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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.

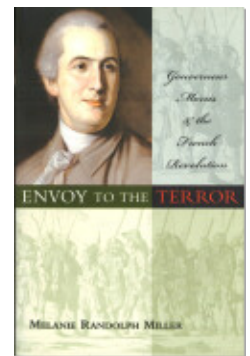
恐怖事件特使:莫里斯与法国大革命。

University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

内布拉斯加大学出版社, 2011 年。

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

第十一章

Morris Confronts the New Republic 莫里斯面对新共和国

THE FALL OF THE KING not only metamorphosed France but also the role of its American minister. His primary assignment before August 10 had been to keep a weather eye for opportunities to promote trade; thereafter, he was virtually alone at the center of a whirlwind of cries for help from those swept up in the chaos.

国王的倒台不仅使法国蜕变，也使美国大臣的角色发生了变化。在8月10日之前，他的主要任务是密切关注促进贸易的机会；从那以后，他实际上成了那些在混乱中被扫荡的人们发出的呼救旋风的中心。

Some historians consider that he acquitted himself brilliantly. Theodore Roosevelt wrote in 1898 that Morris' s service "stands by itself in diplomatic history."¹ Other historians believe he worsened French-American relations: Alexander DeConde even claims that Morris "destroyed" the French-American alliance.² These are very serious charges, and make examination of his conduct and experience not simply intriguing but important.

一些历史学家认为他表现得非常出色。西奥多·罗斯福在1898年写道，莫里斯的服务“在外交史上独树一帜”¹其他历史学家认为他恶化了法美关系：亚历山大·迪科德甚至声称莫里斯“摧毁”了法美联盟。²这些都是非常严重的指控，对他的行为和经历的审查不仅仅是有趣的，而是重要的。

The French rulers after August 10, 1792 bore no resemblance to the government Jefferson had worked with. Contrary to William Short' s lament, Morris had not been placed in a bed of roses. "People abroad can form no Idea of what passes here nor do I think any force of Description would convey it," Morris wrote to Pinckney during the Terror. Jefferson had not been faced with even one of the same desperate issues that cornered Morris.³ Even in our day, while there have been American diplo-mats who have had to cope in countries in violent paroxysm, Morris' s experience remains unique. He dealt with seven different heads of foreign affairs representing five significant (usually violent) shifts in power, with virtually no input from his own

government. "[I]f I get through this mission honorably, it will be a Master Piece," he wrote to Robert in June 1793; "and yet nine out of ten will say it was the easiest Thing in Nature." ⁴

1792年8月10日之后的法国统治者与杰斐逊曾经合作过的政府毫无相似之处。与威廉·肖特的说法相反，莫里斯并没有被安置在玫瑰花床上。莫里斯在恐怖时期写给平克尼的信中说：“国外的人不知道这里发生了什么，我也不认为任何描述性的力量能够传达这种信息。”。即使在我们的时代，虽然有美国外交官不得不在一些国家应对突发事件，但莫里斯的经历仍然是独一无二的。他与七位不同的外交事务负责人打交道，代表着五次重大(通常是暴力的)权力交接，而他自己的政府几乎没有提供任何意见。1793年6月，他在写给罗伯特的信中写道：“如果我能体面地度过这个难关，这将是一件大作，然而十有八九会说这是自然界中最简单的事情。”图4

Over and over again, he had to make painful choices he knew could leave people to the misery of the prisons or the stairs of the scaffold. As a lawyer, he was keenly aware of the requirements of international law and the constraints on his authority and stayed strictly within those limits in his official acts, though it pained him terribly to deny anyone's plea for

一次又一次，他不得不做出痛苦的选择，他知道这些选择会让人们在监狱的痛苦中挣扎，或者在断头台的楼梯上挣扎。作为一名律师，他敏锐地意识到国际法的要求和对其权威的限制，并在其官方行为中严格遵守这些限制，尽管拒绝任何人的请求使他非常痛苦

⁵ help. He himself was in danger, for those who patrolled the streets and sent people to prison for merely appearing “suspect” were ignorant of the concept of diplomatic immunity. He was arrested more than once, and his house was entered several times. His letters were opened regularly, and sometimes seized.

他自己也处于危险之中，因为那些在街上巡逻的人，仅仅因为看起来是“嫌疑犯”就把人送进监狱的人，对外交豁免权的概念一无所知。他被逮捕了不止一次，他的房子被闯入了好几次。他的信件经常被拆开，有时被查封。

His role as a conspirator for the king may not have ended with August 10 but the evidence remains to be found. Morris, unlike Lord Gower, refused to burn his papers in the wake of August 10, but the subsequent violation of the Venetian ambassador's papers and the entry of Morris's house on August 29 may have convinced him that a certain amount of discretion would be wise. In any event, the Morris papers currently known—other than a 1796 memorandum and his diaries—do not address the summer escape efforts or any post-August 10 activities on behalf of the royal family. The diaries themselves, after August 10, say virtually nothing, until the tantalizing statement in the last entry of volume 4, dated January 5, 1793: “The Situation of Things is such that to continue this Journal would compromise many People, unless I go on in the Way I have done since the End of August, in which Case it must be insipid and useless,” Morris wrote. “I prefer therefore the more simple Measure of putting an End to it.”⁶ We do not know whether this implies involvement with “People” who could be compromised, or simply that he was receiving intelligence of their activities.

他作为国王的同谋者的角色可能不会在8月10日结束，但证据仍有待发现。与高尔勋爵不同，莫里斯在8月10日之后拒绝烧毁他的文件，但随后威尼斯大使的文件遭到违反，莫里斯在8月29日进入了他的房子，这可能使他确信，一定程度的谨慎是明智的。无论如何，除了1796年的一份备忘录和他的日记之外，目前已知的莫里斯报纸没有报道夏季的越狱行动，也没有报道8月10日之后王室的任何活动。在8月10日之后，这些日记本身事实上什么也没说，直到1793年1月5日第四卷最后一条引人入胜的声明：“事情的情况是这样的，继续这份日记会危及许多人，除非我继续我自8月底以来的做法，在这种情况下，它一定是乏味和无用的，”莫里斯写道。“因此，我倾向于采取更简单的措施，结束这一切。”⁶ 我们不知道这是否意味着与可能受到威胁的“人”有牵连，或者仅仅意味着他收到了有关他们活动的情报。

He kept up a steady flow of dispatches to Jefferson and letters to

Washington, which even those historians who dislike him the most do not describe as inaccurate or unjust. They contained detailed descriptions of the military campaigns and of the political situation, including many accurate predictions, both in the short and long term. They were countered, however, by the rhapsodic letters of men such as Paine and Barlow, who accused Morris of presenting a deliberately negative view of France. Those attacks had an effect that would have grieved Morris: in August 1793 Washington told his cabinet that there were such "contradictory accounts" of the political situation in France "that no one could tell what to believe."⁷

他持续不断地给杰斐逊写信，给华盛顿写信，即使是那些最不喜欢他的历史学家也不认为这是不准确或不公正的。它们包括对军事运动和政治局势的详细描述，包括许多短期和长期的准确预测。然而，他们受到潘恩和巴洛等人狂热的信件的鼓舞，这些信件指责莫里斯故意对法国持负面看法。1793年8月，华盛顿告诉他的内阁，关于法国政治局势的“矛盾说法”“没有人可以告诉我们该相信什么”图7

The difficulties Morris faced included arrests of Americans, Frenchmen, and British citizens; the imprisonment of Lafayette; seizures of American ships despite America's declared neutrality, and the issuance of decrees detrimental to American commerce; his relationship with the successive parties in power; and the knowledge that his actions, frequently in vain because of the government's chaos, were most likely misjudged in the

莫里斯面临的困难包括逮捕美国人、法国人和英国公民;监禁拉法叶特;扣押美国船只，尽管美国宣布中立，并发布对美国商业有害的法令;他与历届执政党的关系;以及知道他的行动，经常因为政府的混乱而徒劳，最有可能在美国被错误判断

United States and unappreciated by those he toiled for. Moreover, these two years were in the context of an utterly changed Paris, where his dearest friends were gone—dead or in exile—and the capital's famous entertainments and intellectual life, the pleasures that had seduced Jefferson and Short and Morris in the first place, were snuffed out. On Christmas Eve 1792, he ended a letter to Robert with his good wishes for what "is with you a festive Season. I write from a Place deserted by its former Inhabitants where in almost every Countenance you can mark the Traces of present Woe and of dismal Forebodings." He told his friend Mme de Corny "all that I love has abandoned Paris." Much as he wanted to leave, however, he remained. On December 30, 1793, he wrote sympathetically to the consul at Bordeaux that "Your Situation in the Midst of this Turmoil cannot but be disagreeable. You must console yourself as I do with the Reflection that an honest Man's highest Enjoyment lies in the Conscious-ness of having done his duty."⁸

美国，不被那些他为之奋斗的人所赏识。此外，这两年是在一个完全改变了的巴黎的背景度过的，在那里，他最亲密的朋友不是死了就是被流放了，首都著名的娱乐和知识生活，以及当初吸引杰斐逊、肖特和莫里斯的乐趣都被扼杀了。1792年的圣诞节前夕，他在给罗伯特的信的结尾处写下了他的美好祝愿：“你过得怎么样。我在一个从前的居民遗弃的地方写作，在那里，你几乎可以在每一张面容上标记出现在的悲哀和阴郁的预兆的痕迹。”他告诉他的朋友科尼夫人：“我所热爱的一切都抛弃了巴黎。”然而，尽管他很想离开，他还是留了下来。1793年12月30日，他同情地写信给波尔多执政官，“你在这场混乱中的处境不能不令人不满。你必须像我一样安慰自己：一个诚实的人最大的乐趣在于有意识地完成了自己的职责。”图8

RECOGNITION OF THE 承认 REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 革命政府

The deposition of the king and suspension of the constitution placed the United States in a novel and uncertain position regarding diplomatic relations with France. The government of France—the court of France—to which America's minister had been accredited, no longer existed, and "[t]he present Executive is just born and may perhaps be stifled in the Cradle," Morris wrote to Jefferson on August 16. Immediate issues presented themselves: Would the United States recognize the new government? Would Morris need new credentials? If so, what would be his relationship with the provisional

Executive Council in the meantime? Would the treaties remain in force? Could the American debt to France be paid to the new government? The situation required America to break new ground in its foreign policy, and Morris' s first step, as the remainder of the diplomatic corps prepared for departure, was an anxious request for instructions:

国王的罢免和宪法的中止使美国在与法国的外交关系上处于一种新的、不确定的地位。8月16日，莫里斯在给杰斐逊的信中写道，法国政府——美国外交部长授权的法国法院——已不复存在，“现任行政长官刚刚出生，可能在摇篮里就被扼杀了。”。眼前的问题已经提出：美国会承认新的政府吗？莫里斯需要新的证件吗？若然如此，他与临时行政会议的关系如何？这些条约是否仍然有效？美国欠法国的债务能够偿还给新政府吗？这种形势要求美国在外交政策上有新的突破，莫里斯的第一步，也是其他外交使团准备离开的时候，是一个急切的请求，希望得到指示：

Before I conclude this Letter permit me my dear Sir to request the orders of the President respecting my Line of Conduct in the Circumstances about to arise. Perhaps these orders may not reach me until the Circumstances are past but even then they may serve as a Ground to Reason on in the Circumstances which succeed. If they arrive in Season they will relieve my mind from a great Weight. At

在我结束这封信之前，请允许我亲爱的先生请求总统在即将发生的情况下遵守我的行为准则。也许这些命令可能不会到达我，直到环境过去，但即使这样，他们可以作为一个基础的理性在环境中成功。如果他们在季节到达，他们将减轻我的思想从一个伟大的体重。在

present I feel myself in a State of contingent Responsibility of the most delicate Kind. I am far from wishing to avoid any fair and rea-sonable Risque, and I rely on the Justice of Government at the same Time to mark out as exactly as possible the Conduct to be pursued as well as on its⁹ Goodness to judge favorably of Cases unforeseen.

