

Contemporary Portraits of Isaac Brock: An Analysis

by LUDWIG KOSCHE

One of the more intriguing facts in Canadian military and art history is that we lack an authenticated portrait of Major General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B. (1769-1812). Indeed, it is puzzling why later generations should have come to accept various undocumented works as genuine portraits of the man who was the dominant figure in the opening stage of the War of 1812. The primary intent of this article is to come to grips with this anomaly by examining the existing contemporary portraits and establishing if any may be considered authentic. A secondary aim is to present for the first time reproductions of all these portraits within the confines of one article.¹

In addition to the sitter in these works not being reliably identified, all the portraits investigated, save one, lack dates and signatures. For this reason the responsibility for identifying these paintings is primarily that of the historian concerned with military costumes and artifacts and only secondarily that of the art historian. It is the former who can more effectively exploit the evidence in these works as well as the existing documentary basis spotty though it is. Just as important is an elementary reservation which cannot be emphasized too strongly. The process of identification of the sitter is undertaken on the assumption that the work of a portrait artist is essentially faithful to the original subject. To choose a simple example, an epaulet must look like an epaulet; accurate identification cannot be made if room is provided for "artistic licence." No meaningful work is possible without adherence to this principle.

Indispensable information about Brock's appearance comes from participants in the War of 1812 and his nephew and biographer Ferdinand Brock Tupper (1795-1875?). Two American officers saw Brock at Detroit on 16 August 1812. Colonel William

¹ The author would like to thank all those who have helped him with this paper. He is especially indebted to Captain Michael H.T. Mellish, MVO, OBE, Guernsey; Lorna R. Procter, Archivist, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto; Dr. Alan McNairn, Director, New Brunswick Museum; René Chartrand, Head Military Curator, Parks Canada; Dr. Alan Earp, President, Brock University; Professor Wesley B. Turner, Department of History, Brock University; Senator P.M. Pitfield, Ottawa; Dr. John Andre, Toronto; John Short, Toronto; H. Douglass Short, UE, B.Sc., P.Eng., Kingston, Ont.; Michael Pantazzi, Assistant Curator, National Gallery of Canada; Robert Arthur, Toronto; Mr. and Mrs. James and Jill Shakley, Toronto; and Henri Serdongs, Montreal. Without their help completion of this article would have been much more difficult.

Stanley Hatch spoke of him as an “officer of distinction,” and they elaborated on his appearance in these terms: “His personal appearance was commanding; he must have been six feet three or four inches in height; very massive and large boned, though not fleshy, and apparently of immense muscular power.”² Later, General George Sanderson used similar words, although an element of personal aversion is detectable in his description of Brock as “a heavily built man, about six feet three inches in height, broad shoulders, large hips and lame, walking with a cane. One of his eyes, the left one I think, was closed, and he was withal the ugliest officer I ever saw.”³

Further information about Brock’s appearance was published in 1835 in F.B. Tupper’s first biographical work on him. Tupper lavished these words on his late kinsman: “In stature he was tall, erect, and well proportioned, although in his latter years his figure was perhaps too portly.... His fine and benevolent countenance was a perfect index of his mind, and his manners were courteous, frank and engaging.”⁴ There is no real dispute about Brock’s general appearance; witness and biographer described him in similar terms. None, however, say anything about his facial features; indeed, we do not even know the colour of his hair. Nor does it appear that in later years Tupper made an effort to learn from Brock’s surviving brothers and sister what the general’s “countenance” was like because he transferred virtually intact the excerpt quoted above to his full-scale biography *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*⁵

There are nonetheless two slight but helpful references in Tupper’s work. One of Isaac Brock’s letters, which Tupper reproduced, is dated at Quebec 9 July 1810 and addressed to Irving Brock (1775-1838), the general’s youngest brother. In the letter Isaac Brock speaks of “a most distressing circumstance:” the cocked hat which he had ordered had not arrived, and he anticipated the “utmost difficulty in getting a substitute” in Canada on account of “the enormity” of his head.⁶ Brock’s humour may have been a bit heavy-handed, but there is little doubt that he had a large head. The Museum of the Niagara Historical Society has a cocked hat ordered by or for Brock. It arrived in Canada after his death. Internally, the hat measures twenty-four inches and seems to confirm Brock’s own description.⁷ The second clue is found in Appendix B of Tupper’s full-scale biography where he dwells on the qualities of Daniel de Lisle Brock (1762-1842), Isaac’s oldest brother and probably Guernsey’s most famous bailiff: “In countenance and robustness of frame, although not so tall, as well as in vigour of intellect and decision of character, the bailiff strongly resembled his brother Sir Isaac Brock.”⁸

2 William Stanley Hatch, *A Chapter of the History of the War of 1812 in the Northwest* (Cincinnati, 1872), p. 63.

3 *Cleveland Herald Supplement*, Saturday, 18 November 1871. General George Sanderson was born on 10 January 1789 in Lancaster, Ohio. It should be noted that he is not listed in Thomas H.S. Hamersley’s *Complete Army Register of the United States for 100 years (1779 to 1879)*, 2nd edition, (Washington, n.d.). It must be assumed that his was a local rank.

4 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *Family Records; Containing Memoirs of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B....* (Guernsey, 1835), p. 24.

5 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd edition (London, 1847), p. 345.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

7 Janet Carnochan, “Sir Isaac Brock,” *Niagara Historical Society Paper*, (1907), p. 15.

8 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 467.

Tupper then relates the visit of Sir James Kempt (1764-1854), Master-General of Ordnance, to Guernsey in about 1834. This officer, a veteran of Maida, the Peninsula, and Waterloo, had been posted to Canada from 1808 to 1811 and knew Brock. On meeting Daniel de Lisle Brock, Kempt, so Tupper reports, "was struck with the personal resemblance [to Isaac], notwithstanding that Mr. Brock was then in his 71st year."⁹ This fact suggests that at least an initial impression of Isaac Brock's facial features may be gained by studying a portrait of Daniel de Lisle Brock. For this purpose a photograph of the latter's official portrait is included in this article (Figure 1). The outstanding quality of this work seems to be that Daniel de Lisle's head can in all fairness be described as heavy or massive. Even if these words err on the strong side, a certain similarity with Brock's "enormous" head is undeniable. A comparable heaviness may also be seen in the portrait of Isaac's brother John Savery (1772-1844) (Figure 2). Though too much importance should perhaps not be attached to such comparisons, they provide helpful clues.

THE MINIATURES

The earliest miniature portrait purportedly of Brock (Figure 3) is attributed to Philip Jean (1775-1802), a noted miniaturist from Jersey, scarcely a stone's throw from Guernsey.¹⁰ The correctness of the attribution seems confirmed by similarities of style and execution found in the portrait of another officer which is known to be by Philip Jean.¹¹ Figure 3 shows a young man in a scarlet uniform with blue turn-down collar and facings as well as an epaulet and loops (button-slits or holes) painted in gold. These details are correct for the uniform of an officer in a "Royal" Regiment such as the 8th (or the King's) Regiment of Foot.¹² Isaac Brock joined that regiment on 2 March 1785, thus following in the footsteps of his older brother John (1759-1801?) who had also begun his military career in this unit.¹³ The portrait might well be of a youth approaching his sixteenth year, as Isaac Brock then was. To say that this picture is dominated by a heavy or massive head would perhaps be an exaggeration, but its size cannot be ignored. All in all, the exceedingly limited evidence does not negate the view that this miniature is a portrait of Isaac Brock as a teenager in uniform.

The next miniature (Figure 4), the work of an unknown artist, shows an officer who is no longer young.¹⁴ The lean face, though possibly accentuated by the whitish hair, is unlike that found in the previous portrait. It cannot be determined with certainty whether the sitter has been portrayed with his actual hair or a wig so that this detail is of little help in fixing the approximate age of the subject.

9 *Ibid.*

10 A. Maude (Cawthra) Brock, *Brock Family Records* (Toronto, 1927), attributes the miniature to Philip Jean. The New Brunswick Museum has a rather pleasing copy of this miniature; it is listed in J.C. Webster, *Catalogue of the John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection (Pictorial Section) New Brunswick Museum* (Saint John, N.B., 1939), Catalogue No. 1, p. 31, no. 173.

11 Daphne Foskett, *A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters*, 2 vols. (London, 1972), vol. 1, p. 353, has an entry on Philip Jean amounting to nearly a full column and in vol. 2, plate 187, no. 476, the portrait miniature of an "unknown officer" provides a most apt comparison.

12 W.Y. Carman, "Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 19 (1940), pp. 232-35, gives the details of regimental colours.

13 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 4.

14 The author would like to thank Professor Wesley B. Turner, Brock University, for help in providing him with photographs of this miniature.



Figure 1: *Artist unknown, Official portrait of Daniel de Lisle Brock, Bailiff of Guernsey. Oil, circa 1836. The original is in the possession of the States of Guernsey and on view in the Royal Court House, St. Peter Port. Prints of the photographs used to reproduce figures 1 to 14 in this article are in the author's possession.*



Figure 2: Artist unknown. John Savery Brock. Pencil drawing after oil portrait. The original of the drawing is in the possession of Robert Arthur, Toronto.



Figure 3: *Philip Jean, Isaac Brock as ensign in the 8th (or the King's) Regiment of Foot, circa 1785. The original is in the possession of Captain M.H.T. Mellish, Guernsey.*



Figure 4: *Artist unknown, Captain John Brock, 81st Regiment of Foot, circa 1795-1800. The original is in the possession of Brock University.*



Figure 5: *Verso of portrait of Captain John Brock in figure 4. The original is in the possession of Brock University.*

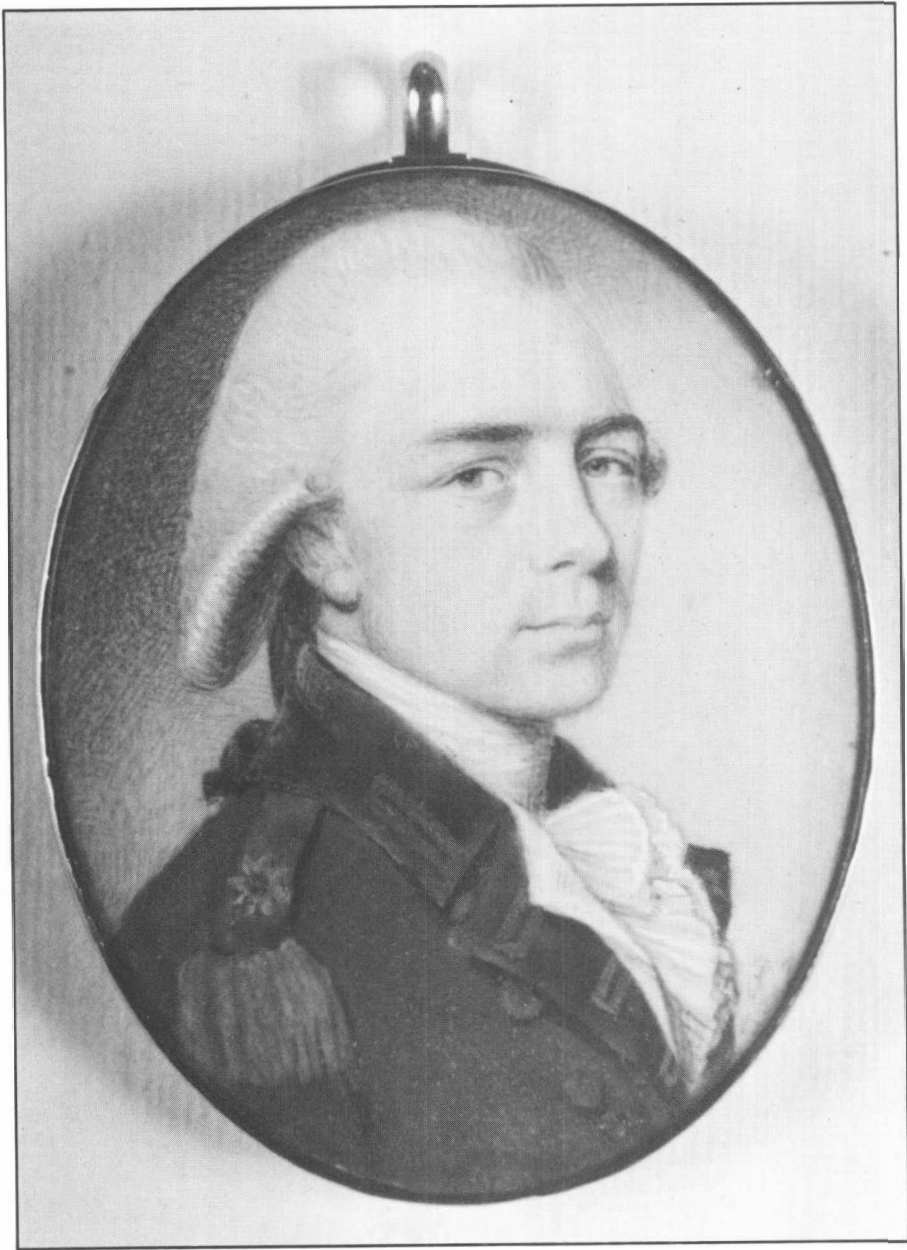


Figure 6: *Artist unknown, John Brock as an officer in the 8th (or the King's) Regiment of Foot, circa 1785. The original is in the possession of Captain M.H.T. Mellish, Guernsey.*

