个职位，代表王室党派，希望确保他的忠诚。他拒绝了，但有人向莫里斯示意，莫里斯注意到，拉法耶“表情清楚地表明，获得这样一个职位是他内心的愿望”，“有点像委员长那样的独裁”莫里斯称之为

*vaulting Ambition which o'erleaps itself. The Man's Mind is so elated by Power, already too great for the Measure of his Abilities, that he looks in to the Clouds and grasps at the Supreme. From this Moment every Step in his Ascent will I think accelerate his Fall.*²²

雄心勃勃的野心。人的思想是如此的兴高采烈的权力，已经太大，以衡量他的能力，他期待在云和抓住至高无上。从这一刻起，我认为他上升的每一步都会加速他的坠落

*Morris' s judgment seems harsh, but it correctly anticipated Lafayette' s spectacular fall from public grace less than three years later. He was not the only one to criticize Lafayette. The astringent Major Haskell wrote that Lafayette and his aide considered themselves "Atlases bearing the world," but that instead of the real world "they have each got an imaginary one in their heads."*²³ *Mme de Staël' s husband said that Lafayette' s status had "carried*

莫里斯的评价似乎有些苛刻，但它正确地预测到不到三年后，拉法耶特的规格标准就从公众视野中消失了。他不是唯一一个批评拉斐特的人。收敛的哈斯克少校写道，拉法耶特和他的助手认为他们自己是“承载世界的地图集”，但是与现实世界不同的是，“他们每个人的头脑中都有一个虚构的地图集。”²³岁的德斯塔尔夫人的丈夫说，拉法叶的地位

him beyond his stature" and "those who praise him govern him." Mirabeau, who utilized just this strategy to manipulate Lafayette, remarked "超越他的地位"和"赞美他的人治理他"米拉-博就是利用这种策略来操纵拉法耶的，他评论说

The multitude is totally ignorant of the dictatorship which La Fayette exercises so maladroitly . . . and if it knew the sort of ministry without responsibility he wished to arrogate to himself, his public credit would be ruined.
24

大众完全不了解拉菲特如此笨拙地行使的独裁统治……如果他们知道他想僭越自己的职责，他的公共信誉就会毁于一旦。图 24

In view of his increasing disdain for Lafayette, Morris' s willingness to use their acquaintance to push for an appointment for Talleyrand is troubling. While Morris respected Talleyrand' s abilities (yet his respect was beginning to erode), it is likely that he really did so because Adèle asked it. The bishop, as Morris noted, was "not a little out at elbows" and could sorely use the money to be gained from a ministerial position—just as Mirabeau, also in grave financial difficulties, was badgering Lafayette for an appointment. In fact, Mirabeau and Talleyrand, both known to posterity for their venality, had been associates for many years. Morris therefore had reason when he told Lafayette that with Talleyrand in the ministry he would get Mirabeau' s support into the bargain. Before long, however, Talleyrand lost his taste for the ministry, and Morris ceased to recommend anyone to Lafayette.
25

鉴于莫里斯对拉斐特越来越不屑一顾，他愿意利用自己的熟人，为 Talleyrand 争取一个任命，实在是太奢侈了。尽管莫里斯尊重 Talleyrand 的能力(然而他的尊重已经开始消退)，但他这么做很可能是因为阿德勒的要求。正如莫里斯所指出的那样，这位主教“并不是一个处于困境的人”，他可以非常痛苦地利用从部长职位上获得的资金——就像同样陷入严重财政困境的米拉波迫使拉斐特接受任命一样。事实上，米拉博和 Talleyrand 这两个以腐败闻名的公司，多年来一直是合作伙伴。因此，莫里斯告诉拉法耶特，如果 Talleyrand 加入铁道部，他将得到米拉博的支持，这是有道理的。然而，不久之后，Talleyrand 就失去了对牧师职位的兴趣，莫里斯也不再向拉斐特推荐任何人

Unlike Lafayette, the comte de Montmorin valued Morris' s advice, and welcomed his visits. The king' s loyal minister admitted that he himself lacked

the energy to supply the leadership needed, and told Morris that “as to great Measures the King is incapable of them and therefore he has no other Method of acquiring Power but to gain the Love of his Subjects, to which he is entitled by his Goodness of Heart,” an admirable but hope-less approach.

