chapter 15

# THE TRUTH

Just when it looked as if the end of the road had been reached, news came from the north that would change everything. It involved a figure who had already played a part in the Franklin story.

就在已经快要走投无路的时候，从北方传来的消息改变了一切。其中涉及到一位人物，他之前就在Franklin的事件中起到了重要的作用。

In 1854 John Rae, the Orkney man working for the Hudson’s Bay Company who had found some items on an overland search a few years previously, was making his way along the Arctic coast, trying to complete the first survey of this remote area. He was travelling in Inuit style, building igloos en route. On 21 April he reached the shores of Pelly Bay, where he met up with ‘a very intelligent Esquimaux’ driving a dog sledge. They were joined by another Inuit, In-nookpoo-zhe-jook (Inukpuhiijuk), who was interested in trading with Rae. In the course of conversation, Rae, through an interpreter, put to him the routine enquiry as to whether he had seen any *kabloonas* (foreigners) in the area. He hadn’t, but he had heard others tell of a large group of white men who had died somewhere to the west, ‘beyond a large river’. The Inuit had with him an officer’s gold cap band, which Rae purchased, before carrying on with his mission. On his return to Pelly Bay, Rae met up again with In-nook-poo-zhe-jook and this time bought more objects from other Inuit who were with him, including a silver spoon and fork embossed with a family crest and with the initials F.R.M.C scratched on them. Rae didn’t know at the time that he was looking at the initials of Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier.

1854年，为哈德逊湾公司工作的奥克尼人John Rae在几年前的一次陆上搜寻中发现了一些物品，之后他沿着北极海岸前进，想对这片偏远地区进行一次的完整的调查。他以因纽特人的方式进行旅行，沿途搭建冰屋。4月21日，当他到达了佩利湾的海岸时，他遇到了“一位非常聪明的爱斯基摩人”，他乘坐着狗拉雪橇。而另一个因纽特人In-nookpoo-zhe-jook（又称Inukpuhiijuk）也加入了他们，他还很有兴趣地与Rae进行了交易。在谈话过程中，Rae通过一名翻译向他例行询问，问他是否在该地区见到过外国人（*kabloonas*）。他没有见过，但是他听别人说有一大群白人死在西边的某地，“在一条大河的对岸”。这位因纽特人随身带着某个军官的金色帽带，在继续执行任务之前，Rae买下了这个东西。回到佩利湾后，Rae又遇到了In-nookpoo-zhe-jook，这次他带着从其他因纽特人那里买到的更多东西，包括一把银制勺子和叉子，上面刻有F.R.M.C的家族徽章。Rae当时并不知道他看到的是Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier的首字母缩写。

Later he was brought other items: Franklin’s Guelphic Order of Hanover medal, bestowed upon him for services in the Mediterranean twenty years earlier; silverware belonging to seven of the officers from *Erebus*; an under-vest marked FDV 6.1845 (the letters FDV were the initials of Charles Frederick Des Voeux, mate of the *Erebus*).

后来，他还获得了其他一些物品：Franklin的汉诺威勋章，那是20年前他因为在地中海服役所被授予的；属于*厄瑞玻斯号*上七名军官的银器；一件印有FDV 6.1845的背心（FDV是*厄瑞玻斯号*上的大副Charles Frederick Des Voeux的首字母缩写）。

Gradually, with the help of In-nook-poo-zhe-jook and other visiting Inuit, Rae pieced together the story of what seemed to have been the final days of the expedition. They told of forty men seen travelling southwards from King William Island ‘four winters past’ – in 1850. They had been dragging sledges, one of which had a boat on it. None of them spoke Inuktitut, but they communicated by sign language that their ship, or ships, had been crushed in the ice and that they had abandoned them to walk south to find food. Most of the men were thin and weak, but their leader was described as being a tall, broad, middle-aged man, a description that would certainly have fitted Francis Crozier. The Inuit called him Aglooka. He purchased some seal-meat from the natives. Then, both sides being unable to communicate further, they moved on.

渐渐地，在In-nook-poo-zhe-jook和其他来访的因纽特人的帮助下，Rae拼凑出了似乎是这次远征的最后几天的经历。据他们讲述，在1850年，人们看到四十个人在“经历了四个冬天后”从威廉王岛向南前行。他们一直拖着几辆雪橇，其中一辆雪橇上有一只小船。他们都不会说因纽特语，但他们通过手语交流，声称他们的某艘船或者多艘船被冰层压碎了，所以他们弃船向着南方走，寻找食物。大多数人都很瘦弱，但他们的领袖被描述为一个高大魁梧的中年男子，这种描述让人觉得很像是Francis Crozier。因纽特人叫他Aglooka。他从当地人那里购买了一些海豹肉。然后，由于双方很难进一步交流，他们选择了继续前进。

Later that same season, the Inuit reported, the bodies of thirty men were discovered on the mainland and five corpses on an island nearby. Some of the bodies were found in tents, some under an upturned boat. All were close to what matched descriptions of the mouth of Great Fish River.

同一个季节的晚些时候，有因纽特人报告称，在某地发现了30具尸体，在附近的一个岛上发现了5具尸体。这些尸体有的是在帐篷里发现的，有的则是在一艘翻倒的船下发现的。描述的地点很像是大鱼河河口。

This was a revelation. But what came next was a jarring shock. ‘From the mutilated state of many of the bodies, and the contents of the kettles [cooking vessels],’ Rae reported the Inuit telling him, ‘it is evident that our wretched countrymen had been driven to the last dread alternative as a means of sustaining life.’

真相被逐渐揭露开来。而接下来发生的事却真正的令人震惊。“从许多残破的尸体和锅里的东西来看，” 根据因纽特人对他的描述，Rae在报告中声称，“很明显，我们可怜的同胞为了能活下去已经被迫做出了最后的可怕选择。”

On his return to London, Rae submitted his report to the Admiralty. The effect was shattering. A copy was rushed to Lady Franklin and reached her at two in the morning. Sophy broke the news to her. ‘No words,’ Sophy wrote later, ‘can describe the horror of that night.’

