

JAMES CHARLES CRITCHELL BULLOCK ARCHIVE

SHERBORNE SCHOOL (ARCHON CODE: GB1949)

James Charles Critchell Bullock was born at 81 East Street, Chichester on 6 September 1898, the son of James Tayler Bullock, boot manufacturer, and Emily Kate Bullock (née Critchell); a second son, Philip Critchell Bullock (1899-1986), was born on 28 December 1899. Bullock first attended Cliff House preparatory school in Southbourne, and from May 1913 to April 1916 Sherborne School (g, Lyon House), during which time he was promoted to Lance Corporal in the School's OTC and was a bass in the School's Oratorio Choir. After leaving Sherborne he attended Cadet College in Quetta. During the First World War Bullock became a Lieutenant in the 18th King George's Own Lancers of the Indian Army. Later, as a Captain in the Desert Mounted Corps he had been official cameraman for General Allenby's entry into Aleppo. While serving in Palestine Bullock contracted malaria and was forced to resign his Army commission.



In 1923 Bullock went to Canada where he met the English explorer John Hornby (1880-1927). Following a previous expedition to the Canadian Sub-Arctic barren lands Hornby had been nick-named 'The Hermit of the Arctic'. Bullock agreed to join Hornby on an expedition to the Canadian Sub-Arctic near Hudson Bay, where they would attempt to live off the land without supplies and Bullock would carry out scientific research. Bullock took with him photographic equipment and also kept diaries and it is these diaries and photographs that formed the basis of Malcolm Waldron's book *Snow Man: John Hornby in the Barren Lands* (1931). Following the expedition Hornby wrote a report in which he recommended that the areas near the Thelon and Hanbury Rivers be created a wildlife sanctuary, with the result that the Thelon Game Sanctuary was established in 1927. In 1926 John Hornby embarked on another trip to the barren lands. This time he was accompanied by his eighteen year old cousin Edgar Christian and by Harold Adlard. They built a hut near the Thelon River but, having missed the annual caribou migration, starved to death. Christian's diaries of the expedition were later published under the title *Unflinching. A Diary of Tragic Adventure* (1937).

Returning to England, Bullock became Secretary of the Home and Empire Defence League and worked in aircraft production. In 1933 he gave a talk about Canada at Sherborne School to the boys of his former house, Lyon House. During the Second World War he became Director of Public Relations for the Red Cross. In 1947 Bullock married Daphne Cecilia Hickman (1922-1968), daughter of Charles Edward Hickman and Dorothy Forster. After the War, Bullock worked as Coordinating officer for Iron and Steel Control. Around 1949/1950, Bullock moved to Kenya, living at Mbagathi Ridge, Karen, Nairobi, where on 31 March 1953 he died, aged 54.

The Papers of J.C. C. Bullock

The collection includes diaries, letters, photographs and films made by Bullock during the expedition that he and John Hornby made into the Canadian Barren Lands in 1924-1925. This material, together with interviews with Bullock, was later used by Malcolm Waldron as the basis for his book *Snow Man: John Hornby in the Barren Lands* (1931). The collection also includes diaries kept by John Hornby on previous expeditions into the Canadian Barren Lands, and the typescript of the diary of Warburton Pike (1861-1915) kept during his exploration of Back's Great Fish River in Arctic Canada in 1890. The papers were originally stored in two metal boxes painted black and with 'CAPT. CRITCHELL BULLOCK NAIROBI' stencilled on the lids (40 cm x 26.5 cm x 12 cm) and were donated by Critchell Bullock to Sherborne School in 1950 [Acc. No.2011/008].

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Ref. SS/OS/B/Bullock, J.C.C./

DIARIES

1/1	<p>Typed transcript of a diary kept by Warburton Pike (1861-1915) during the 'Great Fish River Exploring Party', 7 May-23 August [c.1890].</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: 'Typed copy of a diary kept by the late noted J. Warburton Pike during his exploration of Back's River (Gt. Fish River) in Arctic Canada during the latter part of the 20th Century. Only other copy believed to be in the archives of the Department of Interior, Canada'.</p>	n.d. [c.1890]
1/2	<p>Four diaries, originals and transcripts, kept by John Hornby, c.1907-1908, 1920-1921:</p> <p>Typed transcript of a diary kept by John Hornby, 25 September [1907?]-12 July 1908.</p> <p>Diary, 26 January 1920-18 March [1921?].</p> <p>Diary, 18 December-28 June [n.y.], with summary of events from 1 September-18 December [n.y.].</p> <p>Typed transcript of the diary of John Hornby, 'Hermit of the Arctic', 18 December 1920-1 July 1921. Attached to the front of the transcript is a print of a photograph of Jack Hornby wearing army uniform.</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: 'Diaries of the late John Hornby, M.C. The obliteration portions refer to mineral discoveries & other matters which Hornby apparently wished to keep secret'.</p>	c.1907-1908, 1920-1921
1/3	<p>Diary kept by J.C.C. Bullock during an expedition with John Hornby to the Canadian Sub-Arctic, 31 October 1923-6 February 1925.</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: 'Diaries nos. I & III Originals kept by Capt. J.C.C. Bullock during expedition to Sub-Arctic Canada.'</p>	1923-1925
1/4	<p>Journal and letter book kept by J.C.C. Bullock during an expedition with John Hornby to the Canadian Sub-Arctic, c. April 1924-September 1925.</p> <p>Also includes lists of supplies; draft letters; notes on wildlife and geology; weather reports; printed maps of the Barren Lands by James W. Tyrrell, 1900, annotated by Bullock; rough pencil sketches by Bullock of canoes, boat designs, a motor car, plants, native people, a naked woman, a mermaid, the interior of the cabin, John Hornby 'seated in his favourite position in the cave on Casba Esker, Winter 1924-1925', and a portrait of John Hornby. Written in the front of the diary: 'In the event of my death destroy this journal unread please. JCCB.'</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: 'Diaries no.II. Original kept by Capt. J.C.C. Bullock during expedition to Sub-Arctic Canada.'</p>	1924-1925
1/5	<p>Diary kept by J.C.C. Bullock during an expedition with John Hornby to the Canadian Sub-Arctic, 10 April -3 June 1925.</p>	1924, 1925

