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Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

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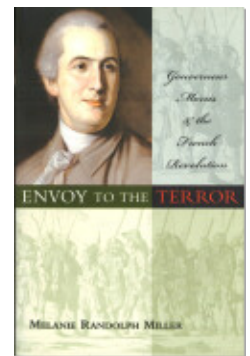
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CHAPTER 3

第三章

“Ces Indignes Français” 《愤怒的法国人》

THE IMPACT OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS on a man who had spent his life in America was fully appreciated by Benjamin Franklin. On September 5, 1789, the ailing Franklin wrote to an acquaintance in Paris:

18 世纪的巴黎对于一个在美国度过一生的人的影响被本杰明·富兰克林完全理解。1789 年 9 月 5 日，生病的富兰克林给在巴黎的一位熟人写信说：

I am sorry my Friend Morris failed in the Attention he ought to have shown you but I hope you will excuse it when you consider that an American transported from the tranquil Villages of his Country and set down in the Tourbillon of such a great City as Paris must necessarily be for some Days half out of his Senses.

我很抱歉，我的朋友莫里斯没有引起你的注意，但是我希望你能原谅他，因为你认为一个美国人从他那个国家宁静的村庄出发，来到像巴黎这样一个伟大的城市的 Tourbillon，一定有好几天是精神不正常的。

Morris also described Paris as “a sort of Whirlwind, which turns [a man] round so fast that he can see Nothing.”¹ He was deeply impressed by the grandeur of Paris and the apparent prosperity of the countryside, but, like Jefferson, he was not blind to the poverty and oppression they reflected. Paris’ s “Splendor is owing entirely to Despotism and must be diminished by the adoption of a better Government,” he would tell Lafayette, and this conviction tempered his awe.² One beautiful morning in early May, he walked to the top of an aqueduct to take in the view of a well-cultivated valley, villages, and Paris in the distance.

莫里斯还把巴黎形容为“一种旋风，旋转得如此之快，以至于他什么也看不见”巴黎的宏伟和乡村的繁荣给他留下了深刻的印象，但是，像杰斐逊一样，他并不是对贫穷和压迫视而不见。“巴黎的辉煌完全归功于

专制统治，必须通过采用一个更好的政府来削弱，” 他会这样告诉拉斐特，这种信念缓和了他的敬畏。² 五月初一个美丽的早晨，他走到一个水渠的顶端，眺望远处开垦良好的山谷、村庄和巴黎。

*I stand at this Moment on a vast Monument of human Pride and behold every Gradation from Wretchedness to Magnificence in the Scale of human Existence. Oh! my Country, how infinitely preferable that equal Partition of Fortune' s Gifts which you enjoy! Where none are Vassals, none are Lords, but all are Men.*³

此时此刻，我站在人类骄傲的巨大纪念碑上，注视着人类生存规模从悲惨到宏伟的每一个层次。哦！我的国家，你所享受的财富礼物的平均分配是多么的可取啊！没有奴仆，没有贵族，但都是人。³

Yet, in spite of his perorations on the virtues of the new American republic, Morris was soon viewed as conservative, for he was skeptical of people who had "all that romantic Spirit, and all those romantic Ideas of

然而，尽管莫里斯对新美利坚共和国的美德进行了演讲，但他很快就被视为保守派，因为他对那些拥有“所有浪漫精神和所有浪漫思想的人持怀疑态度

Government, which happily for America, we were cured of before it was too late.”⁴ As he made the rounds of his new acquaintances—as many as eight calls a day—he was naturally drawn into the political conversations engrossing all of the salons. He quickly concluded that the French were not ready for republican government, and said so. This was not welcome to his hosts. Mme de Lafayette took an immediate dislike to Morris, and told him he was an aristocrat.⁵

政府，这对美国来说是幸运的，我们在一切还来得及的时候就被治愈了。”⁴当他与新认识的人打交道时(每天多达8个电话)，他自然而然地被吸引到了所有沙龙的政治谈话中。他很快得出结论，认为法国还没有准备好接受共和政府。他的东道主对此并不欢迎。⁵拉法耶特夫人立刻对莫里斯产生了反感，并告诉他说他是个贵族

Jefferson, however, was friendly to the new arrival, and regularly invited him for dinner. The amount of time they spent together attests to their enjoyment of each other's company. They talked politics, finance, and vinticulture, and took walks around Paris, during which Jefferson pointed out examples of architecture that had missed the less knowledgeable (and less interested) Morris. They had their profiles drawn, and visited a thread factory. When Morris was sick in June, Jefferson kindly stopped by twice to check up on him, bringing him a newspaper to read.⁶ By July, when Jefferson wrote letters of introduction for Morris to his friends in London, he was unusually effusive, telling his close friend Maria Cosway:

然而，杰斐逊对这位新来的客人很友好，经常邀请他共进晚餐。他们在一起度过的时间证明了他们对彼此陪伴的享受。他们谈论政治、金融和葡萄酒文化，并在巴黎各处散步。在这期间，杰斐逊指出了一些建筑方面的例子，这些例子错过了知识不那么渊博(也不那么感兴趣)的莫里斯。他们绘制了自己的轮廓，并参观了一个线索工厂。六月份莫里斯生病的时候，杰斐逊好心地来看了他两次，给他带了一份报纸看。六月份，当杰斐逊给莫里斯在伦敦的朋友写介绍信时，他异常热情地告诉他的密友玛丽亚·科斯韦：

Receive then into your peace and grace the bearer hereof Mr. Morris, a countryman and friend of mine of great consideration in his own country, and who deserves to be so everywhere. Peculiarly gifted with fancy and judgment, he will be qualified to taste the beauties of your canvas.⁷

莫里斯先生是我的同胞，也是我的朋友，在他自己的国家受到极大的尊敬，他在任何地方都应该受到尊敬。他具有独特的想象力和判断力，有资格品尝你画布上的美景。⁷

He wrote in a more sedate manner to other friends that Morris was a “gentleman of great talents,” and “peculiarly distinguished in our councils.”⁸

他以一种更为平静的方式写信给其他朋友，说莫里斯是一个“才华横溢的绅士”，并且“在我们的议会中特别杰出”图8

Jefferson even grew comfortable enough to suggest a business proposition involving a purchase of land “at the Falls of Potowmack,” in the hopes that the new federal capital would be located nearby. He offered to go in shares with Morris and William Short, but Morris was reluctant, probably because Robert Morris still hoped that his holdings in Delaware, the “Delaware Works,” would be chosen for the capital. (“[T]hose cursed Works,” Gouverneur was calling them by 1791.)⁹

杰斐逊甚至很乐意提出一个商业建议，包括购买“波托马克瀑布”的土地，希望新的联邦首都就在附近。他主动提出与莫里斯和威廉·肖特一起入股，但莫里斯不愿意，可能是因为罗伯特·莫里斯仍然希望他在特拉华州的股份“特拉华工厂”(Delaware Works)会被选中作为首都。(1791年，古云尼尔称之为“受诅咒的作品”)图9

Morris clearly admired Jefferson, but he was cautious. The New Yorker did not believe in the general goodness of human nature, but on an individual basis, he was trusting. By contrast, while Jefferson professed “much confidence in the good sense of man,” he was much more likely to believe the worst of individuals. After an evening of discussing “Characters, Politics &c.” with Jefferson, Morris wrote:

莫里斯显然崇拜杰斐逊，但他很谨慎。《纽约客》并不相信人性总的善良，但在个人的基础上，他相信别人。相比之下，虽然杰斐逊声称“对人类的良好感觉非常有信心”，但他更有可能相信个人最坏的一面。在与杰斐逊讨论了一个晚上的“人物、政治和c。”之后，莫里斯写道：

*I think he does not form very just Estimates of Character but rather assigns too many to the humble Rank of Fools, whereas in Life the Gradations are infinite and each Individual has his peculiarities of Fort and Feeble.*¹⁰

我认为他并不仅仅是对性格的估计，而是把太多的性格赋予了卑微的傻瓜阶级，而在生活中，等级是无限的，每个人都有他自己的特点，堡垒和软弱

Still, he liked Jefferson, and told Robert that Jefferson “commands very great Respect” in France, “merited by good Sense and good Intentions. 尽管如此，他还是喜欢杰斐逊，并告诉罗伯特，杰斐逊在法国“赢得了极大的尊重”，“这是出于好意和善意。”。

*The french, who pique themselves on possessing the Graces, very readily excuse in others the want of them; and to be an Etranger (like Charity) covers a multitude of Sins . . . [A]n American Minister at this Court gains more than he loses by preserving his Originality—for the Rest, Mr. Jefferson lives well keeps a good Table and excellent Wines which he distributes freely and by his Hospitality to his Countrymen here possesses very much their good Will.*¹¹

法国人以拥有美德而自鸣得意，他们常常在别人的字典里找借口说自己缺乏美德；要成为一个真正的美国总统（就像做慈善一样），需要掩盖许多罪恶……美国首相在这个宫廷里得到的比失去的更多，因为他保留了自己的独创性——对于其他人来说，杰斐逊先生生活得很好，有一张很好的餐桌和上好的酒，他可以随意分发，而且由于他对这里的同胞的热情好客，

