

Relics of Brock: An Investigation

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In the early morning hours of 13 October 1812 Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B., “President, administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and . . . Commanding His Majesty’s Forces therein, etc., etc., etc.”,² fell in battle at Queenston Heights, Upper Canada. Almost a century later his grandnieces, Henrietta and Emilia Tupper of Guernsey, presented Canada with a uniform coat presumed to have been worn by Brock in his last battle, a sash of the “ceinture fléchée” type, and a cravat also said to have belonged to the donors’ ancestor. The first two relics are now among the many interesting exhibits in the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, in whose custody they have been since 1967. There are, nonetheless, some problems with these artefacts. First, the donors could not provide any evidence attesting to their historical background; second, the reputation of these relics is marred by what appear to be discrepancies found especially in the secondary literature, and third, there are no indications of any real investigation ever having been undertaken after their arrival in Canada. This paper is an attempt to determine the facts of the case.

A multiplicity of sources is used in the course of this investigation. Foremost among these are mostly private communications preserved in archives, both pub-

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- 1 The author has received much help from a number of people, especially from Captain Michael H.T. Mellish, M.V.O., O.B.E., Guernsey; Mrs. Cynthia B. Eberts, former Curator of Costume, McCord Museum, and Mrs. Amy Durnford, Montreal; Dr. J.B. Baird, Scientific Advisor—Serology, H.L. Macey, Serology Research Section, and Glenn R. Carroll, Hair & Fibre Section, Crime Detection Laboratory, RCMP, Ottawa; Jim Burant, Picture Division, and Patricia Kennedy, Manuscripts, Public Archives of Canada; Fern P. Bayer, Art Consultant, Government of Ontario; René Chartrand, Head Military Curator, Parks Canada, and Donald Graves, Ottawa; John D. Chown, Technical Research Officer, Hugh A. Halliday, Curator of War Art, and Lee F. Murray, Chief Curator, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.
 - 2 The style of address is taken from the letter by Isaac Brock to Thomas Talbot, 27 February 1812, cited in E.A. Cruikshank, *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier in the Year 1812*, part 2 (Welland, Ont., 1897?) pp. 4-5 (hereafter cited as *Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier, 1812*). On 14 September 1811, Brock was ordered to take over the civil administration of Upper Canada in the absence of Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore; cf. *infra* note 44. It should also be noted that Brock was made a Knight of the Bath on 10 October 1812 in recognition for the taking of Detroit on 16 August 1812; however, since he died on 13 October 1812, he never learned of the honour. Thus, both forms of address, with and without “Sir” are justifiable. For brief résumés of his life and career see the entries in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

lic and personal. Published, and to a lesser extent, unpublished individual recollections are another source. The dress regulations applicable to the British Army at this period are absolutely vital.³ The secondary literature of the War of 1812 is valuable, but generally in a negative way. Past and present photographs have turned out to be a totally unexpected boon. In more than one instance, they provide more precise evidence than the best textual description could. Artistic evidence is another unanticipated source. Laboratory findings add further weight to the results. To all of which may be added personal correspondence, contacts, visits, and on-the-spot investigations.

Perhaps it is possible to speak of this approach as “inter-disciplinary”, but if so then it must be admitted that this was a gradual development, no doubt accentuated by the dearth of documents. While the emphasis is more than once upon a particular type of source, it is nevertheless clear from an overall point of view that primacy should not be assigned to any one type of source. Expressed in human terms, collaboration, not competition, is the key-word. One other point is worth bringing out. Most of the unpublished sources were found in Ontario and Quebec, rather than in Guernsey whence the donation came. Why this should be so is in part one aspect of the investigation.

Isaac Brock (1769-1812) came from a family that had long been established on Guernsey, the second-largest of the Channel Islands. Of his seven brothers and two sisters who lived to maturity, William, John Savery, Irving and Elizabeth deserve notice in the present context. William, a senior partner in a London brokerage firm, greatly helped his brother's advancement by lending him the funds needed for the purchase of his commissions.⁴ He was also Isaac's *de facto* heir.⁵ John Savery was paymaster in his brother's regiment, the 49th (The Hertfordshire) Foot, and served with him in Canada until 1803. Irving was a journalist in addition to being employed in William's firm. Elizabeth married John Elisha Tupper of Guernsey. One of their children, Ferdinand Brock Tupper (1795-1875?) was to become his uncle's biographer. His second, revised edition of *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, is still the best account ever written of Brock.⁶ He was also the father of the donors of the relics.

One army officer who occupies a central place in this cast is Major John Baskerville Glegg (1773-1861). He served in Brock's regiment, was his aide-de-camp and close personal friend. The two men concealed no secrets from each

3 W.Y. Carman, “Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802”, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 19 (1940): 200-235 (hereafter *JSAHR*). This article is a reprint of the official dress regulations in effect in 1802. Scarcely less important is N.P. Dawnay, “The Staff Uniform of the British Army, 1767 to 1855”, *JSAHR* 31 (1953): 64-84, 96-109, and 144-162.

4 Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), MG 11, Colonial Office 43, Entry Books, vol. 353, pp. 216-219, J.S. Brock to Bathurst, 28 November 1812. The enclosures with this letter contain details of Brock's brothers and sisters written at the time.

5 PAC, MG 11, Colonial Office 42, Original Correspondence, vol. 354, p. 175. F.B. Tupper suppressed the final paragraphs of this letter in his *Family Records; Containing Memoirs of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* . . . (Guernsey, 1835) pp. 125-126 (hereafter *Family Records*). Major J.B. Glegg quotes Brock as saying: “I have no occasion for a Will—for all and much more than I have, belongs to my brother William.”

6 Hereafter Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), or *Brock* (1847 edition).

other. Another interesting person is David Ross McCord after whom the McCord Museum in Montreal is named. In his search for material of importance to Canada's history he established contact with Henrietta Tupper, probably around 1890.⁷ He preserved a portion of her letters and postcards whose value as evidence is considerable.⁸ The work of the Canadian portrait painter John Wycliffe Lewis Forster (1850-1938) must also be noted. His portraits of Simcoe, Brock, Aeneas Shaw and William Lyon MacKenzie still dominate the entrance hall of the Parliament Building in Queen's Park, Toronto. Forster's technique of combining his artistry with the use of earlier portraits supplemented by research and artefacts was well suited to the creation of paintings of historic personages. His portraits of Brock as General are examples of this method.

The story of how the artefacts came to Canada can be told quite briefly. In early 1908, the Tupper sisters were trying to decide what to do with the coat. They were both in their sixties,⁹ and did not think too much of the younger generation. As Henrietta Tupper complained in one of her letters "a new generation has sprung up, *not* of our kith & kin, & they neither know nor care about Sir Isaac."¹⁰ David Ross McCord wanted the relic, and so did Janet Carnochan of the Niagara Historical Society. Henrietta Tupper turned for advice to one of her friends, Maria Georgina Durnford of Montreal, who entrusted the matter to one of her brothers, Augustus Decimus. He wrote the Dominion Archivist, Arthur Doughty, on 19 February 1908.¹¹ The head of the Public Archives of Canada was interested in obtaining this relic, and so informed Durnford one day later.¹² Henceforth, Durnford did all he could to persuade Henrietta Tupper and her sister that the "plain coatee"—as this relic will from now on be called in keeping with modern terminology¹³—should go to the Public Archives of Canada rather than to some individual or local society. By the end of the summer the sisters had made up their minds. Henrietta Tupper, the sister who did all the writing,¹⁴ told

7 McCord Museum, Montreal, "David Ross McCord correspondence relating to Collecting Activity, Sir Isaac Brock" (hereafter MC), H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 26 April. A note in McCord's handwriting states "about 1885", but internal evidence suggests ca. 1890 as the more likely date.

8 However, McCord either kept no copies of his own letters, or none have survived. The McCord Museum has no letterbooks for the period under investigation. (Information provided by Mrs. Pamela J. Miller, Archivist, 4 October 1978.)

9 Henrietta Tupper was born on 18 May 1840, and her sister Emilia, on 12 November 1845. The dates are in the unique copy of F.B. Tupper's *Family Records*, facing pp. 86 and 87, preserved in the Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Library. Handwritten notes, some of them in F.B. Tupper's hand, are bound within.

10 E.A. Durnford Papers, "Book C, #178" (hereafter Durnford Papers), H. Tupper to A.D. Durnford, 10 September 1908. There were, however, two cousins who were not living on Guernsey. It appears that Henrietta Tupper was irritated by their absence, and decided that she "did not want them to have the coats". See MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 10 November 1909.

11 PAC, Manuscripts SNAP Registry, Brock file, A.D. Durnford to A.G. Doughty, 19 February 1908.

12 Ibid., A.G. Doughty to A.D. Durnford, 20 February 1908.

13 The terms "plain" and "dress coatee" are taken from Dawnay, "The Staff Uniform", *JSAHR*, 31 (1953), pp. 73 ff.

14 All the correspondence is by Henrietta Tupper, and none by her sister. While most of the references are to the former, occasional expressions such as the "Misses Tupper", or the "Tupper sisters" are used, indicating that the elder sister did not act solely on her own behalf.

Durnford that they were impressed by the various historical articles that had of late come to the Archives, and concluded "that *that* is the fitting shrine for this relic so precious to us."¹⁵ On 13 January 1909, the "plain coatee" was in the hands of the Dominion Archivist.¹⁶ The shipment included the "ceinture fléchée" and the cravat as well.¹⁷ It should be added that David Ross McCord was not left empty-handed. The sisters presented him with a dress coatee, also presumed to have been owned by Brock.¹⁸ That is still preserved in the McCord Museum.

THE PLAIN COATEE

By far the best known of all the relics attributed to Brock is the undress or plain coatee on display in the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa which Brock is believed to have worn when he fell in action at Queenston Heights. This belief is founded on the seemingly unsubstantiated assertion of the donors, as well as by a hole slightly left of centre, near the fourth button from the top, and close to the heart (Fig. 1). Henrietta Tupper certainly never doubted that this hole was in fact caused by the ball which killed Brock.¹⁹ While much has been written about Brock at Queenston Heights, the descriptions of his appearance on the day of his death are useless for determining whether he actually wore this particular coatee. Indeed, it appears that no one has even described this garment in thorough detail. This must necessarily be the first task.

Brock was a tall man. His height is variously given as between six feet two and six feet four, and the plain coatee looks big enough to fit such a giant of a man.²⁰ This impression is broadly confirmed by the measurements of the coatee: arm, 27" long, length of coat, 39" long, shoulder to shoulder, 14" long, collar, 21" long.²¹ The "arm" and "collar" measurements are accurate enough. The "shoulder to shoulder" figure seems to suggest that Brock had narrow shoulders. It is in fact a reflection upon the cut of the tunic, and not on the physical dimensions of its wearer. The overall length of the coatee, with the collar included, is nearly 44 inches. If allowance is made for head and legs, and a figure of two feet six inches does not appear unreasonable, then the total arrived at tallies with the minimum height of six feet two inches given for Brock. When buttoned up, the coatee measures close to a respectable 47 inches around the waist. On the whole, these measurements seem to be in conformity with a description of Brock, two

15 Durnford Papers, H. Tupper to A.D. Durnford, 10 September 1908.

16 PAC, RG 37, Public Archives Records, vol. 189, p. 423, A.G. Doughty to Lord Strathcona, 14 January 1909.

17 MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 24 January 1909.

18 Ibid. The McCord Museum lists the dress coatee as having been received on 21 January 1909.

19 There are numerous references to the "coat" in Henrietta Tupper's letters as shown by the excerpts reproduced in Appendix C.

20 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition) p. 337, note [1] makes it "about six feet two inches." William Stanley Hatch, *A Chapter of the History of the War of 1812 in the Northwest* (Cincinnati, 1872) p. 63, estimates Brock's height to "have been six feet three or four inches". (Hereafter *War of 1812 in the Northwest*).

21 PAC, RG 37, vol. 310, folder "Odds and ends", inventory headed "Articles in Glass Case #26", p. [1]. The measurements for the dress coatee are virtually identical: outer arm (to shoulder sewn) 27 inches; inner arm (to shoulder sewn) 21 inches; length (centre back, no collar) 40 inches; height of stand collar 3¼ inches; waist 46½ inches. The writer is much indebted to Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, Curator of Costume, McCord Museum, for providing this information.

months before his death, as “very massive and large boned, though not fleshy.”²²

The plain coatee is double-breasted, has two lapels (also called revers) which can be buttoned back, and an upright collar.²³ The basic scarlet colour of the coatee is complemented by the blue of the collar patches, cuffs and revers, and the white of the lining turned back on the skirts. There are neither hooks nor eyelets, except for one single pair at the throat. The coatee was primarily intended for double-breasted wear in one of two styles. It could be worn completely buttoned up on the right side, with the blue faces of the lapels concealed, or partly closed, with the upper portions of both revers displayed. Brock may well have worn the coatee for most of the time in the latter fashion. The reason is this. In 1896, the Guernsey photographer B. Collette took four photographs of the front, rear, left sleeve and shoulder of the plain coatee.²⁴ In the front view the tunic is shown closed on the right side, with the part underneath the left lapel fully exposed. This area extends from the throat to the third button—from the top—and thence down to the sixth button. (The enlargement shown here goes only to the fifth button; Fig. 2). The original, or nearly original, scarlet hue is still visible in this area, no doubt because it was protected by the lapel worn folded back, thus not permitting much fading and discolouration. The fold in the material of the left side of the coatee, near the fifth button-slit from the top and the hole, also points to such a usage. The coatee has three internal pockets. One is in the left side of the breast. The enlargement clearly shows the imprint of the opening to this pocket, between the third and the sixth button from the top. The other two pockets are in the upper skirts. The openings are concealed by the triangular pleats extending from the centre buttons to the bottoms of the skirts (Fig. 3).

The decorations on the plain coatee are frugal. They consist of stripes technically known as loops. Probably made from twist, they are of matching colour: scarlet for the front, skirts and arms, and blue for the lapels, cuffs and collar patches. On the skirts, sleeves and cuffs, these loops have the shape of an elongated, shallow “v”. The loops for the button-slits are straight, and of equal length on the scarlet face, whereas the four top loops on the blue faces of the lapels are nearly twice as long. These are both functional and decorative, for they are visible when the upper parts are shown. The collar patches are ornamented with a single straight loop, complemented by a button at the far end. The cuffs are slit on the inside for half their lengths, a detail noticeable under direct examination. The buttons are gilt and slightly domed, and are decorated with a crossed

22 Hatch, *War of 1812 in the Northwest*, p. 63. John Richardson in his *War of 1812, First Series, Containing a Full and Detailed Narrative of the Right Division of the Canadian Army* (Brockville, 1842) p. 68, described Brock as “tall, stout and inclining to corpulency” (hereafter *War of 1812*). Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition) p. 337, seems to follow Richardson when he says that in Brock’s “latter years his figure was perhaps too portly”. Tupper’s “portly” comment may have been influenced by the measurements of the coatees as well. The contradictions among Hatch, Richardson and Tupper can perhaps be reconciled by considering that the 1812 campaigning season may have restored some balance to Brock’s proportions. At any rate, the image of a “portly” Brock advancing on Queenston Height’s lacks persuasiveness.

23 The detailed examination of the plain coatee is based on personal examinations in April 1978 and March 1979. Dawnay’s “The Staff Uniform”, *JSAHR*, 31 (1953): 73-96, was also heavily drawn upon.

24 B. Collette’s bill is still with Henrietta Tupper’s correspondence preserved in the Archives of the McCord Museum.

sword and baton (or truncheon) design, surrounded by a laurel wreath open at the top. The buttons also have a graduated edge. On the front of the tunic they are set in two rows of five pairs each, and those on the skirts and sleeves are two over one, with the single button placed on the cuffs.

From 1767 onwards ranks of general officers were indicated by the arrangement of loops and buttons. By the turn of the century, generals had these evenly spaced, a lieutenant-general wore his in threes, and a major-general in twos. On 6 October 1804 a General Order was issued to the effect that "a Brigadier-General would wear the same coat as a Major-General, but with the loops and buttons on the skirts and sleeves set two over one, with the lowest sleeve-loop on the cuff itself". Based on this order, and the dress regulations recorded in 1802 with which the plain coatee corresponds in all essential aspects, Major N.P. Dawnay correctly identified this tunic in the early 1950s for the first time as that of a brigadier-general (Figs. 1 and 3).²⁵ Further indications of rank are the epaulettes. They have triangular ends, are secured by a button on either side of the collar, and conform to the regulations compiled in 1802:

The Straps of the Epaulettes for General Officers (excepting for the Full Dress Coat) are to be Gold Embroidery on Scarlet Cloth according to the Pattern of the Button Holes, which with a Rich Bullion and Fringe forms the Epaulette.²⁶

The 1896 photograph of the left shoulder of the coatee shows the embroidery in precise detail (Figs. 4 and 15). It is identical with the stitching seen on the dress coatees preserved in the McCord Museum and the Hamilton Military Museum (Figs. 5 and 6). The use of two epaulettes by general officers was abolished by General Order of 18 June 1811. They were directed "henceforth to wear one Aguillette [sic] on the Right Shoulder in lieu of Epaulettes."²⁷ This order was reiterated on 1 July, and again on 24 December 1811. Thus, the lack of an aguillette also dates the plain coatee as of a pattern prior to 1811. One other detail should be mentioned. Both skirts are decorated by identical ornaments close to the unhemmed edge.²⁸ These skirt-ornaments are made of a blue piece of cloth embroidered in gilt, and shaped like a crude, flat "8". This decoration was in use from 1799 to 1831,²⁹ and is found on other general officers' coatees of the period as well (Fig. 3).

The plain coatee is, moreover, marked by several unique features which were recorded in the 1896 photographs. For instance, the enlargement of the front view shows a small hole close to the fifth button from the top, in addition to

25 Dawnay, "The Staff Uniform", *JSAHR*, 31 (1953): 77-8 and 35n.

26 Carman, "Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802", *JSAHR*, 19 (1940), p. 207. The straps of the epaulettes on the plain coatee are embroidered in gilt which is much worn, and thus could be thought to be silver. This was used for the straps of the "Adjutant-General, the Quarter Master General and the Barrack Master General and ... their Deputies", according to the same paragraph in Carman's article.

27 PAC, RG 8, British Military and Naval Records, Series I, vol. 1168, pp. 5-6.

28 N.P. Dawnay, "Museum Supplement No. 35", *JSAHR* 36 (1958): vi. "The cloth of which the ... coatees and tunics of the nineteenth century, were made was very tightly woven. As a result, it was unnecessary to hem the skirt. ... to this day, the skirt of a tunic is unhemmed and unlined."

29 Dawnay, "The Staff Uniform", *JSAHR*, 31 (1953), figure 18 facing p. 77.

whitish marks between the second and third button-slits on the right side. The picture taken in 1978 shows the same peculiarities. The 1896 photograph of the back has the opening to the pocket in the right skirt curved outwards, towards the lowest button. This oddity may be indicative of this pocket having been used much more than the one in the left skirt. The photograph of the left epaulette shows the sixth bullion with a small hook as a result of the wire having become unwound at its end.³⁰ More than eight decades later these details can still be seen in the plain coatee (Figs. 1 to 4). The coatee is flawed by three distinctly different types of damage. There is damage apparently caused by natural wear and tear, insects, and penetration by a foreign object. The most interesting instance of the first kind of injury is well hidden. Both cuffs are split on the inside. In the right cuff this split is restricted to the centre, but in the left it extends from left to right. This kind of wear may be indicative of the coatee's owner having been much occupied with paper-work, though Brock's handwriting does not seem to be that of a left-hander. A surer deduction in explaining this damage is that the coatee was pressed into service as long as possible.

Another example of wear is the discolouration at the back of the collar (Figs. 15 and 19). There the original scarlet has turned into shades of brown. It may be guessed that the greasiness of human hair was responsible for this blemish. The portrait of Brock "probably in his mid-thirties" (Fig. 11) shows him wearing his hair over the collar. The portrait is suggestive in this respect, but not evidence that Brock wore his hair in the same style in later years. Rather surprisingly, the inner lining shows relatively little damage, particularly in the upper parts. It is, however, torn in the skirts. Whether this damage was caused before, during, or after 1812 cannot be determined. The turnbacks also show some wear, especially on the right skirt, very near the skirt-ornament. In 1844 when F.B. Tupper opened the trunks containing Brock's uniforms, he noted that they seemed to him "much moth-eaten".³¹ Such damage would seem to be in the right collar patch, on the upper edge, in the blue faces of the lapels (Fig. 25) and the many very small holes in the tunic. The whitish spots all over the coatee may also fit in with Tupper's observation.

The last type of damage consists solely of two holes. The first one is approximately 14 x 15mm in size, and is the one thought to have been caused by the lethal projectile that killed Brock (Fig. 2). The second hole is of slightly larger dimensions. It is in the right lapel, very close to the third button-slit from the top. Beneath this hole is a brownish spot whose origin is unknown (Figs. 7 and 8). This second hole is, of course, necessary if the plain coatee is to justify its reputation. There are no other holes that could possibly be interpreted as the work of a bullet.

The photographic evidence establishes beyond challenge that the plain coatee in the Canadian War Museum is the uniform which, in 1896, was in the posses-

30 The writer is indebted to Mr. H. Foster, Photographer, Photography Section, National Museums of Canada, for pointing out that this tiny bit of wire was still sticking out on the day he photographed the plain coatee (17 April 1978). The 1896 photograph of the left sleeve (not included in this article), shows the centre button out of alignment with the loop. The position of this button was exactly the same in 1978.

31 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition) p. [v].

sion of the Tupper sisters. That has never been clearly shown. Such certainty has one advantage: the researcher can safely disregard the twentieth century, for whatever may be questionable about this relic obviously antedates 1896. The description of the plain coatee also contains within itself all the problems demanding answer before this garment can be pronounced genuine. They are: *one*, did the uniform Brock wore on his last day survive? *two*, if the plain coatee in the Canadian War Museum is that uniform, why is it not correct in terms of Brock's rank, and the effective dress regulations? and *three*, if the two holes in the plain coatee are bullet holes, why do they differ in their locations from the generally accepted version that Brock was killed by a projectile in his "right breast"? Is that version correct? The answer to the first question is in the affirmative. During the shipping season of 1813 Brock's former manservant, Thomas Porter, left for England. He carried with him for delivery to Brock's brother William the "Uniform and military appointments [as well as] the sword" the general used on 13 October 1812, in addition to other unspecified articles. Glegg confirmed these facts when he wrote to William Brock on 30 December 1813 (Fig. 9).³² His letter is the only known contemporary document that is evidence of the survival of the 13 October relics. Glegg did not elaborate whether the "Uniform" was a plain or dress coatee, or whether it was that of a brigadier or major-general. Nor did he say anything that would reconcile the two holes in the plain coatee with his own statement according to which Brock was killed by a ball in the "right breast". From then until the end of the century no details on Brock's "Uniform" are to be found anywhere. F.B. Tupper, Brock's biographer, describes his appearance on the last day in a totally unenlightening phrase—that Brock was "conspicuous from his dress, his height, and the enthusiasm with which he animated his little band".³³ Tupper was certainly in a position to be more forthcoming, yet, the little that remains of his correspondence with Glegg does not touch upon the matter.³⁴ Tupper's daughter Henrietta writes on occasion of the "coat", but otherwise appears as close-tongued as her father had been. It is only in 1896 that reliable information emerges in the form of the Collenette photographs, if the coatee thus recorded was in fact the one Brock wore on 13 October 1812. This gap between the events of 1812-13 and the year 1896 is in part, and indirectly, filled by the two editions of Ferdinand Brock Tupper's biography of his uncle.

