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*Envoy to the Terror*

恐怖活动特使

Melanie R. Miller

梅勒妮·r·米勒

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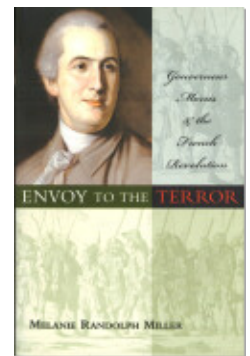
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## CHAPTER EIGHT

## 第八章

### Thomas Paine 托马斯·潘恩

FROM THE JOURNAL OF A SPY IN PARIS, JANUARY–JULY 1794:<sup>1</sup>

摘自《巴黎间谍日报》，1794年1月至7月:1

April 2nd. It is wonderful weather: all the trees in bloom six weeks before their time, as if the smile of Nature meant to mock at the horrors of Mankind. I wonder if Mr. Payne can see any trees from his window at the Luxembourg Palace. I have not laughed so heartily since I came to this city of death, as at the notion of his imprisonment. He is said to be moving heaven and earth to get himself recognized as an American Citizen, and thereon liberated. . . . The minister of the American States is too shrewd to allow such a fish to go over and swim in his waters, if he can prevent it; and avows to Robespierre that he knows nothing of any rights of Naturalization claimable by Mr. P. 'Tis, to my thinking, a mean thing to go from country to country stirring up sedition, and then, as soon as he reaps the true reward of his deeds, to claim citizenship of some other. . . . Even in prison, they say, he is generally drunk. They won't let him out. This Government means to govern, not to be Tom-Payned.<sup>2</sup>

4月2日。天气真好，所有的树木都提前六个星期开花了，仿佛大自然的微笑是要嘲笑人类的丑陋镜子。我想知道 Payne 先生是否能从他的卢森堡宫中看到任何树。自从我来到这座死亡之城，我从来没有像一想到他会被囚禁那样放声大笑过。据说他正在千方百计地使自己成为美国公民，并在那上面获得了解放。美国各州的部长太精明了，如果他能阻止的话，他不会让这样一条鱼在他的水域里游来游去；而且他向 Robespierre 承认，他对 P 先生主张的任何归化权一无所知。在我看来，从一个国家到另一个国家煽动叛乱是卑鄙的行为，然后，一旦他得到了他行为的真正回报，他就会声称自己是其他国家的公民。他们说，即使在监狱里，他也经常喝醉。他们不放他出来。这个政府的意思是治理国家，而不是成为汤姆·佩内

*Perpetual thorn in the side of the British lion, Thomas Paine was also a source of considerable annoyance to his long-time acquaintance, Gouverneur Morris. By 1794, Paine hated Morris with a passion that never abated: according to one biographer, Paine amused himself in old age by writing insulting poetry devoted to Morris.*<sup>3</sup>

托马斯·潘恩是英国狮子永远的眼中钉，也是他的老相识古维尼尔·莫里斯相当烦恼的一个原因。到了1794年，潘恩对莫里斯的恨意从未减退：根据一位传记作家的说法，潘恩在晚年写了一首侮辱莫里斯的诗来自娱自乐

*As with Short, Paine's enmity did extensive damage to Morris. One need only consult any library's shelf and a half devoted to Paine to compare the relative clout of his version of events to that of Morris. Paine's biographers repeat not only his contemporary slanders, but also the myth, originated by the historian Moncure Conway in 1895, that Morris conspired to have Paine imprisoned in France, and treated Paine badly.*<sup>4</sup> Paine

和肖特一样，潘恩的敌意对莫里斯造成了巨大的伤害。人们只需要在任何图书馆的书架上找到一本半关于潘恩的书，就可以比较他对事件的描述和莫里斯的描述的相对影响力。潘恩的传记作者不仅重复了他同时代的诽谤，而且还重复了历史学家蒙库尔·康威(Moncure Conway)在1895年编造的一个神话：莫里斯·康威曾把潘恩囚禁在法国，对潘恩很不好

also conducted a clandestine but effective effort to undermine Morris as minister, an effort crowned by Paine's thoroughly public denunciation of Morris and George Washington in 1796.

潘恩在 1796 年彻底公开谴责了莫里斯和乔治·华盛顿。

The mutually abrasive association between Morris and Thomas Paine, that "filthy little atheist," as Teddy Roosevelt called him, is a long history but never a dull one. As early as 1778, the two men were pitted against each other as lesser contestants in the battle between Arthur Lee and Silas Deane (American commissioners to France). At the time, Paine was secretary of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Continental Congress, and Morris was a member of Congress.

莫里斯和被泰迪·罗斯福(Teddy Roosevelt)称为“肮脏的小无神论者”托马斯·潘恩(Thomas Paine)之间相互攻击的关系有着悠久的历史,但绝不乏味。早在 1778 年,在亚瑟·李和塞拉斯·迪恩(美国驻法国专员)之间的战斗中,这两个人作为次要的参赛者互相竞争。当时,潘恩是大陆会议外交事务委员会秘书长,莫里斯是国会议员。

The controversy arose when Lee accused Deane of corruption in connection with supplies received from the French. Paine, who believed Lee, published a series of articles in support, citing secret documents accessible to Paine only by virtue of his position. The articles outraged the French and embarrassed the Americans, because France had been officially neutral at the time the supplies were provided. The French minister demanded that Paine be dismissed and Congress required his resignation.<sup>5</sup>

当李指责迪恩在从法国获得物资的过程中存在腐败行为时,引发了争议。相信李的潘恩发表了一系列支持李的文章,引用潘恩只有凭借自己的地位才能接触到的秘密文件。这些文章激怒了法国人,让美国人很尴尬,因为当时法国官方是中立的。法国部长要求解雇潘恩,国会要求他辞职

Paine's judgment in publishing the documents is open to question, but regardless of the propriety, he acted with a characteristic defiance of authority and decorum. During the debates, Morris delivered a fiery speech damning Paine and demanding he be dismissed without a hearing. While the object may have been valid, the speech did him little credit, for Morris called Paine a "meer Adventurer from England, without Fortune, without Family or Connections, ignorant even of Grammar."<sup>6</sup>

潘恩发表这些文件的判断是值得怀疑的,但不管是否得体,他的行为具有典型的蔑视作者和礼仪的特征。在辩论中,莫里斯发表了一篇言辞

激烈的演讲，谴责潘恩，并要求在没有听证会的情况下解雇他。虽然这个目的可能是有道理的，但是这番话并没有给莫里斯带来什么好处，因为莫里斯称佩恩是一个“来自英格兰的冒险家，没有财富，没有家庭，没有关系，甚至连语法都不懂。”图6

*Paine saw a copy of the proceedings and, if they included the speeches, he surely never forgot Morris' s intemperate words. It was characteristic of Morris that twelve years later, in sociable conversation with Paine in Paris, he did not hesitate to "frankly acknowledge that I urged his Dismission from the Office."*<sup>7</sup>

潘恩看到了会议记录的副本，如果其中包括演讲内容，他肯定永远不会忘记莫里斯的放肆言辞。莫里斯的特点是，12年后，在巴黎与潘恩的社交谈话中，他毫不犹豫地“坦率地承认，我敦促他离开办公室。”图7

*In spite of this unpropitious start, the two men were not antagonists again for a while. The Morrises hired Paine to write letters advocating taxes to pay the American army, and he supported their fight to recharter the Bank of North America. Thus, when they met again in Paris in November 1789, Morris and Paine treated each other as fairly friendly acquaintances.*<sup>8</sup>

尽管这一开始并不吉利，但这两个人有一阵子不再是对手了。莫里斯夫妇雇佣潘恩写信支持向美国军队征税，他支持他们为重建北美银行而进行的斗争。因此，当他们于1789年11月在巴黎再次见面时，莫里斯和潘恩对待彼此相当友好

*Paine was living in England. He had been corresponding with Jefferson and Richard Price, the fiery antiestablishment preacher, about the defects of the English system and the beginning revolution in France. Through these connections, Paine was the unlikely deus ex machina for two unre-*

