chapter 9

# ‘SUCH A WRETCHED PLACE AS THIS YOU NEVER SAW’

“这个地方糟糕得超出你的想象”

With the help of detailed charts compiled by Captain Fitzroy, who had brought HMS *Beagle* into the Falklands nine years earlier, *Erebus* dropped anchor at Port Louis, at the head of the long inlet known as Berkeley Sound, on 6 April 1842. The mist and rain were compounded by the bitterly disappointing news that no letters from home had arrived and by the knowledge that, owing to a delay in the delivery of supplies from Buenos Aires, the food on board ship was probably more interesting and varied than that available on land. As Joseph Hooker put it dispiritedly in a letter to his father: ‘Such a wretched place as this you never saw. Kerguelen’s Land is a paradise to it . . . there are no letters, no newspapers, no society, male or female, no nothing, but plenty of Beef . . . wild geese, Rabbits and Foxes’. Only Commander Crozier of the *Terror* and Lieutenant Bird of the *Erebus* had real cause for celebration: one piece of news that had made its way to the Falklands was that their promotions, recommended by Ross many months ago, had been confirmed.

九年前，Fitzroy船长曾带领*比格尔号*进入福克兰群岛。而在Fitzroy船长所编制的精制海图的帮助下，*厄瑞玻斯号*于1842年4月6日来到了这么一处被称为伯克利湾的狭长海湾，并在海湾顶端的路易斯港抛锚。迷雾和降雨加剧了人们心中因为没有收到家里的来信而带来的失望与苦涩，而且由于来自布宜诺斯艾利斯的补给迟迟未能到达，岸上的食物可能还没有船上来得丰富多样。Joseph Hooker在给他父亲的信中沮丧地写道：“这个地方糟糕得超出你的想象。凯尔盖朗群岛和这相比是简直就是天堂……这里没有信件，没有报纸，没有社交，没有男人或女人，什么都没有，只有大量的牛……野鹅，兔子和狐狸。”只有*恐怖号*的Crozier司令和*厄瑞玻斯号*的Bird副官有理由值得庆祝一番：一个传达到福克兰群岛的消息是，Ross几个月前对他们的提拔推荐已经得到了批准。

The colony was a threadbare place. Richard Moody, the Lieutenant- Governor, a twenty-eight-year-old officer in the Royal Engineers, had only been in place two months and was quite likely overawed by the arrival of such an eminent explorer as James Clark Ross, not to mention the 126 men he brought with him. At a stroke, the population of the islands had doubled. Hooker, who was sometimes critical of Ross’s reticence in informing the British public of their exploits, was pleased to report that ‘The Governor says that our late success caused an immense sensation of triumph in England.’ He was less charitable about the governor himself. ‘The Purser has just been on shore. It was dark when he went and found his Excellency (the Lieutenant Governor) in a room without a candle and with a pompous secretary, but though drenched with rain, he had not the offer of glass of wine or grog.’ There was no bread or flour in the settlement, and the governor found himself in the invidious position of having to beg and borrow some from ships that had been at sea for four and a half months.

这里的殖民地是一处破旧不堪的地方。副总督Richard Moody是皇家工兵部队的一名军官，今年28岁。他上任才两个月，因此很可能对James Clark Ross这样杰出的探险家的到来而有些惊慌失措，更不用说他带来的那126名随行人员了。这下子岛上的人口一下子就翻了一倍。Hooker有时会批评Ross在告知英国公众他们的壮举时过于沉默寡言，他很高兴地报告说，“总督说我们最近的成果在英格兰引起了极大的轰动。”不过对于总督本人他就没那么客气了。“事务长上岸的时候天就已经黑了，他来到一间没有蜡烛的房间里，找到了副总督阁下，他身边有一个看起来很浮夸的秘书，虽然事务长被雨淋得浑身湿透，却居然没有人给他一杯葡萄酒或罗格酒。”这个殖民地里没有面包或面粉，虽然会让自己置身于令人反感的境地，但总督还是不得不向那些已经在海上航行了四个半月的船只乞求，讨要一些补给。

When I arrived in the Falklands I found that, 175 years on, the population had grown from sixty to just over 3,000. Nearly half of those were born Falkland Islanders. Of the rest, 740 were described in the latest census as British, 241 St Helenians, 142 Chileans and 469 as ‘Other’. The Other included three Georgians, one Sri Lankan and seventy-four Zimbabweans, who were part of a mine-clearing operation. I saw them working away, slowly and methodically clearing land-mines left over from the war of 1982 by the side of the rough old road that connects Mount Pleasant military airport to the capital, Stanley. The war or, as some prefer to call it, the conflict (for war was never officially declared) ended thirty-five years ago. It was a victory for Britain, seen by many as a great boost to national morale – a sign that we could still hack it. When James Clark Ross and *Erebus* arrived here in 1842, their memories of British military success would have been more recent. It had been less than thirty years since Napoleon was seen off at the Battle of Waterloo, and there were plenty of people alive who would have remembered hearing the news of Nelson’s victory at Trafalgar.