回到伦敦后，Rae向海军部提交了他的报告。引发了轩然大波。第二天凌晨两点，Franklin夫人收到了一份报告的副本。而Sophy把这个消息告诉了她。“想不出合适的词语，” Sophy后来写道，“能描述那晚内心的惊悚。”

Much to Rae’s dismay, his Admiralty report was published in *The Times*, and the allegations of cannibalism – ‘the last dread alternative’ – were picked up in other newspapers. A wave of horror and revulsion spread across the nation. But because the revelations were so shocking and so offensive, people dealt with them by rejecting them. No Englishman could possibly have acted in such a way, it was argued. Rae should not have relied on Inuit testimony. In his weekly journal, *Household Words*, Jane Franklin’s influential champion Charles Dickens waded in with a passionate defence of the men, whom he saw as the ‘flower of the trained English Navy’. He angrily contrasted them with the Inuit: ‘the noble conduct and example of such men, and of their own great leader himself,’ he wrote, ‘. . . outweighs by the weight of the whole universe the chatter of a gross handful of uncivilised people, with a domesticity of blood and blubber’.

令Rae大为惊慌的是，他的海军部报告被刊登在了《*泰晤士报*》上，而有关吃人的指控——“最后的可怕选择”——也被其他报纸纷纷转载。一股恐惧和反感的浪潮在全国范围内蔓延。但由于揭露的内容是如此地令人震惊和反感，人们都难以接受。有人认为，英国人不可能做出这样的行为。Rae不应该相信因纽特人的一面之词。而力挺Jane Franklin的权贵人物Charles Dickens也介入其中，他在自己的周刊《*家常话*》中为这群人进行激烈辩护，他认为他们是“训练有素的海军翘楚”。带着心中的怒意，他还将他们与因纽特人进行对比：“这些人有着高尚的行为举止，还有伟大的目标引导着他们，”他写道，“……他们和那几个整天茹毛饮血、喋喋不休的粗人对比，就像宇宙和尘埃一样有着云泥之别”。

Why should people care about such slurs? demanded Dickens. ‘Because they ARE . . . dead,’ he thundered:

人们为什么要关心这样的诽谤呢？Dickens提出疑问。“因为他们真的……死了，”他生气地大喊：

therefore we care about this. Because they served their country well, and deserved well of her, and can ask no more on this earth for her justice or her loving-kindness . . . Because no Franklin can come back, to write the honest story of their woes and resignation . . . Because they lie scattered on those wastes of snow, and are as defenceless against the remembrance of coming genera- tions, as against the elements into which they are resolving, and the winter winds that alone can waft them home . . . therefore, cherish them gently, even in the breasts of children. Therefore, teach no one to shudder without reason, at the history of their end. Therefore, confide with their own firmness, in their fortitude, their lofty sense of duty, their courage, and their religion.

所以我们要关心这个事情。因为他们为这个国家付出了很多，所以理应得到这个国家的尊重，而他们也不会再向这个国家索求公平和仁慈……因为Franklin不会再回来了，无法再回来写下他们那从愁苦到放弃的真实故事……因为他们彼此分散着躺在雪地里，既不会再知道后人对他们的怀念，也无力抵抗身体上的逐渐分解，唯有冬天的风将他们送回家……因此，请温柔地对待他们，就像是尚在襁褓中的婴儿一般对待。因此，请不要在面对他们的过往和结局时，毫无缘由地不寒而栗了。因此，请相信他们的坚定，相信他们的刚毅，相信他们崇高的责任感，相信他们的勇气和信仰。

John Rae, given the opportunity to reply in *Household Words*, defended his Inuit informants and their interpreter from the increasingly common accusation that the Inuit themselves had attacked the Franklin party and that they had been the real cannibals. But his arguments fell on deaf ears. Instead of being given credit for uncovering the first real evidence that the men had died, and more importantly where they had died, Rae was tongue-lashed by the establishment. Lady Franklin tried to block payment of the £10,000 set aside as a reward for the first person to find evidence of the fate of the expedition, and although this was eventually paid, Rae received no public recognition. Knighthoods had gone to so many Arctic explorers – Parry, Franklin, John Richardson, John and James Ross. Why should one not have gone to a man who understood the Arctic as well as John Rae?

John Rae也得到了机会在《*家常话*》进行回复，他为他的因纽特人线人及翻译人员进行辩护，为了避免他们受到愈演愈烈的指控，他指责是一群因纽特人攻击了Franklin一伙，他们才是真正的食人族。但他的论点却没人听得进去。Rae并没有因为发现了第一批真正的证据而受到赞扬，因为更重要的是发现这些人的死亡地点，而他自己反而被官方进行了狠狠地斥责。第一个发现探险队行踪证据的人会有一万英镑的奖金，Franklin夫人也试图阻止这笔钱的支付，不过最终这笔钱还是支付了，但Rae没有得到公众的认可。已经有许多位北极探险家封爵了——Parry、Franklin、John Richardson、John和James Ross。为什么像John Rae这样了解北极的人却没有呢？

He is still remembered with great affection and admiration in the Orkneys. I have seen his statue in Stromness and his old house, the magnificently dilapidated Hall of Clestrain, looking out towards his home town from across the bay. His finest monument is the tombstone in St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall. Rae lies on his side in his Arctic furs, arms crooked behind a magnificently bearded head, with an open book and a rifle lying beside him. A man at work. No hint of the heroic. Rae was an explorer in the mould of Amundsen and Nansen, listening to the locals, learning from them what to wear, what to eat and how to survive. In his lifetime he mapped 1,750 miles of unexplored territory, with the loss of only one man. What a contrast with the disastrous expedition whose fate he was the first to discover.

