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Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

Melanie R. Miller

梅勒妮·r·米勒

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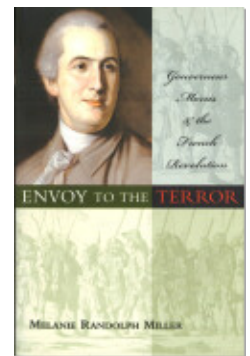
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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

第十三章

The Recall 回忆

IN APRIL 1794, around the time of the decision to send John Jay to England, George Washington and Edmund Randolph finally determined to recall Morris. The question had been debated before, first in early 1793 at the instance of Ternant, and it was raised again by Genet, his successor. Genet and Ternant both acted at the direction of the Girondin ministry, but it was not until the members of that ministry and their associates had lain headless in their graves for many months that the American government, at the request of their successors, sent Morris his recall.

1794年4月，就在决定把约翰·杰伊送到英国前后，乔治·华盛顿和埃德蒙·伦道夫最终决定召回莫里斯。这个问题以前曾经辩论过，最初是在1793年初Ternant的情况下，后来他的继任者热内再次提出。热内和特纳特都按吉伦丁部的指示行事，但直到该部的成员和他们的同伙无头躺在坟墓里好几个月，美国政府才应他们继任者的要求，把莫里斯召回。

Randolph's letter to Morris gives an indication of how difficult it was for the new secretary of state to break bad news: not until near the end, after many other topics, did Randolph finally get to the point.¹ He first noted that he had heard that Morris hoped to be recalled and was therefore "happy to believe that your separation from France would be no great object of solicitude with you." He paused here to pay Morris a compliment. "This tribute of my own sensations is due to you," he wrote, "because, from my acquaintance with your correspondence, I am free to declare that they afford proofs of an enlightened and deserving Minister." He then told Morris a diplomatic falsehood, that "[n]othing has been ever said to any officer of our government by the Ministers of France, which required attention" until now. Morris had, however, been assailed from "another quarter" — Joseph Fauchet (the chief of the new French "commissioners" to America) and the Executive Provisionary Council. Washington said much the same: "[N]ot until some

considerable time after M. Fauchet had arrived in this country did I entertain an idea of" the recall, he told Morris, for "until then, I had supposed you stood well with the persons in power."²

兰道夫在给莫里斯的信中指出，新任国务卿宣布坏消息是多么困难：直临近结束时，在经历了许多其他话题之后，兰道夫终于说到了重点。他首先指出，他听说莫里斯希望被召回，因此“很高兴相信，你离开法国不会成为你关心的重要对象。”他在这里停下来付给莫里斯一笔补偿金。他写道：“因为，从我对你们信件的了解，我可以自由地宣布，他们证明了一个开明的、值得信任的牧师。”然后他对莫里斯说了一个外交谎言：“法国的部长们从来没有对我们政府的任何官员说过任何需要注意的话”，直到现在。然而，莫里斯受到了来自“另一方”——约瑟夫·福歇(Joseph Fauchet)和执行委员会(Executive Provisional Council)的攻击。福歇是新成立的法国驻美“委员会”的负责人。华盛顿也说了同样的话：“在法切特先生来到这个国家相当长的一段时间之后，我才有了这个想法”，他告诉莫里斯，因为“在那之前，我一直认为你和当权者相处得很好。”

图 2

Randolph and Washington also neglected to mention that there had been yet another request, one from a rather surprising source: Morris' s business associate James Swan. Swan wrote his friend Henry Knox in

伦道夫和华盛顿也没有提到还有另一个请求，一个相当令人惊讶的来源：莫里斯的生意伙伴詹姆斯·斯旺。斯旺在年写信给他的朋友亨利·诺克斯

December 1793 that Morris was in a "disagreeable situation" and the government's assumptions about Morris's political opinions meant they had no confidence in him:

1793年12月，莫里斯处于一个“不可接受的境地”，而政府对莫里斯政治观点的假设意味着他们对他没有信心：

*He is so convinc' d of it himself, that he has signified his wish that he might be chang' d to some other place in Europe, & the minister there brought here, or that he be recalled. It is a damage to us, that he is not more lik' d, as many things by a friendly and frequent intercourse with the administrators would be mended, or avoided, that tend to the injury of America, and not to the advantage of France. This I have a right to mention to you, as I have it from him myself, not to say, that I see that to be the case from my own observations.*³

他自己也深信不疑，以至于他表示希望自己被带到欧洲的其他地方去，那里的牧师被带到这里来，或者被召回。这对我们来说是一种伤害，因为他不再像以前那样了，因为许多事情，只要与管理人员进行一次友好而频繁的往来，就会得到补救，或者避免，这会对美国造成伤害，而不是对法国有利。我有权向你们提到这一点，因为我是从他那里得到这一点的，而不是说我从我自己的观察中看到了这一点

*Swan suggested Barlow as Morris's successor, which would have greatly irked Morris. Swan had been working with Barlow and the French government on supply contracts, and it would naturally have been very useful to have Barlow as minister. Knox laid this letter before Washington and the cabinet on March 20, 1794.*⁴

斯旺建议巴洛作为莫里斯的继任者，这会让莫里斯大为恼火。斯旺一直在与巴洛和法国政府就供应合同进行合作，让巴洛担任部长自然是非常有用的。诺克斯在1794年3月20日向华盛顿和内阁提交了这封信。⁴

*Anything James Swan had to say affecting his own commercial interests must be considered suspect. It is extremely unlikely that Morris would have made him the channel of an indirect request for a recall, no matter how weary he was of his situation. It was not the way he thought a recall should happen. At about the time Genet's replacements were preparing to depart for America, Morris had talked with Deforgues "who, I am pretty sure, had instructed M. Fauchet to apply for my removal," and told him that if the French wanted him replaced, "the best way would be to tell me so, and I would apply for my own recall. He answered by assurances of esteem, &c. &c."*⁵ Nonetheless,

Randolph's letter indicates that Swan convinced the cabinet that Morris would be happy to leave, easing their consciences when it came time to act.

詹姆斯·斯旺(JamesSwan)所说的任何影响自身商业利益的话都必须受到怀疑。不管莫里斯对自己的处境有多么厌倦，他都极不可能间接地要求重新召回他。这不是他认为召回应该发生的方式。在热内特的接班人准备动身前往美国的时候，莫里斯与代福格斯进行了交谈，“我非常肯定，他已经指示福切特先生申请我的离职”，并告诉他，如果法国人想要换掉他，“最好的办法就是告诉我这一点，然后我会自己申请召回。”。尽管如此，伦道夫的信表明，斯旺向内阁表示，莫里斯很乐意离开，因此，当需要采取行动时，他们的反科学态度有所缓和。

The decisive communications, came, of course, from the French government. Fauchet presented his request for Morris's recall on April 9, six weeks after his arrival, giving Randolph excerpts of instructions drafted late in November 1793.⁶ The specifics were quite sparse:

当然，决定性的交流来自法国政府。福切特在莫里斯到任六个星期后的4月9日提出了他的要求，给了伦道夫1793年11月下旬起草的指示的摘录：

His principles, his liaisons, all his conduct reveals the sentiments which undoubtedly influence the reports which he transmits to his constituents and we must fear that they serve to confirm the hostile insinuations of the English, Spanish, and Dutch ministers at Philadelphia.

他的原则，他的联络人，他的一切行为都表明了他的感情，这种感情无疑影响了他向宪法传达的报告，我们必须担心这些报告会证实英国、西班牙和荷兰大臣在费城的恶意暗示。

The fear that Morris was misrepresenting events in France had been expressed previously, first by Lafayette, later by Lebrun. It was a logical concern for the revolutionary government: the French knew that the ship seizures violated the treaty, and assumed—wrongly—that Morris was busy damning them in his dispatches. The Jacobins also complained that Morris did not like the Revolution, and that this was sufficient; this justification was ironic, of course, for it too had been the complaint of their predecessors, including Lafayette and Lebrun, none of whom shared the same concept of just what constituted the French Revolution.