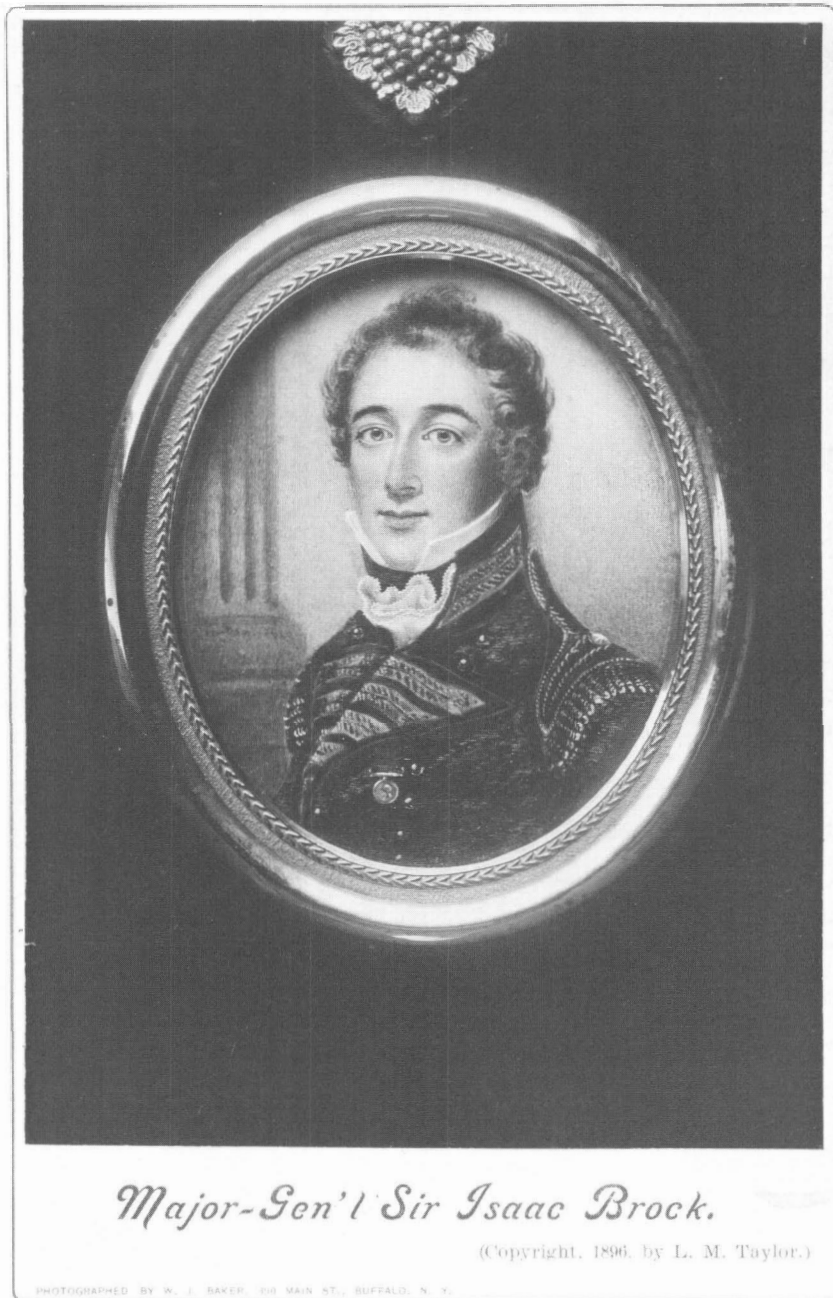


Figure 7: Postcard with photograph of the Brock miniature allegedly by J. Hudson. The original of the miniature is in the possession of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.



Figure 8: *Artist unknown, 1st Lieutenant George Dunn, Paymaster of the 23rd Regiment of Foot, the Royal Welch Fusiliers. Oil, circa 1835-40. Note the regimental device in the belt buckle — the three feathers of the Prince of Wales' plume. The original is in the possession of John Short, Toronto.*



Figure 9: *Obverse of the Waterloo Medal of 1st Lieutenant George Dunn.*



Figure 9a: *Reverse of the Waterloo Medal of 1st Lieutenant George Dunn. The medal is in the possession of J. Davies, Montreal.*



Figure 10: *Artist unknown, alleged portrait of Isaac Brock which may actually be John Brock as Captain of an Independent Company of Invalids, Jersey, Channel Islands. Oil, circa 1801-1804. The original portrait is in the possession of Sen. P.M. Pitfield, Ottawa.*

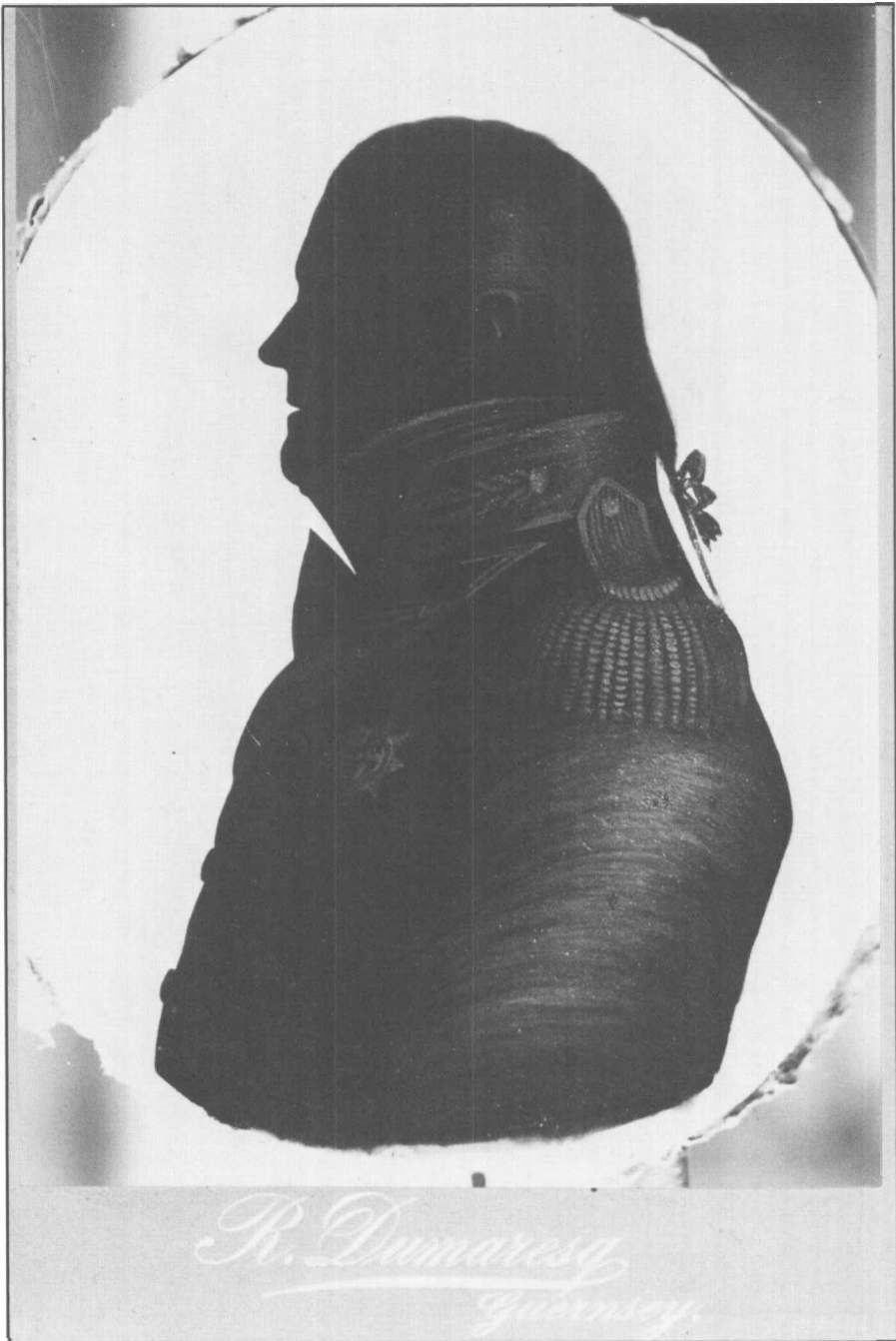


Figure 11: *Photograph taken by R. Dumaresq, Guernsey, circa 1882, of a bronze profile of Major-General Isaac Brock.* Photograph courtesy: Notman Photographic Archives.

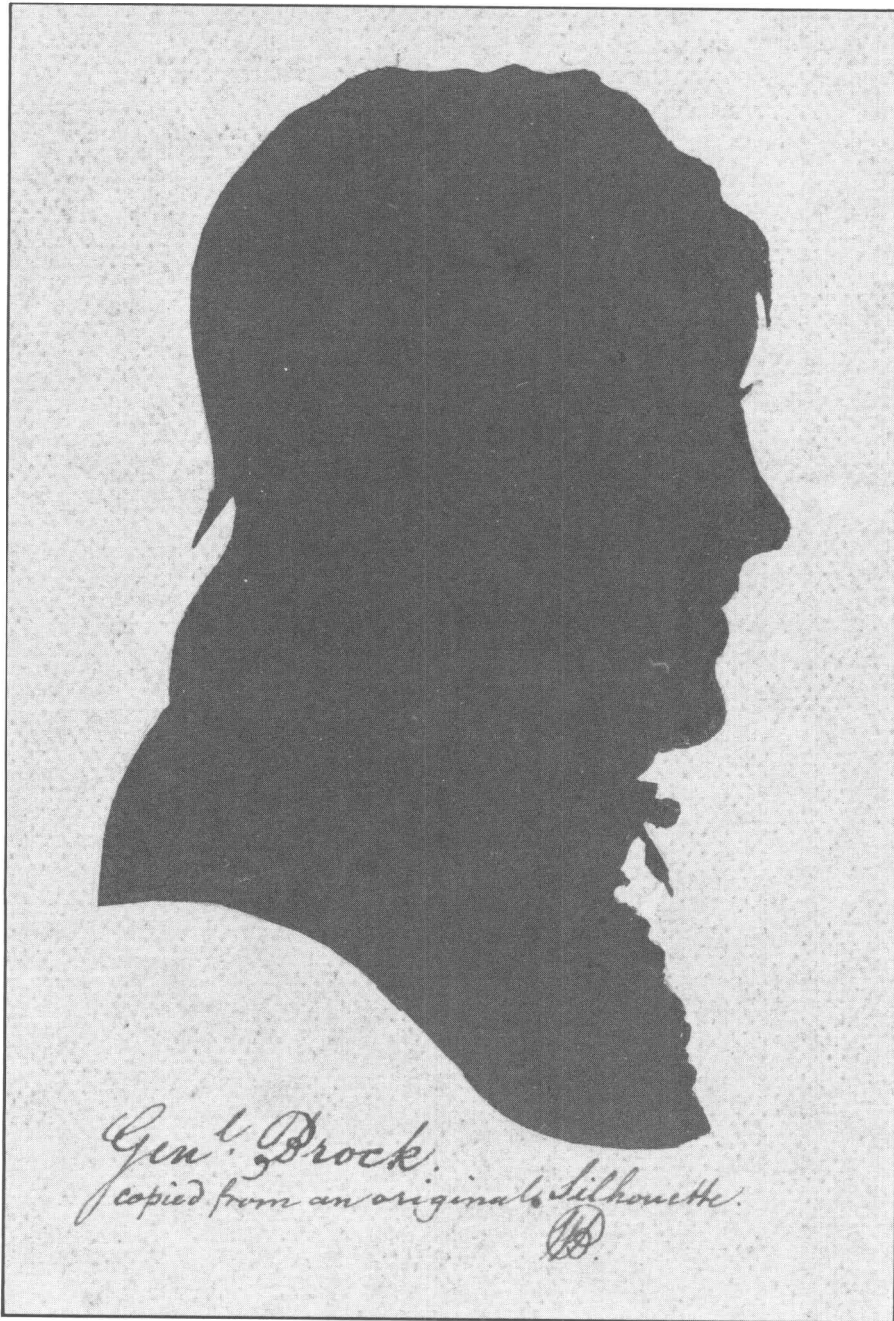


Figure 12: Artist unknown, the so-called "Jarvis silhouette." The inscription reads: "Gen'l Brock copied from an unsigned Silhouette." Courtesy: Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.



Figure 13: *William Berczy, Colonel Isaac Brock. Pastel on laid paper, circa 1808-09. The original is in the possession of Captain M.H.T. Mellish, Guernsey.*



Figure 14: *This is a second pastel portrait of Colonel Isaac Brock; presumably it was copied from the pastel by William Berczy shown in figure 13. The copy shown in figure 14 is in the custody of the Bailiff, Guernsey.*

It appears that in the first half of the nineteenth century this miniature was owned by John Savery Brock.¹⁵ The first recorded reference to it is in a report dated 9 May 1934, when the Bailiff and President of the States of Guernsey, A.W. Bell, unveiled a plaque affixed to the house in which Isaac Brock had been born. Among the participants at the ceremony was Robert Brock Carey Arthur who had with him “a beautiful miniature painting on enamel of Sir Isaac Brock, with inscription on the obverse.”¹⁶ In the early 1960s, Mr. Arthur’s son Robert sold this miniature to the Province of Ontario. Eventually it was transferred to Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario, where it still is.¹⁷

That the miniature described in 1934 is the same as the one in the possession of Brock University appears evident from the fact that it is the only such portrait with an inscription on parchment attached to the reverse (not the “obverse”) (Figure 5). To be sure, the miniature is on ivory rather than enamel, but that is a minor discrepancy in the newspaper source. More important is the fact that the inscription is marred by several inaccuracies. The coat of arms granted to the “Descendants ... of ... John Brock,” the father of Isaac, occupies the upper half.¹⁸ The device shows an Indian on a battlement, holding in his right hand what is presumably a tomahawk; beneath the battlement is a scroll with the word “Canada” inscribed in it.¹⁹ The coat of arms is without the supporters in the form of a grenadier (to the left) and a battalion soldier (to the right) from Brock’s Regiment, the 49th Foot, which were specifically reserved in the posthumous grant dated 15 February 1813 for the purpose of being “placed on any Monument to the Memory of the said Major General Sir Isaac Brock.”²⁰ Included in the posthumous grant to Brock is the motto of the Order of the Bath to which he had been appointed on 10 October 1812: “*Tria Juncta in Uno.*” The motto is not part of the coat of arms described above.

These are not the only errors in the inscription. The word “Governor” is spelled without an “r.” Brock is commonly known as the “Hero of Upper Canada,” not as described on the miniature as “The Hero of Canada.” The parchment on which this decoration was put was examined by Dr. Alan McNairn of the National Gallery of Canada with the following result: “The parchment inscription with crest enframed with the miniature is of late 19th century or later date. The fine late hand and the tab-like method of attachment of the parchment point to a late 19th century date.”²¹ The braided lock of brown hair surrounding the parchment looks exceedingly romantic, but no evidence exists to substantiate the claim that it is a lock of Brock’s own hair. There is the further fact that Major John Baskerville Glegg, Brock’s Aide-de-Camp in 1812, said

15 This appears from information provided by Robert Arthur of Toronto who is a descendant of John Savery Brock.

16 *Guernsey Evening Press*, 9 May 1934; the clipping is from the files of the Prialux Library, St. Peter Port, Guernsey. Captain Mellish very kindly secured a copy for the author. The plaque mentioned in the text may still be seen above Boots on High Street in downtown St. Peter Port.

17 The author is much indebted to Robert Arthur for help in the compilation of the history of this miniature.

18 This information is from the grant of arms and crest issued by the College of Arms on 15 February 1813; on this and Brock’s earlier coat of arms see also Bruce Peel, “The Hero of Upper Canada,” *Heraldry in Canada*, 7, no. 3 (September 1973), pp. 14-15; and Strome Galloway, “Sir Isaac Brock — Arms and the Man,” *Heraldry in Canada*, 13, no. 2 (June 1979), pp. 32-33.

19 The coat of arms shown in figure 5 is correct for those Brock family members entitled to it under the terms of the grant, but not for Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.

