

# 'Derby Days' at Deadwood: Highlights of Horse-racing at St Helena - Part 2

---

by Trevor W. Hearl

[Part 1 of this article appeared in *Wirebird*, No.29, Autumn 2004]

## *The Napoleonic Presence*

As 'General Bonaparte's' residence at Longwood Old House, and that of his 'Grand Marshal', General Bertrand, overlooked the racecourse, he usually watched the scene through a spy-glass from one of the houses, certain that his presence - or his absence - would be felt. Though he focussed mainly on the social parade of his 'jailers', he sometimes showed interest in the results of a race, once sending Count Montholon to get the name of the winner. His main interest, however, was to exploit the opportunity offered by the biannual meetings for political intrigue, recognising that, while the Island elite were gathered together in convivial mood, the chances of diplomatic indiscretions would be magnified. He would order members of his staff to mingle with the Allied Commissioners (Balmain, Sturmer and Montchenu) and pay court to the wives of British officials, if only to annoy the Governor. Race-goers' memoirs have encouraged historians of Napoleonic St Helena to conclude that the Races became "Lowe's bugbear", though they might equally show them as an example of his liberal patronage. He presented at least two "handsome plates" annually, and always attended with a large party, making the Turf Club's meetings major events of the St Helena Government's calendar of 'corporate entertainment'. But, with the responsibility of Europe's prisoner-of-state on his hands, it would be strange if he did not keep a tight rein on any attempt to use the Races for pro-Napoleonic propaganda. Incidents at the Racecourse were all too readily given a political twist as this example from the memoirs of Napoleon's physician, Dr Barry O'Meara, taken from the first meeting on 7 April 1817, illustrates.

Madam Sturmer, the three commissioners and Captain Gor,

were present. General Gourgaud also went and had a long conversation with the Baron and Baroness Sturmer, Count Balmain and latterly Marquis Montchenu. During the greatest part of the time no British officer listened to them. Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade were spectators a considerable portion of the time. Lady Lowe was also present. Towards the end of the races, the commissioners, Madam Sturmer and Baron Gourgaud, went to Mrs Younghusband's house in camp, where they remained together for some time before any of the governor's officers followed them.

For this indiscretion, the attractive and witty wife of Captain Robert Younghusband of the 53rd - her slur on a fellow officer's wife had cost him a fine of £250! - aroused the wrath of the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Reade, who recommended that the Governor "turn her off the island", though in fact she did not leave until the 2nd Battalion returned to England in July. O'Meara continued,

Napoleon went down to Count Bertrand's, where he had from the upper window a good view of the races, at which he remained until they were finished, and appeared to be highly entertained. [...] He asked many questions about the races, in which he appeared to take interest. Observed, that from what he had heard, Montchenu must have been very badly educated, as he had made use of very improper and even indecent language before Lady Lowe, on occasion of the breeze (which was very smart) having interfered with some lady's drapery.

Even such inconsequential gossip gained significance in the context of the 'captivity'.

Napoleon's horses were not raced, of course, though they did create a stir on two occasions. At the September meeting in 1813 a match was being run between Dolly and Regent when, as Surgeon Henry recalled,

a certain half-mad and drunken Piqueur of Napoleon, named Archambault, took it into his head to gallop within the ropes when the Course was cleared and the horses coming up. For this

transgression he was pursued by one of the Stewards and horse-whipped out of the forbidden limits. This gentleman knew not that the offender belonged to the Longwood Establishment, or he would, no doubt, have spared his whip; particularly as Napoleon at the time was sitting on a bench outside his residence, looking at the crowd through a glass; and probably interpreted the accidental chastisement his servant received into a premeditated insult to the Master.

Indeed, Napoleon was not amused, but in fact his anger was directed at the groom for demeaning the dignity of his 'imperial' court.

#### *Betsy's Race in Fact and Fiction*

The other incident, in September 1817, had more serious implications, as well as a curious literary sequel. Dr O'Meara, in his controversial recollections, recorded it as a storm in a teacup:

(September) 9th - Races at Deadwood. [...] During the interval between the heats, Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me, and asked if 'some of General Bonaparte's horses were not on the race-ground?'. I replied in the affirmative. His Excellency asked how they came there? I replied, that I had borrowed the horses from General Gourgaud, one of which I had lent to Miss Eliza Balcombe, and the other to the surgeon of the Conqueror [John Stokoe].