Their different natures did not mean significantly different appraisals of France, at least not at first. Jefferson considered the king weak, though he was “honest and wishes the good of his people.” Morris called Louis “an honest and good man,” but called him “small beer.”¹² Foreign minister Montmorin received a similar estimation: Jefferson said Montmorin was “weak tho a most worthy character. He is indolent and inattentive too in the extreme.” Morris agreed that Montmorin had “more understanding than People in general imagine, and he means well, very well. But he means it feebly.”¹³

他们的不同性质并不意味着对法国的评价有显著的不同，至少一开始是这样。杰斐逊认为国王软弱，尽管他“诚实，并希望他的人民的好。”莫里斯称路易斯为“一个诚实的好人”，但称他为“小人物”¹² 外交部长蒙特莫林也得到了类似的评价：杰斐逊说蒙特莫林“虽然是个最有价值

的人物，但是很软弱。他非常懒散，注意力也极度涣散。”莫里斯同意蒙特莫林“比人们通常想象的更加理解，他的意思是好的，非常好。但他的意思是无力的。”图 13

*They both criticized Lafayette, but Morris was much more pessimistic about Lafayette's ability to steer the Revolution, and events would confirm his judgment. Jefferson, though he recognized Lafayette's "canine appetite" for fame, believed Lafayette had "sound genius," and viewed him as the Revolution's standard bearer. He would have great difficulty reconciling that belief with continuing endorsement of the Revolution after Lafayette fell. Morris, by contrast, quickly lost faith that Lafayette could reform France. By July 1789 he described Lafayette as a "Lover of Freedom from Ambition, of which there are two Kinds, the one born of Pride, the other of Vanity, and his partakes most of the latter."*¹⁴

他们都批评了拉法耶特，但是莫里斯对拉法耶特领导革命的能力更加悲观，事件证实了他的判断。杰弗逊，虽然他认识到拉法耶特的“犬类胃口”的名声，相信拉法耶特有“声音天才”，并视他为革命的旗手。他将很难调和这种信念与继续支持革命后拉法叶特下降。相比之下，莫里斯很快就失去了拉斐特能够改革法国的信心。到1789年7月，他将拉斐特描述为“远离野心的自由爱好者，其中有两种，一种是出于骄傲，另一种是出于虚荣，他大部分参与了后者。”图 14



In the spring of 1789, opinion divided roughly into two "parties": those who favored reform were the "Patriots"; those who resisted it were the
1789年春天，舆论大致分为两个“政党”：赞成改革的是“爱国者”；反对改革的是“爱国者”

"aristocrats." Although his views were too moderate for his Patriot friends, Morris favored reform, and sharply criticized the reactionary nobility. "The Noblesse who at this Day possess neither the Force the Wealth nor the Talents of the Nation have rather opposed Pride than Argument to their Assailants," Morris wrote. "Hugging the dear Privileges of Centuries long elapsed, they have clamored about the Court, while their Adversaries have possessed themselves fully of the public Confidence every where."¹⁵ Nor was he impressed by his new noble acquaintances. He disdained their obsession with gambling, an occupation he found "[d]ull Drudging." On a visit to the duchesse d'Orléans, he watched in disgust as the guests, including a bishop, amused themselves in a chapel by surreptitiously putting lighted candles in each others' pockets, with "immoderate laughter . . . This Scene must be very edifying to the Domestics who are opposite to us and the Villagers who worship below." During dinner he noticed people at the windows. "Ah!" he wrote. "[D]id they but know how trivial the Conversation, how very trivial the Characters, their Respect would soon be changed into an Emotion extremely different."¹⁶

"贵族" 尽管对于他的爱国者朋友来说, 他的观点过于温和, 但莫里斯支持改革, 并尖锐地批评了反动的贵族。莫里斯写道: "在今天, 那些既不拥有国家的力量、财富也不拥有国家的才能的贵族们宁愿反对骄傲, 也不愿反对攻击他们的人。"。"他们拥抱几个世纪以来的宝贵特权, 在法庭上大声喧哗, 而他们的对手却在各处完全得到公众的信任。"¹⁵ 他对新结识的贵族朋友也不感兴趣。他鄙视他们对赌博的痴迷, 他发现赌博是一种"沉闷的劳作" 在访问奥尔兰公爵夫人时, 他厌恶地看着客人们, 包括一位主教, 在一个小教堂里偷偷地把点燃的蜡烛放在彼此的口袋里取乐, 带着"过度的笑声.....这一幕一定对我们对面的家仆和下面崇拜的村民非常有启发性。" 吃饭时, 他注意到有人站在窗边。"啊!" 他写道。"如果他们知道谈话是多么微不足道, 人物是多么微不足道, 他们的尊敬很快就会变成一种完全不同的情感。" 图 16

Nevertheless, Morris opposed the concept of voting *par tête*, at least once a constitution was formed. In March 1789, he made his first prediction of what would happen in France:

尽管如此, 莫里斯反对按票数表决的概念, 至少在宪法形成之后是这样。1789年3月, 他第一次预言了法国将会发生什么:

[A]s the Constitution of this Country must inevitably undergo some Change which will lessen the monarchical Power, it is clear that unless the Nobles acquire a constitutional Sanction to some of their Privileges . . . the Result must be a Tyranny of one in the first Instance, or as a Consequence of the Anarchy which would result.¹⁷

这个国家的宪法不可避免地要经历一些变革，这些变革将削弱君主制的权力，很明显，除非贵族们对他们的某些特权获得宪法上的制裁，否则结果必然是一个人的暴政，或者是由于将会导致的无政府状态的后果

*France was a nation "not yet fitted by Education and Habit for the enjoyment of Freedom," Morris told John Jay. Jefferson was not much more optimistic, declaring that France would "in the course of the present year have as full a portion of liberty dealt out to them as the nation can bear at present, considering how uninformed the mass of their people is."*¹⁸

莫里斯告诉约翰·杰伊，法国是一个“还没有适合享受自由的教育和习惯”的国家。杰斐逊也没有表现出更多的乐观，他宣称，法国将“在今年的过程中，考虑到人民群众的无知程度，给予他们的自由将是国家目前所能承受的最大限度。”图 18

*Two days before the Estates General opened, Morris and Lafayette dined with Jefferson. Morris freely offered Lafayette advice on dealing with Necker and others.*¹⁹ *Morris did not record what Jefferson said, but the American minister was alarmed by the prospect of an imminent breach in the Estates General and the difficulties it would pose for Lafayette, and afterward wrote Lafayette to recommend a two-house arrangement: one of the privileged (nobility and clergy) and one of the nonprivileged, because two*

在三级会议开幕前两天，莫里斯和拉法耶特与杰斐逊共进晚餐。莫里斯没有记录杰斐逊的讲话内容，但是这位美国部长对三级会议即将破裂的前景以及这将给拉法耶特带来的困难感到担忧，随后写信给拉法耶特，建议采用两套房子的安排：一套是私人住宅（贵族和神职人员），另一套是没有特权的，因为两套房子

houses were necessary for "good legislation," something Morris also firmly believed. Jefferson carefully added that Lafayette should not consider his letter "as advice." Yet advice it certainly was.²⁰

房子是必要的“良好的立法”，莫里斯也坚信这一点。杰斐逊小心翼翼地补充说，拉法耶特不应该把他的信看作是“忠告”然而，建议的确如此。²⁰

On the fifth of May 1789, the day the Estates General opened, Morris roused himself at four in the morning. Arriving at Versailles, he gave his ticket and found his seat in the crowded hall, and for four hours watched the representatives take their places. The warm reception of the king's speech brought tears to Morris's eyes, but there was no corresponding acclamation for the queen, and Morris was moved by seeing her appear to weep. He had pitied her the day before, watching the Procession for the Convocation, during which she was studiously ignored by the crowd. "I cannot help feeling the Mortification which the poor Queen meets with for I see only the Woman and it seems unmanly to break a Woman with Unkindness," he wrote, then, switching to a different train of thought, he went on, "Madame de C. tells me of a sprightly Reply of Madame Adelaide, the King's Aunt, who when the Queen in a Fit of Resentment, speaking of this Nation said 'Ces indignes Français' exclaimed: 'Dites indignés, Madame.' " ["These outrageous French!"
"Say instead, 'these outraged French,' Madame."]²¹

1789年5月5日，三级会议开幕的那天，莫里斯凌晨4点起床。到了凡尔赛宫，他交出了车票，在拥挤的大厅里找到了自己的座位，花了四个小时观察代表们就座。国王讲话受到的热烈欢迎使莫里斯热泪盈眶，但王后却没有得到任何欢呼。看到王后似乎在哭泣，莫里斯深受感动。前一天，他看着毕业典礼的队伍，对她表示同情，可是人群却故意不理睬她。“我情不自禁地感觉到可怜的女王遭受的屈辱，因为我只看到女人，用残忍的方式击垮一个女人似乎是没有男子气概的，”他写道，然后转换到另一种思路，继续说道，“德·C夫人告诉我，国王的姑母阿德莱德夫人给了我一个明快的答复，当王后愤愤不平地谈到这个国家时，她说‘愤怒的法兰西斯’，大声说道：‘这是不公平的，夫人。’”。“这些无耻的法国人！”“还是说‘这些愤怒的法国人’吧，夫人。”]图21

