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Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

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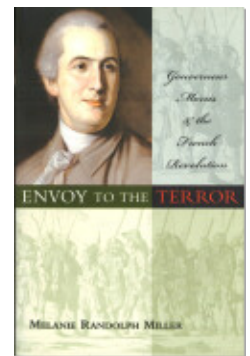
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CHAPTER TWELVE

第十二章

The “Heart Burnings” 《心脏焚烧》

THE SHIPS

飞船

The outbreak of war between Britain and France immediately affected American shipping. The first news was good: the National Convention issued decrees “opening all the Ports of this Nation to our Vessels on equal Terms with our own,” Morris wrote to Jefferson, on March 7, 1793.¹ He had received from the new Committee of Public Safety a “Kind of Assurance that they will do any Thing for the United States which I will point out but in Fact I know not any Thing which we ought to ask.” The decrees contained, he believed, “all that we want.”

英法战争的爆发立即影响了美国的航运业。第一个好消息是：1793年3月7日，莫里斯在给杰斐逊的信中写道，国民大会颁布法令，“以与我们同等的条件向我们的船只开放这个国家的所有港口。”他从新成立的公共安全委员会那里得到一种保证，“他们将为美国做任何事情，我将指出这一点，但事实上，我不知道我们应该要求什么。”他认为，这些法令包含了“我们想要的一切”

This letter must have been cheering to Jefferson, for the opening of the French West Indies, along with the tremendous opportunities for neutral ships, were precisely the advantages he had long sought for the United States. Morris also told Jefferson it was unlikely Britain would threaten the West Indies (which could invoke the military provision of the American-French treaty of 1778) since that would be “to possess but the paring of [France’s] Nails.”²

这封信一定是写给杰斐逊的，因为法属安的列斯的开放，以及中立船只的巨大机遇，正是他长期以来为美国所寻求的优势。莫里斯还告诉杰斐逊，英国不太可能威胁西印度群岛（可以援引1778年美法条约中的军事条款），因为那将是“仅仅拥有（法国的）钉子而已”图2

But simultaneously with this good news, difficulties began to arise: French

failure to distinguish friendly American from enemy British ships was the first problem to rear its head, and Pinckney was the first to confront it. In response to entreaties from merchants, he began to issue passports to American ships. Morris objected that ministers did not have such authority, and noted the potential for fraud.³ The men sent copies of their debate to America, which arrived a few weeks after Washington's April 22 proclamation—though it omitted the word “neutrality” at Jefferson's behest, the proclamation plainly stated that the United States would remain neutral in the European conflict.⁴ The French did not object, since neutrality meant that American ships could carry provisions to them. Moreover, although Genet arrived ready to negotiate a new treaty, he found the American government

但与此同时，困难开始出现：法国人首先面临的问题是无法区分友好的美国船只和敌对的英国船只，平克尼是第一个面对这个问题的人。为了回应商人的恳求，他开始向美国船只发放护照。他们把辩论的副本发给了美国，这是在华盛顿于4月22日发表正式声明几周之后发出的，尽管在杰斐逊的要求下，这份声明没有使用“中立”一词，但支持者们明确表示，美国将在欧洲冲突中保持中立。⁴ 法国没有反对，因为中立意味着美国船只可以向他们运送补给。此外，尽管热内已经准备就新条约进行谈判，他还是找到了美国政府

no longer interested, having concluded, as Morris suggested, that "all the Advantages desir' d do already exist" and that the new decrees "have in some Measure set us free from our Engagements." ⁵

他不再感兴趣，因为他得出的结论，正如莫里斯所说的那样，“所有的优势都已经存在了”，而且新的法令“在某种程度上使我们摆脱了约定” ⁵

On May 6, Washington determined that the 1778 treaty with France would remain in force and concurred with Jefferson that passports could be issued (but only in America) to American-owned foreign-built ships as well as American-built ships, a move that greatly expanded the available neutral fleet. ⁶ Yet passports, however legitimate, were soon disregarded by the belligerents, and American ships became the prey of both British and French privateers. Morris' s papers contain, as he described them, "piles of letters" from the victims. What follows is a sampling of some of the cases.

5月6日，华盛顿决定与法国签订的1778年条约将继续有效，并与杰斐逊一致认为，美国可以向美国拥有的外国造船和美国造船发放护照，此举极大地扩大了现有的中立舰队。然而，无论护照多么合法，很快就被交战各方置之不理，美国船只成了英国和法国海盗船的猎物。据莫里斯描述，他的文件包含受害者的“一堆信件”。下面是一些案例的样本。

THE LAURENCE 劳伦斯一家

In late March 1793, three American ships were seized by French privateers and brought into Le Havre, in direct violation of the 1778 treaty provision "free ships make free goods" ; that is, if one party was neutral and the other at war, the neutral' s ship cargoes, even if intended for the enemy, were immune from seizure unless the cargo was contraband. Morris privately thought the concept unworkable: "in Principle unfounded, [it] will in Practice be disregarded, and in its application to us cannot but prove inju-rious." ⁷ However, he defended it stoutly in his official capacity, and pro-tested the capture to Lebrun. Two of the ships were released and went on their way. ⁸ The third ship, the Laurence, was not so lucky.

1793年3月下旬，三艘美国船只被法国海盗劫持并带入勒阿弗尔，这直接违反了1778年条约的规定，即“自由船只免费提供货物”；也就是说，如果一方是中立国，另一方处于战争状态，中立国船上的货物，即使是为敌方提供的，也免于被劫持，除非货物是违禁品。莫里斯私下里认为这个概念行不通：“原则上没有根据，[它]在实践中将被忽视，在对我们的适用中只能证明是有害的。”然而，他以官方身份坚决捍卫了它，并亲

自试探勒布伦的抓捕行动。第三艘船，劳伦斯号，就没那么幸运了。

The Laurence (also called the Laurens by Morris) was owned by a group of Charleston businessmen and carried a very rich cargo—worth about 30,000 British pounds—of rice and indigo, consigned to a London firm. It was seized by the privateer Sans Culottes of Honfleur. According to the Laurence's captain Thomas White, the crew was mistreated by the captors. In mid-April, a local admiralty court determined that the seizure had violated the 1778 treaty and ordered damages and restoration of the ship.⁹ The captors appealed, and it is certain that their determination to keep this rich prize had a great deal to do with a decree issued by the National Convention three weeks later, made retroactive to the beginning of the war (Morris pointed out, and Lebrun privately conceded, that under standard rules of jurisprudence such a law could not be made retroactive.)¹⁰

劳伦斯号(被莫里斯称为劳伦斯号)由一群查尔斯顿的商人拥有，船上装载着价值约3万英镑的大米和靛蓝，托运给伦敦的一家公司。它被翁弗勒尔的私掠船“无裤党”(SansCulottes)占领。据劳伦斯号的船长托马斯·怀特说，船员们受到了绑架者的虐待。在四月中旬，当地的一个海事法庭裁定扣押违反了1778年的条约，并下令赔偿损失并恢复船只。⁹绑架者提出上诉，可以肯定的是，他们保留这一丰厚奖金的决心与三周后的国民大会发布的一项法令有很大关系，该法令可追溯到战争开始时(莫里斯指出，勒布伦私下承认，根据法理学的标准规则，这样的法律不能追溯既往)图10

The decree, Morris reported to Jefferson, authorized French ships to bring in neutral vessels loaded either with provisions intended for enemies' ports, or with merchandise belonging to enemies. The merchandise was declared "good prize," and provisions were to be paid for at the price

莫里斯向杰斐逊报告说，这项法令授权法国船只载运中立船只，这些船只可以装载供应给英军港口的物资，也可以装载属于敌人的货物。这些商品被宣布为“好奖品”，并按照价格付款

they would have received in the country of intended delivery.¹¹ Morris predicted correctly that France's enemies would follow suit, and that "in future the speculations of neutral commerce will, in fact, depend on the naval superiority of the belligerent powers."

莫里斯准确地预测到法国的敌人也会效仿，而且“未来中立贸易的投机行为实际上将取决于交战国的海军优势。”

The decree violated "free ships make free goods," and Morris promptly objected to Lebrun, who assured him that the Convention would be requested to make an exception for the United States.¹² That exception was decreed on May 23. Five days later, probably after money had changed hands, it was quietly repealed. Morris did not learn of the repeal immediately. In the meantime, Captain White wrote him a desperate letter from Le Havre:

法令违反了“自由船舶免费提供货物”，莫里斯立即对勒布伦提出反对，勒布伦向他保证，将要求《公约》为美国破例。五天后，也许是在钱被转手之后，它被悄悄地废除了。莫里斯没有立即得知废除的消息。与此同时，怀特上尉在勒阿弗尔给他写了一封绝望的信：

[S]ince [April 2] I have vainly waited for the determination of the ship Laurence and her cargo. The ship is still in the Basson laying like a Wrack for the want of attendance. . . . My crew have all deserted me except my officers. In this distressful situation I have but you to look up to for assistance . . . I will abide by your advice therefore I earnestly solicit your answer.¹³

自从[4月2日]以来，我一直徒劳地等待着劳伦斯号轮船及其货物的确定。由于缺少人手，这艘船还在巴松河里，象海龟一样躺着……。

除了我的军官，我的船员都抛弃了我。在这种困难的情况下，我只能仰望你的帮助……我将遵从你的劝告，因此恳求你的回答

Morris, ignorant of the Convention's turn-around, reassured White.¹⁴ In mid-June, when he finally learned of the Convention's action, he again protested, and the American exemption was restored on July 1. The success was fleeting: in response to a petition from the Sans Culottes, it was revoked once more on July 27 and was not reinstated until the beginning of 1795.¹⁵

14 六月中旬，当他最终得知大会的行动时，他再次提出抗议，美国的豁免于7月1日恢复。成功转瞬即逝：在无裤党的请愿下，它于7月27日再次被撤销，直到1795年初才恢复

In the meantime, a new minister of foreign affairs, Deforgues, a close

friend of Danton and Marat, was installed in late June 1793. "I seize with eagerness this occasion to assure you," he wrote to Morris with apparently unconscious irony, "that the change of the chief in the department of Foreign Affairs will, in no degree, influence the amicable dispositions, which have hitherto existed in your political relations with this department." ¹⁶ Morris answered this surprisingly ingratiating letter with equal cordiality, thanking him for the "friendly sentiments you do me the honor to express . . . The good will of the United States is by no means equivocal," he continued, "and my personal attachment to France is of long standing, and sincere." ¹⁷ Their relationship was at least superficially polite at all times; and American interests after October 1793 may have been helped by the return of Louis-Guillaume Otto, formerly French chargé in Philadelphia. Otto liked Americans and gave them credit for provisioning

与此同时，一位新的外交部长，Deforgues，丹顿和马拉特的密友，于1793年6月下旬就职。“我迫不及待地向你保证，”他在给莫里斯的信中带着明显的无意识的讽刺意味写道，“外交部长的更换在任何程度上都不会影响你们与这个部门的政治关系中一直存在的友好处理。”¹⁶莫里斯以同样的热诚回复了这封令人惊讶的讨好信，感谢他“你对我表达的友好情谊……美国的善意绝不是等同的，”他继续说，“我对法国的个人感情是长期的，真诚的。”¹⁷他们的关系至少在任何时候都是表面上彬彬有礼的，1793年10月以后，美国的利益可能得益于路易-纪尧姆·奥托的回归。奥托喜欢美国人，并称赞他们提供物资

Santo Domingo and France during the war. He had a critical opinion of Morris, perhaps due to Hamilton's influence, but once reinstalled in the foreign office, he was helpful.¹⁸

战争期间的圣多明各和法国。也许是受汉密尔顿的影响，他对莫里斯持批评态度，但一旦重新进入外交部，他就帮了大忙

Nonetheless, the Laurence remained in dispute, and in London, the underwriters refused to pay the consignees, who besieged Pinckney with complaints. "[E]very time we complain of the conduct of the English," Morris protested to Deforgues, "they shut our mouths by this decree of the 27th of July."¹⁹

尽管如此，劳伦斯一家仍然存在争议，在伦敦，承销商拒绝向收货人支付货款，收货人抱怨地包围了平克尼。“每当我们抱怨英国人的行为时，”莫里斯向 Deforgues 抗议，“他们就会根据 7 月 27 日的法令封住我们的嘴。”图 19

It was to no avail. "I wish I had good news to give you of the Laurens," Morris wrote the consignees, "but the magnitude of the Cargo has enabled the captors to do many things which for a small prize they would not have attempted." In late September 1793, Morris wrote them that the ship's papers confirmed their claims, and perhaps "Justice will at last be obtain' d."²⁰ Nothing happened, and on October 12, he presented another protest.