20 College of Arms grant, 15 February 1813. A photograph of the original grant is in the author’s possession.

21 Report by Dr. Alan McNairn, Assistant Curator of European Art, National Gallery of Canada, 20 October 1982. A copy of this report is in the author’s possession.

nothing about this miniature in his letter to Brock's brother William (1764-1820) in which he announced the return of several articles formerly owned by Isaac.²² The inscription on the parchment can at most qualify as a beautiful but late addition; as evidence it is without value.

The subject of this miniature portrait seems to be dressed in the uniform of an officer of the 61st or 81st Regiment of Foot. According to the uniform chart made up in 1803 by Charles Philip de Bosset both regiments had buff facings and scarlet coats with silver lace used by the officers.²³ The miniature shows all these colours, exactly as prescribed. Still more decisive is the fact that the regimental number is quite legible in the second button from the top. The second digit in the button is unquestionably a "1," whereas the first number can with some certainty be read as an "8," thus identifying the sitter as an officer of the 81st Foot. Isaac Brock never served in this regiment, but his brother John did from July 1795 to July 1801, when he was reputedly killed in a duel near the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. John Brock was a captain in this regiment, but held the rank of brevet lieutenant colonel in the army.²⁴

The author was recently given access to an unpublished notebook containing two passages which shed more light on the question of the identity of the sitter in this miniature.²⁵ According to one statement, "a portrait of Sir Isaac's eldest brother John was for a long time believed by the family to be of Sir Isaac & there were great controversies about it."²⁶ The second excerpt mentions that the "elder & surviving sister of Isaac Brock died in 1847 aged 81; it is possible she it was who made the mistake of thinking the miniature of John was Isaac."²⁷ The sister, Elizabeth, who was born in 1767, married John Elisha Tupper and was the mother of Ferdinand Brock Tupper.

There is some corroborative value in these fragments of information; for if they are true, there is little doubt that by the 1840s the surviving family members did not clearly remember their brother's features. This need not cause great surprise since they would have seen him for the last time thirty-five years earlier. In any event, the evidence presented here removes any doubt about the identity of the officer in this particular miniature. It is unquestionably a portrait of Brock's elder brother John, executed around the turn of the century, probably before 1800.

Another portrait (Figure 6), once again in miniature form, is of an officer whose uniform is identical in style, colour, and lacing with the one the young Isaac Brock wears

22 The letter is published in my "Relics of Brock: An Investigation," *Archivaria* 9 (Winter 1979-80), pp. 79-80.

23 The Marquess of Cambridge, "De Bosset's Chart of Uniform," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 40 (1962), pp. 171-72.

24 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 418.

25 This notebook was compiled by Mary Agnes FitzGibbon. It is the record of research undertaken in 1896 and 1897 in order to prove the miniature by J. Hudson a genuine portrait of Brock. Much correspondence was copied in this notebook, as well as other useful information not found elsewhere. It is vital for any investigation of this miniature held by the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto (WCHST). Miss FitzGibbon was also responsible for founding the WCHST in 1894. *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4th edition, (Toronto, 1978), p. 262, includes a brief entry on her life and career. The author is deeply indebted to Lorna R. Procter, Archivist, WCHST, for making this notebook accessible to him.

26 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 111, letter to [Sara Mickle?], 25 May [1897]. The cited passage is from a story which FitzGibbon was given and repeats in this letter. The story has the ring of veracity.

27 *Ibid.*, folio [110].

in the miniature designated as figure 3. The only difference is the star on the shoulder-strap in figure 6. Its purpose seems to be ornamental rather than functional as a badge of rank.²⁸ The quality of the facial features sets the two miniatures apart. In this painting, we encounter once again the “lean,” almost ascetic look noticed earlier in the picture of John Brock (Figure 4). Indeed, a comparison of figures 4 and 6 suggests that the last work is of Isaac’s older brother as well, with figure 4 showing him near the close of his military career and figure 6 at its beginning. Such an interpretation is compatible with known facts. John Brock joined the 8th Foot in 1775 when he was sixteen years old. The *Army List* for 1780 shows him to have been promoted to lieutenant on 3 November 1779 a few months past age twenty. As the face in figure 6 looks somewhat older than a mere twenty years, it seems more likely that the portrait was executed around 1785, after his return with the 8th Foot from Canada.²⁹ There is nothing out of the ordinary about a family having similar portraits of brothers who had chosen identical careers.

In the present examination, another miniature owned by the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto (WCHST) occupies an important part. This painting was brought to public attention in 1896, when it was hailed not only as an historic find, but also as a portrait of Sir Isaac Brock (Figure 7).³⁰ Mary Agnes FitzGibbon and Sara Mickle, both very active and prominent members of the WCHST at the time, did extensive research into its origins partly for the reason that even then it was recognized that internal evidence failed to back the claim made for the miniature.³¹ Neither woman

28 Regulations concerning the use of epaulets in effect in the 1780s date back to the Clothing Warrant of 1768. By 1802 some changes had been effected because “for Officers of all other Regiments or Corps of Infantry [epaulets are] to be of Gold or Silver Embroidery or Lace with rich Bullion and Fringe, according to Patterns approved by their respective Colonels;” see Carman, “Regulations, 1802,” p. 207. There is nothing to illustrate the use of stars as badges of rank. The best authority on the subject, N.P. Dawney, writes in *The Distinction of Rank of Regimental Officers, 1684 to 1855*, Society for Army Historical Research Special Publication no. 7 (London, 1960), p. 20 that “the wearing of badges, other than those specifically authorized, continued. These were often in the form of stars and, as today one associates stars on the shoulder-strap with rank badges, there is a tendency to conclude that stars must have had the same significance at the end of the eighteenth century. However, detailed study fails to disclose any such evidence, and these devices can only be explained either as purely decorative, or as badges intended to identify different Regiments.” In the present case, the star cannot be shown to identify the 8th Regiment of Foot because the epaulet in the miniature of the young Isaac Brock (Figure 3) could be expected to show such a decoration as well, but there is no such decoration on the shoulder-strap. The star in figure 6 must be concluded to be an embellishment. The matter is instructive because it shows that regulations can carry the researcher a long way, but not necessarily all the way.

29 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 84, states in the note to that page that “Lieut.-Colonel John Brock...was many years in the 8th, in Canada, during and after the first American war....” Tupper does not give the precise date of John Brock’s return to Europe. According to Charles H. Stewart, *British Regiments in Canada* (Ottawa, 1962), p. 99, the 8th Foot remained in Canada “till September 1785,” at which time it was “relieved by the 65th foot.”

30 *Mail & Empire*, 22 September 1896; clipping in the FitzGibbon notebook.

31 There are repeated complaints in the FitzGibbon notebook about the late Major-General Sir Charles Walker Robinson, KCB (1836-1924), who had been instrumental in securing a copy of the pastel (Figure 13) which served as the model from which Georges Theodore Berthon (1811-1892) did his posthumous portrait of Brock. This work may be viewed in the Lieutenant-Governor’s Suite, Legislative Building, Queen’s Park, Toronto. The notebook also contains two letters from Colonel J. Percy Groves, a well-known military historian and uniform expert at the turn of the century, which indicate that he did not think the miniature a portrait of Brock; see folios 172-78. Recently, Colonel C.P. Stacey, Canada’s foremost military historian, opted for Sir George Gordon Drummond (1771-1854) as the likely subject of the miniature without giving the reasons for his choice; see his article on Brock in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1983), vol. 5, p. 114.

succeeded in producing truly convincing evidence which would have settled the identity of the sitter once and for all. Notwithstanding the disappointing outcome of the efforts of FitzGibbon and Mickle, even today the miniature continues to be treated as a likeness of Brock, the “very perfect knight,” as Lady Edgar, another of his biographers, described her hero.³²

The miniature was for the second half of the nineteenth century in the hands of certainly two members of the Short family of Three Rivers, Quebec, before Mary Agnes FitzGibbon acquired it in 1896. A copyrighted photograph was very quickly published and incorporated in the popular *Cabot Calendar*.³³ Reproductions were included in works about Isaac Brock and the War of 1812 such as Walter R. Nursey’s *The Story of Isaac Brock, Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812* (Toronto, 1908) and, more recently, in Bruce West’s commemorative article on the two-hundredth anniversary of Brock’s birth.³⁴ The latest example of its use is the engraving after the miniature which the States of Guernsey used in its ten pound note.³⁵

The miniature is a portrait on ivory and bears the name “J. Hudson.”³⁶ Efforts to trace this miniaturist have ended in failure.³⁷ The miniature is dated in a very peculiar manner: “18X6.” Gerald S. Hayward (1845-1926), a noted miniaturist, restored and copied the portrait.³⁸ While working on it in 1896, he declared that a “friend” of his “from England has been studying out with me the signature and date as above,” and proceeded to advance the explanation that “the X [was] being used for an O, as we often do now in cheques — thus easily making the figures 18X6, the very time Genl Brock was visiting his friends for the last time before coming out here June 26 1806 — & is so likely to have been persuaded to have it done.”³⁹ The use of “Xs” on cheques is a practice continued even today, but they are used in a pair to denote no pennies. Inquiries made during the last few years with established galleries and dealers failed to elicit any confirmation of this

32 Lady Matilda Edgar, “General Brock’s Portrait,” *The Canadian Magazine* 31, no. 1 (May 1908), p. 265.

33 The photograph was copyrighted in 1896 by L.M. Taylor and published by William Briggs, Toronto. Mary Agnes FitzGibbon and Sara Mickle produced the *Cabot Calendar* which included photographs from portraits of major figures in Canadian history with the avowed aim of fostering patriotism. An example of this calendar has survived in the Library of the Public Archives of Canada.

34 *Globe and Mail*, 7 October 1969. An anniversary stamp utilizing the miniature was issued in Canada for this occasion.

35 The engraver copied so faithfully that he even included the line to be seen near the wing which is in fact a remnant of the damage Gerald S. Hayward had tried to repair; see FitzGibbon notebook, folios 33-35.

36 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 35, Gerald S. Hayward to Sara Mickle, 17 August 1896. The author examined the miniature in the summer of 1984, but did not notice anything unmentioned before.

37 Foskett, *Dictionary*, 1, pp. 342-43, lists a William J.L. Hudson (1779-1834) whom Basil S. Long omits altogether in his *British Miniaturists* (London, 1979). No evidence is at hand to connect J. Hudson with William J. Hudson. The FitzGibbon notebook contains eloquent testimony regarding Mary Agnes FitzGibbon’s failure to track down this particular “J. Hudson.”

38 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 35.

39 *Ibid.*, folio 37. The style of the portrait is a strong argument against the 1806 date because it is very much *à la Wellington*. Such a style may be encountered after Napoleon’s defeat in 1814-15, but not in 1806 when Wellington’s name was hardly a household word. James Shakley, Toronto, was so kind to call this point to my attention. Two recent publications deal peripherally with the question of genuine portraits of Brock but fail to provide even the most nominal trace of any research; see Donald B. Webster, *Georgian Canada, Conflict and Culture, 1745-1820* (Toronto, 1984), p. 193, no. 217; and Charles J. Humber in *Loyal She Remains* (Toronto, 1984), p. 138.

alleged usage.⁴⁰ It must be concluded that Hayward was mistaken. *Summa summarum*, neither signature nor date is of use in giving the miniature a secure documentary foundation. No other markings have been discovered on the miniature.

The Canadian portrait painter J.W.L. Forster (1850-1938), who is well known for his posthumous portraits of Brock, may have come closer to the mark when he suggested "1816" as the more likely reading of this enigmatic date because "a touch of the brush belonging to the painting of it could be made to look like a cross to the 1 without the painter meaning to represent it as a cross."⁴¹ Internal evidence favours this interpretation.

Hayward's allusion to Brock's departure on 26 June 1806 suggests awareness of the relevant passage in Tupper's biography. Should this be so, Hayward evidently missed the element of urgency in the passage which makes it questionable that Brock would have wasted time on so trifling a matter as a portrait when, in his mind, war between Great Britain and the United States could break out any day.⁴²

The case for the miniature being a genuine likeness of Isaac Brock rests essentially on family tradition. The Shorts were connected to the Brock family by marriage. On 30 July 1812, Captain James Brock (1774-1830), Paymaster of the 49th Regiment of Foot and Isaac's cousin, married Susannah Lucy Quirk Short (1792-1859), one of the daughters of the Reverend Robert Quirk Question Short (1760-1827), of Three Rivers, Quebec.⁴³ Susannah Lucy is supposed to have met Brock in 1808. This may have been so, but cannot be verified.⁴⁴ Even if there had been such an encounter, Susannah Lucy would have met a Brock on the verge of forty, a man noticeably older than the officer depicted in the miniature. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was accepted by members of the Short family, the WCHST, and Gerald S. Hayward that the miniature had come from Isaac Brock himself, passing into the possession of James Brock and the latter's widow, Susannah Lucy, who in turn bequeathed it to her sister Susie Matilda (1798-1867); the latter allegedly passed it to her favourite niece, Mrs. Heber Taylor, from whom Mary

40 In 1979-80 and again in 1983, the author corresponded with Sotheby's, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Parker Gallery, all of London, England. None of these institutions knew anything about this alleged practice. A search of various dictionaries and encyclopedias was equally unsuccessful.

41 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 113.

42 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 37.

43 PAC, RG 8, British Military and Naval Records, C series, vol. 206, p. 273.

44 McCord Museum (hereafter MC), "David Ross McCord Correspondence Relating to Collecting Activity, Sir Isaac Brock," C.A. Short to D.R. McCord, 4 October 1894, contains this passage: "I have a volume of Moore's Epistles of the Edition of 1806 which at one time belonged to General Brock and was given by him to his sister-in-law Mrs. James Brock in 1808 and in which his hand is inscribed thus 'Colonel Brock'." Two further letters from Sara Mickle to C.A. Short of 25 October 1897 and 18 November 1897, in the possession of H.D. Short, Kingston, complement the foregoing. Under the last date, Sara Mickle informed her correspondent that she "was delighted to find that you have an undoubtedly authentic relic of Brock. It is not only that, but a proof that he knew Mrs. James Brock four years before her marriage...." The autograph cited above substantiates at most that the book may have been Brock's personal property, but nothing more. This copy was lost shortly after the end of the Second World War according to information from H.D. Short. No such title is listed in "An account of a sale of effects of the late Major General Brock sold at Auction on the 4th of January 1813;" the original of this document is in the Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Library, and a copy in the Library, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. The matter appears to be beyond further inquiry.

