

Envoy to the Terror

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Arthur Paul Kaufman, *The Constitutional Views of Gouverneur Morris* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation Services, 1994); Richard Brookhiser, *Gentleman Revolutionary: Gouverneur Morris—The Rake Who Wrote the Constitution* (New York: Free Press, 2003); and William Howard Adams, *Gouverneur Morris: An Independent Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).
- 2 This book is drawn from the author's doctoral dissertation for George Washington University, *Gouverneur Morris and the French Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation Services, 2000.)
- 3 *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Julian Boyd, Charles T. Cullen, John Catanzariti, and Barbara B. Oberg (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950–) (hereafter cited as TJP), 25:xxxix.

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Letter from Edward Rutledge to William Short, 8/3/91, cited by Myrna Boyce, "The Diplomatic Career of William Short," *Journal of Modern History* 15 (1943): 108.
- 2 Richard Henry Lee to Arthur Lee, 8/31/80, *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, edited by James Curtis Ballagh, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1914), 2:198.
- 3 Jared Sparks, *The Life and Correspondence of Gouverneur Morris*, 3 vols. (Boston: Gray & Bowen, 1832) (hereafter cited as Sparks), 1:5. Jared Sparks, with the permission of Morris's widow, made the only existing major transcription of Morris's papers other than his diaries in Paris. Unfortunately, Sparks took editorial liberties that can be aggravating. He removed all of the capitalization of nouns that marks Morris's style and added weakening punctuation (primarily commas) to Morris's clear prose. Sparks even deleted sentences and parts of sentences he presumably considered inappropriate or irrelevant without indicating that anything had been removed.
- 4 Unless otherwise noted, the information in this chapter relies on Mary-Jo Kline, *Gouverneur Morris and the New Nation: 1775–1788* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), and Max Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris and the American Revolution* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).
- 5 Howard Swiggett, *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris* (New York: Doubleday, 1952); (hereafter cited as Swiggett), 14.
- 6 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 45–46; Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 40.
- 7 See, for example, Bernard Bailyn, *The Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).
- 8 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 57.
- 9 Gouverneur Morris (hereafter referred to as GM) to Robert R. Livingston, 9/22/78, cited by Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 176–77.
- 10 Swiggett, 30; Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 69–70. Robert Livingston letter to Rutledge quoted in Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 71–72.
- 11 GM to Robert R. Livingston, 8/17/78, cited by Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 113.

- 12 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 169–70. Swiggett considers this story unreliable and out of character, but it sounds very much like the youthful Morris, and is just the type of effervescence Washington would later reprove him for. Swiggett, viii.
- 13 William Duer to Robert R. Livingston, cited in Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 102.
- 14 GM to Robert Morris, 2/20/80, cited in Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 172.
- 15 John Laurens to Alexander Hamilton, 12/18/79, *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, edited by Harold C. Syrett, 27 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961–1987); (hereafter cited as AHP), 2:230–31; Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 139; Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 175.
- 16 George Plater to GM, 7/2/90, *Gouverneur Morris Papers*, Special Collections, Columbia University Library (hereafter cited as Columbia Papers), item 1175; entry of 5/5/90, *Gouverneur Morris, A Diary of the French Revolution*, 2 vols., edited by Beatrix Cary Davenport (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939); (hereafter cited as *Diary*), 1:504.
- 17 *Diary*, 2:28.
- 18 Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 209, 252–77, Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 158–61.
- 19 GM to William Carmichael, 2/25/89, *Gouverneur Morris Papers*, Commercial Letters, Library of Congress, hereafter cited as Commercial Letters.
- 20 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 181.
- 21 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 182.
- 22 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 186–92.
- 23 Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 528.
- 24 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 190.
- 25 Harry Ammon, *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971).
- 26 Kaufman, *Constitutional Views*, iii.
- 27 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 188.
- 28 Sparks, 1:284–85, citing a letter of 1831 from Madison to Sparks.
- 29 AHP, 4:288.
- 30 Letter of 2/25/89, Commercial Letters.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Letter of 11/12/88, Columbia Papers.
- 2 *Diary*, 1:xxxiii–xxxiv.
- 3 Letter of 11/27/88, TJP, 14:295.
- 4 GM to Moustier, 2/23/89, Sparks, 2:59; Franklin to the Abbé Morellet, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Albert Henry Smyth, 10 vols. (New York: MacMillan, 1906), 9:691.
- 5 TJP, 14:339. GM to Robert Morris (hereafter referred to as RM), 5/3/90, Commercial Letters.
- 6 Barbara Ann Chernow, *Robert Morris, Land Speculator, 1790–1801*, *Dissertations in American Economic History* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 17; Donald G. Tailby, “Chapters in the Business Career of William Constable” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1961), 186.
- 7 Chernow, *Robert Morris*, 25, 30.
- 8 GM to Carmichael, 2/25/89, Commercial Letters.
- 9 GM to William Smith, 2/20/72, Sparks, 1:17.
- 10 Swiggett, 139; *Diary*, 1:49; TJP, 15:122.
- 11 GM to Constable and GM to RM, 1/29/89, Commercial Letters.
- 12 TJP, 14:530.
- 13 Entries, 3/11/89, 3/15/89, and 3/3/89, *Diary*, 1:10, 11, 4.
- 14 Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 168–169, citing a letter of 1/18/88 from Chastellux to GM; Kline, *Gouverneur Morris*, 168–69, 284.
- 15 Entry, 8/12/89, *Diary*, 1:187–88.
- 16 Entry, 11/12/89, *Diary*, 1:299.
- 17 Entry, 10/21/89, *Diary*, 1:266.
- 18 *Diary*, 1:8n.
- 19 Entry, 3/27/89, *Diary*, 1:21.
- 20 *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 9:287; Thomas Jefferson (hereafter referred to as TJ) to Jay, 1/24/90, *Diary*, 1:384–85. One acquaintance described Necker as “like a clock that always goes too slow.” Étienne Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau and of the First Two Legislative Assemblies of France* (London: Edward Bull, 1832), 242. Robert D. Harris argues that Necker was treated unfairly by contemporaries and historians, and that his attempts at reform were sound.

Robert D. Harris, *Necker: Reform Statesman of the Ancient Régime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 241.

- 21 Entry, 4/17/89, Diary, 1:43; TJ to Jay, 6/17/89, TJP, 15:190.
- 22 GM to Washington, 1/24/90, Sparks, 2:90; entries, 10/30/89 and 11/4/89, Diary, 1:277, 286.
- 23 Unless otherwise noted, this discussion relies on William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) and Daniel Lewis Wick, *A Conspiracy of Well-Intentioned Men: The Society of Thirty and the French Revolution* (New York: Garland, 1987).
- 24 Michael Kwass, "A Kingdom of Taxpayers: State Formation, Privilege, and Political Culture in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of Modern History* 70 (1998): 295–339.
- 25 TJ to Lafayette, 2/28/87, TJP, 11:186.
- 26 Letter of 1/12/89, TJP, 14:437.
- 27 Letter of 2/23/89, Diary, 1:xlII–xlIII.
- 28 GM to Carmichael, 2/25/89, Diary, 1:xl.
- 29 Entry, 4/17/89, Diary, 1:42; Wick, *A Conspiracy of Well-Intentioned Men*, 3–4.
- 30 GM to Carmichael, 2/25/89, Commercial Letters.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Franklin to M. Le Veillard, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 10:35; GM to Dr. John Jones, 4/18/89, Diary, 1:45.
- 2 Entry, 10/2/89, Diary, 1:239.
- 3 Entry, 5/10/89, Diary, 1:73.
- 4 GM to Washington, 7/31/89, George Washington, *The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series*, edited by W. W. Abbot, Dorothy Twohig, and Philander Chase, 11 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987–2002); (hereafter cited as GWP, Presidential Series), 3:361.
- 5 Entries, 3/5/89 and 3/10/89, Diary, 1:6, 9.
- 6 Entries, 3/23/89, 5/16/89, 4/8/89, 5/19/89, 3/11/89, 6/12/89, and 6/13/89, Diary, 1:18, 80, 34–35, 83, 9, 113.
- 7 Letter of 7/25/89, TJP, 15:305–6. Mrs. Cosway told Jefferson that she was "quite in Love with Mr. Morris. Are all americans so engaging as those I know?" Letter of 8/19/89, TJP, 15:351. Morris heard later that her household was considered one where "from the very mixed Companies which frequent it, dangerous Connections may be formed." Of course, he continued to visit her. Diary, 1:488.
- 8 TJ to Lord Wycombe and TJ to Sir John Sinclair, 7/25/89, TJP, 15:306–7.
- 9 GM to TJ, 4/29/89, TJP, 15:79; entry, 4/30/89, Diary, 1:58–59; TJ to Henry Lee, 9/11/89, TJP, 15:415. GM to RM, 10/13/91, Commercial Letters.
- 10 TJ to Diodati, 8/3/89, TJP, 15:326; entry, 5/30/89, Diary, 1:100.
- 11 Letter of 7/21/89, Commercial Letters.
- 12 TJ to Jay, 6/17/89, TJP, 15:189; entry, 9/17/89, Diary, 1:221; GM to William Carmichael, 2/25/89, Sparks, 2:62–63; GM to George Washington, 1/24/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:53.
- 13 TJ to Madison, 7/31/88, TJP, 13:440; GM to Washington, 1/24/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:48–57.
- 14 TJ to Madison, 1/30/87, TJP, 11:95; entry, 7/20/89, Diary, 1:156.
- 15 GM to Carmichael, 7/10/89, Sparks, 2:76.
- 16 Entry, 9/18/90, Diary, 1:607; entry, 6/11/89, Diary, 1:111–12.
- 17 Entry, 3/16/89, Diary, 1:13.
- 18 GM to Jay, 7/1/89, Commercial Letters; TJ to David Humphreys, 3/18/89, TJP, 14:677.
- 19 Entry, 5/3/89, Diary, 1:65.
- 20 TJ to Lafayette, 5/6/89, TJP, 15:97–98.
- 21 Entries, 5/4/89 and 5/5/89, Diary, 1:67, 69. Here Morris and Jefferson parted company, for the minister despised Marie-Antoinette and blamed her then and later for the difficulties of the monarchy. TJ to Jay, 9/19/89, TJP, 15:460.
- 22 Diary, 1:68n.
- 23 Diary, 1:70.
- 24 Entry, 5/14/89, Diary, 1:78–79.

- 25 Letter of Dr. John Francis, cited in Swiggett, 373. The statue is in the Capitol rotunda at Richmond.
- 26 Entries, 6/5/89 and 6/9/89, Diary, 1:107, 110.
- 27 Siève's incendiary pamphlet, *What Is the Third Estate?*, which denounced the Second Estate, was published a week before Morris came to Paris. Condorcet was one of the "Lumières." He threw himself into the Revolution, joining the National Guard and later the Commune of Paris. He would die in prison in 1794.
- 28 Entries, 6/2/89 and 6/3/89, Diary, 1:103, 104.
- 29 TJP, 15:165, 167–68.
- 30 Letter of 7/1/89, Commercial Letters.
- 31 Entry, 6/23/89, Diary, 1:121.
- 32 Letter of 4/29/89, GWP, Presidential Series, 2:147.
- 33 TJ to Thomas Paine, 7/11/89, TJP, 15:268.
- 34 Letter of 7/4/89, Commercial Letters.
- 35 François Furet and Denis Richet, *French Revolution* (New York: MacMillan, 1970), 75; Diary, 1:132.
- 36 Entry, 7/4/89, Diary, 1:134.
- 37 Entries, 6/13/89, 7/7/89, and 7/12/89, Diary, 1:113, 139, 143.
- 38 GM to Washington, 7/31/89, GWP, Presidential Series, 3:362; TJ to Paine, 7/11/89, TJP, 15:268; entry, 7/12/89, Diary, 1:143.
- 39 Entry, 7/12/89, Diary, 1:144–155.
- 40 GM to Carmichael, 7/24/89, Commercial Letters.
- 41 Entries, 7/14 and 7/15/89, Diary, 1:148, 150.
- 42 Elnathon Haskell to William Constable, 7/14/89, Constable-Pierrepoint Papers, New York Public Library (hereafter referred to as Constable-Pierrepoint Papers).
- 43 Entry, 7/21/89, Diary, 1:158.
- 44 Entry, 7/22/89, Diary, 1:158–59.
- 45 GM to Mrs. Robert Morris ("Madam"), 7/22/89, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Miscellaneous Papers, Library of Congress.
- 46 Entry, 7/23/89, Diary, 1:160; TJ to Jay, 7/23/89, TJP, 15:302; TJ to Thomas Paine, 7/23/89, TJP, 15:302.
- 47 TJ to Diodati, 8/3/89, TJP, 15:325; TJ to Maria Cosway, 7/25/89, TJP, 15:305.
- 48 TJ to Washington, 11/4/88, TJP, 14:330.
- 49 Entry, 10/9/89, Diary, 1:250.
- 50 Diary, 1:142. "[G]o from hence to the Count de Montmorin's and have a long and interesting Conversation with his Wife on public Affairs." Entry, 4/24/91, Diary, 2:169.
- 51 Entries, 6/9/89, 6/21/89, and 3/28/89, Diary, 1:110, 119, 23; entries, 5/1/89 and 5/11/89, Diary, 1:63, 75–76.
- 52 Entry, 3/27/89, Diary, 1:21.
- 53 Entry, 12/21/89, Diary, 1:339.
- 54 Entry, 3/3/89, Diary, 1:4; entry, 5/17/89, Diary, 1:81.
- 55 Entry, 4/9/89, Diary, 1:36.
- 56 Entries, 9/26/89 and 11/9/89, Diary, 1:233, 292.
- 57 Entries, 6/1/89 and 6/3/89, Diary, 1:102, 104–5.
- 58 Diary, 1:17n, and Jean-Jacques Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain sous la Terreur: Les années européennes de Gouverneur Morris, 1789–1798* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), 73. Morris considered Vigée-Lebrun a "fine Artist." Diary, 1:34, 141.
- 59 Entries, 10/12/89 and 9/29/89, Diary, 1:256, 235.
- 60 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 75.
- 61 Swiggett, 158–159; entry, 1/10/90, Diary, 1:362–363.
- 62 "She speaks English and is a pleasing Woman. If I might judge from Appearances, not a sworn Enemy to Intrigue." Diary, 1:17.
- 63 Entry, 3/28/89, Diary, 1:22.
- 64 Entry, 5/7/89, Diary, 1:81. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Périgord (1754– 1838), a member of the Society of Thirty, was the son of the tutor to Louis XVI, of a distinguished but impecunious family. Like many other young men of talent, there was no place for him in the *ancien régime*. He reluctantly acceded to a career in the church, but continued to socialize with his friends in the reform party and became a foe of Necker. His associations alienated the king and queen and