	Also includes rough pencil sketches by Bullock of canoes, landscapes, a tent, and a bird. In a pocket at the back of the diary is a note made by J.C.C. Bullock on 26 December 1924 that in the event of his death John Hornby should take full control of Bullock's affairs in Canada, dispose of any equipment from the expedition, inform Tayer Bullock esq. of 10 Southwood Avenue, Bournemouth of the state of his affairs, to ask the Canadian Government to name an area of the Barren Lands after him, and to send his diaries and notebook to Dr Anderson.	
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CORRESPONDENCE

2/1	<p>Letters and telegrams written by John Hornby to J.C.C. Bullock, 23 April 1923-5 May 1926.</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: 'Originals of the letters written by John Hornby to J.C.C. Bullock. See "Snow Man" by Malcolm T. Waldron, Jonathan Cape, 1931'.</p>	1923-1926
2/2	<p>Bound volume containing typed transcripts of letters written by J C.C. Bullock to the Hon. Yvonne Cage during his expedition to the Barren Lands, 1923-1925, and a transcript of John Hornby's diary of his 1920-1921 expedition:</p> <p>Part 1 (pp.1-175), entitled 'Letters to X. by Captain J.C. Critchell-Bullock. Being an account of his travels through the Barren Lands of Northern Canada with John Hornsby, the "hermit of the Arctic" during the years 1924-1925'. Comprises typed transcripts of letters written by Captain J.C. Critchell Bullock to the Hon. Yvonne Cage, 27 December 1923-15 October 1925.</p> <p>Part II (pp.177-250), entitled 'The Diary of John Hornby, "Hermit of the Arctic'. Comprises a typed transcript of the diary of John Hornby kept during his expedition, 18 December 1920-1 July 1921. A note at the end of the diary [by J.C.C. Bullock?] states that 'Here the diary ends. The voices proved to be no hallucination, and next day he met two white men. He remained their guest for twenty-four hours, and then pushed on, arriving a week later at Fort Resolution. His first thought was of food, but his eyes proved larger than his stomach, and, after eating three successive lunches (all of which he immediately vomited up) he spent the rest of the day lying on the Hudson Bay Company's wood pile. Later in the summer he re-equipped, returned to the east end of Great Slave Lake, and, during the winter, established on Artillery Lake; being the first white man to winter north of Reliance since Sir John Franklin's terrible experience at Enterprise.'</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: 'The letters of Capt. J.C.C. Bullock written to the Hon. Yvonne Cage while on an expedition to the Barren Lands of Canada with the late John Hornby'.</p>	1920-1921, 1923-1925
2/3	<p>Correspondence between Dr Vilhjalmur Stefansson and J.C. C. Bullock, 14 November 1925-16 June 1939. Also includes copies of letters written by Stefansson to John Hornby, Dr E.M. Kindle, Alfred and Blanche Knopf, Bertram W. Mills, Mr G.J. O'Connor, Captain G.M. Oliver, G.H. Sallans, Miss Strassman, A.J.T. Taylor, and Malcolm T. Waldron.</p> <p>Includes offprints of D. Jenness, 'The Friendly Arctic', <i>Science</i>, Vol. LVI, no.1436, 7 July 1922; Clarence W. Lieb, 'The Effects of an Exclusive, Long-Continued Meat Diet', <i>The Journal of the American Medical Association</i>, vol. 37, 3 July 1926; V.</p>	1925-1939

	<p>Stefansson, 'The Wolf Pack', <i>American Mercury</i>, July 1927; Roald Amundsen, 'Arctic Folies', n.d.</p> <p>Written on the envelope in J.C.C. Bullock's handwriting: '1925-1939. Original correspondence between Dr Vilhjalmur Stefansson (President of The Explorers Club) and Captain J.C.C. Bullock. The earlier letters (as I remember them) refer to the bitter controversy between Stefansson & Dr R.M. Anderson (Director of the National Museum of Canada) who fell out when serving as Co-Leaders of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-18). They should not be made public until after Stefansson's death. If I have not destroyed Dr Anderson's letters to me, I will send them to the School Librarian after arrival in Kenya – provided I can find them. J.C.C.B. 9-5-50'.</p>	
2/4	<p>Photocopies of material held by The Explorers Club, New York, relating to J.C. C. Bullock's membership of the Club, 1925-1953.</p> <p>Includes J.C.C. Bullock's membership application, with a supporting letter from Vilhjalmur Stefansson; Bullock's correspondence with the Club; a photograph of Bullock; photographs taken by Bullock of birds and their nests; outline plans for an expedition by Bullock to the sub-Arctic Canada (to establish the first white fox breeding ranch, to introduce domestic Reindeer to northern Canada, and to domesticate the Barren Lands Caribou and the Musk Oxen), c.1929; and a letter from Daphne Critchell-Bullock to the Club informing them of the death of her husband on 31 March 1953.</p> <p>[Copies supplied by Dorthea Sartain, Curator of Archives, Collections and Books, The Explorers Club, New York to Rachel Hassall in February 2011]</p>	1925-1953
2/5	<p>Letter from [Lieutenant Colonel] W.F. Christian, Bron Dirion, Pontlyfni, Caernarvon, North Wales, to J.C.C. Bullock, 19 March 1937. The letter was originally enclosed in Bullock's copy of Edgar Christian, <i>Unflinching: A Diary of Tragic Adventure</i> (1937) [ref. SS/OS/B/BULLOCK, J.C.C/5/7]:</p> <p>Christian thanks Bullock for the photograph of 'the tragic hut. It gives a better idea of the surroundings than those I have. I hope you will like the book when it comes out.' With a black and white photograph of the hut beside the Thelon River where John Hornby, Harold Adlard and Edgar Christian starved to death in 1927. Written on the back of the photograph: 'The Hornby cabin, Thelon River, NW.F. where Hornby and two companions died of starvation'.</p>	1937
2/6	<p>Copies of correspondence between Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Arthur Mack, George M. Douglas and J.C.C. Bullock, 24 June-5 July 1939. The letters were originally enclosed in Bullock's copy of Edgar Christian, <i>Unflinching: A Diary of Tragic Adventure</i> (1937) [ref. SS/OS/B/BULLOCK, J.C.C/5/7]:</p> <p>Copy letter from Vilhjalmur Stefansson, New York, to Arthur Mack, Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York City, 24 June 1939. Stefansson thanks Mack for sending him a copy of <i>Unflinching</i>. He states that 'there is probably no branch of publication where so much appears which is unsound and incorrect as that of exploration. One of the outstanding examples of what, in my opinion, should not be done in publishing is this book'. He has a copy of the London edition of the book which includes annotations by Bullock and George Douglas.</p>	1939

Copy letter from George M. Douglas, Lakefield, Ontario, to Stefansson, 29 June 1939. Douglas thanks Stefansson for sending him a copy of his letters concerning *Unflinching*. Douglas claims that the annotations he made in the book were only for the benefit of the person who lent him the book and not for general circulation. He adds that the main of his criticism was against the edition of the English edition which was 'inexcusably bad' and hopes that they ask Stefansson to edit the American edition. He informs Stefansson that Dick and Alyce 'have gone North' and that 'It is difficult to convey to old timers the changes wrought in that country by planes (And not for the best!)'.