奥克尼群岛，人们仍然对他十分喜爱和钦佩。我看到了他在斯特罗姆尼斯的雕像，也看到了他的老房子——那座位于克莱斯特（Clestrain）的宏伟而荒废的大厅，从海湾望向对面，那是他的家乡的方向。他最精致的一处纪念碑是位于柯克沃尔的圣马格纳斯大教堂的墓碑。Rae披着北极毛皮侧卧，双臂背在脑后， 脸上长满胡须，身旁则放着一本打开的书和一支步枪。那是一个忙于工作的男人。看起来也不像是什么英雄。Rae是Amundsen和Nansen那种类型的探险家，善于倾听当地人的意见，向他们学习吃穿以及如何生存。在他的一生中，在仅牺牲了一个人的情况下，绘制了1750英里的未知区域的地图。而他最终成为发现这次探险队灾难般的命运的真相的第一人，这形成了多么鲜明的对比呀。

Back in London, Jane Franklin still refused to believe that her husband might not be alive. Rae’s report had shaken her badly, but it had not doused her fighting instincts. She continued to write regular, often copiously gossipy, letters to Sir John, sending them out with rescue ships. One of them, which was entrusted to Captain William Kennedy on the *Isabel*, reads: ‘My dearest love. I do trust that never for a moment have you thought that your country and your friends had forgotten you or left you to your fate . . . Remember me most kindly and affectionately to your friends and companions.’ The letter was dated 30 March 1853, almost eight years after Franklin and his companions had disappeared.

回到伦敦后，Jane Franklin仍然不能相信她的丈夫可能已经不在人世。Rae的报告对她打击很大，但并没有浇灭她继续奋斗的天性。她继续定期写信给John爵士，信中充满了各种闲言碎语，这些信随同救援船被一起送出去。其中一封信是委托给*伊莎贝尔号*上William Kennedy船长的，上面写着：“亲爱的。我相信，你一直没有忘记你的国家和你的朋友，以及留给你的使命……请代我向你的朋友和同伴致以最亲切的问候。”这封信的日期是1853年3月30日，当时距离Franklin和他的同伴们失踪已经接近8年了。

Encouraged by further discoveries of wreckage by two Hudson’s Bay fur traders, James Anderson and James Stewart, Lady Franklin – who had already ploughed around £35,000 (£1.5 million in today’s money) of her own funds into what was now known not just as a search but The Search – tapped her contacts one more time. Charles Dickens spoke at a fund-raiser at the Royal Geographical Society, an occasion that gave him another opportunity, in the words of Franklin’s biographer Andrew Lambert, ‘to argue that he, not Rae, had been right in 1854 – Franklin and his men died noble Christian heroes, not bestial savages’.

Franklin夫人自己前后已经投入了35000英镑（在今天约合150万英镑）来进行搜寻，搜寻也不再是广撒网式的而是目标更明确的搜寻，在两位哈德逊商人James Anderson和James Stewart进一步发现船只残骸后，Franklin夫人再次开始利用她的人脉。Charles Dickens在皇家地理学会的一场募捐会上发表了讲话，用Franklin的传记作家Andrew Lambert的话来说，这给了他另一个机会来证明，“在1854年，他是正确的，而不是Rae——Franklin和他的部下是作为高贵的基督教英雄死去的，而充满兽性的野蛮人”。

£3,000 was raised from the public, enough to commission and equip a three-masted steam-driven yacht called the *Fox*. At 177 tons, about half the size of *Erebus*, she was a smaller, more manoeuvrable craft than was commonly sent to the Arctic, and her shallow draught made her potentially better able to operate in the silted channels off the North American coast. She had a crew of twenty-five, the majority of whom had previous Arctic experience, and was captained by Francis Leopold McClintock, a thirty-eight-year-old Irishman from Dundalk, the same man who had sailed with Ross in 1848, when the two of them had developed and refined the use of sledges. This time, though, he made sure they didn’t repeat the big mistake of having humans, rather than dogs, to pull them. This was no silver-spoon expedition. It was to be fast and light and adaptable, putting into practice lessons learned from natives rather than from naval academies.

募捐会最终筹集了3000英镑，足够委托并装备一艘名为*狐狸号*的三桅式蒸汽驱动游艇。这艘船重达177吨，大约只有*厄瑞玻斯号*的一半大小，与通常被派往北极的船只相比，这艘船更小，更具有机动性，而且她吃水很浅，这使得她有可能更好地在北美海岸的淤塞水道中航行。船上有25名船员，其中的大多数人都有过北极经验，船长是Francis Leopold McClintock，38岁的爱尔兰人，来自邓多克，他曾在1848年和Ross一起出海，当时他们两人一起开发并改进了雪橇的使用时。不过这一次，他确保他们不会重蹈覆辙，让人类而不是狗来拉雪橇。这不是探寻藏宝的探险。这次搜寻要做到快速、轻巧、适应性强，不是照本宣读海军学校里的所学，而是要把从当地人那学到的经验付诸实践。

The *Fox* left England in July 1857, but became locked in the winter ice in Baffin Bay and was not able to move again until the end of April the following year. Taking their bearings from Rae’s report, the expedition ran south down Peel Sound, but ice blocked their progress and they had to backtrack around the top of Somerset Land, which – following William Kennedy and Joseph-René Bellot’s discovery of a mile-wide channel bisecting the Boothia Peninsula – was now known to be an island. McClintock tried to take the *Fox* through this narrow channel, called the Bellot Strait after its discoverer, only to find its western end blocked by ice. He therefore made a base at the eastern end of the Strait. It was not until February 1859 that he and his men were able to mount their first sledge-bound reconnaissance expedition.

