

THE TRUE FACE OF SIR ISAAC BROCK

by Guy St-Denis

ISBN 978-1-77385-021-4

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY NOT:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.



Acknowledgement: We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher, **re.press**, and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy <http://www.re-press.org>

An Evolving History

The officer in the miniature discovered by Miss Mickle (fig. 11) portrayed Lieutenant George Dunn after the Battle of Waterloo, and not Major General Sir Isaac Brock as a junior officer. There was no doubt about it—yet Ludwig Kosche worried that any attempt to correct such a long-standing mistake would be highly contentious. It was therefore imperative to make the strongest case possible for Lieutenant Dunn. In order to do so, Kosche had to establish the miniature's date, confirm the sitter's identity, and supply a provenance. Only then would he feel comfortable in rewriting Canadian history. While Kosche was certainly up for the task, he soon found himself becoming overly dependent upon Miss Mickle's notebook. There was simply no other source for most of the information he required. And despite her bias in favour of the miniature being a portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, Miss Mickle's research was still quite useful.

The miniature's date had not been an issue previously, but now Kosche recognized the importance of being able to prove that it was painted subsequent to Brock's death in 1812. The miniature, however, was generally accepted to date from 1806, based on the curious 18X6 inscription it bore. Although he was unable to find any dating system which combined both Roman and Arabic numerals, Kosche was impressed by the cheque-writing analogy of Gerald S. Hayward—whose interpretation found a prominent place in Miss Mickle's notebook.¹ According to Hayward, it was a long-held banking practice to use XX to represent 00 or no cents. In like manner, an X had been substituted for a zero when the miniature was dated.² Kosche could see Hayward's point; unfortunately, it did not serve his purpose as there was a sizeable problem with such an early date—and it had to do with the sitter. He looked rather young to be an officer with



FIGURE 11.

some twenty years' worth of service, as was the case with Brock by 1806.³ In mulling over this disparity, it occurred to Kosche that instead of a zero, perhaps the X was meant to represent a Roman numeral ten. Interpreted this way, the date suddenly became 1816. It was quite the eureka moment for Kosche, as 1816 was the first year in which the Waterloo Medal was awarded.⁴ But to be absolutely sure of himself, Kosche had to find some viable explanation for the additional ten years.⁵

Various art experts were consulted in May and June of 1983, but none of them had ever encountered such an unusual method of dating a painting.⁶ Eventually Kosche found what he needed in the judgement of a long-dead artist. Many years earlier, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster had dismissed the X as nothing more than the slip of a brush.⁷ Kosche thought the idea compelling—even more so than Hayward's cheque-writing analogy or his own Roman numeral theory. A more objective source might have been preferable, given Forster's close association with the Robinsons, but Kosche was still satisfied that he had the right date for the miniature. And having established 1816 as the year it was painted, he was more at ease with the sitter's new identity. Before long, however, there would be a far better indicator that it was really Lieutenant George Dunn.



FIGURE 15.

Earlier, in January of 1983, Kosche was put in touch with a gentleman in Toronto who was said to have a portrait of Sir Isaac Brock. The gentleman, John Short, was a descendant of the same Short family with the connection to Captain James Brock.⁸ This distinction lent a great deal of credibility to Short's claim and Kosche was anxious to see the portrait he possessed. Kosche became all the more eager in March, once he began poring over Miss Mickle's notebook. It was then that he learned of Mrs. Heber Taylor, the lady who owned the so-called miniature of Sir Isaac Brock (fig. 11), and how she too descended from the Short family. Suddenly the odds for yet another portrait of Brock seemed vastly improved. But when Kosche finally had a chance to view the portrait in November of 1983, he saw that it featured an elderly looking British officer (fig. 15). Since Brock was barely middle-aged at the time of his death, it was impossible that he could have been depicted as an old man. Thus Short's portrait did not depict Sir Isaac Brock. Yet, upon closer inspection, Kosche noticed something about the sitter's uniform that gave him pause. It looked very similar in style to the uniform in the miniature of Lieutenant George Dunn. There was also what appeared to be the Waterloo Medal. After securing a photograph of the portrait and conducting further research, Kosche was able to identify

the uniform as that of the 23rd Regiment, the Royal Welch Fusiliers.⁹ And once he established that the sitter was in fact wearing the Waterloo Medal, Kosch was confident that he knew the identity of the elderly officer. It was none other than Lieutenant George Dunn.