但是没有用。“我希望我能给你们带来劳伦斯一家的好消息，”莫里斯写信给收货人，“但是货物的重要性使得劫持者能够做许多事情，而这些事情对于一个小小的奖励，他们是不会去尝试的。”1793 年 9 月末，莫里斯写信给他们说，船上的文件证实了他们的说法，也许“正义终将得到伸张”²⁰ 什么也没有发生，10 月 12 日，他又提出了另一次抗议。

Deforgues, whose influence must have been very limited and whose internal memoranda showed that he privately agreed with Morris, nonetheless officially defended the situation. It was the fault of the British and their allies, he told Morris, whose "extreme rigor" in dealing with neutral vessels bound for France required, "by way of reprisal," that the republic do the same. The cargo of the Laurence, if American, required restoration, but he said he had "met with insurmountable obstacles, in the established laws, and in the opinion of the commercial tribunal of Havre."²¹

德福格斯的影响力一定非常有限，他的内部备忘录显示，他私下里同意莫里斯的看法，但不那么正式地为自己的处境辩护。他告诉莫里斯，这是英国及其盟友的过错，共和国也应该这么做。在与开往法国的中立船只打交道时，莫里斯“极其严格”，这是“为了报复”。如果是美国

的话，“劳伦斯号”的货物需要修复，但他表示，他“遇到了不可逾越的障碍，既定的法律，以及哈弗尔商事法庭的意见”图 21

*Morris responded moderately, saying only that he would render a “faithful account” to his government, persuaded “that, in considering them, liberal friendship will put in the balance the difficulties of a revolution, and of a war without example.” In sending the correspondence to Jefferson, Morris noted that since Deforgues could not get the decree repealed, he was “driven to the necessity of excusing a step, which it is not possible to justify.”*²²

莫里斯的回答比较温和，只是说他将向他的政府提供一个“忠实的说明”，并说服“在考虑这些问题时，自由主义的友谊将使革命的困难和没有榜样的战争的困难处于平衡之中。”在给杰弗逊的信中，莫里斯指出，由于代福格的法令无法被废除，他“被迫为一个步骤开脱，这是不可能合理化的”图 22

*As of early March 1794, the case was again before the Committee of Public Safety, and Deforgues hoped for a “speedy and satisfactory decision.”*²³
Morris’ s papers contain no further mention of the Laurence.

到 1794 年 3 月初，该案件再次提交给公共安全委员会，代福格斯希望“迅速和令人满意的决定”莫里斯的文件中没有进一步提到劳伦斯一家

THE LITTLE CHERUB

小天使

On June 19, 1793 Morris had written his last letter to Lebrun; the Girondin minister was in a “state of arrestation” and would later join Brissot on the scaffold. Lebrun was by this time thoroughly tired of Morris and believed he was writing inflammatory dispatches to the American

1793 年 6 月 19 日，莫里斯给勒布伦写了最后一封信；吉伦丁部长处于“被捕状态”，后来他和布里索一起被送上绞刑架。这时，勒布伦已经彻底厌倦了莫里斯，认为他是在给那个美国人写煽动性的报道

government. On May 29, when the Montagnard noose was closing about his party in the Convention, he had taken time to write a letter instructing Genet to insinuate to the Americans that Morris "is a nothing here, with no contacts with the Republic's agents, and for a long time has lost the confidence of the government." ²⁴

政府。5月29日，蒙塔格纳德党在大会上的活结即将结束，他花时间写了一封信，指示热内暗示美国人，莫里斯“在这里什么都不是，与共和国的代理人没有联系，长期以来失去了政府的信任。”图24

Morris had just received a declaration from the American vessel the *Little Cherub*, which had carried French passengers evicted from Spain to safety at Le Havre. The ship had departed Le Havre with a passport from the executive council to go to Hamburg, but on the next night out it was boarded by the crew of the privateer *Le Vrai Patriote* and taken to Dunkirk. The captain declared to Morris that they had "made no resistance," but that one of the privateer's crew seized the *Cherub's* second mate "by the collar, and without the slightest provocation blew his brains out." ²⁵

莫里斯刚刚收到美国“小天使号”(LittleCherub)轮船的申报单，该轮船将法国乘客从西班牙驱逐到勒阿弗尔的安全地带。这艘船带着行政委员会的护照离开勒阿弗尔前往汉堡，但在第二天晚上，私掠船“爱国者”号的船员登上了它，并被带到了敦刻尔克。船长向莫里斯宣布，他们“没有进行抵抗”，但是海盗船上的一个船员抓住了小天使号的二副，“没有任何挑衅，就把他的脑袋打爆了。”图25

Despite the catastrophe in the Convention, the doomed Lebrun continued to perform his duties. In his last letter to Morris on June 21, he replied that the Committee of Public Safety had ordered that the murderer of the second mate should be punished and the captain indemnified. When Deforgues arrived, he promised to push for a decision and informed Morris on July 3 that the Convention had ordered that the captors be tried. Francis Coffyn, the American consul at Dunkirk, demurred at this, for he had urged extradition. Morris rebuked him:

尽管大会上发生了灾难，命运注定的勒布伦还是履行了他的职责。在6月21日给莫里斯的最后一封信中，他回复说，公共安全委员会已经下令对二副的谋杀者进行惩罚，并将船长绳之以法。当代福格抵达时，他承诺推动做出决定，并于7月3日通知莫里斯，公约已下令审判限额法官。美国驻敦刻尔克领事弗朗西斯·科芬(FrancisCoffyn)对此表示异议，因为他曾敦促引渡。莫里斯责备他说：

The prosecution of the murderer being as you have seen endorsed by the Convention it is of Course to be carried on by the public officers of this

country and any interference on our Part would imply a Doubt which it is
not decent to express and which moreover I do not entertain.²⁶

正如你们所看到的，对杀人犯的起诉已经得到《公约》的认可，当然应该由这个国家的公职人员进行，我们方面的任何干涉都将意味着一种怀疑，这种怀疑是不能正当地表达的，而且我也不能接受

As it turned out, Coffyn' s misgivings were realized, though Morris was correct that a demand for extradition would have been unjustified as a legal matter.

"The Conduct of the Government on the Occasion was perfectly proper,"
*Morris wrote to Jefferson.*²⁷ *"The Person who committed the Murder has however been acquitted on the Testimony of his Companions in direct Contradiction to that of the American Master and Crew." He recommended Coffyn, who had "behav' d with much Sense Spirit and Industry" in the matter. " The Conduct of such Business is by no Means pleasant," he told Jefferson, "neither is it without some personal Danger for in the present Situation of this Country the Laws are but little respected and it would seem as if pompous Declarations of the Rights of*

事实证明，科芬的疑虑得到了实现，尽管莫里斯的观点是正确的，即引渡要求作为一个法律问题是不合理的。莫里斯在给杰斐逊的信中写道：“政府在这种情况下的行为是恰当的。”²⁷“但是，他的同伴的证词直接与美国船长和船员的证词相矛盾，无罪释放了这个杀人犯。”他推荐了科芬，她在这件事上“表现出了很强的理智和勤奋”。他对杰斐逊说：“这种商业行为绝不是令人愉快的，也不是没有个人危险，因为在这个国家目前的形势下，法律几乎得不到尊重，而且似乎是华而不实的权利宣言

Man were reiterated only to render the daily Violation of them more shocking." Morris' s comment was well founded; Coffyn was arrested in October in retaliation for his efforts on behalf of the Little Cherub.

人类被反复强调，只是为了使每天对他们的侵犯更加令人震惊。”莫里斯的评论是有根据的；科芬在十月份被逮捕，作为对他为小天使所做努力的报复。

Morris continued his protests, but the Little Cherub was not released until the following spring.²⁸

莫里斯继续抗议，但小天使直到第二年春天才被释放

THE EMBARGO AT BORDEAUX 波尔多禁运令

In early June 1793, Bordeaux, which had strong ties to the fallen Girondins, declared its opposition to the National Convention. The rebellion continued throughout the summer, but by September the rebels had surrendered to the Montagnards. The central government interdicted ship-ments of flour into the city and prohibited vessels from carrying cargoes out of the port. In August, at least thirty-seven American ships were af-fected. Despite the city' s capitulation in September, the representatives-on-mission demanded that the embargo be broadened to entirely prohibit the departure of vessels. By late November, Joseph Fenwick, the American consul, reported that ninety-two American ships were trapped. "It has at length produced the greatest distress," Morris told Jefferson. "The Crews have consumed their provisions. The merchants will be saddled with heavy loss and cost. I have made reiterated applications but the Situation of that City has prevented the Comité de Salut Public [Committee of Public Safety] from a direct interference."²⁹

1793年6月初，与倒台的吉伦帝国关系密切的波尔多宣布反对国民大会。叛乱持续了整个夏天，但是到了九月，叛军已经向蒙塔格纳德地区投降了。中央政府禁止面粉船舶进入城市，禁止船舶运载货物出港。八月份，至少有三十七艘美国船只被拦截。尽管该市在9月份投降，但代表团要求扩大禁运范围，完全禁止船只离境。截至11月底，美国领事约瑟夫·芬威克报告说，92艘美国船只被困。莫里斯告诉杰斐逊：“这最终造成了最大的痛苦。”。“船员们已经吃光了他们的食物。商人们将承受巨大的损失和成本。我已多次提出申请，但该市的情况阻止了公共安全委员会(comitdeSalutPublicCommitteeofPublicSafety)进行直接干预。”图29

When the embargo was enacted, Morris was approached by a deputa-tion of four captains sent by the ship owners, who asked Morris to appeal to Deforgues. Morris told them they might succeed but only "for a short period." The

captains had "flattered themselves with immediate and ample Redress. It was my Duty to moderate their Expectations and to explain the Difficulties." They were disbelieving, because each public decree "breathes warm Attachment to the United States," raising their hopes of speedy relief, which the overwhelmed government, "omnipotent in some Cases is in others not merely feeble but enslaved," could not give. Given these circum-stances, Morris told Jefferson, he was reduced to "the necessity of choosing between National and particular Interests. In preferring the former the lat-ter become clamorous and I am sure I shall be represented as an idle and unprofitable public servant. To this inevitable evil I must submit," he con-tinued, but he was concerned that in explaining these harsh facts to the complainants, "I have been obliged to state things which being repeated and misrepresented have produced a disagreeable Effect in the minds of those, who are to decide on the Applications I make."³⁰

禁运实施后，船东派来的四名船长代表找到了莫里斯，请他向 *Deforgues* 提出上诉。莫里斯告诉他们，他们可能会成功，但只是“在短期内”船长们“立即给自己充分的补救。我的职责是缓和他们的期望，解释困难。”他们不相信，因为每一项公共法令都“散发着对美国的热情依恋”，增加了他们迅速获得解脱的希望，而不知所措的政府“在某些情况下无所不能，在另一些情况下不仅软弱，而且还受到奴役”，无法给予解脱。莫里斯告诉杰斐逊，考虑到这些情况，他只能“在国家利益和特殊利益之间做出选择”。因为我更喜欢前者，所以后者会变得喧闹，我相信我会被看作是一个无所事事、无利可图的公仆。对于这种不可避免的罪恶，我必须屈服，”他说，但他担心，在向申诉人解释这些严酷的事实时，“我不得不陈述一些被重复和歪曲的事实，在那些决定我提出的申请的人的头脑中产生了不同意见的影响。”图 30

This is precisely what happened. At their request, he wrote to De-forgues, stating their case without reproach.

事实正是如此。在他们的要求下，他写信给德福格斯，毫无怨言地陈述了他们的情况。

*I do not pretend, Sir, to interfere in the internal concerns of the French Republic, and I am persuaded that the Convention has had weighty reasons . . . The result will nevertheless be, that this prohibition will seriously aggrieve the parties interested, and will put an end to the commerce between France and the United States, which was beginning to be brisk, and promised us fortunate results.*³¹

主席先生，我不想假装干涉法兰西共和国的内部事务，我相信《公约》有重要的理由……但结果将是，这项提议将严重伤害有关各方，并将结束法国和美国之间的贸易，这种贸易开始变得活跃，并向我们保证会有好结果

*He entreated Deforgues to see if American vessels could be exempted. The letter, Morris reported to Jefferson, was too moderate for the captains, and "seemed to them rather an Abandonment of their Cause than the prosecution of the only Redress which appeared to me attainable." Deforgues forwarded the petition to the Committee of Public Safety.*³² Meanwhile, the captains decided to go directly to the Convention with a petition written by "a French hand," Morris continued.