*狐狸号*在1857年7月离开了英国，但是冬天被困在了巴芬湾的冰层里，直到第二年的4月底才得以脱险，再次航行。根据Rae的报告远征队辨明了方向，并沿着皮尔湾向南航行，但是被冰层封锁住了前方的通道，所以他们不得不绕道萨默塞特郡的北部，之后 William Kennedy和Joseph-René Bellot发现一条一英里宽的海峡，将布西亚半岛一分为二——不过这个半岛后来被证明是一个独立的岛屿。这个海峡名叫贝洛特海峡，是根据它的发现者（Bellot）命名的，当时McClintock试图乘坐*狐狸号*穿过这条狭窄的海峡，结果却发现海峡的西端被冰封住了。于是他在海峡的东端建了一个基地。直到1859年2月，他和他的手下才第一次登上雪橇进行考察。

On their way south along the west coast of the Boothia Peninsula, McClintock and two companions met Inuit with relics to sell and stories to tell. One of them told of a three-masted ship that had been seen to sink off the west of King William Island. In April, with the thermometer showing thirty degrees below, McClintock and his second-in-command, Lieutenant William Hobson, along with ten men and four sledges (two man-drawn and two dog-drawn), therefore set out for the island. On the way they met an elderly Inuit by the name of Oo-na-lee, who told them of a second ship that had been forced ashore by the ice, further south at a place called Oot-loo-lik or Utjulik. Others told of the body of ‘a very large man’, with ‘long teeth’, being found aboard the ship. By all accounts, McClintock and his men were closing in on the heart of the disaster. It was time to translate rumour into hard evidence.

在沿着布西亚半岛西海岸向南行进时，McClintock和他的两名同伴遇到了因纽特人，他们带着遗物准备出售，还讲了一些故事。其中一人说，有人看见一艘三桅船在威廉王岛的西边沉没。四月的时候，温度计显示零下三十度，McClintock和他的副手William Hobson中尉，带着十个人和四辆雪橇（两辆人拉雪橇和两辆狗拉雪橇），出发前往该岛。在途中，他们遇到了一位名叫Oo-na-lee的因纽特老人，他告诉他们，在更南的一个叫Oot-loo-lik或者Utjulik的地方，有另一艘船被冰层逼到了岸上。还有人说，在船上发现了一具“大块头”的尸体，并且“牙齿很长”。不管怎么说，McClintock和他的手下正在逼近灾难的中心。是时候用确凿的证据来破除谣言了。

When they reached Cape Victoria on the south-western coast of the Boothia Peninsula, the party split. McClintock continued south towards the mouth of the Great Fish River, in the area where three years earlier John Rae had first learned of the Inuit’s discoveries. Lieutenant Hobson and his party set off to investigate the report of the wrecked ship on the west coast of King William Island.

当他们到达布西亚半岛西南海岸的维多利亚角时，整个队伍兵分两路。McClintock继续向南，向大鱼河的河口走去，那里是三年前John Rae首次得知的因纽特人有发现的地方。Hobson中尉和他的队伍则出发去调查关于威廉国王岛西海岸的失事船只的事情。

Hobson’s report, dated 1 August 1859, was never published, and a copy came to light only recently from Library and Archives Canada.

Hobson在1859年8月1日的报告从未发表过，直到最近加拿大图书档案馆才公布了一份副本。

It appeared with a commentary by Doug Stenton in *Arctic* magazine in April 2014. Less formal than a journal or a log, it has a compelling story to tell. It starts with an account of Hobson and his team as they set off due west across the hard-frozen surface of James Ross Strait. Hobson sets the scene carefully and precisely: ‘The ice appeared to be of but one year’s growth; and although it was in many places much crushed up we easily found smooth leads through the lines of hummocks; many very heavy masses of ice, evidently of foreign formation, have been here arrested in their drift; so large are they, that in the gloomy weather we experienced they were often taken for islands.’

2014年4月， Doug Stenton在《*北极*》杂志上发表了一篇评论。它不像日记或日志那么正式，但却讲述了一个令人信服的故事。故事开始于Hobson和他的团队向西出发，他们穿越詹姆斯罗斯海峡的坚硬冰面。Hobson仔细而准确地描述了场景:“这些冰似乎只生长了一年；虽然许多地方的冰层都被压得粉碎，但我们很容易就找到了穿过冰丘的平坦道路；这里有许多很沉重的冰块，显然是外力形成的，然后漂流到这里被阻挡了下来；它们实在太大了，以至于在天气比较阴沉的时候，我们经常把它们错看成小岛。”

King William Island, the stage on which so much of the tragedy was played out, has been described as a polar desert island. Hobson evokes it as ‘a mere shingle bank thrown up by the sea . . . a low, barren limestone shore’. Almost uniformly flat and unremittingly gloomy, with no cover from icy winds and driving snow, it must have been the cruellest environment for searchers or survivors.

威廉国王岛，这个上演了如此多悲剧的舞台，被描述为一处极地荒岛。Hobson称其为“被海水冲出来的碎石滩……一处低矮、贫瘠的石灰岩海岸”。这里几乎到处都很平坦，而且阴沉沉的，挡不住任何寒风和冰雪，对搜寻者和幸存者来说，这里的环境显得特别残酷。

Early on 3 May 1859, only five days after leaving Cape Victoria, they came across a cairn and the remains of an encampment near Cape Felix on the northern tip of the island. With growing excitement, they opened the cairn, but found only a blank piece of paper folded in a triangular shape, and a fragment of rope yarn. It was a tantalising disappointment. Hobson wrote that ‘I have little doubt that this paper had contained some information and that the writing (possibly pencil) had been effaced by exposure.’ The encampment looked to have been occupied by some twelve officers and men. There were three small collapsed tents, under which ‘bear skins and blanket coverlets were left spread out, to all appearances precisely as their last occupants had used them’.