Agnes FitzGibbon obtained it nearly three decades later.⁴⁵ In the 1890s, Mrs. Taylor was living in Franklin, New Hampshire, with another Short, the elderly Franklin Mathews, son of John Quirk Short, Deputy General of Military Hospitals during the early nineteenth century.⁴⁶ The recollections of F.M. Short in May 1897 are the chief testimony in support of the miniature's claim as a genuine portrait of Isaac Brock:

When I first came to Canada [he informed Sara Mickle] Mrs. James Brock (my Aunt) was shewing me the photographs & Pictures in her parlor and told me that was the Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock ... Mrs. De Beaumont has not got the Original Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock but has got the portrait of Captain Dunn whom I have seen and I know that is the Portrait of Captain Dunn ... And besides my late Brother John Short, father of Mrs. Taylor & Mrs. de Beaumont always said that the photograph which you have was that of Sir Isaac and besides that again Mrs. Taylor has the portrait of Daniel DeLisle Brock an ancestor of the General's ... which anyone seeing the two together making an allowance for the difference in age would immediately see the strong resemblance between them.⁴⁷

For the sake of clarity, Mrs. James Brock is of course Susannah Lucy Quirk Short, to use her full maiden name. Frederick Mathews Short reiterated his conviction that the "photograph" was a portrait of Sir Isaac Brock barely one week after his original deposition: "I do not think it possible to give you more positive evidence of the identity of the picture which you have — I do not think there is any person now living who can positively identify the Picture. All that any of us can say is what we have been told by those who are supposed to know better——"⁴⁸ Mrs. Heber Taylor, niece of F.M. Short, added her voice to the memories of the past. On 6 May 1897 she had assured Sara Mickle that her aunt, Mrs. Dunn, née Susie Matilda Short, had "had no interest in making a false statement relative to the Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, and I may also say, neither had I ... I now say as I have always said and firmly believe the Portrait I sent ... is the Portrait of Sir Isaac Brock."⁴⁹ The FitzGibbon notebook includes an additional declaration by Mrs.

45 It seems self-evident that the miniature would have been in Brock's possession first if it was a genuine portrait. The following documents point to this assumption; PAC, Picture Division, Brock file 207-33, Helen Drurie [President, WCHST] to PAC, received 3 October 1962, headed "Chronology of the Miniature of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock by J. Hudson, 1806," citing Mary Agnes FitzGibbon; FitzGibbon notebook, folio 49 and folio 37, Gerald S. Hayward to Sara Mickle, 17 August [1896]. In the present context it is worth pointing out that Hayward thought the medal in the miniature might be a portrayal of one awarded to Brock for his participation in the battle of Egmont-op-Zee on 2 October 1799. Tupper makes no such claim, nor is there any evidence that such a medal was ever issued, at least according to numerous books on medals which were fruitlessly consulted.

46 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 74, states explicitly: "Mr. F.W. Short is living with Mrs. Taylor." Frederick Mathews Short was the son of John Quirk Short's second marriage; he was baptised on 16 May 1830 in Bristol, England. H.D. Short kindly supplied this information. According to various notes in the FitzGibbon notebook, folios 73-75, he was "about 75 years old" in 1897, having come to Canada when "about 16 years old" or, in Short's own words, when he was "a mere boy." The existing record indicates that Short himself was not too certain about his correct age; it further appears that he came to Canada during the late 1840s. Such a dating raises another question; see *infra*, n. 55.

47 FitzGibbon notebook, folios 73-75, F.M. Short to Sara Mickle, 18 May 1897.

48 *Ibid.*, folios 139-41, F.M. Short to Sara Mickle, 26 May 1897.

49 *Ibid.*, folio 83, Lucy M. Taylor to Sara Mickle, 6 May 1897.

Heber Taylor (some of her letters are signed with her own first names Lucy Maude instead of her divorced husband's name Heber) which for all its repetitiveness is worth quoting in full:

My Aunt Mrs. Dunn always valued the portrait sold to Miss Mickle & affirmed that it was a portrait of Sir Isaac Brock. I knew it to be his portrait before it came into my possession.

I know what my Aunt told me, and have no reason to doubt her word. Many many years my Aunt cherished the portrait of Sir Isaac Brock.

I have been told by those who knew & had seen Sir Isaac Brock that the portrait sold to Miss Mickle was an excellent likeness of the General.⁵⁰

There is even a brief note confirming that Mrs. Taylor had in fact owned a miniature. A certain Mrs. Louisa Foster advised Sara Mickle in May 1897 that she remembered “very distinctly seeing the miniature of Sir Isaac Brock in Mrs. Heber Taylor’s possession some years ago,” to which Sara Mickle made this comment: “Mrs. Foster knew Mrs. Taylor in Brockville in 1872. As soon as the Calendar [that is the *Cabot Calendar*] came out, she sent me a message to say she remembered the portrait & to ask how in the world I managed to get a hold of it.”⁵¹

Such is the evidence, and it is not flawless. The “photograph” F.M. Short spoke of was of course the miniature. This was a minor slip and he promptly corrected the error.⁵² More serious is his faulty description of Daniel de Lisle as an “ancestor” of Isaac Brock’s when Daniel and Isaac were brothers. Short does not add anything of substance by calling on his “late Brother John Short” as a witness because John was born in Edinburgh in 1811 and did not come to Canada before 1825. If John Short had ever possessed any papers capable of shedding light on the mystery of the miniature, they did not survive until the end of the nineteenth century — and F.M. Short must have known this; after all, he and Mrs. Heber Taylor were living in the same house, and it was the latter who wrote that she had “no letter or writing of my late Father. My father had many ... papers relating to the family.... My sisters ... destroyed all papers & letters. I was in Texas at the time, and my sisters said they did not want such matter.”⁵³ F.M. Short’s reliance on Mrs. James Brock’s testimony, as he related it, is also to be treated with caution.

Yet these objections are not strong enough to overthrow all of Short’s recollections. It is, however, quite clear that, with the possible exception of Susannah Lucy, the wife of James Brock, and her sister Susie Matilda, no single witness is named by F.M. Short whose testimony can be confirmed to be based on first-hand knowledge. A phrase such as “those who knew & had seen Sir Isaac Brock” without any concrete details is worthless as evidence. Too much hinges, too, upon the assumptions that F.M. Short remembered correctly the incident with the widow of James Brock, but was shown the right portrait by her (if there was one), and that he referred to the same work virtually half a century later. On the other hand, Short was well served by his memory regarding the portrait of

50 *Ibid.*, folio 77, undated declaration by Lucy M. Taylor. This note leaves no doubt that Mrs. Heber Taylor thought Sara Mickle the purchaser of the miniature when in fact Mickle was only involved in the discovery and subsequent research.

51 *Ibid.*, folios 140-41, K. Louisa Foster to Sara Mickle, 26 May 1897.

52 *Ibid.*, folio 74.

53 *Ibid.*, folio 139, Extract of letter from Mrs. Taylor to [Mary Agnes FitzGibbon?], 26 May 1897.

Captain Dunn, as will be seen in due course. It is of course clear that he could have seen Captain Dunn, but not Isaac Brock. Moreover, it is a fact that Miss FitzGibbon's far-flung research at the end of the nineteenth century, which led her all the way to London and Guernsey, did not succeed in securing evidence other than the testimony of people who could not have seen Isaac Brock because they were born after his death.⁵⁴

The sisters Susannah Lucy and Susie Matilda Short (widows respectively of James Brock and George Dunn) made last wills and testaments. The widow of James Brock made testaments in November 1849 and again in June 1857; she added a codicil a few days before her death on 23 March 1859. None of these documents includes the word "miniature," let alone a direct mention of a miniature portrait of Sir Isaac Brock.⁵⁵ In turn, Mrs. Brock's sister, Susie Matilda, later Mrs. George Dunn, is said to have left the painting to her niece, Mrs. Heber Taylor, by "codicil dated Nov. 14th 1867."⁵⁶ The transcript of the codicil in the FitzGibbon notebook speaks of a "silver tray," and unspecified "household effects," but otherwise there is again silence.⁵⁷ Such silence is in remarkable contrast to the distinct aura of veneration surrounding anything to do with Brock to be noticed in these letters of long ago.

There is also an incident which tends to shed a curious light on Mrs. Heber Taylor. In 1894, David Ross McCord of Montreal, the founder of the museum which bears his name, wrote to the Short family asking for relics of Brock. Eventually he obtained direct contact with Mrs. Heber Taylor. She informed him three times of the relics in her possession — first in May 1895, then in November, and finally in January 1896. Her last letter contains the most detail:

Your favor Dec 27th I duly received and in reply would say I think it more satisfactory to you as well as to me were you to come to see the articles in question all of which I received from my Aunt Mrs. Brock, Widdow [sic] of the late Capt. Brock Who was Heir to General Brock Estate and who

54 One example from the FitzGibbon notebook will suffice. On folio 165 is an extract from a letter written by a Mrs. Guille of Guernsey dated 17 June 1897. This lady stated that from her "nearly 70 years knowledge of Brocks I fully recognized the resemblance of the miniature." It is evident that she never saw the living Isaac Brock; besides, the point at issue is not mere "resemblance," but identity.

55 Archives nationales du Québec, Montréal, "Register of Wills," vol. 8, 1850-1863, nos. 547-678. The numbers for the relevant transcripts are 612 and 626, folios 146-197. The FitzGibbon notebook has an entry on folio 59 indicating that Miss FitzGibbon was aware of the contents of the two wills. Certainly during the last decade of her life, Mrs. James Brock spent several years in England. To establish a precise chronology appears no longer feasible as extensive correspondence with several libraries and archives in London has shown. Thus, the question whether F.M. Short was possibly confused in his recollection at least with regard to the time Mrs. James Brock showed him the miniature cannot be settled.

56 PAC, Picture Division, Brock file 207-33, Helen Drurie to PAC, received 3 October 1962, headed "Chronology of the Miniature of General Sir Isaac Brock by J. Hudson, 1806," citing Mary Agnes FitzGibbon.

57 FitzGibbon notebook, folios 61-71. The originals of the testaments and codicils Mrs. George Dunn made are deposited in the Archives nationales du Québec, Centre régional de Trois-Rivières, cote: P. Hubert M-143, dated and numbered 13 January 1865, no. 4,804; 13 September 1867, no. 5,097; 14 November 1867, no. 5,109; and 4 January 1868, no. 5,120. In none of these documents could a single reference to Sir Isaac Brock and/or his alleged miniature portrait be located. However, the last codicil included a mention of a "picture representing the fall of Niagara." The writer greatly appreciates the help afforded him by Henri Serdongs, Montreal, in locating these documents and those mentioned *supra*, n. 55.

informed me they were the property of General Brock. At the time of the General's death the sword was unbuckled from his side & sent to his nephew Capt. Brock.⁵⁸

Mrs. Taylor speaks further of an "after-dinner Coffee & Tea set," a "Tea pot," of a chain, earlier described as one of "gold," and a portrait of Daniel de Lisle Brock. At the end of the letter she remarks that her sister, whose name she does not give, had "had many articles of the silver. She has disposed of all to whom I do not know."⁵⁹

The reader will note a certain measure of agreement in the statements made by F.M. Short and Mrs. Taylor. Both speak of a portrait of Daniel de Lisle Brock, and both had agreed in their previously quoted statements on the existence of a miniature. But now it appears that Mrs. Heber Taylor was asserting that she had inherited some relics directly from the "Widdow[sic] of the late Capt. Brock." It seems she was confused. Her name is not mentioned in the 1857 testament of James Brock's widow, but the 1867 codicil made out by the sister, the widow of George Dunn, states that "Lucy Short, wife of Heber Taylor" was to have the ownership of a "silver tray." There are other errors in this letter. James Brock was not Isaac's heir, but simply one of the administrators of his estate in Canada. Major Glegg's letter referred to earlier does not confirm the story of the sword.⁶⁰ Most puzzling of all is what seems to be a secretive attitude on Mrs. Taylor's part. She told McCord nothing about the miniature and remained equally silent to Sara Mickle on the subject of the alleged Brock sword, though she knew that both correspondents would have been most interested in those relics. There may have been good reason for her behaviour, but a century later her motives are obscure.

The miniature itself provides the chief arguments against the claim that it is a genuine portrait of Isaac Brock. Major-General Sir Charles W. Robinson advanced the obvious argument that it could not be a portrait of Brock because the uniform was that of an "officer of the lower rank."⁶¹ A uniform expert of the time, Colonel J. Percy Groves, thought the miniature was the portrait of an "officer of either a) the Light, or b) the Grenadier Company of a 'Royal' Regiment." After due consideration of the pros and cons, he settled in favour of the 8th Foot, one of the Royal Regiments and the regiment in which, as already noted, both Isaac and John Brock had begun their military careers.⁶² Colonel Groves concluded, too, that the medal with its blue-edged scarlet ribbon was a rendering of the Waterloo Medal, overlooking momentarily that the 8th Foot was in Canada as late as June 1815 and that none of its officers were present at that battle.⁶³ The logic of the evidence demands that the miniature, in order to be acceptable as a genuine portrayal of the sitter, should be of an officer in a Royal Regiment which was involved in

58 MC, L.M. Taylor to D.R. McCord, 6 January 1896.

59 Mrs. Taylor may have been referring to her sister Georgina. According to family tradition Georgina went to market one day and sold the family silver, including some said to have come from Isaac Brock. According to the list in the Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Library, mentioned *supra*, n. 44, James Brock did acquire some cutlery from Isaac Brock's estate, so that the story could have some foundation.

60 Kosche, "Relics," p. 79, John B. Glegg to William Brock, 30 December 1813.

61 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 79.

62 *Ibid.*, folios 177-78. Fairness to Colonel Groves requires a full citation of the relevant passage: "It is very probable the uniform is that of the Light (or Grenadier) company of the 8th; but it *might* equally be that of any 'Royal' regiment, the officers of which had their coats *laced* with gold."

63 Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call*, (1904; rev. reprinted, London, 1971), is probably the most convenient source for establishing who was at the Battle of Waterloo.

the fighting raging in Belgium 16-18 June 1815. For the reader not acquainted with the complexities of British Army uniforms, all the Royal Regiments had blue facings, lapels, cuffs, and collars as depicted in the miniature. Moreover, the sitter should have been an officer entitled or obliged to wear wings as a distinction of rank. (A wing can be recognized by its location: it is above the seam joining the sleeve to the coat and covers the shoulder from front to rear; figure 7 shows a very fine specimen of a wing.) Last, but by no means least, such a person should have been someone whose portrait could reasonably have come into the hands of the Short family.

