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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.*

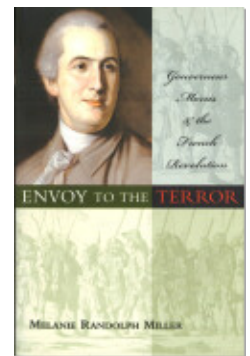
恐怖事件特使:莫里斯与法国大革命。

*University of Nebraska Press, 2011.*

内布拉斯加大学出版社, 2011 年。

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## CHAPTER NINE

## 第九章

# Hidden Antagonists 隐藏的对手

WHEN MORRIS ADVISED WILLIAM SHORT that an appointment as minister to Paris would make Short many enemies who eventually would succeed in removing him, Morris was dead right; but it was Morris, not Short, who was to endure the painful truth of this prediction. An odd assortment joined forces in 1792–1793 to oust the new American minister: William Stephens Smith, son-in-law of Vice President John Adams and a would-be diplomat, and Stephen Sayre, a former London sheriff, banker, bankrupt, and arms dealer, were acting as agents for France when Morris got in the way. Their plans were piggybacked onto the nationalistic dreams of the “Maestro de Libertadores,”<sup>1</sup> a dashing Venezuelan named Francisco de Miranda (1756–1816). Miranda hoped to liberate his country with French aid, and Smith and Sayre wanted to use the American debt to France to supply French troops, commanded by Miranda, to attack Spanish America. Morris was an obstacle to these men, as well as to those in the French government who hoped to profit by advances on the debt payments and dispensation of the supply contracts.

当莫里斯告诉威廉·肖特，任命肖特为巴黎的部长会使肖特树敌众多，最终成功地将他赶下台时，莫里斯是完全正确的；但是要忍受这个预言的痛苦真相的是莫里斯，而不是肖特。1792–1793年，一个奇怪的组合联合起来驱逐了新的美国部长：副总统约翰·亚当斯的女婿威廉·史蒂芬斯·史密斯和前伦敦治安官、银行家、破产者和军火商斯蒂芬·塞尔，当莫里斯碍事时，他们正在为法国充当代理人。他们的计划受到了“解放者大师”的民族主义梦想的支配，这位风度翩翩的委内瑞拉弗朗西斯科·米兰达(1756–1816)。米兰达希望在法国的援助下解放自己的国家，而史密斯和塞尔则希望利用美国欠法国的债务，向米兰达指挥的法国军队提供补给，以进攻西班牙美洲。莫里斯是这些人的障碍，也是法国政府中那些希望通过提前偿还债务和减免供应合同而获利的人的障碍。

The group also attracted another supporter, possibly innocent of the

commercial flavor of their intrigue: John Skey Eustace, a self-aggrandizing young American serving in the French army. He added a dramatic—and absurd—note of fanaticism to the chorus denouncing Morris.

这个组织还吸引了另一个支持者，他可能对他们阴谋的商业味道一无所知，那就是约翰·斯基·尤斯塔斯(JohnSkeyEustace)，一个自吹自擂的年轻美国人，在法国军队中。他在谴责莫里斯的合唱中加入了一种戏剧性的、荒谬的狂热调子。

Morris never knew of these efforts to undermine him. The fact that he scarcely knew any of these men except Smith, whom he liked and trusted, made no difference: they would prove extremely effective in harming him both in France and in America.

莫里斯从来不知道这些破坏他的努力。事实上，他几乎不认识这些人中的任何一个，除了他喜欢和信任的史密斯，没有什么区别：他们在法国和美国都会极其有效地伤害他。

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William Smith was on Washington' s staff during the Revolutionary War.<sup>2</sup> He thereafter served as Adams' s secretary at the American legation in  
在美国独立战争期间，威廉·史密斯是华盛顿的幕僚

London, and in that capacity became friends with Jefferson, who initially thought highly of him. Smith clearly possessed considerable personal charm, but he was very ambitious, and apparently capable of indifference to (or perhaps ignorance of) the best interests of his country. When Adams left London, Smith hoped to be appointed his successor, and asked Jefferson for assistance. Jefferson, however, did not favor continuing a diplomatic establishment in England.<sup>3</sup>

在伦敦，并在这一身份成为朋友与杰斐逊，谁最初认为他很高。史密斯显然具有相当大的个人魅力，但他雄心勃勃，显然能够漠视(或者可能无视)他的国家的最大利益。当亚当斯离开伦敦时，史密斯希望被任命为他的继承人，并请求杰斐逊的儿子协助。然而，杰斐逊并不赞成继续在英格兰发展外交事业

Smith's ambitions for the position did not abate, and were encouraged when Hamilton sent him, in the winter of 1790-91, on the mission discussed previously, to urge the British government to send a minister to the United States. Such an action would require reciprocation; hence Smith's expectations. Despite Washington's blunt repudiation, Smith was convinced that he had turned in a masterful performance and deserved an appointment.

