John Richardson's 'missing' Arctic journal, 6–29 October 1821

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ABSTRACT. The 1819–1822 overland Arctic expedition led by John Franklin was one of the most disastrous in polar history. In 1821, 20 men travelled to the Arctic Ocean by way of the Coppermine River; only nine of them survived. John Richardson's expedition journal, as published by C. Stuart Houston in 1984, is incomplete. There are no entries between 7 and 29 October 1821, even though five of the 11 deaths (some or possibly all of them by murder) occurred during this critical period. The omission of these events from the journal on which Houston's edition was based has raised suspicions that the account published in Franklin's 1823 narrative may be inaccurate. This article prints the 'missing' journal entries, which were located in the files of the Colonial Office, and analyses the differences between these previously unknown entries and the 1823 account.

Richardson's published journal and the missing entries

The 1819–1822 Arctic overland expedition led by John Franklin was one of the most disastrous in polar history. In 1821 Franklin and 19 companions travelled from the expedition's winter quarters, Fort Enterprise, to the Arctic Ocean by way of the Coppermine River. Besides Franklin, this party consisted of junior naval officers Robert Hood and George Back, surgeon John Richardson, seaman John Hepburn, two Inuit interpreters, two Métis interpreters and 11 French-Canadian voyageurs who had been hired to man the expedition's canoes. After travelling along the coast as far as the Kent Peninsula, the group made the return journey to Fort Enterprise overland. Hood, one of the four interpreters and nine voyageurs did not survive the return, leaving only nine men out of the original 20 alive. Criticism and controversy have therefore featured strongly in historians' views of the expedition (see Cavell, 2007, 2008).

Richardson's journal of this expedition was published in 1984 under the editorship of C. Stuart Houston. The manuscript on which the publication was based, held by the Richardson family until the 1960s, is owned by the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. It covers the period from 21 August 1820, when the expedition's headquarters at Fort Enterprise on Winter Lake were established, until 19 December 1821, when the survivors of the expedition arrived at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake. The entries dated from August 1820 until the expedition set out for the Arctic Ocean in June 1821 are often scanty. There are frequent gaps of a week or more, evidently because nothing that Richardson deemed worth permanently recording had occurred. From June 1821 until December 1821, however, there are entries for most days, with one major exception.

There is a break from 8 October to 28 October—a three-week period during which the most dramatic and controversial events of the expedition occurred. Near the end of the return journey from the Arctic coast to Fort Enterprise, supplies were exhausted and game scarce. A small party consisting of Richardson, Hood and Hepburn separated from the main group on 7 October, staying behind in a spot with an adequate supply of firewood and the edible lichen called *tripe de roche*. Two days later they were joined by one of the voyageurs, Michel Teroahauté, who stated that he had been unable to keep up with the others. On 20 October, Hood died from a gunshot wound to the back of his head; strong circumstantial evidence pointed to Teroahauté as his killer. Richardson and Hepburn were suspicious but dared not accuse Teroahauté because he was armed and stronger than the two of them combined. The three men moved on together, but only a few days after Hood's death, Richardson shot Teroahauté. His explanation for this murder was that he was convinced Teroahauté intended to kill him and Hepburn once the party was closer to Fort Enterprise and Richardson's navigational skills were no longer required to find the way (see Cavell, 2007, pp. 157–158).

As Houston (1984, p. xiv) explains, the journal he published is not a field journal. Rather, it was written up, probably in early 1822, using rough notes that apparently no longer exist—whether because Richardson discarded them or because they were later lost is not known. Richardson himself explained the gap from 8 to 28 October in this journal by writing a short note after the entry for 7 October (in Houston, 1984, p. 147):

> The melancholy circumstances attendant on the deaths of M^{r} Hood and Michel... and the other painful occurrences until the 29th of this month... have been detailed in an account drawn up and transmitted home, I shall not therefore enter upon a subject so harassing to my feelings here.

In Houston's edition (1984, pp. 148–160), the note is followed by a section titled 'Dr Richardson's narrative

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report: "The account drawn up and transmitted home"'. A footnote by Houston (1984, p. 148n) reads:

> This official report to the authorities in Great Britain was separate from and not included in Richardson's journal. We thus have no original, first-hand, unedited account for these days. However, it has been introduced here to provide continuity for the reader.

(It should be noted that no part of the journal published by Houston can be considered first-hand or unedited; only the vanished field notes would deserve that status.)

The impression thus given is that the report printed by Houston is the 'account drawn up and transmitted home' referred to by Richardson. However, it is in fact the account published in Franklin's 1823 book, under the title 'Dr. Richardson's narrative' (in Franklin, 1823, pp. 449–461; this reference is not provided by Houston). In Franklin's book, Richardson's account is in narrative style, but Houston rearranged the text into journal format, reinforcing the impression that he had found the original manuscript account upon which the published 1823 version was based.

Houston evidently did not intend to give this erroneous impression: elsewhere in the volume (1984, p. 219) he noted that both he and Richardson's biographer, Robert E. Johnson, had searched Admiralty records for the original 'account drawn up and transmitted home' mentioned in the journal note, without success. Nevertheless, Houston seems to have assumed that the missing manuscript account and the one printed in Franklin's book were essentially the same. He commented (1984, pp. 218–219) that Richardson had unfortunately never transcribed his field journal entries for the critical period of the expedition, instead writing only a 'confidential letter to the Admiralty', which 'was most certainly modified for public perusal'. It is unclear from this passage whether Houston was suggesting that the supposed letter had been modified from the field journal account with a view to publication or that it was itself modified during the publication process. The fact that he reprinted the 1823 published text with the subtitle 'The account drawn up and transmitted home' suggests that the former is the correct interpretation, and reviewers of the book (for example, Davis, 1985, p. 348; Warkentin, 1985, p. 588) understood Houston in this way.

As a result of Houston's editorial comments, some historians have concluded that Richardson deliberately suppressed his field journal entries and substituted 'a selective version' of the facts (Steele, 2003, p. 148, see also p. 144). The gap in the journal published by Houston has been highly detrimental to Richardson's reputation and has led to the belief that 'we shall never know the full truth about the darker side of the expedition' (Holland, 1985, p. 230).