关于莫里斯歪曲法国事件的担忧早就有人表达过，先是拉斐特，后来是勒布伦。对于革命政府来说，这是一个合乎逻辑的担忧：法国人知道扣押船只违反了条约，并且错误地认为莫里斯正忙于在他的调度中谴责他们。雅各宾派还抱怨说，莫里斯不喜欢大革命，而且这已经足够了；当然，这种辩护是具有讽刺意味的，因为这也是他们的前辈们抱怨的问题，包括拉斐特和勒布伦，他们都没有构成法国大革命的不同概念。

Nonetheless, these objections were accepted by the American government. Randolph's first instructions to Monroe spoke pointedly of the "necessity of rendering yourself agreeable" to the French Government,⁷ adding that he should "maintain the self-respect due to our own." Morris would not have agreed with the first point. "I could be popular, but that would be wrong," he had once commented to Washington, noting how rapidly the persons in power kept changing. Later, when he had learned of Fauchet's request, he was more forceful. "If the Government here were fixed on any permanent basis," he wrote to Robert in March 1794, "it would be proper for America to have here a man agreeable to the Rulers of the Country provided always that he did not, to render himself agreeable, sacrifice the interests entrusted to his care.

尽管如此，美国政府还是接受了这些反对意见。兰多夫给门罗的第一份指示尖锐地提到了“必须让自己对法国政府感到满意”，并补充说他应该“保持我们应有的自尊”莫里斯不会同意这一点。“我可以受欢迎，但那是错误的，”他曾经对华盛顿说，并指出当权者的变化是多么迅速。后来，当他听说福歇的要求时，他变得更加强硬了。1794年3月，他在给罗伯特的信中写道：“如果这里的政府是永久性的，那么美国就应该有一个对这个国家的统治者和蔼可亲的人，只要他总是愿意牺牲托付给他的利益。”。

But during the Changes which hourly (as it were) take place, it is impossible for any Man to do the Business he is call' d on to perform, unless he have the Consciousness of Support from Home, and unless those

who are here be well convinced that he cannot be remov' d at the Will and Pleasure of any Faction or any Party in the Country where he resides. 但是在每时每刻都在发生变化的时候，任何人都不可能去做他被要求去做的事情，除非他有来自家乡的支持意识，除非那些在这里的人确信他不能被他所居住的国家的任何一个派别或党派的意志和乐趣所驱逐。

Until recalled, he told Robert, he would continue to pursue "what I conceive to be the true Interests of America, in spite of Faction and Calumny in either Hemisphere, or in both; saving always my Obedience to the Instructions I received." ⁸

他告诉罗伯特，在回忆起来之前，他将继续追求“我所认为的美国的真正利益，尽管在任何一个半球，或者在两个半球都存在派系和诽谤；我永远遵守我所接受的指示。”图 8

It appears that these points were neither made nor considered in the cabinet. Yet Morris' s opinion of the Revolution really had little to do with the Jacobin demands for his recall, any more than it had been the true basis of the Girondin requests. Nor was it that the Jacobins were following a diplomatic formula that the recall of Genet required a reciprocal request on their part, although this was the face-saving manner in which Randolph

内阁似乎既没有提出这些要点，也没有考虑这些要点。然而，莫里斯对革命的看法与雅各宾要求罢免他的要求实际上没有什么关系，就像它不是吉伦丁要求的真正基础一样。也不是雅各宾派遵循了一种外交方式，即召回 Genet 需要他们相互提出要求，尽管这是兰多夫为了保全面子而采取的方式

and Washington put it to Morris, and accepted by Howard Swiggett and Jean-Jacques Fiechter. Rather, the Jacobins saw reciprocity as a convenient excuse for asking for his recall.⁹ It is true that Morris was not “popular”; he was associated with Lafayette and the constitutionalists, common enemies of the Girondins and Jacobins. Further, his importuning on behalf of Americans was a grating nuisance, since it forced the French government to confront its injustices, its inconsistencies, its treaty violations, and its impotence.

华盛顿把它莫里斯，并接受了霍华德斯威格特和让-雅克菲尔切特。事实上，莫里斯并不“受欢迎”，他与拉斐特和立宪主义者、吉伦特派和雅各宾派的共同分子有联系。此外，他为美国人的利益纠缠是一件令人讨厌的事情，因为这迫使法国政府面对它的不公正、它的矛盾、它违反条约的行为以及它的无能。

What was far more important, however, was an episode in which Morris, by objecting to the arrest of a guest in his house, appeared to challenge the government of the Terror in the exercise of its most effective instrument, arrest and confinement and the threat of execution, all without due process. Morris did not really challenge this instrument—he knew that to do so was inappropriate and hopeless—but he did attempt to insist on recognition of superseding rules of international law, in particular, diplomatic immunity. His effort to obtain observance of these important precepts went to the heart of the gap between the French government’s portrayal of itself and the reality, and it roused great resentment. It also caused great anxiety, for the Jacobins feared Morris would urge his government to pursue the matter as a national affront. This episode was therefore without a doubt the real reason for Fauchet’s instructions. The fact that the Jacobins omitted mention of it in those instructions indicates that they knew it made their government, not Morris, look bad.

然而，更重要的是莫里斯反对在他家中逮捕一名客人，似乎挑战了恐怖主义政府行使其最有效的手段，逮捕和监禁以及威胁处决，所有这些都未经过正当程序。莫里斯并没有真正质疑这一文书，他知道这样做是不适当的，也是没有希望的，但他确实试图坚持承认超越国际法的规则，特别是外交豁免权。他为使这些重要的戒律得到遵守所作的努力，直指法国政府对自己的陈词滥调与现实之间的差距的核心，引起了极大的不满。这也引起了极大的焦虑，因为雅各宾派害怕莫里斯会敦促他的政府把这件事当作国家的侮辱来处理。因此，这段插曲无疑是福歇指示的真正原因。雅各宾派在指示中没有提到这一点，这表明他们知道这使

他们的政府，而不是莫里斯，看起来很糟糕。

This was not all. In January 1794, after Fauchet had sailed to America, the Committee of Public Safety sent a direct demand for Morris' s recall. The indignation that fueled this demand originated—as did so many of the attacks on Morris—from someone who had never met him, a man little known to the French government, an American named John Cusack.

这还不是全部。1794年1月，福切特航行到美国后，公共安全委员会直接要求重新召回莫里斯。促成这一要求的愤怒源自一个从未见过莫里斯的人，一个名叫约翰·库萨克(JohnCusack)的美国人，他对莫里斯发起了多次攻击。

GENET 基因组

The entertaining story of young Edmund Charles Genet' s diplomatic mis-sion to America has been told many times over.¹⁰ “[W]hen the French Revolution actually visited the United States in 1793 in the person” of Genet, writes one historian, “Jefferson neither understood nor admired it.”¹¹ Although the new minister from France was received in May 1793 with f ê tes and applause, and warm enthusiasm by both Jefferson and Washington, in less than three months they were writing to request his recall.