During his investigation, Kosche might have derived some benefit had he known about the “wild Harum Scarum man” incident. Unfortunately for him, his research did not extend much beyond Mickle’s notebook and she chose not to make mention of it.¹⁰ As a result, Kosche never knew the significance of Frederick M. Short’s vehement argument against Mrs. de Beaumont’s supposed portrait of Sir Isaac Brock (fig. 15). However, by delving deeper into the entire set of papers preserved by the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, Kosche almost certainly would have uncovered Short’s original letter and his derogatory remarks about the elderly Lieutenant Dunn’s portrait—including the one describing the poor old officer as having a wild harum-scarum look about him. Instead, Kosche was left to deal with a severely edited transcript in Miss Mickle’s notebook.¹¹ The upshot, however, was essentially the same. Short, who was Mrs. Taylor’s uncle, was positive that the sitter in the harum-scarum portrait was not Sir Isaac Brock, and Kosche had—quite independently—come to the same conclusion. But whereas Short insisted that the miniature (fig. 11) portrayed Sir Isaac Brock, Kosche now doubted it as well.

Even before he came face-to-face with the harum-scarum man, Kosche was becoming ever more convinced that the miniature owned by the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto was really that of a youthful Lieutenant George Dunn. He was so sure of himself that he shared his findings with Miss Lorna R. Procter in September of 1983, just prior to his setting out on a month-long vacation. But Kosche received some very disagreeable news not long after he arrived back in Ottawa.¹² As Miss Procter feared, her fellow executive members were not entirely accepting of Lieutenant George Dunn. Many of them simply ignored Kosche and his research, preferring to believe what they had always believed—namely, that the miniature portrayed Sir Isaac Brock.¹³ While Miss Procter was firmly on side with Kosche, she agonized over how best to share his disappointing conclusion with the general membership. Kosche, for his part, was more concerned with the wider world; if the apathy of the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto was any indication,

he could count on being brushed off by the nation at large. Worse yet, he might be forced to endure much resentment and hostility. Although he remained undaunted, Kosche also saw the need for additional evidence to neutralize the skeptics. And because he wanted to start writing up his research before the end of the year, he was under considerable pressure to move as quickly as possible.¹⁴ But the article he envisioned still required a thorough investigation of the miniature's provenance.

Sometime earlier, Kosche happened upon a brief historical record of the miniature (fig. 11). The "Chronology," as it was called, contained a preamble in which Miss FitzGibbon outlined the following ownership: "This miniature of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock formerly belonged to his brother [cousin], James Brock, captain and paymaster of the 49th Regiment of Foot. It was left to his widow, a daughter of the Rev. Robert Shortt, Rector of Trois-Rivières. She left it, with other valuable relics, to her sister Matilda, widow of George Dunn, Captain [Lieutenant] and Paymaster of the 23rd Welsh [Welch] Fusiliers. Mrs. Dunn, by codicil dated Nov. 14th 1867, bequeathed it to her niece, Mrs. Heber Taylor, daughter of the late Mr. John Shortt."¹⁵ On the surface, Miss FitzGibbon appeared to have drawn her information from credible sources. But when Kosche reviewed Miss Mickle's transcription of Mrs. James Brock's will, as well as the codicil to Mrs. George Dunn's will, he could find no mention of a miniature purporting to be that of Sir Isaac Brock. Miss FitzGibbon's misrepresentation, whether intentional or not, was a caution against her research, and alerted Kosche to the necessity of going back to the original records. Thus motivated, Kosche arranged for copies of the relevant testamentary documents. While he had no expectation that they would authenticate the miniature in Brock's favour, he was curious to know if one or the other of them made reference to Lieutenant George Dunn.

Kosche began by seeking a copy of the will of Mrs. James Brock, who died at Montreal in 1859, but there was no provision for a miniature of any kind.¹⁶ Nor was there any mention of Lieutenant George Dunn. The same held true for the codicil to Mrs. George Dunn's will.¹⁷ Kosche was not surprised, given what he had already seen of Miss Mickle's transcripts. There was nothing in the probate record to substantiate the Short family tradition that Mrs. Brock left a miniature of Sir Isaac Brock to her sister, Mrs. Dunn, or that Mrs. Dunn then left it to her niece, Mrs. Taylor.