1790年至1791年的冬天，汉密尔顿派史密斯去美国执行一项前所未有的任务，敦促英国政府向美国派遣一名部长。这样的行为需要回报，因此史密斯的预期。尽管华盛顿方面直言不讳地批评他，但史密斯仍然认为自己的表现非常出色，值得任命。

While in London, Smith renewed his friendship with Francisco de Miranda. Miranda, who had been dismissed from the Spanish army, had the lifelong dream of freeing the Spanish colonies in America.<sup>4</sup> He had gone to America to garner support in the early 1780s, and became friends with Smith as well as with Hamilton, Henry Knox, and Paine (he met Morris, though no friendship developed).<sup>5</sup> After returning to Europe, Miranda spent time at the court of Catherine the Great, where his handsome face and elegant figure caught the eye of the empress.<sup>6</sup> Their friendship—or intimacy—proved useful. In London in 1789, he cultivated an acquaintance with the British ministry to gain support for an insurrection in Spanish America. The Spanish attempted to have him extradited, but he avoided arrest by claiming to be a member of the household of the Russian ambassador, Count de Woronzow, a highly respected friend of Morris. Thereafter, Miranda acted as an unofficial agent for the English in “clarifying” Russian policy, and provided Woronzow with useful information about the English—a dual role of which the English were ignorant.<sup>7</sup>

在伦敦期间，Smith 与弗朗西斯科·米兰达重修旧好。他在 18 世纪 80 年代早期到美国寻求支持，与史密斯以及汉密尔顿、亨利诺克斯和潘恩成为了朋友(他遇到了莫瑞斯，尽管他们之间没有发展出友谊)回到欧洲后，米兰达在叶卡捷琳娜二世宫廷度过了一段时间，他英俊的脸庞和优雅的身材吸引了皇后的目光。1789 年在伦敦，他与英国政府建立了良好的关系，以便为美国的一场叛乱赢得支持。西班牙曾试图引渡他，但他声称自己是莫里斯备受尊敬的朋友德沃隆佐伯爵(Count de Woronzow)的俄罗斯 ambas-sador 家族成员，从而避免了被捕。此后，米兰达在“澄清”俄罗斯政策方面充当了英国的非官方代理人，并为沃隆佐提供了有关英国的有用信息——英国人对这一双重角色一无所知

*When news of the Nootka Sound incident arrived in London in 1790, Miranda hoped for war, and that the English would now want to encourage rebellion in Spanish America. He presented his ideas to Pitt and Grenville, and they cautiously promised a small yearly stipend to pursue the project.<sup>8</sup> He also hoped to obtain money for supplies for the insurrectionists. This plan held the promise of generous commissions or rake-offs, and while Miranda may have been indifferent to such profits, some of his associates were not. One such associate was another American friend, Stephen Sayre, recently released from debtor's prison in London.*

1790 年，当 Nootka Sound 事件的消息传到伦敦时，米兰达希望发动战争，而英国人现在希望在西班牙裔美国人的时代里发动叛乱。他把自己的想法告诉了皮特和格伦维尔，他们小心翼翼地答应每年给他们一小笔津贴来继续这个项目。这个计划可以带来丰厚的佣金或回扣，米兰达可能对这些利润漠不关心，但他的一些同伙却不是这样。另一位美国朋友斯蒂芬·塞尔(Stephen Sayre)就是这样一位同伙，他最近刚从伦敦的债务人监狱获释。

Sayre was an enterprising American scoundrel who was never at a loss for a new scheme to make money, and he was often in trouble. In 1775, he was arrested in London on suspicion of plotting to abduct George III; three years later, he criticized John Paul Jones' s handling of the *Ranger* off of Britain and got into a fistfight with the thin-skinned sailor. The London bank he managed failed in 1776, and he acted for a short time as an unofficial envoy for the American commissioner Arthur Lee, seeking assistance from other courts for the war effort. Benjamin Franklin did not like him, and denied that he was acting for Congress. Sayre in turn called him a "great villain."<sup>9</sup>

塞尔是一个有进取心的美国恶棍，他从来不为一个新的赚钱计划感到困惑，而且他经常陷入困境。1775年，他因涉嫌密谋绑架乔治三世在伦敦被捕；三年后，他批评了约翰·保罗·琼斯对英国游侠号的处理方式，并与那个皮肤薄的水手大打出手。1776年，他在伦敦建立的这家银行失败了，他作为美国特派员亚瑟·李的非官方特使短暂地行动了一段时间，寻求其他法院对战争努力的帮助。本杰明·富兰克林不喜欢他，并否认他是代表国会行事。塞尔反过来称他为“大反派”图9

Sayre returned to America in 1783, and joined the same dancing assembly (a sort of social club) in New York City as Smith and Miranda, with whom he became good friends. He also became close to the unscrupulous William Duer, and through him, Knox and Samuel Ogden, Morris' s brother-in-law. When Miranda left for England, Sayre and Duer agreed to assist his revolutionary projects, and to correspond with him in cipher.<sup>10</sup>

塞尔于1783年回到美国，与史密斯和米兰达一起加入了纽约市的舞会（一种社交俱乐部），并成为了好朋友。他还成为密切的不择手段的威廉杜尔，并通过他，诺克斯和塞缪尔奥格登，莫里斯的妹夫。当米兰达前往英格兰时，塞尔和杜尔同意协助他的革命计划，并用密码与他通信

Sayre himself returned to Europe in 1785. In early 1787 he was sent to Fleet Prison in London (for a debt to a trusting widow) for nearly two years, a humiliating experience that inflamed his hatred for England. Miranda assisted him with occasional remittances, sent through Smith.<sup>11</sup> Sayre wrote repeatedly to Knox, asking for an appointment as a consul for America in Europe, hoping to cloak himself and his questionable commercial activities with diplomatic immunity.<sup>12</sup> In fact, this would not have protected him, but appointment as a secretary to Pinckney might have done so, and Sayre repeatedly dunned Knox, Pinckney, Jefferson, and even Washington for various diplomatic positions, without success.