Copy letter from Vilhjalmur Stefansson, New York, to Arthur Mack, Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York City, 1 July 1939. Stefansson sends Mack a copy of George Douglas's letter dated 29 June 1939, stating that Douglas is 'one of the two men who, according to my previous letter to you are in a position to furnish authentic and pertinent material that might have been used in the editing of *Unflinching*.' He adds that the 'Dick and Alyce' referred to Douglas's letter are Mr and Mrs Richard Finnie 'who rank next after Douglas and Bullock in knowledge that would have permitted a good editing of the Christian diary.'

Copy letter [from J.C. C. Bullock] to Vilhjalmur Stefansson, New York, 5 July 1939. Bullock hopes Stefansson will approve of the letter he has written to Funk & Wagnalls and states that he thinks the book 'very slipshod of Colonel Christian. In the several letters which he wrote to me, he seemed anxious to get the book put straight.' He adds that 'Every now and again, I have another shot at writing something about my own adventures, but, although I am not the type to give up or get discouraged, I am afraid that I shall eventually have to confess that I'm no author.' He thanks Stefansson for the 'crack' about Albania and says 'Although I am more or less in the thick of it these days, I cannot say that I know what to make of it all. It is still difficult for me to think of myself as an Englishman, having lived practically all my life, until recently, abroad, so I am inclined to see things objectively. How this tiny little country can stand off all these packs of wolves is a mystery to me. Maybe she will not be able to much longer. Yet I take off my hat to the spirit of the average Englishman today.' Mentions one of his colleagues, Major-General Sir John Kennedy and having recently met R.B. Bennett, the Canadian ex-Prime Minister. With regard to his own situation he states 'you may think that, now that I am back in my own country, I am sitting fairly comfortably. Not a bit of that either. I have inherited three small fortunes in my time, and I have willingly, happily and regretfully squandered the lot. The first I threw away on horseflesh. Being a good rider, but no judge of horses, it went between '18 and '22. In Canada, I threw away the next lot. When my father died on my return to England, in '34, I inherited the last lot. Today, I would be lucky if I could realise \$20,000. So I am earning my living and working as hard for it as I was when selling books in the U.S. But that's how I would have it. One of these days, when my step-mother dies, I shall come in for enough to enable me to live in a cottage, and maybe that is more than I shall deserve, if I live that long. For recreation, I ride a motor cycle – the same make that Aircraftsman Shaw killed himself on. It is the fastest machine made, and I have never yet been passed when I have been in the mood to show the youngsters that the old-timers have something left in them. My "firm" gives me a smart car to use, and, when I have to be dignified, I use it, but not when I can "escape". Now you will be thinking that I'm another of these eccentrics. I suppose I am in some ways. But, for two years, I have been "leading around" a crowd of the Mighty, so there has got to be another side to me as well! All in all, I have a good life. I have to keep as fit as a prize-fighter to stay the

	course, and I am pretty much on the go day and night – planning, scheming , and, I am afraid, wasting much of my time from being unable to concentrate my energies. Sometimes I wonder what’s the use, but I sleep well, so those moods usually fade away before another morning. ‘	
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PHOTOGRAPH ALBUMS