Kosche was thoroughly disillusioned with Miss FitzGibbon, and her lack of historical rigour.¹⁸ She had just assumed that the miniature was passed down through the Short family according to the provenance provided by Mrs. Taylor. She also took it for granted that Mrs. Brock's will and Mrs. Dunn's codicil provided for these bequests without actually stipulating as much.¹⁹ Kosche, however, was more careful in his analysis. He concluded that since no provision was made for the miniature in Mrs. Brock's will, then she probably never owned it. Such an heirloom was not likely to have been overlooked, not when numerous other small items had warranted a special mention.

While Kosche could use this absence of evidence to argue against the miniature being a portrait of Brock, he still wanted confirmation that it portrayed Lieutenant George Dunn. A timely—if somewhat indirect—validation came in November of 1983, when another Short descendant positively identified the portrait of Lieutenant Dunn as an old officer (fig. 15).²⁰ And because H. Douglass Short of Kingston was an avid genealogist, Kosche deemed his identification to be reliable. Having thus established that this portrait was in fact Lieutenant George Dunn, it should have been fairly obvious that the miniature of the younger officer was the same man, as they both looked much alike. Kosche nevertheless had trouble making the connection, despite the nearly matching uniforms. In the end, it was these same uniforms—or rather his uncertainty about them—that prompted Kosche to go after an expert opinion. Norman Holme, the assistant curator of the Royal Welch Fusiliers Museum, was happy to be of service and was unequivocal in his response: “the subject is undoubtedly wearing the uniform of an officer in the Royal Welch Fusiliers.” Furthermore, Holme was able to observe that “the facial similarities are clearly apparent.”²¹ Kosche remained undecided, although he did grant that there appeared to be “the same longish face.”²² Somehow, he appears to have overlooked Dunn's most striking facial feature, and that which resulted in the poor old lieutenant being described as a “wild Harum Scarum man”: his distinctively high eyebrows.

Given the circumstantial evidence Kosche managed to assemble, no reasonable person would disagree that the miniature long thought to portray Sir Isaac Brock was really Lieutenant George Dunn. And yet Kosche was still very nervous about going public with what he knew. In February

of 1984, he admitted his reticence to Captain Mellish. Having finished that section of his article on Brock's portraits dealing with the miniature discovered by Miss Mickle (fig. 11), Kosche sent a copy to the captain. In his covering letter, Kosche commented on his choice of wording when discussing the sitter's identity, and his unwillingness to "definitely state" that the miniature was of Lieutenant George Dunn. Kosche thought it better to say "a high degree of probability," since he had given up all hope of ever finding the absolute proof he required to ward off the naysayers. "To my mind," he explained, "the evidence does not permit stronger language, nor do I think it advisable to push the case more strongly, lest the effect be exactly the reverse." Kosche was also doubtful that one article, no matter how well documented or forcefully written, would be sufficient to undo a misconception that had been allowed to stand uncontested for almost a century. "One has to enlist time as one's ally," he philosophized.²³

There was little reaction from Captain Mellish, other than to agree that using stronger language might have "the reverse effect."²⁴ This nonchalant attitude was understandable, as he was not terribly concerned about a misidentified miniature of Lieutenant George Dunn. The captain was more interested in what Kosche had to say about his own portraits of Brock, and so he looked forward to the delivery of future instalments. The one that arrived in mid-March of 1984 held the most appeal, as it dealt with the profile portrait of Brock (fig. 3).²⁵ While much of the information contained in this instalment was familiar to the captain, notably the revised attribution from James Sharples to William Berczy, there were also a couple of new—and rather troubling—revelations. The first seemed to call the profile portrait's very existence into question, while the second proposed that this seemingly non-existent portrait may have gone to Guernsey in 1818! Poor Captain Mellish was more than a little perplexed. What he could not have known, however, is that Kosche had become too reliant on the research of Miss Agnes FitzGibbon, and the analysis of Miss Sara Mickle.