The December 1821 report

The 1819–1822 expedition owed its existence to John Barrow, the powerful second secretary of the Admiralty, and the British personnel on the 1821 journey were all from the navy. However, because it was an overland expedition Franklin officially received his orders from, and reported to, the Colonial Office and its head, Lord Bathurst. Richardson's original 'account drawn up and transmitted home' is therefore in the Colonial Office files. It is attached to a report from Franklin dated Fort Resolution, 19 December 1821. Richardson's December 1821 report is not, as Houston supposed, a confidential letter. Instead, it is in journal form. The account given in it is very similar—though far from identical—to the one printed in Franklin's 1823 book and it contains nothing that casts doubt on the published version's truthfulness regarding the deaths of Hood and Teroahauté.

Moreover, the date of the December 1821 report and Richardson's account of how he composed it indicate that the omission of the critical period from the journal published by Houston was not caused by any dishonesty or evasiveness on Richardson's part. Rather, he wrote up the critical three weeks first because Franklin had to send a report to London about the deaths of Hood and Teroahauté, and Richardson's evidence was required to make this report complete. Richardson then proceeded to write up a polished version of his journal entries for the rest of the expedition, almost certainly in early 1822 (the explorers remained at Great Slave Lake from December 1821 until May 1822, when they travelled by stages to York Factory, then sailed for home in a Hudson's Bay Company ship). When he reached the events of October 1821, Richardson simply saw no point in repeating what he had already done. The resulting journal, with its apparently incriminating gap, is the text published by Houston. As explained above, Houston initially sought to fill the gap by searching Admiralty files for the 'account drawn up and transmitted home' mentioned by Richardson, but no such document could be located.

Richardson had not kept any field notes in October, no doubt because all his strength was needed for practical tasks. Fortunately, Hood had left a rudimentary journal for the period up to mid-October. Using this source text, in December 1821 Richardson composed his account in much the same way as he later produced the journal published by Houston—and indeed, parts of that journal were probably based on Hood's now-lost field notes in addition to, or occasionally instead of, Richardson's own notes. At the end of the December 1821 report Richardson explained:

> The above narrative has been drawn up from recollection, assisted down to October 15th by some short notes made in pencil by M^{r} Hood.

Further light on Richardson's method of composition is provided by a small overlap between the December 1821 report and the journal produced in early 1822. Both contain entries for 6 and 7 October. In the December 1821 version, part of the 7 October entry reads:

> A little before noon came to a pretty extensive thicket of small willows. Here M^{r} Hood, John Hepburn and myself determined to remain and our tent being pitched and M^{r} Franklin having read prayers he took a very

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> affectionate leave of us. No tripe de roche to day. Drank some of the country tea, an infusion of the Ledum palustre.

Forgetting exactly where he had formerly begun, in 1822 Richardson created a second version of this passage (in Houston, 1984, p. 147):

> A little before noon came to a pretty extensive thicket of small willows. Here Mr Hood, John Hepburn, and myself determined to remain, and our tent being pitched Mr Franklin said prayers and took a very affectionate leave of us. His baggage consisting only of a single blanket, and the officers journals, added very little to the mens loads, which were now reduced to their personal clothing and a single tent. No tripe de roche to day. Drank an infusion of the Ledum palustre.

The detail about Franklin's baggage appears in the 6 October entry in the December 1821 report, but it is included in the 7 October entry in the 1822 journal. It must therefore have come from Richardson's recollection. There is no strong reason to prefer 'our tent being pitched Mr Franklin said prayers and took a very affectionate leave of us' to 'our tent being pitched and Mr Franklin having read prayers he took a very affectionate leave of us'. In view of these facts, it is most likely that Richardson produced two slightly variant texts from notes written by Hood in an abbreviated, telegraphic style, perhaps something along the lines of 'tent pitched—prayers—affectionate leave'. The parts written from Richardson's memory were a little more erratic, yet on the whole consistent—an important point, considering that for the entries following 15 October Richardson had to rely on memory alone.

Summary of the texts produced by Richardson in 1821, 1822 and 1823

Richardson's contributions to Franklin's 1823 book were, then, the fourth stage in a textual evolution that may be summarised as follows:

1. Field notes of the 1821 journey kept by Richardson and Hood. Neither set of notes has survived, but from a comment made by Richardson in December 1821, we know that he himself had stopped making entries by early October, while Hood continued to write a few short notes until 15 October.
2. Report written in journal form by Richardson in December 1821. It covers the period 6–29 October and was based on Hood's notes plus his own recollections. In his 1822 journal (next item), Richardson called it the 'account drawn up and transmitted home'. It is referred to in this article as 'Richardson's December 1821 report'. The report was forwarded by Franklin to London, where it was placed in the files of the Colonial Office. Its whereabouts were previously unknown and it is printed here for the first time. Readers who wish to peruse it in full before considering my analysis of its contents should turn to the appendix.
3. Journal for the period from 21 August 1820 to 19 December 1821, with the exception of 8–28 October. It was written by Richardson in 1822 from his own field notes—probably supplemented by Hood's notes—and memory. This journal is owned by the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and was published by Houston in 1984. Although it covers the years 1820 and 1821, it is usually referred to in this article as the '1822 journal' from the date when it was actually written. It is also referred to as 'Richardson's published journal' or 'the journal published by Houston' and it is cited as 'in Houston, 1984'.
4. Revised version of Richardson's December 1821 report, covering the period 7–29 October. It was published in Franklin's *Narrative of a journey to the shores of the polar sea* (1823) under the title 'Dr. Richardson's narrative'. In this revised version of the December 1821 report, the journal form was almost completely dropped. Instead, the information was integrated into a more conventional narrative. This report was reprinted in Houston (1984) with the misleading title 'Dr Richardson's narrative report: "the account drawn up and transmitted home"'. Houston did not reprint the text exactly as it appears in Franklin's book; instead, he put it into journal form. Richardson's revised report is referred to in this article as the '1823 text/account/version' and cited as 'in Franklin, 1823'. It is reprinted here for purposes of comparison with the original December 1821 report (see appendix). Parts of Richardson's 1822 journal were also used in Franklin's book, but they are not considered in the present discussion.

