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Envoy to the Terror

恐怖活动特使

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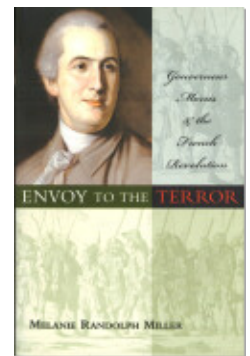
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CHAPTER SEVEN

第七章

The Opponents 反对者

THE NAMING OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO FRANCE, a choice destined to grate upon the nerves of so many, was made in early November 1791, in response to news that the British were sending a minister to the United States. According to the editors of the Jefferson Papers, when Washington told Jefferson that he intended to appoint Thomas Pinckney to London and Morris to Paris, Jefferson hoped to persuade him to do the opposite, and left a blank on the documents where the name of the court was to be inserted.¹ Jefferson was increasingly uneasy about Morris' s views on the Revolution— those views, as noted before, remained unchanged, but Jefferson' s were becoming more radical, and he worried about the effect of Morris' s dis-patches on Washington and American policy. However, Jefferson had been pleased with Morris' s firm hand with the British. In any event, he did not change the president' s mind, for Washington instructed him to insert “London” into Pinckney' s letter, stating that “[f]or the reason' s mentioned to you yesterday, I prefer London to Paris for his Mission.” Washington also named Short as minister resident to The Hague.

1791年11月初，为了回应英国将派遣一名部长前往美国的消息，美国向法国提名部长，这一选择注定会激怒许多人的神经。据《杰斐逊文件》的编辑说，当华盛顿告诉杰斐逊，他打算任命托马斯·平克尼到伦敦，莫里斯去巴黎时，杰斐逊希望说服他反其道而行之，并在插入法院名称的文件上留下空白。¹杰斐逊对莫里斯对革命的观点越来越感到不安——正如前面提到的那样，这些观点保持不变，但杰斐逊的观点变得更加激进，他担心莫里斯对华盛顿和美国政策的批评会产生影响。然而，杰斐逊对莫里斯对英国人的强硬态度很满意。无论如何，他没有改变总统的想法，因为华盛顿指示他在平克尼的信中加上“伦敦”，声称“或者昨天向你提到的原因，我更喜欢伦敦而不是巴黎来完成他的使命。”华盛顿还任命肖特为驻海牙的部长。

The nominations faced difficulties in the Senate. There were many senators who believed that the United States should have no foreign establishments,

and raised the constitutional issue of authority to make that decision. There were also a number opposed to Morris' s nomination. The two parties joined forces when the Senate committee began to consider the nominations in late December. The committee included Caleb Strong, Aaron Burr, Richard Henry Lee, James Gunn—all four of whom voted against Morris' s appointment—and Oliver Ellsworth. On January 3, Jefferson wrote Short that they had been “twelve days in suspense . . . Whatever you may hear otherwise, be assured that no mortal not even of their own body can at this moment guess the result.” A week later there was still no vote, and he added a postscript: “Tho the Senate has been constantly on the subject in my cyphered letter, there is no decision as yet.”²

提名在参议院遇到了困难。有许多参议员认为，美国不应该有外国建立，并提出了宪法问题，作出这一决定的权力。还有一些人反对莫里斯的提名。当参议院委员会在12月底开始审议这些提名时，两党联合起来。委员会成员包括 CalebStrong, AaronBurr, RichardHenryLee, Jamesgunn——他们都投票反对 Morris 的任命——以及奥利弗·埃尔斯沃思。1月3日，杰弗逊写信给肖特说，他们已经“悬而未决了12天.....不管你听到了什么，请放心，没有任何一个凡人，即使是他们自己的身体，在这一刻也无法猜测结果。”一周后仍然没有投票，他补充说：“尽管参议院在我的密码信中一直在讨论这个问题，但目前还没有决定。”图2

Whatever his views may have been of Morris, Jefferson did his duty and worked hard for the confirmations. On January 4, he drafted a letter from Washington to the Senate asserting that the Constitution had "made the President the sole competent judge to what places circumstances render it expedient that Ambassadors or other public ministers should be sent," and that the Senate had power only to give or withhold consent to the person nominated.³

无论他对莫里斯的看法如何，杰弗逊都尽了自己的职责，努力争取通过。1月4日，他起草了一封来自华盛顿的致参议院的信，声称《宪法》已经“使总统成为在何种情况下适宜派遣大使或其他公共部长的唯一主管法官”，而参议院只有权给予或拒绝给予被提名人的同意

The letter proved unnecessary after Jefferson met with the committee and presented these arguments in person. The meeting apparently turned the tide with the committee members with respect to agreeing to the establishments. It had no impact on support for the nominations them-selves, however, and the debate on Morris' s appointment was contentious.⁴ James Monroe was the most outspoken and told the Senate:

在杰斐逊会见委员会并亲自提出这些论点之后，这封信被证明是多余的。这次会议显然扭转了委员会成员同意设立这些机构的趋势。然而，这并没有影响到人们对提名的支持，而且关于莫里斯的任命的争论也非常激烈。⁴詹姆斯·门罗是最直言不讳的，他告诉参议院：

His manners are not conciliatory—his character well known & considered as indiscreet—upon the grounds of character he was twice refused as a Member of the Treasury board, once at Trenton & after-wards at New York—Besides he is a monarchy man & not suitable to be employed by this country, nor in France. He went to Europe to sell lands and Certificates.⁵

他的举止并不温和——他的性格众所周知，人们认为他不够谨慎——由于他的性格，他两次被拒绝担任财政委员会的成员，一次是在纽约的特伦顿和后继者——此外，他是一个君主制的人，不适合受雇于这个国家，也不适合受雇于法国。他去欧洲出售土地和证书

Monroe' s opposition would not have surprised Morris, but he would have been wounded to the soul to hear the speech by Roger Sherman, who damned Morris' s talent with faint praise ("he is capable of writing a good letter and forming a good Draft"), admitting that he had "never heard that he has betrayed a trust or that he lacks integrity," but attacking Morris' s moral character, with regard to which Sherman considered him

门罗的反对者不会让莫里斯感到惊讶，但如果听到罗杰·谢尔曼(Roger Sherman)的演讲，他会伤透了自己的灵魂。谢尔曼对莫里斯的才华

大加赞赏(“他能写出一封好信,并形成一份好的草稿”),承认自己“从未听说过自己背叛了信任或缺乏正直”,但却攻击莫里斯的道德品质,谢尔曼认为莫里斯是个好人

an irreligious and profane man—he is no hypocrite and never pre-tended to have any religion. He makes religion the subject of ridicule and is profane in his conversation. . . . It is a bad example to promote such characters; and although they may never have betrayed a trust, or exhibited proofs of a want of integrity, and although they may be called men of honor—yet I would not put my trust in them—I am unwilling that the country should put their Trust in them, and because they have not already done wrong, I feel no security that they will not do wrong in future.