当我到达福克兰群岛时，我发现，175年后，福克兰群岛的人口已经从60人增长到3000多人。其中近一半出生在福克兰群岛。在剩下的人中，根据最近的人口普查显示，有740人是英国人，241人是圣海伦人，142人是智利人，其他的则有469人。这其中还有三名格鲁吉亚人、一名斯里兰卡人和七十四名津巴布韦人，他们共同参加了一场扫雷行动。我看到他们在连接芒特普莱森特军事机场和首都斯坦利之间的崎岖老路边，缓慢而有条理地清除着1982年战争遗留下来的地雷。这场战争，或者有些人更喜欢称之为冲突（因为官方从未正式宣战)在三十五年前就结束了。对英国来说，这是一场胜利，许多人都认为这对国民士气有着极大的鼓舞——表明我们仍有能力取得战争胜利。当James Clark Ross和*厄瑞玻斯号*在1842年来到这里时，他们对有关英国军事取得胜利的记忆可能要更清晰一些。当时距离拿破仑在滑铁卢战役中被打败还不到30年，有许多仍在世的人还记得听到了Nelson在特拉法加海域大败敌军的消息。

The Falklands were born in conflict. By the time the Seven Years War ended in 1763, the French had lost most of their North American, Indian and West Indian colonies and were looking desperately for ways to re-establish their global influence. Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, a soldier and sailor – better known as the man who gave his name to that vibrant adornment of tropical walls and gardens, rather than for being the first Frenchman to circumnavigate the globe – conceived a plan. It was, in the words of historian Barry Gough, ‘to plant the fleur-de-lys on the Falklands’. Louis XV offered royal support but no royal cash, so Bougainville financed the expedition himself. He enlisted ships and men from the port of Saint-Malo in Brittany and reached the islands in February 1764, christening them (after the city of his sailors and shipbuilders) les Îles Malouines, later rendered into Spanish as Las Islas Malvinas. The capital he named Port Louis, after his royal patron. Quite why he chose the Falklands isn’t clear. His first impressions were unpromising: ‘a country lifeless for want of inhabitants . . . a vast silence broken only by the cry of a sea-monster; everywhere a weird and melancholy uniformity.’

福克兰群岛诞生于各种冲突之中。直到1763年七年战争结束时，法国已经失去了北美、印度和西印度的大部分殖民地，并在急切地寻找能重建其全球影响力的方法。身为一名士兵和水手，Louis-Antoine de Bougainville的名字之所以广为人知，与其说是因为他是第一个环游世界的法国人，不如说是因为他那充满朝气与活力的热带装饰的墙壁和花园。用历史学家Barry Gough的话来说，就是“在福克兰群岛上种植百合花饰”。 路易十五代表皇室表示了支持，但没有提供现金，所以Bougainville自己资助了这次远征。他从布列塔尼的圣马洛港征召了船只和人员，并于1764年2月抵达该岛，将该岛命名为马尔维纳斯岛（les Îles Malouines，以他的水手和造船商的城市命名，后来在西班牙语中译成Las Islas Malvinas)。他把首都命名为路易斯港，冠以他的皇家赞助者的名字。他选择福克兰群岛的原因尚不清楚。他对这里的第一印象并不乐观：“一个没有人烟的国家……四周一片寂静，只有偶尔的海怪叫声；处处都透露着一种古怪和悲凉。”

But France was not the only country to stake a claim. Having landed elsewhere in the islands, the British registered their interest, whilst the Spanish claimed ownership of the whole lot through the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas, which in 1494 had divided up the New World between Spain and Portugal. For the next fifty years the Falklands were claimed at various times by the French, the British, the Spanish and, with the growth of the southern Atlantic whaling industry, by the Americans as well. And then in 1820 a new country, Argentina, born from the wreckage of the Spanish Empire, announced a formal claim.

但法国并不是唯一一个在此宣称主权的国家。英国人在岛上的其他地方登陆后，企图占为己有，而西班牙人则通过《托尔德西拉条约》的条款宣称对整个岛屿拥有所有权，该条约在1494年将新大陆划分给西班牙和葡萄牙。在接下来的五十年里，福克兰群岛先后被法国、英国、西班牙占领，而随着南大西洋捕鲸业的发展，美国人也声称拥有福克兰群岛的主权。1820年，一个从西班牙帝国的残骸诞生的新国家阿根廷也正式宣布提出主权要求。

As I sit down to my first evening meal on the waterfront at Stanley (a deliciously served Patagonian toothfish), I hear a group at the table next door talking in Spanish. They are a party of Argentines who had taken part in the Falklands marathon less than a week earlier. The winner and runner-up were both Argentines, which hadn’t gone down so well with the locals. Neither had the recent visit of the Argentine Swimmers for Peace, who had worn T-shirts showing the Falklands as part of Argentina.

我在斯坦利的码头上吃了一顿晚餐（一种美味的小鳞犬牙南极鱼）时，听到隔壁餐桌的一群人在用西班牙语交谈。他们是几天前来参加福克兰马拉松的阿根廷人。比赛的冠军和亚军都是阿根廷人，但他们在当地并不怎么受欢迎。最近阿根廷游泳运动员的来访也不是出于和平的目的，他们身上穿着的T恤上印着福克兰群岛是阿根廷的一部分的字样。

First thing next morning, on my way to meet the editor of *Penguin News*, the Falklands’ main paper, I notice handwritten signs stuck up in the windows of the Marine Exploration Centre: ‘Drop Your Sovereignty Claim’, ‘Recognise Our Right to Self-Determination’, ‘No Dialogue is Possible Until Argentina Gives Up the Claims to Our Islands’. To be fair to all sides, foreign interest in the Falkland islands for much of their history has been more about where they are, rather than what they are. And the visit of Ross’s expedition in 1842 was no different.