Richardson's report in Franklin's 1823 book

Richardson's published 1823 account left much of the wording from his December 1821 report either unchanged or very nearly so. For example, his first version of Hood's death read:

> I went out about noon to gather some tripe de roche leaving Mr Hood at the fire side arguing with Michel. Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire wood before he left us. A short time after I went out I heard the report of a gun and about ten minutes thereafter Hepburn called to me in great alarm to come to the tent. When I arrived I found my poor friend Hood lying at the fireside lifeless a ball having apparently entered his forehead. Bickersteth's Scripture help was lying by his side as if dropped from his hand. I was at first horror struck with the idea that he had in a fit of despondency hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge by an act of his own hand. The conduct of Michel, however, soon gave rise

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> to other thoughts and excited suspicions which were confirmed when I discovered upon examining the body that the shot had [entered at?] the back part of the head and passed out at the forehead and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night cap. The gun being of the longest kind supplied to the Indians could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound except by a second person.

In the second, published account (in Franklin, 1823, pp. 456–457), there were only minor changes:

> I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent at the fire-side, arguing with Michel; Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire wood before he left us. A short time after I went out I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterwards Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived, I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fire-side, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea, that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed, when upon examining the body, I discovered that the shot had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person.... *Bickersteth's Scripture Help* was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand, and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death.

There are, however, some important differences between the December 1821 report and the published 1823 version. Richardson did considerable revision after he reached London in October 1822 and was informed that John Murray was eager to publish Franklin's book, in which Richardson's own report would inevitably hold a prominent place. After taking lodgings together at 60 Frith Street in London, Franklin and Richardson worked closely together on the book; Richardson was paid £300 for his contributions (Richardson, 1823). The revisions were therefore mostly if not all his own, rather than Franklin's or Barrow's. In many cases, the new information was consistent with the original report, adding useful explanations that were the result of more detailed recollection. At the same time, however, one embarrassing fact was indeed concealed, and the discovery of the December 1821 report therefore requires modification of the expedition's official story.

After the deaths of Hood and Teroahauté, the most sensational event of the 1819–1822 expedition was the probable murder by Teroahauté of at least one of his fellow voyageurs, which, it is almost certain, was followed by cannibalism. If so, Teroahauté committed cannibalism knowingly, while Richardson, Hood and Hepburn participated without being aware of the fact. Besides Teroahauté, three other voyageurs—Jean-Baptiste Belanger, Ignace Perrault and Antonio Fontano—had turned back to join Richardson's party on 8 October. Belanger, Perrault and Fontano were never seen again. After Teroahauté joined Richardson's group, he offered them 'wolf meat', which Richardson later concluded had actually been human flesh. The published 1823 text made it clear that on 11 October the entire party had eaten the meat, and Richardson added a careful analysis (in Franklin, 1823, pp. 451–452) of the circumstantial evidence for believing that Teroahauté was both the murderer of his comrades and a cannibal. This analysis was clearly stated to be the result of retrospection both by himself and by Franklin.

The earlier December 1821 report, in contrast, said nothing at all about these possible murders by Teroahauté or about cannibalism. It did, however, state that Teroahauté shared more 'wolf meat' with Richardson's party on 12 October and 14 October. He brought in additional meat on 15 October, but it is not clear from Richardson's wording whether Teroahauté told the others about it and shared it with them or not. The entry for 14 October recounted the discovery that Teroahauté 'conceals meat and eats it after we are gone to bed', so on 15 October he might have been observed stealthily bringing meat that he did not share to the campsite.

When his December 1821 report was written, Richardson plainly had not yet considered the possibility of murder and cannibalism, supposing instead that the three missing voyageurs had lost their way and died of starvation. He even included the remark that on 11 October he and his companions had happily 'made a plentiful meal' of wolf meat. But Franklin later pushed Richardson to think more carefully about the fates of Belanger, Perrault and Fontano—a reconsideration that must have been exceptionally difficult for the doctor. By 1823 the realisation of the probable truth had made Richardson reluctant to publicise the full extent of his unwitting transgressions, although he was scrupulous enough not to eradicate all mention of the matter. Details that had formerly seemed too unimportant to include took on a new significance, and Richardson added them to the revised text. For example, he noted (in Franklin, 1823, p. 452) that Teroahauté had asked for a hatchet, an odd request that in retrospect seemed 'to indicate that he took it for the purpose of cutting up something that he knew to be frozen'.

Other changes in the 1823 text included the addition of material designed to encourage idealisation of Hood, most notably through discussions of his firm religious faith and patient endurance of physical suffering (in Franklin, 1823, pp. 449, 454, 456). The fact that on 19 October Hood made threats against Teroahauté, which Richardson had mentioned in the December 1821 report, was edited out. Despite this, Richardson's rewriting was not designed to place Teroahauté in the worst possible light.

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Instead, he was careful to emphasise the voyageur's good qualities—something he had still been too shaken to do in his initial report. In December 1821, Richardson wrote that Teroahauté's 'conduct and character' had helped to convince him his own life and Hepburn's were in danger. In 1823 he referred only to Teroahauté's frightening 'conduct' between 15 and 23 October, and he noted conscientiously that because the voyageur's behaviour had been so good earlier in the expedition, the officers had agreed to give him some special reward (in Franklin, 1823, p. 457). Teroahauté, Richardson concluded, was not a monster; he had simply been broken down mentally and morally by extreme hardship (in Franklin, 1823, p. 459).

Conclusion

I.S. MacLaren (1992, pp. 40–41, 2011, p. 227) has emphasised the need for a general awareness of the stages through which published exploration texts evolved, while at the same time pointing out that because circumstances varied so much from one expedition to another, each case must be considered unique. Richardson's unpublished December 1821 report and his published 1823 text, with their combination of broad similarity and significant change, forcefully illustrate the validity of MacLaren's approach. Richardson's story changed not so much because he wished to conceal facts from the public as because retrospection brought about a profound shift in his private evaluation of the events in which he had participated. Accordingly, a careful comparison of the two versions can add greatly to our understanding of the first Franklin expedition's most sensational events. To that end, the texts are reproduced below in parallel columns, with information and comments that appear in one but not the other in bold.