Sir Hudson immediately broke out into not the most moderate expressions, and his gestures attracted the attention of many of the spectators. He characterised my having dared to lend any of General Bonaparte's horses without his (the governor's) permission, to be the greatest piece of presumption he had ever witnessed. I observed, that I had come to St Helena to learn that it was a crime to borrow a horse for the use of a young lady; neither had I known that it was necessary to go to Plantation House to ask permission from him to borrow a horse belonging to the Longwood establishment. Sir Hudson replied, that 'I had no business to form any opinion about it'.

But O'Meara did not tell the whole story. Horses from the Longwood

stables were often loaned to government officials; O'Meara himself, as Napoleon's physician, always had the use of one. But such arrangements did not extend to social occasions. How 'Miss Eliza Balcombe' came to be riding a horse from Napoleon's stables is told in her own *Recollections* where, as Mrs Abell, she reveals that her father, William Balcombe, merchant, auctioneer, and 'Purveyor to the Longwood Establishment', had forbidden her to go to the Races that day for being "in arrears with my lessons". To enforce the ban, he lent her own pony to a friend. "My vexation was very great at not knowing where to get a horse, and I happened to mention my difficulty to Dr O'Meara, who told Napoleon."

After all our party had left the Briars for Deadwood, I perceived the Doctor winding down the mountain path which led to our house, followed by a slave leading a superb grey horse called Mameluke, with a lady's side-saddle and housings of crimson velvet embroidered with gold. This simply good-natured act of the emperor occasioned no small disturbance on the island.

Indeed it did. She does not say how her family greeted her arrival at the racecourse, but as Napoleon gleefully realised, her appearance, provocatively perched on one of his gorgeously camouflaged greys with its flamboyant trappings and 'imperial' saddle-cloth, would taunt Sir Hudson Lowe like a red rag to a bull. Mrs Abell admitted that she soon came to regret her impudent escapade when her father was later summoned before Sir Hudson and curtly warned that another display from his daughter like that, and he would be on the next ship back to Britain! Nevertheless she visited Longwood the next day when Napoleon told her he had been "much amused".

Inspired by Betsy's bravado some twentieth century writers on Napoleonic St Helena have given her an even more dramatic role in the history of the Deadwood Races. For example, Jeanette Eaton, while claiming to base *Betsy's Napoleon* (1937) "directly and closely on the memoirs of Mrs Abell", not only has her entering a race on a horse of Napoleon's called Archambault, but makes it a steeplechase. Over "the first low hurdle ... up and over again ... the gates were taller now ... the last hurdle ... she sped onwards ... far ahead of all the rest ... she had won!"

None of this is in my copy of Mrs Abell's *Recollections*. In *The Last Love* (1963), "a study of Napoleon, the man ... and Betsy...an exquisite beauty", Thomas B. Costain invents another race, a "wild free-for-all", in which, as "the ladies race had been run", Betsy was invited by young officers of the 53rd Regiment to join on Marmeluke, watched by Napoleon. A pistol shot and they were off. "Marmeluke came out like a cannon shot", shouts Napoleon dancing for joy, and exclaiming, "What fine hands on the reins!" as Betsy steers her mount down the Deadwood course and out of sight round the bend "doing well". But in his account she does not win; she misses the "inner course" and pulls out of the race so that the "poor 53rd" would not be beaten by a girl and made a laughing-stock. Napoleon was furious.

The author claims to have built his story "on fact", though "written in the form of a novel", but no such artistic license can be allowed Dame Mabel Brookes whose *St Helena Story* (1960), an "intimate study" of Betsy's friendship with Napoleon, is presented as a work of "sound scholarship [...] one of the most revealing Napoleonic studies ever published." In 1959, on the eve of publication, Dame Mabel, an Australian descendant of the Balcombes, gave the Briars Pavilion, where Napoleon spent his first weeks on St Helena in 1815, to the French nation. In her book she does not know why Betsy was "unable to ride in the ladies events", but she does assert that her arrival at the race-course on Marmeluke "went unnoticed", and that she then curtsied to Lady Lowe before meeting the Governor. Suddenly, "the Ladies' Race was won by Marmeluke". Betsy goes to dine at Longwood House that evening where, "placing the little silver trophy on the table before the Emperor [...] she chattered happily about the exciting day, the crowds, the betting ring and the mixed company of people."