塞尔本人于1785年返回欧洲。1787年初，他被送到伦敦的舰队监狱（因为欠了一个信任他的寡妇一笔债）近两年，这段屈辱的经历激起了他对英格兰的仇恨。塞尔反复写信给诺克斯，要求任命他为美国驻欧洲的领

事，希望借助外交豁免权来掩饰自己和他那些可疑的商业活动。事实上，这并不能保护他，但是任命他为平克尼的秘书可能会这样做，塞尔反复强迫诺克斯、平克尼、杰斐逊，甚至华盛顿担任各种外交职位，但都没有成功。

*Sayre also informed Duer and Knox of Miranda's activities and the resulting prospect of British funds for army supply contracts, and both men agreed to an interest. He pressured Miranda to use his influence with the British to have him appointed as commissary general (a plum position for anyone interested in graft), but Spain's concession to Britain snuffed out the scheme by the end of the summer of 1790.*<sup>13</sup>

塞尔还向杜尔和诺克斯通报了米兰达的活动，以及由此产生的英国为军队供应合同提供资金的前景，两人都同意了兴趣。他向米兰达施压，要求他利用自己对英国人的影响力，任命米兰达担任军官委员长(对于任何对贪污感兴趣的人来说，这都是极好的机会)，但西班牙对英国的让步在1790年夏末终止了这一计划

*With prospects for milking the British dimmed, Sayre went to France and hedged his bets by marrying a well-to-do Frenchwoman. He was always on the lookout for new ways to make money, however, and paid calls on Morris and Short. "His Object is to get into the Affair of the Debt, which he knows I find very little about," wrote Morris, who agreed to pass on Sayre's "application."*<sup>14</sup> *Sayre then joined forces with Jean-Frédéric Perregaux (later Morris's landlord), a Paris banker who has been identified as in the pay of the British, in developing his own debt proposal. He*

由于从英国榨取财富的前景暗淡，塞尔去了法国，为了避险，他娶了一位富有的法国女人。然而，他总是在寻找赚钱的新方法，并拜访了莫里斯和肖特。莫里斯写道：“他的目标是参与债务事件，他知道我很少发现这一点。”莫里斯同意接受塞尔的“申请”<sup>14</sup> 塞尔随后与让·弗雷·德里克·佩雷戈(Jean-Frédéric Perregaux)(后来是莫里斯的房东)联手制定了自己的债务提案。佩雷戈是一位巴黎银行家，被认定受到了英国的贿赂。他



became a snuff manufacturer and tobacco merchant, joined the circle of British and American revolutionary sympathizers who frequented White' s Hotel, and became a crony of the Girondins Brissot and Clavi è re.<sup>15</sup>

成为鼻烟制造商和烟草商，加入了英国和美国革命的同情者的圈子，他们经常光顾怀特酒店，并成为吉伦特人布里索特和克拉维的密友

*The astute Sayre, whose eye was always on the main chance, gave lip service to the French Revolution, but it is difficult to identify any specific conduct supporting it other than his business dealings. Nonetheless, rhetoric sufficed, for he earned the trust of the Girondins, and when they sent Talleyrand to London in January 1792, Morris was startled to learn that Sayre was part of the retinue. It may be an indication of Sayre' s moral elasticity that, according to Olivier Blanc, the same historian who has named Perregaux as a British agent, Sayre was now also in the pay of the British, along with Miranda.*<sup>16</sup>

机敏的塞尔总是把眼光放在最大的机会上，嘴上说要支持法国大革命，但除了他的商业交易之外，很难确定支持法国大革命的任何具体行为。尽管如此，他还是得到了吉伦特家族的信任，当他们在1792年1月把Talleyrand派往伦敦时，莫里斯震惊地得知塞尔是他们的随从之一。这可能表明了塞尔的精神力量：根据同一位历史学家奥利维尔·布兰克(Olivier Blanc)的说法，塞尔现在和米兰达一起受雇于英国人。布兰克曾任命佩雷戈为英国特工。<sup>16</sup>

*Talleyrand' s mission, previously discussed, was to seek assurances of British neutrality as France prepared for war with Austria and Prussia; Sayre' s was to buy arms, and his attachment to the mission was clearly another effort to claim immunity. How successful it would have been is open to question: the duc de Biron, another member of the mission, was arrested in London for debt, even though Talleyrand tried to claim diplomatic immunity for him.*<sup>17</sup> *Sayre had a bad reputation in London, and Morris was told this was one of the reasons that Talleyrand was not well received. Sayre' s cupidity was also blamed when the French failed to acquire good-quality arms.*<sup>18</sup>

之前讨论过的Talleyrand的使命是，在法国准备与奥地利和普鲁士开战之际，寻求英国保持中立的保证；塞尔的使命是购买武器，他对使命的支持显然是要求豁免的又一次努力。尽管Talleyrand试图为他争取外交豁免权，但是他还是因为债务在伦敦被逮捕了。塞尔在伦敦的名声不好，莫里斯被告知这是Talleyrand不受欢迎的原因之一。塞尔的贪婪也被指责为法国未能获得高质量武器的原因