他恳求德福格斯看看美国船只是否可以获得豁免。莫里斯向杰弗逊汇报说，这封信的内容太过温和，不符合第-条的规定

“在他们看来，这似乎是放弃了他们的事业，而不是起诉我所能得到的唯一补救办法。”与此同时，船长们决定直接向大会提交一份请愿书，请愿书是由“法国人之手”写的，莫里斯继续说道。

*I learn that a favorable Reception was secured by repeating such parts of my Conversation, as might at once irritate the members of the Comité de Salut Public and justify the personal Application of American Citizens while their minister was on the Spot. A Decree was obtained and before it could be executed was repealed.*³³

我了解到，重复我谈话中的这些部分，可能会立刻激怒公共安全委员会的成员，并在他们的部长在场的时候证明美国公民的个人申请是正当的，从而获得了良好的接待。获得了一项法令，在该法令可以执行之前被废除

*The culprit may have been Thomas Paine, whom the captains also visited. He encouraged their distrust of Morris and told the committee that Morris had handled the matter of the Bordeaux ships with "negligence," and had angered the captains by telling them "that they had thrown themselves into the lion's mouth, and it was for them to get out of it as best they could."*³⁴

罪魁祸首可能是托马斯·潘恩，船长们也去拜访过他。他鼓励他们不信任莫里斯，并告诉委员会说，莫里斯在处理波尔多船的问题上“玩忽职守”，并且激怒了船长们，因为他们告诉他们“他们把自己扔进了狮子的嘴里，他们必须尽力摆脱这件事”图 34

Morris may well have said something like this, for he could be blunt, and though they wouldn't have cared for this remark, it rang true. As he told Fenwick later,

莫里斯很可能会说这样的话，因为他可能会直言不讳，虽然他们不会在意这句话，但它听起来是真的。后来他告诉芬威克，

[T]hose who come to a Country torn by the Paroxisms of great Revolution must calculate on the Inconveniences attending such a State of Society. If they come in the Character of Spectators they must as in other Cases gratify their Curiosity at the Risques which attend it. If they come in the Character of Merchants they must set the probable

来到一个被大革命的偏见所撕裂的国家的人，必须预料到这样一种社会状态所带来的不便。如果他们以旁观者的身份来到这里，他们必须像在其他情况下一样满足他们在 Risques 的好奇心。如果他们具有商人的性格，他们必须设定可能性

Gain against the probable Loss and if they have made a bad Calculation,
they must be content, and try new Plans.³⁵

如果他们计算错误，他们必须满足，并尝试新的计划

Thus, the embargo was not lifted and the ships remained in port; at the same time Morris' s effectiveness was impaired because the committee put a black mark against him in its book. Morris was "very sorry" but unsurprised.

因此，禁运没有解除，船只仍留在港口；与此同时，莫里斯的效力受到损害，因为委员会在其书中对他加上了污点。莫里斯“非常抱歉”，但是不知所措。

Statesmen may see and deplore the pernicious Consequences of such Laws but the people will not readily understand that Regulations which appear to be calculated for their benefit must terminate in their great distress: and in a popular Government the Rulers are frequently obligated to act in obedience to the popular voice contrary to their own Judgment.³⁶

政治家可能会看到这种法律的有害后果，并对此感到遗憾，但人民不会轻易地理解，似乎是为了他们的利益而制定的规章制度必须是在他们极为困难的时候终止：在一个受欢迎的政府中，统治者经常有义务服从人民的呼声，违背他们自己的判断

Morris knew this was "but cold comfort to those who suffer . . . I know that the Language of flattering Hope would be much more agreeable. But," he warned, "I know also that Truth is more solid and wholesome food than Fancy, and therefore tho I shall continue my efforts for Relief I think it bet-ter for my Countrymen not to build any Expectations thereon."

莫里斯知道这“对于那些受苦受难的人来说，这只是一种冷冰冰的安慰.....我知道奉承希望的语言会更加令人愉快。”。“但是，”他警告说，“我也知道，真理比幻想更坚实、更有益健康，因此，尽管我将继续为救济而努力，但我认为，我的同胞最好不要对此抱有任何期望。”

Morris continued his protests without result, and sent copies to the captains. He told Captain Henry Johnson he was "truly distressed at the painful Situation you and others of my Countrymen are in," but his efforts were futile because the representatives-on-mission

莫里斯继续他的抗议，没有结果，并送了副本给船长。他告诉亨利·约翰逊上尉，他“对你和我的同胞们所处的痛苦处境深感悲痛”，但是他的努力是徒劳的，因为代表们正在执行任务

seem to be possessed of unlimited Authority and those who would incline to interfere at this Distance are told that they cannot be as well informed as their Brethren who are on the Spot. . . . No man feels more for this State of Things and its Consequences than I do. . . . God send us soon an End of all those Confusions in the way most agreeable to his divine Providence and in the meantime grant us Patience to bear them.³⁷

他们似乎拥有无限的权威，而那些倾向于在这个距离上进行干预的人被告知，他们无法像他们在现场的兄弟们那样了解情况……。没有人比我更能体会到这种状态及其后果。上帝很快就赐给我们一个结束所有这些困惑的方法，这是他的神圣眷顾，同时也赐给我们耐心去忍受

Morris was at his wits' end. "I am sure that all commerce between this country and America must soon terminate," he wrote Jefferson, "unless a more regular and orderly system shall take place."

莫里斯已经黔驴技穷了。“我确信，美国和美国之间的所有贸易必须很快结束，”他写道，“除非建立一个更加规范和有序的体系。”

And, from what Mr Fenwick writes I suppose the public Servants will
而且，根据芬威克先生的文章，我认为公仆们会
be criminated because France is without a regular Government. This
因为法国没有一个正规的政府而被定罪

to be sure is not very just but it is very natural. A Choleric man beats
the Post, which he has struck his head against.³⁸

当然不是很公正，但是很自然。一个暴躁的人击败了邮报，他的头撞到了邮报上

While Morris ordinarily ignored criticism, it is evident that he was deeply pained by the knowledge that he would be charged with indifference or incompetence. He told Fenwick that the captains' conduct had been "used to my Prejudice here, and yet I shall continue to act in the same Manner. When all is over and cool Reflection takes place they will see that if I could not serve I have not deceived them."³⁹

虽然莫里斯通常对批评置之不理，但很明显，当他知道自己将被指控犯有不同或不称职的罪行时，他深感痛心。他告诉芬威克，队长们的行为已经“习惯了我的偏见，但我还是会继续这样做。”。当一切都结束了，冷静的思考开始了，他们就会明白，如果我不能服务他们，我就没有欺骗他们。”图 39

It is difficult to imagine what more Morris could have done. His papers establish that he was as diligent as Paine accused him of being negligent: he replied to all requests for help and acted on them promptly and repeatedly. The embargo had nothing to do with Morris or with America; it had to do with the political situation in France. As the war within and without grew increasingly desperate, Bordeaux and the other loci of insurrection had to be subdued.

很难想象莫里斯还能做些什么。他的文件证明他和潘恩指责他玩忽职守一样勤奋：他答复了所有求助的请求，并迅速反复地采取行动。禁运与莫里斯或美国无关，它与法国的政治局势有关。由于内部和外部的战争变得越来越令人绝望，波尔多和其他叛乱地点不得不被征服。

As the year 1793 ended, Bordeaux remained closed. Morris heard from Captain John Gray, whose brig had been brought into port on December

1793年结束时，波尔多仍然关闭着。莫里斯收到了约翰·格雷船长的来信，他的双桅帆船已于月日驶入港口

13. He had been forbidden from selling his cargo of rice or giving it to his crew, "who are in a state of extreme suffering," Morris wrote to Deforgues, who promised yet again to do what he could. It was at about this time that the Danish chargé told Morris that he had been "confidentially informed" 他被禁止出售他的大米货物，或者把它们给他的船员，“他们正处于极度痛苦的状态，”莫里斯写信给德福格斯，后者再次承诺做他能做的事情。大约就在这个时候，丹麦宪章告诉莫里斯，已经“秘密通知”了他

the embargo would be lifted in April.⁴⁰ Yet nothing was confirmed, and once again the shippers sent a deputation to Paris. Morris later described their visit to Jefferson:

禁运将于4月解除。然而，没有任何事情得到确认，托运人再次派遣代表团前往巴黎。莫里斯后来描述了他们对杰斐逊的访问：

*The day preceding their Arrival the Minister told me that everything should be settled to my Satisfaction in two or three days. The Deputation to whom I communicated this intelligence seemed very apprehensive lest their Claims for Damages should be referred to Persons on the spot, which I own appeared to me both fair and natural; but they assigned Reasons against it . . . and as they were determined to have everything adjusted in their own way, and were well convinced that their Representations must have the desired effect . . . I thought it best to leave the Business to their own management.*⁴¹

在他们到达的前一天，部长告诉我，一切都应该在两三天内解决，使我感到满意。我把这个情报告诉的代表团似乎很担心他们的损害赔偿要求会被当场转交给当场的人，在我看来，这是公平和自然的；但是他们提出了反对的理由.....因为他们被阻止按照自己的方式调整一切，并且深信他们的代表必须达到预期的效果.....我认为最好把这件事交给他们自己管理

Morris gave them another introduction to Deforgues, but they “came back much out of humor. They afterwards presented a petition to the Convention, which was referred to the Committee of Public Safety, and there the 莫里斯又把他们介绍给了德福格，但是他们“回来后非常幽默。”。他们随后向议会递交了一份请愿书，提交给公共安全委员会

affair seems to have ended, for all their urgency to that Committee has not got them one inch forward.”⁴² Morris had urged against the threatening tone of their petition. “I must differ from your opinion,” he told them, that the committee was answerable to the United States, “because I do not conceive that the Servants of one Country can be amenable to the Tri-bunals of another.” He added that he presumed the government’s action was “grounded on the Law and conformable to their sense of the Duties which it imposes.”⁴³

事情似乎已经结束，因为他们对委员会的所有紧迫感都没有使他们向前迈进一步。”⁴² 莫里斯极力反对他们请愿书中那种威胁的语气。“我不同意你们的意见，”他告诉他们，委员会对美国负责，“因为我不认为一个国家的公仆可以服从另一个国家的三邦政府。”他补充说，他认为政府的行动“以法律为基础，并符合他们对法律规定的义务的理解”⁴³

At the end of February, the deputation wrote to Morris, saying ungraciously that “we have lost all hope, and must finally call upon you” to demand the embargo be raised and compensation given.⁴⁴ Morris, of course, had been doing just this for the past six months. They added that they had determined to “abandon our vessels & property sooner rather than remain in this situation.”

2月底，代表团写信给莫里斯，毫不客气地说，“我们已经失去了所有希望，最后必须呼吁你们”，要求提高禁运并给予赔偿。他们补充说，他们已经决定“尽快放弃我们的船只和财产，而不是在这种情况下重新主要。”

“[T]he day after I received their letter, I wrote to the Minister,” he told Jefferson. In an unusually candid outburst, the normally uncomplaining Morris then admitted his helplessness to the secretary:

“我收到他们的信的第二天，我写信给部长，”他告诉杰斐逊。通常毫无怨言的莫里斯向秘书坦白了自己的无助：

Every post brings me piles of letters about it from all quarters, and I see no remedy. You have a copy of the Minister’s Answer to my letter, holding out the Hope of a speedy Decision, but it may be very long before it can be obtained. And in the mean time, if I would give way to the Clamors of the injured parties, I ought to make demands very like a declaration of War.⁴⁵

每封邮件都会给我带来来自四面八方的关于这件事的大量信件，我看不到任何补救办法。你有一份部长对我信件的答复，希望迅速作出决定，但可能要很长时间才能得到。与此同时，如果我屈服于受

害方的喧嚣，我就应该像宣战一样提出要求

He had heard nothing from his government for five months and he was to hear nothing until sometime in June or July 1794, a gap of about nine months.⁴⁶ Such a hiatus in instructions is surely rare in American diplomatic history. The gap was approximately coextensive with the Terror, a time during which the need for support from his own government could not have been more critical. As he told Jefferson in the same letter:

他已经五个月没有收到政府的任何消息，直到 1794 年 6 月或 7 月的某个时候才收到任何消息，这段时间大约有九个月。这个差距与恐怖活动的差距大致相当，在这段时间里，他对自己政府支持的需求是最关键的。正如他在同一封信中告诉杰斐逊的那样：

What am I to do in such Cases? It is impossible for me to guess the intentions of government and indeed Sir the Responsibility is great and distressing. Our Countrymen here find that it is the easiest thing in the world to carry any point with the Committees, until they have tried. In the mean time, I am exposed to their Clamors in this country, and most probably to their Censures in my own, for not performing Impossibilities.

