chapter 3

第三章

# MAGNETIC SOUTH

# 南极往事

When the recently formed British Association for the Advancement of Science met in Newcastle in the summer of 1838, terrestrial magnetism was high on the agenda. Now, it was felt, was the time to seize the moment – to claim the prize. Once the earth’s magnetic field was understood and codified, compasses and chronometers could be set with absolute precision, and navigation would no longer be an erratic process dependent on clear skies and guesswork. The result would be a nineteenth-century equivalent of GPS.

1838年夏天，新成立的英国科学促进协会在纽卡斯尔召开会议，并将地磁学选为重要议题。人们敏锐地察觉到这是个获取奖金的好机会。一旦地球磁场能被理解并编码，那么罗盘和航海仪就可以实现精准定位，导航不再是一种飘忽不定的过程，不受天气的制约，也不需要妄加猜测。这就相当于19世纪的GPS。

One of those pushing hardest for such research was Edward Sabine, a Royal Artillery officer who had sailed with Ross and Parry to the Arctic. For the last ten years, as Scientific Advisor to the Admiralty, he had argued vigorously that Britain should use her naval superiority to gather valuable information on the earth’s magnetic field. But he also agreed with the influential Alexander von Humboldt, a Prussian nobleman who had made the first studies in geomagnetism on a celebrated voyage to South America in 1802, that only if countries worked together could the world be reduced to a set of clear, empirical, scientific principles.

Edward Sabine就是这方面研究的极力推动者。作为一名皇家炮兵军官，他曾与Ross和Parry一起航行到北极。在过去的十年里，他以海军部的科学顾问的身份，极力主张英国应该利用其海上优势来收集有关地球磁场的有用信息。但他也十分认同知名普鲁士贵族Alexander von Humboldt的观点。Humboldt曾在1802年参与过一次著名的南美洲航行，并对地磁进行了初步研究。他认为，只有各国通力合作，人类才能归纳为一套明确的、经验性的科学原则。

The theory that linked geomagnetism and navigation had already been developed by Carl Friedrich Gauss, an astronomer at Göttingen University. To make progress towards putting these ideas into practice, Sabine and others argued for a network of observation stations to be set up across the globe, which would report simultaneously. James Clark Ross had discovered the North Magnetic Pole and established its variation from true north. Now, the logical next step was to turn attention to those parts of the earth that remained largely unexplored, in particular the remote southern hemisphere.

哥廷根大学的天文学家Carl Friedrich Gauss曾提出相关理论，论证了地磁和导航之间的关系。为了进一步将这些想法付诸实践，Sabine联合其他人主张在全球建立一个观测站网络，共同进行报告。James Clark Ross发现了北极点，并确定了它与北极的实际情况之间差异。那么下一步自然而然地就是将目标转向地球上那些尚未被探索的大片地区，尤其是遥远的南半球。

Up until now, Antarctic exploration had never been taken very seriously. Much of what was known about the southern lands came from Captain Cook, who in the 1770s had twice crossed the Antarctic Circle – and he had not been overwhelmingly enthusiastic. It was a realm, he wrote, of ‘thick fogs, snowstorms, intense cold and every other thing that can render navigation dangerous’. For the most part, the region had been left to individual whalers and seal-hunters.

在当时，南极探险还没有被人重视。关于南极大陆的大部分情报都来自Cook船长，他在18世纪70年代曾两次穿过南极圈，但他并不十分热衷于探索南极。他写道，那是一片“充满浓雾、暴雪、严寒和各种潜在威胁”的地域。在大多数情况下，这片地区只有一些猎捕鲸鱼或者海豹的猎人。

Nevertheless, such descriptions as came back fed a growing popular fascination. For the Romantics, the Antarctic represented the mystery of the unknown and the untamed. Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner’, for example, which was published in 1798, depicts a cursed ship drifting helplessly into the Southern Ocean:

尽管如此，这样的描述还是激起了人们的兴趣。对于浪漫主义者来说，南极代表着未知的神秘和尚未驯服的野性。正如Samuel Taylor Coleridge在其1798年出版的《*古舟子咏(The Rime of The Ancient Mariner)*》所描绘的，一艘被诅咒的船无助地漂流到南大洋：

*The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew,*

*The furrow followed free; We were the first that ever burst Into that silent sea.*

*惠风吹拂,白浪飞溅*

*船儿轻快地破浪向前;*

*我们是这里的第一批来客,*

*闯进这一片沉寂的海面。*

In Coleridge’s poem the voyage ends in abject disaster. The hero of Edgar Allan Poe’s only novel, *The Narrative of Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838), finds the Southern Ocean a place of all kinds of danger and depravity, from shipwreck to cannibalism. A place of infernal cold and darkness. A place where souls in torment are driven to destruction. The sort of place the Greeks had a word for: Erebus.

在Coleridge的诗中，航行最终以悲惨的灾难收场。在Edgar Allan Poe唯一的一部小说《*亚瑟·戈登·皮姆的故事（The Narrative of Gordon Pym of Nantucket）*》(1838)中，主人公最后发现南大洋是一个充满各种危险和堕落的地方，从船舶失事的悲剧到同类相残的惨状。那是一个极度寒冷和黑暗的地方。在那里，备受煎熬的灵魂最终将走向毁灭。希腊人有一个词可以用来形容这种地方——厄瑞玻斯(Erebus)。

As artists and poets were busy frightening themselves and the public, the scientists – as scientists do – were going in the other direction, the direction of learning and logic, of exploration and explication. In the spirit of the Enlightenment, the existence or non-existence of a Southern Continent was another mystery to unravel. Now the demands of science and a newly aroused sense of human potential were coming together to begin the unravelling.