In the preface to the first (1845) edition of the biography, Tupper referred briefly to the discovery of the trunks containing, as he wrote, Brock's "uniforms,

32 Archives of Ontario, "Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers" (hereafter AO, "Tupper Papers"), J.B. Glegg to W. Brock, 30 December 1813. For the complete text of this letter see Appendix B.

33 Tupper employed this formulation in his 1835 *Family Records*, p. 18, and continued using it in both editions of his *Brock* biography (1845 edition, p. 322; 1847 edition, p. 331). Tupper's failure to improve upon his vague wording after 1844, when he had the uniform, may, of course, indicate that he thought his wording quite adequate.

34 The Glegg family continues under a different name. Attempts to determine whether the two branches of the family still have any of Major Glegg's papers met with no success. It appears that any surviving papers were destroyed during the 1920s, either accidentally or by design. The writer is indebted to Mr. Richard G. Turner, Merseyside, England for providing this information.

including the one in which he fell".³⁵ Not a single line in this preface reveals how Tupper was able to recognize the "uniform" Brock wore on his last day. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that traces of blood, or what Tupper thought were traces of blood, were still visible on the "uniform". There may have been other signs as well. Apart from these conjectures, it is puzzling how Tupper could have decided that the plain coat was that "uniform", because the presumed bullet holes could easily have been thought of as insect damage.

The explanation of this seeming enigma is simple. Tupper found Glegg's letter. Several passages in the first edition make this a near certainty which hardens into absolute surety with the second, revised (1847) edition. The preface in this edition is unchanged, but is supplemented by an introduction in which Tupper quotes verbatim two passages from Glegg's letter, in addition to referring directly to his "letter . . . to Mr. William Brock, dated Fort Niagara, American Territory, 30th December, 1813."³⁶ The first passage reads:

When I am allowed to enjoy a little leisure, I shall not be unmindful of your request, and will send some anecdotes of the public and private life of my much lamented friend, which will do honor to his memory.

This passage is near the end of Glegg's letter. The second is taken from the penultimate paragraph, though in Tupper's introduction both quotations are reproduced without a break:

At one time, I had thoughts of writing the first campaign, and prepared a preface, which I intended should shew the wisdom and foresight of your illustrious brother; but finding myself bound to relate so many strong facts affecting my superiors, I paused for reasons, which, in a military man, you will, I think, consider prudent.

Tupper's transcription is accurate, except that he improved upon Glegg's punctuation, and rendered the word "wrote" used by Glegg as "prepared". There are other instances of Tupper quoting from Glegg's letter, but these two excerpts are ample proof that he had this document. Thus, Tupper's words on Brock's death-uniform derive their authority from Glegg's letter, although this has hitherto not been recognized. Still, there is a problem with the word "uniforms".

Today it can no longer be established whether Tupper was speaking of only two uniforms—the ones now in the McCord Museum in Montreal and the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa—or whether he meant to say that Glegg had returned more than two uniforms. If Henrietta Tupper's correspondence were all on this point, then two uniforms would seem to be correct. But her father's words "the general's uniforms, including the one in which he fell" are so imprecisely and

35 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. [v]. Tupper claimed in the same context that these trunks "had remained locked and unexamined for nearly thirty years". Though Tupper does not say so directly, William Brock had sent the articles returned by Major Glegg to his brother John Savery Brock on Guernsey, probably by 1816 at the latest.

36 *Ibid.* (1847 edition), pp. v-vi. For reasons unknown Tupper did not identify Glegg as the author of this letter, although his description should have lifted the veil of anonymity long ago, because he was "an officer, who . . . served on the personal staff of the general, both at Detroit and Queenstown, and long enjoyed his esteem and friendship".

awkwardly formulated that they almost invite a suspicion of there having been at least three uniforms. In fact, there is inconclusive substance in such a suspicion.

In the strong-room of the Royal Court House in St. Peter Port, Guernsey, is a display case filled with a few articles ascribed to Brock. According to the staff there, these items are without documentation. The relics of interest in the present context are two buttons identical with those on the plain coatee, and more important, the cut-off bottom of the left skirt of a coatee with the same decoration as found on the plain coatee (Figs. 10 and 3). This last article poses two questions. Is it a genuine remnant of a coatee once owned by Brock, that is to say did Glegg return three coatees? One argument in favour of such a view is the likelihood of Brock having possessed more than one plain coatee, but argument is not evidence. All it does is to provide regret at F.B. Tupper's apparent oversight of not having compiled an inventory of all the relics found in 1844.³⁷

The second question rests on the assumption that this article is a genuine relic. Why was it cut off? One answer would be that the uniform from which this piece was severed was beyond preservation. It must have been more than "much moth-eaten," as F.B. Tupper had put it. All that could presumably be done with it was to save a few pieces. If this was so, then it can fairly safely be concluded that F.B. Tupper examined all the uniforms very carefully with the documentation at his disposal, and it would follow that he considered the plain coatee *that* uniform, notwithstanding the discrepancy in the location of the holes, if this indeed came to his attention.

Such reasoning concerning the plain coatee accords with some other considerations. F.B. Tupper knew the artefacts, as well as Glegg's letter with its details on Brock's sword. Long after her father's death Henrietta Tupper was to write that from her "cradle" she "was taught every interesting particular concerning" Brock.³⁸ In view of this sweeping claim it could be expected that Henrietta Tupper knew as much as her father. The record shows this was not the case. It must be concluded from the certainty with which Henrietta Tupper wrote about the plain coatee, and from her uncertainty with respect to Brock's sword, or the "ceinture fléchée," that her father had only told her about the first of these relics. The circumstances further suggest that F.B. Tupper gave his daughter no written information, nor did he tell her about Major Glegg. This would explain the absence of all references to Brock's aide-de-camp in Henrietta Tupper's correspondence, and why in later years she could not furnish any evidence other than what is in her father's biography.³⁹ There is, of course, a positive aspect to this matter. When Henrietta Tupper speaks on the plain coatee, she does so with

37 Not a single trace of such an inventory was unearthed when the writer was on Guernsey in May 1978. Nor is there any mention in the Guernsey newspaper for the years 1843-1848 regarding the finding of the artefacts and Brock's papers. The only notices were reviews of the two editions of Tupper's biography of Brock.

38 H. Tupper to C.W. Robinson, 25 January 1882, cited by Lady Matilda Edgar in "General Brock's Portrait", *The Canadian Magazine* 31, no. 1 (May 1908), p. 263.

39 The excerpts from Henrietta Tupper's letters reproduced in appendices C and D make it quite clear that she did not know of Glegg's letter. There are strong indications that this document may have been in the possession of Brock's former protégé, Colonel James FitzGibbon (1780-1863), or in that of his relatives, perhaps as early as the late 1840s.

the unmentioned authority of her father's knowledge. Thus, if F.B. Tupper was correct, his daughter Henrietta was equally so. Differently stated, the "Uniform" Major Glegg had arranged to return in 1813 was identified in the 1840s by F.B. Tupper who passed some of his knowledge on to his daughter, and the latter applied it in 1896 when one of the two uniforms had to be selected for photographing as the genuine relic of 13 October 1812. The uniform that was photographed is, of course, the plain coatee in the Canadian War Museum. This chain in the authentication of the plain coatee needs strengthening.

It was previously noted that the plain coatee is that of a brigadier-general prior to 1 July 1811. Major Dawnay tried to account for the differences in rank markings and regulations which are also found in the dress coatee, by arguing that "it is very likely that, on service in Canada, notification of the change was not received for some time. Nor is it likely that he would have been able to have . . . his coatee[s] altered to show his promotion."⁴⁰ There is merit in his argument, but does it stand up to examination? Brock was promoted Major-General on 4 June 1811. On 3 August 1811 the Adjutant-General North-America, Colonel Edward Baynes, addressed Brock in a letter as "Major-General."⁴¹ Brock was at that time in Montreal. A District Order dated Montreal, 10 August 1811 still uses his old rank.⁴² However, three weeks later *The York Gazette* reported Brock's advancement.⁴³ There is, then, no question of Brock not having learned of his elevation in rank by late August or early September, nearly fourteen months before he died in battle. By any normal reckoning this should have been enough time for effecting the necessary changes in the coatees "to show his promotion."

On 14 September 1811 the Adjutant-General's Office in Quebec "directed" Major-General Brock "to proceed immediately to York in Upper Canada, and to take upon himself, the Command of the Troops stationed in that Province, together with the Civil Administration of the same. . ."⁴⁴ This order was recorded in an orderly book. The two entries immediately following are the dress regulations of 18 June and 1 July 1811. The entry thereafter is dated "Quebec, 16 September, 1811". In other words, the latest change in regulations arrived in Canada barely three months after its issue. Precisely when Brock himself received "notification of the change" could not be ascertained. It is enough to know for the purpose at hand that he was aware of it in October, around the time of his arrival in York. Once again it seems there was ample time, in this instance, for compliance with dress regulations.

On 30 October, Brock wrote to his brother Irving that his recent advancements had put him "in a situation which must be upheld by a certain outlay", and consequently he had "been at £300 or £400 expense in outfits".⁴⁵ Brock's new "situation" certainly made correct and presentable uniforms mandatory. As has been seen, the plain and dress coatee do not meet the first requirement. By the fall

40 Dawnay, "The Staff Uniform", *JSAHR* 31 (1953), p. 78.

41 Cited in Tupper, *Brock* (1847 edition), p. 106.

42 PAC, MG 24, A1, "Sir Isaac Brock Papers", vol. 1, p. [90].

43 *The York Gazette*, Saturday, 31 August 1811, p. 1. The paper went one better than the authorities in England, for it reported Brock promoted to "Lieutenant General".

44 PAC, RG 8, Series 1, vol. 1168, pp. 4-5.

45 Cited in Tupper, *Brock* (1847 edition), p. 113.

of 1811 both garments may also have shown signs of wear. Thus, the word “outfits”, imprecise as it is, could well have included orders for at least the partial replacing of his military wardrobe.

This rendering of the word “outfits” is supported by the third edition of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. The term was used as a substantive as early as 1769, and means “articles and equipment required for an expedition, journey, etc.; a set of things for any purpose”, and the “act of fitting out or furnishing with requisites”. Such an interpretation is strengthened by one artefact, a cocked hat, attributed to Brock, which could have been purchased only after July 1811.⁴⁶ The Dress Regulation issued that month prescribed a new cocked hat for general officers, in addition to the change-over from two epaulettes to a single aiguillette:

They are . . . to wear plain Hats with the usual Cord and Tassels, with Ostrich Feathers round the brim. . . This is henceforth to be considered the exclusive Distinction of a General Officer.

This statement of principle was followed up by other details: “General Officers of Infantry are to wear the Stand up Infantry Feather with the Scaled Loop”.⁴⁷ The Museum of the Niagara Historical Society in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, possesses precisely such an 1811 pattern cocked hat with “Ostrich Feathers round the brim”. This artefact has always been, and still is, described as the “Cocked Hat of General Brock”.⁴⁸ It arrived in Canada after Brock’s death and was presented by his cousin, James Brock, to Captain George Ball. The existence of this hat was known in 1824. In 1887 George Ball’s children, John W. and Margaret, drew up a declaration in which they set forth the circumstances under which this hat was acquired, as told them by their father.⁴⁹ In 1896 the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society obtained this relic,⁵⁰ and it has been there ever since. The internal measurement of this hat is 24 inches, and appears to be in accord

46 This point is of particular importance. The lack of evidence of the use of this type of hat prior to its authorization by the 1 July 1811 Dress Regulations was confirmed by the National Army Museum, London, England, and René Chartrand, Head Military Curator, Parks, Canada, Ottawa.

47 *Supra*, n. 27. Percy Sumner published the 24 December 1811 order under the title “Officers’ Dress Regulations, 1811”, *JSAHR*, 22 (1943/44): 339-40.

48 *Catalogue of Articles in Memorial Hall, the Historical Building of the Niagara Historical Society* (Toronto, 1911), p. [7] “Case II”. The National Army Museum, London, England confirmed that this hat is in accord with the 1 July 1811 Dress Regulation.

49 This declaration is dated “Sept. 5th 1887”. The first paragraph reads: “General Brock’s hat came out from England, after his death, to his Nephew, Captain Brock, who with some troops was stationed at the time at Ball’s Mills, to protect a quantity of Father’s flour, from the American Army. Capt. Brock on leaving the Mills, presented the Hat to Father, the late George Ball Esqu, of Locust Grove.” The writer is grateful to Mr. G. W. Ross Wildfong, Chairman, Museum Committee, Niagara Historical Society, for making a copy of this document available to him. However, this version is challenged by an article in *The Niagara Mail* of September or October 1824, of which the writer found a slightly mutilated clipping in the Prioulx Library, St. Peter Port, Guernsey. *The Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held by Canadian Libraries* (Ottawa, 1977) does not record this paper under such an early date. The article claims that Brock wore this “cock’d hat and plume” at Queenston Heights, and that Brock’s brother John Savery presented it to George Ball. John Savery Brock was not in Canada during the War of 1812-1815, but visited it in 1817/1818. It is not clear why he should have brought this particular hat to Canada. Given the precision of detail in the deposition of George Ball’s children it, rather than *The Niagara Mail* article, would seem to be more authoritative.

50 MC, M. Ball to D.R. McCord, 29 July and 7 August 1896.

with Brock's own, somewhat jesting reference to the "enormity" of his head.⁵¹ Furthermore, the claim that it was his hat—posthumously of course—has not been challenged. Nor has there been doubt that initially it was not in the hands of another member of the Brock family, this being one more indication of its intended recipient. There is no evidence that it was a gift from one of Brock's brothers or admirers. Lastly, there was but one Brock in need of such a hat, and entitled to wear it, and that was Isaac. This "cocked hat" can only be one of the articles Brock had ordered in October 1811, and which he had rather summarily described as "outfits".

It would further seem indisputable that Brock owned another hat. He had ordered one in 1809 or early 1810. Though he had not received it by July 1810,⁵² it eventually must have come. Whether this is the hat the Tupper sisters possessed in 1896 cannot be told, but they thought it was his.⁵³ Such a hat is naturally a "military appointment" as Major Glegg had used the term. The letters written in 1896 by Henrietta Tupper and her correspondents give no details, except that it was a cocked hat, but not of the rather flattish "Wellington" type.⁵⁴ It is at this point that the work of the Canadian portrait painter John W.L. Forster is of help.

Forster had done one portrait of Brock for D.B. Read's biography published in 1894. Three years later he visited Guernsey. While there, he first painted a half-length portrait with Brock attired in the plain coatee, a "red" cravat and the "ceinture fléchée".⁵⁵ In response to entreaties made by a delegation from the States of Guernsey he agreed to do another, three-quarter length portrait.⁵⁶ In this painting, Brock is once again dressed in the plain coatee, but now with a black regulation cravat, a "crimson" regulation sash, and greyish-blue overalls. His left hand rests on the hilt of a sword, and a cocked hat is in the left background. After his return to Toronto, Forster produced a same-sized replica of the

51 The measurement is given by Janet Carnochan, "Sir Isaac Brock", *Niagara Historical Society Paper, No. 15* (Niagara, Ont., 1907), p. 15; Brock's remark is cited by Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. 57.

52 Cited by Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. 57.

53 MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 2 and 25 June, 22 August 1896.

54 MC, J.P. Groves to F.B. Mainguy, probably 6 June 1896. For the complete text of this letter see appendix F.

55 The painting has this inscription on the back: "This portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, K.B., was painted from the original portrait in the possession of John Savery Carey, Esq., and the coat worn by Gen'l Brock in 1812, on the fatal day at Queenston Heights, and now in the possession of the Misses Tupper; by kind permission of the owners. St. Peter Port May 1897

[sign.] J.W.L. Forster

The original portrait referred to is attributed by the British Museum to one of the Sharples (fig. 11), as its present owner, Captain Michael Mellish informed the writer. It is not known whether the artist was James Sharples (1750?-1811) or his third wife Ellen (1769-1849); cf. Daphne Foskett, *A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters* (London, 1972), vol. 1, p. 502. However, John Andre ascribes this portrait to William Berczy (1748-1813), but without documentation; see his *William Berczy, Co-founder of Toronto* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 98-99 and 162, notes 383-385. Internal evidence favours Andre's claim, but further work is necessary.

56 John W.L. Forster, *Under the Studio Light, Leaves from a Portrait Painter's Sketch Book* (Toronto, 1928), p. 140 (hereafter *Studio Light*). Some of Forster's letters from his 1897 stay on Guernsey are preserved in the Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Library, and the United Church of Canada Central Archives in Toronto (hereafter VC). These confirm his memoirs but add nothing of substance.

larger portrait (Figs. 12 to 14). The interesting fact about these paintings is that the articles depicted in the three-quarter length portraits are with the exception of the black cravat, all accounted for, first in terms of Major Glegg's expression "military appointments", and secondly in Henrietta Tupper's letters, and those of General F.B. Mainguy and Colonel J. Percy Groves, two officers who had examined all the artefacts in 1896 on behalf of the owners. It then appears that Forster used not only the plain coatee, but other relics as well, when he created his portraits, notwithstanding the narrow sense in which he used the word "uniform" in his memoirs:

When I required a model to wear General Brock's uniform, the largest soldier on the Island, the drum-major of the Town Regiment, was not big enough to fill it. General Brock's younger brother was six feet seven inches, and of mighty proportions, I was told by those who remembered him.

Forster himself considered the first three-quarter length portrait, the Guernsey Brock, "historically true".⁵⁷ He used similar language with regard to the Toronto replica:

This will henceforth be the standard portrait of Sir Isaac Brock, as the uniform is that in which he met his death in defense of Canada.⁵⁸

The cocked hat in the left background of both portraits is nearly identical, but lacks photographic precision (Figs. 13 and 14). Its body is black, and in the Guernsey Brock it looks just a trifle smaller and flatter. The feather is white at the top, red at the bottom, and has the appearance of the "cock's hackle". The red part is a little less prominent in the Toronto replica. The "Scaled Loop" is very distinct in the copy, immediately to the right of the quill, whereas in the original it seems hidden by the pen. Most important, neither painting shows the "Ostrich Feathers round the brim" characteristic of the 1811 pattern. Forster's depiction of this cocked hat is remarkably close to the pattern recorded in 1802:

General Officers and those on the Staff to wear a White Feather with Red at the Bottom, and the Loop of the Hat to be in Gilt or Silver Scales. The Feather for the Whole to be the Cock's Hackle.⁵⁹

In summation, Brock ordered replacements to update his military wardrobe in October 1811. This decision meant that he continued wearing his old uniforms and appointments. Thus, any surviving relics, in order to be genuine, must conform to dress regulations issued prior to 1 July 1811. This is precisely the case with the plain and dress coatee, and the cocked hat⁶⁰ which was preserved on Guernsey. On the other hand, any of the ordered replacements which arrived in Canada had to be in keeping with the Dress Regulation issued on 1 July 1811. The cocked hat in the Museum of the Niagara Historical Society conforms to this

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁵⁸ AO, RG 2, P-2, Box 50, XIV, no. 34, J.W.L. Forster to Harcourt, 22 March 1900.

⁵⁹ Carman, "Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802", *JSAHR* 19 (1940), p. 209.

⁶⁰ Henrietta Tupper's correspondence extends to the end of the First World War. The cocked hat is never again mentioned after 1896. Curiously enough D.R. McCord also did not ask any further questions as appears from the surviving correspondence.

regulation. Finally, Major Dawnay's suggestion that lack of time explains in part why the coatees are outdated does not stand up to analysis.

The remaining problem concerns the two matching holes in the plain coatee. They must have been caused by at least one projectile discharged from a firearm, otherwise the plain coatee could not possibly be the uniform Brock wore on 13 October 1812. Yet if these holes are bullet holes, why is it that they are in the near centre where they should not be according to some of the literary testimony?


On 14 and 15 October 1812 four officers noted in their letters where Brock had been hit. Three of them had been in the battle of Queenston Heights. On the first day, 14 October, Lt. John Beverley Robinson (later Attorney General and Chief Justice of Upper Canada) wrote that Brock's death was caused by a "ball in his breast".⁶¹ Major Glegg reported differently in two letters addressed to Brock's brother William and King's Bench Justice William Dummer Powell. He stated that Brock had been killed by a ball that "entered his right breast and passed through on his left side",⁶² as well as that it "passed nearly through his left side".⁶³ The next day, 15 October, Lt. Archibald McLean (also to be a judge later in his career) repeated, presumably without knowing it, what Robinson had written twenty-four hours earlier; Brock had "received a musket ball in the breast".⁶⁴ On the same day Major Thomas Evans, the officer who had not been directly in the battle because his duties kept him to Fort George, wrote that Brock was slain "by a rifle ball entering under the left breast [and] passing out by the right shoulder."⁶⁵ Four officers writing five letters in two days with three different versions of where Brock had been hit is a record that could hardly be bettered. Other participants in the battle, such as William Hamilton Merritt,⁶⁶ or John Norton⁶⁷ agree that Brock was shot "in the breast". On the other hand, no participant supports independently the versions by Majors Glegg and Evans.

Brock's corpse was "immediately"⁶⁸ carried off the battlefield in order to save it

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- 61 Cited in C.W. Robinson, *Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., C.B., D.C.L., Chief-Justice of Upper Canada*, (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 35.
- 62 AO, "Tupper Papers", J.B. Glegg to W. Brock, 14 October 1812. A different copy, but with identical text, is in PAC, MG 11, Colonial Office 42, Original Correspondence, vol. 354, p. 173.
- 63 Cited in D.B. Read, *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* (Toronto, 1894), p. 232 (hereafter *Brock*). It should be noted that Read is not very precise on this point. On pages 218-219 he writes that the projectile "passed through his left side." The difference may have escaped Read's attention. Moreover, the letter itself is not signed J.B. Glegg, but "T.B. Glegg".
- 64 AO, "Tupper Papers", A. McLean to unknown recipient, 15 October 1812.
- 65 PAC, MG 24, F70, T. Evans to War Office, 15 October 1812, p. 9. This copy was transcribed in 1970, and agrees with earlier versions.
- 66 Cited in William Wood, *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (Toronto, 1920-1928), vol. 3, part 2, p. 559. However, Merritt had originally written that Brock was killed by "a random shot through the left breast." Cf. PAC, MG 24, K2, vol. 15, pp. 48-49. The value of this statement as evidence is severely impaired by the revision as well by its having been made some two years after the event.
- 67 *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816* (Toronto, 1970), edited by Carl F. Klinck and James Talman, p. 309.
- 68 *Supra*, note 62. William Kirby in *Annals of Niagara Falls* (Niagara Falls, Ont., 1896, reprinted 1972), p. 164, writes without giving his source that the uniform was removed from Brock's body after it had been carried to its hiding place "so that the enemy might not recognize it." This is implicitly rejected by Glegg. It might be asked what was done with the various parts of the uniform in the course of the battle? Were they separately buried, hidden, carried around, or what? Richardson, *War of 1812*, p. 65, states with much greater credibility that Brock's body was "hurriedly covered with a pile of old blankets in order to prevent any recognition by the enemy."

from falling into American hands. Such haste makes for certainty on one point. His corpse was not undressed in the heat of battle. Therefore, the word "breast" in the phrases "a ball in the breast", or "received a musket ball in the breast" cannot refer to that particular part of Brock's body, nor to the *precise* location of the actual death-wound, but solely to the outer hole in the uniform, slightly left of center. This hole was probably all that could be seen after Brock had been struck down. From its location the point of entry in Brock's body was, probably unconsciously, inferred. The accounts of Robinson, McLean, Merritt or Norton, could then be considered satisfactory evidence of the plain coatee having been the uniform Brock wore were it not for the other versions.