在这种情况下，我该怎么办？我无法猜测政府的意图，事实上，先生的责任是巨大而痛苦的。我们这里的同胞发现，向委员会提出任何观点都是世界上最容易的事情，除非他们已经尝试过。与此同时，在这个国家里，我因为没有做出不可能的事情，受到了他们的叫嚣，也很可能受到了他们自己的责难。

Morris was sure that the "rulers of this Republic, wearied with my complaints," were applying for his recall. "I beg your pardon Sir for saying so much of myself, but it is a troublesome thing, to navigate in the dark between Scylla and Charybdis without Chart or Compass."

莫里斯确信，“这个共和国的统治者，厌倦了我的抱怨”，正在申请罢免他。“对不起，先生，我对自己说了那么多，但是，在没有海图或指南针的情况下，在黑暗中的“锡拉”和“卡里布迪斯”之间航行，是一件麻烦的事情。”

The secretary's decision to leave Morris to his own devices during such difficult times is, to put it mildly, remarkable. Washington later told Morris he was "almost certain" Jefferson had written Morris regularly, but that the letters must have been lost or intercepted.⁴⁷ Jefferson's papers indicate otherwise: he did not write to Morris between November 7, 1792, and March 12, 1793, a gap of four months, or between October 3, 1793, and January 3, 1794, when he simply announced his resignation.⁴⁸ He wrote Pinckney nearly twice as many letters as he wrote to Morris. Morris, for his part, wrote regularly, and "always by duplicates, frequently by Triplicates and Quadruplicates." Morris's letters suffered some delays; Jefferson did not receive a letter from him for nearly three months in the spring of 1793, and there were reports in Britain that Morris had been killed. "I am told the London Gazetteers have kill'd me besides burning my House and other little Pleasantries of the same Kind," he wrote humorously to Robert in March. "Now as these Accounts may be republish'd I apprize you thereof and pray you to vouch that it was not true at the Time of Publication."⁴⁹

秘书决定在如此艰难的时刻让莫里斯独自行事，说得委婉一点，这是非同寻常的。华盛顿后来告诉莫里斯，他“几乎可以肯定”杰斐逊定期给莫里斯写信，但这些信一定是丢失了或者被截获了。⁴⁷杰斐逊的文件表明，情况并非如此：他在1792年11月7日至1793年3月12日之间，也就是在1793年10月3日至1794年1月3日之间，有四个月的时间没有给莫里斯写信，而在1793年10月3日至1794年1月3日之间，他只是简单地宣布辞职。就莫里斯而言，他定期写作，而且“总是通过副本，经常是通过特里普执照和四倍副本。”莫里斯的信件出现了一些延误：杰斐逊在1793年春天有将近三个月没有收到他的信，英国有报道说莫里斯被杀害了。

“有人告诉我，伦敦地名词典除了烧了我的房子和其他类似的小玩笑之外，还把我杀了，”他在三月份幽默地写信给罗伯特。“现在，由于这些帐目可能会再次出版，我向你们表示感谢，并请你们担保在出版的时候这些都不是真的。”图 49

Morris was therefore feeling his way in the dark, but the path he followed

was one of moderation in the face of the worst paroxysms of the Revolution. He told David Humphreys of his fear that French and British depredations on American shipping might undermine America's determination to be neutral by causing "Heart burnings", which would "plunge our Country into the Troubles by which Europe is desolated." When the captains called for threats, Morris refused, even though, as he told Swan,

因此，莫里斯在黑暗中摸索着前进，但面对革命最严重的突发事件，他选择的是一条有节制的道路。他告诉大卫·汉弗莱斯，他担心法国和英国对美国航运的掠夺可能会导致“心脏燃烧”，从而削弱美国保持中立的决心，这将“让我们的国家陷入欧洲荒芜的麻烦之中”当船长们要求威胁时，莫里斯拒绝了，尽管他告诉斯旺，

the Sufferings of my unfortunate countrymen who are brought into the french ports give me very great pain. I have explained so fully to the Ministers of the Republic all the mischievous Consequences of that injurious Treatment that my Powers of Reason and Language can go no farther.
50

我那些被带到法国港口的不幸同胞的痛苦给了我极大的痛苦。我已经向共和国大臣们充分地解释了这种伤害性待遇的一切恶劣后果，以致我的理智和语言权力不能再进一步了

His letters to the ministers were measured and nonaccusing, and his letters to the captains urged temperance. "Many of our countrymen in all parts are much injured and yet the Government means well towards us," he wrote to Daniel Coxe at Bordeaux in late March. As he had told

他写给大臣们的信措辞谨慎，没有指责，他写给船长们的信敦促他们节制。“我们所有地区的许多同胞都受了重伤，但是政府对我们是好意的，”他在三月下旬写信给波尔多的丹尼尔·科克斯。正如他所说的

Jefferson not long after the war began, even “in the best Regulated Governments it is difficult to prevent the Violation of the Rights of neutral Powers and much more so where in the Tempests of a Revolution Government resembles more a Weather Cock.” These expressions of moderation had an effect in America, causing Jefferson and Washington to tone down a speech given by Washington in December 1793 regarding French violations of neutrality.⁵¹

杰斐逊在战争开始后不久，甚至“在管理最好的政府里，很难防止侵犯中立国的权利，在革命的风暴中，政府更像一只风暴公鸡。”这些温和的表达方式在美国产生了影响，导致杰斐逊和华盛顿在1793年12月发表的关于法国中立的中提琴的演讲变得温和了

The food situation further worsened in early 1794. People fought each other in the Paris streets for food; merchants carrying in provisions were attacked and robbed by women. Morris wrote to Jefferson that eggs and salt herring were all the poor could get as of early March, and “the Resources for Flesh being at an end the Bulk of the Inhabitants must soon come to Bread alone.”⁵² There was a backlash against the repression in the provinces and against the extremist Hébertists of Paris who advocated the repression, and rumors circulated of a “Foreign Plot” for counterrevolution. On January 12, Fabre d’Églantine, Danton’s friend (who, it later proved, had helped fabricate the “Foreign Plot” to shift attention from his own shady speculations), was arrested for fraud. On January 17, he and Héault-Séchelles, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, were turned over to the Revolutionary Tribunal.⁵³

1794年初，粮食状况进一步恶化。人们在巴黎街头争抢食物，运送食物的商人遭到妇女的袭击和抢劫。莫里斯在给杰斐逊的信中写道，从三月初开始，穷人只能得到鸡蛋和盐鲱鱼，而且“肉类资源已经到了尽头，大部分居民很快就只能得到面包了。”⁵²对各省的镇压以及主张镇压的巴黎极端主义人道主义者的镇压引起了强烈的反弹，有谣言说有一个“外国阴谋”进行反抗。1月12日，丹东的朋友法布尔·德·阿格勒汀拿因诈骗罪被捕。1月17日，他和公共安全委员会成员Héault-Séchelles被移交给革命法庭安全委员会

On March 13, Saint-Just announced discovery of the Foreign Plot, calling it a conspiracy by “factions of foreign inspiration” to “destroy representative government by corruption, and to starve Paris.”⁵⁴ Morris wrote Short that France faced

3月13日，圣贾斯特宣布发现“外国阴谋”，称其为“外国灵感派别”的阴谋，“以腐败摧毁代议制政府，饿死巴黎”⁵⁴莫里斯写信给肖特说法国面临着

a War of popular rage on all Sides. Much blood has been shed already to little purpose, and my Heart sickens at the thought of how much more remains to be spilt and how great a Sum of human Misery will be accumulated by a Controversy which was commenced by some of your friends about six years ago en pure gaieté de Coeur. God' s will be done.⁵⁵

一场四面楚歌的战争。大量的鲜血已经付之东流，而我的心已经厌倦了这样的想法：大约六年前，你的一些朋友用纯粹的爱心开始了一场论战，还有多少人类的苦难将会积累起来。上帝的旨意就要成就

On March 19, the stationery used by Deforgues in his letters to Morris sported a new decoration: a little phrygian cap, with the words "Libert é Egalit é " and, ominously, "Fraternit é ou la Mort." On March 26, he wrote his last letter to Morris, concerning Americans in prison.⁵⁶ The same day, the Committee of Public Safety, feeling threatened by forces on either side of it, took action: a number of Hébertists were arrested on the strength of Saint-Just' s accusation, and quickly executed. A few days later, the com-

3月19日，德弗格斯在给莫里斯的信中使用的信纸上装饰着一个新的图案：一顶弗里吉亚式的小帽子，上面写着“自由、平等”，还有不祥的“博爱、死亡”。3月26日，他给莫里斯写了最后一封信，信中谈到了在狱中的美国人。⁵⁶同一天，公共安全委员会感到受到两边势力的威胁，采取了行动：一些 hébertists 基于圣贾斯特的指控被逮捕，并迅速处决。几天后，com-

mittee attacked the faction to its right—Danton was arrested, his indictment drafted by Robespierre, and he soon followed the Hébertists to the guillotine. Mittee 向右派发动攻击——danton 被捕，他的起诉由 Robespierre 起草，他很快跟随 Hébertists 走上了断头台。

Morris, who had intelligence of these maneuvers well in advance, had not entirely despised Danton. He told new Secretary of State Edmond Randolph that Danton had always maintained that a popular government would fail in France because the people were too ignorant and too corrupt. However, Danton was "too voluptuous for his ambition, too indolent to acquire supreme power. Moreover, his object seems rather to have been great wealth, than great fame. He has fallen at the feet of Robespierre."

莫里斯事先就知道这些花招，他并没有完全鄙视丹东。他告诉新任国务卿埃德蒙·兰多夫，丹东一直坚持认为，一个受欢迎的政府在法国会失败，因为人民太无知和太腐败。然而，丹东“对于他的野心来说太过性感，太懒惰，无法获得至高无上的权力。此外，他的目标似乎是巨大的财富，而不是巨大的名声。他已经拜倒在了 Robespierre 的脚下。”

Westermann was guillotined with Danton, he continued, noting
维斯特曼和丹顿一起被送上了断头台，他继续说道

Some one observed the other day in Conversation that all the men of the tenth of August have passed away already, and those also of the second of September. . . . Oliver Cromwell understood well the Value of Mob Sentiment, when he replied to his Chaplain, vain of the applauding crowd which thronged round his master's coach, there would be as many, and as glad, to attend me at the gallows.

有人在前几天的谈话中说，八月十日的人都已经去世了，九月二日的人也去世了……。奥利弗·克伦威尔非常了解暴民情绪的价值，当他回答他的牧师时——他对聚集在他主人马车周围鼓掌的人群感到自负——将会有同样多的人，同样高兴地在绞刑架上陪伴我。

"I do not believe," he said grimly, "that a good man in America can feel all the force of that expression; and, therefore, I believe it is very difficult to form on certain subjects a just opinion."⁵⁷

“我不相信，”他冷酷地说，“在美国，一个好人能感受到这种表达的全部力量；因此，我认为在某些问题上形成一个公正的意见是非常困难的。”⁵⁷

The arrest of Danton—and the resulting arrest of Deforgues—coincided with the end of the Bordeaux embargo and an order of indemnity to the ship

owners and captains. On April 8, Morris received a copy of the order, signed by nine of the committee members, from an official named Goujon, who was now provisional chargé of foreign affairs. Morris thanked them, using the hyperbole of the times. He was confirmed, he told them, in "the long-held opinion that the representatives of the french nation conduct themselves solely in accordance with the maxims of wisdom and justice, despite the obstacles thrown up by the raging factions." ⁵⁸

丹东的被捕以及随之而来的德福格的被捕恰逢波尔多禁运的结束以及对船主和船长的赔偿令。4月8日，莫里斯收到了一份由委员会9名成员签署的命令，该命令来自一位名叫古洪的官员， he 现在是临时外交官。莫里斯用那个时代的夸张手法对他们表示感谢。他告诉他们， he 得到了确认，“长期以来的观点是，法国国家的代表们完全按照智慧和正义的准则行事，尽管愤怒的派系设置了障碍。” ⁵⁸

In the aftermath of Danton's fall there were "abundant Executions at Paris, and the Guillotine goes on smartly." ⁵⁹ At the end of April, Philbert Buchot was installed as "Commissaire of exterior relations," the eighth head of foreign relations with whom Morris dealt during his two years as minister. Livingston had tea with the Maltese chargé, who told him that Buchot was a "man of about 55, very much of a Jacobin in Conversation and in dress." Morris was to find him "a poor creature, who scarce dar' d to wipe his Nose without an order from the Committee of Safety." ⁶⁰

丹东倒台之后，“巴黎发生了大量的死刑案件，断头台上演得非常巧妙。” 5/94 月底，菲尔伯特·布肖特被任命为“外交关系委员”，他是莫里斯担任部长两年期间与之打交道的第八任外交关系主管。利文斯顿和马耳他人一起喝茶，他们告诉他，布肖特是一个“55岁左右的男人，在谈话和着装方面都很像雅各宾派。”莫里斯发现他是“一个可怜的家伙，没有安全委员会的命令，他几乎不会擦鼻子。” ⁶⁰

THE ARRESTS

逮捕

"[I]t is much easier to be thrown in prison than to get out of it," was to be a frequent observation for Morris during the Terror, and "none can get out because in the multitude of applications there is no time to examine any particular complaint." These comments must have been disheartening for those prisoners to whom he addressed it. But it was true.⁶¹ Nonetheless, Morris labored with considerable success for the release of many Americans: tourists, businessmen, consuls, crews. In so doing, he had to refuse the entreaties of French and British citizens, knowing that his efficacy as a minister rested on strictly observing the legal limits of his capacity to issue passports and to forwarding only genuine claims for relief.