当艺术家和诗人忙着吓唬自己和公众的时候，科学家们——秉持着科学的原则——正走向另一个方向，坚持研究与逻辑，追求探索和解释。本着启蒙运动的精神，南方大陆的存在与否是另一个尚待解开的谜团。如今，科学的需求和人类不断涌现的潜能正在逐步联合起来，去揭开那一个个神秘的面纱。

There were other motives, too. The eminent astronomer Sir John Herschel pressed the case for the practicalities of a southern expedition at a meeting in Birmingham, laying on something more than mere science. ‘Great physical theories,’ he argued, ‘with their trains of practical consequences, are pre-eminently *national* objects, whether for glory or utility.’ With this chauvinistic nudge, Herschel’s committee produced a memorial of resolution, which was presented to the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne.

探险的目的不仅仅是这些。在伯明翰的一次会议上，著名的天文学家John Herschel爵士强调了南下探险的实践意义，强调这不仅仅是为了科学。“伟大的物理理论，”他说，“及其一系列的实质影响，都是国家的重要目标，无论是为了荣耀还是实用。”在这种沙文主义的推动下，Herschel的委员会撰写了一份决议记录，呈交给了首相Melbourne勋爵。

Over the winter the arguments went one way and the other, but on 11 March 1839, Lord Minto, First Lord of the Admiralty, finally informed Herschel that permission had been granted for an Antarctic expedition. It was to be a prestigious enterprise. It therefore demanded a leader of the first rank. Fortunately, among those most pre-eminently qualified to lead it were two notable polar explorers: James Clark Ross and John Franklin. One was the man who had turned down a knighthood. The other was The Man Who Ate His Boots.

争论在此消彼长间持续了整个冬天。直到1839年3月11日，海军部第一大臣Minto勋爵终于通知Herschel，批准了他前往南极探险的申请。这将是一项享有声望的事业。因此，它需要一位一流的领导者。幸运的是，我们有两位著名的极地探险家有资格领导这次探险：James Clark Ross和John Franklin。他们一位拒绝了骑士身份。另一位吃掉了自己的靴子。

Ross’s recent career had been covered in glory. Franklin’s, too, had been successful, if a little more muted. In 1825, three years after his first Arctic voyage, he had launched a second overland expedition. During the winter months he had absorbed himself in painstakingly thorough scientific observations. When conditions improved, he had led his men on an exploration of 400 miles of unsurveyed coastline, west of the Mackenzie River. And at the end of the season, having learned from previous experience, Franklin had decided not to risk his men by pushing further, but had returned to London.

Ross最近的职业生涯一直顺风顺水。Franklin的演讲也很受欢迎，虽然他的声音稍微小了一点。1825年，在Franklin首次北极航行结束的三年后，他再次发起了一次陆上探险。在冬天的几个月里，他仔细地进行科学观察。当气候好转时，他带领部下对麦肯齐河以西400英里未测量的海岸线进行了探索。在换季前，根据以往的经验，Franklin决定不让他的队员冒险继续前进，而是选择返程回到了伦敦。

Knighted in 1829, and with his reputation as a navigator and expedition leader much enhanced, Franklin was then commissioned in August 1830 to take charge of HMS *Rainbow*, a 28-gun, 500-ton sloop, with orders to proceed to the Mediterranean. What followed was a safe, solid and successful tour of duty in many of the seas from which *Erebus* had recently returned. *Rainbow* had a 175-strong crew and was a much bigger, more impressive ship than any he had commanded before. Franklin, the most affable and sociable of men, was seen as an accessible and humane captain. Life on board was so congenial that the ship acquired nicknames like ‘Franklin’s Paradise’ and ‘The Celestial Rainbow’.

1829年，作为航海家和探险队队长的Franklin被授予爵位，他也因此声名远扬。1830年8月，Franklin受命指挥一艘28门炮、500吨重的*彩虹号*，并驶往地中海。随后，Franklin完成了一次安全、稳健、成功的航行，而当时*厄瑞玻斯号*也正巧返程并路过这片海域。*彩虹号*有175名船员，比他以前指挥过的任何一艘船都要大得多，也因此令人印象深刻。Franklin为人和蔼可亲，并且善于交际，大家都认为他是一个平易近人、富有人情味的船长。船上的生活是如此惬意，以至于这艘船享有“Franklin的天堂”和“天堂的彩虹”的美名。

Franklin’s social skills also helped nurture Britain’s relationship with the newly independent Greek state and ease local factional disputes, at a time when the Russians, previously an ally of Britain and France, were supporting an unpopular provisional government, and the allies were looking to install their own man as the new king of the country. After a prolonged search the British and French head-hunted an eighteen-year-old Bavarian prince called Otto, the son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, and by all accounts a bit of a drip. He did, however, award Franklin the Order of the Redeemer, for his help.

Franklin的社交能力也缓和了英国与刚刚独立的希腊国家之间的关系，避免了地方派系的纷争，而当时的俄国原本是英法两国的盟友，却选择支持了一个不受欢迎的临时政府，盟军都想扶持自己的人作为这个国家的新国王。经过漫长的搜寻，英国人和法国人找到了一个名叫Otto的十八岁巴伐利亚王子，他是巴伐利亚国王Bavaria的儿子，但却是位人尽皆知的平庸之辈。但无论如何，这位王子最终授予了Franklin “救世主”勋章，以表彰他的帮助。

Franklin enjoyed everything he saw of Ancient Greece during his tour of duty, but was profoundly unimpressed by the new Greece, which he regarded as corrupt and leaderless. Having done his best to adjudicate on various local disputes, he must have been relieved to get back home to Portsmouth at the end of 1833, just in time for Christmas. Virtue had its reward, though: in appreciation of his efforts, the new king, William IV, decorated him with Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order of Hanover.

