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*Envoy to the Terror*

恐怖活动特使

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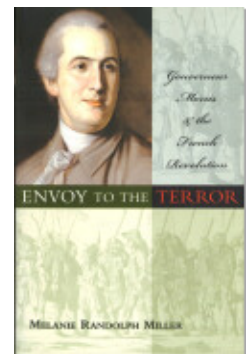
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## CHAPTER SIX

## 第六章

# Once More unto the Breach 再一次冲向缺口

*IT WOULD BE A YEAR after the effective conclusion of Morris' s mission to London before Washington submitted nominations for ministers to England, France, and Holland in the fall of 1791. In the meantime, Morris returned to private concerns—romance and business—and to increasing involvement in matters in France. While the assignment from Washington had, as Madison predicted, raised Morris' s hopes for an appointment, his expectations evaporated as he learned of objections to his performance, and William Short seemed to dominate the field through his connection with Jefferson. Morris' s friendship with Jefferson was on the wane as their views of the Revolution diverged and as Jefferson received increasingly venomous reports about Morris from Short. Lafayette and Morris also became increasingly estranged.*

1791年秋天，华盛顿向英国、法国和荷兰递交了部长提名。与此同时，莫里斯回到了自己的事业——爱情和生意——并越来越多地参与到法国的政务中。正如麦迪逊所预言的那样，华盛顿的任命增加了莫里斯对任命的希望，但当他得知自己的表现遭到反对时，他的期望就消失了，威廉·肖特似乎通过他与杰斐逊的关系主导了这个领域。莫里斯和杰斐逊的友谊正在衰退，因为他们对革命的看法不同，而且杰斐逊收到了来自肖特的关于莫里斯的越来越恶毒的报告。拉斐特和莫里斯也变得越来越疏远。

*It was not a very satisfying year for Gouverneur. Business, in the main, went badly, as did love. The situation in France was increasingly unstable, with no prospect that Lafayette and the other men in power could bring matters under control, or that the new constitution could do so. Morris' s forebodings of 1789 were beginning to take shape, and he felt compelled to try to stop the disintegration of the government, a decision that led him into the innermost councils of those trying to preserve the monarchy. He felt free to do so because he was once again a private citizen, and many other foreigners were doing the*

same thing. It was a fateful road for Morris to take, however, for by the time he learned of his appointment as minister in early 1792 he was so deeply enmeshed in the king's affairs that he could not extricate himself.

对高维尼尔来说，这不是一个非常令人满意的年份。总的来说，生意很糟糕，爱情也是如此。法国的局势越来越不稳定，拉法耶特和其他当权者无法控制局势，新宪法也无法做到这一点。莫里斯在 1789 年的预言开始成形，他觉得有必要试图阻止政府的瓦解，这个决定使他进入了那些试图维护君主制的内部委员会。他觉得这样做很自由，因为他再次成为一个普通公民，许多其他外国人也正在做同样的事情。对莫里斯来说，这是一条命中注定的道路，然而，当他在 1792 年初得知自己被任命为矿工时，他深深地陷入了国王的事务之中，无法自拔。



Morris left London on September 24, 1790, accompanied by a Newfoundland dog intended as a present for the duchesse d'Orléans.<sup>1</sup> From Calais, he embarked on a six-week tour through Belgium and Prussia, in the

1790 年 9 月 24 日，莫里斯在一只纽芬兰犬的陪同下离开了伦敦，这只狗是为奥尔兰公爵夫人准备的礼物

hopes of selling some of Robert's St. Lawrence lands. It was not a successful nor always enjoyable trip. He shared Jefferson's aversion for the political state of the countries he visited and wrote of his hopes that France might yet obtain a good constitution and thereby influence and benefit all of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

He returned to Paris on November 6. Taking time only to change his travel-worn clothes, he hopped in a fiacre to go to Adèle's. Although she seemed glad to see him, Morris quickly realized that his long absence had opened the way for others. Adèle was now interested in young Lord Henry Wycombe, the handsome and rich eldest son of the Marquess of Lansdowne. When Morris arrived at Adèle's apartment, he found Wycombe "un peu enniché," and Adèle, despite "Assurances of Fidelity," professed a "Determination to be sage [chaste]." Morris was disconcerted, and his fears were confirmed when he

called again the next day and was denied, a blow that he  
希望能卖掉罗伯特在圣劳伦斯的一些土地。这不是一次成功的旅行，也不是一次愉快的旅行。他和杰斐逊一样，对他访问过的国家的政治状况感到厌恶，并写下了他希望法国能够获得一部好宪法，从而影响并造福于整个欧洲的愿望。他只花了一点时间换了他旅行穿过的衣服，就跳上一辆马车去了阿德勒。尽管她看起来很高兴见到他，但莫里斯很快意识到，他的长期不在为其他人开辟了道路。阿德勒现在对年轻的亨利·怀科姆勋爵很感兴趣，他是兰斯·道恩侯爵英俊富有的长子。当莫里斯到达阿德勒的公寓时，他发现维科姆“有点古怪”，尽管“保证忠诚”，阿德勒还是宣称“不要做圣人[纯洁]”莫里斯感到很不安，第二天他再次打电话来时，他的担心得到了证实

<sup>3</sup>  
underlined in his diary.  
在他的日记里划了线

The wound was deep. When Adèle received him later in the day they quarreled, and quarreled again the next day. On the tenth he received a note from her and hurried over in the hope of making love, only to learn that she wanted him "to be merely her friend." After another scene, ending with lovemaking, she admitted that she had been close to committing an "infidelity" with Talleyrand (she had probably done so repeatedly) and agreed that she would keep Morris's ring until "she is in Fact unfaithful."<sup>4</sup>

伤口很深。当天晚些时候，阿德勒接见了他们，他们就吵了起来，第二天又吵了起来。到了第十天，他收到了她的一张便条，急急忙忙赶过去，希望能和她做爱，结果却得知她希望他“成为她的朋友”在另一个场景以做爱结束之后，她承认她曾经和 Talleyrand 有过“不忠”行为(她可能已经多次这样做了)，并同意保留莫里斯的戒指，直到“她确实不忠”  
图 4

Morris was not reassured, and her equivocal conduct did not help. He began flirting with other women, preferably in locations where she would see him, and

gave serious consideration to having an affair with his friend Mme Foucault or Adèle's niece Mlle Duplessis, "but that is detestable."<sup>5</sup> He was wretched.

"My Bosom is torn with Anxiety and I find in my left Arm as well as in my left Breast a phisical Sense of Grief," he confessed to his diary after once again finding Wycombe at the Louvre. The next morn-ing, he wrote an unhappy letter to Short in Amsterdam:

莫里斯并不放心，她模棱两可的行为也无济于事。他开始与其他女人调情，最好是在她愿意见他的地方，并认真考虑与他的朋友福柯夫人或广告的侄女杜普莱西斯小姐发生关系，“但那是可憎的。”他很可怜。

“我的胸部因为焦虑而撕裂，我发现我的左臂和左胸都有一种切实的悲伤感，”在再次在卢浮宫发现威科姆后，他在日记中坦白道。第二天早晨，他在阿姆斯特丹给肖特写了一封不愉快的信：

In answer to your Question of how I go on in Paris I must say badly. Objects of business are suspended by Circumstances and this is disagreeable because I wish to close all private affairs so that I may go hence whenever it may be proper. Pleasurable Affairs also go badly. My Circle is too much narrowed and I am loath to extend it just now because twenty years Converse with Mankind have not yet given me the needful Insensibility. I attach myself easily and leave always with Regret those to whom I am attached.<sup>6</sup>

关于你问我在巴黎过得怎么样的问题，我必须说非常糟糕。事业的目标由于环境而暂停，这是令人不快的，因为我希望关闭所有的私人事务，以便我可以随时离开，只要它是适当的。愉快的事情也不会有好结果。我的圈子太窄了，我现在不愿意扩大它，因为二十年的人类交谈还没有给我必要的麻木感。<sup>5</sup>我很容易就爱上了别人，离开时总是带着遗憾离开我所爱的人

Adèle "has just now much the Advantage of me," he recorded in frustration.<sup>7</sup>

他沮丧地记录道：“现在我有很多优势。”

On December 7, 1790, he received an urgent message from London. The news was bad. "Mr. Rogers [an associate of Daniel Parker] has failed leaving unpaid 15,000 pounds," he wrote to Robert. "It appears that the monies he has drawn from the disposal of stock have been applied to the private use of himself and Mr. Parker," he told Constable. According to Howard Swiggett, Parker and Rogers had committed a "great fraud," with Constable as the principal victim, and Morris was somewhat to blame for inattention to Constable's affairs. It is apparent that Morris also feared ruin. It was a delicate moment to be leaving Adèle, although he was pleased when she burst into tears at his news and offered him "all the Money she has."<sup>8</sup> Buoyed by the renewed hope that she was pregnant, he left Paris on the ninth and arrived in London on the twelfth, a very fast trip. For the next few weeks, Morris worked furiously to pull the fat from the fire, saving not only himself and his American associates, but the "devilish slippery fellow" Parker from debtors' prison, something he could justifiably have refused to do. At one of his meetings with Parker (he had constant difficulties in locating him, for Parker was in terror of arrest), Morris saw with his usual acuity that Parker was forming "a Design to take some Advantage of me in the very Moment that I am trying to serve him. I do not blame him, for it is his Nature," he wrote, "and certainly I should see his Situation more composedly if my own Interest were not at Stake."<sup>9</sup>

1790年12月7日，他收到一封来自伦敦的紧急信件。这个消息很糟糕。他在给罗伯特的信中写道：“罗杰斯先生(丹尼尔·帕克的合伙人)未能支付15000英镑的工资。”。他告诉康斯特布尔说：“看来他处置股票所得的钱被用于他和帕克先生的私人用途。”。根据霍华德·斯威格特的说法，帕克和罗杰斯犯了一个“大骗局”，康斯塔伯是主要的受害者，莫里斯多少要对康斯塔伯的风流韵事疏忽负责。显然，莫里斯也害怕毁灭。这是一个微妙的时刻，即将离开阿德勒，虽然他很高兴，当她放声大哭的消息，并提供给他“所有的钱，她有。”她怀孕的希望重新燃起，他受到鼓舞，于9日离开巴黎，12日抵达伦敦，这是一次非常快的旅行。在接下来的几个星期里，莫里斯拼命工作，努力从火灾中捞油水，不仅拯救了他自己和他的美国同事，也拯救了“与众不同的、粗心大意的家伙”帕克从债务人的监狱里逃出来，而他本可以拒绝这么做。在与帕克的一次会面中(他一直很难找到帕克，因为帕克害怕被捕)，莫里斯以他一贯的敏锐眼光看到帕克正在构思“一个计划，在我试图为他服务的那一刻占我便宜”。“我不怪他，因为这是他的天性，”他写道，“如果我自己的利益没有受到威胁，我当然会更平静地看待他的处境。”图9

Using every ounce of his persuasiveness and reputation for integrity, Morris

brought the creditors to a settlement and, on January 16, left for Paris in the same great haste. He arrived in Paris at 6:30 in the morning on the nineteenth, jumped into bed for three hours of sleep, and rushed over to the Louvre.