第二天一早，在去拜访《企鹅新闻》——那是福克兰群岛上的主流报纸——的编辑的路上，我就注意到海洋勘探中心的窗户上贴着各种手写的标语：“放弃你的主权主张”、“承认我们的自决权”，“拒接对话，除非阿根廷放弃对我们的岛屿的主权要求”。公平地说，在福克兰群岛历史的大部分时间里，外国之所以对其感兴趣更多的是因为它们所处的位置，而不在乎它们本身。Ross探险队在1842年的造访也不例外。

A priority for the newly arrived expedition was to draw up charts of their journey so far, and Ross delegated responsibility for this to the Second Master of *Terror,* John Davis. Towards the end of his long letter to his sister Emily, he admitted that the pressure was getting to him. ‘I am really nearly blind, for I have been working night and day to get some charts ready for England which *must* go.’ The next day he wrote in relief, ‘I have finished my chart and Captain Ross said it could not be better.’ As Davis drew his long and revealing letter to a close, one feels how intensely this young man, and many others on the voyage, must have been missing family and loved ones, after being away from home for two and a half years. ‘Kiss my dear, dear mother for me,’ he asks as he signs off; ‘as for Ellen you may kiss her – and yourself too – and with love and remembrances to all the girls and friends, I am, as ever I shall remain, Your affectionate brother Jack.’

这支新到的探险队的首要任务是绘制他们迄今为止的行程图，Ross把这项任务委托给了*恐怖号*上的二副John Davis。在他写给妹妹Emily的长信的结尾，他承认最近压力很大。“我真的眼睛都快瞎了，因为我一直在夜以继日地去绘制回到英国所必须的图表。”第二天，他如释重负地写道：“我终于绘制完了，而Ross船长也认为完成得非常出色。”当Davis写完这封充满真情实意的长篇幅的书信时，我们可以感受到这个年轻人，还有航行中的其他许多人，在离开家两年半之后，对于家人和亲人的强烈思念。“替我亲吻我最爱、最爱的妈妈，”他在结尾处要求道。“至于Ellen，你可以亲吻她——还有你自己——带着对所有的姑娘和朋友们的爱与怀念。而我，也将一如既往地，是你亲爱的哥哥Jack。”

With winter approaching, the most immediate need was to secure a regular food source for the crews, and parties were sent out to slaughter anything edible, primarily geese, rabbits and the local wild cattle, descendants of the livestock that the French had brought to the island when they first came here in 1764. Hooker described them as ‘possessed of indomitable courage and untameable ferocity’, and went on to report a dramatic confrontation between hunter and hunted: ‘the brave gunner of *Erebus* was struck down and the turf torn up in furrows on each side of his body by the diverging horns of a wounded and maddened bull’.

随着冬天的临近，目前最迫切的需求就是为船员们提供一个稳定的食物来源，人们被派送出去屠宰任何可食用的东西，主要是鹅、兔子和当地的野牛，它们都是法国在1764年第一次来到这里时带到岛上的牲畜的后代。Hooker形容它们“拥有不屈不挠的勇气和难以驯服的凶猛”，并继续报道了一场猎人和猎物之间戏剧性的对抗：“勇敢的*厄瑞玻斯号*炮手被击倒，他身体两侧的草皮被一头受伤发狂的公牛用角撕成了犁沟。”

Ross was doubtless relieved when the Royal Navy ketch *Arrow*, which had been surveying the islands, put into Port Louis, and was able to give the hunting parties some local advice on the best way to deal with these meaty but dangerous beasts. They recommended using dogs.

当皇家海军双桅船*绿箭号*驶进路易斯港时，Ross无疑松了一口气，这艘船之前一直在勘察这些岛，能够就如何对付这些肉多但危险的野兽提供更有效切实的建议和方法。他们建议使用狗。

Dr McCormick’s first shooting excursion, as he called it, was on 11 April. His appetite for hunting seems to have been well and truly restored. He found rabbits on the low sandbanks skirting the beach and shot nine of them, and ‘a few birds on my way back’, including a hawk, four thrushes and, from the boat, a male upland goose. On 9 May he took out three oystercatchers, a rabbit, two black hawks and an ash- and white-backed hawk. Ten days later he added four more upland geese to his game-bag – ‘their bodies when roasted supplied a delicious variety of food for our mess’ – alongside ‘four kelp geese, a steamer duck, a brown hawk, three ducks, three cormorants and two of the beautiful chionis’. Along with Thomas Abernethy, he also went out to hunt wild cattle. There was a touch of the Hemingways in one of these excursions. A shot passed through the mouth of an old bull, which charged at them and was only brought down with a second shot when the beast was almost upon him. ‘It was an anxious moment though, as the infuriated beast, tossing his horns, and snorting blood from his nostrils, tore down upon me,’ McCormick recalled. ‘. . . He gave a spring upwards as I fired, and came down with such . . . force within a few feet of me as to make the earth tremble beneath my feet.’