*Sayre rode the waves caused by the king' s fall that August and continued to work with the new government, thanks to his friendship with Clavi è re and Brissot. In September 1792, he was back in London to procure arms. This time*

he was acting for the ministers of war and foreign affairs.<sup>19</sup> He again asked Thomas Pinckney, the new American minister, for a diplomatic appointment, which he blandly admitted would protect his arms dealings. Pinckney refused, saying that it would be "an affront to England and a violation of international law."<sup>20</sup>

那年八月，塞尔乘着国王倒台引起的海浪继续与新政府合作，这要感谢他与克拉维雷和布里索特的友谊。1792年9月，他回到伦敦支持治愈武器。这一次他代理的是战争部长和外交部长。<sup>19</sup>他再次要求美国新任部长托马斯·平克尼接受外交任命，他温和地承认这将保护他的武器交易。平克尼拒绝了，称这是“对英格兰的公开侮辱，违反了国际法”图<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, an angry and bitter William Smith had returned. He had been thoroughly chagrined by Pinckney's appointment to London, and had taken no comfort in the customs sinecure the president had given him, but abruptly resigned and left for Europe.<sup>21</sup> In a letter reminiscent of Short's laments, he wrote to Knox:

与此同时，愤怒而痛苦的威廉·史密斯回来了。他对平克尼被任命到伦敦深感懊恼，对总统给他的习俗闲职没有丝毫安慰，却突然辞职去了欧洲。他在给诺克斯的一封信中写道：

*The suddenness of my departure for Europe which you will hear of before this reaches you . . . there doubtless will be many speculations on the subject of my departure—to you I can say, that the station I was forced into—was painful to me beyond expression—it may be thought*

我突然去了欧洲，你们在收到这个消息之前就会知道……关于我离开的问题，无疑会有许多猜测——我可以对你们说，我被迫去的那个地方——对我来说是难以言表的痛苦——这是可以想象的

haughty—but my soul is above it—I go my dear sir to “take arms against a world of troubles and (if possible) by opposing, end them.”<sup>22</sup>

傲慢——但我的灵魂在上面——我亲爱的先生，我要“拿起武器抵抗充满烦恼的世界，(如果可能的话)反对它们，结束它们。”图22

Smith apparently did not conceal his rage, for the British minister to America, George Hammond, wrote of it to Grenville, suggesting that Smith would probably “throw himself in your Lordship’s way,” seeming to suggest the use of him as an agent.<sup>23</sup>

史密斯显然没有掩饰自己的愤怒，因为英国大臣乔治·哈蒙德在给格伦维尔的信中提到了这一点，暗示史密斯可能会“挡住阁下的路”，似乎是在怂恿把他当作特工

Arriving in England in April 1792, he crossed paths with Morris, who was on his way to take up his duties in Paris. It was a friendly encounter, and Smith gave Morris “a Detail of American Parties and Politics.” Smith agreed to advise young Robert Morris, Jr., recently arrived in Europe on his father’s business, and Morris informed his friend’s son that Smith was “a Man of Honor and Integrity and if he cannot serve he certainly will not injure you at least not designedly.” Morris was wrong. Friendly as Smith may have appeared, he resented Morris and others for “enjoying the fruits” of his diplomatic labors, and when Sayre arrived in London the following September with business propositions that required Morris’s removal, Smith was receptive.<sup>24</sup>

1792年4月到达英格兰，他遇到了莫里斯，当时他正在去巴黎上班的路上。这是一次友好的会面，史密斯向莫里斯提供了“美国政党和政治的细节”史密斯同意给小罗伯特·莫里斯(Robert Morris jr.)提供建议。小罗伯特·莫里斯最近因为父亲的生意到了欧洲，莫里斯告诉他朋友的儿子，史密斯是“一个正直诚实的人，如果他不能为国效力，他肯定不会伤害你，至少不是故意的。”莫里斯错了。尽管史密斯看上去很友好，但他憎恨莫里斯和其他人“享受”他的外交成果。第二年9月，当塞尔带着商业提议抵达伦敦，要求莫里斯离职时，史密斯表示接受

Sayre was fresh from the overthrow of the king. More important, he was privy to the furious disappointment of foreign minister Lebrun and finance minister Clavière when Morris refused an advance on the American debt to France: the money would have financed supply contracts in America, which Sayre hoped to direct. Sayre undoubtedly discussed the problem of Morris with Smith, for Abigail Adams Smith wrote to her mother:

塞尔刚从国王被推翻中恢复过来。更重要的是，当莫里斯拒绝预支美国欠法国的债务时，外交部长勒布伦和财政部长克拉维尔感到非常失望：这些钱本来可以为美国的供应合同提供资金，而塞尔希望能够指挥这些合同。赛尔毫无疑问地和史密斯讨论了莫里斯的问题，因为阿比盖尔·亚

当斯·史密斯在给母亲的信中写道:

*The French are somewhat disposed to complain that their good friends, the Americans, do not step forward in their cause. . . . [Morris] is most obnoxious to the Republicans, and he refuses to pay the debt due them.*<sup>25</sup>

法国人多少有些倾向于抱怨他们的好朋友美国人在他们的事业上没有什么前进一步.....(莫里斯)是共和党人最讨厌的人, 他拒绝偿还他们欠下的债务

*The money would also have been used to implement Miranda's scheme of attacking Spain's territories. Sayre wrote to Lebrun that France should act quickly, and perhaps also to Brissot and Paine, for they, too, supported the plan.*<sup>26</sup>