3/1	<p>‘Book 1’: contains approximately 99 photographic negatives and prints taken by J.C. C. Bullock during his expedition with John Hornby to the Canadian Barren Lands, 1924-1925.</p> <p>Written on the front of the album in J.C.C. Bullock’s handwriting: ‘an expedition by canoe and dog sled across the Canadian Barren Lands 1924-1926 by Capt. J.C.C. Bullock (Explorers Club, New York, and Cavalry Club, London) and the late John Hornby, “Hermit of the Arctic”, from Waterways, Alberta, Canada, to St. John’s, Newfoundland, via Slave River, Great Slave Lake, Hanbury River, Thelon River, Hudson’s Bay. Result of expedition was the creation by order in Council of the 15,000 sq. Miles Thelon Game Sanctuary for the Preservation of the last few Black-Faced Musk Oxen’. Note at the end of the album that ‘Many of these photographs were ruined in flooded canoes and sleds by rain & thawing snows, Alas.’</p> <p>Contents (captions by J.C.C. Bullock):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. B.C. Mounted Police Post, Fort Fitzgerald, Alta. 2. R.C.M.P. sled dog pups, Fort Fitzgerald. 3. R.C.M.P. sled dogs, Fort Fitzgerald. 4. Charles Cooper and his car on the 16 mile portage from Fort Fitzgerald to Fort Smith. Athabasca and Slave Rivers, 1924. The only car within hundreds of miles! 5. Fort Smith, N.W.T. Looking South towards the portage rapids. 6. Looking down river from Fort Smith, N.W.T. L. to R. Buckley, Alan Stewart, myself, Alan Great Louse. My two canoes prior to leaving alone for Fort Resolution, Gt. Slave Lake. 7. Myself at Fort Fitzgerald. Aged 26. There is a rare heronry on an island among the rapids between Fitzgerald and Smith. This is a [?honey] bird floating down the Slave River after leaving its nest. 8. Indians at Fort Resolution, Gt. Slave Lake, N.W.T. Hornby photo. 9. Indians at Resolution. Hornby photo. 10. Old Indian at Resolution. Hornby photo. 11. My two canoes tied to a [scow?] near Fort Resolution, Slave River. 12. Luscious fruit growing on Stoney Island, Gt. Slave Lake. Wild gorseberries. 13. Same as 89. Wild currants. 14. Same as 88 & 89. Wild gorseberry bush. 15. Crossing Gt. Slave Lake in one of the scows. Towing a canoe containing sled dogs. 16. Cliffs, Gt. Slave Lake. 17. Our camp, opposite Old Fort Confidence, E. end of Great Slave Lake, i.e. opposite mouth of Lackhart River, also Building base cache. 18. 35mm Hornby and dogs [ashore?], 4”x5” A lake on Pike’s Portage. 19. Going North. Warburton Pike’s lob stick at north end of Pike’s Portage (i.e. S. end of Artillery Lake). Warburton Pike discovered the portage route North from Gt. Slave Lake. 20. Sonrie Benjamin (centre) and his son (right) at Hornby’s cabin, Artillery Lake. Hornby photo. 	1924-1925
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21. Indian & Hornby's cabin, Artillery Lake. Hornby photo.
22. Our outfit on Artillery Lake.
23. Foul weather. Camped Artillery Lake. September.
24. I. Hornby & large caribou head, Artillery Lake. 2. A Rough-Legged Hawk flying over the Barren Lands in September.
25. The Stewarts' cabin, nr Artillery Lake. This they abandoned, and went South, due to severity of the climate.
26. Artillery Lake freezing up. Photo taken from the esker in which we dug our Winter home. View looking East towards mouth of Carba River. Join with next photo to make complete panorama.
27. Ditto. View looking South.
28. The dogs chasing caribou, with me on the sled. 2 & 3. Willow ptarmigan starting to bleach out in September. Good camouflage.
29. Artillery Lake. Weather getting mean. About 4 degrees below zero. Caribou track in the glacial gravel on Barren Lands Esker.
30. "Establishing" for the winter. We chose a sandhill (esker) and dug a hole into which we put our tent. We lived like this for a while, and hunted.
31. We removed the tent and made a roof over the hole. This was our house, measuring 10' x 7'.
32. Snow soon covered the house
33. View of "house" from the rear. Nothing to be seen except the oddments lying about.
34. The dogs slept outside in all weathers. The temperatures dropped to 72 degrees below zero.
35. Ditto.
36. This was the esker. With a magnifying glass it is possible to see the site of our house – dead centre of negative.
37. Our canoes became snowed up.
38. We made trips to hunt for meat – caribou.
39. Another view of our house. Chimney on the left; entrance on the right.
40. Hornby and the dogs on the frozen lake below the esker. See the smoke coming from our chimney on top of the esker.
41. There was a danger of freezing to death. Our only fuel in the Barren Lands consisted of dwarf spruce like this.
42. Ditto. We searched hundreds of square miles for "discoveries" like this.
43. Or like this.
44. And this!
45. This is what our fuel supply looked like after the snow had gone. This lot weighed about [?] lbs.
46. A view of the Barren Lands from the esker. Bleak and cold!
47. The top of the esker after a blizzard. The ridge blown clear of snow.
48. Ditto. Showing the grass of the Barren Lands.
49. These are two bull caribou heads skinned for mounting. They are inside out and drying in the wind.
50. The R.C.M. Police visited us in the Spring, stayed in house and left for the South. Their dog teams, & Corporal Baker.
51. L. to R. Self, a "Mountie", Malcolm Steward, & John Hornby.
52. The R.C. Mounted Policemen, some of their dogs. They were brought up by some Indian dog mushers.
53. This was my "bed" in the "house".
54. This was the snow tunnel leading to the house.
55. This was an offshoot of the snow tunnel, used for storage.
56. In the Spring when we had a thaw, things got messy. Note the caribou

- heads, and snow shoes.
57. So we set fire to the house.
 58. Photo taken from the ice of the lake, showing our house on the hill burning.
 59. We moved into a tent.
 60. Our dogs thought the sun was hot, so lay on the snow.
 61. Ditto.
 62. Hornby worked on some of our pelts. He is scraping a wolverine hide. Note the white wolf against the canoe bottom. It is frozen and thawing out for skinning. We axed off its feet (when dead) to fit the sled.
 63. Hornby and a sled load leaving camp on the commencement of our journey to Hudson's Bay, and the search for musk-oxen.
 64. Our camp in unexplored country 10 days later.
 65. 1. We had lost two of our dogs. It was heavy work with more than 1 ½ tons on the sled. 2. Then a blizzard came and forced us to camp until our food ran out.
 66. Then a thaw set in and marooned us.
 67. This is what the Barren Lands soon looked like. Slush ice and bare hills. Very difficult for travelling with either canoe or dog sled!
 68. This picture joins preceding one to make panorama.
 69. Another view of the Barren Lands in May. We were starving by now.
 70. This is how we travelled. Hornby, canoe and dogs.
 71. "Ferrying" a sled load from land to the lake ice.
 72. Launching the canoes in May, after portaging everything overland for three miles on our backs.
 73. Hornby lets the dogs go ashore.
 74. We had long been eating putrid meat. Hornby watching a caribou which we failed to shoot.
 75. The ice at last started to "go out" in mid-June. This would leave the lakes and rivers clear for canoe travel.
 76. As previous picture.
 77. Hornby cracking old caribou leg bones for the marrow in them. Did it stink!
 78. We build a cairn where we dumped all our scientific equipment, worth £3,000.
 79. On a small island in the middle of Hanbury River we dumped 10,000 feet of unused motion picture film, and a £1000 movie camera. We were too starved to carry it.
 80. At last I shot an old bull caribou. But it was diseased. We ate it and thankfully.
 81. Hornby did some fishing in the Hanbury River, but without success.
 82. I also did some fishing, but with rather less primitive equipment. I was very weak at the time from starvation.
 83. Equipment. My shoes (snow shoes).
 84. My battery. L. to R. 303 sporting Lee Enfield, 410 Collecting gun, 280 Ross High velocity, 22 Remington repeater.
 85. One of our camps on Hanbury River. July.
 86. The post carved and erected by the two men who were later murdered by Eskimos. Written on the back of the photograph 'The last record of Messrs. Radford and Street, murdered by Eskimos at Coronation Gulf. These men were our immediate predecessors in the country.'
 87. The Barren Lands black flies and mosquitos were now out in their myriads, so we had to live in smoke.
 88. My photographic dark room at the river side.