Before proceeding to their analysis a small, but relevant digression may be helpful. It is not uncommon that one projectile discharged from a firearm will seemingly penetrate the clothing and body of the victim, not in the same points, as might be reasonably expected, but in different ones. This is so because the covering garment is in a state of distortion at the moment of impact, or because the projectile may have been deflected by some intervening object. Nor is it unusual that the force of such a projectile may be spent to a degree that exit through the surrounding material is no longer possible. Indeed, the projectile may harmlessly fall out of the garment when the latter is manipulated in some way.⁶⁹ These phenomena should be borne in mind.

Majors Glegg and Evans differ with their fellow officers in that they are more specific. They apparently observed an exit point for the lethal projectile, too, but disagreed among themselves on the path taken by it. One look at the appropriate photographs of the plain coatee makes it clear that the condition of this garment does not coincide with the details in Major Evans' statement (Figs. 1 and 3). There is no hole in the area of the "right shoulder" (Fig. 15). Nor can Evans' description of the bullet's point of entry "under the left breast" be reconciled with the location of the external hole in the plain coatee; a rough calculation will produce a differential of three to five inches. Such a distance *in conjunction with the upward path* seems too much to be accounted for in terms of a projectile's seeming potential for effecting different points of entry. Putting Evans' statement in the context of the early morning hours of the battle of Queenston Heights leads to the same conclusion. Brock was advancing uphill with his troops when he was shot from above.⁷⁰ The lethal bullet consequently must have taken a path from high to low before impacting in Brock's body "under the left breast". A perfectly possible path so far, but then the projectile supposedly proceeded upwards to the "right shoulder". Such a path could be compared to an elongated and reversed checkmark, thus . This appears improbable, so that on the basis of this evidence it must be doubted that the plain coatee could be Brock's uniform of 13 October.

69 Discussion with Inspector P. Austin, Scientific Advisor, Firearms, RCMP, Ottawa, 17 April 1978. The writer wishes to thank Inspector Austin for his help on this occasion.

70 G. Auchinleck, *The History of the War between Great Britain and the United States of America during the Years 1812, 1813 & 1814* (London, 1972 reprint of the 1855 edition), p. 105, cites G.S. Jarvis, a volunteer with the 49th (The Hertfordshire) Regiment of Foot, who recalled that Brock "led the way up the mountain" (hereafter *War between Great Britain and the United States*). Lieutenant J.B. Robinson made the same point: "The General then rallied the men, and was proceeding up the right of the mountain..."; *supra*, note 61.

Major Glegg is responsible for the last, right to left, version. The previously quoted text is taken from a copy of his letter of 14 October, sent by William Brock to Viscount Castlereagh under date of 15 February 1813. As indicated earlier, F.B. Tupper was to use the same version in his publications on Brock, except that he omitted the word “on”. The general, his biographer wrote, “fell about an hour after his arrival, the fatal bullet entering his right breast and passing through his left side.”⁷¹ Tupper’s 1835 reference in the *Family Records* to the “contents of Major Glegg’s first letter, dated Fort George, 14th October”⁷² is regrettably not precise enough to be sure that he had the original letter. If he had it, then the accuracy of William Brock’s copy would be beyond challenge. On the other hand, if Tupper had to rely on a copy, then its source, William Brock, the recipient of the original letter, must be deemed guarantee enough that this passage in particular was correctly transcribed.

Glegg’s report is as difficult as Evans’. By writing of the projectile as having “passed through on [Brock’s] left side”, Glegg created an impression of the corresponding part of the uniform having sustained injury as well. The plain coat is intact on the left side. Another possibility is that Glegg’s words are simply misleading. The issue is further complicated by his apparently having written a second version. In his Brock biography, D.B. Read reproduced in full Glegg’s letter to Justice Powell dated 14 October. The text of the pertinent passage is drawn from this work: “The ball entered his right breast and passed nearly through his left side.”⁷³ This variant differs from the earlier one in that it has the word “nearly” added to it. It is not clear whether this version is genuine, or the result of an error prior to publication, nor is it necessary to find out exactly what transpired, because the time indications should show which letter Glegg wrote last. The sequence is important because the word “nearly” is only meaningful if it is a corrective to the other version. Thus, if Glegg wrote William Brock last, then that letter must be accepted as including the correct version, if not, then the statement to Justice Powell must be valid.

In the afternoon of 13 October, after the battle had been decided, Glegg “hastened to the spot”—the house in Queenston—where Brock’s body had been hidden. He participated in its recovery and “immediate conveyance to Fort George.”⁷⁴ Glegg does not say whether, after his return, he had time to busy himself at once with the preparations for Brock’s lying-in-state and subsequent burial. It is not likely because at about the same time the dying Macdonell, Brock’s Provincial ADC, was brought to Government House. Glegg, on his own showing, spent the remaining hours of the day with his unfortunate friend “never quit[ting] his bed for more than a few minutes”.⁷⁵ Around midnight he seems to have left Macdonell in order to advise Justice Powell of Brock’s death. The dating “Wednesday Morning, October 14, 1812” is substantiated by Glegg’s reference to Macdonell’s arrival at Government House “last night”. The letter is quite lengthy: two printed pages of 62 lines altogether. Writing it could easily have consumed an hour with no time left for starting on another. Near the end of

71 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. 322; *Brock* (1847 edition), p. 331; *Family Records*, p. 18.

72 Tupper, *Family Records*, p. 126.

73 *Supra*, note 63.

74 *Supra*, note 62. In the original text the word “conveyance” is used as a verb.

75 *Supra*, note 63, pp. 231-233.

his letter to Justice Powell, Glegg added a second death-notice: "Half-past one o'clock. My poor friend Macdonell has just expired." The three indications of time, "Wednesday Morning", "last night" and "Half-past one o'clock" fix the hour, when Glegg wrote his letter, with sufficient precision. He did so shortly after midnight and 1.30 a.m. of 14 October.

By that time Glegg had been up for about twenty hours. It may be surmised that he was thoroughly exhausted and in need of rest. That is probably what Glegg did after he had finished his letter—go to sleep. In the morning of 14 October (morning in the sense as it is generally understood, and not a few minutes after midnight) Glegg's first order of business would seem to have been looking after Brock's body, or checking up on the arrangements made so far. Only then did he write William Brock the letter dated "14th Oct. 1812". It is the first indication that Brock's brother was second in line. There is little difference in the description of Brock's death. Both letters are in this respect *de facto* identical except, of course, for the passages under scrutiny. Glegg then gave one particular which is not in the letter to Justice Powell. Brock's body, he wrote William, "now lies in State at the Government House and has already been bedewed with tears of many affectionate friends."⁷⁶ It is scarcely likely that Brock's body would or could have been prepared in the evening hours of 13 October, and visited straightaway by "friends", officers and soldiers alike, all of whom must have had more urgent concerns after a day's hard fighting.

Glegg was then initially under the impression that the fatal bullet remained lodged in Brock's body which was no doubt marked by bruises and/or swelling on the left side. Thus, Glegg's remark to Justice Powell that the projectile had "passed nearly through Brock's left side" seemed accurate at the moment of writing. Only later, in broad daylight, did Glegg come to realize that it had in fact exited from Brock's body; hence the corrected version to William. It must then be concluded that, if the plain coatee was the uniform Brock wore on 13 October, no further injury was caused by the projectile.

The real obstacle to validating the plain coatee as *that* uniform is, however, rooted in the considerable disagreement over the question where exactly Brock was hit. The approach hitherto taken has been to ignore either the plain coatee, or Glegg. Tupper is an example of the first variant, in that he quotes Glegg, but provides no details from the actual uniform. By contrast, modern Canadian historians have preferred taking their cue from the plain coatee, because there for all the world to see is the external hole. George F.G. Stanley claims that Brock was "shot just above the heart".⁷⁷ J.M. Hitsman varies this by writing that Brock was killed by a projectile in his "left breast".⁷⁸ Both historians disregard Glegg. It is then fruitless to pitting Glegg against the plain coatee, or vice-versa. Rather, an attempt at reconciling Glegg with the plain coatee should be made. Given the lack of verifiable evidence, the most that can be expected is that the various pieces of the puzzle will fit together, so that the fact of their fitting constitutes a very strong indication that that was the way the event happened.

76 *Supra*, note 62.

77 George F.G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers 1604-1954, the Military History of an Unmilitary People* (Toronto, 1954), p. 158.

78 J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812, a Military History* (Toronto, 1965, reprinted 1972), p. 88 (hereafter *The Incredible War of 1812*).

On 22 November 1880, *The Philadelphia Times* carried on its front-page a sensational story with the following heading:

GEN. BROCK'S DEATH
Shot By An American Conscript.
The Mystery Surrounding the Death of the Illustrious
British General Dispelled by the Confession of a Centenarian Residing in This City.

The hero of this story is one Robert Walcot who fought in the battle of Queens-ton Heights; he claims to have shot Brock.⁷⁹ A detailed analysis can be dispensed with, because here the interest extends to only one sentence:

When the English began their ascent I left my post and went to an infantryman and asked him to lend me his gun. He did so. I asked him: 'How many balls are there in this?' He said there was one. I asked him for another and rammed it in the gun. I went to the edge of the line and, taking aim, fired at Brock. His face was partly turned to the troops as I fired. He fell almost instantly, and I hurried back to my post.

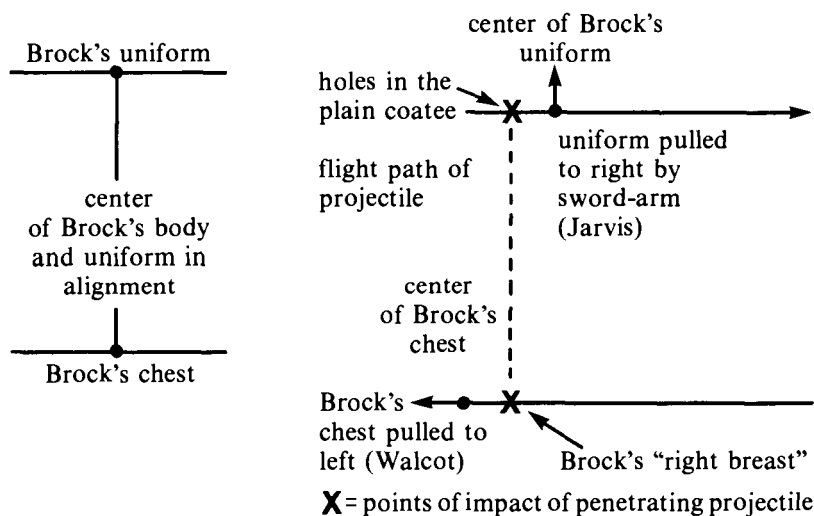
The significant element is Walcot's recollection that Brock had his "face . . . partly turned to the troops". This sentence has photographic precision. It is the kind of detail difficult to invent because it is so tiny and trifling. Yet it is precisely this aspect of triviality that lends Walcot's recollection the aura of genuineness, and which may be responsible for his having retained it in his brain forever, as a fixed, unalterable image.

Brock's turning his face at this moment involved unquestionably a corresponding shifting of his upper body, since the high collar of the uniform combined with the wearing of a cravat would not have permitted the free and easy movements possible in a partly unbuttoned shirt. The writer undertook a simple test, notwithstanding his lack of Brock's proportions. He tied a string to the third buttonhole of his shirt from the top, and then moved his head. This involved moving the upper part of his body. The string shifted by as much as three inches. It is of course essential to determine in which direction Brock turned his head. G.S. Jarvis, a volunteer with the 49th (The Hertfordshire) Regiment of Foot, remembered Brock "waving his sword"⁸⁰ when he began his last charge. No reason can be given for supposing that he might have sheathed his weapon in the course of an unfinished attack. But in which hand did Brock carry his sword? Earlier the bulge in the opening to the pocket in the right skirt was pointed out, in addition to a fleeting reference to his handwriting as indications that Brock was not left-handed. Thus, it can safely be said that Brock carried his sword in the right hand when he was hit in the breast.

⁷⁹ For the complete text of this article see appendix G. There are two other claimants to the honour of having killed Brock; details are presented in appendix H.

⁸⁰ *Supra*, note 70.

It will no doubt be accepted that Brock would not have faced his soldiers over his possibly raised sword-arm. It seems much more natural that he would have turned his face to the left side. Thus, Brock's body performed simultaneously two contrary motions. The extended right arm might have caused his tunic to shift however slightly to the right, and the facial motion would have turned his breast to the left. This situation is made more comprehensible by means of diagrams:



The first diagram shows the center of the chest and the uniform in a position of alignment. The second diagram is naturally not to scale; indeed, it may be much distorted. What matters is that it shows with the utmost clarity that on the basis of Walcot's and Jarvis' recollections Brock's uniform was penetrated slightly left of center, exactly as in the plain coatee, and his body in the "right breast" in accordance with Glegg's words. The probable minimum distance between these two points is indicated by the result of the earlier mentioned test. Thus, it must be concluded that the apparent contradiction between Glegg's "right breast" and the location of the two matching holes in the plain coatee is not a contradiction at all. Rather, these two different locations are manifestations of the arrangement of Brock's chest and uniform at the instant of impact by the fatal projectile.

Here a brief re-examination of Evans' report is necessary. It has been shown that Glegg's evidence can be logically explained and supported, but not Evans'. His report is undoubtedly the result of an unintentional error, or confusion of the real points of the bullet's entry and exit. Once this is granted, both reports are essentially identical, because then Glegg and Evans agree in the bullet's path having been from right to left. Glegg's "right breast" is equivalent to Evans' "by the right shoulder", and the "left side" to "under the left breast". Indeed, Evans' words define the areas where the wounds occurred with somewhat greater precision than Glegg's. The absence of any damage to the plain coatee at the point of exit can, of course, be explained in terms of the bullet having spent its destructive force. That such was the case is indirectly confirmed by Robinson, McLean, Merritt and Norton, none of whom mentions a second wound, or more precisely, equivalent damage in the uniform. It is scarcely conceivable that a

second hole in the left side would have escaped observation. Furthermore, Evans' confusion would suggest that he was told where the wounds were, because it is unlikely that he would have committed so fundamental an error if he had seen Brock's body himself. Similarly, the lesser degree of exactness on Glegg's part would also indicate reliance on reports rather than personal inspection. This probability is enhanced by his demonstrated lack of time between the afternoon of 13 October and the next morning. Thus, the evidence of all the officers discussed in this context is only superficially contradictory. In reality, it forms one comprehensive and logical whole.

The Crime Detection Laboratory of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Ottawa, with the permission of the Canadian War Museum, carried out forensic tests on the plain coatee.⁸¹ The garment shows signs of insect damage, "probably moth" (Fig. 16), but the presumed bullet holes are free of such injury:

Fibres taken from the red and blue fabrics on the periphery of the right lapel (i.e. the hole in alignment with the left breast hole) do not show any indication of microbiological damage (that is bacterial, fungal, mould, mildew, etc. damage), *insect damage*, mechanical damage (abrasion, bending, fraying), or damage by burning.

In the report dealing with the exterior hole, the language is nearly identical (Fig. 17):

Red wool fibres taken from the periphery of the largest hole (approximately 14x15 mm) in the left breast are relatively clean cut and do not show any indication of other damage such as microbial, insect, burning, etc.

The other findings need to be evaluated in conjunction with the results obtained from comparative firing tests undertaken with "44 calibre round lead ball projectiles using approximately 30 grains black powder FFG as propellant and fired from approximately 10 [and 15] feet from a percussion cap and ball revolver [and percussion pistol]." The test projectiles created holes smaller (5 mm) than their own diameter (11.2 mm). This apparent phenomenon of a larger ball producing a smaller hole seems to be in keeping with the probability of the holes in the coatee having been caused by a larger projectile.⁸² The diameters of lead balls used during the War of 1812 averaged between 17 and 18mm; the external hole in the coatee measures approximately 14x15 mm, with the internal hole having slightly larger dimensions (Figs. 2, 7 and 8).

Comparison of the test holes with those in the coatee showed "little surrounding fabric distortion". This term is defined, and commented on, as follows:

Surrounding fabric distortion involving recently occurring holes might indicate their being caused by a blunt object. However, with holes of antiquarian origin, it is difficult to evaluate the permanence of any fabric distortion, and hence it is highly conjectural and speculative to assign a cause.

81 All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from the following RCMP Crime Detection Laboratory, Ottawa, reports: Lab. File No. 78-OL-697, dated 26 July 1978, 19 and 31 July 1979; emphasis added.

82 Elasticity of fabrics appears to be the explanation for larger balls creating smaller holes, a not uncommon phenomenon.

Further examination by means of scanning electron microscopy with an energy dispersive X-ray attachment (maximum magnification used was 5600 times) revealed the test fibres to have “particulate material adhering to them consistent with gunshot residue. *No such residue could be detected on the Brock coatee fibres.*” It was found in addition that the fibres taken from the periphery of the exterior hole in the coatee “appear rounded . . . indicating that [they] . . . have been subjected to abrasion since the hole was caused.” (Fig. 18). This feature was not observed in the fibres from the coatee’s interior hole.⁸³ The meaning of “abrasion” in the present context is that it could have been caused by such activities as “brushing, or cleaning”. The most notable finding is that “no bloodstains were identified on any part” of the plain coatee.⁸⁴ This is in complete contrast to the result of an examination of another military coat, also of the War of 1812. This tunic was not only dirty, but marked by stains which were confirmed to be “human bloodstains”.⁸⁵ To explain this and the other discrepancies another re-examination of part of the written and photographic evidence is necessary.

In 1882, Henrietta Tupper recorded in one of her letters that she and her sister had Brock’s “coat in which he was killed, [and] the handkerchief with his blood blood . . .”⁸⁶ It will be noted that the reference to “blood” does not seem to apply to the “coat” as well.⁸⁷ Whether the so-called “handkerchief” was so stained or not is beyond determination. It can, however, be inferred that this article was soiled and, therefore, had not been cleaned. If a minor relic was in such a state, then it could be expected that the coatee’s condition was no better. The photographs taken in 1896 confirm this reasoning. Imprints are visible in the frontal view, and the scarlet colour has more than one shading; the white turnbacks in the rear view are dirty, and the upper left back, between the central seam, and below the epaulette is marked by three spots (Figs. 19 and 15). More significant, around the presumed bullet hole are no stains whatever as the enlargement of the frontal photograph reveals (Fig. 2). This is the one area where indications of bloodstains would have been more than likely. Their absence justifies the conclu-

83 These fibres were not examined by scanning electron microscopy, but by microscopy.

84 RCMP, File No. GL-1510-25-5, CDLO-78-OL-697, 25 April 1978.

85 RCMP, File No. GL-1510-25-5, CDLO 79-OL-916, 3 July 1979. cf. “Two Coats Valued as Canadiana”, *The Citizen*, Ottawa, Monday, 29 October 1979, p. 56, cols. 1-5. However, such confirmation is at best a clue. It is possible to identify “human bloodstains regardless of age”, but they can be dated only if the blood has been “spilt within hours or at the most 1 day”, according to the forensic experts of the Metropolitan Police, London, England; letter received 24 December 1979 from T. McMacken, Curator, Black Museum, London, England. The final proof, matching of the blood group, is of course forever impossible.

86 *Supra*, note 38. On the “handkerchief” see the section on the “cravat”, especially *infra*, note 143.

87 Lieutenant J.B. Robinson reported that after Brock had sunk to the ground, another soldier “was severed in the middle by a ball, and fell across the General”; *supra*, note 61. G.S. Jarvis makes no mention of this incident; *supra*, note 70. If Robinson’s version were correct, then Brock’s uniform must have been very much bloodstained, so that Major Glegg might well have hesitated to return it if only for reasons of delicacy. Indeed, it is possible to go one step further and argue that Brock’s uniform owed its survival to the exceedingly limited damage which it had suffered. There is no evidence that the plain coatee was cleaned prior to 1909 and, as the text points out, there is unmistakable evidence that the tunic was *not* bloodstained in 1896. Though Robinson wrote his letter on 14 October, the day after the battle, when his memory would have been fresh, it would seem that he was confused on this particular point.

sion that the blood from Brock's wound did not seep through to this part of the coatee, nor any other part recorded in these photographs.

Two of Henrietta Tupper's later letters contain further, supportive passages. In 1908 she described the coat not only as "stained with the blood [Brock] shed",⁸⁸ somewhat in contradiction of her earlier statement, but she also mentioned the discolouration of the collar as possible evidence of its "age" (Figs. 3, 4 and 15).⁸⁹ Both statements imply that the "coat" had not been cleaned by 1908, so that its appearance would not have differed from that recorded photographically in 1896. It is then certain that this relic was cleaned after its arrival in Canada. There is no written evidence to support this statement, but comparison of the photographs taken in the twentieth century with those from 1896 provides ample substantiation. In the modern photographs, the scarlet colour is virtually uniform, the imprints on the front are gone, the turnbacks are white, and the three spots on the left back have vanished as well. In addition to removing external markings the cleaning process (which might have involved brushing or treatment with liquids to mention the most obvious possibilities) could also be responsible for the condition of "abrasion"⁹⁰ detected in the fibres from the periphery of the external hole, as well as for the absence of any "particulate material . . . consistent with gunshot residue." The lack of "abrasion" noted in the fibres from the periphery of the internal hole is perhaps suggestive of the right lapel having been less in need of cleaning, probably because it was not as much exposed to the elements of weather and wear. Nevertheless, if the spot on the scarlet face underneath the internal hole was blood,⁹¹ then cleaning may have rendered this stain incapable of producing the chemical reaction necessary for establishing the presence of blood. The limited evidence does not permit a stronger stand to be taken. There is, however, no doubt that the testing process was extremely prejudiced before it was even begun, because the coatee was no longer in the condition in which it had come to Canada.

The investigation has established beyond doubt the survival of the tunic Brock wore on his last day. The tunic was subsequently sent back, first to England, and then to Guernsey. Since there is no description of this garment, indirect evidence is the only means for effectively establishing whether the coatee that was on Guernsey in 1896 was the one Major Glegg had returned. It was large enough to have fitted Brock. The differences in rank markings and dress regulations are accounted for by Brock's decision to order new uniforms, which is confirmed by the survival of two cocked hats until at least 1897 and the present, respectively. The left versus right controversy regarding the location of the external hole in the coatee and Brock's wound has also been shown to be capable of logical reconciliation. Laboratory examination did not find any evidence that the two holes were caused by insects. Given all the facts in the matter, only one other logical alternative exists, namely that the causative agent was a bullet. Last but not least,

88 Durnford Papers, H. Tupper to A.D. (or G.) Durnford, 10 September 1908.

89 PAC, MSS Division, SNAP Registry, Brock file, H. Tupper to A.D. (or G.) Durnford, 9 November 1908.

90 Other, undetermined processes may have contributed to the "abrasion" in the fibres.

91 This would seem to be contradicted by the fact that the blue face of the lapel which would have been closest to Brock's breast and, therefore, should have been marked *first* by his blood, appears completely clean, with no trace of any stain.

there is no contradiction of import in the totality of the evidence. There is then but one justifiable conclusion: the brigadier-general's plain coatee in the Canadian War Museum is the "Uniform" Brock wore on the day he fell in battle.