4月11日是McCormick博士的第一次射击之旅。他似乎重新找回了打猎的欲望。他发现沿着沙滩的低洼沙洲里有兔子，并射杀了其中的9只，还有“回来的路上的几只鸟”，包括一只鹰、四只画眉和从船上射下的一只雄性山地雁。5月9日，他打到了三只蛎鹬、一只兔子、两只黑鹰和一只背部灰白混杂的鹰。10天后，他的狩猎袋里又多了四只山地雁——“它们的身体烤熟后，可以制成各种美食供我们享用”——还有“四只白草雁，一只船鸭，一只褐鹰，三只鸭子，三只鸬鹚以及两只漂亮的鞘嘴鸥”。他还和Thomas Abernethy一起外出打猎野牛。这样的旅行会给人一种海明威的感觉。一枪打穿了一头老公牛的嘴后，这头公牛愤怒地向他们冲了过来，而当这头公牛快到他身边，它才被第二枪击倒。“那是一个令人焦急的时刻，因为那头暴怒的野兽甩着犄角，鼻孔里喷着血，试图把我撕成碎片，” McCormick回忆说。“……当我开枪的时候，它猛地跃起，然后落下……一股巨大的力量在离我几英尺的地方产生，使得我脚下的大地都在颤抖。”

The need to keep boredom at bay was always there, especially, it seems, on Sundays. After an entry for 17 April recording Divine Service, Sergeant Cunningham described the dangers of a day off. ‘They all got insensibly drunk with some deleterious drug bearing the name Rum. At 8 p.m. went ashore with a boat’s crew to endeavour to bring them off: found them lying about the Turf. One man nearly died in the first watch: had the Stomach pump applied to him.’

排解无聊是很有必要的，尤其是在星期天。根据在4月17日祭拜后的记录，Cunningham中士描述了休息日所遇到的危险。“在不知不觉中，他们都喝得酩酊大醉，但那是一种带有朗姆酒标志的有毒物。晚上8点，我和整船上的船员们上岸，努力把他们救了出来：当时发现他们都躺在草地上。在守夜头班的时候，有一个人差点没挺过去，还好有人给他洗胃。”

On 3 May, *Arrow* sailed for Rio de Janeiro, taking letters home and a request from Ross to have a new bowsprit sent out as soon as possible. The crew raised three cheers as they passed the *Erebus*’s stern and headed east, down the sound and out into the Atlantic.

5月3日，*绿箭号*启程前往里约热内卢，带着一些寄往家里的信件，还有Ross希望尽快寄送新船首斜桅的请求。当他们经过*厄瑞玻斯号*的船尾，船员们发出三声欢呼，之后*绿箭号*便沿着海峡向东航行，驶进大西洋。

As the southern winter approached, the days were spent taking magnetic observations, sending out hunting parties for bulls, striking the topmast and rigging a temporary bowsprit. A jetty was built to carry men and goods across from the boats to the shore. To keep the men further occupied, Captain Ross put them to work building observatories to check magnetic calculations, and what Cunningham refers to as ‘Turf Houses’, in which the cargo could be temporarily housed whilst the ships were hauled out of the water, laid on their sides and repaired and re-caulked. An astronomical and meteorological observatory was constructed near the fort built by Bougainville.

随着南方冬天的临近，他们白天的工作就是进行磁场观测，派人狩猎野牛，稳固顶桅，架设临时的船首斜桅。他们还建了一个码头，把人和货物从船上运到岸上。为了让船员们有事可做，Ross船长让他们去建造观测台，用于检查磁场计算，还有Cunningham所谓“草房子”，这样当船拖出水面安置在一旁用来修理和堵缝的时候，货物可以暂时安置在里面。Bougainville当时在要塞附近也建造了一个天文气象观测台。

The day after my arrival I’m driven out from Stanley to the old capital of Port Louis to see what, if anything, remains of the presence of *Erebus* and *Terror*. I walk round the higher ground, where there is still some evidence of the observatories, then on down to the shore off which the ships were moored, and onto which they were hauled for their refit. The land that Hooker described as ‘low and tolerably green’ can barely have changed. A shallow valley runs to the sea. A line of stones, the remains of the pier they built, still runs out into the bay. A solid stone farmhouse, built as a barracks in 1843, dominates the gentle slope, with wide views down Berkeley Sound and the low headlands beyond. To the crew of *Erebus*, who had not seen family or friends for two and a half years, the featureless landscape must have driven many to frustration, and some to despair; but for me, only two days out of London, the spaciousness of the Falklands is refreshing, even liberating. I draw simple pleasure from taking big, deep breaths of unpolluted air and being able to walk right up to the birds on the shore – shags, cormorants, night herons, oystercatchers – without any of them giving a damn.

 在抵达那里的第二天，我就从斯坦利出发，前往老首都路易斯港，去看看是否还遗留有*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*的存在的痕迹。我先沿着地势较高的地方走了一圈，那里还有一些观测台留下的迹象。然后我又继续向下来到当年停泊船只的岸边，她们就是被拖到那里进行了一番整修。这片被Hooker描述为“低矮且绿意盎然”的土地几乎没有改变。一条浅谷通向大海。还有一排石头仍然延伸到海湾，那是他们建造的码头的遗迹。一座坚固的石头砌成的农舍，那是1843年作为营房所建，占据着一块缓坡，可以俯瞰伯克利湾和远处低矮的岬角。对*厄瑞玻斯号*上的船员来说，他们已经两年半没有见过家人和朋友了，这里毫无特色的景色一定让许多人感到沮丧，甚至会有人感到绝望；但对于离开伦敦才两天的我来说，福克兰群岛的宽敞令人耳目一新，甚至给人一种解放的感觉。在完全无污染的空气中深呼吸，在岸上和鸟儿们——诸如鸬鹚、夜鹭、蛎鹬——一起散步，虽然这些鸟都对我爱答不理的，但我还是从中获得了一种简单的快乐。

There has always been a sense of the pristine in the Falklands. Apparently there were no flies on the island until after 1870. When they arrived they were seen as rare and exotic. Old ladies in Port Stanley kept bluebottles in cages. Charles Darwin, who spent longer in the Falklands than he did in the Galapagos, took rides out from Port Louis with some of the gauchos who made a living from hunting, and also went on walks where he found fossils that were 400 million years old. These were later to form a crucial part of the evidence for the existence of tectonic plates. ‘The whole aspect of the Falkland Islands were . . . changed to my eyes from that walk,’ he later wrote.