	<p>89. I turned round just after taking the preceding photo, and saw a caribou swimming across the river.</p> <p>90. The caribou waded out. Hornby grabbed a rifle and shot him. The first good meet for 2 months.</p> <p>91. While on the all-important subject of caribou, let it be said that a working white man eats 8 to 10 lbs of this meat when living on straight meat exclusively. A dog eats 5 lbs. This takes a lot of hunting. The following pictures are of caribou seen before we started to starve.</p> <p>92. As proceeding photo. The faulty photographs have been kept only because they are rare.</p> <p>93. Ditto.</p> <p>94. Caribou in early spring. Ditto. A photograph such as this, for instance, had never previously come out of the Barren Lands, 400,000 miles in extend. Travellers had never previously wintered in their interior, only around the edges.</p> <p>95. Caribou in June.</p> <p>96. Caribou in June.</p> <p>97. Caribou in April or May.</p> <p>98. Caribou in May.</p> <p>99. Many of these photographs were ruined in flooded canoes and sleds by rain and thawing snow. Alas. Caribou in June.</p>	
3/2	<p>'Book 2': contains approximately 99 photographic negatives and prints taken by J.C. C. Bullock during his expedition with John Hornby to the Canadian Barren Lands, 1924-1925.</p> <p>Contents (captions by J.C.C. Bullock):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As previous pictures. Barren Ground Caribou (Rangifer Arcticus). 2. As previous picture. 3. A good study of bull caribou travelling on the spring ice. 4. Caribou on the ice. 5. The Barren Ground caribou is the only species of deer having antlers in the female. All these heads (with the exception of the nearest one) is of a cow caribou. The other head is of a yearling bull caribou. The caribou is a survivor of pre-glacial mammalogy. 6. Same as the preceding photograph. The bull's head is on the left. 7. Enlargement from a movie still. Malcolm Stewart with a caribou that he had been butchering. Dog sled at rear. Photograph taken in March. 8. More caribou. 9. 1. As we travelled down Hanbury River the country became a little less desolate. 2. We even came across quite a tree. We could have a real fire at last! 10. Pot holes in the rock of the river bank. Formed by small boulders being swirled around by the water, and eating round holes in the solid rock. 11. Rapids on Hanbury River. 12. Rock formation of the river bank. 13. More Rapids on Hanbury River. 14. White water on Hanbury River. This is a stiff canoe route from Great Slave Lake to Hudson's Bay. We were not its pioneers. Three parties had preceded us since it was discovered. 15. Caribou grazing near our camp, in late June. 16. One of the best balanced caribou (Rangifer Arcticus) heads ever seen. In velvet. Hornby photo. 	1924-1925

17. A lonely caribou calf, having lost its mother travels along the river's edge.
18. There is rough country along the Hanbury. This gorge is impassable by canoe. One must portage around it.
19. Same as preceding photograph.
20. The start of a canyon on Hanbury River.
21. Half way down the canyon.
22. Fish from half way down the 3 mile canyon.
23. The foot of the canyon.
24. While on the subject of fish. These, called "Inconnu" are weighing about 20 lb. each were caught by us in Great Slave Lake.
25. A couple of trout from Hanbury River.
26. A trout and a whitefish from Hanbury River. Hornby wearing a much run-down International's blazer and looking pretty rough. He has Indian Moccasins on his feet.
27. The last-but-one falls on Hanbury River (see next photograph).
28. Same as previous picture. At this point we ran into timbered country – a phenomenal growth in the heart of the Barren Lands which extends from this point for several miles down the Thelon River.
29. "Trading" canoes in the Hanbury River.
30. The last falls on Hanbury River. It was on the opposite bank at midnight, in late June that we saw the first musk oxen. They had not been seen by man for a quarter of a century and were thought extinct in central Arctic Canada.
31. Muskox camp. Our tent in centre of picture.
32. This is the white faced musk oxen (*Ovibos Moschatus*) of the Arctic Archipelago and Greenland. The species is still fairly numerous in those latitudes. Not my photographs.
33. The next photographs were officially considered to be the rarest ever taken in Arctic Canada. Only one Black-faced Muskox (*Ovibos Moschatus*) had ever previously been photographed and in it the animal was barely recognisable. I believe I am correct in saying that the following photographs have never been improved upon, as the animal has not since been seen in such numbers or so close. The species may now be very near extinction.
34. Same as 33. The only known pictures of a muskox fording a river, or wading. Bull muskox.
35. This photo was taken at 11 pm. At eleven o'clock one night we saw a large bull muskox across the Thelon River moving East.
36. Next morning at 3 am we saw him returning with his mate. Photo taken at 3 am.
37. When out in his canoe Hornby thought he saw a muskox moving about.
38. We both went in search and soon found one lying down. His back is visible in the centre of the photograph.
39. Two (a bull and a cow) suddenly got up.
40. The cow muskox made off, leaving the bull to guard her retreat.
41. Eventually the bull made off, too.
42. As 41.
43. As we floated down river in our canoes we saw other musk oxen.
44. As 43.
45. As 44.
46. Same.
47. Same.
48. View of Thelon River. The clump of trees in which John Hornby and his

- companions eventually starved to death.
49. Wolves. The wolf is numerous in the Barren Lands. We never found them dangerous. They grew to a great size – weighing 115 lb. These are wolf pups in their den.
 50. Hornby tried to keep them alive, without success.
 51. We trapped 87 during the winter of 1924-25. This large white specimen is in a trap. Photograph taken in March.
 52. Same wolf as in preceding photo.
 53. Some of the wolves we trapped.
 54. A frozen white wolf compared with our largest sled dog.
 55. A mangy wolf bitch that followed us like a starving dog for three days. Poor beast, it was hoping that we would leave her something to eat, being too ill to hunt for herself.
 56. Birds. There is much bird life in the Barren Lands from spring to autumn.
Male Rough-legged Hawk.
 57. Rough-legged Hawk's nest.
 58. Site of rough-legged hawk's nest. Top of cliff in the centre.
 59. Peregrine Falcon's nest.
 60. As 59.
 61. Site of Peregrine Falcon's nest (as ringed on negative). Correct name for this bird in Canada, Duck Hawk.
 62. Savannah sparrow feeding (Ringed in pencil).
 63. Horned Lark Lapland Longspur.
 64. The Arctic Tern – reputedly the longest migrator of all birds – attacked us savagely when we crossed their nesting grounds. They actually pecked holes in my face! Hornby protecting himself with rifle.
 65. Arctic tern diving.
 66. Arctic terns. Their crops were full of spiders.
 67. Arctic tern's nest.
 68. The semipalmated plover. Male bird guarding nest. Photo taken at 2 feet!
 69. Ditto. Distracting me from the nest.
 70. Semipalmated plover. The bird 8 feet away.
 71. Female bird on the nest.
 72. Typical nesting site of semipalmated plover.
 73. Nest of the semipalmated plover.
 74. Horned Lark. Male bird guarding nest.
 75. Horned Lark. Nest and eggs.
 76. Horned Lark. Nest and young.
 77. Savannah Sparrow. None of these photographs was taken with a telephoto lens. Neither was there any cover. The birds were brave or tame.
 78. Lapland Longspur.
 79. Lapland Longspur.
 80. Lapland Longspur nest.
 81. Herring gull's nest. The herring gull helped to keep us alive on many occasions. He was very good eating.
 82. Site of herring gull's nest.
 83. The snow bunting.
 84. White-fronted goose. The nesting place of this bird in the Barren Lands was unknown. We found no nests but collected a brood of newly hatched goslings on Hanbury River.
 85. 1. Short-tailed Jaeger. 2. Short-billed gull. Discovery of this bird on Thelon River created an Easterly record for its known habitat.
 86. The nest of the yellow-billed Loon. The discovery of several nest of this