- they thwarted his ambitions for higher church positions. Wick, *A Conspiracy of Well-Intentioned Men*, 196–210. Entry, 6/6/89, Diary, 1:108.
- 65 Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau*, 296–97.
- 66 Letter cited in Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 140n.
- 67 Entries, 7/14/89 and 7/28/89, Diary, 1:149, 164.
- 68 Entries, 7/17/89 and 7/20/89, Diary, 1:152, 157.
- 69 Entries, 7/23/89 and 7/24/89, Diary, 1:160, 161.
- 70 Diary, 1:165. Morris's diaries contain frank accounts of his sexual encounters, but his wife meticulously blotted them out before she gave them to Jared Sparks to publish; in a few instances where Morris went on at length, she tore out the pages.
- 71 Entries, 8/6/89 and 8/31/89, Diary, 1:180, 1:202; entries, 8/20 and 8/28/89, Diary, 1:194, 200.
- 72 Entries, 9/13 and 9/14/89, Diary, 1:217; entry, 9/22/89, Diary, 1:225.
- 73 Entries, 9/23/89, 8/8/91, 11/17/90, and 7/30/91, Diary, 1:226, 2:236, 2:62, and 2:229. Entry, 10/11/89, Diary, 1:254.
- 74 Entry, 12/20/89, Diary, 1:339.
- 75 Flahaut was in on a plan for the king to escape to Spain. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 138. Entry, 9/30/89, Diary, 1:237. The remainder of this chapter relies on entries, 10/1/89 through 10/28/89, Diary, 1:238–75.
- 76 It is not clear whether the marriage would take place when the count had the good taste to die, or was intended to secure her if the count decided to divorce her if she was indeed pregnant.
- 77 Entry, 10/6/89, Diary, 1:244.
- 78 Entry, 10/28/89, Diary, 1:275.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Entry, 7/28/89, Diary, 1:164–65.
- 2 GM to Washington, 7/31/89, Diary, 1:170; John Hardman, *Louis XVI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 158; Evelyn Lever, *Louis XVI* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 513.
- 3 Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (London: Longman, 1988), 65.
- 4 Entry of 9/13/89, Diary, 1:216–17, author's translation.
- 5 Entry, 7/26/89, Diary, 1:162; Sparks, 2:463–71.
- 6 TJP, 15:354, 355n.
- 7 Haskell to Constable, 8/26/89, Constable-Pierrepont Papers; Beckles Willson, *America's Ambassadors to France, 1777–1927* (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1928); TJP, 15:355n.
- 8 Doyle, 120; Louis Gottschalk and Margaret Maddox, *Lafayette in the French Revolution: From the October Days through the Federation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 244–45.
- 9 GM to RM, 10/26/89, Commercial Letters.
- 10 Entry, 9/16/89, Diary, 1:220.
- 11 Entries, 9/17/89, 9/18/89, 10/16/89, 9/30/89, and 10/2/89, Diary, 1:221, 223, 260, 237, 239.
- 12 Entries, 10/5/89 and 10/6/89, Diary, 1:243, 246.
- 13 Entry, 9/29/89, Diary, 1:235.
- 14 Entry, 10/8/89, Diary, 1:248. Morris believed Necker was unfit, but he also knew Talleyrand would be more amenable to Morris's proposals to purchase the American debt to France. Diary, 1:257. By January, Morris was disillusioned in Talleyrand, who "has too good an Opinion of his own Opinion to make an able Minister of Finance." Diary, 1:369.
- 15 Sparks, 1:330–31.
- 16 Entry of 10/11/89, Diary, 1:252–53.
- 17 Mirabeau (1749–1791) belonged to the Society of Thirty. He played a double game of seeming a radical patriot at the same time he offered the king his services in reestablishing royal authority. Even as Mirabeau and Lafayette were discussing a new ministry a few days after Morris's visit, Mirabeau was suggesting to Louis that he secretly withdraw to royalist Rouen and take control of the Assembly. Gottschalk and Maddox, *From the October Days*, 36–37. Mirabeau was under suspicion by the summer of 1790 (he died in 1791); the discovery of the contents of Louis's *armoire de fer* (the iron chest) finished his reputation.
- 18 Entry, 10/11/89, Diary, 1:253.

- 19 Entries, 10/18/89, 11/18/89, Diary, 1:263, 305–7; GM to Lafayette, 10/16/89, Sparks, 1:331–32.
- 20 Entry, 1/1/90, Diary, 1:355.
- 21 Entries, 10/18/89 and 11/8/89, Diary, 1:263, 1:291.
- 22 Entry, 11/18/89, Diary, 1:306.
- 23 Haskell to Constable, 11/30/89, Constable-Pierrepoint Papers.
- 24 Cited in Gottschalk and Maddox, *From the October Days*, 45; Mirabeau quoted by Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 176.
- 25 Entry, 12/16/89, Diary, 1:335.
- 26 Entries, 10/23/89 and 10/24/89, Diary, 1:269–71.
- 27 Entry, 10/21/89, Diary, 1:266.
- 28 Entry, 12/25/89, Diary, 1:344.
- 29 Entry, 12/27/89, Diary, 1:346.
- 30 Entry, 11/20/89, Diary, 1:308.
- 31 Letter of 1/24/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:54–55.
- 32 Letter of 4/7/90, Commercial Letters. Morris's analysis is seconded by François Crouzet in *La Grande Inflation: La Monnaie en France de Louis XVI à Napoléon* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).
- 33 Entries, 1/4 and 1/5/90 and 12/23 and 12/24/89, Diary, 1:358–59, 341–42.
- 34 Entry, 1/12/90, Diary, 1:365; document dated 1/26/90, Sparks, 2:472.
- 35 Diary, 1: xvii.
- 36 "But you must not reproach me for not getting a Clerk," Gouverneur wrote Robert in 1790. "My Situation has been so ambulatory and uncertain that I did not wish to increase my family which would not only increase very much my Expences but be in other respects inconvenient." Letter of 5/3/90, Commercial Letters.
- 37 Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674–1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), 2:756.
- 38 GM to Robert Morris, 10/1/89, Commercial Letters.
- 39 For a detailed discussion of Morris and the American debt, see Miller, *Gouverneur Morris*, Chapter 6.
- 40 GM to Washington, 5/27/91, Diary, 2:193.
- 41 Wick, 221; Price, 2:792.
- 42 E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 260; AHP, 6:337n; Robert F. Jones, *The King of the Alley: William Duer, Politician, Entrepreneur, and Speculator*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 202 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992), 116; TJP, 14:191.
- 43 Entries of 9/23/89 and 9/24/89, Diary, 1:226, 227–28.
- 44 TJP, 20:179–80; AHP, 6:210–18.
- 45 TJP, 20:181, 183; TJ to Short, 8/26/90, TJP, 17:434.
- 46 GM to TJ, 12/28/90, TJP, 18:367–68; TJ to GM, 12/17/90, TJP, 18:303–4.
- 47 GM to Washington, 5/27/91, GWP, Presidential Series, 8:208–12.
- 48 Swan to Knox, 5/27/91, Knox Papers, Gilder-Lehrman Collection, New York Historical Society (hereafter referred to as Knox Papers), vol. 28, Item 71; entry, 1/23/91, Diary, 2:106.
- 49 TJP, 20:195; TJ to Short, 4/25/91, TJP, 20:255.
- 50 Ferguson, *Power of the Purse*, 267n; Samuel Bemis, "Payment of the French Loans to the United States, 1777–1795," *Current History* (March 1926): 824–31.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Diary, 1:372.
- 2 GWP, Presidential Series, 4:176–79.
- 3 Memo of 3/11/92, TJP, 23: 260–61; GM to Washington, 1/24/90, Diary, 1:381.
- 4 Letters of 10/13/89, GWP, Presidential Series, 4:179–81, 183n.
- 5 Julian Boyd, *Number 7—Alexander Hamilton's Secret Attempts to Control American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 20.
- 6 RM to GM, in cipher, 8/8/90, Columbia Papers, item 918.
- 7 A chapter title in Boyd, *Number 7*. See also Editorial Note, TJP, 17:35–108.

- 8 TJP, 18:322–324; Alexander DeConde, *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy under George Washington* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1958), 317.
- 9 Editorial Note, TJP, 18:541; Diary, 1:485n.
- 10 Paine to TJ, 2/16/89, TJP, 14:454, 14:569 and 569n.
- 11 TJP, 17:46–47, 53–54, 59.
- 12 AHP, 11:439.
- 13 *The Diaries of George Washington*, edited by Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, 6 vols. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 5:456.
- 14 Entry, 1/22/90, Diary, 1:374–75. GM to Washington, 1/22/90, Sparks, 2:84.
- 15 GM to Washington, 4/7/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:319–22.
- 16 La Luzerne was Malsherbes's nephew. He died in 1791. Luzerne County in Pennsylvania is named for him.
- 17 Boyd, *Number 7*, 69.
- 18 Letter of 11/14/91, Private Letterbook, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as Private Letterbook).
- 19 Leeds to GM, 4/28/90; GM to Washington, 5/1/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:362–66.
- 20 Entries, 4/17/90 and 4/29/90, Diary, 1:485, 493; GM to Washington, 5/2/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:378–79.
- 21 GM to Constable, 5/6/90, Constable-Pierrepoint Papers.
- 22 Another entertaining example of Morris's mastery of these conversations. Diary, 1:600. The ships did indeed belong to a subsidiary of the British East India Company.
- 23 GM to Washington, 5/29/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:430–38.
- 24 GWP, Presidential Series, 5:431; TJP, Editorial Note, 18:315. Cutting's importunities to Morris wore thin, particularly after repeated requests for money to help his efforts. Entry, 9/17/90, Diary, 1:605–6.
- 25 GM to Washington, 5/29/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:430–38.
- 26 Morris believed (as did Washington and Jefferson) that Britain, having ignored America's previous minister, should appoint one before America would reciprocate.
- 27 TJP, 18:323–24.
- 28 GM to RM, 11/14/91, Private Letterbook. It is interesting to speculate about how Morris might have fared had he been sent to London in 1794 instead of John Jay to negotiate what was to become the Jay Treaty.
- 29 Letter of 6/22/90, cited by Howard W. Landin, "Some Letters of Thomas Paine and William Short on the Nootka Sound Crisis," *Journal of Modern History* 12 (1941): 369; TJP, 17:99, 61, 63–64.
- 30 GM to Washington, 7/3/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 6:4–6.
- 31 GWP, Presidential Series, 6:22–23.
- 32 Beckwith made several trips to New York to obtain intelligence and establish connections with the "British interest" among influential Americans. AHP, 7:84–85; TJP, 17:39.
- 33 TJP, 17:73.
- 34 TJP, 17:69–73. Hamilton's concern about British fastidiousness was misplaced. Morris demurred when Pitt suggested using a British consul to advise Washington that a minister would be appointed. Pitt replied that "Etiquette ought not to be pushed so far as to injure Business, and keep the Countries asunder." GM to Washington, 5/29/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:436.
- 35 AHP, 6:495n.
- 36 TJ to GM, 8/12/90, TJP, 17:127–28.
- 37 Beckwith's notes, AHP, 7:70–72.
- 38 And, it will be recalled, it was Hamilton's sister-in-law who introduced them!
- 39 Boyd found no evidence that "the ministry were affected in their attitudes by anything that Morris did or said, much less that they requested their agent to make observations about his conduct." Boyd, *Number 7*, 69.
- 40 TJP, Editorial Note, 18:220–83.
- 41 AHP, 8:42.
- 42 GM to RM, 11/14/91, Private Letterbook. Boyd describes this analysis as "brilliant." TJP, 17:101n.
- 43 AHP, 7:84–85.

- 44 Madison to TJ, 7/13/91, *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1865), 1:540.
- 45 DeConde, *Entangling Alliance*, 315.
- 46 Maclay, William, *The Journal of William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 1789–1791* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, Inc., 1927), 390.
- 47 Rufus King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, edited by Charles R. King, 6 vols. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1894), 1:419–21.
- 48 Letter of 3/21/92, AHP, 11:162.
- 49 GM to Nathaniel Greene, 12/24/81, Sparks, 1:239.
- 50 GM to George C. Fox & Sons, Falmouth, 5/24/90, Commercial Letters.
- 51 GWP, Presidential Series, 5:38.
- 52 GM to Lafayette and GM to the Chevalier Ternant, 5/7/90, Diary, 1:506–7, 508. La Luzerne gave him little encouragement. Morris suspected that the minister liked his sinecure in London; moreover, La Luzerne and John Church made stock speculations on the near-war, which may have influenced the minister's views. Entries, 9/4/90 and 4/24/92, Diary, 1:585, 2:416.
- 53 Entries, 5/11/90, 5/28/90, and 8/8/90, Diary, 1:512–13, 529, 570.
- 54 Sparks, 2:473–85.
- 55 Entries, 7/13 and 7/16/90, Diary, 1:560, 561.
- 56 Letter of 1/24/91, TJP, 18:599.
- 57 Entry, 8/6/90, Diary, 1:569–70; GM to Washington, 8/16/90, Diary, 1:574.
- 58 He apparently visited a prostitute on the first of July. Diary, 1:554. Perhaps this had something to do with his ailment.
- 59 Entry, 8/5/90, Diary, 1:569; GM to RM, 8/4/90, Commercial Letters.
- 60 GM to Washington, 9/18/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 6:470–77.
- 61 GM to Washington, 9/18/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 6:470–77.
- 62 Cutting to GM, 8/23/90, Smith Family Papers, Series 41—Gouverneur Morris, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (hereafter referred to as Smith Family Papers); entries, 9/17 and 9/18/90, Diary, 1:605, 606; GM to Leeds, 9/24/90, Diary, 1:611–12; TJP, 18:324.
- 63 GM to TJ, 12/24/90, Diary, 1:617.
- 64 GM to Washington, 9/24/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 6:501; GM to Washington, 5/29/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 5:430–35.
- 65 GM to Pinckney, 6/25/93, Official Letterbook, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as Official Letterbook).
- 66 TJ to GM and Washington to GM, 12/17/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 7:92–94; TJP, 18:304–5.
- 67 TJP, 18:234–39, 267–68.
- 68 Entry, 12/18/90, Diary, 2:87; GM to TJ, 12/24/90, TJP, 18:363–65; TJP, 18:276.
- 69 TJP, 18:220–83.
- 70 RM to GM, 8/8/90, Columbia Papers, item 918; *The Manuscripts of J.B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore*, Vol. II, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report (vol.14), Part 5 (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1894), 197.
- 71 TJP, 18:274. TJ to GM, 8/30/91, TJP, 22:105. Jefferson also sent an official letter of approval. TJ to GM, 7/26/91, TJP, 20:680.
- 72 GM to RM, 11/14/91, Private Letterbook.
- 73 Washington to GM, 1/28/92, Diary, 2:401–2.
- 74 Washington to TJ, and TJ to Washington, 1/28/92, TJP, 23:84, 85–86. For example, when Washington wrote that Morris's mode of expression was alleged to be "imperious, contemptuous," Jefferson substituted "indicated a hauteur."
- 75 GM to Washington, 4/6/92, Diary, 2:403; GM to Washington, 4/10/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 10:248–49.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Diary, 2:17, 55. He ordered another for himself, "the finest Dog that ever came from Newfoundland." James Forsyth to GM, 11/23/90, Columbia Papers.
- 2 Diary, 2:18, 19, 40–41; GM to Washington, 9/30/91, Sparks, 2:144.
- 3 Diary, 2:51.
- 4 Diary, 2:54–55.

