



THE TRUE FACE OF SIR ISAAC BROCK

by Guy St-Denis

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Conclusion

After nearly a decade's worth of research, the true face of Sir Isaac Brock was finally revealed in the profile portrait by Gerrit Schipper (pl. 3). While Philip Jean's miniature of a youthful Ensign Brock (pl. 27) is authentic in its own right, the depiction of an older Brock on the verge of becoming the "Hero of Upper Canada" holds far greater relevance. For many years, however, the existence of the profile portrait was unknown, as Ferdinand Brock Tupper used his influence as Brock's biographer to suppress it. Thankfully, Dr. John George Hodgins was determined to have an accurate likeness of Brock for Ontario's Educational Museum. His persistence was rewarded with a photograph of the profile portrait, which George Berthon used as the model for his own painting of Brock (pl. 9). This grand canvas was intended to be Brock's official portrait, and it soon became the most widely recognized portrait of the great man—but not for long.

The miniature discovered by Miss Sara Mickle (pl. 11) was considered a much better portrayal, mainly because it was painted in three-quarter pose and showed more of the hero's noble countenance than did Berthon's reworking of the profile portrait. It was also more visually appealing, featuring a handsome young officer for the hopeless romantics to moon over. But while the miniature came highly recommended, it did not appear quite right to certain members of the Robinson family. Gossip began to undermine the credibility of this newfound likeness, and, fearing a confrontation with one of Toronto's first families, Miss Mickle readily accepted Miss Agnes FitzGibbon's offer to seek out evidence of the miniature's authenticity. It must have seemed a godsend at the time, especially as Miss FitzGibbon was developing something of a reputation for being a Canadian historian. But in terms of the miniature, at least, her attitude

towards historical research had more to do with proving a point than seeking the truth.

Fortunately for Miss FitzGibbon and Miss Mickle, they were never taken to task over the identity of the young officer in the miniature. Miss FitzGibbon certainly tempted fate when she denounced Berthon's portrait of Brock as being a "lifeless presentment," but despite this provocation none of the Robinsons were willing to engage Miss FitzGibbon in an undignified war of words. "Historian," who was likely Christopher Robinson, merely skirted the issue by defending Berthon's portrait against Miss FitzGibbon's unfair criticism. The Honourable John Beverley Robinson would have been far more outspoken, as it was he who commissioned Berthon's portrait. But the former lieutenant governor was dead. And while Major General Charles W. Robinson was convinced that Miss Mickle was trying to foist a false image on the people of Canada, he was unable to disprove the miniature's authenticity and so he kept his silence. Had he been less concerned about his reputation as a gentleman, the general could very easily have undermined Miss Mickle's discovery simply by pointing out the various discrepancies in the miniature. But just as Miss FitzGibbon predicted, General Robinson had no stomach for fighting women and so the misidentification went unchallenged.

For almost a century thereafter, Lieutenant George Dunn was mistaken for Major General Sir Isaac Brock. Ludwig Kosche finally set the record straight in 1985, and it was a significant breakthrough—albeit one that Kosche himself relegated to obscurity. Publishing his findings in a professional journal of limited distribution was by no means conducive to reaching a wider audience. A more popular approach would have had greater effect, provided there was a willingness on his part to deal with the Dunn miniature separately, and either in a newspaper or magazine article. But Kosche was anxious to be done with Brock, so the portraits were left in their original groupings according to medium. It was an unfortunate decision, as this format made it impossible to emphasize the awful truth behind Lieutenant Dunn's miniature.

Apart from the flaws in his presentation, most of Kosche's findings are sound and reliable. But in accepting William Berczy as the artist responsible for the profile portrait (pl. 3), the normally wary Kosche allowed himself to be led astray. Eventually, Jeanne Riger confirmed my belief that

Gerrit Schipper was the artist. With this correct attribution, I was able to pin down the time and place of the portrait's commission. The unorthodox arrangement of Brock's buttons, which was not in compliance with his appointment to brigadier general, remained a vexing problem as it tended to cast doubt on the sitter's identity. But after making sense of the discrepancy, I resolved the question in favour of Brock and no one else. My next challenge was to try to understand the process used in the making of the profile portrait. Having satisfied myself that Schipper probably employed a physiognotrace, I decided to look into the workings of that instrument. During this exercise, it became obvious to me that Brock's portrait was done from life and that no part of it was pre-painted. Another important consideration was the quality of Schipper's portraiture, and whether it was good or bad. While the latter contention was patently ridiculous, refuting the nonsense required a good deal of effort.

It was Ferdinand Brock Tupper who originated the idea that the profile portrait was somehow "no good." Actually, all Tupper ever claimed was that Brock's family "possessed no good likeness of the general." But in doing so, he implied a negative impression of the profile portrait. Tupper might have been influenced by Major John B. Glegg's admission that he never possessed a "good likeness" of his friend and general. While it is likely that Major Glegg simply meant to say that he had nothing better to offer, Tupper appears to have thought that he was passing judgement on the profile portrait. There is also the possibility that because this portrait shows only one side of Brock's face, it was deemed unsuitable as a model for an elaborate memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral. Such a rejection could easily have given rise to a mistaken belief that the portrait was therefore "no good." Whatever his rationale, Tupper judged Schipper's profile portrait of Brock to be unworthy of his famous uncle.

However much Ferdinand Brock Tupper may have disapproved of the profile portrait (pl. 3), there is not the slightest hint that his uncle was unhappy with it—especially as Brock appears to have kept this particular portrait with him until the day he died. Even if the portrait was a gift from Governor Sir James H. Craig, and supposing there was a reluctance to dispose of it for fear of causing offence, any such concern would have been greatly diminished once Brock was posted to Upper Canada in 1810. With Governor Craig's departure in 1811, followed by the news of his death

early the next year, Brock was free to do as he pleased with the profile portrait. But since it was not discarded, Brock probably thought the likeness did him justice. His brothers must have agreed, as they carefully preserved both the original profile portrait and a copy as well. Little is known of this copy (pl. 4), except that it was an heirloom in Savery Brock's branch of the family for many years. And the duplication resulted in a very close copy, which suggests that the original was sufficiently true to life as to warrant an exact reproduction.

But regardless of his skill in rendering an accurate representation, Schipper could not compete with the leading portrait painters of his day—and neither did he try. Instead he specialized in small profile portraits, expeditiously painted in pastels and sold at moderate cost. This was portraiture for the masses, and Schipper was undoubtedly one of its great masters.¹ By combining art and technology, it was Schipper the itinerant artist who ultimately succeeded in capturing the true face of Sir Isaac Brock.

Provenance

While Gerrit Schipper's profile portrait of Brigadier General Isaac Brock (pl. 3) was a long-cherished heirloom, handed down from one generation of collateral descendants to the next, the manner of its transfer was usually accomplished without the necessity of a will. Small value items such as Brock's portrait were not, as a rule, enumerated in estate inventories. They were more likely to have been distributed with less formality and only passing regard for Guernsey's ancient legal tradition of primogeniture. Despite this entrenched form of male birthright, practical considerations frequently altered the inheritance of *personalty*—or chattel property. Such was the case with the portrait now recognized as the true face of Sir Isaac Brock.

ISAAC BROCK, QUEBEC CITY, LOWER CANADA (QUEBEC), 1809/1810–1812

Sometime between late May of 1809 and early July of 1810, Gerrit Schipper painted a pastel portrait of Brigadier General Isaac Brock in profile, facing right. Brock took this profile portrait to Fort George in Upper Canada (Ontario) when he was posted there in July of 1810, and also to his subsequent postings at Montreal and York (Toronto). After Brock's death in October of 1812, the portrait was sent to his older brother in England.

WILLIAM BROCK, STAMFORD HILL, ENGLAND, 1813–c.1819

William Brock received all of his brother's personal effects in 1813, and six years later he died without issue. It was probably due to the lack of an heir

that the profile portrait passed to one of William Brock's younger brothers. William Brock's sole beneficiary was his widow, Sarah Maria (Putt) Brock, and she may have conveyed the portrait in accordance with her husband's last wishes. There is also the possibility that William Brock made a gift of the portrait before he died.

IRVING BROCK, LONDON/BATH, ENGLAND, C.1819–1838

The profile portrait remained in Irving Brock's possession until his own death in 1838. As was the case with William Brock's estate, all of Irving Brock's worldly possessions were left to his widow, Frances (Longley) Brock. One notable exception, however, was the profile portrait, which passed to a nephew in Guernsey. This transfer was later described as a bequest, and presumably it was Frances Brock who made the necessary arrangements after her husband's death.

HENRY TUPPER, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 1838–1875

Henry Tupper was a nephew of Irving Brock through his mother, Elizabeth Brock, who married John Elisha Tupper. Upon Henry Tupper's death in 1875, the portrait became the property of his widow.

MARY ANN TUPPER, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 1875–1882

After the death of Mary Ann (Collings) Tupper in 1882, the profile portrait went to her eldest son.

DE VIC TUPPER, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 1882–1892

At the time of his death in 1892, De Vic Tupper was a widower—his wife, Emily Sophia (Bingham) Tupper, having predeceased him in 1890. Therefore, the profile portrait passed directly to their only son.

HENRY BINGHAM DE VIC TUPPER, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 1892–1903

Henry Bingham de Vic Tupper died unmarried in 1903, and so the profile portrait became the property of his three sisters. At some point, however, it was lent to their cousins, Emilia and Henrietta Tupper (the daughters of Ferdinand Brock Tupper), who understood that the loan was to be for the duration of their lifetimes.

BEATRICE, CONSTANCE, AND EDITH TUPPER, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 1903–1960

With Emilia Tupper's demise in 1920, followed by that of Henrietta Tupper in 1928, the profile portrait was returned to the surviving sisters of Henry Bingham de Vic Tupper (Constance Tupper having succumbed in 1914). After Beatrice Tupper died in 1942, Edith Tupper continued to own the portrait until she passed away in 1960. Prior to her death Edith Tupper willed the portrait to her first cousin, once removed.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL H.T. MELLISH, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 1960–2007

As the grandson of De Vic Tupper's sister, Ethel (Tupper) Mellish, Captain Michael H.T. Mellish was deemed to be the next person in line for the profile portrait. In 2006, it was given to his son for safekeeping.

NICHOLAS T.L. MELLISH, MALDON, ESSEX, ENGLAND, 2007–2009

Nicholas T.L. Mellish inherited the profile portrait after the death of his father in 2007. The younger Mellish retained the portrait until early in 2009 when, after various attempts to sell it, he finally struck a deal with the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery.

THE GUERNSEY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, ST. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, 2009–

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35. Philippa Abrahams (after Gerrit Schipper, 1809/1810), *Major General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1985, oil painting on canvas, 66 x 56 cm, Archives and Special Collections, James A. Gibson Library, Brock University (catalogue BC-029).

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During my quest for the true face of Sir Isaac Brock, I was fortunate enough to receive the unstinting assistance of a great many people. First among them was Dr. John Sugden, the acclaimed British historian who encouraged me to begin work on a new Brock biography, and who was just as eager as myself to find an authentic portrait for its frontispiece. During the long and tedious undertaking that followed, John remained a constant source of inspiration.

The lady named in the dedication has been a most enthusiastic supporter, and despite my fears that she might become disenchanted as my research became increasingly protracted, Gillian Lenfestey (now Gillian Davies) never lost interest in Brock's portraits. Without her extensive knowledge of Guernsey's history, as well as that of her late husband, Hugh (who happened to be the island's first archivist), many valuable records would have been beyond my reach.

I also enjoyed a good deal of co-operation from other Guernsey islanders. The former bailiff, Sir Geoffrey Rowland, made a concerted effort to find a missing Brock portrait, while Amanda Bennet, formerly in charge of the Priaulx Library, happily complied with one Brock-related request after another. Helen Conlon, the fine art curator at the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery, enlightened me as to the conservation of Gerrit Schipper's portrait of Brigadier General Isaac Brock, and Tony C. Booth gave willingly of his time by retrieving select materials from the National Archives, Kew. Not to be overlooked is the late Captain Michael H.T. Mellish, who allowed me to examine and photograph the portraits and other Brock family heirlooms in his possession, and who exhibited all the attributes of a most genial host.

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Interpreting the uniform in Schipper's portrait of Brock gave me a new appreciation for the meaning of the word *problematic*. Thankfully, some very well versed gentlemen helped me decode the many complexities of early nineteenth century British military dress, and I am deeply indebted to: Andrew Cormack of London, England, who is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, editor of the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, as well as a specialist in British army uniforms of the Napoleonic Wars; Donald E. Graves, near Perth, Ontario, a noted Canadian military historian specializing in the War of 1812; Dr. Ray Hobbs of Hamilton, Ontario, the knowledgeable historian of the 41st Regiment of Foot Military Living History Group; and Peter Twist of Orangeville, Ontario, a highly respected military heritage consultant.

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Guy St-Denis
London, Ontario

Notes

PREFACE

- 1 Charles P. Stacey, "Brock, Sir Isaac," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 109–15. In 1983, when this particular volume of the *DCB* was published, Stacey was regarded as Canada's pre-eminent military historian.
- 2 Sir James H. Craig was the governor-in-chief and military commander of British North America between 1807 and 1811. See: Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Craig, Sir James Henry," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 205–14.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 In March of 1814, the sum of £500 was appropriated for the purpose of a monument. See: Ontario, Bureau of Archives, *Ninth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, "Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada," 3 (1912): 159.
- 2 *Upper Canada Gazette* (York, Upper Canada), 21 Oct., 1824, 347, c. 3.
- 3 *British Colonist* (Toronto, Upper Canada), 29 Apr., 1840, 3, c. 5. Although born in Ireland, Lett was raised in Upper Canada and it was there that he developed his rabid anti-British sentiments. After Lett's death in December of 1858, a sketch of his life was published with a detailed account of his attack upon Brock's Monument. As the Canadian historian Chris Raible observed, the details of this desecration could only have been supplied by Lett himself. See: *Allen County Democrat* (Lima, Ohio), 5 Jan., 1859, 1, c. 6; Chris Raible, "Benjamin Lett, Rebel Terrorist," *Beaver* 84, no. 5 (Oct./Nov. 2002): 13. I am grateful to Chris Raible for directing me to these sources.
- 4 *British Colonist*, 5 Aug., 1840, 2, c. 5.
- 5 Glenn McArthur and Annie Szamosi, *William Thomas: Architect, 1799–1860* (Ottawa, Ontario: Archives of Canadian Art/Carleton University Press, c1996), 96–7.
- 6 *Globe* (Toronto, Canada West), 14 Oct., 1859, 2, c. 6.
- 7 Library and Archives Canada, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada and Canada West, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 71, Nichol to Brock, 17 Mar., 1815, 37,699–701; *ibid.*, Richard Westmacott, "Estimates for a Statue in honor of the late Major General Sir Isaac Brock KB from a Model & Drawing," 25 Sept., 1816, 37,706–7. The cost for a bronze statue, eight feet (nearly 2.5 metres) in height with a granite pedestal and plinth measuring another ten feet (or just over 3 metres), was estimated at £2,500. A slightly smaller statue would have saved the monument committee £500, but even £2,000 was beyond their limited means.

- 8 Stephen A. Otto, "Brock's Two Monuments," *Cuesta* (1991/92): 17.
- 9 Gilbert Auchinleck, "History of the War Between Great Britain and the United States of America, during the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814," *The Anglo-American Magazine* III, no. 1 (July 1853): 16. Auchinleck appears to have been influenced by Major John Richardson, who published a similarly worded statement about Brock's portrait in 1842. See: Major John Richardson, *War of 1812* (Brockville, Canada West: John Richardson, 1842), 68.
- 10 Auchinleck's articles were later published in book form. While he might have preferred a portrait of Brock for the frontispiece, Auchinleck used one of Lieutenant General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke instead—presumably because he was the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia during the War of 1812. See: Gilbert Auchinleck, *A History of the War between Great Britain and the United States of America, during the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814* (Toronto, Canada West: Maclear and Company, 1855), frontispiece.
- 11 With particular reference to the heraldic shields adorning the four corners of Brock's Monument, each is identical and features a fleur-de-lis instead of an eagle. This same mistake was repeated in a memorial window dedicated to Brock, which was installed in the chancel of St. Saviour, the Brock Memorial Church, Queenston, Ontario. As Brock's heraldic shield is derived from that of the Brock family of Guernsey, which also features a fleur-de-lis, the confusion in Canada is understandable. For Brock's armorial bearings, see: College of Arms, Letters Patent Granting Arms to Sir Isaac Brock, 15 Feb., 1813; *ibid.*, Letters Patent Granting Supporters to the Arms of Sir Isaac Brock, 15 Feb., 1813. Furthermore, Brock's arms bear the motto CANADA, and not VINCIT VERITAS as appears beneath the shields on his monument.
- 12 This, of course, was the most logical approach when the first broad surveys of Canadian art history began to appear. In 1966, John Russell Harper published *Painting in Canada: A History*. It was followed in 1973 by Dennis R. Reid's *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*. See: John Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1966); Dennis R. Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- 13 There were exceptions among Canada's military historians, including Dr. J. Mackay Hitsman. See: J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812: A Military History* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, c1965); *ibid.*, *Safeguarding Canada, 1763–1871* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, c1968).
- 14 For the beginnings of the transition of Canadian history, from avocation to vocation, see: Donald Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, c2005), 28–51.
- 15 To get a sense of the attitudes among academic historians, see: Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, c1986), 218.
- 16 Alexander Brian McKillop, *Pierre Berton: A Biography* (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, c2008), 558.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 560. Regarding the inconsistent treatment of historical evidence, see: Keith Walden, review of *The Invasion of Canada*, by Pierre Berton, in *Canadian Historical Review* LXII, no. 3 (Sept. 1981): 332.
- 18 McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, 561, 564.
- 19 The only illustrations Berton used are those which embellish his endpapers. A specially commissioned montage of portraits was designed based on each book's "cast of characters."

Tom McNeely of Toronto was chosen to do the artwork, and he used the profile portrait (pl. 3) for his likeness of Brock.

- 20 Ludwig Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis," *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 22–66.

CHAPTER I

- 1 Lieutenant Governor Robinson was the second son of Sir John Beverley Robinson. For the younger Robinson's viceregal appointment, see: Patrick Brode, "Robinson, John Beverley," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XII: 908.
- 2 Lady Edgar [Matilda Ridout], "General Brock's Portrait," *The Canadian Magazine* XXXI, no. 3 (July 1908): 262. In October of 1884, a reporter from the *Toronto World* was invited to tour the nascent art collection at Government House. In the *salle à manger*, or dining room, he found a "Gallery of Governors" consisting of fifteen large-sized oil paintings, being portraits of the "most famous governors-generals and lieut-governors that Canada has possessed." See: *Toronto World* (Toronto, Ontario), 23 Oct., 1884, 1, c. 7.
- 3 The *Toronto World* reported that "Lieut.-governor Robinson has been most assiduous in his efforts to obtain as good a collection as possible. They are all of them copies of the originals done by the well known artist, M[onsieur] Berthon; some painted directly from the originals, others, when these were unattainable, from photographs. The name of the painter will testify to their excellence." See: *Toronto World*, 23 Oct., 1884, 1, c. 7.
- 4 Colonel Robinson could not recall precisely when he made his earlier attempt, only that it was some "some 6 or 7 years or more ago." See: Trent University, Thomas J. Bata Library, Trent University Archives (TU), Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94–016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, 19 Apr., 1881.
- 5 John Charles Dent, *The Canadian Portrait Gallery*, 4 vols (Toronto, Ontario: John B. Magurn, 1880–81), 1: 140; *Globe* (Toronto, Ontario), 13 Apr., 1877, 238, c. 5.
- 6 A description that accompanies the engraving (fig. 1) credits Dr. Hodgins with having recently procured the "miniature," meaning a photographic copy and not the original profile portrait (fig. 3). See: *Globe*, 13 Apr., 1877, 238, c. 5. In 1906, however, Miss Janet Carnochan claimed that Dr. Egerton Ryerson obtained the photograph, presumably in his capacity as Ontario's chief superintendent of education. Yet, given the contemporaneous nature of the information provided by Dent, it seems more likely that it was Dr. Hodgins who acquired the photograph, and that he did so on behalf of the Normal School, or Teacher's College, specifically for the Educational Museum. See: *Evening Telegram* (Toronto, Ontario), 6 July, 1906, 8, c. 5. For biographical information on Dr. Hodgins, see: Judson D. Purdy, "Hodgins, John George," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XIV: 496–9; *Globe*, 24 Dec., 1912, 9, c. 1.
- 7 *Globe*, 13 Apr., 1877, 238, c. 5; Dent, *Canadian Portrait Gallery*, 1: 140.
- 8 As Mrs. Huyshe reported to Colonel Robinson early in November of 1881, the portrait in Mrs. Tupper's possession (fig. 3) was "evidently the better of these two." See: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Huyshe to Robinson, 2 Nov., 1881.
- 9 A colour photograph of Mrs. Huyshe's copy of the profile portrait (fig. 4) was located in the Ludwig Kosche Papers at the Canadian War Museum, and appears to show a pastel composition on laid paper. See: Canadian War Museum, Military History Research Centre

(CWM), Ludwig Kosche Papers, Photograph Album (58A3/10.4), Copy of the Profile Portrait of Brigadier General Isaac Brock by Gerrit Schipper, circa 1809–10, photographed by Brian J. Green. An antique photograph of the copy dating to 1881 has also been preserved. See: McCord Museum of Canadian History (MMCH), Notman Photographic Archives, Photograph of a “Miniature of Sir Isaac Brock,” by Benjamin Collenette, 1881, cat. MP-0000.2251.2. The copy was eventually bequeathed to the States of Guernsey by a Mrs. Sowels, who died in 1971. This Mrs. Sowels was the former Miss Agnes Bessie Carey, and it was her father’s aunt, Mrs. George (Rosa Brock) Huyshe, who inherited the copy from her father, John Savery Brock. After Mrs. Huyshe’s death in 1892, the copy went to her nephew, John Savery Carey, who died in 1910. Presumably, the copy then passed to his wife, the former Miss Alice Juliet Hand. She survived until 1929, having outlived her only son, George Savery Carey, who died unmarried in 1917. Eventually, the copy became the joint property of his sisters: Miss Alice Mary Carey (1878–1959), who never married; Miss Florence Ada Carey (1881–1951), who also remained single; and Miss Agnes Bessie Carey (1886–1971), who married Captain Reginald Charles Sowels in 1928. Mrs. Sowels had no children, and it was perhaps for this reason that she decided to bequeath the copy to her cousin, Robert Arthur. However, she later changed her mind in favour of the States of Guernsey. I am grateful to Gillian Lenfestey for providing me with these details, which she discovered in a variety of sources. For information regarding Mrs. Sowels’s wills, see: Royal Court House, Greffe, Wills and Intestacies, vol. E/10 (1971–76), will of Realty of Agnes B. (Carey) Sowels, 4 May, 1951; *ibid.*, vol. 71 (new series), will of Personalty of Agnes B. (Carey) Sowels, 6 Sept., 1956. See also: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), Rust to Arthur, 10 Nov., 1972.