	<p>bird created great interest in Ottawa when we returned. The Soviet Union asked us for some of our eggs. All our collections were presented free to the National Museum of Canada.</p> <p>87. Close-up of Yellow-billed Loon's nest.</p> <p>88. Yellow-billed Loon's eggs (showing difference in size in same nest) on a winter caribou hide.</p> <p>89. Yellow-billed Loon.</p> <p>90. Yellow-billed Loon.</p> <p>91. Red-throated Loon's nest.</p> <p>92. Close-up of Red-throated Loon's nest.</p> <p>93. Site of Red-throated Loon's nest.</p> <p>94. Red-throated Loon.</p> <p>95. Baird's Sandpiper.</p> <p>96. The only swan seen on the journey, Thelon River, near where Hornby starved to death.</p> <p>97. Brood of Old Squaw Ducks.</p> <p>98. Pair of juvenile Arctic Loons.</p> <p>99. Off the Labrador Coast on our way home. Unidentified land bird. Very lonely and sorry for itself!</p>	
3/3	<p>'Book 3': contains approximately 99 photographic negatives and prints taken by J.C. C. Bullock during his expedition with John Hornby to the Canadian Barren Lands, 1924-1925. Also includes photographic negatives and prints of an expedition made by Bullock and Hornby in 1923 to the Columbia Ice field where they started from Nordegg, Alberta, and of Bullock's journey in 1933 up the Frazer River Canyon to Clinton, B.C. to work on a small gold deposit:</p> <p>Contents (captions by J.C.C. Bullock):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Flora of the Barren Lands. In summer the Arctic Prairies are a mass of flowers, butterflies, black flies and mosquitos. Not such a good combination! Unidentified flower. 2. Unidentified fern. 3. Unidentified flowering bush. 4. Unidentified flower. 5. Barren Grounds caribou. It has been variously estimated that there are from 10,000,000 to 30,000,000 head of caribou in Arctic Canada. Twice a year they move across the land in great migrations. We saw this colossal sight, but our photographs were ruined by swamping in a rapid. The three that follow actually contain thousands of caribou, but are almost impossible to "decipher". 6. As no.5. One herd can be seen in the water on the far side of the river. 7. As no.5. 8. The Arctic (or White) Fox. The country we visited was full of them. Hornby and I trapped about 150 between us. Our men farther south trapped many more. Enlargements from movie film of some of the catch. 9. The white fox is caught by putting down the carcasses of caribou (from which the best meat has been butchered) and setting traps around them. Trap sites. 10. White fox. 11. White fox carcasses after skinning. 12. Dissected white fox carcass. Usually these animals were very fat, like this one. The fat was oily, and we used it as lamp oil. 13. The white fox was usually the home of unpleasant parasites. These worms 	1923, 1924-1925, 1933

are from a fox's intestines.

14. The last of the timber on Thelon River. Then for some hundreds of miles we were back in the Barren Lands proper, using moss for fuel and finding ourselves starving off and on.
15. Camp on the middle Thelon River. The weather was hot and we slept under mosquito nets only. The foreground is speckled with wild flowers.
16. We discovered this river along our route. It was about the size of the Thames at Henley. Hornby named it Critchell Bullock River, but we did not have time to chart its course, so it is included in no map yet!
17. A very primitive sled found near the Thelon River.
18. A breather for a meal on a limestone bed. Thelon River.
19. An unidentified fossil in the aforementioned limestone formation.
20. The last rapids on Thelon River before entering Chesterfield inlet.
21. Some Eskimos visited us. We were getting near an outpost of civilisation.
22. The Eskimos looked more civilised than we did.
23. 1. Capt. J.C. Critchell Bullock, Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Territories, 1925. 2. On the Hanbury River.
24. The late John Hornby (Harrow School) at Fort Resolution, N.W.T., 1924.
25. The Trading Post of The Hudson's Bay Company and Révillon Frères, Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T. We had travelled by now 1548 miles by canoe and dog sled direct. We had travelled a further 920 miles on side trips. 2468 miles.
26. We mapped a good deal of country North and West of Artillery Lake.
27. During our short stay at Baker Lake I stayed at this establishment. It seemed tremendously luxurious. I had my first bath in 14 months. [Révillon Frères trading post at Baker Lake, N.W.T.]
28. My host was Monsieur Heller, a most charming man.
29. This Eskimo woman kept house for the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment – a hulking uncouth yellow-haired sod.
30. The Eskimo woman had a yellow-haired child. She also had tuberculosis.
31. Whaler at Baker Lake.
32. Whale boat (as 31) under sail by Eskimos.
33. We crossed Hudson's Bay from Chesterfield Inlet to Port Harrison in the 70 foot schooner "Jean Revillon".
34. Port Harrison, Hudson's Bay. A Hudson's Bay Company's trading post where Robert J. Flaherty had filmed 'Nanook of the North' three years previously.
35. Port Harrison. The Hudson Bay Co.'s factor (centre) and his two assistants.
36. Nuraklootuk. The heroine in Robt. J. Flaherty's film "Nanook of the North", and his son, Barney. At this time Nuraklootuk was crippled with a badly set fractured thigh. Nobody cared. I cursed the [Governor?] of the Hudson's Bay Company in person later, but doubt that anything was done.
37. Hudson's Bay Co.'s local schooner.
38. The women turned to unload the schooner.
39. Hornby was always very chivalrous with women, and when he saw the wife of Nanook (then dead) carrying heavy loads, he chipped in and help her. Stout chap!
40. Factors and Eskimos, Port Harrison.
41. Nuraklootuk's foster mother. Tanning caribou hides.
42. Canada geese at Port Harrison.
43. Nil.
44. The Eskimo cemetery where Nanook lies.
45. Nanook's grave.