- 5 Entries, 11/12/90, 11/25/90, and 12/2/90, Diary, 2:57, 70, 78.
- 6 Entry, 12/2/90, Diary, 2:78; GM to Short, 12/3/90, Commercial Letters.
- 7 Entries, 12/3 and 12/4/90, Diary, 2:78–79, 80.
- 8 GM to Constable, 1/5/91, Constable-Pierrepont Papers; Swiggett, 210; entries, 12/7/90 and 12/8/90, Diary, 2:81, 82.
- 9 Diary, 2:84–85, 90, 96, 93.
- 10 Entry, 5/14/91, Diary, 2:182.
- 11 Diary, 2:176, 181, 179, 228, 237; Swiggett, 208.
- 12 Diary, 2:199, 224, 254, 239, 338, 346.
- 13 Document dated (in modern times) 10/4/90, and document titled (by GM) “Offers from M. de Musée regarding the Rations,” Smith Family Papers; Diary, 1:78n, 2:228.
- 14 Entries, 5/9 and 5/17/91, Diary, 2:180, 184; Jones, *Longman Companion*, 194.
- 15 Diary, 2: 114, 232.
- 16 Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 232.
- 17 Diary, 2:235, 237.
- 18 Letter of 3/7/91, Commercial Letters.
- 19 Samuel Bernstein, *Joel Barlow: A Connecticut Yankee in an Age of Revolution* (Cliff Island, Me.: Ultima Thule Press, 1985); Theodore Thomas Belote, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*, *University Studies of the University of Cincinnati*, Sept.–Oct. 1907, Series 2, Vol. III, no. 3; James Woodress, *A Yankee’s Odyssey: The Life of Joel Barlow* (New York: J.B. Lip-pincott, 1958).
- 20 Woodress, *A Yankee’s Odyssey*, 102, 93; Constable to Barlow, 3/6/90 and 5/6/90, Constable-Pierrepont Papers; Eloise Ellery, *Brisot de Warville* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 85–87; Short to GM, 3/28/90, Columbia Papers.
- 21 Diary, 1:87; GM to Constable, 1/8/91, Commercial Letters.
- 22 Entries, 6/5/90 and 8/31/90, Diary, 1:536, 581; entry, 11/15/90, Diary, 2:60. Jacob Price makes an intriguing assertion that the Farmers-General tried to save the Scioto Company in 1791, with a proposal to send its employees to the Scioto tract to cultivate tobacco. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, 2:819.
- 23 Woodress, *A Yankee’s Odyssey*, 110; entry, 7/13/91, Diary, 2:216; GM to Constable, 7/15/91, Commercial Letters.
- 24 Entries, 1/7/91, 1/26/91, and 1/30/91, Diary, 2:95, 108, and 111.
- 25 Lafayette and Barlow were “friends for life.” Woodress, *A Yankee’s Odyssey*, 98. Bernstein, *Joel Barlow*, 88, 65–70; Barlow to TJ, TJP, 24:430; TJ to Barlow, 6/20/92, TJP, 24:101.
- 26 Barlow to TJ, TJP, 24:430.
- 27 Swan to Henry Knox, 12/21/93, Knox Papers; Bernstein, *Joel Barlow*, 99.
- 28 Barlow to TJ, 3/1/98, paraphrased by Bernstein, *Joel Barlow*, 159. Barlow alleged Morris was appointed by Washington after he left Paris to act as a “secret agent to the cabinet of London, to transact business so apparently hostile to the interests of France” that it “sharpened the edge of resentment here more than the whole of Jay’s treaty.” Morris later brought a libel suit against William Duane for making the same allegation. Swiggett, 313.
- 29 Fiechter, 165–66.
- 30 Letter of 11/22/90, GWP, Presidential Series, 6:683–88; Washington to TJ, 7/28/91, TJP, 20:693–94.
- 31 Theodore Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris* (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898), 148.
- 32 See, for example, “France is going on steadily with it’s [sic] work.” TJ to Madison, 7/22/91, TJP, 20:658; and minor variations of this statement in letters to J. P. P. Derieux, 10/25/91, TJP, 22:232; to Martha Randolph, 5/27/92, and 12/31/92, TJP, 23:546, 24:806; to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., 1/7/93, TJP, 25:30.
- 33 Entry, 11/14/90, Diary, 2:59.
- 34 Letter of 9/9/90, TJP, 17:504.
- 35 Entry, 11/26/90, Diary, 2:71; Lafayette’s comment reflects this period of his career, which is a litany of incidents of civil unrest, quelled by Lafayette to the acclaim of the crowd. Gottschalk and Maddox, *From the October Days*.
- 36 Diary, 2:457.
- 37 Entries, 12/6/90 and 11/29/90, Diary, 2:80, 74; GM to Washington, 12/1/90, Diary, 2:75–76. Lafayette would still be receiving him “very coldly” the following October. Diary, 2:280.

- 38 Washington to TJ, 7/28/91, TJP, 20:693; TJ to Lafayette, 11/21/91 and 6/16/92, TJP, 22:313 and 24:85.
- 39 Mme Bellanger to TJ, 3/13/92, TJP, 23:277.
- 40 Entries, 5/1/91 and 5/3/91, Diary, 2:175, 177.
- 41 This summary is drawn from Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus, eds., *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, 2 vols. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 1:391–94.
- 42 Diary, 2:156.
- 43 Sparks, 2:485–87; Diary, 2:174, 2:192.
- 44 Morris believed that imprudence was “almost essential, for the situation of the royal family did not attract those whose zeal could be cooled by danger.” Diary, 2:477.
- 45 Fiechter suggests that Montmorin planned to tell Morris about the escape. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 179. It is true that Morris noted that Montmorin was acting as though he was “in a Kind of Security,” which Morris considered unfounded. Entry, 5/20/91, Diary, 2:187. Montmorin issued the false passport used by the royal family. J. F. Bosher, *The French Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 1.
- 46 GM to RM, 7/16/91, Diary, 2:219–220. John Hardman disagrees, asserting that Louis hoped his escape would forestall an émigré attack. John Hardman, *Louis XVI* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 185. Morris himself would later try to help the king do essentially the same thing, but only when all other hope was lost.
- 47 Scott and Rothaus, *Historical Dictionary*, 392–94.
- 48 GM to RM, 7/20/91, Diary, 2:221.
- 49 Diary, 2:225, 300.
- 50 Entry, 8/25/91, Diary, 2:244.
- 51 Entry, 8/6/91, Diary, 2:234; Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau*, 278, 285–86; Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 207.
- 52 Wick, 95–96.
- 53 Jones, 320.
- 54 Sparks, 2:491–512 (Jaubert translated it for Morris); entry, 8/8/91, Diary, 2:236; Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution: From Its Origins through 1793*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press), 1:153.
- 55 Entries, 8/26 and 8/27/91, Diary, 2:245–46. The artful Germaine later told Talleyrand it was “very weak,” an untruth that apparently was typical of this interesting but manipulative woman. Diary, 2:246; Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 203.
- 56 Entry, 8/29/91, Diary, 2:247; Diary, 2:248; Sparks, 2:512–24.
- 57 Entry, 9/12/91, Diary, 2:258. It is unclear why Pellinc would have helped Morris at the same time he prepared a different memorandum for Montmorin, but that is what Short reported. Short to TJ, 10/6/91, TJP, 22:193–95.
- 58 Entry, 9/16/91, Diary, 2:259; GM to Washington, 3/4/92, Sparks, 2:154–63; and GM to Washington, 9/30/91, Diary, 2:274–75.
- 59 Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 189–190, 208, 206.
- 60 Speech of 9/17/91, Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 132, 225.
- 61 *Gazette Universelle, Ou Papier-Nouvelles de Tous les Pays et de Tous Les Jours*, 10/4/91, author’s translation.
- 62 Diary, 2:285.
- 63 GM to Washington, 9/30/91, GWP, Presidential Series, 9:31–35.
- 64 Hardman, 204.
- 65 Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 227–29; entries, 12/21/91 and 11/19/91, Diary, 2:328, 312.
- 66 GM to RM, 9/30/91, Diary, 2:278.
- 67 Letter of 9/21/91, Sparks, 2:525–26.
- 68 Letter of 9/24/91, Sparks, 2:527–28; entries, 9/21/91 and 10/21/91, Diary, 2:262, 289.
- 69 Diary, 2:286–87.
- 70 Entry, 10/25/91, Diary, 2:293. Malouet was to be another co-conspirator the following summer.
- 71 Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau*, 307.
- 72 GM to Washington, 12/27/91, GWP, Presidential Series, 9:333–38; GM to Washington, 2/4/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 9:531–39.
- 73 Entry, 11/15/91, Diary, 2:307.
- 74 GM to Washington, 2/4/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 9:536.

- 75 Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 234.
- 76 Entries, 1/10/92, 1/11/92, and 1/12/92, Diary, 2:339–40.
- 77 Diary, 2:344. GM to Washington, 3/17/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 10:123–27. Brissot accused Gower of arranging for Talleyrand's compatriot, the duc de Biron, to be arrested for debt while in London. *Le Patriote Français, Journal libre, impartial et national; Par une Société de citoyens, et dirigée par J.P. Brissot de Warville*, 8 vols., republished by Keip Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1989, issue of 2/17/92.
- 78 Entry, 12/7/91, Diary, 2:322.
- 79 Diary, 2:346.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 TJP, 22:261–63.
- 2 TJP, 23:16.
- 3 TJP, 23:18, 20, 22n.
- 4 King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, 1:419–21.
- 5 Here again is the objection to Morris as a businessman, which seems to have particularly offended southerners such as Monroe and Short.
- 6 GM to RM, 5/31/90, Commercial Letters.
- 7 TJP, 23:83.
- 8 Letter dated 1/24/92, Papers of James Monroe, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia.
- 9 TJP, 23:260–61.
- 10 TJP, 25:xxxix.
- 11 Letter of 11/20/90, Columbia Papers.
- 12 Letter of 12/16/90, Columbia Papers.
- 13 George Green Shackelford, *Jefferson's Adoptive Son: The Life of William Short, 1759–1848* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993).
- 14 Shackelford, *Jefferson's Adoptive Son*, 5, 6, 13–14, 17, 18.
- 15 TJ to Short, 4/6/90 and 4/27/90, TJP, 16:319–320, 388; TJ to Short, 7/26/90, TJP, 17: 282.
- 16 TJP, 22:194.
- 17 Editorial Note, TJP, 17:46–51; Shackelford, *Jefferson's Adoptive Son*, 209–10.
- 18 Short to TJ, 6/14/90, TJP, 16:496–502.
- 19 Letter of 8/9/90, TJP, 17:330.
- 20 Letter of 9/30/90, TJP, 17:543–44.
- 21 Letters of 10/25/90, 5/2/91, 6/7/91, and 7/17/91, TJP, 17:633, 20:345–52, 541–46, and 641–45.
- 22 Letter of 10/6/91, TJP, 22:193–95.
- 23 TJP, 20:690.
- 24 TJP, 15:537n.
- 25 Entry of 6/17/89, Diary, 1:116, letter of 6/25/90, Commercial Letters.
- 26 Diary, 2:255.
- 27 Diary, 2:316–17, 344.
- 28 Letter of 11/9/91, TJP, 22:288; TJP, 22:261–63.
- 29 When Monroe warned him that the vote on Short would be close and advised Jefferson to speak promptly to one of the senators, Jefferson passed it on to Madison saying it was not “in his power” to see the senator that morning. TJP, 23:35, 37.
- 30 TJP, 23:65–66.
- 31 Letter of 2/19/92, Columbia Papers, item 1308.
- 32 Short to TJ, 2/29/92, 5/15/92, 7/26/92, 10/22/92, 11/2/92, TJP, 23:167–69, 505–9, 24:249–58, 513–22, 560–62.
- 33 Short to TJ, 2/29/92, TJP, 23:168–69.
- 34 Letter of 3/15/92, Louis Gottschalk, ed., *The Letters of Lafayette to Washington, 1777–1799*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 115 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 361–62. Washington did not reply.
- 35 Short claimed he defended Morris from such insults. Short to TJ, 7/26/92, TJP, 24:250.
- 36 Diary, 2:344; Swan to GM, 2/9/92, Smith Family Papers.
- 37 GM to Short, 3/27/92, Commercial Letters.

- 38 GM to RM, 5/3/90, Commercial Letters; RM to GM, 8/8/90, Columbia Papers, item 918; entry, 7/15/91, Diary, 2:218.
- 39 Letter of 7/26/92, TJP, 24:252–54, 257.
- 40 Entry, 5/11/92, Diary, 2:426–27.
- 41 Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Foreign Copying Project, France, Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as Archives); Diary, 2:427.
- 42 Letter of 10/22/92, TJP, 24:516.
- 43 Short to TJ, 4/5/93, TJP, 25:508–9; other letters are 6/23/93, TJP, 26:346–52; 10/7/93 and 11/7/93, TJP, 27:213, 326.
- 44 “Please arrange together to return [Short] to us,” the duchesse instructed Jefferson, adding hastily, “Mr. Short is utterly unaware of what I am writing.” TJP, 23:492. In another, she urged that Morris, with his amputated leg, would “be better placed” in Holland, “at least with respect to his physical handicaps; canals would fatigue him less than streets.” TJP, 24:799.
- 45 Shackelford, *Jefferson’s Adoptive Son*, 123, 132.
- 46 GM to Short, 4/18/94, 5/19/94, 6/16/94, Official Letterbook; GM to RM, 3/28/93, Commercial Letters.
- 47 Shackelford, *Jefferson’s Adoptive Son*, 67, 185, 145–58; Thomas Jefferson, *Memoirs, Correspondence & Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, 4 vols. (Boston: Gray and Brown, 1830), 3:483.
- 48 Short to TJ, 10/15/91, TJP, 22:216–17.

