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*Envoy to the Terror*  
恐怖活动特使

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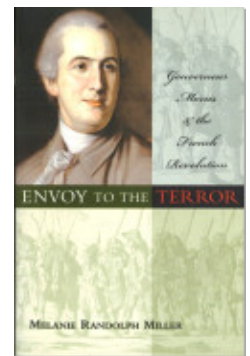
*Published by University of Nebraska Press*  
由内布拉斯加大学出版社出版

*Miller, Melanie R.*  
米勒, 梅勒妮·r。

*Envoy to the Terror: Gouverneur Morris and the French Revolution.*  
恐怖事件特使:莫里斯与法国大革命。

*University of Nebraska Press, 2011.*  
内布拉斯加大学出版社, 2011 年。

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## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

## 第十五章

### Conclusion

### 总结

THE FATALISTIC REMARK “Whatever is, is,”<sup>1</sup> recurs frequently in the papers of Gouverneur Morris, and the aphorism undoubtedly stood him in good stead throughout the vicissitudes of his life, from the time he lost his leg through the days of the Terror. He would probably make such a remark today, were he aware of the secondary—even tertiary—place he holds in American memory.

“无论是什么，就是什么”这句宿命论经常出现在古韦尔尼尔·莫里斯的论文中，这句格言无疑在他人生的沧桑中，从他失去一条腿到恐怖时期，都对他有利。如果他知道自己在美国人的记忆中所处的第二、甚至第三位的位置，他今天可能会说出这样的话。

There are signs that the ice jam around Morris may be starting to break. Richard Brookhiser’s 2003 biography of Morris takes a primarily flattering view of its subject, and Brookhiser’s appreciative prose reacquaints the American public with previously known but now forgotten information about Morris’s contributions to the Constitution and the outlines of his life and views, though it contains nothing new about Morris’s time in France. Later in that same year, William Howard Adams published a more in-depth biography. Unlike most of his fellow Jefferson scholars, Adams takes Morris seriously and presents him in a positive light. The section of Adams’s book concerning Morris’s time in France cites the research performed and the conclusions reached by this author in the dissertation form of this work.

有迹象表明，莫里斯周围的冰堵可能开始破裂。理查德·布鲁克希瑟2003年写的莫里斯传主要是奉承他的主题，布鲁克希瑟的赞赏性散文使美国公众重新认识了以前已知但现在已经被遗忘的关于莫里斯对宪法的贡献的信息，以及他的生活和观点的概要，尽管它没有包含关于莫里斯在法国时期的新内容。同年晚些时候，威廉·霍华德·亚当斯出版了一本更为深入的传记。与大多数杰弗逊学者不同的是，亚当斯对待莫里斯很认真，并且以积极的态度对待他。亚当斯著作中关于莫里斯在法国时期的

部分引用了作者在论文中所做的研究和得出的结论。

*Even so, some American historians may persist in clinging to their contempt for Morris. A fairly typical review of Brookhiser's book, by a historian, refers to Morris as a "Foundering Father" and a "lightweight" whose contributions to the Constitution and to our country as a whole were negligible, and says nothing of his time in France other than asserting that he gave the monarchs "foolish advice that eroded their support."*<sup>2</sup>

即便如此，一些美国历史学家可能仍然坚持认为莫里斯是个骗子。一位异教徒对布鲁克西塞的书进行了相当典型的评论，称莫里斯是一位“正在沉没的父亲”和“无足轻重的人”，他对宪法和整个国家的贡献都是晦涩难懂的，对他在法国的经历只是断言他给了君主们“愚蠢的建议，削弱了他们的支持”图2

*Nonetheless, this book, Kaufman's work on Morris's contributions to the American Constitution, and Mr. Adams's scholarly biography may together help to revitalize interest in Morris and refurbish his place of honor in our history. One hopes so, for the disinterest shown by most historians in his story is perplexing. While scores of keen minds plow and re-plow the fields of Jefferson's and Hamilton's papers, producing shelves of*