潘恩住在英国。他曾与杰斐逊和反建制的激进传教士理查德·普莱斯就英国体制的缺陷和法国革命的开始进行过交流。通过这些关系，潘恩成为了两次不可能的救世主

lated but significant events: Morris' s mission to London, as discussed in chapter 5, and the inspiration of Edmund Burke' s *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Jefferson' s rhetoric was noticeably unrestrained when writing to Paine, and Paine struck the match by giving these immoderate letters to Burke, who was viewed as a friend of the American Revolution and thus presumably of revolutions in general.<sup>9</sup> Paine misjudged his man: Burke, who also heard Price preach, recoiled from the letters' enthusiasm for the French Revolution, believing that it amounted to advocacy of a revolution in England, something Burke never favored but which Paine and Price did.<sup>10</sup> Burke poured out his abhorrence in the passionate *Reflections*, excoriating revolutionary views and exalting England' s institutions. (Jefferson, reading the *Reflections*, commented that "The Revolution of France does not astonish me so much as the Revolution of Mr. Burke." )<sup>11</sup>

迟来但重要的事件:正如第五章所讨论的, Morris 的伦敦之行, 以及 Edmund Burke 的《对法国革命的反思》的灵感。当杰斐逊写信给潘恩时, 他的言辞显得毫无节制, 潘恩把这些过分温和的信件送给了伯克, 伯克被视为美国革命的朋友, 因此大概也是革命的朋友。<sup>9</sup> 潘恩错误地判断了他的朋友:伯克, 他也听到了普莱斯的布道, 从信中对法国大革命的热情鼓吹中退缩了, 他认为这相当于在英格兰倡导一场革命, 这是佩恩·伯克和普莱斯从未喜欢过的, 但他们却做到了。<sup>10</sup> 在激情澎湃的《反思》中表达了他的厌恶, 抨击了革命观点, 赞扬了英格兰的煽动。(杰斐逊在阅读《反思》时评论道:“法国大革命并不像伯克先生的大革命那样让我震惊。” )图 11

Paine visited France regularly and became friends of the future Girondins Brissot de Warville and Étienne Clavière, collaborating with them in the popular newspaper *Le Patriote Français*. The paper reflected the American connections of its founders, with flattering references to America and severe criticism of the monarchy.

潘恩定期访问法国, 并成为未来吉伦特人布里索特德瓦维尔和艾蒂安·克拉维埃的朋友, 与他们合作在颇受欢迎的报纸法国爱国者。这份报纸反映了其创始人与美国的关系, 对美国进行了奉承, 对君主制进行了严厉的批评。

During Paine' s first visit to France after Morris arrived, the two saw each other several times and relations were apparently cordial. On December 11, 1789, they dined at Lafayette' s, and Morris apologized to Paine for not having been to visit him.<sup>12</sup> Paine visited Morris to discuss a paper on the *Caisse d' escompte*, in which Paine argued that the troubled French banking

institution was more creditworthy than the Bank of England, a notion the financially expert Morris knew was ridiculous. In his diary he noted that the paper contained

在莫里斯到达后潘恩第一次访问法国期间，两人见了几次面，关系显然很亲切。潘恩拜访莫里斯讨论一篇关于《金融时报》的论文，潘恩在论文中辩称，陷入困境的法国银行机构比英格兰银行(Bank of England)的信誉更好，而莫里斯知道这种说法是荒谬的。在他的日记中，他注意到这篇论文包含了

*those half Way Arguments which form the Excellence of Payne' s Writings. His Conceptions and Expressions are splendid and novel but not always clear and just. He seems well convinced of the Force of his Argument and perhaps it will be translated and printed.*<sup>13</sup>

形成佩恩优秀作品的那些半途而废的论点。他的观念和表达是精彩和新颖的，但并不总是清晰和公正的。他似乎对自己论点的力量深信不疑，也许这本书会被翻译出版

*Morris discouraged Lafayette from asking Paine' s advice, telling him "that Payne can do him no good for that altho he has an excellent Pen to write he has but an indifferent Head to think."*<sup>14</sup> Presumably the vainglorious Paine did not suspect Morris' s opinion, for he visited Morris frequently, and Morris agreeably exchanged 20 pounds into livres for him,

莫里斯劝阻拉法耶特向潘恩征求意见，并告诉他：“佩恩对他没有好处，尽管他有一支优秀的钢笔可以写作，但他的思考头脑冷漠无情。”<sup>14</sup> 据推测，自负的潘恩没有怀疑莫里斯的意见，因为他频繁地拜访莫里斯，莫里斯愉快地将 20 英镑兑换成利弗尔，



discussed Paine' s project to design and build an iron bridge in London, "&c., &c."<sup>15</sup>

讨论了潘恩在伦敦设计和建造一座铁桥的项目

Paine was back in England when Morris arrived to talk to the British in March 1790. Once again, Paine visited regularly—at least nineteen times from April to September. Morris' s patience wore thin, but Paine was either oblivious or indifferent, and calmly abused Morris' s generosity by using him as a banker. He asked him to pay a draft of 40 pounds, which he said William Constable would cover, and then said he could not "well get thro' the expences of erecting my Bridge" unless Morris honored a 50 pound draft drawn on Lewis Morris. Paine presumed this would be no inconvenience to Morris but "the want of it will be a great inconvenience to me." Morris found this request "an unpleasant Thing to comply with or to refuse," but gave him the money.<sup>16</sup>

1790年3月，潘恩回到英国时，莫里斯来到这里与英国人谈话。潘恩再次定期来访——从4月到9月至少十九次。莫里斯的耐心渐渐消失了，但潘恩要么无动于衷，要么冷漠无情，冷静地滥用莫里斯的慷慨，把他当成一个银行家。他要求莫里斯支付40英镑的汇票，他说威廉·康斯特布尔会支付这笔钱，然后又说，除非莫里斯承兑以刘易斯·莫里斯为付款人的50英镑汇票，否则他不能“花钱搭建我的桥”。潘恩认为这对莫里斯来说不是什么大不了的事情，但是“缺少这些东西会给我带来很大的不便。”莫里斯觉得这个要求“不是顺从就是拒绝”，但还是把钱给了他

When Morris fell ill, Paine came by several times. In early August he called "for the Purpose of sparing himself the Trouble of a Walk to Lombard Street" to cash a draft. "I give him the Money and send for it, telling him at the same Time that he is a troublesome Fellow." A week later Paine came again, "being as he says too much fatigued to go into the City. I lend him three Guineas which I fancy will not be speedily repaid."<sup>17</sup>

莫里斯生病时，潘恩来过几次。八月初，他打电话“为了省去步行到洛巴德街的麻烦”来兑现一张汇票。“我把钱给了他，然后派人去取，同时告诉他，他是个麻烦的家伙。”一个星期后潘恩又来了，“因为他说他太累了，不能进入金融城。我借给他三个几尼，我想他不会很快还给我。”图17

After Morris was back on his feet, he accepted Paine' s invitation to see his bridge. Paine' s first version of an iron bridge design had been intended to span the Harlem River at Morrisania, before Morris acquired the property. Morris did not want the increased traffic, and Paine pursued the project in London instead. Morris observed privately that the London bridge was "not so

handsome as [Paine] thinks it is. Qu: also whether it be as strong." Within months, the bridge rusted and its ironwork was repossessed. According to one of Paine's biographers, its main value "was its practical demonstration of design faults to be avoided in the future."<sup>18</sup>

莫里斯重新站起来后，他接受了潘恩的邀请去看他的桥。潘恩设计的第一座铁桥本来是要横跨 Morrisania 的哈莱姆河，后来莫里斯获得了这座桥的设计权。莫里斯不想增加交通量，潘恩转而在伦敦继续进行这个项目。莫里斯私下里评论说，伦敦大桥“没有潘恩想象的那么漂亮。曲：也不管它是否坚强几个月后，这座桥生锈了，铁制品被收回。根据潘恩的一位传记作家的说法，它的主要价值在于“实际论证了未来应该避免的设计缺陷”图 18

Morris saw Edmund Burke in the House of Lords while in London, and noted that Burke "has Quickness and Genius but he is vague, loose, desultory and confused. His Speech contained Matter to make a fine one and to marr the best." He also attended a dinner at which Richard Price was a guest, but his only comment about the man Jefferson so admired was to call him "one of the Liberty-mad People."<sup>19</sup>

莫里斯在伦敦时看到了上议院的埃德蒙·伯克，他指出伯克“有敏捷和天才，但他是模糊的、松散的、绝望的和困惑的。他的演讲中包含了一个精彩的问题和最好的结婚问题。”他还参加了理查德·普赖斯(Richard Price)作为客人出席的一次晚宴，但他对杰斐逊如此崇拜的人的唯一评价，就是称他为“疯狂追求自由的人民之一”