与拉斐特不同，蒙特莫林伯爵重视莫里斯的建议，并欢迎他的来访。国王忠诚的大臣承认，他自己缺乏能量来提供所需的领导，并告诉莫里斯，“至于伟大的措施，国王是没有能力的，因此他没有其他方法来获得权力，只有获得他的臣民的爱，这是他的心地善良所授予的，”一个令人钦佩的但是没有希望的方法。

For the first time Morris was asked—informally—whether he would be interested in a position in the French government. He told the comte de Clermont-Tonnere, who had also served in America and was a friend of Lafayette, that he had abandoned public life, but that “if any Thing could prompt a Wish for a Return it would be the Pleasure of restoring Order to this Country.” However, when his friend Mme de Chastellux said the next day that she would “make her *Don patriotique*” (patriotic contribution) by presenting Morris to the king to be a minister, “I laugh at the Jest,” Morris recorded, and there the matter rested until the summer of 1791.²⁶

这是莫里斯第一次被非正式地问及他是否有兴趣在法国政府任职。他告诉克莱蒙特-托内尔伯爵，他也曾在美国服役，是拉斐特的朋友，他已经放弃了公共生活，但是“如果有什么东西能够引起一个回归的愿望，那就是恢复这个国家的秩序的乐趣。”然而，当他的朋友德查斯特鲁克斯夫人第二天说，她将把莫里斯介绍给国王担任大臣，以“使她成为爱国的贡献”时，莫里斯记录道，“我嘲笑那些玩笑”，这件事就此搁置到1791年夏天。²⁶

The food crisis continued into late October. Two days after Mirabeau's demonstration for Lafayette, a man wearing a National Guard uniform

粮食危机一直持续到10月底。在米拉波为拉斐特举行示威两天后，一个男人穿着国民警卫队的制服

beheaded a baker accused of hoarding bread and a crowd paraded the head through the streets. Morris was appalled. "Surely it is not in the usual Order of divine Providence to leave such Abominations unpunished," he wrote. "The Pressure of incumbent Despotism is removed, every bad Passion exerts its peculiar Energy."²⁷

一个面包师被指控囤积面包被斩首，一群人游街示众。莫里斯惊呆了。

“让这些可恶的东西逍遥法外，肯定不是神圣眷顾的惯常做法。”他写道。“现任专制主义的压力消失了，每一个坏情绪都发挥着它特有的能量。”图 27

On Christmas Day 1789, Morris made his usual round of social calls, and ate supper at Mme de Guibert's (a friend of Adèle). The principal topic of discussion, for once, was not the Revolution, but poisonings in court history. He left early. "It has been a very fine Day but Paris on this great Festival of the Nativity shews how much she is fallen by the Revolution," he commented on the view from his carriage window. "Her Gayness and her Gilt are all besmirched. It is to her indeed a Revolution."²⁸

1789 年圣诞节那天，莫里斯像往常一样进行了一系列的社交活动，并在吉伯特夫人(阿德勒的朋友)家吃了晚饭。这一次，讨论的主要话题不是革命，而是宫廷历史的毒害。他很早就走了。“这是一个非常好的一天，但巴黎在这个伟大的节日的基督诞生证明了她是多么受到革命，”他评论从他的马车窗口的看法。“她的同性恋和她的吉尔特都被玷污了。对她来说，这确实是一场革命。”图 28