1859年5月3日，在离开维多利亚角仅5天后，他们在岛上最北端的费利克斯角附近发现了一个石堆和一个营地的遗迹。伴随着兴奋的心情，他们打开了那个石堆，却只发现了一张折成三角形的空白纸片和一段绳索的碎片。这个结果难免令人失望的。Hobson写道，“我毫不怀疑这张纸中曾记录了一些信息，但字迹（可能是铅笔写的）已经因为暴露太久而消失了。”营地看起来有大约十二名官兵生活。有三顶倒塌的小帐篷，下面“摊着熊皮和毯子，它们看起来就像前主人刚刚使用完一样。”

Scattered along the shore was a trail of discarded items: cooking stoves, a dip circle, badges, the remains of a pair of spectacles, fragments of broken bottles, hanks of twine, brass curtain rods (the historian Ann Savours suggests these might have been intended as gifts for the natives), a mahogany medicine chest and wads of tobacco.

岸边分散着一些被丢弃的物品：炉灶、测斜仪、徽章、一副残损的眼镜、一些酒瓶的碎片、几根麻绳、黄铜窗帘杆（历史学家Ann Savours认为，这可能是打算送给当地人的礼物)、一个红木药箱和几包烟草。

Quite why the camp had been established, Hobson wasn’t sure, but he had little doubt that ‘it was hastily abandoned and I should think that the party must have been returning to their ship’. ‘Under no other circumstance,’ he concluded, ‘can I imagine that people would leave their tents, sleeping gear and cooking apparatus.’

Hobson不太清楚营地建立的具体原因，但毫无怀疑的是“营地是在匆忙中被遗弃的，我想他们一定是返回到了船上。”他总结说，“不然在其他情况下，他们都不应该会离开自己的帐篷、睡具和炊具。”

The pile of evidence continued to grow. On 5 May they came across an 18-foot-long spruce tree that had been cut in half with a whipsaw, presumably for use as fuel. The next day they discovered another, smaller cairn, with a broken pickaxe and an empty tea or coffee canister inside. After spending an hour in a fruitless search for documents, they continued south, where they found a third cairn, with ‘a great quantity of gear’ strewn about. There was much to investigate here, so they pitched their tent nearby. At midday on 6 May they went to work.

新的证据在不断被发现。5月5日，他们发现了一棵高约18英尺的云杉，它被人用锯齿锯成两半，大概是用来作为燃料的。次日，他们又发现了另一处规模更小的石堆，里面有一把断裂的镐头和一个空的茶罐或者咖啡罐。在花了一个小时寻找线索无果后，他们继续往南走，然后他们发现了第三处石堆，周围散落着“大量的工具”。这里有很多东西需要进一步调查，所以他们在附近搭起了帐篷。5月6日中午，他们正式开展调查工作。

Hobson’s description of what happened next is laconic in the extreme. ‘A small cylinder was soon discovered among some loose stones that had evidently fallen from the top of the cairn,’ he wrote, following this statement with the observation, ‘It contained a brief statement of the movements of the lost expedition.’ But those few words don’t begin to do justice to what he’d found. Now known as the Victory Point note, that ‘brief statement’ is one of the most significant documents in the history of exploration.

Hobson对接下来发生的事情描述得极其简洁。他写道：“人们很快就在一堆石头中发现了一个小圆筒，而那些石头很显然是从石堆的顶上掉下来的，”之后他继续对发现的内容进行了声明，“里面包含了一份失踪的探险队行踪的简要说明。”但这几句话并没有公正地描述他的发现。这份“简短声明”现在被称之为胜利角笔记（Victory Point note），是探索历史上极其重要的一份文件。

Technically, it’s not really the ‘Victory Point’ note. Richard Cyriax, an expert on the Franklin expedition, has pointed out that the cairn in which the record was originally deposited was actually 4 miles to the north of the spot, first charted by James Clark Ross in 1830, that gave it its name. It was written on a regulation form – one of those issued to expeditions to deposit or throw overboard, to give an indication of their position, and with the instruction, printed in six languages, that ‘Whoever finds this paper’ should ‘forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London *with a note of the time and place at which it was found*: or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port’.

严格来讲，那里并不是真正意义上的“胜利角”。研究Franklin探险队的专家Richard Cyriax指出，1830年James Clark Ross首次在地图上记录了该地点，并命名那里为胜利角，而存放记录的石堆其实在位于该地点以北4英里处。它写在一种标准规格的纸张上——这种分发给探险队的纸张会用来记录他们的位置，并可以存放起来或扔到海里。纸上还用六种语言印刷了声明，即无论谁找到了这张纸，都应“将它转交给伦敦海军部大臣，*并注明发现它的时间和地点*；或者，如果方便的话，将它转交给最近港口的英国领事。”

Though stained with rust patches from the tin cylinder, the handwriting was clearly legible and was identified as Fitzjames’s. It gave a date – 28 May 1847 (almost two years after the ships had left Greenhithe) – and a position: ‘H.M. Ships *Erebus* and *Terror* wintered in the ice in Lat. 70°5'N Long. 98°23'W.’ It then went on to give a brief account of how they had got there: ‘Having wintered in 1846–7 at Beechey Island . . . after having ascended Wellington Channel to Lat 77° and returned to the West-side of Cornwallis Island.’ It named Sir John Franklin as the commander of the expedition, and offered the reassuring words ‘All well’, underlined for emphasis. At the bottom of the formal record were a few additional words: ‘Party consisting of 2 officers and 6 men left the ships on Monday 24th May 1847’. The note was signed ‘GM. Gore Lieut’ and ‘Chas F Des Voeux, Mate’.