CHAPTER 8

- 1 Charles Leslie, *The Journal of a Spy in Paris During the Reign of Terror*, by Raoul Hesdin (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1896).
- 2 The author of this cheerful little paragraph is unidentified, but was probably George Monro, an agent for Lord Grenville. George Granville, *The Despatches of Earl Gower*, edited by Oscar Browning (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1885), xiii, 235, 260.
- 3 John Keane, *Tom Paine: A Political Life* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995), 470.
- 4 Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, collected and edited by Moncure Daniel Conway, 4 vols. (New York: Putnam, 1895); (hereafter referred to as Conway)
- 5 This account is from *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, edited by Philip S. Foner, 2 vols. (New York: Citadel Press, 1945), 2:96–97, and Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 119–21.
- 6 Ironically, it was Morris’s task in 1794 as minister to ascertain whether the 3 million *livres* (used for supplies), at issue between Deane and Lee, was a loan or gift from the king. TJP, 26:245–47.
- 7 Entry, 4/10/91, Diary, 2:159.
- 8 Keane, *Tom Paine*, 218–19; Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris*, 167. Paine apparently owned a farm near Morrisania, which Gouverneur’s half brother Lewis kept an eye on in his absence. Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1344.
- 9 TJ to Paine, 7/11/89, TJP, 15:268.
- 10 TJP, 20:268.
- 11 TJP, 16:242. Jefferson’s tacit knowledge of his own role in Burke’s diatribe and Paine’s thundering response in *The Rights of Man* may have enhanced his spirited support for Paine. His famous letter endorsing Paine’s treatise and labeling John Adams as a monarchist was published as a preamble to the pamphlet in America in 1791. That summer, he got Edmund Randolph to submit Paine’s name for the office of postmaster general, a nomination Washington did not grant. TJ to Madison, 7/21/91, TJP, 20:657; Madison to TJ, 7/24/91, TJP, 20:667.
- 12 Entries, 11/27/89 and 12/11/89, Diary, 1:315, 330.
- 13 Diary, 1:358.
- 14 Diary, 1:389.
- 15 1:367, 369.
- 16 Entry, 6/12/90, Diary, 1:540; Paine to GM, 6/29/90, Columbia Papers, item 984; entry, 6/30/90, Diary, 1:552.
- 17 Diary, 1:570, 572.
- 18 Entry, 9/11/90, Diary, 1:589; Keane, *Tom Paine*, 269, 281–82.
- 19 Diary, 1:493, 528.

- 20 Entry, 4/8/91, Diary, 2:156.
- 21 Diary, 2:159, 160, 163. Morris's wife's fastidious pen crossed out material in an April 11 entry apparently relating to Hodges and Paine.
- 22 Keane, *Tom Paine*, 317.
- 23 Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau*, 262–64.
- 24 Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau*, 271.
- 25 Diary, 2:212–13.
- 26 TJP, 23:115.
- 27 Bernstein, *Joel Barlow*, 76.
- 28 David V. Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières: John Oswald and the British in Paris, 1790–1793* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986).
- 29 *Le Patriote Français*, no. 972, April 8, 1792, 6:397 (author's translation).
- 30 GM to TJ, 6/10/92, TJP, 24:56.
- 31 Entry, 2/16/92, Diary, 2:368.
- 32 Entry, 2/23/92, Diary, 2:370.
- 33 Keane, *Tom Paine*, 349–50; AHP, 12:546; Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières*, 224.
- 34 Entry, 9/20/92, Diary, 2:547.
- 35 GM to RM, 6/25/93, Commercial Letters.
- 36 Entry, 10/1/92, Diary, 2:562; see also GM to M. le Mays fils, October 29, 1792, Official Letterbook.
- 37 Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières*, 216, 264; Ellery, 314–15.
- 38 Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1329.
- 39 Diary, 2:587.
- 40 Keane, *Tom Paine*, 365–69; GM to Washington, 12/28/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 11:559–62; Granville, 272.
- 41 Letter of 4/20/93, TJP, 25:577.
- 42 Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1335–37.
- 43 See, e.g., GM to Paine, 4/3/93, Official Letterbook.
- 44 Keane, *Tom Paine*, 380–81; GM to RM, 6/25/93, Commercial Letters.
- 45 Bernstein, *Joel Barlow*, 99; Keane, *Tom Paine*, 384–85; Memo of Paine, 9/9/93, Archives. Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1333.
- 46 Letters of 10/10/93 and 10/20/93, TJP, 27:226–27, 258.
- 47 Keane, *Tom Paine*, 393–96, 401. See Chapter 13 regarding Genet's recall.
- 48 Bernstein, *Joel Barlow*, 100.
- 49 Paine/Hoskins to GM, 1/16/94, Smith Family Papers.
- 50 GM to TJ, 3/6/94, Official Letterbook; Keane, *Tom Paine*, 405.
- 51 GM to TJ, 1/21/94, Official Letterbook.
- 52 GM to Deforgues, 2/14/94, translated in Sparks, 2:401–2.
- 53 Deforgues to GM, quoted in Conway, 160 (author's translation).
- 54 Conway, 3:156.
- 55 Letter of 9/10/94, Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1354.
- 56 Paine believed he had some sort of parliamentary immunity. Keane, *Tom Paine*, 401. Morris's explanation that Paine was not a priority for the French is more likely.
- 57 Letter of 2/24/94, Columbia Papers, item 985.
- 58 GM to TJ, 3/6/94, Official Letterbook.
- 59 GM to Short, 6/16/94, Official Letterbook; Paine to Monroe, 8/18/94, Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1343.
- 60 TJP, note, 20:312–313; Conway, 3:152; Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:690; Thomas Del Vecchio, *Tom Paine: American* (New York: Whittier Books, Inc., 1956), 162; Scott and Rothaus, *Historical Dictionary*, 2:742; Gregory Claeys, *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 31.
- 61 There is an apparent irony raised by Morris's involvement in the councils of the king before the monarchy fell, and the matter is examined later. It is sufficient here to note that the distinctions are meaningful: Morris had sought to check the torrent, not unleash it.
- 62 Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:1341–42.
- 63 Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer, *My Scrap Book of the French Revolution* (Chicago: McClurg, 1898), 61.
- 64 Foner, *Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2:691–723.

65 Letter of 6/25/93, Commercial Letters.

CHAPTER 9

- 1 The name of a book by Mario Briceño Perozo (Trujillo, Peru: del Estado Press, 1950). Miranda was also called a "solder of misfortune"; Diego Córdoba, *Soldado del Infortunio* (Caracas: Venezolana de Fomento, 1967).
- 2 John R. Alden, *Stephen Sayre, American Revolutionary Adventurer* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1983), 141.
- 3 Jefferson's good opinion: TJP, 9:48, 11:97; diplomatic appointment: TJP, 11:91, 12:192–93.
- 4 Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *Miranda et la Révolution Française* (Caracas: Editions du Banco del Caribe, 1989), xx.
- 5 AHP, 8:246n; Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 248, xvii.
- 6 Sayre wrote that Miranda had "travel'd to great advantage—nothing has escaped his *penetration*—not even the Empress of all the Russias . . . a mortifying declaration for me to make, who was 21 months in her Capital without ever making my self acquainted with the internal parts of her *extensive & well known Dominions*." Letter of 6/29/89, Knox Papers. Catherine gave Miranda money when he departed. The comte de Ségur, French ambassador to Russia, called Miranda "un homme intrigant, fort actif, fort instruit, et très spirituel." Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, xlvii, xxxix, xxxiv.
- 7 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, xviii–xix; xlvii; xlvii; xlix–ll.
- 8 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, liii–lv, xxiii–xxiv. He received only one payment.
- 9 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 76, 109–10, 112, 119; Franklin to Sayre, 3/31/79, Smyth, 7:274. Alden's efforts to put a virtuous spin on Sayre's character hinder the reader from fully savoring this highly inventive but utterly unscrupulous rogue.
- 10 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 142.
- 11 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 146, 152, 154.
- 12 He also tried to sell Knox on a warship design he mysteriously called "the love." Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 156; Sayre to Knox, 1/3/89, 6/29/89, 5/10/90, Knox Papers.
- 13 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 160; Jones, *King of the Alley*, 104–5.
- 14 Entry, 11/9/90, Diary, 2:53. This is the only time Morris mentions seeing Sayre.
- 15 Alden states that Morris opposed Sayre's debt proposal; Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 166–67, citing letters in the William Duane Papers at Yale, now lost.
- 16 Olivier Blanc, *La Corruption sous la Terreur* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992); Alden says nothing of this.
- 17 G. Pallain, ed., *Correspondence diplomatique de Talleyrand: La ission de Talleyrand à Londres, en 1792* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie., 1889), 70, 109–10n.
- 18 Entry, 3/6/92, Diary, 2:375. How this squares with the allegation that Sayre was a British agent is unclear. J. Bénétuy, *L'atelier de Mirabeau* (Paris: A. et J. Picard & Cie., 1962), 413.
- 19 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 34.
- 20 TJP, 24:347–48, citing the Pinckney Family Papers, Sayre to Pinckney, 9/10/92, and Pinckney to Sayre, 9/11/92.
- 21 Smith to Knox, 12/3/91, Knox Papers; AHP, 8:187–89; 15:337n.
- 22 Letter of 12/3/91, Knox Papers.
- 23 Letter of 4/5/92, *Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, 263–64. It is uncertain whether Smith did become such an agent.
- 24 Entry, 4/30/92, Diary, 2:418; GM to RM, Jr., 10/27/92, Commercial Letters; Smith to Knox, 12/7/91, Knox Papers.
- 25 The date of this letter is not given but the context indicates September or October 1792. Katherine Metcalf Roof, *Colonel William Smith and His Lady* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 217.
- 26 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 168–69; Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 34–35.
- 27 Letter of 9/15/92, *Archivo del general Miranda*, 24 vols. (Caracas: Editorial Sur-América, 1929–1950), 6:202–3.
- 28 Letter of 10/3/92, *Archivo del general Miranda*, 6:204.
- 29 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, lvi, lii, 10, 8–9, 46.
- 30 Letter of 11/4/92, Knox Papers.

- 31 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 43, 41.
- 32 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 171.
- 33 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 213, 237, 264–70.
- 34 Miranda wrote a letter in 1797 to Hamilton, saying that both Morris's and Monroe's appointments were mistakes, but Morris was "infinitely more well-informed and less exaggerated" than Monroe. AHP, 21:1–2. After Brissot's execution, the Venezuelan acted as counselor to Brissot's widow. Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 296.
- 35 Fiechter cites these letters but suggests no explanation for their motives. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 269.
- 36 Lee Kennett wrote a brief article, "John Skey Eustace and the French Revolution," *American Society Legion of Honor Magazine* 45 (1974): 29–43.
- 37 Kennett, "John Skey Eustace," 31.
- 38 AHP, 23:21n.
- 39 Eustace to Miranda, dated 1783. *Archivo del general Miranda*, 6:248–50, 7:355–90.
- 40 Letter of 9/30/92 (author's translation), Archives.
- 41 John Skey Eustace, *Exile of Major General Eustace* (London: J. Parsons, 1797).
- 42 Letter of 10/3/92, Archives.
- 43 *Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, 288–89; entry, 8/3/92, Diary, 2:487.
- 44 Parra-Pérez, *Miranda*, 69–70. When Miranda published a reply, Eustace returned fire: *Le citoyen des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Jean-Skey Eustace, général de brigade des armées de la République française, à ses frères d'armes* (Paris: Cercle Social), 1793. Recall that Brissot and Paine were associated with this press.
- 45 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 191–92, 194–95.
- 46 TJP, 25:245n.
- 47 Roof, *Colonel William Smith*, 213–14; GM to RM, 6/25/93, Commercial Letters.
- 48 TJP, 25:243–45. Jefferson noted that "Smith has mentioned the situation of G. Morris freely to others here." If Morris did as Smith said, such an outburst in any company was neither discreet nor politic; but Morris trusted Smith; and since Smith wanted Morris out, his evidence is impeachable.
- 49 AHP, 14:174; TJP, 25:311.
- 50 Roof, *Colonel William Smith*, 220. One wonders what Adams's definition of "the better sort" would be in this context; TJP, 25:685n. Ternant was outraged that his government had entrusted such a matter to someone else, much less an American, and suspected that the contracts might involve "iniquitous speculation." Ternant to Lebrun, 2/28/93, Frederick Jackson Turner, ed., "Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791–1797," *American Historical Society Annual Report* (1903), 2:182.
- 51 Alden, *Stephen Sayre*, 181, 119–20.

CHAPTER 10

- 1 Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*, 222.
- 2 DeConde, 311–41; Frank Reuter, *Trials and Triumphs: George Washington's Foreign Policy* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian Univ. Press, 1983), 142.
- 3 TJP, 14:677.
- 4 GM to Jay, 7/1/89, Commercial Letters.
- 5 Letter of 11/5/92, Official Letterbook.
- 6 Letter of 10/31/92, Commercial Letters. He did not tell Robert what that conduct had been, however.
- 7 Delessart until 3/10/92; Dumouriez until 6/16/92; Chambonas to 7/23/92; Sainte-Croix to 8/10/92; Lebrun to 6/21/93; Deforgues to 4/1/94; Goujon and later Buchot, from 4/1/94 until Monroe's arrival. The first six were ministers; Goujon was a provisional chargé, and Buchot was a "Commissaire of exterior relations."
- 8 TJ to Pinckney, 1/17/92, TJ to GM, 1/23/92, TJP, 23:49–50, 55–57.
- 9 They had one more friendly exchange of letters, regarding Morris's cook, originally from Jefferson's household. Jefferson hoped he would come to Philadelphia; but, although Morris tried to convince him to go, the young man refused to leave unless Morris fired him. TJP, 23:472–73, 24:46. Morris was a generous employer, according to Fiechter, who examined the costs of living of the period. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 161.