现在我感到自己处于一种最微妙的或有责任的状态。我绝不希望避免任何公平和合理的冒犯行为，我同时依靠政府司法部门尽可能准确地指出将要追究的行为，并依靠其良好性来对未预见的案件作出有利的判决

A week later, after meditating on the matter, he wrote Jefferson his own thoughts. He agreed with Short that staying in Paris would be taken as an acknowledgment of the new order; contrary to Short, he thought such recognition appropriate:

一周后，在思考这个问题之后，他写下了自己的想法。他同意肖特的意见，认为留在巴黎就是对新秩序的承认；与肖特的意见相反，他认为这种承认是恰当的：

Going hence however would look like taking Part against the late Revolution and I am not only unauthoriz^d in this Respect but I am bound to suppose that if the great Majority of the Nation adhere to the new Form the United States will approve thereof because in the first Place we have no Right to prescribe to this Country the Govern-ment they shall adopt and next because the Basis of our own Constitution is the indefeasible Right¹⁰ of the People to establish it.

然而，离开这里看起来像是参加反对晚期的革命，我不仅在这方面没有得到授权，而且我必须假定，如果全国绝大多数人坚持这种新形式，合众国会同意的，因为首先我们没有权利规定这个国家的政府应该采取什么样的形式，接下来，因为我们自己的宪法的基础是人民不可剥夺的建立这种形式的权利

Jefferson did not receive this letter until December, but it conformed to his own view, which he sent to Morris on November 7, that America's principles required acknowledging as rightful any government "formed by the will of the nation substantially declared."¹¹ However, Jefferson did not consider such a government to currently exist in France, for the Convention's declaration of a republic had not yet arrived in America. In the meantime, Jefferson directed that Morris could transact only limited business with the interim government, including appealing against duties on American tobacco and promoting commerce with the French West Indies. He ordered debt payments

suspended, which lasted until the end of the year, when he and Washington agreed that the assembling of the National Convention was a sufficient establishment of the new government.¹² Jefferson never did address the issue of new credentials.

杰斐逊直到去年 12 月才收到这封信，但它符合他自己的观点，即美国的原则要求承认任何“基于实质上宣布的国家意愿”而成立的政府都是合法的。11 月 7 日，杰斐逊将这封信寄给了莫里斯¹¹然而，杰斐逊并不认为这样一个政府目前在法国存在，因为大会宣布的共和国尚未抵达美国。与此同时，Jefferson 指示 Morris 只能与临时政府进行有限的交易，包括上诉反对美国烟草关税和促进与法属安的列斯的商业往来。他下令暂停偿还债务，一直持续到今年年底，当时他和华盛顿一致认为，召开国民大会就足以成立新的政府。¹²杰斐逊从未提及新资格的问题。

RECOGNITION AND THE DEBT PAYMENTS

承认和偿还债务

In ordering suspension of the debt payments, Jefferson was in the unlikely company of Hamilton and Short, and against the more accommodating position taken by Morris, at least regarding the debt payment agreed to before the tenth of August. While none of the historians of the episode censure his decision to proceed, and the feared consequences—that

在下令暂停偿还债务时，杰斐逊与汉密尔顿和肖特意想不到地站在一起，反对莫里斯采取更宽容的立场，至少在 8 月 10 日之前商定的偿还债务方面。然而，没有一个研究这一事件的历史学家谴责他的决定，以及他所担心的后果

France would under a successive regime deny credit for the payment— never materialized, Morris got no acknowledgment for the decision from either the French or his own government.¹³ This episode is rife with irony.

在一个连续的政权统治下，法国会拒绝承认这笔款项——从未兑现，莫里斯既没有得到法国的承认，也没有得到自己政府的承认。

In the fall of 1790, Hamilton assigned Short to handle the American debt payments. Short was buoyed by the thought that the assignment made his appointment to France far more likely, but he did not relish bearing such a responsibility alone, and tried unsuccessfully to get Hamilton to appoint additional agents.¹⁴ It is therefore no surprise that as soon as news of Morris' s appointment arrived in 1792, Short tried, as Morris later put it, to "get his Neck out of the Collar," claiming, disingenuously, that the government' s decision marked a "want of confidence" in him and must mean that the debt assignment was transferred to Morris.¹⁵ Neither he nor Morris received any instructions indicating such a transfer, however. Indeed, by late June 1792 Short had received numerous letters from Hamilton, post-dating Morris' s appointment, which effectively put him on notice to the contrary, while Morris heard nothing.¹⁶

1790 年秋天，汉密尔顿指派肖特处理美国的债务支付。因此，1792 年莫里斯获得任命的消息一传来，肖特就试图(正如莫里斯后来所说)“把脖子从项圈里弄出来”，毫不真诚地声称政府的决定标志着他“缺乏信心”，并且一定意味着债务转移到莫里斯身上，这也就不足为奇了。事实上，到 1792 年 6 月下旬，肖特收到了汉密尔顿在任命莫里斯之后寄来的许多信件，这实际上使他受到了相反的通知，而莫里斯什么也没有听到

Morris was at first convinced by Short, and agreed to take over the matter at hand, which was to set a mutually agreeable depreciation compensation with the French treasury. He also continued trying to obtain a decree to use debt payments for provisions in America for the relief of the French colonists of Santo Domingo, laid waste by a slave revolt. He had little luck: he wrote repeatedly that summer to the minister of the navy and the commissaries of the treasury and either received no response or was left waiting at rendezvous they were unable to keep.¹⁷ Short, growing anxious about the dead interest on Dutch loans raised for the purpose, hounded Morris from The Hague. "You urge me much upon the Subject of the Monies lying in our Bankers Hands, but what can I do?" Morris answered in frustration on July 23. (Short later told Jefferson that if it hadn' t been for Morris the payment would not have been delayed.)¹⁸ At last, on August 6, Morris and the commissaries reached agreement on the exchange rate to be used, and Morris immediately wrote to Short directing him to make the next payment in Amsterdam.

莫里斯起初被肖特说服了，同意接管手头的垫子工作，同法国财政部

商定一个双方都同意的折旧补偿办法。他还继续试图获得一项法令，使用偿还债务的规定，在美国的救济法国殖民者的圣多明各，荒废了一个奴隶起义。他运气不佳：那年夏天，他多次给海军部长和财政部长写信，要么没有得到任何回复，要么被留在他们无法遵守的约定地点等待。

“关于我们银行家手中的钱的问题，你总是催促我，但是我能做些什么呢？”莫里斯在7月23日沮丧地回答道。（肖特后来告诉杰弗逊，如果没有莫里斯，付款就不会推迟。）最后，在8月6日，莫里斯和小卖部就汇率问题达成了协议，莫里斯立即写信给肖特，指示他下次在阿姆斯特丹付款。

Short received Morris' s instructions after August 10, possibly as late as August 17, the same day he received a letter from Hamilton unequivocally indicating what he had undoubtedly known all along, that he, not Morris, was still in charge of the debt payments.¹⁹ Although he wrote Morris on that date and mentioned Hamilton' s letter, he did not tell Morris about this part of the letter. This was a deliberate omission; but Morris, in the meantime, had become increasingly certain that Hamilton had not intended him to handle the matter, and said so to Short, who accused him

肖特在8月10日之后收到了莫里斯的指示，可能一直到8月17日，同一天他收到了汉密尔顿的一封信，信中明确指出他一直都知道的事情，即他，而不是莫里斯，仍然负责偿还债务。这是一个故意的疏忽；但是与此同时，莫里斯越来越肯定汉密尔顿并没有打算让他来处理这件事，并对指控他的肖特这样说了

of trying to get out of the affair, still without saying a word of Hamilton' s directive.²⁰

试图摆脱这件事，但汉密尔顿的指示一个字也没有说

Nonetheless, Short agreed on August 17 to proceed with the payment. As the news that he had never ceased being in charge of the debt sank in, however, he grew uneasy about paying what he called "the usurpers in France," worrying that America would be in a bad position if they should fall.²¹ The notion of being held accountable drove Short to distraction. He therefore attempted to enforce his reservations by insisting that the receipt for the money be given in the name of the fallen king, to the consternation of the French bankers in Holland. Morris, the eternal realist and experienced lawyer, strongly disagreed with him, and the two exchanged increasingly testy letters while the money languished in Holland and the bankers grew restive and the Girondin ministers grew incensed. "Now I will not enter into any Question respecting the Competency of the present Government," Morris wrote Short sharply at one point. "The Corner Stone of our own Constitution is the Right of the People to establish such Government as they think proper. In this Country Reason may perhaps say one Thing and Force another; but putting all that aside, I think it proper to adhere to the original Nature and Form of the present Payment." Finally, in September, Short capitulated and had the money paid.²²

尽管如此，肖特在8月17日同意继续支付这笔款项。然而，随着他从未停止负责债务的消息渐渐浮出水面，他开始对支付他所谓的“法国篡位者”的费用感到不安，担心如果他们倒台，美国的处境会很糟糕。因此，他企图强制执行他的保留意见，坚持收到的钱是以倒下的国王的名义，使法国银行家在荷兰感到惊愕。莫里斯，这个永恒的现实主义者和经验丰富的律师，强烈反对他的观点，两人在荷兰的金钱枯竭，银行家变得焦躁不安，吉伦丁的部长们变得愤怒的时候，互相通信，越来越暴躁。“现在，我不会就现任政府的能力提出任何问题，”莫里斯曾一度尖锐地写道。“我国宪法的基石是人民有权建立他们认为适当的政府。在这个国家，理性也许会说一套，强迫另一套，但是把这些都放在一边，我认为坚持当前付款的原始性质和形式是恰当的。”最后，到了九月，肖特投降了，并把钱付清了

As he later explained to Hamilton, Morris' s strategy was deliberate: he knew that the new government would "urge us for Money in the double View of obtaining an Acknowledgement of them as well as of supplying their Wants."²³ By making the payment arranged for with the previous government, Morris reasoned, nothing more was immediately due, and the issue of recognition could be postponed while he waited for instructions. The subtlety was lost on

Clavière, now restored as finance minister, who argued that the payment constituted recognition.²⁴ Short's delay until September, which Morris had not anticipated, strengthened this position. So, just as Morris dourly predicted, rather than getting credit for having pushed through the payment, the French instead blamed him for being unwilling to make additional payments.²⁵

正如他后来向汉密尔顿解释的那样，莫里斯的策略是经过深思熟虑的：他知道新政府会“从获得他们的认可和满足他们的需求的双重角度，敦促我们为钱而战”莫里斯推断，通过与前政府安排付款，再没有什么东西会立即到期，在等待指示期间，承认的问题可以推迟。²⁴肖特推迟到9月份，这是莫里斯没有预料到的，这加强了他的立场。因此，正如莫里斯多尔预测的那样，法国人没有因为推迟付款而得到表扬，而是指责他不愿意支付额外的款项

Of course, it was to be expected that the American minister's relations with the new Girondin ministry were not cordial. The Girondins were dominated by Brissot, who detested Morris, and they were quite aware of his association with their predecessors, if not the full extent of his activities. On August 29, Morris was summoned to meet with Étienne Clavière; Lebrun, the new minister of foreign affairs; and Monge, the new minister of the navy. Lebrun, a former cleric, had also been a journalist who was

当然，这位美国部长与新的吉伦丁部长的关系并不亲切，这是可以预料的。吉伦特家族以布里索特为主，他憎恨莫里斯，他们很清楚莫里斯与他们的前辈的关系，如果不是他的全部活动的话。8月29日，Morris被召见了艾蒂安·克拉维埃、新任外交部长 Lebrun 和新任海军部长 Monge。勒布伦曾是一名牧师，同时也是一名记者

known as a “democrat.” His friendship with Brissot gained him the ministry;²⁶ a year or so later it would lead to his execution.