关于年轻的埃德蒙·查尔斯·热内(EdmundCharlesGenet)在外交上与美国发生冲突的有趣故事，已经被反复讲述了许多次。一位历史学家写道：“当法国大革命真正在1793年造访美国时，”热内(Genet)“杰斐逊既不理解也不钦佩它。”¹¹虽然1793年5月法国的新部长受到了杰斐逊和华盛顿的热烈欢迎和掌声，但不到三个月，他们就写信要求召回他。

Genet, of course, was merely carrying out the Girondin government's instructions, written in the expectation that war between Great Britain and France was imminent. While France preferred America neutral, she nonetheless expected significant indirect support for her war effort. Genet sought a large advance on the debt payments to purchase provisions. This was the same proposal Morris had refused to accept without instructions from the American government, thereby enraging the French. It was also the same proposal William Smith had presented unsuccessfully to the American cabinet shortly before Genet's arrival. Genet also carried three hundred blank commissions for privateers that were to bring their prizes into American ports, and he worked on Brissot's plan to liberate Canada from Britain, and Louisiana from Spain with American help.¹²

当然，热奈只是在执行吉伦丁政府的指示，这份指示是写在大不列颠和法国之间的战争迫在眉睫的预期中。虽然法国倾向于美国的中立，但她仍然期望美国对她的战争努力给予大量的间接支持。Genet要求在债务偿还上预付一大笔款项以购买准备金。没有美国政府的指示，莫里斯拒绝接受同样的提议，这使法国人很生气。这也是威廉·史密斯在热内特到来前不久向美国内阁提出的同样的建议，但没有成功。此外，他还参与了布里索的计划，即在美国的帮助下，将加拿大从英国解放出来，将路易斯安那州从西班牙解放出来

As matters proved, the American definition of neutrality was considerably different from that of the Girondins. In response to Genet's actions, the American government ordered all French privateers to depart, rejected the request for the advance on the debt, and denied French consular jurisdiction over prizes brought into American ports. With the president and secretary of state increasingly unresponsive, Genet attempted to appeal directly to the American people, revealing the extent of Girondin ignorance about the American political system. The end result was, as the Jefferson editors describe it, a shift of the "Cabinet's focus of attention from the wisdom of requesting Genet's recall to the manner of bringing it about."¹³ Jefferson was thoroughly exasperated with Genet, but Madison and Monroe were sympathetic, observing that Genet may have been understandably outraged by America's refusal to favor French over British commerce and "the unfortunate appointment of G.M."¹⁴ Regardless, the request for Genet's recall was sent to Morris on August 22, 1793.¹⁵

事实证明，美国人对中立的定义与吉伦特人的定义完全不同。作为对Genet行动的反应，美国政府命令所有法国私掠船离开，拒绝了提前偿还债务的请求，并拒绝了法国领事对运入美国港口的奖品的裁决。在总统和国务卿越来越反应迟钝的情况下，热内试图直接向美国人民呼吁，揭

示出 Girondin 对美国政治制度的不满程度。正如杰弗逊的编辑们所描述的那样，最终的结果是“内阁的注意力从要求热内召回的明智之举转移到实现这一目标的方式上。”杰弗逊对热内彻底恼怒，但麦迪逊和门罗表示同情，认为热内对美国拒绝支持法国而不支持英国商业和“通用汽车不幸的任命”感到愤怒是可以理解的。无论如何，1793年8月22日向莫里斯发出了召回热内的请求

*Morris had been introduced to Genet by Thomas Paine, and had given him a letter of introduction to Robert, telling him he had heard Genet was a "young man of ardent temper, and who, feeling genius and talents, may perhaps have rated himself a little too high." He had also heard—remarkably—that Genet had chosen America as "the best harbor during the storm, and if my informant be right, he will not put to sea again until it is fair weather, let what will happen."*¹⁶ This prediction proved dead right. In fact, well before receiving Jefferson's request, the Committee of Public Safety had already written to reprove Genet for his conflicts with the American government, and had even given serious thought to his recall.¹⁷

托马斯·潘恩把莫里斯介绍给了热内，并给了他一封介绍信，告诉罗伯特，他听说热内是个“脾气暴躁的年轻人，觉得自己天赋异禀，可能把自己评价得有点太高了。”他还听到——可以说——热内选择美国作为“风暴期间最好的港口，如果我的线人是正确的，他将不会再出海，直到天气转好，让什么事情发生。”¹⁶这个预言被证明是正确的。事实上，早在收到杰斐逊的请求之前，公共安全委员会就已经写信来谴责热内与美国政府的冲突，甚至还认真考虑了对他的罢免

Genet, for his part, was not Brissot's choice (and Paine's friend) for nothing, and he held little brief for Morris. Further, he was specifically

就热内而言，他不是布里索的人选(也是潘恩的朋友)，而且他对莫里斯没有什么要求。此外，他是特别的

instructed by Lebrun to intimate to the American government upon arrival that Morris' s recall would be welcome.¹⁸ According to Jefferson' s later recollection, Genet, not long after arriving in America, in the middle of a conversation about something else, paused and said, "but I must tell you we all depend on you to send us a good minister there, with whom we may do business confidentially, in the place of Mr. Morris." Jefferson was taken by surprise and responded lamely, "and no more was said about Mr. Morris." As he told Washington nine months later,

根据杰弗逊后来的回忆，热内在抵达美国后不久，正在谈论别的事情，停顿了一下，说：“但我必须告诉你，我们都依赖你派一位好部长到那里，我们可以私下里与他做生意，代替莫里斯先生。”杰弗逊吃了一惊，一瘸一拐地回答说：“关于莫里斯先生，再也没有说什么了。”九个月后他告诉华盛顿，

*From this I took it for granted that he meant now to come forward with complaints against Mr. Morris, as we had been given to expect [by William Smith], and therefore I mentioned nothing of this little expression to the President. Time slipped along, I expecting his complaints and he not making them. It was undoubtedly his office to bring forward his own business himself.*¹⁹

由此我想当然地认为，他现在打算提出对莫里斯先生的控诉，正如我们预料到的那样[威廉·史密斯]，因此我没有向总统提及这一小段话。时间过得很快，我以为他会发牢骚，但他没有。毫无疑问，他的职责就是亲自推动自己的事业

*Jefferson was uneasy that Genet might consider that "little expression" as sufficient to start the machinery of recall, but concluded otherwise, noting that he could think of no other time that Genet had criticized Morris.*²⁰

杰弗逊担心热内可能会认为“一点点表达”就足以启动召回机制，但他得出的结论却与此相反，他指出他想不出热内曾经批评过莫里斯

*Genet, busy with other matters, did not pursue the subject until September 1793, when he learned of the request for his own recall. He was outraged, and his anger was fueled by Lebrun' s May letter again directing him to "insinuate" French displeasure with Morris. He fired off a furious letter to Jefferson denouncing Washington, then turned on Morris with a blistering litany of complaints for having favored the "counterrevolution-ary projects of Louis XVI," and having supposedly recommended that the king not accept the constitution.*²¹ *Morris had, he said, connections with "suspected persons" and had "affected the greatest contempt for all those who served faithfully the cause of the People." He had "shown nothing but ill-humor in his relations*

with the ministers of the French Republic" and had used the phrase "in the name of my court," so "shocking to republican ears." Genet claimed that Morris asked for a passport on August 10 to go to England with the British ambassador and had predicted that any embassy from the new republic would not "be of long duration" in the United States, a prediction "which the present event justifies."²² Morris was later provided with a copy of Genet's letter, and wrote to Randolph that he considered it not "worth while" to respond, "and the more so, as the falsity of some, and the folly of others, are evident from facts in possession of your office, and from the style and nature of the complaints themselves."²³

由于忙于其他事务，直到1793年9月，热内才继续探讨这个问题，当时他得知自己被召回的请求。他被激怒了，他的愤怒被勒布伦五月的信再次点燃，信中指出他“影射”法国人对莫里斯的不满。他给杰斐逊写了一封愤怒的信，谴责华盛顿，然后对莫里斯进行了一连串的猛烈抨击，指责他支持“路易十六的反革命计划”，据说还建议国王不要接受宪法。他说，莫里斯与“嫌疑人”有联系，并且“对所有忠实为人民事业服务的人产生了极大的蔑视”他“在与法兰西共和国大臣的关系中，除了恶意的幽默之外，什么也没有表现出来”，并且使用了“以我的宫廷之名”这个短语，因此“令共和党人震惊”热内声称，莫里斯在8月10日申请了护照，与英国大使一起前往英国，并预测新共和国的任何大使馆在美国都不会“持续很长时间”，这一预测“从目前的情况来看是合理的”²²后来，莫里斯收到了一份 Genet 的信，他写信给伦道夫说，他认为这件事“不值得”作出回应，“而且，从你办公室里的事实，以及投诉本身的风格和性质来看，一些人的虚伪和另一些人的愚蠢是显而易见的。”图 23

By a twist of fate, Genet's letter did not reach Jefferson in Philadelphia until December 2, 1793, having been sent to Virginia first.²⁴ Jefferson must have passed it on to Washington, and on December 11 he wrote the president a memo recounting his conversation with Genet the previous spring. Once again, however, they took no action. By this time, they knew of the fall of the Girondins and that Genet's representations of the French government's wishes were stale. Jefferson resigned as secretary of state on December 31 and left the matter to his successor.