	<p>46. We pushed on, by steamer, to Lake Harbour, Baffin Island, to the northward of Hudson's Bay.</p> <p>47. Baffin Island is a bleak, rugged land.</p> <p>48. Loading bales of fur at Lake Harbour.</p> <p>49. Eskimo children at Lake Harbour.</p> <p>50. Eskimo children, Lake Harbour, Baffin Island.</p> <p>51. Eskimo, Baffin Island.</p> <p>52. Kayaks, Baffin Island.</p> <p>53. Kayak, Baffin Island.</p> <p>54. Eskimo in kayak, Baffin Island.</p> <p>55. Hornby turns to on the S.S. "Peveril", and gives the cook a hand peeling potatoes. Written on the back of the photograph: 'One of the last pictures ever taken of Hornby, if not the last. Peeling potatoes for the cook of the steamship "Peveril" on Hudson Bay.'</p> <p>56. Hornby's collection of ivory, bone and copper Eskimo implements.</p> <p>57. As 56.</p> <p>58. The will written by Captain Bullock during a critical time on the expedition.</p> <p>59. The following photographs were taken during 1923 on an expedition made by Captain J.C.C. Bullock and John Hornby to the Columbia Ice field. We started from Nordegg, Alberta.</p> <p>60. In the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.</p> <p>61. John Hornby.</p> <p>62. Captain Bullock showing signs of hardship.</p> <p>63. Trees felled by beaver.</p> <p>64. Beaver work.</p> <p>65. Beaver trap on river dammed by beaver with fallen trees, etc.</p> <p>66. Close-up of beaver trap.</p> <p>67. Capt. J.C.C. Bullock. Written on the back of the photograph: 'Critchell-Bullock prior to going into [?] North in 1924. Photo taken in the [?] River country November 1923'.</p> <p>68. One of our camps in the Rocky mountains.</p> <p>69. Hornby in camp.</p> <p>70. Hornby in camp on a hill side at 7,000 feet.</p> <p>71. We had to cross this unnamed mountain 9,000 ft.</p> <p>72. Mount Coleman on the left. We crossed this range by the col in the centre of the photograph.</p> <p>73. Mountains en route.</p> <p>74. Almost in sight of our goal. Heavy snow and lack of food forced us to beat a retreat. (game was very scarce, and had to carry our entire belongs on our backs)</p> <p>75. The few following photographs were taken in 1933 when Captain J.C.C. Bullock went up the Frazer River Canyon to work a small placer gold deposit, during a much needed break from business in Vancouver, B.C. Vancouver part of a panorama.</p> <p>76. Second part of panorama of Vancouver, B.C.</p> <p>77. Third part of panorama of Vancouver, B.C.</p> <p>78. Part of the Canyon of the Frazer River.</p> <p>79. Part of Canyon of the Frazer River.</p> <p>80. The hotel at Clinton, B.C. where I was snowed up for the winter.</p> <p>81. My dogs playing outside the hotel.</p> <p>82. Adamson, proprietor of the Clinton Hotel.</p> <p>83. Lounge of the Clinton Hotel. Note big wood stove.</p> <p>84. Bedroom in the Clinton Hotel.</p>	
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	<p>85. Passage in the Clinton Hotel.</p> <p>86. The modern prospector! Hoover of the Newmont Mining Corporation of New York.</p> <p>87. The modern big game hunters! Loaded down with deer antlers, etc.</p> <p>88. The old-timer. The shoeing smith at Clinton, showing cattle brand burns on the walls.</p> <p>89. Captain J.C.C. Bullock in from the mountains.</p> <p>90. George Barratt, rancher.</p> <p>91. At the head of this lake I took out \$14,000 in placer gold in 5 months. Written on back of photograph: 'Emerald Lake'.</p> <p>92. The midnight sun. 200 miles north of the Arctic Circle, Lower Mackenzie R., N.W.T.</p> <p>93. Some views of a Canadian Homestead. This is an above-average Western farm. The House.</p> <p>94. The farmer's wife and son. This lady was the talented daughter of an English country rector. She lived a rough life with a swine of a husband.</p> <p>95. The barn and a corner of the cattle corral.</p> <p>96. Young beef.</p> <p>97. Another view of the barn.</p> <p>98. Part of the nearest "townsite".</p> <p>99. Capt. J.C.C. Bullock at his summer camp nearby.</p>	
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FILMS

4/1	<p>Two reels of 16mm film of 'Big Game in the Sub-Arctic of Canada' photographed and edited by Capt. J.C. Critchell Bullock F.R.G.S.M.A.S.M.</p> <p>With a handwritten note by J.C. C. Bullock, London, 10 May 1950, stating that "The original 35mm copy of this film is now in the Library of the Royal Geographical Society. This 16mm print has been taken from a 16mm reduction of the original, & hence has "lost" fully 50% of the definition of the original. The film should be regarded as of interest almost exclusively to mammalogists, or to students of Arctic Natural History. No other motion pictures of the Black-Faced Muskox are believed to exist, though the film was made 25 years ago."</p> <p>[A copy of the 35mm film is held at the British Film Institute on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society]</p>	n.d. [c.1924]
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PRINTED MATERIAL