Morris listened without enthusiasm to the other speeches. At last it was over. "Here drops the Curtain on the first great Act of this Drama in which Bourbon gives Freedom," Morris wrote to Robert's wife. "His Courtiers seem to feel what he is insensible of, the Pang of Greatness going off."²² Morris ate dinner in a nearby tavern and talked with members of the Third Estate, giving his frank opinion on the impasse with the other two orders, "telling them that I think when their Constitution is formed it will be well for them to

vote par Ordre, but in forming it to vote par Tête.”²³

莫里斯没有热情地听着其他人的发言。最后一切都结束了。莫里斯在给罗伯特的妻子的信中写道：“这部戏剧的第一幕大幕拉开了，波旁给了自由。”。“他的朝臣们似乎感觉到了他的麻木不仁，伟大的庞氏症即将爆发。”²²莫里斯在附近的一家小酒馆吃了晚饭，与第三等级的成员交谈，坦率地表达了他对其他两个等级的僵局的想法，“告诉他们，我认为当他们的宪法形成时，他们最好投奥尔德雷的票，而是形成投票的形式。”图 23

*With the opening spectacle over, he went back to business and social calls in Paris. On May 14, he returned to Versailles and wandered about the Petit Trianon, unimpressed and even repelled by its grandeur. He observed several delegates also walking around, and commented, “Perhaps there is not one of them who thinks of what ought to strike them all, that this Expense and others like this have occasioned their Meeting.”*²⁴

随着开幕式的结束，他又回到了巴黎的商务和社交场合。5月14日，他回到凡尔赛，在PetitTrianon四处游荡，对这里的宏伟景象不以为然，甚至感到厌恶。他注意到几位代表也在四处走动，并评论说：“也许他们中没有一个人认为什么应该使他们所有人感到震惊，这笔费用和其他像这样的费用已经召开了他们的会议图 24

*Morris’ s attention was not entirely consumed by the political drama, and his diary describes other less momentous but entertaining experiences in this period, such as the request by the great sculptor Houdon to pose for the body of Washington. Though flattering, the request might still seem odd except for the fact that even with a wooden leg, Morris was reputed to have a “superb physical organization,” and “[f]ew men ever equaled his commanding bearing.”*²⁵ Morris was amused, writing that he

莫里斯的注意力并没有完全被政治戏剧所吸引，他的日记记录了这一时期其他一些不那么重要但很有趣的经历，比如伟大的雕塑家霍登要求为华盛顿的遗体摆造型。虽然是奉承，但这个要求可能看起来仍然很奇怪，除了一个事实，即使有一条木制的腿，莫里斯被认为有一个“极好的物理组织”和“新人曾经等同于他的指挥风度。”²⁵莫里斯觉得很好笑，他写道

was to undertake the "humble Employment of a Manakin. This is literally taking the Advice of St. Paul to be all Things to all Men." He also agreed to allow Houdon to make a bust of him "to please himself" (for Morris had no intention of purchasing it).²⁶

就是从事“卑微的马纳金职业”。这实际上是接受了圣保罗的建议，成为所有人的一切。”他还同意让胡登为他制作一尊半身像，以取悦他自己(因为莫里斯无意购买这尊半身像)

He joined the Club Valois, which was chaired by the duc d'Orléans and whose members included reformers such as Lafayette, the provocateur abbé Sièyes, and Jefferson's friend, the philosophe marquis de Condorcet. Morris's sponsor was a royalist, the marquis de Boursac. The club was an excellent source of political news, and Morris stopped by regularly.²⁷

他加入了瓦卢瓦俱乐部，该俱乐部由奥尔兰公爵领导，其成员包括改革者，如拉斐特，破坏神父²⁸是，和杰斐逊的朋友，哲学家马奎斯·孔多塞。莫里斯的赞助人是保皇党人布尔萨克侯爵。这家俱乐部是政治新闻的极好来源，莫里斯经常来这里

In the meantime, the three orders remained deadlocked at Versailles. On June 2, Morris told a friend of Necker that the king should "cut the Knot which the States cannot untie, viz.: that he should at once prescribe to them the future Constitution and leave them to consider it." Jefferson was discouraged, and told Morris that he was "out of Hope of anything being done to Purpose by the States General." Morris commented to him-self that Jefferson's disillusionment came

与此同时，凡尔赛宫的三个订单仍然僵持不下。6月2日，莫里斯告诉内克尔的一个朋友，国王应该“斩断国家无法解开的结，即：他应该立即给他们规定未来的宪法，让他们考虑。”杰斐逊气馁了，他告诉莫里斯，他“对美国将军为达目的所做的任何事情都不抱希望”莫里斯对他说，杰斐逊的幻灭感来了

from having too sanguine Expectation of a downright republican Form of Government. The literary People here, observing the abuses of their monarchical form, imagine that every Thing must go the better in Proportion as it recedes from the present Establishments and in their Closets they make Men exactly suitable to their Systems, but unluckily they are such Men as exist nowhere and least of all in France.²⁸

对彻头彻尾的共和政体抱有过于乐观的期望。这里的文人们，看到他们君主制形式的弊端，想象着一切事物都必须按比例向好的方向发展，因为它们正在远离现在的机构，在他们的壁橱里，他们使人们完

全适合他们的制度，但不幸的是，他们是这样的人，这样的人在法国是不存在的，最不存在的

*Morris must have repeated the advice he had given Necker's friend, for Jefferson met with Lafayette the same day he saw Morris and they agreed that the king should take the initiative and offer the Estates a "charter of rights" for review and adoption. Jefferson wrote a draft, a single-page combination of a constitution and bill of rights.*²⁹

莫里斯一定重复了他给内克尔的朋友的建议，因为杰斐逊在见到莫里斯的同一天会见了拉法耶特，他们同意国王应该采取主动，向庄园提供一份“权利宪章”以供审查和采用。杰斐逊写了一份草稿，一份单页的宪法和权利法案的组合。²⁹

*A week later, the Third Estate made a final appeal to the other Estates to join it and start preparing a constitution. Three days later, the dam cracked when parish priests deserted the First Estate. Soon the others followed suit, and on June 17, the National Assembly declared itself in existence. The king attempted to nullify the new Assembly, offering instead a pro-gressive program of fiscal and government reform, but it was too late: the Assembly refused to dissolve. On June 27, Louis capitulated and ordered the three Estates to meet jointly. "[T]he sword has slipped out of the Monarch's hands, without his perceiving a tittle of the matter," Morris wrote to John Jay.*³⁰

一个星期后，第三等级最后呼吁其他的不动产加入它，并开始准备宪法。三天后，当教区牧师离开第一庄园时，大坝崩溃了。不久，其他国家也纷纷效仿，6月17日，国民议会宣布成立。国王试图废除新的议会，而是提出了一个支持性的财政和政府改革方案，但为时已晚：议会拒绝解散。6月27日，路易斯投降，命令三个遗产会议共同举行。莫里斯在给约翰·杰伊的信中写道：“这把剑从君主手中溜走了，他对此事一无所知。”

The next night, Morris drove to Versailles for dinner. Lafayette was there, and told Morris that he "injure[d] the Cause, for that my Sentiments are continually quoted against the good Party." Morris did not hesitate:

第二天晚上，莫里斯开车去凡尔赛共进晚餐。拉法耶当时也在场，他告诉莫里斯，他“伤害了事业，因为我的《情操》经常被引用来反对这个好党。”莫里斯毫不犹豫地说了：

I seize this Opportunity to tell him that I am opposed to the Democracy from Regard to Liberty. That I see they are going Headlong to Destruction and would fain stop them if I could. That their Views respecting this Nation are totally inconsistent with the Materials of which it is composed, and that the worst Thing which could happen would be to grant their Wishes.

我抓住这个机会告诉他，我反对民主党从尊重自由出发。我看到他们正在迅速走向毁灭，如果我能阻止他们，我会很高兴的。他们对这个国家的看法与其所构成的材料完全不一致，最糟糕的事情可能是实现他们的愿望。

Lafayette replied that he knew his party was "mad," but was not the less determined to die with them. Morris fired back:

拉法耶回答说，他知道他的党是“疯狂的”，但并没有少决心与他们一起死。莫里斯反击道：

I tell him I think it would be quite as well to bring them to their Senses and live with them. He says he is determined to resign his Seat, which Step I approve of because the Instructions by which he is bound are contrary to
31
his Conscience.