The matter of the medal in the portrait justifies further consideration. Two of Brock's uniforms have survived. One is a dress coatee, now in the McCord Museum, and the other is a plain coatee (the one in which he was killed at Queenston Heights on 13 October 1812) on display at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa.⁶⁴ Both coatees are those of a brigadier-general, an "appointment rather than a rank" as Colonel Stacey has pointed out; Brock held this distinction from 1808 until 1811.⁶⁵ It can be estimated that he wore these tunics for about four years. The plain coatee is marked by signs of heavy wear around the cuffs, collar, and skirts. Consequently, had Brock been awarded a medal, it is reasonable to think that he would have worn such a decoration with his uniforms. In all likelihood the pin used to secure the ribbon holding the medal to the uniform would have caused small holes in the course of time. There might also have been less fading of those parts covered by such a medal and ribbon. But marks of this kind are not found on his surviving coatees, so that Brock's own garments contradict the claim that he is the officer in the miniature. Nor did any of the eyewitnesses who had seen Brock ever mention anything about Brock wearing a medal. Thus, the depiction of a medal in the miniature is convincing evidence that the sitter was not Brock.⁶⁶

In his analysis of the uniform in the miniature, Colonel Groves paid much attention to the wing on the left shoulder. He wrote Miss FitzGibbon of his inability to inform her of "the year when 'wings' were adopted by Light-Infantry officers, but they certainly wore them as early as 1799."⁶⁷ He was not far off the mark because the Dress Regulations of 26 May 1798 prescribe "Scarlet Wings for Grenadiers and Lt. Infantry with Bullion and Fringe besides Epaulettes."⁶⁸ But regulations then, as today, are often more honoured in the breach than observance. The Dress Regulations of 1822 (revised and corrected in 1826) demonstrate the point: "Much inconvenience having arisen from the practice of Colonels and Commanding Officers taking upon themselves to alter the Ornaments and Appointments of Regimental Officers...."⁶⁹ Differently stated, precise identification of uniforms of the late 1700s and early 1800s is not always feasible. In the present instance, the Dress Regulation of 24 December 1811 may be of assistance: "Field Officers of Fusileers and Light Infantry Corps ... are to wear wings in addition to their epaulettes."⁷⁰

64 Photographs of these coatees are included in Kosche, "Relics," p. 81-86.

65 C.P. Stacey, "Sir Isaac Brock," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1983), vol. 5, p. 111.

66 The author's statements are based on personal examination of both coatees. The fact that Brock was awarded a knighthood, but never knew of it, needs no elaboration in the present context. The Archives of Ontario, William Gilkison MSS, pkg. 4, has a chromolithograph by J.D. Kelly after William Gilkison showing Brock with the Order of the Bath; that is, of course, an imaginary depiction.

67 Fitzgibbon notebook, folio 173.

68 Carman, "Regulations, 1802," p. 205.

69 *Regulations for the Dress of General, Staff, and Regimental Officers....* (revised and corrected) 25th December, 1826 (London, 1827), p. 2.

70 Percy Sumner, "Officers' Dress Regulations, 1811," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 22 (1943/44), p. 340.

Accordingly, officers in a fusilier regiment or a light infantry corps might wear a combination of epaulet and wing. One such corps was the 23rd Regiment of Foot, the Royal Welch Fusiliers. The regimental history by Cary and McCance includes a helpful paraphrase of the regulations applicable to the Regiment in 1810, according to which officers of “the flank companies ... wore a wing on each shoulder.”⁷¹

Officers of this period wore shoulder sword belts from which, as the designation implies, the sword was suspended. The centre of the belt was ornamented by a shoulder-belt plate made of metal and having an oval or rectangular shape. This plate was marked with the regimental device and number. The 8th Regiment of Foot had a horse as its emblem, whereas the Royal Welch Fusiliers boasted the three feathers of the Prince of Wales’ plume.⁷² Unfortunately the sitter is without such a belt and its plate. Nor do the buttons bear any design or number indicative of the regiment, as is fortunately true of the one button in the miniature portrait of Lt. Col. John Brock (Figure 4). The decoration in the centre of the wing is most tantalizing: though it is shaped like a star, it is difficult to determine what it represents. Given the lack of precision there is no choice but to treat this decoration as an embellishment. The colours in the miniature correspond with those of the uniforms of officers of the 23rd Foot: scarlet for the coatee, blue for the facings, lapels, cuffs, and collar and gold for the lace, buttons, and embroidery.⁷³ One not uncommon peculiarity was the showing of what was called “light” between the lace forming a loop, that is a sequence of gold, a slim strip of blue, and gold once more. This was the practice of the 23rd as well as of the 49th Foot, and this “light” is very noticeable in the upper loops in the lapel shown in the miniature.⁷⁴ All in all, internal evidence together with contemporary dress regulations permit a tentative identification of the tunic in the miniature as one which an officer in the Royal Welch Fusiliers could have worn towards the end of the Napoleonic period.

It is now necessary to consider the provenance of this miniature. James Brock’s marriage to Susannah Lucy Short has already been mentioned. This relationship would of course supply an acceptable explanation why a portrait presumed to be of Sir Isaac Brock could have ended up with the Short family.⁷⁵ Yet a marriage of Susie Matilda Short, the sister of Susannah Lucy, deserves more than fleeting attention. In June 1845 she married for the second time; her new husband was 1st Lieutenant George Dunn, Paymaster of the 23rd Regiment of Foot.

71 A.D.L. Cary and S. McCance, *Regimental Records of the Royal Welch Fusiliers (Late the 23rd Foot)* (London, 1921), vol. 2, p. 350.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 351. H.G. Parkyn, *Shoulder-Belt Plates and Buttons* (Aldershot, 1956) discusses the regiments mentioned in the text on pp. 94-96. It is the standard work on the subject. There are also several articles on Parkyn’s speciality in the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*.

73 *Supra*, n. 71.

74 *Ibid.*; see also Percy Sumner, “The Royal Berkshire Regiment (49th and 66th),” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 18 (1939), p. 123, n. 1. The colour of the light is naturally determined by that of the background material, that is blue for the 23rd Foot and green for the 49th Regiment.

75 A secondary reason is that in 1812 James Brock was the only family member serving with Isaac Brock in Canada. This would explain why in later years the family on Guernsey believed that “James Brock ... had a number of things belonging to Brock that were never to their knowledge sent home” as recorded in the FitzGibbon notebook, folio 95. There is no evidence to support such a belief; rather, it suggests unawareness of the explanation offered in Major Glegg’s letter, *supra*, n. 60. Nor has the writer found anything to indicate that the family knew that the greatest part of Isaac Brock’s possessions had been sold to his successor, Major-General Roger Sheaffe and the remainder auctioned on 4 January 1813, *supra*, n. 44.

Very little is known of George Dunn. Cary and McCance mention him three times in their regimental history. Dunn joined the 23rd Foot in March 1814, and 1815 he fought at Waterloo with No. 8 Company. According to H.G. Hart's *New Army List* (October, 1840), Dunn also commanded the ladder party of the Royal Welch Fusiliers when Cambrai was captured on 23 June 1815, and barely two weeks later he was present at the capture of Paris. In the *Army Lists* his name is marked with the "W" in Gothic script which identifies all those officers who fought at Waterloo and in Belgium in general 16-18 June 1815. On 16 April 1817, Dunn was placed on half-pay, and nearly fourteen years later, in March 1831, he became the paymaster of the regiment. In 1839, he seems to have thought of retiring from the service; the officers "stationed at Castlebar presented Paymaster and Lieutenant George Dunn with a handsome snuff-box as a mark of their regard," as the regimental history recorded.⁷⁶ In the event, he changed his mind and continued to serve with the Royal Welch Fusiliers. He followed the regiment to Canada in the early 1840s; there he met Susie Matilda Wallace née Short. He married her on 23 June 1845 in Three Rivers.⁷⁷ He died six years later.⁷⁸

One branch of the Short family owns an oil portrait of a British Army officer (Figure 8). It is neither signed nor dated and is without any other identifying marks.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, it is badly slashed near the sitter's right collar. But this shortcoming is more than compensated for by the remarkably easy identification of the portrait. The Prince of Wales' plume in the belt buckle is so clear that there is no doubt that it is the device of the Royal Welch Fusiliers.⁸⁰

Other details in the portrait permit a relatively close dating. The high, stiff "Prussian" type of collar was initially introduced in 1821, but the "two loops of regimental lace embroidery" found sanction only in 1829.⁸¹ These features remained in effect for years, so that the 1834 Dress Regulations offer a precise description of the uniform coatee worn at the time:

Infantry of the Line.

Coatee — scarlet, with two rows of uniform buttons, ten in each row, in pairs, or at equal distances, according to regimental pattern; Prussian collar, with two loops and small uniform buttons at each

76 Cary and McCance, *Regimental Records of the Royal Welch Fusiliers*, vol. 2, p. 34. Another reference to George Dunn is on p. 5; and vol. 1, p. 271 has the first mention of his name. Norman Holme and E.L. Kirbie, *Medal Rolls 23rd Foot — Royal Welch Fusiliers Napoleonic Period* (London, 1978), p. 48, has a brief entry on his military career. The author would like to acknowledge the help afforded him by Norman Holme, Esq., on several occasions.

77 Copy of "original entry in the register of Baptism, Marriages and Burials of and for St. James Church, Three Rivers...." The author acknowledges with pleasure the help J.I. Davies, Montreal, extended in furnishing him with a copy of this document.

78 Holme, *Medal Rolls*, p. 48. Inquiries aimed at determining the precise date, place, and circumstances of Lieutenant Dunn's death have remained without result.

79 The author wishes to thank Michael Pantazzi, Assistant Curator, National Gallery of Canada, for his examination of the portrait in September 1983.

80 Norme Holme, Esq., Assistant Curator, Regimental Museum, The Royal Welch Fusiliers, concurred in the identification of the uniform as one of an officer of the Fusiliers in a letter to the author dated 14 October 1983.

81 W.Y. Carman, *British Military Uniforms from Contemporary Pictures* (New York, 1957), p. 122; in 1834 the regiment's officers were ordered to have on their uniform collars "two gold lace loops and buttons at each end," according to Cary and McCance, *Regimental Records of the Royal Welch Fusiliers*, vol. 2, p. 357.

end; plain round cuff, two inches and three quarters deep; scarlet slashed flap on the sleeve, with four loops and small buttons; ... the collar and cuffs are to be of the colour established for the facing of each regiment; the loops on the collar and flaps are to be gold lace or embroidery, according to the respective pattern established for each regiment....⁸²

The same dress regulations prescribe the use of epaulets and wings by officers of fusilier regiments. Field officers were to wear epaulets identical with the pattern allotted to the field officers of the infantry of the line, whereas wings applied to all other officers of a fusilier regiment. The pattern was to be identical with that used by the "Grenadier Officers of the Line."⁸³ These wings for grenadier officers had a "grenade on the centre plate;" they are prominently displayed on the shoulder-straps shown as part of the uniform in the portrait.⁸⁴

Still another paragraph of the 1834 Dress Regulation determines that paymasters were to use "black waist-belts with slings under the coatee."⁸⁵ The degree of agreement between the uniform details displayed in the painting and those set out in the official regulations is remarkable, whether in the placement of the buttons, the decorations on the cuffs, or the waist-belt.⁸⁶ Thus, the 1834 Dress Regulations remove all doubt about the right of a paymaster in a fusilier regiment to wear wings with the grenadier's badge: he was entitled to this distinction of rank.

Another item of interest is the grip of the sword. Precision is once again the dominating element. The seven windings of wire accord with those on the grip of the pattern 1822 infantry officer's sword, as does the absence of a tang button above the pommel, a detail found in the 1845 pattern sword.⁸⁷

All these particulars make it possible to date this portrait with a fair degree of accuracy. It is likely to have been done between the middle and the late 1830s.

The medal in this portrait of an officer of the Royal Welch Fusiliers differs from the one shown in the miniature in that it depicts the reverse instead of the obverse as is customary. The identifiable details in the medal as it was painted correspond with those found in the medals which were actually issued. The scroll can be detected without difficulty and so can the figure of Victory with head, wings, and right leg, especially under magnification. Both the miniature and this oil show the identical suspension clasp which differs from the ring with which the medal was initially issued. But there are also differences between these two portraits. The miniature has the correct red ribbon with blue edging whereas the one in the oil lacks the edging colour. Furthermore, the medal

82 *Regulations for the Dress of General, Staff, and Regimental Officers of the Army... 1834* (London, 1835), p. 137.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 138.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

86 The black waist-belt is an instructive example of the complexities which may be found in matters of military dress. In 1823 such a belt was introduced for the officers, RWFs, abolished in April 1829, when it was replaced by a "white patent-leather cross-belt," yet a few years later a black belt is once again part of the uniform of "Regimental Staff Officers;" see Cary and McCance, *Regimental Records of the Royal Welch Fusiliers*, vol. 2, pp. 354-56.

87 Brian Robson, *Swords of the British Army: the Regulation Patterns, 1788-1914* (London, 1975), pp. 115 and 117.

with which the officer of the 23rd Foot is decorated appears to be gilded when it should have a silvery appearance as in the miniature. While the gilding and the lack of the edging colour in the ribbons do not accord with regulations, nonetheless the artist's portrayal of these details reflects undoubtedly what he actually saw. His demonstrated penchant for accuracy amply justifies such a view. These differences probably mean nothing more than the use of an incorrect ribbon because the earlier one had worn out or faded too much and a proper replacement may not have been at hand, just as simple pride in having been at Waterloo may account for the gilding of the medal and displaying the reverse of the medal, with the sign of Victory to be seen instead of the head of the monarch.

The Waterloo Medal which George Dunn was awarded still exists (Figures 9 and 9a). In 1979, an English militaria dealer offered it for sale; it was bought by a dealer in Montreal, in whose possession it still is. It is a matter of regret that the seller was unable to supply any information regarding his source and other relevant details.⁸⁸

Family tradition is not always a trustworthy guide; it is wise to check it thoroughly. In the present case this has been possible. George Dunn was an English officer who married into the Short family, reason enough why his portrait should have come into the hands of his in-laws. As has been shown, the details of dress as rendered in the portrait are in general accordance with official regulations. This identification fits with Frederick Mathews Short's recollection that there was a "Portrait of Captain Dunn," and this is further confirmed by the recollection of a present-day member of the Short family (according to whom the portrait had been in the family) that it was the "portrait" he had mentioned.⁸⁹ It seems almost unavoidable to have agreement to the extent that there "does not seem any doubt that this portrait is of Capt. Geo. Dunn."⁹⁰ Given these facts there can be no further hesitation in accepting this painting as a genuine portrait of 1st Lieutenant George Dunn of the Royal Welch Fusiliers.