被称为“民主党人”他与布里索特的友谊使他得到了最低的报酬，一年左右以后，他被处决了

The ministers wished Morris “to enter into a Contract to furnish \$400,000 [of debt payments] in America for the Use of Santo Domingo,” he recorded in his diary.

部长们希望莫里斯“签订一份合同，为圣多明各的使用提供40万美元[债务偿还]，”他在日记中写道。

I shew them many Reasons why I cannot and among others tell them that I am not authoriz’ d to treat with them. This touches them unpleasantly. I add that I will write and recommend the Matter strongly to the Ministers of the United States but that is not what they want. Clavière is much vexed.²⁷

我告诉他们许多我不能和他们交谈的理由，其中包括我不能和他们交谈的理由。这使他们感到不快。我补充说，我将写信向美国各部长强烈推荐此事，但这不是他们想要的。克拉维尔非常恼火

Morris elaborated on the conversation to Jefferson: “The great object,” he told the secretary, “was to get the Money.” Morris told them

莫里斯向杰弗逊详细解释了他们的对话：“最大的目标，”他告诉秘书，“就是拿到钱。”莫里斯告诉他们

(which is very true) that I felt a very sincere desire to furnish Aid to that unhappy Colony, and had done everything in my Power to comply with the wish of the Legislature in that Respect, but in vain.

(这是千真万确的)我非常真诚地希望向这个不幸的殖民地提供援助，并且在我的权力范围内尽了一切努力来满足立法机关在这方面的愿望，但是徒劳无功。

He explained to them that any agreement he might make would be void, “because I had no Powers to treat with the present Government.”

他向他们解释说，他可能达成的任何协议都是无效的，”因为我无权与现政府谈判”

[Clavière said] [t]hat it was impossible I should have any Difficulty if I inclin’ d to do what they ask’ d, and then concluded by asking me peremptorily whether I would or would not.²⁸

如果我倾向于按照他们的要求去做，那么我就不可能有任何困难，
然后断然地问我是否愿意去做

Clavière's insulting tone offended Morris. "[A]ltho I would pardon much to a Man whose Stockjobbing Life had not much qualified him for a Station in which Delicacy of Manner and Expression are almost essential, yet I could not submit to an Indignity in my Person towards the Country I represent," he told Jefferson. "I told him therefore that I did not understand what he meant to say. My Countenance I believe spoke the Rest of my Statement." Morris suspected that the demand was motivated by what he called a "private speculation," a suspicion he confirmed later:

克拉维的侮辱语气冒犯了莫里斯。他告诉杰斐逊说：“虽然我可以原谅这样一个人，他的股票买卖生活使他没有资格担任这样一个职位，在这个职位上，态度和表情的优雅几乎是必不可少的，但是我不能屈服于我个人对我所代表的国家的侮辱。”。“因此，我告诉他，我不明白他的意思。我相信我的面容说出了我声明的其余部分。”莫里斯怀疑这一要求的动机是他所说的“私人投机”，他后来证实了这一怀疑：

This Speculation would have been a good one to the Parties who would have gain' d (and the french Nation of Course have lost) about fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling in less than Eighty thousand. I was inform' d at that Time that the disappointed Parties would attempt to

他的猜测对于那些在不到八万英镑的时间里就能获得五万英镑的党派来说是一个很好的猜测。我当时被告知，失望的各方将试图

have me recall' d, and some more tractable Character sent, who would
have had the Good Sense to take Care of his own Interest.²⁹

请你把我召回来，再送去一个更听话的人，他本来是有头脑的，能够照顾自己的利益的

Whether this "speculation" related to the joint projects of the Girondins and William Smith and Stephen Sayre, discussed in chapter 9, is uncertain. Regardless, Clavi è re' s corruption is established, and it calls the bona fides of his denunciation of Morris into serious question, for he was at this time desperate for money—six months later, in Philadelphia, paintings belonging to Clavi è re were put on sale.³⁰

这种“猜测”是否与第九章中讨论的吉伦特人、威廉·史密斯和斯蒂芬·塞尔的联合项目有关还不确定。无论如何，克拉维·雷的腐败已经成为事实，这使他揭发莫里斯的真实性受到严重质疑，因为当时他急需钱财——一六个月后，在费城，克拉维·雷的油漆被出售

The day after their meeting, Morris received a curt note from Lebrun. Talleyrand told him it had been drafted by Brissot "and that their Intention is to force me into an Acknowledgement of the present Governmt." The gist of it was that the king was only suspended, and that therefore Morris could not refuse their request unless ordered by his government (his "Court or his constituents"). Morris wrote back with barely concealed anger that he could do no more than he had already offered, and that without instructions any agreement not authorized by "my Court" could be invalidated.³¹ Talleyrand urged Morris to leave Paris and Morris appears to have been swayed, for he closed his letter with an observation that Lebrun' s tone obliged him to request a passport to leave France.

他们见面的第二天，莫里斯收到了勒布伦的一封信。Talleyrand告诉他这是由布里索起草的，“他们的意图是迫使我接受现任政府的认可。”其要点是，国王只是被停职，因此莫里斯不能拒绝他们的请求，除非他的政府（他的“法院或他的选民”）下令。Talleyrand敦促莫里斯离开巴黎，莫里斯似乎有所动摇，因为他在信的结尾说，勒布伦的语气迫使他申请护照离开法国。

This threat unsettled Lebrun and perhaps Brissot, for on September 8 Morris recorded that the minister had sent "an indirect Apology for his impertinent Letter and therefore I shall stay." The apology probably came through James Swan, for Morris had told him "his friend Brissot, instead of promoting, had spoilt his Business and would drive me out of the Country." It was made more formal in a letter of September 16, which Morris accepted, again telling Lebrun that "I have never questioned the right of every People to be governed as they please," and expressing his hope that France should

“enjoy all possible liberty and happiness.”³²

这种威胁使勒布伦，也许还有布里索感到不安，因为在9月8日，莫里斯记录到部长已经“为他的无礼信件发出了一封间接的道歉信，因此我将留下来。”道歉可能来自詹姆斯·斯旺，因为莫里斯告诉他，“他的朋友布里索不仅没有促销，反而毁了他的生意，还要把我赶出这个国家。”莫里斯接受了9月16日的一封信，信中更加正式，他再次告诉勒布伦，“我从来没有质疑过每个民族都可以随心所欲地被统治的权利”，并表示希望法国“享有一切可能的自由和幸福”图32

*On September 10, after Lebrun's "indirect Apology" but before his formal apology of September 16, Clavière complained bitterly to Lebrun, calling Morris a "dangerous man," and accusing him of repugnance for the new government. "I ask you, my dear colleague, to reflect carefully on this minister whose ill will has been proved. . . . I think therefore that it is necessary not only to inform the United States of his conduct, but to ask them to recall him."*³³

9月10日，在勒布伦“间接道歉”之后，但是在他9月16日恶意道歉之前，克拉维再次强烈地向勒布伦抱怨，称莫里斯是一个“危险的人”，并指责他厌恶新政府。“我亲爱的同事，我请你仔细考虑一下这位部长，他的恶意已被证明……。因此，我认为不仅有必要将他的行为通知美国，而且有必要要求他们重新召回他。”图33

*Apparently in response, Lebrun sent a letter of complaint to the French minister to America, Ternant (Morris' s friend since Valley Forge), concerning Morris' s insistence on waiting for instructions.*³⁴ *On September 19, he*

显然作为回应，勒布伦给法国部长特南特(莫里斯在瓦利福奇的朋友)写了一封投诉信，对莫里斯坚持等待指示表示关切

started another letter, noting Morris' s request for a passport, but instructing Ternant not to raise the subject until negotiations regarding provisions shipments were complete. Before he finished the letter, however, he received Morris' s cordial reply to his overture of September 16, indicating that he would stay on and await instructions from America. Lebrun added a postscript directing Ternant that, in view of Morris' s declared intention to stay, he should "abstain from all remarks and all approaches" to Jefferson on the matter.³⁵

在另一封信的开头,提到了莫里斯申请护照的要求,但是指示特南特在有关食品运输的谈判完成之前不要提起这个话题。然而,在他写完这封信之前,他收到了莫里斯对他9月16日提议的亲切回复,表示他将留下来等待美国的指示。勒布伦在指导特南特时加了一段附言,说鉴于莫里斯宣布打算留下来,他应该在这个问题上对杰弗逊“放弃一切评论和接近”

Oddly, Ternant, despite his friendship with Morris, disobeyed this last injunction; on receiving the letters in mid-February 1793, he presented extracts to Jefferson.³⁶ The complaint—though it arose from conduct that conformed to the line laid out by Jefferson—along with the reports of William Smith described earlier, led Washington to determine on February 20 that Morris must be recalled. He told Jefferson that he

奇怪的是,特南特不顾与莫里斯的友谊,违背了最后一条禁令;在1793年2月中旬收到这些信件后,他向杰斐逊提交了摘录。这项控诉虽然源于符合杰斐逊制定的路线的行为,但与威廉·史密斯早先描述的报告一起,导致华盛顿在2月20日决定必须将莫里斯召回。他告诉杰弗逊

saw that G. Morris could no longer be continued there consistent with the public good, that the moment was critical in our favor and ought not to be lost . . . I asked him whether G. Morris and Pinckney might not change places. He said that would be a sort of remedy, but not a radical one. That if the French ministry conceived G.M. to be hostile to them, if they had been jealous merely on his proposing to visit London, they would never be satisfied with us placing him at London permanently.