The first revelation came about as Kosche was making his way through Miss Mickle's notebook. In reading one of her many transcripts, he encountered a brief but unnerving passage from a letter dating to 1813. Written by Major John B. Glegg, Brock's former aide-de-camp, it was addressed to the dead general's brother and heir. Before closing his missive, Major

Glegg assured William Brock that he did not have a portrait of his lamented brother. But by devoting just one short sentence to the subject, Major Glegg allowed considerable latitude for anyone wishing to second-guess its meaning. Miss FitzGibbon took the lead by misquoting the major in a letter she wrote to Miss Mickle:

I am quite sure that the General did not sit for any portrait in this country and I do not know of there being any likeness of him.²⁶

Actually, what the major wrote was this:

I regret to say that I never possessed a good likeness of your Brother, nor did he ever sit for it being taken in this Country.²⁷

It was not quite the same thing, but the paraphrasing was close enough for Miss FitzGibbon to play devil's advocate. As she hypothesized, perhaps the miniature discovered by Miss Mickle portrayed someone else . . . perhaps even Captain James Brock.²⁸

Miss Mickle was horrified. "I [would] never have dreamed of James Brock," she confided to her notebook. The "internal evidence of the portrait was dead against it."²⁹ Unfortunately, Miss Mickle did not expand on what she thought constituted this "internal evidence." She may have meant that since the miniature was dated 1806, and because Brock was known to have been on leave in England during that year, then it was probably he who sat for the artist J. Hudson. Or perhaps it had something to do with the youthful appearance of the officer, which was thought to be compatible with Brock's age in 1806 (he was thirty-six years old for most of that year).³⁰ Whatever her rationale, Miss Mickle was convinced that the sitter was the future Sir Isaac Brock. The very notion that her miniature might portray Captain James Brock was extremely aggravating. If, as Miss FitzGibbon believed, the sitter were Captain James Brock, "we must then believe that Mrs. Brock did not know her own husband . . . nor Mrs. Dunn her own brother-in-law."³¹ As for Major Glegg's assurance that the general did not sit for any portrait in this country, he "*did not know* what he was saying."³² After all, there was Mr. Garrett's watercolour portrait



FIGURE 31.



FIGURE 18.

of Brock (fig. 31), which was almost certainly produced in Canada, and also the Jarvis silhouette (fig. 18)—“perfectly authentic and taken in Canada.”³³ But Miss Mickle was a little too hasty in disposing of Major Glegg, as his assertion that Brock never sat for his likeness being taken “in this Country,” which she took to mean Canada, could have been used with great effect to reinforce her claim that the miniature had been painted in England.

Miss Mickle, however, remained hostile towards Major Glegg, mainly because she thought he implied that there was no portrait of Brock. To suggest such a thing was absolutely ridiculous, because it would “cut out the Guernsey portraits” as well as the miniature.³⁴ Miss Mickle was unyielding: Major Glegg was not to be trusted. But surely, all he meant was that Brock never sat for a portrait while he was posted to Upper Canada.³⁵ The major ventured no opinion as to portraits that might have been painted elsewhere, and so nothing he said could be construed as ruling out those such as the profile portraits (figs 3, 4), or even the miniature (fig. 11). Yet, because Major Glegg’s statement had a negative connotation, Miss Mickle felt the need to dispute it. Kosche, however, was not so quick to condemn. Unlike Miss Mickle, he had great respect for Major Glegg. Besides having been Brock’s military aide-de-camp, Captain Glegg (as he then ranked) was one of the general’s closest friends and a co-administrator of his estate. In this latter capacity, it was his sad duty to pack up Brock’s personal effects and send them off to William Brock in England.³⁶ If anyone could shed light on the question of Brock’s portrait, it was Major John B. Glegg. Unfortunately, his statement regarding Brock’s likeness was far from encouraging . . . unless, of course, it was taken out of context.

Kosche decided to go back and review the original source of Major Glegg’s statement, and conveniently enough he just happened to have a copy of the major’s letter to William Brock.³⁷ As he searched his files for it, Kosche must have hoped for a better understanding of what the major had to say about Brock’s portrait. If so, he was disappointed. The letter offered nothing in the way of an elaboration. And since it was unlikely that more of the same type of correspondence would ever be found, Kosche was forced to work out the meaning of Major Glegg’s cryptic message for himself.³⁸ After pondering the terminology, he finally resolved that “a good likeness” equated with a formal portrait requiring several sittings.