- 10 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Huyshe to Robinson, 2 Nov., 1881; *ibid.*, Robinson to Robinson, 3 Dec., 1881. Colonel Robinson was of the opinion that much of Mrs. Tupper’s anxiety about the original portrait (fig. 3) had to do with the fact that it “rubs easily.” See: *ibid.*, 3 Dec., 1881.
- 11 *Ibid.*, Robinson to Robinson, post 18 Jan., 1882. Unfortunately, Colonel Robinson’s letter is missing its first page and consequently the date. However, the colonel mentions having received a letter from Mrs. Tupper’s daughter, Mrs. Hubert (Victoria) Le Cocq, which is dated 18 January, 1882. Therefore, Colonel Robinson’s letter must have been written after he received Mrs. Le Cocq’s reply, or post 18 Jan., 1882. See: *ibid.*, Le Cocq to Robinson, 18 Jan., 1882. The sepia portrait of Brock (fig. 5), although now lost, was used to illustrate Brock’s entry in the “Gallery of Local Celebrities”—a series of biographical sketches that appeared in Guernsey’s French language newspaper. See: *Bailliage* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 24 Sept., 1892, 2, c. 3; *ibid.*, 1 Oct., 1892, 2, c. 1. The portrait was also reproduced as a photogravure print, several of which are preserved in the Priaulx Library, St. Peter Port. A careful examination of one such specimen revealed the monogram of Alice Kerr-Nelson.
- 12 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, 3 Dec., 1881.
- 13 *Ibid.* Colonel Robinson also thought the original profile portrait (fig. 3) had “faded with age somewhat, making the face appear flat & whiteish, except in one or two places where the color is bright.”
- 14 *Ibid.* The photography work was done by Hills and Saunders of London (fig. 7).
- 15 Colonel Robinson suggested as much when he said: “I think myself that when you see the picture [Miss Kerr-Nelson’s portrait of Brock in oils (fig. 6)], it will be bought in Canada,

- both as a picture & on account of Sir Isaac's connection with the Country, but, at all events, Berthon would be able from it to make a portrait, of any size." See: *ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*
 - 17 *Ibid.*, Robinson to Robinson, post 18 Jan., 1882.
 - 18 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1845), 341.
 - 19 While the lieutenant governor's letter does not appear to have survived, his concern regarding Tupper's footnote and the existence of Brock's portrait is addressed in Colonel Robinson's reply. See: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, post 18 Jan., 1882.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, Le Cocq to Robinson, 18 Jan., 1882.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, Robinson to Robinson, post 18 Jan., 1882.
 - 22 As Henrietta Tupper herself recognized: "my father was an intense hero-worshipper, & his gallant uncle was his chief hero." See: *ibid.*, Tupper to Robinson, 25 Jan., 1882.
 - 23 Notwithstanding Colonel Robinson's report that there were differences among the various branches of the Brock and Tupper families, it will be seen that Ferdinand Brock Tupper's seeming disapproval of the profile portrait and its copy (figs 3, 4) probably had more to do with aesthetics than animosity.
 - 24 Tupper included an account of Sir Isaac Brock's life in his *Family Records*. A good deal of Brock's correspondence was published in two editions of Tupper's *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*
 - 25 Morgan's interest probably stemmed from a desire to illustrate his biographical sketch of Brock, which he published the next year. See: Henry J. Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, Canada East: Hunter Rose and Company, 1862), 174–84.
 - 26 Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Henry James Morgan Papers (MG 29, D61), Correspondence, vol. 47, Tupper to Morgan, 13 July, 1861.
 - 27 As Miss Henrietta Tupper later explained, Henry Tupper inherited the portrait (fig. 3) from his uncle, Irving Brock, who died in 1838. See: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 1 Feb., 1882. For Irving Brock's death notice, see: *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, England), Jan.–June 1838, 669, c. 1.
 - 28 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, 19 Apr., 1881; *ibid.*, post 18 Jan., 1882. As Captain Arthur S. Cave determined, the officers of the 49th Regiment made their enquiry about Brock's portrait in 1845—the same year Tupper noted the incident in his uncle's biography. Given the timing, it might have been Ferdinand Brock Tupper himself who relayed the disappointing news. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 341; Archives of Ontario (AO), Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Cave to Mickle, 8 May, 1897.
 - 29 Dr. Hodgins acquired his photographic copy of the profile portrait (fig. 3) sometime prior to the publication of Dent's biography of Sir Isaac Brock. This photograph formed the basis of a wood engraving (fig. 2), which appeared in an 1877 issue of the *Toronto Globe*. A note accompanying the illustration claims that it was "engraved from a miniature [no doubt meaning a photograph of the original profile portrait] recently procured from Sir Isaac's relatives in Guernsey." This arrangement must have come about some time after Tupper's

- death in December of 1873. See: *Globe*, 13 Apr., 1877, 238, c. 5. For an account of Tupper's death, see: *Star* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 23 Dec., 1873, 2, c. 6.
- 30 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, post 18 Jan., 1882.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Le Cocq to Robinson, 18 Jan., 1882. The niece in question was Miss Caroline Tupper, who later married De Beauvoir de Lisle. Mrs. de Lisle's mother was the former Miss Elizabeth Brock, who became the wife of John Elisha Tupper. For Mrs. de Lisle's obituary, including a brief history of her life, see: *Star*, 27 Feb., 1894, 2, c. 5.
- 32 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 25 Jan. 1882. Miss Henrietta Tupper's initial letter to Colonel Robinson is largely unrelated to the portraits. However, she does reiterate rather more forcefully Mrs. Le Cocq's explanation about the failure of the officers of the 49th Regiment to obtain a likeness of Sir Isaac Brock. The "reason why the 49th Regt. failed to procure a portrait of Sir Isaac was not that there was no existing likeness, but that there was *no good one*." See: *ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*, Tupper to Robinson, 1 Feb., 1882.
- 34 According to Lady Edgar, who wrote an article about Lieutenant Governor Robinson's quest for an authentic portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, the "family in Guernsey seem to have been in ignorance as to when, where, and by whom the profile sketches were made." Still, she speculated that one of them might have been made in Canada between 1806 and 1812, and perhaps by Ensign James Kittermaster of the 49th Regiment, who was an amateur artist. Lady Edgar was influenced in her thinking by Ensign Kittermaster's grand-daughter, who preserved his portfolio of sketches, including several portraits of his fellow junior officers. "What more probable than that the youth [Kittermaster] should have taken a sketch from life of his colonel, which sketch found its way, with the other belongings of Sir Isaac, to his Guernsey home?" It was an interesting proposition, but one that ultimately proved to be incorrect. See: Edgar, "General Brock's Portrait," 265. For Ensign Kittermaster, see: Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4th ed., 2 pts (London, England: Harrison, 1863), II: 819.
- 35 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, 31 Mar., 1882.
- 36 *Ibid.*, Huyshe to Robinson, 3 Apr., 1882.
- 37 The photograph Miss Tupper sent to Colonel Robinson was a duplicate of the one she gave to David Ross McCord of Montreal in 1889. See: MMCH, Archives and Documentation Centre, McCord Family Papers (P0001), Collecting Correspondence, Tupper to McCord, 26 Apr., 1889. This photograph is now preserved in the McCord Museum of Canadian History. See: MMCH, Notman Photographic Archives, Photograph of a "Miniature of Sir Isaac Brock," by Benjamin Collenette, 1881, cat. MP-0000.2251.2. Miss Tupper described the photograph as having been taken about nine years earlier. Unfortunately, she dated her letter with only the day and month—26 April. It was later guessed to have been written about 1885, which is incorrect. Given that Miss Tupper's letter makes reference to her father, who "has been dead now over 16 years," and as Ferdinand Brock Tupper is known to have died in December of 1873, the letter probably dates to 26 April, 1889. Miss Tupper's calculation that the photograph was taken nine years earlier, which would have been 1880, requires a slight adjustment to 1881—the year she assigned it in her letter

- to Colonel Robinson of 15 April, 1882. See: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 15 Apr., 1882. Miss Tupper mentioned this photograph in at least two other letters. See: MMCH, Archives and Documentation Centre, McCord Family Papers (P0001), Collecting Correspondence, Tupper to McCord, 19 Feb., 1897; *ibid.*, 14 Apr., 1897.
- 38 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 15 Apr., 1882. Although Colonel Robinson dismissed the bronzed silhouette (fig. 8), he thought it might be useful in determining Brock's "true expression," or profile. In fact, this silhouette—which Brock's family considered to be his best likeness—must be of someone other than Brock, as a breast star of the Order of the Garter is prominently displayed on the sitter's chest and Brock never achieved this highest order of British knighthood. It was the late Ludwig Kosche, a former librarian at the Canadian War Museum, who first noticed this discrepancy. See: *ibid.*, Robinson to Robinson, 18 Apr., 1882; Ludwig Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis," *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 58–60.
- 39 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, 18 Apr., 1882.
- 40 It appears that Miss Augusta Robinson was entrusted with the delivery of this portrait (fig. 6), but a search to determine the date of her arrival in Toronto was unsuccessful. In the process, it was discovered that the lieutenant governor and his wife sailed to England in June of 1882, which suggests the possibility that they might have brought the portrait back themselves. However, the couple did not return until the following September, and in an earlier letter written to the lieutenant governor on 8 August, 1882, Colonel Robinson mentions "Sir I Brock's picture you have in Canada." This "picture" is no doubt a reference to the portrait of Brock by Miss Kerr-Nelson, which seems to have been in Canada for some time. See: AO, John Beverley Robinson Papers (F 44), Calendared Papers, Robinson to Robinson, 8 Aug., 1882; *Globe*, 23 June, 1882, 8, c. 1; *ibid.*, 4 Sept., 1882, 8, c. 4.
- 41 The Honourable John Beverley Robinson kept the portrait (fig. 6) until his death in 1896. It then passed to his daughter, Mrs. William Forsyth (Minnie Robinson) Grant, who is recorded as having owned the portrait in 1908. Eventually, and presumably after Mrs. Grant's death in 1923, it became the property of her sister, Mrs. Stewart (Augusta Robinson) Houston. In 1924, Mrs. Houston made an unsuccessful attempt to sell the portrait to the Dominion Archives. Later, and sometime prior to 1930, she negotiated a deal with the Canadian financier Ward C. Pitfield. In 1979, Pitfield's son sold the portrait to Brock University, where it remains in the Archives and Special Collections of the James A. Gibson Library. Pitfield's son, it should be noted, is the late Honourable P. Michael Pitfield. See: Edgar, "General Brock's Portrait," 263; *Globe*, 3 Nov., 1923, 3, c. 1; LAC, SNAP File, MB 8320-Brock, Isaac (Sir), Houston to Doughty, 24 June, 1924, 16 July, 1924; *ibid.*, J. Russell Harper Papers (MG 30, D352), [Norman Fee], "List of Paintings, Engravings, and Prints [in the] W.C. Pitfield Collection," 6; Brock University, James A. Gibson Library, Archives and Special Collections, Acquisitions Form, [Kerr-Nelson] Portrait of "General Brock," cat. U2.
- 42 Although Berthon does not appear to have signed the portrait (fig. 9), it may be that his initials follow an indistinct script in the lower right-hand corner of the canvas—possibly identifying the portrait as being that of Sir Isaac Brock. There is no visible indication of a date. While the attribution to Berthon has never been called into question, the date has been known to range between 1881 and 1883. However, the year 1881 seems too early.

The portrait owned by Mrs. Tupper (fig. 3), which Berthon used as the basis for his own portrait of Brock, was not photographed until late in November of 1881. While Berthon might have received one of these photographic prints (fig. 7) soon after, it is doubtful that he would have commenced work on his own version until after he had an opportunity of seeing Miss Kerr-Nelson's portrait of Brock (fig. 6), which probably did not arrive in Toronto until rather later—and possibly not until sometime in August of 1882 (see n40). Much credence has been given to a date of 1883, largely because Berthon acknowledged payment for his work on 10 March, 1883. However, Berthon submitted his bill for the portrait to the Government of Ontario before the end of 1882, presumably after he had completed his commission. Based on this fact, and the likelihood that all the necessary reference materials would have been made available to him earlier in that same year, it is reasonable to assume that Berthon's portrait of Brock was both begun and finished in 1882. See: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Robinson to Robinson, 3 Dec., 1881; AO, John Beverley Robinson Papers (F 44), Calendared Papers, Robinson to Robinson, 8 Aug., 1882; Art Gallery of Ontario, E.P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, George Theodore Berthon's Sitters' Notebook, 10 Mar., 1883; Ontario, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, "Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario," 1882 XV, pt I, no. 1 (1882–83): 32.

- 43 George Berthon's portrait of Brock (fig. 9) was displayed in Government House at Simcoe and King streets in Toronto until 1912, and then in the new viceregal residence at Chorley Park beginning in 1915. During the intervening years, the portrait may have been on view in the lieutenant governor's temporary lodgings at St. George and College streets, or perhaps put in storage as seems to have been the case with a number of other "pictures." After Chorley Park was closed in 1937, the portrait was transferred to the lieutenant governor's suite in the Legislature, Queen's Park, where it now forms part of the Government of Ontario Art Collection. See: Ontario, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, "Report of the Minister of Public Works," 1912 XLV, pt IV, no. 12 (1913): 7, 10; *ibid.*, 1916 XLIX, pt IV, no. 13 (1917): 7, 10; *ibid.*, 1938 LXXI, pt III, no. 8 (1939): 7; *ibid.*, 1939 LXXII, pt III, no. 8 (1940): 7; AO, Government of Ontario Art Collection, "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, KB," by George Theodore Berthon, 1882, acc. 694,158. See also: Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), 154.
- 44 William Kingsford, *The Early Bibliography of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto, Ontario: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1892), 7. As Fern Bayer points out, despite Lieutenant Governor Robinson's diligence, there are significant gaps in the collection. See: Bayer, *Ontario Collection*, 153.
- 45 William Kingsford, *Canadian Archaeology: An Essay* (Montreal, Quebec: William Drysdale and Company, 1886), 97.
- 46 Lieutenant Governor Robinson was succeeded by Sir Alexander Campbell in June of 1887. See: *Globe*, 1 June, 1887, 4, c. 2.
- 47 John W.L. Forster should not be confused with John C.H. Forster, a commercial artist who painted the imaginary portrait of Brock on display at the Fort Malden National Historic Site in Amherstburg, Ontario.
- 48 According to the inscription on the back of the painting, which is now in the Niagara Falls History Museum (formerly the Lundy's Lane Historical Museum), Forster's portrait of Brock (fig. 10) was "PAINTED FROM AUTHENTIC DATA IN POSSESSION OF HON. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON." See: Niagara Falls History Museum, Oil

- Painting of a “Portrait of Maj. General Sir Isaac Brock KB,” by John W.L. Forster, 1894, acc. 995.D.067.005. A contemporary newspaper article further reveals that Forster’s authentic data consisted of “a copy in oil” of the miniature, or rather the original profile portrait (fig. 3), and also “a photo from it.” The “copy in oil” was undoubtedly the painting by Miss Kerr-Nelson (fig. 6), and the “photo from it” was probably one of the several photographs (fig. 7) ordered by Colonel Robinson. See: *Saturday Globe*, 3 Oct., 1896, 1, c. 5.
- 49 Ben Forster, “Macdonell (Greenfield), John Alexander,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XV: 637–9. For John A. Macdonell, see: Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1912), 686. For Macdonell’s obituary, see: *Glengarry News* (Alexandria, Ontario), 18 Apr., 1930, 1, c. 1.
- 50 *Week* (Toronto, Ontario), 21 Dec., 1894, 91, c. 1. For evidence of Forster’s contributions to this newspaper, see: Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed., 412.
- 51 *Saturday Globe*, 3 Oct., 1896, 1, c. 5.
- 52 Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed., 412.
- 53 In 1882, Miss Kerr-Nelson married fellow artist Carl Hirschberg. She and her husband moved to the United States two years later. Mrs. Hirschberg died in 1913. See: Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *A Woman of the Century* (Buffalo, New York: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893; reprint ed., Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1967), 380–1; *New York Times* (New York, New York), 20 June, 1913, 9, c. 5.
- 54 This portrait of Brock (fig. 10) remained in John A. Macdonell’s possession until his death in 1930, when it was bequeathed to his cousin, Ian M. Macdonell of Toronto. See: AO, Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Counties Surrogate Court (RG 22), Estate Files, 1800–1967 (series 198), will of John A. Macdonell, 5 Apr., 1930, no. 7,137. Ian Macdonell owned the portrait until his own death in 1992. In 1995, his daughters gave the portrait to the Lundy’s Lane Historical Museum (now the Niagara Falls History Museum). I am grateful to the museum’s former curator, Kevin Windsor, for information regarding this accession.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 The Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto was incorporated the next year, in 1896. Its objectives were historical, literary, archival, and patriotic in nature. See: “Prefatory Note” and “Preamble of Constitution and By-Laws,” Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto *Transaction* 1 (1896): 3–6.
- 2 For biographical information on Miss FitzGibbon, see: “Sketch of Miss FitzGibbon’s Life,” Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto *Transaction* 14 (1914–15): 15–16. Miss FitzGibbon’s book about her grandfather, *A Veteran of 1812: The Life of James FitzGibbon*, was published by William Briggs of Toronto in 1894.
- 3 To learn more about Miss Mickle’s life, see: David Kimmel and Janet Miron, “Mickle, Sara,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XV: 742–3; *Evening Telegram* (Toronto, Ontario), 3 June, 1930, 2, c. 2.
- 4 Sara Mickle, comp., *The Cabot Calendar, 1497–1897* (Toronto, Ontario: Toronto Lithographing Company, 1896).
- 5 Miss FitzGibbon described John Cabot, Samuel de Champlain, the Comte de Frontenac (Louis de Buade), James Wolfe, and Isaac Brock as “the five men whose names are most prominent in the history of Canada.” See: *Globe* (Toronto, Ontario), 23 Sept., 1896, 2, c. 5.

- 6 The portrait used in Dent's biographical sketch of Sir Isaac Brock (fig. 1) was based on the photograph obtained by Dr. J. George Hodgins. The other portrait, which was used by Read as the frontispiece for his book, was painted by Forster for John A. Macdonell (fig. 10). See: John Charles Dent, *The Canadian Portrait Gallery*, 4 vols (Toronto, Ontario: John B. Magurn, 1880–81), 1: 128–9; David B. Read, *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1894), frontispiece.
- 7 *Globe*, 23 Sept., 1896, 2, c. 5.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Archives of Ontario (AO), Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 25. The label on the cover of this notebook is incorrect. The notes are not those of Miss FitzGibbon, but rather Miss Mickle.
- 11 Ibid., Correspondence (series 1), file 1 (1890–96), Taylor to Mickle, 11 May, 1896.
- 12 Ibid., Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 27.
- 13 Ibid., 29.
- 14 Ibid., 27.
- 15 Regarding the miniature's provenance, see: *Globe*, 23 Sept., 1896, 2, c. 5; Ludwig Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis," *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 43–4. As for Mrs. Dunn's identification of Sir Isaac Brock as the sitter in the miniature (fig. 11), see: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Taylor to Mickle, 4 May, 1897. Initially, Miss Mickle and Miss FitzGibbon thought Captain James Brock was a brother to Sir Isaac Brock, but they soon enough corrected their mistake.
- 16 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 1 (1890–96), Taylor to Mickle, 22 June, 1896.
- 17 *Globe*, 23 Sept., 1896, 2, c. 5.
- 18 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 31.
- 19 Ibid. Although Miss Mickle simply identified the person in question as "Elliott the artist," she might have meant Thomas W. Elliott, who was proprietor of the Elliott Illustrating Company. See: *The Toronto City Directory 1897* (Toronto, Ontario: Might Directory Company, 1897), 672.
- 20 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 31.
- 21 Ibid. In addition to a crack, there were also mildew stains. See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), Hayward to Mickle, 14 Aug., 1896.
- 22 Hayward was born at Port Hope, Canada West (now Ontario), in 1847. He died in 1926. See: Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1912), 517; *Globe*, 2 Apr., 1926, 18, c. 4; *ibid.*, 1 June, 1926, 9, c. 4.
- 23 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41. Miss FitzGibbon may have shared in the purchase of Hayward's copy (fig. 13), which she later came to believe

- was overpriced. See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897. This letter is undated, but it describes events that occurred on 29 June, 1897, and appears to have been penned at the close of that same day for Miss Mickle.
- 24 Although the exact date of Miss Mickle's purchase of the miniature (fig. 11) is unknown, the transaction obviously took place prior to 4 May, 1897, when Mrs. Taylor denied that she ever had any intention of selling it. See: *ibid.*, file 2, (Jan.–May 1897), Taylor to Mickle, 4 May, 1897. Ludwig Kosche, the Canadian War Museum's librarian, was under the mistaken impression that Miss Mickle did not purchase the miniature for herself, but rather on behalf of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. In fact, the miniature was owned by Miss Mickle until her death in 1930, and only afterwards was it presented by her family to the society. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 45; AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (1921–39), Mickle to Roberts, 15 Oct., 1930; *ibid.*, Roberts to Mickle and Armour, 20 Oct., 1930.
 - 25 Hayward arrived at this conclusion in association with an unidentified English friend. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), Hayward to Mickle, 17 Aug., 1896. It later occurred to Miss FitzGibbon that the X might have signified a cross, or plus sign, which was often used to abbreviate the word "and." Thus, 18X6 became 18 and 6, or 1806. See: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 2, Brock Miniature, "Copies of F. Nowlan's & Alyn Williams's opinions re portraits," 29 June, 1897.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), Hayward to Mickle, 17 Aug., 1896. The Dutch refer to Egmont-op-Zee as Egmond aan Zee.
 - 27 The date of delivery appears to have been 21 August, 1896. In an undated note penned on a Wednesday, Hayward advises Miss Mickle that he will go to Toronto the next day and requests her to retrieve the miniatures (figs 11, 13) from him on Friday. In an earlier letter, Hayward mentioned his plans to bring the miniatures to Toronto "this week," by which he meant the week of 16–22 August, 1896, as his letter is dated 17 August, 1896. Since the 17th of August was a Monday, Hayward's undated note was probably written on Wednesday of that same week, or 19 August, 1896. Therefore, Miss Mickle was asked to come for the miniatures the following Friday, meaning 21 August, 1896. See: *ibid.*, 17 Aug., 1896; *ibid.*, 19 Aug., 1896. Miss FitzGibbon subsequently acquired the Hayward copy (fig. 13), which she planned to bequeath to the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, provided the Society began construction of a memorial hall within ten years of her death. Unfortunately, plans for the hall fell through and eventually the Hayward copy was donated to the Royal Ontario Museum. See: AO, York County Surrogate Court (RG 22), Estate Files, 1800–1968 (series 305), will of Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, 2 Apr., 1915, no. 30,198.
 - 28 For biographical information on Allan Cassels, see: Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1st ed. (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1898), 169–70.
 - 29 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 45.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, 45, 47.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 1 (1890–96), Cassels to Mickle, 2 Sept., 1896.

- 32 Hayward was just as pleased that “Mr. Cassels think[s] I am correct about the originality of the miniature, for I never felt more convinced in my life.” See: *ibid.*, file 9 (n.d.), Hayward to Mickle, 10 Sept., 1896.
- 33 *Globe*, 23 Sept., 1896, 2, c. 5. In a letter to the Canadian writer William Kirby, Miss FitzGibbon confessed that both she and Miss Mickle were “almost ecstatic” over the new portrait of Brock (fig. 11). See: AO, William Kirby Papers (F 1076), Miscellaneous Correspondence (series A-23), FitzGibbon to Kirby, 21 Sept., 1896.
- 34 *Globe*, 23 Sept., 1896, 2, c. 5.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Ibid.*, 12 Oct., 1896, 7, c. 2.
- 37 The former lieutenant governor died during a political rally the previous June. See: *ibid.*, 20 June, 1896, 12, c. 1.
- 38 In 1896, General Robinson was lieutenant governor and secretary of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. See: Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed., 956–7. For “Historian’s” letter, see: *Globe*, 12 Oct., 1896, 7, c. 2.
- 39 As an example of “Historian’s” careful style of writing, consider the following: “While the full view portrait [fig. 11] will by the supply of detail no doubt enhance the value of the side view [fig. 9], which must give in simpler line the salient features of the original, it will not detract in the least from Miss Mickle’s discovery, if the value of the only extant profile portrait of General Brock be spoken of in terms of appreciation.” See: *Globe*, 12 Oct., 1896, 7, c. 2.
- 40 Subtle and not-so-subtle references to Christopher Robinson’s retiring nature can be found in his obituaries. See, for example, *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto, Ontario), 1 Nov., 1905, 5, c. 1; *ibid.*, 6., c. 1; *Evening Telegram*, 1 Nov., 1905, 11, c. 4; *ibid.*, 3 Nov., 1905, 8, c. 1.
- 41 *Globe*, 27 Oct., 1896, 4, c. 5; AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 1 (1890–96), Carnochan to Mickle, 8 Oct., 1896. For a biography of Miss Carnochan, see: Cecilia Morgan, “Carnochan, Janet,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XV: 183–5.
- 42 A “Subscriber” to the *Toronto Mail* claimed to have one such variation. It was an oil painting, which was supposedly presented to him by a gentleman who served in the British artillery at the Battle of Queenston Heights. Miss Carnochan soon discovered that the “Subscriber” was Henry A. Garrett of Niagara(-on-the-Lake), and that he acquired the portrait from a Colonel McFarland (actually Major Duncan McFarland). Miss Carnochan was able to view the so-called oil painting, and she immediately recognized it to be a “copy of the picture we all know.” She also pronounced it to be “a water color copy, poorly done as a work of art but a good likeness.” However, an antique photograph of this supposed “work of art” (fig. 31), which Garrett donated to the Niagara Historical Society Museum, suggests the original was a photograph of Gerrit Schipper’s portrait of Brock (fig. 3) that had been overpainted with watercolours. See: *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto, Ontario), 25 Sept., 1896, 8, c. 1; AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 1 (1890–96), Carnochan to Mickle, 8 Oct., 1896; Niagara Historical Society Museum, Photograph of a Portrait of “General Sir Isaac Brock,” by William Quinn, circa 1891, acc. 984.1.127.
- 43 *Globe*, 27 Oct., 1896, 4, c. 5.
- 44 Regarding *The Cabot Calendar*’s reception, see, for example: *ibid.*, 28 Nov., 1896, 10, c. 5; *ibid.*, 5 Dec., 1896, 16, c. 2; *ibid.*, 22, c. 3.