我告诉他，我认为最好还是让他们恢复理智，和他们一起生活。他说他决心辞去他的职位，我赞成这样做，因为他所遵循的指示违背了他的良心

Morris had already concluded that "the materials for a revolution" in France were "very indifferent." "Every Body agrees that there is an utter Prostration of Morals," he wrote to Washington, "but this general position can never convey to an american Mind the Degree of Depravity." It was 莫里斯已经得出结论，法国的“革命材料”“非常无关紧要”他在给华盛顿的信中写道：“每个人都同意道德完全衰败，但这种普遍立场永远无法向美国人传达道德堕落的程度。”是的

*from such crumbling Matter that the great Edifice of Freedom is to be erected here. Perhaps like the Stratum of Rock which is spread under the whole Surface of their Country, it may harden when exposed to the Air; but it seems quite as likely that it will fall and crush the Builders.*³²

从如此摇摇欲坠的物质，伟大的自由大厦将在这里建立。也许就像覆盖在他们国家整个地表之下的岩层一样，暴露在空气中时可能会变硬；但是它似乎很有可能会倒塌并粉碎建筑者

Two months later, reviewing the Assembly' s preliminary constitution,
两个月后，在审查议会的初步章程时，

Jefferson made a very different use of the masonry metaphor:
杰斐逊使用了一个非常不同的砌体的比喻：

*You see that these are the materials of a superb edifice, and the hands which have prepared them, are perfectly capable of putting them together . . . While there are some men among them of very superior abilities, the mass possesses such a degree of good sense as enables them to decide well.*³³

你可以看到，这些都是一座宏伟建筑的材料，而那些准备这些建筑的人手，完全有能力把它们组合在一起.....虽然他们当中有些人的能力非常出众，但大众却拥有一定程度的良好判断力，使他们能够作出正确的决定

Jefferson' s optimism would not bear out.
杰斐逊的乐观主义不会得到证实。



Although he was fascinated by Paris, Morris needed to go to London, but fell ill in mid-June with a bad cold. It “plagues my Head and Breast,” he wrote, “sad Fruit of a Climate where Winter lingers in the Lap of Spring and even chills the Breast of Summer.”³⁴ In the meantime, tensions in Paris were increasing. The king, worried by outbreaks of violence, ordered troops to Paris; by July 1 there were more than twenty thousand in the vicinity of the capital. There were food shortages, and the price of bread was at an all-time high for the eighteenth century. On July 2, Morris noticed a convoy of grain arriving in Paris under military escort.³⁵

虽然他对巴黎着迷，莫里斯需要去伦敦，但在六月中旬因为重感冒而病倒了。它“折磨着我的头脑和胸膛，”他写道，“可悲的气候之果，冬天徘徊在春天的膝盖上，甚至寒冷夏天的胸膛。”与此同时，巴黎的骚乱正在增加。国王担心暴力事件的发生，命令军队进驻巴黎；到7月1日，首都附近已经有超过两万人。粮食短缺，面包的价格在十八世纪达到了历史最高水平。7月2日，莫里斯注意到一队军队护送下抵达巴黎的粮食车队

At Jefferson's house on July 4, he urged Lafayette to
7月4日，在杰斐逊的家里，他敦促拉法耶特

preserve if possible some constitutional Authority to the Body of Nobles as the only Means of preserving any Liberty for the People. The Current is setting so strong against the Noblesse that I apprehend their Destruction, in which will I fear be involved Consequences most pernicious, tho little
³⁶
attended to in the present Moment.

如果可能的话，保留贵族团体的宪法权威，作为维护人民自由的唯一手段。水流正在强烈地反对那些贵族，以至于我认为他们会被毁灭，而我担心的是，在这个时刻，我们很少注意到后果

Events would prove Morris's warning was sound. The noble privileges were abolished in August and their titles abolished the following year, and many of the nobles would flee and become involved in plots to restore the old regime. This threat, combined with the foreign military threat, would feed the Terror. 事实将证明莫里斯的警告是正确的。贵族的特权在八月份被废除，他们的头衔也在第二年被废除，许多贵族逃亡，参与到恢复旧政权的阴谋

中。这种威胁，加上外国军事威胁，将助长恐怖主义。

On the sixth of July, Morris fell ill again, and began a round of "Purgatives and Clysters" and bark with ipecac, prescribed by a doctor recommended by Jefferson. Perhaps as a result of these ministrations, he did not feel really well again after until the fourteenth, but he got out of his rooms on the twelfth, and visited the maréchal de Castries, minister of the navy.³⁷ The arrival of troops had heightened fears that the king would retract his concessions, and these fears seemed realized when Castries, in Morris' s presence, learned that the king had dismissed Necker, an act Morris would later describe as "mad" (Louis soon conceded, and reappointed Necker). "The executive and aristocracy are now at [the National Assembly' s] feet," Jefferson wrote triumphantly to Thomas Paine, and Morris thought the same, telling Castries that the Assembly was "now in complete and undisputed possession of the sovereignty." He advised Castries to

7月6日，莫里斯再次病倒，开始服用由杰弗逊推荐的医生开的“泻药和灌肠剂”，并用吐根吠叫。军队的到来使人们更加担心国王会收回他的让步，这些担心似乎变成了现实，当时卡斯翠在莫里斯的面前，得知国王解雇了内克尔，莫里斯后来形容这种行为是“收获的疯狂”（路易斯很快承认了，并指出内克尔）。杰斐逊在给托马斯·潘恩的信中得意洋洋地写道：“行政部门和贵族阶层现在都在国民议会的脚下。”莫里斯也有同样的想法，他告诉卡斯翠，国民议会“现在完全拥有主权，这是无可争议的”他建议卡斯翠

warn the King of his Danger which is infinitely greater than he imagines.
That his Army will not fight against the Nation. . . . That the Sword has
fallen imperceptibly from his Hand . . . He makes no precise Answer to this
but is very deeply affected.³⁸

警告国王他的危险比他想象的要大得多。他的军队不会与国家作战。
剑不知不觉地从他手中掉了下来.....他对此没有提前回答,但是深受感动

Morris then went to visit a friend at the Louvre, where he learned that the entire ministry had been dismissed in an attempt by Marie-Antoinette and the comte d' Artois (Louis' s youngest brother, who would later help lead the counterrevolutionary émigrés) to retrieve royal authority from the Assembly. The comte de Narbonne was there, and spoke of joining his regiment in anticipation of what he believed to be the inevitable civil war, and of the resulting conflict between his duty and his conscience. Morris replied that he knew of "no Duty but that which Conscience dictates," adding dryly to himself, "I presume that his Conscience will dictate to join the strongest Side."

然后, Morris 去卢浮宫拜访一个朋友,在那里他得知整个部门都被解散了,因为玛丽·安托瓦内特和阿尔托斯伯爵(路易最小的弟弟,后来帮助领导反革命米格尔)企图从议会中收回王室权威。纳尔邦伯爵也在那里,他说要加入他的部队,因为他预料到不可避免的内战,以及他的职责和他的良心之间的冲突。莫里斯回答说,他知道“除了良心的指引,没有任何责任”,他冷冷地补充说:“我想他的良心会指引他加入最强的一方。”

Morris' s nonchalance probably reassured the others, who were frightened. He offered to escort one of the guests, the little abbé Bertrand, to his home. "His Terror as we go along is truly diverting. As we approach the Rue St. Honoré his Imagination magnifies the Ordinary Passengers into a vast Mob, and I can scarcely persuade him to trust his Eyes instead of his Fears." Leaving him off, Morris drove by a pitched battle between a "Body of Cavalry with their Sabres drawn" and a number of civilians throwing stones. After watching for a while, he went on to Jefferson' s residence. On the way home he saw a mob breaking into shops for arms. "These poor Fellows have passed the Rubicon with a Witness," he observed. "Success or a Halter must now be their Motto."³⁹

莫里斯的漠不关心可能使其他人感到安心,他们都吓坏了。他主动提出陪同一位客人,小伯特兰神甫回家。“我们前进的时候,他的恐惧真的很有趣。当我们走近荣街的时候,他的想象把普通乘客放大成一大群

人，我简直不能让他相信他的眼睛而不是他的恐惧。”莫里斯骑马经过一场激烈的战斗，一方是“拔出军刀的骑兵”，另一方是一些平民投掷石块。在观察了一会儿之后，他继续前往杰斐逊的住所。在回家的路上，他看见一群暴徒闯入商店抢夺武器。“这些可怜的家伙已经用一个见证人越过了卢比孔河，”他说。“现在，成功或者戴上缰绳必须成为他们的座右铭。”图 39

The next day, July 13, the outbreaks intensified as people roamed Paris to seize “Arms wherever they can find any.” Morris put a green cockade in his hat—this symbol of support of the Third Estate was required if one was to be left alone on the street—and walked about to “observe as much as I can for I consider this as a fine Display of human Nature. It claims my Attention more than all the Palaces Paintings and Statues put together,” he wrote to Carmichael.⁴⁰

第二天，也就是7月13日，随着人们在巴黎四处游荡，“只要能找到武器，就没收武器”，暴力冲突进一步加剧莫里斯在自己的帽子上戴了一枚绿色的帽徽——如果要把一个人单独留在街上，就需要这个支持第三等级的标志——然后四处走动，“尽可能多地观察，因为我认为这是人性的良好展示。它比所有宫殿的绘画和雕像加起来还要吸引我的注意力。”

On Tuesday, July 14, Morris was busy with Robert's affairs all morning, and in the afternoon suffered another bout of fever and headache. He dragged himself over to meet with the businessman Laurent Le Couteulx, and learned of the taking of the Bastille. He was moved by the symbolism of the action, which he considered an “Instance of great Intrepidity.”⁴¹ Major Elnathon Haskell, an American living in Paris, wrote that night to William Constable:

7月14日，星期二，莫里斯整个上午都忙于处理罗伯特的实务，下午又发了一次烧，头痛。他拖着疲惫的身躯去会见商人劳伦特·勒·库特乌尔，得知攻占巴士底狱的消息。他被这次行动的象征意义所感动，他认为这是“伟大无畏的事例”⁴¹。住在巴黎的美国人埃尔纳森·哈斯克爾少校当晚写信给威廉·康斯特布尔：

*The Governour and Lt. Governour were put to death and their heads elevated upon long poles, which were carried through the principal streets and exhibited in Palais Royal (which Mr. Govr. Morris very properly calls the Liberty pole of France) before six o' clock this evening.*⁴²

政府和副政府被处以死刑，他们的头被抬到长杆上，穿过主要街道，在 PalaisRoyal 展出。今天晚上六点钟之前，莫里斯非常支持地打电话给法国的自由之柱

*Morris made this surprisingly sanguinary comment in the first flush of enthusiasm for what he considered righteous resistance to the king's advisers' attempts to subdue Paris and quash the National Assembly. He even asked Lafayette for a pass to visit the Bastille (seeing "[m]ore than I wish to see, as it stinks horribly").*⁴³ *Yet Morris had not actually seen the heads of Launey, the governor of the Bastille, or Flesselles, the municipal administrator of Paris (he had once met Flesselles), and he was greatly sobered by his first encounter with real brutality. On July 22, he was strolling under the Arcade of the Palais-Royal, waiting for his carriage to pick him up, when* 莫里斯发表这番令人惊讶的血腥言论时，人们的热情刚刚高涨起来。他认为，国王的先驱们企图征服巴黎，镇压国民议会，而莫里斯对此进行了正义的抵抗。他甚至向拉斐特要求参观巴士底狱的通行证(他看到的“比我希望看到的要多，因为它臭得要命”)。然而，莫里斯实际上并没有看到巴士底狱狱长 Launey 的首领，也没有看到 Flesselles 的市政管理官(他曾经见过弗莱塞尔)，而且他对自己第一次遭遇真正的暴行非常清醒。7月22日，他在皇家宫殿拱廊下散步，等着马车来接他，这时

the Head and Body of Mr. de Foulon are introduced in Triumph. The Head on a Pike, the Body dragged naked on the Earth. Afterwards this horrible Exhibition is carried thro the different Streets. His Crime is to have accepted a Place in the Ministry. This mutilated Form of an old Man of seventy five is shewn to Bertier, his Son in Law, the Intendt. of Paris, and afterwards he also is put to death and cut to Pieces, the Populace carrying about the mangled Fragments with a Savage Joy. Gracious God what a People!

德·福伦先生的头和身体在《胜利》中被介绍。头挂在长矛上，身体赤裸地拖在地上。后来，这个可怕的展览在不同的街道上进行。他的罪行是接受了部里的一个职位。这个七十五岁老人被肢解的形象被展示给他的女婿，因特特。后来他也被处死并被切成碎片，平民们带着残缺不全的碎片满心欢喜地走来走去。仁慈的上帝，多么伟大的子民啊！

Lafayette had been unable to protect them from the fury of a mob at the Hotel de Ville (City Hall), where they were seized. Foulon's mouth was stuffed with straw, apparently because he was rumored to have said that if the people were hungry, they could eat hay.⁴⁴

拉法叶无法保护他们免受暴徒在市政厅的愤怒，在那里他们被抓获。福伦的嘴里塞满了稻草，显然是因为有传言说，如果人们饿了，他们可以吃干草

That night, Morris did not sleep, but wrote all night, probably to distract himself. Just before five in the morning, exhausted, he began a letter to Mrs. Robert Morris. "If I should paint to you the Scenes which [illegible] witnessed you would from that Picture alone without further Assurance be convinced of the ardent Desire I feel to return to my native Country," he wrote. Telling her of what he had seen, he continued:

那天晚上，莫里斯没有睡觉，而是写了一整夜，大概是为了打消自己的念头。快到凌晨五点的时候，他筋疲力尽，开始给罗伯特·莫里斯太太写信。他写道：“如果我向你描绘那些[不合法的]见证你的场景，那么仅凭这幅画，你就不会进一步确信我回到祖国的强烈愿望。”。他把自己的所见所闻告诉了她，接着说：

I was never till now fully apprized of the mildness of American character. I have seen my countrymen enraged and threatening . . . But we know not what it is to slay the defenseless Victim who is in our Power. We cannot parade the Heads of our fellow Citizens and drag the man-

直到现在，我才完全认识到美国文化的温和。我看到了我的同胞被愤怒和威胁.....但是我们不知道杀死手无寸铁的受害者是什么感觉。我们不能游行我们的同胞公民的头部和拖动人-

*gled Carcasses through the streets. We cannot feast our Eyes on such Spectacles. That these People were tyrannical I shall agree tho I do not know it. But to be executed without Trial without being heard and then with such a horrid Spectacle.*⁴⁵

在街道上搜索尸体。我们不能尽情享受这种奇观。我承认这些人是专制的，尽管我不知道。但是在没有审判的情况下被处决，而且是在如此可怕的场面下

*Whether Jefferson had occasion that summer to look a severed head in the eye is unclear. He had tea with Morris the day after the incident, and Morris undoubtedly described it, for the same day Jefferson wrote to Jay of the people's "bloodthirsty spirit," but that the objects of the people's anger should have the sense "to keep out of the way."*⁴⁶ *Jefferson was a sensitive man, who believed in due process of law, and it is difficult not to speculate that had he actually seen the butchery of a man as Morris did, his views would have been tempered and perhaps radically changed. As it was, he was able to write on July 29 that he had*

杰弗逊在那个夏天是否有机会看到一颗被砍下的头颅，目前还不清楚。事件发生后的第二天，他和莫里斯一起喝了茶，莫里斯毫无疑问地描述了这件事，同一天，杰弗逊写信给杰伊，谈到了人民的“嗜血精神”，但是人民愤怒的对象应该有“避开”的意识⁴⁶杰斐逊是一个敏感的人，他相信正当的法律程序，很难不去推测，如果他真的像莫里斯那样亲眼目睹了一个人的屠杀，他的观点可能会有所缓和，甚至彻底改变。事实上，他能够在7月29日写下他已经拥有的东西

observed the mobs with my own eyes in order to be satisfied of their objects, and declare to you that I saw so plainly the legitimacy of them, that I have slept in my house as quietly thro' the whole as I ever did in the most peaceable moments.

我用自己的眼睛观察暴徒，以便满足他们的目的，并向你宣布，我如此清楚地看到他们的合法性，我一直在我的房子里安静地渡过整个过程，就像我曾经在最平静的时刻所做的那样。

*More facetiously, he told Maria Cosway, "The cutting off heads is become so much á [sic] la mode, that one is apt to feel of a morning whether their own is on their shoulders."*⁴⁷

更滑稽的是，他告诉玛利亚·科斯韦，“砍头变得如此多[原文如此]la 模式，人们倾向于感觉一个早晨，无论他们自己的肩膀上。”⁴⁷



It was typical of Morris to have written about the horror at the Palais-Royal to a woman; his letters to his male friends could be eloquent but rarely discussed his private emotions. In fact, if it were not for Morris' s keen appreciation of women, the story of his stay in Paris would make for duller reading. This is not simply because his pleasures provide a leaven-ing of the risqué to his narrative. Morris' s respect for the many remarkable women he met, and his willingness to give them full credit as wits and political thinkers, permit the scene to be viewed in fuller depth. In this he is a sharp contrast to Jefferson, who objected to women having anything to do with politics, and told Washington that the "desperate state" of France was due to the "omnipotence of an influence which, fortunately for the happiness of the sex itself, does not endeavor to extend itself in our country beyond the domestic line." 48

这是典型的莫里斯写关于在皇家宫殿的恐怖事件给一个女人;他给他的男性朋友的信可以很有说服力,但很少讨论他的私人情感。事实上,如果不是因为莫里斯对女性的敏锐鉴赏力,他在巴黎逗留的故事读起来会更乏味。这不仅仅是因为他的乐趣为他的叙述提供了一种色情的发酵剂。莫里斯对他所遇到的许多杰出女性的尊敬,以及他愿意完全相信她们是智慧和政治思想家的意愿,使得人们能够更加深入地看待这个场景。在这一点上,他与杰斐逊形成了鲜明的对比。杰斐逊反对女性与政治有任何关系,他告诉华盛顿,法国之所以处于“绝望状态”,是因为“影响力无所不能,幸运的是,为了性别本身的幸福,这种影响力不会努力将自己扩展到国内以外的地方。” 48

"[T]his is the Woman's Country," Morris wrote, with no sign of disapproval, after reviewing a proposed contract with Jefferson's merchant friend, Ethis de Corny, and his wife, who was "acquainted with the whole."⁴⁹ Though Morris occasionally made humorous comments about the role of women in French politics, he had as many serious discussions with women as with men. "Walk with Madame de Ségur and converse on the Situation of their public Affairs," he wrote in a typical diary entry on July 10, 1789, "which she understands as well as any Body."⁵⁰