As neither Betsy nor anyone else at the Races recalled a Ladies' Race or a "little silver trophy", it is a pity that Dame Mabel does not give her source of information, but as she dates that September meeting "on 15th November", perhaps it was all a dream. Mrs Abell herself did not attempt to embroider the occasion or seek to hide the fact - as most succinctly expressed by Faith Compton Mackenzie in *Napoleon at the Briars* (1943) - that Napoleon chose Marmeluke "because he was quiet. Betsy was timid with horses."



### *Racing Adapts to Times of Change*

The withdrawal of the royal garrison following Napoleon's unexpected death at 52 on 5 May 1821, might well have brought the short life of the St Helena Turf Club to an end with the September meeting that year. The subsequent halving of the population to its pre-Napoleonic four thousand, the collapse of the fragile prosperity of the 'exile years', and the loss, not only of horses, riders and expertise, but of the military rationale for the sport, must have made its survival doubtful indeed. Yet survive it did, though only occasional glimpses of the racing scene are to be found in published literature. Thus the next report of racing comes from 1829. When Captain Dumant d'Urville dropped anchor off Jamestown in the corvette *l'Astrolabe* on 15 January that year, returning from a scientific expedition to the south seas, the first news that greeted him was that the next day was race day. Next morning, all the officers went ashore - d'Urville himself was unwell and stayed aboard - and found the town "deserted, the population having left en masse for the Longwood plateau". Fortunately for the Island's pictorial heritage the expedition's artist, Louis de Sainson, also went, with the result that among the vivid illustrations for which d'Urville's history of the voyage is renowned, is to be found the only published picture of the Deadwood Races in action. De Sainson's fine panorama of 'Courses de Chevaux à Long-wood' (9" x 15") repays close scrutiny, revealing far more than words alone can readily convey. Full of action, it depicts

not only racing horses, but the overall setting, with tents and stewards' box, with Longwood in the distance, and Chinese punters conspicuous among the spectators and grooms, while artfully featuring the *Astrolabe's* officers in the foreground [see illustration; a large reproduction of De Saison's illustration can be found in Part I of this paper, *Wirebird*, No.29, Autumn 2004]. They all came back "in high spirits [...] many toasts having been drunk to the captain and the corvette", believing that they had been to "St Helena's first-ever race meeting".

The resilience and strength of support for the Turf Club were soon to be proved by an acid test. When in 1833 the little community was dumbfounded to hear that their Island was to be transferred from the Company to the Crown, even the most pessimistic did not envisage that it was to suffer the most serious social and economic setback in its history. With the arrival on 24 February 1836 of the first colonial Governor with a force of Argyllshire Highlanders, the Company's civil and military servants - the Island's gentry - were dismissed, almost all of them leaving, sooner or later, for pastures new, either 'at home' or in the colonies, and with them went the assets of the land-owning class, the natural supporters of the Turf Club. Not only the Races, but all social and cultural activities, now came under threat as Colonial Office parsimony replaced Company paternalism. The Island's prestige projects - the Military Institution, the Observatory, the Telegraph System, even gun emplacements - were abandoned and asset-stripped. Nor did it help morale that the Highlanders were an unhappy garrison, grumbling at "the discomforts and privations of the island", though the men were given double rations and the officers an extra 3/- a day hardship allowance. As for sport, they found "very little" to their liking except cock-fighting. Nevertheless the Turf Club weathered the storm and the Races survived. Even the Argyll's regimental history spared them a brief mention when "a Cape horse" owned by one of their officers set the best record for a mile in two minutes seven seconds.

Lt Robert Stuart of the Royal Fusiliers, writing about 'St Helena in 1838' in the *United Services Journal*, reported that setbacks notwithstanding, "horse-racing is carried on with tolerable success [and] there is a very good course". His account has interesting comments on the type of horses then being raced.