FIGURE 3.

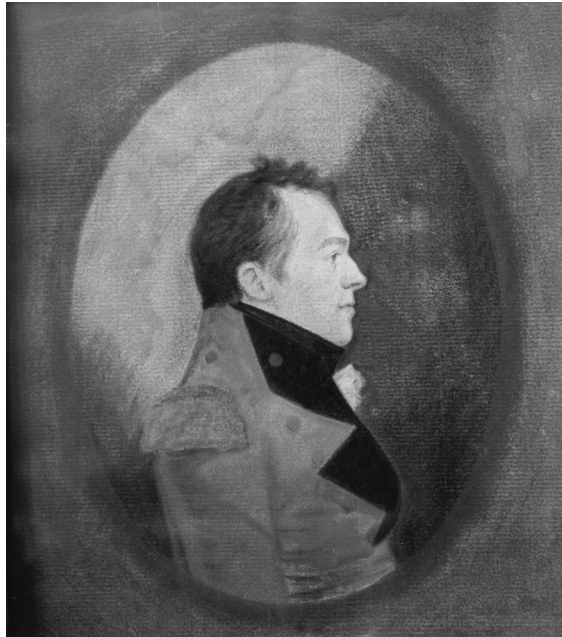


FIGURE 4.

The major's statement, therefore, was something more along the lines of an affirmation that Brock never commissioned an oil painting of himself while in Canada.³⁹ It still allowed for a small profile portrait in pastels, however, as Major Glegg only referred to there being no "good likeness" or formal portrait of Brock. And there was still the possibility that perhaps Major Glegg "knew less than he thought he did."⁴⁰

Kosche was beginning to rethink the extent of Major Glegg's familiarity with Brock, and he was influenced to a large extent by Miss Mickle. Having checked for the major's entries in *The Quebec Almanac*, she found that he was frequently absent prior to his appointment as Brock's aide-de-camp in 1810.⁴¹ In light of these duties elsewhere, there was bound to be a sizeable gap in Major Glegg's knowledge of Brock's private affairs. Kosche tended to agree, but he still had great faith in the man who effectively acted as Brock's personal assistant.

While Major Glegg might not have been privy to every detail of Brock's private affairs, Kosche found it difficult to accept Miss Mickle's contention that he must therefore have been ignorant of the profile portrait (fig. 3). For Kosche, this was an unreasonable assumption, especially given the major's close association with Brock towards the end of his life. Kosche further contemplated the possibility that Major Glegg might have owned this portrait at one time. Such an acquisition might explain how Captain Mellish ultimately came to possess it. Although pure speculation on his part, Kosche had a hunch that Major Glegg sent the profile portrait to William Brock and from him it passed to his family in Guernsey, which put Captain Mellish in line to inherit it. But as Kosche himself acknowledged, there was "nothing" to substantiate this sequence of events or even Major Glegg's ownership.⁴² Oddly enough, Kosche was far less circumspect regarding the portrait's arrival in Guernsey, as another old letter seemed to confirm its delivery there. The peculiar insights Kosche gained from this contemporary source would form the second troubling revelation for Captain Mellish to entertain, and once again it involved Miss FitzGibbon.

Upon her departure from St. Peter Port in 1897, Miss FitzGibbon was given the letter Major Glegg wrote to William Brock. It was a gift from Miss Henrietta Tupper, as were a number of other old letters. One of them dated to January of 1818 and was written by Brock's brother. After

returning from a tour of Upper Canada, Savery Brock had allowed himself some time in London before continuing on to Guernsey.⁴³ His baggage having been sent ahead, a nephew was given special instructions regarding one of the items Savery brought back from Canada. Ferdinand Brock Tupper was to “tell Mrs. Charles de Jersey to be particular in looking over every book for a miniature, that I fancy is placed between the leaves in one or other of them, and to give it with my compliments to the sister of the gentleman.”⁴⁴ The keyword was “miniature,” of course—and Miss FitzGibbon instantly thought of the profile portrait.