尽管如此，这本书，考夫曼关于莫里斯对美国宪法的贡献的著作，以及亚当斯先生的学术传记可能共同有助于重新激发人们对莫里斯的兴趣，并刷新他在我们历史上的荣誉地位。人们希望如此，因为大多数历史学家对他的故事表现出的漠不关心令人费解。当许多敏锐的头脑在杰斐逊和汉密尔顿的报纸上耕耘和重新犁地的时候，架子上的报纸

books dedicated to the nuances of their intellects and lives, Morris, who is surely as fertile a field, has had little scrutiny, and his papers demand full publication. "He is perhaps the most eloquent and ingenious man of his country, but his countrymen themselves distrust his talents," Otto wrote to Montmorin about Morris in 1792. "They admire but fear him."<sup>3</sup> Comments such as these would seem a tantalizing invitation to everyone who is interested in the extraordinary generation of the American Revolution. So do anecdotes such as that related by the dignified Jared Sparks to illustrate what he frankly called a "defect" in Morris' s character:

莫里斯无疑是一个富饶的领域，他几乎没有经过仔细审查，他的论文需要全部出版。1792年，奥托在写给蒙莫兰的信中谈到了莫里斯。“他们钦佩他，但害怕他。”对于那些对美国革命的非凡一代感兴趣的人来说，这样的三篇文章似乎是一个诱人的邀请。威严的杰瑞德·斯帕克斯(JaredSparks)讲述的那些轶事也是如此——他坦率地说，这是莫里斯性格中的一个“缺陷”：

At a breakfast table he was in close conversation with a gentleman, to whose harangue he had listened patiently, till it was his turn to reply. He began accordingly, but the gentleman was inattentive, and a bad listener. "Sir," said Mr. Morris, "if you will not attend to my argument, I will address myself to the tea-pot," and went on with much animation of tone and gesture, making the tea-pot the representative of his opponent,<sup>4</sup> till he had finished his replication.

在一张早餐桌上，他正和一位先生密切交谈，他耐心地听着他的长篇大论，直到轮到他回答为止。他就这样开始了，但是这位绅士心不在焉，而且不善于倾听。“先生，”莫里斯先生说，“如果你不理睬我的论点，我就对着茶壶说，”然后继续说下去，语气和手势都变得生动起来，使茶壶成为他的对手的代表，直到他完成了他的复述

This work has examined a principal justification for the long disinterest in and disrespect for Morris—his sojourn in France—and found an entirely different story than the one so long accepted, one that the above-mentioned review also reflects. The determined myopia of historians regarding Morris and his time in Paris has left our knowledge and therefore our comprehension of early American foreign relations incomplete. Morris was in the thick of things with respect to American-European relations from 1790 to 1794 and his actions had an impact; a significant if not overtly obvious impact. Having given Morris' s performance as a diplomat closer scrutiny than it has ever before

received, and with the benefit of a full review of the circumstances, the mists have dissolved.

这部作品研究了长期以来人们对莫里斯(他在法国的逗留)不感兴趣和不尊重的一个主要原因,并发现了一个与长期以来人们所接受的完全不同的故事,上述评论也反映了这一点。历史学家们对莫里斯和他在巴黎的时光的确是目光短浅,这使我们对早期美国外交关系的认识和理解不够全面。从1790年到1794年,莫里斯正忙于处理美国和欧洲之间的关系,他的行动产生了影响,即使不是显而易见的影响,也是重大的影响。在对莫里斯作为外交代表的表现进行了比以往任何时候都更仔细的审查之后,在对情况进行了全面审查之后,这些分歧已经消失了。

*Specifically: it appears that, rather than souring American-French relations, as DeConde and others after him have suggested, Morris prevented hostilities between the United States and France from August 1792 throughout his tenure. This is not a far-fetched hypothesis, but a proposition based on the record developed in this book. Much as the revolutionary French governments may have disliked Morris, it is a fact that the provocations were on the French side, and they were flagrant. Morris was urged repeatedly by the American victims of these transgressions to make official demands amounting to a "declaration of War," but he refused. He also refused, in writing to his government, to characterize these offenses in*