Two days later, Lafayette called Morris and William Short (now American chargé d'affaires after Jefferson's departure) into his private office to explain the arrest of the marquis de Favras for plotting to abduct Louis XVI and, supposedly, to assassinate Lafayette and Bailly, the mayor of Paris. Although it was known that the king's brother, "Monsieur" (the future Louis XVIII), was behind the plot, Favras was made the scapegoat and hanged, while Monsieur was sent to England. Before Monsieur left, he made a self-exonerating speech to the Assembly, which Adèle told Morris the ever-useful Talleyrand had helped to write.²⁹

两天后，Lafayette 把 Morris 和 William Short(在 Jefferson 离开后现在是美国临时代理大使)叫到他的私人办公室，向他们解释法弗拉斯侯爵因密谋绑架路易十六和刺杀拉斐特和巴黎市长贝利而被捕的原因。虽然众所周知，国王的兄弟“Monsieur”(未来的路易十八)是幕后黑手，法弗拉斯却成了替罪羊，被处以绞刑，而 Monsieur 则被送往英国。在先生离开之前，他在会议上发表了一篇自我免责的演说，阿德勒告诉莫里斯，这篇演说是由永远有用的 Talleyrand 帮助撰写的

*Morris, as a businessman, was keenly interested in France' s financial difficulties, not just her political struggle. In late November 1789, he made one of his infrequent visits to the Assembly to watch Necker present a new fiscal program, one that Morris predicted would be "fatal to their Finances and completely derange them for some Time to come." The discourse gave him a "violent Headache," and he annoyed Mme de Staël, who resented any criticism of her father, with his frank remarks.*³⁰

作为一个商人，莫里斯对法国的财政困难非常感兴趣，而不仅仅是她的政治斗争。1789年11月下旬，他偶尔来到议会，观看内克尔提出一项新的财政计划。莫里斯预测，这项计划将“对他们的财务状况造成致命打击，并在未来一段时间内彻底扰乱他们”这番话使他“头痛欲裂”，他惹恼了德斯塔尔夫人，她讨厌对她父亲的任何批评，讨厌他那些坦率的话

Morris later summarized Necker' s attempts to salvage French finances in a letter to Washington:

莫里斯后来在给华盛顿的一封信中总结了内克尔挽救法国财政的努力:

Hitherto he has been supported by borrowing from the Caisse D' escompte, which . . . has lent him a Sum in their Paper exceeding the Totality of their Capital, by about four Millions Sterling. Last autumn he came forward to the Assemblée with a dreadful Tale of Woe, at the Fag End of which was a Tax upon every Member of the

迄今为止，他一直靠向商业信贷银行借款来维持生计，该银行在其票据中借给他一笔金额超过其资本总额的贷款，借款金额约为四百万英镑。去年秋天，他带着一个可怕的悲惨故事来到集会上，在这个悲惨故事的结尾，每个集会的成员都要缴税

"I Had Better Leave This Alone, But" —Zeal Gets the Best of Morris

“我最好不要管这件事，但是”——莫里斯的热情最好 43

*Community of a fourth of his Revenue, and this he declared to be needful
for saving the State.*³¹

他宣布，这是拯救国家所必需的

This was the don patriotique:

这就是爱国主义：

By this, every Man is to declare, if he pleases, what he pleases to estimate his annual Income, and to pay one fourth of it in three Years. You will easily suppose that this fund was unproductive.

这样，每个人都可以随心所欲地申报他的年收入，并在三年内支付四分之一。你很容易就会认为这笔资金没有产出。

Next came the decision to issue paper assignats secured by nationalized royal and church lands. Morris, despite initial interest in the concept, soon condemned it, certain that lack of confidence in title to the land would drive their value down. He put his objection succinctly in a letter to Short:

接下来的决定是发行由国有化的王室和教会土地担保的纸币转让。尽管莫里斯最初对这个概念很感兴趣，但很快就谴责了它，他确信对土地所有权缺乏信心会导致土地贬值。他在给肖特的一封信中简明扼要地提出了他的反对意见：

The dreadful primordial Curse is repeated upon them all: Paper thou art and unto Paper thou shalt return—adieu my dear sir, I deeply bemoan these things for I love France sincerely—