“被关进监狱要比从监狱里出来容易得多，”这是莫里斯在恐怖时期经常观察到的情况，“没有人能出来，因为在众多的申请中，没有时间审查任何特定的申诉。”这些评论一定使他提到的那些囚犯感到沮丧。尽管如此，莫里斯还是在释放许多美国人方面取得了相当大的成功：游客、商人、执政官和工作人员。这样一来，他不得不拒绝法国和英国公民的恳求，因为他知道，他作为部长的效力取决于严格遵守他签发护照的法律限制，只能提出真正的救济要求。

CONSULS

领事馆

The American consuls, although they answered directly to the secretary of state, were an important part of Morris' s ministerial network. They were usually the first resort of American ship captains whose vessels had been seized, and could deal directly with officials and hold property while awaiting disposition by a court. They also provided Morris with information indispensable to seeking relief from the central government. The situation in France put tremendous strain on them and Morris fully appreciated what they were up against. At his urging, Jefferson wrote a series of commendations to them in September 1793. Morris also asked that more consuls be appointed to help with the deluge of claims.⁶²

尽管美国领事直接向国务卿负责，但他们是莫里斯内阁关系网的重要组成部分。他们通常是船只被扣押的美国船长的第一选择，在等待法院处置期间，他们可以直接与官员打交道并持有财产。他们还向莫里斯提供了向中央政府寻求救济所必不可少的信息。法国的实地考察给他们带来

了巨大的压力，莫里斯充分意识到他们所面临的困难。在他的敦促下，杰斐逊在 1793 年 9 月写了一系列的书信给他们。莫里斯还要求指定更多的律师来帮助处理大量的索赔案件

It was therefore a blow to American interests when a number of the American consuls and agents were arrested, among them Coffyn at Dun-kirk; Carpentier, an agent at Rouen; and Delamotte, vice-consul at Le Havre.⁶³ The grounds for the arrests were typical of those that sent many French citizens to prison during the Terror, but in the case of the consuls the charges very likely arose from the unwelcome advocacy they were pro-viding for Americans. Coffyn, for example, was accused of correspon-dence with ci-devant nobles, but was really arrested for having worked on behalf of the Little Cherub.⁶⁴

因此，当一些美国领事馆和特工被逮捕时，这对美国的利益是一个打击，其中包括敦柯克的科芬、卢昂的特工卡彭蒂埃以及勒阿弗尔的副领事德拉莫特。例如，科芬被指控与贵族同流合污，但实际上是因为替小天使工作而被捕

Morris was besieged by the consuls' families with requests for help. While international law did not confer diplomatic immunity on the con-suls, Morris made vigorous and repeated protests, which apparently had an effect, for they were all released within a matter of months.

莫里斯被领事的家人团团围住，请求帮助。虽然国际法没有赋予这些人外交豁免权，但莫里斯一再提出强烈抗议，显然产生了效果，因为他们都在几个月内获释。

BRITISH CITIZENS

英国公民

After war began between Britain and France, British subjects were thrown into French jails. "It is in my Opinion utterly impossible to obtain Permission for the Departure of any british Subjects," Morris wrote to Pinckney.

"Nonetheless," he went on, in another letter, "I receive many Applications from English people. They suppose I have influence enough to lighten the burthen of their Captivity. God knows I have the Wish to do it." ⁶⁵

英法战争爆发后，英国臣民被投入法国监狱。莫里斯在给平克尼的信中写道：“在我看来，完全不可能获得任何英国臣民离境的许可。”。“尽管如此，”他在另一封信中继续写道，“我收到了许多来自英国人的申请。他们认为我有足够的影响力来减轻他们被囚禁期间的负担。上帝知道我有这个愿望。” ⁶⁵

Morris' s relationship with his London colleague was cordial. Pinckney' s nephew came to Paris in 1792 and Morris kept an eye on him, loaned him money, and sent regular reports to Pinckney. ⁶⁶ He offered to procure French luxury items for Pinckney, who sent him orders for fab-rics, mirrors, glasses, court clothes, and French wines. "PS," Morris added to one letter, "If you let your English guests know the Price of your Wine they will be apt to despise it for they pay nearly double for very bad Liquor." ⁶⁷

莫里斯与他在伦敦的同事关系融洽。平克尼的侄子于1792年来到巴黎，莫里斯密切关注着他，借钱给他，并定期向平克尼汇报情况。“另外，”莫里斯在一封信中补充说，“如果你让你的英国客人知道你的葡萄酒的价格，他们会轻视它，因为他们为非常糟糕的酒支付了将近两倍的价格。” ⁶⁷

The items were sent duty-free, a point of concern to both ministers. International law and custom entitled them to import items for their own use duty-free, but as the Revolution progressed such niceties were freely disregarded. Morris was charged customs duties repeatedly, and the duties were onerous. His complaints were a headache for each foreign minister, and Lebrun was certain Morris would complain (and "exaggerate") to his government on the matter, but Morris said nothing to Jefferson. ⁶⁸

这些物品是免税的，这是两位部长都关心的问题。国际法和习俗使他們有权免税进口供自己使用的物品，但随着革命的进展，这些细节被无视。莫里斯多次被征收关税，而且关税很重。他的抱怨让每一位外交部

长都感到头疼，莱布伦确信莫里斯会就此事向政府抱怨(并“夸大”)，但莫里斯对杰斐逊只字未提

*Relatives of British subjects in French jails begged Pinckney for help. Pinckney forwarded these anxious requests to Morris, but Morris could not issue them American passports or approach the government on their behalf.⁶⁹ He did his best to procure information of their whereabouts and often advanced money despite uncertain repayment. "I have not yet obtain' d any information respecting the Col. Darby mentioned in yours of the 10 January," reads a typical letter to Pinckney in the spring of 1793. "Mr. George Grieves' brother has been gone for some considerable time. He went from Paris to Geneva. The young Messieurs Bresco are confined at Arras and like the other young gentlemen who are with them in a condition I fear to be lamented."*⁷⁰

法国监狱中英国臣民的亲属乞求平克尼帮助。平克尼把这些急切的请求转交给莫里斯，但莫里斯既不能发给他们美国护照，也不能代表他们与政府接触。“我还没有得到你在1月10日的信中提到的达比上校的任何消息，”1793年春天写给平克尼的一封典型的信中这样写道。“乔治·格里夫斯先生的哥哥已经走了很长一段时间了。他从巴黎去了日内瓦。年轻的先生们布雷斯科和其他年轻的绅士们一样被关在阿拉斯，我担心他们会为此感到惋惜。”⁷⁰

He refused to blame their situation on the French government. He understood, he told Pinckney, "the Anxieties which must be felt by the Friends and Relations." At the same time, Morris observed,

他拒绝将他们的处境归咎于法国政府。他告诉平克尼，他理解“朋友和亲戚们必须感受到的焦虑”同时，莫里斯观察到，

*Suspicion is tremblingly alive which I do not wonder at for such is the moral State of the Country that all Ground of mutual Confidence is long since destroyed. Some virtuous Years must roll over the Heads of the new Generation before it can be restor' d and yet it seems to be essential to the Establishment of Freedom and the Defense of the State. To give the Reasons why it cannot exist would be to write a History not only of the Revolution but of the two last Reigns particularly the Orleans Regency in the minority of the fifteenth Louis.*⁷¹

我对这个国家的道德状况并不感到惊讶，因为所有互信的基础早已被摧毁。一些美好的岁月必须滚动的新一代的首脑之前，可以重新安顿，但它似乎是必不可少的建立自由和保卫国家。给出它不能存在的理由，不仅是写革命的历史，而且是写最后两个统治时期的历史，特别是路易十五时期少数民族 Orleans Regency 的历史

*Some of those hostile to Morris believed him secretly pro-British or pro-French, depending on their own proclivities.*⁷² *However, Morris' s opinion of the British government had not changed. He blamed Britain more than France for violations of American neutrality, for the British actions were deliberate, while "in France it is one among many bad effects of that extraordinary situation into which she is thrown."*⁷³

一些对莫里斯怀有敌意的人认为他秘密地亲英或亲法，这取决于他们自己的倾向。他指责英国违反了美国的中立立场，而不是法国，因为英国的行动是蓄意的，而“在法国，这只是她被抛入的那种非同寻常的局势所造成的众多不良影响之一。”⁷³

AMERICAN CITIZENS 美国公民

Among the Morris papers at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia is a sad note from young William Hoskins in the Luxembourg Prison. He had landed at Calais, where he was arrested and brought to Paris.

在 Philadelphia 美国哲学学会的莫里斯论文中，有一篇来自卢森堡监狱的年轻人威廉·霍斯金斯的悲伤笔记。他在加来登陆，在那里被捕并被带到巴黎。

I hope you will have the kindness to attend to my subject without delay, this I flatter myself of; yes, Sir, when you imagine to yourself my present situation, lodged in a chamber with two persons who are extremely sick of a fever & nothing to sleep on the last evening, without a farthing to purchase the necessaries of life, when this fact is told you I am persuaded the sympathy for a fellow countryman will excite your exertions

as well as your pity. . . . do not delay for I am already sick—I am with great respect, your most obedient & very humble servant, William Hoskins

是的，先生，当你想象我现在的处境，和两个极度厌倦发烧的人住在一间屋子里，昨天晚上没有东西可以睡觉，只有一文钱来买生活必需品，当这个事实告诉你时，我相信对一个乡下人的同情会激起你的努力和你的怜悯。不要耽搁，因为我已经生病了——我非常尊敬您，您最听话、最卑微的仆人，威廉·霍斯金斯

⁷⁴
please to excuse my bad writing.

请原谅我写得不好

Morris had already begun working for the young man's release, having heard from him earlier, but Hoskins had been sent on to Paris before Deforgues' instructions reached Calais.⁷⁵ Morris told Hoskins it was "the first Instance I have met with where an American arriving in a French port has been arrested." Indeed, two Americans traveling with Hoskins had been released immediately.⁷⁶

莫里斯已经开始为这个年轻人的释放工作了，早些时候收到了他的消息，但是在德福格的指示到达加莱之前，霍斯金斯已经被派往巴黎。莫里斯告诉霍斯金斯，这是“我第一次见到一个抵达法国港口的美国人被逮捕。”事实上，与霍斯金斯同行的两名美国人已被立即释放

Hoskins was wild to get out, and probably at the suggestion of Thomas Paine (a fellow inmate) prepared petitions to the Committee of Public

霍斯金斯很想出狱，可能是在同狱囚犯托马斯·潘恩(thomaspaine)的建议下，准备向公众委员会提交请愿书

Safety and the Convention. On January 18, Morris wrote him that he had made his fourth approach to Deforgues, and that Livingston had tried unsuccessfully to get in to the Luxembourg to see him. "You can rest assured," he told the miserable young man, "that I will neglect noth-ing."⁷⁷ Still Hoskins was not released, and on January 21 he begged Morris to "inform me the progress you have made toward the accomplishment of my release from this horrid this corroding captivity, for," he wailed, "it already seems that three quarters of my existance has compleatly passed within these walls." Morris wrote back that

安全与公约。1月18日，莫里斯写信告诉他，他已经第四次接近 Deforgues，利文斯顿曾试图进入卢森堡公园看望他，但没有成功。“你可以放心，”他对那个可怜的年轻人说，“我什么都不会忽视的。”⁷⁷ 斯蒂尔·霍斯金斯没有被释放，1月21日，他恳求莫里斯“告诉我你们在完成释放我这个可怕的、腐蚀的囚禁方面取得的进展，因为，”他哀叹道，“似乎我四分之三的存在已经在这些墙里完全消失了。”莫里斯回信说

[T]he vast accumulation of Business in the Comite de Sureté generale prevents their attention to the case of individuals. . . . I was yesterday at the minister's to speak to him on your subject. He is sensible that you ought not to be detained and has already applied several times for your release.⁷⁸

由于担保委员会积累了大量业务，使他们无法关注个人的情况.....。我昨天去部长家就你的问题和他谈话。他知道你不应该被拘留，而且已经多次申请将你释放

Sometime within the next ten days, Hoskins got out; in the approximately one month of his confinement, Morris made at least six approaches to the government on his behalf.