由于命运的扭曲，杰内的信直到1793年12月2日才被送到费城的杰斐逊手中，因为他是第一个被送到弗吉尼亚的。然而，他们再一次没有采取任何行动。这时，他们已经知道吉伦特家族的垮台，而且吉内对法国政府意愿的陈述已经过时了。杰斐逊于12月31日辞去国务卿一职，并将此事留给了他的继任者。

Yet Jefferson apparently repeated Genet's complaint to Madison, who undoubtedly told Monroe, for in late January 1794 the Senate passed a resolution demanding the right to review Morris's dispatches.²⁵ There had already been numerous attacks on Morris in America, including one by Monroe, who defended Genet to the bitter end. On October 9, 1793, he published a letter in the *Richmond Gazette*. "There is not a Republican in the nation who did not feel himself wounded" by Morris's appointment, Monroe wrote, declaring Morris was "wedded to monarchy, and opposed to the great principles of the French revolution . . . his manners and morals are hateful, and his understanding and information contemptible."²⁶

1794年1月下旬，参议院通过了一项决议，要求有权审查莫里斯的电报。在美国，莫里斯已经受到了无数次攻击，其中一次是门罗，他一直为莫里斯辩护到最后。1793年10月9日，他在里士满公报上发表了一封信。“这个国家没有一个共和党人不为莫里斯的任命而感到受伤”，门罗写道。他宣称莫里斯“忠于君主制，反对法国大革命的伟大原则……他的举止和道德令人憎恶，他的理解力和信息可鄙。”图26

These accusations found fertile ground in the Senate, and the party-line vote was 13-11 to demand the correspondence.²⁷ Washington, on advice of the cabinet, acquiesced. Randolph told Morris that he, Washington, and Hamilton, had excised anything that might compromise Morris's informants or that would

这些指控在参议院找到了肥沃的土壤，党派路线投票结果是13比11，要求获得通信。²⁷华盛顿在内阁的建议下，默许了这些指控。伦道夫告诉莫里斯，他、华盛顿和汉密尔顿已经删除了任何可能危害莫里斯线人的东西

. . if we have committed to the eye of the Senate a syllable which may not accord with your opinion, it has not been from the want of the best disposition towards you, and your character. . . . The result, I believe, was much to your reputation, in the opinion of the most dis-passionate members . . . the disclosure of the bulk of your official agency has suppressed many little murmurs, which we were continu-ally hearing, before the truth of your conduct was brought to light.²⁸

泄露任何悬而未决的事情，否则就会对你产生影响..。如果我们在元老院的眼皮底下说了一个可能不符合你意见的字眼，那不是因为我们缺乏对你和你的品格的最佳处理.....我相信，这个结果对你的声誉影响很大，在最不感兴趣的成员看来.....你们官方机构的大量披露，在你的行为的真相被揭露之前，压制了我们一直听到的许多小杂音

Ironically, Morris had always assumed that Jefferson was providing his dispatches to the other cabinet members and "so far as may suit the department of State," to the Senate as they were received.²⁹ After Randolph read the dispatches, he commented, "After the impression which I had received from others, whom I supposed to be conversant with it, I am really astonished to find so little of what is exceptionable, and so

具有讽刺意味的是，莫里斯一直以为杰斐逊是在向其他内阁成员提供他的急件，并且“只要符合国务院的要求”，就是在接到这些急件时提交给参议院

much of what the most violent would call patriotic." Randolph added, "He speaks indeed of his court; a phrase, which he might as well have let alone."³⁰ The Senate must have agreed, for nothing came out of the matter. The Girondin effort to remove Morris had, in the end, fizzled.

最暴力的人会称之为爱国" 伦道夫补充说, "他确实谈到了他的法庭, 这是一句话, 他本可以不管的。" ³⁰ 参议院一定已经同意了, 因为最后没有任何结果。吉伦丁试图除掉莫里斯的努力最终失败了。

DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY AND MME DE DAMAS 外交豁免权与达马斯夫人

"Foreign ministers are not bound to an acquaintance with the laws of the land," Jefferson wrote in 1790 in a letter concerning a lease dispute with his former landlord in Paris. "They are privileged by their ignorance of them. They are bound by the laws of natural justice only." Morris' s approach was somewhat different: "[A]ltho' I am not subject to [French] Laws, I think it proper to respect them, so long as I continue in the Country," he told Mme de Lafayette.³¹ The French, however, would not—or could not—respect the law of nations in their dealings with him.

1790年, 杰斐逊在一封信中写道: "外交部长不必熟悉当地的法律。" 这封信是关于他与前房东在巴黎的租赁纠纷。"他们因为对自己的无知而享有特权。他们只受自然正义法则的约束。" 莫里斯的做法有些不同: "虽然我不受法国法律的管辖, 但我认为只要我继续留在法国, 尊重法律是恰当的。" 他对拉斐特夫人说。³¹ 然而, 法国人在与他打交道时不会或不能尊重国际法。

His letters were regularly opened, and occasionally confiscated, in fla-grant violation of international law. Morris complained numerous times, though he knew it was futile and that the British were doing the same thing.³² A week after the Convention established municipal watch-committees to keep an eye on foreigners and suspects, Morris was arrested on the street in Paris, and taken to the headquarters of the section, "because I had not a Carte de Citoyen."

他的信件经常被拆开, 有时被没收, 这违反了国际法。莫里斯抱怨了无数次, 尽管他知道这是徒劳的, 而且英国人也在做同样的事情。³² 在大会设立市政监察委员会以监视外国人和嫌疑人一周后, 莫里斯在巴黎的街头被捕, 并被带到了该部门的总部, "因为我没有公民身份证"

Fortunately a person who knew me, having heard what passed, came to my rescue, and brought me out of the affair, on his own responsibility. I have the honor to send you, herewith, the copy of the pass given me by the

Section.

幸运的是，一个认识我的人，听到了我的遭遇，来救我，把我从这件事中解救出来，完全是他自己的责任。谨随函附上本科给我的通行证副本一份。

*"I beg, Sir," he told Lebrun, "that you will have the goodness to secure me against similar accidents, troublesome in themselves, and scandalous from their publicity."*³³

“我恳求您，先生，”他告诉勒布伦，“您一定要保护我免遭类似事故，这些事故本身就很麻烦，而且不会引起公众的注意。”图 33

*The same day, armed men entered his house for the second time since the fall of the king. Morris persuaded them to leave. "I had every reason to be satisfied with their conduct," he wrote Lebrun, but "when general orders are given for these visits, such houses ought to be excepted as are under the Law of Nations." He was correct. Such house entries, as well as the arrest of a foreign minister, transgressed international law as it had long been understood and practiced.*³⁴

自从王倒塌以来，这是第二次有武装人员进入王宫。莫里斯说服他们离开。“我有充分的理由对他们的行为感到满意，”他写道，“但是，如果这些访问是按照一般的命令进行的，这样的房子应该被排除在外，就像《国际法》规定的那样。”他是对的。这种入室行为以及逮捕一名外交部长违反了长期以来所理解和实行的国际法

The sang-froid with which Morris recounted these and other episodes
莫里斯冷静地叙述了这些和其他事件

belies the considerable danger involved.³⁵ He could have been lynched on the street, or jailed indefinitely. If his diary had been seized (also a violation of international law), the repercussions might have been at worst fatal and at best a diplomatic nightmare for the United States.