- 45 David Ross McCord probably first learned of Miss Mickle's discovery through Miss FitzGibbon's contributions to the Toronto *Globe*, which were communicated to other Canadian newspapers, including the Montreal *Gazette*. See: *Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), 25 Sept., 1896, 8, c. 4.
- 46 McCord Museum of Canadian History, (MMCH) Notman Photographic Archives, Photograph of a "Miniature of Sir Isaac Brock," by Benjamin Collenette, 1881, cat. MP-0000.2251.2. For additional information, see ch. 1, n37.
- 47 MMCH, Archives and Documentation Centre, McCord Family Papers (P001), Collecting Correspondence, Tupper to McCord, 19 Feb., 1897. By mid-April of 1897, Miss Tupper agreed with McCord "in being very dubious over the Cabot Calendar." See: *ibid.*, 14 Apr., 1897.
- 48 Specifically, General Robinson questioned the shoulder insignia, which were wings as opposed to epaulettes. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 79. Brock was appointed a full colonel by brevet on 30 Oct., 1805. See: Library and Archives Canada, British Military and Naval Records, "C" Series (RG 8, I), vol. 17, Gordon to Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces in Canada, 1 Nov., 1805, 96–8.
- 49 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 79. Regarding the Military General Service Medal, see: Donald Hall and Christopher Wingate, *British Orders, Decorations and Medals* (St. Ives, England: Balfour Publications, 1973), 55.
- 50 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 79.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 79, 81.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 79; Canada, Parliament (Commons), *Sessional Papers*, "Report of the Joint Librarians of Parliament, List of Copyrights Deposited in the Library of Parliament," 1896 XXXI, vol. 12, no. 17 (1897): 11. The copyright holder was Mrs. Taylor.
- 53 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 78. As Miss FitzGibbon subsequently observed: "English soldiers understand the 'noblesse oblige,' & do not war with women!" See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897.
- 54 *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 78.
- 55 *Ibid.* Miss FitzGibbon was not inclined to blame Mrs. Strachan herself, as "the dear old lady will do what Christopher [Robinson] tells her." It also seemed doubtful that Mrs. Strachan "mentioned the matter to any one out of her own family, but [her niece] Minnie Grant spoke of it before Dr. [George Sterling Ansel] Ryerson—& has probably done so to others." See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 1 May, 1897. Mrs. William Forsyth (Minnie) Grant was a daughter of Lieutenant Governor John Beverley Robinson. Dr. Ryerson was a nephew of the early Ontario Methodist minister and educator, Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson.
- 56 Forster's client was John A. Macdonell, and the portrait of Brock he commissioned was painted in 1894 (fig. 10). Some of these other materials included a photograph of the original portrait (fig. 7) and the Kerr-Nelson painting (fig. 6). See: *Globe*, 3 Oct., 1896, 1, c. 4.
- 57 *Ibid.*

- 58 *Toronto Saturday Night* (Toronto, Ontario), 27 Mar., 1897, 15, c. 2. Forster appears to have visited Guernsey twice, both before and after his trip to Paris. According to newspaper reports, he was in Paris between approximately 8 June and 22 July, 1897. See: *Star* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5; *ibid.*, 22 July, 1897, 2, c. 5.
- 59 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Stuart to Mickle, Easter Tuesday, 20 Apr., 1897.
- 60 *Ibid.*, file 1, Stuart to Mickle, 29 Oct., 1896. For biographical information on Rev. Stuart, see: Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1st ed., 983.
- 61 Rev. Stuart knew of Carter from his many visits to Trois-Rivières. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Stuart to Mickle, 12 Apr., 1897.
- 62 *Ibid.*, Carter to Stuart, 19 Apr., 1897.
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 *Ibid.*, Stuart to Mickle, 30 Apr., 1897. Rev. Stuart mistakenly thought that Lieutenant Colonel Short was killed during the attack on Fort Meigs near modern-day Perrysburg, Ohio, in late April of 1813. For additional information on Lieutenant Colonel Short and his death, see: David A.N. Lomax, *A History of the Services of the 41st (the Welch) Regiment* (Devonport, England: Hiorns and Miller, 1899), 75–7, 113. Rev. Stuart gave no reason as to why he doubted the portrait (fig. 15) could be of Brock, or why he thought it might be that of either Captain James Brock or Lieutenant Colonel William C. Short.
- 65 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Taylor to Mickle, 4 May, 1897.
- 66 *Ibid.*
- 67 It was Miss Mickle who noted this living arrangement, which was confirmed by the United States census for 1900. See: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 74; National Archives and Records Administration, Bureau of the Census (RG 29), Twelfth Census, 1900, Franklin, New Hampshire, sched. 1, dis. 163, sh. 12, nos 80, 83.
- 68 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Short to Mickle, 18 May, 1897.
- 69 *Ibid.* By way of an additional argument, Short informed Miss Mickle that his deceased brother, “always said that the Photograph [or rather the miniature (fig. 11)] which you have was that of Sir Isaac.” This deceased brother was John Short, the father of Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. de Beaumont.
- 70 *Ibid.*, Short to Mickle, 26 May, 1897.
- 71 *Ibid.*
- 72 *Ibid.*, Taylor to Mickle, 26 May, 1897.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 4 May, 1897.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 26 May, 1897. Lieutenant Dunn suffered from occasional bouts of insanity and had a “tendency to self-destruction.” On 23 December, 1850, while acting as paymaster to the 23rd Regiment at Plymouth, he committed suicide by hanging himself. See: *Times* (London, England), 27 Dec., 1850, 7, c. 4.
- 75 As for the rest of the family, Mrs. Taylor and her uncle agreed that none of them knew anything about the portraits in question. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Short to Mickle, 26 May 1897; *ibid.*, Taylor to Mickle, 26 May, 1897.

- 76 George Dunn never held the rank of captain.
- 77 In the 3 April, 1897 edition of *Toronto Saturday Night*, it was reported that: “Mr. J.W.L. Forster sails to-day for Europe.” On 24 April, the same paper reported Miss FitzGibbon’s departure: “Miss Fitzgibbon of Jarvis street left for England this week, to be absent all summer.” See: *Toronto Saturday Night*, 3 Apr., 1897, 15, c. 2; *ibid.*, 24 Apr., 1897, 4, c. 2.
- 78 AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 19 Apr., 1897. While this letter was written on board the S.S. *Massachusetts* and appears to have been dated “3rd May,” Miss FitzGibbon was already in England when she penned another letter under date of 1 May, 1897. See: *ibid.*, 1 May, 1897. Miss Mickle also questioned the date of 3 May, 1897. See: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 84–5. Miss FitzGibbon probably meant “3rd day,” as in the third day at sea. Since the *Massachusetts* sailed from New York City on 17 April, 1897, Miss FitzGibbon likely wrote her letter on 19 April, 1897. For the sailing of the *Massachusetts*, see: *New York Times* (New York, New York), 17 Apr., 1897, 2, c. 7.
- 79 AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 1 May, 1897. See also: *Times*, 29 Apr., 1897, 10, c. 5. Later in June, Forster wrote to his mother that “London is crowded, crowded.” See: Toronto Reference Library, Marilyn and Charles Baillie Special Collections Centre, Baldwin Collection of Canadiana, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (S 19), file n.d.–1899, Forster to his mother, 18 June, 1897.
- 80 The Royal Colonial Institute is now the Royal Commonwealth Society.
- 81 AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 1 May, 1897.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 4 May, 1897.
- 83 *Ibid.* Visitors from Canada could have their mail delivered to the Canadian High Commission while they toured Britain.
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 As Miss FitzGibbon wrote to Miss Mickle a short time later, “I do not despair especially as I agree with you as do others that the uniform being correct or incorrect does no injury & has no effect upon the authenticity of the portrait [fig. 11]. The medal also is I fear a mere fancy of the artist’s own.” See: *ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 28 May, 1897. Miss FitzGibbon also expressed her opinion of the medal in a letter to Major Holden. After hearing of an extreme case of artistic license, in which a British naval officer was portrayed by a French artist wearing a Napoleonic uniform and decorations, she did “not consider the medal such a stumbling block as it appears to General Robinson.” See: *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Holden, 28 June, 1897.
- 87 *Ibid.*, file 9, (n.d.) FitzGibbon to Mickle, 4 May, 1897.
- 88 When Major Holden offered to do anything he could to help Miss FitzGibbon, she took it to mean that he was willing to provide her with a written statement of his opinion regarding the miniature discovered by Miss Mickle (fig. 11). See: *ibid.* However, it appears that he never complied with her request. A trip to Scotland seems to have been his excuse, but there is also the possibility that Major Holden was restrained by General Robinson’s influence. See: *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897; *ibid.*,

- FitzGibbon to Mickle, 18 July, 1897; *ibid.*, 19 July, 1897; *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 22 July, 1897. For a copy of Miss FitzGibbon's request, see: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Holden, 28 June, 1897. Miss FitzGibbon was not particularly bothered by Major Holden's apparent neglect, as she thought she might get a written statement just "as good from some one else." See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 18 July, 1897.
- 89 *Ibid.*, file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 4 May, 1897. As for the legal protection vested in Mrs. Taylor, see: Canada, Parliament (Commons), *Sessional Papers*, "Report of the Joint Librarians of Parliament, List of Copyrights Deposited in the Library of Parliament," 1896 XXXI, vol. 12, no. 17 (1897): 11.
- 90 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 9, (n.d.) FitzGibbon to Mickle, 4 May, 1897. A short time later, Miss FitzGibbon contradicted herself by raising the possibility of monetary gain through legal action taken in defence of Miss Mickle's discovery. See: *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 91 *Ibid.*, file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 4 May, 1897.
- 92 *Ibid.*
- 93 *Ibid.* Forster later claimed that he was introduced to the Misses Tupper "through the courtesy of Hon. John Beverley Robinson." Yet, by the time Forster made their acquaintance, the former lieutenant governor had been dead for nearly a year. See: John W.L. Forster, *Under the Studio Light: Leaves from a Portrait Painter's Sketch Book* (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1928), 140; *Globe*, 20 June, 1896, 12, c. 1.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 McCord Museum of Canadian History, Archives and Documentation Centre (MMCH), McCord Family Papers (P001), Collecting Correspondence, Tupper to McCord, 19 Feb., 1897. Miss Tupper thought "it would be very interesting to find a solution" as to why the sitter in the miniature (fig. 11), whose likeness was reproduced in *The Cabot Calendar* (fig. 14), differed in appearance from the portrait of Brock at Government House in Toronto (fig. 9)—especially as the latter work was based on the original profile portrait in Guernsey (fig. 3). She also thought Mrs. Taylor, the former owner of the miniature, "might possibly throw some light on the subject." Miss FitzGibbon, however, fulfilled the same function once she arrived in Guernsey.
- 2 Archives of Ontario (AO), Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897. Forster mistakenly thought that Colonel Groves was curator of the Condé Library. See: John W.L. Forster, *Under the Studio Light: Leaves from a Portrait Painter's Sketch Book* (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1928), 133. In fact, and as noted in the text, Colonel Groves was librarian of the Candie Library. He was also secretary to the Prialux Library Council. I am grateful to Gillian Lenfestey for this information.
- 3 Colonel Groves also considered the Military General Service Medal a possibility, but he quickly changed his mind in favour of the Waterloo Medal. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897. For the report, see: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 172–6. See also: *ibid.*, Groves to FitzGibbon, 17 May, 1897, 177–8.

- 4 Miss FitzGibbon initially thought it possible that the medal might have been awarded to Brock for his capture of Detroit in 1812. However, she ruled out this large gold medal once she realized it was meant to be suspended from a ribbon around the neck, and not pinned to the chest as in the miniature (fig. 11). See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897. Brock’s gold medal is preserved in the Greffe, Royal Court House, St. Peter Port, Guernsey.
- 5 As Miss FitzGibbon put it, “Forster being in Guernsey hampered me much, especially as he got the ear of the Col Groves whom the family thought an authority.” See: *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897.
- 6 *Ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897.
- 7 *Ibid.* Miss Guille recalled the facial features of the men in her family, and she thought the officer in the miniature (fig. 11) “was like *them*.” She attested to her belief as follows: “On comparing the photograph of Sir Isaac Brock’s miniature (under discussion) with portraits of my maternal Grandfather William Brock Esq. of Brockhurst & his two brothers, first cousins of Sir Isaac Brock’s, the resemblance is so very marked & extends also to the next generation, my mother’s brothers, there can be no hesitation in recognizing the Brock features of which I have nearly 70 years knowledge.” See: *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 15 June, 1897. Miss Guille, however, was mistaken.
- 8 *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, Tupper to FitzGibbon, 27 May, 1897, 164. The lady in question is simply identified as Mrs. Bubb. However, Gillian Lenfestey determined that she was the former Miss Bertha Tupper, a daughter of Henry Tupper and the wife of Arthur Bubb.
- 9 The date of the breakfast appears to have been 16 May, 1897. See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Ibid.* Miss FitzGibbon vowed to write her own letter of protest to General Robinson, but she later decided against it. See: *ibid.*, 28 May, 1897; *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897.
- 15 *Ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897.
- 16 Adolphus Kentish Brock was the son of Rear Admiral Thomas Sausmarez Brock, C.B. After a long career in the Admiralty Office, he retired to Guernsey in 1893 and was elected a douzenier (or parish councillor). He also served as a director and treasurer of Elizabeth College. He died in London on 6 November, 1919. For his obituary, see: *Guernsey Evening Press* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 11 Nov., 1919, 3, c. 3.
- 17 When Miss FitzGibbon wrote to tell Kentish Brock that she had “incontrovertible proof” confirming the authenticity of the miniature (fig. 11), he believed her. See: United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (3096), Correspondence Re: The Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, file 10, Brock to Forster, 7 July, 1897.
- 18 AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 20 July, 1897. Included in this letter is the transcript of a note Miss FitzGibbon sent to Kentish Brock on 12 July, 1897. In it, Miss FitzGibbon provided an overview of her research into the miniature discovered by

- Miss Mickle (fig. 11). Miss FitzGibbon also wrote out a copy of the reply she received from Kentish Brock, dated 18 July, 1897, in which he acknowledged: "I think the miniature is conclusively shown to be that of Sir Isaac Brock." See: *ibid.*
- 19 Kentish Brock was also fully convinced that Miss FitzGibbon might succeed in persuading the States to adorn the Royal Court with an enlarged version of the miniature (fig. 11), as it was a full-faced composition and would therefore be preferable to the profile portrait (fig. 3). See: UCCA, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (3096), Correspondence Re: The Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, file 10, Brock to Forster, 7 July, 1897.
 - 20 Miss FitzGibbon returned to London by 25 May, 1897. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 25–6 May, 1897.
 - 21 Forster's inscription on the back of the study (fig. 16) reveals that it was painted in May of 1897, which also suggests that it was finished by the end of that same month. For the study, see: Library and Archives Canada, Portrait Gallery of Canada, Oil Painting Study of "Sir Isaac Brock," by John W.L. Forster, 1897, acc. 1991-30-1. The full inscription reads as follows: "This portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, K.B. was painted from the original portrait in the possession of John Savery Carey, Esq., and the coat worn by Genl. Brock in 1812, on the fatal day at Queenston Heights, and now in the possession of the Misses Tupper; by kind permission of the owners. J.W.L. Forster. St. Peter Port May 1897." In fact, the "original portrait" owned by Carey was the copy of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 4). Forster's study was put on display by 8 June, 1897, "though not yet properly framed." See: *Star* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5.
 - 22 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 25–6 May, 1897.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897. Although Forster believed that Miss FitzGibbon and Miss Mickle had been deceived with regard to the identity of sitter in the miniature (fig. 11), he let it be known that he would remain silent out of respect for their painstaking work, and also to avoid making himself appear disagreeable. Miss FitzGibbon, however, still did not trust him. See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 15 June, 1897.
 - 25 Miss FitzGibbon appears to have entertained the possibility of luring Forster into a confrontation. However, she deferred to Miss Mickle who preferred to avoid unseemly behaviour. See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
 - 26 Miss FitzGibbon wrote to Miss Tupper regarding the loan of the portraits (figs 3, 4) on 25 May, 1897. See: *ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 25–6 May, 1897.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, Tupper to FitzGibbon, 27 May, 1897, 161. The copy (fig. 4) was then in the possession of John Savery Carey. He received it as an inheritance from his aunt, Mrs. Rosa (Brock) Huyshe, who died in 1892. While Mrs. Huyshe did not formally bequeath the portrait to John Savery Carey, he was one of her heirs and his ownership is well documented in the local press. See, for example: *Star*, 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5; *ibid.*, 22 July, 1897, 2, c. 5; *ibid.*, 24 Aug., 1897, 2, c. 7. For Mrs. Huyshe's will, see: Ecclesiastical Court of Guernsey (ECG), Records of the Registrar of Wills and Intestacies, Book of Testaments (Apr. 1889–Aug. 1894), will of Rosa (Brock) Huyshe, 14 Apr., 1892. I am grateful to Gillian Lenfestey for providing me with a copy of this will.

- 28 This disadvantage became evident when Miss FitzGibbon attended an exhibition of miniatures owned by Dr. John Lumsden Propert. While there, she hoped to learn something about the miniature discovered by Miss Mickle (fig. 11). However, she was told “it would be difficult to do any thing without the original.” See: AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897. Regarding the exhibition, see: *Times* (London, England), 16 Apr., 1897, 3, c. 3; *ibid.*, 10 May, 1897, 3, c. 6.
- 29 As Miss FitzGibbon admitted, “I am worried with all sorts of things.” See: AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 15 June, 1897.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 21 June, 1897.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 15 June, 1897.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 Miss Tupper agreed to bring the portrait (fig. 4) to London on 10 June, 1897, which was anticipated by Miss FitzGibbon in at least two of the letters she wrote to Miss Mickle. See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 2 June, 1897; *ibid.*, 7 June, 1897.
- 34 As Miss FitzGibbon wrote, “I go to Bristol on Wednesday [23 June, 1897] till Friday [25 June, 1897] when, after my return here [to London], there will be a better chance of succeeding in getting an expert to attend to such things as an unknown miniature and to give me an opinion.” See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 21 June, 1897.
- 35 *Ibid.*, file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 26 June, 1897.
- 36 *Ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 37 *Ibid.* Although Miss FitzGibbon did not identify this particular Rowney brother, he was described as being an artist. Apparently, the only one of the three Rowney brothers who was artistically inclined was Walter Rowney. See: *ibid.* I am grateful to Paul Cox of the National Portrait Gallery, London, England, for information he provided on Walter Rowney.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 For biographical information on Nowlan, see: Daphne Foskett, *A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters*, 2 vols (New York, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 1: 425.
- 40 AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897. For a biography of Cust, see: Laurence Binyon, revised by Christopher Lloyd, “Cust, Sir Lionel Henry,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 14: 822–3. For biographical information on the solicitor Henry F. Rawstorne (as contained in his obituary), see: *Times*, 25 June, 1924, 16, c. 2.
- 41 AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897. In letters written to both Miss Mickle and her brother, Henry W. Mickle, Miss FitzGibbon acknowledged receipt of the Jarvis silhouette (fig. 18)—or rather a photographic copy. It is unclear which of these Mickle siblings actually sent the package to Miss FitzGibbon. See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 15 June, 1897; *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 15 June, 1897.
- 42 *Ibid.*, file 1 (1890–96), Jarvis to Mickle, 16 Oct., 1896. Although Ludwig Kosche found a reproduction of this silhouette (fig. 18) in the papers of the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, a better copy can be found in William Wood’s documentary history

of the War of 1812. The fate of the original silhouette, which belonged to Aemilius Jarvis in 1896, is unknown. See: Ludwig Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis," *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 36; William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, 3 vols (Toronto, Ontario: Champlain Society, 1920–28), I: 32. In his letter to Miss Mickle, cited above, Jarvis stated that his grandmother, Miss Mary Boyles Powell, was engaged to John Macdonell, a claim that was no doubt based on family tradition. However, Macdonell's biographers had good reason to believe otherwise. See: Carol Whitfield and Robert Lochiel Fraser III, "Macdonell (Greenfield), John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 522.

- 43 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 44 *Ibid.* For a biography of Graves, see: Susanna Avery-Quash, "Graves, Algernon," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 23: 383.
- 45 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897. Although this letter is undated, it describes events that are known to have occurred on 29 June, 1897. It also appears to have been penned at the close of that same day, which corresponds with the date of the written opinion given to Miss FitzGibbon by Nowlan. For a transcript of Nowlan's opinion, see: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 2, Brock Miniature, "Copies of F. Nowlan's & Alyn Williams's opinions re portraits," 29 June, 1897.
- 46 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 47 For Nowlan's opinion, see: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 2, Brock Miniature, "Copies of F. Nowlan's & Alyn Williams's opinions re portraits," 29 June, 1897.
- 48 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897. The elusive J. Hudson might have been James Hudson, who was listed as a miniature painter in 1823. See: *Kent's Original London Directory: 1823* (London, England: Henry-Kent Causton, 1823), 176.
- 49 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 50 *Times*, 11 June, 1897, 2, c. 1.
- 51 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 52 For biographical information on Williams, see: Foskett, *Dictionary of British Miniature Painters*, 1: 579. Williams died in 1941. For his obituary, see: *Times*, 5 Aug., 1941, 6, c. 5.
- 53 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 54 Miss FitzGibbon had the original profile portrait (fig. 3) photographed a short time earlier. Unfortunately, none of the prints could be located for reproduction here. See: *ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897. After Mrs. Henry Tupper's death in 1882, the profile portrait went to De Vic Tupper. When De Vic Tupper died in 1892, it became the property of his son, Henry Bingham de Vic Tupper. I am grateful to Gillian Lenfestey for this information.
- 55 *Ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.

- 56 Miss FitzGibbon appears to have been especially impressed by Williams's credentials. In a letter to Miss Mickle, she noted that he taught art classes in partnership with the artist who did many of the pictures for the *Illustrated London News*. This partner was probably Edward Linley Sambourne. Miss FitzGibbon considered them to be "quite big enough guns for our purpose." See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 18 July, 1897.
- 57 *Ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 58 *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 134.
- 59 For Miss FitzGibbon's transcript of Williams's opinion, see: *ibid.*, file 2, Brock Miniature, "Copies of F. Nowlan's & Alyn Williams' opinions re portraits," 29 June, 1897.
- 60 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 18 July, 1897. According to a letter she addressed to Miss Mickle dated 2 June, 1897, Miss FitzGibbon was already thinking in terms of a duplicate. "I am hoping to get a good copy in pastels if no other way." See: *ibid.*, Mary Agnes FitzGibbon to Mickle, 2 June, 1897. After Miss FitzGibbon's death in 1915, Williams's copy (fig. 19) was bequeathed to the Royal Ontario Museum (acc. 921.42.3). See: AO, York County Surrogate Court (RG 22), Estate Files, 1800–1968 (series 305), will of Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, 2 Apr., 1915, no. 30,198.
- 61 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 19 July, 1897.
- 62 John Savery Carey inherited this copy of the profile portrait (fig. 4) from his aunt, Mrs. Huyshe, but not by a provision in her will. See: ECG, Records of the Registrar of Wills and Intestacies, Book of Testaments (Apr. 1889–Aug. 1894), will of Rosa (Brock) Huyshe, 14 Apr., 1892. By 1897, the original profile portrait (fig. 3), formerly owned by Mrs. Henry Tupper, was the property of her grandson, Henry Bingham de Vic Tupper.
- 63 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 18 July, 1897. From at least early June of 1897, Miss FitzGibbon began to look upon the copy of the profile portrait (fig. 4) as the original. See: *ibid.*, 2 June, 1897. This misconception may have originated with John Wycliffe Lowes Forster, but it was impressed upon Miss FitzGibbon by Alyn Williams.
- 64 Besides referring to this bronzed silhouette as a bronze profile (fig. 8), Miss Tupper also described it as a "profile in bronze," a "bronze silhouette," and simply a "silhouette." See: MMCH, Archives and Documentation Centre, McCord Family Papers (P001), Collecting Correspondence, Tupper to McCord, 19 Feb., 1897; *ibid.*, 14 Apr., 1897; *ibid.*, 7 July, 1897; Trent University, Thomas J. Bata Library, Trent University Archives, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 15 Apr., 1882. Although several copies of the bronze profile were known to exist at one time, none of them are known to have survived. Fortunately, the image is preserved in a black and white photograph at the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, Quebec. See: MMCH, Notman Photographic Archives, Photograph of a Bronze Silhouette/Profile of an Unknown Officer (misidentified as "Major General Sir Isaac Brock"), by Robert Dumaresq, 1897, MP-0000.2251.1. There has been some speculation that the sitter in the bronze profile might be Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Earl of Moira, who received the order of the Garter in 1812 and was created Marquess of Hastings in 1817. The style of the bronze profile bears a striking resemblance to those gold-tinted silhouettes produced by the Studio of John Miers in London, England. This particular bronze silhouette appears to have been painted on ivory or plaster circa 1812, and perhaps by John Field (one of Miers's assistants).