The horses, though not of the purest blood, are strong, hard-working animals generally between fourteen and fifteen hands in height, most of them [...] imported from the Cape.

He then gives the first intimation about the qualities of Island-bred horses:

Those bred in the Island are in highest repute, probably because they are found to work better, and last longer on the mountainous roads and rough country to which they are alone accustomed. Good nags vary in price from £25 to £50; their chief provender, instead of corn, is grain, imported from India and the Cape; tolerable hay is grown on the Island, and excellent grazing can always be had for seven shillings a head per month [...].

Horses had clearly become accepted as indispensable to the economic and social well-being of the community, and yet, even a generation later, the leading local authority on the Island's natural history, John Charles Melliss, was quite ambivalent about the role of the horse in St Helena's rugged terrain. "A horse is a necessity, and not a luxury at St Helena", he wrote in his *Physical, Historical and Topographical Description of the Island* in 1875, but then he noted that "donkeys are far more useful than horses". Indeed, he regretted that oxen were not still the main draught animal, as in Governor Patton's day.

The steep roads, with their sharp turns, are far better suited to the sledge carriages of Madeira than the modern carriage and pair of Hyde Park which now conveys His Excellency's family up and down the precipitous hills.

Melliss assumed that horses were "a modern introduction" to the Island. He favoured the home-bred product from those imported from the Cape or South America, "which soon appear delicate and do not stand either the dampness of the atmosphere or the steep hills."

Neither are they so suited to the requirements of the place as the slight, short-legged, firmly-built, Island-bred pony.



They performed an important function as mounts for tourists; “a pretty fair stud turns out immediately the arrival of a mail steamer or passenger ship is announced.”

The charge for a ride to Napoleon’s Tomb and Longwood is from 10s to 12s 6d; but Jack Tar usually manages to have his money’s worth out of the poor beast by keeping him the whole day.

There were then about 225 horses on the Island. The cost of keep, with groom’s wages, Melliss estimated at £55 a year, plus a horse-tax of between 5/- and 10/- “according to use”. An incidental by-product of the more general use of horses was the introduction of the common Bott-fly, driving horses and donkeys “almost frantic when one is near”. It was almost as an after-thought that Melliss noted that “there is a good race-course, full a mile in length, on Deadwood Plain, where races are held once a year, at Christmas time.”

Melliss’s brief comment reveals that two major changes had occurred at the Deadwood Races over the years: the course had been shortened, and the meetings reduced from two to one a year. The racecourse, being temporarily roped off for each occasion, does not appear on any map, but Melliss, who had succeeded his father as the colony’s surveyor and civil engineer in 1860, would have given an accurate estimate of its length. The change to a single ‘summer’ meeting seems to have occurred about 1860 as most of the events thereafter, as noted in *St Helena 500: A Chronological History* by Robin Gill and Percy Teale (1999), were held between November and January, most of them in December.

#### *Turf Club: Boom and Bust*

Change indicates innovators with influence, and now supporters of the Turf Club could only have come from the *nouveau riche* of colonial St Helena, prosperous Jamestown merchants who, since the Island’s transfer from the Company to the Crown in 1834, had bought up the estates of impoverished landowners at bargain prices and adopted a country lifestyle. A few of the new, opportunist, civil servants were similarly tempted, but officers of the garrison and naval station, from whose ranks once came the mainstay of the Races, were far less

prominent, perhaps because they were of a different stamp and less affluent than their Regency predecessors. These changes did not mean that the Turf Club was failing, however. Far from it. Indeed, in 1854 the newly established *St Helena Herald* characterised a decline in more cultural pursuits with the sardonic comment: "A Turf Club prospers, but the Library languishes."

Yet memoirs of the time, including *The Diary of Jane Matilda Stace (June 1854 – July 1859)*, wife of Lt Walter Stace RA, which is rich in social references, are silent about race meetings on the Island. Likewise the Government's *St Helena Almanac and Annual Register* ignored the Turf Club in its annual listing of 'Local Institutions' and their officials.