他可能会在大街上被私刑处死，或者无限期地被监禁。如果他的日记被查封(也是违反国际法的行为)，最坏的结果可能是致命的，最好的结果可能是美国的外交噩梦。

Lebrun—who was in no position to control the sections—argued that the arrest was a precautionary measure applied to everyone in Paris, and disputed Morris' s right to an exemption.³⁶ After all, he indicated, the sectionnaires had left after Morris talked to them. “The respect which they have shown you is proof of the belief of my fellow citizens, that the Minister of a free nation, an ally of France, is incapable of receiving into his house disaffected persons,” Lebrun said with suspicious sincerity. “The exemption, which you claim, would have had the pernicious effect of affording the ill disposed a facility for calumniating your motives, in order to disturb the entire harmony, which subsists between the two nations.”

莱布伦没有资格控制这些部门，他辩称，逮捕行动是适用于巴黎所有人的预防措施，并对莫里斯的豁免权提出了质疑。“他们向你们表示的尊敬证明了我的同胞们的信念，即作为法国盟友的自由国家的部长不能接纳心怀不满的人进入他的家门，”勒布伦怀着可疑的诚意说。“你所声称的豁免会产生有害的影响，使那些心怀不轨的人有机会诽谤你的动机，以便破坏两国之间存在的整个和谐。”

Lebrun' s response showed that he either did not know the requirements of international law and diplomatic immunity, or that he (probably correctly) knew that the concepts would mean nothing to the sections. He certainly knew it would not be wise for the Girondin government to try to curb the Paris Commune. He did, however, authenticate the “pass” given to Morris by the section that arrested him, and it may have served as some protection.

勒布伦的答复表明，他要么不知道国际法和外交豁免的要求，要么(可能是正确的)知道这些概念对各节毫无意义。他当然知道吉伦丁政府试图限制巴黎公社是不明智的。不过，他确实证实了逮捕莫里斯的部门给他的“通行证”，这可能起到了一些保护作用。

Lebrun' s reference to “disaffected” persons being harbored by Morris may indicate that Morris was hiding people in his house, or simply that the authorities suspected he was doing so, since they probably knew he had helped shelter the first rush of refugees after the king' s fall. However, there is no direct indication that he continued to hide anyone, until after the Girondins

had fallen and the Terror began. On November 13, 1793, his house at Seine-Port was entered and, over his protests, a woman named Mme de Damas was arrested. She was a friend of Adèle, and the former wife of the comte de Damas, who had served in the American war under Rochambeau and was friendly with Washington.³⁷ The count, who was considered a traitor—among other things, he had assisted in the king's flight to Varennes—was in Italy, and she had divorced him in the hopes of avoiding the label of suspect and confiscation of her property. She thereafter went by her maiden name³⁸ Langeron.

勒布伦提到莫里斯庇护的“不满的”人可能表明莫里斯在他的房子里藏有人，或者只是当局怀疑他这样做，因为他们可能知道他在国王倒台后帮助庇护了第一批涌入的难民。然而，没有直接的迹象表明他继续隐藏任何人，直到吉伦特人倒下，恐怖开始。1793年11月13日，有人闯入他在塞纳港的住宅，在他的抗议下，一位名叫达马斯夫人被捕。她是阿德勒的朋友，也是达马斯伯爵的前妻，达马斯伯爵曾在罗尚博时期的美国战争中服役，与华盛顿关系很好。后来她改用了娘家姓兰格隆

According to the November warrant, “Citizeness Langeron” had taken refuge with Morris in Seine-Port ten months earlier. This is possible; Morris specifically mentioned her presence there in May 1793. They were clearly good friends. She later wrote an acute verbal portrait of Morris

根据十一月的逮捕令，“公民兰格伦”十个月前在塞纳港避难于莫里斯。这是可能的；莫里斯特别提到她在1793年5月在那里。他们显然是好朋友。她后来为莫里斯写了一篇犀利的文字描述

found in his papers, an excellent example of that special French art, admiring and affectionate, but also critical.³⁹

这是法国特殊艺术的一个极好的例子，令人钦佩，充满感情，但也很挑剔

In any event, it was not until September 1793, long after she had joined Morris, that a new Law of Suspects was passed, authorizing arrest of anyone who by "their conduct, their contacts, their words or their writings" showed themselves as "enemies of liberty," including former nobles "who have not constantly manifested their attachment to the revolution."⁴⁰ Such a description could easily be applied to any *ci-devant* noble. Mme de Damas' s sister and her sister' s husband were among those arrested; the husband was guillotined.

无论如何，直到1793年9月，在她加入莫里斯之后很久，一项新的嫌疑人法才获得通过，授权逮捕任何通过“他们的行为、他们的接触、他们的言论或他们的著作”表明自己是“自由的敌人”的人，包括“不断表明他们对革命的依恋”的前贵族这样的描述可以很容易地适用于任何贵族。达马斯夫人的妹妹和她妹妹的丈夫也被逮捕，丈夫被送上了断头台。

Morris wrote to Deforgues immediately after Mme de Damas' s arrest, informing him of Mme de Damas' s divorced status and "consistently irreproachable conduct," and complaining of the officials' action.

莫里斯在达马斯夫人被捕后立即写信给代福格，告诉他达马斯夫人的离婚状况和“一贯不可改变的行为”，并抱怨官员的行为。

They were armed with your warrant calling for her to be taken as a suspect and to place the seals at her residence, which indicated to me that you were unaware that she was staying with me. . . . I therefore take the liberty to ask if she could be permitted to stay with me, but if that is refused, I promise to bring her to Paris myself.⁴¹

他们拿着你的搜查令，要求把她当作嫌疑犯带走，并在她的住处封上封条，这就向我表明，你并不知道她和我在一起……。因此，我冒昧地请求允许她和我住在一起，但如果拒绝，我答应亲自带她去巴黎

Deforgues forwarded the letter to the Committee of General Security, which responded on November 18. They advised Morris that he had no authority to determine whether a person was a suspect and could not prevent enforcement of the laws against a French citizen.⁴² Morris answered through Deforgues.

"It was never my intention in my mind to try to prove the innocence of a

French citizen, nor to interfere with execution of French law," he told the committee simply. "My opposition was founded only on the act of an arrest in my house." He would have brought her to the officials if he had been asked," he noted. Well aware that he was on delicate ground, he continued:

代福格斯将这封信转交给了总安全委员会(Committee of General Security), 该委员会于11月18日作出了答复。他们告诉莫里斯, 他无权确定一个人是否是嫌疑犯, 也不能预先宣布法律对一个法国公民的强制执行。莫里斯通过 Deforgues 作了答复。“我从来没有想过要证明一个法国公民是无辜的, 也没有想过要干涉法国法律的执行,” 他简单地告诉委员会。“我的反对仅仅是基于在我家里实施的逮捕行动。”如果有人问他, 他会把她带到官员面前。”。他很清楚自己是在熟食店里, 继续说道:

I am also very far from pretending to judge whether a person is or is not a suspect . . . but as I have imposed on myself the rule of doing nothing against the government, I felt it necessary to determine whether a guest was considered a suspect before I gave her the rights of hospitality.