一个无宗教信仰和亵渎神灵的人——他不是伪君子,也从不预先倾向于有任何宗教信仰。他使宗教成为嘲笑的对象,并在谈话中亵渎宗教。提拔这样的人物是一个不好的例子;虽然他们可能从未背叛过任何信任,或者表现出缺乏正直的证据,虽然他们可能被称为有荣誉感的人——但是我不信任他们——我不愿意国家信任他们,因为他们还没有做错事,我没有安全感,他们将来不会做错事。

Sherman then veered off into a discussion of Benedict Arnold who was also “an irreligious and profane character—he was called a man of honor,” but 然后,谢尔曼转而讨论了本尼迪克特·阿诺德,他也是“一个不信教的亵渎神灵的人——他被称为一个正直的人,”但是

had "betrayed his Trust" and "would have delivered up the Commander in chief & betrayed his country." Therefore, concluded this senator whom Morris had described as "certainly one of the noblest men in America,"⁶ as "the like has happened from other such characters; and I am against their being employed and shall therefore vote against Mr. Morris."

“背叛了他的信任”和“会交出总司令，背叛了他的国家。”因此，这位被莫里斯称为“当然是美国最高贵的人之一”的参议员得出结论说，“其他这样的人也有过类似的遭遇；我反对雇用他们，因此将投票反对莫里斯先生。”

Apparently "no person vindicated him against these charges except his namesake," wrote Monroe, but Washington's prestige saved the nomination. On January 12, 1791, Pinckney was confirmed without dissent, Morris was confirmed by sixteen votes for to eleven against, and Short by fifteen votes for to eleven against (opposition to Short's appointment related to objections to establishing a minister in Holland).⁷

显然，“除了与他同名的人，没有人为他辩护，”门罗写道，但华盛顿的威望挽救了提名。1791年1月12日，平克尼毫无异议地通过了任命，莫里斯以十六票赞成十一票反对，肖特以十五票反对十一票反对（对肖特任命的反对意见与反对在荷兰任命部长有关）

Two weeks after the vote, Monroe wrote to his friend St. George Tucker about the debate, telling him that Morris was opposed because of his

投票两周后，Monroe写信给他的朋友圣乔治·塔克，告诉他 Morris 因为他的原因而反对这次辩论

general moral character wh. precluded all possibility of confidence in his morals. 2ndly his known attachment to monarchic govt. & contempt of the Republicans, rendering him unfit to represent us & especially at the French court in the present happy turn of their affairs. 3d. his general brutality of manners & indiscretion giving him a wonderful facility in making enemies & losing friends & of course unfit for a negotiator [note the echo of Hamilton's fabricated allegations]—4thly his being at present abroad as a vendor of public securities & back lands.⁸

一般道德品质。排除了对他的道德信任的所有可能性。众所周知，他对君主制政府的依恋。共和党人的诱惑，使他不适合在法国宫廷里代表我们，尤其是在他们目前的幸福事态发展中。3d. 他粗暴的举止和轻率的行为给了他一个极好的机会，使他能够制造敌人，失去朋友 & 当然不适合做一个谈判者[注意回应汉密尔顿捏造的指控]—第四，他目前在国外是一个公共证券和后地的销售商

This letter is remarkably vitriolic, but no more so than Jefferson's denunciation, made six weeks later, after meeting with Washington to discuss a statement of congratulations to Louis XVI on the new French constitution. Although Jefferson personally rejoiced in the new constitution, Washington had directed him to avoid "saying a word in approbation" of it, "not knowing whether the king in his heart approved it." Washington's comment confounded the secretary of state, and Washington must have noticed his chagrin. "Why indeed says he I begin to doubt very much the affairs of France," Jefferson recorded. "There are papers from London as late as the 10th. of Jan. which represent them as going into confusion." Jefferson was in a cold rage. "This is one of many proofs I have had of his want of confidence in the event of the French revolution," he wrote in his notes.

这封信非常尖酸刻薄，但最尖酸刻薄的莫过于6周后杰斐逊在与华盛顿讨论向路易十六(LouisXVI)发表的祝贺法国新宪法的声明之后发表的辞职演说。虽然杰斐逊本人对新宪法感到高兴，但华盛顿指示他不要“说一个赞成的字”，“不知道国王在心里是否赞成它。”华盛顿的评论让国务卿感到困惑，华盛顿一定注意到了他的懊恼。“为什么说我开始非常怀疑法国的事务，”杰斐逊记录。“伦敦的报纸直到10日才开始发行。这表明他们正陷入混乱。”杰斐逊勃然大怒。“这是我对他在法国大革命中缺乏信心的诸多证据之一，”他在笔记中写道。

The fact is that Gouverneur Morris, a high flying Monarchy-man, shutting his eyes and his faith to every fact against his wishes, and

事实上，高维尼尔·莫里斯，一个高高在上的君主主义者，对每一个违背他意愿的事实都视而不见，而且

believing every thing he desires to be true, has kept the President' s
mind constantly poisoned with his forebodings.⁹

相信他所希望的每一件事都是真实的，这使得总统的思想不断地被
他的预感所毒害

The tremendous irony in this angry paragraph cannot be sidestepped: even the editors of his papers do not question that it was Jefferson who res-olutely closed "his eyes and his faith to every fact against his wishes" regarding the Revolution.¹⁰ Regardless, the animosity Jefferson expressed toward Morris had many sources, and we now turn to flushing them out.