莫里斯尽其所能地说服债权人，并以诚实正直著称。他与债权人达成和解，并于1月16日匆匆离开巴黎。他在十九号早上六点半到达巴黎，跳上床睡了三个小时，然后匆匆赶到卢浮宫。

*This breakneck return demonstrates the degree of his devotion to Adèle, but Morris must have sensed it was not mutual. This was the start of a phase in their relationship that does not make pleasant reading: after a brief period during which Morris' s hopes were raised by M. de Flahaut' s serious illness ( "He is a Wretch and the best Thing he could do would be to die" Morris wrote in exasperation as the poor man began to recover), he began to pursue other women. His seductions were skillful, and on May 15 torn pages indicate he succeeded with another of Adèle' s nieces, Mme de Nadaillac, after which "I kiss her with more Emotion and with less Respect."*<sup>10</sup>

这种惊人的回归表明了他对阿德勒的热爱程度，但莫里斯一定意识到这不是相互的。这是他们关系中一个令人不快的阶段的开始：在一段短暂的时间里，德·弗劳豪特先生的严重疾病让莫里斯的希望破灭（“他是一个不幸的人，他能做的最好的事情就是死去”，莫里斯在这个可怜的男人开始康复的时候恼怒地写道），之后他开始追求其他女人。5月15日，撕破的纸张表明他继承了另一个侄女纳达莱克夫人的衣钵，之后，“我用更多的情感和更少的尊重亲吻她。”图10

*Despite their difficulties, Morris was concerned about Adèle' s financial situation. For a while she hoped to be appointed "first Woman of the Queen" but this did not materialize, so Morris offered her a share of one of his business ventures, and gave her money. Talleyrand, by contrast,*

尽管困难重重，莫里斯还是担心阿德勒的财务状况。有一段时间，她希望被任命为“女王的第一个女人”，但这没有实现，所以莫里斯提供了他的一个商业企业的股份，并给了她的钱。相比之下，Talleyrand,



seems to have been indifferent to her straits. Fortunately, Morris' s financial balance apparently began to improve, for William Constable & Co. was steadily crediting a share of numerous profitable cargoes of furs, tea, and spices to his account.<sup>11</sup>

似乎对她的困境漠不关心。幸运的是，莫里斯的财务状况显然开始好转，因为威廉·康斯特布尔公司不断地将大量有利可图的毛皮、茶叶和香料货物的一部分记入他的账户

After another trip to London in the late spring, he had so far detached himself that for the first time he did not immediately go to the Louvre upon his return. His resolution did not hold up; when she asked him again for marriage in September he gave her hopes. They were still together by the beginning of 1792, when, unaware of his appointment to France, he began to plan to return to America and Adèle agreed to go with him.<sup>12</sup>

晚春又去了一次伦敦，回来后第一次没有立即去卢浮宫。他的决心没有坚持下去；当她九月再次向他求婚时，他给了她希望。到1792年初，他们还在一起，当时他还不知道自己要法国，就开始计划返回美国，阿德勒同意和他一起去



Morris always had several irons in the fire with respect to commercial ventures, but his greatest hopes in 1790-91 stemmed from a new effort to purchase the American debt to France, and a project described as the "Affair of the Rations," a proposal whose details are somewhat murky. Neither project succeeded.

在商业活动方面，莫里斯总是有几件事要做，但在1790-1791年间，他最大的希望来自于购买美国欠法国的债务，以及一个被称为“定量配给事件”(AffairoftheRations)的项目，这个项目的细节有些模糊。两个项目都没有成功。

The "Rations" proposal was intended to provide the German princes in the "proprietary courts" with compensation in the form of provisions for the National Assembly' s abolition of feudal privileges and associated in-come. (The Assembly had agreed that compensation should be made.) Morris and his associates hoped to be the middlemen and earn sizable commissions. There were many competitors for the potential contract— one group included Talleyrand, the royalist comte de la Marck, Rayneval (who headed the foreign office until 1792), and Delessart, minister of finance.<sup>13</sup>

“配给”建议的目的是以规定国民议会废除封建特权和相关的回报的形式，向“专有法院”中的德国王公提供补偿。(大会同意应作出赔偿。)

莫里斯和他的合伙人希望成为中间人，赚取可观的佣金。潜在合同的竞争对手很多，其中包括保皇党伯爵 Talleyrand、雷尼瓦尔(1792 年之前一直担任外交部长)和财政部长德莱萨特

*Morris' s plan required approval from the Constituent Assembly, or from the king, who presumably would have used his own funds. The king initially agreed, but changed his mind. "I am persuaded that there is some under Work in that business," Morris wrote, and he was right; the king was apparently secretly urging the princes to refuse to make an agreement with the Assembly, and his June escape was being planned.<sup>14</sup> Morris next tried to go through the Assembly, which was, according to Swan, extremely corrupt, requiring judicious application of "the golden Tincture" of bribes.<sup>15</sup> They used Jean-Baptiste Br é mond, a speculator from Provence who was James Swan' s "man" in the Assembly. He would become Morris' s chief source of information about the Assembly and the doings of the Jacobin Club. Those bribed included Armand Camus (Camus' s is one of the identifiable faces in David' s famous painting of the Tennis Court Oath; he is*

莫里斯的计划需要得到制宪议会的批准，或者得到国王的批准，而国王很可能会动用自己的资金。国王起初同意了，但后来改变了主意。莫里斯写道：“我感到厌烦，因为在这个行业里有人在从事某种工作。”他是对的；国王显然在秘密地敦促两位王子拒绝与议会达成协议，他的六月逃跑计划正在进行中。<sup>14</sup>莫里斯接着试图通过议会，据斯旺说，议会极其腐败，需要明智地运用贿赂的“金色酞剂”。<sup>15</sup>他们利用了普罗旺斯的投机商让-巴蒂斯特·布尔蒙德，他是议会中詹姆斯·斯旺的“手下”。他将成为莫里斯有关雅各宾俱乐部集会和活动的主要信息来源。这些贿赂包括 Armand Camus(加缪是 David 著名的网球厅宣誓画作中可以被认出的面孔之一；他是

depicted trying to “persuade the lone dissenter” ).<sup>16</sup> By mid-August, although Canus apparently earned his bribe by raising the matter with the Assembly committee, the project lapsed when the Assembly declared itself free to ignore contracts made by the monarchy.<sup>17</sup>

到了8月中旬, 尽管加缪显然是通过向议会委员会提出这个问题来赢得贿赂的, 但当议会宣布自己可以无视君主制订的合同时, 这个项目就失效了

*Just how these efforts to bribe another country's legislative body should be viewed is debatable. Morris believed the German princes should be compensated in order to undermine the activities of the émigrés in their domains. It is characteristic of him that he was therefore willing to deal with the Assembly on what he knew was its own terms: bribery. By the same token, his offers of shares to Montmorin (who declined) and others are not admirable, but probably were considered essential. “I do not approve of intriguing with the Committees of the Assembly,” Morris wrote to Robert, “and yet that seems to be the way of succeeding at the present.”*<sup>18</sup>

如何看待这些贿赂另一国立法机构的努力是有争议的。莫里斯认为, 德国王子应该得到补偿, 以便破坏米格尔在他们领地内的活动。他的特点是, 他因此愿意按照他知道是大会自己的条件——贿赂——与大会打交道。出于同样的原因, 他向蒙特莫林(他拒绝了)和其他人提供的股份并不令人钦佩, 但可能被认为是必不可少的。“我不赞成与议会的委员会进行密谋,” 莫里斯在给罗伯特的信中写道, “但这似乎是目前取得成功的方式。” 图 18

*Land sales were also on Morris' s mind, but these efforts were hampered in many different respects. One of the most irksome was the effect produced by the Scioto Company debacle, which has been called “a plot to defraud the nation.”*<sup>19</sup> *The company was a group of investors—not including the Morrises, who had their own lands to sell—who planned to sell preemption rights to purchase American public lands, rather than title to the land itself. The targeted purchasers were Europeans, preferably banks holding blocks of depreciated American securities, which could then be used at face value to buy the land from Congress. In this lay the seeds of its failure, for when the Constitution was adopted American securities began to rise and the land was no longer a bargain.*

出售土地也在莫里斯的考虑范围之内, 但这些努力在许多不同方面受到了阻碍。其中最令人讨厌的是效果产生的希欧托公司溃败, 这已被称为“一个阴谋欺骗国家。”这家公司是一群投资者, 不包括莫里斯一家, 他们有自己的土地要出售, 他们计划出售优先购买权来购买美国的公共土地, 而不是土地本身的所有权。目标购买者是欧洲人, 最好是持有大量贬值的美国证券的银行, 这些证券可以按面值从国会购买土地。

这就埋下了它失败的种子，因为当宪法通过时，美国的宗教开始兴起，土地不再是交易品。

*The company was the brainchild of William Duer, and it was made up of many of the Morris'es' business associates, including (unknown to Gouverneur) William Constable; Brissot de Warville probably was associated with it for a while. The American poet Joel Barlow was the unlikely, and as events proved, unfortunate choice to represent the company in France. The first group of settlers departed France in 1790 with high hopes, but soon found themselves without title to the land they believed they had bought, and facing physical hardships they were unprepared to overcome. Soon their unhappy reports were pouring back into Europe.*<sup>20</sup>

这家公司是威廉·杜尔(WilliamDuer)的创意，由许多莫里斯家族的生意伙伴组成，其中包括威廉·康斯特布尔(WilliamConstable)(古维纳(Gouverneur)不知道);布里索特·德·沃维尔(BrissotdeWarville)可能也曾与这家公司有过一段。美国诗人乔尔·巴洛是不太可能的，事实证明，不幸的选择在法国代表公司。第一批移民于1790年满怀希望地离开了法国，但很快发现他们没有了他们认为已经购买的土地的所有权，并且面临着他们还没有准备好的身体上的困难。不久，他们那些不愉快的报告就纷纷传回欧洲

*Barlow and Morris did not care for each other, and Morris' s frank skepticism about the Scioto scheme cannot have helped their relationship. Barlow was busy writing enthusiastic—and baseless—reports back to the United States about his success, but as Morris wrote later to Constable, “the highly colored Pictures drawn by Mr. Barlow were not taken from the Life.”*<sup>21</sup>