"这是一个女人的国家，"莫里斯在与杰斐逊的商人朋友埃塞斯·德·科尼(Ethis de Corny)和他"熟悉整个社会"的妻子审阅了一份拟议中的合同后写道，没有任何否定的迹象⁴⁹。尽管莫里斯偶尔幽默地评论妇女在法国政治中的作用，但他与妇女进行的严肃讨论和与男子进行的讨论一样多。1789年7月10日，他在一篇典型的日记中写道："和 desgur 夫人一起散步，谈谈他们公共事务的情况，她对这个日记的理解和任何人一样。"⁵⁰

He had arrived in France with the reputation for "gallantry," but told the licentious vicomte de Ségur (Mme de Ségur's brother-in-law) that he did not expect "Amours" in France, and confided to his diary that his heart was "shut up."⁵¹ Here Morris deluded himself, for in late March he observed the unhappy duchesse d'Orléans and spoke feelingly of her need to be loved, a comment which surely applied to himself.⁵²

他带着"殷勤"的名声来到法国，却告诉放荡的sgur子爵(sgur夫人的妹夫)，他在法国没有期待看到"爱慕"，并在日记中吐露，他的心"闭上了"莫里斯在这里自欺欺人，因为在三月下旬，他看到了奥尔兰公爵夫人的不幸遭遇，充满感情地说她需要被爱，这话当然也适用于他自己

His academic French initially made it difficult for him to display his conversational talents, particularly his ebullient flirtatiousness. It was a lonely first few months, despite the numerous invitations he usually accepted, for Morris hated to dine alone.⁵³ "[M]ost of the Jests escape me," he wrote after a dinner at the home of the comtesse de Beauharnais (aunt by marriage of Napoléon's Josephine), in the company of several down-at-the-heel poets. He left immediately after the very bad meal. "[D]ream of my own Country and converse with my absent Friends," he wrote after a day alone.⁵⁴

一开始，他学术性的法语让他很难展示自己的谈话才能，尤其是他热情洋溢的轻浮。尽管莫里斯通常会接受无数次邀请，但头几个月还是很孤独，因为他讨厌一个人吃饭。在博哈奈伯爵夫人(他的姨妈嫁给了约瑟芬)的家中，他和几个穷困潦倒的诗人一起吃完晚饭后写道："大多数人都逃避我。"。他吃了一顿很糟糕的饭后立即离开了。他独自一人呆了一天后写道："回忆我自己的祖国，与不在身边的朋友们交谈。"

He was unaccustomed to the sophisticated rules of the game of love in France. He thought at first that the duchesse d' Orléans was interested in him, but soon realized this was a "Badinage which I begin to comprehend and there is nothing in it to flatter my Vanity."⁵⁵ He was flattered but repelled by what he called Mme de Staël's "Leer of Invitation," and later resolved, after talking to her long-suffering husband, the Swedish ambassador, never to join the list of those who had enjoyed his wife, a list that included the comte de Narbonne and Talleyrand.⁵⁶ By early June he was looking for comfort from prostitutes, although it appears that in neither of the instances he mentioned did he follow through.⁵⁷

他不习惯法国复杂的爱情游戏规则。他起初以为奥尔兰公爵夫人对他感兴趣，但很快意识到这是一个“我开始理解的恶作剧，里面没有任何东西可以奉承我的虚荣心。”到了6月初，他开始从妓女那里寻求慰藉，尽管他提到的这两件事似乎他都没有做到。⁵⁵

The woman who can fairly be described as the object of Morris' s most profound attachment fits the conventions of late eighteenth-century Paris: Adélaïde Filleul, comtesse de Flahaut, was married to a man about thirty-five years older than she, and had a young illegitimate son by another man. She was lovely. "A graceful figure, a charming face, expressive eyes and so amiable that one of my pleasures was to spend the evening with

这个女人可以说是莫里斯最深切的爱慕对象，她符合十八世纪后期巴黎的传统：弗劳豪伯爵夫人，嫁给了一个比她大三十五岁的男人，还和另一个男人生了一个年轻的私生子。她很可爱。“一个优雅的身材，一张迷人的脸，一双富有表情的眼睛，和蔼可亲，我的一个乐趣就是和她共度这个夜晚

her," wrote the famous painter Mme Vigée-Lebrun.⁵⁸ She was also an extremely intelligent woman with a great interest in politics. She wrote beautifully; "I thought well of myself but I submit frankly to a Superiority which I feel," Morris would confess in his diary, and noted that "this amiable Woman shews a Precision and Justness of Thought very uncommon indeed in either Sex."⁵⁹ Morris in the end gave up his whole heart to her.

她也曾是一个非常聪明的女人，对政治有着浓厚的兴趣。莫里斯在日记中写道：“我对自己评价很高，但是我坦率地承认我有一种优越感。”他还写道：“这位优秀的女性在思想上的准确性和公正性在两性中都是非常罕见的。”莫里斯最终把他的整个心都交给了她。

Adèle was about nine years younger than Gouverneur. She was the child of Irène Filleul, a mistress of Louis XV, who had sired Adèle's half sister. Adèle's father had dissipated a large fortune and committed suicide, leaving his mistress and their daughter without resources.⁶⁰ Irène died when Adèle was about six years old and Adèle went to a convent, where her closest relationship was with an English nun who taught her to speak fluent English. The year she was eighteen, she married Charles de Flahaut, keeper of the king's gardens, a position he held thanks to his brother, the comte d'Angivillier, who was in a powerful position as administrator of the king's buildings. Flahaut and Adèle had a tiny apartment in the Louvre and lived on three modest pensions, two from the Crown and one from the comte d'Artois.⁶¹

阿德勒比高维尼尔小九岁。她是路易十五的情妇伊尔内费尔尔的孩子，路易十五是阿德勒的半个妹妹的亲生女儿。阿德勒的父亲挥霍了一大笔财产并自杀身亡，使他的情妇和他们的女儿无家可归。⁶⁰伊尔内在阿德勒大约六岁时去世，阿德勒去了一家修道院，在那里她与一位英国修女关系最为密切，那位修女教她说流利的英语。在她十八岁那年，她嫁给了查尔斯·德·弗拉豪特，他是国王花园的管理者，他的这一职位得益于他的兄弟安吉维尔伯爵，他是国王建筑的管理者，地位显赫。弗劳厄特和阿德勒在卢浮宫有一套小公寓，靠三份养老金过活，其中两份来自皇家，一份来自伯爵。⁶¹

Although Morris's attention was caught by Adèle from their first meeting in late March at Mme de Corny's, the interest was not serious for some time.⁶² She, too, was intrigued by him, and asked their hostess to invite him again; a week after that, he paid his first visit to her apartment in the Louvre.⁶³ He enjoyed the company she kept, and visited her throughout the spring, but his diary entries show no conscious romantic feelings stirred until the summer. In this he may again have been deluding him-self, for when he did not see her for a few days in early May, he found him-self very out of sorts.

Equally telling was his first reaction to Talleyrand, the father of Adèle's child; Morris found his future rival to be "sly, cool, cunning, and ambitious," adding with remarkable obtuseness, "I know not why Conclusions so disadvantageous to him are formed in my Mind, but so it is and I cannot help it." 64

尽管莫里斯的注意力是从他们三月下旬在科尼夫人家第一次见面时就被吸引过来的，但这种兴趣在一段时间内并不严重。她也被莫里斯吸引住了，请女主人再次邀请他；一周后，他第一次去了她在卢浮宫的公寓。在这种情况下，他可能又在欺骗自己，因为在五月初，他有几天没有见到她，他发现自己非常不舒服。莫里斯发现他未来的竞争对手“狡猾、冷静、狡猾、野心勃勃”，并带着显著的迟钝补充道，“我不知道为什么在我的脑海中形成了对他如此不利的结论，但事实就是如此，我也无能为力。” 64

Some years later he was told that Talleyrand used to beat Mme de Staël during his affair with her, a revelation that clearly troubled him because of the implications for Adèle. He was not alone in his reservations about Talleyrand, who was also the Bishop d' Autun (Morris always referred to him as "d' Autun.") Étienne Dumont, an astute political writer who knew many of the principal actors of the early Revolution, met Talleyrand three years later, and left a fine portrait of the canny future statesman in his late thirties:

几年后，他被告知，在他与德斯塔尔夫人发生关系期间，Talleyrand曾经殴打过她。他并不是唯一一个对Talleyrand有所保留的人，他也是奥顿主教(莫里斯总是称他为“奥顿主教”)爱丁·杜蒙是一位精明的政治作家，她认识许多早期革命的主要演员，三年后她遇到了Talleyrand，对这位30多岁的精明的未来政治家留下了精彩的描述：