Burke's *Reflections* was published in November 1790. Paine, who had wind of it, had begun writing *The Rights of Man* in response. The first part was published in March 1791, and Paine came to Paris to bask in its success. Morris did both sides justice:

伯克的《反思》出版于 1790 年 11 月。潘恩听说了这件事，开始写《人权》作为回应。第一部分出版于 1791 年 3 月，潘恩来到巴黎享受成功的喜悦。莫里斯对双方都做了公正的评价：

I walk, having first read the Answer of Payne to Burke' s Book. There are good Things in the Answer as well as in the Book. . . . Payne calls on me. He says that he found great Difficulty in prevailing on any Bookseller to publish his Book. That it is extremely popular in England, and of course the Writer, which he considers as one of the many uncommon Revolutions of this Age.<sup>20</sup>

我走着，第一次读了佩恩对伯克书的回答。在《答案》和《圣经》中都有好的东西。佩恩来找我。他说他发现很难说服任何一个书商出版他的书。它在英格兰极受欢迎，当然还有作家，他认为这是这个时代许多不同寻常的革命之一

Paine once again called regularly, occasionally bringing along a down-and-out English friend named Hodges. In return, Morris visited Paine' s "wretched Appartments" but Paine was out, and Hodges spoke "of Payne as being a little mad, which is not improbable."<sup>21</sup>

潘恩再次定期打电话来，偶尔带来一个穷困潦倒的英国朋友霍奇斯。作为回报，莫里斯参观了潘恩的“可怜的公寓”，但潘恩出去了，霍奇斯说“佩恩有点疯狂，这不是不可能的。”图 21

Paine was growing increasingly intimate with the Girondins, with whom he formed a Société des républicains after the king' s flight to Varennes.<sup>22</sup> This event electrified Paine with the belief that France should now become a republic and he and a friend plastered a proclamation to this effect all over Paris.<sup>23</sup>

潘恩与吉伦特派的关系越来越密切，在国王的路易十六的出逃之后，他与吉伦特派成立了共和国社团

Étienne Dumont traveled to London in Paine' s company at around this time, and left a perceptive snapshot of the celebrated rabble-rouser:

就在这个时候，爱丁·杜蒙(tienneDumont)在帕伊内的陪同下来到伦敦，留下了一张颇具洞察力的快照，照片上是这位著名的煽动者：

I could easily excuse, in an American, his prejudices against England But his egregious conceit and presumptuous self-sufficiency quite dis-gusted me. He was drunk with vanity. If you believed him, it was he who had done every thing in America. . . . He fancied that his book upon the Rights of Man ought to be substituted for every other book in the world; and he told us roundly that, if it were in his power to annihilate every library in existence, he would do so without hesita-tion in order to eradicate the errors they contained and commence with the Rights of Man, a new era of ideas and principles. He knew all his own writings by heart, but he knew nothing else. . . . Yet Paine was a man of talent, full of imagination,

gifted with popular eloquence, and wielded, not without skill, the weapon  
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of irony.

作为一个美国人，我完全可以原谅他对英国的偏见，但他那种异乎寻常的自负和自以为是实在让我感到不快。他因虚荣而沉醉。如果你相信他，那就是他在美国做了所有的事情。他幻想他的《论人的权利》一书应该取代世界上其他所有的书；他直截了当地告诉我们，如果他有能力消灭现存的所有图书馆，他会毫不犹豫地这样做，以便消除其中所包含的错误，并从《人的权利》开始，一个思想和原则的新时代。他把自己所有的作品都背下来了，但除此之外他什么也不知道。然而，潘恩是一个才华横溢、富有想象力的人，天生具有广受欢迎的口才，而且不乏技巧地使用着讽刺的武器

*This description squares precisely with Morris' s observations of Paine, most notably a diary entry on July 4, 1791, when he, Paine, Lafayette, and the other Americans in Paris dined at William Short' s. Morris, who frequently observed that the famous writer drank too much, noted simply, "Paine is here, inflated to the Eyes and big with a Litter of Revolutions."* 25

这种描述与莫里斯对帕伊内的观察完全吻合，最著名的是1791年7月4日的一篇日记，当时他、潘恩、拉斐特和其他在巴黎的美国人在威廉·肖特家吃饭。莫里斯经常注意到这位著名作家喝得太多，他只是简单地说：“潘恩在这里，被吹得目瞪口呆，而且还有一大堆革命。”图25

*Paine' s swelling self-importance and his strengthening connections with the radical elements in France meant that when Morris saw him*

潘恩不断膨胀的自负以及他与法国激进分子越来越密切的联系意味着当莫里斯看到他时

again in London the following spring, their brief friendship (if it ever deserved that description) was on the wane. On February 13, 1792, Paine wrote to Jefferson:

第二年春天，在伦敦，他们短暂的友谊(如果这段友谊真的值得这样描述的话)日渐式微。1792年2月13日，潘恩写信给杰斐逊：

*I have just heard of Govr. Morris' s appointment. It is a most unfortunate one, and as I shall mention the same thing to him when I see him, I do not express it to you with the injunction of Confidence.*

我刚刚听说了政府。莫里斯的任命。这是一件非常不可思议的事情，我见到他的时候也要对他说同样的话，所以我并不是要你放心地告诉他。

*He is just now arrived in London, and this circumstance has served, as I see by the french papers, to encrease the dislike and suspicion of some of that Nation and the National Assembly against him.*<sup>26</sup>

他刚到伦敦，正如我从法国报纸上看到的那样，这种情况加深了某些国家和国民议会对他的厌恶和怀疑

*This was the first of several efforts by Paine to scuttle Morris' s embassy, and his motives bear examination. The two men did have genuine differences of opinions about what was best for France. Moreover, Paine' s revolution-ary friends, including Barlow, disliked Morris. Paine and Barlow spent time together in London, lived in the same Paris hotel in the fall of 1792, and worked closely together in France. They belonged to the London Society for Constitutional Information, connected with the Cercle Social, a Paris political club and publisher, whose members included many Girondins such as Brissot and Clavi è re.*<sup>27</sup>

这是潘恩破坏莫里斯大使馆的几次行动中的第一次，他的动机值得考察。对于什么对法国最好，这两个人确实有不同的意见。此外，潘恩的革命朋友，包括巴洛，都不喜欢莫里斯。潘恩和巴洛在伦敦共度时光，1792年秋天住在同一家巴黎酒店，并在法国密切合作。他们属于伦敦宪法信息协会，与巴黎政治俱乐部和出版商 Cercle Social 有联系，其成员包括许多吉伦特人，如布里索特和克拉维

*Paine was also a good friend of Colonel John Oswald, the sanguinary vegetarian and radical Jacobin who helped found the "British Club," a group of pro-revolutionary British in France. The club plotted, among other things, uprisings in Ireland and Britain, and its members included Paine, Barlow, and Stephen Sayre, whose enmity for Morris is discussed later.*<sup>28</sup>

潘恩也是约翰·奥斯瓦尔德上校的好朋友，奥斯瓦尔德上校是一个血腥的素食主义者和激进的雅各宾派，他帮助在法国建立了“英国俱乐部”，这是一个支持革命的英国团体。俱乐部策划了爱尔兰和英国的起义，其成员包括潘恩、巴洛和斯蒂芬·塞尔，后面将讨论他对莫里斯的敌意

*Paine's new friends were thus very likely to have encouraged his animus toward Morris. His next assault, made before Morris even presented his credentials, was a letter published in Brissot's pro-Girondin paper, Le Patriote Français, in April 1792. The letter, signed by an "American in Amsterdam," has the rhythms of having been written originally in English (Paine never learned French), and it has his satirical and contemptuous imprint. It purported to explain to a bewildered member of the National Assembly how the United States could have appointed Morris, who was "generally known and detested as an enemy of your revolution," for while Morris had been a "good whig" in America, he had been corrupted by the French court. The letter claimed that his nomination had been instigated by Montmorin because Morris would urge the American government that "despotic government is, of all government, that which is best suited to mankind."*

因此潘恩的新朋友很可能鼓励他对莫里斯的敌意。1792年4月，Brissot亲吉伦丁的报纸《法国爱国者》发表了一封信。这封信的署名是“阿姆斯特丹的美国人”，它的韵律最初是用英语写成的(潘恩从来没有学过法语)，而且带有讽刺和轻蔑的色彩。报道的目的是向国民议会的一名困惑的议员解释美国怎么会任命莫里斯为“你们革命的敌人”，因为尽管莫里斯在美国是一个“好的辉格党”，但他已经被法国的法庭腐败了。这封信声称他的提名是由蒙特莫林唆使的，因为莫里斯会敦促美国政府“专制政府是所有政府中最适合人类的”