巴洛和莫里斯并不在乎对方，而莫里斯对赛欧托计划的坦率怀疑无助于改善他们的关系。巴洛正忙于撰写热情洋溢、毫无根据的报告，向美国汇报自己的成功，但正如莫里斯后来写给康斯特布尔的信中所言，“巴洛先生绘制的色彩鲜艳的画作并非取自《生活》。”图21

*The French delusions did not last. In June 1790, Morris learned that Duer had issued a bill for 100,000 pounds drawn on Barlow. That November,*

法国人的幻想并没有持续多久。1790年6月，莫里斯得知杜尔向巴洛开出了一张10万英镑的汇票。那年十一月，

Barlow visited Morris, and "in a lame stammering Conversation I find that he has no Means at Command to retire the Bill upon him. . . . I fear this Scioto Business will turn out very badly."<sup>22</sup> Sales ceased, and Barlow was threatened with assassination by angry relatives of the unhappy emigrants. The scandal did "great Mischief" to Morris' s bona fide efforts at land sales, as did the king' s failed escape attempt in June. In July 1791, Morris wrote to Constable that the flight to Varennes

巴洛拜访了莫里斯, "在一次蹩脚结结巴巴的谈话中, 我发现他没有办法把比尔推到他身上.....。我担心希欧托的事情会变得非常糟糕。" 销售停止了, 巴洛受到愤怒的移民亲属的暗杀威胁。这桩丑闻对莫里斯善意的卖地努力造成了"大损害", 就像六月份国王企图逃跑失败一样。在1791年7月, Morris给 Constable写信说, 路易十六的出逃

*produced a decree against Emigration which damps the Sale of Lands*  
颁布了一项反对移民的法令, 阻止了土地的出售

*& the Accounts from the Scioto each one worse than the other have a similar Effect. Indeed they have brought the Scioto upon the Stage and these frenchmen who once supposed that all the people of America lived in Boston seem now to imagine that all the Land of America is on the Scioto.*<sup>23</sup>

来自 Scioto 的账目每一个都比另一个更糟糕, 有类似的影响。事实上, 他们把 Scioto 带上了舞台, 这些曾经认为全美国人都住在波士顿的法国人现在似乎想象全美国都在 Scioto 上

The company sent a new agent to take over from Barlow, who arrived in late 1790, and met several times with Morris to ask his advice.<sup>24</sup>

公司派了一个新的代理人接替 1790 年末到达的巴洛, 并多次会见莫里斯征求他的意见

Barlow was a zealous admirer of the French Revolution, and was close to Thomas Paine and other Americans who for reasons sincere or venal chose to support the radicalizing of the Revolution. He demonstrated considerable elasticity in welcoming each progressively radical shift of power, but also managed to remain friends with Lafayette. He published tracts endorsing the Revolution, which he sent to Jefferson, who wel-comed them.<sup>25</sup> Given these associations, and a general dislike for Morris, it is no surprise that Barlow would strongly object to Morris' s appointment as minister. "It is really unfortunate for our interest as well as for the cause of liberty in general, that he does not accord better with the princi-ples which do and ought to govern the people of France," he wrote to Jefferson in early October 1792.<sup>26</sup>

Barlow's post-Scioto activities created other motives, for Morris was considered an obstacle to the projects he was pursuing with the French government, including "liberation" of South America, with distribution of spoils to the participants. Although these schemes did not prosper, Barlow was lucky in later business ventures with James Swan, who recommended to Knox in December 1793 that Barlow should replace Morris as minister. However, Barlow, taking heed of Paine's imprisonment that same month, prudently left Paris for Hamburg in January 1794.<sup>27</sup>

巴洛是法国大革命的狂热崇拜者，他与托马斯·潘恩和其他美国人关系密切，这些人出于真诚或唯利是图的原因选择支持法国大革命的激进化。他表现出相当大的弹性，欢迎每一个逐步激进的权力转移，但也设法保持与拉斐特的朋友。考虑到这些关联，加上普遍不喜欢莫里斯，巴洛强烈反对莫里斯任命他为部长就不足为奇了。1792年10月初，他在给杰斐逊的信中写道：“对于我们的利益以及整个自由事业来说，他不能更好地遵守统治法国人民的原则，这确实是不幸的。”<sup>26</sup> 巴洛在后希奥托时代的活动创造了其他的动机，因为莫里斯被认为是他与法国政府一起追求的项目的障碍，包括“解放”南美洲，以及向参与者分发战利品。虽然这些计划没有成功，巴洛是幸运的，在后来的商业企业与詹姆斯天鹄，谁建议诺克斯在1793年12月，巴洛应取代莫里斯部长。然而，巴洛，注意到潘恩的监禁，同一个月，谨慎地离开巴黎汉堡在1794年1月。<sup>27</sup>

Barlow and Morris were not quite finished, however. Barlow wrote to Jefferson in 1798—a time when American-French relations were at an all-

然而，巴洛和莫里斯还没有完全结束。巴洛于1798年写信给杰斐逊，当时美法关系处于全面紧张的状态

time low—that the deterioration could be traced directly to Morris' s appointment. "For three years," Barlow asserted, Morris had "misled the president with respect to the principles and events of the Revolution, insulted the French nation and as far as possible betrayed it." <sup>28</sup>

时间很短——这种恶化可以直接追溯到莫里斯的任命。“三年来，”巴洛断言，莫里斯“在大革命的原则和事件方面误导了总统，侮辱了法国，并且尽可能地背叛了它。”图 28

• • •  
•••

Despite consuming personal and business concerns, Morris reentered the thick of French politics on his return to Paris. William Short had kept Morris informed of the significant changes, and neither American found them encouraging. At the beginning of the summer of 1790, at the behest of Lafayette, the Assembly had abolished noble titles. In July, it decreed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which Talleyrand called the Assembly' s "greatest political blunder." Louis reluctantly sanctioned the decree, which set salaries and residence requirements, and provided for election of clerics by the laity. On November 27, 1790, reacting to the protests of clerics throughout the country, the Constituent Assembly went further and imposed the Oath of the Civil Constitution; a cleric' s refusal to take the oath ( "nonjuring" ) meant dismissal. Talleyrand, the perennial survivor and a man of dubious piety, was one of only two bishops in the Constituent Assembly who took the oath. In early 1791 he resigned his bishopric to become an administrator of Paris. <sup>29</sup>

尽管有个人和商业上的顾虑，莫里斯在回到巴黎后重新进入了法国政坛的最高层。威廉·肖特一直向莫里斯通报这些重大变化，但两位美国人都认为这些变化是令人鼓舞的。1790年夏初，在拉斐特的要求下，议会废除了贵族头衔。今年7月，它颁布了最高教士的公民组织法，Talleyrand称之为议会“最大的政治错误”路易不情愿地批准了这项法令，其中规定了工资和居住要求，并规定由俗人选举神职人员。1790年11月27日，针对全国各地神职人员的抗议，最高制宪议会更进一步，颁布了《公民宪法宣誓》；神职人员拒绝宣誓（“拒绝宣誓”）就意味着解职。Talleyrand，一个长期的幸存者和一个可疑的虔诚的人，是制宪议会中仅有的两个宣誓就职的主教之一。1791年初，他辞去主教职务，成为巴黎的行政官

Louis could not convince the Pope to endorse the Civil Constitution, setting

the stage for schism and civil war. Necker had resigned in September 1790, protesting the second issue of assignats. There was increasing concern that an alliance including Austria and Prussia, led by the king's brothers, would attempt to invade France.

路易未能说服教皇支持《国民宪法》，从而为分裂和内战埋下伏笔。内克尔于1790年9月辞职，抗议转让的第二个问题。人们越来越担心，由国王的兄弟领导的包括奥地利和普鲁士在内的联盟会企图入侵法国。

In a long letter to Washington, written in late November 1790, Morris laid out a bleak picture. It is one of Morris's most eloquent soliloquies; the following summer Washington would show it to Jefferson, noting that Morris's<sup>30</sup> predictions had been borne out.

在1790年11月末写给华盛顿的一封长信中，莫里斯描绘了一幅黯淡的画面。这是莫里斯最雄辩的独白之一；第二年夏天，华盛顿将它展示给杰斐逊，并指出莫里斯的预言已经得到证实

"This unhappy Country, bewildered in the Pursuit of metaphysical whimsies, presents to our moral View a mighty Ruin," he began. "Like the Remnants of ancient Magnificence we admire the architecture of the Temple while we detest the false God to whom it was dedicated." With a dirgelike rhythm, he continued:

“这个不幸的国家，在追求形而上学的异想天开中迷失了方向，在我们的道德观点看来，它是一个巨大的废墟，”他开始说。“就像古代辉煌的遗迹一样，我们赞美圣殿的建筑，而憎恶供奉给它的伪神。”他以一种哀乐般的节奏接着说：

Daws and Ravens and the Birds of Night now build their Nests in its  
Niches. The Sovereign humbled to the Level of a Beggar's Pity, without  
水牛、乌鸦和夜鸟现在都在它的壁龛上筑巢。君主谦卑到乞丐怜悯  
的程度，没有



*Resources, without Authority, without a Friend. The Assembly at once a Master and a Slave. New in Power, wild in Theory, raw in Practice, it engrosses all Functions tho incapable of exercising any, and has taken from this fierce ferocious People every Restraint of Religion and of Respect. Sole Executors of the Law and therefore supreme Judges of its Propriety each District measures out its Obedience by its Wishes, and the great Interests of the whole split up into fractional Morsels depend on momentary Impulse and ignorant Caprice.*

资源，没有权威，没有朋友。集会既是主人又是奴隶。权力是新的，理论上是狂野的，实践上是原始的，它全神贯注于那些没有能力行使任何职能的人的一切功能，它从这个凶猛的民族身上汲取了一切宗教和尊敬的克制。法律的唯一执行者，因此法律适当性的最高法官，每个地区都根据自己的意愿来衡量其服从程度，整个地区的伟大利益分裂成零碎碎片，这取决于瞬间的冲动和无知的任性。

*"Such a State of Things cannot last," he predicted.*  
“这样的状态不会持续下去，”他预言道。

*But how will it end? Here Conjecture may wander thro unbounded space. What Sum of Misery may be requisite to change popular Will, Calculation cannot determine. . . . One Thing only seems to be toler-ably ascertained: that the glorious Opportunity is lost, and (for this Time at least) the Revolution has failed.*

但它将如何收场呢？在这里，猜想可能徘徊在无边无际的空间里。什么样的苦难可能是必要的改变民众的意志，计算不能决定。唯一可以肯定的是：光荣的机会已经失去，至少在这个时候，革命已经失败了。