具体来说:看来,莫里斯并没有像德科德和他之后的其他人所说的那样破坏美国和法国之间的关系,而是从1792年8月起在他的整个任期内阻止了美国和法国之间的敌对行动。这不是一个牵强附会的假设,而是一个建立在本书中记录基础上的提议。尽管大革命时期的法国政府不喜欢莫里斯,但事实是,这些挑衅是站在法国一边的,而且是明目张胆的。美国受害者一再敦促莫里斯提出相当于“宣战”的官方要求,但他拒绝了。他也拒绝在给他的政府的信中描述这些违法行为

a way that would have seemed to require satisfaction. Rather, he presented the injuries as the inevitable result of the "intestine broil" of France. He urged that America, as France's friend, must temper her protests and, should requests for reparation prove impossible to accomplish, suffer patiently. This pragmatic approach infuriated the complaining Americans in France, but it had a calming effect on the American government and its treatment of French depredations occurring outside of Morris's sphere. The experience of James Monroe, Morris's successor, is instructive in this regard: he was seen as the ideal American representative at first, sympathetic to France and the Revolution, but when the United States entered the Jay Treaty with Britain, the French felt betrayed by him and he lost his credibility. The depredations continued, American resentment escalated, and the Quasi War between America and France followed in 1798.

一种似乎需要满足感的方式。相反，他把这些损伤说成是法国“肠烧”的必然结果。他敦促美国，作为法国的朋友，必须缓和她的抗议，如果要求赔偿被证明不可能完成，耐心忍受。这种务实的做法激怒了在美国抱怨的美国人，但它对美国政府及其对待发生在莫里斯领域之外的法国掠夺行为起到了镇定作用。莫里斯的继任者詹姆斯·门罗的经历在这方面很有启发意义：他起初被视为理想的美国代表，对法国和大革命表现出同情心，但当美国与英国签订《杰伊条约》时，法国人感到被他背叛了，他失去了可信度。掠夺仍在继续，美国人的怨恨不断升级，1798年美法之间爆发了准战争。

The popular view of Morris as a reactionary monarchist must also be discarded. Though he differed from Jefferson because he did not think a republic was immediately practicable for every nation, the record demonstrates that Morris's commitment to the republican ideal was as deeply rooted as Jefferson's, and his love for the French and desire for them to enjoy liberty and spread liberty throughout Europe were also as strong as Jefferson's. He grieved when it became clear that their effort would fail, and he did everything he could to try to avert disaster even though, as his letters and diaries show, he had little hope. In this connection, Morris's opinions on the French Revolution, reported to his government, do not merit dismissal as uninformed or biased commentary. There is no more convincing demonstration of his political insight than the fact that the majority of Morris's predictions for France, many of them quite specific, many of them made quite early on, did take place. Moreover, his opposition—borne out by what took place—to instituting republican governments in nations not yet "fitted by Education and Habit for the Enjoyment of Freedom" remains an important lesson for Americans, especially those who shape our foreign policy.

人们普遍认为莫里斯是一个反动的君主制主义者，这种观点也必须摒弃。尽管莫里斯与杰斐逊的不同之处在于，他认为共和制并不能立即适用于每个国家，但事实证明，莫里斯对共和主义理想的承诺与杰斐逊一样根深蒂固，他对法国人的热爱，以及对法国人享有自由和在整个欧洲传播自由的渴望，也与杰斐逊一样强烈。当他们的努力显然会失败时，他感到悲伤，他竭尽全力避免灾难，尽管从他的信件和日记中可以看出，他几乎没有希望。在这方面，莫里斯对法国大革命的意见，向他的政府报告，不值得作为无知或有偏见的评论解雇。莫里斯对法国的大多数预测，其中许多预测相当具体，许多预测很早就发生了，这一事实再没有比这更能令人信服地证明他的政治洞见了。此外，他反对在尚未“适合享受自由的教育和习惯”的国家建立共和政体——这一点已经得到了证实——这对美国人，尤其是那些影响我们外交政策的人来说，仍然是一个重要的教训。

*Morris' s willingness to stay on in Paris during the horrors and personal griefs of 1792-1794 cannot be discounted, nor can his unceasing efforts to help Americans and others, often in the face of stark ingratitude, such as that from Lafayette and his wife. Perhaps his actions in this regard are not meaningful in the sense of having made an impact on American foreign relations, but they constitute an episode of an American public servant' s valor and commitment to duty meriting both recognition and study, not the insulting dismissal they have heretofore received.*