这个愤怒的段落中有一个巨大的讽刺是无法回避的:即使是他的报纸的编辑也不会质疑,是杰弗逊在革命问题上绝对地闭上了“他的眼睛和他对每一个违背他意愿的事实的信仰”。¹⁰无论如何,杰弗逊对莫里斯表达的敌意有很多来源,我们现在要把它们赶出去。

Morris did not always recognize his antagonists. Some were clothed in the guise of good comradeship, like Short, or long friendship, such as Alexander Hamilton. Others he had never particularly liked, such as Thomas Paine, but they spent a fair amount of time together and Morris was angry to find that Paine had denounced him behind his back. Some he scarcely knew, such as William Jackson and Stephen Sayre, but because he was in a public position, they knew him and for various reasons did their best to damage him with the French and American governments. That he was recalled is a measure of their success. That George Washington' s affection and respect for him remained intact is a measure of their failure. Yet Washington' s loyalty was arguably primarily based on faith; to determine whether Morris was truly deserving of approbation or censure, the merit of the attacks and the merit of the men who made them must be examined.

莫里斯并不总是承认他的对手。有些人披着友好的外衣,比如肖特,或者长期的友谊,比如亚历克斯-安德尔汉密尔顿。其他人他从来没有特别喜欢,如托马斯潘恩,但他们花了相当多的时间在一起,莫里斯愤怒地发现潘恩在背后指责他。一些他几乎不认识的人,比如威廉·杰克逊和斯蒂芬·塞尔,但是因为他是公众人物,他们认识他,并且由于各种原因,他们尽力与法国和美国政府打交道,损害他的利益。他被召回是他们成功的一个标志。乔治·华盛顿对他的感情和尊重完好无损,这是他们失败的一个标志。然而,华盛顿的忠诚可以说主要基于信仰;为了确定莫里斯是否真的值得赞扬或谴责,必须审查攻击的价值和制造攻击的人的价值。

On November 20, 1790, William Short wrote a very friendly letter to Morris from Amsterdam. Although chargé d' affaires in Paris, he was in Holland tending to debt payments to France. Short was uninterested in the subject of loans, which he called "a poor dry affair worse a great deal than the black letter of Coke Lyttleton."¹¹ The Dutch bankers, he reported, had asked after Morris, saying that Morris had what they admiringly called a "long head." Short complained of missing Paris, and asked Morris to write, as his letters "at all times & from all places are highly agreeable to me" and "would be more than ever so at present. Adieu & believe me ever yours." Morris, in his response, told Short he expected to return to America before long. Short answered that it would be "with a real & uncommon regret that I should see you leave that place."¹²

1790年11月20日，威廉·肖特从阿姆斯特丹给莫里斯写了一封非常友好的信。尽管临时代理大使在巴黎，他却在荷兰处理法国的债务。肖特对贷款这个话题不感兴趣，他称之为“比可口可乐莱特尔顿的黑色字母更糟糕的可怜而枯燥的事情。”¹¹ 据他报道，荷兰银行家问起莫里斯，说莫里斯有他们钦佩的所谓“长头”肖特抱怨说想念巴黎，并请莫里斯写信给他，因为他的信“无论何时何地，我都非常喜欢”，而且“现在比以往任何时候都更喜欢”。永别了，永远相信我是你的。”莫里斯在回信中告诉肖特，他希望不久就能回到阿米尔-伊卡。肖特回答说，“我真的很遗憾看到你离开那个地方。”图12

Few historians have devoted attention to William Short, (1759-1848), whom Jefferson called his "adoptive son"; the only biography of this difficult character is by George Shackelford.¹³ He was a southerner, a friend of

很少有历史学家关注威廉·肖特(1759-1848)，杰斐逊称他为“养子”；这个不同的人物的唯一传记是乔治·沙克尔福德写的。¹³他是南方人，是他的朋友

James Monroe, and his uncle was married to Jefferson' s wife' s half sister. Jefferson had supervised his legal studies, and Short became his private secretary, going to France in late 1784; his French was excellent and superior to Jefferson' s.¹⁴

詹姆斯·门罗和他的叔叔娶了杰斐逊妻子同父异母的妹妹为妻。杰斐逊一直监督他的法律研究，肖特成为他的私人秘书，于1784年底前往法国；他的法语非常好，比杰斐逊的法语还要好。

When Jefferson left France in 1789, he appointed Short as interim chargé, but told Short repeatedly that he could not expect to replace Jefferson as minister. Nonetheless, Short from the outset thought otherwise, and his aspirations were nurtured by his French friends, who could not believe that a mentor as powerful as Jefferson wouldn' t ensure Short' s appointment. In indulging this persuasion, Short ignored Jefferson' s blunt discouragement and his advice that a return to the United States was necessary for a successful political or diplomatic career.¹⁵ The delays in the appointments did not help, and by the time Washington made his choices, Short was convinced he deserved the position and, moreover, that Jefferson owed it to him. He had also become wildly jealous of any perceived competitor, including Morris. In a typical letter, dated October 6, 1791—less than a year after the letter to Morris quoted above—he told Jefferson that Morris' s “aristocratical principles, his contempt of the French revolution and of the French nation expressed in all societies without reserve, and his dogmatizing manner and assumed superiority has exposed him generally to ill will and often to ridicule.”¹⁶ Short repeated such attacks many times, yet there is no evidence that Morris ever did anything antagonistic to Short; quite the contrary. The reason for Short' s metamorphosis to mortal enemy lay in his obsession with the post of minister to France, and in his changing relationship with Jefferson.