*You ask if this man represents the opinions of Americans, if they have so abandoned their glorious principles of equality, and if you should consider such a people as an enemy to France and to liberty, instead of regarding it as a sincere friend of both?*

你问这个人是否代表了美国人的观点，他们是否已经放弃了他们光荣的平等原则，你是否应该把这样一个民族看作是法国和自由的敌人，而不是两者的真诚朋友？

*Nonetheless, the writer assured the reader, Morris would act more discreetly in the future.*<sup>29</sup>

尽管如此，作者向读者保证，莫里斯将来会表现得更加低调。<sup>29</sup>

*Paine is far and away the most likely author of this letter. He regularly contributed to this paper, and the letter sounds like Paine: snide, clever, and outrageous. It was very much Paine's style to use a newspaper to assure the widest audience for his opinion, and to write anonymously, for Paine did not disclose his enmity to Morris for quite some time, and then only when extremely drunk. Morris made no recorded remark about the letter, which served as a very poor introduction to the people of France; he regularly forwarded *Le Patriote* to Jefferson.*<sup>30</sup>

潘恩无疑是这封信最有可能的作者。他经常为这份报纸投稿，这封信听起来就像潘恩：冷嘲热讽，聪明过人，令人无法容忍。潘恩的风格很大程度上是利用报纸向最广泛的读者保证他的观点，并且匿名写作，因为潘恩有很长一段时间没有向莫里斯透露他的敌意，而且只是在喝得酩酊大醉的时候。莫里斯没有对这封信作任何记录，因为这封信对法国人民的介绍非常糟糕；他经常把《爱国者》转交给杰斐逊。

*Paine continued to visit Morris in London. Four days after his complaint to Jefferson about the appointment, Morris read the second half of *The Rights of Man*:*

潘恩继续访问莫里斯在伦敦。在他向杰斐逊抱怨任命的四天后，莫里斯读了《人权》的下半部分：

*I tell Payne that I am really afraid he will be punished. He seems to laugh at this and relies on the Force he has in the Nation. . . . He seems Cock Sure of bringing about a Revolution in Great Britain, and I think it quite as likely that he will be promoted to the Pilory.*<sup>31</sup>

我告诉佩恩，我非常担心他会受到惩罚。他似乎对此嗤之以鼻，并依赖于他在国家中拥有的原力……。他看起来像是雄鸡，一定会在英国掀起一场革命，而且我认为他很有可能被提拔到皮洛里号上去。

A week later, Morris saw Paine again, "who seems to become every Hour more drunk with Self Conceit." Morris told him that

一周后，莫里斯再次见到潘恩，“他似乎每时每刻都沉醉于自负。”莫里斯告诉他

*[T]he disordered State of Things in France works against all Schemes of Reformation both here [in England] and elsewhere. He declares that the Riots and Outrages in France are Nothing at all. It is not worth while to contest such Declarations; I tell him therefore that as I am sure he does not believe what he says I shall not dispute it.*<sup>32</sup>

在法国，混乱的状态反对所有的宗教改革计划，不管是在英国还是其他地方。他宣称法国的暴乱和暴行根本不算什么。因此，我告诉他，我确信他不相信他所说的话，我也不会对此提出异议

*Even though Paine sloughed off his warnings, Morris was quite right. In May, Paine was indicted for seditious libel and fled England. He arrived in France in mid-September 1792 to a hero's welcome, a stark contrast to the threatening crowd that had watched him depart Dover. On October 10, the Legislative Assembly declared Paine, Washington, Hamilton, and Madison to be citizens of France. The citizenship conferred eligibility for election as*

尽管潘恩没有发出警告，但莫里斯是对的。今年5月，潘恩因诽谤罪被起诉并逃离英国。他于1792年9月中旬来到法国，受到英雄般的欢迎，与眼睁睁地看着他离开多佛的人群形成了鲜明的对比。10月10日，立法大会宣布潘恩、华盛顿、汉密尔顿和麦迪逊为法国公民。公民资格赋予选举资格



a deputy, and Paine was elected and promptly appointed to the Convention committee assigned to write the new constitution for the Republic.<sup>33</sup>

潘恩当选并立即被任命为负责起草共和国新宪法的国民大会委员会成员

Paine called on Morris the day after he arrived in Paris. This was a time when Morris was having considerable difficulties with the Girondin ministry, dominated by Brissot. Morris noted in his diary, "Mr. Payne calls on me. I find from various Channels that the brissotine Faction is desirous of doing me Mischief if they can."<sup>34</sup> It is likely that Paine was one of the "channels" and extremely likely that he himself was one of the mischief makers, unknown to Morris. By the following June, however, Morris did know. He wrote to Robert:

潘恩在莫里斯抵达巴黎的第二天拜访了他。当时，莫里斯与布里索特控制的吉伦丁部门有相当大的矛盾。莫里斯在日记中写道：“佩恩先生来拜访我。我从各个渠道发现，如果可能的话，布里索汀派想要对我恶作剧。”潘恩很可能是“渠道”之一，而且极有可能他本人就是捣乱者之一，莫里斯对此一无所知。然而，到了第二年6月，莫里斯确实知道了这件事。他写信给罗伯特：

*I suspected (but I did not say so) that Paine was intriguing against me, altho' he put on a face of Attachment. Since that Period, I am confirm' d in the Idea, for he came to my House in company with Colonel Oswald and, being a little more drunk than usual, behav' d extremely ill, and, thro his Insolence I discovered clearly his vain Ambition.*<sup>35</sup>

我怀疑(但我没有这么说)潘恩是在引诱我，尽管他装出一副依恋的样子。从那时起，我就对这个主意产生了怀疑，因为他和奥斯瓦尔德上校一起来到我家，喝得比平时多一点，行为极端恶劣，通过他的傲慢，我清楚地发现了他那虚荣的野心

*Whatever Paine's intriguing, he kept in touch with Morris throughout the fall and winter of 1792-93, and Morris, still ignorant of his activities, was willing to see him.*<sup>36</sup>

不管潘恩的阴谋是什么，他在1792-1793年的整个秋季和冬季都与莫里斯保持联系，而莫里斯对他的活动仍然一无所知，他愿意见他

*In November, Paine obtained agreement from Lebrun, the French minister of foreign affairs, to finance forty-thousand volunteers for an insurrection in Ireland. He was also working with Brissot and Barlow on a project to attack Spanish America.*<sup>37</sup> *The following February, Paine wrote to James O' Fallon, who wanted to seize the area near the Yazoo River from the Spanish, that "[t]his expedition, if successful, will probably promote every end of your Agency, the purposes of which Gouverneur Morris" had "long since, unfolded*

to me.”<sup>38</sup> *None of Morris' s papers mention the matter.*

11月，潘恩获得法国外交事务负责人勒布伦的同意，为爱尔兰的一次叛乱提供4万名志愿者的资助。第二年2月，潘恩写信给詹姆斯·奥法伦，他想从西班牙人手中夺取YazooRiver附近的地区，他说：“如果他的探险成功了，可能会促进你们公司的每一个方面，古弗尼尔·莫里斯很久以前就告诉我的目的。”莫里斯的文件中没有一份提到这件事。

*In the meantime, Morris' s predictions were borne out. Paine was convicted and declared an outlaw in Great Britain in December 1792. For all Paine' s insouciance, being turned out of the country of one' s birth for good was no minor matter. Morris noted dryly on December 20 that Paine, who had come for dinner, “looks a little down at the News from England. He has been burnt in Effigy.”*<sup>39</sup>

与此同时，莫里斯的预言得到了证实。潘恩在1792年12月被捕，并被宣布为大不列颠的法外之徒。尽管潘恩漫不经心，被永远赶出自己的出生地也不是什么小事。莫里斯在12月20日冷淡地指出，来吃晚饭的潘恩“看起来有点沮丧。他的雕像被烧毁了。”图39