可怕的原始诅咒在他们所有人身上重复着：你是纸，你要回到纸上——再见，我亲爱的先生，我深深地哀叹这些事情，因为我真诚地爱着法兰西——

*Morris' s belief in the destructive folly of the assignats would be borne out by their staggering loss of value over the next few years.*³²

莫里斯相信转让人的破坏性愚蠢行为，这一点可以从他们在今后几年里遭受的惊人的价值损失中得到证实

By now, the financial crisis was reaching into the uppermost levels of French society, and fears were starting to run high. During the first week of January 1790, the National Assembly stopped payments to pensioners of the Crown. Morris forcefully denounced the act as a "Violation of the Rights of

Property," which would further alienate the elite and increase their opposition to needed reforms. He began to receive visits from would-be ³³ émigrés, seeking advice on purchasing American land.

到目前为止，金融危机已经深入到法国社会的最高层，人们的担忧已经开始加剧。在1790年1月的第一个星期，国民议会停止向王室养恤金领取者支付养恤金。莫里斯强烈谴责该法案是“侵犯财产权”，这将进一步疏远精英阶层，增加他们对必要改革的反对。他开始接待准移民来访者，征求购买美国土地的意见

The capital, like the provinces, was growing restive. In mid-January, there was a riot in the city, and the rioters included members of the militia. On February 4, 1790, Louis declared himself to be the head of the Revolution, in an attempt to regain his authority. The decision was supported by Lafayette and Montmorin but, to Lafayette's surprise, Morris strongly disapproved, and, via Vicq d'Azay, sent a memoir to Marie-Antoinette urging against it, and asserting that the king had so far gathered "but bitter fruits from his intercourse with the Assembly."³⁴ Morris was right: the surge in the king's popularity was brief. Over the next nine months, while Morris was away from Paris, the king would be forced to accede to a number of radical Assembly actions.

首都和各省一样，越来越动荡不安。一月中旬，这个城市发生了一场暴乱，暴乱者包括了 militia 的成员。1790年2月4日，路易宣布自己为革命领袖，试图重新获得他的权威。这一决定得到了拉法耶特和蒙特莫林的支持，但令拉法耶特吃惊的是，莫里斯强烈反对这一决定，并通过阿兹尔维克向玛丽·安托瓦内特发出了一份备忘录，敦促反对这一决定，并声称国王迄今为止已经“从与议会的交往中收获了苦果”³⁴莫里斯是对的：国王受欢迎程度的飙升是短暂的。在接下来的九个月里，当莫里斯离开巴黎时，国王将被迫加入一系列激进的议会行动。

Before turning to the assignment that sent Morris out of France at such an interesting juncture, it is time to devote some attention to what was in fact the principal occupation of his days during his first year in Paris: business. Nearly every entry of his diary begins with "This Morning write," and what he wrote pertained to commercial ventures. It was a "refrain," as the editor of his Paris diaries put it, which "is the real key" to Gouverneur Morris.³⁵

在谈到在这样一个有趣的时刻把莫里斯送出法国的任务之前，现在是时候把注意力放在他在巴黎的第一年里的主要职业——商业上了。他几乎每一篇日记都以“今晨写作”开头，而他所写的与商业投资有关。这是一个“叠句”，正如他的巴黎日记的编辑所说，这是“真正的钥匙”莫里斯。³⁵



Gouverneur Morris' s business dealings in Europe are recorded in the volumes of his commercial correspondence, page after page of neatly written and concise proposals for contracts, land surveys, calculations of costs and profits, arrangements for meetings, and discussions of business matters. A few hours spent reviewing these documents gives an inkling of the amount of time Morris spent writing them, particularly as he refused to hire a clerk.³⁶ They may seem as dry as dust, at least to the reader who is not eager to acquire an intimacy with the daily grind of late eighteenth-century business transactions.