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Appendix: comparison of the December 1821 report and the 1823 published text

Date	December 1821 report	1823 published text
7 October	Left the encampment about half past nine A.M. and a little before noon came to a pretty extensive thicket of small willows. Here M^{r} Hood, John Hepburn and myself determined to remain and our tent being pitched and M^{r} Franklin having read prayers he took a very affectionate leave of us. No tripe de roche to day. Drank some of the country tea, an infusion of the Ledum palustre.	After Captain Franklin had bidden us farewell we remained seated by the fire-side as long as the willows, the men had cut for us before they departed, lasted. We had no *tripe de roche* that day, but drank an infusion of the country tea-plant, **which was grateful from its warmth, although it afforded no sustenance**. We then retired to bed [...]
8 October	Strong and extremely cold winds. Being unable to make a fire we kept our beds all day.	[...] where we remained all the next day, as the weather was stormy, and the snow-drift so heavy, as to destroy every prospect of success in our endeavours to light a fire **with the green and frozen willows, which were our only fuel. Through the extreme kindness and forethought of a lady, the party, previous to leaving London, had been furnished with a small collection of religious books, of which we still retained two or three of the most portable, and they proved of incalculable benefit to us. We read portions of them to each other as we lay in bed, in addition to the morning and evening service, and found that they inspired us on each perusal with so strong a sense of the omnipresence of a beneficent God, that our situation, even in these wilds, appeared no longer destitute; and we conversed, not only with calmness, but with cheerfulness, detailing with unrestrained confidence the past events of our lives, and dwelling with hope on our future prospects. Had my poor friend been spared to revisit his native land, I should look back to this period with unalloyed delight.**
9 October	A Fine but cold morning. I visited the different hills in the neighbourhood in quest of Tripe de roche this morning but had no success. It grows here very sparingly and it was too much frozen and the weather too cold to admit of my collecting it. On my return to the tent I found that Michel the Iroquois had arrived with a note from M^{r} Franklin. It stated that Michel and Bellanger being unable to proceed were about to return to us and that a mile farther on there was a clump of pines to which he recommended our removing the tent. Michel informed us that he quitted M^{r} Franklin's party yesterday morning but having missed his way that he had passed the night on the snow a mile or two to the northward of us. As Bellanger left the fire some hours earlier than Michel he has also gone astray. Michel having brought with him a hare and a partridge which he killed this morning **we were enabled to break our long fast**.	On the morning of the 29th [9th], the weather, although still cold, was clear, and I went out in quest of *tripe de roche*, **leaving Hepburn to cut willows for a fire, and Mr. Hood in bed.** I had no success, as yesterday's snow drift was so frozen on the surface of the rocks that I could not collect any of the weed; but, on my return to the tent, I found that Michel, the Iroquois, had come with a note from Mr. Franklin, which stated, that this man, and **Jean Baptiste** Belanger being unable to proceed, were about to return to us, and that a mile beyond our present encampment there was a clump of pine trees, to which he recommended us to remove the tent. Michel informed us that he quitted Mr. Franklin's party yesterday morning, but, that having missed his way, he had passed the night on the snow a mile or two to the northward of us. Belanger, he said, **being impatient**, had left the fire about two hours earlier, and, as he had not arrived, he supposed he had gone astray. **It will be seen in the sequel, that we had more than sufficient reason to doubt the truth of this story.** Michel now produced a hare and a partridge which he had killed in the morning. **This unexpected supply of provision was received by us with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty for his goodness, and we looked upon Michel as the instrument he had chosen to preserve all our lives. He complained of cold, and Mr. Hood offered to share his buffalo robe with him at night: I gave him one of two shirts which I wore, whilst Hepburn, in the warmth of his heart, exclaimed, "How I shall love this man if I find that he does not tell lies like the others." Our meals being finished, we arranged that the greatest part of the things should be carried to the pines the next day; and, after reading the evening service, retired to bed full of hope.**

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Appendix: Continued

Date	December 1821 report	1823 published text
10 October	Hepburn, Michel and myself carried the ammunition and some other articles to the pines. Hepburn and I returned to the tent but Michel preferred remaining at the pines. Mr Hood kept in bed all day. **Extremely cold. Nothing to eat.**	Early in the morning Hepburn, Michel, and myself, carried the ammunition, and most of the other heavy articles to the pines. **Michel was our guide, and it did not occur to us at the time that his conducting us perfectly straight was incompatible with his story of having gone astray on his way to us. He now informed us that he had, on his way to the tent, left on the hill above the pines a gun and forty-eight balls, which Perrault had given to him when with the rest of Mr. Franklin's party, he took leave of him. It will be seen, on a reference to Mr. Franklin's journal, that Perrault carried his gun and ammunition with him when they parted from Michel and Belanger.** After we had made a fire, and drank a little of the country tea, Hepburn and I returned to the tent, where we arrived in the evening, much exhausted with our journey. Michel preferred sleeping where he was, **and requested us to leave him the hatchet, which we did, after he had promised to come early in the morning to assist us in carrying the tent and bedding**. Mr. Hood remained in bed all day. **Seeing nothing of Belanger to-day, we gave him up for lost.**
11 October	Set out for the pines with the remainder of the baggage. Mr Hood accompanied us and with much difficulty walked thither. Michel who had been told to come to us in the morning and carry the tent not being here, Hepburn went back for it and returned in the evening much fatigued. Michel also arrived at sun set and relieved us from much anxiety for we were apprehensive that in coming to us in the morning he had lost his way. He reported that he had been in chace of some deer which passed near his sleeping place in the morning and although he did not come up with them yet that he had found a wolf that had been killed by the stroke of a deers horn. He brought part of it and **we made a plentiful meal. It being too late to pitch the tent** we passed the night in the open air.	On the 11th, after waiting until late in the morning for Michel, who did not come, Hepburn and I loaded ourselves with the bedding, and, accompanied by Mr. Hood, set out for the pines. **Mr. Hood was much affected with dimness of sight, giddiness, and other symptoms of extreme debility, which caused us to move very slow, and to make frequent halts.** On arriving at the pines, we were much alarmed to find that Michel was absent. We feared that he had lost his way in coming to us in the morning, **although it was not easy to conjecture how that could have happened, as our footsteps of yesterday were very distinct**. Hepburn went back for the tent, and returned with it after dusk, completely worn out with the fatigue of the day. Michel too arrived at the same time, and relieved our anxiety on his account. He reported that he had been in chase of some deer which passed near his sleeping-place in the morning, and although he did not come up with them, yet that he found a wolf which had been killed by the stroke of a deer's horn, and had brought a part of it. **We implicitly believed this story then, but afterwards became convinced from circumstances, the detail of which may be spared, that it must have been a portion of the body of Belanger or Perrault. A question of moment here presents itself; namely, whether he actually murdered these men, or either of them, or whether he found the bodies on the snow. Captain Franklin, who is the best able to judge of this matter, from knowing their situation when he parted from them, suggested the former idea, and that both Belanger and Perrault had been sacrificed. When Perrault turned back, Captain Franklin watched him until he reached a small group of willows, which was immediately adjoining to the fire, and concealed it from view, and at this time the smoke of fresh fuel was distinctly visible. Captain Franklin conjectures, that Michel having already destroyed Belanger, completed his crime by Perrault's death, in order to screen himself from detection. Although this opinion is founded only on circumstances, and is unsupported by direct evidence, it has been judged proper to mention it, especially as the subsequent conduct of the man shewed that he was capable of committing such a deed. The circumstances are very strong. It is not easy to assign any other adequate motive for his concealing from us that Perrault had**