Franklin在执勤期间十分欣赏古希腊，但对新希腊却没什么好印象，他认为新希腊腐败无能、目无组织。在努力解决了当地的各种纠纷后，他在1833年底赶在圣诞节前回到了朴茨茅斯，这也让他有机会能稍事休息一下。艰辛的付出总会有回报：为了感谢他的努力，新上任的国王威廉四世封其为爵级皇家圭尔夫司令勋爵士。

Franklin’s private life during these years had been marked by tragedy. In 1823 he had married the poet Eleanor Anne Porden, and they had had a daughter (also called Eleanor), but just five days after he sailed on his second Arctic expedition, his wife had died from tuberculosis. By all accounts a remarkable, much-admired woman, she had known that she wouldn’t survive, but had insisted that her husband should press ahead with his plans. Four years later, on 4 November 1828, he had married again. Jane Griffin, the daughter of a lawyer, was quick, clever and energetic, and had been a close friend of Eleanor’s. Franklin’s biographer, Andrew Lambert, speculating as to what she saw in the portly explorer, concluded: ‘a romantic hero, a cultural icon, and it was perhaps this image that she married.’ And it was protecting and elevating his image that was to preoccupy the rest of Jane’s life.

这些年来，Franklin的感情生活也颇为坎坷。1823年，他与诗人Eleanor Anne Porden结婚，并生了一个女儿(也叫Eleanor)。但就在他第二次出海前往北极探险的五天后，他的妻子就因为肺结核不幸去世。人们都称赞她是一个了不起的、令人钦佩的女人，因为她虽然知道自己命不久矣，但她仍坚持让她的丈夫继续他的计划。四年后的1828年11月4日，Franklin再婚，迎娶了Jane Griffin。作为一位律师的女儿，Jane聪明机敏，精力充沛，并且是Eleanor的好朋友。Franklin的传记作者Andrew Lambert推测她在这位胖胖的探险家身上看到了许多属于他的闪光点，并总结道:“在她心目中，他是一位浪漫的英雄，一种文化的象征。” Jane在她后来的日子里一直致力于维护并改善这种象征性。

Back from the Mediterranean, Franklin was respected, happy in his new marriage – but at a loose end. There was no new posting to go to, and for the next three years he was effectively unemployed. It must have been a deeply frustrating time for him. Then, in 1836, a new opportunity arose, in the form of the lieutenant-governorship of Van Diemen’s Land. It was, admittedly, something of a poisoned chalice. The previous governor, George Arthur, had brought in social reforms that had upset many of the small community there, and left it unhappy and divided. But for Franklin and his ambitious wife, the offer must have come as something of a godsend. After several years of enforced idleness, here at last was a new opportunity for him to display his talents. He accepted with alacrity, and the couple set sail later that year, arriving in Hobart in January 1837.

从地中海回来后，Franklin受到人们的尊敬，并过着十分幸福的新婚生活，但他也整天无所事事。因为没有新的任务，所以在之后的三年里，他其实一直处于失业状态。对他来说，那一定是一段非常沮丧的时期。直到1836年，范迪门斯土地的副州长向其提供了一个新职位。无可否认，这就像一杯充满诱惑的毒酒。由于前任州长George Arthur推行的社会改革，导致那里终日人心惶惶，弥漫着不满与分裂的情绪。但对于Franklin和他雄心勃勃的妻子来说，这个提议简直是天赐良机。经历了几年的无所事事，他终于有了施展才华的机会。于是他欣然接受了这份提议，并随后偕同他的夫人一同起航，于1837年1月抵达霍巴特。

What Franklin wasn’t to know was that just over a year later the Admiralty would be looking for an experienced polar explorer to lead an expedition to the Antarctic. Had he been aware, would he have accepted the post in Van Diemen’s Land? As it was, his absence from England at the critical moment effectively ruled him out as a candidate. The Admiralty had no hesitation in offering the job to James Clark Ross, whose Arctic experience and discovery of the North Magnetic Pole embodied the navigational and scientific qualifications they were after. And he was available.

然而Franklin不知道的是，仅仅一年后，海军部就开始寻找一位经验丰富的极地探险家来带领进行南极探险。如果他知道的话，他还会接受范迪门斯提供的职位吗？事实就是，由于当时他不在英格兰，所以他被排除在候选名单之外。最终英国海军部毫不犹豫地将这项工作交给了James Clark Ross。Ross在北极的经历和对北极磁极的发现，展现出了令人满意的航海经验和科学素养，而且他当时也正好有空。

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Having secured Ross’s services, the Lords of the Admiralty looked around to find ships worthy of this ambitious venture. Bomb vessels had been the Royal Navy’s craft of choice for extreme exploration as long ago as 1773, when two bomb ships, *Racehorse* and *Carcass* (the name for an incendiary shell), had been converted for an expedition to the North Pole. They had reached the Barents Sea before being turned back by the ice. By now, there were only two bomb ships left as realistic candidates for Antarctic duty. One was HMS *Terror*, strengthened and rebuilt after a ten-month battering in the ice on George Back’s Arctic expedition in 1836 and 1837. The other, currently riding on the River Medway at Chatham, had never been further than the warm waters of the Mediterranean. But she was slightly bigger and more recently built than *Terror*, and she became the unanimous choice to be the flagship. After nine years of premature retirement, and nearly fourteen years after she had been cheered down the slipway at Pembroke, HMS *Erebus* was set to become one of the most famous ships in history. On 8 April 1839, James Clark Ross was appointed her captain.