当杰斐逊于1789年离开法国时，他任命肖特为临时行政长官，但多次告诉肖特，他不能指望接替杰斐逊担任部长。尽管如此，肖特从一开始就有其他的想法，他的抱负是由他的法国朋友培养起来的，他们不相信像杰斐逊这样有权势的导师不能保证肖特的任命。在进行这种说服时，肖特忽略了杰斐逊直言不讳的沮丧，以及他的建议，即回到美国是成功的政治或外交生涯所必需的。¹⁵推迟任命没有起到任何作用，当华盛顿做出他的选择时，肖特确信他应该得到这个职位，而且，杰斐逊欠他的。他也开始疯狂地嫉妒任何被认为是竞争对手的人，包括莫里斯。在1791年10月6日的一封典型的信件中，他告诉杰斐逊，莫里斯的“贵族主义原则，他对法国大革命和法兰西民族的蔑视，在所有社会都毫无保留地表现出来，他的教条化的方式和假定的优越感，使他普遍处于恶意

之中，经常遭到嘲笑。”¹⁶ 肖特多次重复这样的攻击，但是没有证据表明莫里斯曾经做过任何与肖特敌对的事情，恰恰相反。肖特变成不共戴天的敌人的原因在于他对法国部长职位的痴迷，以及他与杰斐逊不断变化的关系。

Those who have written about Short have been generally flattering in their assessments, but his letters indicate much room for dispute. In addition, Jefferson's letters to Short prove that, contrary to Shackelford and the Jefferson editors,¹⁷ Jefferson did not support Short for appointment as minister to France. From the outset, he did not consider Short qualified; and, by the time of the nominations, Short's criticism of the Revolution had convinced Jefferson he was unsuitable for the post.

那些曾经写过肖特的人在评价中通常都是奉承奉承，但是他的来信显示了很大的争议空间。此外，杰斐逊给肖特的信证明，与沙克尔福德和杰斐逊的编辑们相反，杰斐逊不支持肖特被任命为法国的部长。从一开始，他就认为肖特不适合这个职位；而且，到提名时，肖特对革命的批评使杰斐逊确信他不适合这个职位。

A typical exchange of letters in 1790 provides ample evidence for these conclusions. In June, Short received his interim chargé commission from Jefferson and immediately assumed it was a permanent one. He did not realize his error for two days because the accompanying message was in code, and he was at first unable to open the cabinet containing Jefferson's cipher. With the cipher in hand, he was shattered to learn his mistake, one

1790年典型的书信往来为这些结论提供了充分的证据。年月，肖特从杰斐逊那里接受了临时宪章委员会的任命，并立即认为这是一个永久性的任命。他两天没有意识到自己的错误，因为附带的信息是密码的，起初他无法打开装有杰斐逊密码的柜子。拿到密码后，他震惊地发现自己犯了一个错误

laborious word at a time, all the more so because he had obviously hurried to tell his friends that he had received the position and modestly accepted their compliments. Short wrote Jefferson of his chagrin, complaining at great length; in the remainder of 1790 alone, he wrote seven letters on the subject.¹⁸ Before receiving the first angry letter in early August, the secretary wrote Short that Congress would soon recess, and “your successor” could not be appointed until December, and could not depart until spring.¹⁹ The message was clear: your successor.

因为他显然是急急忙忙地告诉他的朋友们，他已经得到了这个职位，并谦虚地接受了他们的称赞。在8月初收到第一封愤怒的信之前，国会很快就要休会了，“你的继任者”要到12月才能任命，直到春天才能离开。¹⁹ 这个信息很清楚：你的继任者。

By the end of September, Jefferson had received Short's June letter and wearily repeated himself. “My several letters, private, will have left me little to add on the subject of your stay in Europe,” he began soberly. Short's insistence that Jefferson controlled the appointments showed that he had “forgotten [his] countrymen altogether, as well as the nature of our government.” Moreover, Jefferson added, the government would soon adopt a rule prohibiting officials from serving longer than seven years away from America because they would lose touch. He did not mention that this was his idea.²⁰

到了九月底，杰斐逊收到了肖特六月份的信，疲倦地重复了自己的话。“我的几封私人信件，对于你在欧洲逗留的问题，已经没有什么可补充的了，”他严肃地开始说。肖特坚持认为杰斐逊控制着这些任命，这表明他“完全忘记了他的同胞，忘记了我们政府的本质”此外，杰斐逊补充说，政府很快将采取一项规定，禁止官员在美国服务超过七年，因为他们会失去联系。他没有提到这是他的主意

In response, in late October 1790, Short wrote Jefferson a letter startling in its unrestrained anger. “I observe you do not count on me as being even thought of,” he burst out, “and of course I take it for granted that my name has never been put in the view of him who names [Washington].” Seemingly deaf to Jefferson's reiterated counsel, he repeated that everyone assumed he would be appointed—as if their assumptions were relevant. By saying nothing, he angrily accused Jefferson, “your known friendship for me by giving an unfavorable construction to your silence, may have a consequence that I am sure you do not wish.” It was one of many long, repetitive, self-pitying, importuning letters.²¹

作为回应，在1790年10月下旬，肖特给杰斐逊写了一封信，在信中表达了他无限的愤怒。“我注意到，你根本不把我放在心上，”他突然说道，“当然，我理所当然地认为，我的名字从来没有出现在那个点名[华

盛顿]的人的眼里。”他似乎对杰斐逊反复强调的建议充耳不闻，重申每个人都认为他会被任命，就好像他们的假设是相关的一样。他愤怒地指责杰斐逊：“你对我的友谊给予沉默一个不利的解释，可能会导致我相信你不希望后果。”这是许多冗长、重复、自怜、纠缠不休的信件之一

Short soon perceived Morris as a likely rival and went to work to scuttle Morris' s chances. In October 1791, he sent Jefferson the Gazette article criticizing Morris, described previously, saying piously that it was his "duty to inform you in what light he[Morris] is considered at this place." He told Jefferson Morris was boasting that he could be named American minister to France if he chose to, an entirely untrue assertion, and criticized Morris for advising the king:

肖特很快意识到莫里斯可能成为他的竞争对手，于是开始工作，破坏莫里斯的机会。1791年10月，他把之前描述过的批评莫里斯的文章寄给了杰斐逊，虔诚地说，他“有责任告诉你，他[莫里斯]在这个地方的地位如何。”他告诉杰斐逊·莫里斯只是吹嘘，如果他愿意，他可以被任命为美国驻法国大使，这完全是一个不真实的断言，他还批评莫里斯为国王提供建议：

A foreigner who thus meddles in the affairs of a country with which he has nothing to do, and particularly in opposition to the public opinion does it at his peril and risk and cannot blame those who attach the seal of intrigue and design to such conduct, and particularly when he is a volunteer.