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		turned back, and his request overnight that we should leave him the hatchet; and his cumbering himself with it when he went out in the morning, unlike a hunter who makes use only of his knife when he kills a deer, seem to indicate that he took it for the purpose of cutting up something that he knew to be frozen. These opinions, however, are the result of subsequent consideration. We passed this night in the open air.
12 October	**Michel brought in more wolf to day.** Pitched the tent. Michel prefers sleeping by the fire side.	On the following morning the tent was pitched, and **Michel went out early, refused my offer to accompany him, and remained out the whole day.** He would not sleep in the tent at night, but chose to lie at the fire-side.
13 October	Heavy gale of wind. Passed this day at the fire side. **A small piece of meat which was left afforded us a scanty meal.**	On the 13th there was a heavy gale of wind, and we passed the day by the fire.
14 October	The gale abating at 2 p.m. Michel went off to hunt but unexpectedly returned in a short time **with more wolf. Find that he conceals meat and eats it after we are gone to bed.**	Next day, about two, P.M., the gale abating, Michel set out as he said to hunt, but returned unexpectedly in a **very** short time. **This conduct surprised us, and his contradictory and evasory answers to our questions excited some suspicions, but they did not turn towards the truth.**
15 October	Michel expresses his regret that he stayed behind M^{r} Franklin's party and declares openly that he would leave us if he knew the way to the house. **He is by far the strongest of the party** yet he refuses to assist in cutting wood. He set off to hunt about noon and returned in the evening **bringing a small piece of meat which he had hid near the tent.** Hepburn gathered a kettleful of Tripe de roche but froze his fingers.	In the course of this day Michel expressed much regret that he had stayed behind Mr. Franklin's party, and declared that he would set out for the house at once if he knew the way. **We endeavoured to soothe him, and to raise his hopes of the Indians speedily coming to our relief, but without success.** He refused to assist us in cutting wood, but about noon, after much solicitation, he set out to hunt. Hepburn gathered a kettle of *tripe de roche*, but froze his fingers. **Both Hepburn and I fatigued ourselves much to-day in pursuing a flock of partridges from one part to another of the group of willows, in which the hut [tent] was situated, but we were too weak to be able to approach them with sufficient caution.** In the evening Michel returned, having met with no success.
16 October	Michel quite disheartened by want of success in hunting and despairing of any relief coming to us refuses to go out any more, neither will he assist Hepburn and myself in cutting wood but threatens to leave us. He frequently says that he could find his way by keeping towards the setting sun, the course pursued by M^{r} Franklin. Under these circumstances M^{r} Hood and I deem it better to promise that if he would hunt diligently until Saturday the 20th that then we would give Hepburn a compass, inform him what course to follow and let them proceed together to the Fort. The non-arrival of the Indians to our relief leads us now to fear that some accident has happened to M^{r} Franklin and we have no confidence in the Canadians with him, but on Hepburn's returning to us if possible we fully rely. **Gathered some Tripe de roche to day.**	Next day he refused either to hunt or cut wood, **spoke in a very surly manner**, and threatened to leave us. Under these circumstances, Mr. Hood and I deemed it better to promise if he would hunt diligently for four days, that then we would give Hepburn a letter for Mr. Franklin, a compass, inform him what course to pursue, and let them proceed together to the fort. The non-arrival of the Indians to our relief, now led us to fear that some accident had happened to Mr. Franklin, and we placed no confidence in the exertions of the Canadians that accompanied him, but we had the fullest confidence in Hepburn's returning the moment he could obtain assistance.

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17 October	**Michel complaining much of the want of bed clothes** I went to day to conduct him to the spot where Vaillant's blanket was left, M^{r} Franklin having given him permission to take it. After walking about three miles he undertook to go the rest of the way alone and I returned to the tent, where I arrived at sun-set much fatigued. A small kettle of tripe de roche to night.	On the 17th I went to conduct Michel to where Vaillant's blanket was left, and after walking about three miles, pointed out the hills to him at a distance, and returned to the hut, having gathered a bagful of *tripe de roche* on the way. **It was easier to gather this weed on a march than at the tent, for the exercise of walking produced a glow of heat, which enabled us to withstand for a time the cold to which we were exposed in scraping the frozen surface of the rocks. On the contrary, when we left the fire, to collect it in the neighbourhood of the hut, we became chilled at once, and were obliged to return very quickly.** **Michel proposed to remain out all night, and to hunt next day on his way back.**
18 October	Michel returned in the afternoon having found the blanket and a bag **belonging to Vaillant** which contained two pistols and some other things. **Says he killed nothing.** Eat some Tripe de roche to day.	He returned in the afternoon of the 18th, having found the blanket, together with a bag containing two pistols, and some other things which had been left beside it. We had some *tripe de roche* in the evening, **but Mr. Hood, from the constant griping it produced, was unable to eat more than one or two spoonfuls. He was now so weak as to be scarcely able to sit up at the fire-side, and complained that the least breeze of wind seemed to blow through his frame. He also suffered much from cold during the night. We lay close to each other, but the heat of the body was no longer sufficient to thaw the frozen rime formed by our breaths on the blankets that covered him.** **At this period we avoided as much as possible conversing upon the hopelessness of our situation, and generally endeavoured to lead the conversation towards our future prospects in life. The fact is, that with the decay of our strength, our minds decayed, and we were no longer able to bear the contemplation of the horrors that surrounded us. Each of us, if I may be allowed to judge from my own case, excused himself from so doing by a desire of not shocking the feelings of the others, for we were sensible of one another's weakness of intellect though blind to our own. Yet we were calm and resigned to our fate, not a murmur escaped us, and we were punctual and fervent in our addresses to the Supreme Being.**
19 October	Michel refused to hunt to day, but after very urgent solicitations **mixed with threats** from M^{r} Hood he set out, returning however very soon with a report that he had seen three deer, but was unable to follow them having wet his foot in a small stream of water thinly covered with ice and being hence obliged to come to the fire. Hepburn and I gathered a kettleful of Tripe de roche to day.	On the 19th Michel refused to hunt, **or even to assist in carrying a log of wood to the fire, which was too heavy for Hepburn's strength and mine. Mr. Hood endeavoured to point out to him the neces[s]ity and duty of exertion, and the cruelty of his quitting us without leaving something for our support; but the discourse far from producing any beneficial effect, seemed only to excite his anger, and amongst other expressions, he made use of the following remarkable one: "It is no use hunting, there are no animals, you had better kill and eat me."** At length, however, he went out, but returned very soon, with a report that he had seen three deer, which he was unable to follow from having wet his foot in a small stream of water thinly covered with ice, and being consequently obliged to come to the fire. The day was rather mild and Hepburn and I gathered a **large** kettleful of *tripe de roche*; Michel slept in the tent this night.