福克兰群岛一直都给人一种原始的感觉。显然直到1870年之后，岛上才出现了苍蝇。当它们到达岛上时，都被视为稀有的外来物种。斯坦利港的老妇人把青蝇放在笼子里饲养。Charles Darwin在福克兰群岛待的时间比在加拉帕戈斯群岛待的时间要更长，他和一些以狩猎为生的加乌乔人一起从路易斯港出发，他还曾在散步的地方发现了4亿年前的化石。这些化石后来成为了构造板块存在的重要证据。“那次散步让我对福克兰群岛的整体面貌……都有了全新的认知，”他后来写道。

Hooker, who had been depressed by his first sight of the Falklands, was also to change his mind when he began to explore beyond Port Louis. He noted sixty-five species of flowering plant and was particularly excited by the local tussock grass, which grew wherever there was standing water, and often to great height.

Hooker第一次看到福克兰群岛就感到沮丧，但当他开始探索路易斯港以外的地方时，他就不再这么想了。他发现了65种开花植物，特别是当地的生草丛，只要是有积水的地方它们就会生长的格外茂盛，而这让他感到很激动。

My own exploration of the Falklands is from above, on one of the regular flights run by FIGAS, the Falkland Islands Government Air Service. It seems the perfect way to get out of Stanley and avoid the last big cruise ship of the season, which will disgorge a thousand of her passengers onto the island for the next few hours. So I pay £50 for a Round Robin trip on one of the twin-prop Britten-Norman Islander aircraft that fly around the islands to deliver mail, and to drop off goods and passengers to the isolated communities outside Stanley.

我全靠一架来自FIGAS（福克兰群岛政府航空服务公司）的定期航班实现了对福克兰群岛的探索。这似乎除了本季度最后一艘大型游轮——那艘船会在接下来的几个小时内把一千名乘客赶到岛上——外，离开斯坦利的最佳方式。因此，我花了50英镑，坐上了一架型号为布里顿-诺曼岛民（Britten-Norman Islander）的双螺旋桨飞机进行往返旅行。这架飞机会绕岛飞行，运送邮件，并把货物和乘客送到斯坦利外的偏远区域。

It proves to be an exhilarating ride. The southern end of East Falkland Island is a wide expanse of low grassland they call Lafonia. It’s a heavily indented landscape marked by meandering inlets and surface lakes and ponds. Then, as if in a movie, the land runs out below us, the clouds part and we’re over open ocean, heading towards the rugged, sun-sharpened coastline of West Falkland. Soon we’re over rock arches and sheer cliffs. Inlets have become fiords. We bank down to the tiny settlement of Port Stephens, whose airstrip is a sloping, bumpy meadow, and whose terminal is a shed into which half a car will just about fit.

事实证明，这是一段令人兴奋的旅程。东福克兰岛的南端是一片宽阔的低洼草地，当地人称之为拉福尼亚（Lafonia）。这是一片错落有致的景观，蜿蜒的水湾、湖泊和池塘在其中点缀。再然后，就是电影里一般的梦幻，脚下的陆地突然消失，云层也被拨开，我们越过开阔的海洋，朝着西福克兰崎岖不平、阳光明媚的海岸线前进。很快我们就越过了岩石拱门和陡峭的悬崖。小水湾变成了峡湾。我们沿着河岸一直直达斯蒂芬斯港的一处小定居点，那里的飞机跑道是一片起伏颠簸的草地斜坡，终点则是一个棚子，正好可以装得下半辆汽车。

Greeting the plane are the wife and family of the farmer on board and a curious group of Johnny rooks, big, inquisitive and completely fearless crows that sniff around for anything bright and shiny. They’ve been known to strip the accessories off cars, and camera crews are a favourite target. The pilot warns against leaving my smartphone unguarded. The crows don’t need a password, he says, they just peck it to pieces. Having delivered the farmer, we hop 15 miles to another field, to pick up someone from the impressively tiny Port Albemarle, before returning across the Falkland Sound and running low over the islands – these, to the men of *Erebus* and *Terror*, would have offered their first sight of the Falklands. Two of these islands, Sealion and Bleaker, are home to tourist lodges surrounded by prodigious numbers of sea-birds, seals and penguins.

迎接飞机的是农场主的妻子和家人，还有一群好奇的条纹卡拉鹰——它们体型偏大，好奇心旺盛，而且无所畏惧，经常嗅来嗅去地寻找各种亮闪闪的东西。大家都知道它们会把汽车上的配件给拆下来，而摄影师是他们最喜欢的目标。飞行员警告着让我保管好自己的智能手机。他说，乌鸦是不需要密码的，它们只想把手机啄成碎片。把货物递送给农场主后，我们又横跨15英里到另一个地方，在占地极小的阿尔伯马尔港接上一个人，然后穿过福克兰海峡，低空在群岛上空驰骋——对于*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*上的人来说，福克兰群岛这样的景象应该也是他们从未见过的。在这些岛屿中的有两个岛——希里恩岛（Sealion）和布利克岛（Bleaker），是旅游旅馆的所在地，岛周围有着数量惊人的海鸟、海豹和企鹅。

Tourism, along with oil reserves and a flourishing fishing industry, is one of the green shoots of recovery in the Falklands economy. As we bank and descend over Stanley, I can see the 57,000-ton cruise liner *Veendam* disgorging most of her 1,350 passengers into the welcoming arms of the shops, bars, cafés and restaurants of Port Stanley.