Nevertheless, at least fourteen one-day meetings were held during the thirty years between 1852 and 1882, and moreover they were now reported in the Island's first weekly newspapers, principally the *St Helena Guardian* (1861-1924). Surviving copies of these are today only to be seen in London and Jamestown, without which there is only circumstantial evidence to confirm how the sport was really faring. A glance at the leading players at the Races, for example, will show how social and economic change was reflected on the racecourse. In 1852, when a mid-winter meeting was held on 25 July, the Stewards included two brief 'birds of passage', the Government Auditor, George Edwardes, and an unattached staff officer and A.D.C. to the Governor, the aptly-named Capt. Steward, with the respected Jamestown shipping agent Eden Baker, while the Clark of the Course was an old hand from Company days, the former Lt J.R.C. Mason of the St Helena Infantry. By the 1870s the process of social transformation can be seen reflected - literally - in the names engraved on the Deadwood Challenge Cup, itself an indication that racing still had its backers. The Cup was awarded annually from 1868 - when it was held by Saul Solomon (junior) - to 1875, when it was finally won outright by George Moss, whose horse Artful had won it no fewer than five times out of eight! Both owners came from the leading merchant house of Solomon, Gideon & Moos, while only two winners were from old settler families, Louis Knipe (1870) and George Alexander (1869), whose heirs sold out in 1886 to Solomon's business rival W.A. Thorpe. The winner in 1871 was James Francis Homagee, whose meteoric career in the civil service was to end in

disgrace when, as Manager of the Savings Bank, he ‘borrowed’ funds to finance his gentrified lifestyle, a temptation to which his generation of civil servants seemed to be prone.



Support for the Turf Club seems to have collapsed after the Boxing Day meeting of 1882, which apparently was the last for almost forty years. Whatever the reason, the range of support for the Club must inevitably have been reduced by the fading away of the old settler families and, since 1870, the Island’s deepening economic depression driving out all but the major merchants, leaving few competitors to challenge the Solomons and the Thorpes. Perhaps the appeal of racing had narrowed to a small section of St Helena society, and the sting of poverty left Islanders in no mood for ‘jubilee’ events on Deadwood Plain. This might explain why the Races were ignored by contemporary guidebooks. In both *Saint Helena* (1865) by ‘Bird of Passage’ (R.A. Sterndale), and *A Few Notes on St Helena* (1881 and 1883) by Benjamin Grant, while visitors were recommended to enjoy “a brisk canter of five minutes over the level plains of Longwood and Deadwood”, neither author commented that this was the also the site of St Helena’s racecourse, even though in Grant’s case, as editor of the *Guardian*, his tour guide of rural rides was published to extol the Island’s amenities as a tourist and health resort.

The apparent absence of racing after 1882 was certainly not caused by a lack of mounts. The 1881 census recorded 202 horses on the Island, and while numbers had dropped to 152 by 1911, there was no significant decline until motor transport was introduced in the 1930s. There were still over twenty horses in the 1970s, when the revival of tourism might have encouraged a pony-trekking venture, ideal for exploring the Island's rugged, picturesque terrain, but no such enterprise emerged to save the horse on St Helena, and the last of the local brood had died out by 1992.

Any revival of racing on Deadwood Plain must have seemed doomed in 1900 when the site was requisitioned by the military, first to house thousands of Boer prisoners of war and their Irish guards in tented camps for three years, and then to build permanent barracks to replace the garrison's unhealthy quarters in Jamestown. This project was abandoned when the walls were a few feet high and the area was left littered with bricks "imported at enormous expense", goading the local historian Emily Jackson to protest at the consequences in her book *St Helena: The Historic Island* (1903), though not at the abuse and loss of the Island's long horse-racing heritage site. Yet legends of the old 'jubilee' spirit must have lingered on in the cultural consciousness of the community, as against all the odds, suddenly in the 1920s, crowds once again thronged Deadwood Plain to enjoy a day at the Races.