我看到莫里斯不能再继续留在那里,这符合公共利益,这个时刻对我们非常有利,不应该失去.....我问他莫里斯和平克尼是否会改变位置。他说这是一种补救措施,但不是激进的。如果法国政府认为通用公司对他们怀有敌意,如果他们仅仅因为他提出访问伦敦而嫉妒,他们永远不会满足于我们把他永久地安置在伦敦。

Washington tried to persuade Jefferson, who had already given notice of his intention to resign as secretary of state, to take the position. Jefferson was adamant that he “could never again cross the Atlantic” and argued that the best place to improve relations with France was in the United States since the new minister from France, Genet, was due to arrive. Washington enlisted Edmund Randolph, the attorney general, to ask Jefferson again or, failing that, Madison, but when both refused, Washington agreed to take no action until Genet’s arrival.³⁷

华盛顿试图说服杰斐逊接受这个职位，杰斐逊已经表示打算辞去国务卿一职。杰斐逊坚称自己“再也不能横渡大西洋”，并表示，自从法国新任部长热内(Genet)抵达美国以来，美国是改善与法国关系的最佳地点。华盛顿请求司法部长埃德蒙·伦道夫再次向杰斐逊或麦迪逊提出请求，如果没有成功，两人都拒绝了，华盛顿同意在杰内到来之前不采取任何行动

There the matter remained throughout the duration of Jefferson’s tenure as secretary. Washington never told Morris about this episode. What is most interesting, however, is the fact that Jefferson’s objections to Morris did not rise to the level of taking what might have seemed a heaven-sent opportunity to get rid of him. This point is reinforced by the fact that Genet, Ternant’s successor, hinted to Jefferson in April 1793 that the French wanted Morris recalled—but Jefferson did not take the

在杰斐逊担任国务卿期间，这个问题一直没有得到解决。华盛顿从未告诉莫里斯这件事。然而，最有趣的是，杰斐逊对莫里斯的反对并没有上升到可能是天赐的机会摆脱他的水平。1793年4月，特南特的继任者热内向杰斐逊暗示，法国要召回莫里斯，但杰斐逊没有接受

hint; he did not pursue it and he did not pass it on to Washington until the following December.³⁸

他没有追究，直到第二年12月才把这个问题转交给华盛顿

Morris knew that the French had complained. On November 12, he wrote Short that as a result of the debt disagreement, "the whole Council are personally my Enemies," no small inconvenience "under the Circumstances in which I have liv' d for the last three months and which has I know excited Representations in America to my Disadvantage."³⁹ He sent Hamilton copies of his correspondence with Short and Lebrun, to establish the record against the French complaint. Hamilton would use them in his own defense when, thanks to Jefferson, his actions regarding the French debt were investigated by Congress in early 1793.⁴⁰

莫里斯知道法国人已经抱怨过了。11月12日，他写道，由于债务问题上的分歧，“整个议会个人都是我的敌人，”在我过去三个月一直处于的环境立场下，我知道这使美国代表团对我不利他把与肖特和勒布伦的通信副本寄给汉密尔顿，以便建立反对法国投诉的记录。1793年初，由于杰斐逊的帮助，汉密尔顿在法国债务问题上的行动受到了国会的调查。⁴⁰

The French also attacked Short for delaying the August payment and for socializing with France's enemies in The Hague.⁴¹ Morris defended Short to Lebrun, but Lebrun also complained through Ternant to Jefferson. Short was outraged and blamed Morris.⁴² His anger was exacerbated by Jefferson's allegation that Hamilton was trying to make Short a scapegoat. (Jefferson was mistaken about this; Hamilton's account of Short's actions was accurate.)⁴³ Morris anticipated that Short would try to shift responsibility, and his patience was exhausted when he wrote to Hamilton in December 1792:

莫里斯向勒布伦防守肖特，但勒布伦也通过Ternant向杰斐逊抱怨。杰斐逊断言汉密尔顿试图让肖特成为替罪羊，这更加剧了他的愤怒。(杰斐逊弄错了，汉密尔顿对肖特行为的描述是正确的。)⁴³莫里斯预料肖特会试图推卸责任，1792年12月他给汉密尔顿写信时，他的耐心已经耗尽：

You will see that there is on one Side either a real Want of Comprehension or else a desire to place all Blame on the Shoulders of your Friend. If I may judge by what I have seen from Scipio [Jefferson] this latter View is seconded. Now you know that I hate lit-tle Things as much as you do and more I cannot. Therefore my good Friend keep me clear of little People. If ever I am destin' d to act in that Business let me have a clear Line drawn and I will go strait forward but do not put me to the Draught with a Horse who looks behind him and tries to get his Neck out of the Collar.

你会发现，有一方要么真正缺乏理解，要么渴望把所有的责任都推到你朋友的肩膀上。如果我可以从我从西庇阿[杰斐逊]身上所看到的来判断的话，这后一种观点是有附议的。现在你知道我和你一样讨厌小事，而且我更讨厌小事。因此，我的好朋友让我远离小人物。如果我想在那件事上有所作为，就让我划一条明确的界限，我会向前走，但是不要把我和一匹马一起推到风口上，那匹马向后看，试图把它的脖子从项圈里弄出来。

Referring to Short's chagrin at not being appointed to France, he added:
在谈到肖特对未能被任命为法国国务卿的懊恼时，他补充道：

You must observe too that Men sometimes decline thro an apparent modesty to do their Duty when they mean thereby only to shew a resentful Sense of Disappointment . . . Read mark learn and inwardly digest these Hints.

你也必须注意到，人们有时会通过表面谦虚的态度拒绝履行他们的职责，因为他们的意图只是表现出一种愤愤不平的失望感.....阅读马克学习和内心消化这些暗示。

In the end, Hamilton was absolved by Congress, and neither Short nor Morris⁴⁴ was censured for their conduct in the matter.

最后，汉密尔顿得到了国会的赦免，肖特和莫里斯在这件事上的行为都没有受到谴责

RECOGNITION AND PREEXISTING TREATIES 承认和先前存在的条约

Morris and Jefferson found themselves on the same side, and opposed to Hamilton, regarding the continued validity of America's 1778 treaties with France. While there were plausible contrary arguments, Morris told Jefferson, he urged "that all our Treaties (however onerous) may be strictly fulfilled according to their true Intent and meaning. The honest Nation," he wrote, "is that which like the honest Man 'hath to its plighted Faith and vow forever firmly stood, and tho it promise to its Loss yet makes that Promise good.' I feel nevertheless," he added tactfully, "the full Force" of Jefferson's observation that until France had a regular form of government, America would not know "in what matter or to what Persons our Obligations are to be acquitted."⁴⁵ Jefferson received this letter in April 1793, a time when the issue was of great concern because of the war between France and England; many feared that the treaty would require the United States to go to war against Britain. A week later, Jefferson recommended to Washington that the treaty continue to be considered valid and obtained his concurrence. Although the opinion relied on the writings of jurists, its purport was identical to Morris's comments.⁴⁶

关于1778年美国与法国签订的条约是否继续有效,莫里斯和杰斐逊发现自己站在同一边,反对汉密尔顿。莫里斯告诉杰斐逊,虽然有似是而非的相反论点,但他敦促“我们所有的条约(无论多么繁琐)都可以根据它们的真正意图和意义严格履行。”“诚实的国家,”他写道,“就是像诚实的人一样,永远坚定不移地坚守信念和誓言,虽然承诺要失去,但却使承诺变得美好。”尽管如此,“他巧妙地补充说,“我还是觉得杰斐逊的观点是“完全正确的”。杰斐逊认为,除非法国有一种正常的统治形式,否则美国不会知道“在什么事情上,或者在什么事情上,我们的义务应该被宣告无⁴⁵杰斐逊在1793年4月收到这封信,当时这个问题因为法国和英国之间的战争而备受关注;许多人担心条约会要求美国对英国发动战争。一周后,杰斐逊向华盛顿建议条约继续有效,并得到了他的同意。虽然意见书依据的是法学家的令状,但其主旨与莫里斯的评论完全相同

Negotiation of a new commercial treaty had been on Jefferson's mind for a long time, and he had instructed Morris to try to have the negotiations transferred to America. The turmoil in the summer of 1792 had made it impossible to get a commitment, but after August 10 a new opportunity seemed to present itself. Morris knew that war between France and England would lead France to neglect its colonies, with the result, as he told Jefferson, that their

"whole Commerce falls naturally into the Lap of America." Accordingly, on November 22, he went to Lebrun. The ostensible motive was to request an exception to the "Decree against Emigrants in Favor of those who were in the United States," but Morris also expressed the hope that the French-American alliance would be preserved, and that he thought an Anglo-American alliance would not happen. He pointed out, however, that the British would probably attempt to "inculcate the Opinion that our Treaty having been made with the king was void by the Revolution. [Lebrun] said that such an Opinion was absurd." Encouraged, Morris went on:

关于一项新的商业条约的谈判已经在杰斐逊的脑海里盘算了很长时间，他已经指示莫里斯设法把谈判权转移到美国。1792年夏天的混乱使得他们不可能得到承诺，但是8月10日之后，一个新的机会似乎出现了。莫里斯知道，法国和英国之间的战争会导致法国忽视其殖民地，结果，正如他告诉杰斐逊的那样，他们的“整个商业自然而然地落入美国的圈子”因此，11月22日，他去了勒布伦。最主要的动机是要求对“有利于在美国的移民的反移民法令”破例，但莫里斯也表示希望法美联盟能够得到保留，他认为英美联盟不会发生。然而，他指出，英国人可能会试图“强调我们与国王订立的条约因革命而无效的意见”。(勒布伦)说，这样的意见是荒谬的。”莫里斯受到鼓舞，继续写道：

I told him (premising in this Place, that the whole Conversation was unofficial and unauthorized on my Part from Circumstances he was well acquainted with) that my private Sentiments were similar to his but I
我告诉他(以这个地方为前提，整个谈话都是非正式的，而且我对他非常熟悉的情况并不认可)，我的私人情感和他的情感很相似

thought it would be well to evince a Degree of Good Will to America which might prevent disagreeable Impressions and had therefore taken the Liberty to suggest the Exception in Favor of Emigrants &c.

他认为最好对美国表现出一定程度的善意，这样可以避免不愉快的印象，因此冒昧地建议对移民和加拿大给予例外待遇。

*Here, the adroit Morris changed the subject, leaving it to percolate. "Now I knew well that some of the Leaders here who are in the diplomatic Committee hate me cordially tho it would puzzle them to say why, and I was determin' d rather to turn that Disposition to account than to change it," he wrote Jefferson. He hoped France would pursue a new commercial treaty, thereby deflecting American interest in a treaty with Britain, and that "both Parties might be brought to bid at your Auction." It seems to have worked, for Genet went to America with powers to negotiate a new treaty.*⁴⁷

在这里，机灵的莫里斯转移了话题，让话题自然流露出来。“现在我很清楚，外交委员会中的一些领导人非常讨厌我，尽管这会让他们感到困惑，为什么会这样，而我宁愿将这种态度付诸行动，也不愿改变它，”他在杰斐逊的信中写道。他希望法国能寻求一个新的商业条约，从而转移美国对与英国签订条约的兴趣，并希望“双方都能在你的拍卖会上竞标。”这似乎奏效了，因为热内带着权力去美国谈判一项新的条约

MORRIS AND THE NEW MINISTRY 莫里斯和新部长

Morris' s approach to Lebrun was also timed to take advantage of a frankly remarkable strategy of using his contacts to repair relations with the new ministry. His agent was a man named Piquet, whom he had met through the banker Le Couteulx, and who was in the business of providing information to diplomats. Piquet apparently knew General Westermann, leader of the uprising of August 10, and traveled to his camp at Valenciennes— Westermann was on the eve of attacking Brussels—to renew their acquaintance and to convince Westermann (surely by bribery) to write a letter commending Morris. Westermann obliged. It is hard to imagine a more unlikely source of a reference for Morris, but it may have helped. "Citizen Piquet . . . being the intimate friend of the U.S. representative, has informed me of all that has taken place between the executive council and that representative, who was a little angry about the manner in which he was treated," the letter began. Piquet had assured Westermann, the general told Lebrun, that he would smooth things over, and

that Morris would arrange to have rice and other necessary provisions sent from America. Lebrun replied politely that he often saw Piquet and would "profit" from the information from Westermann. Piquet would later head the Committee of Commerce and Provisions, a very useful position from Morris' s standpoint.⁴⁸

莫里斯接近勒布伦的时机也恰到好处，他利用自己的关系网来修复与新部的关系，这是一个非凡的策略。他的经纪人是一个叫皮奎特的人，他是通过银行家 LeCouteulx 认识皮奎特的，他的业务是为外交官提供情报。皮奎特显然认识 8 月 10 日起义的领导人韦斯特曼将军，于是前往他在瓦朗谢讷的营地——韦斯特曼正处于攻击布鲁塞尔的前夕——重新获得他们的无罪认定，并说服韦斯特曼(肯定是通过贿赂)写一封信，对莫里斯表示赞扬。韦斯特曼答应了。很难想象还有比这更不可能的莫里斯参考资料来源，但它可能有所帮助。“公民皮奎特.....是美国代表的亲密朋友，他向我通报了执行委员会和那位代表之间发生的一切，那位代表对他受到的待遇有些愤怒，”信的开头写道。皮奎特向韦斯特曼保证，总统告诉莱布伦，他会把事情搞定，莫里斯会安排从美国运来大米和其他必要的粮食。勒布伦礼貌地回答说，他经常见到皮奎特，并且会从韦斯特曼那里得到“好处”。皮奎特后来成为商业和供应委员会的主席，从莫里斯的观点来看，这是一个非常有用的职位

Morris was naturally distressed by continuing ignorance of the views of his government. He wrote to Washington at the end of October 1792 that he had told Jefferson "repeatedly my Wish to have positive Instructions."