莫里斯愿意在1792-1794年的恐怖和个人悲伤期间留在巴黎，这一点是不容忽视的，他也不能忽视他为帮助美国人和其他人所做的不懈努力，这些努力往往面临着赤裸裸的忘恩负义，比如拉斐特和他的妻子。也许他在这方面的行动没有意义，因为它影响了美国对外关系，但它们构成了一个美国公众仆人的英勇和对责任的承诺，值得承认和研究，而不是他们迄今所受到的侮辱性解雇。



Finally, the record establishes that rather than an indiscreet bungler, Morris was a shrewd and gifted diplomat whose negotiations with the British in 1790 did credit to his country and resulted in the dispatch of a minister to America. It is not idle to speculate that he might have had greater success than John Jay in negotiating an equitable treaty with the British and that America might have suffered much less internal division as a result.

最后,记录表明,莫里斯不是一个轻率的笨手笨脚的人,而是一个精明而有天赋的外交官,他在1790年与英国的谈判为他的国家赢得了荣誉,并派遣了一位部长前往美国。有人推测,在与英国谈判达成一项公平条约方面,他可能比约翰·杰伊(John Jay)取得了更大的成功,而美国可能因此遭受的内部分歧要少得多。

Morris' s activities as a businessman should not somehow taint his achievements. Because he was a businessman, Morris had a clear understanding of America' s current financial position and needs, as well as a glowing conception of the future of his country. It was not Hamilton' s limited vision of an economy tied to and dependent on Britain and British credit, or Jefferson' s idealized vision of an agrarian country of small virtuous family farmers, selling their produce to the world, but one of independent economic power.<sup>5</sup> In late September 1790, expressing his frustration with the British government' s indifference to American approaches, he wrote to Washington that American was still in the "seeding Time of national Prosperity."<sup>6</sup>

莫里斯作为商人的活动不应该在某种程度上玷污他的成就。因为他是一个商人,莫里斯清楚地了解美国目前的财政状况和需求,以及对美国未来的光辉构想。这不是汉密尔顿关于经济与英国和英国的信贷紧密相连和依赖的狭隘愿景,也不是杰斐逊关于农业国家的理想愿景——小而有力的家庭农民向世界出售他们的农产品,而是一种不依赖的经济实力。1790年9月下旬,汉密尔顿对英国政府对美国的做法漠不关心表示失望,他在给华盛顿的信中写道,美国仍处于“国家繁荣的播种时期”  
图6

Morris' s, of course—not Hamilton' s or Jefferson' s—was the vision of American prosperity that was fulfilled. Morris did much to assist it in his contributions to the Constitutional Convention, his papers on national finances, as well as his trade ventures of the 1790s, and much later, his support for the Erie Canal.

当然,莫里斯(不是汉密尔顿或杰斐逊)的愿景实现了美国的繁荣。莫里斯在宪法大会上的贡献,他关于国家财政的论文,以及他在18世纪90年代的商业冒险,以及很久以后他对伊利运河的支持上,都做了很多工

作。

*The detractions made by Thomas Paine, William Smith, and Stephen Sayre, as well as William Short and Alexander Hamilton, which have been largely unchallenged and in many cases blindly reendorsed during the past two hundred years, have distorted the story of Gouverneur Morris and kept him hidden from sight. At close inspection, with the motives of ambition, fanaticism, expedience, and simple ill will extracted, we have seen that the condemnations do not stand up. Not that Morris was perfect by any means. He tried to use his friendship with Washington to gain acceptance of a debt proposal without admitting his personal connection. The letter written by the president in 1792 to reprove Morris for his conduct in London was premised on false information as to Morris' s actions, but we cannot help concluding that it accurately depicted indiscretions he had been known to commit in America. Morris himself was entirely aware of this problem; in April 1789 he confessed in his diary that he had been "so weak & absurd as to express many Opinions which I ought to conceal and some of which I may perhaps find Reason to alter."*<sup>7</sup>