这笔钱还将用于实施米兰达攻击西班牙领土的计划。塞尔写信给勒布伦说, 法国应该迅速采取行动, 或许也应该对 Brissot 和潘恩采取行动, 因为他们也支持这项计划

*Sayre's letters identify Morris as a problem, not only with respect to the debt payments, but because it was assumed that he was criticizing the new republic in his dispatches, making American cooperation in providing arms and money to the French war effort uncertain. Sayre wrote to Miranda (now in the French army and increasingly influential), "I send*

塞尔的信件指出莫里斯是一个问题, 不仅是在债务偿还方面, 而且因为人们认为他在发稿中批评这个新共和国, 这使得美国在向法国提供武器和资金方面的合作变得不确定。塞尔写信给米兰达(现在在法国军队, 影响力越来越大):

you a small Treatise, touching the appointment of Morris—make a proper use of it—his nomination has given great disgust.”<sup>27</sup>

你是一篇小论文，谈到莫里斯的任命——恰当地使用它——他的任命令人极为反感

Two weeks later, back in Paris, he reiterated the need to get rid of Morris: 两周后，回到巴黎，他重申了摆脱莫里斯的必要性：

*Our friend Colon. Smith thinks that he may succeed—M.[Morris] is recall' d from this Court, especially, if I go out to Phila in the capacity of Envoy—my utmost endeavours would be exerted to accomplish this double advantage—Smith knowing our designs will act here in conformity—supporting you with all his influence.*

我们的朋友科隆。史密斯认为他可能成功。特别是，如果我以特使的身份前往 Phila，我将尽最大努力实现这一双重优势。史密斯知道我们的设计将在这里按照他的意愿行事，全力支持你。

*According to Sayre, the mayor of Paris, P é t ion, would get Miranda commissioned and sent to America. Sayre would buy arms from West Point, but worried that the “two Morris[es]” would prevent this, for Smith had told him that Robert “commands Washington.” He asked Miranda to have the French appoint him as a “minister to Congress” regarding the plan, a role that was eventually given to Smith.*

据 P é t ion 巴黎市市长塞尔介绍，米兰达将被派往美国执行任务。塞尔会从西点军校购买武器，但担心“两个莫里斯”会阻止这一切，因为史密斯告诉他，罗伯特“指挥华盛顿”他要求米兰达让法国任命他为国会的“部长”，这个职位最终交给了史密斯。

*You may rely upon it, that the fellow here [Morris], has made most damnable Representations to Washington—Jefferson has declared Morris['] s Appointment [was] directly against his advice—W. had great difficulty to get a Majority in the Senate . . . there is a very severe pamphlet wrote against W. for having sent him contrary to the sense of the nation.—Smith gave it me to bring over: but I left it, by mistake in London.*<sup>28</sup>

你可以相信，这个家伙[莫里斯]已经向华盛顿提出了最该死的交涉——杰斐逊已经宣布，对莫里斯的任命是直接违背他的建议的。……有一本非常严厉的小册子，指责小布什违背国家意志派他去参议院……史密斯让我把它带过来，但我一不小心把它留在了伦敦

*Miranda had been in France since the preceding March. Like Sayre, he was*

an intimate of the Girondins, socializing with men such as Danton (at that time a Girondin) and Brissot. He was never a true Girondin, however. His enthusiasm for the Revolution stemmed from his hopes that it would spark the Spanish colonies to revolt. After the fall of the monarchy, Miranda had been approached by P é t ion (perhaps at Sayre' s urging), to join the French army. He threw himself into the war and became a general.<sup>29</sup>

米兰达自三月份以来一直在法国。和塞尔一样，他也是吉伦特人的密友，与丹顿(当时是吉伦丁人)和布里索特等人交往。然而，他从来就不是一个真正的吉伦丁。他对革命的热情起源于他希望革命能激起西班牙殖民地的起义。君主政体垮台后，有人向米兰达提出加入法国军队(可能是在塞尔的敦促下)。他投身战争，成为了一名将军

Miranda corresponded with Sayre and Smith throughout the fall of 1792 concerning the project against Spain and recommended it to Knox.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, the two Americans were working with Brissot, who in late November asked General Dumouriez, commander of the French Army of the North, to release Miranda from service to become governor-general of Santo Domingo. However, when Brissot presented his plan to use Santo Domingo as a base for attacking Spanish possessions, with an army of twenty-two thousand French and mulatto troops, Miranda was not

与此同时，这两个美国人正在与布里索合作，布里索在11月下旬要求北方法国陆军司令杜穆里埃斯将军让米兰达退役，成为圣多明各的总督。然而，当布里索提出他的计划，利用圣多明各作为攻击西班牙领土的基地，并派遣一支22000人的法国和黑白混血部队时，米兰达却没有这样做

enthusiastic, for he rightly perceived that rather than freeing the colonies, France intended to take them over under the pretext of liberation.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Dumouriez was not eager to give up one of his best commanders. Miranda stayed in Europe and began to distance himself from Sayre, whose enthusiasm for South American independence would have been suspect to any critical intelligence, and who had, moreover, asked him for money once too often.<sup>32</sup>

此外，杜穆里埃斯并不急于放弃他最得力的指挥官之一，他认为法国并不是要解放殖民地，而是要以解放为借口接管它们。米兰达留在欧洲，开始与塞尔保持距离，塞尔对南美洲独立的热情会受到任何批评情报的怀疑，而且塞尔还经常向他要钱