虽然锡筒上锈迹斑斑，但纸上的字还能清晰可辨，上面的文字被认定为Fitzjames的笔迹。它记录了一个日期——1847年5月28日（距离船只离开格林希特差不多两年了）和一个位置：“英国皇家海军舰艇*厄瑞玻斯号*和*恐怖号*两艘船在北纬70°5'N西经98°23'的冰层里过冬。”接着，便是对他们的行程进行了简要的阐述：“1846年至1847年，在比奇岛过冬……沿着惠灵顿海峡向上航行来到北纬77°，然后又折返回康沃利斯岛的西侧。”它声明John Franklin爵士为这次远征的指挥官，并写下了令人宽慰的词语“一切都很顺利”，并画上下划线进行强调。在正式记录的底部还有一些额外的补充：“由2名军官和6名士兵组成的队伍于1847年5月24日星期一离开了船只”。这份记录由 “中尉GM. Gore”和“水手Chas F Des Voeux”签名。

The note might confidently have stated that all was well, but even at this stage there are signs that things were awry. For a start, Fitzjames had got his dates wrong: it was 1845–6, not 1846–7, when they wintered on Beechey Island. Richard Cyriax’s explanation is that the mistaken date was simply a slip of the pen and shows that such records were considered of very little importance. But it could be an indication that the members of the expedition had become increasingly disorientated. And the fact that Franklin himself did not write or sign the note was ominous.

这份报告似乎自信地表示，一切都很顺利，但即使在这个时候，也有蛛丝马迹表明，事情已经有些不对劲了。首先，Fitzjames把日期弄错了：他们在比奇岛过冬的时间是1845-6年，而不是1846-7年。对此Richard Cyriax的解释是，错误的日期只是一处笔误，表明这份记录没有受到重视。但这也可能是探险队成员逐渐迷失方向的一个迹象。事实上，这份记录既不是Franklin本人写的也没有他的签名，这也是一个不祥之兆。

But it’s the message that Hobson found squeezed around the margins of the note that proved to be of particular significance. Written by Fitzjames some eleven months later, on 25 April 1848, the spidery script describes a desperate change in circumstances:

但是Hobson发现的这个字条边缘处记录的信息其实才是最重要的。大约十一个月后，也就是1848年4月25日，Fitzjames写下了一些东西，通过支离破碎的描述，可以感受到一种逐渐绝望的变化：

HM Ship[s] Terror and Erebus were deserted on the 22nd April, 5 leagues NNW of this, [hav]ing been beset since 12th Septr. 1846. The Officers and Crews consisting of 105 souls – under the Command [of Cap]tain FRM. Crozier landed here – in Lat 69°37' 42", long 98°41'. [This p]aper was found by Lt-Irving under the Cairn supposed to have been built by Sir James Ross in 1831, 4 miles to the Northward – where it had been deposited by the late Commander Gore in June 1847.

*恐怖号*和*厄瑞玻斯号*在4月22日被遗弃，[两]艘船[从]1846年9月12日起就被困在据此西北5公里处。军官和船员共105人——在[船]长的指挥下。Crozier在这里登陆——纬度为 69°37' 42"，经度为98°41'。[这]张纸是由Lt-Irving在距离此地向北4英里处发现的，那里应该是James Ross爵士在1831年建造的石堆。1847年6月，由已故指挥官Gore负责保存纸张。

The sting was in the tail: ‘Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June 1847, and the total loss by deaths in the Expedition has been to this date 9 Officers and 15 men.’ This later addition was signed: ‘James Fitzjames, Captain H.M.S Erebus’ and ‘F.R.M Crozier Captain and Senior Offr’. After signing his name, Crozier added, ‘and start on tomorrow 26th for Backs Fish River’.

真正令人痛心疾首的在后面：“John Franklin爵士于1847年6月11日去世，这次远征队到目前为止共损失了9名军官和15名士兵。”后面的署名是：“James Fitzjames，*厄瑞玻斯号*船长”以及“高级军官F.R.M Crozier船长”。在签下自己的名字后，Crozier补充道，“明天26号开始前往背鱼河。”

Piecing together what had happened here, it would appear that Gore and Des Voeux set out with more than one record in a sealed container. They mistook the position of Victory Point (named by James Clark Ross in 1830, not 1831, as Fitzjames seems to have thought) and left the record in a cairn 4 miles to the north. They then proceeded southwards and left another identical copy of the record (which was not subsequently amended, but has since been recovered). By the time they returned to their ships, Sir John Franklin had died, only three weeks after Fitzjames had written and underlined ‘All well’. From then on, judging from the additional writing on the socalled Victory Point record, all went badly enough for the remaining 105 men to abandon the two ships. They crossed to King William Island eleven months later, after Gore, too, had died. Lieutenant Irving found the first sealed record in a cairn 4 miles north of Victory Point and brought it to Crozier and Fitzjames. They added the latest grim news, and the container was then resealed and placed in the cairn, where Hobson found it eleven years later.

将这里发生的事情进行拼凑，就会发现Gore和Des Voeux不止一次地把记录装在了密封容器里。但他们弄错了胜利角的位置（胜利角是James Clark Ross在1830年命名的，而Fitzjames似乎认为是1831年），并把记录留在了北边4英里处的一个石堆里。然后他们继续向南前进，留下了另一份内容完全相同的记录副本（该副本后来有被找到，但没有被修复）。当他们回到船上时，John Franklin爵士已经去世了，而此时距Fitzjames写下“一切都很顺利”并标上下划线仅过去了三个星期。从那时起，从所谓的胜利角那里补充的记录来判断，情况已经糟糕到需要让剩下的105人都放弃两艘船的地步了。十一个月后，他们来到了威廉国王岛，而Gore也去世了。Irving中尉在胜利角以北4英里处的一个石堆里发现了第一份密封的记录，并把它带给了Crozier和Fitzjames。他们补充了最新的坏消息，然后将容器重新密封并放回原处，11年后 Hobson在那里发现了石堆。

Because of heavy falls of snow, Hobson was prevented from conducting a more thorough search of the site, and so after making a copy, he took the document and an inventory of the items he had found and proceeded south along the coastline. This was easier said than done, since ‘There is literally no coastline for a guide.’ So disoriented were they by the wind and the driving snow that their next encampment turned out to be not by the sea at all, but beside a lake, 4 miles inland.