我也绝不会假装去判断一个人是否是嫌疑犯.....但是由于我已经强加给自己不做任何反对政府的事情的规则, 我觉得有必要在我给予她接待权之前确定一个客人是否被认为是嫌疑犯。

He asked them to do him "the justice of observing that I have asked you as a favor and not as a right if she could be permitted to stay with me." She 他要求他们对他公正地说, “我请你帮忙, 而不是请你允许她留下来和我在一起。” 她

had wanted to give herself up, he told them, but he had opposed it simply on the basis of a principle “of importance to all nations,” that
他告诉他们，她想要自首，但他反对这样做，只是基于一个“对所有国家都重要”的原则

the house of an ambassador or other minister is inviolable as the territory of his country. I am persuaded that you will find it appropriate, particularly in the current circumstances, to observe this principle. If I am wrong, at least it is an honest mistake, and I hope I have demonstrated to you my sincere attachment to France in asking you to observe
⁴³
this very important principle.

大使或其他部长的住宅，作为国家的私人住宅是不可侵犯的。我相信你会认为，特别是在目前的情况下，遵守这项原则是适当的。如果我错了，至少这是一个无心之过，我希望我对法国的忠诚是出于对你的忠诚，希望你能遵守这个非常重要的原则

This letter had some effect. Deforgues told the committee that the American minister should be given no justification to complain about a “violation which among all peoples is considered very grave.” A few days later, he informed
⁴⁴
Morris that the seals would be lifted on Mme de Damas’ s property. He reported, however, that he had not been able to convince the committee that diplomatic immunity extended to protect people of Morris’ s household, particularly a French citizen.

这封信起了一些作用。迪福格斯告诉委员会，美国的部长没有理由抱怨“在所有民族中被认为是非常严重的中提琴”然而，他报告说，他未能说服委员会相信，外交豁免权延伸到了保护莫里斯家的人，尤其是法国公民。

In fact, as Morris had explained, he was not claiming that inviolability of his house meant immunity for his “family” (the contemporary term for a household). He knew the law of nations obliged him to yield her at their request, but they had not made the request, they had forcibly entered the house to seize her, and that violated the rule of extraterritoriality that is part of the law of nations.
⁴⁵
He therefore suggested that the committee could make amends by allowing her to stay with him. This was not an unreasonable idea: the principal purpose of the Law of Suspects was to detain suspects, and some
⁴⁶
were simply put under house arrest.

事实上，正如莫里斯所解释的那样，他并没有声称他的房子不可侵犯就意味着他的“家庭”（当代对家庭的称呼）可以免受侵犯。他知道国际法强迫他们在他们的要求下放弃她，但是他们并没有提出这个要求，他们

强行进入房子抓住她，这违反了治外法权法则，这是国际法的一部分。这不是一个不合理的想法：《嫌疑犯法》的主要目的是拘留嫌疑犯，有些人只是被软禁

*The committee was unwilling. Deforgues told him the arrangement would be too problematic in the "middle of the current troubles," and that giving the principle of inviolability too much latitude would impair the government's ability to apprehend many "suspicious and dangerous individuals." Since Morris was the only minister in France at the time, this must have seemed a*⁴⁷ *lame argument.*

委员会不愿意。代福格斯告诉他，在“当前的麻烦中”，这种安排会造成太大的问题，而赋予神圣不可侵犯原则过多的自由度，将削弱政府逮捕许多“可疑和危险个人”的能力由于莫里斯是当时法国唯一的部长，这个论点看起来一定站不住脚

*Morris continued to petition periodically on her behalf. In late February the chargé of Malta was arrested and appealed to Morris, who protested to Deforgues. Two days later, the chargé was released.*⁴⁸ *The incident, indisputably another violation of international law, "rendered it proper to make a more pointed animadversion on their conduct," and Morris wrote again about Mme de Damas. As of early May, she remained in prison, and Morris feared she would die under the "rigorous confinement."*

莫里斯继续定期代表她请愿。二月下旬，马耳他宪法被逮捕并上诉给了莫里斯，后者向 Deforgues 提出了抗议。⁴⁸ 这一事件无疑是又一次违反国际法的行为，“使得对他们的行为进行更加尖锐的批评成为恰当的做法”，莫里斯再次写了关于达马斯夫人的文章。截至月初，她仍在监狱里，莫里斯担心她会死于“严格的监禁”

Some of Morris' s acquaintances in Paris who were aware of the incident disapproved of his actions, among them Crèvecoeur, whose friendship with Morris in the United States had soured in France.⁴⁹ He was a friend of Mme de Damas, and his daughter was married to Otto, which was probably how he learned of the arrest. He wrote to a friend that Mme de Damas was "severely confined, all the worse for having placed herself under the protection of GM, who has not conducted himself in this affair like a man of common sense. It has made him even more unpopular and given rise to a hundred rumors." 50 Mme de Damas must have felt other-wise; upon her release, sometime in May or June of 1794, she promptly returned to Seine-Port.⁵¹

莫里斯在巴黎的一些熟人知道这一事件，他们不赞成他的行动，其中包括 crvecoeur，他与莫里斯在美国的友谊在法国变质了。他在给一位朋友的信中写道，达马斯夫人被“严密监禁，更糟糕的是，她把自己置于通用汽车公司的保护之下，而通用汽车公司在这件事上并没有像一个有常识的人那样行事。这使得他更加不受欢迎，并引发了上百条谣言。” 50 达马斯夫人一定有其他的感受，在 1794 年 5 月或 6 月的某个时候被释放后，她立即返回塞纳-港口

For his part, it is evident that Morris felt no compunction for his actions, for he described the situation frankly to Short, Washington, and Jefferson. Morris deliberately did not push "the matter to a serious Issue," he told Jefferson.⁵² He had refrained doing so for "particular reasons," which he described to Washington after he left France. He had been "grossly insulted" by the improper entry into his residence, and felt he should have left France as a result. He could not, however, "because a great number of our fellow Citizens were then detain' d in France with much of their property, and I knew the Violence which those who admin-istered the Government were capable of. Moreover I saw with Regret that the Temper of America was not such as her best Citizens could have wished; and the Conduct of Britain rendered a temporizing Conduct with France indispensable."⁵³

就莫里斯而言，他显然对自己的行为毫无悔意，因为他坦率地向肖特、华盛顿和杰斐逊描述了当时的情况。他告诉杰斐逊，莫里斯故意不把“这件事推到一个严肃的问题上”。他在离开法国后向华盛顿描述了“特殊的原因”。他被不正当地进入他的住所“严重侮辱”了，因此他觉得他应该离开法国。然而，他不能，“因为我们的许多同胞和他们的大部分财产被扣押在法国，我知道那些管理政府的人能够采取的暴力行动。此外，我遗憾地看到，美国的脾气并不是她最好的公民所希望的那样，而英国的行为使得与法国的交往变得不可或缺。” 53

The affair thus raises the question of Morris' s judgment. The context, of course, was the Terror, and a similar predicament could have easily hap-pened to any other minister in France—but there were none. Mme de Damas was not a criminal when she went to Seine-Port but, like hundreds of others, went to jail under the Law of Suspects. Once in prison, these vic-tims rarely got out; some of them were “tried” before the Revolutionary Tribunal and were quickly on their way to the scaffold, having committed nothing in the way of a discernible crime. No charges were ever brought against Mme de Damas, but her family connections sufficed. “Pray tell your french friends not to name any one in their Letters for they will bring their friends to the Guillotine,” Morris wrote to Robert in late October 1793.⁵⁴ A few lucky ones bribed their way out at enormous expense, including Morris' s business associate, Le Couteulx, who was under a death sentence.⁵⁵