如果一个外国人这样干涉一个与他无关的国家的事务，特别是反对公众舆论，这就是他的危险和冒险，不能责怪那些对这种行为，特别是当他是一名志愿者时，进行阴谋和策划的人。

Short's censure must have stung Jefferson, who had of course done something very similar while in France. Short also asserted (wrongly) that Montmorin disliked Morris, and hinted darkly that there were reasons against appointing Morris "which can have been observed only here."²²

肖特的指责一定刺痛了杰斐逊，他在法国时当然也做过类似的事情。肖特还(错误地)断言蒙特莫林不喜欢莫里斯，并暗示反对任命莫里斯的理由“只有在这里才能看到”图 22

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At the same time that the editors of the Jefferson papers describe Short as a better diplomat than Morris, they compare Short quite unfavorably to Jefferson.²³ Short was not in the league of either man: he lacked diplomatic deportment; he was not graced with the social skills which are essential to a diplomat; he was not a sought-after dinner guest. He was a good, thorough reporter of events in France, and this certainly was important; but a minister is not merely an observer, but also an agent, and there Short fell short. He tended to harass the people he was supposed to be negotiating with.²⁴

与此同时，杰斐逊报纸的编辑们将肖特描述为一个比莫里斯更好的外交家，他们将肖特与杰斐逊相提并论。²³肖特不是这两个人中的任何一个：他缺乏外交仪态；他不具备外交家必备的社交技巧；他不是一个受欢迎的晚宴客人。他是一个很好的，对法国发生的事情进行全面报道的记者，这一点当然很重要；但是一个部长不仅仅是一个观察者，而且还是一个代理人，在这方面肖特做得不够。他经常骚扰那些本该与他谈判的人

Morris had taken the younger man's measure immediately, noting in June 1789 that Short spoke of "the Paris Societies in the Tone of an older Man than he is, and therefore I think after Mr. Jefferson's departure he will run into them, peut-ê tre à l' abandon." When Short later confided his budding ambition for the appointment and that if he didn't get Paris he would leave, Morris responded with acute and friendly advice:

莫里斯立即采取了年轻人的措施，并在 1789 年 6 月指出，肖特谈到“巴黎社团在一个老人的口气比他是，因此我认为，在杰斐逊先生离开后，他将遇到他们，peuttrell' abuse。”肖特后来向莫里斯吐露了他对这项任命的强烈愿望，并表示如果他得不到帕里斯就会离开，莫里斯给出了一个尖锐而友好的建议：

Either you mean to pursue the diplomatic Course, or you do not. If you do not, then you will naturally wish to establish yourself speedily in America—you will observe that by the word wish I mean a Conclusion of

Reason rather than the Incitements of Inclination—If you mean to pursue the diplomatic Line then you ought not to throw yourself out of it so shortly after announcing your Career, and especially if you should thereby exhibit ill Humor, which in Effect is only kicking against the Pricks, and will enable your opponents at a future Day to observe that you are too irascible for that Station which of all others requires the greatest Pliancy of Disposition.

要么你打算走外交道路，要么你不走。如果你不这样做，那么你自然会希望迅速在美国建立自己的地位——你会注意到，“希望”这个词的意思是理性的结论，而不是倾向的煽动——如果你打算追求外交路线，那么你不应该在宣布你的职业生涯后不久就把自己扔出去，尤其是如果你因此表现出恶意的幽默，这种幽默实际上只是在对付无赖，而且会使你的对手在将来的某一天注意到你对于那个地位而言过于暴躁，而其他所有地位都需要最大的性情顺从。

*If there were many candidates for the position, “then your Success would make you many Enemies” —an ironic and accurate prediction for Morris himself. “Sooner or later they would succeed in removing you,” he added.*²⁵

如果这个职位有很多候选人，“那么你的成功会让你树敌无数”——对莫里斯本人来说，这是一个具有讽刺意味且准确的预测。他补充说：“他们迟早会成功地除掉你。”

Short also lacked sang-froid, an important diplomatic attribute. Late one evening in September 1791, Morris went to visit at Mme de Staël’s. Short was there, as was Lady Sutherland, the lovely wife of the English ambassador,

肖特还缺乏一种重要的外交特质——冷静。1791年9月的一个深夜，莫里斯去斯塔夫人家做客。肖特和英国大使可爱的妻子萨瑟兰夫人也在场，

Lord Gower. Morris admired her very much. As Lady Sutherland got into her carriage to depart, she invited Morris to dine that week.

高尔勋爵。莫里斯非常敬佩她。当萨瑟兰夫人坐上马车准备出发时，她邀请莫里斯在那个星期用餐。

*She takes no Notice of Mr. Short who stands next me, and in turning round to speak to him after she is gone I find both his Countenance decomposed and his Voice broken. Thus he will go Home with Illwill wrankling in his Heart against me because he is not taken Notice of. This is hard but this is human Nature. He is Chargé d' Affaires and I am only a private Gentleman. He therefore expects from all and more especially from the Corps diplomatique a marked preference and Respect. I wish him to receive it but that is impossible in this Quarter for the present.*²⁶

她没有注意站在我旁边的肖特先生，在她走后转过身去和他说话的时候，我发现他的面容已经腐烂了，他的声音也断了。这样，他就会带着伊利诺伊病人回家，在心里埋怨我，因为他没有被注意到。这很难，但这是人的本性。他是临时代理大使，而我只是一个普通的绅士。因此，他希望所有人，尤其是外交官给予他明显的优待和尊重。我希望他收到这封信，但目前这封信是不可能的

Lady Sutherland seemed to have taken a dislike to the sandy-haired Short and later attacked his capability as a chargé. Morris defended him, assuring her that he was "a very sensible, judicious young Man and very atten-tive to his Business."

萨瑟兰夫人似乎不喜欢那个浅黄色头发的肖特，后来攻击他的能力，说他是个魔术师。莫里斯为他辩护，向她保证他是“一个非常明智、明智的年轻人，对自己的事业非常谨慎。”

She says he has not the Look and Manner which such Character [as a diplomat] requires. I reply that he might not do so well perhaps in Russia but at any other Court I do not conceive Figure to be very important.