Matters stand differently with the miniature of figure 7. There is, of course, no reason to question the good faith of the late Mrs. Heber Taylor and that of Frederick Mathews Short. Nevertheless, the available documentary evidence does not bear out their statements. All internal and circumstantial evidence virtually compels the conclusion that this miniature is the portrait of another officer, but definitely not of Sir Isaac Brock.⁹¹

Whose portrait is it then? Both the painting and this miniature have certain elements in common. Their provenance is identical. The uniform has been tentatively identified as possibly that of an officer in the 23rd Foot and the medal as a Waterloo Medal. Both portraits show the same longish face instead of the rather squarish shape noticeable in the miniature of the young Isaac and in the portraits of his brothers John Savery and Daniel de Lisle in their more advanced years. Bearing on the same point is the consideration that the facial features in the miniature suggest a man in his late twenties, and in 1816 George Dunn was twenty-six years old. The face is not that of a man approaching forty, as Brock was in 1806.

88 Charles A. Lusted, Tunbridge Wells, *Catalogue No. 123*, p. 15, entry BM 6, letter 6 February 1984: "...this item was bought in the normal course of business, and after all this time, we can't really remember anything about it."

89 *Supra*, n. 47.

90 Letter H.D. Short to the author, 27 November 1983.

91 *Supra*, n. 31; Colonel C.P. Stacey's suggestion that the miniature might be a portrait of Sir George Gordon Drummond raises, above all, the question why the Shorts should have had such a likeness.

Is it possible that this miniature is another portrait of George Dunn? The question is asked with much caution given the fact that the testaments and codicils of his widow are silent on the subject. But it may be asserted with much greater confidence that this small portrait was executed within a year, or at most, a year-and-a-half of the Battle of Waterloo. To George Dunn, participation in that historic event may well have been the height of his military career, and if that was so would it not have been worthy of some small memento?

THE OIL PORTRAIT

This painting (Figure 10) differs substantially from the miniatures just examined. It is a full length oil measuring 49 × 33.5 cm within the frame.⁹² This portrait is unsigned, undated, and without markings which help identify the subject or artist. The work shows the subject, an officer, at full length. He is attired in the characteristic scarlet uniform of the British Army with dark blue cuffs and facings. Deserving of attention is the scarlet collar with a golden loop and a button at its end. The epaulet on the officer's right shoulder as well as all buttons and lace are shown in gold or gilt. Overall, the style of the coat appears to be in keeping with that of the late-eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The background of the picture is enlivened not only by the presence of a landscape, but also by the addition of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. On the officer's left, a cannon covered by the Union Jack strengthens the impression of martial vigour which the artist very obviously tried to convey. Except for the officer's height, the effect of which is enhanced by his right hand resting on his sword-hilt, there is nothing directly reminiscent of Brock. The fact that this portrait was on Guernsey lends the claim that it is another likeness of Brock the aura of verisimilitude. Even so, it is with much difficulty that a very meagre outline of the history of this painting can be put together.

There is not even the vaguest hint in the nineteenth century sources that the existence of this particular work was known in Guernsey. This is easily demonstrated by a brief reference taken from a letter written by Henrietta Tupper, the daughter of the "eldest son of the general's elder sister" and with her sister, Emilia, the future donor of the coatees now in Montreal and Ottawa.⁹³ In 1897, she stated that she knew only of a "bronze profile & of two miniatures" (the latter will be considered below as figures 13 and 14).⁹⁴ Fifteen years earlier, Colonel C.W. Robinson had come to exactly the same conclusion.⁹⁵ It is only in the course of the twentieth century that a very limited public was made aware of this portrait in oil. The reader will recall the newspaper report about the unveiling of a plaque affixed to the house in which Brock had been born. That article had included a photograph of this particular oil, but without any direct statement saying that it was thought to be a likeness of Brock.⁹⁶ That was in 1934. Five years later, the Reverend Percy Sumner, a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Journal of the Society for*

92 PAC, Picture Division, report OP-84-11, 20 February 1984, gives slightly different measurements in cm: (H) 50.8 (W) 35.4 (T) 1.8.

93 Edgar, "Portrait," p. 263, Henrietta Tupper to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 25 January 1882. Differently stated, the eldest son was F.B. Tupper.

94 MC, Henrietta Tupper to David Ross McCord, 14 April 1897.

95 Edgar, "Portrait," p. 265, Colonel Charles W. Robinson to John Beverley Robinson, 18 April 1882: "There are only two pictures in existence, Mrs. Tupper's ... and Mrs. Huyshe's ... and which is evidently only a copy.... There is also an uncolored likeness (bronze). This is also in profile."

96 *Supra*, n. 16.

Army Historical Research, used an identical photograph to illustrate a short note about the Museum of the Royal Berkshire Regiment. His remarks are worth repeating:

Among the portraits the most interesting is a photograph of an oil painting, sold some little time ago in Guernsey: a full-length one of General Sir Isaac Brock ... evidently in the uniform of a captain of the 49th Foot, c. 1792 ... The facings are dark (full green) with (gold) lace loops at equal distances.⁹⁷

This photograph was reproduced in sepia so the viewer cannot see the real colours of the portrait itself. Sumner was in all probability referring to regimental regulations rather than to the actual painting. It is important to realize this distinction because his text can be misconstrued as indicating the actual colours in the portrait.⁹⁸

In the same year, 1939, Dr. J.C. Webster published the catalogue listed in full in footnote ten. Among the several entries in the section on General Brock is the one numbered 176, which refers to a photograph identical with the one published in the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* except that it is handpainted as shown by the notation "crayon col. drawing." The coat is incorrectly identified as that of a "General," and quite understandably a date of 1812 was assigned. The coloured photograph is described as a "Copy of original in Guernsey by unknown artist." The most that can be done with this information is to conclude that the "drawing" was done when Dr. Webster was actively collecting during the preceding three decades and that it had been prepared from the actual oil. In contradiction of Sumner's description, the facings, cuffs, and rosettes are not shown in the "full green" colour of the 49th Foot, but in dark blue!

Owing to a very fortunate circumstance, it was learned in 1982 that the original painting was in Ottawa and that it had been in the possession of the Pitfield family for a considerable time.⁹⁹ Thanks to the generous cooperation of the present Senator Michael Pitfield, the portrait was examined and photographed in August 1983. Examination under ultra-violet and infra-red light revealed selective cleaning, re-positioning of the right arm, and a complete lack of inscriptions. Most important, the facings and cuff were definitely identified as being blue not full green.¹⁰⁰ This examination was repeated by the Public Archives of Canada, and its results confirm the earlier findings.¹⁰¹

97 Percy Sumner, "The Royal Berkshire Regiment (49 and 66th)," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 18 (1939), p. 123.

98 *Supra*, no. 12. The colours for the 49th Foot were scarlet for the coatee, full green for the facings, lapels, cuffs, and collar and gold for the officers' epaulets and lace.

99 The author is much indebted to Dr. A. Earp, President, Brock University, for informing him of the location of the portrait.

100 On 10 August 1983, Michael Pantazzi, Assistant Curator, National Gallery of Canada, examined this portrait for the author. His assistance on this occasion is deeply appreciated.

101 PAC, Picture Division, report OP-84-11, 20 February 1984; this report also noted "extensive overpainting," including the facial area. It is beyond the author's competence to comment upon the possibility or impossibility of restorative work in order to bring back the original face, interesting though such work would be.

At that time, February 1984, it was also learned that the PAC had a bound typescript entitled "List of Paintings, Engravings, and Prints. W.C. Pitfield Collection." This list is dated 1930 and includes the following entry:

Major General Brock.

Full length, dressed in full uniform sword in right hand slightly to r, looking to front.

Oil painting. 19½ × 13½.¹⁰²

From this entry, together with the date of the "List," it must be concluded that this portrait has been in Canada since before 1930. It follows that the reproduction in the Guernsey newspaper must have been from a photograph taken earlier and that Sumner's phrase "sold some little time ago in Guernsey" leaves little doubt that he was not aware of the year in which this painting was sold. It also shows that the "crayon col. drawing" correctly shows the facings and cuffs of the uniform in blue, though previous to the examinations, this colouring clearly had to be looked upon as incorrect because blue was not the colour of the 49th Foot.

In this painting various details merit analysis, if only to demonstrate how much a painting or artifact can tell provided the questioner keeps an open mind, shows patience, and takes nothing for granted. The shoulder-belt plate is one such detail. These plates were decorated with the wearer's regimental device and number. This type of detail is frequently identifiable in paintings. The button in figure 4, the portrait of Lieutenant John Brock, is a happy illustration of the kind of clue that may be found. Regrettably, this does not hold true of this oil. It is worth noting, however, that from 1790 to about 1812 the officers of the 49th Foot had an oval not a rectangular belt plate as shown in the oil.¹⁰³

The Dress Regulations of 4 May 1796 devote an entire paragraph to an insignia of rank, the gorget and rosettes:

The Gorget is to be of the same Size and Form throughout the Gilt with the King's Cypher and Crown over it engraved on the Middle, and to be worn with a Ribbon and Tuft or Rosette at each end of the Colour of the Facings of the Regiment or Corps, excepting those which are faced black, who are to wear them with a Red Ribbon. The Gorget to be fastened to the Upper Button and the lower part of it not to come below the 5th button.¹⁰⁴

The painting shows that the gorget does not come below the loops of the third button from above. The colour of the rosettes is exactly as prescribed by the regulations, namely blue.¹⁰⁵

The uniform coat is shown as having a scarlet collar. An error by the artist is unlikely because he did not fail to include even so minute a detail as the rectangular loop of golden

102 See folio 6 of the typescript; Senator Pitfield told the author that the catalogue was prepared by Norman Fee of the PAC and that at the time the portrait was evidently accepted as a genuine likeness of Brock. The kindness of Diane Tardif-Coté, PAC, Picture Division, in drawing my attention to this catalogue is deeply appreciated.

103 Parkyn, *Shoulder-Belt Plates*, p. 237; see also the plates on p. 239 which show rectangular plates worn after 1812.

104 Carman, "Regulations, 1802," p. 211.

105 This important detail was confirmed on 20 February 1984 when the PAC conservator examined the portrait under stereo light amplification.

or gilt lace with a button of the same colour. In 1795, two so-called "Regiments of People of Colour" were formed in the West Indies, and their officers' uniforms had a "Standing Collar of Scarlet Cloth."¹⁰⁶ Brock was in Jamaica from 1791 to 1793 when sickness forced him to return to England.¹⁰⁷

The officer's cocked hat is depicted without any lace. The Dress Regulations of 4 May 1796 cancelled the lacing of cocked hats "with Gold or Silver" as had been laid down in the 1768 Clothing Warrant.¹⁰⁸ Close inspection also reveals the officer as wearing a queue or pigtail which was abolished in 1808.¹⁰⁹

The use of the epaulet also underwent change in the course of the eighteenth century, though not in a clear-cut manner. The 1768 Clothing Warrant ordered officers "of the Battalion to wear one on the Right Shoulder." This was revised in 1791 and again on 31 January 1799 when the following stipulation took effect: "Effective Field Officers of the Guards and of Regiments or Corps of Infantry and Officers of Fuzileer Regiments are to wear two Epaulettes. All other Officers of the above Corps are to wear but one Epaulette, which is to be on the Right Shoulder."¹¹⁰

The grip of the sword is that of the pattern of the 1796 infantry officer sword. The pertinent paragraph lists the details which make up this part of the sword, though it would be difficult to recognize the weapon from the description without seeing the real article or at least a photograph: "The Uniform Sword for General Officers, Officers on the Staff, Officers of the Guards and of Regiments or Corps of Infantry is to be the Same; it is to have a Brass Guard, Pommel & Shell and Gilt, with the Gripe or Handle of Silver twisted wire."¹¹¹

Probably the most impressive piece of internal evidence is the Union Jack in the right foreground above the cannon. Seen running from the top on the extreme right, at the point where the cloth would be fastened to the staff, is a very slim red line which extends until it meets a broader strip of like colour. (This kind of detail stands out much more clearly in a colour photograph.) The position of this narrow red line makes sense only as a part of the Cross of St. Patrick which was added to the flag in 1801. The earlier Union Jack of 1707, with only the white diagonal or St. Andrew's Cross, could not possibly have been painted with a thin red line running from the top to the centre. The presence of such a line shows beyond doubt that the artist meant to portray the Union Jack of 1801.¹¹²

106 Carman, "Regulations, 1802," p. 207. The interested reader is also referred to G. Tylden's "The West India Regiments, 1795 to 1927, and from 1958," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 40 (1962), pp. 42-49; and Cecil C.P. Lawson, et al. "West India Regiments, 1800-1810," *Military Collector & Historian*, 20 (1968), pp. 119-21.

107 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 5.

108 Carman, "Regulations, 1802," p. 209.

109 Philip J. Haythornwaite, *Uniforms of the Peninsular War in Colour, 1807-1814* (Poole, Dorset, 1978), p. 20, cites the General Order dated 20 July 1808 which abolished the pigtail.

110 Carman, "Regulations, 1802," pp. 207-8.

111 Robson, *Swords*, p. 107, notes that the 1796 pattern infantry officer sword may have been used several years before its authorization. This merely confirms that regulations at times regularized habits and usages established earlier.

112 René Chartrand, Head Military Curator, Parks Canada, Ottawa, deserves the credit for having seen first that the flag depicted in the portrait is the Union Jack of 1801. There are numerous books on the subject of flags; a useful modern work in E.M. Barraclough's *Flags of the World* (London, 1969).

All these discrepancies and clues taken in their entirety invalidate the claim that this oil is a genuine portrait of Brock. It is not, and the uniform is not that of an officer of the 49th Regiment of Foot. It is equally clear that this painting was executed in or after 1801, but not circa 1792 as Sumner suggested.

Who then is this officer and which regiment does he represent? To these questions only tentative answers can be given. Still preserved and recently published is an obscure letter in the War Office Records; it came from the commander-in-chief under the date of 25 August 1796 and concerns uniforms “for Officers belonging to the Independent Companies of Invalids:”

A plain scarlet coat, with blue lappels, and sleeves of the same length, and breadth with those ordered for the Infantry Officers in General, viz.

One gold epaulette on the right shoulder.

A yellow button...

A plain white waistcoat, and breeches.

A plain hat, with gold loop, and the same button, as is worn upon the uniform.