为了替Ross保驾护航，海军部的大臣们四处寻找适合这次冒险的船只。早在1773年，炸弹船就已经是皇家海军进行极端探险的首选船只，当时有两艘炸弹船，*赛马号*和*骸骨号*(名字取自一种燃烧弹)被改装成北极探险船。他们曾到达了巴伦支海，但是因为冰层而折返。当时，有两艘炸弹船可以作为南极任务的候选者。其中一艘是*恐怖号*，曾伴随George Back在1836年和1837年进行北极探险，并且曾在冰天雪地里经历了长达10个月的损耗，不过后来进行了加固和重建。另一艘目前在查塔姆的梅德韦河上行驶，从未离开过温暖的地中海。但它比*恐怖号*更大，建造时间也更晚一些，因此大家一致推选它作为旗舰。14年前的彭布罗克下水滑道上，它曾伴随着欢呼声入水，而今在经过9年的仿佛退休的悠哉生活后，*厄瑞玻斯号*作为最著名的船只之一正式踏入了历史的舞台。1839年4月8日，James Clark Ross被任命为船长。

Within two weeks of the expedition being confirmed, *Erebus* was put into dry dock at Chatham to have the coppering on her hull, which had been in place since her Mediterranean patrol duty, removed and replaced. The traditional trappings of a warship were dismantled to give her cleaner, more functional, more weather-resistant lines. Three levels on the top deck were reduced to one, with the removal of the raised quarterdeck and forecastle, giving a single flush deck. This would provide extra storage space for the nine auxiliary boats that *Erebus* was to carry. These ranged from 30-foot-long whale-boats to a 28-foot-long pinnace, two cutters and a 12-foot gig, intended essentially to serve as the captain’s private taxi. More space was created by dispensing with most of *Erebus*’s weaponry. Her twelve guns were reduced to two and the redundant gun-ports filled in.

在探险被确认后的两周内，之前一直在地中海巡逻的*厄瑞玻斯号*终于得以物尽其用，她被转移到查塔姆的干船坞里，并进行船体铜皮的替换。军舰的传统装饰被拆除，这使其她更干净、更实用、更抗风。上甲板的三层被拆减为一层，除去升高的后甲板和艏楼，只留下了平甲板。这将为*厄瑞玻斯号*保留更多的存储空间来装载另外的九艘辅船。这些辅船涵盖了30英尺长的捕鲸船、28英尺长的帆船、两艘快艇和一艘船长个人出行专用的12英尺小艇。余下的空间大部分用来存储*厄瑞玻斯号*的武器。12个炮台被缩减到2个，多余的炮口也都被堵住了。

Her transformation from warship to ice-ship was supervised by a Mr Rice at Chatham Dockyard. So thorough was it, and so impressed was James Clark Ross, that he included Rice’s memorandum of work on *Erebus* in his published account of the expedition. Which is how we know that her hull was strengthened with 6-inch-thick oak planking, increasing to 8 inches at the gunwale, to make a 3-foot-wide girdle around the ship; and that the deck was reinforced with 3-inch-thick planks laid fore and aft, and with additional planks laid diagonally on top. ‘Fearnaught, dipped in hot tallow’ was laid between the two surfaces (fearnaught was a thick felt, installed as insulation). Lower down the hull, the doubling narrowed to 3-inch-thick English elm. The remainder of the ship’s bottom, down to the keel, was doubled with 3-inch Canadian elm. Extra-thick copper was used to cover the bow from water-line to keel. Anything projecting from the stern was removed, including the overhanging quarter galleries. The ornately patterned carving on her bow, which was a feature of all warships, however humble, was stripped away. Decoration was sacrificed to utility and durability.

在查塔姆船坞一位名叫Rice的先生的监督下，*厄瑞玻斯号*实现了从军舰到冰区航行船的过渡。改造进行地很彻底，James Clark Ross对此印象十分深刻，他还将Rice在*厄瑞玻斯号*的工作记录放在了他后来出版的探险日志里面。因此我们才能知道，当时的船体用6英寸厚的橡木板进行了加固，舷缘增加到了8英寸，船身上缠绕着3英尺宽的绳索；从船头到船尾的甲板都铺设了3英寸厚的木板进行加固，还将多余的木板斜铺在船顶。“浸过热油脂的粗绒”被铺在表面(粗绒，fearnaught是一种厚厚的毛毡，可用来隔热保温)。船底的一部分加固了一层3英寸厚的英国榆木防护板，包括龙骨在内的其他部分，则采用了3英寸厚的加拿大榆木。从船头从吃水线到龙骨的部分都贴上了一层很厚的铜。船尾上的突出部分都被拆走了，包括那个船尾瞭望台。船头上雕刻的华丽图案，作为战舰的重要特征也被拆除了。为了更加的坚固耐用，所有的装饰都被舍弃了。

During the summer of 1839, as the sawyers and ropers, sailmakers, carpenters and smithies worked away at Chatham, James Ross was busy picking his officers. His unsurprising choice for his second-incommand and captain of the *Terror* was the Ulsterman, Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier, with whom he had sailed so often on bruising Arctic expeditions that it was said Ross was one of the very few people allowed to call Crozier ‘Frank’.