Discouraged with the prospects for his native land, Miranda focused on his French command. However, matters were now going badly for the French army, and as a foreigner, he was quick to be blamed. In 1793, he was tried for his role in the disastrous battle of Neerwinden. Although the Revolutionary Tribunal acquitted him (Paine and Barlow testified on his behalf), he was rearrested after the fall of the Girondins and remained in prison until 1795.<sup>33</sup>

米兰达对自己祖国的前景感到灰心丧气，他把注意力集中在自己的法语能力上。然而，对于法国军队来说，情况变得很糟糕，作为一个外国人，他很快就受到了指责。1793年，他因在灾难性的 Neerwinden 战役中所扮演的角色而受审。尽管革命法庭宣告他无罪(潘恩和巴洛为他作证)，他在吉伦特人倒台后再次被捕，并一直被关押到 1795。<sup>33</sup> 年

Just how far Miranda participated in efforts to oust Morris can only be inferred. While he had no real acquaintance with Morris and thus no personal animus, Miranda had no reason to disbelieve the complaints of his American friends (Paine, Barlow, Smith, and Sayre) and his good friend Brissot.<sup>34</sup> It is likely, therefore, that Miranda did make "proper use" of Sayre's treatise against Morris to instigate two bizarre letters vilifying the American minister, written from the field by John Skye Eustace and General Charles François Dumouriez to Lebrun in the fall of 1792.<sup>35</sup>

只能推断米兰达参与了多少驱逐莫里斯的行动。虽然米兰达和莫里斯没有真正的交情，因此也没有个人敌意，但他没有理由不相信他的美国朋友(潘恩、巴洛、史密斯和塞尔)和他的好朋友布里索特的抱怨。因此，米兰达很可能“恰当地使用”了塞尔针对莫里斯的论述，煽动了两封奇怪的信，这两封信是 1792 年秋天 John Skye Eustace 和夏尔·弗朗索瓦·迪穆里埃将军从战场上写给勒布朗的

Eustace is a strange figure whose biography remains to be written.<sup>36</sup> He was a classmate of Monroe, and a protégé of General Charles Lee. In 1778, after the terrible defeat of the Americans at Monmouth, Eustace supported Lee against Alexander Hamilton, and even tried to provoke a duel.<sup>37</sup> Before long, however, he turned against Lee, a pattern that he would repeat many times. The outlines of his character were drawn with incisive strokes in a 1798 letter from Rufus King:

尤斯塔斯是一个奇怪的人物，他的传记还有待完成。他是门罗的同学，也是查尔斯·李将军的门徒。1778年，美国人在蒙茅斯惨败后，尤斯塔斯支持李反对亚历山大·汉密尔顿，甚至企图挑起决斗。鲁弗斯·金在1798年的一封信中用尖锐的笔触勾勒出了他的人物轮廓：

Be assured that he is a more suitable acquaintance of Monroe than of you or me. He will be a Tale bearer between you and others, with whom he may seek an acquaintance, and is base enough for the office. In the end he will quarrel with you, either because you will not lend him money, or countenance him in Pretensions that he will have no right to make.<sup>38</sup>

请放心，他比你我更适合作为门罗的熟人。他会成为你和其他人之间的传话人，他可能会寻找一个熟人，并且是足够基础的职位。到最后，他会和你吵架，要么是因为你不肯借钱给他，要么是因为他无权虚张声势地纵容他



Eustace left the United States in 1784, spent some years in the Spanish colonies, and eventually ended up in France. Somewhere along the line he became a friend of Miranda, and sent letters supporting the liberation of Venezuela to the British ambassador to France.<sup>39</sup> In 1792, he enlisted in the French army, serving under General Dumouriez.

尤斯塔斯于1784年离开美国，在西班牙殖民地呆了几年，最后到了法国。1792年，他应征加入了法国军队，在杜穆里埃斯将军手下服役。

Eustace and Dumouriez had been informed—probably by Miranda—of Morris' s refusal to order advance debt payments, and his insistence on waiting for instructions in view of the suspension of the monarchy. They also knew that Morris had requested a passport to leave for England. Morris stayed in France, but Eustace believed that he was already en route to England when he wrote to Lebrun that he had heard

尤斯塔斯和杜穆里埃斯被告知(可能是米兰达告诉他们的)，莫里斯拒绝下令预付债务，并坚持等待指示，以期取消君主制。他们还知道莫里斯申请护照前往英国。莫里斯留在了法国，但是尤斯塔斯在写信给勒布伦的时候相信他已经在去英国的路上了

*of the insolence of our ci-devant envoy before his departure for England, and of the righteous indignation you have shown him. I must now regard myself as the sole representative of America in France, for I am the only officer of my republic who is in the service of yours; and it is in the name of the United States, my patrie . . . that I declare to you that the conduct of Mr. Morris is utterly opposed to his duty as minister to France, as well as to the wishes of his principals in America.*<sup>40</sup>

我们的特使在启程前往英国之前的傲慢无礼，你对他所表现出来的义愤。我现在必须把自己看作是法国在美国的唯一代表，因为我是我共和国唯一为你们服务的官员；我以美利坚合众国的名义，我的祖国……向你们宣布，莫里斯先生的行为完全违背了他作为法国部长的职责和他在美国的主要负责人的意愿