*I am not sure that he was not somewhat too ambitious of producing effect by an air of reserve and reflection. He was always at first very cold, spoke little, and listened with great attention. His features, a little bloated, seemed to indicate effeminacy; but his manly and grave voice formed a striking contrast with this expression. . . . He was particularly fond of social conversation, which he usually prolonged to a very late hour. . . . [H]e yielded to a species of intellectual epicurism, and became amusing that he might be himself amused. . . . The points of his wit were so acute, that to appreciate them fully required an ear accustomed to hear him speak.*⁶⁵

我不敢肯定他是否有点过于雄心勃勃，想用一种沉着冷静的神气来取得成效。他起初总是很冷淡，很少说话，而且非常专心地听着。他的五官有点臃肿，似乎显示出柔弱的性格；但他那男子汉气概的、庄重的声音与这种表情形成了鲜明的对比……。他特别喜欢社交谈话，通常会谈到很晚……他屈服于一种智力上的享乐主义，并且因为自己可能会被逗乐而变得有趣……。他的智慧是如此敏锐，要充分领会这些智慧，需要一个习惯于听他讲话的耳朵

*Longer acquaintance with Talleyrand convinced Morris that he was talented but indolent. He was also an inveterate gambler, something Morris despised. The bishop, like Morris, admired Adèle's intellect, often asking her for advice, and their relationship seemed more collegial than romantic. However, they continued to be at least occasional lovers, despite her denials to Morris. (In July 1790, for example, while Morris was in London, Talleyrand and Adèle thought she might be pregnant with a "brother or a sister" to Charles, their son.)*⁶⁶

与Talleyrand的更长时间的接触使莫里斯相信，他虽然心理有问题，但却懒惰。他还是一个根深蒂固的赌徒，莫里斯对此深恶痛绝。像莫里斯一样，这位主教钦佩阿德勒的才智，经常向她征求意见，他们的关系似乎更像是合作而不是浪漫。然而，尽管她拒绝了莫里斯的要求，他们仍然至少是偶尔的情人。（例如，1790年7月，当莫里斯在伦敦时，Talleyrand和阿德勒认为她可能怀上了他们儿子查尔斯的“兄弟或姐妹”。）⁶⁶

The upheavals of early July provided the impetus for Morris's affair with Adèle, for she feared for her husband's safety, and began to lean on Morris. Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the impression that a significant factor in Adèle's interest was her need to obtain security for herself and her son in the event that her elderly and impecunious husband should die; she could count on nothing from Talleyrand.

七月初的动荡为莫里斯与阿德勒的婚外情提供了动力，因为她担心丈夫的安全，开始依赖莫里斯。事实上，人们很难避免这样一种印象，即

Adèle 关心的一个重要因素是，如果她年迈贫穷的丈夫去世，她需要为自己和儿子获得安全保障，她在 Talleyrand 没有任何指望。

Morris was almost from the outset thoroughly rude to the outmatched old count, who alternately tried to exploit his wife's relationship with the American and to reassert his marriage rights with her, in vain. On the day the Bastille fell and Morris went to the Louvre, "Madame having on her Lap an Escriptoire," he gave in to the temptation to "scribble some wretched Lines," which Flahaut unfortunately asked him to translate. They were indiscreet and unkind, beginning, "In fever [Morris was still unwell], on your Lap I write; Expect then but a feeble Lay," and, later, "No Lover I. Alas! too old, To raise in you a mutual Flame." During another visit, when Flahaut would not leave, Morris complained, "it is clear that he means to give us the Pleasure of his Company that we may not have the Pleasure of his Absence. This is absurd; People who wish to please should never be troublesome." The best that can be said for Morris' s conduct toward Flahaut was that he considered the enormous difference in age to

莫里斯几乎从一开始就对那位老伯爵十分粗鲁，这位伯爵时而利用妻子与美国人的关系，时而重申与妻子的婚姻权利，但都以失败告终。在巴士底狱陷落的那天，莫里斯去了卢浮宫，“夫人在她的膝盖上放了一本电子杂志”，他忍不住写下了一些可怜的台词，不幸的是，弗拉豪特请他翻译。他们轻率而刻薄，开头写道：“发烧的时候(莫里斯仍然不舒服)，我在你的膝上写道：除了虚弱的躺着以外别无他法，”后来又写道：“唉，没有一个情人！太老了，在你们心中燃起一团火焰。”在另一次访问中，当弗拉豪特不愿离开时，莫里斯抱怨道：“很明显，他想让我们享受他陪伴的乐趣，而我们可能享受不到他不在的乐趣。这是荒谬的，想取悦别人的人永远不应该惹麻烦。”莫里斯对弗拉豪特的所作所为最好的解释是，他认为年龄在岁到岁之间存在巨大的差异

make the marriage a travesty, and could not regard the count as a legitimate husband.⁶⁷

使婚姻变成一场闹剧，而且不能把伯爵看作是一个合法的丈夫

By this time, Morris was in love with Adèle. He lost one of her handkerchiefs to a pickpocket and recorded that he valued it "far beyond what the Thief will get for it and I would willingly pay him for his Dexterity, could I retrieve it." On July 20, he told Adèle that he could not

这时，莫里斯已经爱上了阿德勒。他在一次扒窃中失去了她的一个手下，并记录说，他对它的估价“远远超出了小偷能从中得到的价值，我愿意为他的灵巧付钱，如果我能找回来的话。”7月20日，他告诉阿德勒他不能

consent to be only a Friend, . . . that I know myself too well. That at present I am perfectly my own Master with Respect to her, but that it would not long be the case. That having no Idea of inspiring her with a Passion I have no Idea either of subjecting myself to one. That besides, I am timid to a Fault. That I know it to be wrong but cannot help it.⁶⁸

同意只做一个朋友，...我太了解自己了。现在我对她的尊敬完全是我自己的主人，但是不久就会变成这样了。我不知道要用激情来激励她，我也不知道要把自己置于激情之中。除此之外，我胆小过头了。

我知道这是错误的，但我没有办法

Adèle thought this over and "to cure me of the Passion, she avows a Marriage of the Heart. I guess the Person [presumably Talleyrand]. She acknowledges it and assures me that she cannot commit an Infidelity to him. By Degrees however we come very near it." Morris believed she was also in love with him, "but in Effect Mankind deceive themselves more in believing the Duration than in believing the Existence of this Sentiment."⁶⁹ In view of their ultimate separation, Morris may have been right in this assessment, and that it was Adèle whose love ran cold—or was never as strong as his; it is hard not to suspect that their failure was due in part to Morris' s unwillingness to lower his defenses entirely. The record of his relationship with Adèle is largely one of games. He noted repeatedly that he did not think her love would last and then seemed to take steps to ensure that this would be the case, either by direct coldness or by flirting with other women. Howard Swiggett considered Morris' s conduct "often calculating and abominable," but there are comments in Morris' s diary indicating that his exuberant self-confidence was in places a thin crust over self-doubt; although Adèle never failed to

respond to his strategies (until the end of their affair), one senses that she at all times had the upper hand, and Morris knew it.

她仔细想了想，“为了治愈我的激情，她公开承认了一桩心灵的婚姻。”。我猜那个人(大概是 Talleyrand)。她承认这一点，并向我保证她不会对他不忠。然而，我们逐渐接近了这一目标。”莫里斯相信她也爱上了他，“但实际上，相信这种感情的存在，人类更多地是在欺骗自己相信这段时间。”⁶⁹ 鉴于他们最终的分离，莫里斯的这种评价可能是正确的，是阿德勒的爱变冷了一一或者从来没有像他那样强烈;很难不怀疑他们的失败部分是由于莫里斯不愿意完全降低自己的防御。他与阿德勒关系的记录主要是一场比赛。他反复强调，他认为她的爱不会持久，然后似乎采取步骤，以确保这种情况会发生，无论是直接冷淡或与其他女人调情。霍华德·斯威格特认为莫里斯的行为“通常是精于算计和令人憎恶的”，但是在莫里斯的日记中有评论指出，他过度的自信在某种程度上掩盖了他的自我怀疑;尽管阿德勒从来没有不对他的策略做出反应(直到他们的婚外情结束)，但是人们感觉到她在任何时候都占上风，莫里斯知道这一点。

On July 27, Morris and Adèle became lovers, two days before he left for London. The details are hidden behind the veil drawn by Ann Morris thirty years later, thick black lines blotting page after page of the diaries from that day forward.⁷⁰ They made love again the following day, and then, on the twenty-ninth, he took a “perfectly platonic” leave of her. “In this I do myself Violence, but it is right,” he noted, congratulating him-self.