- Although the sitter in the bronze profile has his hair tied in a queue, which the Duke of York abolished in 1808, some older high-ranking officers—such as Lord Moira was in 1812—ignored the order. See: Herman de Watteville, *The British Soldier: His Daily Life from Tudor to Modern Times* (London, England: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1954), 88.
- 65 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 7 June, 1897. As Miss FitzGibbon's brother sarcastically remarked, the sitter was a man who “would never see sixty again.” Gerald FitzGibbon also told his sister that “no man of forty was ever so developed in head & throat.” See: *ibid.*, 19 July, 1897.
- 66 *Ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897.
- 67 *Ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), 2 June, 1897. Miss FitzGibbon also wondered if the bronze profile (fig. 8) was an adaptation of the Jarvis silhouette (fig. 18).
- 68 It appears that this idea first occurred to Miss FitzGibbon towards the end of June 1897. See: *ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 29 June, 1897.
- 69 *Ibid.*, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 19 July, 1897. Miss FitzGibbon's belief that Isaac and Daniel de Lisle Brock resembled one another probably originated with Ferdinand Brock Tupper. See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1847), 467.
- 70 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 19 July, 1897.
- 71 In a letter dated 19 July, 1897, Miss FitzGibbon advised that “it is best to say as little as possible about the Tupper silhouette,” meaning the bronze profile (fig. 8). See: *ibid.*
- 72 Miss FitzGibbon had arranged to spend a day with Miss Tupper, presumably so that the copy of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 4) could be borrowed and made available for consultation by the art experts. Before the end of June, however, and some two weeks after Miss Tupper's arrival in London, Miss FitzGibbon began to opine: “I will not take her with me to the experts.” See: *ibid.*, file 9 (n.d.), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 26 June, 1897.
- 73 After a voyage of ten days, Miss FitzGibbon arrived back in Canada on 17 August, 1897. See: LAC, Ships Passenger Lists, Quebec City Ships' Manifests (RG 76, C1a), S.S. *Lake Winnipeg*, 17 Aug., 1897, no. 50; *Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), 17 Aug., 1897, 8, c. 5; *Globe* (Toronto, Ontario), 17 Aug., 1897, 5, c. 1.
- 74 Forster returned to Guernsey no later than 22 July, 1897, by which time he was engaged in painting a larger portrait of Brock (fig. 21). See: *Star*, 22 July, 1897, 2, c. 5. Although Forster's trip to Guernsey was reported to be for the “express purpose of carrying back to Canada a reliable portrait of Sir Isaac Brock,” there was no mention of a client. See: *ibid.*, 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5. See also: *Globe*, 5 July, 1897, 10, c. 3. Forster seldom overlooked this all-important detail, as name-dropping was quite useful in attracting new customers. Such an omission could only mean one thing: he had no buyer for his portrait of Brock. And sure enough, the study for this intended portrait (fig. 16) remained in Forster's possession until 1913, when he gave it to the Dominion (or Canadian) Archives. Since 2001, the study has formed part of the collections of the Portrait Gallery of Canada, now a program of Library and Archives Canada. While Forster considered it to be a commission for the Government of Ontario, he did not sell a larger version to that province until 1900. See: Forster, *Under the Studio Light*, 140; Ontario, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, “Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario,” 1900 XXXIII, pt I, no. 1 (1901): 168. I am grateful to Madeleine

- Trudeau of Library and Archives Canada for providing me with information regarding Forster's donation.
- 75 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 25–6 May, 1897. Although an official portrait of Brock was suggested as early as 1885, it did not meet with serious consideration until June of 1897. As the *Guernsey Star* then observed, “A fitting opportunity seems now to have presented itself to secure for Guernsey, if possible, either the picture itself or a *replica* of it before Mr. Forster returns to Canada and we trust that the States may see fit to add General Brock's portrait to their collection in the Royal Court-house, and place it near that of his brother the late Daniel de Lisle Brock, Bailiff of Guernsey.” See: *Star*, 7 Mar., 1885, 2, c. 6; *ibid.*, 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5.
- 76 Forster, *Under the Studio Light*, 140. Forster recalled that when his study (fig. 16) was finished, “the Bailiff (Governor) of the Island, Sir John Savery Carey, and a deputation including Kentish Brock, Esq., from the ‘States’ (Parliament) waited upon me.” While Forster may have correctly recalled the role of the bailiff in this incident, he was somewhat confused by Guernsey officialdom. The bailiff is not the governor (actually the lieutenant governor), but rather president of the States, or parliament. The lieutenant governor is the monarch's representative in Guernsey. At the time of Forster's visit to Guernsey in 1897, the bailiff was T. Godfrey Carey, not John Savery Carey (who was never knighted). The lieutenant governor was Nathaniel Stevenson.
- 77 *Star*, 28 Aug., 1897, 3, c. 1. It was at the end of June 1897 that Kentish Brock was officially informed of the preference for a larger painting (fig. 21). See: UCCA, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (3096), Correspondence Re: The Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, file 10, Brock to Forster, 29 June, 1897.
- 78 Forster's return to Toronto was reported on 21 Aug., 1897. See: *Toronto Saturday Night* (Toronto, Ontario) 21 Aug., 1897, 2, c. 4. The proposal had its origin several months earlier. In June of 1897, Kentish Brock wrote to the bailiff asking him to invite the States of Guernsey to deliberate the purchase of either the smaller portrait of Brock (fig. 16), or the larger one (fig. 21). See: Guernsey, States of Deliberation, *Billet d'État* VI (1897): 167–70.
- 79 *Star*, 2 Sep. 1897, 2, c. 5. It should be noted that deputies in Guernsey are elected members of the States, like members of parliament, while jurats are appointed jury members. Rectors are also unelected.
- 80 Miss FitzGibbon did not think much of Forster's work. After seeing his study for Brock's portrait (fig. 16) in mid-May of 1897, she expressed her low opinion in the following terms: “It is a better painting than the last,” presumably meaning the portrait of Brock painted for John A. Macdonell in 1894 (fig. 10), “but he has lost the likeness still more.” See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897. Miss FitzGibbon probably viewed Forster's study while it was on display in Thomas Grigg's picture framing shop in St. Peter Port. See: *Star*, 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5.
- 81 Mrs. Stevenson was the former Miss Isabella Charlotte Lewin. See: Melville Henry Massue, Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *The Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal*, 4 vols (London, England: Melville and Company, 1905–11), Mortimer-Percy, 1: 249.
- 82 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 11 June, 1897.

- 83 Both of Forster's portraits of Brock (figs 16, 21) were displayed in Thomas Grigg's picture framing shop in St. Peter Port. Presumably, it was there that the lieutenant governor and members of the Royal Court had an opportunity to view them. See: *Star*, 8 June, 1897, 2, c. 5; *ibid.*, 22 July, 1897, 2, c. 5; *ibid.*, 28 Aug., 1897, 3, c. 1.
- 84 Guernsey, States of Deliberation, *Billet d'État* VI (1897): 170–1. The letter from Kentish Brock to Bailiff Carey is dated 22 July, 1897. Kentish Brock's letter was no doubt meant to counter Miss FitzGibbon's negative remarks about Forster's work.
- 85 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, Tupper to FitzGibbon, postmarked 28 July, 1897, 165, 170.
- 86 *Star*, 2 Sept., 1897, 2, c. 5. The artist in question was referred to as Mr. Falle, who was actually Rolfe Falls, an Englishman who made his home in Guernsey. See: *ibid.*, 7 Sept., 1897, 2, c. 7; UCCA, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (3096), Correspondence Re: The Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, file 10, Hubert to Forster, 5 Oct., 1897.
- 87 *Star*, 2 Sept., 1897, 2, c. 5.
- 88 *Ibid.*
- 89 As one of Forster's Guernsey friends later explained, Jurat Carey "over-reached himself and exhibited his ignorance of the uniforms in vogue in Gen[eral] Brock's time." See: UCCA, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (3096), Correspondence Re: The Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, file 10, Hubert to Forster, 5 Oct., 1897.
- 90 *Star*, 2 Sept., 1897, 2, c. 5. Deputy Carey further expected that the expert "would be sure to condemn the portrait," as "it was difficult to paint the portrait of a man who is no longer living, especially if there are no good pictures of him in existence."
- 91 Kentish Brock hastened to tell Forster of the "overwhelming majority." See: UCCA, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (3096), Correspondence Re: The Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, file 10, Brock to Forster, 1 Sept., 1897. The vote was twenty-five in favour; six against; and two abstaining. See: *Star*, 2 Sept., 1897, 2, c. 5. Forster was delighted with the news, which he shared with the *Toronto Globe*. He chose, however, to ignore the debate about the quality of his work. See: *Globe*, 15 Sept., 1897, 10, c. 1.
- 92 This sale was negotiated through the Ontario Ministry of Education, and at a deep discount. Although Forster had already taken \$100 off his original asking price of \$450, he was forced to deduct a further \$100 in order to make the sale. See: AO, Department of Education (RG 2, 42), Select Subject Files, XIV-Pictures, no. 34, "Brock, Sir Isaac—portrait of," Forster to Harcourt, 22 Mar., 1900; Ontario, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, "Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario," 1900 XXXIII, pt I, no. 1 (1901): 168. The portrait (fig. 22) is now on display in the foyer of the Ontario Legislative Building, as part of the Government of Ontario Art Collection. In 1957, it was lent for the opening of the General Brock Public School in nearby Scarborough, Ontario. Upon its return, two large tears were discovered in the upper left background, which were thought to have been the work of some vandal. However, given that the tears were only a few inches long, perpendicular, and limited to one side of the background, it now appears that the damage was caused by careless handling. During its subsequent restoration, the painting was also cleaned. See: AO, Government of Ontario Art Collection, Oil Painting of "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, KB," by John W.L. Forster, 1900, acc. 692,993; *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto, Ontario), 5 Oct., 1957, 24, c. 1.

93 In 1908, Lady Edgar, who began life in Toronto as Miss Matilda Ridout, published an article in which she recounted the efforts of the Robinson brothers to secure an accurate portrait of Sir Isaac Brock. Although she concluded with the somewhat antagonistic statement that “the portrait by Berthon [fig. 9], in Government House, Toronto, will remain for all time the accredited one of the famous general,” there appears to have been no reaction from either Miss Mickle or Miss FitzGibbon. Perhaps they did not view the article as sufficiently threatening, or possibly they were not willing to contest Lady Edgar’s authority in the matter—given that she had written a major biography of Brock only a few years earlier. Interestingly, when Forster negotiated the sale of his portrait of Brock (fig. 22) to the Province of Ontario, he informed the minister of education that it “will henceforth be the standard portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, as the uniform is that in which he met his death in defense of Canada.” See: Lady Edgar [Matilda Ridout], “General Brock’s Portrait,” *Canadian Magazine* XXXI, no. 3 (July 1908): 265; AO, Department of Education (RG 2, 42), Select Subject Files, XIV-Pictures, no. 34, “Brock, Sir Isaac—portrait of,” Forster to Harcourt, 22 Mar., 1900.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Ludwig Kosche was born in Bremen on 5 August, 1929. See: *Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa, Ontario), 23 May, 2000, F5, c. 8; Ludwig Kosche, “The Turco-German Alliance of August 1914” (Master’s thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1969), 277. Kosche received his B.A. and M.A. from the University of Western Ontario, in London, Ontario.
- 2 Kosche subsequently earned his master’s degree in library science from the University of Toronto in 1973. This information was kindly supplied by Kathleen O’Brien, communications and development officer, and Bisa Lovric, assistant to the dean, Faculty of Information Studies, University of Toronto.
- 3 *Might’s Greater Ottawa City Directory, 1974* (Toronto, Ontario: Might Directories, c1974), 390. Kosche was probably hired sometime in 1973.
- 4 It was not possible to determine the precise date when Kosche began his duties at the Canadian War Museum. His name, however, appears in the first listing for this new position. Given that this information was published in the 1976 edition of the *Canadian Almanac & Directory*, Kosche probably joined the museum sometime in 1975. Although the *Ottawa City Directory* for 1976 continues to list him as an employee of the public library, Kosche likely began his new job after the publishers of the city directory had compiled their data for the upcoming year. See: *Canadian Almanac & Directory, 1976* (Toronto, Ontario: Copp Clark Publishing, 1976), 66; *Might’s Greater Ottawa City Directory, 1976* (Toronto, Ontario: Might Directories, c1976), 393.
- 5 Email, Graves to St-Denis, 11 Jan., 2006. I am grateful to Donald E. Graves for his insights into Kosche’s activities at the Canadian War Museum.
- 6 Ludwig Kosche, “Relics of Brock: An Investigation,” *Archivaria* 9 (Winter 1979–80): 55–6.
- 7 According to Kosche, “Forster’s technique of combining his artistry with the use of earlier portraits supplemented by research and artefacts was well-suited to the creation of paintings of historic personages.” See: Kosche, “Relics of Brock,” 35. Forster’s use of the undress or plain coatee is recorded on the back of his study for Brock’s portrait (fig. 16). See: *ibid.*, 45. Forster was also assisted by Lieutenant Colonel J. Percy Groves, who advised him regarding the uniform’s depiction. See: John W.L. Forster, *Under the Studio Light: Leaves from a Portrait Painter’s Sketch Book* (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan Company

of Canada, 1928), 133. As mentioned elsewhere, Forster used the copy of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 4) as a guide for his own portraits of Brock (figs 16, 21, 22), and probably because he considered the copy to be the original. The copy, incidentally, was then in the possession of John Savery Carey. It should also be noted that the dress or formal coatee is preserved in the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal. Like the undress or plain coatee, it reflects Brock's rank as a brigadier general—a detail first pointed out by Major Nicholas Dawnay in 1953. See: Major Nicholas P. Dawnay, "The Staff Uniform of the British Army, 1767 to 1855," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XXXI (1953): 78.

- 8 Canadian War Museum, Military History Research Centre, George Metcalf Archival Collection (CWM), Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 9 Apr., 1978.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 3 June, 1978.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 29 Oct., 1978.
- 11 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 23 Nov., 1978. It was still nearly mid-April of 1979 before the photographs were delivered. See: *ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 10 Apr., 1979.
- 12 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 14 Dec., 1978. This lack of appreciation extended to the research Kosche conducted into other artifacts at the Canadian War Museum. For example, in 1981 Captain Mellish praised Kosche for his research into a watch thought to have belonged to Sir Isaac Brock. Kosche responded by acknowledging the compliment as compensation for the "indifference displayed by the War Museum." See: *ibid.*, 26 Oct., 1981.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 14 Dec., 1978. Although the coatee (fig. 23) is the same in each of these paintings, Forster's study (fig. 16) has Brock wearing a non-regulation red stock (or neckband of stiff fabric) and a ceinture fléchée (a sash with an arrow design). The portrait sold to the Government of Ontario (fig. 22) provides a more accurate representation of Brock's outfit, as it includes both a regulation black stock and a regulation crimson sash.
- 14 Kosche, "Relics of Brock," 45; CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 14 Dec., 1978. The original profile portrait (fig. 3) was never the property of John Savery Carey. As mentioned elsewhere, Henry Tupper inherited the portrait from his uncle, Irving Brock, who died in 1838. After Tupper's death in 1875, his widow (Mary Ann Collings Tupper) became the next owner. With Mrs. Tupper's death in 1882, it went to her son, De Vic Tupper, the family's sole male heir. De Vic Tupper died intestate in 1892, and given that his wife (the former Miss Emily Sophia Bingham) had predeceased him in 1890, the portrait passed to their only son, Henry Bingham de Vic Tupper. The portrait then remained in his possession until he died in 1903, after which it became the shared property of his sisters: Miss Beatrice, Miss Constance, and Miss Edith Tupper. At some point, the portrait was lent to their father's cousins, Miss Henrietta and Miss Emilia Tupper, who were allowed to retain it. Miss Henrietta Tupper survived her sister until 1928. While her will makes no mention of the portrait, it was returned to her remaining cousins, Miss Beatrice and Miss Edith Tupper. Their sister, Miss Constance Tupper, who in the meantime had become Mrs. Edward Heathfield Tupper, died in 1914. Upon Miss Beatrice Tupper's death in 1942, Miss Edith Tupper assumed full ownership of the portrait. Miss Edith Tupper died in 1960, and in her will she bequeathed the portrait to Captain Michael H.T. Mellish, a first cousin, once removed. Captain Mellish retained the portrait until 2006, when his son retrieved it for safekeeping. Upon the death of Captain

- Mellish in 2007, the portrait became the property of Nicholas T.L. Mellish, who sold it to the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery early in 2009.
- 15 There is evidence, however, to suggest that Forster considered using the profile portrait (fig. 3) for his rendering of the uniform. As he wrote in May of 1897, "I have met the misses Tupper, grand [nieces] of General Brock and am going to make a study of the General's coat and face from a portrait they have and the coat itself." See: Toronto Reference Library, Marilyn and Charles Baillie Special Collections Centre, Baldwin Collection of Canadiana, John Wycliffe Lowes Forster Papers (S 19), file n.d.-1899, Forster to his mother, 7 May, 1897.
 - 16 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 14 Dec., 1978.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 23 Feb., 1979.
 - 18 Brock University, James A. Gibson Library, Archives and Special Collections (BU), Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H.T. Mellish Correspondence, Lee to Mellish, 7 June, 1965.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Keeper, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, 20 Aug., 1965.
 - 20 Captain Mellish visited the Niagara Historical Society Museum on 23 June, 1965. He toured Brock University two days later. See: *St. Catharines Standard* (St. Catharines, Ontario), 24 June, 1965, 9, c. 1; *ibid.*, 26 June, 1965, 9, c. 1.
 - 21 BU, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H.T. Mellish Correspondence, Mellish to Keeper, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, 20 Aug., 1965.
 - 22 *Ibid.* Presumably, Captain Mellish thought the profile portrait (fig. 3) was a drawing, thus his choice of an expert in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, Williams to Mellish, 24 Aug., 1965.
 - 24 Captain Mellish instructed Williams by means of a phone call on 27 August, 1965. For Captain Mellish's note about the conversation, see: *ibid.*
 - 25 *Ibid.*, 21 Oct., 1965
 - 26 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Williams, 13 Dec., 1965.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, Williams to Mellish, 11 Jan., 1966.
 - 28 Williams did not cite the source of this biographical sketch. See: *ibid.* For the correct information regarding Sharples's travels, see n41. As for the date of the profile portrait (fig. 3), Captain Mellish probably found his information in Tupper's biography of Sir Isaac Brock. During a visit to the Niagara Historical Society Museum in June of 1965, the Captain encountered pictures of Brock that seemed to suggest that the artist might have been either J. Hudson or Alyn Williams. See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1847), 33, 37–8; BU, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H.T. Mellish Correspondence, Mellish to Keeper, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, 20 Aug., 1965; *St. Catharines Standard*, 24 June, 1965, 9, c. 1.
 - 29 BU, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H.T. Mellish Correspondence, Mellish to Williams, 21 Jan., 1966. As Kosche would later determine, neither Sharples nor any of his family of artists "ever ventured as far north as Canada"—meaning Lower

- Canada, or the modern-day province of Quebec. See: Ludwig Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis," *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 64.
- 30 Ibid., Kosche to Mellish, 28 Feb., 1979.
- 31 Ibid., 27 May, 1979. A search for Andre's letter was unsuccessful. I am, however, grateful to Madeleine Trudeau for her determined effort in trying to locate this elusive document. As for Andre's job description, see: *Might's Metropolitan Toronto City Directory, 1978–79* (Toronto, Ontario: Might Directories, c1979), 34.
- 32 For a biography of Berczy, see: Ronald J. Stagg, "Berczy, William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 70–2.
- 33 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 27 May, 1979.
- 34 For the biography, see: John Andre, *William Berczy: Co-Founder of Toronto* (Toronto, Ontario: Borough of York, 1967).
- 35 Ibid., opp. 120.
- 36 Kosche received this photograph of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 3) in August of 1979, which pleased him as it "came out very, very well indeed." See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 23 Aug., 1979.
- 37 Ibid., 28 Jan., 1980; Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 65. When contacted in 2008, Dr. McNairn could not recall his reason for having agreed with Andre's attribution. "I would think that I relied on my eye rather than any external evidence for concluding that it was indeed a work of Berczy. At the time I was working at the National Gallery of Canada and had some opportunity to look at Berczy's work in some detail. Ludwig Kosche was a close friend of mine and he was meticulous in his research. I am sure that had I made my suggestion in a cavalier fashion he would have prompted me to show him all the visual evidence." See: email, McNairn to St-Denis, 20 Nov., 2008.
- 38 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 28 Jan., 1980. In 1984, Kosche once again raised the question of Andre's sources. It appears that the answer he received was no more satisfactory. See: *ibid.*, Kosche to Andre, 19 Mar., 1984.
- 39 Ibid., Kosche to Mellish, 28 Jan., 1980.
- 40 Ibid. Although Kosche did not divulge the source of his information regarding Sharples, his article provides a clue. In discussing the attribution of the profile portrait (fig. 3), Kosche makes note of two art histories: Katharine McCook Knox's *The Sharples*, and Basil Long's *British Miniaturists*. A careful examination of these books revealed that Kosche used the one authored by Knox. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 64; Katharine McCook Knox, *The Sharples: Their Portraits of George Washington and his Contemporaries* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1930), 24–5; Basil Long, *British Miniaturists* (London, England: Geoffrey Bles, 1929), 395.
- 41 The possibility of a sitting by Brock was also negated by Sharples's removal from Bath in May of 1806; but it was Brock's whereabouts that effectively undermined the attribution to Sharples. It should be noted that soon after Sharples and his family embarked for America, their ship ran aground off the coast of England. Two of his sons set out on another vessel, but Sharples remained behind with his wife and daughter. They did not return to the United States until 1809. See: Knox, *The Sharples*, 24–32.
- 42 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 3 Mar., 1980.

- 43 Sharples was in England between 1801 and 1809. See: Knox, *The Sharples*, 16, 24–5, 27, 31.
- 44 Captain Mellish might have known that Brock went on his leave in the autumn of 1805 and that he was back in Canada by September of 1806, as this information was readily available in Tupper's biography of his uncle. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., 33, 38.
- 45 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), Andre to Kosche, 9 Feb., 1980. Kosche appears to have shared these observations with Andre, but verbally and by means of a telephone call. Fortunately, they were also put in writing for Captain Mellish. As Kosche observed: "One aspect of Berczy's work which struck me in particular was the similarity of the uniforms in these portraits . . . and that raised the question whether Berczy might have pre-drawn, so to speak, basic components of his portraits, and filled in the details, such as the face, or perhaps the star (as in the Craig portrait) when he did the actual portrait." In other words, Kosche thought that certain parts of Berczy's portraits, including backgrounds and costumes, might have been painted in advance. It was then simply a matter of inserting the face and other details (epaulettes, badges, and other insignia). See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 1 Mar., 1980. Kosche, however, failed to consider how Berczy could have worked in the middle of a pre-painted pastel background without smudging it.
- 46 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.25), Andre to Kosche, 9 Feb., 1980. Andre's source was not the original letter, but rather a transcript he found in the National Archives of Canada. See: LAC, Collection Baby (MG 24, L3), Papiers Berczy, Correspondance, vol. 27, Viger to Berczy Jr., 28 Sept., 1827, 16640. The portrait of Frontenac may have been intended for a book that the senior Berczy hoped to publish. Unfortunately, the manuscript appears to have gone missing after Berczy's death in New York City in 1813. See: Stagg, "Berczy, William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 72; Peter N. Moogk, "William Berczy: Colonization Promoter, 1791–1813," in Mary Macaulay Allodi, et al., *Berczy* (Ottawa, Ontario: National Gallery of Canada, 1991), 106–7. For additional information on Jacques Viger and Sir James H. Craig, see: Jean-Claude Robert, "Viger, Jacques," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* VIII: 909–13; Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Craig, Sir James Henry," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 205–14.
- 47 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), Andre to Kosche, 9 Feb., 1980.
- 48 *Ibid.* Andre believed that this previous meeting must have taken place in Montreal, simply because there was no indication in any of Berczy's letters that he ever met Brock in Quebec City.
- 49 Applicants for land grants in Upper Canada made their requests in the form of a written petition, which was submitted to the lieutenant governor presiding over the Executive Council's Land Committee. The members of this committee advised the lieutenant governor in matters relating to the granting of Crown lands. Their decision, usually recommended by the lieutenant governor (or in this case the president), was entered into a minute book commonly called land books. The volumes for 1811 and 1812 were searched, but Berczy's petition was not found. A search among other relevant sources was also unsuccessful.
- 50 Berczy's letter, or "application," to Brock does not appear to have survived. Nor does the reply he received from Brock, which was written by his aide-de-camp, Captain John B. Glegg. However, a copy of Berczy's letter to Captain Glegg still exists. It both

- acknowledges and reiterates Brock's decision to defer the matter of Berczy's land until Lieutenant Governor Gore's return. See: LAC, William von Moll Berczy Papers (MG 23, HII6), Berczy to Glegg, 1 Dec., 1811, 840.
- 51 Such a realization could only have come about during a search for the petition, which Andre obviously did not undertake. It appears that he simply concluded there was a petition, and furthermore that he based this assumption on a reference Berczy made to his "application." See: *ibid.*
 - 52 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), Andre to Kosche, 9 Feb., 1980. Although Andre could not remember how he was able to date Brock's profile portrait (fig. 3) to 1811, there is the possibility that he was influenced by Walter Nursey's *The Story of Isaac Brock*. For the frontispiece of his book, Nursey reproduced the copy of Brock's portrait painted by Alyn Williams (fig. 19), which was commissioned by Miss FitzGibbon in 1897. In a caption describing this portrait, Nursey made use of information provided by Miss FitzGibbon. In spite of having been led to believe that the copy of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 4) was the original, she seems to have set herself straight by the time of her dealings with Nursey. This she revealed by correctly noting that the original profile portrait (fig. 3) was in the possession of Miss Henrietta Tupper. Miss FitzGibbon also noticed a similarity between the paper on which Brock's portrait was painted and that of his last general orders, which were watermarked with a date of 1811—as if to suggest that his portrait could also date to that year. See: Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812* (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1908), 175.
 - 53 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 1 Mar. 1980.
 - 54 *Ibid.* Gillian Lenfestey and Helen Conlon confirmed that the stock is solid black, and not green with a plaid design. Kosche came up with a green plaid stock based on his examination of a colour photograph of the profile portrait of Brock (fig. 3), which was provided by Captain Mellish. It would appear that Kosche was thrown off track by some poor colour processing. He might also have been inclined to accept what looked to be a green plaid stock because a red plaid cravat, or rather a scarf, was supposedly included with Brock's uniform when it was donated to Canada. Although a cravat (or long strip of fabric) and a stock (a neckband of stiff fabric) are separate and distinct items of clothing, Kosche appears to have believed that Brock could have worn a cravat over his stock to protect him against the cold, just as he had done with a "stout cotton handkerchief" at the Battle of Egmont-op-Zee (Egmond aan Zee) in 1799. Conceivably, the red plaid cravat might have served the same purpose at the Battle of Queenston Heights, especially as it had what were thought to be gunshot holes corresponding with those in Brock's coatee. As Kosche concluded, a green plain stock was just as plausible as a red cravat. This was not the case, however. When Brock sat for his portrait, he wore a black stock. See: *ibid.*, 23 Aug., 1979; Kosche, "Relics of Brock," 68; W.Y. Carman, "Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 19 (1940): 209; email, Lenfestey to St-Denis, 8 May, 2009; *ibid.*, Conlon to St-Denis, 9 Sept., 2009. It should be noted that Brock was portrayed in his plain or undress uniform. Had he worn his fancy or dress uniform to the sitting, and presuming he abided by the dress regulations, then his stock would have been white.