1839年夏天，查塔姆船坞里的锯匠、制绳工、制帆工、木匠和铁匠都在热火朝天的工作着，这时的James Ross也在忙着组建他的团队。毫无悬念的，他选择了Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier作为二号指挥官以及*恐怖号*的船长。身为一名北爱尔兰人，Crozier经常和他一起进行残酷的北极探险，据说Ross是少数的几个可以称呼Crozier为“Frank”的人之一。

Crozier, three years Ross’s senior, was one of thirteen children from Banbridge in County Down, a few miles south of Belfast. His birthplace, a handsome Georgian townhouse built in 1796, still stands. His father had made money in the Irish linen industry, and Francis would have had a comfortable, strongly religious upbringing (in time his father changed his allegiance from Presbyterian to the Protestant Church of Ireland, moving from radicalism to the establishment).

Crozier比Ross大3岁，来自唐郡的班布里奇小镇的一个拥有13个孩子的家庭，小镇坐落在贝尔法斯特以南几英里处。他出生在一幢漂亮的乔治亚式联排别墅，那处别墅建于1796年，至今仍屹立不倒。他的父亲在爱尔兰靠亚麻生意起家，而Francis本应该接受舒适而又严格的宗教教育(随着时间的推移，他的父亲从长老会转向爱尔兰新教，从激进主义转向当权派)。

One of Francis’s brothers became a vicar and the other two went into the law. But because his father was keen to get one of his sons into uniform and was prepared to pull some strings at the Admiralty, Francis himself was taken into the Royal Navy on 12 June 1810, at the age of thirteen.

Francis的兄弟中有一个成为了牧师，另外两个则进入了法律界。不过由于他的父亲希望有一个儿子能从军，以便在海军部牵线搭桥，因此13岁的Francis 在1810年6月12日那天被送进了皇家海军。

Over the years he impressed all who worked with him. No less a figure than John Barrow endorsed him warmly: ‘A most zealous young officer, who, by his talents, attention and energy, has succeeded in working himself up to the top of the service.’ That Crozier never quite reached the top is a mystery. Something in his personality seems to have held him back: a lack of sophistication, perhaps, a lack of confidence ashore, an awareness of his limited formal education. His biographer, Michael Smith, describes him as ‘Rock solid and reliable’, but goes on to say, ‘Crozier was born to be a number two.’

多年来，所有与他共事的人都对他印象十分深刻。John Barrow曾这样热情地赞赏他：“这是一位积极热心的年轻军官，凭借他的才能、注意力和精力，足以称得上军队中的佼佼者。” 令人感到迷惑的是Barrow并算不得是一位业中翘楚。他的性格中似乎有某种东西阻碍了他的发展：或许是不够老练，也可能是缺乏自信，可能是他意识到自己的正规学历存在局限。他的传记作者Michael Smith曾形容他“坚如磐石，值得信赖”，但他接着说，“Crozier更适合作为二号人物。”

Edward Joseph Bird, thirty-seven, was chosen as First Lieutenant of *Erebus*. He too had sailed with Ross, latterly as second-in-command on HMS *Endeavour* on one of Parry’s expeditions. Bird was described by Sir Clements Markham, a Victorian geographer and explorer and for many years President of the Royal Geographical Society, as ‘an excellent seaman, unostentatious and retiring’. He was bearded, with prematurely receding hair brushed forward and a marked resemblance in build and general chubbiness to John Franklin. Ross trusted him implicitly.

37岁的Edward Joseph Bird被选为了*厄瑞玻斯号*的第一中尉。他也曾和Ross一起航行过，后来在与Parry的一次探险中担任*奋力号*的副指挥。曾长期担任皇家地理学会主席的Clements Markham爵士是一位维多利亚式的地理学家、探险家，他形容Bird是“一位优秀的水手，但为人低调，生性腼腆”。 Bird脸上胡子拉碴的，头发往前梳着用来掩饰发际线的后退，他还有着与John Franklin极为相似的肥胖身材。Ross对他十分信任。

In June, Crozier wrote to Ross in some frustration, concerned that no First had yet been chosen to accompany him on *Terror*. He seemed not to want to take the decision himself. ‘I myself know not one of any standing who would suit us, however there must be plenty,’ he wrote, adding, somewhat enigmatically, ‘we do not want a philosopher’. At that time the words ‘philosopher’ and ‘scientist’ were often indistinguishable, so it’s not clear whether Crozier was merely indicating a preference for a naval man or signalling discomfort with intellectuals. Eventually Archibald McMurdo, a capable Scot, was chosen to be Crozier’s First Lieutenant. He knew *Terror*, having been Third Lieutenant on her when she narrowly avoided destruction in the ice on Back’s expedition of 1836. Charles Tucker was chosen as master of *Erebus*. He would be the man in charge of navigation.

在6月份 Crozier写给Ross的信件中，Crozier很沮丧地表示他还没有找到合适的人选来担任*恐怖号*的第一中尉。他似乎不想自己做决定。“我周围认识的人中没发现合适的，虽然肯定有，”他这样写着，然后又神秘地补充道，“反正不能是一个哲学家。” 在那个时候，人们常常混淆“哲学家”和“科学家”这两个概念，所以不清楚Crozier只是在表达对海军的偏爱，还是在暗示对知识分子的不满。最后颇有才干的苏格兰人Archibald McMurdo被选为Crozier的第一中尉。在1836年的Back远征中，他曾在*恐怖号*担任第三中尉，并在冰天雪地中侥幸逃过一劫。Charles Tucker被选为*厄瑞玻斯号*的领航。他是负责领路导航的人。

Others on board with Arctic experience were Alexander Smith, First Mate, and Thomas Hallett, purser, both of whom had served with Ross and Crozier on *Cove*. Thomas Abernethy, who was appointed gunner, was a reassuring presence all round. Though his artillery duties were largely honorific, he was a big, powerfully built man who had been one of Ross’s closest and most trusted companions on many Arctic forays. Indeed, he had been at his side when he reached the North Magnetic Pole.