在接下来的十天里的某个时候，霍斯金斯出狱了；在他被监禁的大约一个月里，莫里斯至少六次代表他与政府接触。

Thomas Waters Griffith, who had witnessed the tenth of August, was also in a Paris prison in the fall of 1793.⁷⁹ He was arrested in Paris, having come there from Le Havre, where he was engaged in importing tobacco. He had not carried a passport issued to him by Morris, thinking it out of date. He was sent to the prison of the Madelonettes, a former convent; among his fellow inmates was the ci-devant minister and coconspirator of Morris's from the summer of 1792, La Tour du Pin, who would lose his head the following April.

托马斯·沃特斯·格里菲斯目击了8月10日的事件，1793年秋天他也被关在巴黎的一所监狱里。他没有随身携带莫里斯签发的护照，因为他认为

护照过期了。他被送到了玛德洛内特的监狱，以前是一个女修道院；在他的狱友中，有一位是1792年夏天莫里斯的秘书牧师，也是他的同谋，LaTourduPin，他将在第二年四月被砍头。

Morris responded immediately to his request for help, but "declined to attempt any interference until the passport was produced or satisfactorily accounted for." His letter, said Griffith, which he knew would be read by the prison officials, was both "evidence of Mr. Morris' s official integrity as an American minister, and his skill in using the opportunity to counteract the suspicions the French Government had thrown out against him." The letter was in French and expressed concern, but pointed out that Griffith should have taken care of his passport. "It would be an abuse to demand your liberty before determining that the certificate I gave you is not in the hands of an Englishman, or other foreigner, or a suspect." Griffith recounted this episode in his memoirs to hold up to "public gratitude" the "slighted memory of a statesman by whose attention I was honored," who "would have been a credit to any nation."

莫里斯立即对他的帮助请求作出了回应，但是“在护照出示或者令人满意地说明原因之前，他拒绝尝试任何干涉”格里菲斯说，他的信既是“莫里斯先生作为一名美国部长正直正直的证据，也是他利用机会抵消法国政府对他的怀疑的技巧”。格里菲斯知道监狱官员会阅读这封信，这封信是用法语写的，表达了他的担忧，但同时指出格里菲斯应该好好保管他的护照。“在确定我给你的证明不在英国人、其他外国人或嫌疑人手中之前要求你自由，这将是一种滥用。”格里菲斯在他的回忆录中叙述了这一事件，以表达“公众的感激之情”。他“对一位政治家的关注令我感到荣幸”，“他本可以成为任何国家的光荣”

Within a week, Griffith retrieved his passport, but although Morris immediately forwarded it to Deforgues, "Robespierre and his agents were too much occupied with hunting up victims for the Revolutionary Tribunal to pay attention," Griffith wrote. Griffith's American friends, who included Joel Barlow, petitioned on his behalf but without effect except perhaps a transfer to another, less severe, prison. Griffith's friends also approached Swan, who advised them that he had received hints that "the best service he could render me was to let me be forgotten, for fear of worse" —precisely the advice Morris gave to Paine.

一周之内，格里菲斯拿到了他的护照，尽管莫里斯立即将护照转交给了德福格斯，但格里菲斯写道，“罗伯斯庇尔和他的经纪人忙于为革命三部曲搜寻受害者，以至于无暇顾及。”。格里菲斯的美国朋友，包括乔尔·巴洛，代表他请愿，但除了转到另一个不那么严重的监狱之外，没有任何效果。格里菲斯的朋友们也提到了斯旺。斯旺告诉他们，他得到的暗示是，“他能为我做的最好的事情，就是让别人忘记我，以免更糟糕”——这正是莫里斯给潘恩的建议。

On December 31, Morris wrote again, telling Griffith he had made numerous pleas for his release, and "I am very aware of your misery, and I am neglecting nothing which can depend on me to relieve it." Griffith was finally released in late January 1794.

12月31日，莫里斯再次写信给格里菲斯，告诉他已经多次请求释放他，“我非常了解你的痛苦，我没有忽视任何可以依靠我来解除它的东西。”格里菲斯终于在1794年1月下旬获释。

Griffith attributed his release, surprisingly, to the arrival of Major William Jackson. "[F]rom more correct views of our national feeling towards France, obtained through Mr. Jackson, and partly from returning confidence in our minister (at least in his official acts), the Committee of Public Safety took up my business," he asserted.⁸⁰ However, Jackson had no luck when he presented a petition for Paine's release, and Griffith's gratitude was most likely misplaced.

令人惊讶的是，格里菲斯把他的获释归功于威廉·杰克逊少校的到来。他断言：“公共安全委员会从杰克逊先生那里得到了我们民族对法国的正确看法，部分原因是他们对我们的部长恢复了信心(至少是对他的官方行为恢复了信心)，接管了我的事务。”然而，杰克逊在提交释放潘恩的请愿书时运气不佳，格里菲斯的感激之情很可能用错了地方。

Though they had little prior acquaintance, Jackson is entitled to be considered one of the eccentric coterie of Morris's mortal enemies. Jackson had been a secretary of the Constitutional Convention, and later Washington's secretary, enjoying "to the fullest extent" Washington's "confidence and

esteem.” He had resigned and departed for London in June 1793 to sell American lands owned by his wealthy brother-in-law William Bingham.⁸¹

虽然他们之前几乎没有什么交情，但杰克逊有资格成为莫里斯不共戴天的死敌中古怪的一员。杰克逊曾担任制宪会议秘书，后来又担任华盛顿的秘书，“极大程度上”享有华盛顿的“信任和尊敬”他已经辞职，并于1793年6月前往伦敦，出售他富有的妹夫威廉·宾厄姆所拥有的美国土地

Having no luck in London, he decided to go to France, carrying a letter of introduction to Morris from Jefferson, who called Jackson one of America's "best citizens."⁸² He arrived at Boulogne on December 24 with two other Americans, carrying what Jackson self-importantly called a "particular passport" from Pinckney and anticipating a "very favorable introduction" to persons in power. He wrote Bingham there was "not the smallest degree of personal hazard in my going to France," an illusion soon dispelled.⁸³ One of the Americans in his party carried what proved to be counterfeit assignats, a capital crime, and to their consternation, all three men were arrested. Jackson, who did all the talking, could not have helped matters by haughtily informing the local committee that he was on a "secret mission." He later thought the better of this and told them what he had meant was a "personal matter."⁸⁴ The men were sent off to a prison in Abbeville, in which "disgraceful, unhealthy, and loathsome situ-

由于在伦敦没有什么运气，他决定去法国，带着一封来自杰弗逊的介绍信给莫里斯，杰弗逊称杰克逊是美国“最好的公民”之一12月24日，他和另外两个美国人一起抵达布洛涅，带着被杰克逊自己称为“标准护照”的平克尼护照，期待着对当权者进行“非常有利的介绍”。他写信给宾厄姆说，“我去法国的时候，一点个人危险都没有”，这种幻想很快就消失了。他一行中的一个美国人带着被证明是伪造的假币，这是一项死罪，令他们惊愕的是，这三个人都被逮捕了。全程由杰克逊负责谈判，他傲慢地告诉当地委员会他正在执行一项“秘密任务”，这无助于事情的进展后来他想了想，告诉他们他的意思是“个人问题”⁸⁴这些人被送往阿比维尔的一所监狱，在那里“可耻的、不健康的、令人厌恶的

ation we must have remained, had not the Commandant assumed a responsibility for us, and confined us in a chamber of his own house," they wrote Morris on January 1, asking for help. Morris immediately sent their letter to Deforgues, affirming that "the signatories are known to me and it is impossible to me that they would have knowingly been involved in introducing false assignats into the Republic."⁸⁵

他们在1月1日写信给莫里斯，请求他的帮助。莫里斯立即给德福格斯写了信，确认“我认识签字人，我不可能知道他们在明知故犯的情况下向共和国引进了虚假的转让人。”⁸⁵

On January 10, Livingston wrote to Morris at Seine-Port that the men had arrived in the city under guard. Morris immediately left for Paris. Jackson later complained bitterly to Bingham that they found Morris had done "nothing more in our behalf than to lay a letter, which we had written to him from Abbeville, before the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and had there let the matter rest."⁸⁶ Of course, the minister was Morris' s only available line of communication with the overburdened government, which was at this time preoccupied with rumors of counterrevolution.

1月10日，利文斯顿写信给 Seine-Port 的莫里斯，说这些人在警卫的看守下来到了这座城市。莫里斯立即动身前往巴黎。杰克逊后来向宾厄姆痛苦地抱怨说，他们发现莫里斯“除了在外交部长面前从阿比维尔写了一封信给他之外，没有为我们做更多的事情。”当然，部长是莫里斯与负担过重的政府之间唯一有用的沟通渠道，当时政府正忙于反革命的谣言。

Within a few days, Jackson obtained a hearing with the Committee of General Security⁸⁷—very likely through Deforgues. Thomas Griffith believed they were released because, he was told—most probably by Jackson himself—the major wore his officer' s uniform to emphasize his association with Washington and spoke "with energy and innocence." By January 14 at the latest, they had been released, for Morris met with Jackson that evening.⁸⁸

几天之内，杰克逊获得了 87 总安全委员会的听证会——很有可能是通过 Deforgues。托马斯·格里菲斯(Thomas Griffith)认为，他们之所以被释放，是因为他被告知——很可能是杰克逊自己告诉他的——少校穿着军官制服，以此强调自己与华盛顿的关系，并且说话时“充满活最迟到1月14日，他们已经被释放，因为莫里斯那天晚上见了杰克逊

It must have been an unpleasant encounter, for Jackson blamed Morris for not getting them out of jail immediately. He calmly informed Morris that he could expect to be replaced as minister by Bingham or Pinckney. He repeated this to everyone else he talked to, thereby causing precisely the sort of damage to Morris' s effectiveness that he most feared.⁸⁹

这一定是一次不愉快的邂逅，因为杰克逊责怪莫里斯没有立即把他们

从监狱里救出来。他平静地告诉莫里斯，他可能会被宾汉姆或平克尼取代部长的职位。他向所有与他交谈过的人重复了这句话，从而恰恰造成了他最害怕的对莫里斯工作效率的损害

This was not the only unpleasant part of the conversation. Jackson indicated that Pinckney had said "several Things from whence he has drawn the Conclusion that a War between britain and America must speedily take place." Morris told Pinckney:

这不是谈话中唯一令人不快的部分。杰克逊强调平克尼曾经说过“几件事情，他从中得出结论，英国和美国之间的战争必须迅速发生。”莫里斯告诉平克尼：

*I observed to him that it was a little odd that you had not written a single Line by him. He says that having received no Answer from me to your several Letters, you concluded that our Correspondence was interrupted. As I happened to be out of Town when he arrived, I learnt from half a dozen Persons what he says he was desired to communi-cate to me, and at present it makes the Town talk of Paris.*⁹⁰

我对他说，你没有给他写一行诗，这有点奇怪。他说，由于没有收到我对你的几封信的回复，你断定我们的通信中断了。他来的时候我正好不在城里，我从六个人那里听说了他想告诉我的事情，现在这件事使城里人都谈论起巴黎来了

*Not long after, Jackson met with the Committee of Public Safety to offer two million acres of Bingham' s American lands for public acquisition; the committee professed interest, but declined.*⁹¹ Jackson told Bingham that he

不久之后，杰克逊与公共安全委员会会面，提出将宾厄姆在美国的200万英亩土地公开征用；委员会表示有兴趣，但拒绝了

took the occasion to assure the committee members of American friend-ship, and 利用这个机会向委员会成员保证美国是友好的

they declared themselves extremely pleased to learn such a contradiction of the sentiments and conduct of our minister, Morris, of whom, among the severest reproaches I ever heard uttered, they made the fol-lowing observation, which I pledge my truth to you is a literal transla-tion of what was said. "The only intercourse we have had with Morris was on the subject of a woman, the wife of an emigrant, condemned by the law, and, in the discussion of that question, he sought to pro-duce a quarrel between the two countries." 92

他们说，得知我们的莫里斯牧师的情绪和行为如此不和，他们感到非常高兴。我从来没有听到过有人这样严厉地指责过他，他们说了以下这些话，我向你们保证，这些话是对他们所说的话的字面翻译。“我们和莫里斯唯一的交往是关于一个妇女的，她是一个移民的妻子，受到法律的谴责，在讨论这个问题时，他企图引起两国之间的争吵。” 92

The committee members told Jackson that they had requested Morris' s recall and that "they could not doubt" that "a man so obnoxious to them would be immediately removed." Jackson had also heard that the American captains in Bordeaux "had resolved to present a memorial" against Morris back in America.