由于纷飞的大雪，Hobson难以对现场进行更彻底的搜索。因此，他在复制了一份文件后，便拿着这份文件和发现物品的清单，沿着海岸线向南行进。说起来容易做起来难，因为“这里实际上根本没有海岸线来指引方向。”所以他们在风雪中迷失了方向，以至于他们的下一处营地根本就不在海边，而是在内陆向里4英里处的一个湖边。

On 24 May 1859 they discovered a large boat on the beach. It was embedded in drifting snow and was barely visible. After laboriously clearing away the rock-hard ice and snow, they uncovered one of the ships’ cutters, 28 feet long, trimmed down and lightened for overland travel, with a sturdy sledge nearby, on which the cutter had been dragged across the island. The sledge itself weighed 750 lb and it is estimated that it would have taken seven or eight men to shift it, pulling ropes of 3-inch whale-line, which lay discarded nearby. Two rifles were found in the bows, as well as plenty of ammunition. And that was not all. ‘In the stern sheets … was a human jaw bone of great size. Other bones of corresponding magnitude lay near.’ A chronometer bearing the name Parkinson & Frodsham found beside the remains led Hobson to believe that it may have been the body of an officer. The bones of another man also lay in the boat.

1859年5月24日，他们在海滩上发现了一艘大船。它被埋在积雪中，很难看见。在费力地清理了如岩石般坚硬的冰雪之后，他们发现了一艘船上附带的小艇，这艘小艇长约28英尺，经过调整和减轻重量后，可以在陆地上行驶，旁边还有一个结实的雪橇，这艘小艇就是放在雪橇上拖着穿过小岛的。雪橇本身重达750磅，估计需要七八个人借助绳索来拉动它，而那根3英寸粗的捕鲸叉索也被丢弃在附近。在船头还发现了两支步枪，以及大量的弹药。而且这还没完。“在船尾的被单上……还有一块尺寸较大的人类颌骨。附近还有其他尺寸差不多的骨头。”在遗骸旁边还发现了一只印有“Parkinson & Frodsham”的天文表，所以Hobson认为这很可能是某位军官的尸骨。船上还躺着另一个人的遗骸。

The boat contained a repository of articles, which the remainder of the expedition must have considered important enough to take with them on the long walk south to the river known to some as the Great Fish River and to others as Back’s Fish River. These included eleven dessert forks, eleven dessert spoons and four teaspoons ‘bearing the crests of officers belonging to both the *Terror* and the *Erebus*’, along with five shot flasks, several small religious books, a copy of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, a small pemmican tin, a great many remains of blankets, bear skins, boxcloth jackets, trousers, gloves, stockings, leather boots, a meerschaum and several clay pipes.

船上有一个贮藏物品的仓库，探险队的残余成员一定认为这些物品很重要，所以才会带着它们向南走这么长的一段路，前往那个被人称为大鱼河或者背鱼河的地方。 这些物品主要包括十一个甜品叉子、十一个甜品勺子和四把茶匙，茶匙上印有属于*恐怖号*和*厄瑞玻斯号*的军官的纹饰，此外还有五瓶破旧的酒壶、几本便携的宗教书籍、一份《*威克菲尔德牧师传*》的副本、一小份肉干罐头、大量的毛毯、熊皮、厚呢夹克、裤子、手套、长袜、皮靴、一个海泡石烟斗和几根陶泥烟枪。

Hobson, crippled with scurvy, brought his sensational discovery back to the *Fox* seventy-four days after he set out. McClintock and his party arrived four days later. They had initially been less successful. They had found nothing from the expedition in the Back’s Fish River estuary and few natives to talk to. But then, returning via King William Island, they had come across a bleached human skeleton, lying face downwards on a gravel ridge. It was partly covered by snow and, from pieces of the uniform, was identified as a steward, probably Thomas Armitage, gun-room steward on *Terror*.

Hobson因为坏血病而无力继续前行，在出发的第七十四天后，他把这个轰动的发现带回了*狐狸号*上。McClintock和他的队伍在四天后也回来了。他们最初一无所获。他们在背鱼河河口没有发现任何属于探险队的东西，也没有几个本地人可以交谈。但后来，当他们经过威廉国王岛返程时，他们发现了一具漂白的人类骨架，面朝下地躺在一个砾石山脊上。身体部分被雪覆盖，根据衣服的碎片可以确认是一名乘务员，可能是恐怖号的炮室里的乘务员Thomas Armitage，。

The most intriguing thing about this grim discovery was a small pocket-book lying nearby, which contained a series of near- indecipherable writings and drawings. Among them was a seaman’s certificate in the name of Henry Peglar, believed to be a close friend of Armitage. The ‘Peglar Papers’, as they have become known, continue to frustrate interpretation or translation. Written during the course of the expedition, they read like nonsense; apparently playful scraps of sentences written backwards, and fragments of what look like letters to people. Russell Potter, who calls them ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls of the North’, has put in much work trying to decipher the papers. On one page Peglar has scribbled down a couplet that begins ‘O Death where is thy sting, The Grave at Comfort Cove’. The first line is from the Service of the Burial of the Dead; and Comfort Cove, or Comfortless Cove, was the name of a renowned sailors’ graveyard on Ascension Island. So are these words part of a eulogy, and if so, for whom? Two lines later appear the words ‘the Dyer was and whare Traffelegar’. The only man on the expedition associated with Trafalgar was Franklin, who fought there. Could these be words composed for Franklin’s funeral? And composed not by an officer, but by an ordinary seaman like Henry Peglar? The Peglar Papers remain an enigma, but given the almost total absence of written material from the expedition, a precious one.