*Paine' s fortunes in France were tied to those of the Girondins, and the effusion of good will on his arrival marked the high-water point of his*  
潘恩在法国的命运与吉伦特人的命运息息相关，他抵达法国时所表现出的善意标志着他的巅峰时期

popularity, for the Girondins were locked in a losing struggle with the radical Montagnards, the sections (administrative divisions) of Paris, and the future leaders of the Terror. The struggle lasted throughout the fall of 1792 to the summer of 1793. A critical aspect of the Girondins' fall from power was the fate of the king, a particularly difficult issue for Paine. Although he happily saw Louis dethroned and tried, Paine favored banishment rather than execution. In this he found himself, with other Girondins, swimming against the prevailing currents; a position which, to do Paine justice, seems to have inhibited him not in the least. He cast his vote as a deputy in favor of finding Louis XVI guilty of treason, but argued forcibly against execution, full in the face of the radical Marat's outrage. Paine had told Morris "in confidence" that he would move for banishment; the new minister to America would escort the royal family to Philadelphia. The plan failed, of course, and the Convention voted to execute the king. George Monro wrote to Grenville that as a result of his proposal, Paine's "consequence seems daily lessening in this country, and I should never be surprised if he some day receives the fate he merits."<sup>40</sup>

因为吉伦特人被锁定在一个失败的斗争与拉德蒙塔格纳德，部门(行政区)的巴黎，和未来的领导人的恐怖。这场斗争持续了整个1792年秋天到1793年夏天。吉伦特派失势的一个关键因素是国王的命运，这对潘恩来说是一个特别困难的问题。虽然他很高兴看到路易斯被废黜并受到审判，但潘恩更喜欢放逐而不是处决。在这种情况下，他发现自己和其他吉伦特人一样，在逆流而上；佩恩公正地说，这种处境似乎一点也不妨碍他。他以代理人的身份投票支持判定路易十六犯有叛国罪，但在激进分子马拉特的愤怒面前强烈反对处决。潘恩告诉莫里斯，他将被驱逐出境，新任美国部长将护送王室到费城。当然，这个计划失败了，大会投票决定处死国王。乔治·蒙罗在给格伦维尔的信中写道，由于他的求婚，潘恩“在这个国家的后果似乎每天都在减少，如果有一天他会得到他应得的命运，我永远不会感到惊讶。”<sup>40</sup>

Paine was naturally deflated by the decision and wrote Jefferson that "As the prospect of a general freedom is now much shortened, I begin to contemplate returning home."<sup>41</sup> He watched, discouraged, as the Girondin party suffered one defeat after another in the Convention at the hands of the increasingly powerful and radical Montagnards, and the French declared war on the rest of Europe. He testified at the trial of Marat, president of the Jacobins and a Montagnard leader, in April 1793 and saw Marat's triumphant exoneration with dejection. On May 6, he wrote to the famous Danton, another

Montagnard leader, criticizing the increasing "distractions, jealousies, discontents and uneasiness that reign among us, and which, if they continue, will bring ruin and disgrace on the Republic." He was "distressed," he told Danton, "to see matters so badly conducted, and so little attention paid to moral principles. It is these things that injure the character of the Revolution and discourage the progress of liberty all over the world."<sup>42</sup> These words could have been written by Morris.

潘恩自然对这个决定感到泄气，他写信给杰斐逊说：“由于普遍自由的前景现在已经大大缩短，我开始反对回家。”<sup>41</sup>他沮丧地看着吉伦丁党在国民大会上一个接一个地被越来越强大和激进的蒙塔格纳德派击败，法国向欧洲其他地区宣战。1793年4月，他在雅各宾派和山民党领袖马拉特的审判中作证，看到马拉特获得了无罪释放，心情沮丧。5月6日，他写信给另一位蒙塔格纳德领导人、著名的丹东(Danton)，批评“我们之间越来越多的分心、嫉妒、不满和不安，如果继续这样下去，将给共和国带来毁灭和耻辱。”他告诉丹顿，“看到事情处理得如此糟糕，对道德原则的关注如此之少，他感到很“痛苦”。正是这些事情损害了革命的性质，阻碍了全世界自由的进步。”这些话可能是莫里斯写的。

*Paine's despair over the course of the Revolution did not reconcile the two men, however. After the king fell, Morris had to deal with a flood of American requests for assistance, trying to obtain release of seized ships and Americans thrown in jail. Chapter 12 discusses Morris's difficulties and his efforts. Morris's labors did not satisfy Paine, who seemed to feel his position as a deputy made him an unofficial American representative. He too received complaints from Americans desperate for help, but there*

然而，潘恩在革命过程中的绝望并没有使这两个人和解。国王倒台后，莫里斯不得不处理大量的美国援助请求，试图获得被扣押船只的释放和被投入监狱的美国人的释放。第12章讨论了莫里斯的困难和他的努力。莫里斯的努力并没有让潘恩满意，潘恩似乎觉得自己作为副手的地位使他成为了一名非官方的美国代表。他也收到了急需帮助的美国人的抱怨，但是在那里

is no indication that he did anything for them other than pass the information to Morris.<sup>43</sup> When Morris was unable to help many of them, Paine, who was never good at recognizing practical obstacles, blamed him completely.

43 当莫里斯无法帮助他们中的许多人时，潘恩，这个从来不善于识别实际障碍的人，完全怪罪了他。

On June 2, 1793, there was a mass arrest of Girondin deputies in the Convention, forced by the Paris Commune at the instigation of the Montagnards. Paine stood outside, warned by Danton not to enter. This frightening turn of events would certainly explain the depression Morris described in late June.

"I am told [Paine] is besotted from Morning 'till Night. He is so completely down, that he would be punished, if he were not despised."<sup>44</sup> Paine stayed holed up for many weeks, and was de-nounced in the Convention. Later in the summer, he emerged and talked to Barère of the Committee of Public Safety about the possibility of obtaining flour from America. Barlow and Swan, who were seeking provisioning contracts, were probably the source of this proposal. Paine wrote to Barère in early September 1793, and advised him that while Jefferson was "an ardent defender of the interests of France," Morris was

1793年6月2日，在蒙塔格纳德人的唆使下，巴黎公社强制大规模逮捕了《公约》中的吉伦丁代表。潘恩站在外面，丹东警告他不要进来。这种令人恐惧的事态转变当然可以解释莫里斯在6月底描述的大萧条。

“有人告诉我，(潘恩)从早到晚都被迷住了。他是如此的沮丧，如果他不沮丧的话，他会受到惩罚的。”<sup>44</sup> 潘恩躲藏了好几个星期，并在《公约》中被除名。夏天晚些时候，他出现在公共安全委员会的 barre 面前，谈论从美国获得面粉的可能性。巴洛和斯旺当时正在寻求签订附加合同，他们很可能就是这项提议的来源。潘恩在1793年9月初写信给 Barère，告诉他杰斐逊是“法国利益的热心捍卫者”，而莫里斯是

badly disposed towards you. I believe he has expressed the wish to be recalled. The reports which he will make on his arrival will not be to the advantage of France. . . . Morris is not popular in America. He has set the Americans who are here against him.<sup>45</sup>

对你很不友好。我相信他已经表达了被召回的愿望。他到达时所作的报告对法国不利……。莫里斯在美国不受欢迎。他已经使在这里的美国人反对他

Even though Paine was no favorite of the Girondins' successors, they had no reason to doubt his word about American opinion. The Committee, which saw conspiracies at every turn, could not have been pleased to hear that the

American minister was hostile to them, was disliked in America, and was eager to leave. The assertion that Morris was giving hostile reports on France to his government, which was false, was probably the most damaging.

尽管潘恩不是吉伦特派继任者的最爱，他们没有理由怀疑他对美国舆论的评价。这位委员见多识广，听说美国部长对他们怀有敌意，一定不高兴，因为美国人不喜欢他，急着要离开。关于莫里斯向他的政府提供有关法国的报告的说法是错误的，这可能是最具破坏性的。

Paine also promoted the idea of American mediation to end the European war, telling Jefferson, "It will not do to appoint Gov. Morris upon that business. His appointment here has been unfortunate. He has done more harm than good. All the Americans will give you the same account."<sup>46</sup> Despite his approaches to

the Committee of Public Safety, Paine remained under suspicion. With good reason—he hoped to hop a flour ship heading to America and escape France.