*Morris did not entirely despair, however, for in the effects of the Revolution he found "some Foundations of future Prosperity," including the abolition of inconsistent methods of taxation and collection, which had impeded commerce among the provinces and destroyed "that Unity in the System of distributive Justice, which is one Requisite to social Happiness." He also praised the abolition of the feudal system, allowing proper valuation and use of land. He endorsed the nationalization of church property and the end of the aristocratic power exercised by the parlements, which he said had "established the Pride and the Privileges of the few on the Misery and Degradation of the general Mass."*

然而，莫里斯并没有完全绝望，因为在革命的影响下，他发现了“未来

繁荣的一些基础”，包括废除不一致的税收和征收方法，这阻碍了各省之间的贸易，破坏了“Distributive justice 制度的统一，这是社会幸福的必要条件之一”他还赞扬废除封建制度，允许适当估价和使用土地。他支持教会财产的国有化，支持结束由议会行使的贵族权力，他说，议会“在普通弥撒的苦难和堕落中建立了少数人的骄傲和特权”

Last, and “[a]bove all,” Morris pointed to  
最后，也是“一切”，莫里斯指着

*the Promulgation and Extension of those Principles of Liberty which will I hope remain to cheer the Heart and cherish a Nobleness of Soul, when the metaphysic Froth and Vapor shall have been blown away. The Awe of that Spirit which has thus been raised, will I trust excite in those who may hereafter possess Authority a proper Moderation in its Exercise, and induce them to give to this People a real Constitution of Government, fitted to the natural, moral, social, and political State of their Country.*

当形而上学的泡沫和蒸汽被吹散的时候，我希望那些自由原则的传播和延伸仍然能够使心灵愉悦，并且珍惜灵魂的高贵。对于这种精神的敬畏，我相信将激发那些今后可能拥有权威的人在行使权威时保持适当的节制，并促使他们给予这个人民一个真正的、符合他们国家的自然、道德、社会和政治状况的政府宪法。

*“How and when these events may be brought about, I know not,” he added.*  
“我不知道这些事件是如何发生的，也不知道什么时候发生，”他补充说。

*It was in most respects a gloomy letter, written in the depths of his personal despair over Adèle. Yet it also identified potent positive results of the Revolution and, while correctly anticipating the terrible trials the country would undergo, expressed hope that the end result would still prove happy for France. His clear recognition of the long-term benefits of the "failed" revolution is important, for Morris has not been given credit for such insight by even those historians who like him best, including Theodore Roosevelt. Morris never denied those benefits; but he strongly believed that what he called the "hideous Convulsions" were avoidable.*<sup>31</sup>

这在很大程度上是一封阴郁的信，写于他对阿德勒的绝望之中。然而，它也确认了大革命的强有力的积极结果，并在正确预测国家将经历的可怕考验的同时，表示希望最终结果仍将证明对法国是幸福的。他清楚地认识到“失败的”革命的长期利益是很重要的，因为即使是那些最喜欢他的历史学家，包括西奥多·罗斯福，也没有给予莫里斯如此深刻的见解。莫里斯从未否认这些福利，但他坚信他所说的“可怕的抽搐”是可以避免的

*His letter deserves contrast with the less critical—indeed almost determinedly unaware—comments of Jefferson over the same period, whose view of the Revolution seemed to grow ever more complacent and unreal, at the same time that he increasingly connected its "success" (however he defined it) with the success of the new American republic. For the next few years, as France was wracked by violence, and those in charge of the government changed, along with policy, with head-snapping suddenness, Jefferson would write repeatedly, calmly, and with assurance, that "the French Re-volution goes on steadily."*<sup>32</sup> *In so doing, the secretary of state preferred correspondents such as Barlow and Paine, whose unalloyed enthusiasm might have been suspect to someone of his discernment, and rejected not only the reports of Morris but also of William Short, whose letters were occasionally as eloquent as Morris' s, and by this time, just as pessimistic.*

他的信值得与不那么严厉的批评(实际上几乎是吓得不知所措)相对照，杰斐逊在同一时期的评论，他对革命的看法似乎变得越来越自满和不真实，同时他越来越把革命的“成功”(不管他如何定义它)与新美利坚共和国的成功联系在一起。在接下来的几年里，随着法国被暴力所摧残，政府领导人也随着政策的改变而突然改变，杰斐逊反复地、平静地、有把握地写道，“法国的改革正在稳步进行。”<sup>32</sup> 这样一来，国务卿更倾向于巴洛和佩恩这样的被调查者，他们纯粹的热情可能会让某些人怀疑他的洞察力，他不仅拒绝了莫里斯的报告，也拒绝了威廉·肖特的报告，后者的信件有时和莫里斯的一样雄辩，到了这个时候，也同样悲观。

Morris resumed giving advice to the French. He was encouraged to learn from the comte de Moustier (now returned to France) that the king and queen mentioned Morris, and "that I stand well in their Opinion."<sup>33</sup> He had been back in Paris for three weeks before he saw Lafayette, whose power was in decline. Although Short was careful to hide it from the marquis, he had come to share Morris' s estimation of Lafayette. "The Marquis de la Fayette has sworn enemies in all the parties, owing to his having endeavoured to conciliate them all," Short told Jefferson.<sup>34</sup>

莫里斯继续给法国人提建议。他从穆斯蒂尔伯爵(现已回到法国)那里得知,国王和王后提到了莫里斯,“我完全赞同他们的意见。”他回到巴黎已经三个星期了,才见到了权力正在衰落的拉法耶特。虽然肖特小心翼翼地把它藏起来,不让别人知道,他还是来分享莫里斯对拉斐特的评价。肖特告诉杰斐逊说:“在所有党派中,拉菲特侯爵都有不共戴天的敌人,因为他一直在努力调解他们。”

An army mutiny at Nancy in August 1790 had been put down with Lafayette' s approval, with a ruthlessness intended to set an example, but which was to backfire. Once again, Morris was brutally frank to his old friend, telling him that "he nominally but not really commands his Troops" and unless Lafayette established discipline, "he must be ruined sooner or later." Lafayette was outraged. "While I speak he turns pale," Morris noted, but forged ahead. "[T]he Thing they call a constitution which the Assem-blée have framed is good for Nothing," he continued, suggesting that Lafayette should seize an appropriate pretext and resign, "by which means he would preserve a Reputation in France which would be precious and

1790年8月在南希发生的军事叛变在拉斐特的支持下被镇压下来,他们无情地试图以身作则,但结果却适得其反。莫里斯再一次对他的老朋友毫不留情地坦白,告诉他“他名义上指挥着他的部队,但实际上并没有指挥他的部队”,除非拉法耶特建立起纪律,“他迟早会被毁掉的。”拉法耶十分愤怒。“我说话的时候,他脸色变得苍白,”莫里斯注意到,但还是稳步前进。他继续说道:“他们所说的阿西姆制定的宪法是毫无用处的。”他建议拉法叶应该找个合适的借口辞职,“这样他就可以在法国维护一个珍贵的声誉

hereafter useful." He was profoundly disillusioned by Lafayette's response: "He says that he is only raised by Circumstances and Events, so that when they cease he sinks, and the Difficulty now is how to excite them."<sup>35</sup>

以后有用”拉斐特的回答让他大失所望：“他说他只是在环境和事件中成长起来的，所以当它们停止时，他就沉沦了，现在的困难是如何激发它们。”图 35

Morris reiterated his theme of "the Necessity of restoring the Nobility, at which of Course he flinches and says that he should like two Chambers as in America. I tell him that an American constitution will not do for this Country & that two such Chambers would not answer where there is an hereditary Executive. That every Country must have a constitution suited to its Circumstances." This was an issue the two men were not to resolve; they were still arguing about it nearly two years later, in the last summer of the monarchy.<sup>36</sup>

莫里斯重申了他的主题“恢复贵族社会的必要性”，当然他退缩了，说他应该像在美国那样喜欢两个分庭。我告诉他，美国宪法不适合这个国家&两个这样的议会不会回答有世袭行政官的问题。每个国家都必须有一部适合其国情的宪法。”这是两人无法解决的问题；两年后，在君主制的最后一个夏天，他们仍在为此争论不休

Lafayette's wife was also angry with Morris, and the next time he visited she received him "à la Glace." Morris was not surprised, telling Mme de Montmorin he had told Lafayette "some Truths which differed so much from the Style of Flattery he has been accustomed to that he is not well pleased with it." For the first time, Morris wrote candidly to Washington that the president's protégé had "not the Talents which his Situation requires."<sup>37</sup>

拉法耶特的妻子也对莫里斯很生气，并且在他下一次拜访时，她接待了他“laGlace”莫里斯并不感到惊讶，他告诉蒙特莫林夫人，他曾经告诉拉法耶特“一些真相，这些真相与他所习惯的奉承风格大不相同，他对此并不满意。”莫里斯第一次坦率地给华盛顿写信说，总统的手下“没有他现在所需要的人才”图 37

When Washington showed these letters to Jefferson the following July, it is quite possible that Jefferson took offense, for he thereafter wrote a remarkably emotional letter to Lafayette:

第二年七月，当华盛顿把这些信件拿给杰斐逊看时，杰斐逊很可能生气了，因为此后他给拉斐特写了一封非常感人的信：

God bless you my dear friend, and prosper those endeavors about which I

never write to you because it would interrupt them, but for the success of which, and for your own happiness no body prays more sincerely than Your affectionate friend & servt . . .