委员会成员告诉杰克逊，他们已经要求撤换莫里斯，“他们不能怀疑”“一个对他们如此讨厌的人会立即被撤职”杰克逊还听说，在波尔多的美国队长“决心提出一个纪念”莫里斯回到美国。

Apparently Robert Morris (and perhaps Washington) repeated Morris' s reports about Jackson' s indiscretion, for Bingham later wrote Jackson about it. Jackson furiously denied Morris' s story:

显然，罗伯特·莫里斯(或许还有华盛顿)重复了莫里斯关于杰克逊轻率行为的报道，因为宾厄姆后来写信给杰克逊说了这件事。杰克逊愤怒地否认了莫里斯的说法：

They are but individual untruths added to the general falsehoods, which have proceeded from the pen of a wretch, whose conduct, as a minister, can never be excused, and whose morals, as a man, can never be defended. 这些谎言只不过是是个别的谎言，加在一般的谎言之上，这些谎言都是从一个卑鄙小人的笔下发展出来的，他作为一个牧师的行为是永

远不能原谅的，他作为一个人的道德是永远不能辩护的。

He then made a raging onslaught against Washington and Morris:
随后，他对华盛顿和莫里斯发起猛烈攻击：

As to myself, I have a very short observation to make on the supposition that my conversations in Paris have been of serious injury to me. The attainment to any of my wishes will be utterly independent of our marble fountain of honor and office. His sentiments therefore on my subject, and the communications of his creatures are regarded by me with equal indifference and contempt . . . I have shielded this man of stone from the detection of his successful and bare faced imposture, by giving to him a dress, which neither nature nor education ever intended he should wear. The return I have met is such as might have been expected from proud ignorance and base ingratitude. His heart and his head are in strict unison, the marble coldness of the one

至于我自己，我有一个非常简短的观察，假设我在巴黎的谈话对我造成了严重的伤害。实现我的任何愿望都将完全与我们的荣誉和职位无关。因此，他对我的主题的感情，以及他的创造物的交流，在我看来都是同样的冷漠和轻蔑.....我给了这个石头人一件衣服，无论是自然还是教育都没有打算让他穿的衣服，以保护他不被发现他成功的、赤裸的伪装。我所遇到的回报，是人们从骄傲的无知和卑鄙的忘恩负义中可以预料到的。他的心和他的头是严格一致的，大理石般的冷漠

replies to the leaden dullness of the other and form together a perfect
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whole.

对方沉闷乏味的回答，形成一个完美的整体

There seems to be no further mention of Jackson in Morris' s papers.

莫里斯的报纸似乎没有进一步提到杰克逊。

Jackson returned to London in late April 1793.

杰克逊于1793年4月下旬返回伦敦。

Morris was under a constant barrage of pleas for help. There were many he could not assist. "Your determination to become an American Citizen cannot operate so as to make you one because an Intention is not an act," he wrote
94
patiently to one petitioner in September 1793. He was often bitterly criticized by those he attempted to help, for they understood neither the limits of his authority nor his functions. "I shall not pretend to dispute with you about the nature or extent of my duties because you seem to understand them better than I do," he wrote with asperity to some French businessmen. "I therefore confine myself to the humbler task of fulfilling them according to the best of my knowledge and abilities." 95

莫里斯不断地接二连三地请求帮助。有很多事他帮不上忙。1793年9月，他耐心地给一位请愿者写信说：“你成为美国公民的决心不能让你成为美国公民，因为意图不是一种行为。”他经常受到那些他试图帮助的人的严厉批评，因为他们既不了解他的权力的限制，也不了解他的职能。“我不会假装和你争论我职责的性质和范围，因为你似乎比我更了解它们，”他对一些法国商人严厉地写道。“因此，我把自己限制在根据我最好的知识和能力来完成这些较为简单的任务上。” 95

Some wanted him to act as their attorney. "It would be a strange thing for a foreign minister to ask of a government the arbitrary Reversal of a judicial Sentence passed by one of its Courts," he told an angry captain who had ignored his advice. He offered to help the captain in any way that was proper but, "[i]n effect, Sir, it is your Business to defend this property and to prosecute for redress in the Courts of Justice and if you neglect your Business it is impossible for me to remedy the consequent evils." 96
Others asked him to violate international law. "I have had Applications to grant Privileges of the American Flag to vessels owned by frenchmen and others. Some of the Applicants were offended at my Refusal of that trifling favor," he
97
wrote to Robert.

有些人希望他担任他们的律师。“对于一个外交部长来说，要求一个政府武断地推翻一个法院通过的司法判决是一件奇怪的事情，”他对一名无视他建议的愤怒的船长说。他主动提出以任何合适的方式帮助船

长，但是，“实际上，先生，你有责任捍卫这笔财产，并在法庭上提出索赔，如果你疏忽了你的业务，我就不可能补救由此造成的罪恶。”⁹⁶其他人要求他违反国际法。“我收到过向法国人和其他人拥有的船只授予美国国旗特权的申请。有些申请人因我拒绝那微不足道的恩惠而生气，”他写信给罗伯特

Over and over he had to explain that he could not issue passports without certainty that the recipient was eligible. "[T]he Government in that Jealousy which is inspired by so many open and secret Enemies would cease to protect the American Citizens possess' d of Certificates from me if I ceased my Vigilance in granting them to such persons and in such ways only as can prevent abuse," he told one petitioner. "I cannot certify either in my private or official Character any Thing the Truth of which I do not know," he told another, and to a third:

他不得不一次又一次地解释说，他不能完全肯定地签发护照的接受者是合格的。他对一位请愿者说：“如果我不再警惕地给予美国公民证书，而且只以能够防止虐待的方式给予这些人，那么政府就会因为嫉妒而停止保护那些从我这里获得证书的美国公民。这种嫉妒源自于众多公开和秘密的敌人。”。“我不能以我的个人身份或官方身份证明任何我不知道的事情的真实性，”他对另一个人和第三个人说：

[T]he necessity of maintaining the Credit of my public Acts in order that they may afford protection to my countrymen would prevent me from granting any Certificate or Passport to other than an American Citizen.

为了保护我的同胞，我必须保持我的公共法案的信誉，这样我就不能向美国公民以外的人颁发任何证书或护照。

*But there is a stronger motive. Good faith is the first duty both of public and private Life and were I to deceive the Government I should forfeit my own esteem and of course could never expect that of other Men.”*⁹⁸

但还有一个更强烈的动机。诚信是公共生活和私人生活的首要责任，如果我欺骗了政府，我就会丧失自己的尊严，当然也不能指望别人的尊重。”⁹⁸

*What help he could give, he did. Morris' s humanity comes through to anyone who reads his papers, and during the black days of the Terror that quality shone with particular luster. Many people, unknown to him before, turned to him. In one case he obtained the release of a terrified young American who had been forcibly inducted into the French army.”*⁹⁹ *For the non-Americans, he did what he could privately, and though the record is fragmented, it is evident that when Morris left France there were many who felt nothing but profound gratitude toward him. A woman named Mme de Serennes wrote him in 1794 that though she was ashamed to bother him so often with her affairs, she often thought of the rue de la Planche—where Morris' s legation was located—as the planche (board) that was saving her from a shipwreck.”*¹⁰⁰ *A testimonial has also been preserved from Mme Pastoret, whose husband was president of the National Assembly on the eve of August 10. Her house was at the Place de la Révolution, where the guillotine was located. For some time, she was confined there with her family. After her husband was arrested,*

他尽力帮忙了。莫里斯的人性感染了每一个读他报纸的人，在恐怖时代的黑暗日子里，这种品质闪耀着特别的光芒。许多他以前不认识的人都转向他。⁹⁹对于非美国人来说，他私下里做了他力所能及的事情，尽管记录支离破碎，但很明显，当莫里斯离开法国时，许多人对他们只有深深的感激之情。1794年，一位名叫塞伦内斯夫人给他写信说，虽然她不好意思经常为自己的事情打扰他，但她常常想起普兰彻街(莫里斯的公使馆所在地)，那是一块将她从沉船中拯救出来的木板。¹⁰⁰帕斯托里特夫人的一份见证书也被保存下来，她的丈夫在8月10日前夕是国民议会主席。她的家在协和广场，也就是断头台所在地。有一段时间，她和家人被关在那里。她丈夫被捕后，

[t]he front of the house was entirely closed up and light, & as far as possible, sound was excluded. But there was no room to which the grating, rattling sound of the axe, as it fell did not more or less penetrate, or where the shouts of the cruel multitude were not heard. . . . The dreadful thing to Madame Pastoret was, that being unable to get any information whatever concerning her husband, the axe never fell but she asked herself whether it might not have been for him. On one occasion she obtained

especial permission to go out under surveillance; and she employed it to visit the foreign ministers, some of whom she knew, and obtain their interception for her husband. The person who received her with the most kindness was the American minister, Mr. Morris.¹⁰¹

房子的前面完全封闭起来，光线很好，尽可能地排除声音。但是斧头落下时发出的嘎嘎声，或多或少地穿透了房间，或者没有听到残酷的群众的呼喊声。对于帕斯托雷特太太来说，最可怕的事情是，由于无法得到关于她丈夫的任何消息，斧头从来没有砍下来，但是她问自己，是不是砍的不是他。有一次，她获得特别许可，可以出去受到监视；她利用这一许可去拜访外交部长，其中一些她认识，并为她的丈夫设法进行拦截。最热情地接待她的是美国的牧师莫里斯先生

He helped many who were in dire financial straits, in various ways. Some needed to remove money from the country; in one case, he arranged to have money sent to a seminary in Baltimore to be held for an émigré who would otherwise have been destitute.¹⁰² He bought American stock certificates from people who needed to liquidate their assets, taking a 1 percent commission to cover the costs.¹⁰³

他以各种方式帮助了许多陷入财政困境的人。他从那些需要变现资产的人手中购买美国股票证书，从中抽取 1% 的佣金来支付这些费用

He tried to send news about those in prison to their loved ones, though this was not easy. He was very solicitous toward Short regarding the imprisonment of his lover Rosalie and did his best to get letters through. "Were it in my power to be of any use to them believe me I would have flown to their relief," he told the agonized Short in one letter. "[P]atience alone can assuage the misery of many thousands."¹⁰⁴ He would say something similar to Mme de Lafayette, and his compassionate frankness would meet with much the same reception from her as it did from Short.