- 10 Letter of 3/2/93, Official Letterbook.
- 11 Letter of 4/10/92, Diary, 2:408–9. Robert had sold one of his New York land tracts even though it had a lien on it by another party. Chernow, *Robert Morris* 71, 73.
- 12 Letter of 4/29/92, Commercial Letters.
- 13 Diary, 2:344, 362.
- 14 GM to RM, 2/15/92, Diary, 2:366.
- 15 Letters of 2/15/92, Diary, 2:366, and 3/21/92, Commercial Letters; GM to Washington, 3/21/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 10:129–40.
- 16 GM to Short, 4/17/92, Papers of William Short, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Yet Washington was “grieved” by Morris’s delay. Washington to TJ, 6/29/92, TJP, 24:139.
- 17 GM to RM, 6/25/92, Commercial Letters.
- 18 GM to Ellsworth, GM to Rufus King, 4/6/92, Private Letterbook, GM to Hamilton, 3/21/92, AHP, 11:162. GM to TJ, 4/6/92, Diary, 2:400. Morris’s exchange with Hamilton gives a sense of the irreverent humor that characterized the youthful friendship of these two men. Morris promised to write of “what is doing on this Side of the Water *confidentially*” and Hamilton proposed a system of Roman pseudonyms for the actors on the American political stage. Hamilton to GM, 6/22/92, AHP, 11:545.
- 19 Letter of 5/3/92, Smith Family Papers.
- 20 Letter of 7/12/92, Commercial Letters.
- 21 *Le Patriote Français*, issue no. 902, 29 janvier 1792, 6:114. Constable notified Morris of the article, which was reprinted in London, on 2/5/92, Diary, 2:362.
- 22 Letter of 3/8/92, Smith Family Papers.
- 23 Letter of 2/28/92, Commercial Letters.
- 24 GM to David Humphreys in Lisbon, 6/5/93, Official Letterbook.
- 25 Entries, 2/11/92, 2/23/92, Diary, 2:364, 371; *Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, 267.
- 26 Entry, 3/6/92, Diary, 2:375.
- 27 The *monarchiens* favored a British-style constitutional monarchy in the discussions of 1789, with a bicameral legislature. Many of them emigrated as the Revolution progressed. They were not the same as the *Feuillants*, such as Lafayette, who sought a constitutional monarchy but with a single legislature.
- 28 Pallain, *La mission de Talleyrand à Londres*, 118, author’s translation; GM to Washington, 2/4/92, Diary, 2:357.
- 29 GM to Short, 3/22/92, Diary, 2:391. Narbonne had “the Imprudence to pay off his Debts, altho it is notorious that his Estate (which is in St. Domingo) is among those which are laid Waste.” GM to Washington, 3/17/92, Diary, 2:384. Lafayette was reputed to have said “we shall see which of us, the king or myself, has the majority in the Kingdom.” Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 214.
- 30 Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau*, 313.
- 31 Andrew Freeman, *The Compromising of Louis XVI: The Armoire de Fer and the French Revolution* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989), 89. Swan to GM, 3/8/92, Smith Family Papers.
- 32 Entry, 3/13/92, Diary, 2:378, 2:460n, and entry, 12/31/91, Diary, 2:332.
- 33 Entries, 12/31/91, 1/4/92, and 6/26/92, Diary, 2:332, 337, 455.
- 34 L. Pingaud, “Terrier de Monciel,” *Le Correspondant*, August 1879, 577–611.
- 35 Entry, 5/6/92, Diary, 2:424; Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 250. De Laporte was Louis’s “agent within the context of the Constitution, conducting negotiations over the formation of ministries, buying support, subsidizing pamphleteers, trying in general (and in vain) to direct public opinion.” Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 179. The Keeper of the Civil List had command of the king’s personal funds.
- 36 GM to Washington, 3/21/92, Private Letterbook.
- 37 Lefebvre, *French Revolution*, 1:225–26; GM to Washington, 6/10/92, Sparks, 2:171, 175; entry, 3/14/92, Diary, 2:379.
- 38 Letter of 6/29/92, TJP, 24:134.
- 39 Lefebvre, *The French Revolution*, 1:227, 229; GM to TJ, 6/10/92, Diary, 2:439; Michel Winock, *L’échec au roi: 1791–1792* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1991), 192, 196; entry, 5/13/92, Diary, 2:427.
- 40 Entry, 5/6/92, Diary, 2:424.
- 41 Short was boorish in his disappointment. After the presentation, Morris took him to rue de la Planche “to see my Horses which he considers as indifferent and the House as having but a poor appearance.” Diary, 2:430.

- 42 Entry, 5/15/92, Diary, 2:429; GM to TJ, 6/10/92, TJP, 24:50–56.
- 43 Entries, 5/14, 5/21 and 5/25/92, Diary, 2:428, 432, 433.
- 44 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 191; GM to TJ, 6/10/92, Diary, 2:438–44.
- 45 Lefebvre, 1:221.
- 46 TJP, 23:469n.
- 47 She sent Mercy-Argenteau (formerly Austria's ambassador to France) a summary of the council's war strategy, and updates on the military situation and French intentions to her Swedish confidant, Fersen. Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 215.
- 48 GM to TJ, 6/10/92; Morris told Jefferson that Paris feared it would be abandoned by the Assembly to the Austrians and that the Assembly was "already preparing for a March." TJP, 24:53–54.
- 49 Entry, 6/1/92, Diary, 2:435; Gower to Grenville, 6/15/92, Granville, 191–92.
- 50 Entry, 6/4/92, Diary, 2:437.
- 51 Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 217; Diary, 2:436; GM to TJ, 8/16/92, Diary, 2:492.
- 52 Perhaps the king took his advice, for the very day Morris wrote to him, he ordered his guard disarmed. Diary, 2:435. However, Hardman asserts instead that none of Louis's ministers would countersign his veto, as required. Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 216.
- 53 GM to TJ, 6/17/92, TJP, 24:93. According to Montmorin, Dumouriez (at the same time he assured the king of his loyalty) had agreed with Brissot to take Clavière back into the ministry, and to get the decrees sanctioned, but was thwarted by Louis's refusal. Entries, 6/14 and 6/16/92, Diary, 2:447–48.
- 54 GM to TJ, 6/17/92, Diary, 2:449.
- 55 Entry, 6/7/92, Diary, 2:445; Bertrand de Moleville, *Private Memoirs Relative to the Last Year of the Reign of Louis the Sixteenth*, 3 vols. (London: printed for A. Strahan, T. Cadell, and W. Davies, 1797), 2:329; Lefebvre, 1:232.
- 56 GM to TJ, 6/17/92, Diary, 2:450. Marcel Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 347.
- 57 The sections were the administrative divisions of Paris, established in 1790; there were 48 in all, organized into twelve *arrondissements* of four sections each. The sections, each of which elected a general assembly, were hotbeds of political activity.
- 58 Diary, 2:453; Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 217; Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 215; Pingaud, "Terrier du Monciel," 584–85; entry, 12/7/91, Diary, 2:321.
- 59 Entries, 6/20 and 6/21/92, Diary, 2:453–54. Pétion would vote against Louis's execution, and fell with the other Girondins. He fled to the countryside, where he shot himself. He was later found half-eaten by wolves.
- 60 GM to RM, 6/26/92, Commercial Letters; the Spanish chargé reported the same thing to his government. Domingo de Iriarte, "Lettres de Domingo de Iriarte, Chargé d'affaires d'Espagne en France au Premier Ministre Comte d'Aranda (Juin–Août 1792)," *Société de l'histoire de France, Annuaire-Bulletin* 80 (1944):129–258, letter of 6/25/92, 181–82.
- 61 Diary, 2:455, 456. Marie-Antoinette may have sabotaged his effort by informing Pétion. Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 345–46.
- 62 Diary, 2:457.
- 63 Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 333.
- 64 Pingaud, "Terrier du Monciel," 586–87.
- 65 Pingaud, "Terrier du Monciel," 588; entry, 7/2/92, Diary, 2:459, 460n. Isnard and Vergniaud, friends of Brissot, encouraged the deputations to present a petition against the vetoes to the king on June 20. Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 213–14.
- 66 Honoré-Gabriel de Riquetti, comte de Mirabeau, *Correspondance entre Le Comte de Mirabeau et le Comte de la Marck*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Auguste Pagny, 1851), 2:374.
- 67 Clermont-Tonnerre was a principal player in the melding of the Estates General.
- 68 Side by side comparisons of Morris's papers and Moleville's *Private Memoirs* indicate with considerable certainty that they worked together on their several efforts to get the king out.
- 69 Diary, 2:456, 458.
- 70 For example, Moleville makes no mention of Morris in his account, undoubtedly because he began to write it in London while Morris was still minister in Paris. The journalist Mallet du Pan condemned Moleville's memoirs as "confusing without judgment the true and the

- false . . . he has written the 'Memoires' not for history, but for the publisher." Jacques Mallet du Pan, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Mallet du Pan*, edited by A. Sayous, 2 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1852), 1:330. Lafayette in his memoirs denied much of Lally-Tolendal's account, and angrily asserted that he had nothing to do with Moleville. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Du Motier, marquis de Lafayette, *Mémoires, Correspondance et manuscrits du Général Lafayette*, edited by H. Fournier Aîné, 6 vols. (London: Saunders & Otley, 1837), 3:502, 511. Nonetheless, Moleville and Malouet are still the principal sources cited concerning the plans of the summer, and Lafayette's cooperation is part of their versions. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 219–44; Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 219; Étienne TAILLÉMITTE, *La Fayette* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 347; Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 333.
- 71 Diary, 2:476–77. The document, unsigned and undated, identifies Morris as "M. M."; it was found in his papers. Gouverneur Morris, *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, edited by Anne Cary Morris (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1888), 556.
- 72 Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 329, 334; Lally-Tolendal, *Mémoire de Lally-Tolendal, Au roi de Prusse, pour réclamer la liberté de Lafayette* (Paris: 1795), 34.
- 73 This restriction is mentioned by Moleville, Sainte Croix, Lally-Tolendal, and Lafayette in their memoirs. However, Paul and Pierrett Girault de Coursac assert that this limit was placed by a March 1791 decree of the Constituent Assembly and nullified by adoption of the constitution the following August. *Le secret de la reine* (Paris: F.X. de Guibert, 1996), 380.
- 74 Lafayette, *Mémoires*, 3:344–48; Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 219. According to Mallet, this was a rehash of a scheme proposed the preceding November. Mallet du Pan, *Memoirs*, 1:254–55.
- 75 Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 219. Lally-Tolendal's letter to the king of July 9, apparently delivered on July 10, stated that the original escape date was to be July 12 but due to Louis's desire to attend the July 14 celebration, would be deferred until July 15. Moleville's memoirs confirm the fifteenth as the date, as does Marie-Antoinette's July 11 letter to Fersen, which revealed the plan and her opposition to it. Lally-Tolendal, *Mémoire*, 34; Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 334; Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 219. Morris was surely well aware of the correct date at the time, but he wrote Jefferson on July 10, "This Day the King will commence a new Career." He must have meant the king would make a decision about the escape plan. Diary, 2:463. His 1796 memorandum perpetuates the confusion by stating that the king rejected the plan "on the very morning fixed for his departure" and that "the Swiss Guards had already left Courbevoie to cover his retreat;" this surely referred to a later attempt. Diary, 2:476.
- 76 Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 215–16; Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 262.
- 77 Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 217; entry, 7/1/92, Diary, 2:459.
- 78 Freeman, *Compromising of Louis XVI*, 97; Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 283. Reinhard suggests that Louis knew in advance that the "coup de théâtre" was planned. Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 353.
- 79 GM to Chambonas, 7/9/92, Sparks, 2:186–87. TJ to GM, 6/16/92, TJP, 24:88. Lawrence S. Kaplan, *Jefferson and France* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1967), 48; GM to TJ, 7/10/92, Diary, 2:463–65. Although Brissot favored increased trade with America, the Girondists in general were protectionist. François Furet and Monica Ouzouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1989), 358. Kaplan points out that mercantilists supported the Revolution because it gave them a far more efficient means than formerly to achieve exclusive rights in matters such as tobacco cultivation and commerce with the French West Indies. Kaplan, 48.
- 80 Letter of 7/10/92, Diary, 2:464.
- 81 Entry, 7/9/92, Diary, 2:462; Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 239, 246–47.
- 82 GM to Short, 7/16/92, *Private Letterbook*; entries, 7/10 and 7/11/92, Diary, 2:462, 465. Hardman argues without citation that their resignations were intended to put further pressure on Louis. Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 220. Morris told Short that the resignations occurred on July 9 but he must have meant the tenth.
- 83 Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 219; Lafayette, *Mémoires*, 344–48; Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 2:335.
- 84 The letter requesting replacement, dated July 17, was found in Louis's iron chest. Freeman, *Compromising of Louis XVI*, 98; Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:2–3.
- 85 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 249.
- 86 Entries, 7/12 and 7/13/92, Diary, 2:466.
- 87 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 249. Sainte-Pardoux appears to have been a counselor to Mme Elisabeth. See Diary, 2:490. Mme de Flahaut rarely appears in the diary that summer, probably to

- protect her. Her friendship with many of the principals, including Sainte-Croix and Vicq d'Azyr, is strong evidence that she was well aware of the plans.
- 88 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 250, 252. Morris undoubtedly hoped Pétion's suspension would demonstrate the king's decisiveness, but had not anticipated Brissot's effectiveness in changing public opinion. Louis sanctioned the decree restoring Pétion.
 - 89 Lefebvre asserts without citation that in late July Lafayette and Luckner did perform "an incredible and useless manoeuvre that brought them near Compiègne," and from there they entreated Louis to join them. Lefebvre, *The French Revolution*, 1:234. This is not mentioned by Winock or Taillemite.
 - 90 Entry, 7/11/92, Diary, 2:465; Memorandum of 1796, Diary, 2:477.
 - 91 Diary, 2:478; Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 384.
 - 92 Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:24–25.
 - 93 Diary, 2:472, 477. The 1796 memorandum states it occurred on July 22, but the diary is confirmed by a "Statement of Accounts" in the Smith Family Papers, which records receiving 547,000 livres "from Monsieur M." on that date. If Moleville's figures are correct, the amount Morris received was only part of the whole. There is no indication that Morris actually received any papers from Louis.
 - 94 Diary, 2:467; letter of 7/16/92, Private Letterbook.
 - 95 Diary, 2:470.
 - 96 The *faubourgs* were originally suburbs of Paris but by this time were enclosed within the city's walls. Faubourg Saint-Antoine was famous for its working class radicals—it was a breeding ground for the *sans-culottes*.
 - 97 Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:8–12.
 - 98 Entry, 7/20/92, Diary, 2:471; Granville, 201. Morris's 1796 memorandum implies that thoughts of escape had been abandoned after early July but his diary, Gower's dispatches, and the memoirs of Moleville and Malouet say otherwise. The idea of Rouen had already been raised by mid-July, according to Montmorin's letter to the comte de la Marck, 7/15/92; Bacourt, 2:374.
 - 99 Malouet, *Memoires de Malouet*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Plon, 1874), 2:235n, quoting a comment by Bergasse. Entry, 7/24/92, Diary, 2:472; dispatch of 7/27/92, Granville, 203. Entries, 7/22/92, 7/25/92, Diary, 2:471, 480.
 - 100 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 259; entry, 7/26/92, Diary, 2:481.
 - 101 Entries, 7/20, 7/25, and 7/28/92, Diary, 2:471. 480, 481.
 - 102 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 261; entries, 7/30 and 7/31/92, Diary, 2:482.
 - 103 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 266.
 - 104 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 259. Ellery states that the contact was made on 7/20/92. Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 288.
 - 105 Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:30–31. In 1787, Clavière had connived with Mirabeau to subvert the Caisse d'escompt, using political pamphlets in a way described as combining "moral indignation with personal profit." Herbert Lüthy, *La banque protestante en France de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes jusqu'à la Révolution française*, (2 vols.) (Paris: 1958–1963), 2:703, cited in Wick, 221. There has also been some strange speculation that Clavière secretly worked to fund the flamboyant baron de Batz, who tried to rescue the king. Bénétruy, *L'atelier de Mirabeau*, 434–35. Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 287; Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:62.
 - 106 Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 371.
 - 107 Entry, 7/31/92, Diary, 2:482; Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 290; GM to TJ, 8/1/92, Diary, 2:483.
 - 108 Moleville, *Memoirs*, 3:13–19.
 - 109 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 267; GM to TJ, Diary, 2:483.
 - 110 This may explain his letter to the consul Stephen Cathalan, Jr. on August 13, advising him to take "part as little as possible in revolutions or Counter revolutions but especially in the latter because if we had any right to interfere in the Politics of this Country we should undoubtedly take part with those who wish to establish a free Government." TJP, 24:305n–6n.
 - 111 Entry, 8/2/92, and 1796 Memorandum, Diary, 2:487, 477.
 - 112 Entries, 8/3 and 8/4/92, Diary, 2:487, 488.
 - 113 GM to Mme du Bourg, 8/17/92, Sparks, 3:32–34. Mme du Bourg left for Rouen sometime in late July or early August. Fiechter asserts that she was there to provide Morris with intelligence. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 240. The surviving letters she wrote to Morris imply knowledge of the proposed escape, but contain only generalities such as that things were