7月27日，莫里斯和阿德勒成了情人，两天后他就要动身去伦敦了。细节隐藏在三十年后安·莫里斯所画的面纱后面，从那天开始，一页又一页的日记被浓密的黑色线条遮住了。第二天他们又做爱了，然后，在第二十九天，他和她“完美的柏拉图式”告别。“在这一点上，我自己做了暴力，但这是正确的，”他指出，祝贺他自己。^M

While in London, he got at least one letter from her, but by the time the separation had stretched to a month he was again talking of returning to America, and describing himself as a confirmed "old Batchelor."⁷¹ Yet his first move on return to Paris—after taking a bath—was to send to the Louvre to see if she was there. She was out of town, and Morris consoled himself by drinking too much, approaching "at least to Debauch." As soon as she heard he was back, however, Adèle set out and made a fifteen-hour gallop "over very bad Roads" to see him. He was extremely pleased:

在伦敦期间，他至少收到了她的一封信，但是等到分居时间延长到一个月时，他又开始谈论回到美国，并称自己是一个坚定的“老 Batchelor”然而，他回到巴黎后的第一个行动——洗完澡——是派人去卢浮宫看看她是否在那里。她不在城里，莫里斯喝了太多酒来安慰自己，接近“至少有点堕落”然而，她一听说他回来了，就马上出发了，骑了十五个小时的马，“穿过了一条非常糟糕的路”去见他。他非常高兴：

A feeble Health, a wretched Carriage, a bad Road, and worse Weather:
charming Sex, you are capable of every Thing! We talk a little Politics and
a little of Family Affairs and a little of Projets, and go through the first,
second and third Part of Oratory upon the Principles laid down by
Demosthenes.⁷²

一个虚弱的健康，一辆破烂的马车，一条糟糕的道路，还有更糟糕的天气；迷人的性，你什么都能做到！我们谈了一点政治，一点家庭事务和一点言论，并且讨论了德摩斯梯尼所制定的原则的第一、第二和第三部分的演说术

Their physical relationship was extremely passionate. They made love at nearly every opportunity, often at considerable risk of discovery—in his carriage; in Adèle's room while her near-sighted niece sat reading in the window seat; in the waiting room at the convent of Adèle's beloved old nun. "Celebrate in the Passage while Mademoiselle is at the harpsichord in the Drawing Room," he wrote of one breathless encounter. "The Husband is below. Visitors are hourly expected. The Doors are all open. *N'importe*." While Ann Morris excised the frankest language, Morris was just as apt to describe their lovemaking with sly classical euphemisms. "After Dinner we join in fervent Adoration to the Cyprian Queen," reads a typical entry, "which with Energy repeated conveys to my kind Votary all of mortal Bliss which can be enjoyed."⁷³ Despite the risks they took, Morris wrote that "[a]ppearances are scrupulously observed." He never spent the night with her; she asked him only once, and then only if he would arrive in a hired coach rather than his

own, which he refused to do.⁷⁴

他们的肉体关系非常热烈。他们几乎一有机会就做爱，常常冒着被发现的危险——在他的马车里；在阿德勒的房间里，她那近视的侄女坐在窗边的座位上看书；在阿德勒心爱的老修女院的等候室里。“当小姐在客厅里用羽管键琴演奏时，在过道中庆祝，”他在描述一次令人窒息的邂逅时写道。“丈夫在下面。参观者按小时计费。大门都敞开着。没关系。”尽管安·莫里斯使用了最直白的语言，但莫里斯同样倾向于用狡猾的古典委婉语来描述他们的性爱。“晚餐后，我们加入狂热崇拜塞浦路斯女王，”一个典型的条目，“其中与能量反复传达给我的善良 *Votary* 所有的人间极乐，可以享受。”⁷³ 尽管他们冒了很大的风险，莫里斯写道：“人们还是会小心翼翼地看着自己的脸。”他从来没有和她一起过夜，她只问过他一次，而且只问过他是否愿意坐雇来的马车而不是自己的马车，他拒绝这样做

*The comte de Flahaut having gone on a long trip to Madrid, their unfettered indulgence received a check at the end of September, when she thought she might be pregnant.*⁷⁵ Morris was not concerned: “If, however, nothing happens, we are to take Care for the future untill the Husband returns, and then exert ourselves to add one to the Number of human Existences,” he wrote, adding roguishly, “This is a happy Mode of conciliating Prudence and Duty.” For her part, Adèle was extremely worried, and asked Morris to agree to marry her.⁷⁶ Morris’ s immediate response, to his discredit, was to draw back. “[T]his is I know a Business to which there is

弗拉豪特伯爵(*comtedeFlahaut*)去马德里进行了一次长途旅行，9月底，他们的放纵得到了一张支票，当时她以为自己可能怀孕了。莫里斯并不担心：“但是，如果什么事情都没有发生，我们要为未来着想，直到丈夫回来，然后努力让人类的存在数量增加一个，”他写道，并调皮地补充道，“这是一种简洁明了的快乐模式。”对于她来说，阿德勒非常担心，她要求莫里斯同意娶她。莫里斯的第一反应就是退缩。“这就是我知道有一门生意

no End and therefore I refuse.” Adèle told him that Talleyrand was pressuring her to sleep with him, and that if Talleyrand “abandons her she is lost. What shall she do?” Morris, undoubtedly stung by the reference to Talleyrand, replied unpleasantly, “Whatever your Mind dictates to be right in the Circumstances of the Moment.”

没有尽头，所以我拒绝。”阿德勒告诉他，Talleyrand正在欺骗她和他上床，如果Talleyrand“抛弃她，她就会迷失。她该怎么办呢？”莫里斯无疑被“Talleyrand”这个字眼刺痛了，不愉快地回答道：“无论你的思想决定了什么，在当时的情况下都是正确的。”

It is clear that Adèle was hoping that Morris' s jealousy would lead him to commitment, but Morris, though he was extremely jealous, was unwilling. He was driven to “plead a prior Promise,” presumably a fabrication. She responded with outrage:

很明显，阿德勒希望莫里斯的嫉妒心能让他做出承诺，但是莫里斯虽然非常嫉妒，却不愿意这么做。他被迫“恳求先前的承诺”，大概是一个捏造。她愤怒地回应道：

How could I think then of violating that Engagement by which she was bound to her Lover [Talleyrand]. Was it merely for Amusement and to pass a vacant Hour that I had planted Misery in her Bosom. She feels guilty. She is not wicked enough to enjoy Pleasures which violate the Principles of Honor.

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那时我怎么能想到违反她与她的情人(Talleyrand)的婚约呢。我把痛苦放在她的怀里，只是为了消遣和度过一个空虚的时刻。她感到内疚。她还不至于邪恶到去享受那些违反荣誉原则的快乐

Morris apparently responded to this by embracing her. She asked if he would “ask a Release from my Promise in Case Circumstances permit of an Union,” and requested a plain gold ring. Morris agreed.

莫里斯显然对此做出了回应，拥抱了她。她问他是否会“在情况允许的情况下，要求解除我的诺言”，并要求一枚纯金戒指。莫里斯同意了。

Yet Morris was extremely uncomfortable with the situation of being “engaged” to a married woman with a child by another man, and went home feeling “very heartily tired of myself and every Thing about me.” Although he went with her to choose a ring, he told Le Conteulx that he was “going to England, being heartily out of Humor with every Thing in France.” Two days later he told Adèle he did not love her, which “wounded her to the Soul. However, we must always forgive, and therefore I at length consent to bury . . . my Dissatisfaction,” and he made love to her. The same evening he gave

serious thought to sleeping with the promiscuous Mme Le Conteulx. He went back and forth on trusting Adèle with Talleyrand, leaving them together in a situation in which they “have every Opportunity to cornute me but I have every Confidence in my Mistress,” but only days later suspecting them of doing just that, so that he went out and got drunk. Adèle was angry and told him frankly, “I tell you that I love you because I love you; if I did not it would be very easy to get rid of you for I am under no Obligation to be upon Terms.” Morris was briefly reassured, but it could not last, for he knew very well that his ties with Adèle, unlike Talleyrand’s, could be easily discarded.⁷⁸

然而，莫里斯对于与另一个男人“订婚”的已婚妇女和一个孩子的处境感到非常不舒服，回到家时感到“对自己和自己身上的每一件事都非常厌倦”虽然他和她一起去挑选戒指，但他告诉 LeConteulx，他“要去英国，对法国的一切都毫无幽默感”两天后，他告诉阿德乐他不爱她，这“伤害了她的灵魂”。然而，我们必须永远原谅，因此我终于同意埋葬.....我的不满，”他和她做爱了。就在那天晚上，他认真地考虑了一下和那个滥交的勒·库特乌尔夫人上床的问题。他不断地信任 Talleyrand，把他们放在一起，让他们处于这样一种境地：他们“有每一个机会来缠住我，但我对我的女主人充满信心”，但仅仅几天后就怀疑他们这么做了，于是他就出去喝醉了。阿德勒很生气，坦率地对他说：“我告诉你，我爱你是因为我爱你；如果我不爱你，就很容易摆脱你，因为我没有义务遵守条款。”莫里斯短暂地打消了疑虑，但这种情况不会持续太久，因为他非常清楚，与 Talleyrand 不同，他与阿德勒的关系可能很容易被抛弃

She was a creature of European taste and sophistication and a complex moral code unfamiliar to Morris. Morris may have toyed with settling

她是一个欧洲人的品味和复杂的生物和一个复杂的道德规范莫里斯不熟悉。莫里斯可能是在玩弄和解的把戏

permanently in Paris to be near her, but given her situation as a married woman, they could make only conditional commitments; when Morris left Paris in February 1790 for an absence of more than nine months, their attachment was permanently strained and their happiness never fully retrieved.

1790年2月，莫里斯离开巴黎，离开了9个多月，他们的感情一直处于紧张状态，他们的幸福从未完全找回。