5/1	Printed map: 'Routes of explorers'. Atlas of Canada, n.d. Scale 1:12,500,000.	n.d.
5/2	Printed maps: 'Map of exploration survey of divide between Great Slave Lake and Hudson Bay Districts of MacKenzie and Keewatin Dominion of Canada to accompany report of James W. Tyrrell, 1900'. Drawn and printed by the Topographical Society of Canada, Ottawa, 1923: Sheet nos. 1, 2, 3A, 4, with pencil annotations by J.C. C. Bullock.	1923
5/3	Printed maps: 'Map of Great Slave Lake', Eastern and Western Sheets, Northwest Territories, compiled, drawn and printed by the Topographical Survey of Canada, Ottawa, 1925 (2 nd ed.). With pencil annotations by J.C. C. Bullock.	1925
5/4	Printed map: 'Map of the Dominion of Canada shewing the establishments and	1927

	transport routes of the Hudson's Bay Company', Fur Trade Department, Winnipeg, Canada, published 1 st January 1927 (4 th ed.).	
5/5	E.R. Gunther, <i>Notes and Sketches made during Two Years on the 'Discovery' Expedition 1925-1927</i> (Reprinted from the 'Draconian' for 1928 by The Holywell Press, Oxford, 1928).	1928
5/6	<i>The Present Status of the Muskox in Arctic North America and Greenland</i> . A Special Publication of the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection, no.5, 1934. Signed by Captain J.C. Critchell Bullock, Cavalry Club, London, W.I.	1934
5/7	<p>Edgar Christian, <i>Unflinching. A Diary of Tragic Adventure</i> (John Murray, London, 1937). The volume includes handwritten and typed annotations made by J.C. C. Bullock.</p> <p>Stuck into the front of the volume are J.C. Critchell Bullock's typed notes on the edition:</p> <p>'Notes on UNFLINCHING by J.C Critchell-Bullock. Jack Hornby, as this book maintains, was a gentleman, sportsman and distinctive personality. He was at the same time eccentric and something of an exhibitionist, revelling in the tales of his hardships and claiming, by virtue of their severity, distinction as one of Canada's greatest travellers. His charm and compelling personality fascinated adventurous young men fresh from England, to whom the intellectual servility and sycophancy which he demanded of them was a small requirement in return for the new world that he opened to them. This applied to me for three years, but then I came out of the spell. His Canadian cronies liked him both for what he spent on them and for the notoriety it brought them to be seen with him. When I appeared on the scene he had been without a "partner" for twelve or fourteen years, and it was a popular opinion north of the Provincial Boundary that he would die on the trail. Consequently there was not an older man in the country who was willing to travel with him beyond the well-used trails and waterways. The Christian diary serves the purpose explained in Colonel Christian's foreword, but the very contents of the book, and the lack of anything in the Thelon cabin from the pens of Hornby or Adlard, prove that the trip had no scientific object. The draft report to O.S. Finnie mentioned on page 152 was past history and referred to our 1924-25 trip; and the \$600 mentioned on page 27 as having been paid to Hornby for a report on the caribou migration was what the Government paid <u>me</u> for my written findings. The Thelon Valley and, for that matter, the treeless country north of the forest line where I spent the winter of 1924-25 in a "cave", is inhospitable because, (1) it is some hundreds of miles from the nearest human settlement, (2) the winter temperatures there are sufficiently low to be dangerous – which of course could be said of many parts of Canada and U.S.A. My visit to the Valley was perhaps principally notable for the hardships I suffered there and for the fact that I nearly left my bones in the country. This was solely because I was blind, despite two previous short trips with Hornby, to the fact that he wished before all else to display his powers of endurance and fortitude, with a view to my returning to civilization dutifully and suitably impressed. Of the \$17,000 worth of supplies and equipment that I moved to our base camp, \$10,000 worth was sacrificed to this fetish. With Christian and Adlard we find Hornby continuing to reiterate that he was no longer the man he used to be, yet outdoing the youngsters in feats of endurance. They too were intended to return to civilization with stories to illuminate the Hornby saga. Even simple notes on seasonal phenomena are lacking, and it appears that the entire summer of 1926 passed without a single</p>	1937-1939

	<p>diary entry by young Christian. Hornby in a somewhat ineffectual way did more to spread the fable of an inhospitable Northland than any of his contemporaries. Much has been said and written of his love of the North. It would be more correct to substitute the word jealousy for love. To give an example, it is worth recording that in 1923, when Hornby decided to cancel our expedition and I cabled him in England that I was fully equipped and going north without him, he hastily booked passage to rejoin me, because, as he put it, "You may take the wrong sort of man into my country, Bullock." Two members of my party were of the wrong type, according to Hornby, who went to the lengths of checking their records and trying to estrange me from them with the news (which I already knew) that one had been a police detective, or stool-pigeon, as he termed it. My insistence on honouring my contract with them contributed to the final rupture between Hornby and myself, and that, and my subsequent expressions of independence, caused him to engineer the delay of six weeks at Fort Smith which made hardships inevitable and reduced my opportunities for useful work by half. I have since heard that Hornby's mention of me to all and sundry as he passed north on his last trip was of such a character as to leave no doubt that I was ineligible for any future courtesy or consideration. As the R.C.M.P. archives can show, he caused word to be sent to Edmonton in 1924 that I was insane. It must have placed him in a rather difficult position when the Police patrol, sent north to investigate the report, found nothing to substantiate it. If the foregoing gives the impression that I bear Hornby a grudge, or that I am too critical of normal human failings, I should direct attention to my numerous public utterances in the matter, which have been fully reported in Canadian, American and English newspapers. All will be found to have been in terms of admiration and respect for a man who, however fantastic in his generalship, showed true sporting spirit when his foibles brought disaster immeasurably close. Attention should also be drawn to the laudatory treatment his memory received in the book SNOWMAN, although there the reader will find much to conflict with the above presentation of the North Country. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the author of that book, (1) was not myself, (2) was an American newspaperman who had never been north of the Canadian Boundary, (3) was a dying man to whom I gave carte blanche to make of the story what he wished, (4) died while the galleys were being printed, which galleys, when submitted to me, seemed to demand such drastic correction that the publishers felt unable to accede to my requirements.'</p>	
5/8	<p>Malcolm Waldron, <i>Snow Man: John Hornby in the Barren Lands</i> (New York, 1997). With a new introduction by Lawrence Millman. [Purchased by Rachel Hassall for the Beckett Room Library, 2012]</p>	1997
5/9	<p>Clive Powell-Williams, <i>Cold Burial: A True Story of Endurance and Disaster</i>, (London, Penguin Books Ltd., 2002). [Purchased by Rachel Hassall for the Beckett Room Library, 2015]</p>	2002

Rachel Hassall
1 June 2015