因此，这件事引起了对莫里斯判断的质疑。当然，当时的背景就是恐怖袭击，类似的困境也很容易发生在法国其他任何一位部长身上，但事实并非如此。达马斯夫人到塞纳港时并不是罪犯，但是和其他数百人一样，根据《嫌疑人法》进了监狱。一旦进了监狱，这些受害者很少出来；他们中的一些人在革命法庭面前被“审判”，很快就被送上断头台，没有犯下任何明显的罪行。达马斯夫人没有受到任何指控，但她的家庭关系足够了。1793年10月末，莫里斯在给罗伯特的信中写道：“请告诉你的法国朋友，不要在信中提到任何一个人的名字，因为他们会把自己的朋友送上断头台。”⁵⁴ 一些幸运的人收买了他们，付出了巨大的代价，包括莫里斯的生意伙伴 LeCouteulx，他被判了死刑。⁵⁵

Under these circumstances, Mme de Damas' s life was at stake. As the wife of a former revolutionary officer she was entitled to American efforts,

在这种情况下，达马斯夫人的生命危在旦夕。作为一位前革命军官的妻子，她有资格得到美国的帮助，

within the limits of international law, just as Lafayette and Mme de Lafayette were. Morris had no legal right to prevent her arrest, but he believed the arrest was invalidated by the circumstances of its execution, which violated America's extraterritorial rights and provided him with the only leverage available. He did not hesitate to use it, and it is very likely that, Crèvecoeur's censure notwithstanding, Morris's protests saved Mme de Damas from the guillotine (she was released during the Great Terror).

在国际法的范围内，正如拉法耶特和拉法耶特夫人。莫里斯没有阻止她被捕的法律权利，但是他认为这次逮捕是无效的，因为它的执行情况侵犯了美国的域外权利，并且为他提供了唯一可以利用的手段。他毫不犹豫地使用了它，很可能，尽管 crvecoeur 的谴责，莫里斯的抗议从断头台上救下了 deDamas 夫人(她在大恐怖时期被释放)。

Nor did Morris exaggerate the significance of the French violation. In 1726 and 1747, British ambassadors in Spain and Sweden had provided asylum to fugitives from the government, but the fugitives were taken by force by the Spanish and Swedish authorities. It is an indication of how seriously Britain viewed the matter that it protested in both cases and even broke off dealings with Sweden for some time.⁵⁶

莫里斯也没有夸大法国侵权行为的重要性。1726 年和 1747 年，英国驻西班牙和瑞典大使为逃犯提供庇护，但逃犯被西班牙和瑞典当局强行带走。这表明了英国对这两起事件的严肃态度，英国在这两起事件中都提出了抗议，甚至在一段时间内中断了与瑞典的往来

Jefferson himself had dealt with the issue of diplomatic immunity in 1792, when officers entered the Dutch minister's home in Philadelphia and arrested one of his servants for debt. Both Randolph and Jefferson agreed that unauthorized entry into the residence was forbidden even if the servant were properly subject to arrest.⁵⁷

杰斐逊本人在 1792 年处理过外交豁免权的问题，当时军官们进入荷兰大臣在费城的家中，逮捕了他的一名债务仆人。伦道夫和杰斐逊都同意，禁止未经许可进入该住所，即使仆人应该被逮捕

On their side, the French were also agitated. Major Jackson's account of the anger expressed by the Committee of Public Safety about the episode was probably accurate. The "woman condemned by the law, an emigrant," was indeed a bone of contention, and produced the instructions to Fauchet to demand Morris's recall. There are two relevant documents in the French archives: the instructions themselves, dated November 21, quoted above, and an earlier document, dated November 18, the same date the committee responded to Morris's complaint about her arrest. This document may have been a draft, and does not appear to be in Deforgues' hand.⁵⁸ It speaks of Morris covering

"suspected persons and suspicious aristocrats" under the mantle of immunity, and contains a list of points Fauchet should keep in mind: "1. He is a friend of Washington and other Ministers.

在他们这边，法国人也很激动。杰克逊少校对公共安全委员会对这一事件所表达的愤怒的描述可能是准确的。“那个被法律定罪的女人，一个移民，”的确是一个争论的焦点，于是法切特下令要求撤销莫里斯的职务。法国档案馆里有两份相关文件：上文引述的指示日期为11月21日，以及一份更早的文件日期为11月18日，也就是承诺人回复莫里斯关于她被捕的投诉的同一天。这份文件可能只是一份草稿，似乎并不在Deforgues手中。它提到莫里斯利用豁免权掩盖了“可疑的人和可疑的贵族”，并列出了福切特应该记住的几点：他是华盛顿和其他部长的朋友。

2. He does not like our revolution at all. 3. We are convinced he is still
他一点也不喜欢我们的革命

intriguing." ⁵⁹

“有意思” ⁵⁹

As he later told Washington, Morris' s protests "obtained a half Apology and Promise of Satisfaction, but occasioned the Order to solicit my Recall; of which I was apprised within four and twenty Hours after it was given." He assumed, rightly, that the French would not tell the American government the true reason for their request—his protest against the violation of extraterritoriality—because, Morris apparently believed, the Americans would not have honored a request on that basis. "[B]ut to tell you the

正如他后来告诉华盛顿的那样，莫里斯的抗议“得到了一半的道歉和满足的承诺，但却引起了要求我回去的命令；在命令下达后的四个二十小时内，我得到了通知。”他认为，法国人不会告诉美国政府他们请求的真正原因——他对违反治外法权的抗议——是正确的，因为莫里斯显然认为，美国人不会在这个基础上答应他们的请求。“但是我要告诉你

Truth," he admitted to the president, "I was inclin' d to wish that I might be removed on their Application. I really believe it was necessary to my Reputation." ⁶⁰

“真的，”他向总统承认，“我倾向于希望在他们的申请书上把我除名。我真的认为这对我的声誉是必要的。” ⁶⁰

Whether the American government would have refused to recall Morris had they known of the incident is open to doubt. In any event, Fauchet' s request was complied with, although Morris would hear nothing official until the end of the following July, nearly eight months later. In the mean-time, a second demand was sent.

如果美国政府知道这一事件，他们是否会拒绝召回莫里斯，这一点值得怀疑。无论如何，福歇的要求得到了满足，尽管莫里斯直到将近八个月后的第二年七月底才听到任何官方消息。与此同时，又发出了第二个要求。

JOHN CUSACK 约翰·库萨克

On January 27, 1794, around the time that British spies were accusing Morris of trying to extort money from the French, Robespierre received a vitriolic denunciation of Morris. A note at the top of the letter indicates that it was found in Robespierre' s effects when the seals were lifted after his execution. ⁶¹ The author was an American named John Cusack, a fiery supporter of the Revolution who had been admitted by the National Convention to French citizenship. There seems to be little more information about him, other than a letter to the French ministry in August 1793 reporting Cusack' s desire to enlist in the French cavalry. ⁶²

1794年1月27日，大约就在英国间谍指控莫里斯企图向法国勒索的时候，罗伯斯庇尔收到了对莫里斯的尖刻谴责。这封信的开头有一张便条，上面写着当他被处决后，印章被揭开时，它就在 Robespierre 的影响中被发现了。⁶¹作者是一个名叫约翰·库萨克的美国人，他是一个激进的革命支持者，被国民大会承认为法国公民。除了1793年8月写给法国部长的一封信，信中说库萨克希望加入法国骑兵团，其他信息似乎没有多少

The memorandum began with protests of Cusack' s devotion to the French "sacred cause" and willingness to die a thousand deaths should it be required. He attacked Lafayette and the American Society of the Cincinnati, and then moved on to Morris, whom he had never met; this was apparently no obstacle, nor was the fact that Morris did not belong to the Cincinnati.

According to Cusack, Washington had named Morris, a man “gangrené” by the aristocracy, to achieve the Cincinnatus goal of destroying French-American fraternité. “The public outcry was such that there was talk of retiring Washington once his first term was ended,” he told Robespierre, and the aristocratic party had been forced to “pacify the public by giving out the rumor of Morris’ s recall.” He claimed Morris tried to stop grain imports by denying passports, and trying to “make aristo-crats” out of the Americans in Paris, “particularly the young men, whom he flatters with seductive promises.”