旅游业、石油储量和繁荣的捕鱼业是福克兰群岛经济复苏的重要基础。当我们在斯坦利上空俯冲时，我可以看到重达57000吨的*维丹号*游轮将1350名乘客中的大部分人都来到了斯坦利港，接受商店、酒吧、咖啡馆和餐馆的热情款待。

On board the 372-ton *Erebus*, Queen Victoria’s twenty-third birthday was being celebrated. ‘A dirty wet day,’ according to Cunningham, it was marked by a gun salute and the serving of a double ration of beef and rum. That night the officers gathered aboard for a grand meal. The next morning at six o’clock the entire crew assembled to catch the high tide and haul their ship onto the beach, lie it on its side and inspect closely the damage sustained in the Antarctic. Carpenters then worked all day and night to replace timbers and restore some of the copper sheeting. Within thirty-six hours she was ready to be refloated. The same now had to be done for *Terror*, but that proved to be a much tougher job. As the Falklands winter tightened its grip, the work had to be carried out in wind, sleet and snow.

再回到372吨重的*厄瑞玻斯号*上，他们正在庆祝维多利亚女王的23岁生日。据Cunningham描述，这是“肮脏而潮湿的一天”，当天的庆祝方式是鸣枪敬礼，然后双倍供应的牛肉和朗姆酒。当天晚上，军官们在船上举行了一次丰盛的晚宴。第二天早晨六点钟的时候，全体船员集合起来，赶在涨潮的时候把船拖到岸上，同时让船侧躺着，方便仔细检查南极航行时受到的破坏。然后，木匠们开始没日没夜地工作，更换木材，修复一些铜板。不到三十六小时，她就可以重新浮起来了。而现在，轮到*恐怖号*了，但事实证明这是一项更加艰巨的工作。随着福克兰岛的冬天越来越寒冷，这项工作不得不在风雪交加的情况下进行。

It was in these wretched conditions that an equally wretched incident occurred. A Boy (one of the young trainee seamen, usually aged between fifteen and seventeen) from *Erebus* accused one of the gauchos on the island of committing ‘an unnatural crime’ against him. Governor Moody duly ordered an inquiry, which found the charge to be false. The Boy’s punishment was drastic. He was sentenced ‘to receive three dozen lashes over the breech at three different parts of the settlement’. In his diary, Cunningham managed to sound both judgemental and dismissive. ‘I consider it a very just and mild punishment . . . If it had been an adult I certainly think he deserved hanging. Continuous rain all night.’ Maybe there’s a hint here of the vehement attitude to public exhibitions of homosexuality, which surely must have been part of life on board, albeit privately. There is no reference to it in any of the contemporary documents.

在这种恶劣的条件下，发生了一件同样恶劣的事情。来自*厄瑞玻斯号*上的一个男孩（年轻的见习海员之一，年龄通常在15到17岁之间）指控岛上的一个加乔人对他犯下了“非正常的性犯罪”。州长Moody及时下令进行调查，结果发现指控是虚假的。这个男孩受到了很严厉的惩罚。他被判处“在定居点的三个不同地方鞭打臀部三十余下”。 在日记中，Cunningham试图让自己显得对此事既批判又轻蔑。“我认为这是一种非常公正、温和的惩罚……如果是一个成年人，我认为他活该被绞死。雨下了一整夜。”也许这里暗示了人们对于公开展示同性恋的过激态度，但这种事情在船上生活中私底下是切实存在的。但在当代的任何文献中都没有提到过这一点。

Towards the end of June, a new arrival was spotted working her way up Berkeley Sound. It proved to be HMS *Carysfort*, a man-of-war out of Rio de Janeiro, commanded by Lord George Paulet and bringing not only news from home, but much-needed provisions and a new bowsprit for *Erebus*. Cunningham, for one, was overjoyed to receive letters and some old newspapers from England, but he was less happy with the behaviour of the crew of *Carysfort* on shore leave the next day, ‘all of which got very Drunk,’ he wrote – adding, ‘and one man Drank to that excess that he was suffocated as the Stomach pump could not work in consequence of the piece of beef sticking in his throat in heaving up’; he was buried two days later. On another occasion, some of the men from *Carysfort* were reported to have broken at night into a store owned by an Irishman named John Scully and stolen some liquor. The ship itself seems to have been unlucky, too: an attempt to take on water resulted in one of her boats running onto the rocks and having to be abandoned, until men from *Erebus* could extricate her the next morning.