她表示，他不具备(作为一名外交官)所需要的外表和举止。我的回答是，他在俄罗斯也许不会做得这么好，但在任何其他法院，我不认为图是非常重要的。

When on a second occasion the ambassadress criticized Short, Morris was curt:
当大使夫人第二次批评肖特时，莫里斯态度粗暴:

She again brings up Mr. Short (I know not why she dislikes him so much) and asks if he will ever be a great Man among us. I tell her that I think not as he is not a public Speaker but he may notwithstanding be a very useful Man here. I say this in a Tone which ends that Part of the²⁷ Conversation.

她又提起肖特先生(我不知道她为什么这么讨厌他),问他是否会成为我们中的一个伟人。我告诉她,我认为不是因为他不是一个公共演说家,而是因为他可能是一个非常有用的人。我这样说的语气结束了谈话的这一部分

In late 1791, Jefferson wrote Short that the Paris nomination was "in suspense" between Short and Morris, but this did not mean Washington was undecided. Rather, Morris was assured of Paris if Pinckney took London; otherwise, he was assured of London.²⁸ Washington may have agreed that Short would be the default choice for Paris if Morris declined. Jefferson apparently urged Washington to choose Pinckney for Paris instead of London, in order to forestall the appointment of Morris; the evidence is that he did not push for Short.

1791年末,杰斐逊写信给肖特说,巴黎的提名在肖特和莫里斯之间“悬而未决”,但这并不意味着华盛顿还没有拿定主意。华盛顿可能已经同意,如果莫里斯拒绝,肖特将成为巴黎的默认选择。杰斐逊显然敦促华盛顿为巴黎而不是伦敦选择平克尼,以阻止莫里斯的任命;证据是,他没有推动肖特。

Jefferson already had excellent reason for dissatisfaction, based on the character the young man had exposed in his letters, but there was an even more compelling motive: Short was now a sharp critic of the course of the Revolution, contrary to Jefferson's views. If, under these circumstances, Jefferson had seriously advocated Short's appointment, he would have been sacrificing what he believed to be his country's interests to his private loyalties. The more reasonable conclusion is that Jefferson was not enthusiastic about Short as a diplomat, but thought he could handle the limited duties of minister to The Hague.²⁹

基于这位年轻人在信中揭露的性格，杰斐逊已经有了不满的绝佳理由，但还有一个更令人信服的动机：肖特现在是对革命进程的尖锐批评，与杰斐逊的观点相反。在这种情况下，如果杰斐逊真的提倡任命肖特，他就会为了个人的忠诚而牺牲他所认为的国家利益。更合理的结论是，杰斐逊并不热衷于肖特作为外交官的角色，而是认为他能胜任海牙国际法庭部长的有限职责

When the news of Washington's nominations arrived in Paris in late January 1792, Short was outraged. He immediately wrote to Jefferson that he must see how "particularly improper" Morris was for the post. If only he had realized earlier that Morris was really a candidate, Short lamented, he would have said much more.³⁰ James Swan wrote gleefully to Morris:

1792年1月下旬，当华盛顿获得提名的消息传到巴黎时，肖特勃然大怒。他立刻写信给杰斐逊说，他必须看看莫里斯是如何“特别不适合”担任这一职务的。如果他早一点意识到莫里斯真的是一个候选人，肖特就会说得更多。³⁰詹姆斯·斯旺愉快地写信给莫里斯：

Mr. Short was the first who inform'd me of it last Friday. If mortification, chagrine & disappointment were ever felt by man, he is under the operations of these violent passions at the moment; indeed he does not conceal them. . . . Of this I shall entertain you when I shall have the pleasure to see you here.³¹

肖特先生是上星期五第一个告诉我这件事的人。如果说人类曾经感到过痛苦、失望和失望，那么他现在正处于这种强烈的激情的控制之下；事实上，他并没有隐藏它们……。当我有幸在这里见到你的时候，我会好好招待你的

Short continued to complain for the duration of Morris's appointment.³² The theme he pursued most emphatically, perhaps because he knew it would be most effective with Jefferson, was that Morris's views (so similar to his own!) were opposed to the Revolution and had made him very unpopular in France.

Indeed, although others said the same to Jefferson, it was Short who pursued and amplified this notion and gave the impression that the condemnation of Morris was universal:

肖特在莫里斯的任命期间继续抱怨。³² 他最强调的主题是莫里斯的观点(和他自己的观点如此相似!), 也许是因为他知道这对杰斐逊最有效反对大革命, 使他在法国非常不受欢迎。事实上, 尽管其他人也对杰弗逊说同样的话, 但是肖特追求并扩大了这个概念, 给人的印象是, 对莫里斯的谴责是普遍的:

They have seen him the constant supporter of what they consider a diabolical system of government, and what they suppose must also give much displeasure in America. They have seen him so constantly the enemy of the principles of the present revolution as to be constantly cited and to be
³³
considered as the servant of the opposite party.

他们看到他一直支持他们所认为的恶魔般的政府体系, 他们认为这一体系也会给美国带来许多不快。他们经常把他看作是当前革命原则的敌人, 以至于经常被引用, 被认为是对立党派的仆人

According to Short, Morris was considered "one of the last men that the American government would name here," and thus it appeared the decision was solely because of dissatisfaction with Short. "This idea carries with it a sting in my mind that I never before had any idea of, and makes

根据肖特的说法, 莫里斯被认为是“美国政府在这里提到的最后几个人之一”, 因此, 这个决定似乎完全是因为对肖特的不满。“这个想法在我的脑海中带有一种刺痛, 我以前从来没有想到过, 也没有想到过

me bewail my hard fortune," he wrote pitifully. He also told Jefferson that Lafayette was dismayed, which was true; Lafayette wrote a reproachful letter to Washington, suggesting that Short be substituted for Morris.³⁴