He urged Lebrun to advise the American government of Morris' s "outrageous conduct," and avowed his own intention to sacrifice himself on the altar of French freedom. "Never, no, never!" Eustace declared, would he relinquish the "superb title" of being a soldier of the patrie. As matters turned out, Eustace was to relinquish it within four months.<sup>41</sup>

他敦促勒布伦就莫里斯“过分的行为”向美国政府提出建议，并承认自己打算为法国的自由献身。“决不，决不，决不！”尤斯塔斯宣称，他会放弃作为祖国战士的“华丽头衔”吗。事实证明，尤斯塔斯必须在四个月内放弃它

*This rousing epistle was accompanied by a short but equally strong letter from his commander, General Dumouriez, who "certified the truth" of Eustace's letter and told his successor in the foreign affairs office that the presence of the "insolent and vile" Morris was "an injury for both republics" and that Lebrun should cease dealing with him. He instructed Lebrun to expedite a packet boat for Morris's recall.*<sup>42</sup>

这封振奋人心的书信附有他的指挥官杜穆里埃斯将军的一封简短但同样强烈的信，他“证实了”尤斯塔斯的信的真实性”，并告诉他在外交事务办公室的继任者，“傲慢无礼”的莫里斯的出现”对两个共和国都是一种伤害”，勒布伦应该停止与他打交道。他指示勒布伦加快一艘运输包裹的船的速度，以便将莫里斯召回

*The reason for Dumouriez's vitriol may be found in the fate of his close associate, Bon-Carrère, Dumouriez's recent candidate for French minister to America. Morris reported to Jefferson that Bon-Carrère was reputedly corrupt, an allegation given substance by a document in the British archives indicating that in July 1792 he offered Lord Gower his services for money; perhaps Gower told Morris. Morris protested vigorously, and the nomination was withdrawn. Dumouriez probably blamed Morris.*<sup>43</sup>

杜穆里埃兹之所以如此刻薄，原因可能在于他的亲密伙伴邦-卡尔的命运。邦-卡尔是杜穆里埃兹最近的法国驻美国部长候选人。莫里斯向杰弗逊报告说，邦-卡尔据说是腐败的。英国档案馆的一份文件提供了这一指控的实质内容，表明在1792年7月，他向高尔勋爵提供服务以换取金钱；高尔可能告诉了莫里斯。莫里斯强烈抗议，提名被撤回。杜穆里埃斯可能责怪莫里斯

*Lebrun had already sent complaints about Morris to America by the time these letters arrived. Their effect was therefore confined to adding to*

在这些信到达的时候，勒布伦已经把关于莫里斯的投诉寄到了美国。因此，它们的作用仅限于增加

the damage already done to Morris' s ability to deal effectively with the French ministry, but this injury was considerable, and Morris had an especially hard time of it over the next few months.

莫里斯有效应对法国政府部门的能力已经受到了损害，但是这次的伤势相当严重，在接下来的几个月里，莫里斯的处境尤为艰难。

Whatever Miranda' s role in these letters, it is a typical irony of the French Revolution that both writers soon turned against Miranda and each other. When Dumouriez reprimanded Eustace for communicating directly with the governor of newly annexed Maestricht, Miranda joined in. The young zealot attacked his former friend in a frenzy and in early 1793, published a fiery pamphlet denouncing him; the pamphlet was one of the charges at Miranda' s trial.<sup>44</sup>

无论米兰达在这些信件中扮演什么角色，这都是法国大革命的典型讽刺，两位作家很快就开始反对米兰达和彼此。当杜穆里埃斥责尤斯塔斯与新并入的马斯特里赫特州州长直接沟通时，米兰达也加入了进来。这位年轻的狂热信徒疯狂地攻击他以前的朋友，并在1793年初发表了一本激烈的小册子，谴责他；这本小册子是米兰达受审时的指控之一

Miranda never gave up working for Venezuela' s liberation, and in 1805 instigated another plot with Smith to attack Spanish America. The expedition failed and Smith was tried for violation of federal law; though acquitted, he was disgraced.<sup>45</sup> Miranda tried again, and failed again. He died in a Spanish prison in 1816.

米兰达从未放弃为委内瑞拉的解放而工作，并在1805年与史密斯一起策划了另一起袭击西班牙美洲的阴谋。行动失败了，史密斯因违反联邦法律而受审，尽管被宣告无罪，但他还是蒙羞了。米兰达再次尝试，但再次失败。1816年，他死在西班牙的一所监狱里。



Sayre' s and Smith' s efforts against Morris were unaffected by Miranda' s withdrawal. In the fall of 1792, Brissot and the ruling Provisional Executive Council, which was undoubtedly pleased to get the services of the son-in-law of the American vice president, authorized Smith to ask the United States for advances on the remaining debt to be used for supplies for France and the expedition against South America.<sup>46</sup> Smith was thus aware of the move to recall Morris, and as Sayre told Miranda, hoped to further it, but he was friendly with Morris, and pretended ignorance of his difficulties with the ministry, giving no hint of his own part in the matter. (Smith was no admirer of the French Revolution, however willing he was to work for the Girondins for

personal advantage.) Morris clearly suspected nothing. He wrote to Robert the following June that he knew "well that Orders had been given to effect my Recall and told Col. Smith so who did not believe it but on inquiry found that it was true." <sup>47</sup>