船上有北极探险经验的还有大副Alexander Smith和会计Thomas Hallett，两人都曾在*科夫号*上与Ross和Crozier一起服役。Thomas Abernethy被任命为炮手，是一位十分可靠令人放心的家伙。不过他之所以承担炮兵的职务主要是出于一种尊敬，但他身材魁梧，体格健壮，在陪同Ross进行多次北极探险的过程中成为了他最亲密的、最值得信赖的伙伴之一。毕竟在他到达北极时，他都一直在他身边。

Thankfully for future historians and researchers, two appointments on *Erebus* went to men who recorded her adventures in minute detail: Robert McCormick and Joseph Dalton Hooker. McCormick, who had been on the *Beagle* with Charles Darwin, was the ship’s surgeon and naturalist, a combination that may seem strange today, but was understandable in this pre-pharmaceutical age, when doctors made their own medicine and plants were the main ingredient – in fact, the Apothecaries Act of 1815 had made the study of botany a compulsory part of medical education. He was, as they say, a character, and quite full of himself. On the *Beagle* McCormick had become increasingly irritated by the freedom that Captain Fitzroy accorded Darwin, who, despite having no official naval status, was often allowed ashore to naturalise whilst McCormick had to stay on board. In the end McCormick got himself invalided off the expedition, to no one’s great disappointment. The irritation had clearly been mutual. ‘He chose to make himself disagreeable to the Captain,’ tutted Darwin, adding, ‘. . . he was a philosopher of rather an antient date’.

不过对于未来的历史学家和研究人员来说，最值得感谢的是*厄瑞玻斯号*的两位详细记录下她的探险经历的男人：Robert McCormick和Joseph Dalton Hooker。McCormick曾与Charles Darwin一同乘坐*比格尔号*，作为船上的外科医生和博物学家，这事放在今天可能有些奇怪，但在那个制药还不够普及的时代，这是很正常的，那时的医生都要自己制药，而各种植物是主要的制作原料——事实上，1815年的药剂法案规定了植物学是研究医学的必修课。大家都觉得他十分个性，并且自命不凡。在*比格尔号*上的时候，McCormick对于Fitzroy船长面对Darwin的放纵感到非常恼火，尽管Darwin不是正规的海军出身，但他经常被允许上岸入籍，而McCormick却只能留在船上。最终，McCormick离开了探险队，不过却也没人对此感到失望。这种恼怒显然是相互的。“他故意惹船长不高兴，” Darwin嘟囔着，又补充说，“……他的很多想法太过陈旧保守了。

McCormick was certainly well read in natural history, geology and ornithology and had at some point impressed – or perhaps pestered – Ross enough to have been assured of a post. So here he was, settling himself and his books, his instruments and his specimen cases onto HMS *Erebus*. Opinionated as he may have been, his diary offers a precious source of information about her four years in the Antarctic.

当然，McCormick在博物学、地质学和鸟类学方面都造诣颇深，给Ross留下了深刻的印象，也带来了不少烦恼，Ross已经答应给他留一个职位。所以他也就来了，带着他的书、仪器和标本登上了*厄瑞玻斯号*。尽管他可能有些固执己见，但他的日记记录了很多关于*厄瑞玻斯号*在南极探险生活四年的宝贵信息。

Joseph Dalton Hooker was the son of William Jackson Hooker of

Norwich, who, through the influence of the ubiquitous Sir Joseph Banks, had been appointed to the Chair of Botany at Glasgow University. William realised from very early on that his son had a precocious talent. At the age of six he had correctly identified a moss growing on a Glasgow wall as *Bryum argenteum.* By the time he was thirteen he was an obsessive botanist, able to recite long lists of Latin names.

Joseph Dalton Hooker是诺威奇市William Jackson Hooker的儿子，在无处不在的Joseph Banks爵士的影响下，他被任命为格拉斯哥大学的植物学教授。William很早就意识到他的儿子有这份天赋。因为在他六岁的时候，他就能正确地识别出一种生长在格拉斯哥墙上的苔藓是银叶真藓（*Bryum argenteum*）。十三岁时，他就对植物学十分痴迷，并能够背诵一长串拉丁语人名。

William Hooker, through his wide range of contacts, had heard of the proposed Antarctic expedition and, sensing the potential for a budding naturalist to make his name, used all his influence to get an assignment for his son. This was, after all – for reasons both scientific and commercial – a golden age for botany. As Jim Endersby, Hooker’s biographer, writes, ‘Much of the wealth of Britain’s empire rested on plants’ – from timber and hemp for the ships, to indigo, spices, tea, cotton and opium that they carried. Understanding how, where and why things grew where they did was of immeasurable benefit to the government. It made sense, therefore, to have a botanist aboard the expedition.