备忘录一开始就抗议库萨克对法国“神圣事业”的献身精神，以及必要时甘愿牺牲一千人的意愿。他攻击了拉斐特和美国辛辛那提社会，然后继续攻击莫里斯，他从未见过他；这显然不是障碍，事实上，莫里斯不属于辛辛那提。根据库萨克的说法，华盛顿为了实现辛辛纳特斯摧毁法裔美国人兄弟会的目标，任命了被贵族称为“帮派”的莫里斯。他告诉罗伯斯庇尔，“公众强烈抗议，一旦华盛顿的第一个任期结束，就有人说他要退休，”贵族党被迫“通过散布关于莫里斯被罢免的谣言来安抚公众”他声称，莫里斯试图通过拒绝发放护照来阻止粮食进口，并试图从巴黎的美国人身上“榨取利益”，“尤其是年轻人，他用诱人的承诺来奉承他们。”

He displays a pretended humanity for those who have been the sub-ject of French vengeance for their crimes; he frightened others by pro-claiming the power of England and predicting that if the Americans imperilled their neutrality by purveying provisions to France, the

他对那些为自己的罪行而受到法国报复的人表现出一种伪装的人性；他支持英国的力量，并预言如果美国人向法国提供粮食，从而危及他们的中立地位，那么他就会使其他人感到恐惧

combined powers after replacing Louis XVI on the throne would take vengeance on America, putting them once more under England.

取代路易十六继承王位之后，两个大国联合起来对美国进行报复，使它们再次处于英国的统治之下。

However, in spite of Morris' s treachery, Cusack assured Robespierre, the American public "continues to celebrate the revolution and the news of each new French triumph against slavery." Cusack then turned to a project he was presenting for Robespierre' s approval, to destroy English influence in America and raise a two-thousand-man rifle corps of Americans to fight for the French. 然而，尽管莫里斯背信弃义，库萨克还是向罗伯斯庇尔保证，美国公众“继续庆祝法国大革命和每一个新的法国反对奴隶制胜利的消息。”随后，库萨克转向了一个他正在为 Robespierre 批准的项目：摧毁英国在美国的影响力，并组建一支 2000 人的美国步枪队，为法国而战。

It is very likely that Robespierre showed this letter to his confederates, and its accusations would have been an intolerable goad to the inflamed suspiciousness of the Committee of Public Safety and of Robespierre in particular, at that time preoccupied by (and utterly convinced of) the "Foreign Plot" allegations. Although undated, the critical document directly requesting Morris' s recall appears right next to the Cusack letter in the chronological archives. It was addressed to Washington, and was signed by committee members Barère (the author?), Billaud-Varenne, Couthon, Collot d' Herbois, and possibly Saint-Just. "The intimate friendship of free peoples can not be affected by an unfaithful agent," it states.

罗伯斯庇尔很可能把这封信给他的同伙看了，信中的指控会激怒公共安全委员会，特别是罗伯斯庇尔，当时全神贯注于(并完全相信)”外国阴谋”的指控，这是令人无法容忍的。尽管没有注明日期，但直接要求召回莫里斯的关键文件出现在时间顺序档案库中库萨克的信件旁边。这封信是写给华盛顿的，并由委员会成员 barre(作者?)签署、比劳德-瓦伦内、库顿、科洛特-赫尔波伊斯，可能还有圣-贾斯特。“自由人民之间的亲密友谊不会受到不忠实的代理人的影响，”报告写道。

An ambassador who betrays his duty will find himself contradicted by the direct correspondence between the two peoples. Republicans, you have been as badly served as we have; we tell you frankly, we have the strongest reasons to be displeased with your envoy. Maurice has conducted himself reprehensibly. He has [illegible] with conspirators, and has given all his despatches a tone inconsistent with a proper respect for the people.

一位大使如果背叛了他的职责，就会发现两国人民之间的直接通信会使他自相矛盾。共和党人，你们和我们一样受到了糟糕的服务；我们坦率地告诉你们，我们有最强烈的理由对你们的特使感到不满。莫里斯的行为受到了谴责。他与阴谋者有[模糊不清]的关系，而且他所发表的所有文章的语气都不符合对人民应有的尊重。

In an inserted paragraph noticeably reminiscent of Cusack's letter, Morris was called the "slave" of his accomplices," as well as "corrupt" and "perfidious." The committee was still hoping that the United States would deport Genet to France (Genet and Morris, despite their diametrically opposed views, were both considered counterrevolutionaries) and suggested that the American government might like them to deport Morris, adding, "[e]ven if you do not regard as an enemy one who undermines you in this way, at the very least you must demand justice and recall him." ⁶³

在一个引人注目地让人想起库萨克信件的插入段落中，莫里斯被称为他同伙的“奴隶”，以及“腐败”和“伪君子”委员会仍然希望美国将热内驱逐到法国(热内和莫里斯，尽管他们的观点截然相反，都被认为是反革命分子)，并建议美国政府可能希望他们驱逐莫里斯，并补充说，“即使你不认为敌人以这种方式损害了你，至少你必须要求正义并将他召回。” ⁶³

This request arrived after Fauchet had talked to Randolph; Fauchet had, as he wrote the Committee irritably in June, already "dealt with that matter." ⁶⁴ *In any event, John Cusack pounded the last nail in the coffin of*

这个请求是在福谢特和兰多夫谈过之后提出的，福谢在六月份写信给委员会时已经“处理了这件事” ⁶⁴。无论如何，约翰·库萨克猛击了棺材上的最后一颗钉子

Morris' s ministry. His motives are unknown. Two months after Cusack wrote to Robespierre, he was in jail in Paris, and asking Morris to help him get out.⁶⁵
莫里斯的牧师。他的动机不明。在库萨克写信给罗伯斯庇尔两个月后，他被关在巴黎的监狱里，并请求莫里斯帮助他出狱

THE RECALL 召回

This time, the American government hurried to comply with the French demand. Some of the eagerness may have stemmed from knowledge that the Jay mission to England would raise French concerns. Randolph' s letter to Fauchet of April 21, 1794, was markedly deferential: "we have been anxiously seeking a successor who may be as acceptable to the French Republic, as the successor of M. Genet is to our own."⁶⁶ He sent a copy to Morris, telling him it had been framed "under the direction of the President, as I am sure your good sense will think inevitable, that what the act of reciprocity demanded should be performed." Randolph assured Morris that "it is not from a dissatisfaction which the President has conceived at your conduct, but from reasons of a different sort, irresistible in themselves, that the step is taken." By June 9, Fauchet was able to write to Deforgues that James Monroe, "known as an honest man who desires the good of our country," had been chosen as Morris' s successor.⁶⁷

这一次，美国政府急于满足法国的要求。某种程度上，他们的渴望可能源于他们知道杰伊访问英格兰会引起法国的担忧。兰多夫在 1794 年 4 月 21 日写给福歇的信中显然是恭敬的：“我们一直在焦急地寻找一位可能为法兰西共和国所接受的继任者，就像 m.热内的继任者为我们所接受一样。”他给莫里斯寄去了一份复印件，告诉他这份复印件是“在总统的指导下，我相信你的良好判断力会认为这是不可避免的，应该按照互惠的要求去做。”伦道夫向莫里斯保证：“总统不是因为对你的行为不满，而是因为另一种原因，这种原因本身就是不可抗拒的，所以才采取了这一步骤。”到 6 月 9 日，福切特能够写信给 Deforgues，说詹姆斯·门罗，“作为一个诚实的人，渴望我们国家的利益”，已经被选为莫里斯的继承人