- 55 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 65–6. See also: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 23 Feb., 1979; *ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 1 Mar., 1980.
- 56 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 1 Mar., 1980.
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 20 Mar., 1980.
- 59 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 1 Mar., 1980.
- 60 *Ibid.*, Apr., 1980. The day of the month was left blank. Kosche appears to have subsequently altered the date to 6 May, 1980. See: *ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 27 June, 1980.
- 61 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 27 June, 1980. Captain Mellish was away from home, which was his explanation for the delay.
- 62 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 13 Jan., 1981; *ibid.*, 26 Oct., 1981; *ibid.*, 29 May, 1983.
- 63 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 27 June, 1980; *ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 15 July, 1980.
- 64 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 13 Jan. 1981. Kosche already had a black and white photograph of the miniature (fig. 11), which he received in 1979 during his research into Brock's uniforms. However, he found it "simply not serviceable." See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 19 Dec., 1979.
- 65 Kosche sent a copy of this article to Captain Mellish, who expressed his approval by saying "I do certainly like what you are doing." See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 6 Sept., 1981; *ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 26 Sept., 1981. Kosche published his article in the *Organization of Military Museums of Canada Journal*, where he concluded that the pocket watch probably belonged to William Brock, who was a brother to Sir Isaac Brock. See: Kosche, "New Light on an Old Artefact: The Alleged Brock Watch," *OMMC Journal* 8 (1981): 14–24.
- 66 Kosche was eventually able to determine that Hitler used the car between 1940 and 1943. See: Ludwig Kosche, "The Story of a Car," *After the Battle* 35 (1982): 1–13.
- 67 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 6 Sept., 1981. This miniature (fig. 24) was subsequently given to Brock University in 1966, and now forms part of the Brockiana Collection, Archives and Special Collections, James A. Gibson Library. See: *St. Catharines Standard*, 14 Sept., 1966, 9.
- 68 Kosche mentioned Turner's assistance in a letter to Captain Mellish. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 14 Feb., 1982.
- 69 *Ibid.* Kosche had already ruled out the 8th (or King's) Regiment, which Brock had joined as a young ensign, mainly because the miniature (fig. 24) "shows an officer who is no longer young." Brock was only twenty-one years old when he left the 8th Regiment, which departure resulted from his having been appointed the captain of an independent company. Moreover, the facings of the sitter in the miniature were not the right colour for the 8th Regiment. Rather than buff or pale yellow, they should have been blue. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 24; *London Gazette* (London, England), 29 Jan.–1 Feb., 1791, 63, c. 1.
- 70 As Kosche admitted to Captain Mellish, "I am beginning to think that I may wish to examine the matter of the various miniatures and portraits further; however, it will probably not be before next year, as I have more than enough to do for the next few

- months.” See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 14 Feb., 1982.
- 71 Ibid., Mellish to Kosche, 11 June, 1982. This miniature (fig. 25) was one of several inherited by Captain Mellish.
- 72 Ibid., Kosche to Mellish, 27 June, 1982.
- 73 Captain Mellish also became somewhat confused, and began to mistake John Brock for his younger brother, John *Savery* Brock. See, for example: *ibid.*, Mellish to Kosch, 7 Sept., 1982.
- 74 Ibid., Kosche to Mellish, 14 Aug., 1982.
- 75 The facings comprised the collar, lapels, and cuffs of a uniform. As is the case with most miniatures, the cuffs are not visible. For the colour of the facings of the 49th Regiment, see: Marquess of Cambridge, “De Bosset’s Chart of Uniform, 1803,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XL (1962): 171.
- 76 *A List of the Officers of the Army* (1799), 278; Cambridge, “De Bosset’s Chart of Uniform, 1803,” 172.
- 77 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 14 Aug., 1982; Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 39–40.
- 78 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 27 June, 1982. See also: Cambridge, “De Bosset’s Chart of Uniform, 1803,” 170.
- 79 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, who owned the miniature of Ensign Isaac Brock (fig. 27) in 1861, thought his uncle might have been portrayed somewhat later, when about seventeen years old—which is incorrect. Brock was born in October of 1769, so he was either fifteen or sixteen years old when Jean painted his miniature in 1785 (see n80). Tupper, incidentally, is the earliest recorded owner of this miniature, but how it came into his possession is unknown. The miniature subsequently became the property of Tupper’s daughter, Miss Henrietta Tupper. Possibly after Miss Tupper’s death in 1928, it passed to her cousin, Miss Edith Tupper. The miniature later came into the possession of Captain Michael H.T. Mellish. In 2004, the captain was asked how he acquired the miniature in question, to which he simply replied that it was an inheritance from a Tupper cousin. It was probably a bequest from the estate of Miss Edith Tupper, who died in 1960. According to the terms of her will, “the portraits of Sir Isaac Brock, and all pictures connected with the Brock family,” were to go to Captain Mellish. He retained the miniature until 2006, when his son acquired it—as well as Schipper’s profile portrait of Isaac Brock as a brigadier general (fig. 3). Nicholas T.L. Mellish subsequently sold these portraits, as well as that of Lieutenant John Brock (fig. 25) to the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery in 2009. See: LAC, Henry James Morgan Papers (MG 29, D61), Correspondence, vol. 47, Tupper to Morgan, 13 July, 1861; *Globe* (Toronto, Ontario), 9 July, 1928, 14, c. 4; A. Maude (Cawthra) Brock, *Brock Family Records* (Toronto, Ontario: privately published, 1927), 183; Ecclesiastical Court of Guernsey, Records of the Registrar of Wills and Intestacies, Book of Testaments, vol. 7 (new series), will of Edith Bingham Tupper, 12 Mar., 1949; *St. Catharines Standard*, 20 Feb., 2009, A1. Presumably, the provenance of Lieutenant John Brock’s miniature is the same as that of the miniature depicting Ensign Isaac Brock.
- 80 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 24. Helen Conlon of the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery was able to confirm that the miniatures of Ensign Isaac Brock (fig. 27) and Lieutenant John Brock (fig. 25) were initialled and year-dated by Philip Jean. See: email, Conlon to St-Denis, 19 May, 2010. Unfortunately, some of this vital

information was lost when the miniatures were framed. While enough of the initials survive to identify Jean as the artist, the dates are more problematic. The miniature of Ensign Isaac Brock can be dated to 1785, as the last two digits of the year are still legible. However, the miniature of Lieutenant John Brock must be assigned an approximate date, as only the first two numbers remain. But given that Lieutenant Brock appears to have returned to Guernsey in 1784 and left the 8th Regiment in 1785, his miniature can be fairly safely dated to 1784 or 1785. Curiously, both Kosche and Captain Mellish appear to have been unaware of these dates and initials. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 24, 40–1.

- 81 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 14 Aug., 1982. The relevant portion of this letter is the postscript.
- 82 Kosche obtained the photograph of the full-length portrait (fig. 28) from the New Brunswick Museum. See: *ibid.*, 1 Mar., 1980.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 14 Aug., 1982. Mrs. Sowels was the former Miss Agnes Bessie Carey. She married Captain Reginald Charles Sowels in 1928. According to Arthur, she was supposed to leave the full-length portrait (fig. 28) to him, but changed her mind in favour of the States of Guernsey. She must have changed her mind more than once, as the portrait did not go to the States. Or perhaps Arthur was mistaken.
- 84 *Ibid.* Captain Mellish was still looking for the full-length portrait (fig. 28) as late as January of 1983. See: *ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 7 Jan., 1983.
- 85 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 28 Sept., 1982. This work was carried out in the conservation lab of Canada's National Gallery of Art.
- 86 This was very likely the portrait painted by Miss Alice Kerr-Nelson (fig. 6), which was commissioned by the Robinsons in 1881. As Kosche related to Captain Mellish, it was formerly owned by Senator P. Michael Pitfield. See: *ibid.* The painting was subsequently purchased by Brock University in 1979. See: BU, James A. Gibson Library, Archives and Special Collections, Acquisitions Form, [Kerr-Nelson] Portrait of "General Brock," cat. U2.
- 87 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 28 Sept., 1982. The earliest known reference to the full-length portrait (fig. 28) is the report of its sale by the auction house of Puttick and Simpson in November of 1927. The winning bidder was a Mr. F. Sabin, who was no doubt the art dealer Frank M. Sabin. By 1930, the portrait had become the property of Ward C. Pitfield, a Montreal financier with an interest in Canadian history. After Pitfield's death in 1939, the portrait passed to his wife and eventually to her son, the Honourable P. Michael Pitfield, who owned it until his death in 2017. See: *Times* (London, England), 12 Nov., 1927, 9, c. 3; LAC, J. Russell Harper Papers (MG 30, D352), [Norman Fee], "List of Paintings, Engravings, and Prints. W.C. Pitfield Collection," 6. For Ward C. Pitfield's obituary, see: *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ontario), 12 Jan., 1939, 3, c. 4.
- 88 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), "Report on oil portrait in possession of Senator Michael P. [sic] Pitfield, Ottawa, Ont.," 10 Aug., 1983.
- 89 *Ibid.* See also: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 54.
- 90 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), Chartrand to Tardif-Côté, 28 Feb., 1984.
- 91 *Ibid.*

- 92 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 57. It was the Reverend Percy Sumner who, in 1939, suggested the full-length portrait (fig. 28) was of "General Sir Isaac Brock . . . evidently in the uniform of a captain of the 49th Foot, c. 1792." See: Rev. Percy Sumner, "The Royal Berkshire Regiment," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XVIII (1939): 122–3.
- 93 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 57.
- 94 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1845), 413; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 418; Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 58. In Tupper's *Family Records*, John Brock's death is listed as having occurred in 1802; however, it should have been 1801. According to the regimental history of the 81st Regiment, the duel took place on 5 July, 1801. See: *Historical Record of the Eighty-First Regiment* (Gibraltar: Twenty-Eighth Regimental Press, 1872), 13. Tupper corrected his mistake in both editions of *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *Family Records* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey: Stephen Barbet, 1835), 1.
- 95 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 57–8. For notices regarding John Brock's estate, as well as his death, see: *Cape Town Gazette* (Cape Town, South Africa), 18 July, 1801, 1, c. 1; *Bombay Courier* (Bombay, India), 6 Mar., 1802, 4, c. 2.
- 96 For the appointment to captain of the Jersey Invalids, see: *London Gazette*, 28 Apr.–2 May, 1801, 463, c. 1.
- 97 Admittedly, there might be some resemblance between the officer in the full-length portrait (fig. 28) and John Brock (figs 24, 25). The uniform also looks as though it could be that of the Jersey Invalids. Yet, it is difficult to conceive how John Brock could have been portrayed as a captain of the Jersey Invalids, given that he was killed in South Africa only three months after being gazetted to his new company. There is also the possibility that the full-length portrait shows someone other than Captain John Brock. Regardless, the facings are not those of the 49th Regiment, and so the officer displaying them cannot be Captain Isaac Brock, which is all that really matters.
- 98 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 7 Jan., 1983. More recent searches in Guernsey have failed to produce the copy of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 4); however, a photograph of this portrait was located in the Ludwig Kosche Papers at the Canadian War Museum. See: *ibid.*, Photograph Album (58A3/10.4), Copy of the Profile Portrait of Brigadier General Isaac Brock by Gerrit Schipper, photographed by Brian J. Green, circa 1980.
- 99 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 26 Nov., 1982; *ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 31 Jan., 1983.
- 100 At the time, Miss Procter was seventy-eight years old. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.17), Procter to Kosche, 16 Feb., 1983. Kosche began to doubt that the miniature (fig. 11) could portray Brock as early as the spring of 1979. See: *ibid.*, Kosche to Procter, 19 Dec., 1979.
- 101 *Ibid.*, Procter to Kosche, 16 Feb., 1983. Miss Procter lost faith in Canada Post after an encyclopaedia entrusted to the crown corporation went missing.
- 102 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 1 May, 1983. In deciding to deliver the photograph of the miniature (fig. 11) in person, Miss Procter proposed the further loan of a commission signed by Brock and the notebook as well. See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (58A3/10.17), Procter to Kosche, 16 Feb., 1983. Kosche, however, chose to borrow the notebook only.

- 103 Much of the contents pertain to Miss FitzGibbon's activities, which perhaps explains how the notebook came to be regarded as her property.
- 104 Kosche was aware of the notebook by December of 1979, and possibly as early as the spring of that same year. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 19 Dec., 1979.
- 105 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 1 May, 1983. Kosche appears to have finished the transcription well in advance of the Victoria Day long weekend—the agreed upon date for the notebook's return to Miss Procter. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 10 May, 1983.
- 106 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 47. Like General Robinson, Kosche was troubled by certain elements of the uniform worn by the officer, which he first noticed during an examination of a black and white photograph of the miniature (fig. 11) several years earlier. This photograph was supplied to him in the spring of 1979. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 19 Dec., 1979.
- 107 Mrs. Dunn was believed to have inherited the miniature (fig. 11) from her sister, the wife of Captain James Brock, which made sense when it was thought to portray Sir Isaac Brock. But as Kosche was able to determine, the miniature is actually that of Lieutenant George Dunn—Mrs. Dunn's second husband. It would appear, therefore, that Mrs. Dunn inherited the miniature from her husband. The Short sisters, incidentally, had impressive full names. Lucy was *Susannah Lucy Quirk Short*, and Matilda was *Susan Matilda Quirk Short*. See: Archives of Ontario (AO), Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 51, 53.
- 108 Mrs. Taylor's paternal grandfather was John Short, who was Mrs. Dunn's brother. This relationship was determined from a provision in Mrs. Dunn's will. See: *ibid.*, 63.
- 109 Theoretically, the miniature (fig. 11) could also have portrayed Captain James Brock, although Sir Isaac Brock appears to have been a more popular choice.
- 110 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 47–50. Regarding the Waterloo Medal, see: Donald Hall and Christopher Wingate, *British Orders, Decorations and Medals* (St. Ives, England: Balfour Publications, 1973), 56. It should be noted that Kosche made use of a report by Lieutenant Colonel J. Percy Groves, which was submitted to Miss FitzGibbon after he examined the uniform worn by the sitter in Miss Mickle's miniature (fig. 11). Miss Mickle transcribed this report into her notebook, where Kosche eventually found it. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 172–6.
- 111 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 50, 52. The miniature's apparent date of 1816 coincided with the first year in which the Waterloo Medals were distributed.
- 112 One of the books was a volume from the official history of the 49th Regiment. See: F. Loraine Petre, *The Royal Berkshire Regiment*, 2 vols (Reading, England: The Barracks, 1925), 1: 86. Lieutenant Dunn's likeness also served as the model for a commemorative bust of Brock, which was sculpted by Miss F. May Simpson in 1912. And when Brock's heroism was used to market the Southam Newspapers chain in 1930, Lieutenant Dunn's miniature (fig. 11) was incorporated into the advertising. See: *Evening Telegram* (Toronto, Ontario), 12 Oct., 1912, 21, cc. 3–4; *Globe*, 9 June, 1930, 15, c. 4. It should be noted that Canada Post redeemed itself somewhat in 2012 with another stamp honouring Brock. Working from the profile portrait painted by Gerrit Schipper (fig. 3), Suzanne Duranceau of Montreal made a good effort in depicting him (even if he looks rather too boyish). Artistic license also accounts for Brock's unrealistically thick hair, and the various shades

of black used for his facings—which should really be dark blue. But at least Duranceau’s rendition looks something like Brock, whereas the likeness by Nova Scotia artist Bonnie Ross, which she created for the Royal Canadian Mint’s twenty-five cent and four dollar coins, does not.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, Hayward to Mickle, 17 Aug., 1896, 35, 37, 39.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Canadian War Museum, Military History Research Centre, George Metcalf Archival Collection (CWM), Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 10 May, 1983. As Kosche later observed, the facial features suggested a man in his late twenties, and Lieutenant Dunn was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old in 1816. It did not look like the face of a man who was thirty-seven years old, as Brock was in 1806. See: Ludwig Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis,” *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 52. This article gives no source for Lieutenant Dunn’s age in 1816; however, his obituary confirms that he was twenty-seven years old in 1816. See: *Times* (London, England), 27 Dec., 1850, 7, c. 4.
- 4 For the authorization, production, and distribution of the Waterloo Medal, see: William S.W. Vaux, “On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals,” *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, n.s. IX (1869): 109–12.
- 5 As Kosche explained to Miss Lorna R. Procter in May of 1983, the “key to the authenticity of the miniature rests, in my view, upon the solution of the date.” See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 10 May, 1983.
- 6 Kosche sought advice from the staff of the Parker Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.25), Simon to Kosche, 25 May, 1983; *ibid.*, Gold to Kosche, 7 June, 1983; *ibid.*, Murdoch to Kosche, 15 June, 1983. Several years earlier, a representative at Sotheby’s in London found the X to be “a curious method of dating.” See: *ibid.*, Bainbridge to Kosche, 21 Jan., 1980.
- 7 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 43. Kosche made this discovery in Miss Mickle’s notebook. Forster died in 1938. For his obituary, see: *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ontario), 26 Apr., 1938, 5, c. 2.
- 8 Captain Brock’s wife was the former Miss Lucy Short, thus the connection. Kosche learned of John Short through H. Douglass Short of Kingston, who made a hobby of studying the genealogy of the Short family. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.21), Kosche to Short, 5 Jan., 1983.
- 9 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 50. The portrait (fig. 15) was sent to Kosche in Ottawa, where it was photographed and then returned to John Short by mid-November of 1983. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.21), Kosche to Short, 19 Nov., 1983.
- 10 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 51–2.
- 11 For the transcript, see: AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, Short to Mickle, 26 May,

- 1897, 139, 141. For the original, see: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Short to Mickle, 26 May, 1897.
- 12 Kosche returned to Ottawa on 1 October, 1983. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 2 Oct., 1983.
 - 13 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.17), Procter to Kosche, 21 Oct., 1983.
 - 14 Kosche began work on his article over the Christmas holidays. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.26) Kosche to Mellish, 26 Dec., 1983.
 - 15 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.25), Helen Durie, “Chronology of the Miniature of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock by J. Hudson, 1806,” 1962. See also: Library and Archives Canada, Portrait Files (internal accession records), Brock[, Sir Isaac], no. 207-33. It is not known if Kosche found this document at the archives, or whether he obtained a copy from Miss Procter. Miss Durie’s “Chronology” must be treated with care, as it contains a number of errors. One such error is the incorrect statement that it was Miss FitzGibbon who purchased the miniature (fig. 11) from Mrs. Taylor. As detailed elsewhere, Mrs. Taylor sold the miniature to Miss Mickle, who retained it until her death in 1930. According to the terms of Miss Mickle’s will, the miniature was bequeathed to the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. But until such time as the Society’s collections could be housed in a fireproof building, the miniature was to be preserved in either the Art Gallery of Toronto (the forerunner of the Art Gallery of Ontario), or the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa. In accepting the miniature, the ladies of the Society chose to lend it to the Art Gallery of Toronto/Ontario. The miniature remained there until 1962, when it was retrieved and subsequently stored in a safety deposit box at a Toronto, Ontario branch of National Trust. See: AO, Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (1921–39), Mickle to Roberts, 15 Oct., 1930; *ibid.*, Roberts to Mickle, 20 Oct., 1930; *ibid.*, Roberts to Mickle, 25 Oct., 1930; *Globe and Mail*, 29 Sept., 1962, 15, c. 4. In 1996, the miniature was donated to the Royal Ontario Museum. See: Royal Ontario Museum, Canadian Collection, Department of World Cultures, Miniature of Lieutenant George Dunn (misidentified as “General Sir Isaac Brock”), by J. Hudson, 1816, acc. 996.58.3.1.
 - 16 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 46. Because photocopies were not permitted by the Archives nationales du Québec, Kosche asked a friend to go and examine the file in person. This friend was Henri Serdongs.
 - 17 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 27 Nov., 1983. See also: Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 46.
 - 18 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 27 Nov., 1983.
 - 19 Miss FitzGibbon knew that things such as portraits were considered part of the chattel property and, together with the more mundane contents of a household, were frequently transferred to the rightful heir(s) without the need for legal force. The fact that there was more than one beneficiary of Mrs. Brock’s estate was a complication, and so it must have been reassuring to Miss FitzGibbon when she saw that Mrs. Dunn did very well by her sister’s will. For a transcript of Mrs. James Brock’s will, see: *ibid.* (58A3/10.25), will of Susannah Lucy Quirk Brock, 24 June, 1857.
 - 20 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.21), Short to Kosche, 27 Nov., 1983. Douglass Short remembered the portrait (fig. 15) from his youth. His memory was twiggged by a photograph, which was provided by Kosche.
 - 21 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.25), Holme to Kosche, 14 Oct., 1983.