他试图把那些在监狱里的人的消息告诉他们所爱的人，虽然这并不容易。他非常关心肖特对他的情人罗莎莉的不满，并尽最大努力把信寄出去。他在一封信中对痛苦的肖特说：“如果我有能力帮助他们的话，请相信我，我会飞过去帮助他们的。”。“仅仅是安慰就可以减轻成千上万人的痛苦。” 他会对拉斐特太太说一些类似的话，他富有同情心的坦率会得到她和肖特同样的欢迎。

LAFAYETTE 拉法耶特

The story of Lafayette's imprisonment has been told by many others, and here will be summarized. Morris, Pinckney, and Short agreed that claiming Lafayette as an American citizen was legally unjustified and futile.¹⁰⁵ Jefferson and Washington concurred, but also encouraged their efforts to help him by other means. It is instructive to note that they did so despite the fact that Lafayette had been declared guilty of treason by the French nation. As such, their efforts, particularly Morris's, must have appeared hostile to France; yet Jefferson, by writing to Morris, with Washington's concurrence, put the American government's imprimatur on those actions. (Ironically, the French tried to assuage American concern by depicting Lafayette as a victim of bad counsel, primarily Morris's counsel!)¹⁰⁶

拉法耶特被监禁的故事已经被许多其他人讲述，这里将总结。莫里斯、平克尼和肖特同意，声称拉斐特是美国公民在法律上是不公正的，也是徒劳的。杰斐逊和华盛顿同意，但也鼓励他们通过其他方式帮助他。值得注意的是，他们这样做，尽管事实上拉法叶已被法国国家宣布犯有叛国罪。因此，他们的努力，特别是莫里斯的努力，一定显得对法国怀有敌意；然而，杰斐逊在华盛顿的同意下写信给莫里斯，得到了美国政府对这些行动的认可。（具有讽刺意味的是，法国人试图通过把拉斐特描绘成一个糟糕建议的受害者（主要是莫里斯的建议）来缓和美国人的担忧。）¹⁰⁶

The ministers soon realized that imminent release was unlikely. Lafayette had long been the focus of European blame for the revolution-ary movement in France. They did what they could, however, to help their old friend. Pinckney

worked through the Prussian minister in London to obtain permission for Lafayette to write to his wife. Morris helped Mme de Lafayette draft a petition to the king of Prussia; Washington also sent a letter to the Prussian king asking for Lafayette's release as a personal favor.¹⁰⁷ Hearing that Lafayette was without financial means to lessen the severity of his imprisonment, Morris ordered his bankers in Amsterdam to provide 10,000 florins out of his own funds; he was eventually reimbursed by the American government.¹⁰⁸ Later that year, Mme de Lafayette requested Morris to ask his government to help her with her husband's "debts of honor." "I do not chuse to compromise the name of America in any private affair," he noted in his Waste Book, and instead gave her 100,000 livres of his own money, twice his annual salary, which was the "utmost which my fortune will permit, and I am indeed incommoded in getting the money to fulfill my Engagements," he told Pinckney, asking him not to tell anyone else. He was not repaid until ten years later, and

部长们很快意识到，即将获释是不可能的。拉斐特长期以来一直是欧洲人指责法国革命运动的焦点。然而，他们尽力帮助他们的老朋友。平克尼通过在伦敦的普鲁士大臣工作，为拉法耶特争取到写信给他妻子的许可。听说拉法耶没有经济能力来减轻他在阿姆斯特丹的监禁，莫里斯命令他在阿姆斯特丹的银行家从自己的资金中提供 10,000 弗罗林，他最终被美国政府扣押。当年晚些时候，拉法耶夫人要求他的政府帮助她处理她丈夫的“荣誉债务”“我不会在任何私人事务中损害美国的名誉，”他在自己的《废物手册》(WasteBook)中写道，而是给了她 10 万里弗的自有资金，是他年薪的两倍，这是“我的财富所允许的极限，而且我确实不愿意拿这笔钱来履行我的义务，”他告诉平克尼，并要求他不要告诉其他人。他直到十年后才得到偿还

then only received about half of it and only at his request.¹⁰⁹ The repayment was accompanied with an ungracious letter from Mme de Lafayette. 但是只收到了一半，而且只是在他的要求下才收到的。

It was a poor return for his kindness. He was consistently solicitous for her—he asked Pinckney to forward one of Lafayette's letters from prison to be given to her “for it will be a great Consolation to her to see his writing. Poor Lady she is in great affliction.”¹¹⁰ She wanted Morris to take more drastic action and was outraged when he refused. Stung by her reproaches, he wrote her that “I do not adopt the Plans of Zeal or Affection when they do not meet the Approbation of my Judgment, for I will not injure a man for the Sake of appearing to be his Friend.” He advised her that her plans would probably “give you much Trouble with out producing any Benefit. . . . I know the reply your Heart will make,” he added sympathetically. Lafayette tried unsuccessfully to escape in November 1794 with the help of two Americans.¹¹¹

对于他的好意，这是一个不好的回报。他一直很关心她——他请平克尼把拉斐特在监狱里写的一封信转交给她，“因为看到他写的东西，对她来说是莫大的安慰。可怜的夫人，她现在很痛苦。”她希望莫里斯采取更激烈的行动，当他拒绝时，她感到愤怒。他被她的责备深深刺痛，写信给她：“当我的判断不能得到认可的时候，我不会接受热情或感情的计划，因为我不会为了表面上是他的朋友而伤害一个人。”他告诉她，她的计划可能会“给你带来很多麻烦，无法产生任何利益……。我知道你的心会作出什么样的回答，”他同情地补充道。1794年11月，拉法耶在两个美国人的帮助下试图逃跑，但没有成功。

Mme de Lafayette managed to lie low for nearly two years. In the spring of 1794, however, there was a new spate of arrests and executions. The aged and gallant Malesherbes was guillotined on April 22, after being forced to watch his daughter and granddaughter precede him up the stairs of the scaffold to their deaths. On June 10 Livingston wrote to Morris in Seine-Port that Mme de Lafayette had been arrested and was on her way to Paris. “The person who gives me this Information desired me to communicate it to you immediately,” he wrote. “He fears that she will be lost.” She was put in the Luxembourg, where Morris's friends the duchesse d'Orléans and Mme de Chastellux were also confined.¹¹²

拉法耶特夫人设法潜伏了近两年。然而，在1794年春天，又发生了大量的逮捕和处决事件。4月22日，年迈而英勇的马莱舍布被送上断头台，他被迫看着女儿和孙女在他之前上断头台，走向死亡。6月10日，利文斯顿写信给Seine-Port的莫里斯，说拉法耶特夫人已经被捕，正在前往巴黎的路上。“给我这些信息的人希望我立即通知你，”他写道。“他担心她会迷路。”她被安置在卢森堡，莫里斯的朋友奥尔兰公爵夫人和查斯特卢夫人也被关在那里。

It was the first day of the "Great Terror." More than fifteen hundred people in Paris lost their lives in the next six weeks, more of them ci-devant nobles than ever before. Piquet warned Morris that a petition for Mme Lafayette might backfire, but suggested the form the petition should take:

这是“大恐怖”的第一天在接下来的六个星期里，巴黎有超过一千五百人失去了生命，其中越来越多的贵族是前所未有的。皮奎特警告莫里斯，为拉法耶特夫人发出的请愿书可能会适得其反，但他建议请愿书的形式应该是：

[Y]ou may with propriety represent to the government here the ill consequences which would be occasioned by her Execution & that the friendship you bear towards the French Republic is the only inducement you have for mentioning them, that the existence or non-existence of one Woman can be of little importance to France, that her being much esteemed in the United States the news of her Death might tend to alienate the affections of many from the French republic.

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你可以适当地在这里向政府说明她被处决所引起的不良后果，你对法兰西共和国的友谊是你提到这些的唯一诱因，一个女人的存在或不存在对法兰西来说并不重要，她在美国受到很多尊重，她的死讯可能会使许多人疏远法兰西共和国的感情

Morris followed this advice carefully. Although she was not released until after Morris had been replaced by Monroe, it is fair to conclude (as her sisters and Mme de Staël concluded) that he saved her from the guillotine.

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莫里斯仔细地听从了这个建议。虽然她直到莫里斯被门罗取代后才被释放，但可以公平地得出结论(正如她的姐姐和德斯塔尔夫人的结论)，是他把她从断头台上救了下来

When she was freed in January 1795, she was allowed to join her husband in prison. Morris continued his efforts after leaving France in 1794, including lobbying the English to ask for his release. Napoléon also asked for his freedom as part of the peace agreements between the French and Austrians, and it was to him Lafayette attributed his liberation. However, Morris privately believed that it was his own conversations with Prime Minister Baron de Thugut in the fall of 1796 that convinced the emperor to let him go.¹¹⁵

当她在 1795 年 1 月被释放后，她被允许加入她的丈夫的监狱。莫里斯在 1794 年离开法国后继续努力，包括游说英国人要求释放他。作为法国人和奥地利人之间和平协议的一部分，纳波尔也要求获得自由，拉法耶特把他的解放归功于纳波尔。然而，莫里斯私下里相信，是他自己在 1796 年秋天与首相伯伦·德·图古特的谈话说服了皇帝放他走

Morris was present at Hamburg in the fall of 1797 when Lafayette was finally released. The former prisoner thanked Morris for his services, and Morris, still giving advice, recommended that Lafayette go to America where he was sure the government would grant him a pension.¹¹⁶

1797 年秋天，当拉法耶特最终被释放时，莫里斯也在汉堡。这位前囚犯感谢莫里斯的服务，莫里斯仍然给他提供建议，建议拉法耶特去美国，他确信政府会给他退休金

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It was a dispirited Gouverneur Morris who in March 1794 wrote to his friend Robert:

1794 年 3 月，沮丧的莫里斯写信给他的朋友罗伯特:

I believe that my Residence here has been of little Use, but that is not my Fault. If the present Secretary of State should take the Trouble of reading over my Letters from the Beginning he will find that I have given regularly for months beforehand an Account of what would happen. If Credit was not given to my Predictions it is not my fault. As to my conduct here, I will neither praise it nor excuse it, but confine myself to the sincere wish that my successor, whoever he be may act with more Wisdom in a Situation less critical, and for the Rest I leave it to fortune, which is but another Name for Providence, knowing that the World judges only from Events, and of course that the General or Statesman, who gains one brilliant Affair, is more applauded than he who resists with small Force or Assistance and in a dangerous Situation through the Course of a long Campaign.

我相信我在这里的住所没有什么用处，但那不是我的错。如果现任国务卿不嫌麻烦地从头读一遍我的信，他就会发现，我已经提前几个月定期地讲述了将要发生的事情。如果我的预测没有得到肯定，那也不是我的错。至于我在这里的所作所为，我既不赞扬也不原谅，而是真诚地希望我的继任者，不管他是谁，在一个不那么危急的情况下，能够以更多的智慧行事，至于其他人，我把它留给运气，这只不过是上帝的另一个名字，因为我知道世界只能从事件中判断，当然，将军或政治家，谁得到了一个辉煌的事件，比他在一个漫长的战役过程中，在一个危险的情况下，以微弱的力量或援助抵抗更受欢迎。

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I am ashamed of having said so much of myself even to you.

我甚至对你说了那么多关于我自己的话，我感到很惭愧

The events described in this chapter—just a fraction of the demands on Morris during the period—are solid evidence that Morris was far from “little Use.” Rather, he fulfilled his duty with an intelligence and restraint under circumstances whose difficulty perhaps has yet to be equaled in diplomacy.¹¹⁸ Those he rescued from prison, and possible execution, those to whom he gave money and comfort and news, knew on a personal level the benefit of his ministry.

本章所描述的事件——只是当时对莫里斯的要求的一小部分——是确凿的证据，表明莫里斯远非“没有用处”¹¹⁸ 他从监狱里救出来那些人，以及可能被处决的那些人，那些他给予金钱、安慰和消息的人，在个人层面上都知道他的事奉所带来的好处。

The value of his service to his government is hard to calculate. He had at all times represented its interests as effectively as was possible, protesting forcefully but temperately against harmful decrees and aggravating conduct. The French archives demonstrate that his protests were heard and their legitimacy acknowledged, but that they were often overwhelmed by the "intestine broil" of the country.¹¹⁹ He knew this, and worked to pre-serve harmony between the two countries, refusing to take France's provocations as requiring a response in kind. The deterioration that began between France and the United States and culminated in the Quasi War had nothing to do with Morris, but with the actions France took, caused by domestic events and the European war. The deterioration would be exacerbated by America's rapprochement with Britain.

他为政府服务的价值很难计算。他在任何时候都尽可能有效地代表其利益，有力但温和地抗议有害的法令和加重行为。法国的档案表明，他的抗议被听到了，其合法性也得到了承认，但这些抗议往往被国家的“肠子烤”压得喘不过气来。他知道这一点，并努力促进两国之间的和谐，拒绝接受法国的证书要求以牙还牙。在法国和美国之间开始的恶化，最终导致准战争与莫里斯无关，但与法国所采取的行动，由国内事件和欧洲战争造成的。美国与英国的友好关系将加剧这种恶化。

The difficulty of Morris's mission and the extent of his efforts were not recognized, nor could the circumstances be fully understood, by a government an ocean away. Less than two weeks after Gouverneur wrote to Robert, the decision to recall him from France had been made.

大洋彼岸的政府既没有认识到莫里斯任务的艰巨性，也没有充分了解情况。高云尼写信给罗伯特后不到两个星期，就决定把他从法国召回。