William Hooker通过他的人脉关系，听说了这次南极考察计划，并且意识到了对于他这个初出茅庐的植物学家这是一个崭露头角的机会，于是就到处找关系把他的儿子安排了进去。毕竟当时无论是从科学还是商业的角度来看，那都是属于植物学的黄金时代。正如Hooker的传记作者Jim Endersby所写的那样，‘大英帝国的大部分财富都来源于植物’——从造船用的木材和大麻，到船上装载的靛蓝燃料、香料、茶叶、棉花和鸦片。了解那些植物是如何生长的、生长在哪里以及为什么在那里生长，这都对政府有着难以估量的好处。因此，有一位植物学家参加这次探险是很有必要的。

As it turned out, the only official position open to Hooker was that of assistant surgeon, and to this end Joseph rapidly qualified as a doctor. But it was clear where his true interests lay. ‘No future botanist will probably ever visit the countries whither I am going and that is a great attraction,’ he wrote to his father. On 18 May 1839, six weeks before his twenty-second birthday, Joseph Hooker received the news that his appointment as second surgeon on HMS *Erebus* had been confirmed. He would be the youngest man on board.

而实际情况是，Hooker能够争取到的唯一官方职位是外科助理医师，为此Joseph很快就取得了医生的资格。但他真正的兴趣所在是显而易见的。他在给父亲的信中他曾写道：“未来的植物学家可能永远都不会访问我即将要去的地方，而这对于我来说有着莫大的吸引力。”1839年5月18日，在他22岁生日的6个星期前，Joseph Hooker接到通知，他被任命为埃里伯斯号上的第二位外科医生。他将成为这艘船上最年轻的人。

Throughout the expedition, like his immediate superior McCormick, Hooker kept copious journals, probably encouraged by the example of Charles Darwin. (He told his father that he slept with a set of proofs of *The Voyage of the Beagle* under his pillow.) As was the practice on publicly financed expeditions, all diaries and notebooks kept on board were seen as the property of the Admiralty and had to be surrendered at the end of the voyage. And, as M.J. Ross, biographer and great-grandson of Sir James, points out, there were no professional scientists on this expedition: all the officers and crew were members of the Royal Navy and were therefore subject to these restrictions. Letters home, however, were exempt from examination, making young Hooker’s copious correspondence with his family all the more valuable. It offers an informality and openness that no official report could contain.

在整个探险过程中，Hooker像他的顶头上司McCormick一样也留下了大量的日记，可能是受到了Charles Darwin的启发。(他告诉父亲，他睡觉时枕头下还放着一组*比格尔号航行*的证明。) 对于公有资金赞助的探险中，船上所有的日记和笔记都将被视为海军部的财产，在航行结束时必须交出。而且，正如James爵士的曾孙、传记作家M.J. Ross所指出的，这次探险中没有专业科学家：所有的军官和船员都是皇家海军的成员，因此会受到很多限制。不过家信却不会被检查，这使得年轻的Hooker与家人的大量通信显得更加珍贵。因为它有着官方报告所没有的一种非正式性和开放性。

After receiving his commission, Hooker was ordered to report to Chatham Dockyard where, as he records in his journal, ‘I spent nearly four tedious months . . . waiting until the ships should be fully ready and equipped’. He was quartered, or ‘hulked’ as they called it, on an old frigate called HMS *Tartar*. It was common then to use retired warships as temporary accommodation. Some, like Turner’s famous ‘Fighting Temeraire’, were used as prison ships and had a reputation for being indescribably filthy.

接到委任安排后，Hooker便前往查塔姆船坞报到，他在日记中记录，‘我在那里度过了乏味的四个月……一直等到船只准备就绪，并且装备齐全’。他被安排住在了一艘叫做*鞑靼号*的老旧护卫舰上，他们甚至都称呼那为“废船”。在当时，使用这种退役军舰作为临时住所是很普遍的。而有些船，比如特纳著名的*战舰无畏号*，则会被当作监狱船，这种船就更加地臭名昭著了。

A number of other crew members were similarly hulked on the *Tartar*, including Sergeant William Cunningham, who was in charge of a squad of Marines, consisting of a corporal and five privates, allotted to HMS *Terror*. A similar detachment would have been aboard *Erebus.* The Royal Marines’ role was rather like that of a police force. They were charged with maintaining order and discipline on board, searching for and returning deserters, carrying out punishments, collecting and despatching mail, rationing out spirits, securing the ships when in port, and providing a guard for visiting dignitaries. In addition to all these duties, Sergeant Cunningham kept a daily diary, or memorandum book, throughout the voyage. From his initial entry, we know that he and his men arrived on the Medway on 15 June 1839 and were immediately put to work fitting out the ships.

也有其他船员住在*鞑靼号*上，其中就包括William Cunningham中士，他负责的海军陆战队被分配到了*恐怖号*上，队伍里主要包括一名下士和五名士兵。在*厄瑞玻斯号*上也会有一支类似的分队。皇家海军陆战队在这里扮演着类似于警察的角色。他们负责维护船上的秩序和纪律，搜寻和遣送逃兵，执行惩罚，收发邮件，酒的限额供应，在港口时守卫船只，并为来访的达官显贵提供警卫。除了以上的这些职责之外，Cunningham中士还在航行过程中记录了日志，或者说备忘录。从他最初的记录可知，我们知道他和他的船员在1839年6月15日到达麦德威号，并马上投入到了船只的装配中。

By the beginning of September, *Erebus* was fully crewed up, with twelve officers, eighteen petty officers, twenty-six able seamen and seven Marines, making up a complement of sixty-three. About half the personnel were First Entry men – who had never before served in the Royal Navy, but in many cases had seagoing experience on whalers. Provisions and equipment were also brought on board, including warm clothing of the best quality. Last to be loaded was food for the voyage, including 15,000 lb of beef and 2,618 pints of vegetable soup.