The band round it, as also the gorget, sword and sword knot, are to be conformable to the printed regulations, bearing the date of 4th May, 1796 for the Infantry Officers of the Line, and to the patterns of these several articles....¹¹³

This is essentially an accurate description of the uniform worn by the officer in this portrait, including the sword and sword knot which is described as “Crimson and Gold in Stripes;” once again these are the colours seen in the painting.¹¹⁴

For 1801, the *Army List* shows a Captain John Brock as an officer of the 81st Foot. His regimental rank is dated 8 July 1795. His army rank is that of a lieutenant colonel with the date of promotion given as the 1 January 1798. This is manifestly the entry for Isaac's brother John who, according to several accounts, was killed in a duel in July 1801. Given the state of communications in those days, it would have taken some time for the news of John Brock's death to reach London where the *Army Lists* were printed and published, so that a listing in 1802 need not cause any comment. John Brock continues to be listed, but not any longer as an officer of the 81st Foot. Instead, he is shown with the “Independent Companies of Invalids,” and then under the sub-heading “Eleven Companies at Jersey.” According to the sequence in the 1802 *Army List*, the 9th Company was commanded by “Captain — John Brock 17 Apr 1801 Lt Col. 1 Jan 98.” The same Lt. Col. John Brock is shown in the *Army Lists* for 1803 and 1804 and again as a captain with the “Invalids” on Jersey. He ceases to be listed in 1805. The section for “Lieutenant Colonels” includes him as well. He is listed constantly between two other officers by the respective names of “Charles Terrott” and “Robert Burne”. This applies to the years 1801 to 1804. The only change is in the designation of John Brock's regimental association. In 1801, it is the “81 F;” (that is the 81st Foot); in 1802, it is the “Invalids;” and in 1803 and 1804, it is the “Late Royal Invalids.” One difference is the addition of the title “Royal,” but the real significance seems to rest on the word “Late.” As a rule, this word implies a previous

113 Hew Strachan, *British Military Uniforms, 1768-1796: The Dress of the British Army from Official Sources* (London, 1975), p. 265.

114 Carman, “Regulations, 1802,” p. 210.

association and, by implication, retirement, departure or transfer to another unit. Death is usually shown by the addition of the definite article, thus making it “the late.” There is no second Lt. Col. John Brock, only a Captain John Brock in the 85th Regiment of Foot.

All this poses a nice mystery. It appears that F.B. Tupper was the first to mention that John Brock, Isaac’s brother, was killed in a duel. He provided no source for his statement.¹¹⁵ It cannot be ruled out that other sources relied upon Tupper, so that what seems to be a multiplicity of sources may well be a single source.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, there is no question that the lieutenant colonel shown during these years is the same John Brock. Faced by such a conflict, preference in terms of reliability would have to be given to the *Army Lists*. It would then appear that F.B. Tupper may have been mistaken in reporting that John Brock was killed in a duel in 1801. In view of these circumstances, the suggestion may be advanced that this portrait, which was mistaken for years as that of Isaac Brock, may possibly be another likeness of his brother John when he was a captain of one of the Independent Companies of Invalids on Jersey between 1801 and 1804.

THE SILHOUETTES

Practically forgotten today is a silhouette which has also been held to be a portrayal of Isaac Brock (Figure 11). There is a descriptive entry of it in Dr. Webster’s *Catalogue*:

Silhouette: 13 × 8¼. H & b., dir. to l.

Hair long with queue. Unif. Epaul. Star
on l. breast.

Note. — Copy of orig. in Bingham Tupper
family, Guernsey.¹¹⁷

The first reference to this portrait is vague. It is in a letter Mrs. Rosa Huyshe, a daughter of John Savery Brock, wrote on 2 November 1881. She described the silhouette as “uncoloured.”¹¹⁸ A few months later, on 15 April 1882, Henrietta Tupper, F.B. Tupper’s daughter, confirmed this detail, but added that there were several copies of this “profile in Bronze,” as she put it.¹¹⁹ She said nothing about the original. In 1897, when Mary Agnes FitzGibbon researched the miniature attributed to J. Hudson, Henrietta Tupper elaborated upon this scanty information:

But in (I think) each household of the generation above ours, i.e. my father’s My Aunt Mrs. De Lisle ... there was a silhouette, which they had inherited from their parents, the brothers & sisters of the General, & which

115 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 418. The passage referred to reads: “Of Sir Isaac Brock’s brothers, the eldest, John, a brevet lieutenant-colonel in the 81st regiment, was killed in a duel, in July, 1801, at the Cape of Good Hope, by Captain M——, in consequence of his having, as steward of a public ball, very properly resisted the introduction, by his antagonist, of a female of disreputable character.” Captain M—— is identified by the *Army Lists* as Captain James Menzies, 22nd Regiment of Foot.

116 J.H. Lawrence-Archer, *The British Army: Its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, etc.* (London, 1888), p. 374 and Colonel H.C. Wylly, *The Loyal North Lancashire Regiment* (London, 1933), vol. 1, p. 185, repeat the story without statement of source. Both writers could easily have used Tupper and fleshed out their versions by consulting the pertinent *Army Lists*.

117 Webster, *Catalogue*, p. 32, no. 178.

118 Edgar, “Portrait,” p. 262, Rosa Huyshe to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 2 November 1881.

119 *Ibid.*, Henrietta Tupper to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 15 April 1882.

they had handed down as *undoubtedly* the likeness of their brother ... no clue, to my mind, is more to be relied on, than well authenticated & substantiated tradition, coming down from *those who knew the man*.¹²⁰

What substance is there to this statement of “well authenticated & substantiated tradition”? The question is justified because the person most qualified to give an opinion on the silhouette, Henrietta’s own father, had nothing to say about it in his biography of Brock.¹²¹ Henrietta Tupper may have been right in saying that such a silhouette was passed on from one generation of her family to the next, but once again the evidence is lacking that this portrait is in fact of Isaac Brock. There are three reasons to doubt its authenticity: the uniform of the sitter, the star on his left side, and his age.

The officer is shown with a queue; its use, as already pointed out, was abolished in 1808.¹²² Thus, making allowance for the change to take effect, the silhouette was probably done no later than 1810. If this silhouette is a genuine portrait of Brock, it would have to have been done in Canada, since he had been in this country since mid-1806, after his premature return from Europe. There is no such record. Nor can the epaulet be dated with exactitude. The work of one of the experts on the subject, Major N.P. Dawnay, suggests the last years of the eighteenth century as a possible period.¹²³ The lacing of the collar, lapel, and loops points to the uniform of a guards officer worn around 1800, for the following directions appear applicable: “A standing Collar of Scarlet Cloth, ... laced round with ... narrow lace” complemented by “Button Holes on the Lappels looped with the same Lace, and the outer Side of the Lappels ... edged with the same.” What looks like equal spacing of the buttons in the silhouette is in conformity with the “10 Buttons on the Lappels set on at equal distances” as laid down for the uniforms of guards officers.¹²⁴ As a brigadier and major-general, Brock rated paired buttons on the front of his tunics, and that is exactly what his surviving general’s coatees show. They do not show either lacing of the kind seen in the silhouette.¹²⁵

The star on the left side of the sitter casts further doubt on the silhouette being a portrait of Brock. The star depicted is that of the Order of the Garter.¹²⁶ Brock was not appointed a Knight of the Garter. For the capture of Fort Detroit on 16 August 1812, he was appointed “an extra knight of the most honorable order of the bath”¹²⁷ on 10 October 1812, three days before he was killed in action.

120 FitzGibbon notebook, folios 159-64, Henrietta Tupper to Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, 27 May 1897; emphasis in the original.

121 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 349, has a note which says there was “no good likeness of the general.” The matter will be dealt with in the section on the pastels.

122 *Supra*, n. 109.

123 Dawnay, *The Distinction of Rank of Regimental Officers, 1684 to 1855*, plates 7 and 10, numbers 26 and 30 are examples of epaulets close to the one shown in the silhouette; the respective dates in the plates are 1796 and 1798.

124 Carman, “Regulations, 1802,” p. 204.

125 *Supra*, n. 64.

126 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 117 mistakenly identifies the star as that of “the bath.” Whether there is a suggestion of a regimental connection is not certain, but the Coldstream Guards have the Garter Star as their regimental device; on this point see Dawnay, *The Distinction of Rank of Regimental Officers, 1684 to 1855*, p. 28.

127 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 281, Earl Bathurst to Sir George Prevost, 10 October 1812.

Finally, there is the age of the sitter. In the silhouette, the officer is unquestionably well beyond his forties, and indeed he looks older than Brock ever lived to be. The conclusion is obvious. The silhouette may be of an elderly, unknown, and high-ranking guards officer, but it is not of Brock.

Another profile, also alleged to be of Isaac Brock, is a small nineteenth-century silhouette known after one of its former owners as the “Jarvis silhouette” (Figure 12). It is said to have belonged to Mary Boyles, fiancée to Brock’s Provincial Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonnell and daughter of the late King’s Bench Justice William Dummer Powell.¹²⁸ Such a provenance goes some way to support the claim to authenticity advanced for this work. However, in this instance, the present methodology is not suited for confirming or rejecting such an assertion because it is not even possible to establish whether the subject is dressed in a uniform coat or simply a civilian garment. Even so, this work is of interest as an example of early Brockiana and an art form no longer often practiced in the twentieth century, that of cutting silhouettes.

THE PASTELS

Best known of the portraits thought to be of Brock are two small, oval pastels which show the sitter in profile to the right. These portraits are without date, signature, or inscription. Both portraits have long been on Guernsey. The first pastel (Figure 13) is owned by the present representative of the Brock family, Captain Michael H.T. Mellish, and the second work (Figure 14) belongs to the States of Guernsey. Though both portraits are identical, the first excels in clarity, precision of execution, and strength of colour; the second pastel is considered a copy; (it is the standard art historical approach to treat a less strong work as a copy unless the contrary can be shown.)¹²⁹ As the primary aim of this study is to determine whether the pastels are genuine portrayals of Brock, it will suffice to concentrate efforts upon the stronger version — figure 13.

The subject is a young-looking officer with a full mop of hair, a wart on his right cheek, and a shadow around the chin and upper lip. He is dressed in a scarlet tunic with the buttons and the bullion of the epaulet shown in gold or gilt and the collar patch and lapel in deep blue. The lapel is of course an extension of the facing; the reader will recall that the facing colour of Brock’s regiment was a full green. Thus, this pastel cannot be a portrait of Brock as a regimental officer. If this is a portrait of Brock, it shows him in his historically more important role as one of the leading officers on the staff of the British Army in Canada because the staff and higher officers’ scarlet uniforms had deep blue facings, cuffs, and collar patches.¹³⁰ On the other hand, there is nothing in the portrait suggestive of

128 WCHST Archives, Aemilius Jarvis to Sara Mickle, 16 October 1896, contains some information about the silhouette. Jarvis identifies Mary Boyles as “Mary Powell;” the former version is found in the entry on Samuel Peter Jarvis in *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Toronto, 1966), p. 343. In this context, it is of no importance to establish which of the two versions is correct. The FitzGibbon notebook, folios 123, 127, 129, and 134–37, has additional references to this silhouette; however, their chief purpose was to establish on grounds of similar facial features that this profile and the miniature attributed to J. Hudson represented the same person.

129 Edgar, “Portrait,” pp. 264–65, Henrietta Tupper to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 15 April 1882, explained rather confusingly that one version “came from Mr. Irving Brock and was executed probably in London, while Mrs. Huyshe’s, which belonged to her father, Savery Brock, was most likely copied from it.”

130 N.P. Dawney, “The Staff Uniform of the British Army, 1767 to 1855,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 31 (1953), p. 74, points out that for the period from 1799 to 1831 the collars of the coats of general officers had “a blue patch in front on each side.”

Brock's extraordinary physique. The head does not convey an impression of massiveness or "enormity," nor does the pastel convey the impression that its subject was above six feet tall, and could boast a waistline measuring almost forty-seven inches.¹³¹ The portrait can scarcely be described as a reflection of Brock's biographer's obviously reluctant admission that "in his latter years his figure was perhaps too portly."¹³²

The evidence which authenticates the pastel as a genuine portrait of Brock is slim. It begins with the letter which Major Glegg, as the reader will remember, wrote to Brock's brother William on 30 December 1813. It includes this passage: "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."¹³³ From the last part of Glegg's statement, it can be reasoned that no portrait requiring one or more sittings was ever done of Brock, unless Glegg knew less than he thought he did.¹³⁴ Proof of the existence of a portrait a little more substantial than a small pastel and requiring sittings is lacking, so Glegg's assertion can probably be taken as accurate. However, Glegg's ambiguous expression "I never possessed a good likeness" (which is not the same as saying he never possessed a likeness) raises the possibility that he might have had what in his view was a poor likeness; but that is not, of course, evidence that he had a portrait of Brock and returned it. There is nothing to substantiate that thesis in his surviving correspondence.¹³⁵

If Glegg can be accused of being anything but explicit on this point, Isaac's brother John Savery does not do much better. In 1817, John Savery visited Canada; at the end of the year he returned to England. In early 1818, he wrote to his nephew F.B. Tupper asking him to deliver a message to a relative who was "to be particular in looking over every book for a miniature that I fancy is placed between the leaves in one or the other of them."¹³⁶ Toward the end of the letter, John Savery remarked that he could not "tell if the miniature is in the Box sent to Guernsey by the Horatio —."¹³⁷

Whether John Savery was thinking of Glegg with his reference to "the Horatio" or had something else in mind can no longer be determined. The "Box sent to Guernsey" (actually to William Brock in London) seems to be an allusion to the relics which Glegg had sent to England in 1813.¹³⁸ There would also seem to be little doubt that the "miniature" was a flat object because it is hardly likely that a three-dimensional object would have been placed between the pages of a book. The value of these passages lies in the simple fact that John Savery thought, rightly or wrongly, that there was a miniature which was presumably a portrait of Brock; why else the excitement? In short, both Glegg

131 Kosche, "Relics," p. 36 and n. 21.

132 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 345.

133 Kosche, "Relics," p. 80, and John B. Glegg to William Brock, 30 December 1813.

134 FitzGibbon notebook, folios 101-2, shows that according to listings in the *Quebec Almanac* for the years 1807 and 1808 Glegg may not have been with Brock.

135 The Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers in the Archives of Ontario include letters of Glegg, but they do not say anything on the subject. The Glegg family survives in England under a different name. Inquiries made several years ago indicated that none of Glegg's papers survived; see Kosche, "Relics," p. 40, n. 34.

136 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 145. The original letter may be found in the Archives of Ontario, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers. The writer would like to thank archivist Leon S. Warmksi for furnishing him with a copy and other help.

137 *Ibid.*

138 *Supra*, n. 22.

and John Savery provide at best uncertain hints, nothing more. It is of interest, too, to note that even at this early stage F.B. Tupper was alerted to the possible existence of such a miniature.