THE "CEINTURE FLÉCHÉE"

No letter or note written by Henrietta Tupper has come to light explaining why this artefact was sent to Canada together with the plain coatee. It may have been an afterthought, for Henrietta Tupper could have recalled that in 1896 she had privately expressed the view that Brock had "worn, or [was] supposed to have worn"⁹² the "ceinture fléchée." This relic is a non-military sash of probably French-Canadian origin. The best and most detailed description is in the unpublished notes prepared by Marius Barbeau for his work *Assomption sash*:

102" long, 22" each fringe . . . 5½" wide; each full arrow 3½" long, each zigzag 5½" long . . . Pattern: The arrows all turned in one direction; these are yellow . . . Colours . . . white . . . indigo blue, yellow, pale blue, dark green, yellow centre, bright red, pale blue, dark red (brownish), white . . .⁹³

In the present context the concern is once again not with the artefact *per se*, but solely with its reputation according to which it was a gift from Tecumseh worn by Brock. The background that gave rise to this story can be sketched in a few words.

Throughout the nineteenth century a minor anecdote remained current. Its gist was that General Brock gave Tecumseh his sash when Detroit surrendered, on 16 August 1812. By the next morning Tecumseh had turned over this token of the British general's esteem to another Indian chief. This story was substantially enlarged in the early twentieth century. Brock's presentation to Tecumseh became a mutual exchange of sashes, with the victor of Detroit wearing his Indian ally's gift, the "ceinture fléchée" until he was killed in battle. Brock and Tecumseh met in person between late Thursday, 13 August, and Tuesday, 18 August 1812.⁹⁴ This is the only time when they could have presented each other with whatever gifts they chose to exchange.

There are four eyewitness reports of Tecumseh covering this period. Three of these accounts recorded his apparel in some detail. The first witness is Major

92 MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 22 August 1896. Enclosed in this letter was "a little water-colour drawing of the sash". This drawing is still preserved together with Henrietta Tupper's correspondence.

93 Marius Barbeau, "Assomption sash, Appendix to Bulletin . . . 93", l. 112a. These notes are preserved in the Library of the National Museums of Canada; cf. his *Assomption sash* (Ottawa, 1972), facsimile edition, p. 8.

94 There is no dispute as to the time of Brock's arrival at Amherstburg, but the question of his departure from Detroit is often dealt with in a perfunctory manner. It appears that Brock left Detroit on Monday, 17 August 1812, probably during the afternoon. Hatch, *War of 1812 in the Northwest*, pp. 61-62, records him there at "12 o'clock". William Hamilton Merritt noted that when he "arrived at Sandwich on the 17th General Brock had left it for Niagara, so rapid were his motions"; PAC, MG 24, K2, vol. 15, p. 43. This accords with a statement in *The Kingston Gazette* of Saturday, 29 August 1812, vol. 2, no. 39, p. [2] col. 2, that "Brock was to embark on the 17th in the evening". In turn, Charles Askin saw the General together with his aide McDonnell at Amherstburg on 18 August 1812; Wood, *Select British Documents*, vol. 1, p. 539.

Glegg who described Tecumseh as he observed him on 13 August:

His dress consisted of a plain, neat uniform, tanned deerskin jacket, with long trousers of the same material, the seams of both being covered with neatly cut fringe; and he had on his feet leather mocassins, much ornamented with work made from the dyed quills of the porcupine.⁹⁵

Lt. Ryerson, one of the participants in the affair at Detroit, left this short impression of Tecumseh, when he saw him on Sunday, 16 August:

Shortly after entering [Detroit I] passed by the great Chief Tecumseh, who was sitting in his buckskin clothes with his brother, the Prophet, smoking his pipe. . .⁹⁶

Robert Wallace, the ADC of the defeated American General, William Hull, presented this picture of the Indian chieftain during the afternoon of the same day:

He was a tall, straight, and noble looking Indian; dressed in a suit of tanned buckskin, with a morocco sword-belt round his waist.⁹⁷

The Acting Quartermaster General of the American forces at Detroit, Colonel William Stanley Hatch, encountered Tecumseh the next day, Monday, 17 August 1812. This is his sketch of Brock's ally:

. . . invariably dressed in Indian tanned buckskin; a perfectly well fitting hunting frock, descending to the knee, was over his under clothes of the same material . . . a belt of the same material, in which were his side arms (an elegant *silver-mounted* tomahawk, and a knife in a strong leather case), short pantaloons, connected with neatly fitting leggins and moccasins, with a mantle of the same material . . .⁹⁸

All of these eyewitnesses agree on two details. During the time under consideration Tecumseh wore a "tanned" or "buckskin" outfit. None of them observed the Shawnee chief with a sash even vaguely approximating the "ceinture fléchée". Quite to the contrary, both Wallace and Hatch, reported that on 16 and 17 August Tecumseh wore a leather belt.

If an exchange of sashes had in fact occurred on 16 August, then Brock should have been seen wearing his ally's gift the next day, for he was supposed to have worn it until he met his death on the field of battle. Colonel Hatch saw General Brock on 17 August at very close quarters. His portrayal of the British general still conveys a feeling of "presence", despite the lapse of time:

At 12 o'clock of the 17th, the British celebrated their achievement—no one called it a victory—by firing a salute from the esplanade in front of the fort, General Brock, with his aids, Majors Macdonnel [sic] and Glegg, appearing in full dress.

95 Cited in Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), pp. 227-228.

96 Cited in Read, *Brock*, p. 158.

97 Cited in Maria Campbell, *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull* . . . (New York, 1848), pp. 456-457.

98 Hatch, *War of 1812 in the Northwest*, p. 114.

After devoting a few lines to the “celebration”, Hatch turned his direct attention to Brock, who at that moment was but “two rods” away:

General Brock was an officer of distinction. 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. His Aids were elegant young men, very near if not quite six feet in height, and in their splendid uniforms, all three presented a brilliant appearance.⁹⁹

This officer’s exact description conveys no hint of his having seen on Brock’s person anything resembling the “ceinture fléchée”. It also rules out as improbable any possibility of the alleged exchange of sashes having occurred on the day he saw Brock. Hatch said specifically that he “last saw” Tecumseh on this day. He did not state whether this was on the morning or afternoon of 17 August. If he saw the Indian chief in the morning, then he should have observed him with the “ceinture fléchée”, because he could not yet have given it to Brock; if in the afternoon, then Tecumseh should have been adorned with his British friend’s present. Hatch saw nothing except the “tanned buckskin belt”.

The reports left by other participants in the events at Detroit are equally negative. No mention, hint, allusion, let alone a straightforward account of this alleged exchange of sashes is to be found in the pages of the diaries, journals, and other accounts of such campaigners as Charles Askin, Thomas Verchères de Boucherville, the “Ohio Volunteer”, Robert Lucas, John Richardson, John Norton, William McCay, or John Beverley Robinson.¹⁰⁰ The press of the day seems to have been just as ignorant. Of the newspapers and periodicals consulted, *The Kingston Gazette* alone contained an article on what happened at Detroit. Under a dateline of 7 September, Montreal, the paper recorded:

After the surrender of Gen. Hull’s army Gen. Brock called the American Militia together and told them that he could now send them to such a distance that they would not return to their homes during the war, and perhaps many might never see them again; but, that he wished to give them a proof of English generosity, and that they had his leave to go, return each one to his own home, and he only to request them to tell their neighbours how they had been treated by the *English Dogs*. It is said that many of the Militia from various impulses shed tears at hearing his address.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63. The measure of “two rods” is derived from Hatch’s statement that Brock was “two rods” distant from the recaptured “Saratoga” gun, which Hatch approached while Brock remained where he was.

100 Wood, *Select British Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 538-539 and pp. 550-551, includes the accounts of Charles Askin and William McCay. Those of Boucherville and the “Ohio Volunteer” are in *War on the Detroit* (Chicago, 1940) edited by Milo Milton Quaife. Robert Lucas’ journal was published under the same title (Iowa City, 1906), and edited by John C. Parish. For John Richardson see his *War of 1812*. For John Norton see *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, p. 301. J. B. Robinson breakfasted with Brock and Tecumseh on the morning of 17 August, and reports absolutely nothing with regard to a presentation of a sash by Brock, or an exchange of sashes, nor does he say anything about the apparel of either leader; Robinson, *Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson*, p. 31.

The indians told them that out of love and respect to their Father who wished it, they would not molest them on their march home, but that had they not been requested to forbear, they would have killed every one of the Americans there.¹⁰¹

Here is an almost verbatim address by Brock. The details regarding the paroling of the American Militia are correct. The report in its entirety has the ring of truth. Yet the unknown author of this article said nothing, in common with other participants, pertaining to a presentation of a sash, or an exchange of sashes between the two leaders.

The original tale which has General Brock giving his sash to Tecumseh can in fact be traced back to a secondary source. Lt. Francis Hall of the 14th Light Dragoons, was in the course of early October 1816 in the vicinity of Queenston, Upper Canada. While there, he was told the following story of Brock and Tecumseh:

The General, one day, presented him with the sash he had worn on his own person. Tecumseh received it with great emotion, and begged the General to consider, that if he refrained from wearing it himself, it was from an anxiety to prevent the jealousy, which such an honour conferred on a young chieftain, might excite among the older Indian captains; but that he would send it to his family, to be preserved as an eternal memorial of his father's friendship.¹⁰²

Hall did not identify his source. It is not clear whether he got his story from an eyewitness, or a person who had it from a veteran of the Detroit campaign, or whether this anecdote was nothing more than mere hearsay, or bizarre gossip. This tale appeared in print in London in 1818. During the same year another author was to repeat this incident in another publication, but in rather more detail, and at greater length. The author was William James, who gave this version in his account of the military operations of the War of 1812:

Previously to general Brock's crossing over to Detroit, he asked Tecumseh what sort of a country he should have to pass through, in case of his proceeding further. Tecumseh, taking a roll of elm-bark, and extending it on the ground by means of four stones, drew forth his scalping-knife, and, with the point, presently etched upon the bark a plan of the country, its hills, woods, rivers, morasses and road; a plan which, if not as neat, was, for the purpose required, fully as intelligible, as if Arrowsmith himself had prepared it. Pleased with this unexpected talent in Tecumseh, also with his having, by his characteristic boldness, induced the Indians, not of his immediate party, to cross the Detroit, prior to the embarkation of the regulars and militia, general Brock, as soon as the business was over, publicly took off his sash, and placed it round the body of the chief. Tecumseh received the honor with evident gratification; but was, the next day,

101 *The Kingston Gazette*, 26 September 1812, vol. 2, no. 43, p. 3. *The York Gazette, Niles' Weekly Register*, and *The Annual Review* have nothing to contribute to the present context.

102 Francis Hall, *Travels in Canada and the United States, in 1816 and 1817* (Boston, 1818), p. 138, note.

seen without his sash. General Brock, fearing something had displeased the Indian, sent his interpreter for an explanation. The latter soon returned with an account, that Tecumseh, not wishing to wear such a mark of distinction, when an older, and, as he said, abler, warrior than himself was present, had transferred the sash to the Wyandot chief Round-head.¹⁰³

James' version would seem to be more persuasive on several counts. James gave a reason why Brock presented his sash to Tecumseh; Hall none. The final disposal of Brock's sash according to James is in keeping with the picture of Tecumseh as a leader and shrewd psychologist; Hall's version is questionable on this point. Tecumseh could not very well have sent the sash to his family because, as Hall noted a little later: "Tecumseh bore a personal enmity to General Harrison [of Tippecanoe fame], to whom he attributed the slaughter of his family".¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, Hall is vague with regard to time and locale. James is precise: Brock presented the sash "as soon as the business was over". This passage places the incident firmly in the context of the fall of Detroit, around noon of 16 August, shortly before or after the surrender of General Hull. At first sight this would fit in with the account of Shadrach Byfield of the 41st Regiment of Foot:

After we had got possession and the prisoners were sent off, our general who was about to leave us assembled the troops and thanked them for their gallantry, saying that it would be a feather in our caps as long as we lived.¹⁰⁵

This was undoubtedly the right moment for Brock to express publicly his gratitude for Tecumseh's help. Unhappily, Byfield is yet another eyewitness who knows nothing about the business of the sash or sashes, and not without reason. In his 1818 publication James had adopted the habit of giving his sources. But this particular anecdote is without attribution, so that once again nothing is known about the source and its qualifications. The supposition that James might possibly have drawn on his own experience does not stand up. He was a prisoner in the United States from the outbreak of the war until his successful escape and arrival in Halifax "towards the end of 1813".¹⁰⁶ The story lacks credibility and is simply shaky.¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, James' tale had a long career lasting well into the twentieth century. Such longevity is in strong contrast to the short life of the Hall version. Ferdinand Brock Tupper, the future biographer of Brock, quoted it in 1835 in the chapter on Tecumseh which he included in his *Family Records* where he cited

103 William James, *A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America* (London, 1818), vol. 1, pp. 291-292 (hereafter *Military Occurrences*).

104 Hall, *Travels in Canada and the United States in 1816 and 1817*, p. 139, [2n].

105 His account is in *Recollections of the War of 1812, Three Eyewitnesses' Accounts* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 6-7.

106 *The Compact Edition of the Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1975), vol. 1, p. 1067, col. 4, entry "James, William (d. 1827)".

107 It might be supposed that, had this incident in fact occurred, it would have gained some currency in Canada. Robert Christie's *The Military and Naval Operations in the Canadas, during the Late War with the United States ...* (Quebec, 1818) is without this anecdote.

James as well.¹⁰⁸ It cannot now be determined why at that time his preference was for Hall. In any event, later writers on the War of 1812, Brock or Tecumseh appear to be unaware of Hall and his story.

The first major biography of Tecumseh was completed in 1841. Its author, Benjamin Drake, incorporated the James account with specific attribution to the latter, and a few, but insignificant stylistic changes.¹⁰⁹ Ferdinand Brock Tupper followed suit in the two editions of his Brock biography, published respectively in 1845 and 1847.¹¹⁰ He gave no reason why he switched from Hall to James. There is no need to discuss in detail all the authors who used the James version. One fact alone ought to be noted: beginning with the 1840s no story other than James' is cited by those writers who felt inclined to use this incident.¹¹¹ This state of affairs lasted until 1908. In that year Walter R. Nursey published his biography *The story of Isaac Brock*. Here the story of an exchange of sashes between Brock and Tecumseh surfaces for the first time:

Questioned as to the nature of the country westward, Tecumseh took a roll of elm-bark and with the point of his scalping-knife traced on its white inner surface the features of the region—hills, forests, trails, rivers, muskogs and clearings. Rough, perhaps, but accurate, he said, as if drawn by a pale-face *teebah keewayninni* (surveyor).

Nursey interrupted the narrative at this point for more than a dozen pages. The remainder of the story was made to do duty as the beginning of another chapter:

The conduct of the Indians under Tecumseh at Detroit had been marked by great heroism and strict adherence to their pledges. "The instant the enemy submitted, his life became sacred." In recognition of Tecumseh's work, and in the presence of the troops formed in the fort square, Brock handed him his silver-mounted pistols, and taking off his sash, tied it round the body of the chief.

. . . Then unwinding his own, parti-colored, closely-woven Red River belt, "Would the great white *shemogonis* (warrior)," he whispered, "accept the simple sash of the Shawanese in return?"

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- 108 Tupper, *Family Records*, cites Hall's note on p. 201, also as a note. An extract from James, *Military Occurrences* is on pp. 130 ff.
- 109 Benjamin Drake, *Life of Tecumseh, and of his Brother, the Prophet; with a Historical Sketch of the Shawanoe Indians* (Cincinnati, 1858), p. 166.
- 110 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), pp. 239-240; *Brock* (1847 edition), p. 253. Here one minor point may be noted. James had compared Tecumseh's ability as a mapmaker with that of Arrowsmith who was well known for his work; cf. entries under "Arrowsmith" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and similar reference works. Tupper changed the name to read "surveyor", thus rendering the text clearer to those readers unacquainted with the significance of "Arrowsmith". The use of the name or the word "surveyor" will reveal at once whether James was consulted in the original or at second hand.
- 111 An interesting example of how much of a hold James' story had obtained over the imagination of the nineteenth century is in Egerton Ryerson's *The Loyalists of America and Their Times, from 1621 to 1816* (Toronto, 1880), vol. 2, pp. 355-356. Ryerson cited from the unpublished memoirs of Colonel John Clark (not Clarke), another veteran of Detroit. A comparison of James, as cited by Tupper, and Clark's memoirs shows the latter to be a repetition of the former without the benefit of anything original; cf. Clark's MS in PAC, MG 24, K2, vol. 14, pp. 149-150. For a detailed analysis of the use of variant versions see appendix A.

To this there was a sequel. The next day, when he bade Brock farewell, Tecumseh wore no sash. "Roundhead," he explained, "was an older, an abler warrior than himself. While he was present he could not think of wearing such a badge of distinction." He had given the sash to the Wyandotte chieftain. Tecumseh proved himself a greater diplomat than Hull.¹¹²

This version is an embellishment of the original James story, as F.B. Tupper had reproduced it. Nursey's sole originality lies in the introduction of Tecumseh's "own parti-colored, closely woven Red river belt", the "ceinture fléchée" as it is better known today.

By way of documentation Nursey has nearly forty "explanatory notes".¹¹³ Not one of these contains anything on the "ceinture fléchée". He further provides the reader with a bibliographical note:

Note.—Of the hundred and more books and documents consulted in a search for facts I would register my special obligation to Tupper's "Life of Brock"; Auchinleck's "History of the War of 1812-14"; Cruikshank's "Documentary History", and Richardson's "War of 1812" (edited by Casselman).¹¹⁴

This modest note is of no help with regard to the "ceinture fléchée". Both Tupper and Auchinleck cite James. Richardson is silent on the matter, and Cruikshank's collection does not contain a single document, article, or letter which would confirm the truthfulness of Nursey's "contribution" to the original James account. In the last edition (1923), Nursey apparently tried to remedy the situation by providing an improved list of 134 "authorities", for example:

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- 112 Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock, Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812* (Toronto, 1908 and 1923); 1908 edition, pp. 97 and 112; 1923 edition, pp. 115-116 and 130 (hereafter *Brock*). Regarding Nursey's use of the word "surveyor" cf. *supra*, note 110. The "silver-mounted pistols" mentioned in the quoted excerpt are undoubtedly derived from Charles Mair's *Tecumseh, a Drama* (Toronto, 1886; all references are to the 2nd edition, 1901). Prior to 1908 no work other than Mair's was found to mention pistols; moreover, Mair's name is included in the list of "Authorities" Nursey appended to the 1923 edition of his *Brock* biography (p. 228). Francois Baby (1763-1856) is Mair's authority: he is stated to have been "present when the pistols were presented" (p. 266, note 37). Mair's version is based on James, but has Brock deliver the following lines after having discovered that Tecumseh had given his gift of a sash to another Indian warrior: "Here are my pistols—take them from a friend—Nay—take them! Would I had a richer gift!" (p. 101). Thus, Nursey not only embellished upon the pistols, but also telescoped Mair's two separate scenes into one. More important, Mair does not present Tecumseh as having returned Brock's favour with a gift of his own. It should be added that the Dress Regulations of 1802 and 1822 authorize generals to wear swords, but not pistols.
- 113 Nursey, *Brock* (1923 edition), pp. 202-26. The last edition is used here, because fifteen years after the appearance of the first edition correction of errors can be expected. There is no correction or amendment in this edition with respect to the "ceinture fléchée". Indeed, some embarrassing factual errors are in this final edition. For instance, on p. 204, n. 7, Nursey has Brock on "his way west in 1801 . . . on the St. Lawrence"; on p. 141 Glegg is made to sail for England with the news of Detroit, when it was Sir George Prevost's ADC, Captain Coore, who performed this task; cf. F.W. Barry, "Captured Flags in the Royal Hospital, Chelsea", *JSAHR* 7 (1928), p. 113.
- 114 Nursey, *Brock* (1908 edition), p. v. Cruikshank's other collection, *Documents relating to the Invasion of Canada and the Surrender of Detroit, 1812* (Ottawa, 1912, reprinted 1971) is as uninformative as the one Nursey cites.

Authorities consulted by the author

(Note.—“B” British. “A” American)

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|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (A) Adams, H. | (A) Gay,— |
| (B) Burle.— | (B) <i>Globe, Toronto.</i> |
| (A) <i>Burton Lib'ry, Detroit.</i> | (B) <i>Ontario Prov. Archives.</i> |
| (B) Christie.— | (B) <i>Ottawa Dom. Archives.</i> |
| | (B) Weld,— ¹¹⁵ |

Some authors and their works can, of course, be identified. For instance, “Adams, H” is probably a reference to Henry Adams’ *The War of 1812*, and the name “Christie” stands in all likelihood for Robert Christie’s 1818 publication *The Military and Naval Operations in the Canadas*. But any attempt at establishing which materials Nursey located in the various archives, libraries or newspapers, and those which he actually used is doomed to failure. Such a list proves little more than that it was printed. Nursey must have known, from the reading which he claims to have done, that James, or Tupper for that matter, had said absolutely nothing about the “ceinture fléchée”. He could not have escaped the awareness of having introduced a startling break with the past, and that such a break required a modicum of supporting evidence. The lack of even the tiniest shred of documentation on this particular point permits no conclusion other than that Nursey had none.

Four years later, in 1912, Norman S. Gurd, a lawyer from Sarnia, furnished the ultimate touch in his biography *The Story of Tecumseh*. Gurd took his cue from James: “Untying his silken sash, [Brock] threw it over Tecumseh’s shoulders”; then it is Nursey’s turn, “and at the same time presented him with a brace of silver-mounted pistols handsomely chased. The gallant chief, not to be outdone in courtesy, gave Brock his own Red River sash”. Gurd concluded the passage: “This the General wore until the day of his death, a few months later, on the heights of Queenston.”¹¹⁶ This claim is not backed up by a citation of even one source. Its only support is in Gurd’s general assertion of having searched “scores of books and official documents”, but this does not constitute evidence.¹¹⁷ James’ nineteenth century tale, refurbished by Nursey and Gurd, has become this century’s leading Canadian version. Historians such as Wood and Hitsman, amongst others, have used it in slightly altered form to meet the demands of their own style.¹¹⁸ However, no further significant embellishments of this story have

115 Nursey, *Brock* (1923 edition), pp. 227-228. In this edition Nursey reprints on pp. 10-11 an excerpt from a letter by Henrietta Tupper with “no motive other than to rivet a claim for accuracy”. It is without comment on the “ceinture fléchée”.

116 Norman S. Gurd, *The Story of Tecumseh* (Toronto, 1912), p. 137.

117 *Ibid.*, p. vi. This biography was reviewed in the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (Toronto, 1913), vol. 17, pp. 58-59. Though the work was treated with consideration, the lack of footnotes and references was even then critically noted. An attempt to determine whether the original MS had survived met with no success, so that it cannot be determined whether Gurd knew of the letter discussed *infra*, text and note 124.

118 William Wood, *The War with the United States, a Chronicle of 1812* (Toronto, 1915), p. 73, and his *Select British Documents*, vol. 1, p. 39; Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812*, p. 88; Carol Whitfield, “The Battle of Queenston Heights”, *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, No. 11 (Ottawa, 1974), p. 15; *Heritage of Canada* (Montreal, 1978), pp. 155-156. None of these works provide a single source. Glenn Tucker, *Tecumseh, Vision of Glory* (Indianapolis, 1956), p. 270, has Tecumseh present Brock with a “wampum belt the Tippecanoe squaws had made”. He is the only author who gives his sources (p. 357), but these do not stand up to analysis. His further claim that this is the wampum belt preserved in Fort Malden National Historic Park is not confirmed by the staff.

been produced, so that the correspondence left behind by Major Glegg, Ferdinand Brock Tupper, his daughter Henrietta and others can now be examined.