On October 3, 1793, he was denounced as a traitor in the Convention. He had already hurt himself with the leaders of the Terror by publication of *The Age of Reason* earlier in

潘恩还提倡美国调停来结束欧洲战争的想法，他告诉杰斐逊，“任命莫里斯政府负责这项工作是不行的。他在这里的任命是不幸的。他所做的弊大于利。所有的美国人都会给你同样的说法。”<sup>46</sup> 尽管潘恩与公共安全委员会接触，他仍然受到怀疑。他有充分的理由希望跳上一艘开往美国的面粉船逃离法国。1793年10月3日，他在大会上被指责为叛徒。他在年早些时候出版了《理性时代》，已经在恐怖主义的领导人那里伤害了自己

the year, which took aim at all organized religion but also denounced the government's dechristianizing movement. The American request for recall of the French minister Genet, a Girondin and Paine's "sincere friend" (Paine's phrase), can hardly have helped.<sup>47</sup>

这一年，其目标是所有有组织的宗教，但也谴责政府的去基督化运动。美国要求罢免法国部长热内，这位 Girondin 人和潘恩的“真诚的朋友”（潘恩这样说），几乎无济于事

On October 30, the Girondin deputies taken in June were convicted, and most were guillotined the next day. Paine remained free, but on December 23, his luck ran out: the Convention voted to exclude foreign deputies, and on Christmas Day, he was arrested and taken to the Luxembourg Prison.<sup>48</sup>

10月30日，6月份被带走的 Girondin 议员被判有罪，大多数第二天就被送上了断头台。潘恩仍然自由，但在12月23日，他的运气用完了：公约投票排除了外国代表，在圣诞节那天，他被逮捕并被带到卢森堡监狱

Paine apparently did not ask Morris for assistance right away, for by now he seemed to hate him. On January 16, 1794, William Hoskins, another American jailed in the Luxembourg, sent a letter to Morris through Paine, who wrote a bitter marginal note:

潘恩显然没有马上向莫里斯寻求帮助，因为他现在似乎很讨厌莫里斯。1794年1月16日，另一位被关押在卢森堡的美国人威廉·霍斯金斯(William Hoskins)通过潘恩给莫里斯写了一封信，潘恩在信的旁注中写道：

Mr. Hoskins has sent me this note to be transmitted to you—in the part of the prison where he is, he has not the same liberty that I have—But I ask you, if it is not a reproach to you, to receive the money you do from America and do nothing for it—you will have a clamour about your ears when you return to America that you are not aware of—they talk of calling you to an account for not doing your duty. Tho. Paine.<sup>49</sup>

霍斯金斯先生把这封信寄给了你，让我转交给你——在他所在的监狱里，他没有我所有的自由——但是我请求你，如果这不是对你的责备的话，从美国接受你所做的钱，而不为此做任何事——当你回到美国的时候，你会听到一阵你不知道的吵闹——他们说你要为没有履行你的职责承担责任。Tho.潘恩 49岁

Morris would have been a very unnatural man if he was unaffected by the rancor of this letter, particularly by the indication that Paine was assassinating Morris's character in America.

莫里斯如果不被这封信的怨恨所影响，特别是因为有迹象表明佩恩在美

国暗杀莫里斯的人格，那他就是一个非常不正常的人。

*Paine may have felt free to be insulting, for he was counting on a petition presented by Joel Barlow to the Convention on January 20. It was signed by eighteen Americans, but the Committee of Public Safety refused to consider it, and the president of the Convention pointed out to the petitioners that Paine's birth in England was sufficient to make him subject to the laws enforcing French security.*<sup>50</sup>

潘恩可能觉得自己是在侮辱人，因为他指望乔尔·巴洛在1月20日向《公约》提交一份请愿书。这是由十八个美国人签署的，但是公共安全委员会拒绝考虑它，公约主席向请愿者指出潘恩在英国的出生足以使他逃避执行法国安全的法律

*The following day, Morris wrote to Jefferson:*

第二天，莫里斯给杰弗逊写信说：

*[L]est I should forget it, I must mention, that Thomas Paine is in Prison, where he amuses himself with publishing a Pamphlet against Jesus Christ. . . he would have been executed along with the Rest of the Brissotines, if the adverse party had not viewed him with Contempt. I incline to think that if he is quiet in Prison he may have the good Luck to be forgotten. Whereas should he be brought much into notice the long suspended Axe might fall on him. I believe he*

我不得不说，托马斯·潘恩在监狱里，他在那里出版了一本反对耶稣基督的小册子。如果敌方没有蔑视他的话，他本来会和其他布里索廷人一起被处决的。我倾向于认为，如果他在监狱里安静下来，他可能会有被遗忘的好运气。然而，如果他被引起注意，长长的悬挂着的斧子可能会落在他身上。我相信他



thinks I ought to claim him as an American Citizen, but, considering his Birth, his Naturalization in this Country and the Place he filled, I doubt much the Right, and I am sure that the claim would be (for the present at least) inexpedient and ineffectual.<sup>51</sup>

他认为我应该声称他是美国公民，但是，考虑到他的出生、他在这个国家的归化以及他居住的地方，我对他的权利表示怀疑，而且我确信这种声称(至少目前)是不适宜和无效的

*In the end, Paine did turn to Morris. On February 14, 1794, Morris wrote to foreign minister Deforgues that Paine had just applied to him to "claim him as a citizen of the United States." Morris was careful not to take a position on the claim (his opinion was that the arrest related to Paine's exercise of his French citizenship), but he asked to be advised of the reason Paine had been arrested, so that he could inform the American government. He told Deforgues that Paine had been born in England, thereafter became an American citizen, and*

最后，潘恩转向了莫里斯。1794年2月14日，莫里斯写信给外交部长代福格斯，说潘恩刚刚向他提出申请，“要求他成为美国公民”莫里斯小心翼翼地不对这一说法提出异议(他的意见是，逮捕与潘恩行使其法国公民身份有关)，但他要求被告知潘恩被逮捕的原因，以便通知美国政府。他告诉代福格，潘恩出生在英国，后来成为美国公民，并且

*gained great celebrity there, by his revolutionary writings. In consequence, he was adopted as a French citizen, and then chosen a member of the Convention. His conduct from that time has not come under my cognizance.<sup>52</sup>*

由于他的革命著作，在那里名声大噪。结果，他被收养为法国公民，然后被选为《公约》的缔约国。他从那时起的行为我还没有认识到

*This letter was typical of many written by Morris to the foreign ministry regarding American citizens under arrest. It was restrained, seeking first the all-important information as to the charge against Paine, since that would dictate the appropriate response. Morris knew quite well that a demand would be counterproductive, much as Paine might have desired it; but he did make it clear that America and the American government took an interest in Paine, a powerful incentive for the French to pay attention to the matter.*

这封信是典型的莫里斯写给外交部关于美国公民被捕的许多信件。它受到限制，首先要求得到关于对潘恩的指控的最重要的资料，因为这将指

示作出适当的反应。莫里斯很清楚，一个要求会适得其反，就像潘恩可能希望的那样；但他明确表示，美国和美国政府都对帕伊内感兴趣，这是法国为此付出代价的强大动机。

*Morris' s opinion that Paine had been acting as a French citizen may be inferred by his statement that Paine' s conduct since the time he became a deputy "has not come under my cognizance," as well as from his comment to Jefferson. Morris' s view, though objectionable to Paine' s biographers, appears correct. Paine, as a deputy, had acted in the capacity of a French citizen when he cast his votes concerning the fate of the king. His vote against execution classified him as an indulgent, a status that was sufficient to condemn many native-born Frenchmen to death.*

莫里斯认为潘恩是以法国公民的身份行事的观点，可以从他的陈述中推断出潘恩自从成为副手以来的行为“没有受到我的认可”，也可以从他对杰斐逊的评价中推断出来。莫里斯的观点似乎是正确的，尽管潘恩的传记作家令人反感。潘恩作为代理人，以法国公民的身份投票决定了国王的命运。他投票反对执行死刑，把他归类为放纵者，这种地位足以使许多土生土长的法国人被判死刑。

*Moreover, Morris' s handling of Paine' s situation was the same as his approach in comparable cases, and hewed to international law. It was also in keeping with the much more painful decision by the American government in the fall of 1792 that it must refuse Lafayette' s request to be*

此外，莫里斯对潘恩处境的处理方式与他处理类似案件的方式相同，而且符合国际法。这也符合美国政府在1792年秋天做出的更为痛苦的决定，即必须拒绝拉斐特的要求

claimed as an American in hopes of being released from an Austrian prison—because as a legal matter, Lafayette's imprisonment related to his activities as a French citizen, not as an American.