More serious

在过去的 200 年里，Thomas Paine，William Smith，Stephen Sayre，以及 William Short 和亚历山大·汉密尔顿的批评在很大程度上没有受到质疑，并且在很多情况下被盲目地重新认可，这些批评歪曲了 Gouverneur Morris 的故事，并且将他隐藏起来。我们带着野心、狂热、权宜之计和简单的恶意进行仔细观察，发现这些谴责根本站不住脚。并不是说莫里斯是完美的。他试图利用自己与华盛顿的友谊，在不承认个人关系的情况下，获得对一项债务提议的接受。1792 年，总统写了一封信，谴责莫里斯在伦敦的欺诈行为，这封信的前提是关于莫里斯行为的错误信息，但我们不禁得出结论，信中准确地描述了他在美国犯下的不当行为。莫里斯自己也完全意识到了这个问题；1789 年 4 月，他在日记中承认自己“软弱而荒谬，以至于表达了许多我应该隐瞒的观点，其中一些我可能会找到改变的理由。”<sup>7</sup>更严肃

than this, of course, was his involvement in French affairs while minister: the propriety of this course of action has provoked controversy and should provoke more as new voices enter the debate. Still, if Morris is condemned for trying to restrain the Revolution, Jefferson must stand alongside for his own conduct in helping ignite it.

当然，比这更重要的是他在担任部长期间参与法国事务：这一行动方针的适当性引起了争议，随着新的声音进入辩论，应该会引起更多的争议。尽管如此，如果莫里斯因试图限制革命而受到谴责，杰斐逊必须为自己的行为而站在一起，帮助点燃革命。

Morris himself bears some blame for his inconspicuous place in our history, for he was indifferent to posterity. Moreover, his contribution to the Constitution, his service in France, and his work as a senator may have been overshadowed by the cynicism of his latter years, during which he was critical of American policy, bitterly opposing the War of 1812 and supporting (in certain respects) the Hartford Convention.<sup>8</sup> This should not be the case. Morris' s thoughtful insights into politics and government never faltered, nor did his enlightened appreciation of women, his wit, or his enjoyment of life—an enjoyment he considered a duty to God.<sup>9</sup> His diaries and letters up to his death in 1816 are eloquent and absorbing national treasures.

莫里斯自己也要为他在我们的历史上不起眼的地位承担一些责任，因为他对子孙后代漠不关心。此外，他对宪法的贡献，他在法国的服务，以及他作为参议员的工作可能已经被他晚年的犬儒主义所掩盖，在那些年里，他对美国政策持批评态度，强烈反对1812年战争，并且在某些方面支持哈特福特会议。莫里斯对政治和政府的深刻洞察力从未动摇，他对女性的开明欣赏、他的智慧和他对生活的享受也从未动摇，他认为这是对上帝的责任。

Morris has always caught the eye of a few, of course, including the amateur historian who would become a president. "We have never had a foreign minister who deserved more honor than Morris," Theodore Roosevelt wrote appreciatively. "In his whole attitude towards the [French] revolution, Morris represents better than any other man the clear-headed, practical statesman, who is genuinely devoted to the cause of constitutional free-dom."<sup>10</sup> It is a judgment that the research for this work confirms. Despite his faults, the landscape of America' s early national history is greatly enriched by returning Gouverneur Morris to the picture and now, a century after Roosevelt wrote,

*nearly two centuries since Morris died, it is more than time for Americans—not just historians—to recognize his importance and celebrate him as one of the Fathers' most engaging members.*

当然，莫里斯一直吸引着少数人的眼球，其中包括后来成为总统的历史学家阿玛提尔。我们从来没有遇到过比莫里斯更值得尊敬的外交部长，西奥多·罗斯福写道。“在他对(法国)大革命的整个态度中，莫里斯比其他任何人都更能代表一个头脑清醒、务实的政治家，一个真正致力于宪法自由事业的人。”<sup>10</sup>这是一个判断，这项工作的研究证实。尽管莫里斯有缺点，但是他的回归极大地丰富了美国早期国家历史的版图。现在，在罗斯福写作一个世纪之后，莫里斯去世将近两个世纪，美国人——不仅仅是历史学家——应该认识到他的重要性，并将他视为“父辈们”中最有魅力的成员之一。