### *Finale – St Helena Style*

Two meetings are on record, the first on Boxing Day 1921, when four races were held, and the second, with an ambitious programme of seven races, on Easter Monday, 2 April 1923. (An entry in Gill and Teale's *St Helena 500* notes a "gymkhana" at Longwood on 29 November 1939, but does not mention horse-racing). However, a report of the Boxing Day meeting of 1921, found in a surviving copy of Canon Walcott's *St Helena Diocesan Magazine*, shows that the reign of the old Turf Club had long passed into history. In its place the enterprising promoter, 'Jack' Thorpe, had formed a 'Gymkhana Committee' to provide a very different sporting occasion from those of yesteryear. As a leading landowner and flax miller his idea was to give the Island's workers and their families a free treat at Christmas. Thus, the proceedings began at 11 o'clock with a march past of Scouts

and Church Lads Brigade before the sporting Governor, Robert Peel, and then, in Walcott's words,

the fun of the fare [sic] commenced - top hat shies, clock spin, taking the wicket, electric dip, Kaiser's face (by no means a flattering likeness) - great fun all of it in which you paid nothing for trying and got prizes for winning: not very businesslike perhaps, but greatly to be commended.

The winners of the Tug of War, the Goat-guessing competition, the Leghorns and the Donkey Race, were all announced, and then, in the afternoon, came the horses.

The horse racing was great. Dear old cart horses some of them, taken straight from the shafts, put into racing harness and ridden by 12-stone jockeys. And right nobly they rose to the occasion, and for a brief glorious moment as they pranced about at the starting post, fancied they were Derby favorites.

It was all a great success. "Fortunes were neither won nor lost, [...] but the Hospital Emergency Fund was enriched to the extent of £8."

The next meeting, at Easter 1923, seems to have been the last, marking the end of the Deadwood Races. If a copy of Walcott's monthly *Magazine* can be found, it will no doubt reveal how far the meeting lived up to the expectations of its backers and the public. It might be said that these events were hardly in the tradition of the St Helena Turf Club or of Admiral Rous, and do not merit a mention in any review of 'the sport of kings' at St Helena. But that would be to misunderstand the role of the Races on the Island. From the outset they were conceived and prosecuted simply as entertainment, and that remained the essence of the tradition. Basil Jackson and his Regency friends delighted in the "amusement" they provided, just as a century later Jack Thorpe and his Committee got their satisfaction from "the hundreds of happy faces all around them." The social and cultural context in which each was held may have been worlds apart, but to every generation, for over a hundred years, 'Derby Days at Deadwood' provided a rare 'jubilee' - and for once in a while on St Helena the humble horse was hero. ❧