Major Glegg had mentioned in his letter of 30 December 1813 the return of the “military appointments” Brock had worn on his last day. This could have included a sash, but the “ceinture fléchée” is simply no such “military appointment”. No recipient could possibly have told the significance of this article without an explanation. Glegg’s failure to have done so is contrasted by the fact that he supplied some explanatory details elsewhere. This omission constitutes one interesting clue. Brock’s biographer F.B. Tupper, the man who had all the relics and Glegg’s letter, and who was in correspondence with the former ADC, nevertheless used the James story in the first (1845) and second (1847) edition of his biography. Indeed, Brock’s former protégé, Colonel James FitzGibbon, had confirmed to him that the “statement of the Sash, as made in your Book [1845 edition], I heard mentioned at the time, and it is, no doubt true.”¹¹⁹ Whether Colonel FitzGibbon was correct in his recollection more than thirty years after the War of 1812 is, of course, another question. What matters is that Tupper accepted his declaration. Tupper’s concern for accuracy is not only evidenced by this small episode, but further by the fact of his having produced a second, corrected edition, as well as by one general, but deliberate remark, “I unequivocally deny that I have narrated one word which my authorities did not bear me out in believing to be strictly true”.¹²⁰ All this is the clearest possible evidence that the significance of the “ceinture fléchée” attributed to it in the early twentieth century would have been a complete novelty to Brock’s nephew, especially in view of the fact that he had evidence that his uncle had worn no such exotic adornment.

It may be accepted that the relics in the possession of the Tupper sisters in 1896 had come from their father. In June of that year, Henrietta Tupper asked a friend of hers, General F.B. Mainguy to examine the various artefacts so that she could reply to David Ross McCord. General Mainguy called in Colonel J. Percy Groves who was then the Librarian of the Prioulx Library in St. Peter Port, and a military historian. In his answer to General Mainguy, Colonel Groves appended a brief postscript: “The sash (crimson) was worn round the waist, with fringe on left side”.¹²¹ The word “crimson” serves as a means of distinguishing between this 1802 regulation sash, and the “ceinture fléchée” which Colonel Groves discussed in the body of his note. There were then two sashes on Guernsey in 1896, of which only the regulation sash fits Glegg’s term of the “military appointments” which Brock had worn on his last day. This explains why Glegg had nothing else to say about it, and this is why F.B. Tupper adhered to the James story which, to repeat, does not at all account for the “ceinture fléchée”. It was previously pointed out that Henrietta Tupper was unaware of Glegg’s letter. This is the reason why she

119 AO, “Tupper Papers”, J. FitzGibbon to F.B. Tupper, 27 September 1845, p. 13, preceded by the warning on p. 1: “The following notes must be written from memory, as I have not kept my written memorandum of the matters they refer to.”

120 Tupper, *Brock* (1847 edition), p. 431.

121 MC, J.P. Groves to F.B. Mainguy, probably 6 June 1896. Carman, “Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802”, *JSAHR* 19 (1940), p. 211, includes the pertinent regulation: “The Sashes for General Officers . . . are to be of Crimson Silk and to be worn round the waist . . .”

did not recognize the regulation sash as another relic of 13 October 1812. Had she known of this letter, and its content, she would have realized that the “ceinture fléchée” was unrelated to the plain coatee and the other Brock relics. It is this lack of knowledge which led her to consult outsiders, and to accept and produce changing versions. In June 1896, Colonel Groves observed of the “ceinture fléchée”:

The sash, or scarf, I am convinced never belonged to any *regular* British Soldier, but may have been the sash worn in some *Provincial* Corps; more likely still by some friendly Indian chief, of whom several were engaged.¹²²

Henrietta Tupper mailed this letter, together with the one from General Mainguy, to McCord. The accompanying note reveals her having discussed the matter, probably in person, with Groves, because it contains an additional interpretation of the “ceinture fléchée”’s possible background: “The sash, Colonel Groves thinks, belonged to a friendly Indian chief, and was used to carry the General off the fatal field.”¹²³ Scarcely two months later she had another version for McCord’s consumption. The sash, she now wrote, “was worn, or supposed to have been worn” by Brock. She did not say how she arrived at this new opinion, nor why she had come to discount Colonel Groves’ view. In any event, the “ceinture fléchée” does not again appear in her correspondence until after the sash had arrived in Canada.

At the outset of this article, it was noted that the credit for the Public Archives of Canada obtaining the Brock relics must primarily go to Augustus Decimus Durnford and his sister Maria Georgina. They had another brother by the name of George who visited Ottawa in March 1910. Upon his return to Montreal he sent a note to the editor of the “Old and New” column in *The Montreal Gazette*. It was published in the Saturday edition of 19 March 1910:

Having been to some extent instrumental in having the uniform and sash worn by Sir Isaac Brock at the battle of Queenston Heights, transferred from its home in Guernsey to the Archives Department at Ottawa, I took advantage of being in Ottawa recently to visit the Department that I might have a look at it; and to my astonishment made what I consider a most interesting discovery. The coat shows where the bullet penetrated; but in respect of the sash, I was greatly surprised to find that the one worn on that memorable occasion was not the regulation sash, but a very fine specimen of the “ceinture fléchée”. I have no doubt it will be interesting to all Canadians—more especially to those of French descent—to know that at this most important event in Canadian history part of the uniform worn by the late lamented General was essentially French-Canadian. I am not aware that attention has ever before been directed to the circumstance; but as I personally know that the uniform came direct from Guernsey to the Archives Department, I take this opportunity

¹²² MC, J.P. Groves to F.B. Mainguy, probably 6 June 1896.

¹²³ MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, probably middle of June 1896. Tecumseh could not have been the “friendly Indian chief”, because he was not at Queenston Heights.

of drawing attention to this, to me, unexpected incident, through your columns.¹²⁴

The significance of this note derives from the fact that for the first time in ninety-eight years there is a plain statement to the effect that Brock wore the “ceinture fléchée” on his last day.

Sadly, the statement does not stand up to examination. All George Durnford has to offer in support of his declaration is his having seen the sash together with Brock’s bullet-riddled coat. The extant correspondence does not indicate whether George Durnford had second thoughts, or simply wanted to know more about the “ceinture fléchée”. What is certain is that his sister Maria Georgina wrote Henrietta Tupper within the next few days, and enclosed a copy of her brother George’s note with her letter. Henrietta Tupper was equally quick with her reply, for it is dated 6 April 1910:

Thank you so much for sending me the very interesting letter from your brother, re Sir Isaac’s sash. My impression has been that it was the sash of *Tecumseh*, & I see Mr. Walter Nursey also believes it, for in his book, “The story of Isaac Brock” he says p. 112

and here she repeated the well-known story of the exchange of sashes, followed up by this admission: “I have not found it in my father’s book, but I think it must be there, or where would my impression come from.”¹²⁵ In view of Henrietta Tupper’s earlier statements, this latest “impression” bears all the marks of a conversion effected under the impact of Nursey’s novelistic efforts. Augustus Decimus Durnford, unaware of Henrietta Tupper’s previous utterances on the subject, mailed the Dominion Archivist a copy of this letter made out by his sister Maria Georgina.¹²⁶ Doughty replied briefly on 11 May 1910:

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your kind letter, and for the extract from the communication of Miss Tupper. I do not know where I got the impression that the sash was given to Brock by *Tecumseh*, but I remember that when I opened the box, I said that I supposed it was the sash of *Tecumseh*. I shall try to find out something more about this interesting relic, and if I am successful I shall write to you again.¹²⁷

124 The note was printed on p. 12, col. 6. It appears that David R. McCord did not notice, or took no notice, of George Durnford’s letter. There is no reply from the former in the “Old and New” column of *The Montreal Gazette* for the period from 19 March to 30 April 1910.

125 PAC, MSS Division, SNAP Registry, Brock file, H. Tupper to M.G. Durnford, 6 April 1910. The document in this file is a copy.

126 This follows from the note on p. 2 of the copy: “I am not sure I have copied this correctly. M.G.D.” It has hitherto not been realized that the initials are those of Maria Georgina Durnford, and that Henrietta Tupper’s letter was addressed to her.

127 PAC, RG 37, vol. 192, p. 447, A.G. Doughty to A.D. Durnford, 11 May 1910. It should be noted that the chronology of this transatlantic correspondence fits perfectly. In the Durnford Papers is a typed carbon copy of George Durnford’s letter to *The Montreal Gazette* bearing the same date. Since it is hardly likely that a letter would have been published the day it was written, it is evident that George Durnford copied his letter to the newspaper in duplicate, had his sister write Henrietta Tupper within a day or so, with the original copy enclosed. This is in turn confirmed by Henrietta Tupper’s reply dated 6 April with its reference to “the very interesting letter from your brother, re Sir Isaac’s sash”. This letter probably arrived near the end of April, and A.D. Durnford sent the copy made out by his sister shortly after, so that the Dominion Archivist may have been a bit tardy with his reply dated 11 May 1910.

His reply leaves no doubt that he had gained his “impression” independently of Henrietta Tupper. In 1909, the year when the sash was received in Ottawa, only one person had written of the “ceinture fléchée” as Tecumseh’s gift to Brock. That was Nursey who used the term “Red River belt”. As Henrietta Tupper’s letter shows, both terms were applied to the same sash. It would then appear that Doughty was well aware of the relevant passages in Nursey’s work, but in all probability only indirectly. Such second-hand knowledge would explain his inability to recall the source of his “impression”.

One final detail. Henrietta Tupper herself published a brief account of her great-uncle’s life and career, probably in 1919.¹²⁸ It is a slim pamphlet, a condensation of her father’s biography, though no slavish copy. She “prefaced” her publication with a quotation from Nursey’s biography, and avoided the subject of the “ceinture fléchée” altogether. To see any significance in this omission would be pure speculation for Henrietta Tupper’s silence could easily have been occasioned by lack of space.

This is the end of the investigation into the alleged background of the “ceinture fléchée”, for the simple reason that the evidence is exhausted. The results are readily recapitulated. There is not one shred of evidence in support of the erroneous statements made by Walter R. Nursey, George Durnford and Norman S. Gurd. The sash Brock wore at Queenston Heights was, according to the evidence, the “crimson” regulation sash in the possession of the Tupper sisters in 1896, for it alone is a “military appointment”, to borrow the term Major Glegg had used.

It would of course be gratifying if the real history of the “ceinture fléchée”, and how it came to be in Guernsey, could be told. This is impossible, for there is not a single mention of this artefact prior to 1896. However, a few suggestions can be advanced. Some heirlooms associated with Brock are even today on Guernsey, including “six Canadian halfpenny tokens” dated “1816”.¹²⁹ They are incontrovertible proof that articles not returned by Major Glegg in 1813 found their way to Guernsey. There is also indisputable evidence that the connection between Canada and Guernsey was not severed after Brock’s death. His brother John Savery visited Canada in 1817-18;¹³⁰ Ferdinand Brock Tupper was in British North-America as well.¹³¹ Both of them were in touch with Brock’s former protégé, Colonel James FitzGibbon. One more possibility is that another of Brock’s brothers, Irving, was given it by the Indian chiefs who visited London in 1825.¹³² At this time another artefact of which there is no trace in any of the documents used in this paper, an early nineteenth century ceremonial Indian club

128 Henrietta Tupper, *Short Summary of the Life of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* (Guernsey, [1919] hereafter *Short Summary*).

129 PAC, Picture Division, Brock file, “Heirlooms connected with Major General Sir Isaac Brock, Knight of the Bath, belonging to Captain Michael Mellish”, paragraph 7. The description given therein tallies exactly with that in P.N. Breton, *Illustrated History of Coins and Tokens relating to Canada* (Montreal, 1894), p. 118, no. 724. Henrietta Tupper mentions the same coin in her *Short Summary*, p. 24, and a second one shown in Breton’s work on p. 117, no. 723.

130 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), pp. 388-393; AO, “Tupper Papers”, J.S. Brock to D. De Lisle Brock, 21-23 August 1817.

131 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. 329.

132 *Ibid.*, pp. 397-399.

(Fig 21),¹³³ might also have come into the hands of the Brock brothers. Indeed, any of the suggestions made here have the advantage of further explaining why F.B. Tupper never once referred to the “ceinture fléchée”. There is no doubt that this artefact could have reached Guernsey in a number of ways, but not as a relic significant to Brock’s life and death.

THE CRAVAT

This article was the least known of the “military appointments” worn by General Brock on 13 October 1812.¹³⁴ The cravat was apparently made of rather “delicate” material; its dimensions were 25½ x 27 inches. The basic colour was “red (terra cotta)”, complemented by a plaid-like design of light and dark lines. In later years, the “red” seems to have faded to a “feint, pale rose”. The body of the cravat remained intact for decades, but the edges were eventually to assume a “shredded” appearance. No visible marks of other damage were reported.¹³⁵ More information on this relic comes once again from the letters of General Mainguy and Colonel Groves. Mainguy’s account of this artefact, written on 5 June 1896, was quite short: “The cravat through which the bullet passed as well as through the coat . . . was evidently crossed over the chest & passed down inside the coat.”¹³⁶ Colonel Groves’ comment was shorter still: “The stock, or cravat, is certainly not regulation.”¹³⁷ Grove’s objection was well founded. The 1802 Dress Regulations, as well as those revised in 1826 stipulate a black silk cravat for general officers:

White stocks to be worn by General Officers and officers of the Guards in their Full Dress Uniforms and Black Silk Stocks when in their Frocks or Undress Uniforms.¹³⁸

Clearly, the “red” cravat would be a dubious article had Brock dressed according to regulations. That he did not always do so, emerges from one episode related by F.B. Tupper. Brock fought in the battle of Egmont-op-Zee in the Netherlands on 2 October 1799, and probably escaped death in that action because he wore “a stout cotton handkerchief over a thick black silk cravat”.¹³⁹ The probable Berczy portrait (Fig. 11) shows Brock with a cravat of dark-green tartan barely distinguishable from the blue collar patch. The “red” cravat of 13 October is then not without precedence.

Even so, General Mainguy’s discovery of another damaged artefact, so many years after the event, is bound to be viewed with some caution. Neither Glegg nor

133 The present owners, Captain Mellish and his wife, have no documentation whatever on this artefact.

134 This relic was not found mentioned in any secondary publication.

135 This paragraph is based on the following sources: size of the cravat in PAC, RG 37, vol. 310, folder “Odds and ends”, inventory headed “Articles in Glass Case “26”. p. [1]; for the colour see MC, F.B. Mainguy to H. Tupper, 5 June 1896 (the complete text of this letter is in appendix E). A.E.H. Petrie, former Curator of the PAC Museum, supplied information regarding the appearance of the cravat towards the late 1950s and early 1960s.

136 MC, F.B. Mainguy to H. Tupper, 5 June 1896.

137 *Supra*, note 54.

138 *Supra*, note 59; *Regulations for the Dress of General, Staff, and Regimental Officers*. Adjutant-General’s Office, Horse-Guards, 25th April, 1822. Revised and Corrected, 25th December, 1826. (London, [1827]), p. 7. Emphasis added.

139 Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. 9; his earlier version in *Family Records*, pp. 2-3, differs slightly.

F.B. Tupper had given no direct hint thereof. Moreover, the hole could conceivably have been caused by some other agent, such as moths. It seems that General Mainguy himself had some reservations about his find. He did not content himself with simply recording the obvious but, as his use of the word “evidently” strongly suggests, proceeded to establish whether the hole in the cravat and those in the coatee would actually match. If the damage in the cravat were to correspond to that in the coatee, then it would follow that the cravat was also an authentic relic of 13 October 1812. General Mainguy’s words quoted earlier show that the holes matched. Because the dimensions of the cravat are known, it is possible to verify his findings. A piece of material 25½ x 27 inches large will not cover the right breast where Brock was hit, if worn around the neck and perhaps secured at the back by a clasp or buckle.¹⁴⁰ But if folded along its longest axis, put around the neck, and “crossed over the chest”, then it will cover the right breast where Brock was hit. In view of the relatively small size of the cravat it is manifest that the hole was exceedingly close to one of its edges. Such a location in conjunction with the material’s “delicate” nature and repeated handling are probably responsible for the eventual disintegration of the hole, thus despoiling the cravat of its original evidential value.

There is indirect corroboration of the accuracy of General Mainguy’s report. Henrietta Tupper never let on exactly which artefacts she and her sister had in their possession.¹⁴¹ But there is not a single line to show that she ever knowingly passed on incorrect information. She sent General Mainguy’s and Colonel Groves’ letters, to David Ross McCord without change or amendment.¹⁴² The last argument against the “red” cravat as an authentic relic of 13 October 1812, may stem from Glegg’s expression “military appointments”. In the strictest sense of the word the cravat is nothing of the sort. This apparent contradiction is resolved by the fact that Glegg applied this term to the accessories which Brock “wore on the fatal day”. His criterion was use not origin. A bullet hole, by any standard, is pretty effective proof of use, or wear.¹⁴³

The written record can be supplemented by visual evidence. Of the five photographs taken in June 1896, two are of the front and back of the plain coatee. These photographs show under magnification a plaid-like piece of material inside the collar of the coatee. In the front view this piece of material is placed

140 Brief references to clasps are to be found in G. Smith, *An Universal Military Dictionary* (London, 1779, reprinted 1969), p. 193, entry “Necessaries”, and W. Y. Carman, *A Dictionary of Military Uniform* (London, 1977), p. 40, entry “Clasp”. It should be noted that Forster’s first 1897 portrait depicts the “red” cravat as if it were worn with a clasp at the back, rather than “crossed over the chest”. An officer’s “black silk stock (with pink silk lining)” of the War of 1812 period is shown in L. E. Buckell’s “Dress of the Canadian Militia in 1812”, *JSAHR* 28 (1950): 28-9, fig. 1.

141 In her first letter to D. R. McCord (*supra*, note 7) she writes that they have nothing “except the coat in which he was shot & an old sabre—”. The existence of the dress coatee is revealed for the first time in a letter to J. W. L. Forster; cf. VC, File 10, H. Tupper to J. W. L. Forster, 15 January 1902. The Indian ceremonial club referred to *supra*, text and note 133, is not at all mentioned.

142 *Supra*, note 123.

143 Here it may be objected that the writer is using a double standard, that the “red” cravat is accepted as a “military appointment”, whereas the “ceinture fléchée” is not. The answer is, apart from the evidence previously considered, that there was only one cravat, but there were two sashes. On the other hand, Henrietta Tupper initially mistook the cravat for Brock’s “handkerchief” because unawareness of Glegg’s letter made it impossible for her correctly to evaluate the various artefacts; *supra*, text and notes 38 and 39.

well below the edge of the collar (Fig. 22): it is well above the collar's edge in the shot taken of the back of the tunic (fig. 23). Both photographs show white lines in this piece of material which form roughly triangular patterns, owing to the cloth being folded. It is also noticeable that the colour of this piece of material appears to be lighter than the scarlet of the tunic.

The next item is the first Brock portrait painted by J.W.L. Forster in 1897. This painting, as mentioned earlier, depicts Brock with a "red" cravat, quite unlike his other two portraits which show Brock with a regulation black cravat. Under close scrutiny the "red" cravat also reveals white lines, again in a triangular pattern, exactly as in the photographs taken the year before (Fig. 24).

The last photograph was taken in Ottawa approximately five decades later (Fig. 25). While the use of the cravat to top off the dummy is clearly incorrect, it has the advantage of showing the plaid-like design in the minutest detail possible. In addition to the usual white lines, other shadings are now observable. As in the earlier reproductions so here the colour is lighter than the scarlet of the coatee.¹⁴⁴

This is the visual evidence. Forster's portrait and the photographs constitute the only pictorial record of this unique relic. Not much else can be added. The files of the Public Archives of Canada contain few references to this artefact.¹⁴⁵ Their nature and context confirm that it was displayed together with the coatee and the "ceinture fléchée".¹⁴⁶ It is also clear that the Public Archives never knew the precise meaning of this article. In 1933 Doughty mentioned it in one letter simply as Brock's "neck-piece".¹⁴⁷ Other letters written in the course of decades on the subject of the Brock artefacts then in the Public Archives' museum fail to say anything about the cravat.¹⁴⁸

The trail comes to an end in the early 1960s. During that period the Public Archives and two museums collaborated with the Toronto-Dominion Bank in preparing a special display containing some genuine Brock artefacts.¹⁴⁹ A full colour photo of this display was released in the 23 March 1963 issue of

144 Strictly speaking there are three photographs (C-7015 to C-7017) of the Brock relics in the National Photography Collection of the PAC, of which C-7015 alone is useful in the present context. It was published in W. Kaye Lamb's essay on Brock, *The Hero of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1962), facing p. 25.

145 For the years 1908-1909, the writer was unable to locate anything in the files of the PAC. The only document is in MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 24 January 1909: "The sash went, with the coat & cravat (or stock) to Ottawa—".

146 PAC, RG 37, vol. 310, folder "Odds and ends", inventory headed "Articles in Glass Case #26", p. [1]. The cravat is described as "Handkerchief? Plad [sic]", and is placed between the plain coatee and the "ceinture fléchée", thus ruling out any possibility of mistaken identification. Folder "Miscellaneous" in the same volume contains a note pad with undated entries. One sheet headed "Map Room" lists all three artefacts, with this addition: "A stock or neckcloth similar to the one shown here probably saved Brock's life in a European War." This is no doubt an allusion to the incident discussed *supra*, text and note 139.

147 PAC, RG 37, vol. 208, p. 134, A.G. Doughty to Hon. M. McLaren, 20 December 1933.

148 PAC, Picture Division, Brock file, J.E. Kenney to F.W. Topling, 23 July 1929, mentions the coatee only. PAC, MSS Division, SNAP Registry, Brock file, Acting Dominion Archivist to J.E. Cohoe, 5 May 1937, is also silent on the cravat as is *ibid.*, W.K. Lamb to E.B. Tupper, 30 April 1959.

149 "The Story behind the 'Ad' ", in the Toronto-Dominion Bank's *Bank Notes*, 21, no. 5 (September 1963): 3.

MacLean's, and repeated on 2 May 1964, as part of the Toronto-Dominion Bank's ongoing advertising campaign. In this photograph, the "red" cravat with its chequered design will be looked for in vain for it was replaced by a piece of material of a golden hue, without any other ornamentation. Three years later, in the summer of 1967, the Museum of the Public Archives of Canada transferred some Brock artefacts to the Canadian War Museum. The cravat was not among these relics.¹⁵⁰ In 1968 the Public Archives sent more of its three-dimensional objects to the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. Once again the cravat was missing.¹⁵¹ However, the Public Archives did not then release those artefacts whose provenance was unknown.¹⁵² A search among these objects ten years later did not succeed in producing the cravat.¹⁵³

Where, then, is the "red" cravat? The original documentation available to the Public Archives of Canada was deplorably meagre—to state the case mildly. No evidence was uncovered showing that this deficiency was overcome, so that the former Dominion Archivist W. Kaye Lamb's comment made in 1978 aptly characterized the situation: "I always had the impression that the ["red" cravat] was something that had simply been added because the empty collar looked ugly."¹⁵⁴ Such being the state of affairs, it may safely be concluded that Brock's cravat was lost at the time the display for the Toronto-Dominion Bank was prepared.

THE SWORD (in J.W.L. Forster's *Guernsey and Toronto Brock*)

In his letter of 30 December 1813 to William Brock, Major Glegg expressly mentioned the origin and return of the sword Brock had used at Queenston Heights. About 1890 Henrietta Tupper noted that she and her sister had none of Brock's "article[s] . . . except the coat in which he was shot, & an old sabre".¹⁵⁵ In 1896, Henrietta Tupper recorded her "impression" to the effect that their "*sabre* was *not* the one carried by the General on the fatal day".¹⁵⁶ These excerpts show that the sisters had only one sword which they believed had been owned by their

150 PAC, RG 37, vol. 310, folder "Museum pieces transferred to the Canadian War Museum" (hereafter CWM) contains no document showing the cravat as having been transferred. CWM, Acquisition no. 67-70, 16 August 1967, lists the plain coatee, and two artefacts presumed to have been owned by Brock (a watch and telescope), but not the "ceinture fléchée" and the cravat.