- 22 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 52.
- 23 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 4 Feb., 1984. This soft approach ran the risk of further complications, which is exactly what happened when the fifth volume of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* was released in 1983. It was in this volume that C.P. (Colonel Charles Perry) Stacey, a highly regarded Canadian military historian, contributed a biographical sketch of Sir Isaac Brock. Colonel Stacey also gave his opinion of the miniature discovered by Miss Mickle (fig. 11), which to him seemed "likely to be a portrait of Sir George Gordon Drummond." See: Charles P. Stacey, "Brock, Sir Isaac," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* V: 114. In acknowledging the identification assigned by Colonel Stacey, Kosche questioned why the Short family would have had a miniature of Sir Gordon Drummond. Yet, he made no attempt to argue in favour of Lieutenant George Dunn, even though he knew that Colonel Stacey was wrong. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 52.
- 24 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 21 Feb., 1984.
- 25 Ibid., Kosche to Mellish, 19 Mar., 1984; *ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 30 Mar., 1984. A copy of the article in manuscript form is preserved among Kosche's papers. See: *ibid.*, Miscellaneous Manuscripts (58A3/10.3), Ludwig Kosche, "Isaac Brock in Contemporary Portraiture: An Analysis."
- 26 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897.
- 27 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
- 28 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 17 May, 1897.
- 29 Ibid., Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 98, 100.
- 30 This observation appears to have been provided by the miniature painter Gerald S. Hayward, and as early as August of 1896. See: *ibid.*, Correspondence (series 1), file 9 (n.d.), Hayward to Mickle, 17 Aug., 1896.
- 31 Ibid., Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 100.
- 32 Miss Mickle reacted to Glegg's statement as paraphrased by Miss FitzGibbon. See: *ibid.*, 100–1.
- 33 Ibid., 100. To Miss Mickle's way of thinking, the proof of Major Glegg's ignorance was the watercolour portrait of Brock owned by Henry A. Garrett of Niagara(-on-the-Lake), Ontario (fig. 31), and the silhouette of Brock in the possession of Aemilius Jarvis (fig. 18). Since both of these likenesses were found in Canada, and presumably "taken" there, Major Glegg's knowledge of Brock's portraits was obviously deficient. But despite Miss Mickle's confidence in the portrait owned by Garrett, it was actually nothing more than a photograph of another photograph featuring the profile portrait by Gerrit Schipper (fig. 3), and one that was overpainted with watercolours in a rather clumsy fashion. This copy was eventually given to the Niagara Historical Society and the donor was Garrett himself, who apparently retained the original watercoloured photograph (having obtained it from Major Duncan McFarland sometime earlier). See: Niagara Historical Society Museum, Photograph of a Portrait of "General Sir Isaac Brock," by William Quinn, circa 1891, acc. 984.1.127. As for the Jarvis silhouette, it cannot be authenticated. While the fate of the original silhouette is unknown, a copy was used as an illustration in a documentary history

- of the War of 1812 and the image thus preserved. See: William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, 3 vols (Toronto, Ontario: Champlain Society, 1920–28), I: 32.
- 34 Miss Mickle doubted Major Glegg's assertion that he was "intimately acquainted with Brock & all his life in Canada," mainly because he "was away from Canada part of the time." See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 100–2. Miss Mickle learned of Major Glegg's absence by conducting a search of *The Quebec Almanac* between 1805 and 1812. This publication lists British army officers posted to the Canadas. Major Glegg, however, never claimed to be "intimately acquainted with Brock & all his life in Canada." As he stated in a letter to William Brock, "I was intimately acquainted my dear Sir with your Brothers sentiments on the most private subjects." See: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
 - 35 Major Glegg probably referred to Upper Canada, and specifically the region between Fort York (Toronto) and Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake). These were the two posts where Brock spent most of his time in what is now southern Ontario.
 - 36 For Captain Glegg's appointment as co-administrator of Brock's estate, see: AO, Upper Canada Court of Probate (RG 22), Grants of Probate and Administration, Register A, 1796–1816 (series 154), Letters of Administration, estate of Major General Isaac Brock, 10 Nov., 1812.
 - 37 Kosche obtained a copy of the letter for his research into Brock's coattee. See: Ludwig Kosche, "Relics of Brock: An Investigation," *Archivaria* 9 (Winter 1979–80): 79–80. For the original letter, see: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
 - 38 Kosche looked for additional correspondence in the Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers at the Archives of Ontario and also among the descendants of Major Glegg in England, but without success. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61.
 - 39 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813; Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61. It is not clear if Kosche thought "this Country" was a reference to Upper Canada, or the Canadas as a whole.
 - 40 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61.
 - 41 It should be noted that Miss Mickle did not have access to a complete set of *The Quebec Almanac*, and the entries she found for Major Glegg do not strictly agree with a record of his service. Therefore, the accuracy of her findings is questionable. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 102; *The Royal Military Calendar*, 3rd ed., 5 vols (London, England: T. Egerton, 1820), V: 205–7.
 - 42 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61. Kosche does not appear to have considered the possibility that Major Glegg might have possessed a sketch of Brock, or perhaps even a silhouette.
 - 43 Savery Brock went to Upper Canada in order to attend to his family's land holdings, which were granted in recognition of Sir Isaac Brock's military service. See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1847), 398.

- 44 This letter was eventually donated to the Archives of Ontario. See: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Brock to Tupper, 9 Jan., 1818. Mrs. Charles de Jersey was Savery Brock's sister-in-law. She was the former Miss Mary de Jersey, who married her cousin, Charles de Jersey. I am grateful to Gillian Lenfestey for clarifying the relationship between Savery Brock and Mrs. de Jersey.
- 45 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 7 June, 1897. Miss FitzGibbon first introduced the subject of this miniature in a letter she wrote to Miss Mickle dated 28 May, 1897. See: *ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 28 May, 1897.
- 46 *Ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 7 June, 1897. With regard to the resemblance between the two Brock brothers, Miss FitzGibbon was probably influenced by Ferdinand Brock Tupper. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., 467. Initially, Miss FitzGibbon thought the bronze profile (fig. 8) was copied or adapted from the Jarvis silhouette (fig. 18), but she soon opted for Daniel de Lisle Brock having been the model. It then occurred to her that the bronze profile could have been based on Brock's statue in his memorial at St. Paul's Cathedral (fig. 20). Upon closer inspection, however, she discovered that the bronze profile looked nothing like the statue, so she reverted back to her original idea regarding Daniel de Lisle Brock. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 2 June, 1897; *ibid.*, 29 June, 1897; *ibid.*, 19 July, 1897.
- 47 While Miss FitzGibbon was mainly concerned with a more mature likeness of Brock, she appears to have been unaware of the miniature by Philip Jean, which shows a young Ensign Isaac Brock (fig. 27). This ignorance is borne out in her mistaken belief that "until 1818 at the earliest, they [Brock's family] had *no* portrait of Sir Isaac at all!" See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 7 June, 1897.
- 48 *Ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 7 June, 1897. At the time, Miss FitzGibbon believed that the profile portrait (fig. 3), then owned by Henry Bingham de Vic Tupper, was the original. She subsequently changed her mind when the prominent miniature artist Alyn Williams convinced her that the portrait in John Savery Carey's possession (fig. 4) was done from life, and therefore the original. Williams was mistaken, however, and consequently so too was Miss FitzGibbon. See: *ibid.*, file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 28 May, 1897; *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 18 July, 1897. See also: *ibid.*, file 3 (June–Dec. 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 19 July, 1897.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 114. Specifically, Miss Mickle referred to the attacks on York (now Toronto) and Fort George (at modern Niagara-on-the-Lake) in April and May of 1813.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 145.
- 51 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61–2.
- 52 Miss FitzGibbon, however, believed that the artist might have been one of Brock's friends. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2, FitzGibbon to Mickle, 28 May, 1897. Perhaps Miss FitzGibbon was influenced by Lady Edgar's article on Brock's portrait, which suggests that Ensign James Kittermaster of the 49th Regiment was responsible for Brock's profile portrait (fig. 3). Lady Edgar thought it was possible, because Ensign Kittermaster was known to

- have done portrait sketches while he was posted to Upper Canada in the years leading up to 1812. Unfortunately for Lady Edgar, she was wrong. See: Lady Edgar [Matilda Ridout], "General Brock's Portrait," *Canadian Magazine* XXXI, no. 3 (July 1908): 265.
- 53 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61.
 - 54 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 30 Mar., 1984.
 - 55 *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous Manuscripts (58A3/10.3), Kosche, "Isaac Brock in Contemporary Portraiture," 32. Brock's remark about the size of his head is clearly self-deprecating. But even if he had an enormous head, there is no reason to believe it would have been out of proportion with the rest of his body. As for Brock's extraordinary physique, Kosche came up with a waist size of nearly 47 inches (or 119.38 centimetres). This measurement was not taken from the general's trousers (apparently now lost), but rather from his brigadier general's coatee. For this reason, the calculation is highly suspect and it is doubtful that Brock's girth was nearly so extensive as Kosche reckoned. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to his brother, Irving, 9 July, 1810, 77; Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61; *ibid.*, "Relics of Brock," 36. With regard to his belief that Brock was heavysset before he died, Kosche relied on Ferdinand Brock Tupper's impression that his uncle had become "perhaps too portly" in his latter years. How Tupper came up with this idea is unknown, but it might have been reinforced by the bronze profile (fig. 8). This silhouette shows a stout and older man who was thought by the Brock and Tupper families to represent their famous relative. It has since been concluded, however, that this silhouette does not represent Brock. See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 58–61; Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., 345.
 - 56 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Miscellaneous Manuscripts (58A3/10.3), Kosche, "Isaac Brock in Contemporary Portraiture," 36.
 - 57 *Ibid.*, 38, 40.
 - 58 *Ibid.*, 38.
 - 59 *Ibid.*, 31–2.
 - 60 *Ibid.*, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Mellish to Kosche, 30 Mar., 1984.
 - 61 *Ibid.* Kosche to Mellish, 19 Mar., 1984.
 - 62 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 1 Apr., 1984; *ibid.*, 11 Apr., 1984. As the Canadian military historian Donald E. Graves recalled, Kosche was somewhat eccentric, and "not everybody's cup of tea." Still, Graves liked the man and respected his work. See: email, Graves to St-Denis, 11 Jan., 2006.
 - 63 It appears that Miss Procter may have encouraged Kosche to approach the Metropolitan Toronto Historical Board about the possibility of publishing his article. Kosche was thinking in terms of *Archivaria* as early as mid-March of 1984, and possibly even earlier. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 19 Mar., 1984.
 - 64 *Ibid.*, (58A3/10.17), Kosche to Procter, 1 Apr., 1984.
 - 65 The manuscript was submitted by July of 1984. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 2 July, 1984. For the editorial concerns, see: *ibid.* (58A3/10.25), Nesmith to Kosche, 25 Jan., 1985.

- 66 Kosche had confirmation that his article would be published in *Archivaria* by the end of September 1984. See: *ibid.*, (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 29 Sept., 1984.
- 67 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.25), Nesmith to Kosche, 25 Jan., 1985.
- 68 *Ibid.*, (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 28 Feb., 1985.
- 69 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 17 Aug., 1985.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 Captain Mellish thought the article was splendid, and he very much appreciated the acknowledgment Kosche gave him. See: *ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 21 Sept., 1985.
- 72 A notable exception was H. Douglass Short, who expressed his disappointment in finding no reference to a source he thought worthy of inclusion. Kosche replied that the source in question was too erroneous to be used. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.21), Short to Kosche, 21 Oct., 1985; *ibid.*, Kosche to Short, 28 Oct., 1985.
- 73 *Ibid.* (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 17 Aug., 1985.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 5 Feb., 1986; *ibid.*, 9 July, 1986.
- 75 Kosche died in Ottawa on 17 May, 2000. For his obituary, see: *Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa, Ontario), 23 May, 2000, F5, c. 8.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 For example, Robert Malcomson asserted that “none of the existing portraits of Brock can be said to accurately depict the general.” However, Malcomson also admitted that “the best extant images are a miniature that may show a bewigged Brock as a teenaged ensign in the Eighth Regiment of Foot and a pastel side view of the general that may be what Glegg and Brock’s family believed was not a good likeness.” See: Robert Malcomson, “Picturing Isaac Brock,” *The Beaver* 84, no. 5 (Oct.–Nov. 2004): 24. In fact, these are the only authentic portraits of Brock known to exist (figs 3, 27).
- 2 Canadian War Museum, Military History Research Centre, George Metcalf Archival Collection (CWM), Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Nesmith to Kosche, 25 Jan., 1985.
- 3 Kosche was aware of this situation before the end of October 1983, when Miss Lorna R. Procter informed him about it. See: *ibid.* (58A3/10.17), Procter to Kosche, 21 Oct., 1983.
- 4 *Ibid.*, Procter to Kosche, 17 Sept., 1985; *ibid.*, 7 Jan., 1986. Regarding the society’s decline, see: *ibid.*, 3 Mar., 1985.
- 5 Ludwig Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis,” *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 66.
- 6 These factors also confirmed the family tradition that identified the sitter as Ensign Isaac Brock of the 8th (or King’s) Regiment. Brock became an ensign in March of 1785, when he was fifteen years of age. See: National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAUK), War Office, Returns of Officers’ Services (WO 25/744), Brigadier General Isaac Brock, 26 May, 1810. Presumably, this miniature (fig. 27) was painted soon after Brock entered the army. For the facings of the 8th (or King’s) Regiment, see: Marquess of Cambridge, “De Bosset’s Chart of Uniform, 1803,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XL (1962): 170.
- 7 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 63.

- 8 Mary Macaulay Allodi, et al., *Berczy* (Ottawa, Ontario: National Gallery of Canada, 1991). The exhibition ran from 8 November, 1991 until 5 January, 1992.
- 9 Email, St-Denis to Lenfestey, 13 Dec., 2002.
- 10 Mary Macaulay Allodi, "Pastel Profiles," in Allodi, et al., *Berczy* (Ottawa, Ontario: National Gallery of Canada, 1991), 304. See also: *ibid.*, 305–7.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 305.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 304. Allodi also determined that the mistake dated as far back as the mid-1930s.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 305.
- 14 *Ibid.* John D. Turnbull was an artist, actor, and sometime theatre manager/owner. Jean Riger mistakenly identified him as John Trumbull. See: Jeanne Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter," *Clarion* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 69.
- 15 For more information on this incident, see: *Quebec Gazette* (Quebec, Lower Canada), 29 Mar., 1810, 6, c. 2; *ibid.*, 26 Apr., 1810, 2, c. 2; *ibid.*, 31 May, 1810, 3, c. 2; *ibid.*, 4 July, 1811, 3, c.1; *Montreal Gazette* (Montreal, Lower Canada), 26 Mar., 1810, 3, c. 1; *ibid.*, 30 Apr., 1810, 3, c. 1; *ibid.*, 8 Oct., 1810, 3, c. 2; *Canadian Courant* (Montreal, Lower Canada), 23 Apr., 1810, 1, c. 3; *ibid.*, 5 Nov., 1810, 1, c. 4; *ibid.*, 24 Dec., 1810, 2, c. 1.
- 16 Allodi, "Pastel Profiles," 305. Allodi also made comparisons with other known examples of Schipper's work in the United States. See: *ibid.*, 306.
- 17 Andre gave no reason for his change of heart. See: *Niagara Arts Journal* (St. Catharines, Ontario), 18 Aug.–26 Sept., 1986, 7–8. He also knew of Schipper at least twenty years earlier, but simply dismissed the Dutch itinerant as one of Berczy's competitors. See: John Andre, *William Berczy: Co-Founder of Toronto* (Toronto, Ontario: Borough of York, 1967), 65–6, 99. Andre died in 2001. See: *Toronto Star* (Toronto, Ontario), 19 Oct., 2001, B6, c. 1.
- 18 Email, McNairn to St-Denis, 12 Feb., 2009.
- 19 *Ibid.*, Allodi to St-Denis, 6 Jan., 2003. Allodi, however, questioned whether Brock was actually the sitter, given that the profile portrait (fig. 3) did "not show Brock's reportedly massive head and large, stout, physique." Curiously, her source was Kosche's article "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," in which he accepts the same portrait as being an authentic likeness of Brock. See: *ibid.*, Allodi to St-Denis, 7 Jan., 2003; Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 60–1.
- 20 Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter," 65–70.
- 21 Letter, St-Denis to Riger, in care of the Museum of American Folk Art, 31 Oct., 2003.
- 22 *Ibid.*, Riger to St-Denis, 12 Nov., 2003; *ibid.*, 2 June, 2004.
- 23 Captain Mellish died on 7 October, 2007, at the age of ninety-two. See: *Guernsey Press* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 11 Oct., 2007, 17, c. 1.
- 24 Letter, Mellish to St-Denis, 8 Feb., 2003.
- 25 A sister, Miss Beatrice Tupper, was a co-owner of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 3) until her death in 1942. Captain Mellish, however, only mentioned Miss Edith Tupper. She was his first cousin, once removed, and it was according to the terms of her will (proved in December of 1960) that Captain Mellish inherited the portrait. For the will, see: Ecclesiastical Court of Guernsey, Records of the Registrar of Wills and Intestacies, Book of Testaments, vol. 7 (new series), will of Edith Bingham Tupper, 12 Mar., 1949.
- 26 Conversation with Mellish, 4 May, 2004.
- 27 Letter, St-Denis to Riger, 30 Mar., 2004; *ibid.*, Riger to St-Denis, 2 June, 2004.

- 28 Ibid., Riger to St-Denis, 25 June, 2004. Although Riger refers to both of Brock's eyes, the portrait (fig. 3) was painted in profile and so she really only saw one of them.
- 29 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 63.
- 30 Frick Art Reference Library (FARL), Nicholas L. Schipper, "The Life of Nicholas L. Shipper: Embracing a Period of Sixteen Years, until his Arrival in America in the Year 1826," 1. While the exact date of Gerrit Schipper's death is not known, his burial took place at St. Clement Danes Church, Westminster, England on 27 November, 1825. According to the parish register, Schipper was fifty-five years old and his place of residence was 229 the Strand. His Christian name was also anglicized to George. See: City of Westminster Archives, St. Clement Danes Church, Burial Register, vol. 17 (1819–28), 27 Nov., 1825. This information was provided by Stephen Furniss and Lorraine Saunders, two very determined British genealogical researchers. I am exceedingly grateful to them, and I owe a debt of gratitude to Gillian Lenfestey for having acted as liaison. Schipper, it should be noted, died after a long but unspecified illness, during which he was brought to the "deepest distress" by the prospect of leaving his wife and four children alone and destitute in a foreign land. A public subscription, however, raised the money necessary for his family's return to the United States. See: *Morning Post* (London, England), 23 Feb., 1826, 1, c. 1.
- 31 Schipper and his family arrived at Portsmouth in late September of 1810. See: NAUK, Foreign Office, Miscellaneous Records (FO 83/21), Lists of Aliens Arriving at English Ports, 1810–11, 27 Sept., 1810. As for Brock's plan to visit Ballston, see: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1847), Isaac Brock to his brothers, 10 Jan., 1811, 88. Ultimately, however, Brock decided against the trip.
- 32 *Mercantile Advertiser* (New York, New York), 14 May, 1802, 3, c. 3. The last of these advertisements was published on 26 May, 1802, and in them Schipper notes that his "stay in this city will only be to the 12th of June next." Presumably, he went south sometime in mid-June of 1802, but a gap in Schipper's advertising record makes a more precise determination impossible. At the end of March 1803, Schipper announced that he was "lately arrived" in Charleston, South Carolina. See: *City Gazette* (Charleston, South Carolina), 31 Mar., 1803, 3, c. 5. These advertisements were inserted in the *City Gazette* up to and including 16 April, 1803. Schipper appears to have remained in that region until the autumn of 1803, as he established himself at Boston in October of that year, having "lately arrived from the Southern States." See: *Columbian Centinel* (Boston, Massachusetts), 19 Oct., 1803, 3, c. 2; *Independent Chronicle* (Boston, Massachusetts), 28 Nov., 1803, 3, c. 1; *Columbian Centinel*, 14 Jan., 1804, 3, c. 1; *ibid.*, 21 Apr., 1804, 3, c. 1; *ibid.*, 12 May, 1804, 3, c. 2. Although Schipper proposed going to New York City at the beginning of November, 1803, he postponed his departure for a few weeks. However, it was not until January of 1806, after "an absence of four years," that he finally set out. See: *Columbian Centinel*, 19 Oct., 1803, 3, c. 2; *Independent Chronicle*, 28 Nov., 1803, 3, c. 1; *New-York Evening Post* (New York, New York), 11 Jan., 1806, 3, c. 3.
- 33 *Salem Gazette* (Salem, Massachusetts), 1 June, 1804, 3, c. 2; *New-England Palladium* (Boston, Massachusetts), 17 July, 1804, 1, c. 1; *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester, Massachusetts), 1 Aug., 1804, 3, c. 5; *ibid.*, 12 Sept., 1804, 3, c. 3. These advertisements continued to be published until 19 June, 1804, 24 July, 1804, 22 August, 1804, and 19 September, 1804, respectively.

- 34 *Albany Centinel* (Albany, New York), 16 Oct., 1804, 3, c. 4. This advertisement appeared sporadically until 5 March, 1805. A similar advertisement ran from 29 January to 3 May, 1805. See: *ibid.*, 29 Jan. 1805, 1, c. 1. Jeanne Riger, however, mistakenly believed that Schipper went to England for a year beginning in the summer of 1804. Yet, Schipper's advertisements continued to appear in various American newspapers throughout the summer and autumn of 1804. And in the *Albany Centinel*, which is cited above, some of these advertisements carry on well into 1805—leaving no time for a trip abroad. See: Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter," 66. For a sampling of Schipper's advertisements in the summer of 1804, see: *New-England Palladium*, 17 July, 1804, 1, c. 1; *Massachusetts Spy*, 1 Aug., 1804, 3, c. 5; *ibid.*, 12 Sept., 1804, 3, c. 3. Elsewhere in her article, Riger rejects a claim that Schipper went to England shortly after his marriage to Miss Elizabeth Burt in October of 1806. The source of this claim is Richard Hyer's article on Schipper, which appeared in a 1952 issue of *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*. Hyer misjudged the date Schipper and his family set out for London. They actually began their voyage in 1810, some four years later than Hyer calculated. See: Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter," 69; Richard Hyer, "Gerrit Schipper, Miniaturist and Crayon Portraitist," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* LXXXIII, no. 2 (Apr. 1952): 71.
- 35 Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter," 66; *Balance* (Hudson, New York), 11 June, 1805, 191, c. 1. On 17 July, 1805, Schipper announced that he had "just arrived" in Hartford, Connecticut. See: *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut), 17 July, 1805, 3, c. 5. See also: *American Mercury* (Hartford, Connecticut), 1 Aug., 1805, 2, c. 5.
- 36 Schipper arrived in New York City by 11 January, 1806. See: *New-York Evening Post*, 11 Jan., 1806, 3, c. 3. See also: *ibid.*, 24 Jan., 1806, 3, c. 4. Nearly four months later, Schipper announced his plans to leave New York City, which would have been sometime in June of 1806—or perhaps even later. See: *ibid.*, 19 May, 1806, 3, c. 3. Schipper noted his return to Hartford, for a "short stay," in an advertisement dated 14 August, 1806. See: *American Mercury*, 14 Aug., 1806, 3, c. 5. In a subsequent notice, Schipper informed the people of Hartford that he planned to remain among them until 20 September, 1806. See: *ibid.*, 28 Aug., 1806, 3, c. 5. Regarding his drawing academy, see: *Connecticut Courant*, 17 Sept., 1806, 2, c. 4. For additional information, see: *ibid.*, 26 Nov., 1806, 3, c. 5; *American Mercury*, 19 Mar., 1807, 3, c. 5. This last advertisement appears to have been published until 18 June, 1807.
- 37 Schipper's marriage to Elizabeth Burt took place on 27 October, 1806. See: Hyer, "Gerrit Schipper, Miniaturist and Crayon Portraitist," 71.
- 38 Riger, "New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter," 69.
- 39 At the end of May 1808, a man named Gerrit Schipper of Albany, New York was declared an insolvent debtor (meaning that he was unable to pay his bills). At the same time, a Gerrit Schipper of Troy, New York met with the same fate. In neither case was the insolvent's occupation disclosed, which would have aided in an identification. Still, the two insolvents were probably one and the same person, and likely Gerrit Schipper the artist. Unfortunately, an attempt to find proof of such a connection among the early insolvency records of New York State proved unsuccessful. For the advertisements declaring Gerrit Schipper an insolvent debtor, see: *Albany Register* (Albany, New York), 10 June, 1808, 3, c. 4; *American Citizen* (New York, New York), 6 July, 1808, 4, c. 3. Schipper's son later claimed that his father was living at Troy when his daughter, Adelia, was born. Since her baptismal record indicates that she was born 28 December, 1807, it would appear

that Gerritt Schipper was residing at Troy by late 1807. The fact that a Gerritt Schipper was declared an insolvent debtor at the same place only five months later hardly seems a coincidence. Under these circumstances, it is not unreasonable to think that Schipper's creditors forced him to head for Lower Canada in October of 1808. For the considerably delayed baptismal record of Adelia Schipper, see: London Metropolitan Archives, St. Marylebone Church, Baptism Register (X023/017), 16 Feb., 1812. See also: FARL, "Life of Nicholas L. Shipper," 1.

- 40 *Montreal Gazette*, 31 Oct., 1808, 3, c. 2. In this advertisement, Schipper announced that he had "just arrived" in Montreal.
- 41 Walter W. Jennings, *The American Embargo, 1807–1809*. University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. VIII, no. 1 (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1921), 90–1, 112–22.
- 42 As John Lambert noted after a visit to Lower Canada in 1808, "The Canadian merchants rejoiced at the embargo, which enriched them while it made their [American] neighbours poor indeed." See: John Lambert, *Travels Through Lower Canada, and the United States in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808*, 3 vols (London, England: Richard Phillips, 1810), I: 234. In July of 1808, Brock himself observed: "The embargo has proved a famous harvest to some merchants here [at Montreal]." See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1845), Isaac Brock to his brothers, 20 July, 1808, 72. As for the smuggling trade, Lambert reported that the importation of "timber, pot-ash, provisions, and almost every other article brought into the province in 1808, has more than doubled the quantity received from thence [the United States] in 1807." See: Lambert, *Travels Through Lower Canada, and the United States*, I: 253.
- 43 Regarding Brock's posting to Montreal, see: Library and Archives Canada (LAC), British Military and Naval Records, "C" Series (RG 8, I), vol. 1215, Craig to Gordon, 5 Mar., 1808, 94–5. Brock's transfer to Quebec City was occasioned by Major General Gordon Drummond's having superseded him in the command at Montreal. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to his brothers, 5 Sept., 1808, 72.
- 44 There is also evidence to suggest that Schipper was planning his departure from Montreal by late November of 1808. Obviously, he changed his mind. See: *Montreal Gazette*, 28 Nov., 1808, 3, c. 2.
- 45 In announcing his proposed removal to Quebec City, Schipper also indicated that it would take place sometime after 20 May, 1809. See: *Canadian Courant*, 8 May, 1809, 2, c. 4; *Montreal Gazette*, 8 May, 1809, 3, c. 1.
- 46 According to a scholarly article, Schipper's most prominent sitter was Isaiah Thomas, the Boston newspaper publisher and founder of the American Antiquarian Society. This might very well have been the case in the United States, but in terms of Lower Canada, no one could have been more important than Sir James H. Craig—who was both a lieutenant general in the British army and the governor-in-chief of British North America. For the above-mentioned article, see: David W. Meschutt and Kevin J. Avery, "Pastels by Gerritt Schipper in the Metropolitan Museum," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 42 (2007): 134.
- 47 Jeanne Riger suggests that Governor Sir James H. Craig's portrait was done in Montreal, which is unlikely, as his official residence was at Quebec City. See: Riger, "New Light on Gerritt Schipper the Painter," 69.