Gouverneur Morris 在欧洲的商业交易记录在他的商业信函的卷页中，一页又一页地写着关于合同、土地测量、成本和利润计算、会议安排和商业事项讨论的简明扼要的建议书。花几个小时阅读这些文件，可以略知莫里斯花了多少时间写这些文件，尤其是他拒绝雇佣一个职员。这些文件可能看起来枯燥无味，至少对于那些不想接触 18 世纪末日常商业交易的读者来说是这样。

Yet these papers contain the outlines of issues that were politically charged for both the United States and France, and that were the basis of differences between Jefferson and Morris from the time of his arrival in Europe until his appointment as Jefferson' s successor, when he largely bowed out of business. The tensions existed not merely because one was a diplomat and the other was a businessman, but because their beliefs about what was best for French-American ties (much as they both supported those ties) were

radically different. There were two business undertakings that were Morris' s primary concern in his first years in Europe and that ranged him against Jefferson: the American debt to France and Robert' s tobacco contract with the French tobacco monopoly (the Farmers-General).

然而，这些文件包含了对美国和法国都具有政治意义的问题的大纲，这也是从杰斐逊到达欧洲到他被任命为杰斐逊的继任者这段时间内，他们之间的分歧的基础。这种紧张关系之所以存在，不仅仅是因为一个是外交官，另一个是商人，还因为他们对什么对法美关系最有利的看法(尽管他们都支持这种关系)完全不同。莫里斯在欧洲的最初几年主要关心的是两项商业承诺，这两项承诺使他与杰斐逊对立:美国欠法国的债务和罗伯特与法国烟草专卖公司(农民总会)签订的烟草合同。

The tobacco contract assignment was a troublesome mission, and one that was to a significant extent the result of adversarial efforts by Jefferson. Jefferson, a tobacco planter, had considered it one of his principal objects as minister to France to work for the end of the Farmers-General. He was certain that extinguishing the monopoly would permit exports of tobacco to France from the United States to increase significantly, strengthening the bonds of commerce between the two countries.

烟草合同的分配是一个麻烦的任务，这在很大程度上是杰斐逊对抗努力的结果。杰斐逊是一个烟草种植园主，他曾经认为，作为法国的部长，为结束农民总会的统治而工作是他的主要目标之一。他确信，取消垄断将使美国对法国的烟草出口大幅度增加，从而加强两国之间的商业联系。

Although Jefferson' s opinions are better known, it is Morris' s judgments, not Jefferson' s, that have been affirmed by the most comprehensive

虽然杰斐逊的观点更为人知，但最全面肯定的是莫里斯的判断，而不是杰斐逊的

and authoritative study of the French-American tobacco trade, written by Jacob Price.³⁷ Price cites and concurs with Morris who, while he did not admire the Farmers-General, and shared Jefferson's hopes for an increase in French-American commerce, entirely disagreed regarding the impact of the monopoly and Robert's contract on American interests. He considered Jefferson well-intentioned but misguided, and did not believe that tobacco could form a substantial part of an increased commerce with France. In the end, the French government's actions, largely instigated by Jefferson (and applauded by tobacco planters), led to trade barriers to American tobacco shipments and an increase in French culture of tobacco, all to the great detriment of the American-French tobacco trade and to the benefit of the British, both of which results Morris predicted.³⁸ Robert's contract, which, contrary to popular belief, was never very profitable, was impaired and eventually abandoned by both sides.

37. 普莱斯引用并赞同莫里斯的观点，莫里斯虽然不崇拜农民总会，也和杰斐逊一样希望增加法裔美国人的贸易，但在垄断和罗伯特的合同对美国利益的影响方面完全不同意。他认为杰斐逊的意图是好的，但是却被误导了，他不相信烟草会成为与法国贸易增长的重要组成部分。最终，法国政府的行动在很大程度上受到了杰斐逊的鼓动(并得到了烟草种植者的赞许)，导致了美国烟草出口的贸易壁垒和法国烟草文化的增长，所有这些极大地损害了美法烟草贸易，也给英国带来了好处，这两者都是莫里斯预测的结果。