151 PAC, RG 37, vol. 310, folder "Transfer to the National Museum", R.V. Rosewarne to F.J. Thorpe, 26 July 1968. The writer was informed in the course of a telephone conversation held in the summer of 1978 with Dr. F.J. Thorpe, Chief, History Division, National Museum of Man, that such a cravat had not been among the objects turned over by the PAC Museum 10 years earlier.

152 *Ibid.*, unsigned carbon copy, 26 May 1966, lists in summary various groups of articles retained at the time by the PAC.

153 The writer examined these artefacts on 5 December 1979, in the presence of the Curator of MSS, Marielle Campeau, whose help on this occasion is gratefully acknowledged. Subsequently, the military artefacts were transferred to the Canadian War Museum on 11 January 1979.

154 Letter to the writer, 28 August 1978, quoted with permission.

155 *Supra*, note 7.

156 MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 2 June 1896.

great-uncle.¹⁵⁷ Given this background, there is justification for asking whether Forster painted the sword in his portraits after that in the sisters' possession, and further whether that sword was in fact the one Glegg had returned (Figs. 13, 14 and 26).

Officers such as Brock were supposed to have the 1796 pattern infantry officer's sword, details of which are included in the 1802 Dress Regulations:

The Uniform Sword for General Officers, Officers on the Staff, Officers of the Guards and of Regiments or Corps of the 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. The Blade straight . . . The Scabbards Black, with Gilt Mounting . . . The Sword Knot to be Crimson and Gold in Stripes.

The paragraph following states how the sword was to be worn:

The Sword to be carried in a White . . . Belt round the Waist, but over the Coat, by General Officers and by Officers on the Staff, on which there is to be a Clasp . . . By all other Officers . . . it is to be carried in a Buff . . . Belt . . .¹⁵⁸

In Forster's portraits the sword-belt is white, and it has a clasp of gilt (or brass) colour, but is worn under, not over the coat as stipulated. The sword-knot is painted in stripes of gold and crimson. The upper portion of the scabbard is shown in black, with the only mounting, the locket and ring, again in gilt. If this part of the scabbard painted by Forster is compared with the lower portion preserved in the Royal Court House in St. Peter Port, Guernsey (Fig. 10), then some similarities are noticeable. The colour of that part of the scabbard is also black; its shape is straight as is the blade of the 1796 pattern sword.¹⁵⁹ The mountings, the band with ring, and the chape, are in gilt and have the same rectangular shape as in Forster's portraits.

Still more significant in Forster's depiction are the components of the sword hilt. The shell in gilt resembles closely the style characteristic of the 1796 pattern. The grip is painted as if it were wound with the "Silver twisted Wire" laid down in

157 Further evidence of the sisters' belief that they had one of Brock's swords lies in the fact that General Mainguy, obviously at the request of Henrietta Tupper, checked their father's biography of Brock for information on the sword, naturally without success, because the elder Tupper had said nothing about it; cf. MC, F.B. Mainguy to H. Tupper, 5 June 1896. On this question whether the sword in the possession of the Tupper sisters was Brock's sword, one practical argument should not be overlooked, even though it cannot be documented. There is no evidence suggesting the presence of a second sword in the Tupper family, nor is there a single *proven* instance of any of the three-dimensional objects which Glegg had returned, having been lost up to 1897. No reason exists as to why the sword should not have survived until the end of the century, when all the other relics survived.

158 Carman, "Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802", *JSAHR* 19 (1940), p. 210.

159 The 1796 pattern sword was used together with the 1786 pattern scabbard which was made in two different styles. The remnant in the Royal Court House and Forster's scabbard are of the type with three mountings and two rings, that is it is designed for wear with a sword-belt. The second version lacks the centre band and ring; instead it has a frog catch on the locket for suspension from a crossbelt worn over the right shoulder. Scabbards of this period are rare, as is the literature on them. Brian Robson's *Swords of the British Army: the Regulation Patterns, 1788-1914* (London, 1975), chapters 7 and 9, provides some information.

the regulations, but the gilt backpiece is not a feature of the 1796 pattern,¹⁶⁰ nor is the ferrule as solid as it appears in Forster's work. The guard, though largely concealed where it joins the shell, appears also more substantial than this part actually is. Overall, Forster depicted a much sturdier sword hilt than the somewhat fragile appearance of the 1796 pattern infantry officer's sword would justify.

Forster was, on his own showing, no expert on uniforms or swords.¹⁶¹ Neither Colonel Groves nor General Mainguy were knowledgeable about swords,¹⁶² so that in this regard they in all probability would not have advised Forster. It is, moreover, questionable that Forster could have drawn the information needed for such specific details as the backpiece and the ferrule from any then published work, because even today the precise type of sword Forster shows seems to be unknown.¹⁶³ It is then doubtful that Forster created the sword on the basis of research.¹⁶⁴ By way of contrast there is a substantial measure of agreement between his work and a real sword of the 1796 pattern and scabbard, thus suggesting that Forster had the genuine artefact to work with. This is in keeping with the fact that he had, as pointed out before, other Brock relics at his disposal. No valid reason is at hand as to why the Tupper sisters should have withheld the sword from Forster, especially so in view of the additional fact that he painted Brock's portrait on behalf of the States of Guernsey, as an act of homage to the Island's son. Nor does it seem credible that Forster would have taken liberties, or failed in executing his task correctly. Nevertheless, given the paucity, and partly circumstantial nature, of the evidence, it is preferable to err on the side of caution.

It is suggested that the sword in Forster's Guernsey Brock, and the Toronto replica, is an unknown variant of the 1796 pattern infantry officer's sword or, less

160 The 1803 pattern sword for general officers has a backpiece, but in other details it does not match the sword which Forster depicts. It should be noted that this backpiece is less distinct in the Guernsey Brock, probably for the reason that it has not been cleaned for some time, unlike the Toronto replica which was restored in early January 1978.

161 A case-in-point is the plain coatee in Forster's portrait of Major-General Aeneas Shaw (d. 1815). The buttons and loops are in pairs which is correct for a major-general's coatee; however, only one loop and button should be on the blue cuff, as is clearly shown in figure 6, and not two as seen in this portrait.

162 Colonel Groves told Henrietta Tupper that he knew "nothing of swords, & doubts if any one here [on Guernsey] does." He would have known if General Mainguy had been knowledgeable in this field; MC, H. Tupper to D.R. McCord, 15 June 1898.

163 The writer did not find a single reproduction, photo, or drawing in the works consulted that matched Forster's sword in all essential details. This agrees with the information provided by two recognized authorities on swords, Claude Blair, Keeper, Department of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, and A.V.B. Norman, Master of the Tower of London Armouries. They consider the shell in Forster's portrait to be in accord with that in the 1796 pattern, "but the grip and guard are unlike anything that either of us have seen associated with such a shell". Letter, C. Blair to the writer, 17 January 1979.

164 As *supra*, note 161, indicates it is doubtful that Forster knew any of the regulations cited in this paper. But even if he did, these are insufficient for a reconstruction of details such as the sword hilt. This fact also points to Forster having worked *at least* with a sword of the period. This inference is in keeping with his claims to historical accuracy; cf. *supra*, text and notes 57 and 58. Nothing in these excerpts suggests that Forster meant to have his claim limited to the plain coatee.

likely, a poorly done portrayal. The evidence suggests further that Forster unknowingly painted the sword Brock had carried at Queenston Heights.¹⁶⁵

CONCLUSION

The intent of this paper was to establish the facts regarding the historical reputation of three relics donated to Canada in late 1908 by General Brock's heirs. The outcome of the investigation is mixed: two artefacts were shown to be genuine, even though one of these is lost; however, the claim to fame of the "ceinture fléchée" had to be rejected as unfounded. These findings do not lack a certain piquancy, because initially it was the plain coatee that caused the greatest suspicion, rather than the "ceinture fléchée". Moreover, the earlier existence of the "red" cravat came as a complete surprise. The examination of the sword in J.W.L. Forster's portraits was an equally unforeseen, but rewarding by-product of this enquiry.

Perhaps two major observations may be made. Much of the published and unpublished literature that was examined in the course of this paper exhibited a marked proclivity towards unquestioning acceptance of established "authorities", with results that are painfully obvious. But it is also evident that one basic archival principle is of much value outside its own sphere, namely that of keeping a collection together, of not breaking it up for any reason. Violation of this principle exacts a forfeit. The problems which are the subject of this investigation would probably not have arisen at all had the Tuppers understood this. The Brock collection, as returned by Major Glegg, and enriched by whatever genuine additions were made afterwards, might have been a splendid one; instead, it was dispersed over two continents, its remnants long assailed by doubt. Scarcely less important is the obligation incumbent upon donors to furnish all the evidence they can and, as an inevitable corollary, for recipient institutions promptly to undertake investigations with proper means and personnel. Artefacts or records of national significance should not have to depend for their reputation on uncertainty and invention.

165 When on Guernsey in May 1978 the writer could not learn how and when the sword and scabbard came to be broken. There are no further references to these articles in Henrietta Tupper's correspondence after 1896.

Résumé

L'authenticité des pièces de l'uniforme du héros militaire canadien, Isaac Brock, fut l'objet d'une longue controverse. Après une recherche exhaustive, l'auteur croit avoir mit le point final à cette dispute. Il nous fournit, tout en décrivant la méthodologie suivie dans sa recherche, la fascination que peut exercer les sources d'archives.

APPENDIX A

The “ceinture fléchée” : an analysis of the secondary literature.**Analysis**

The accompanying table is indicative, rather than definitive. It was prepared on the basis of two criteria — the necessity for fairly evenly spaced chronological coverage, and the inclusion of major biographies of Brock and Tecumseh as the most likely recorders of any changes. Of the 57 entries in the table, only 22 refer to the incident of the sash (James/Hall), 12 to the incident of the sashes (Nursey/Gurd), and 23 entries make no mention of either. Further examination reveals the following information:

1. For the years 1816-1906, out of 28 entries 15 refer to the incident of the sash (James/Hall), 13 do not, and there is no mention of an incident involving two sashes.
2. For the later period, 1908-1978 (29 entries), there is a greater variation. 7 entries refer to the sash (James), 3 refer to the sashes (Nursey), and 9 to both the sashes and Brock's wearing of Tecumseh's alleged sash on 13 October 1812 (Gurd), while the remaining 10 entries are without any of these versions.
3. In this second period 16 entries are of Canadian origin, with 5 using James, 3 Nursey and 8 Gurd. 2 entries are British, and without reference to a sash or sashes. Of the remaining American entries, 8 make no mention, 2 use James and 1 uses Gurd.

At best, therefore, it must be observed that no consensus exists for the entire period (1816-1978), although the James version is the most widely accepted. It is clear too, that the Nursey/Gurd versions are a twentieth century phenomenon, which is virtually restricted to Canadian historiography.

Key to table

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|----------------|
| A | Author or title, edition (for full imprint data see the chronological bibliography at the end of this appendix) | | |
| * | Canadian authors and publications | F | Hall version |
| B | Biographies | G | James version |
| C | Other works | H | Nursey version |
| D | Page references | I | Gurd version |
| E | Year of publication | J | No references |

ARCHIVARIA

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1. Thomson, J.L.		X		1816					X
2. <i>History of the Am. War</i> , 2d ed.		X		1816					X
3. Brackenridge, H.M., 2d ed.		X		1817					X
4. Christie, R.		X		1818					X
5. Hall, F.		X	138	1818	X				
6. James, W.		X	1,291-2	1818		X			
7. Tupper, <i>Family records</i> ...	X		201	1835	X				
8. Drake, B.	X		166	1841		X			
9. Richardson, J., <i>War of 1812</i>		X		1842					X
10. Thompson, D., 2d ed.		X		1845					X
11. Tupper, <i>Brock</i>	X		239	1845		X			
12. Tupper, <i>Brock</i> , 2d ed.	X		253	1847		X			
13. Auchinleck, G.		X	230-1	1855		X			
14. Ellis, E.S.	X		59-60	1861		X			
15. Coffin, W.S.		X	234	1864		X			
16. Lossing, B.J.		X	291	1869		X			
17. Eggleston, E.	X		248	1878		X			
18. Dent, J.C.	X		2,151	1880		X			
19. Ryerson, E.		X	2,355-6	1880		X			
20. Adams, H.		X		1891					X
21. Edgar, M.		X		1891					X
22. Read, D.B.	X			1894					X
23. Kingsford, W.		X	8,204	1895		X			
24. Kirby, W.		X		1896					X
25. Robinson, C.W.	X			1904					X
26. Hannay, J.		X		1905					X
27. Lucas, C.P.		X		1906					X
28. Randall, E.O.	X		482-3	1906		X			
29. Nursey, W.R.	* X		112	1908			X		
30. Gurd, N.S.	* X		137	1912				X	
31. <i>Canada and its provinces</i>	* X		3,224	1913				X	
32. Wood, W.	* X		73	1915				X	
33. Raymond, E.T.	* X		108-9	1915		X			
34. Tupper, H.	X			1919?					X
35. Wood, W., <i>Select Brit. Doc's</i>	* X		1,39	1920				X	
36. <i>Tecumseh and Richardson</i>	* X		36-7	1924		X			
37. Edgar, M., <i>Brock</i> , rev. ed.	* X		246	1927		X			
38. McSpadden, J.W.	X			1928					X
39. Karr, W.J.	* X		170	1929		X			
40. Britt, A.	X			1938					X
41. Oskison, J.M.	X		181	1938					
42. Tucker, G.		X	1,377	1954		X			
43. Tucker, G., <i>Tecumseh</i> ...	X		270	1956				X	
44. Raddall, T.H.	* X		201	1957				X	
45. Gilpin, T.H.		X		1958					X
46. Klinck, C.F.	* X		158-9	1961		X			
47. Josephy, A.M.		X		1961					X
48. Lamb, W.K.	* X		20	1963			X		
49. Hitsman, J.M.	* X		88	1965				X	
50. Roland, A.	X			1966					X
51. Eckert, A.W.		X		1967					X
52. <i>Formative years</i> ...	* X		8	1968			X		
53. Jacobs, J.R.		X		1969					X
54. Mahon, J.K.		X		1972					X
55. Whitfield, C.	* X		15	1974				X	
56. Caffrey, K.		X		1978					X
57. <i>Heritage of Canada</i>	* X		155-6	1978				X	
Totals:	16	24	33		2	20	3	9	23

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APPENDIX B

Major Glegg's letter

Major John Baskerville Glegg wrote to William Brock, 30 December 1813. The letter is headed "Fort Niagara, American Territory" and is postmarked twice, "Quebec Jan. . . 18" and "Ap' 3 1814". The final paragraph is not wholly legible due to partial damage from the letter's wax seal. There is also a marginal annotation, probably in the hand of Ferdinand Brock Tupper, which reads "1813 Major Glegg Fort Niagara 30 Decr (Preserve this)".

(Archives of Ontario, F.B. Tupper Papers)

At length my dear Sir, after the most anxious state of suspense for many months, I have been gratified by the receipt of your welcome letter dated Stanford Hill Middlesex 5th Sept enclosing a most interesting and satisfactory one of three months earlier date—Your conjecture respecting the loss of the original of that enclosed, was perfectly accurate, in common with many others, I was deprived of earlier assurances of your kind interest and friendship by the capture of the Manchester Packet—I trust and hope, Porter's arrival has put you in possession of a few interesting articles of our lamented friend, some part of them would, I am well aware, awaken fresh agony, but I thought it my duty to send them—I allude to the Uniform and military appointments—which the Hero wore on the fatal day—they could be no-where so well deposited as in *your hands*, and impressed with these sentiments I determined on sending them—I was truly anxious my dear Sir, to deserve the approbation of yourself and family respecting my well intentioned arrangements on the most trying and distressing occasion that ever happened, and your kind assurances have made me more than happy.

I had retained a few more articles which belonged to my dear friend, and hoped it might hereafter be my good fortune to deliver them into the hands of Mrs. Brock, but I regret to say they fell into the hands of the Enemy at York together with what little of my own private baggage I had saved in our retreat from Fort George—

The sword sent home, your Gallant Brother wore on the fatal day, and is the one he accepted from me when I joined him from Major General Milner's Staff in 1807 at Quebec, the other I took the liberty of taking as a valuable remembrance of my esteem and veneration for his great worth, it shall never /be assured/ be used or treated in a manner unworthy of his memory—You will be rejoiced to hear that the body of your beloved Brother and that of his Provincial Aid de Camp remain undisturbed in the identical place where they were deposited—Amidst all the violence committed by the unprincipled Enemy whilst he remained on our Frontier, their Tomb remained sacred and the spot was I believe ever respected.

I before mentioned having had an Inscription on a Silver Plate affixed to your Brother's coffin, and wish much you would send me a neat white marble slab to appear on the Bastion in a conspicuous Station, to point out the place of internment to the present and future generations—Were a peace to take place tomorrow I am perfectly confident the gratitude and admiration of these Provinces would be immediately recorded by a Monument to his Memory—Your anticipation respecting our movements have at *length* proved very accurate, the Niagara frontier has not only been reoccupied, and the Enemy driven across the River, but the tables have been turned against him in a *manner* and at a *moment*, that will I trust lead to the most important consequences and astonish the Madisonian Philosophers—Fort Niagara which had hitherto been considered the Gibraltar of this part of the world, was taken by Assault by a party of five hundred men under the Command of Colonel Murray one of our Inspecting Field officers of Militia and late of that Corps, an hour before daylight on [the mor]ning of the 19th instant—This Enterp[rise] was entirely planned by our friend Major Gen^l Vincent and Col. Murray, but unluckily for the former, just as it was going to be carried into execution Lieut. Genl. Drummond and Major General Riall arrived at Fort George from the Lower Province, and the whole of the honor and merit of the undertaking has been laid at their door—Considering the great importance in a naval as well as military point of view that the capture of Fort Niagara must be considered, it may be thought an easy conquest, one officer and five men killed Colonel Murray and three men wounded—The Enemy had 55 killed and 15 wounded—the whole loss occasioned by the Bayonet, not a Shot having been fired on our part—By retaining this Fort we shall have the Command of the Niagara River, and it will afford our fleet on Lake Ontario a good harbour to run into in case of necessity, from which Commodore Chauncey derived so much advantage last summer—Since the Capture of Fort Niagara our operations from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie a distance of 55 miles have been crowned with the most brilliant series of success, upwards of forty pieces of cannon have been taken an immense quantity of all descriptions of stores have fallen into our possession, 4 armed Sloops burnt, and the whole of the Enemy's Frontier laid waste and their villages reduced to Ashes including Black rock and Buffalo, and their Army defeated and dispersed upon every occasion when it awaited our Troops—When I am allowed to enjoy a little leisure, I shall not be unmindful of your request, and will send some anecdotes of the public and private life of my much lamented friend which will do honor to his memory—

I was intimately acquainted my dear Sir with your Brothers [sic] sentiments on the most private subjects, and can take upon me to say he has left no natural child for your care, I have charge at present of a little boy of the name of Ellis who lived under the General's roof for two years previous to his death and would I believe have been provided for had he lived—He is a natural son of Captain Ellis formerly of the 49th who was drowned on his passage home from this country about four years since—He is a very amiable boy about ten years old, I have put him to a good school and he wants for nothing—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—At one time I had thoughts of writing the first campaign and wrote a preface which I intended should shew the wisdom and foresight of your illustrious Brother, but finding myself bound to relate so many strong facts affecting my superiors, I paused for reasons, which in a military man you will I think consider prudent—

I beg you will . . . the kindest . . . to Mrs. Brock, to my much valued friend Savery and the other parts of your family with and . . . have the . . . [illegible] to be acquainted. Hoping you will grant . . . by an occasional correspondence I am

My dr Sir
most faithfully yrs
JB Glegg



Fig. 1. Brock's "plain coatee", 1978. Photograph by H. Foster. (Canadian War Museum)



Fig. 2. Brock's "plain coatee", 1896. Enlarged detail. Photograph by B. Collenette. (Notman Photographic Archives)



Fig. 3. *The back of Brock's "plain coatee", 1896. Photograph by B. Collenette. (Notman Photographic Archives)*

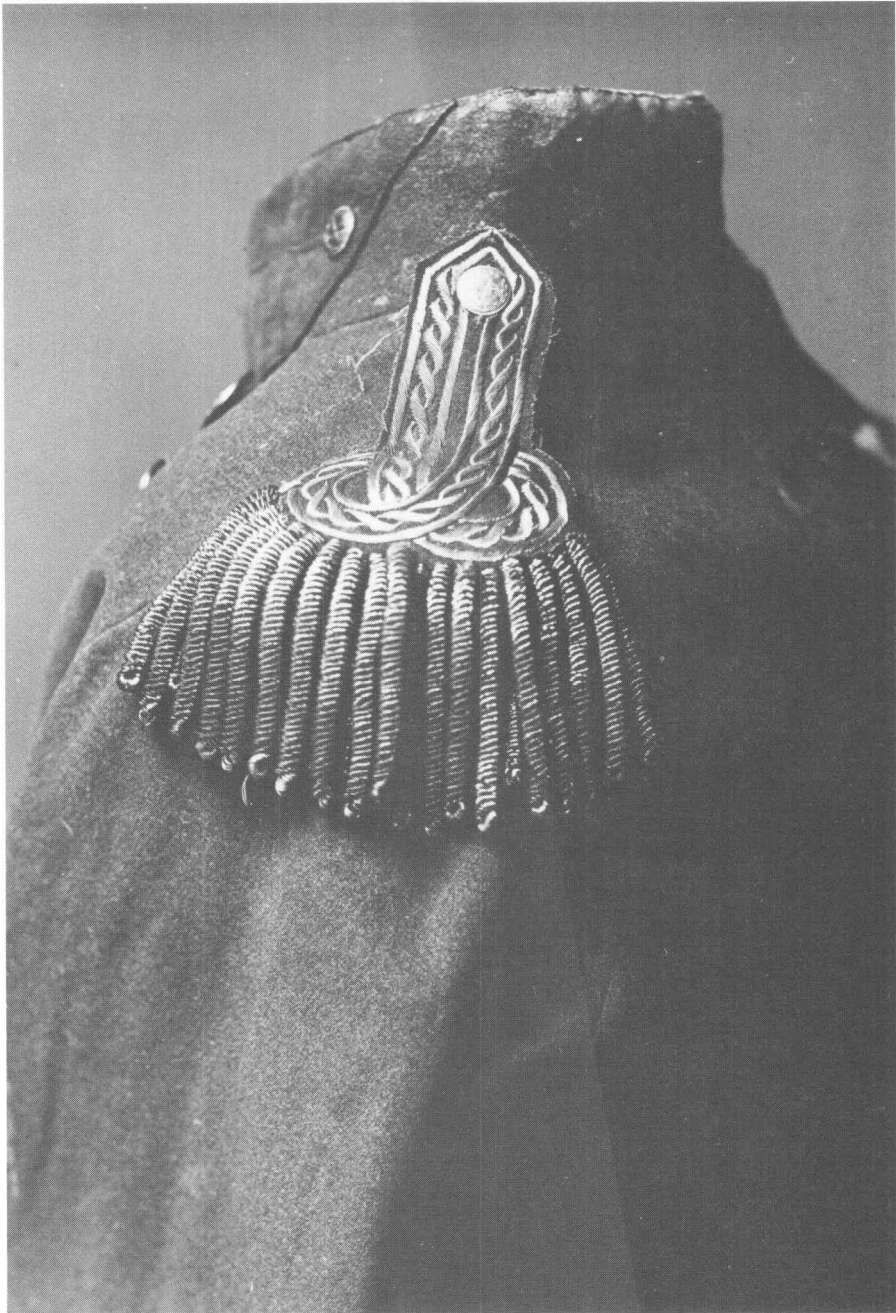


Fig. 4. *Left shoulder and epaulette of Brock's "plain coatee", 1896. Note the hook at the bottom of the sixth bullion. Photograph by B. Collenette. (Notman Photographic Archives)*