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20 October	This morning Mr Hood and myself urged Michel to go a hunting that he might if possible leave us some provision, to morrow being the day appointed for his quitting us, but he shewed great unwillingness to go out and lingered about the fire under pretence of cleaning his gun. After we had **according to our custom since our abode at the tent** read the morning service I went out about noon to gather some tripe de roche leaving Mr Hood at the fire side arguing with Michel. Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire wood before he left us. A short time after I went out I heard the report of a gun and about ten minutes thereafter Hepburn called to me in great alarm to come to the tent. When I arrived I found my poor friend Hood lying at the fireside lifeless a ball having apparently entered his forehead. Bickersteth's Scripture help was lying by his side as if dropped from his hand. I was at first horror struck with the idea that he had in a fit of despondency hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge by an act of his own hand. The conduct of Michel, however, soon gave rise to other thoughts and excited suspicions which were confirmed when I discovered upon examining the body that the shot had [entered at?] the back part of the head and passed out at the forehead and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night cap. The gun being of the longest kind supplied to the Indians could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound except by a second person. Although I did not deem it safe openly to evince any suspicion of Michel's guilt, yet he repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such a deed, at the same time however keeping constantly upon his guard and carefully avoiding to leave Hepburn and me together. He was evidently affraid of permitting John to converse with me in private and whenever the latter spoke to me he enquired if he had accused him of the murder. **Although the circumstances attendant upon this dreadful transaction convinced me that my own life and Hepburn's were in danger, yet I felt my mind relieved by the consideration that my Friend had not rushed into eternity by his own deed.** John afterwards informed me, that previous to the report of the gun Mr Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated angry tone and that Mr Hood being seated was hid from him by the willows but that on hearing the report he looked to the fire and saw Michel rising up before the tent door or just behind where Mr Hood was seated. Thinking the gun had been discharged merely for the purpose of cleaning it he did not go to the fire at first and a considerable time elapsed before Michel called to him that Mr Hood was dead. We passed the night in the tent together, without rest, everyone being on his guard, **although from the comparative weakness of John and myself we were obliged to act as if we had no suspicion.**	In the morning we again urged Michel to go a hunting that he might if possible leave us some provision, to-morrow being the day appointed for his quitting us; but he shewed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire, under the pretence of cleaning his gun. After we had read the morning service I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent at the fire-side, arguing with Michel; Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire wood before he left us. A short time after I went out I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterwards Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived, I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fire-side, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea, that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed, when upon examining the body, I discovered that the shot had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap **behind**. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person. **Upon inquiring of Michel how it happened, he replied, that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off, he did not know whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand at the time he was speaking to me.** Hepburn afterwards informed me that previous to the report of the gun Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated angry tone; that Mr. Hood being seated at the fire-side, was hid from him by intervening willows, but that on hearing the report he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent-door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, **and then going into the tent**. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go to the fire at first; and when Michel called to him that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. Although I dared not openly to evince any suspicion that I thought Michel guilty of the deed, yet he repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such an act, kept constantly on his guard, and carefully avoided leaving Hepburn and me together. He was evidently afraid of permitting us to converse in private, and whenever Hepburn spoke, he inquired if he accused him of the murder. **It is to be remarked, that he understood English very imperfectly, yet sufficiently to render it unsafe for us to speak on the subject in his presence. We removed the body into a clump of willows behind the tent, and, returning to the fire, read the funeral service in addition to the evening prayers. The loss of a young officer, of such distinguished and varied talents and application, may be felt and duly appreciated by the eminent characters under whose command he had served; but the calmness with which he contemplated the probable termination of a life of uncommon promise; and the patience and fortitude with which he sustained, I may venture to say, unparalleled bodily sufferings, can only be known to the**