Morris' s other principal assignment, obtaining the American debt to France, concerns a fascinating but little-understood aspect of American-French relations of the period. Its complexities require that it be merely summarized here.³⁹ American payments on the 35 million livres tournois owed to the French were suspended after 1785 and did not resume until 1790. In 1789, shortly after assuming his position as treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton suggested that while Congress would approve raising Dutch loans to pay off the French debt, it would be appreciated if France would put off receiving principal payments for a few years. This suggestion was unacceptable to Necker, struggling to cope with France' s financial crisis, and that autumn he began negotiating with speculators who offered to buy the full American debt and provide immediate relief.

莫里斯的另一项主要任务是获得美国欠法国的债务，涉及那个时期美法关系中一个引人入胜但鲜为人知的方面。美国欠法国 3500 万利弗旅游资金的付款在 1785 年后暂停，直到 1790 年才恢复。1789 年，在他就任财政部长后不久，亚历山大·汉密尔顿表示，尽管国会将批准提高荷兰贷款

以偿还法国债务，但如果法国能推迟几年收到本金支付，那将是非常感激的。这种暗示对于苦苦应对法国金融危机的内克河来说是不可接受的。那年秋天，他开始与提出购买全部美国债务并提供立即减免的投机者进行谈判。

These proposals were made by some of the most experienced financial men of the time, including Morris. As Morris saw it, it was a means to provide France with immediate assistance at a time when the new American fiscal system was still in the works.⁴⁰ There was a profit involved for the speculators, of course—either by paying France less than it was owed, and then later collecting full value from the United States, or by taking advantage of the fall of the French livre, a fall which had already begun when Morris arrived in France.

这些建议是由当时一些最有经验的金融人士提出的，包括莫里斯。在莫里斯看来，这是在美国新的财政体系仍在运作之时，立即向法国提供援助的一种手段。当然，投机者也有利可图——要么付给法国的钱比欠的少，然后从美国收回全部价值，要么利用莫里斯抵达法国时法国货币已经开始贬值的优势。

Another group of speculators was represented by the Frenchman Brissot de Warville, later to play a key role in the Girondin period of the Revolution. Brissot had published French pamphlets for Jefferson and Short advocating an end to the tobacco monopoly, and had traveled in America in 1788, acting as agent for the Swiss banker and entrepreneur

另一批投机者以法国人布里索特·德·瓦维尔为代表，后来在吉伦丁革命时期发挥了关键作用。布里索特曾为杰弗逊和肖特出版过倡导结束烟草垄断的法国小册子，并于1788年作为瑞士银行家和企业家的代理人到美国旅行

Etienne Clavière, with whom he co-authored a book advocating stronger French-American ties. Clavière, whose venality has been established by his-torians, would be appointed the Girondist finance minister and, like Brissot, became a bitter enemy of Morris.⁴¹ The Brisset group was headed by William Duer (Assistant Secretary of the Treasury). For a time, the Brissot group included Daniel Parker, a businessman who had failed in Boston and went to Europe to sell American domestic securities. Parker would later join up with Morris and prove to be a troublesome associate, but he must have had considerable personal charm, for Gouverneur would bail him out of difficulties repeatedly over the next few years. (John Adams called Parker "the great Speculator in American Paper, who, though I love him very well, is too ingenious for me.")⁴²

他与艾蒂安·克拉维埃合著了一本倡导加强法美关系的书。他将被任命为吉伦特地区的财政部长,和布里索特一样,成了莫里斯的死敌。⁴¹布里塞特集团由威廉·杜尔(财政部助理部长)领导。有一段时间,布里索特集团的成员包括丹尼尔·帕克(Daniel Parker),他是一名在波士顿破产的商人,曾前往欧洲出售美国国内证券。帕克后来加入了莫里斯,成了一个麻烦的同伙,但他一定有相当大的个人魅力,因为在接下来的几年里,高维尔会多次帮助他摆脱困境。(约翰·亚当斯称帕克为“美国纸业的伟大投机家,尽管我非常爱他,但他对我来说太天才了。”)⁴²