拉斐特声称自己是美国人，希望能从奥地利监狱获释——因为作为一个法律问题，拉斐特的入狱与他作为法国公民而非美国公民的活动有关。

Deforgues responded to Morris' s letter with civility, but stated firmly that this "ex-deputy" had accepted the title of French citizen and a place in the legislative body, placing himself under the laws of the republic. He did not know the reason for the arrest but assumed it was "well-founded," and agreed to send Morris' s request on to the Committee of Public Safety.<sup>53</sup>

代福格对莫里斯的信作出了礼貌的答复，但是坚定地说，这位“前代表”已经接受了法国公民的头衔和立法机构的一个职位，将自己置于共和国的法律之下。他不知道逮捕的原因，但认为逮捕是“有充分理由的”，并同意将 Morris 的请求提交公共安全委员会

In 1895, historian Moncure Conway alleged that Morris conspired to keep Paine in prison.<sup>54</sup> There is no evidence of any "conspiracy" —and Conway and others who cite him ignore the critical fact that being considered an American would not have protected Paine. It is correct that Morris' s letter did not urge that Paine was an American citizen. This would have been contrary to his legal opinion, but he did leave the question open for the foreign minister, and Deforgues' s response indicates that he took Morris' s letter as such a claim. He then gave his official opinion that Paine had acted as a French citizen, a position Morris could not dispute.

1895年，历史学家 Moncure Conway 指控莫里斯密谋将潘恩关在监狱里。没有任何“阴谋”的证据，而且 Conway 和其他引用他的人忽略了一个关键的事实，即被认为是一个美国人就不会保护潘恩。莫里斯的信中没有敦促潘恩是美国公民，这是正确的。这可能与他的法律意见相悖，但他确实把这个问题留给了外交部长，而 Deforgues 的回答表明，他认为 Morris 的信就是这样一种说法。然后他给出了他的官方意见，潘恩作为法国公民行事，莫里斯对此无可争辩。

Of course, it is confusing that Deforgues should have claimed Paine as French, when his arrest apparently arose from a decree barring foreigners from the Convention. Paine was never quite sure whether he was arrested because he was a foreigner or for acts as a French citizen. He later told Monroe that Morris "could not inform Congress of the cause of my arrestation, as he knew it not himself."<sup>55</sup> Yet there was no scarcity of available charges against Paine, whatever his citizenship; the real mystery is why he was not arrested earlier.<sup>56</sup> Certainly he could have been convicted on the same charges that sent the Girondins to their deaths: as an indulgent, or for collaboration

*with Le Patriote Français, now denounced as a treasonous publication. The indictments that brought many French to the scaffold were frequently neither coherent or consistent, but for Paine the transgression was clearer than for most. He had been a prominent member of the losing party, defined as traitors because they had lost.*

当然，令人困惑的是，德福格应该声称潘恩是法国人，而他的被捕显然是因为一项禁止外国人参加《公约》的法令。潘恩始终不能确定他之所以被捕，是因为他是外国人，还是因为他是法国公民。他后来告诉门罗，莫里斯“不能告诉国会我被捕的原因，因为他自己也不知道。”然而，不管潘恩的公民身份如何，对他的指控并不少见，真正的谜团是他为什么没有早些被逮捕。把许多法国人送上断头台的起诉书往往缺乏连贯性和一致性，但对潘恩来说，这种违法行为比大多数人更为明显。他曾经是失败一方的重要人物，因为他们输了，所以被定义为叛徒。

*Morris promptly passed Deforgues' s letter on to Paine. Paine' s reply was full of unrealistic and really remarkable incredulity about having been arrested. "You must not leave me in the situation in which that letter places me—You know I do not deserve it," he wrote Morris. "They have nothing against me except they do not chuse I should be in a state of free-dom to write my mind freely upon the things I have seen." He had pre-pared a response, and applied to Morris, "[t]hough you and I are not on terms of the best harmony," to pursue the issue with Deforgues:*

莫里斯立即把代福格的信转交给潘恩。潘恩的回答充满了不切实际的、令人难以置信的对于被逮捕的怀疑。他在给莫里斯的信中写道：“你不能让我陷入这样的境地——你知道我不配得到这封信。”。“他们对我没有任何意见，除了他们没有选择我应该处于一种自由的状态，把我的思想自由地写在我所看到的事情上。”他事先准备了一个回答，然后向莫里斯提出，“虽然你和我之间没有达到最佳的和谐，”与德福格一起追究这个问题：

[Y]ou may add to that service whatever you think my integrity deserves. At any rate I request you to make Congress acquainted with my situation and to send to them copies of the letters . . . A reply to the minister' s letter is absolutely necessary, otherwise your silence will be a sort of consent to his observations.<sup>57</sup>

你可以为那项工作增加任何你认为我应得的正直。无论如何，我请求你使国会了解我的情况，并将信件的副本寄给他们.....绝对有必要对部长的信作出答复，否则你的沉默将是对他的意见的某种同意

*Paine' s answer to Deforgues was delivered by one of his English friends. Morris told him honestly that he agreed with Deforgues about Paine' s citizenship but would pursue the claim if Paine wished. He warned, however, that Paine should think twice before pushing the claim of being an American because that finding would be no protection:*

潘恩对 Deforgues 的回答是由他的一个英国朋友给出的。莫里斯诚实地告诉他，他同意德福格关于潘恩的城镇化，但如果潘恩愿意，他将继续索赔。他警告说，潘恩在宣称自己是美国人之前应该三思而后行，因为这样的发现不会有任何保护作用：

*[W]hether he be considered as a frenchman, or as an american, he must be amenable to the Tribunals of France for his conduct while he was a Frenchman, and he may see in the fate of the Brissotins that to which he is exposed.<sup>58</sup>*

无论他被认为是法国人还是美国人，他都必须对他作为法国人时的行为向法国法庭负责，他可以从他所面临的布里索廷家族的命运中看到这一点

*This advice was unimpeachable. Moreover, it is impossible to imagine what more Morris (whose influence Paine had done his best to nullify)—or Deforgues, who was merely a conduit to the Committee of Public Safety— could have done to get Paine released. Yet, sound as Morris' s advice was, it was not what Paine wanted to hear.*

这个建议是无可指责的。此外，很难想象，除了莫里斯(佩恩的影响力竭尽全力使之无效)和代福格斯(他只是公共安全委员会的一个渠道)之外，还有什么能让佩恩获释。然而，尽管莫里斯的建议听起来不错，但潘恩并不想听到这样的话。

*Morris did not expect Paine to stay quiet and told Jefferson:*  
莫里斯没有想到潘恩会保持沉默，他告诉杰斐逊：

[H]e may force on a decision, which, as far as I can judge, would be fatal to him; for, in the best of times, he had a larger share of every other sense than of common sense, and lately the intemperate use of ardent spirits has, I am told, considerably impaired the small stock, which he originally possessed.

他可能会强行做出一个决定，据我判断，这个决定对他来说是致命的；因为在最好的时候，他除了常识之外，在其他所有常识中所占的份额都比较大，而且据说最近对烈酒的过度使用大大削弱了他原来拥有的那点点小钱。

Yet Morris apparently heard no more about Paine. The Terror was now in full sway and prisoners at the Luxembourg were cut off from the out-side.<sup>59</sup>

然而，莫里斯显然再也没有听到潘恩的消息。恐怖分子现在完全控制了局势，卢森堡公园里的囚犯被隔离在外面

It is interesting to speculate whether Morris knew the extent of Jefferson's admiration of Paine. Nonetheless, Morris's forthrightness was not misplaced, for that admiration had waned. Although Paine still wrote to Jefferson, a June 1792 letter was Jefferson's last to Paine for ten years, and he sent no petitions to the French in Paine's behalf. It appears, therefore, that Morris was not alone in having lost respect for the celebrated

推测莫里斯是否知道杰斐逊对潘恩的钦佩程度是很有趣的。尽管如此，莫里斯的直率并非没有道理，因为这种钦佩已经消退了。虽然潘恩仍然给杰斐逊写信，但1792年6月的一封信是杰斐逊十年来给潘恩的最后一封信，他没有代表潘恩向法国人递交请愿书。因此，莫里斯似乎并不是唯一对名人失去尊敬的人

“propagandist” (the Jefferson editors’ description). Yet Morris remains the principal target of historians of Paine.<sup>60</sup>