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		companions of his distresses. Owing to the effect that the *tripe de roche* invariably had, when he ventured to taste it, he undoubtedly suffered more than any of the survivors of the party. *Bickersteth's Scripture Help* was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand, and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death. We passed the night in the tent together without rest, every one being on his guard.
21 October	To day after singing off the hair of a Buffalo robe part of the bed clothes of the deceased M^{r} Hood we boiled and eat a portion of it. Weather cold. Employed arranging our clothes and blankets previous to setting out for the house. Michel killed several partridges which he shared with us. He tried to day to persuade me to go to the woods on the Coppermine River and hunt for deer.	Next day, having determined on going to the Fort, we began to **patch and prepare our clothes** for the journey. We singed the hair off a part of the buffalo robe that belonged to Mr. Hood, and boiled and ate it. Michel tried to persuade me to go to the woods on the Copper-Mine River, and hunt for deer instead of going to the Fort. In the afternoon a flock of partridges coming near the tent, he killed several which he shared with us.
22 October	We were prevented from starting to day by thick snowy weather and a head wind. **Michel killed more partridges close to the tent.**	Thick snowy weather and a head wind prevented us from starting the following day, but [...]
23 October	Thick hazy weather with some small snow. Left the tent. In the course of the march, Michel excited much suspicion by his gestures and conduct, was continually muttering to himself, seemed very unwilling to go to the Fort and tried to persuade me to go to the southward to the woods where he said he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. Much alarmed by his behaviour and the expression of his countenance I requested him to leave us and go to the southward by himself whilst we should go to the Fort by ourselves. This proposal encreased his ill nature, he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all constraint on the morrow and I overheard him muttering threats against John whom he openly accused of having told stories against him. He also for the first time assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing me as evinced that he considered us to be completely in his power and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred to the White people or as he termed us in the idiom of the voyageurs, the	[...] on the morning of the 23d we set out, **carrying with us the remainder of the singed robe. Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and I carried a small pistol, which Hepburn had loaded for me.** In the course of the march Michel alarmed us much by his gestures and conduct, was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to the Fort, and tried to persuade me to go to the southward to the woods, where he said he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. In consequence of this behaviour, and the expression of his countenance, I requested him to leave us and to go to the southward by himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature, he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow; and I overheard him muttering threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told stories against him. He also, for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing me, as evinced that he considered us to be completely in his power, and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or as he termed us in the idiom of the voyagers, the French, some of whom,

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	French, who he said had killed his uncle and two of his relations. In short taking every circumstance of his conduct **and character** into consideration I came to the conclusion that he would attempt to destroy us [at] the first opportunity that offered and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of the way to the Fort. In the course of the day however he several times remarked that we were pursuing the same course that M^{r} Franklin was doing when he left him and that by keeping towards the setting sun he could find the way himself. Neither John nor myself were in a condition to resist even an open attack nor could we by any manoeuvre escape from him. Our united strength was far inferior to his and he was armed with a gun, two pistols, an Indian bayonet and a knife. A consideration of these circumstances induced me after consulting with John during a short period that we were left together to take a step, which nothing could have compelled me to take, had my own safety alone been threatened. To save the life of a man who had voluntarily devoted himself to starvation that he might assist in alleviating the miseries of his officers, and whom at this time I considered as particularly under my protection I deprived Michel of his with a pistol. **Nothing but the most thorough conviction that he intended to attack us that night or as soon as we came to Martin Lake or some other known place, could have driven me to this dreadful measure, although it was the only method which our extreme weakness left us of defending ourselves.**	he said, had killed **and eaten** his uncle and two of his relations. In short, taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, I came to the conclusion, that he would attempt to destroy us on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of the way to the Fort, **but that he would never suffer us to go thither in company with him**. In the course of the day he had several times remarked that we were pursuing the same course that Mr. Franklin was doing when he left him, and that by keeping towards the setting sun he could find his way himself. Hepburn and I were not in a condition to resist even an open attack, nor could we by any device escape from him. Our united strength was far inferior to his, and, beside his gun, he was armed with two pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. **In the afternoon, coming to a rock on which there was some *tripe de roche*, he halted, and said he would gather it whilst we went on, and that he would soon overtake us.** Hepburn and I were now left together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, and **he acquainted me with several material circumstances, which he had observed of Michel's behaviour**, and which confirmed me in the opinion that there was no safety for us except in his death, and **he offered to be the instrument of it**. I determined, however, as I was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, to take the whole responsibility upon myself; and immediately upon Michel's coming up, I put an end to his life by shooting him **through the head** with a pistol. Had my own life alone been threatened, I would not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself as intrusted also with the protection of Hepburn's, a man, who, by his humane attentions and devotedness, had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own. **Michel had gathered no *tripe de roche*, and it was evident to us that he had halted for the purpose of putting his gun in order, with the intention of attacking us, perhaps, whilst we were in the act of encamping.** **I have dwelt in the preceding part of the narrative upon many circumstances of Michel's conduct, not for the purpose of aggravating his crime, but to put the reader in possession of the reasons that influenced me in depriving a fellow-creature of life. Up to the period of his return to the tent, his conduct had been good and respectful to the officers, and in a conversation between Captain Franklin, Mr. Hood, and myself, at Obstruction Rapid, it had been proposed to give him a reward upon our arrival at a post. His principles, however, unsupported by a belief in the divine truths of Christianity, were unable to withstand the pressure of severe distress. His countrymen, the Iroquois, are generally Christians, but he was totally uninstructed and ignorant of the duties inculcated by Christianity; and from his long residence in the Indian country, seems to have imbibed, or retained, the rules of conduct which the southern Indians prescribe to themselves.**