Morris apparently did not discuss his proposals with Jefferson, although Jefferson was friendly with many of the principals in the different groups and undoubtedly knew about Morris' s involvement. Morris did urge Jefferson to ask Congress for powers to raise sufficient Dutch loans to pay off the debt; even though it would have meant the end of the speculators' hopes, Morris believed it would benefit both countries. Jefferson did not act on this, however, and Morris suspected it was because he was eager to return home and did not want to go to Amsterdam.⁴³

莫里斯显然没有与杰弗逊讨论他的提议,尽管杰弗逊与不同团体的许多负责人关系友好,并且毫无疑问知道莫里斯的参与。莫里斯的确敦促杰弗逊向国会要求权力,以筹集足够的荷兰贷款来偿还债务;尽管这将意味着投机者希望的终结,但莫里斯相信,这将有损于两国。然而,杰弗逊没有采取行动,莫里斯怀疑这是因为他急于回家,不想去阿姆斯特丹

During the fall of 1789, Necker came close to accepting Morris' s proposition to buy the debt, and Morris agreed to work with the Dutch bankers in the deal. However, when the Dutch houses realized that they might lose out on the substantial commissions involved in raising loans for the United States to cover the debt itself, they instead issued an unauthorized three million florin loan on behalf of the United States. Hamilton chose to endorse the Dutch loan, and for the time being the debt schemes were put on hold. Morris was outraged with the Dutch, because the loan violated their agreement, and also because

he was certain that Hamilton would put the money to other purposes than paying the debt, thereby hurting France with more delay.⁴⁴ He was right; Hamilton decided that only half of the new Dutch loan should actually go to the French. This decision was further modified in August 1790 by Jefferson, who instructed Short to pay the French none of it until he could extract concessions regarding American trade with the French West Indies.⁴⁵

1789年秋天，内克尔几乎接受了莫里斯购买债务的提议，莫里斯同意与荷兰银行家合作。然而，当这些荷兰公司意识到他们可能会失去为美国筹集贷款以偿还债务所涉及的大量佣金时，他们代表美国发放了一笔未经授权的300万弗罗林贷款。汉密尔顿选择支持荷兰的贷款，债务计划暂时搁置。莫里斯对荷兰人感到愤怒，因为这笔贷款违背了他们的协议，也因为他确信汉密尔顿会把钱用于其他目的而不是偿还债务，从而使法国受到更多的拖延。这一决定在1790年8月被杰斐逊进一步修改，他指示肖特在能够从美国与法属安的列斯贸易谈判中得到一点好处之前，不要向法国支付任何费用

For the majority of 1790, Morris' s attention was on other matters, specifically, his mission for Washington to London, discussed in the next chapter, and he removed himself from any involvement in debt proposals. In early March 1791, he received a letter from Jefferson advising him to proceed no further with the British mission, ending his self-imposed

在1790年的大部分时间里，莫里斯的注意力都集中在其他事情上，特别是他在下一章中讨论的华盛顿到伦敦的使命，而且他不再参与任何债务问题。1791年3月初，他收到杰斐逊的一封信，建议他不要再继续英国使团的工作，结束他自我强加的使命

disqualification from debt speculation projects.⁴⁶ In early April, therefore, when he was approached by associates of James Swan concerning a new debt purchase scheme, he was interested.