- calm in Rouen and people were indifferent to the Revolution. Smith Family Papers; Diary, 2:485–86.
- 114 Mallet du Pan was sent to Austria in April by the king to draft a manifesto that was to do no more than threaten the Jacobins. Mallet's draft was superseded by one written by the émigrés who had, as Morris frequently pointed out, no restraint and no sense; Brunswick had little to do with it. Moleville blamed Brunswick in his *Private Memoirs*, to the duke's outrage, and he responded, saying "Pardon me for the trouble which I cause you; but I may be allowed to endeavour to avoid being handed down to posterity as a thoughtless crackbrain." Mallet du Pan, *Memoirs*, 374–75.
- 115 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 264, 266–67.
- 116 Malouet, *Mémoires*, 217n.
- 117 Entry, 8/4/92, Diary, 2:488.
- 118 The point is made more confusing by the fact that Morris recorded two days later that Louis told Monciel he wouldn't trust Sainte-Croix with "his Secret;" whether he meant the escape plan or something else is, of course, uncertain. Entry, 8/7/92, Diary, 2:489.
- 119 Diary, 2:488.
- 120 Entry, 8/7/92, Diary, 2:489.
- 121 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 254.
- 122 Malouet, *Mémoires*, 231; GM to Rufus King, 10/23/92, King, 1:435.
- 123 Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:43–44; Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 267.
- 124 Moleville, *Private Memoirs*, 3:44–49, 52.
- 125 Diary, 2:489.
- 126 It is conceivable that these two last efforts were the same and Malouet and Moleville attributed different dates to them and somewhat different stories (e.g., Malouet says Montmorin spoke to the king, while Moleville states that Montmorin wrote to the king.) Moleville specifically states that the Gaillon plan, already under way, was rejected by the king on August 6 at the end of the day; Malouet specifically states that on August 7 plans to get the king to Pontoise were finalized in the morning and rejected by the king at the end of the day.
- 127 Malouet, *Mémoires*, 233.
- 128 Paul de Vallière, *Le 10 août 1792* (Lausanne: Editions de l'Age d'Homme, 1992), 51–53. Perhaps this is the origin of Morris's confusing statement in his 1796 memorandum that the king "renounced the project on the very morning fixed for his departure, when the Swiss Guards had already left Courbevoie to cover his retreat." Diary, 2:476.
- 129 Malouet, *Mémoires*, 214, 223, 230–31; Diary, 2:471. Montmorin also received a large part of the money gathered by Moleville. He was later said to have bribed Danton and some speculate that this was the reason he was disposed of in the September massacres. GM to Pinckney, 4/15/94, Pinckney Family Papers, Library of Congress, (hereafter referred to as Pinckney Family Papers.)
- 130 Malouet, *Mémoires*, 231, 234–35. Malesherbes's suggestion may have been the regency plan allegedly authored by Danton, which Morris mentioned to Jefferson in a letter of December 1792. This possibility seems likely in view of a comment by Mallet du Pan in August 1794 that Danton was executed for having conspired to "proclaim the King Louis XVII and M. Malesherbes regent." He believed (as did many others) that Danton never gave up the idea, although Carl Becker disagrees. GM to TJ, 12/21/92, Sparks, 2:261; Carl Becker, "A Letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette," *The American Historical Review* 27 (1921):24–46, 39.
- 131 Statement of Accounts, Smith Family Papers.
- 132 Latimer, *My Scrap-Book of the French Revolution*, 26–29.
- 133 De Vallière, *Le 10 août*, 86–88.
- 134 De Vallière, *Le 10 août*, 97–100; Diary, 2:490.
- 135 Entry, 8/10/92, Diary, 2:490.
- 136 Winock, *L'échec au roi*, 280. Another version was that he was pursued to the fourth floor of the house and thrown out the window. Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 586.
- 137 Diary, 2:478; Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 249n; Malouet, *Mémoires*, 237–38n.
- 138 Iriarte, "Lettres," 257. Iriarte reported this on August 24 but it probably occurred earlier.
- 139 Diary, 2:490.
- 140 Latimer, *My Scrap-Book*, 22. Griffith gives the date of August 11, but the move to the Temple was August 13. Hardman, *Louis XVI*, 222.
- 141 Latimer, *My Scrap-Book*, 30–31, 46.

- 142 Entries, 8/13 and 8/14/92, Diary, 2:490, 491; GM to Mme d'Albani, 8/30/92, Sparks, 3:34–36.
- 143 J. G. Starke, *An Introduction to International Law* (London: Butterworths, 1967), 311.
- 144 Christopher Herold, *Mistress to an Age: A Life of Madame de Staël* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), 115; J. B. Burges to Grenville, 8/15/92, *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq.*, 301.
- 145 Diary, 2:491–96.
- 146 GM to Pinckney, 8/13/92, Pinckney Family Papers, Library of Congress.
- 147 Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté*, 418, 385.
- 148 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 233; Girault de Coursac, *Le secret*, 395.

CHAPTER 11

- 1 Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*, 224. Swiggett and Fiechter agree.
- 2 DeConde, *Entangling Alliance*, 311. Albert Soboul asserts without explanation that Morris harmed relations, and undermines himself by stating incorrectly that the Committee of Public Safety of the Thermidorean reaction requested Morris's recall. *Dictionnaire Historique de la Révolution Française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989), 768. Frank Reuter calls Morris a "poor choice." Reuter, *Trials and Triumphs*, 142.
- 3 Short to TJ, 10/22/92, TJP, 24:520; GM to Pinckney, 3/22/94, Official Letterbook.
- 4 Letter of 6/25/93, Commercial Letters.
- 5 Morris's careful adherence to international law may seem ironic in view of his pre-August 10 activities. Whether inappropriate or not, however, those earlier actions violated no law and were in support of the existing lawful regime.
- 6 Diary, 2:598. Of course, his diaries of the preceding years could have been used to implicate a great many people according to the specious judicial standards of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Whether it was wise to keep the diaries is open to question but we are lucky that he did so.
- 7 TJP, 26:730.
- 8 GM to RM, 12/24/92, Commercial Letters; GM to Mme de Corney, 6/4/93, Commercial Letters; GM to Fenwick, 12/30/93, Papers of Gouverneur Morris, Consular Letterbook, Library of Congress, hereafter cited as Consular Letterbook.
- 9 TJP, 24:305.
- 10 Letter of 8/22/92, TJP, 24:314.
- 11 TJP, 24:593.
- 12 Letter of 10/15/92, TJP, 24:484–85, 485n; *Notes on a Conversation with George Washington*, 12/27/92, TJP, 24:793; TJ to GM, 3/12/93, TJP, 25:367.
- 13 Diary, 2:504; DeConde, *Entangling Alliance*, 325–26.
- 14 Short to Hamilton, 4/9/91, AHP, 8:263.
- 15 TJP, 25:16n–17n.
- 16 Hamilton to Short, letters of 4/2/92, 4/10/92, and 4/16/92, AHP, 11:219–21, 262, 289–91, received by Short on 6/28/92, AHP, 11:594.
- 17 GM to Short, 7/23/92, AHP, 12:437.
- 18 "On the whole the part he has acted has been far from being useful in this business to the United States," Short wrote with deliberate injustice. Letter of 11/20/92, TJP, 24:649. Jefferson believed Short and accused Hamilton of trying to shift the blame for the delays.
- 19 Hamilton to Short, 6/14/92, AHP, 11:519; Short to Hamilton, 8/30/92, AHP, 12:293.
- 20 Short to GM, 8/17, 8/28 and 9/14/92, AHP, 12:451–53, 457–58. Morris told Short that even without having the authorization, he would have assumed Short's concurrence and worked out an agreement with the finance minister, "could I have prevailed on him to attend to it." GM to Short, 9/9/92, Sparks, 2:214–15.
- 21 Short to Hamilton, 9/25/92, AHP, 12:469–80. Hamilton agreed with Short that restoration of the monarchy would invalidate the payments, but Jefferson came to agree with Morris. Hamilton to Washington, 11/5/92 and 11/19/92, AHP, 13:19–20, 170.
- 22 GM to Short, 9/20/92, AHP, 12:465. GM to Short, 8/27/92, AHP, 12:450–51; GM to Short, 9/9/92, AHP, 12:456–57. Jefferson told Short the 9/20/92 letter made Morris look like a "democrat" and Short an "aristocrat." TJ to Short, 3/23/93, TJP, 25:436.
- 23 Letter of 12/24/92, AHP, 13:378.
- 24 Clavière to Lebrun, 9/22 or 9/24/92, Archives.

- 25 GM to Hamilton, 12/24/92, AHP, 13:378.
- 26 Jones, *Longman Companion*, 364.
- 27 Diary, 2:518; GM to Hamilton, 12/24/92, AHP, 13:378.
- 28 Letter of 8/30/92, Diary, 2:519-22.
- 29 GM to TJ, 9/27/92, TJP, 24:419. GM to TJ, 6/25/93, TJP, 26:366.
- 30 Philadelphia correspondent to Brissot, 1/20/93, Papers of Brissot de Warville, the New York Historical Society. Hamilton was a bidder.
- 31 Entry, 8/31/92, Diary, 2:536; Lebrun to GM, 8/30/92, Diary, 2:527-28; GM to Lebrun, 9/1/92, Diary, 2:529-31. The "aristocratic" phrase "my Court" in this letter by Morris received criticism from French and Americans alike. Yet Morris was, as Davenport points out, simply repeating the phrase used by Lebrun himself, and Lebrun made *no* adverse comment on the phrase when excerpting this letter for Ternant. Lebrun to Ternant, 9/19/92, Archives.
- 32 Entry, 9/8/92, Diary, 2:541; entry, 9/1/92, Diary, 2:536-37; Lebrun to GM, 9/16/92, and GM to Lebrun, 9/17/92, Diary, 2:544-46, 547.
- 33 Clavière to Lebrun, 9/10/92, Archives.
- 34 Lebrun to Ternant, 9/13/92, Archives.
- 35 Lebrun to Ternant, 9/13 and 9/19/92, Archives. He also told Clavière that he considered the matter terminated satisfactorily. Lebrun to Clavière, 9/22/94, Archives.
- 36 Diary, 2:103; TJP, 25:248.
- 37 TJP, 25:243-45 and 245n.
- 38 TJ to Washington, 12/11/93, TJP, 27:504-6.
- 39 Official Letterbook.
- 40 Editorial Note on the Giles Resolutions, TJP, 25:280-92.
- 41 Lebrun to GM, 9/19/92, Archives.
- 42 GM to Lebrun, 9/20/92, AHP, 12:462. Morris sent a copy of Lebrun's letter to Hamilton but not to Jefferson, because it "had too much the air of a Complaint against Mr. Short" and "even if Blame were due I would not be instrumental in calling it forth." GM to Hamilton, 9/25/92, AHP, 12:425-246.
- 43 TJP, 25:16n.
- 44 GM to Hamilton, 12/24/92, AHP, 13:377.
- 45 GM to TJ, 12/21/92, TJP, 24:773-74; TJ to GM, 11/7/92, TJP, 24:593. DeConde inaccurately claims that Morris wanted to "jettison" the alliance with France. DeConde, *Entangling Alliance*, 313-14.
- 46 Entry, 25:608-18, Hamilton urged that even if a treaty did survive a change in government, it could not be considered effective during the turbulent interim. AHP, 14:268-69; 13:267-68.
- 47 GM to TJ, 2/13/93, TJP, 25:192-93.
- 48 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 274-75; Westermann to Lebrun, 10/28/92; Lebrun to Westermann, 10/29/92, Archives. Westermann fell out of favor by January 1793.
- 49 Letter of 10/23/92, GWP, Presidential Series, 11:255-59.
- 50 Letter of 10/24/92, AHP, 12:617-18.
- 51 TJP, 24:529-30.
- 52 Diary, 2:571-72.
- 53 Letter of 8/22/92, TJP, 24:313.
- 54 Letter of 8/30/92, Diary, 2:522; entry, 8/29/92, Diary, 2:518-19.
- 55 GM to Pinckney, 8/30/92, Pinckney Family Papers.
- 56 Diary, 2:537.
- 57 GM to TJ, 9/10/92, Diary, 2:540; GM to Edmund Randolph, 4/15/94, Sparks, 2:425.
- 58 Mountflorencia had arrived in France in late 1791 with a recommendation from Jefferson. He later asserted that Jefferson had asked him to provide his own version of events in France, probably in the hope it would counter negative reports from Morris and Short. Instead, Mountflorencia's reactions proved very similar to Morris's, and he conceived a great admiration for the American minister. TJP, 25:132.
- 59 GM to TJ, 9/10/92, Diary, 2:540.
- 60 Letter of 9/28/92, Commercial Letters.
- 61 Entries, 8/21 and 8/23/92, Diary, 2:516, 517.
- 62 Malouet, *Mémoires*, 2:247.
- 63 Smith Family Papers; Pingaud, "Terrier du Monciel," 591.
- 64 Morris heard of this as well. GM to TJ, 4/19/93, TJP, 25:574; *Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, 514.