莫里斯对政府的意见一直不知情，自然感到忧虑。他在 1792 年 10 月底写信给华盛顿说，他已经“反复地告诉杰斐逊我希望得到积极的指示”

At the same time, he was willing to be sacrificed if necessary. "The United States may wish to temporize and see how Things are like to end, and in such Case leaving me at large with the Right reserv' d to avow or disavow me . . . is for the Government an eligible Position." ⁴⁹

与此同时，如果有必要，他愿意牺牲。“美国可能希望拖延时间，看看事情会如何结束，在这种情况下，让我自由地承认或否认我.....对政府来说是一个合格的立场。”图 49

He also asked Hamilton about American public opinion. "Will it be taken for granted that Louis the sixteenth was guilty of all possible Crimes and particularly of the enormous one of not suffering his throat to be cut which was certainly a nefarious Plot against the People and a manifest Violation of the Bill of Rights" ? he asked with stinging irony. He went on to give a vivid sketch, unsoftened by official dispatch niceties, of the ten-sion between the Girondins and the radical Montagnards:

他还向汉密尔顿询问了美国公众的意见。”是否可以理所当然地认为，路易十六犯有一切可能的罪行，特别是不被割断喉咙的巨大罪行，这无疑是对人民的邪恶阴谋，是对《权利法案》的明显违反”？他讽刺地问道。他接着对吉伦特派和激进的蒙塔格纳派之间的关系作了一个生动的描述，尽管没有被官方文件中的细节所削弱：

The one consists of about half a dozen and the other of fifteen or twenty who are at Dagger' s Drawing. Each Claims the Merit of having begotten the young Republic upon the Body of the Jacobine Club and notwithstanding the Dispute is very loud and open the People is as fond of the Child as if it were its Own. But this has a Relation to antient Manners for there has been a Practice here from Time whereof there is no Memory of Man to the contrary viz that one Sett of Men were employ' d in getting children for another Sett. ⁵⁰

一个由大约 6 个人组成，另外十五个或二十个人在达格斯画廊。每个人都声称在雅各宾派俱乐部的主体上产生了年轻的共和国是有好处的，尽管有争议，但是人民对孩子的喜爱是非常热烈和公开的，就好像它是自己的孩子一样。但这与古老的礼仪有关，因为从时代开始，这里就有一种习俗，即没有人类的记忆，恰恰相反，一个人类的西特人被雇来为另一个西特人生儿育女

"It is not worth while," he added, "to detail the Characters of those now on the Stage because they must soon give Place to others."

他补充说，“不值得去详细描述那些现在在舞台上的角色，因为他们必须尽快让位给其他人。”

Yet, although Morris expressed his misgivings frankly, the Girondins erred in assuming that he would try to turn the American government against the new regime. He accepted the advent of the Republic with his usual mixture of mildly hopeful idealism tempered with hardheaded skepticism. "[T]he great decided effective Majority is now for the Republic," he told Jefferson in late October 1792, but whether it would endure for even six months "must depend on the Form of Government which shall be presented by the Convention" and whether it could

然而，尽管莫里斯坦率地表达了他的疑虑，吉伦特派错误地认为他会试图让美国政府反对新政权。他接受了共和国的到来，他通常混合着温和的希望理想主义和顽固的怀疑主义。他在 1792 年 10 月下旬对杰斐逊说：“他大大地决定了，现在多数是为了共和国。”但是，它是否能持续六个月，“必须取决于大会将提出的政府形式”，以及它是否可以

strike out that happy Mean which secures all the Liberty which Circumstances will admit of combin' d with all the Energy which the same Circumstances require; Whether they can establish an Authority which does not exist, as a Substitute (and always a dangerous Substitute) for that Respect which cannot be restor' d after so much has been to destroy it; Whether in crying down and even ridiculing Religion they will be able on the tottering and uncertain Base of

不管他们是否能够建立一个不存在的权威，作为一个替代品(而且永远是一个危险的替代品)，来取代那个在经历了如此多的摧毁之后仍然无法得到安息或被摧毁的尊重;不管他们是否能够在摇摇欲坠的、不确定的基础上大声疾呼，甚至嘲笑宗教

*metaphisic Philosophy to establish a solid Edifice of Morals, these are
Questions which Time must solve.*⁵¹

形而上学哲学要建立一座坚实的道德大厦，这些都是时间必须解决的问题

*At the same time he predicted to Rufus King that "we shall have I think some sharp struggles which will make many men repent of what they have done when they find with Macbeth that they have but taught bloody Instructions which return to plague the Inventor."*⁵²

与此同时，他对鲁弗斯·金预言道：“我想我们将要进行一些激烈的斗争，当许多人发现他们和麦克白在一起时所做的事情只不过是传授一些血腥的指示，而这些指示又回来折磨发明家时，他们会后悔的。”⁵²

THE AFTERMATH OF AUGUST 10

8月10日的后果

*While Morris was sparring with the new ministry, the society he had known was disintegrating. Lafayette, who deserted his army on August 19, fled toward Holland hoping to escape to America. He was captured by the Austrians, found guilty of l'è se-majest é (committing a crime against a sovereign power), and imprisoned in the Prussian fortress of Wesel. "He has spent his Fortune on a Revolution and is now crush' d by the wheel which he put in Motion," Morris wrote somberly to Jefferson, adding, "He lasted longer than I expected."*⁵³

当莫里斯与新的牧师辩论时，他所熟知的这个社会正在瓦解。拉斐特在8月19日抛弃了他的军队，逃往荷兰，希望逃到美国。他被奥地利人俘虏，被判犯有反抗国家罪，并被关押在普鲁士的威塞尔堡垒。莫里斯在给杰弗逊的信中忧郁地写道：“他把自己的财富花在了了一场革命上，现在却被自己发动的车轮碾得粉身碎骨。”他还补充说：“他坚持的时间比我预想的要长。”⁵³

From Prussia Lafayette importuned the three American ministers in Europe to claim him as an American citizen, a desperate appeal that embarrassed and agonized them with its impropriety. On September 10, Mme de Lafayette was detained at their country home of Chavaniac. Morris would help them both to survive their ordeals of the next several years.

从普鲁士拉法耶纠缠在欧洲的三个美国部长声称他是美国公民，一个绝望的呼吁，尴尬和痛苦他们与其不当。9月10日，拉法耶特夫人在他们的乡村别墅Chavaniac被拘留。莫里斯将帮助他们度过未来几年的艰难时期。

In the last days of August, at Danton' s instigation, there was a general

search of Parisian residences for "hidden arms and suspects." Three thousand people were arrested and thrown into the already overcrowded prisons. Morris' s house was also searched "in Consequence of a Denunciation made by some Blockhead," he reported to Jefferson. "I made them sensible of the Impropriety of their Conduct, told them that I had no Arms and that if I had they should not touch one of them." He did not tell Jefferson that as soon as the commissaires de section had left, Bigot de Sainte-Croix (the last royal foreign minister) came to take refuge with him.⁵⁴

在8月的最后几天，在丹东的鼓动下，对巴黎人的住所进行了全面搜查，寻找“隐藏的武器和嫌疑人”三千多人被逮捕，扔进了已经拥挤不堪的监狱。莫里斯的房子也被搜查“由于一些笨蛋的谴责后果”，他向杰斐逊报告。“我让他们意识到他们行为的不当，告诉他们我没有武器，如果我有武器，他们不应该碰他们中的任何一个。”他没有告诉杰斐逊，部长一离开，圣克罗伊(最后一位皇家外交大臣)就到他那里避难

The fear that the enemy was hurtling toward Paris reached a peak in the first week of September 1792. Longwy had fallen to the Prussians on August 23 and on August 30 Morris wrote to Pinckney of a plan to fortify Paris. "But this is a Revolution indeed," he remarked in an afterthought. "Every thing is new and I fear that few of these new things will ever be old."⁵⁵

1792年9月的第一个星期，对于敌人正向巴黎疾驰而来的恐惧达到了顶峰。8月23日，隆维落入普鲁士手中。8月30日，莫里斯写信给平克尼，提出加强巴黎防御的计划。“但这确实是一场革命，”他事后说。

“每样东西都是新的，我担心这些新东西很少会过时。”⁵⁵

On September 2 Morris and Adèle heard that "the Enemy are at the Gates of Paris, which cannot be true. . . . I observe that this Proclamation

9月2日，莫里斯和阿德勒听说“敌人在巴黎大门口，这不可能是真的.....我认为这份公告

produces Terror and Despair among the People.”⁵⁶ The immediate result was the dreadful massacres of September, a “Week of uncheck’ d Murders” in the city’ s prisons, where all “those who were confin’ d, either on the accusation or Suspicion of Crimes” —many of them nonjuring priests—were slaughtered. Morris later commented that “[t]he reason for that massacre will be found, perhaps, in the old adage, dead men tell no tales,” a reference to rumors that Danton and others allegedly behind the massacres had been involved with efforts to avert the events of August 10; efforts that would, if revealed, expose them to the fatal charge of treason.⁵⁷

在人民中制造恐怖和绝望。”⁵⁶最直接的结果是9月的可怕大屠杀，这是该市监狱里的“未检查谋杀周”，所有“因犯罪指控或嫌疑而被认罪的人”——其中许多是不守信用的牧师——都被屠杀了。莫里斯后来评论说，“那场大屠杀的理由也许会被找到，或许，用一句古老的格言来说，死人是不会说谎的。”这里指的是有传言称，丹顿和其他涉嫌策划大屠杀的人参与了避免8月10日事件发生的努力，如果这些努力被揭露出来，他们将面临叛国罪的致命指控

“The Kennels of all Streets in Paris were tinged with Blood,” wrote James Mountflorenc⁵⁸e, an American acquaintance, and Morris told Jefferson:

58岁的美国熟人詹姆斯·蒙特弗洛伦斯(JamesMountflorenc⁵⁸e)写道：“巴黎所有街道的狗舍都染上了鲜血。”莫里斯告诉杰斐逊：

Madame de Lamballe was I believe the only Woman kill’ d, and she was beheaded and embowelled, the Head and Entrails were paraded on Pikes thro the Street and the body dragged after them. . . . Yesterday the Prisoners from Orleans were put to Death at Versailles. . . . A Guard had been sent a few Days since to make the Duke de la Rochefoucault Prisoner. He was on his way to Paris, under their Escort, with his wife and Mother when he was taken out of his Carriage and killed. . . . Monsieur de Montmorin was among those slain at the Abbaye.⁵⁹

我相信兰巴尔夫人是唯一一个被杀死的女人，她被斩首处死，头和内脏在街上游行，尸体在他们后面拖着..。昨天，从奥尔良来的囚犯在凡尔赛被处死。几天前，一个卫兵被派去囚禁罗切福科公爵。在他们的护送下，他和他的妻子和母亲正在去巴黎的路上，这时他被拉下马车杀死了.....蒙特莫林先生是在阿巴耶被杀害的人之一

Whether or not Morris himself saw the pitiful remains of the princesse de

Lamballe, he certainly saw things equally terrible. "What will be your Feelings at the Scenes which have lately passed," he wrote to Robert at the end of September. "I will not pretend to describe what I wish to forget, and I fear also that a just Picture would be attributed rather to the Glow of Imagination than the lively coloring of Nature."⁶⁰ He had warned Jefferson of likely famine in France the following spring, and suggested Robert confer with him on shipping flour.