It is now necessary to move to January 1882 when a granddaughter of Isaac Brock's sister Elizabeth made this statement about portraits of Brock:

I have enquired from Mrs. De Lisle (a niece of Sir Isaac's, and the only survivor of the family who was alive at the time of his death) if she has any knowledge of the circumstances under which the likeness ... were [sic] painted, but she is unable to give me any information; she always remembers seeing the two portraits in the houses of her uncles, the two brothers of Sir Isaac, from one of whom my father inherited his copy, whilst the other descended to Mrs. Huyshe from her father [John Savery Brock].¹³⁹

This Mrs. De Lisle was probably Elizabeth's daughter Caroline who was born during the first decade of the nineteenth century. If she knew Brock personally, she must have seen him as a small child in 1805 or 1806 when he was on leave in England and Guernsey. If not, her knowledge would have come from her mother and uncles Irving, John Savery, and Daniel De Lisle Brock. Thus, if her recollection is correct that two portraits were "in the houses of her uncles" this statement would provide evidence of a slightly more solid quality. However, here the same question must be asked that was raised in the context of the miniature attributed to J. Hudson: how do we know the "two portraits" are the pastels shown in figures 13 and 14 and that they were spoken of by the brothers as a portrait of Isaac? To answer these questions, attention has to be given to a curious footnote in Tupper's biography of Brock:

The officers of the 49th, after [Brock's] death, instructed the regimental agent in London to procure them a likeness of Sir Isaac Brock, that it might be placed in their mess-room, and allotted a handsome sum for this purpose. The agent applied to the family for a copy, but unfortunately they possessed no good likeness of the general.¹⁴⁰

The reader may have noticed a certain similarity between Glegg's statement that he "never possessed a good likeness" of Isaac Brock and Tupper's that the family "possessed no good likeness." We know that Tupper had Glegg's letter. Whether Tupper's phrasing in the footnote was merely coincidental or a deliberate allusion need not be determined. It is more important to realize that in all likelihood the word "family" means Tupper himself. The inquiry from the officers of the 49th did not come shortly after Brock's death, as the phrasing might lead one to believe, but only in 1845.¹⁴¹ At that time, all of Brock's brothers had died, and his sister Elizabeth was close to eighty. On the other hand, Tupper was the most knowledgeable person with regard to Brock's life: he had written about him; he had the Brock correspondence; and he had even been in Canada.¹⁴² But

139 Edgar, "Portrait," p. 263, [Miss] Tupper to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 18 January 1882.

140 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 349.

141 FitzGibbon notebook, folio 141, Captain [Arthur Stephen] Cave to Sara Mickle, [April? 1897]: "The year in which the Officers of the 49th endeavoured to obtain a portrait of Sir Isaac Brock was 1845 beyond that I can obtain no further information. Our records are as you know very meagre & we have no correspondence dating back so far." Hart's *Army List* for 1886 shows a Lieutenant Arthur Stephen Cave on the strength of the Princess Charlotte of Wales' Royal Berkshire Regiment (formerly the 49th).

142 *Supra*, n. 4; Tupper, *Brock*, pp. vii and 90, note.

even if the reply to the officers of Brock's regiment had come from Isaac's sister Elizabeth, the fact remains that this note contains a clear statement that the family had a portrait of Brock, albeit one evidently considered not to do him justice, but that is a secondary consideration. This is exactly what in later years other family members stated, if only by quoting or paraphrasing Tupper's note.¹⁴³

The next question to be answered is how to determine that Tupper wrote in fact of the pastel or pastels (evidently the two versions were looked upon as one portrait, especially since one is considered a copy of the other), given the fact that there was on Guernsey the silhouette of the officer with the Star of the Garter (Figure 11). It will have been observed that Tupper's note contains the word "likeness" in the singular not the plural, but the pastel and the silhouette together exceed the singular. It has been shown that the silhouette was not a portrait of Brock, and what can be established now could just as readily have been known then, especially by Tupper since he had spent some time grappling with the problems posed by his uncle's career. To think that Tupper would not have known the difference between the Garter and the Bath is straining credulity. Thus, what to a later age appears to be a riddle may not have been a riddle at the time, for with the silhouette eliminated it is the pastel which remains "no good likeness of the general." It is also self-evident that it would have been unnecessary for Tupper to indulge in long explanations and descriptions of the likeness he was talking about because on Guernsey people would have known, and abroad it would not have mattered since the two editions of the biography were published without the portrait as a frontispiece, probably for the reason that Tupper thought it "no good."

Another consideration, albeit of a negative nature, deserves mention. The pastel shows the sitter in profile to the right; in other words the right chest is displayed where as a rule no medals or decorations are worn. This is in noteworthy contrast to the miniature (Figure 7) and silhouette (Figure 11) which display the sitter to the left with a medal and decoration which Brock did not have. Thus, the absence of any such award in the pastel is at least a hint that it is certainly more likely to be an authentic portrait.

No matter how all this evidence is characterized — too indirect, too circumstantial, or too lacking in directness — there is no question that a work thought to be an authentic portrait of Brock existed on Guernsey, but that at the same time it was considered to be a poor likeness. It is equally clear that this portrait is the pastel. But why the pastel was considered "no good" is a question to which the available evidence permits no full answer. Perhaps, in view of the youthful appearance and Tupper's remark about Brock's "too portly" figure, it was held to be too flattering and thus detracted from, if it was not an outright slur on, Brock's honesty.

Establishing the identity of the artist as well as the date of the pastel would be welcome additional evidence for the purpose of underpinning as strongly as possible the authenticity of this profile as a genuine portrait of Brock. And it is equally obvious that any portrait showing Brock during the last decade of his life and career — barring only the months in 1805 and 1806 when he was on leave in Europe — would have had to be done by an artist working at the time in Canada. Several years ago, the British Museum

143 Edgar, "Portrait," p. 263, [Miss] Tupper to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 18 January 1882; Henrietta Tupper to Colonel C.W. Robinson, 25 January 1882.

suggested the “Sharples” as likely artists of the miniature, with a date “around 1806.”¹⁴⁴ The Sharples and their children were well-known miniaturists. Members of the family had been in the United States since 1806, but there is nothing on record to show that they ever ventured as far north as Canada. According to Tupper, Isaac Brock went as far west as Detroit, but that was the extent of his travel in the United States.¹⁴⁵ Thus Brock could not have sat for any of the Sharples. Scarcely less important, the style of the Sharples differs sharply from that in the pastel.¹⁴⁶

The first person to suggest William Berczy (1748-1813) as the artist responsible for the pastel was John Andre of Toronto.¹⁴⁷ It appears that pictorial comparison rather than documentary evidence is responsible for his attribution.¹⁴⁸ In his biography of Berczy, Andre included profile portraits of Sir Francis Gore, Sir James Craig, a Colonel Sinclair (who is not further identified), as well as the pastel. All the sitters are shown in uniform. Andre’s analysis of Berczy’s artistry as a portrait painter is both simple and useful:

Characteristic of these profiles is the oval shape of the portrait proper. A somewhat “artificial” light penetrates into this oval, as if originating from a projector. The intensity of this light varies considerably according to the object and the mood of the painter. Black hair is set against the light, of course, and the nose against the dark background. The profile shows a clear outline despite the natural softness of the pastel. Occasionally he uses water-colours. Strong men preferably look to the right, ladies and elderly gentlemen to the left.¹⁴⁹

The portrait of Colonel Sinclair shows a number of very close similarities to the pastel. In both paintings, the sitter is represented with his dark hair against a light background, extending from the epaulet on the left to the forehead on the right. This is in notable contrast to the portraits of Sir Francis Gore and Sir James Craig. Both are shown with white or silvery hair, but the “artificial” light is now placed at the lower part of the profile well below the epaulet, and it goes only as far as the lower rear of the head. Notwithstanding this difference in treatment, the same hand is evidently responsible for all four portraits. Very persuasive with regard to the common origin of the portraits are the epaulets. In all profiles they are assigned, or so it seems, a place of dominance, as if to highlight the military aspect of the sitters. Perhaps as significant is their interchangeability. One epaulet could be transferred from one portrait to another and virtually no difference would result. All epaulets show a distinct separation into the three components which make up this badge of rank: the bullion, the crescent, and the shoulder-strap. Especially noteworthy is the fine work with which the individual bullion is painted, black being quite noticeable in the upper portions near the crescent and an almost silver/white hue near the lower end.

144 Captain Michael H.T. Mellish to the author, 23 February 1979; information on the Sharples is derived from Katharine McCook Knox, *The Sharples, Their Portraits of George Washington and His Contemporaries...* (New Haven, 1930) and Long’s *British Miniaturists*.

145 Tupper, *Brock*, p. 82, Isaac Brock to his brothers, 13 September 1810.

146 The monograph by Katharine McCook Knox, *supra*, n. 144 includes a number of examples of the work of the Sharples. One obvious difference is the dark background surrounding the head, and another is the absence of laid paper marks which are so prominent in the Berczy profiles.

147 John Andre, *William Berczy, Co-Founder of Toronto, a Sketch* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 98-99.

148 John Andre to author, 9 February 1980, in which he noted: “The *Quebec period* is well documented in his [Berczy’s] letters, and *Brock does not appear therein* as do many other less important people.” The author undertook a check at the time and found Andre’s negative results confirmed.

149 Andre, *Berczy*, pp. 98-99.

In late 1979, a comparison of a modern colour photograph taken shortly before from the original pastel on Guernsey with two Berczy works on display in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa was undertaken. This was combined with an examination of some of the published Sharples miniatures. The conclusion was that William Berczy was the artist who painted the pastel.¹⁵⁰

In order to create a reasonably believable likeness of Brock, it would have been necessary that he sat for Berczy; there is no evidence, however, that Brock and Berczy met or that Berczy had even seen Brock, even though both men were in Montreal and Quebec City in 1808 and part of 1809.¹⁵¹ After due consideration of all the relevant factors, John Andre thought the pastel might have been done in 1811 and that it could have been a copy. He points out that "Berczy seems to have made several copies of some portraits," and he "may have sent a copy of Brock's image to Brock's office along with his petition" in 1811.¹⁵² It is naturally of the greatest interest to determine, if possible, when Berczy executed this pastel. Further analysis of the pastel, combined with a comparison of pertinent features of the surviving coatees, should help in arriving at a closer answer.

Brock was promoted to full colonel on 30 October 1805. His appointment to brigadier-general came in early 1808, and on 4 June 1811 followed his final advancement to major-general.¹⁵³ It should also be kept in mind that conditions obtaining throughout a large part of the nineteenth century inevitably created a time-lag before a promotion could find full expression in a correct uniform. In Brock's case, it means that anything less than brigadier-general's uniforms points automatically to a date preceding their arrival, that is 1809, if not 1810.

The tunic in the pastel has buttons with even spacing. This is not in conformity with the pairing of buttons prescribed in 1802 and amended in 1804 for the coatees of a brigadier- and major-general.¹⁵⁴ The epaulets on the actual coatees in Ottawa and Montreal lack the crescent so noticeably featured in the profile. Another difference is found in the loops. These are rectangular in the pastel, with the upper and lower lines clearly separated, and the lace forming the loops of almost the same deep-blue colour as the lapel underneath. These loops are at complete variance from the straight and very narrow button slits fashioned from twist as seen on Brock's plain coatee in Ottawa. The lack of any embroidery around the button slits and on the collar patch — these details can be seen on Brock's dress uniform in Montreal — shows that the uniform in the pastel is not a dress uniform. Dark blue patches on the scarlet collars of generals' uniforms are correct for the Napoleonic period; Brock's own uniforms are ample evidence on that point. With regard to the uniforms of officers below the rank of general, the earliest presently known order commanding "Colonels on the Staff ... to wear the same uniform as a Brigadier-General,"

150 The author acknowledges with pleasure the help afforded by Dr. A. McNairn, then Assistant Curator for European Art, National Gallery of Canada. It may be noted that William Berczy is becoming more widely accepted as the artist responsible for the Brock pastel. Colonel C.P. Stacey remarked that it "seems almost certain to be the work of William Berczy," *supra*, n. 65, p. 114. The recent work by Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham, Ont., 1984), pp. 152 and 181, subscribes to the attribution to Berczy as the responsible artist.

151 Andre, *Berczy*, pp. 60-65; and Tupper, *Brock*, pp. 38-80.

152 *Supra*, n. 148.

153 The details of Brock's military advancement can readily be gleaned from the *Army Lists* or any competent biography about him.

154 Kosche, "Relics," p. 38; it should be noted that the buttons on the sleeves and skirts are set "two over one."

distinguished only by different buttons, would presumably have included collar patches; it was dated 3 April 1809.¹⁵⁵ No written or pictorial evidence has come to hand to determine whether this regulation sanctioned existing usage or broke new ground. Taken altogether the internal evidence does not confirm the uniform in the pastel to be that of a general. It has already been noted that Berczy could have encountered Brock in 1808 and/or 1809. This, in conjunction with the evidence just discussed, point to the probability that the pastel shows Brock in a uniform he could have worn as a colonel, and one he continued to wear even after he knew of his appointment as a brigadier-general in early 1808. It is then possible to say that the pastel shows Brock around late 1808 or 1809.¹⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

What conclusions can be drawn from this series of very detailed examinations? The reader will remember that the fundamental principle employed in this paper was to treat these portraits (this can of course be extended to other artifacts) as genuine records and to test their validity with the help of all the evidence that could be brought to bear, particularly evidence provided by military costume and artifacts. Some of the results may be upsetting, but if it is considered that the purpose of this undertaking was not to "confirm the faith" unless warranted by the evidence, then it can scarcely be doubted that the utilization of the principle of genuineness as defined in the introductory passages paid ample dividends.

On the basis of rigorous examination of the evidence, limited though the evidence was on more than one occasion, only two paintings are genuine portraits of Sir Isaac Brock. The first is the miniature (Figure 3) showing him as hardly more than a teenager in uniform; the other portrait is the pastel by William Berczy (Figure 13), though the evidence was not suitable for establishing exactly why its faithfulness to the original has been the object of severe criticism embodied in the expression "no good likeness." All other claims had to be rejected, though there is some satisfaction and compensation in the fact that new identifications could be made, ranging all the way from definite to tentative.

In the present context, a word on family tradition may not be amiss. It should be treated with care rather than disdain. All too often it contains a kernel of truth, though that kernel may have become overvalued with the passage of time, be it on grounds of changing family images, pride, or other reasons.

Perhaps a final word of caution is not out of order. This article has attempted to establish the facts about the Brock portraits. The results will not mean the instant dissolution of established views. What matters is to make at least a beginning by putting the Brock iconography on a basis compatible with the evidence.

155 *Supra*, n. 130, p. 77 and n. 36.

156 Percy Sumner, "Portrait of Lieut.-Colonel J.R. Forster, 24th Foot, circa 1800," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 24 (1946), p. 99 includes a colour reproduction of a miniature portrait of that officer in a uniform which bears some resemblance to Brock's in , for instance, the spacing of the buttons, or the rectangular shape of the loops. As a curiosity, it may be noted that in 1969 the States of Guernsey issued a set of four postage stamps in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of Sir Isaac Brock's birth. Three of these are portraits; one is of the pastel. It is interesting to see that this stamp is marked "Colonel Isaac Brock."