上帝保佑你，我亲爱的朋友，祝你的努力成功，我从来没有写信给你，因为它会打断他们，但为了成功，为了你自己的幸福，没有人比你深情的朋友和仆人更真诚地祈祷.....。

*The following summer, two months before Lafayette' s fall, Jefferson wrote again:*

第二年夏天，也就是拉法耶特秋天的前两个月，杰斐逊再次写道:

*Behold you then, my dear friend, at the head of a great army, establishing the liberties of your country against a foreign enemy. May heaven favor your cause, and make you the channel thro' which it may pour it' s favors . . . [Y]ou are exterminating the monster aristocracy, and pulling out the teeth and fangs of it' s [sic] associate monarchy.”*<sup>38</sup>

看哪，我亲爱的朋友，你率领着一支伟大的军队，建立了你国家的自由，以对抗外敌。愿上天垂青你的事业，使你成为它可能倾注恩惠的通道.....你正在消灭怪物贵族，拔掉它的牙齿和毒牙(原文如此)联合君主制。” 图 38

*Jefferson wrote this letter shortly after hearing from a French friend in Paris that liberty in France was now “nothing more than the ability to resist laws with impunity,” and “[t]here has already been as much blood*

杰斐逊写这封信之前不久，他在巴黎听到一位法国朋友说，法国的自由现在“只不过是受惩罚地抵制法律的能力”，“这里已经流了很多血

shed as in a war; the difference is that this is by premeditated assassinations, executed with inconceivable cruelty.”<sup>39</sup>

不同的是，这是有预谋的暗杀行动，以难以想象的残忍手段执行

*It is difficult to read these materials without pausing to consider who was the better advisor to Lafayette, Morris or Jefferson. Though Morris' s predictions made unpleasant listening, they were largely accurate. Whether a second chamber made up of a restored nobility would have been effective or not, Morris was dead right that a unicameral and unfettered legislature would not work. He foresaw Lafayette' s downfall early on, and in spite of Lafayette' s increasing resentment, continued to recommend decisive steps to avoid it. Jefferson, after his return to America, offered only uncritical though impassioned support, and would be silent when faced with the dreadful contradiction that Lafayette had been declared a traitor to the cause Jefferson believed he personified. It was no surprise to Morris; for Jefferson, it must have been devastating.*

如果不停下来考虑谁是拉法耶特、莫里斯或杰弗逊的更好的顾问，很难阅读这些材料。尽管莫里斯的预测听起来令人不愉快，但它们大体上是准确的。无论由恢复的贵族组成的第二议院是否有效，莫里斯完全正确地认为，一院制、不受限制的立法机构是行不通的。他很早就预见到拉法耶的垮台，尽管拉法耶的怨恨情绪日益高涨，他还是继续采取果断的措施来避免这种情况。杰斐逊回到美国之后，只给予他不加批评却又慷慨激昂的支持，面对拉斐特被认为是他所代表的事业的叛徒这一可怕的矛盾，他也保持沉默。这对莫里斯来说并不奇怪，对杰斐逊来说，这一定是毁灭性的打击。

• • •  
...

*While Lafayette distanced himself from Morris, Montmorin—though there is little indication that he followed his suggestions—welcomed the American' s counsel. Morris continued to advocate war through the spring of 1791, certain that France could beat England, and he even described to Montmorin how Europe should be repartitioned. This plan was “too great for his Mind,” Morris noted in disappointment.*<sup>40</sup>

尽管拉斐特与莫里斯保持距离，但蒙特莫林对这位美国人的建议表示欢迎，尽管几乎没有迹象表明他采纳了拉斐特的建议。1791年春天，莫里斯继续鼓吹战争，他确信法国可以击败英国，他甚至向蒙莫兰描述了欧洲应该如何重新分割。这个计划“对他的头脑来说太伟大了，”莫里斯

失望地指出

*Morris was very concerned that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly required by the new constitution would be dangerous, for their successors "would be chosen by the Jacobins," who were at this time the "old" Jacobins (pre-July 1791). The Jacobin Club was by this time experiencing considerable tension between the heretofore dominant "triumvirate" of Barnave, Alexandre Lameth, and Duport, and its radical members, many from the Cordeliers Club. The "triumvirs" (also called the Lameth faction) had been ardent reformers at the Estates General, but considered the reforms already enacted and the provisions of the proposed constitution, once implemented, to be revolution enough. Lafayette had originally been a member of the Jacobins as well, and essentially concurred with these views, but personal antagonism between Lafayette and the triumvirs had led the marquis and his followers, including Si è yes, Talleyrand, and Mirabeau, to secede in early 1790 and form the Society of 1789.*

莫里斯非常担心按照新宪法的要求解散制宪议会将是危险的，因为他们的继任者“将由雅各宾派挑选”，雅各宾派当时是“老的”雅各宾派（1791年7月前）。此时，雅各宾俱乐部正在试图缓和 Barnave、亚历山大·拉梅斯和 Duport 这三大主导“三头政治”与其激进成员之间的紧张关系，这些激进成员大多来自科德里尔俱乐部。“三人政治”（也称为拉米特会议）一直是三级会议中热心的改革者，但认为已经实施的改革和拟议的宪法条款一旦实施就足以成为革命。拉斐特起初也是雅各宾派的一员，基本上同意这些观点，但是拉斐特和三人政治领导人之间的个人对立导致了侯爵和他的追随者，包括西耶、Talleyrand 和米拉波，在 1790 年初脱离联邦，成立了 1789 年协会。

*The Lameth group had endorsed the concepts of national sovereignty and equal rights, but consistently insisted on a property ownership*

拉米特集团赞同国家主权和平等权利的概念，但一贯坚持财产所有权



requirement for political participation, and by the spring of 1791 this determination to exclude a major percentage of the French population from a voice in the government had led to a "democratic" movement in the Paris clubs and increasing influence at the Jacobin Club from radical members. As the democratic elements grew more strident, and were increasingly successful in calling the integrity of the Constituent Assembly into question, the triumvirs and the members of the Society of 1789 (or Fayettists) were increasingly concerned that matters might get out of hand.<sup>41</sup>

到了1791年春天,这种决心将大部分法国人排除在政府的发言权之外,导致了巴黎俱乐部的"民主"运动,并增加了激进分子在雅各宾俱乐部的影响力。随着民主因素变得更加尖锐,并且越来越成功地把制宪议会的完整性变成了问题,三人小组和1789年学会的成员(或称法耶特主义者)越来越担心事态可能失控

Morris had thought this all along, and his fears were particularly aroused by passage of a four-year exclusionary decree disqualifying the current Assembly deputies from government posts or reelection, for it promised a legislature of "Jacobin" (he was referring to the radical element) members of inexperienced and more radical bent. He unabashedly told Montmorin that "he knows the Character and Talents of the present Set [of deputies] and can buy such as, after Reflection, may suit his Purpose."<sup>42</sup> In line with this argument, sometime in April or May of 1791, he prepared a memorandum for the king, which he asked Montmorin to forward. He advised the king that the Assembly could not last much longer, and if the king persevered he would be able to institute a good constitution and a moderate government. "[I]t is no longer a question of liberty," he said baldly. "Only of who shall be the master." He suggested that if Montmorin would promise the triumvirate leaders posts in the administration, they would in turn ensure repeal of the exclusionary rule. While the promise should be kept, and the Jacobins placed in posts, "[y]ou must displace them likewise at a favorable moment."<sup>43</sup>

莫里斯自始至终都是这么想的,他的担心特别来自于一项历时四年的排他性法令,该法令取消了现任议员担任政府职务或连任的资格,因为该法令承诺建立一个"雅各宾派"(他指的是激进派)的立法机构,这些成员缺乏经验,而且更加激进。他厚颜无耻地告诉蒙特莫林,"他知道现在这些(副手)的性格和才能,可以买到符合他目的的东西。"1791年4月或5月的某个时候,他为国王准备了一份备忘录,要求蒙莫兰转交。他建议国王,议会不能维持太久,如果国王坚持下去,他将能够建立一个良好的宪法和一个温和的政府。"这不再是一个自由的问题,"他直截了当地说。"只有谁才是主人。"他建议说,如果蒙特莫林承诺在政

府中担任三人领导职位，他们将确保废除证据排除法则。虽然应该遵守诺言，把雅各宾派安置在岗位上，“你必须在有利的时刻同样取代他们。”<sup>43</sup>

*Morris' s ideas seem both audacious and a little cockeyed, at least from the distance of two centuries. It is hard to perceive the practicability of bribing members of a faction with government posts, and then taking them away again. He apparently concocted the scheme with Br é mond, and it may reflect more of Br é mond than of Morris; Morris would later describe Br é mond as "courageous, zealous and faithful," but "impetuous" and "imprudent."<sup>44</sup> Montmorin probably thought the same of this plan, for there is no indication that he showed the note to the king.*

至少从两个世纪以来看，莫里斯的想法似乎既大胆又有点荒唐。很难理解用政府职位贿赂一个派别的成员，然后再把他们带走是否可行。他显然是和布莱蒙德一起策划了这个阴谋，这个阴谋可能更多地反映了 Br é mond 的情况，而不是莫里斯的情况；后来莫里斯把布莱蒙描述为“勇敢、热心和忠诚”，但是“鲁莽”和“轻率”<sup>44</sup> 蒙特莫林大概也是这样想的，因为没有迹象表明他把这张纸条给了国王。

*On the other hand, Montmorin' s disinterest may have had other causes. On May 9, 1791, he resigned as foreign minister, although he served par interim until the following October. His resignation was probably linked to the king' s plan to escape and reassert control outside of Paris.<sup>45</sup> The capture of the royal family at Varennes on June 21 threw the political game pieces to the floor: the king was suspended, and Lafayette, whose National Guards-*

另一方面，蒙特莫林的不感兴趣可能有其他原因。1791年5月9日，他辞去了外交部长一职，尽管他临时担任外交部长直到次年10月。他的辞职可能与国王计划逃离并重新控制巴黎以外的地区有关。<sup>45</sup>6月21日，皇室家族在 Varennes 被俘，把政治游戏的棋子扔到了地板上：国王被停职，拉法叶的国民警卫队-

men guarded the Tuileries, was suspected of having connived in the attempt. Morris disapproved. If Louis had remained “quiet,” he suggested, he 有人守卫着 Tuileries, 被怀疑纵容了这次袭击。莫里斯不同意。如果路易斯一直保持“沉默”, 他建议, 他

would have soon been Master because the Anarchy which prevails would have shewn the Necessity of conferring more Authority. . . .

很快就会成为大师, 因为盛行的无政府主义会表明授予更多权力的必要性.....。

His Departure changed every Thing and now the general Wish seems to be for a Republic, which is quite in the natural order of Things.<sup>46</sup>

他的离去改变了一切, 现在大家的愿望似乎是要建立一个共和国, 这完全是自然规律

The “general Wish” for a republic was not shared by the triumvirs or the Fayetteists. The debacle at Varennes quickly produced a rapprochement between the two groups, who now saw themselves as the party of “order,” which would retain the reforms of the Assembly and keep the king, if he agreed to accept the new constitution. At the same time, the breach within the Jacobin Club between the radicals and triumvirs was almost complete. It became final a few weeks later, when the Champ-de-Mars massacre took place.<sup>47</sup>

三头政治或费耶特派教徒并不赞同建立共和国的“普遍愿望”。在 Varennes 的溃败很快促成了两个集团之间的和解, 他们现在认为自己是“秩序”的政党, 如果国王同意接受新宪法, 他们将保留议会的改革并保留国王。与此同时, 雅各宾俱乐部内部激进分子和三人政治之间的裂痕几乎完全消失了。几个星期后, 当 Champ-de-Mars 大屠杀发生时, 这成为最后一场战争

Paris had been in what Morris described as an “Uproar” for days, incensed by an Assembly decree declaring the king’s inviolability (immunity from punishment) after his escape attempt. On July 15, members of the radical Cordeliers Club and the Cercle Social (the future Girondins) disrupted a meeting at the Jacobin Club, demanding the club support a petition to establish a republic. The next day, nearly all of the moderate members seceded from the club and, along with the Fayetteists, established the Feuillants (Constitutionalists) Club.