对于这个可怕的发现，其中最令人感兴趣的是附近的一个袖珍笔记，里面记载了一些难以辨认的文字和图画。其中有一张属于Henry Peglar的海员证书，据说他是Armitage的好友。这个笔记被后人称之为“Peglar手稿”，里面的内容很难进行翻译和解释。它们看着像是在探险过程中写的，读起来像是胡言乱语；有些句子显然是为了好玩写得颠三倒四的，还有一些句子看起来像书信里的片段。Russell Potter称这些手稿为“来自死亡北海的古卷”，他花了很多精力试图破译这些手稿。Peglar在其中一页上写下了一副联句，开头是“哦，令人刺痛的死亡，舒适海湾里的墓藏（O Death where is thy sting, The Grave at Comfort Cove）”。第一行来自于葬礼的仪式；舒适海湾，或者说舒适的海湾，是指的阿森松岛一个著名的水手的墓地名。所以这些话会不会是悼词的一部分？如果是的话，又是给谁的呢？这两行之后的内容是“曾经的染坊，还有特拉法尔加的棚房（the Dyer was and whare Traffelegar）”。曾经参加过特拉法尔加远征队进行作战的人只有Franklin。这是为Franklin的葬礼而写的吗？不是由军官，而是由Henry Peglar这样的普通水手写的吗？Peglar的手稿至今仍然是个谜，但考虑到探险队几乎没有留下什么书面材料，所以这份手稿显得弥足珍贵。

Further up the coast McClintock came across the boat that Hobson had discovered. He thought it significant that the boat’s prow was pointing north. It suggested to him that the men were hauling it back to, not away from, the wrecked ships.

沿着海岸再往北走，McClintock就碰到了Hobson发现的那艘船。他认为船头朝北是一个很重要的地方。这让他觉得，那些人是在把船拖回失事的船上，而不是离开。

On 23 September 1859 the *Fox,* the smallest, yet most successful craft to carry a search expedition, arrived at Blackwall Docks in London. With it came final confirmation that Sir John Barrow’s great dream had indeed ended in disaster. None of Franklin’s men would be coming back.

1859年9月23日，*狐狸号*返回了伦敦的布莱克沃码头，这艘船虽然是最小的，但也是搜寻最成功的一次。随着消息的落实，John Barrow爵士的伟大梦想最终以一场灾难告终。Franklin的部下也再不会回来了。

Five years earlier, Rae’s account of the last days of the expedition had been received with horror and outrage. The message of heroism in the face of appalling adversity that *Fox* brought back to port was received with patriotic gratitude. Now the nation could grieve, and talk of sacrifice. Rae had to fight for his reward, but Hobson was promoted without delay, and Parliament voted a £5,000 bonus to McClintock’s officers and crew. McClintock was knighted by Queen Victoria and awarded the Patron’s Medal by a grateful Royal Geographical Society.

五年前，Rae对这次探险最后几天的描述，激起了人们的恐惧和愤慨。而今*狐狸号*把面对可怕逆境最终英勇就义的消息带回了港口后，人们怀着爱国的感激之心接受了它。现在，全国人民都在哀悼并大谈牺牲与奉献。Rae不得不为继续为他的奖励而努力，而Hobson却立即得到了晋升，议会投票决定给McClintock的部下和船员发放5000英镑的奖金。而McClintock本人则被维多利亚女王封为爵士，而皇家地理学会为表感激也授予了他赞助者奖章。

McClintock’s subsequent account of the journey, *The Voyage of the ‘Fox’ in the Arctic Seas*, was a huge bestseller. Of course it had a dramatic and tragic tale to tell. But one senses that it also struck a deeper chord. Despite all the advances of science, the menacing power of nature had been asserted. For all those who felt threatened by Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*, published in the same year as *The Voyage of the ‘Fox’*, the fate of the expedition was seen as a classic case of hubris. It inspired Edwin Landseer’s gruesome painting of the last remnants of an expedition, flag and all, being torn apart by polar bears on an ice-floe. The title says it all: ‘Man Proposes, God Disposes’.

McClintock随后把这次旅程写成了一本书《*狐狸号的北冰洋之旅*》，并一度十分畅销。当然，它讲述了一个戏剧性的悲惨故事。但我们可以感觉到，它也引起了人们更深层次的共鸣。尽管科学取得了很大的进步，但大自然的威胁力还是不容忽视。达尔文的《*物种起源*》与《*狐狸号的北冰洋之旅*》是在同一年出版的，对于那些感到受到威胁的人来说，这次探险队的命运可以看作为一种典型的狂妄傲慢的结果。Edwin Landseer因此受启发创作了一幅令人毛骨悚然的画作，画的是探险队的最后残骸——旗帜和所有东西都在浮冰上被北极熊撕成碎片。标题说明了一切：“谋事在人，成事在天”。

The one comfort drawn from the whole unmitigated disaster was the news that bodies had been discovered far enough south to prove that Crozier had led his doomed men to the last link in the chain of marine connections that made up the Northwest Passage. In the cathartic euphoria that followed the return of the *Fox*, it was a brave man or woman who would contradict the claim that Franklin’s exped ition – if not the brave captain himself – had achieved its goal. This was what was inscribed on the statues that were subsequently erected, and this is what appeared on the citation that accompanied the award of the Founder’s Medal of the Royal Geographical Society to Lady Jane Franklin, the first woman ever to be honoured by the Society.

从这场惨重的灾难中唯一令人感到安慰的是，尸体是在足够偏南的地方发现的，这证明了Crozier已经带领他的船员们到达了西北航道的海上连接链的最后一环。伴随着*狐狸号*回归带来的畅快，Franklin宣称已经实现了目标，而面对如此勇敢的船长，也不会有人再反驳了。这是后来竖立起来的雕像上的题词，也是皇家地理学会授予Jane Franklin女士创立者奖章上的题词。Jane Franklin女士是历史上第一位被学会授予该荣誉的女性。



On

24

May

1859

, an expedition led by Lieutenant William Hobson came across a boat on

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On 24 May 1859, an expedition led by Lieutenant William Hobson came across a boat on King William Island. It contained the remains of two men, one possibly an officer, the other a young man ‘of much smaller size than the other’.

1859年5月24日，一支由中尉William Hobson率领的探险队在威廉国王岛偶然发现了一艘船。里面有两具遗骸，其中一具可能是军官，另一具是“比第一具小得多”的年轻男子。