Fig. 5. Brock's "dress coatee", preserved in the McCord Museum, Montreal, 1979. Photograph by Ron McRae. (McCord Museum)



Fig. 6. *A major-general's "dress coatee" according to the 1 July 1811 Dress Regulation, 1979. Note the four loops and buttons on the sleeves. Photograph by T. Edwin Burden. (Hamilton Military Museum)*

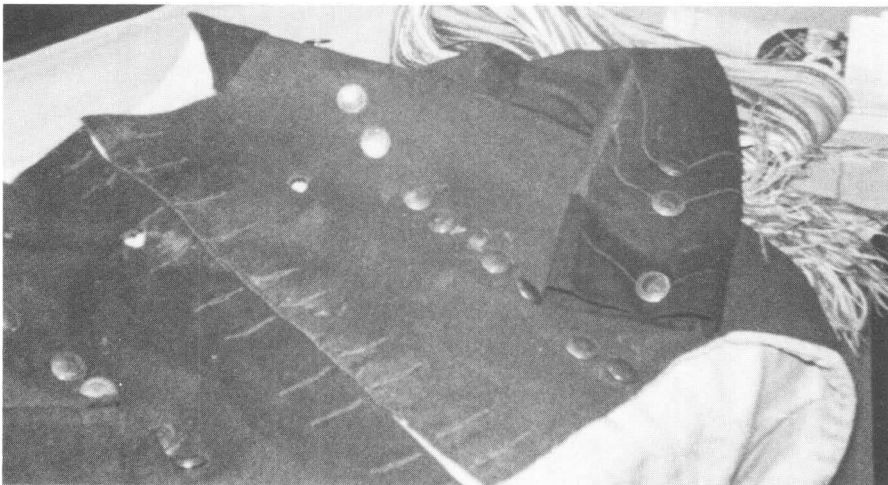


Fig. 7. *Brock's "plain coatee" with both holes showing, 1978. (From the writer's collection)*

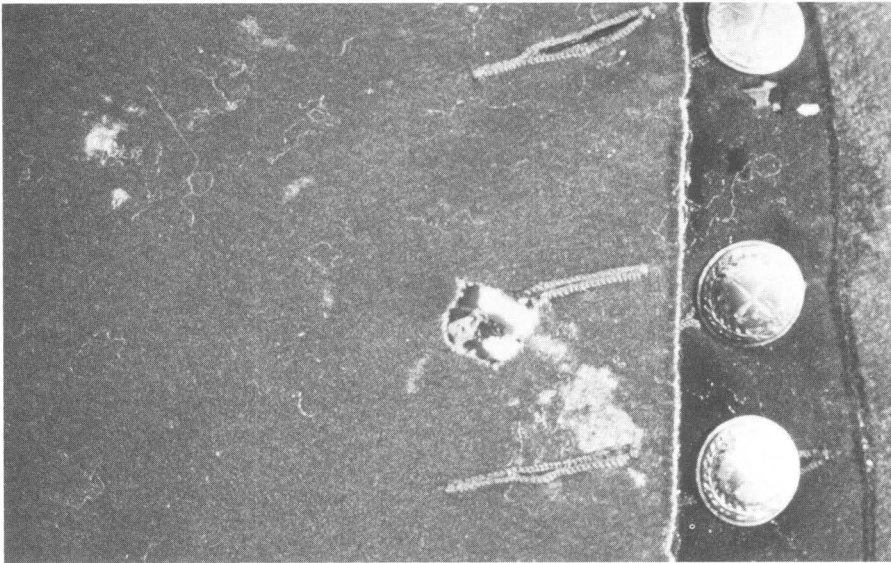


Fig. 8. Close-up of the hole in the right side of Brock's "plain coatee", 1978. Photograph by H. Foster. (Canadian War Museum)

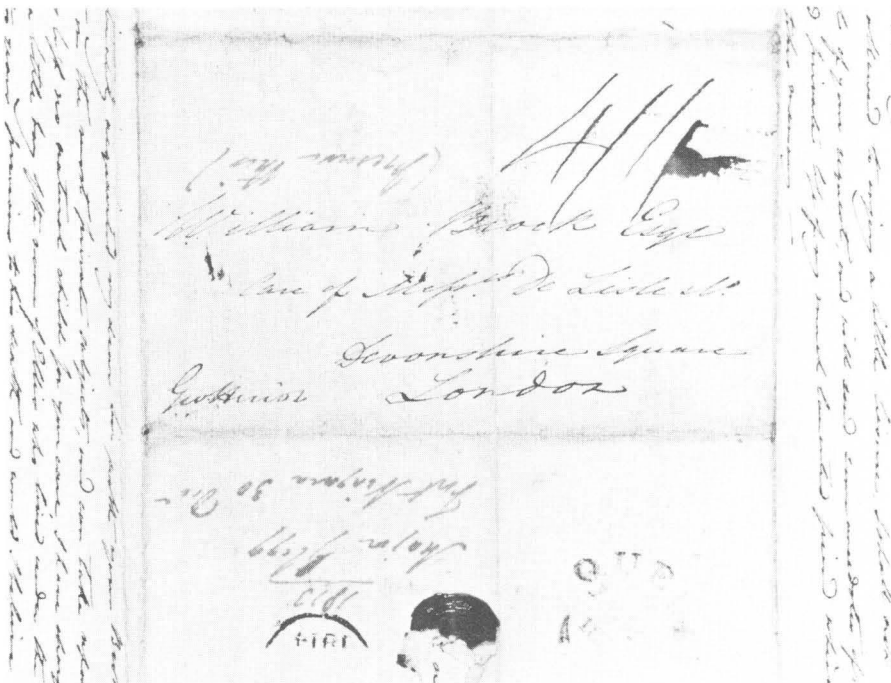


Fig. 9. Facsimile of part of Major J.B. Glegg's letter to William Brock, 30 December 1813. (Archives of Ontario)

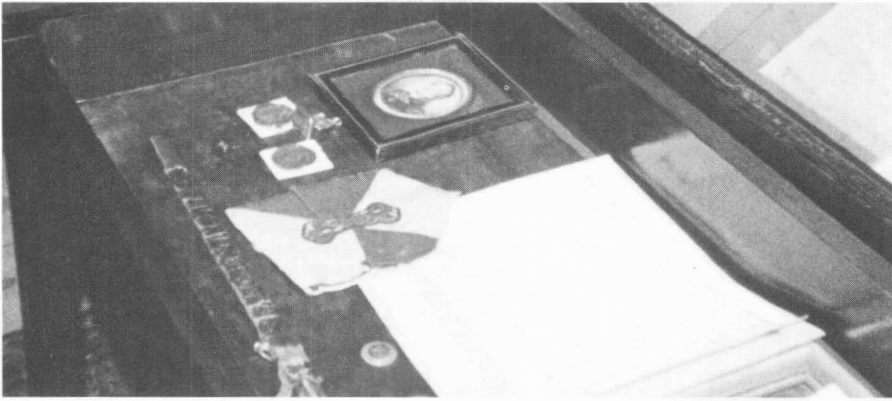


Fig. 10. *Display case in the Royal Court House, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands, showing lower half of sword and scabbard, two buttons with the sword and truncheon design, and bottom of life skirt of a coatee of early nineteenth century design, 1978. (From the writer's collection)*



Fig. 11. *Brock in his middle thirties. Portrait attributed to one of the Sharples, 1806. Photograph by George Symons. (Captain M.H.T. Mellish)*



Fig. 12. Brock in the "plain coatee", the "red cravat" and with the "ceinture fléchée". Portrait by J.W.L. Forster, Guernsey, May 1897. Photograph by Kate McGregor. (Public Archives of Canada)



Fig. 13. Brock, portrait by J.W.L. Forster, Guernsey, summer 1897. This portrait is still on display in the entrance hall of the Royal Court House, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands. Photograph by George Symons. (H.M. Greffier, Royal Court House, St. Peter Port)

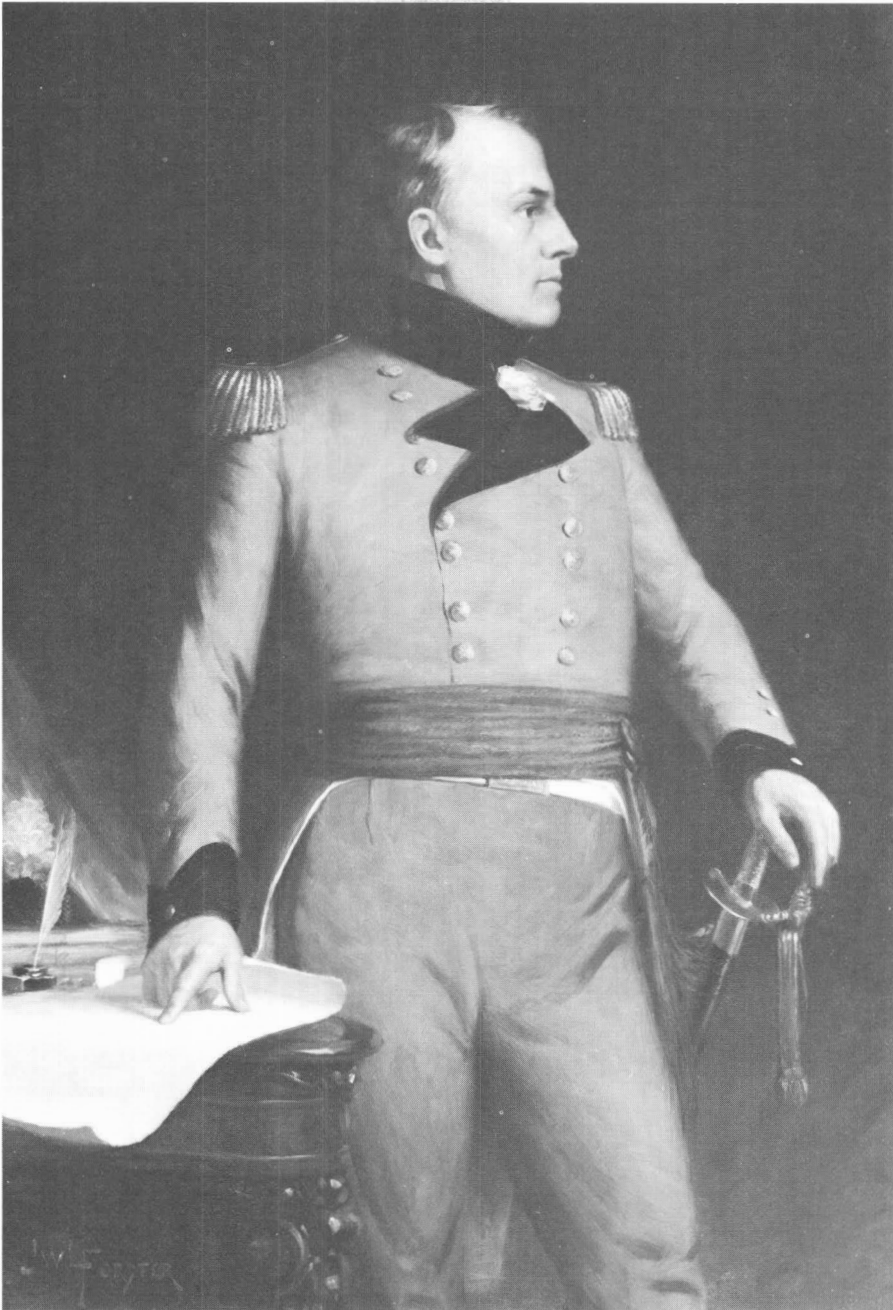


Fig. 14. *Brock, replica of the Guernsey Brock, by J. W. L. Forster, probably 1897/98. On display in the Parliament Building, Queen's Park, Toronto. Photograph by Jim Chambers. (Government of Ontario Art Collection)*

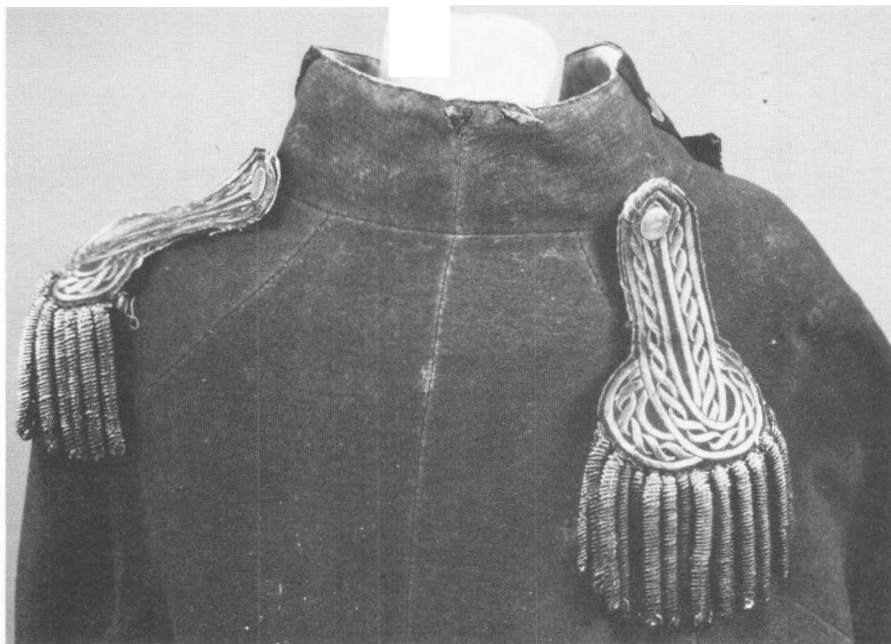


Fig. 15. *Rear view, collar and right shoulder with epaulette lowered, of Brock's "plain coatee", 1978. Photograph by H. Foster. (Canadian War Museum)*

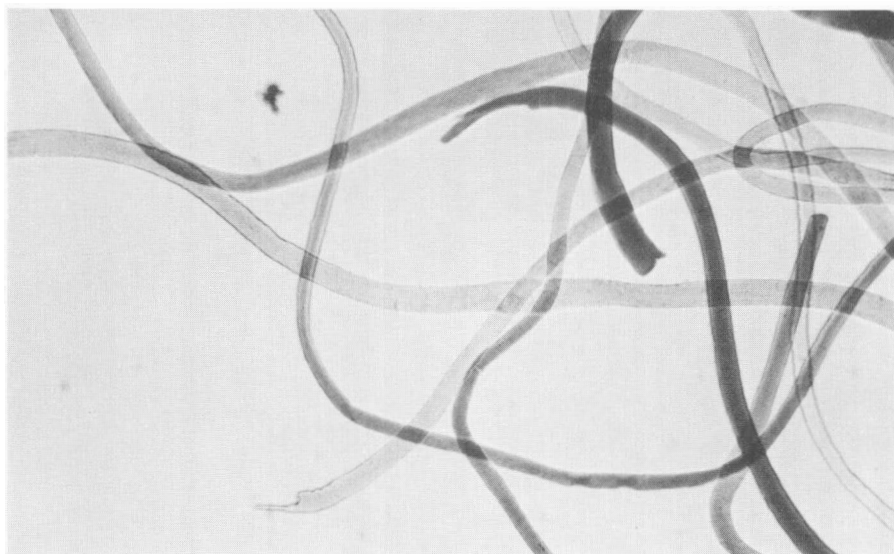


Fig. 16. *Red fibres from periphery of small hole in right sleeve, near the cuff, taken from Brock's "plain coatee", 1978. Sharp ends are indicative of insect damage. Magnification: x 100. (Crime Detection Laboratory, RCMP, Ottawa)*

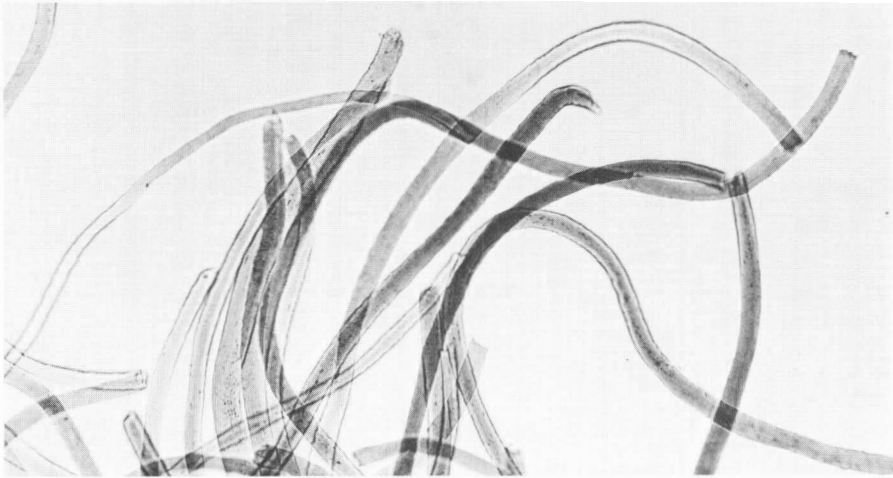


Fig. 17. Red wool fibres from periphery of largest hole in the left side (the bullet hole) of Brock's "plain coatee", 1979. No indication of insect damage, fibre ends are not sharp-pointed. Magnification: x 178. (Crime Detection Laboratory, RCMP, Ottawa)

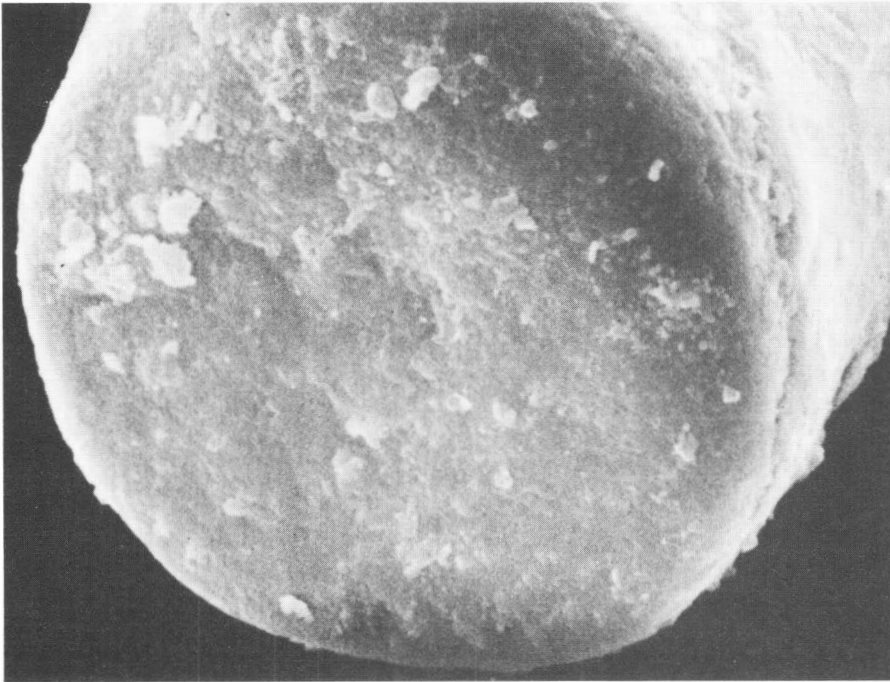


Fig. 18. Scanning electron photomicrograph of fibre end from periphery of largest hole in the left side (the bullet hole) of Brock's "plain coatee", 1979. The fibre end appears rounded, indicating abrasion. Magnification: x 5600. (Crime Detection Laboratory, RCMP, Ottawa)



Fig. 19. Brock's "plain coatee", rear view, enlarged detail, 1896. Photograph by B. Collette. (Notman Photographic Archives)

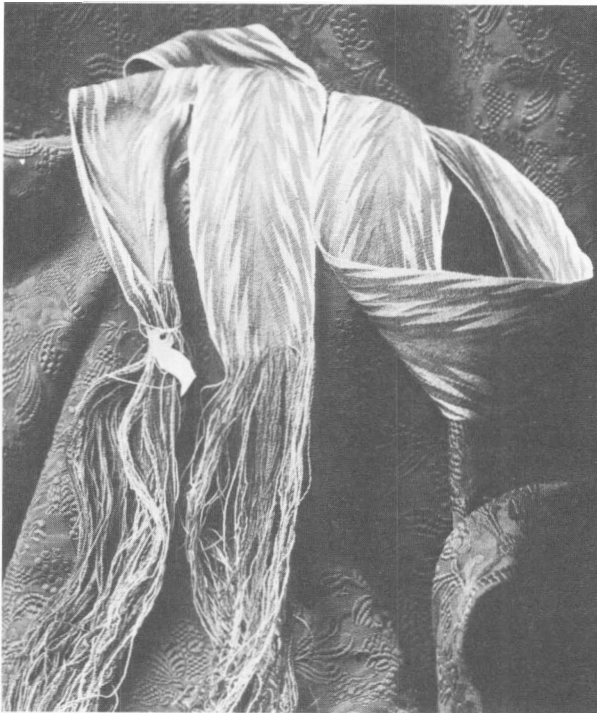


Fig. 20. The "ceinture fléchée", 1896. Photograph by B. Collette. (Notman Photographic Archives)

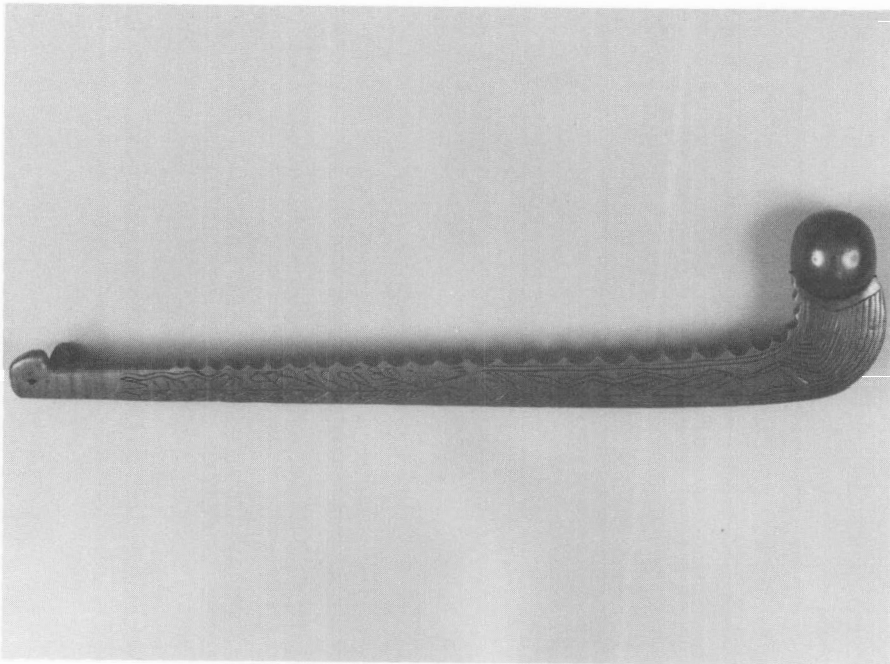
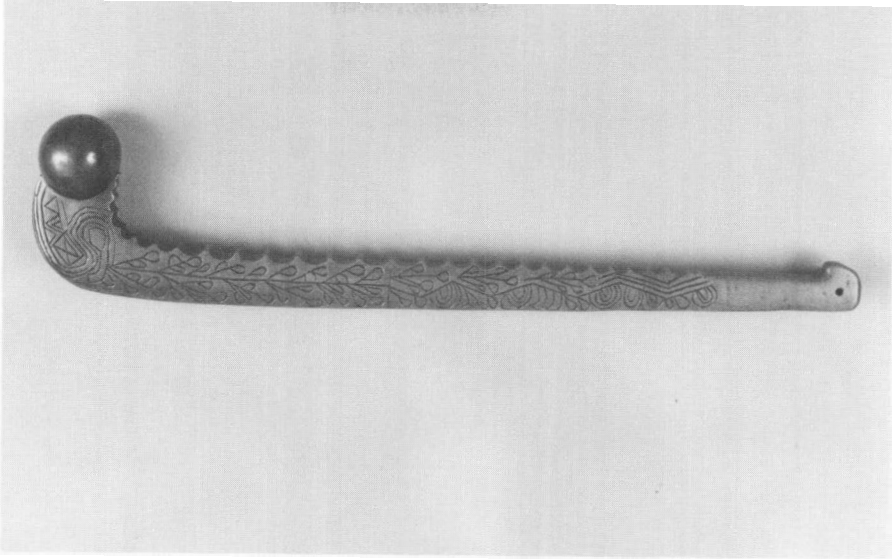