6月底，有人发现一艘新来的船正沿着伯克利湾航行。事实证明，那是一艘来自里约热内卢的英国皇家海军战舰*卡里斯福特号*（*Carysfort*），由George Paulet勋爵指挥，这艘船不仅带来了国内的消息，还为*厄瑞玻斯号*带来急需的补给和全新的船首桅。Cunningham收到了来自英国的信件和一些旧报纸后欣喜若狂，但他对*卡里斯福特号*的船员第二天就上岸的行为感到不满，“所有人都喝得酩酊大醉，”他写道，“还有一个人喝得太醉了，导致呕吐时一块牛肉卡在他喉咙里，而由于没法用洗胃器，最终导致窒息。”两天后下葬。还有一次，据说来自*卡里斯福特号*的一些人在夜里闯入一位叫John Scully的爱尔兰人开的商店，并偷走了一些酒。这艘船本身似乎也很不走运：在试图取水的过程中，船上的一艘小艇因为撞到了岩石上，而不得不被抛弃，直到第二天早上*厄瑞玻斯号*上才有人把她给解救了出来。

But whatever *Erebus* may have thought of *Carysfort, Carysfort* clearly enjoyed being in the company of *Erebus*. A letter from her second-incommand, John Tarleton, to his sister Charlotte described a number of very convivial get-togethers: ‘there came a series of dinners, so that we were almost every day engaged at home and abroad, the Captains first and then ourselves. We made room for twenty in the gunroom and gave them a grand champagne turnout.’ He found Captain Ross ‘a very superior man, with whom it was a great pleasure to be in company’. Of Ross’s recently promoted second-in-command, Tarleton made the observation, oddly borne out by many others: ‘Captain Crozier of the *Terror* is I should imagine, a devoted follower and better suited for a second than a first.’

但不管*厄瑞玻斯号*对*卡里斯福特号*有何看法，*卡里斯福特号*显然很喜欢陪伴在*厄瑞玻斯号*身边。她的副手John Tarleton给他妹妹Charlotte写了一封信，信中描述了几次非常愉快的聚会：“接连不断的宴会，所以我们几乎每天都聚集在船舱里，先是在船长那边，然后是在我们这边。我们还在炮房里腾出了可供二十个人的空间，为他们举办了一场盛大的香槟舞会。”他发现Ross船长是“一个非常有教养的人，和他在一起会让人感到很愉快”。对于Ross最近提拔其副指挥的事情，Tarleton是这么评价的：“我认为*恐怖号*的Crozier船长是一位忠实的追随者，他更适合做副手，而不是一把手。”奇怪地是，很多人也都是这么认为的。

Where men from *Carysfort* and *Erebus* seem to have been in full agreement was in their low opinion of the governor. Hooker had noted that ‘his Excellency’ had not had the common courtesy to offer the ship’s purser a drink. Tarleton thought Moody ‘a great prig. He had me to a miserable dinner in his miserable house one day, when he coined more absurdity than you would have supposed possible.’ Perhaps this coloured Lieutenant Tarleton’s view of the Falklands. Although he enjoyed the social life, and the hunting and shooting and the many wardroom dinners, he wasn’t able to raise much enthusiasm for the region for which Governor Moody was responsible: ‘There is not a shrub higher than one’s knee . . . a small colony might find subsistence in East Falkland, but there is nothing at present to repay the capitalist.’

*卡里斯福特号*和*厄瑞玻斯号*的人似乎在某些地方达成了一致，那就是他们都不太喜欢总督。 Hooker指出“那位阁下”没有按照一般礼节请船上的事务长喝一杯。Tarleton则认为Moody“是个过度自命不凡的人。有一天，他在他那破旧的房子里请我吃了一顿很糟糕的晚餐，他还说着一些你难以想象的荒唐话。”也许是这位塔尔顿中尉影响了他对福克兰群岛的态度。尽管他喜欢社交生活，喜欢打猎和射击，也喜欢军官室里的各种晚宴，但他实在对Moody主管这片地区兴趣缺缺:“没有一棵灌木高过膝盖……在东福克兰也许还能找到一小块殖民地维持生计，但目前来看没什么值得投资的地方。”

On this note, and after a farewell dinner aboard *Erebus*, HMS *Carysfort* gave three hearty cheers and sailed away down Berkeley Sound.

就这样，在*厄瑞玻斯号*上举行了告别晚宴后，英国皇家海军*卡里斯福特号*在发出三声由衷的欢呼，沿着伯克利湾渐行渐远。

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Although *Erebus* and *Terror* had been refitted by the end of July, Ross had to stay in these bleak and stormy surroundings until the next magnetic-term day, which wasn’t until September. Always on the lookout for ways to keep the men busy and to stem the increasing number of incidents of fighting and drunkenness, he turned his attention to the small cemetery above the harbour.

虽然*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*在七月底的时候就已经整修完毕，但Ross却不得不呆在这个荒凉阴冷、暴雨连绵的环境中，直到下一个观磁日的到来，也就是九月份。而他也一直在想办法让水手们忙碌起来，并阻止越来越多的打架和酗酒事件，于是他注意到了海港上方的小公墓。

‘In order to give our people healthful exercise and useful occupation,’ he wrote, ‘I directed them to be employed building a wall seven feet thick and as many high round the spot which had been hitherto used as a burial ground but which was at present without any enclosure.’ There weren’t many graves to enclose. One, though, belonged to a key figure in Antarctic exploration: Captain Matthew Brisbane, who had accompanied the Scots whaling captain James Weddell when he had achieved the furthest south in 1823. Brisbane had been a resourceful, if unlucky, ship’s master, who had survived three shipwrecks, each time building himself an escape vessel out of the wreckage. Whilst in charge of the British settlement at Port Louis in 1833, however, he and a number of others had been murdered and dragged out of their homes by a group of renegade Argentines and rebellious native convicts. His body had then been roughly buried. Nine years on, Ross, doubtless feeling some kind of kinship with a fellow explorer, ordered the bones to be given a proper burial in the newly walled cemetery, complete with a brand-new headstone. The inscription read ‘To the Memory of Matthew Brisbane who was barbarously murdered on the 26th August 1833. His remains were removed to this spot by the crews of H.B.M. [Her Britannic Majesty’s] ships “Erebus” and “Terror” on the 25th August 1842.’