几天来, 巴黎一直处于莫里斯所描述的“喧嚣”之中, 在他试图逃跑后, 议会颁布法令宣布国王不可侵犯(免受惩罚的免罪), 这激怒了他。7月15日, 激进的 cordelier 俱乐部和 Cercle Social(未来的吉伦特派)的成员扰

乱了雅各宾俱乐部的一次会议，要求俱乐部支持建立共和国的请愿书。第二天，几乎所有的温和派成员都脱离了俱乐部，连同费耶特派一起，成立了 *Feuillants*(立宪主义者)俱乐部。

*On July 17, a very hot day, with "[n]ot a Breath of Air stirring," the clash occurred. Members of the Cordeliers Club took their petition to the Champ-de-Mars to gather signatures. Realizing that something dramatic was afoot, Morris and Adèle took his carriage and, stopping to pick up his telescope from his rooms, drove to the heights of Passy to watch. They were too late. The municipality, which had declared martial law, had sent Lafayette and the National Guard to the scene. In response to a shot from the crowd, the militia opened fire, killing about fifty people. Morris' s sym-pathies were with the militia, for to be*

7月17日，一个非常炎热的日子，“没有一丝空气搅动”，冲突发生了。科德里尔俱乐部的成员们把他们的请愿书送到战神广场去征集签名。意识到一些戏剧性的事情正在发生，莫里斯和阿德勒坐上他的马车，停下来从他的房间拿起望远镜，驱车前往帕西高地观看。他们太晚了。市政当局已经宣布了戒严令，并派遣了拉斐特和国民警卫队到现场。作为对人群枪声的回应，民兵开火，造成大约五十人死亡。莫里斯的同伴是民兵

*paraded thro the Streets under a scorching Sun and then stand like Holiday Turkeys to be knocked down by Brick-Bats was a little more than they had Patience to Bear. . . . If the Militia had waited for Orders they*  
*might I fancy have been all knowcked down before they received any.*<sup>48</sup>

在烈日下列队穿过街道，然后像假日火鸡一样站着被砖头击倒-蝙蝠比他们有耐心承受多了一点..。如果民兵们等待命令的话，我猜想他们在收到命令之前就已经全部知道了

The show of force had a curbing effect. Popular radical leaders such as Danton went into hiding, and the democratic movement was, for the moment, in retreat. Morris, encouraged, again toyed with the notion of taking a position in the ministry. On July 21, Mme de Ségur asked him on behalf of her husband if Morris would accept if one was offered. He told her he would "if they would give me Authority," and if the "King and Queen would promise to act according to my Advice." He heard no more of the matter. Several months later, when Bertrand de Moleville told Morris he had proposed him to Montmorin as minister of foreign affairs, Morris simply laughed.<sup>49</sup>

武力的展示起了抑制作用。丹顿等广受欢迎的激进派领导人躲了起来，民主运动暂时处于退却状态。莫里斯受到鼓舞，又开始玩弄在牧师中占据一席之地的想法。7月21日，desgur女士代表她的丈夫问他，如果有人向莫里斯提出要求，她是否愿意接受。他告诉她，“如果他们给我权力”，如果“国王和王后承诺按照我的建议行事。”他再也没有听到有关这件事的消息。几个月后，当伯特兰德·德·莫尔维尔告诉莫里斯，他已经向蒙特莫林提名他为外交部长时，莫里斯只是笑了笑

Yet he took his role as advisor more seriously than ever. He promised Montmorin to produce a plan for French finances on the condition that sufficient authority could be established to administer it.<sup>50</sup> He also wrote a proposed speech for the king to give in accepting the constitution, an action with serious repercussions for Morris. He had never been coy about his opinion, telling Short he considered the constitution "ridiculous." This was an opinion shared by many, including Étienne Dumont, who said it needed a bicameral legislature and a stronger executive and that it contained "too much republicanism for a monarchy, and too much of monarchy for a republic." Modern historians concur, and endorse Marie-Antoinette's assessment that the constitution was a "tissue of absurdities," noting that many of its clauses were "too general to be applicable or too topical to endure."<sup>51</sup>

然而，他比以往任何时候都更认真地对待自己作为顾问的角色。他向蒙莫兰承诺，只要能够建立足够的权力来管理法国的财政，他就会为法国制定一个计划。他还为国王撰写了一份接受宪法的演讲稿，这一行动对莫里斯造成了严重的影响。他对自己的观点从不含糊其辞，他告诉肖特，他认为宪法是“荒谬的”这是许多人的共同观点，包括tienneDumont，他说这需要一个两院制和一个更强大的行政部门，它包含了“对君主制来说太多的共和主义，对共和制来说太多的君主制。”现代历史学家也赞同玛丽·安托瓦内特的观点，认为宪法是“荒谬的组织”，并指出其中许多条款“过于笼统，不适用，或过于主题化，不能

As September 3, the day for the presentation of the constitution to the king, approached, Morris worked on the speech with Brémond and others, including a man named Jaubert, whose identity is uncertain; Pellinc, formerly a secretary to Mirabeau (who had died suddenly in early April); and Nicholas Bergasse, an attorney from Lyons. Bergasse had been a friend of Brissot de Warville, and, before the Revolution, a member of the mesmerist “Kornmann” group (the group believed the “corrupt society of the ancien régime prevented ‘natural man’ from achieving the mesmerist goal of harmony of nature”<sup>52</sup>; it included Lafayette, Clavière, and Brissot.) Bergasse was by now disillusioned with the Revolution and worked as a counterrevolutionary pamphleteer.<sup>53</sup>

9月3日，也就是向国王提交宪法的日子临近，莫里斯与布莱蒙德和其他人一起准备演讲，其中包括一个名叫乔伯特(Jaubert)的人，他的身份尚不确定，佩林克(Pellinc)曾是米拉波的一名秘书(他在4月初突然去世)，以及尼古拉斯·伯加斯(NicholasBergasse)，他是里昂的一名律师。贝尔加斯是布里索特·德·沃维尔的朋友，在大革命之前，他是美国“科恩曼”组织的成员(该组织认为“古代的腐败社会阻碍了‘自然人’实现自然和谐这一催眠般的目标”，其中包括拉法叶特、克拉维尔和布里索特)这时，贝尔加斯对革命大失所望，当了一名反革命小册子的作者

Morris wanted to make the king's acceptance of the constitution into an instrument for its revision—inviting correction of the constitution's faults without seeming to reject it. He began with the attention-getting statement “It is no longer your King who addresses you. Louis the Sixteenth is only a private individual. You have just offered him the crown, and informed him

莫里斯希望把国王对宪法的接受变成修改宪法的工具——邀请国王纠正宪法的错误，而不让人觉得是在拒绝宪法。他以引人注目的声明开始：“不再是你们的国王称呼你们了。路易十六只是一个私人个体。你刚刚把王位给了他，还通知了他

on what conditions he must accept it." He then analyzed the constitution and its defects, noting that the declaration of rights was inconsistent with many of the provisions of the constitution itself, and pinpointing the lack of checks and balances needed to keep the Assembly from arrogating absolute power to itself. In truth, he argued, the constitution gave the Assembly absolute power and, should a faction achieve dominance in the Assembly (as successive factions were to do) there was no means of correction. This judgment has been echoed by George Lefebvre, among others, who has concluded that because the king was unable to effectively exercise his constitutional powers, the constitution established a "republic with no real government."<sup>54</sup>

他必须接受什么样的条件”然后，他分析了《宪法》及其缺陷，指出《权利宣言》与《宪法》本身的许多条款不一致，并明确指出缺乏必要的制衡，以防止大会僭取绝对权力。事实上，他认为，宪法赋予议会绝对权力，如果一个派别在议会中取得支配地位(正如历届派别所要做的那样)，就没有任何手段可以改变。这一判决得到了乔治·列斐伏尔(George Lefebvre)等人的响应。列斐伏尔的结论是，由于国王无法有效行使其宪法权力，宪法建立了一个“没有真正政府的共和国”<sup>54</sup>

Morris read the speech to Mme de Staël at her request. She was "very averse to so bold a Tone," but promptly told all of her acquaintances about it, infuriating Morris ("she is a devilish Woman," he fumed in his diary). Perhaps it is no coincidence that on September 3 Robespierre warned against incorporating proposed modifications to the constitution into the king's speech.<sup>55</sup>

应德斯塔尔夫人的要求，莫里斯向她宣读了演讲稿。她“非常反感这种大胆的语气”，但是很快就把手这件事告诉了她所有的熟人，激怒了莫里斯(“她是一个邪恶的女人，”他在日记中愤怒地写道)。9月3日，Robespierre警告不要在国王的讲话中加入修改宪法的内容，这也许并非巧合

Montmorin, who also found the speech "too forcible," told Morris that the king "found it difficult to swallow because it acknowledges the loss of the Crown." Morris, unabashed, gave him a memo for the king. The memo, like the proposed speech, did not mince words. It discussed the pernicious effects of the depreciation of assignats on France's commerce and manufactures, the destruction of private credit, and most particularly the harm to the poor, due to the hoarding and food shortages that would result. He predicted that these actions would lead to price-fixing, correctly anticipating the price controls of 1792 and the brutal "Law of the Maximum" of 1793. From painful experience,

he also predicted that the army's discipline would suffer as the government's ability to pay diminished.