- 48 In 1811, as Governor Craig anticipated his departure from Lower Canada, he gave Brock his favourite horse—Alfred. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Baynes to Brock, 4 Mar., 1811, 99.
- 49 Brock began his journey to Upper Canada on 17 July, 1810, and was expected to reach Fort George by the end of that same month. See: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, “C” Series (RG 8, I), vol. 1216, Thornton to Gore, 16 July, 1810, 236.
- 50 In mid-May of 1810, Schipper announced his plans to depart after the fourth of June. See: *Quebec Gazette*, 17 May, 1810, 2, c. 4.
- 51 LAC, Office of the Governor of Quebec and Lower Canada Governor’s Internal Letter Books (RG 7, G15A), vol. 3 (1807–11), Craig to “all to whom these presents may Concern,” 8 Aug., 1810, 56. Schipper, it seems, was initially detained by his plans for an engraving of Governor Craig’s portrait. At the end of May 1810, he announced that he would accept subscriptions for the engraving until mid-June. See: *Quebec Gazette*, 31 May, 1810, 3, c. 2. Schipper was probably also trying to raise money for his voyage to England.
- 52 Schipper’s arrival at Portsmouth was registered on 27 September, 1810. See: NAUK, Foreign Office, Miscellaneous Records (FO 83/21), Lists of Aliens Arriving at English Ports, 1810–11, 27 Sept., 1810.
- 53 W.Y. Carman, “Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 19 (1940): 200–35.
- 54 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 65.
- 55 Ibid. Governor Craig appointed Brock to act as brigadier general in Upper Canada, as well as Lower Canada, in early March of 1808. This arrangement was subject to approval, which was received in due course. See: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, “C” Series (RG 8, I), vol. 1215, Craig to Gordon, 5 Mar., 1808, 94–5; *ibid.*, Gordon to Craig, 1 June, 1808, 58; *ibid.*, 6 June, 1808, 60.
- 56 Major Nicholas P. Dawnay, “The Staff Uniform of the British Army, 1767 to 1855,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XXXI (1953): 77. Brigadier generals wore the same coat (or coatee) as major generals, with the loops and buttons set in pairs—in other words, two over two. In the case of the brigadier general’s coatee, however, a distinction was made on the sleeves and skirts by having two buttons over one. According to Dawnay, the two ranks were indistinguishable prior to this modification. See: *ibid.*, 74, 77–8.
- 57 Adding to the confusion was a dress regulation dating from 1809, which stipulated that colonels on the staff were to wear the same uniforms as brigadier generals on the staff, with their buttons likewise set in pairs. Apparently, the only difference was the design of the gilt buttons. See: Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 66; Dawnay, “Staff Uniform of the British Army,” 77.
- 58 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 65. Although Kosche was unable to determine when the delivery was made, there is evidence to suggest that Brock had his new uniforms by mid-July of 1810. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to his brothers, 9 July, 1810, 77.
- 59 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 65. Berczy and Brock were both in Montreal during the spring and part of the summer of 1808, and in Quebec City from August of 1808 to July of 1809. For Brock’s postings, see: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, “C” Series (RG 8, I), Craig to Gordon, 5 Mar., 1808, vol. 1215, 94–5; Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to

- his brothers, 5 Sept., 1808, and to his brother Irving, 9 July, 1810, 72, 77–8. For Berczy's whereabouts, see his letters in the following collections: LAC, William von Moll Berczy Papers (MG 23, H116); Collection Jacques Viger (MG 24, L8). See also: Allodi, "William Berczy: The Canadian Years, 1794–1813," in Allodi, et al., *Berczy* (Ottawa, Ontario: National Gallery of Canada, 1991), 62, 64, 69, 72.
- 60 CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 1 Mar., 1980; Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 65–6.
 - 61 The epaulettes were another easy fix. The one shown in Brock's profile portrait (fig. 3) is obviously a replacement, as it is correct for a general officer such as a brigadier general—but not for a colonel who ranked as a regimental officer. Schipper painted the epaulette with a red strap, which is also correct. See: Dawney, "Staff Uniform of the British Army," 74, 78.
 - 62 After many failed attempts to interpret Brock's uniform within the context of the dress regulations, I consulted Andrew Cormack, a specialist in British army uniforms of the Napoleonic Wars. Cormack noticed oddities, which suggested to him that Brock's uniform was non-regulation. The main oddity, of course, was the placement of the buttons. See: email, Cormack to St-Denis, 13 Feb., 2010. The alterations could have been made by either a regimental or civilian tailor, and there were at least three of the latter description in Quebec City when Brock received his appointment. For their newspaper advertisements, see: *Quebec Gazette*, 30 June, 1808, 1, c. 2.
 - 63 It is also possible that the buttons were left in place to facilitate the coat's possible reuse, as Brock's appointment to brigadier general was limited to Upper and Lower Canada and therefore potentially temporary.
 - 64 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 65. In addition to an informal or undress uniform, Brock would also have received a formal or dress uniform.
 - 65 Brock acknowledged the delivery in a letter to his brother, Irving. "I have a thousand thanks to offer you for the very great attention you have shewn in executing my commissions: the different articles arrived in the very best order, with the exception of the cocked hat, which has not been received." The reference to the cocked hat suggests that the "different articles" were various components of Brock's new military wardrobe. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to his brothers, 9 July, 1810, 77. This delivery was made in advance of Brock's removal to Upper Canada, and sometime after he sat for Schipper (otherwise he would have worn his new uniform).
 - 66 This approval came earlier, in July of 1808. See: NAUK, War Office, Secretary at War, America, Out-Letters (WO 4/281), Pulteney to Brock, 5 July, 1808, 203/407.
 - 67 As Brock informed his brothers in early September of 1808: "My nominal appointment has been confirmed at home, so that I am really a brigadier." See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to his brothers, 5 Sept., 1808, 72.
 - 68 Kosche was reliably informed that British officers in Brock's day were not strictly bound by the dress regulations. Such was the opinion of the staff at the Prince Consort's Army Library. In "all questions regarding Uniforms of this period, and especially Officers['] Uniforms, one must always bear in mind the considerable latitude allowed to officers at this time in matters of dress." This advice was relayed by Major John J. Price, then curator of the Duke of Edinburgh's Royal Regiment Museum. See: CWM, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.25), Price to Kosche, 17 Feb., 1984. For some entertaining

- examples of the degree to which adherence to the dress regulations could vary, see: Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996), 69–71.
- 69 Brock acknowledged the local nature of his appointment to brigadier general. In September of 1808, he wrote to his brothers that “were the 49th ordered hence, the rank would not be a sufficient inducement to keep me in this country. In such a case, I would throw it up willingly.” See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., Isaac Brock to his brothers, 5 Sept., 1808, 72.
- 70 Allodi, “Pastel Profiles,” 305.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 307.
- 72 *Columbian Centinel*, 14 Jan., 1804, 3, c. 1. With this recommendation, Schipper hoped to entice the discriminating citizens of Boston into having their portraits painted.
- 73 A sharper image was achieved by focusing two or more colours on the same convergence point.
- 74 The relatively short sitting time was a strong selling point, and one that Schipper promoted in his various newspaper advertisements. See, for example: *New-York Evening Post*, 11 Jan., 1806, 3, c. 3.
- 75 *Ibid.* This guarantee of customer satisfaction can be found in most of Schipper’s advertisements, as well as those of other itinerant artists.
- 76 *Columbian Centinel*, 14 Jan., 1804, 3, c. 1.
- 77 For an idea of the popularity of the physiognotrace, see: Peter Benes, “Machine-Assisted Portrait and Profile Imaging in New England after 1803,” in Peter Benes, ed., *Painting and Portrait Making in the American Northeast*, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 19 (Boston, Massachusetts: Boston University, c1995), 139.
- 78 Ellen G. Miles, “1803—The Year of the Physiognotrace,” in *ibid.*, 127–8.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 131.
- 80 Allodi, “Pastel Profiles,” 306–7. For Schipper’s advertisement, see: *Montreal Gazette*, 28 Nov., 1808, 3, c. 2.
- 81 *Quebec Mercury* (Quebec, Lower Canada), 6 Aug., 1810, 255, c. 2. That Schipper was willing to dispose of his physiognotrace does not indicate a lack of utility, but rather the need to raise money for a passage to England—for which he was also willing to sell his pastels and picture frames. As Mary Allodi noted, the auction took nearly a week after Schipper invoiced the Séminaire de Québec for pastel portraits of bishops Briand and Laval. They were among the last of his commissions in Lower Canada. See: email, Allodi to St-Denis, 28 Oct., 2005; Allodi, “Pastel Profiles,” in Allodi, et al., Berczy, 307–8.
- 82 The sale of Schipper’s portrait of Brock (fig. 3) took place in February of 2009. Included in the transaction was the miniature of Brock as a young ensign (fig. 27), and also that of his brother, Lieutenant John Brock (fig. 25), both of which were painted by Philip Jean. See: *St. Catharines Standard* (St. Catharines, Ontario), 14 Feb., 2009, A1; *ibid.*, 18 Feb., 2009, A1; *ibid.*, 20 Feb., 2009, A1.
- 83 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 60.
- 84 Email, Lenfestey to St-Denis, 23 Apr., 2009. Jane McAusland, an English art on paper conservator, discovered that the mole was actually mould, which she removed during her restoration of the profile portrait (fig. 3) in late 2010.

- 85 Riger, “New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter,” 68. For an example of Schipper’s signature, see: *ibid.*, 67. A subsequent search for a watermark was also unsuccessful. See: email, St-Denis to Lenfestey, 23 Apr., 2009; *ibid.*, Lenfestey to St-Denis, 24 Apr., 2009.
- 86 There was also pastel loss consistent with the rubbing caused by an oval mat. This style of mat, however, appears to have been a later replacement. See: *ibid.*, Conlon to St-Denis, 29 May, 2009. The original mat was probably rectangular, like those which still protect several other profile portraits painted by Schipper.
- 87 During the course of restoration in late 2010, the faint red blur was largely reversed.
- 88 Email, Lenfestey to St-Denis, 23 Apr., 2009.
- 89 *Ibid.*, Riger to St-Denis, 2 Dec., 2005.
- 90 *Ibid.*, Lenfestey to St-Denis, 24 Apr., 2009; *ibid.*, Conlon to St-Denis, 29 May, 2009; *ibid.*, 3 June, 2009. Helen Conlon thought this line was made using a dark coloured or graphite pencil. I later learned that infrared reflectography is more effective in detecting carbon content, such as that used in the lead, or graphite, of pencils. However, the flashlight worked well on this occasion and revealed “a distinctive and clear line following the sitter’s profile.” See: *ibid.*, Conlon to St-Denis, 13 Nov., 2014.
- 91 *Ibid.*, Osterman to St-Denis, 26 May, 2009.
- 92 Conversation with Osterman, 27 May, 2009.
- 93 For examples of Schipper’s full-length portraits, see: Metropolitan Museum of Art, American Paintings and Sculpture, Pastel “Portrait of a Man,” by Gerrit Schipper, 1805, acc. 2007.19; Private Collection, “John Knickerbacker and his wife Elisabeth,” 1805, reproduced in Riger, “New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter,” 67.
- 94 *Columbian Centinel*, 14 Jan., 1804, 3, c. 1.
- 95 When a Quebec City auctioneer later described Schipper’s physiognotrace as being “upon a new construction,” he might simply have meant that the fabric or paper covering the glass had been removed. See: *Quebec Mercury*, 6 Aug., 1810, 255, c. 2.
- 96 Conversation with Osterman, 27 May, 2009. Presumably, Schipper’s ability to trace more quickly reduced the amount of time he required to complete a profile portrait, but by how much is unknown.
- 97 The stages by which Schipper completed his profile portraits were determined by examining his portrait of Sarah (Greene) Jenkins, which is remarkable for having been left unfinished below the neckline—except for a sketch of the upper part of her dress. I am grateful to Helen Conlon, who is Fine Art Curator at the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery, for her interpretation of this unusual specimen of Schipper’s work. See: email, Conlon to St-Denis, 10 Feb., 2014. Schipper’s manner of painting with pastels was standard practice by the early nineteenth century. See: Marjorie Shelley, “American Pastels of the Late Nineteenth & Early Twentieth Centuries: Materials & Techniques,” in Doreen Bolger, et al., *American Pastels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 38. For a description of Schipper’s technique, see: Allodi, “Gerritt Schipper,” in Mario Béland, *Painting in Quebec, 1820–1850* (Quebec City, Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1992), 186. Sarah Jenkins was the first wife of Elisha Jenkins of Albany, New York, whose own portrait by Schipper was completed in its entirety. Both portraits are in a private collection.
- 98 During his tours of the United States, Schipper included a frame with the purchase price of his profile portraits. He offered the same incentive at Montreal in 1808, where the \$6.00

he asked for a profile portrait included “an elegant gold frame with glass.” See: *Montreal Gazette*, 28 Nov., 1808, 3, c. 2. Schipper probably advertised similar terms after his arrival in Quebec City, but a newspaper search failed to produce any evidence of his business practices there. It should be noted that Schipper also made use of rectangular mats, which protected the pastels from being smudged by the glass. In the case of Brock’s portrait (fig. 3), it appears that the original mat was replaced with one having an oval cutout. This replacement was discarded at some point, although evidence of its existence (in the form of rubbing) was discovered in 2009 by Helen Conlon, the Fine Art Curator at the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery. See: email, Conlon to St-Denis, 29 May, 2009.

- 99 For the quotation, see: Riger, “New Light on Gerrit Schipper the Painter,” 69. The blank expression resulted from an obligatory forward gaze, which had to be maintained while Schipper traced the sitter’s profile.
- 100 *Columbian Centinel*, 14 Jan., 1804, 3, c. 1. The only drawback associated with the physiognotrace was its elongated shape, which perhaps made it more cumbersome to transport than the box-type camera obscura. Peter Benes theorizes that Schipper was caught up in the merchandising frenzy that contributed to the popularity of the physiognotrace, and that he responded by promoting the achromatic camera obscura. See: Benes, “Machine-Assisted Portrait and Profile Imaging in New England after 1803,” 146–7.
- 101 These questionable attractions included painted panoramas, acoustical exhibitions, and even electric shock treatments. See: Benes, “Machine-Assisted Portrait and Profile Imaging in New England after 1803,” 139–41, 146. It was Shipper’s auctioneer who alerted the public to his physiognotrace, and not Schipper himself. See: *Quebec Mercury*, 6 Aug., 1810, 255, c. 2.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 Ludwig Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis,” *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 61.
- 2 Archives of Ontario (AO), Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
- 3 Major Glegg’s reply is dated 30 December, 1813, and in it he acknowledges William Brock’s letter of 5 September, 1813. While the earlier letter is now lost, it was obviously meant to thank Major Glegg for the delivery of Brock’s personal effects. This was William Brock’s second attempt to do so, as his initial letter was lost in the *Manchester* packet when it was captured by an American privateer on or about 25 June, 1813. That letter was written circa 5 June, 1813, and probably soon after the trunks containing Brock’s personal effects had arrived in England. See: *ibid.* Regarding the *Manchester*’s capture, see: *Morning Chronicle* (London, England), 13 July, 1813, 3, c. 2; *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool, England), 16 July, 1813, 3, c. 4. In a curious twist, the *Manchester* was liberated soon after it was taken—but William Brock’s letter was by then at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, having been thrown overboard along with the rest of the ship’s mail.
- 4 Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock,” 62. Kosche found Mrs. de Lisle’s recollection in an article published in 1908. See: Lady Edgar [Matilda Ridout], “General Brock’s Portrait,” *The Canadian Magazine* XXXI, no. 3 (July 1908): 263. Mrs. de Lisle was the daughter of Brock’s sister, Elizabeth, who married John Elisha Tupper. It should be noted that Kosche quotes from a letter written to Colonel Charles W. Robinson dated

- 18 January, 1882, which he claims was written by Miss Henrietta Tupper. The author was in fact Mrs. Hubert Le Cocq (the former Miss Victoria Tupper), who replied to Colonel Robinson on behalf of her mother, Mrs. Henry Tupper. Although the letter lacks Mrs. Le Cocq's signature, there are references to it elsewhere in the Robinson correspondence that serve to confirm the writer's identity.
- 5 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 62.
 - 6 Ibid.
 - 7 Ibid.; Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1845), 341; *ibid.*, 2nd ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1847), 349. It was Captain Arthur S. Cave who informed Miss Mickle that this attempt was made in 1845. See: AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), Cave to Mickle, 8 May, 1897.
 - 8 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 62; Edgar, "General Brock's Portrait," 263. Emphasis added. For the original sources, see: Trent University, Thomas J. Bata Library, Trent University Archives (TU), Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Le Cocq to Robinson, 18 Jan., 1882. See also: *ibid.*, Tupper to Robinson, 25 Jan., 1882.
 - 9 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 62. Major Glegg's admission about not having ever possessed a good likeness of Brock was written in 1813, while Tupper's comment with regard to the disappointed officers of the 49th Regiment was first published in 1845. See: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813; Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 341.
 - 10 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 60.
 - 11 Ibid, 63.
 - 12 Ibid. No matter how much it might be "straining credulity" to consider the possibility, Tupper was not necessarily all that knowledgeable when it came to the insignia of the Order of the Bath.
 - 13 Mrs. de Lisle was born in 1808, and she always remembered seeing the two portraits of Brock (figs 3, 4) "in the houses of her uncles, brothers of Sir Isaac." See: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Le Cocq to Robinson, 18 Jan., 1882.
 - 14 As Kosche noted, "Tupper had Glegg's letter." See: Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 62.
 - 15 TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Le Cocq to Robinson, 18 Jan., 1882. The published version of this letter is not verbatim. See: Edgar, "General Brock's Portrait," 263.
 - 16 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61.
 - 17 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Miscellaneous (series 13), file 3, Brock Portrait Notebook, 145. It will be remembered that Miss Lorna R. Procter allowed Kosche to borrow this notebook for an extended period of time. For the original letter, see: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F1081), Brock to Tupper, 9 Jan., 1818.
 - 18 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 28 May, 1897.

- 19 The laid paper on which the profile portrait (fig. 3) is painted measures approximately 8 x 9 inches or, more precisely, 20.3 x 23.4 cm. I am grateful to Gillian Lenfestey for this information.
- 20 Kosche, "Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock," 61.
- 21 There was also the possibility that Major Glegg was loath to discard the frame, perhaps for fear of damaging the portrait it protected. If so, he exhibited admirable foresight, as the pastels used in the making of Brock's profile portrait (fig. 3) are easily smudged—which is why Gerrit Schipper matted his portraits and framed them under glass. Assuming that Major Glegg did not interfere with the portrait, then the antique gilt frame that still protects it is likely the same one supplied by Schipper.
- 22 AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 2 (Jan.–May 1897), FitzGibbon to Mickle, 28 May, 1897.
- 23 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813. Of course, by "this Country," Major Glegg meant Upper Canada, which is now southern Ontario, as opposed to Lower Canada, or the province of Quebec. Kosche does not appear to have taken these geographical distinctions into consideration.
- 24 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Department of the Navy (RG 45), Captains' Letters, vol. 3 (1 Sept. 1812–31 Dec. 1812), Chauncey to Hamilton, 6 Nov., 1812, no. 167; *ibid.*, 13 Nov., 1812, no. 176; *ibid.*, 17 Nov., 1812, no. 183. See also: University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Manuscripts Division (UM), Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Dearborn, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812. Commodore Chauncey also contemplated attacking Kingston "for the purpose of destroying the Guns and publick Stores at that Station." See: NARA, Department of the Navy (RG 45), Captains' Letters, vol. 3 (1 Sept. 1812–31 Dec. 1812), Chauncey to Hamilton, 6 Nov., 1812, no. 167.
- 25 For additional information on the loss of the *Governor Simcoe*, see: Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Department of Finance, Upper Canada, War of 1812 Losses Claims (RG 19, 5Ea), vol. 3757, file 1, claim of Donald McArthur, no. 1730. In particular, see the letters of Joseph Forsyth to Alexander Wood dated 23 November, 1812 and 8 December, 1812.
- 26 NARA, Department of the Navy (RG 45), Captains' Letters, vol. 3 (1 Sept. 1812–31 Dec. 1812), Chauncey to Hamilton, 13 Nov., 1812, no. 176. See also: UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Dearborn, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812. Commodore Chauncey mistakenly thought the *Two Brothers* was captured at Armington, or Armingstown. It was actually Ernestown, which the Canadian historian Lieutenant Colonel Ernest A. Cruikshank noted when he published the commodore's report in 1900. See: NARA, Department of the Navy (RG 45), Captains' Letters, vol. 3 (1 Sept. 1812–31 Dec. 1812), Chauncey to Hamilton, 13 Nov., 1812, no. 176; Ernest A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier*, 9 vols (Niagara Falls, Ontario: Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1900), IV: II (1812): 208.
- 27 The date of the *Elizabeth*'s sailing was worked out from Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe's letter to Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost, which mentions that the *Earl of Moira* set sail on the afternoon of 11 November, 1812. According to Commodore Chauncey, the *Elizabeth* was in convoy with the *Earl of Moira*. See: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, "C" Series (RG 8, I), vol. 228, Sheaffe to Prevost, 16 Nov., 1812, 83; NARA, Department of the Navy (RG 45), Captains' Letters, vol. 3 (1 Sept. 1812–31 Dec. 1812),

- Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812, no. 183. See also: UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Dearborn, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812.
- 28 Although Commodore Chauncey did not mention Captain Brock's wife in his reports, the *Quebec Gazette* certainly noticed her presence on board the *Elizabeth*: "We are happy to state that Capt. Brock and lady, lately captured by the enemy on Lake Ontario, have been released, as also the private property of the late Gen. Brock, has been restored." See: *Quebec Gazette* (Quebec, Lower Canada), 10 Dec., 1812, 2, c. 1. Captain Brock's wife, of course, was the former Miss Susannah Lucy Quirk Short.
- 29 Most of the items purchased by Captain Brock consisted of silverware. See: Toronto Reference Library (TRL), Marilyn and Charles Baillie Special Collections Centre, Baldwin Collection of Canadiana, William Allan Papers (S 123), Miscellaneous Papers (series 6), estate inventory of Major General Sir Isaac Brock, Nov., 1812, 7.
- 30 Regarding the temporary nature of the grant of administration, see: AO, Upper Canada Court of Probate (RG 22), Grants of Probate and Administration, Register A, 1796–1816 (series 154), Letters of Administration, estate of Major General Isaac Brock, 10 Nov., 1812. In 1817, letters of administration were granted to Brock's brother, John Savery Brock. See: National Archives of the United Kingdom (NAUK), Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Administration Act Books (PROB 6/193), estate of Sir Isaac Brock, 26 Apr., 1817, 36b.
- 31 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 25 Oct., 1812. William Brock claimed to have furnished something more than £3,000 for the purchase of his brother Isaac's military commissions. See: LAC, Colonial Office (MG 11-CO 42), vol. 353, Upper Canada, Despatches, Public Offices and Miscellaneous (1812), Brock to Liverpool, 28 Nov., 1812, 218a. See also: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., 110.
- 32 AO, Upper Canada Court of Probate (RG 22), Estate Files, 1793–1859 (series 155), estate of Major General Isaac Brock, petition of Captain James Brock, 5 Nov., 1812.
- 33 Cruikshank, *Documentary History IV*: II (1812): 184–5.
- 34 AO, Upper Canada Court of Probate (RG 22), Estate Files, 1793–1859 (series 155), estate of Major General Isaac Brock, bond of administration, 10 Nov., 1812. As noted elsewhere, the date of Captain Brock's embarkation on board the *Elizabeth* was deduced from a letter written by Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe. In it, he mentioned to Sir George Prevost that the *Earl of Moira*, which escorted the *Elizabeth*, departed York on the afternoon of 11 November. See: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, "C" Series (RG 8, I), vol. 228, Sheaffe to Prevost, 16 Nov., 1812, 83.
- 35 As Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe informed Colonel Henry Procter, "Murney's sloop [the *Elizabeth*] sailed with her [the *Earl of Moira*]." See: NARA, Papers of the Department of State (RG 59), War of 1812 Papers, Miscellaneous Intercepted Correspondence, British Military Correspondence, Sheaffe to Procter, 20 Nov., 1812. While the *Elizabeth* was a smaller ship, and only lightly armed, the *Earl of Moira* was considered protection enough for both vessels.
- 36 LAC, British Military and Naval Records, "C" Series (RG 8, I), vol. 228, Sheaffe to Prevost, 16 Nov., 1812, 83.
- 37 UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Dearborn, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812. Initially, Commodore Chauncey thought his ploy