46 因此，在四月初，当詹姆斯·斯旺的同事向他提出一项新的债务购买计划时，他很感兴趣。

The associates, Paris bankers Schweizer and Jeanneret, claimed to represent Genoese capitalists with substantial assets. Morris was convinced that the bankers had the necessary resources and influence, and agreed to a one-quarter share. He recommended the proposal to Short, apparently without mentioning his own involvement, but noting in his diary that it was his "sincere belief" that it was a good plan for the United States. His secrecy—he did not even mention the plan to Robert—can be explained by a letter he wrote at the end of May to Washington, which cannot be viewed as anything but a bald attempt to influence the president to approve the proposal at the same time that it hid Morris' s involvement.⁴⁷

他的同事——巴黎银行家施韦泽(Schweizer)和让内雷(Jeanneret)——声称对拥有大量资产的热那亚资本家充满怨恨。莫里斯确信，银行家们拥有必要的资源和影响力，并同意分得四分之一的股份。他向肖特推荐了这一建议，显然没有提及他本人的参与，但在日记中指出，他“真诚地相信”这对美国是一个好计划。他的秘密——他甚至没有向罗伯特提及这个计划——可以用他5月底写给华盛顿的一封信来解释，这封信只能被看作是一种赤裸裸的企图，一方面试图影响总统批准这项提议，另一方面又掩盖了莫里斯的参与

There was another aspect to Morris' s secrecy besides simply trying to appear objective. While he was not ashamed of being a businessman, something Short and others vilified him for, Morris knew his business activities would hurt his chances for a diplomatic position. As Swan wrote to his friend, Secretary of War Henry Knox, Morris was unhappy that he was being talked of as a speculator because it constituted "an objection against his being a diplomatique man."⁴⁸

莫里斯的秘密不仅仅是为了显得客观，还有另外一个方面。虽然他并不为自己是一个商人而感到羞耻，肖特和其他人也因此而诋毁他，但莫里斯知道他的商业活动会损害他获得外交职位的机会。正如斯万写信给他的朋友，战争部长亨利诺克斯，莫里斯不高兴，他被谈论作为一个投机商，因为它构成了“反对他是一个外交官的人。”⁴⁸

Regardless, the venture failed: both Jefferson and Hamilton opposed it, for different reasons. Hamilton objected to the required delay on American principal payments, which could entail loss of the exchange advantage, but instructed Short that other proposals might be acceptable. Jefferson objected

to the entire notion of private speculation, but not out of concern for France. Rather, he disliked the idea of a mass of U.S. obligations in private hands, a possibility that did not worry experienced American businessmen such as Morris. Europeans already held a huge quantity of American domestic securities.⁴⁹

无论如何，这次冒险失败了：杰弗逊和汉密尔顿都以不同的理由反对它。汉密尔顿反对按规定推迟美国的本金付款，因为这可能导致损失汇率优势，但是指示肖特说其他建议也许可以接受。杰斐逊反对私人投机的整个概念，但并非出于对法国的关心。相反，他不喜欢私人手中握有大量美国债务的想法，这种可能性并不会让像莫里斯这样的经验丰富的美国商人感到担忧。欧洲人已经持有大量的美国国内证券

Some historians continue to view the speculators' proposals as "dis-honorable" to the United States. Yet France needed money immediately and the speculators were ready and able to provide it, but the United States could not. The resulting impasse and delay was arguably most "dis-honorable" to America. Regardless, in the end, Jefferson's reservations against speculators did not prevail. Although the bulk of the French debt was paid through Dutch loans by 1794, the remainder was snapped up by the persistent Swan. In 1796 the U.S. Treasury agreed with Swan, who was acting as a purchasing agent for the embattled French government, to convert the loan into U.S. domestic bonds. Swan took the bonds, assumed the debt, and paid it to France in the form of supplies.⁵⁰

一些历史学家仍然认为投机者的提议是对美国的“不尊重”。然而，法国立即需要资金，投机者已经准备好并有能力提供资金，但美国不能。由此产生的僵局和拖延可以说是美国最“不光彩”的事情。无论如何，杰弗逊对投机者的保留态度最终没有占上风。尽管到1794年，法国的大部分债务都是通过荷兰的贷款偿还的，剩下的被执着的斯旺抢购一空。1796年，美国财政部同意斯旺，谁是一个采购代理人的法国政府陷入困境，以颠覆贷款到美国国内债券。斯旺接过债券，承担了债务，并以供应的形式向法国偿还。⁵⁰