## Sources:

- Anon: *The Courier*, Tuesday, 31 August 1819, p.1 col.4
- Anon: *The Graphic* ('A Run Ashore at St Helena'). 20 February 1886, p.220-221
- Abell, Mrs: *Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon [...] on the Island of St Helena* (John Murray, 1844), p.111-113
- Arkin, Marcus: *John Company at the Cape, 1794-1815* (Cape Town, 1961), p.209, 255n.
- Arkin, Marcus: *Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers* (Cape Town, 1965), p.196-199, 207.
- Arkin, Marcus: *Agency and Island, 1822-36*, p.307.
- Arkin, Marcus: in *Archives Year Book for South African History*, 1960 II; 1964 I; and 1965 I.
- 'Bird of Passage': *Saint Helena* (Houlston & Wright, 1865). The author was R.A. Sterndale, Indian Civil Service, authority on the mammals of India; later Governor of St Helena 1897-1901.
- Bird, T.H.: *Admiral Rous and the English Turf, 1795-1877* (Putman, 1939). See also entries in *Dictionary of National Biography* and O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, Vol.II.
- Brookes, Dame Mabel: *St Helena Story* (Heinemann, 1960), p.149-153.
- Chaplin, Arnold: *A St Helena Who's Who, or A Dictionary of the Island During the Captivity of Napoleon* (2nd rev. ed., Arthur L. Humphreys, 1919), p.218-19.
- Costain, Thomas B.: *The Last Love* (Doubleday, New York, 1963), p.339-45.
- D'Urville, Jules S-C Dumont: *Two Voyages of the South Seas, Vol.I, Astrolabe 1826-29* (trans. & ed. Helen Rosenman) (University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p.268-69.
- Eaton, Jeanette: *Betsy's Napoleon* (Cassell, 1937 & 1953), p.242-8.
- Gill, Robert & Teale, Percy: *St Helena 500: A Chronological History of the Island* (Cape Town, 1999), passim.
- Gosse, Philip: *St Helena, 1502-1938* (2nd ed., Anthony Nelson, Oswestry, 1990), p.43, 54, 217 & passim.
- Grant, Benjamin: *A Few Notes on St Helena, and Descriptive Guide* (St Helena, 1881 & 1883). For "a brisk canter", 1883, p.70.
- Henry, Walter: *Surgeon Henry's Trifles: Events of a Military Life* (ed. Pat Hayward) (Chatto & Windus, 1970), p.145, 156, 159.
- Hickey, William: *Memoirs of William Hickey*, Vol.III (ed. Alfred Spencer) (Hurst & Blackett, 1948), p.377. Emma Wrangham, Mrs Bristow.
- Jackson, Basil: *Notes and Reminiscences of a Staff Officer* (ed. R.C. Seaton) (John Murray, 1903), p.184-87.
- Jackson, Emily: *St Helena, the Historic Island* (Ward Lock, 1903), p.136-37.
- Janisch, Hudson: *Extracts from the St Helena Records* (2nd ed., St Helena, 1908), passim.
- Lutyens, Engelbert: *Letter of [...] 1820-23* (ed. Sir Lees Knowles) (John Lane, 1915), passim.
- MacKenzie, Faith Compton: *Napoleon at the Briars* (Jonathan Cape, 1943), p.41.
- Melliss, John Charles: *St Helena: A Physical, Historical and Topographical Description of the Island* (L. Reeve, 1875), p.83. 196.
- O'Meara, Barry: *Napoleon in Exile, or A Voice from St Helena* (Simpkin & Marshall, 1822), Vol.I, p.507; Vol.II, p.212-13.

- Philip, Peter: *British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819* (Cape Town, 1981), p.231.
- Shorter, Clement K. 'The Brookes of St Helena and the Great Napoleon' in *The Sphere*, 22 April 1905, p.84. Quotes T.H. Brooke's unpublished letters to his mother in Dublin.
- Stace, Jane: *The Diary of Mrs Jane Matilda Stace, 1845-1859* (transcribed with notes by Barrie and Christine Spratt) (typescript, 1994).
- Stuart, Robert: 'St Helena in 1838' in *United Services Journal*, Vol.XXVIII (1839), p.66-77. A brief reference to the same race can be found in the history of the Argyllshire Highlanders for 1836.
- Walcott, Laurence: *St Helena Diocesan Magazine*, January 1922. Canon Walcott edited, printed and mostly wrote the *Magazine* from 1921 to 1951.
- Watson, G.L. de St M.: *A Polish Exile with Napoleon* (Harper, 1912), p.63.
- Young, Norwood: *Napoleon in Exile: St Helena, 1815-1821* (Stanley Paul, 1915), p.37-38.

For information about the Deadwood Challenge Cup I am indebted to George Moss, former Agricultural and Flax Industry Manager for Solomon & Co., St Helena.

## Postscript

*Correction: A Gourgaud Gaffe*

In the last paragraph of part 1 of 'Derby Days at Deadwood' (*Wirebird*, No.29, Autumn 2004, p.23) I reported that, in January 1820, Napoleon had "sent Gourgaud out to buy" Miss Somerset's horse. I have since been reminded by that devoted 'Purveyor & Peruser of Napoleonica', Victor Blair of Scarborough, Ontario, that General Gourgaud had left the Island in March 1818! I am most grateful to Mr Blair - whose motto is 'the pursuit of detail is the religion of perfection' - for drawing my attention to this error. As I have parted with most of my Napoleonic St Helena books since I wrote my article, I cannot now find where this particular story was published. I do recall being a bit uneasy about the story, however, as I find it surprising that a young lady would part with a favourite horse which she was taking home to England from the Cape, unless possibly travelling conditions at sea were proving unexpectedly hazardous, and she was relieved to have found it such a good home. Indeed, I would be interested to hear from any other reader who can shed light on this rarely-reported incident.