- 65 Chernow, 122–25; Edwin R. Baldrige, Jr., “Talleyrand’s Visit to Pennsylvania, 1794–1796,” *Pennsylvania History* 36 (1969):145–60; John L. Earl III, “Talleyrand in Philadelphia,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine* 91 (1967):282–98.
- 66 Moleville said it cost a “friend of that lady” (surely Morris) 100 *louis* for one passport. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 249–50; Swiggett, 242.
- 67 Morris mentioned talking with the Danish chargé in December 1793 and the Malta chargé’s arrest in February 1794; Sparks, 2:414, 425.
- 68 GM to le Mays fils, 10/29/92, Official Letterbook.
- 69 GM to TJ, 2/13/93, TJP, 25:193; GM to Washington, 10/23/92, Sparks, 2:227; GM to Mme Foucault, 4/18/93, Columbia Papers, item 761; GM to TJ, 4/4/93, TJP, 25:489. GM to President of the Section *Croix Rouge*, 4/8/93; GM to Mayor Pache, with note by GM on the bottom, 4/8/93, Official Letterbook.
- 70 TJ to GM, 11/7/92, TJP, 24:593. Fiechter asserts that Morris chose Seine-Port because it was easier to hide his friends, but cites no evidence that he hid anyone there other than Mme de Damas, as discussed later. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 284.
- 71 Letter of 8/11/93, Commercial Letters. Waste Book, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Library of Congress.
- 72 GM to TJ, 10/23/92, TJP, 24:527–28.
- 73 GM to TJ, 9/27/92, TJP, 24:420.
- 74 GM to Pinckney, 12/3/92, Official Letterbook. Robespierre made a remarkably similar point about the need for morals in the Revolution. R. R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1941), 275–76.
- 75 GWP, Presidential Series, 11:256.
- 76 Letter of 12/21/92, TJP, 24:771.
- 77 Letter of 1/25/93, TJP, 25:95.
- 78 TJ to Joseph Fay, 3/18/93, TJP, 25:402. TJ to Madison, 3/24/93, TJP, 25:442; Madison to TJ, 4/12/93, TJP, 25:533.
- 79 As the value of the *assignat* fell, prices rose; the cost of bread in the provinces was up to three times what it had been in 1789. Furet and Richet, *French Revolution*, 173–74.
- 80 Letter of 2/14/93, Private Letterbook.
- 81 Morris did not support this plan. GM to TJ, 4/4/93 and 4/5/93, Sparks, 2:316.
- 82 Letters of 4/19/93 and 3/13/93, Official Letterbook, TJP, 25:374.
- 83 GM to TJ, 3/26/93, Sparks, 2:309.
- 84 GM to TJ, 3/13/93, Sparks, 2:297–98; GM to Washington, 6/25/93, Private Letterbook.
- 85 Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 38–42.
- 86 Letter of 10/18/93, Private Letterbook.
- 87 Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 168–71.
- 88 Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 220–22.
- 89 Letter of 10/18/93, Private Letterbook.
- 90 Letter of 11/16/93, Official Letterbook.
- 91 Letter to Lord George Gordon, 6/28/92, Diary, 2:452.
- 92 Letter of 9/22/93, Sparks, 2:355.
- 93 TJP, 25:679, 680, 680n.
- 94 Letter of 6/19/93, TJP, 26:318–19.
- 95 Furet and Richet, *French Revolution*, 181.

CHAPTER 12

- 1 TJP, 25:334. The decree also allowed goods from the East Indies to be landed at any port in France. TJP, 25:262n.
- 2 Letter of 2/13/93, TJP, 25:190.
- 3 GM to Pinckney, 2/18/93, Official Letterbook; Pinckney to GM, 3/5/93, Columbia Papers, item 1073.
- 4 TJP, 25:375, 571n. Jefferson sought a delay in declaring neutrality to “force Great Britain and France to make significant concessions to the United States on the issue of neutral rights,” echoing the strategy suggested by Morris’s letter of 2/13/93, but Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph felt that delay could lead to individual Americans getting involved, and “grave diplomatic complications,” and Washington agreed.

- 5 GM to TJ, 2/13/93, TJP, 25:193.
- 6 TJP, 25:647–48n, 674.
- 7 GM to Washington, 1/5/96, Private Letterbook.
- 8 Memo of Deforgues, 8/9/93, Archives.
- 9 TJP, 27:158n.
- 10 Memo of Deforgues, 8/9/93, Archives.
- 11 Letter of 5/14/93, Sparks, 2:319.
- 12 Sparks, 2:325, 326.
- 13 Letter of 6/7/93, Smith Family Papers.
- 14 GM to White, 6/12/93, Official Letterbook.
- 15 Sparks, 2:327; GM to Deforgues, 8/6/93, Sparks, 2:343–44; TJP, 26:70–71n.
- 16 Letter of 6/27/93, Sparks, 2:338.
- 17 Letter of 6/28/93, Sparks, 2:340.
- 18 TJP, 18:533n.
- 19 TJP, 27:158 and 158n.; GM to Deforgues, 10/1/93, Sparks, 2:357.
- 20 GM to Bird, Savage & Bird, 8/11/93 and 9/23/93, Official Letterbook.
- 21 Letter of 10/14/93, Sparks, 2:365–67. Morris knew that Deforgues agreed with him but “has no Power to act,” GM to Captain Henry Johnson, 12/11/93, Official Letterbook.
- 22 GM to Deforgues, 10/19/93, Sparks, 2:370; GM to TJ, 10/19/93, Official Letterbook.
- 23 GM to TJ, 3/6/94, Sparks, 2:414. The archives of the foreign ministry contain drafts of orders to resolve the issue, including release of the boat and compensation. Archives, vol. 40, part 2.
- 24 GM to Lebrun, 6/19/93, Sparks, 2:325.
- 25 Archives, vol. 36, part 5.
- 26 Sparks, 2:326–27, 341; GM to Francis Coffyn, 7/21/93, Official Letterbook.
- 27 TJP, 26:662–63.
- 28 Extract of the proceedings of the provisory executive council, 2/8/93 and 3/2/93, Archives.
- 29 Letter of 11/26/93, Official Letterbook.
- 30 GM to Jonathan Jones, 10/16/93, Official Letterbook; GM to TJ, 10/10/93, Official Letterbook.
- 31 GM to Deforgues, 8/20/93, Sparks, 2:351–52.
- 32 Deforgues to the Committee of Public Safety, 8/22/93, Archives.
- 33 GM to TJ, 10/10/93, Official Letterbook. Morris attempted to counteract this letter, telling Deforgues that he was being falsely represented as complaining of French actions. GM to Deforgues, 10/1/93, Sparks, 2:356–57.
- 34 Paine to Citizen Barère, 9/5/93, Keane, *Tom Paine*, 383–85.
- 35 Letter of 11/26/93, Consular Letterbook.
- 36 GM to Jonathan Jones, 10/16/93, Official Letterbook.
- 37 Letters of 11/22/93 and 12/11/93, Official Letterbook. The Committee of Public Safety had been struggling to get control of some of its most violent representatives as it worked to centralize power.
- 38 GM to TJ, 11/26/93, Official Letterbook.
- 39 GM to Fenwick, 11/26/93, Consular Letterbook.
- 40 GM to Deforgues, 12/29/93, Sparks, 2:390; Deforgues to GM, January 1794, Archives; undated, but content indicates it is in response to GM’s letter of 12/30/93; GM to Randolph, 4/15/94, Sparks, 2:425.
- 41 Henry Johnson to GM, 1/10/94, Smith Family Papers; GM to TJ, 3/6/94, Official Letterbook.
- 42 GM to TJ, 3/6/94, Official Letterbook; GM to Deforgues, 1/14/94, Official Letterbook.
- 43 Letter of 2/6/94, Official Letterbook.
- 44 Letter of 2/24/94, Smith Family Papers.
- 45 GM to TJ, 3/6/94, Official Letterbook.
- 46 GM to Randolph, 5/31/94, Official Letterbook.
- 47 Letter of 6/25/94, Sparks, 2:444.
- 48 His papers contain a letter dated 12/30/92, but the editors believe he did not send it, TJP, 24:801n–2n. It was an important letter, acknowledging that Morris must have been at a loss about how to deal with the French and giving instructions regarding the debt and American supplies to Santo Domingo.
- 49 GM to Randolph, 4/15/94, Official Letterbook; TJ to GM, 4/8/93, TJP, 25:519; GM to RM, 3/12/93, Commercial Letters.

- 50 GM to Humphreys, 9/21/93, Official Letterbook; GM to Swan, 5/19/94, Official Letterbook.
- 51 GM to Coxé, 3/22/94, Official Letterbook; GM to TJ, 6/12/93, TJP, 26:266; TJ to Washington, 11/30/93, TJP, 27:466. Morris noted this result as well; GM to Chaumont, 7/25/94, Official Letterbook.
- 52 Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 252–53; Official Letterbook.
- 53 Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 113.
- 54 Doyle, *Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 269.
- 55 Letter of 2/3/94, Official Letterbook.
- 56 Columbia Papers, items 444, 446.
- 57 GM to Randolph, 4/15/94, Official Letterbook. Palmer mentions this letter with admiration. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 310
- 58 Goujon to GM, 4/8/94, Columbia Papers, item 447; GM to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4/11 or 4/12/94, Official Letterbook.
- 59 GM to RM, 4/25/94, Commercial Letters.
- 60 Livingston to GM, 4/25/94, Columbia Papers, 649; GM to Washington, 12/30/94, Private Letterbook.
- 61 GM to Mountflorencia, 11/25/93, Official Letterbook; GM to TJ, 11/26/93, Official Letterbook.
- 62 TJP, 27:96; GM to TJ, 10/10/93, Sparks, 2:360. Swan suggested Morris appoint provisory consuls, but Morris was reluctant. Swan to GM, 3/6/94, Smith Family Papers.
- 63 Coffyn: Deforgues to GM, 11/8/93, Columbia Papers, item 426; Eugenia Carpentier to GM, 3/20/94, Columbia Papers, item 57; Delamotte: Baltajard fils to GM, 2/11/94, Smith Family Papers.
- 64 Deforgues to GM, 11/8/93 and 1/94, Columbia Papers, items 426, 434; GM to TJ, 1/21/94, Sparks, 2:398.
- 65 GM to Pinckney, 3/22/94 and 4/6/94, Official Letterbook.
- 66 Pinckney to GM, 8/28/92, 8/8/93, 11/19/93, Columbia Papers, items 1057, 1085, 1089. Morris found the young man a little too arrogant for the present situation in France, but added wryly—from personal experience, no doubt—“young men learn more from little Misfortunes than from great Sermons.” GM to Pinckney, 9/21/93, Official Letterbook.
- 67 Pinckney to GM, Columbia Papers, items 1056, 1060, 1061, 1075; GM to Pinckney, 12/6/92, Pinckney Family Papers.
- 68 Pinckney to GM, 11/24/92, Columbia Papers, item 1064. Lebrun to Clavière, 9/10/92, Archives.
- 69 GM to Monroe, 9/11/94, Official Letterbook.
- 70 Letter of 4/6/94, Official Letterbook.
- 71 GM to Pinckney, 3/22/94, Official Letterbook.
- 72 The British archives contain bizarre accusations, apparently ignored by the British government, that Morris had offered France American military support in exchange for a huge “loan.” *Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, 526–27.
- 73 GM to Randolph, 5/31/94, Official Letterbook.
- 74 Letter of 1/10/94, Smith Family Papers.
- 75 GM to Deforgues, 1/14/94, Official Letterbook.
- 76 Hoskins to GM, 12/24/93, Smith Family Papers; GM to Deforgues, 12/29/93, and GM to Hoskins, 12/30/93, Official Letterbook.
- 77 GM to Hoskins, 1/18/94, in French; GM to Deforgues, 1/19/94, Official Letterbook.
- 78 GM to Hoskins, 1/24/94, Official Letterbook. GM to TJ, 1/21/94, Sparks, 2:392.
- 79 Latimer, *My Scrap Book*, 41, 43–50.
- 80 Latimer, *My Scrap Book*, 50.
- 81 Charles Willing Littel, “Major William Jackson, Secretary of the Federal Convention,” *Pennsylvania Magazine* 2 (1878): 353–69, 365; Frederick S. Allis, Jr., ed., *William Bingham's Maine Lands, 1790-1820*, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston: 1954), 36:92–93.
- 82 TJP, 26:162.
- 83 Jackson to Bingham, 12/1/93. Allis, *William Bingham's Maine Lands*, 36:317, 319, 320n.
- 84 Committee of Boulogne-sur-mer to Deforgues, 4 nivôse an II, Archives.
- 85 Letter of 1/1/94, Smith Family Papers; GM to Deforgues, 1/4/94, Official Letterbook.

- 86 Livingston to GM, 1/10/94, Columbia Papers, item 636; Jackson to Bingham, 4/30/94, Allis, *William Bingham's Maine Lands*, 36:320.
- 87 The Committee of General Security was an executive committee of the National Convention, and was one of the two most powerful committees of the Terror. It would eventually be under the control of the Committee of Public Safety, dominated by Robespierre. Its functions included "security" matters, such as surveillance activities, passports, investigations, and arrests. Palmer notes the accuracy of Morris's remarkably early prediction of conflict between the Committees of Public Safety and General Security, and that the next "faction" would arise within the Committee of Public Safety, as it did in Thermidor when the Robespierrists fell. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 310.
- 88 Latimer, *My Scrap Book*, 49; GM to Pinckney, 1/15/94, Pinckney Family Papers.
- 89 GM to RM, 1/24/94, Commercial Letters; GM to Washington, 3/13/94, Sparks, 2:417.
- 90 Letter of 1/15/94, Pinckney Family Papers.
- 91 He told Bingham that he was later offered the French crown jewels for one million acres.
- 92 Letter of 4/30/94, Allis, 36:321.
- 93 Letter of 8/20/94, enclosure in letter of 8/20/94, Allis, *William Bingham's Maine Lands*, 36:355. The source of Jackson's bitterness is unclear, but he sounds very much like a disappointed office seeker—rather like Short.
- 94 GM to Charles Samson, 9/5/93, Official Letterbook.
- 95 GM to Messrs. Lannux frères, 8/15/93, Official Letterbook.
- 96 GM to Captain Stevens, 9/29/93, 11/5/93, Official Letterbook. Stevens was abusive of the government, and Morris warned him that his letters were opened and read.
- 97 GM to RM, 6/21/93, Morris Family Papers, New York Historical Society.
- 98 GM to Serjeant, 10/29/93, GM to Miss Ann Harris, 11/23/93, GM to John Russell, 3/6/93, GM to James Macrae, 12/24/93, Official Letterbook.
- 99 GM to Delatour, 10/2/93, and GM to Otto, 10/2/93 (misdated 9/2), Official Letterbook.
- 100 Letter of January 1794, Smith Family Papers.
- 101 Ticknor Collection, Item 001838, Dartmouth College Library. The reference to other foreign ministers is a bit confusing since there were none after September 1792, but she may be referring to that month and not to the Terror. M. Pastoret escaped from France.
- 102 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 160.
- 103 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 151, referring to Morris's Waste Book. The 1 percent commission (which he did not always charge) was, says Fiechter, minimal: the goal was to help them save what they could of their assets.
- 104 Letter of 4/18/94, Official Letterbook.
- 105 TJP, 24:426, 600.
- 106 TJ to Pinckney and GM, 3/15/93, TJP, 25:387. Genet to TJ, 9/18/93, TJP, 27:129.
- 107 Pinckney to TJ, 9/25/93, TJP, 27:151; TJP, 25:388n; AHP, 15:638n.
- 108 GM to Willink, Van Staphorst & Hubbard, 1/27/93, Diary, 2:561.
- 109 GM to Pinckney, 10/15/93, Official Letterbook; entry, 3/1/94, Waste Book; Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 304; Swiggett, 371; GM to James Lovell, 4/30/93, Official Letterbook.
- 110 Letter of 6/2/93, Pinckney Family Papers.
- 111 Letter of 7/29/93, Official Letterbook. Pinckney gave 6,000 *livres* to a friend of Lafayette, apparently for an escape attempt. Morris thought, correctly, that this was futile. Pinckney to TJ, 9/25/93, TJP, 27:151; GM to TJ, 2/13/93, TJP, 25:194n; GM to Mme de Lafayette, 10/20/93, Official Letterbook.
- 112 Columbia Papers, item 65; Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 310.
- 113 Livingston to GM, 6/27/94, Columbia Papers, item 661.
- 114 Diary, 2:561n.
- 115 GM to John Marshall, 6/26/1807, *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, 2:492–95.
- 116 Entries, 9/28/97, 10/1/97, 10/5/97, and 10/7/97, Diary, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Library of Congress.
- 117 Commercial Letters.
- 118 Morris's refusal to ask for recall deserves comparison to Jefferson's decision to retire as secretary, despite Washington's entreaties to stay, at a time of increasing international tension as the European war began to affect America.
- 119 GM to W. H. Serjeant, 9/5/93, Official Letterbook.