That Savery Brock neglected to describe the miniature in any detail was immaterial. Like it, the profile portrait (which was painted on a letter size sheet of paper) could easily have fit between the pages of a not overly large book. Savery Brock was obviously visualizing the profile portrait, and Miss FitzGibbon was anxious to share this new information with Miss Mickle. Writing in early June of 1897, Miss FitzGibbon introduced the topic by way of some new background information on the bronze profile (fig. 8).⁴⁵ She had already persuaded herself that this bronzed silhouette was modelled after Daniel de Lisle Brock—if only because he bore a close resemblance to his brother, Isaac.⁴⁶ But after reading Savery Brock’s letter, Miss FitzGibbon further posited that until Mrs. de Jersey delivered the miniature, the bronze profile was the closest thing to a portrait of Brock his family had.⁴⁷ This want of a portrait seemed to be in keeping with Savery Brock’s concern for the miniature he ensconced in a book. It all made perfect sense.⁴⁸

Miss Mickle, however, was not nearly so taken with Miss FitzGibbon’s conjectures. Much of this indifference was linked to Miss Mickle’s fixation with the miniature she discovered. To her, the other miniature was nothing more than an unwelcome distraction. But Miss Mickle soon had a change of heart, once she began to toy with the idea that Savery Brock might have been writing about her miniature. Perhaps, she speculated, he “heard when in Canada that the miniature (mine) still existed—had not been destroyed at Ft George or the taking of York. That he knew he had not seen it among the things and he hopes that for safe packing it may have been removed from its frame and put between the leaves [of a book].”⁴⁹ Ironically, this severe bout of wishful thinking followed Miss Mickle’s reprimand of Miss FitzGibbon, who was derided for suggesting



FIGURE 8.

that the miniature might have portrayed Captain James Brock. Yet, Miss Mickle's subjective reading of the evidence was no less reckless, especially as it negated any opportunity for her own discovery of Brock's miniature. Had the miniature (fig. 11) actually been sent to Guernsey in Savery Brock's baggage, it probably would have remained there. But Miss Mickle duly recorded her slanted impression and when her notebook was lent to Ludwig Kosche many years later, it made for fascinating reading.⁵⁰

Initially, Kosche treated Savery Brock's instructions to Mrs. de Jersey with a healthy dose of skepticism.⁵¹ Unlike Miss FitzGibbon and Miss Mickle, he saw the futility in trying to determine which miniature Savery Brock had in mind. Nevertheless, he was intrigued by the potential connection between it and the profile portrait owned by Captain Mellish. A Canadian origin for the profile portrait certainly meshed with the attribution to William Berczy, and Savery Brock's instructions might very well explain how it ended up in Guernsey.⁵² Still, there was no way of telling if the miniature in Savery Brock's baggage was the profile portrait owned

by Captain Mellish—although Kosche seems to have grown comfortable with Miss FitzGibbon’s conclusion that they were one and the same item.⁵³

Captain Mellish was not inclined to say much about these various revelations, except that they were “very interesting.”⁵⁴ There was not the slightest hint of incredulity in the captain’s reply, probably because the revelations—although troubling—were also inconclusive. So, even if Brock never sat for a good or formal likeness in Canada, and whether or not it was the miniature delivered to Guernsey 1818, the captain still had a very fine profile portrait of his famous ancestor. And just as the revelations were “very interesting,” so too were all the observations Kosche sent along with them.

Among these observations, there was a misleading description of Brock as a relatively young-looking officer “with a full mop of hair.” Actually, he was approaching middle age with a receding hairline. There was also a “wart” on his right cheek, by which Kosche really meant a mole. The size of Brock’s head was also given due consideration, although it did not appear exceptionally large to Kosche (in spite of Brock’s own description). Neither did there seem to be a weightiness to his physique, which Ferdinand Brock Tupper had characterized as “perhaps too portly.”⁵⁵ Brock’s uniform was discussed as well, with Kosche remarking that there was no medal or any other insignia. These missing “decorations” were reassuring to Kosche, knowing as he did that Brock died before receiving any.⁵⁶ As for the portrait’s date, he adjusted it once again, this time from his earlier reckoning of 1809 to the last quarter of 1808.⁵⁷ It was necessary in order to accommodate a possible meeting between Brock and Berczy in Montreal, a detail which John Andre had brought to light.⁵⁸ Kosche also tried to account for the copy of the profile portrait (fig. 4), but he was unable to do anything more than confirm that it was a weaker rendition.⁵⁹ Being able to distinguish it from the original was good enough, however.