Fig. 21. *Left and right side of Indian ceremonial club, early nineteenth century.* (Captain M.H.T. Mellish)

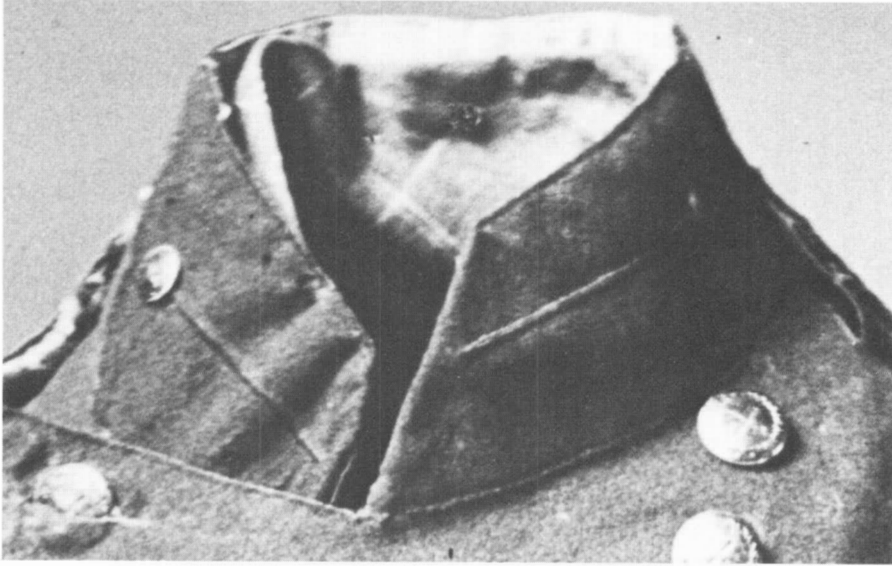


Fig. 22. Detail of front of Brock's "plain coatee", showing cravat inside of collar, 1896. Photograph by B. Collette. (Notman Photographic Archives)



Fig. 23. Detail of back of Brock's "plain coatee", showing cravat above the collar, 1896. Photograph by B. Collette. (Notman Photographic Archives)

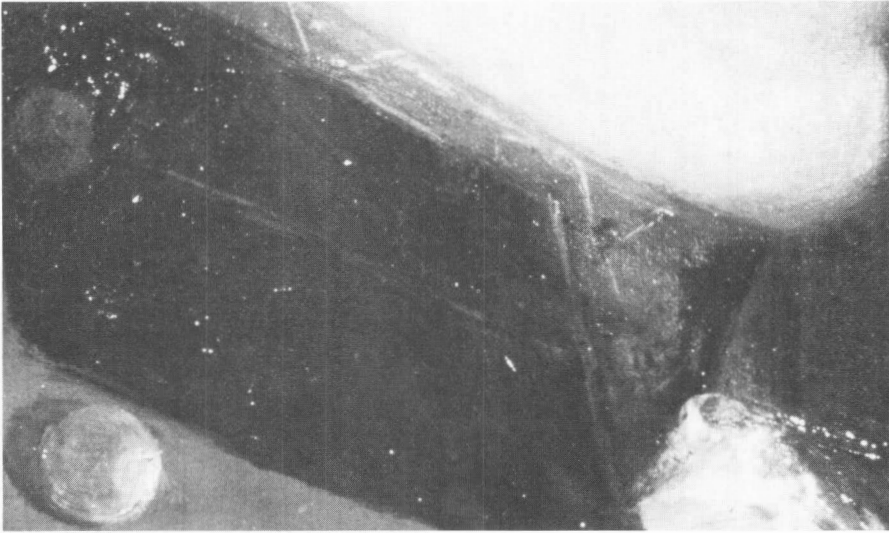


Fig. 24. *Detail from Forster's May 1897 Brock portrait, showing cravat, 1978. Photograph by Kate McGregor. (Public Archives of Canada)*

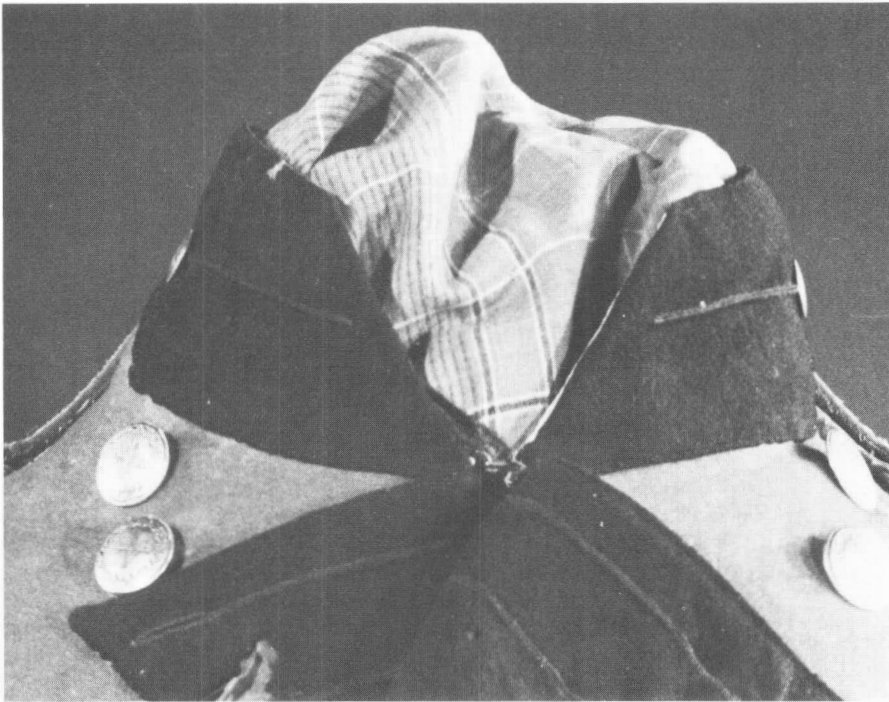


Fig. 25. *Detail of the Public Archives of Canada's photo of Brock's "plain coatee", with cravat topping off dummy. (PAC, C-7015)*



Fig. 26. Detail of sword hilt from J.W.L. Forster's Toronto replica (figure 14), 1978. Photograph by Jim Chambers. (Government of Ontario Art Collection)

APPENDIX C

Extracts from Henrietta Tupper's correspondence relating to the "plain coatee"

1. To C.W. Robinson, January 25, 1882. (*The Canadian Magazine*, May 1908:263)

We have also the coat in which he was killed, the handkerchief with his blood, and I believe every scrap of paper relating to him . . .

2. To David R. McCord, 26 April 1890[?]

. . . we have no plate belonging to the General, nor any article of his, except the coat in which he was shot, & an old sabre—

3. To David R. McCord, 2 June 1896.

I have written to have the coat in which Sir Isaac was killed photographed *at once*, & at the same time requested General Mainguy a friend of ours, kindly to send me a description of the coat, enclosing your letter to him, that he may answer your questions categorically—& I will forward to you—My own impression is that *our sabre* was *not* the one carried by the General on the fatal day, but I have written to one of my cousins for her opinion on that matter, as also about the *cocked hat*—

4. To David R. McCord, probably middle of June 1896.

You will see the coat was not green with a line of silver but blue with a line of black stitching.

5. To Augustus D. Durnford, 10 September 1908. (Durnford Papers)

So I feel that Canada, where his name is venerated, is the rightful home for his coat, stained with the blood he shed, when, as one of your papers put it, "*he* died to preserve what *Wolfe* died to gain."

6. To Lord Strathcona, 8 November 1908 (Public Archives of Canada)

. . . the Coat worn by my great-Uncle, Major General Sir Isaac Brock, when he fell at the battle of Queenston Heights A.D. 1812.

7. To Augustus D. (or George) Durnford, 9 November 1908 (Public Archives of Canada)

That reminds me, that the collar of the coat is sadly discoloured & no wonder. It was sent to the family, I suppose somewhere about 1813 but my great Uncle, Savery Brock, could not bear to examine the box, & it was only in 1843, (30 years afterwards) that when he was in failing health, mind & body, that my father got possession of the coat & manuscripts, & found the coat soiled & motheaten.

However, perhaps that proves its age.

8. To Lord Strathcona, 12 December 1908. (Public Archives of Canada)
 ... the coat, which our great-Uncle, Major General Sir Isaac Brock, was wearing when he fell at the battle of Queenston Heights, Oct. 13, 1812...
 It was not till 1843... that... the box came into my father's possession, the letters uninjured, but the coat sadly moth-eaten.
9. To David R. McCord, 24 January 1909.
 The sash went, with the coat & cravat (or stock) to Ottawa—
10. To David R. McCord, 28 January 1909.
 Did I tell you that I see in my father's preface that the coats,* & other things belonging to the General (letters & documents chiefly) were sent to the family from Canada, as soon, evidently, as possible, after his death...
11. To David R. McCord, 10 November 1909.
 We have 2 young Tupper cousins, not living in Guernsey, so I did not want them to have the coats,*—

* The change from singular to plural in the word "coat" relates to the second coat, Brock's brigadier general's dress coat.

APPENDIX D

Extracts from Henrietta Tupper's correspondence relating to the "ceinture fléchée"

1. To David R. McCord, probably middle of June, 1896.
 The sash, Colonel Groves thinks, belonged to a friendly Indian chief, and was used to carry the General off the fatal field.
2. To David R. McCord, 22 August 1896.
 ... am sending you by this post a little watercolour drawing of the sash, worn, or supposed to have been worn by the General.
3. To David R. McCord, 28 October 1896.
 I am in receipt of yours of 8th Sept. (a postcard) in which you thank me for the watercolour drawing of the sash, & say it is exactly one of the sashes you described—a "ceinture fléchée"—... I wonder if the legend with regard to General Brock & a sash is that referred to in my father's book, page 253,* where Brock gave his own sash to Tecumseh.
4. To David R. McCord, 24 January 1909.
 This card is only to tell you that we are despatching the coat worn by Sir Isaac, & which we hope will reach you safely—... The sash went, with the coat & cravat (or stock) to Ottawa—

*The page reference is to the second (1847) edition.

5. To Maria Georgina Durnford, 6 April 1910 (Public Archives of Canada)

My impression has been that it was the *sash of Tecumseh*, & I see Mr. Walter Nursey also believes it, for in his book, "The story of Isaac Brock" he says on p. 112 . . .

I have not found it in my father's book, but I think it must be there, or where would my impression come from.

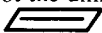
APPENDIX E

General Mainguy's letter to Henrietta Tupper

5th June 1896
Les Roquettes,
Guernsey.

My dear Miss Tupper,

Your maid brought me the coat etc. for inspection.

It is not the uniform of the 49th Regt, but is a red coat with dark blue collar & cuffs & revers.  & the line of stitching is *black*, not silver,—with a similar line on cuffs & on revers the buttons, with crossed swords on them, shew that it is the uniform of a General Officer (Staff); turned over on the tails with white—

The cravat through which the bullet passed as well as through the coat is of a red (terra cotta) colour, and was evidently crossed over the chest & passed down inside the coat.

The epaulettes are *full dress*, and I should think Sir Isaac must have worn his cocked hat, which made him conspicuous & an easy mark for the enemy.

I think I must keep this back till I can see Col. Groves, as I want to ask him one question. & I will add a P.S. after seeing him.

I am very glad to be of any use to you in the matter.

I could find nothing in yr father's book about the sword.

With kind regards to you & your sister, believe me

Very sincerely yours
F.B. Mainguy

P.S. I enclose Col. Groves's note as it gives so much information that may be useful—

APPENDIX F


Colonel Groves' letter to General Mainguy

Sat. 1.15 p.m.
[probably Saturday, June 6, 1896]

Dear Gen. Mainguy

I have just seen the uniform; which is a General Officer's "plain" coat (i.e. not laced) of 1796-15. An order permitting General & Staff Officers to wear "plain coats" was issued in January 1799. The sash, or scarf, I am convinced never belonged to any *regular* British soldier, but may have been worn in some *Provincial* Corps; more likely still by some friendly Indian Chief, of whom several were engaged.

The Stock, or cravat, is certainly not regulation:

In 1814, the "Wellington" cocked hat  had come in vogue, but in America I should think the older shape would still have been worn.

Greyish-blue overalls, with a red stripe, were introduced for active service, and in America in 1811, but a general's proper nether garments were white breeches & hessian boots.

Yrs. v. truly
J Percy Groves

The sash (crimson) was worn round the waist, wilt fringe on left side.

All excerpts in appendices C and D, and letters in E and F are from the originals in the Archives of the McCord Museum, Montreal, "David Ross McCord correspondence relating to Collecting Activity, Sir Isaac Brock", except where noted otherwise.

APPENDIX G

Robert Walcot's narrative of "General Brock's Death" in The Philadelphia Times, 22 November 1880, issue # 1896 p. 1.

Gen. Brock's Death.

Shot By An American Conscript.

The Mystery Surrounding the Death of the Illustrious British General Dispelled by the Confession of a Centenarian Residing in This City.

General Sir Isaac Brock, the illustrious British commander who captured General Hull's army at Detroit in the war of 1812, fell at the head of his troops in the battle of Queenstown, November 13 of that year,* and at this late day Robert Walcot, a centenarian, of 913 Morris street, who has been brought to his bed through weight of years and infirmities, claims, under oath, to have fired the fatal bullet. The occasion of this declaration was the taking of the veteran's deposition, a few days ago, relative to a suit instituted by him against the Irving National Bank, of New York, for the recovery of \$1,700 deposited therein in 1854, of which the bank has no recollection, though Mr. Walcot possesses the certificate of deposit. The appointed Commissioner of the Marine Court of New York, John Austin Purcell, was taking the testimony in the presence of the counsel for the bank and W.H. Druen, the plaintiff's lawyer. In testing the aged man's memory the representative of the bank digressed from the facts at issue and drew from the veteran a narrative of his participation in the war of 1812. When he said, "I shot and killed General Brock," surprise and curiosity induced the party to allow him to proceed in his own way, without interruption.

The story gleaned from the old warrior is interesting, though, with the exception noted, not extraordinary. At the beginning of hostilities in the war of 1812 Walcot, at the age of thirty-one, was employed as a blacksmith at Newton Roads, Massachusetts. It was not until the campaign was well under way that he joined the army, and then under the pressure of a draft. General Hull and his entire army had surrendered to General Brock and recruits were briskly mustering for the army of the centre on the Niagara river, which was contemplating the invasion of Canada under General Van Rensselaer. Walcot left Charleston Neck in September for the frontier, and under Lieutenant Colonel Christie's command arrived at Four Mile Creek the day before the battle of Queenstown. Being robust and athletic he was assigned to the Concord Artillery, then of the Thirteenth Regiment and under command of Captain Leonard. That morning an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the Americans to cross the Niagara river from Lewistown, but Walcot was in time to take part in the invasion that followed. He has a distinct recollection of the memorable events attending the raid on the 13th of October.

The death of General Brock.

A violent storm had been raging for forty-eight hours, in the midst of which a march was made from Fort Niagara to Lewistown. Here Walcot was selected one of forty artillerists to accompany Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, who was in immediate charge of the invading troops and who took the first boat across the river in the darkness of the early morning. The object of attack was Queenstown Heights, a point commanding the approaches to the town hard by. The invading party was warmly received by the British forces, who were routed, however, from the foot of the heights. Of the first shots fired Walcot received one in the right leg and in a subsequent engagement he sustained a wound in the left thigh. The commandant, Van Rensselaer, was also disabled, and Lieutenant Wool succeeded in command. Under his direction the band of Americans began an ascent of the heights toward a redan battery located far up the acclivity, the way being led by the forty strong artillerists, notwithstanding the fact that many of them were wounded. Walcot remembers seeing the blood trickling from the shoes of their commander, Wool.

In the meantime General Brock, whose headquarters were at Fort George, seven miles from the scene of battle, was hastening to the spot. He arrived in time to have the experience of being hurried from the little battery on the heights, which was captured by Wool's advance gunners. Brock mustered his troops in Queenstown and hurled them against the Americans. After sharp fighting the British ranks were broken and they fled down the acclivity. Brock hurried forth to meet them and succeeded in rallying his men, and at their head began a second charge of the heights.

"Our troops" says Walcot, "were awaiting the attack. I could see General Brock as he approached, leading the charge, and by his side rode another general officer. Brock was a fine-looking man and, I understood, very well liked. Up to this time I had not fired a shot at the enemy, although I was considered an excellent marksman. When the English began their ascent I left my post and went to an infantryman and asked him to lend me his gun. He did so. I asked him: 'How many balls are there in this?' He said there was one. I asked him for another and rammed it in the gun. I went to the edge of the line and, taking aim, fired at Brock. His face was partly turned to the troops as I fired. He fell almost instantly, and I hurried back to my post.

Swimming the river.

"It was some time after I fired before the attack of the English was made. They fought but a few moments and then retreated. My captain met me coming into line after shooting Brock and he ordered me under arrest, and then pointing to the gun told me to take charge of it. I attempted to inform him what I had done, but he would not listen. When the fighting had ceased I was sorry for my part in the affair. The main body of the English from Fort George coming up routed us in every direction. A large number of our militia could be seen on the American shore, but they refused to come to our assistance. The English were infuriated because of the death of Brock and showed no mercy. With several others I reached the river and swam across. While swimming three of our party were shot dead and I was wounded in the back of the neck. When able for service I was promoted to a captaincy. I was in service at Sackett's Harbor until the close of the war."

Walcot was afterwards employed by the government in superintending the structure of lighthouses along the Chesapeake. During the war of the rebellion his sympathies were with the South. He is personally acquainted with Jefferson Davis. When the war broke out he came to this city and began the manufacture of a patent tent pole and other articles for tent structure. These were conveyed to the South secretly and netted him considerable revenue. At the close of the war Walcot retired.

* "November" should clearly read October.

APPENDIX H

Who killed Brock?

The problem of the authenticity of the plain coatée is naturally related to the question of which American soldier may have been responsible for Brock's death. Three names are mentioned in the literature, namely a "private" Wilklow, Robert Walcot and one Corporal Samuel Stubbs. Robert Walcot's story stands up well when compared with, for example, J.R. Jacobs and G. Tucker, *The War of 1812, a Compact History* (New York, 1969), pp. 50-55, or Lieutenant-Colonel John Chrystie's report on Queenston Heights dated 22 February 1813, reprinted in E. Cruikshank, *Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier, 1812*, part 2, pp. 95-103. On the other hand, Robert Walcot is not recorded in the following publications which would have substantiated his claim of having been promoted to a "captaincy": F.B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903); Wm. H. Powell, *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1799 to 1900* (New York, 1900), and P.M. Davis, *An Authentic History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain* (New York, 1836). Nor did enquiries with the National Archives, Washington, the Adjutant General's Office, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Sackets Harbor Battlefield State Park produce any results. Here it should be added that J.W.L. Forster speaks in his memoirs (*Studio Light*, p. 140) of the plain coatée as "perforated by musket balls". This remark can probably be attributed to Forster having known of the Walcot story. Forster had use of the Prioulx Library in St. Peter Port, Guernsey (not Condé Library, as he calls it on p. 133), when he was there in 1897. This library has a bound volume entitled "Brock Papers". It contains newspaper clippings, one of which is a reprint of the Walcot story. Forster probably could have found this volume, and with it the article, without any undue difficulty, if he was not shown it directly by Colonel Groves. The writer found it within a few minutes, simply by browsing. An excerpt from the Walcot story, but without precise imprint data, is also in Nursey's *Brock* (1923 edition), p. 214. Nursey introduced the excerpt by referring to the "generally accepted fact that an Ohio Scout named Wilklow was the man who fired the fatal shot". Cruikshank, in the collection cited *supra*, reprinted on pp. 118-120 an article from the American paper *The War*, New York, 31 October 1812, according to which "private" Wilklow merely killed the "British General's horse". The horse seems to have been a particularly insensitive beast, for it was reported in the van of Brock's funeral procession on 16 October 1812, "fully caparisoned and led by Four Grooms". Tupper, *Brock* (1845 edition), p. 332, reprinted the plan of the procession which was extracted from *The York Gazette* of 24 October 1812. In view of Nursey's assertion of having used both Tupper and Cruikshank (*supra*, note 114), the repetition of the Wilklow story throws an odd light on the quality of his research. The third claimant is one Corporal Samuel Stubbs from Kentucky. This is his account: "Ah! the poor yankee lads, this was a sorry moment for ye! they dropped my brave companions like wild pigeons, while their balls whistled like a north west wind through a dry cane break!—our Commander ordered a retrete, but nature never formed any of our family you know for runners, so I waddled along as well as I could behind, but the red-coat villians overhaul'd me, and took me prisoner! but not until I had a fare shot at their head commander General Brock, who galloping his horse after my retreating comrads, bellowed out to 'um like a wounded buffalo to surrender, but I levelled my old fatheful bess, which never disappointed me in so fare a mark, and I heard no more of his croaking afterwards—of 1000 which crossed but a few escaped biting the dust!" Corporal Stubbs is undoubtedly a delightful story-teller, but seems to have had difficulties in distinguishing between morning and afternoon. The story is in *A Compendious Account of the Late War to which is added the Curious Adventures of Corporal Samuel Stubbs (A Kentuckian of 65 Years of Age)* (Boston, printed by William Walker, 1817, reprinted by Chas. Fred. Heartman, New York, n.d.), p. 25. Of these accounts Walcot's alone merits consideration because it fits the circumstances that obtained at the crucial moment when he fired. However, his seeing Brock fall "almost

instantly" is no proof that the British general was a victim of his marksmanship. The fatal bullet could as well have been a "random shot" as William Hamilton Merritt wrote in his "Memoirs"; (cf. PAC, Manuscript Group 24, K2, vol. 15, pp. 48-49). It has been possible to establish what happened up to the moment of firing on the basis of conflicting literary evidence, but in this instance this medium is totally unsuitable for determining from which American soldier's gun the fatal bullet was fired. And there is no other evidence.

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