不管莫里斯自己是否看到了兰巴尔公主的遗骸，他肯定也看到了同样可怕的事情。他在九月底给罗伯特的信中写道：“你在最近过去的那些场景里会有什么感受呢？”。“我不会假装去描述我希望忘记的东西，我也担心一幅公正的图画会被归因于想象的光辉，而不是自然的活泼色彩。”他曾警告杰弗尔的儿子第二年春天法国可能会有饥荒，并建议罗伯特与他商量运送面粉的事。

Meanwhile, Morris' s circle was disappearing. Lord Gower had received orders to leave on August 20 and was instructed to threaten the new government "if they injure the King." They could not get their passports immediately, putting Gower into "in a tearing Passion. . . . They give me broad Hints that Honor requires of me to quit the Country," Morris noted. His response to the ambassador' s display of temper was absolutely characteristic: "The Weather is pleasant and I am very gay, which he can hardly

与此同时，莫里斯的圈子正在消失。高尔勋爵接到命令，将于8月20日离任，并奉命威胁新政府，“如果他们伤害国王”他们无法立即拿到护照，高尔陷入了“激情四射.....他们给了我很多暗示，荣誉要求我离开这个国家，”莫里斯说。他对这位大使发脾气反应完全是客套话：“天气很好，我很快乐，而他几乎做不到

bear.” When Morris went back to the embassy later in the week, nerves were still raw:

当莫里斯本周晚些时候回到大使馆时，他的神经依然紧张：

[A]fter Dinner the Venetian Ambassador comes with Mr. Tronchin. This last says the Assembly have permitted the Corps diplomatique to depart, but not other Strangers. I laugh a little too much at the Distresses of the Baron Grand Cour and Ld. Gower gets a little too much in a Passion with Ld. Stair.⁶¹

晚饭后，威尼斯萨大使和唐钦先生一起来了。最后一条说，议会允许外交官离开，但不允许其他陌生人离开。对于男爵和老爷的苦恼，我笑得有点过头了。高尔的激情有点过头了。⁶¹ 楼梯

The next day, preparing for a dinner party, Morris learned that his coconspirator of the past few months, de Laporte, was on his way to be executed. “The Weather is very pleasant,” he added inconsequentially, as though numb, giving no hint of the distress the news must have caused him. The situation must have seemed unreal.

第二天，在准备一个晚宴时，莫里斯得知他过去几个月的同事德·拉波特正准备去执行任务。“天气很好，”他无关紧要地加了一句，似乎已经麻木了，丝毫没有显示出这个消息一定给他带来了多大的痛苦。这种情况一定看起来不真实。

Others were escaping, most of them to England. Malouet and Monciel saw each other in Boulogne, waiting to cross the Channel.⁶² Monciel had bribed the flexible Westermann (probably using some of the king's funds) for fake papers, and traveled in disguise. He would write Morris a largely illegible but cheerful note from London on September 16, and later worked in Switzerland with British agents sending propaganda into France.⁶³ Talleyrand, who submerged his scruples sufficiently to draft a defense of August 10 for Danton's signature, received a passport in return and left for London in early September. His continuing contacts with the Girondins (perhaps related to an attempt to obtain a separate peace with England, mentioned in a January 1794 dispatch in the British archives)⁶⁴ may have contributed to the British decision to order him to leave in January 1794. He went to America, and while there arranged an enormous purchase of lands in Pennsylvania from the by then desperate Robert Morris, but never came through on the payments.⁶⁵

还有一些人逃跑了，大部分去了英国。蒙谢尔贿赂了灵活的维斯特曼(可能用了国王的一部分资金)以获得假证件，并乔装出游。他会在9月16日从伦敦给莫里斯写一封基本上难以辨认但是很愉快的信，然后在瑞士

和英国特工一起向法国发送宣传信息。⁶³Talleyrand在8月10日收到了一本护照作为回报，并在9月初前往伦敦。他与吉伦特人的持续接触(也许与1794年1月英国档案中的一份报告中提到的试图与英格兰单独达成和平有关)⁶⁴可能促使英国决定于1794年1月命令他离开。他去了美国，在那里安排了一笔巨大的土地交易，从当时绝望的罗伯特·莫里斯手中购买了宾夕法尼亚州的土地，但从未付清款项

*Adèle and her son went to England as well, using two of four forged passports she had obtained by bribing the assistant secretary of the Paris Commune.⁶⁶ A third went to her husband, who was never able to use it, and the last to Moleville, which very likely saved his life. Madame de Staël left for Switzerland. By October, all of the diplomatic corps in Paris, with the possible exception of two *chargés*, had departed, urging Morris to do the same.⁶⁷*

阿德勒和她的儿子也去了英国，使用的是她贿赂巴黎公社助理书记而获得的四个伪造通行证口中的两个。第三个给了她的丈夫，他从来没有使用过，最后一个去了Moleville，这很可能救了他的命。德斯塔夫人去了瑞士。到了十月，除了两个章程外，所有在巴黎的外交使团都已经离开，敦促莫里斯也这样做

Under these circumstances—especially parting with Adèle—Morris must have wanted to leave too. In October, the months of strain got the better of him, and he fell ill. For several weeks, he wrote one-line remarks in the diary concerning the weather, and few letters.⁶⁸

在这种情况下，尤其是与莫里斯分手时，他一定也想离开。十月，几个月的劳累使他身体好转，他病倒了。几个星期以来，他在日记里只写了一行关于天气的评论，而且很少写信

"The Path of Life in Paris is no longer strewn with Roses as you may well imagine, indeed it is extremely painful," he wrote to Jefferson. Paris was not safe, even for someone entitled to diplomatic immunity, and Morris decided to look for quarters outside the flashpoint of the city. The search led him to the riverside village of Seine-Port, about twenty miles from his Paris legation, and to the purchase of what he would fondly call his "little Country Box." He was not able to take up residence until April 1793 due to the difficulty in obtaining a passport to cross the city barriers.⁶⁹ Morris was uneasy about how his decision would be received, but Jefferson had already sent a letter giving him permission to move.⁷⁰

他在给杰斐逊的信中写道：“巴黎的人生之路不再像你想象的那样铺满玫瑰，事实上它是极其痛苦的。”。巴黎并不安全，即使对于享有外交豁免权的人来说也是如此，莫里斯决定到巴黎以外的地方寻找住处。搜寻工作把他带到了河边的 Seine-Port，距离他的巴黎公使馆大约二十英里，他买了一个他喜欢称之为“小乡村盒子”的东西直到 1793 年 4 月，由于难以获得护照穿越城市的巴里河，他才得以居住。莫里斯对如何接受他的决定感到不安，但杰斐逊已经写了一封信，准许他搬家

He left his secretary, twenty-four-year old Henry W. Livingston, (son of Morris' s old friend Walter Livingston), whom he had hired the summer before, to man the desk in Paris. He continued to perform his ministerial duties, and came to Paris regularly, but clearly took comfort in the asylum of the countryside, tending to his small gardens and reading; his account book (Morris called it his "Waste Book") shows substantial acquisitions of books during this period. "If Peace were restored," he wrote his brother Staats, "I would press you to enjoy a French Air on the Banks of the Seine in my Hermitage where you would be in the Neighborhood of many Objects worth riding to look at if it were only to gain Appetite for a Bottle of good Claret and a Slice of small Mutton."⁷¹

他让他的秘书，24 岁的亨利·W·利文斯顿(莫里斯的老朋友沃尔特·利文斯顿的儿子)去管理巴黎的办公桌。他继续履行他的部长职责，并定期来到巴黎，但显然在农村的庇护舒适，打理他的小花园和阅读；他的帐本(莫里斯称之为他的“废物书”)显示了大量的书籍在这一时期。“如果和平得到休息，”他写信给他的兄弟斯塔茨(Staats)， “我会让你在我的隐居处享受塞纳河畔的法国空气，那里有许多值得一骑的东西，如果只是为了得到一瓶上好的红葡萄酒和一片小羊肉。” 71

During the fall of 1792, the tide turned for the French military. On September 22, the day after the National Convention declared France a republic, Dumouriez triumphed over the Prussians at the battle of Valmy. The Duchy of Savoy was taken, and Nice. "Fortune has hitherto smiled on the

french Arms in a Manner unexpected to themselves and it may perhaps continue to do so," Morris wrote to Jefferson in late October, two weeks before Dumouriez clinched the invasion of Belgium with a victory over the Austrians at the battle of Jemappes.⁷²

1792年秋天，法国军队的形势发生了变化。9月22日，也就是国民大会宣布法国为共和国的第二天，杜穆里埃斯在瓦尔米战役中战胜了普鲁士。萨伏伊公国被占领了，尼斯。10月下旬，也就是Dumouriez在杰玛佩斯战役中战胜奥地利队入侵比利时的两周前，Morris在给Jefferson的信中写道：“命运之神迄今为止一直以他们自己意想不到的方式对法国军队微笑，而且可能会继续这样做。”

Military success did not restore stability to France, however, for the Girondins and Montagnards were in constant conflict. "You will see by the *Gazettes*," Morris commented to Jefferson,

然而，军事上的胜利并没有恢复法国的稳定，因为吉伦特人和蒙塔格纳德人一直处于冲突之中。“你会看到公报，”莫里斯对杰弗逊说，

that there is the same Enmity between the present Chiefs which prevailed heretofore against those whom they considered as their common Enemies, and if either of the present Parties should get the better, they would probably again divide; for Party like Matter is divisible ad infinitum, because things which depend on human Opinion can never be tried by any common Standard.⁷³

现在的酋长们之间存在着同样的敌意，在此之前，他们一直反对那些他们认为是共同敌人的人，如果现在的任何一方变得更好，他们很可能会再次分裂；因为类似于党派的东西是可以无限分割的，因为依赖于人类意见的东西永远不可能被任何共同的标准所试验

In early December, he wrote perhaps his most eloquent appraisal of the tragic turn of the Revolution, to Thomas Pinckney. "Success as you will see, continues to crown the French Arms, but it is not our Trade to judge from Success," he began.