塞尔和史密斯对莫里斯的努力没有受到米兰达退赛的影响。1792年秋天，布里索特和执政的临时行政委员会，毫无疑问很高兴得到美国副总统女婿的服务，授权史密斯向美国预支剩余的债务，用于法国的补给和南美洲的远征。(史密斯并不是法国大革命的仰慕者，不管他多么愿意为了个人利益而为吉伦特人工作。)莫里斯显然什么也没发现。第二年6月，他写信给罗伯特说，他知道“命令已经下达，要我回去，他告诉史密斯上校，他不相信，但经过调查发现这是真的。” <sup>47</sup>

Armed with an official French endorsement, Smith returned to Philadelphia, and met with Jefferson and Washington on February 20, 1793. He told them

在法国官方的支持下，史密斯回到费城，并于1793年2月20日会见了杰斐逊和华盛顿。他告诉他们

*that the French Ministers are entirely broken with Gov. Morris, shut their doors to him and will never receive another communication from him. They wished Smith to be the bearer of a message from the*

法国大臣们和古夫彻底决裂了。莫里斯对他关上了大门，再也不会收到他的来信了。他们希望史密斯能带来一封来自美国的信

*Presdt. to this effect, but he declined and they said in that case they would press it thro' their own minister here.*

急性前列腺炎。但是他拒绝了，他们说这样的话，他们会通过他们自己的部长来施压。

*According to Smith, Morris "in presence of his company and servants" had "cursed the French ministers as a set of damned rascals, and said that the king would still be replaced on his throne: he said he knew they had writ-ten to have him recalled, and expected to be recalled." Smith presented a letter from Lebrun, and described the plan against South America.<sup>48</sup>*

根据史密斯的说法，莫里斯“在他的公司和仆人面前”“诅咒法国大臣们是一群该死的流氓，并说国王仍将继承他的王位：他说他知道他们已经下令召回他，并且预计会召回他。”史密斯拿出一封勒布伦的信，描述了对付南美的计划

*Given these credentials, Smith's disappointment must have been great when the cabinet unanimously rejected the French proposal. His report must have rattled the members, the opposite effect of what was intended, and undoubtedly spurred Washington to begin developing his famous neutrality proclamation, asserting America's intention to stay neutral in the war beginning in Europe.<sup>49</sup>*

鉴于这些资历，当内阁一致拒绝法国的提议时，史密斯一定非常失望。他的报告一定使会员国感到不安，这与预期的效果相反，无疑促使华盛顿开始发展他著名的中立宣言，断言美国打算在欧洲开始的战争中保持中立

*However, as Smith's approving father-in-law noted, Smith had "acquired the confidence of the French ministry and of the better sort of members of the National Convention," and he proceeded to make large purchases of arms for the French, despite protests by the British minister.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, he succeeded in undermining Morris. His reports seemed to the president and Jefferson to independently verify the complaints from Lebrun and Clavière, received about a week earlier. They were further confirmed by Sayre, who also returned to America that spring, prudently avoiding the fate awaiting his Girondin friends. He obtained an audience with Washington (or so he wrote ten years later), and told the president that Morris should go. Washington, Sayre reported, did not take kindly to the advice; but it was one more stone in the pile being heaped over Morris's reputation. Many years later, Sayre wrote charitably that he had "no dispute" with Morris's qualifications. "He is a man of the world—speaks the French language with ease and accuracy—but," he continued, "his appointment was unfortunately ill-timed—his hardy front*

would grace the levee of Bonaparte," but "it did not accord with the taste of the sans culottes." <sup>51</sup>

然而，正如史密斯赞许的岳父所指出的，史密斯“获得了法国部长和国民大会中较好的成员的信任”，他不顾英国部长的抗议，继续为法国大量购买武器。在总统和杰弗逊看来，他的报告似乎能够独立核实勒布伦和克拉维一周前收到的投诉。塞尔也在那年春天回到了美国，谨慎地避免了等待吉伦丁朋友的命运。他获得了华盛顿的接见(大约是他十年后写的)，并告诉总统莫里斯应该离开。塞尔报道说，华盛顿并不接受这个建议，但这只是莫里斯名誉的又一个败笔。许多年后，塞尔慷慨地写信说，他对莫里斯的资格“没有争议”。“他是一个有见识的人——能够轻松准确地说法语——但是，”他继续说道，“不幸的是，他的任命不合时宜——他坚强的前锋能够给波拿巴的堤坝增光添彩，”但是“这不符合无裤党的口味。” <sup>51</sup>

*Morris remained unaware that he had run afoul of such dramatic plots. Nonetheless, despite their origins in greed, the efforts of Sayre and Smith, in tandem with the French complaints, helped convince Washington that Morris was disagreeable to the French and should be recalled. Although the lack of a suitable replacement put the matter on hold for another year, Washington would offer no resistance when an official request for Morris' s recall arrived in the spring of 1794. It is a fitting irony that the plans of Miranda, Sayre, and Smith were not in the end advanced by his departure.*

莫里斯仍然不知道他碰到了这样戏剧性的情节。然而，尽管起源于贪婪，塞尔和史密斯的努力，加上法国的抱怨，帮助说服华盛顿，莫里斯是不合法国人意的，应该被召回。尽管由于缺乏合适的替代人选，这个问题又被搁置了一年，但是当1794年春天正式要求召回莫里斯的时候，华盛顿方面并没有表示反对。具有讽刺意味的是，米兰达、塞尔和史密斯的计划最终并没有因为他的离开而取得进展。