蒙特莫林也认为这次讲话“太强迫性”，他告诉莫里斯，国王“觉得难以下咽，因为它承认王位的丢失”莫里斯泰然自若地给国王交了一份备忘录。这份备忘录和拟议中的演讲一样，没有拐弯抹角。它讨论了转让人贬值对法国商业和制造业的有害影响，私人信贷的破坏，特别是由于囤积和粮食短缺而对穷人造成的伤害。他预先断定，这些行动将导致价格操纵，正确地预见到1792年的价格控制和1793年残酷的“最高限额法”。根据痛苦的经历，他还预测，随着政府支付能力的削弱，军队的纪律将受到影响。

*The king, Morris advised, should accept the constitution, but predict the specific problems it would produce, so that when those difficulties arose his insight would be acknowledged. Morris recommended that when the new Assembly violated the constitution, which he considered inevitable, the king should use his veto on the basis that he could not "violate his oath." Eventually, Morris predicted, the Assembly would be forced to confer power on the king; or the king might choose to "proclaim a new constitution."* <sup>56</sup>

莫里斯建议，国王应该接受宪法，但是要预测宪法可能产生的具体问题，这样当这些困难出现时，他的洞察力就会得到承认。莫里斯建议，当新议会违反他认为不可避免的宪法时，国王应该行使否决权，理由是他不能“违背他的誓言”莫里斯预测，议会最终将被迫授予国王权力，或者国王可能选择“宣布一部新宪法”<sup>56</sup>

*On September 12, Morris heard from both Br é mond and Short that the king had "objected to the Speech prepared for him by Pelling [sic] in Consequence of a Memoire he had received in English." Short "felicitated"*

9月12日，莫里斯从布尔蒙德和肖特那里听说，国王“反对佩林为他准备的讲话，因为他收到了一份英文备忘录。”简短的“祝福”



Morris (who tried to deny any involvement), and then excoriated him in a letter to Jefferson.<sup>57</sup> However, the king accepted the constitution on September 14, and Montmorin told Morris he had not delivered the memo until afterward. Morris was disappointed and utterly disapproving of the king's unconditional and thus "unmanly" acceptance of the constitution. (Perhaps this was unjust to Louis, who had written a "Declaration" before the escape to Varennes, criticizing the constitution.) The king's advisors had "neither the Sense nor the Spirit the Occasion calls for," Morris wrote to Washington on the last day of September. "It is a general and almost universal Conviction that this Constitution is inexecutable. The Makers to a Man condemn it."<sup>58</sup>

然而，国王在9月14日接受了宪法，蒙特莫林告诉莫里斯，他直到后来才把备忘录交给他。莫里斯对国王无条件接受这项建议感到失望，并且完全不赞成，因此“缺乏男子气概”。（也许这对路易来说是不公平的，他在逃亡Varennes之前写了一份批评宪法的《宣言》。）年月的最后一天，莫里斯在给华盛顿的信中写道，国王的忠告“既没有时机所需要的理智，也没有时机所需要的精神。”人们普遍和几乎普遍相信，这部宪法是不可执行的。创造者对一个人的谴责。”<sup>58</sup>

Yet Morris may have had more influence than he realized. Louis wrote to his brothers on September 15 that "[b]y my adopting [the constitution's] principles and executing them in good faith, [my people] will come to know the cause of their misfortunes," and Moleville recorded that Louis told him, "My opinion is that the literal execution of the constitution is the best way of making the Nation see the alterations to which it is susceptible."<sup>59</sup>

然而，莫里斯的影响力可能比他意识到的还要大。路易斯在9月15日写信给他的兄弟们说，“如果我接受宪法的原则并真诚地执行它们，我的人民就会知道他们不幸的原因，”莫维尔记录说，路易斯告诉他，“我的意见是，按字面意思执行宪法是让国家看到它易受影响的改变的最好方式。”<sup>59</sup>

Regardless of the reception by the monarchs, however, Morris's memos became the subject of considerable resentment even among those who acknowledged the constitution's defects, such as Brissot, who conceded that it had created an executive power "without energy and without confidence."<sup>60</sup> On October 4, the *Gazette Universelle*, a moderate paper, chastised Morris severely. The *Gazette* declared:

然而，尽管君主们对莫里斯的备忘录颇有微词，但即便是那些承认宪法存在缺陷的人，比如布里索特，也对他的备忘录产生了相当大的不满。布里索特承认，宪法创造了一种“没有能量、没有信念”的行政权力10月4日，一份温和的报纸《世界报》严厉批评了莫里斯。宪报宣布：

famous Philadelphia Convention . . . and that this American' s name is Monsieur Morris. He has outlined reflections on our constitution in secret, and if they resemble those he has stated in private society, they must exude the most intolerable aristocracy: perhaps he does have the vain insolence to place his work under the eyes of the king, but it would be absurd to think it received any more attention than a hundred others of the same nature which other individuals have published in secret.<sup>61</sup>

我们知道在巴黎有一个美国人参加了著名的费城会议.....这个美国人的名字是莫里斯先生。他已经秘密地概述了对我们宪法的看法，如果这些看法与他在私人社会中所说的相似，那么它们一定散发出最令人无法忍受的贵族气质:也许他确实有一种虚荣的傲慢，把他的工作置于国王的眼皮下，但是，如果认为他的工作比其他人秘密发表的一百篇同样性质的文章受到更多的关注，那将是荒谬的

*The episode would dog Morris for the remainder of his stay in France, even when the constitution of 1791 was vilified by those in power. Less than a year after the king' s acceptance, when the constitution lay in shreds and the king had fallen, Morris' s "counsels against the principles of the Constitution" would be cited as a basis for demanding his recall. Yet Morris made no mention of the Gazette article in his diary, and its rebuke*

即使 1791 年的宪法遭到当权者的诋毁，这段插曲也将伴随着莫里斯在法国的剩余时间。在国王被接受之后不到一年，当宪法被撕成碎片，国王被推翻时，莫里斯的“违反宪法原则的忠告”被作为要求罢免他的依据。然而，莫里斯在他的日记中没有提到《公报》的文章，也没有提到它的指责

had no restraining effect. Adèle had introduced him to de Laporte, the keeper of the Civil List (the king's personal funds), and Morris began giving him advice, which was well received.<sup>62</sup> The following summer, they would work together to plan the king's escape.

没有抑制作用。阿德勒把他介绍给了德·拉波特，他是文官名册(国王的私人基金)的保管人，莫里斯开始给他提建议，这个建议很受欢迎。

On October 1, 1791, the new Legislative Assembly, which Morris described as "deeply imbued with republican or rather democratical Principles," convened.<sup>63</sup> Although many more of the new deputies joined the *Feuillants* than the Jacobin Club, the new Jacobins were more talented politicians, particularly the deputies who came from the Gironde—the future Girondins.

1791年10月1日，新的立法议会召开，莫里斯称之为“深受共和党或民主党影响的议会”。尽管新议员中加入费昂派的人数比雅各宾俱乐部多得多，但新的雅各宾派都是更有才干的政治家，尤其是来自吉隆特地区的代表。

The new Assembly's first diplomatic concerns involved the *émigrés* and the German princes who were aiding them. In August Leopold II of Austria (Marie-Antoinette's brother) and King Frederick-William II of Prussia had issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, which vaguely demanded restoration of Louis XVI and called on other European powers to take steps. The declaration was toothless, but provocative, and raised the level of anxiety in France. Louis had written angrily and accurately to his brothers,

新议会的第一个外交问题涉及到米格战斗机和协助他们的德国王子。8月，奥地利利奥波德二世(玛丽·安托瓦内特的兄弟)和普鲁士国王腓特烈-威廉二世签署了《皮尔尼茨宣言》，其中含糊地要求恢复路易十六的统治，并呼吁其他欧洲列强采取措施。这一宣言虽然没有实效，但却具有挑衅性，并且加剧了法国的焦虑程度。路易斯愤怒而准确地写信给他的兄弟们，

[H]ow can I persuade them that this Declaration is not based on your request? Will anyone ever believe that my own brothers are not carrying out my orders? For thus you portray me to the Nation as accepting [the constitution] with one hand and soliciting [intervention] from the Foreign Powers with the other. What virtuous man could respect such conduct? And you think you are serving me by depriving me of the respect of decent folk.<sup>64</sup>

我怎样才能说服他们，这份《宣言》并非基于你的要求？会有人相信我的兄弟们不执行我的命令吗？因为你这样向全国描述我，一手接受[宪法]，一手请求[干预]外国列强。有道德的人会尊重这样的行

为吗？你认为你剥夺了我对正派人的尊重就是在为我服务

*The Girondins (or "Brissotins" after their best-known spokesman, Brissot de Warville), who steadily increased their power over the Assembly, were now pursuing a strategy of confrontation with the king in a number of areas. In November 1791, at Brissot's urging, the Assembly passed a decree against the émigré leaders, directing them to return to France within two months or have their lands confiscated and face possible punishment of death. The king vetoed the decree on November 11, and for the time being, his veto stood, raising his hopes that his constitutional authority would be effective. "Poor King," commented Morris, who had discussed the decree with Vicq d' Azyr. The queen had asked to see Morris' s opinion in writing, and d' Azyr believed it had influenced the veto.*<sup>65</sup>

吉伦特人(或以他们最著名的发言人布里索特·德·沃维尔命名的“布里索廷人”)不断增加他们对议会的权力，现在正在一些地区奉行与国王对抗的战略。1791年11月，在Brissot的敦促下，议会通过了一项法令，反对米格尔领导人，指示他们在两个月内返回法国，否则他们的土地将被没收，并可能面临死刑。国王在11月11日否决了这项法令，目前，他的否决仍然有效，这让他对宪法赋予他的权力有了希望。“可怜的国王，”莫里斯评论道，他已经和阿兹尔维克讨论过这项法令。女王要求以书面形式听取莫里斯的意见，阿兹尔认为这影响了否决权

*In November, Pétion, a Girondin who had accompanied the royal family in its pitiful return from Varennes, defeated Lafayette in an election for mayor of Paris. Lafayette had resigned his commission as head of the*

去年11月，吉伦丁(Girondin)陪同王室成员从Varennes可怜地返回巴黎，在巴黎市长选举中击败了拉斐特。拉法耶辞去了他的委员会主席职务

National Guard in October and returned to his home, Chavaniac, professing disinterest in being mayor and asserting that the Revolution was now complete.

"The King and Queen detest him," Morris wrote to Robert.