“我哀叹我的命运”他可怜兮兮地写道。他还告诉杰斐逊，拉法耶感到沮丧，这是事实；拉法耶写了一封责备华盛顿的信，建议用肖特代替莫里斯

Short did not let up. In a typical letter, taking up nine single-spaced pages in the Jefferson Papers, he wrote that Morris' s “pretensions and desire” had made him seek the position, even though he was a business-man and thus belonging to a class that Short' s friends described sneeringly as “les intriguants.”³⁵ He claimed again that Morris had boasted of expecting the appointment, which Morris had not done but which Short himself had come very close to doing.³⁶

肖特没有松口。在一封占据《杰斐逊文件》9页单行距的典型信件中，他写道，莫里斯的“自命不凡和欲望”促使他寻求这一职位，尽管他是一个商人，因此属于肖特的朋友们讥讽为“阴谋家”的一个阶层他再次声称莫里斯吹嘘说他在等这个约会，莫里斯没有这么做，但肖特自己也差一点就这么做了

Short made this last accusation directly to Morris, who denied it, telling Short that based on his letters from Robert he was “perfectly convinced” that Washington had not communicated to “any one Person his intention to nominate me twenty four Hours before the Nomination did actually take Place.”³⁷ In any event, Morris continued, “I assure you that I never did apply to any Person nor in any way for any Post or Place whatever.”

肖特直接向莫里斯提出了这最后一项指控，莫里斯否认了这一指控，并告诉肖特，根据他从罗伯特那里得到的信件，他“完全相信”华盛顿没有向“任何一个人表明他打算在提名确实发生之前的24小时内提名我”³⁷无论如何，莫里斯继续说，“我向你保证，我从来没有向任何人提出申请，也没有以任何方式申请任何职位或地方。”

Morris also denied that he had tried to prevent Short' s nomination:
莫里斯还否认自己曾试图阻止肖特获得提名：

On the contrary when I have been talked to on that Subject I have invariably opposed the Opinions expressed by some Persons who affected I believe to be your friends to you and mine to me. On the whole I have great reason to be persuaded that you stand very well in the opinion of our government and I am persuaded also that you will always merit that good opinion.

相反，当我被问到这个问题时，我总是反对一些影响我的人所表达的意见，我相信他们是你我的朋友。总的来说，我有充分的理由相

信，你在我们政府的观点中立场非常好，我也相信，你永远值得拥有这种好的观点。

*"You will see in the circumstantial relations I have just now made how unfounded are the Ideas which have been entertained by the People you allude to," Morris concluded. " I think you will also perceive the Pain I feel at such Imputations." Morris' s account of his behavior was accurate, with the exception that he had told Robert in May 1790, before he heard the complaints about his mission to London, that if he ever should be offered a position he would prefer Paris. By 1791 Morris was, as he told Short, sure that Short would*³⁸ *be chosen.*

莫里斯总结说：“你会看到，在我刚才提到的旁证关系中，那些被你所提到的人所接受的观点是多么的毫无根据。”。“我想你也会感觉到我受到这种侮辱时的痛苦。”莫里斯对自己行为的描述是准确的，除了他在1790年5月告诉罗伯特，在他听到关于他去伦敦的任务的抱怨之前，如果有人给他提供一个职位，他宁愿去巴黎。到1791年，正如他告诉肖特的那样，莫里斯确信肖特会被选中

Short' s frenzied letters continued. He told Jefferson the National Assembly' s foreign affairs committee had resolved unanimously to deny Morris. The foreign minister was to instruct the French minister in London to keep Morris away from France, while the king requested his recall. However, because Morris had already left London, the committee decided instead that a complaint should be sent directly to America. Short had been asked to stay until another minister was appointed but had (so he

肖特的狂热信件还在继续。他告诉杰斐逊，国民议会的外交事务委员会一致决定否决莫里斯的提议。外交部长将指示伦敦的法国部长让莫里斯远离法国，而国王则要求将他召回。然而，由于莫里斯已经离开伦敦，委员会决定直接向美国提出申诉。肖特被要求留下来，直到另一位部长被任命为部长

said) refused. Thereafter, said Short, Morris had been lucky, because the tumult of events in France had made people forget his "interference with respect to the King's accepting the constitution," including those who learned it from Morris himself "in salons where his vanity did not allow him to conceal it."³⁹

说)拒绝。肖特说,从那以后,莫里斯很幸运,因为法国发生的骚乱让人们忘记了他“干涉国王对宪法的接受”,包括那些从莫里斯本人那里学到宪法的人,“在沙龙里,他的虚荣心让他无法隐藏宪法”图 39

Short's assertion that the Girondin government considered refusing to receive Morris may have been true. Morris heard the story when he arrived from London.⁴⁰ However, a review of the French archives reveals nothing of such a plan, and Short's allegations should be considered in the light of a remarkable diary entry by Morris on May 12, 1792: "Mr. Swan comes who insists that the Idea of not receiving me was started by Short." Morris added characteristically, "[B]ut I do not believe it," and that was the end of the matter for him.⁴¹ Whether Short stooped this low will probably never be known, but Jefferson apparently never told Washington Short's story about the French denying Morris. It is hard to avoid concluding that Jefferson simply did not believe Short and protected his friend from his own folly by quietly putting the letters away.

肖特关于吉伦丁政府曾考虑拒绝接收莫里斯的说法可能是真的。莫里斯从伦敦抵达时听说了这个故事。然而,对法国档案的回顾并没有揭露这样一个计划,肖特的指控应该根据莫里斯在1792年5月12日的一篇引人注目的日记加以考虑:“斯旺先生来了,他坚持认为不接待我的想法是肖特开始的。”莫里斯很有个性地补充说,“但我不相信,”这件事对他来说就这样结束了。肖特是否堕落到这种地步可能永远都不会知道,但杰弗逊显然从未告诉过华盛顿·肖特关于法国否认莫里斯的故事。我们很难不得出这样的结论:杰斐逊根本就不相信肖特,他悄悄地把这些信件收起来,以此来保护他的朋友免于自己的愚蠢行为。

Still Short persisted, with increasingly outlandish charges. He began to claim that Morris and Jefferson had known Washington's intentions since as early as 1790. "I alone was not consulted. . . . And this," he wailed, "after having been made to pass through the fogs and ice and bogs of Holland during two winters successively."⁴² Short could be at his most eloquent when he was at his most denigrating, producing an unintended effect: behind the jealousy of these raging letters, like a photographic image forming in a chemical bath, the reader can see the sparkle and genius of Gouverneur Morris. In the same letter, which concerned the American debt to France, Short wrote sarcastically to Jefferson: "Every thing is so easy to Mr. Morris in conversation—every

obstacle is got over with so much facility in his plausible language." Morris, said Short, was "a man who levels mountains and fills vallies with a few phrases."