CHAPTER 13

- 1 Letter of 4/29/94, Sparks, 2:428–31.
- 2 Letter of 6/25/94, Sparks, 2:445.
- 3 Letter of 12/21/93, Knox Papers.
- 4 Dorothy Twohig, ed., *The Papers of George Washington: The Journal of the Proceedings of the President, 1793–1797* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 291.
- 5 GM to Randolph, 7/23/94, Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, eds., *American State Papers, Documents Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States* (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832); (hereafter cited as *American State Papers*), Foreign Relations, 1:411.
- 6 Instructions dated 1 frimaire an II, 11/21/93, Archives; Fauchet to Randolph, 4/9/94, Archives.
- 7 Letter of 6/10/94, Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1784–1906.
- 8 GM to Washington, 2/14/93, Sparks, 2:286; GM to RM, 3/27/94, Commercial Letters.
- 9 Swiggett, 280; Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 315; Committee of General Security to Fauchet, 11/21/93, Archives, vol. 39, part 5.
- 10 Harry Ammon, *The Genet Mission* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973); Meade Minnigerode, *Jefferson, Friend of France: The Career of Edmond Charles Genet* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928); Editorial Note, TJP, 26:685–92.
- 11 Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Long Affair: Thomas Jefferson and the French Revolution, 1785–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 188.
- 12 Editorial note, TJP, 26:686.
- 13 Notes of 7/13/93, 7/23/93, 8/1/93, and 8/2/93, TJP, 26:498–99, 553–55, 598, 601–3.
- 14 TJ to Madison, 9/1/93, Madison to TJ, 9/2/93, TJP, 27:6–7, 16–17.
- 15 "It is supremely ironic that Jefferson's letter of recall achieved his primary objective of averting a diplomatic crisis with France at the cost of convicting Genet in the minds of his Jacobin superiors as an agent of counterrevolution—the very last offense of which he stood accused in American eyes." Editorial note, TJP, 26:692.
- 16 GM to RM, 1/15/93, Official Letterbook; GM to Washington, 12/28/92, Sparks, 2:269–70.
- 17 Deforgues to Genet, and undated (but pre-October 10, 1793) report in the archives; Turner, *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States*, 229–30; 283–86. It is likely this report was written by Otto, who disapproved of Genet.
- 18 Lebrun's letter of introduction for Genet spoke of "this time of an auspicious change of measures, which will undoubtedly be reciprocated." The Jefferson editors assert that this was "of course" a request for Morris's recall. If so, it had no effect. Lebrun to TJ, 1/15/93, TJP, 25:57 and 58n.
- 19 TJP, 27:504–6.
- 20 It is hard to imagine that Jefferson *could* have considered that "little expression" an adequate justification for recalling a minister.
- 21 Genet to TJ, 9/18/93; translation in Lowrie and Clarke, *American State Papers*, 1:173.
- 22 Quite true; Morris had told Washington after the Girondins fell in June that he expected Genet to be replaced. Letter of 6/25/93, Sparks, 2:336.
- 23 Letter of 7/23/94, Sparks, 2:452–53.
- 24 TJP, 27:133n.
- 25 AHP, 15:666–67.
- 26 Monroe used the pseudonym "Agricola." The letter itself could not be located; it is a "missing issue" in the Library of Congress. However, its contents are cited in John Marshall's response as "Grachus," published October 16. *The Papers of John Marshall*, edited by Herbert A. Johnson and Charles T. Cullen, 11 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974–2002), 2:224–25.
- 27 AHP, 15:667n.
- 28 Letter of 4/29/94, Sparks, 2:428–31.
- 29 GM to Rufus King, 10/23/92, Sparks, 2:240; GM to Hamilton, 12/24/92, Sparks, 2:265; GM to RM, 6/25/93, Sparks, 3:47, and GM to RM, 10/31/92, Commercial Letters.
- 30 AHP, 15:667n. Morris congratulated Randolph on his appointment, and told him he hoped for more frequent letters, and, significantly, commented that he might have been even more "full and particular" in his dispatches if he had not thought they would have been more

- acceptable "had I been deceived as to facts . . . or capable of communicating sentiments and opinions I did not entertain"—both swipes at Jefferson. Letter of 4/15/94, Sparks, 2:420, 422.
- 31 TJP, 17:545; letter of 7/29/93, Official Letterbook.
 - 32 Wesley L. Gould, *An Introduction to International Law* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 268; GM to Pinckney, 2/12/93 and 9/21/93, Official Letterbook; Swan to GM, 7/3/93, Smith Family Papers.
 - 33 Letter of 3/29/93, Sparks, 2:312.
 - 34 Hans Kelsen, *Principles of International Law* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1966), 349; Gould, *An Introduction to International Law*, 268.
 - 35 Morris was also arrested on his first effort to visit his house at Seine-Port, on the grounds that his passport was out of date. GM to Lebrun, 3/29/93, Sparks, 2:312.
 - 36 Letter of 4/3/93, Sparks, 2:314.
 - 37 GM to Short, 5/6/94, Official Letterbook; GW to Damas, 12/5/85, GWP, Confederation Series, 3:114n–115n; Diary, 2:462. Fiechter asserts without citation that Morris knew Damas in America.
 - 38 In June 1794, Talleyrand gave Hamilton a petition for Monroe to seek the release of several of "relations," including "Mme de Damas Marillac." AHP, 16:475–76.
 - 39 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 302; GM to Chaumont, 4/12/93, Commercial Letters. She may have had a relationship with Chaumont, for Morris wrote him regularly about her well-being. The portrait is in Sparks, 1:506–12.
 - 40 Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 251.
 - 41 GM to Deforgues, 11/14/93, Official Letterbook.
 - 42 Document of 28 brumaire an II (11/18/93) from the Committee of General Security, Archives.
 - 43 GM to the Committee of General Security, 11/22/93, Official Letterbook.
 - 44 Deforgues to the Committee of General Security, 11/24/93, Archives; Deforgues to GM, 11/25/93, Columbia Papers, item 427.
 - 45 The traditional rule of extraterritoriality is codified in the Vienna Convention: the receiving state may not "exercise acts of jurisdiction within the premises of the mission. Nor may diplomatic agents grant asylum . . . to persons prosecuted by the receiving state," who "must be surrendered to the receiving state at its request." Kelsen, *Principles of International Law*, 350. Unlike August 10, the exception for providing temporary asylum from a mob was inapplicable.
 - 46 GM to Short, 5/6/94, Official Letterbook; Palmer, 68.
 - 47 Letter of 11/25/93, Columbia Papers, item 427.
 - 48 GM to Deforgues regarding Mme de Damas, 1/30/94, Archives (on the bottom of Morris's letter, Deforgues's irritation appears in a scrawled note tartly advising Morris to confine himself to those functions assigned to him; this was not sent). Deforgues to GM, 2/3/94, Columbia Papers, item 437. Chargé Cibon to GM, 2/22/94, Columbia Papers, item 96; Deforgues to GM, 2/24/94, Columbia Papers, item 440.
 - 49 Actually, the only complaints seemed to be by Crèvecoeur. By late 1791 Morris noticed that Crèvecoeur seemed "crusty" around him. Diary, 2:315. Morris kept an eye on one of his sons in the summer of 1792; Diary, 2:453, 462.
 - 50 Robert de Crèvecoeur, *Saint John de Crèvecoeur*, (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1883), 187n, 184–85; no date given for the letter in the book. Crèvecoeur's dislike is adopted by Gay Wilson Allen and Roger Asselineau in *St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer* (New York: Viking, 1987), 183–84, who call Morris a "cold-blooded realist" who did nothing to help Crèvecoeur.
 - 51 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 303.
 - 52 Letter of 3/6/94, Official Letterbook.
 - 53 Letter of 12/30/94, Private Letterbook.
 - 54 Letter of 10/29/93, Commercial Letters.
 - 55 Le Couteux was condemned to death in April 1794. Blanc, *La corruption sous la Terreur*, 175–76.
 - 56 Geoffrey Butler and Simon Maccoby, *The Development of International Law* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928), 92.
 - 57 TJP, 24:127–28, 129n, 149–50.

- 58 It would be interesting to know if Barère wrote it; it was to Barère that Paine had complained about Morris in September.
- 59 Memorandum of 28 brumaire, an II, 11/18/93, (author's translation), Archives.
- 60 Letter of 12/30/94, Private Letterbook.
- 61 Document dated 1/27/94, Archives.
- 62 8/14/93, Archives.
- 63 Deforgues to Fauchet et al., 2/2/94, Archives.
- 64 Fauchet to Deforgues, 6/9/94, Turner, *Correspondence of the French Ministers*, 391.
- 65 "As I do not have the honor of knowing you, sir," the unsuspecting Morris wrote back, "it is necessary that you do me the goodness of providing proof of your status as a citizen before I can transmit a request to obtain your release." Letter of 3/22/94, Official Letterbook.
- 66 Letter of 4/21/94, Sparks, 2:427–28.
- 67 Letter of 6/9/94, Turner, *Correspondence of the French Ministers*, 392.

CHAPTER 14

- 1 GM to Deforgues, 1/30/94; Deforgues's reply written on the bottom. Archives.
- 2 Letter of 12/30/94, Private Letterbook.
- 3 Livingston to GM, 7/29/94, Columbia Papers; Swan to GM, 5/10/94, 5/16/94, Smith Family Papers.
- 4 Letter of 7/23/94, Official Letterbook.
- 5 Livingston to GM, Columbia Papers.
- 6 Monroe to Randolph, 8/11/94, and GM to Washington cited by Henry Bertram Hill, "Gouverneur Morris on Robespierre," *Journal of Modern History* 9 (1937): 203–5.
- 7 TJ to Tench Coxe, 6/1/95, cited by O'Brien, *The Long Affair*, 220.
- 8 GM to Monroe, 10/10/94, Official Letterbook. They declined.
- 9 GM to Constable, 8/9/94, Commercial Letters.
- 10 Entry, 10/12/94, Diary, Library of Congress.
- 11 GM to Washington, 12/10/95, Wilson, *America's Ambassadors to France*, 65–66.
- 12 Wilson, *America's Ambassadors to France*, 71.
- 13 GM to Short, 9/17/94, Private Letterbook.
- 14 Entry, 10/12/94, Diary, Library of Congress.
- 15 The wine included more than two hundred bottles of Tokay from Marie-Antoinette's dowry. His descendants drank the last of it at a reunion in 1848. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 327.
- 16 Jeffrey H. Munger, "James Swan and Gouverneur Morris: A Taste for the Ancien Régime in 18th Century America," *The Brazos Forum Review*, 1996. See also, Louis Schreider III, "Gouverneur Morris, Connoisseur of French Art," *Apollo* (June 1971): 470–83.
- 17 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 338.
- 18 GM to DeWolf, 5/31/93, Commercial Letters. Morris said in this letter he was not "concerned in the business," probably meaning he had not invested in it; either that, or he wanted his name kept out of it. See Samuel Ward to Constable, 1/14/93 and 12/29/92, Constable Pierrepont Papers; GM to Constable, 3/18/93, Commercial Letters. On his return to America, Morris became an agent for the Antwerp group. William H. Horton, ed., *Geographical Gazetteer of Jefferson Country, NY, 1684–1890* (Syracuse: Syracuse Journal, 1890): 39–40.
- 19 Letter of 7/3/93, Smith Family Papers.
- 20 Entry, 12/12/91, Diary, 2:324; Bernstein, 98–99. Howard C. Rice, "James Swan: Agent of the French Republic, 1794–1796," *New England Quarterly* 10 (1937): 464–86. Swan to GM, 11/18/95, Columbia Papers.
- 21 Swan to GM, 3/17/95, Smith Family Papers.
- 22 Letter of 9/21/94, Official Letterbook.
- 23 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 339.
- 24 Diary, Library of Congress, Gouverneur Morris papers.
- 25 Entry, 10/14/94, Diary, Library of Congress papers.
- 26 Washington assured him "that my confidence in, and friendship and regard for you, remain undiminished. To time, and your own observations, if you should return immediately to this country, I commit the rest; and it will be nothing new to assure you, that I am always and very sincerely yours, affectionately . . ." Washington to GM, 6/19/94, Sparks, 2:442.

- 27 Letter of 8/31/94, Official Letterbook.
- 28 GM to Samuel Ogden, 2/2/96, Commercial Letters, Library of Congress.
- 29 GM to Angelica Church, 6/20/93, Commercial Letters.
- 30 Morris and Wycombe had put aside their rivalry to assist Adèle. Swiggett surmises that Wycombe accompanied her to England. Swiggett, 246, 261.
- 31 Adèle enjoyed herself by creating the character of a discontented chaplain named Dr. Morris, in her book, *Adèle de Sénange*. Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 320n.
- 32 Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 286, 319–20.
- 33 Swiggett, 256–57.
- 34 Mme de Flahaut to GM, 1/4/94 and 1/11/94, Columbia Papers; GM to Mme de Flahaut, 2/2/94, Commercial Letters. According to Swiggett, she had already begun husband hunting the preceding January, though M. de Flahaut would not die for another year and a half. Swiggett, 260–61.
- 35 Livingston to GM, 3/16/94, Columbia Papers; Fiechter, *Un diplomate américain*, 287n.
- 36 Swiggett, 297.
- 37 Entries, 12/31/94 and 1/8/95, Diary, Library of Congress Papers.
- 38 Swiggett, 325.
- 39 Swiggett, 358.

CHAPTER 15

- 1 “[A]nd that is the extent of my philosophy,” he told James LeRay de Chaumont on 6/29/94. Commercial Letters.
- 2 Alan Taylor, “Foundering Father,” *Washington Post Book Review*, 6/29/03, 3–4.
- 3 Letter of 3/10/92, Archives, cited by Conway, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, 3:153.
- 4 Sparks, 1:514.
- 5 Lawrence S. Kaplan, *Thomas Jefferson: Westward the Course of Empire* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources (1999).
- 6 GM to Washington, 9/18/90, GWP, 6:471.
- 7 Entry, 4/3/89, Diary, 1:29.
- 8 Swiggett, 431–32.
- 9 “To enjoy is to obey,” Mme de Damas quoted in her portrait of Morris. Sparks, 2:511.
- 10 Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*, 259.