去年10月，他回到自己的家乡 Chavaniac，公开表示对担任市长不感兴趣，并断言革命已经完成。“国王和王后憎恨他，”莫里斯写信给罗伯特。

[T]he Princes and Nobles hold him in Contempt and abhorrence so that his Sun seems to be totally set unless he should put himself at the Head of the republican Party who at present are much opposed to him. All this results from Feebleness of Character and the Spirit of Intrigue, which bring forward the Courtier but ruin the Statesman. I am very sorry for him because I believe he meant well.<sup>66</sup>

王子和贵族们蔑视和憎恶他，以至于他的太阳似乎已经完全落下，除非他把自己放在共和党的领导位置上，而共和党目前是非常反对他的。所有这一切都是因为人格的软弱和阴谋的精神，这两种精神推动了朝臣的出现，却毁掉了政治家。我为他感到遗憾，因为我相信他是出于好意

The harvest of 1791 was poor, and the rapid depreciation of assignats made many farmers withhold their grain from market. The shortages led to price increases, fanning age-old French fears of hoarding and monopoly, contributing to the tension on the streets and the first stirrings of the radical sans-culottes throughout France. Morris worried that there would be famine the following spring, and pressed Montmorin to make plans for provisioning Paris with American flour, using the king's funds from the Civil List to give bread to the poor.<sup>67</sup> The public relations benefit of such a move seems clear, but the proposal was not taken up and Morris noted with frustration that Montmorin had "grown cold on this Scent. His Difficulties may be real but I grow tired of a Man who has always Difficulties."<sup>68</sup>

1791年的粮食收成不好，转让粮食的迅速贬值使许多农民停止出售他们的粮食。物资短缺导致价格上涨，加剧了法国人对囤积居奇的古老恐惧，加剧了街头的紧张局势，也催生了法国各地的激进无裤党。莫里斯担心第二年春天会出现饥荒，并敦促蒙特莫林制定计划，用美国面粉供应巴黎，动用国王从民事名单中拨出的资金，为穷人提供面包。这样做的公共关系好处似乎是显而易见的，但这个提议没有被采纳，莫里斯沮丧地注意到，蒙特莫林“对这种香味已经变得冷淡了。他的困难可能是真实的，但我对一个总是有困难的人感到厌倦了。”<sup>68</sup>

Nonetheless, Morris' s connection with the hapless minister grew closer. In mid-October, Morris visited Montmorin and found him "much agitated." The minister' s "Heart is full and he must unburthen it. That La Marck [a royalist friend] being gone he has Nobody but me whom he can trust." Montmorin was anguished to find that he was increasingly being left out of the king' s deliberations, and confessed to Morris that he did not have "Force enough of Character to pursue the Measures which he knows to be right." ( "This," said Morris to himself, "I well knew." )<sup>69</sup>

尽管如此，莫里斯与这位倒霉的部长的关系越来越密切。10月中旬，莫里斯拜访了蒙特莫林，发现他“非常激动”牧师的“心是满的，他必须释放它。拉马克(一位保皇派朋友)走了，除了我，他没有任何人可以信任。”蒙特莫林痛苦地发现，他越来越多地被排除在国王的审议之外，他向莫里斯承认，他没有“足够的人格力量去执行他知道是正确的措施”(“这个，”莫里斯对自己说，“我很清楚。”)<sup>69</sup>

At the end of their discussion, Montmorin asked for "the greatest Secrecy in a Style which seems to beg my Pity for so much of human Weakness." He could not have found a more effective means of snaring Morris, whose compassion was the driving force for some of his most censured actions. Notwithstanding the American' s lack of respect for Montmorin' s fatalism and his admittedly declining influence—a decline confirmed by Malouet,<sup>70</sup> another confidante of the king—Morris would not abandon Montmorin.

在他们的讨论结束时，蒙特莫林要求“最伟大的秘密的风格，这似乎乞求我的怜悯这么多的人类弱点。”他找不到比这更有效的方法来诱捕莫里斯了，他的同情心是他一些最受谴责的行为的驱动力。尽管这位美国人对蒙特莫林的宿命论缺乏尊重，而且他的影响力不断下降(马卢埃证实了这一点)，但莫里斯不会抛弃蒙特莫林

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During the late fall of 1791, calls for war began to grow louder in Paris. This made unlikely bedfellows of the Girondins, who hoped to preempt strikes by Austria and Prussia as well as to spread revolution throughout Europe, and the court, which hoped the revolutionary armies would be defeated and the monarchy restored to authority or, alternatively, that having the armies under the command of the constitutionalists would secure royal authority. The court's hopes fed the Girondins' fears of invasion and treachery, and condemnation of "the Austrian Committee" (a group believed to be conniving with the queen and émigrés, described by Dumont as a "sort of invisible power against which they might bring whatever charges they pleased")<sup>71</sup> began to appear regularly in Girondin speeches and journals.

1791年秋末，在巴黎，发动战争的呼声越来越高。这使得希伦特人不太可能成为同盟者，他们希望先发制人地制止奥地利和普鲁士的罢工，并在整个欧洲传播革命，而朝廷则希望打败革命军队，恢复君主政体的权威，或者，让军队在宪政主义者的指挥下，将确保皇室的权威。法庭的希望助长了吉伦特人对入侵和虐待的恐惧，以及对“奥地利委员会”的谴责（一个据信与女王和米格尔同流合污的组织，被杜蒙描述为一种“无形的力量，他们可以随心所欲地对其提出任何指控”）<sup>71</sup>开始定期出现在Girondin的讲话和杂志上。

Morris no longer advocated war, given the changes in the political situation. "The king's true interest," he wrote to Washington, "seems to consist in preserving the Peace, and leaving the Assembly to act as they may think proper, which will demonstrate the Necessity of restoring in a great Degree the royal Authority." He did not support those at the court who considered "War as the Means of obtaining for the Government the eventual command of disciplined military Force, which may be used to restore Order, in other words to bring back Despotism."<sup>72</sup>

莫里斯不再主张战争，考虑到政治现场的变化。“国王的真正利益，”他在给华盛顿的信中写道，“似乎是维护和平，让议会按他们认为适当的方式行事，这将在很大程度上证明恢复王权的必要性。”他不支持法庭上那些认为“战争是政府获得有纪律的军事力量的公平指挥的手段，这种军事力量可用来恢复秩序，换言之，可用来恢复专制”的人<sup>72</sup>

In early December, Louis appointed Narbonne, Mme de Staël's long-time lover and Talleyrand's friend, minister of war. Morris disapproved, to Mme de Staël's irritation, telling her that whoever took the job would be dropped after a few months, as indeed, Narbonne was.<sup>73</sup> The king also appointed Delessart minister of foreign affairs. Although all were of moderate Feuillant bent, the Feuillants were by now experiencing renewed tension between the

former Lameth followers—who included Delessart—and those who had been associated with the Society of 1789, including Narbonne and Moleville. As a result, these appointments resulted in a ministry “extremely disjointed in itself, and strongly opposed by the Assembly” and possessing only a “moderate share of talents.”<sup>74</sup>

去年12月初，路易任命纳尔邦为军事部长。纳尔邦是德斯塔夫人的长期情人，也是 Talleyrand 的朋友。莫里斯不同意，让德斯塔夫人恼火的是，他告诉她，不管谁接手这个职位，几个月之后就会被辞退，事实上，纳尔邦就是如此。尽管所有人都倾向于现代化的费亚兰特，但是费亚兰特家族现在正在经历一场新的冲突，这场冲突发生在包括德莱萨特在内的前拉美特追随者与包括纳尔邦和 Moleville 在内的 1789 年协会成员之间。结果，这些任命导致一个部“本身极其脱节，并遭到议会的强烈反对”，只拥有“适度的人才份额”<sup>74</sup>

Pursuant to Louis' s intention, Narbonne pushed for war, and on Christmas Day 1791, Lafayette was sent to take command of the Army of the Center. This disconcerted Brissot, who had been publicly suggesting that Louis wanted peace, and that this was all the more reason to go to war.<sup>75</sup> The plans required a neutral England, and Talleyrand was sent to London in January 1792 to try to obtain a promise of neutrality or an alliance. The object was to “counterballance Austria and the offer to England is the Isle of France and Tobago,” Morris learned from Br é mond. “This is a most wretched Policy,”<sup>76</sup> he concluded, and advised Moleville to oppose the mission.

根据路易斯的意图，纳邦推动战争，并在圣诞节 1791 年，拉法叶被派往指挥军队的中心。这个计划需要一个中立的英格兰，Talleyrand 于 1792 年 1 月被派往伦敦，试图获得中立或联盟的承诺。其目的是“与奥地利相抗衡，向英格兰提供的是法国和多巴哥岛，”莫里斯从 Br é mond 了解到。“这是一个最可怜的政策，”他总结道，并建议莫尔维尔反对这项任务



Morris believed Pitt would use the approach to help break the French Family Compact with Spain for good, and as leverage in negotiating with Spain and Austria. However, although Morris thought the British could exploit the French offer, the British ambassador, Lord Gower, also opposed the mission—perhaps because he distrusted Talleyrand, for whom he expressed “a profound Contempt mixed with abhorrence.”<sup>77</sup> (Morris was by now a frequent guest at the British legation, where he and his hosts conversed “very freely.”) Morris’ s own opinion of Talleyrand had not improved, for he saw that Talleyrand “constantly places himself between two Stools, [and] will never have a secure Seat.”<sup>78</sup>

莫里斯相信，皮特将利用这种方法，帮助永久性地打破与西班牙签订的《法国家庭契约》，并将其作为与西班牙和奥地利谈判的筹码。然而，尽管莫里斯认为英国可以利用法国的提议，但英国大使高尔勋爵(Lord Gower)也反对这一使命——也许是因为他不信任 Talleyrand，他对后者表达了“一种深深的蔑视和厌恶”<sup>77</sup>(莫里斯现在是英国公使馆的常客，他和主人在那里“畅所欲言”。)莫里斯自己对 Talleyrand 的看法也没有改善，因为他看到 Talleyrand “总是夹在两把凳子之间，永远不会有——一个安全的席位。”<sup>78</sup>

A few days after Talleyrand departed, on January 22, 1792, Morris also left for London on business. Before he left, Vicq d' Azyr called again, to tell him that the queen would like to be apprised of “any Thing in England Interesting to them.”<sup>79</sup> He would not return until early May, by which time he would be the new minister plenipotentiary from America to France.

1792 年 1 月 22 日，Talleyrand 出发几天后，莫里斯也动身前往伦敦出差。在他离开之前，阿兹尔维克再次打电话给他，告诉他女王想知道“英格兰任何他们感兴趣的事情”他要到五月初才会回来，到那时他将成为从美国到法国的新任全权公使。

As he had watched the Revolution light new fuses and pull free of the grasp of its creators, Morris had steadily diversified and strengthened his ties in France into a complex tangle of love, business, and politics. His pessimism about the Revolution remained unchanged and his predictions continued to be borne out, but Morris’ s sensibilities led him to try to help what he more than once acknowledged was doomed to be the losing side—and a side whose principles he did not entirely agree with—and to spell out a line of conduct he believed would be both effective and best for France. He gave advice none of them would adopt: not Lafayette, not Montmorin, not Louis.

当他看到革命点燃了新的导火索，摆脱了创造者的控制，莫里斯稳步地多元化，加强了他在法国的联系，使之成为爱情、商业和政治的复杂纠结。他对革命的悲观态度没有改变，他的主张也没有改变，但是莫里斯的敏感性使他试图帮助他不止一次承认注定要失败的一方——这一方的原则他并不完全赞同——并且制定出一条他认为对法国有效和最有利的行动路线。他给了他们中没有人会采纳的建议：不是拉法耶，不是蒙特莫林，不是路易斯。

*Now, with the end of 1791, Morris' s days as a private citizen were numbered. Unknown to him, Washington had finally found the time was ripe to appoint official American representatives to three courts in Europe. The choice that generated the most controversy was that for France.*

现在，随着 1791 年底，莫里斯作为普通公民的日子结束了。他不知道，华盛顿终于发现，任命美国官方代表到欧洲三个法院的时机已经成熟。引起最大争议的选择是法国。