Captain Mellish was just as content, and he thought the article in progress to be “most thorough.”⁶⁰ With this vote of confidence, Kosche began to think about a publisher. Someone willing to print the illustrations in colour was to be preferred, but he knew the added expense would be difficult to justify.⁶¹ In late March and early April of 1984, he had hopes that the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto might be willing to take on his project. Unfortunately, his negotiations with Miss Lorna

R. Procter were compromised by an increasingly paranoid demand for secrecy. As Kosche became ever more agitated by the prospect of having to share his research before it was published, he rather bluntly told Miss Procter that he did not want other people sticking their noses into his business. He was especially bothered that some of these other people might be history professors, who he regarded as being overly critical of antiquarian pursuits. Sensing that Miss Procter might be offended by this injunction, Kosche apologized by claiming that he only wanted to maintain an element of surprise.⁶² But it was too late. Miss Procter, while she remained supportive, was not in good health and lacked the stamina to cope with the darker side of Ludwig Kosche. Not surprisingly, his proposal involving the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto was unsuccessful.

After a failed attempt to interest the Toronto Historical Board, Kosche went back to a former publisher. His article on the "Relics of Brock" had been featured in *Archivaria*, the journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists, and Kosche was fairly confident that its editor would be receptive to another Brock-related submission.⁶³ The only disadvantage with *Archivaria* was its usual practice of printing illustrations in black and white. If authors wanted them in colour, they had to foot the bill for the extra cost. Kosche, however, was optimistic that he would be able to find a source of funding. Unfortunately, his optimism was unwarranted and he soon had to resign himself to a less elaborate presentation. While Kosche might have gone in search of another journal, an article on Brock's portraits seemed a good fit for *Archivaria*. Moreover, he just wanted it done and out of the way.⁶⁴

Kosche submitted his manuscript to *Archivaria* in the summer of 1984, which eventually brought a favourable assessment from the journal's editor, Thomas C. Nesmith. Looking beyond his concerns about the manuscript's length and complexity, Nesmith made allowance for its obvious significance.⁶⁵ In due course, the manuscript was sent out for peer review. Remarkably, Kosche no longer seemed the least bit perturbed by having to share his research in advance of publication. Perhaps he expected the anonymous readers to be agreeable archivists, as opposed to overly critical history professors. In any case, and by the end of September 1984, both readers recommended publication.⁶⁶ As one of them stated: "It will be a valuable reference for any scholar or archivist concerned with Brock and

the iconography of Brock. It is as well a very interesting demonstration of the use of military costume to authenticate portraiture.⁶⁷ This same reader also appended nearly three pages of questions and comments, all of which were forwarded to Kosche at the end of January in 1985. After the better part of a month spent in making revisions, there was nothing left for him to do but wait for the offprints.⁶⁸

Six months later, during a visit to the Public Archives of Canada, Kosche happened upon the recently released summer issue of *Archivaria*. In it, he found the long-awaited article.⁶⁹ Much to his delight, the illustrations reproduced “quite well” in black and white.⁷⁰ Kosche was very pleased, and he wasted little time in getting copies for all the people who had supported his endeavour. Foremost among them was Captain Mellish, who responded with considerable praise.⁷¹ Kosche received similar accolades, and like the “Relics of Brock” article, his “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock” was well received.⁷² It would also be his crowning achievement at the Canadian War Museum.

A few weeks later, Kosche took early retirement. In sharing this news with Captain Mellish, the fifty-six-year-old librarian cited a number of reasons for his departure, including a desire to pursue his own interests.⁷³ Kosche quickly adapted to his newfound freedom, much of which he spent in travelling and researching.⁷⁴ While Sir Isaac Brock did not figure into this new routine, Kosche continued to correspond with Captain Mellish. Gradually, however, the letters ceased and eventually the captain lost touch with Kosche, as did former colleagues. By the time Kosche died in 2000, his professional legacy was all but forgotten at the Canadian War Museum.⁷⁵ Yet, his name lived on as the author of several important artifact studies. His last submission to *Archivaria*, “The Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” was long held to be an important piece of original research. But while Ludwig Kosche was an honest historian who did some very good work, he was not destined to have the last word on Brock’s portraits.