“宣传者”(杰弗逊编辑的描述)。然而，莫里斯仍然是潘恩历史学家的主要目标

Morris had good cause to be angry with Paine. However, to believe that he would have pushed for Paine’s imprisonment is to understand nothing of Gouverneur Morris. The basic error of Paine’s biographers is exaggeration of Paine’s importance to Morris. Morris’s diaries reveal his flaws as well as his principles, and there is nothing in them indicating the type of man who would waste his time trying to put Thomas Paine in jail. Morris considered him entirely responsible for his own predicament, and while Paine’s sojourn in the Luxembourg was a terrible ordeal, many of Morris’s friends were in the Luxembourg or other prisons in equally difficult or worse circumstances, and many died. Morris was not indifferent to the sufferings of those in jail, but he clearly felt that Paine, who had laughed at the violence in France only two years before, was reaping the whirlwind. Moreover, as a lawyer, Morris knew the reach of diplomatic immunity and that Paine’s belief that being an American somehow sheltered him was simply erroneous. American or French, he was subject to the laws of France.<sup>61</sup>

莫里斯有充分的理由生潘恩的气。然而，相信他会要求把潘恩监禁起来，对莫里斯政府来说是一点也不了解的。潘恩传记作者的基本错误在于夸大潘恩对莫里斯的重要性。莫里斯的日记揭示了他的缺点和他的原则，里面没有任何东西表明这种人会浪费时间试图把托马斯·潘恩送进监狱。莫里斯认为潘恩的困境完全是他自己造成的，虽然潘恩在卢森堡的逗留是一个可怕的折磨，但莫里斯的许多朋友都在卢森堡或其他监狱里，处境同样艰难或更糟，许多人死了。莫里斯并不是对那些在监狱里的人的痛苦漠不关心，但他清楚地感觉到，仅仅两年前还嘲笑法国暴力的潘恩，现在正在收获旋风。此外，作为一名律师，莫里斯知道外交手腕的影响，潘恩认为作为一名美国人保护了他的想法是完全错误的。无论是美国人还是法国人，他都受法国法律的约束

• • •  
...

According to Conway, the end of the Terror in the summer of 1794 did not end Paine’s imprisonment, “for he was not Robespierre’s but Washington’s prisoner.” In fact, many prisoners remained in jail after Thermidor. Paine’s prospects were certainly better than they had been, not because of

the arrival of the new American minister James Monroe, but because the men who had ordered Paine arrested were dead or out of power. Still, Paine was no one's priority in the new regime, and Monroe did not answer Paine's three August letters, which described Morris as Paine's "inveterate enemy" who had damaged "the national character of America by quietly letting a Citizen of that Country remain almost eight months in prison without making every official exertion to procure him justice." <sup>62</sup>

根据康威的说法，1794年夏天恐怖的结束并没有结束潘恩的监禁，“因为他不是 Robespierre 的囚犯，而是华盛顿的囚犯。”事实上，在热米多之后，许多囚犯仍然在监狱里。潘恩的前景肯定比以前要好，不是因为新任美国部长詹姆斯·门罗的到来，而是因为下令逮捕潘恩的那些人已经死亡或失去权力。尽管如此，潘恩并不是新政权的首要任务，门罗也没有回复潘恩 8 月份的三封信。信中称莫里斯是潘恩的“根深蒂固的敌人”，他悄悄地让一名美国公民在监狱里呆了近八个月，却没有做出任何正式努力为他伸张正义，从而破坏了“美国的国家性格”<sup>62</sup>

On September 10, Paine was told that the American government considered him a French citizen, a position, according to Conway and others, dictated to Monroe by Morris. Of course, it was the correct legal position, and Monroe was also an attorney. When he finally wrote to Paine on September 18, promising his best efforts to free him, he spoke of Paine's importance to America, but he did not label him an American citizen.

9月10日，潘恩被告知，美国政府给了他一个法国公民，据康威和其他人说，这个职位是由莫里斯向梦露口授的。当然，这是正确的法律立场，门罗也是一名律师。当他最终在9月18日写信给潘恩，承诺尽最大努力释放他时，他谈到潘恩对美国的重要性，但他没有给潘恩贴上美国公民的标签。

Paine remained in prison until November, and in the interim wrote  
潘恩一直被监禁到年月，在此期间他写道



increasingly threatening letters to Monroe. Nonetheless, Monroe invited Paine to stay at his house after his release. Paine was also restored as a deputy, by a motion that described him as "naturalized as a French citizen," a status Paine no longer seemed to reject. He was ill much of the next two years, due to the hardships of prison and probably also his alcoholism. His outrage at his arrest did not diminish. Thomas Griffith, who had also been jailed during the Terror, wrote of visiting Paine:

给梦露的威胁信越来越多。尽管如此，门罗还是邀请潘恩获释后住在他家里。潘恩也恢复了副手的职位，他的动议称他“已经归化为法国公民”，潘恩似乎不再拒绝这一身份。在接下来的两年里，由于监狱里的艰苦生活，可能还有酗酒，他大部分时间都在生病。他对自己被捕的愤怒并没有减少。托马斯·格里菲斯(Thomas Griffith)也曾任“恐怖行动”期间入狱，他在提到拜访潘恩时写道：

Mr. Monroe informed me that he [Paine] was writing a most abusive letter to General Washington, and asked me to see him and persuade him to have it suppressed, as he himself had in vain endeavored to do. This I did, but all in vain; for Paine thought himself slighted by our Government, which had not demanded his release without waiting for his solicitation. He was, like many other geniuses advanced in life, both vain and obstinate to an extreme degree.<sup>63</sup>

门罗先生告诉我，他[潘恩]正在给华盛顿将军写一封辱骂性极强的信，并要求我见他，说服他压制这封信，而他自己却徒劳无功。我这样做了，但一切都是徒劳的，因为潘恩认为自己受到了我国政府的轻视，我国政府没有等待他的请求就要求释放他。他和许多其他天才一样，在生活中处于高级阶段，既虚荣又顽固

Paine sent the letter to Washington in the fall of 1795. When he received no answer, he wrote another one, and arranged for its publication in America in October 1796.<sup>64</sup>

潘恩在1795年秋天把这封信寄到了华盛顿。当他没有得到答复时，他又写了一封信，并安排于1796年10月在美国出版

The letter was a fulminating denunciation of Washington. Morris was described as his agent, and accused of having thrown "difficulties" in the way of Monroe. Paine also alleged that Morris had always been pro-British and possibly a British agent. If Morris hadn't left France when he did, "he would have been in arrestation. Some letters of his had fallen into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, and inquiry was making after him," Paine asserted.

这封信是对华盛顿的严厉谴责。莫里斯被描述为他的经纪人，并被指控在门罗的道路上抛出“困难”。潘恩还声称，莫里斯一直是亲英派，可能是一名英国代理人。如果莫里斯当时没有离开法国，“他就会被逮捕。他的一些信件落入了公共安全委员会的手中，正在对他进行调查，”潘恩断言。

*His prating, insignificant pomposity rendered him at once offensive, suspected and ridiculous; and his total neglect of all business had so disgusted the Americans that they proposed drawing up a protest against him. . . . But Morris is so fond of profit and voluptuousness that he cares nothing about character. Had he not been removed at the time he was, I think his conduct would have precipitated the two countries into a rupture.*

他的夸夸其谈、无足轻重的自负立刻使他变得无礼、可疑和可笑;他对一切事务的完全忽视使美国人感到厌恶，他们提议对他提出抗议……。但是莫里斯是如此热衷于利润和奢侈，以至于他根本不在乎性格。如果他当时没有被免职，我认为他的行为会使两国关系加速破裂。

*Thus, Paine got the last word in his dispute with Morris, and got it in public. Fortunately for Morris, the context was a broadside on America' s great-est hero, and this alone greatly diminished its impact. Regardless, Morris was not the type to reply; as he wrote Robert, "where I alone am con-*

因此，潘恩在他与莫里斯的争论中得到了最后的发言权，并公之于众。对莫里斯来说幸运的是，故事的背景是对这位美国最伟大的英雄的猛烈抨击，仅此一项就大大削弱了故事的影响力。无论如何，莫里斯不是那种会回复的人;正如他写给罗伯特的那样:“只有我一个人在受欺骗。”

cern' d, I leave Things to the Discussion of my Enemies." <sup>65</sup> It is therefore not surprising that Morris made no more mention of Paine. Though he had done considerable harm to Morris in what Morris considered the most difficult public mission he ever had to undertake, and scourged him afterward before the American public, Paine was, in the end, beneath Morris' s notice.

欧洲核子研究委员会，我把事情留给讨论我的敌人。”<sup>65</sup> 因此，莫里斯不再提潘恩也就不足为奇了。尽管他在莫里斯认为最困难的公共任务中对莫里斯造成了相当大的伤害，之后又当着美国公众的面鞭打他，但潘恩最终还是没有引起莫里斯的注意。