12月初，他给托马斯·平克尼写了一封或许是他对革命悲剧转折最有说服力的评论。“正如你将看到的那样，成功继续为法国武器加冕，但从成功来判断不是我们的行业，”他开始说。

You will soon learn that the Patriots hitherto adored were but little worthy of the Incense they received. The Enemies of those who now reign treat them as they did their Predecessors and as their Successors will be treated. Since I have been in this Country, I have seen the Worship of many Idols and but little [illegible] of the true God. I have seen many of those Idols broken, and some of them beaten to Dust. I have seen the late Constitution in one short Year admired as a stupendous Monument of human Wisdom and ridiculed as an egregious Production of Folly and Vice. I wish much, very much, the Happiness of this inconstant People. I love them. I feel grateful for their Efforts in our Cause and I consider the Establishment of a good Constitution here as the principal Means, under divine Providence, of extending the blessings of Freedom to the many millions of my fellow Men who groan in Bondage on the Continent of Europe. But I do not greatly indulge the flattering Illusions of Hope, because I do not yet perceive that Reformation of Morals without which Liberty is but an empty Sound.

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你很快就会知道，爱国者迄今为止所崇拜的只是他们所接受的熏香。现在统治者的敌人对待他们就像对待他们的前辈一样，对待他们的继承者也一样。自从我来到这个国家，我看到了许多偶像的崇拜，但真神的崇拜却很少(难以辨认)。我见过许多神像被打碎，其中一些被打成灰烬。在短短的一年里，我已经看到过晚期的宪法被誉为是人类智慧的巨大成就，被讥笑为愚蠢和邪恶的惊人产物。我非常、非常地希望这个国家的人民能够幸福。我爱他们。我感谢他们为我们的事业所做的努力，我认为在这里建立一部好的宪法是在神圣眷顾的领导下，将自由的祝福扩展到数百万在欧洲大陆上的奴役中呻吟的人们身上的主要手段。但是我并不十分沉迷于希望的谄媚幻想，因为我还没有看到道德的改良，没有道德的改良，自由就只是一种空洞的声音

As for Louis—"History informs us that the Passage of dethroned Mon-

archs is short from Prison to the grave," Morris observed to Washington in late October.⁷⁵ The royal family remained in confinement, and in the wake of the discovery of the incriminating documents in Louis' s armoire de fer (the infamous iron chest), the Convention determined in early December to try Louis for treason; with the military victories in hand, he had lost his value as a hostage. "To a Person less intimately acquainted than you are with the History of human Affairs," Morris wrote to Jefferson,

至于路易斯，“历史告诉我们，废除门氏统治的过程是短暂的，从监狱到坟墓，”莫里斯在10月下旬对华盛顿说。王室仍然处于监禁之中，随着在路易斯的衣橱(臭名昭著的铁箱)中发现的罪证文件，国民大会在12月初决定以叛国罪审判路易斯；随着军事胜利在手，他失去了作为人质的价值。莫里斯在给杰斐逊的信中写道：“对于一个比你还不熟悉人类事务历史的人来说，

it would seem strange that the mildest monarch who ever fill' d the French Throne, One who is precipitated from it precisely because he would not adopt the harsh measures of his Predecessors . . . should be prosecuted as one of the most nefarious Tyrants that ever disgraced the Annals of human nature. . . . I think it highly probable that he may suffer.⁷⁶

这看起来很奇怪，曾经登上法国王位的最温和的君主，正是因为他不会采取他的前任的严厉措施而从中突然冒出来的一个人，竟然会被作为曾经玷污人性编年史的最邪恶的暴君之一而被起诉。我认为他极有可能遭受痛苦

Morris was right; Louis' s defense by his loyal friend the aged Malesherbes was in vain. He was convicted and, in a very close vote on January 16, 莫里斯是对的，路易斯用他忠实的朋友——年迈的马莱舍布来保护自己是徒劳的。他被判有罪，在1月16日的一次非常接近的投票中，

1793, sentenced to death. The execution took place a week later. Morris reported to Jefferson that Louis had "died in a Manner becoming his Dignity."⁷⁷ Jefferson was unmoved. "We have just received here the news of the decapitation of the king of France," he wrote to a friend in March. "Should the present ferment in Europe not produce republics everywhere, it will at least soften the monarchical governments by rendering monarchs amenable to punishment like other criminals, and doing away with that aegis of insolence and oppression, the inviolability of the king's person." Madison was in full agreement, and condemned "spurious accounts in the papers of [Louis's] innocence and the bloodthirstiness of his enemies."⁷⁸

1793年，被判处死刑。一周后执行了死刑。莫里斯向杰弗逊报告说，路易斯“以一种成为他尊严的方式死去”⁷⁷杰斐逊无动于衷。“我们刚刚收到法国国王被斩首的消息，”他在三月份写给一位朋友的信中说。

“如果目前欧洲的动荡局势没有在各地产生共和国，它至少会软化君主政府，让君主们像其他罪犯一样接受惩罚，消除傲慢和压迫的庇护，消除国王人格的不可侵犯性。”麦迪逊完全同意，谴责“报纸上关于路易斯清白无辜和敌人残忍的虚假报道”⁷⁸

Morris hoped that the execution would backfire, but there was no out-cry. It did, however, heighten the hostility of England, a hostility returned with interest. On February 1, 1793, France declared war on England, and a month later on Spain. The military situation, already wavering, again reversed itself, and the fragile government shuddered under the stress. "The present prospects are dreadful," Morris wrote to Washington on the eve of late-⁷⁹February food riots in Paris.

莫里斯希望这次处决会适得其反，但是没有结果。然而，这的确加剧了英国的敌意，这种敌意随着兴趣的回归而升级。1793年2月1日，法国向英国宣战，一个月后又向西班牙宣战。已经动摇的军事形势再次发生了逆转，脆弱的政府在压力之下战栗不已。“目前的前景是可怕的，”莫里斯在2月下旬巴黎粮食骚乱前夕写信给华盛顿

[T]he disorganized State of the Government appears to be irremediable. . .

. How all this will end God only knows but I fear it will end badly.

政府的混乱状态似乎是不可改变的.....这一切将如何结束，只有上帝知道，但我担心结局会很糟糕。

I will not speak of my own Situation. You will judge that it is far from pleasant. I could be popular but that would be wrong. The different Parties pass away like the Shadows in a Magic Lantern, and to be well with any one of them would in a short period become Cause of

我不会谈论我自己的处境。你会判断这远非令人愉快。我可以很受欢迎，但那是错误的。不同的政党就像魔幻灯笼中的影子一样消失了，如果和他们中的任何一个人和睦相处，在短时间内就会成为他们之间无法抑制的仇恨的原因

*In mid-March, Dumouriez was defeated at Neerwinden and went over to the Austrians. He had hoped to march on Paris, release the remaining royal family and reestablish the constitution of 1791. "Perhaps he may experience a similar fate to that of Lafayette," Morris told the secretary, "but he is in much better circumstances for a high game, and much abler to play it." He was not able enough; his men refused to march and the general defected.*⁸¹

三月中旬，杜穆雷兹在 Neerwinden 战败，投靠了奥地利。他曾希望游行到巴黎，释放剩下的皇室成员，重建 1791 年的宪法。莫里斯告诉他的秘书：“也许他会经历和拉法耶特相似的命运，但是他在更好的环境下打高水平的比赛，也更能胜任这个角色。”他没有足够的能力，他的士兵拒绝行军，将军叛变了

The military threat rattled the nervous Convention, which decreed establishment of surveillance committees throughout France to keep an eye on foreigners and suspects. As Morris told Jefferson, "There seems to be more of Treason in this Country than was imagined, and every Day encreases Suspicion, which whether well or ill founded has always the

军事威胁扰乱了紧张的全国代表大会，该大会下令在法国各地建立监视委员会，以监视外国人和嫌疑人。正如莫里斯告诉杰斐逊的那样，“这个国家似乎有比想象中更多的叛国罪，每天都在增加怀疑，无论是否有根据，怀疑总是有的

Effect of distracting the public Councils." The Revolutionary Tribunal had been established in March to examine crimes against the state, with "very large and wide Powers," Morris reported. "It is one of those Instruments whose Operations are incalculable and on whose Direction depends the Fate of the Country."⁸² In mid-April assignats were decreed to be the re-quired currency. The Montagnards, always sensitive to changes in Parisian public opinion, had abandoned the cause of free markets and were now advocating the price controls demanded by the citizens. The result was the first Law of the Maximum in early May.

分散公众议会的注意力。”莫里斯报道说，今年3月，革命法庭刑事法院成立，专门调查反对国家的罪行，并拥有“非常广泛的权力”。“它是那些行动不可估量、方向取决于国家命运的手段之一。”在四月中旬，转让金被指定为领取货币。蒙塔格纳德一向对巴黎公众舆论的变化很敏感，他们已经放弃了自由市场的事业，现在提倡公民要求的价格控制。五月初，第一个最大值定律诞生了。

The provinces were also in turmoil. Morris reported that the decree for conscripting a third of a million men had "met with serious opposition," and civil war in the Vendée erupted in mid-March 1793 with the revolt of thousands of Catholic peasants against conscription, the government's efforts to weaken the clergy, and the republic. The arrival of the powerful Montagnard representatives-on-mission throughout France sparked nas-cent resistance, and in Marseilles the mercantile community drove the representatives out. There were backlash movements throughout the Midi against the Jacobins, and in Lyon, depressed by the precipitous fall in demand for silk, departmental authorities used the National Guard to overthrow the Jacobin commune at the end of May.⁸³ The city would suffer terribly for its offense. By this time, the "Catholic Royal" armies of the Vendée had grown and were routing the Republican troops.

各省也陷入了混乱。1793年3月中旬，数以千计的天主教农民起义反对征兵，政府试图削弱神职人员，共和国爆发了旺代战争。势力强大的山地人代表的到来在整个法国引起了全国人民的抵抗，在马赛，商人们把代表们赶了出去。在米迪全国各地都有反对雅各宾派的运动，在里昂，由于丝绸需求急剧下降，部门当局在五月底动用了国民警卫队来推翻雅各宾公社。此时，旺代河的“天主教皇家”军队已经壮大，正在击溃共和国军队。

In Paris, the Montagnards began to plan a purge of the Girondins. Morris had heard of this planned insurrection by mid-March. The Girondins used the last of their strength in the Convention to send up their archenemy Marat for trial, but in late April he was acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal. The

*Girondins then publicly denounced their adversaries, but their threats of retaliation backfired. On June 2, close to one hundred thousand people surrounded the Convention while it considered a petition by the Paris Commune to arrest the thirty principal Girondin deputies. The Convention, cowed by the crowd, ordered the arrests. Morris thought it unlikely the Girondins would be able to recoup, "for the greater Part of them have only parole Energy."*⁸⁴

在巴黎，蒙塔格纳德人开始计划清洗吉伦特人。莫里斯在三月中旬听说了这次有计划的起义。吉伦特派用他们在大会上最后的力量将他们的主要敌人马拉特送上了法庭，但是在四月下旬，最高革命法庭宣布他无罪。吉伦特派随后公开谴责他们的对手，但他们的报复威胁适得其反。6月2日，近10万人包围了大会，与此同时，巴黎公社请求逮捕吉伦丁的三十名主要代表。大会在人群的恐吓下，下令逮捕了这些人。莫里斯认为吉伦特家族不太可能收回成本，“因为他们大部分人只有假释能力。”⁸⁴

The purge exacerbated the civil war. By mid-June more than sixty of the eighty-three départements had rebelled against the Jacobins. Military reversals continued. General Custine was arrested on suspicion of treachery and France pulled out of Belgium. The shortage of food did not improve.