“为了让大家得到健康的锻炼并做一些有意义的事情，”他写道，“我指示他们在一处目前还没有围栏，但常被用作墓地的地方周围筑起一道七英尺厚的高墙，墙的高度要和里面的坟墓持平。”里面其实没有多少坟墓需要圈起来。不过，其中有一位是南极探险领域的关键人物：Matthew Brisbane船长，他曾陪同苏格兰捕鲸船船长James Weddell 在1823年时候创下了到达最南位置的记录。Brisbane是一位足智多谋的船长，尽管他运气不佳，但是他仍在三次沉船事故中幸存了下来，每次他都在沉船残骸中为自己建造了一艘逃生船。然而，在1833年他负责英国在路易斯港的殖民地时，他和一些人被一群叛变的阿根廷人和本土罪犯谋杀，并拖出家园。他的尸体当时已经被草率地掩埋了。而九年后，Ross的内心无疑对这位探险者伙伴产生了某种亲切感，他下令将这些尸骨妥善安葬在新筑的墓地里，并立下了一块崭新的墓碑。碑文上写着“纪念在1833年8月26日被残忍杀害的Matthew Brisbane。1842年8月25日，英国海军*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*的船员将他的遗体迁至此地。”

The headstone still exists. As does the cemetery, now unused and overgrown. The turf wall erected by the men of *Erebus* and *Terror* has mostly been weathered away, and it’s easy to scramble through the makeshift fencing that now encloses the old graveyard. There, in the north-west corner, beneath one of the Falklands’ very few trees, is a replica of Brisbane’s gravestone. The original, removed from this exposed site on the side of the hill, is now kept in the fine Dockyard Museum at Stanley.

那块墓碑至今仍然存在。墓地也是如此，虽然现在已经荒废很久，杂草丛生。*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*建造的草皮围墙大多也都已经风化了，人们很容易就能穿过现在围在古老墓地周围的临时栅栏。在墓地的西北角，在福克兰群岛为数不多的一棵树下，有一块Brisbane墓碑的复制品。而原版墓碑已经从山坡上这块裸露的地方移走了，现在保存在斯坦利精美的船坞博物馆里。

While walking back from the museum some days later, I run into a modern-day explorer, one of the crew of the *Ernest Shackleton*, a British Antarctic Survey ship, which has just arrived in port from South Georgia, bringing home scientists and observers from various remote Antarctic destinations. They invite me on board, where I can see that they are still readjusting to ‘normal’ life after many solitary months collecting extraordinarily detailed data on the fringes of the Southern Continent. These latter-day Hookers and McCormicks nod appreciatively when they hear of my interest in their counterparts of the 1840s. The *Ernest Shackleton*’s sister ship is called *James Clark Ross*.

几天后，从博物馆回来的路上，我遇到了一位现代探险家，他是*欧内斯特·沙克尔顿号*（*Ernest Shackleton*）船上的一名船员。这艘英国南极考察船刚刚从南乔治亚岛抵达港口，将来自南极各个偏远地区的科学家和观察员带回家。他们邀请我上船，在那里我可以看到他们在经过数个月的孤独后，所收集到的南极大陆边缘地区的各种非常详尽的数据，而他们也在尝试重新适应“正常”的生活。当这些现代Hooker们和McCormick们听说我对他们19世纪40年代的同行感兴趣时，他们赞赏地点了点头。*欧内斯特**·沙克尔顿号*的姐妹船叫*詹姆斯·克拉克·罗斯号*（*James Clark Ross*）。

After my visit, I walk back to Stanley along the shore path. Out to sea, silhouetted against the evening sky, is an assortment of wrecked vessels in various stages of disintegration, emblems of the perils of these South Atlantic waters. The path leads onto Stanley’s main street, which is called Ross Road, so I feel quite at home. And Captain Crozier, whom Tarleton judged ‘better suited for a second than a first’?

参观结束后，我沿着岸边的小路走回斯坦利。海面上，在夜空的映衬下若隐若现的是各种各样的船只残骸，它们处于不同的解体阶段，诉说着南大西洋海域的危险。这条小路通向斯坦利的主街，也就是罗斯路，所以我觉得很自在。那么Crozier上尉呢，那个Tarleton认为他“更适合当副指挥，而不是一把手”的人呢？

He’s immortalised in Crozier Place, Stanley’s only shopping mall.

他在克罗泽中心永垂不朽，那是斯坦利唯一的一处购物中心。



On her third Antarctic voyage, Erebus stopped off in Tierra del Fuego so that a magnetic observatory could be built there. ‘The Fuegians,’ Ross wrote later, ‘are truly described as the most abject and miserable race of human beings’, although he also admitted that they were good company. This German engraving dates from 1881.

在她的第三次南极航行中，厄瑞玻斯号停靠在了火地岛，以便在那里建立一个磁观测站。Ross后来写道：“火地人确实是人类中最悲惨的种族。”不过他也承认他们是很好的伙伴。这幅德国版画雕刻于1881年。