- a failure because the British had discovered his stratagem. But as he later learned, the *Royal George* was put out of commission by having been badly damaged. See: *ibid.*
- 38 Commodore Chauncey reported that Master Mix anchored on the southeast side of Long Island, which was another name for modern-day Wolfe Island. See: *ibid.*, Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812.
- 39 *Ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812. The *Elizabeth* was subsequently renamed *Asp.*
- 40 *Ibid.* As Commodore Chauncey reported to the secretary of the navy, the wind was “blowing a gale with a severe Snow Storm; the small vessels laboring extremely, and the ice making so fast upon the slides of our carronades that we could not have made use of them.” See: *ibid.*, Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812.
- 41 The intelligence provided by Captain Brock was relayed to the American secretary of the navy by Commodore Chauncey’s private secretary. See: *War* (New York, New York), 28 Nov., 1812, 100, c. 1.
- 42 Commodore Chauncey had decided to release Captain Brock by 16 November, 1812. UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Vincent, 16 Nov., 1812.
- 43 In two official letters, Commodore Chauncey mentions that Captain Brock was captured with part of his cousin’s baggage in his charge. See: *ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812.
- 44 The generosity of the *Growler*’s crew was hailed in the American press. See, for example: *Buffalo Gazette* (Buffalo, New York), 22 Dec., 1812, 2, c. 1.
- 45 Commodore Chauncey sent the prisoners to Kingston under a flag of truce on 17 November, 1812. See: UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Vaughan, 17 Nov., 1812. Captain Thomas Nairne, who was posted with a detachment of the 49th Regiment at Kingston, remarked on the return of Captain Brock and the other British prisoners: “They all unite in praising the good treatment they received from the Yankies.” See: LAC, John and Thomas Nairne Papers (MG 23, GIII23), Correspondence, vol. 1, Nairne to Nairne, 15–24 Nov., 1812, 628.
- 46 Captain Brock confirmed the activity of the Americans “in preparing the most formidable means for establishing a superiority on the lakes.” See: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, “C” Series (RG 8, I), vol. 728, Sheaffe to Prevost, 23 Nov., 1812, 115.
- 47 *Columbian* (New York, New York), 2 Dec., 1812, 3, c. 1.
- 48 Two crewmen were also detained. See: UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Vincent, 16 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812; *Quebec Mercury* (Quebec, Lower Canada), 8 Dec., 1812, 387, c. 3.
- 49 *War*, 28 Nov., 1812, 100, c. 1.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Captain Brock addressed his letter to a Mr. Mower, no doubt Nahum Mower who published the *Canadian Courant* in Montreal. Unfortunately, there are no surviving issues of the *Canadian Courant* for the period in question. However, the captain’s letter was widely reprinted in other newspapers, including the *Kingston Gazette*. See: *Kingston Gazette* (Kingston, Upper Canada), 9 Jan., 1813, 3, c. 2. Emphasis added. I am grateful to Chris Raible for clarifying Mower’s identity.
- 52 Ferdinand Brock Tupper described his uncle’s personal effects as having been contained in “the trunks belonging to Sir Isaac Brock,” by which he appears to have meant that

- there were two. Presumably, these trunks were not overly large. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., v; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., vii.
- 53 *Quebec Gazette*, 1 July, 1813, 2, c. 3. See also: LAC, British Military and Naval Records, “C” Series (RG 8, I), vol. 689, Chauncey to Prevost, 2 June, 1813, 81. Mrs. Brock was accompanied by the wife of Major James Dennis. I am grateful to the late Stephen Otto for his observations regarding this incident.
- 54 *Military Monitor* (New York, New York), 23 Nov., 1812, 118, c. 1. It should be noted that the editors of the *Military Monitor* found this account “not probable,” as it was related elsewhere that Brock had already been buried. But despite their doubts, the editors went ahead and published the sensational story. Coincidentally, a United States seaman by the name of Ned Myers recited a similar story, which he did for the benefit of James Fenimore Cooper and during a discussion of the American capture of York in 1813. It would appear that Myers, and perhaps the editor of the *Military Monitor*, mistook Brock’s body for that of Brigadier General Zebulon Pike, who was killed by the explosion of the powder magazine at Fort York, and whose corpse was preserved in a cask of rum until it could be buried at Sackets Harbor. See: James Fenimore Cooper, *Ned Myers; or, A Life Before the Mast*, 2 vols (London, England: Richard Bentley, 1843), I: 126–7; Robert Malcomson, *Capital in Flames: The American Attack on York, 1813* (Montreal, Quebec: Robin Brass Studio, 2008), 274.
- 55 According to Asa Grant of Sackets Harbor, Captain Brock “is said to have been the Genl’s private secretary & now to have the charge of all his business, that he had his papers & other effects on board the Sloop.” See: UM, War of 1812 Collection, Asa Grant to John Grant, 17 Nov., 1812. Brigadier General Jacob Brown of the New York Militia provided a similar report to Nathan Ford of Ogdensburg, which he claimed to have heard from Captain Brock himself. As Ford told his brother, Captain Brock “had on board all the Genl.’s Baggage & property” and “Genl. Brown had a Conversation with Capt. Brock—he gave him the above information.” See: AO, Ford Family Papers (F 483), Ford to Ford, Tuesday afternoon. Although this letter is undated, it was probably written sometime in November of 1812.
- 56 As Murney wrote almost twelve years later: “The Sloop Elizabeth was taken by the enemy in the act of Bringing Capt. Brock and the Baggage of the late General Brock to this place [Kingston].” See: LAC, Department of Finance, Upper Canada, War of 1812 Losses Claims (RG 19, E5a), vol. 3752, file 2, claim of Henry Murney, no. 1176, Murney to Macaulay, 18 Jan., 1824.
- 57 *Buffalo Gazette*, 22 Dec., 1812, 2, c. 1.
- 58 *Ibid.* Ferdinand Brock Tupper, however, thought it was solely through Commodore Chauncey’s generosity that Brock’s personal effects were saved from the auction block. Many years later, Tupper publicly thanked the commodore for the return of his uncle’s property. It was a nice gesture, but about five years too late. The first edition of Tupper’s *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* was published in 1845, but Commodore Chauncey died in 1840. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 354; John C. Fredriksen, “Chauncey, Isaac,” *American National Biography* 4: 750. Tupper also believed that the box of letters, which he used to compile his uncle’s biography, was included with the trunks relinquished by the Americans. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., v; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., vii.

- 59 *Columbian*, 2 Dec., 1812, 3, c. 1. According to this newspaper account, Brock's personal effects included his uniform, swords, papers and the equivalent of about \$12,000 in specie (or currency). The uniform, swords (although perhaps only one), and the papers all correspond with items Captain Glegg is known to have set aside for William Brock. See: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813; Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 354. Tupper, however, refuted the claim about the specie, and Commodore Chauncey made no mention of such a significant prize in his reports. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., 362; UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Dearborn, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Tompkins, 17 Nov., 1812; *ibid.*, Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812. Another equally suspicious contribution to a Quebec City newspaper reported that Brock's furniture was also on the *Elizabeth*, which is completely false. See: *Quebec Mercury*, 8 Dec., 1812, 391, c. 3.
- 60 Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 354; *ibid.* 2nd ed., 362. For additional references to the plate, see: *Montreal Gazette* (Montreal, Lower Canada), 24 Nov., 1812, 3, c. 1; *Quebec Mercury*, 1 Dec., 1812, 381, c. 2. American sources simply refer to Brock's baggage.
- 61 TRL, William Allan Papers (S 123), Miscellaneous Papers (series 6), estate inventory of Major General Sir Isaac Brock, Nov. 1812, 7.
- 62 For a copy of Anderson's letter, see: *War*, 28 Nov., 1812, 100, c. 1.
- 63 Commodore Chauncey was not above the occasional deception himself. When he sent Captain Henry Murney back to Kingston on 5 December, 1812, he took advantage of the opportunity to spy on the strength of the British defences. Still, and unlike Captain Brock, the American commodore was motivated by public service and not personal gain. See: NARA, Department of the Navy (RG 45), Captains' Letters, vol. 3 (1 Sept. 1812–31 Dec. 1812), Chauncey to Hamilton, 9 Dec., 1812, no. 210.
- 64 The last ships of the season arrived at Quebec City on or about 11 November, 1812. Presumably, all departures from the port ended at about the same time, which roughly coincided with that of the *Elizabeth* from York. See: *Quebec Gazette*, 12 Nov., 1812, 2, c. 4.
- 65 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
- 66 According to the *Quebec Gazette*, the first ship of the season arrived on 5 May, 1813. See: *Quebec Gazette*, 6 May, 1813, 2, c. 3.
- 67 Private Porter was only seventeen years old when he joined the 49th Regiment. See: NAUK, War Office, Records of the Royal Hospital Chelsea, Soldiers Service Documents (WO 97/633), discharge papers of Thomas Porter, 15 Dec., 1813, no. 113. Private Porter, however, did not want for company, as his father and brother were both soldiers in the same regiment. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 387; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 397.
- 68 Ferdinand Brock Tupper seems to have been under the mistaken belief that Private Dobson died in 1812, and shortly before Brock himself. However, a search of the muster books and pay lists of the 49th Regiment revealed that Private Dobson died on 12 May, 1805. It was also discovered that his death occurred at Quebec City. See: Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 5; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 5; NAUK, War Office, General Muster Books and Pay Lists, 49th Regiment of Foot (WO 12/6041), 25 Apr.–24 May, 1805.
- 69 Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed., 5.

- 70 Ibid., 1st ed., 387; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., 397. It was likely Private Porter himself who suggested his discharge from the army. Also, a letter written by Major Glegg mentions “Porter’s arrival” at the residence of William Brock. See: AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
- 71 NAUK, War Office, Records of the Royal Hospital Chelsea, Soldiers Service Documents (WO 97/633), discharge papers of Thomas Porter, 15 Dec., 1813, no. 113.
- 72 Ibid., Commissary General of Musters Office, General Muster Books and Pay Lists, “Pay-List of the Forty Ninth (or Herts) Regiment of Foot,” 1811–13 (WO 12/6044), 25 Sept.–24 Dec., 1812, no. 511; *ibid.*, 25 Dec., 1812–24 Mar., 1813, no. 485; *ibid.*, 25 Mar.–24 June, 1813, no. 486. The pay lists for 25 June to 24 December, 1813 indicate that Private Porter was sent home on furlough. See: *ibid.*, 25 June–24 Sept., 1813, no. 464; *ibid.*, 25 Sept.–24 Dec., 1813, no. 463. Moreover, his name is not included in a list of the British prisoners that Commodore Chauncey sent to Lieutenant Colonel John Vincent at Kingston. See: UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Vincent, 16 Nov., 1812.
- 73 Even if Captain Brock had received permission to accompany the trunks to England, he would have been prevented from doing so by the terms of his parole. See: UM, Isaac Chauncey Letter Books, Chauncey to Hamilton, 17 Nov., 1812.
- 74 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813.
- 75 Ibid. Much private property was confiscated. Included was Major General Sheaffe’s own dress coatee, which was auctioned at the American Fort Niagara in the afternoon of 11 May, 1813. See: New-York Historical Society, Patricia D. Klingenstein Library, Manuscript Department, Henry Dearborn Letter Books, Orders of Major General Henry Dearborn, 10 May, 1813, 372; Genevieve Miller, *Wm. Beaumont’s Formative Years: Two Early Notebooks, 1811–1821* (New York, New York: Henry Schuman, 1946), 48–9.

CHAPTER 8

- 1 Early in December of 1812, following a vote of thanks in the House of Lords for Wellington’s victory at Salamanca, the Duke of Norfolk enquired whether a similar recognition was intended for the officers who had distinguished themselves in Canada. Lord Liverpool, the prime minister, replied in the negative, but observed that an address would be proposed for a monument to Brock. In July of 1813, the address in question was submitted to the Prince Regent, who approved of the memorial and directed that it be placed in St. Paul’s Cathedral. See: *Times* (London, England), 4 Dec., 1812, 2, c. 4; *ibid.*, 14 July, 1813, 2, c. 5; Great Britain, Parliament (Commons), *Journals* vol. 68, 13 July, 1813, 663; *ibid.*, 20 July, 1813, 672; *Ipswich Journal* (Ipswich, England), 17 July, 1813, 2, c. 1.
- 2 Evidence that William Brock promoted the idea of a monument in honour of his brother was found in a letter he addressed to the British prime minister. In it, Lord Liverpool was reminded of his remark in the House of Lords, namely that an address would be presented to the Prince Regent praying for a monument to Sir Isaac Brock. See: Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Colonial Office (MG 11-CO 42), vol. 354, Upper Canada, Despatches, Public Offices and Miscellaneous (1813), Brock to Liverpool, 11 June, 1813, 198.
- 3 When Major Glegg’s disappointing reply finally came to hand in the late spring of 1814, there was no ambiguity: “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.” See: Archives of Ontario (AO), Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec., 1813. This

- letter was postmarked at Quebec City on 18 January, 1814, and again on 3 April, 1814. Presumably, it was sent on to London after the opening of navigation on the St. Lawrence River, which did not occur until early in May of 1814 (the first ships of the season arrived there on 4 May). See: *Quebec Gazette* (Quebec, Lower Canada), 12 May, 1814, 2, c. 4; *Quebec Mercury* (Quebec, Lower Canada), 10 May, 1814, 150, c. 3. Another four to six weeks would have passed before the letter was finally delivered to William Brock, sometime in mid-to-late-June of 1814.
- 4 Richard Westmacott, R.A. entered into the contract on 3 August, 1814. See: Great Britain, Parliament (Commons), *Sessional Papers, Accounts and Papers*, "Erection of Monuments," 1792–1842 XXVI, no. 559 (1842): 505.
 - 5 The cost for this commission was £1,575. See: *ibid.*
 - 6 The statue on top of Brock's Monument is conjectural, as is the bust by Hamilton MacCarthy dating from 1896. So, too, are all the sculptures of Brock attempted since then. The bust by F. May Simpson, which she created in 1913, might have been the most striking interpretation, had she not based her work on the miniature now known to portray Lieutenant George Dunn. For the busts of Brock by MacCarthy and Simpson, see: AO, Government of Ontario Art Collection, Sculpture of "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, KB," by Hamilton MacCarthy, 1896, acc. 619,882; *ibid.*, Sculpture of "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, KB," by F. May Simpson, 1912, acc. 619,885.
 - 7 I found myself in agreement with Ferdinand Brock Tupper, who described his uncle a "very handsome youth." See: LAC, Henry James Morgan Papers (MG 29, D61), Correspondence, vol. 47, Tupper to Morgan, 13 July, 1861.
 - 8 Major John Richardson, *War of 1812* (Brockville, Canada West: John Richardson, 1842), 68. Major Richardson probably saw Brock at Detroit in August of 1812.
 - 9 Tupper had no direct knowledge of Brock's stature, and his description appears to have been based more on family traits than anything else. Thus, his wording: "perhaps too portly." See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, England: Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1845), 337. Earlier, in 1835, Tupper published the same description, minus the details about his uncle's height. See: Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *Family Records* (St-Peter Port, Guernsey: Stephen Barbet, 1835), 24.
 - 10 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Robinson to Tupper, 19 Jan., 1846, 10.
 - 11 William Stanley Hatch, *A Chapter of the History of the War of 1812 in the Northwest* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Miami Printing and Publishing Company, 1872), 63. For references to Hatch's appointment as acting assistant quarter master general, see: *ibid.*, 19, 30. It should be noted that Hatch was a volunteer in Captain John F. Mansfield's Company of the Cincinnati Light Infantry, which was attached to the Third Regiment of Ohio Militia. See: *ibid.*; *Roster of Ohio Soldiers in the War of 1812* (Columbus, Ohio: Adjutant General of Ohio, 1916), 72.
 - 12 *Roster of Ohio Soldiers in the War of 1812*, 71.
 - 13 *Cleveland Herald* (Cleveland, Ohio), 18 Nov., 1871, supplement, 5, c. 5. Although Sanderson did not go so far as to mention Brock's ears, I became concerned about the one depicted by Schipper (fig. 3). It looked rather small and perhaps too low, or so I thought. I also began to fear that it was crudely rendered, which caused me to wonder if Schipper might have stylized all of his client's ears for the sake of expediency. However, the expert on Gerrit Schipper disagreed. As Jeanne Riger pointed out, Schipper's portrait

- of Bostonian John Dorr (then in her possession) had an ear that was “beautifully done.” She also examined photographs of other portraits by Schipper, and in each case the ears were painted with equal care. Given that Schipper completed his profile portraits from life, after the sitter’s profile was mechanically reduced and outlined on a piece of paper, his representation of Brock’s ear is probably correct. See: letter, St-Denis to Riger, 27 Sept., 2005; email, Riger to St-Denis, 1 Nov., 2005.
- 14 It was William Stanley Hatch’s recollection that Brock had a “very massive and large boned, though not fleshy” physique. This observation was made less than two months before Brock’s death, and it seems doubtful that he could have become hefty enough in the interim to justify Tupper’s belief that his uncle was “perhaps too portly” in his latter years. See: Hatch, *A Chapter of the History of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, 63; Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed., 337.
 - 15 With particular reference to Brock’s apparent squint, there is no indication that he ever suffered a trauma to either of his eyes. Had there been such an injury, Major Richardson surely would have noted it—just as he did the colour of Brock’s eyes. See: Richardson, *War of 1812*, 68.
 - 16 William Kingsford, *Canadian Archaeology: An Essay* (Montreal, Quebec: William Drysdale and Company, 1886), 97.
 - 17 Ludwig Kosche seems to have subscribed to John Andre’s belief that “strong men preferably look to the right, ladies and elderly gentlemen to the left.” See: Ludwig Kosche, “Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis,” *Archivaria* 20 (Summer 1985): 64. However, judging from a selection of Schipper’s profile portraits, it appears that the direction of a sitter’s pose was more often than not a random choice.
 - 18 According to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, William Brock died on 20 December, 1819. See: *Gentleman’s Magazine* (London, England), July–Dec., 1819, 639, c. 1.
 - 19 Evidence of Irving Brock’s ownership of the profile portrait (fig. 3) is found in a letter from Miss Henrietta Tupper to Colonel Charles W. Robinson. See: Trent University, Thomas J. Bata Library, Trent University Archives (TU), Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 1 Feb., 1882. For a published version of this letter, see: Lady Edgar [Matilda Ridout], “General Brock’s Portrait,” *Canadian Magazine* XXXI, no. 3 (July 1908): 262–4.
 - 20 National Archives of the United Kingdom, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Will Registers (PROB 11/1624), will of William Brock, proved 19 Jan., 1820, no. 227.
 - 21 Irving Brock’s entire estate was bequeathed to his wife. See: *ibid.* (PROB 11/1894), will of Irving Brock, proved 28 May, 1838, no. 426.
 - 22 For Irving Brock’s obituary, see: *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Jan.–June, 1838, 669, c. 1.
 - 23 For Miss Tupper’s claim, see: TU, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 1 Feb., 1882.
 - 24 For Henry Tupper’s obituary, see: *Star* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 6 Apr., 1875, 2. c. 1.
 - 25 Nicholas Mellish also offered the profile portrait (fig. 3) to several other individuals and institutions. These offers preceded his negotiations with the Weir Foundation.
 - 26 Gary Essar and Sandra Lawrence, “Acquisition of the only authenticated portraits of Sir Isaac Brock,” Press Release, RiverBrink Art Museum and Weir Foundation, 11 Feb., 2009. See also: *St. Catharines Standard* (St. Catharines, Ontario), 14 Feb., 2009, A1; *ibid.*, 18

- Feb., 2009, A1. The profile portrait (fig. 3) might have warranted the extra money because of its larger size.
- 27 Ibid.
 - 28 *St. Catharines Standard*, 20 Feb., 2009, A1.
 - 29 Guernsey, States of Deliberation, *Billet d'État* IX (2010): 491.
 - 30 The Canadian figures were calculated according to the exchange rates as of 18 February, 2009, the date Nicholas Mellish informed the Weir Foundation that he had accepted the offer of the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery. See: *St. Catharines Standard*, 20 Feb., 2009, A1.
 - 31 Brock University, James A. Gibson Library, Archives and Special Collections (BU), Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H.T. Mellish Correspondence, Weir to Mellish, 6 Jan., 1964.
 - 32 Ibid.
 - 33 Weir, of course, had his good points, but they were well hidden beneath a very gruff exterior. For examples, see: Mary Willan Mason, *The Consummate Canadian: A Biography of Samuel Edward Weir, Q.C.* (Toronto, Ontario: Natural Heritage, c1999).
 - 34 As Weir's biographer discovered, he "made himself thoroughly familiar with every phase and activity of the Battle of Queenston Heights." See: *ibid.*, 226.
 - 35 Weir was born 12 August, 1898, and so he was sixty-five years old in January of 1964. See: *ibid.*, 9.
 - 36 It is not known how Weir became aware of Captain Mellish and the profile portrait of Brock (fig. 3).
 - 37 BU, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H.T. Mellish Correspondence, Mellish to Weir, 22 Jan., 1964.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, Weir to Mellish, 11 Feb., 1964.
 - 39 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Weir, 21 Feb., 1964. Captain Mellish had good reason to believe there was a photograph of the profile portrait (fig. 3) in Ottawa, as W. Kaye Lamb (then Dominion Archivist of Canada) reproduced a colour copy of it for the frontispiece of *The Hero of Upper Canada*. Published in 1962, this booklet commemorated the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights.
 - 40 Mason, *Consummate Canadian*, 230, 235.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, 277.
 - 42 It was in anticipation of this gift that the Weir Foundation was established in 1962. See: *ibid.*, 199.
 - 43 Upon completion of high school in 1915, Weir articulated with a London, Ontario law office. Beginning in 1917, he attended law school at Osgoode Hall in Toronto. After graduating as a barrister-at-law in 1920, Weir was called to the Ontario bar. Even without a law degree, Weir was qualified to argue cases on behalf of clients. See: *ibid.*, 52, 54, 58–9.
 - 44 *Ibid.*, 112.
 - 45 Conversation with LaBrie, 21 Oct., 2008. This copy of Brock's portrait (fig. 35) was officially presented to Brock University at a dinner party attended by Captain Mellish in October of 1985. See: "Fabulous Forgery," *Surgite* 1, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 1985): 15.
 - 46 Conversation with LaBrie, 21 Oct., 2008. The photograph was done in colour.

- 47 Ibid.
- 48 RiverBrink Art Museum, Library/Archives (RAM), Weir Foundation Art Collection, Agreement between LaBrie and Abrahams, 13 Aug., 1984. The final measurements were 26 by 22 inches, or 66 by 56 centimetres. See: *ibid.*, Catalogue and location card, Philippa Abrahams painting of “Major-General Sir Isaac Brock,” acc. 985.1. I am grateful to James Campbell, former curator of the RiverBrink Art Museum, for providing me with a copy of this and other information regarding the Abrahams commission.
- 49 RAM, Weir Foundation Art Collection, Agreement between LaBrie and Abrahams, 13 Aug., 1984. The price for the two paintings was £2,400.
- 50 Canadian War Museum, Military History Research Centre, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Ludwig Kosche Papers, Correspondence (58A3/10.26), Kosche to Mellish, 29 Sept., 1984.
- 51 *Ibid.* Kosche communicated with John P.M. Court, Executive Secretary of the Ontario Heritage Foundation (today’s Ontario Heritage Trust).
- 52 *Ibid.*, Mellish to Kosche, 21 Nov., 1984.
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 *Ibid.*, Mellish to LaBrie, 13 Apr., 1984.
- 55 *Ibid.*, Kosche to Mellish, 9 Dec., 1984.
- 56 This painstaking work was carried out in late 2010 by Jane McAusland, an art on paper conservator based in Suffolk, England. The exhibition was “RiverBrink’s War of 1812.”

CONCLUSION

- 1 This mastery was acknowledged in a unique fashion. A few months after Schipper’s death in 1825, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir William Beechey, and several other notable artists contributed to a fund for the relief of his financially distressed widow. While a sense of charity no doubt influenced their generosity, the quality of Schipper’s work presumably warranted some degree of consideration as well. See: *Morning Post* (London, England), 23 Feb., 1826, 1, c. 1.

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Major General Sir Isaac Brock is remembered as the Hero of Upper Canada for his defence of what is now Ontario during the War of 1812, and also for his noble death at the Battle of Queenston Heights. In the more than two centuries since then, Brock's likeness has been lost in a confusing array of portraits—most of which are misidentified or conceptual.

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