清党加剧了内战。到六月中旬，八十三个党派中有六十个反对雅各宾派。军事反对继续进行。卡斯汀将军因涉嫌叛国被捕，法国撤出了比利时。食物短缺问题没有得到改善。

In early July 1793, the Dantonists lost control of the Committee of Public Safety. Although ostensibly one of several executive committees of

1793年7月初，丹东人失去了对公共安全委员会的控制。虽然表面上是几个执行委员会中的一个

the National Convention, the Committee of Public Safety came to control the Convention and thereby the revolutionary government, due, originally, to the perceived necessity for centralized, rapid, and coordinated decision making concerning military, diplomatic, and domestic matters. With the onset of the Terror, after the ouster of Danton in July 1793, it had twelve members, including Robespierre; his young and fanatical follower Saint-Just; Lazare Carnot, a military engineer; and others of different areas of interest and in several cases, chilling reputations. Robespierre's election to the committee came the day after the surrender of Valenciennes to the Austrians, and passage of a new draconian measure, a law against hoarding for which the penalty was death.⁸⁵ The *Levée en Masse*, calling the entire country into the war, was issued at the end of August, just a few days before Toulon fell to the British.

国民大会，公共安全委员会来控制国民大会，从而革命政府，由于认识到有必要在军事、外交和国内事务上集中、迅速和协调的决策。1793年7月丹东被赶下台后，随着恐怖袭击的开始，该组织拥有十二名成员，其中包括 Robespierre，他年轻狂热的追随者圣-贾斯特，军事工程师拉扎尔·卡诺，以及其他一些在不同领域有着令人不寒而栗的声誉的人。就在 Robespierre 当选为委员会成员的前一天，瓦朗谢讷向奥地利人投降，并通过了一项新的严厉措施——一项禁止囤积的法律，对其处以死刑。8月底，就在土伦落入英国手中的前几天，《大众利益报》(*leveenMasse*)发布，号召全国参战。

"The present government is evidently a despotism both in principle and practice," Morris wrote to Washington. "The Convention now consists of only a part of those who were chosen to frame a constitution. These, after putting under arrest their fellows, claim all power, and have delegated the greater part of it to a Committee of Public Safety." He described the function of the Revolutionary Tribunal as giving "unbounded scope to will." It was now "an emphatical phrase in fashion among the patriots, that terror is the order of the day," he told Washington. "Some years have elapsed since Montesquieu wrote that the principle of arbitrary governments is fear."

莫里斯在给华盛顿的信中写道：“现在的政府无论在原则上还是在实践上都显然是一个专制政府。”。“现在，大会只考虑了被选中制定宪法的人的一部分。这些人在逮捕了他们的同伴之后，要求得到一切权力，并把大部分权力委托给一个公共安全委员会。”他将革命法庭的功能描述为给予“意志无限的空间”他告诉华盛顿：“恐怖已经成为爱国者们的时髦话语，恐怖已经成为了时代的命令。”。“自从孟德斯鸠写出任意

统治的原则就是恐惧以来，已经过去了好几年。”

France was now embarked on the Terror, and Morris grasped its nature clearly and predicted its inevitable effects:

法国现在开始了恐怖活动，莫里斯清楚地抓住了它的本质，并预测了它不可避免的影响：

[W]hatever may be the Lot of France in remote Futurity . . . it seems evident that she must soon be govern' d by a single Despot. Whether she will pass to that Point thro the Medium of a Triumvirate, or other small body of Men seems as yet undetermin' d. I think it most proba-ble that she will. A great and awful Crisis seems to be near at Hand. A Blow is I am told meditated which will shroud in Grief and Horror a guilty Land. Already the Prisons are surcharg' d with Persons who con-sider themselves
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Victims.

我们也许永远不会成为遥远未来的法国的命运.....很明显，她很快就会被一个独裁者统治。她是否会通过执政者的媒介，或者通过其他人类的小身体，到达那个临界点，似乎还没有决定。我认为她很可能会这样做。一场巨大而可怕的危机似乎就在眼前。一个打击是我被告知冥想哪将掩盖悲伤和恐惧一个有罪的土地。监狱里已经充斥着认为自己是受害者的人

The "Blow" may have been the order sent by the committee on October 13, 1793, to its member Georges Couthon, at Lyon, now subdued by the Jacobins. He was instructed to destroy the city for having dared to make "war on Liberty." Though Couthon was reluctant, his fellow committee

“打击”可能是委员会在1793年10月13日向其成员乔治·库森发出的命令，该委员会位于里昂，现在已被雅各宾派制服。他受命摧毁这座城市，因为他胆敢发动“对自由的战争”虽然库森不情愿，但他的委员会同僚们

member Collot d' Herbois was not, and along with Joseph Fouché, fell to the task with enthusiasm. They began large-scale executions of all deemed to be "rebels." By April 1794, around two thousand had died in the mitrillades, in which batches of perhaps sixty people were marched to an open area, along ditches ready for their remains, shot with cannon and finished off with swords.⁸⁷

成员科洛特·德·赫尔波伊斯没有参加，他和约瑟夫·福赫一起热情地投入了这项工作。他们开始大规模处决所有被认为是“叛乱分子”的人到1794年4月，大约有2000人死于这场游行，其中大约有六十人被带到一个开阔地带，沿着准备留给他们遗体的沟渠，用大炮射击，用剑结束战斗

Morris might also have been referring to the noyades in Nantes, which also took place in October 1793: mass drownings of perhaps two thousand men, women, and children, mostly Vendéens, a retribution exacted by the Montagnard representative-on-mission Jean-Baptiste Carrier.⁸⁸ October also saw the execution of Marie-Antoinette. "Insulted during her Trial and reviled in her last Moments she behav' d with Dignity through-out," Morris wrote to Washington.⁸⁹

莫里斯也许还提到了1793年10月发生在南特的一系列事件：大约两千名男人、女人和孩子被大规模溺死，其中大部分是文德恩斯，这是蒙塔格纳德执行任务的代表让-巴蒂斯特·卡瑞尔的报复行为。10月88日，玛丽·安托瓦内特也被处决。莫里斯在给华盛顿的信中写道：“在她受审期间受到了侮辱，在她生命的最后时刻受到了辱骂，她彻头彻尾地表现出了尊严。”

The religious element of the provincial uprisings convinced many that the Catholic religion was a threat to the Revolution, and a dechristianizing movement began. Religious relics and statues were smashed, and vestments were stolen to be worn in mock ceremonies. "I must, by the way, drop one word as to the overthrow of the Catholic Religion," Morris reported to Jefferson. "It is now expiring under wounds from the true French weapon Ridicule. The people who, five years since, fell down in the dirt as the consecrated matter passed by, now dance the Carmagnole in holy Vestments, and perform other Mummeries which it might seem profane to mention."⁹⁰

省级起义中的宗教因素使许多人相信天主教是对革命的威胁，于是一场去基督化运动开始了。宗教文物和雕像被打碎，背心被偷去穿在模拟仪式上。“顺便说一句，我必须说一句推翻天主教的话，”莫里斯向杰斐逊报告说。“它现在在真正的法国武器嘲弄的伤口下快要死了。五年前，随着圣物的流逝，这些人倒在了泥土里，现在他们穿着圣袍跳着卡尔马尼奥拉舞，表演着其他似乎不值一提的戏剧。”⁹⁰

Morris' s wry description notwithstanding, he was troubled. Though he disliked Catholicism, he believed religion was "the only solid Base of Morals and that Morals are the only possible Support of free govern-ments." He described the movement as a "new Religion" whose "Votaries have the Superstition of not being superstitious. They have with this as much Zeal as any other Sect and are as ready to lay Waste the World in order to make Proselytes." ⁹¹

尽管莫里斯的描述有些讽刺，他还是感到不安。虽然他不喜欢天主教，但他认为宗教是“道德的唯一坚实基础，道德是自由统治的唯一可能支持。”他把这场运动描述为一种“新宗教”，其“支持者有不迷信的迷信”。他们有着和其他教派一样的热情，随时准备把世界变成废墟，以制造改教者。” ⁹¹

On October 31, twenty-one Girondins—including Brissot—went to the guillotine. They had lingered for months, waiting for the "first great misfortune [to] call them from their dungeons as expiatory victims," Morris told the secretary of state. ⁹² A few months before, Jefferson, who called Brissot a "true disciple of liberty," had written him a very friendly letter of introduction for an American acquaintance. ⁹³ Brissot never received this letter, just as Jefferson did not receive Clavière' s friendly introduction to a Frenchman until after the former finance minister had committed suicide in prison in December 1793. ⁹⁴

10月31日，包括布里索在内的21名吉伦特人被送上断头台。莫里斯告诉国务卿，他们已经等了几个月，等待着“第一个不幸的命运把他们从地牢里召唤出来作为赎罪的受害者”。几个月前，杰弗逊曾称布里索特是“真正的自由信徒”，他给他写了一封非常友好的介绍信，介绍一位美国熟人认识他。布里索从未收到这封信，就像杰弗逊直到这位前财政部长于1793年12月在狱中自杀后，才收到他介绍给一位法国人的友好信件一样

This communication lag between America and France was an aspect of the times that illuminates the degree to which American opinion concerning the French Revolution had to do with domestic politics, rather than the real situation in France, in no case more notably than that of Jefferson. Jefferson had by now managed to absorb the most jarring disparity between his concept of the French Revolution and its reality: Lafayette's disgrace. He would do the same on learning the fate of the Girondins, at least for a while. Nonetheless, Jefferson continues to be credited by historians with a consistently "pro-revolutionary" creed dignified as a philosophy, despite these contradictory underpinnings. Morris, by contrast, has been viewed as consistently antirevolutionary despite the successive shifts of form of the revolutionary government, from nonfunctioning constitutional monarchy to the despotism of the Committee of Public Safety.

美国和法国之间的这种沟通滞后是时代的一个方面，表明了美国舆论对法国大革命的关注在多大程度上与国内政治有关，而不是与法国的实际情况有关，在任何情况下都比不上杰斐逊的关注。杰斐逊现在已经设法吸收了他对法国大革命的概念和现实之间最不和谐的差距：拉法叶的耻辱。在了解吉伦特人的命运时，他也会这样做，至少在一段时间内是这样。尽管如此，尽管有这些矛盾的基础，杰斐逊仍然被他的支持者们赞誉为一个有尊严的哲学家，坚持“亲革命”的信条。相比之下，莫里斯一直被视为反革命分子，尽管革命政府的形式不断变化，从无能为力的君主制到公共安全委员会的专制。

According to François Furet and Denis Richet, the Girondins' fall signaled that the Revolution was drifting "further off the course it had been set by eighteenth-century thought."⁹⁵ Morris said much the same, and could not observe these proofs of his predictions without distress. That concern, however, was now overshadowed by the effect on his own country. The internal cataclysms caused by August 10, combined with war with Britain, put great strain on the ties between the United States and France. The following year tested the American minister to the utmost.

根据弗朗索瓦·福雷特和丹尼斯·里希特的说法，吉伦特派的失败表明革命正在“进一步偏离十八世纪思想所设定的轨道”⁹⁵莫里斯说了大致相同的话，他无法毫不痛苦地观察他预言的这些证据。然而，这种担忧现在被对他自己国家的影响所掩盖。8月10日造成的内部灾难，加上与英国的战争，给美国和法国的关系带来了巨大的压力。第二年对美国部

长的考验达到了极限。