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24–25 October	Thick snowy weather but mild. As the view was too limited to enable us to pursue a straight course we remained encamped amongst a few willows and dwarf pines about 5 miles from the tent. We had still a considerable portion of the singed buffalo hide remaining[.]	On the two following days we had mild but thick snowy weather, and as the view was too limited to enable us to preserve a straight course, we remained encamped amongst a few willows and dwarf pines, about five miles from the tent. **We found a species of *cornicularia*, a kind of lichen, that was good to eat when moistened and toasted over the fire**; and we had a good many pieces of singed buffalo hide remaining.
26 October	Clear and rather cold weather. Resumed our march which was extremely painful from the depth of the snow particularly on the margins of the small lakes that we crossed. We frequently sunk under the load of our blankets and were obliged to assist each other in getting up. After walking about 3½ miles we were cheered in the afternoon by the sight of a large band of Rein-deer and John went in pursuit of them but his hand being unsteady through weakness he missed. **He could not approach sufficiently near from his incapability of running.** The chase so exhausted him that we encamped on the spot although it was very unfavourable.	On the 26th, the weather being clear and extremely cold, we resumed our march, which was very painful from the depth of the snow, particularly on the margins of the small lakes that lay in our route. We frequently sunk under the load of our blankets, and were obliged to assist each other in getting up. After walking about three miles and a half, however, we were cheered by the sight of a large herd of rein-deer, and Hepburn went in pursuit of them; but his hand being unsteady through weakness he missed. He was so exhausted by this fruitless attempt that we were obliged to encamp upon the spot, although it was a very unfavourable one.
27 October	Cold but fine and clear weather. Set out early and about noon after walking two miles came to Martin Lake. There was but little snow on the lake, which together with the addition of force with which we were inspired by the sight of a place that we recognised, enabled us to advance at a good pace. We crossed the track of a Wolverene which from a parallel mark in the snow appeared to have been dragging something. John followed the track and on the borders of the lake found the spine of a deer which had been killed a season or two before. It was clean picked but we extracted some of the spinal marrow which even in its frozen state was excessively acrid. We encamped at one of our spring encampments on the banks of the lake within sight of the Dog-rib rock and suffered much from the coldness of the night and the want of fire-wood.	Next day we had fine and clear, but cold, weather. We set out early, **and, in crossing a hill, found a considerable quantity of *tripe de roche*.** About noon we fell upon **Little** Marten Lake, having walked about two miles. The sight of a place that we knew inspired us with fresh vigour, and there being comparatively little snow on the ice, we advanced at a pace to which we had lately been unaccustomed. In the afternoon we crossed a recent track of a wolverene, which, from a parallel mark in the snow, appeared to have been dragging something. Hepburn traced it, and upon the borders of the lake found the spine of a deer, that it had dropped. It was clean picked, and, at least, one season old; but we extracted the spinal marrow from it, which, even in its frozen state, was so acrid **as to excoriate the lips**. We encamped within sight of the Dog-rib Rock, and from the coldness of the night and the want of fuel, rested very ill.
28 October	Rose at day-break but spent a long time in making up our bundles from the extreme cold and the want of a fire. Kept a straight course for the Dog-rib rock but owing to the great depth of the snow were soon fatigued and did not reach it till the afternoon. Although scarcely able to drag our limbs after us we pushed on towards a clump of pines about a mile to the southward of it and arrived at them in the dusk of the evening. During the last few hundred yards of our march I fell down upwards of twenty times and became at length so exhausted that I was unable to stand. If John had not upon this occasion exerted himself far beyond his strength and speedily made the incampment and kindled a fire I must have perished on the spot. **Indeed although I in general aided him as far as I was able in these operations I was at all times so feeble and suffered so much from the cold that I could not at any time in this journey have lighted a fire by myself,** so that under the guidance of the Almighty I owe my life to his exertions. This night we had plenty of dry wood.	On the 28th we rose at day-break, but from the want of the small fire, **that we usually made in the mornings to warm our fingers**, a very long time was spent in making up our bundles. **This task fell to Hepburn's share, as I suffered so much from the cold as to be unable to take my hands out of my mittens.** We kept a straight course for the Dog-rib Rock, but, owing to the depth of the snow in the valleys we had to cross, did not reach it until late in the afternoon. **We would have encamped, but did not like to pass a second night without fire;** and though scarcely able to drag our limbs after us, we pushed on to a clump of pines, about a mile to the southward of the rock, and arrived at them in the dusk of the evening. During the last few hundred yards of our march, **our track lay over some large stones, amongst which** I fell down upwards of twenty times, and became at length so exhausted that I was unable to stand. If Hepburn had not exerted himself far beyond his strength, and speedily made the encampment and kindled a fire, I must have perished on the spot. This night we had plenty of dry wood.

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Appendix: Continued

Date	December 1821 report	1823 published text
29 October	Clear and fine weather. Set out at sun rise. **Our march very painful.** Although every spot of ground over which we travelled this day had been repeatedly trod by us yet we got bewildered in a small lake that was once well known to us. We fancied that we saw the rapid and the grounds about the house although they were still far distant. Our disappointment when the illusion was disapated by our reaching the end of the lake so operated on our feeble minds as to deprive us of the power of exertion and **despairing of reaching the house that night, we would have encamped immediately had there been a sufficiency of wood.** Fortunately however upon ascending an eminence we caught a glimpse of the Big-stone a well known rock upon the summit of a hill opposite the Fort and determined upon going on. In the evening we saw several large herds of rein-deer but John who was formerly considered a good marksman was unable to hold the gun straight, and although he got near them all his efforts to kill one of them proved fruitless. He shot a partridge however. We came in sight of the house at dusk and it is impossible to describe our sensations when on attaining the eminence that overlooks it we beheld the smoke issuing from one of the chimnies. From not having met with any human footsteps in the snow we had been agitated by many melancholy forebodings as we drew nigh our once cheerful residence. On entering this now desolate habitation we had the satisfaction of embracing M^{r} Franklin **about whose safety we had been most interested** but the scene of misery we beheld on looking round **convinced us that our sufferings were not yet terminated.**	On the 29th we had clear and fine weather. We set out at sunrise, and **hurried on in our anxiety to reach the house, but our progress was much impeded by the great depth of the snow in the valleys.** Although every spot of ground over which we travelled to-day, had been repeatedly trodden by us, yet we got bewildered in a small lake. **We took it for Marten [Winter] Lake, which was three times its size**, and fancied that we saw the rapid and the grounds about the fort, although they were still far distant. Our disappointment when this illusion was dispelled, by our reaching the end of the lake, so operated on our feeble minds as to exhaust our strength, and we decided upon encamping; but upon ascending a small eminence to look for a clump of wood, we caught a glimpse of the Big-Stone, a well known rock upon the summit of a hill opposite to the Fort, and determined upon proceeding. In the evening we saw several large herds of rein-deer, but Hepburn, who used to be considered a good marksman, was now unable to hold the gun straight, and although he got near them all his efforts proved fruitless. In passing through a small clump of pines we saw a flock of partridges, and he succeeded in killing one after firing several shots. We came in sight of the fort at dusk, and it is impossible to describe our sensations, when on attaining the eminence that overlooks it, we beheld the smoke issuing from one of the chimneys. From not having met with any footsteps in the snow, as we drew nigh our once cheerful residence, we had been agitated by many melancholy forebodings. Upon entering the now desolate building, we had the satisfaction of embracing Captain Franklin, but no words can convey an idea of the filth and wretchedness that met our eyes on looking around. **Our own misery had stolen upon us by degrees, and we were accustomed to the contemplation of each other's emaciated figures, but the ghastly countenances, dilated eye-balls, and sepulchral voices of Mr. Franklin and those with him were more than we could at first bear.**
Note by Richardson	The above narrative has been drawn up from recollection, assisted down to October 15th by some short notes made in pencil by M^{r} Hood. I have not however entered into a full detail of our sufferings having omitted some things as less proper for a public journal[.]	