到九月初的时候，*厄瑞玻斯号*上的船员都已经全员到位，包括十二名军官、十八名海军士官、二十六名优秀的海员和七名海军陆战队员，共计六十三人。其中有大约一半的人员都是新手——都是些没在皇家海军服役过的新手，不过很多人也有在捕鲸船上航海的经验。船上还储备了很多物资和设备，包括质量上乘的保暖衣物。最后装船的是这次航行所需的食物，包括15000磅牛肉和2618品脱的蔬菜汤。

On 2 September, *Erebus* and *Terror* were inspected by the Earl of Minto, First Lord, and three senior Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Final instructions were received from the Admiralty on the 16th, and three days later *Erebus* and *Terror* moved downriver to Gillingham Reach, where compasses were adjusted and last provisions taken on board. Ross’s mother and father had come down from Scotland to see him off and they stayed on board as the ship continued down the Thames. Unfortunately, they had only reached Sheerness when they ran aground in low water and had to be towed the next morning to Margate by the steamship *Hecate*. Here they remained waiting for the westerly winds to abate, and for one of the anchors to be replaced – Ross fulminating, justifiably, but hardly succinctly, against ‘the gross negligence of those whose duty it was to ascertain the soundness of that, on which, under different circumstances, the ship, and lives of all on board, might have . . . depended’. It was not an auspicious start.

9月2日，海军司令和三位海军高级将领视察了*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*。16日，海军部接到了启程指令，三天后，*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*顺流而下，到达了河段下游的吉林厄姆处，在那里，他们调整了罗盘，并储备了最后一批食物上船。Ross的父母特意从苏格兰来为他送行，并在船航行在泰晤士河段时留在了船上。不幸的是，在他们刚到希尔内斯时，就搁浅在了低水位区。直到第二天早上，才靠着*赫卡特号*轮船把他们拖到了马尔盖特。他们在那等待西北风力减弱，并更换了船上的一个锚。Ross因为这件事而大声地斥责，虽然言之有理，但是却略显啰嗦——‘有些人太过粗心大意啦，怎么能犯这种致命的错误呢，这种事件可是会影响整艘船，甚至我们每个人的生命，一定要注意安全，一定要重视起来，尤其是那些身在其职的人！’。这可真是出师不利呀。

For the people of Margate, the presence of this great expedition so fortuitously becalmed on their doorstep was quite an attraction. They came out in numbers to gaze at the ships, and some were invited aboard. No one can have been more warmly welcomed than the naval pay clerks who arrived on the 25th to issue three months’ pay in advance. The rest of the crew’s wages were to be passed directly to their families until their safe return.

对于马尔盖特人来说，他们对这支偶然地停在自家门口的知名探险队非常感兴趣。他们成群结队地来参观这些船，有的人还会被邀请上船。海军在发工资方面十分大气、贴心，船员们在25号就收到了提前3个月发放的工资。而船员们剩余的工资将直接交给他们的家人，直到他们安全返航。

On the last day of September 1839 the wind swung round to the east and they could at last head down into the English Channel, dropping their pilot at Deal and continuing south-west, in what McCormick described as ‘boisterous weather’. It would be almost four years to the day before any of them saw the English coast again.

1839年9月的最后一天，风向转变为向东，他们终于可以向着英吉利海峡出发，但在遭遇了一次被McCormick称之为“狂风暴雨”的恶劣天气后，他们失去了领航员，并持续向西南航行。直到差不多四年后，他们才再次看到英国海岸。

Sailors who had never previously crossed the Equator were traditionally subjected to a

line-crossing ceremony. William Cunningham, aboard

*Terror*

, vividly described his own

experience on

3

December

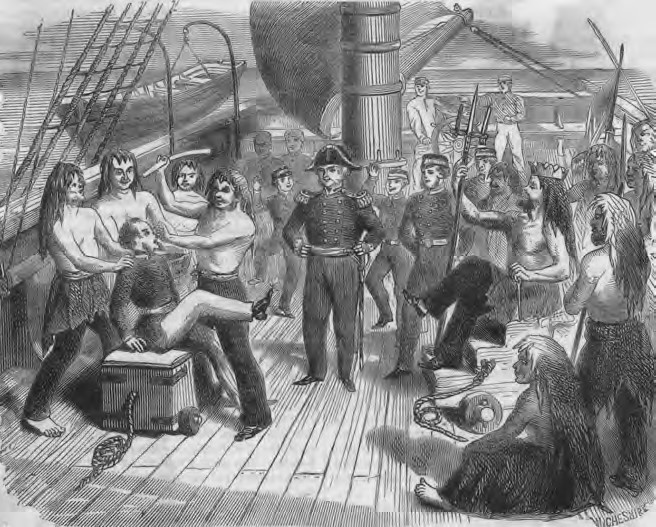
1839

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‘I was sat down on the Barber’s chair, and underwent

the process of shaving by being lathered with a paint brush – and lather composed of all

manner of Nuisance that could be collected in a Ship.’



Sailors who had never previously crossed the Equator were traditionally subjected to a line-crossing ceremony. William Cunningham, aboard *Terror* , vividly described his own experience on December 1839 ‘I was sat down on the Barber’s chair, and underwent the process of shaving by being lathered with a paint brush – and lather composed of all manner of Nuisance that could be collected in a Ship.’

在过去从未越过赤道的水手们在穿越赤道时会举行一种传统仪式。恐怖号上的William Cunningham生动地描述了他自己在1839年12月的一次经历：“我被迫坐在理发用的椅子上，被油漆刷恶搞似的乱刮，刷子上还沾着肥皂泡——泡沫里包含着船上能搜集到的各种令人厌恶的东西。”