肖特仍然坚持着，带着越来越古怪的指控。他开始宣称，早在 1790 年，莫里斯和杰斐逊就知道华盛顿的意图。“没有人征求我的意见……。

“而这个，”他哀叹道，“在连续两个冬天穿过荷兰的雾、冰和沼泽之后。”⁴²肖特最能言善辩的时候，正是他最诋毁别人的时候，却产生了一种意想不到的效果：在这些愤怒的信件嫉妒之下，就像化学浴缸里的照相图像一样，读者可以看到高维尔-尼尔·莫里斯的闪光点 and 天才。在这封关于美国欠法国债务的信中，肖特讽刺地写给杰斐逊：“对于莫里斯先生来说，交谈中的每一件事都是那么容易，每一个障碍都被他那貌似合理的语言克服了。”肖特说，莫里斯是“一个能够用几句话来提高山脉的高度，并且能够用几句话来充实英勇的人。”

It would seem that Short was too wrought up to stop: his letters maintained a fevered pitch for years.⁴³ One cannot help but feel sympathy: the two-year delay between Jefferson's departure and the appointments certainly gave a rational if not realistic basis for Short's increasing sense of entitlement, and Short held the fort during a difficult period in France. However, his letters demonstrate remarkable naïveté regarding American political realities—a naïveté in sharp contrast with his insightful reports about revolutionary France. Short's tirades also reveal someone utterly self-centered and with no self-control; hardly a compelling choice for a diplomatic post.

人们不禁感到同情：从杰斐逊离开到任命被推迟了两年，这无疑为肖特日益增长的权利意识提供了一个合理的（即使不是现实的）基础，而肖特在法国的困难时期坚守阵地。然而，他的信件显示了他对美国政治现实的非凡的审慎——一个与他对法国革命的深刻报道形成鲜明对比的天真无邪的审慎。肖特的长篇大论也揭示了一个完全以自我为中心、毫无自控能力的人，对于一个外交职位来说，这几乎不是一个令人信服的选择。

Besides ambition, the strongest motive for Short to remain in France—although he never said a word to Jefferson, who disapproved—was his attachment to Rosalie de La Rochefoucauld, which began in 1787. Rosalie was married to the much older duc de La Rochefoucauld, a friend of Jefferson in Paris. Rosalie was devastated when Short did not get the appointment, and her mother-in-law, who liked Short, wrote Jefferson to complain.⁴⁴ After Rosalie's husband was murdered in September 1792, Short helped shelter her fortune.⁴⁵ When she was imprisoned by the revolutionary government, Short, on an assignment to Madrid, was frantic and sent Jefferson some of his angriest attacks on Morris, although he enlisted Morris' s help in passing letters to her and in trying to get her released. Morris sent him regular reports on her well-being, and arranged for Robert to manage her estate on Haiti.⁴⁶

除了野心，肖特留在法国的最大动机——尽管他从未对不赞成他的杰斐逊说过一个字——是他从1787年开始对罗莎莉·德·拉罗谢富科尔的依恋。罗莎莉嫁给了年长得多的德·拉罗谢富科尔，他是杰斐逊在巴黎的朋友。441792年9月，罗莎莉的丈夫被谋杀后，肖特帮助保护了她的财产。⁴⁵当她被革命政府监禁时，肖特被派往马德里，他疯狂地向杰斐逊发出了一些他对莫里斯最愤怒的攻击，尽管他在莫里斯的帮助下给她传递信件，并试图让她获释。莫里斯定期向他报告她的情况，并安排罗伯特管理她在海地的财产

Short never gave up. In 1795, he returned to France to live with Rosalie, who gave him a huge “loan” enabling him to make a sizable fortune. In 1801, when Jefferson was president, Short asked once more to be named minister. Jefferson refused outright, citing the policy he had recommended long ago to Washington against anyone having a foreign mission beyond an absence from America of “six, seven, or eight years.”⁴⁷

肖特从未放弃。1795年，他回到法国与罗莎莉生活在一起，罗莎莉给了他一大笔“贷款”，使他发了一大笔财。1801年，当杰斐逊还是总统的时候，肖特再次要求被任命为部长。杰斐逊直截了当地拒绝了这一要求，理由是他很久以前就向华盛顿建议的政策，即任何人只要离开美国“六年、七年或八年”，就不得在国外执行任务⁴⁷

It remains to be considered whether Jefferson sacrificed Morris to his loyalty to Short. Jefferson had ample evidence from his letters to realize that Short was not reliable when it came to matters of personal ambition, and Jefferson' s readiness to believe ill of Morris does not reflect well on his

objectivity or judgment. By 1792, Jefferson's friendliness toward Morris had disappeared from his letters, and the principal culprit was probably Short.

杰斐逊是否为了忠于肖特而牺牲了莫里斯还有待考虑。杰斐逊从他的信件中得到了充分的证据，证明肖特在涉及个人野心时并不可靠，而且杰斐逊愿意相信莫里斯的坏话并不能很好地反映他的客观性和判断力。到了1792年，杰斐逊对莫里斯的友好从信中消失了，罪魁祸首可能就是肖特。

Short's jealous broadsides have hung in the air for two centuries. It is fortunate that Jefferson did not honor his request to destroy these self-incriminating letters. By keeping them intact, for "other eyes to see," Jefferson has permitted posterity to divine Short clearly, and to do greater
justice to Morris.⁴⁸

肖特嫉妒的抨击已经持续了两个世纪。幸运的是，杰斐逊没有遵守他的要求，销毁这些自证其罪的信件。通过保持他们的完整，让“其他人可以看到”，杰斐逊使后代能够清楚地预测肖特，并且更公正地对待莫里斯。⁴⁸