

An Armorial Mystery

The Origin and History of the Armorial Achievement of the City of Guelph, Ontario, used by the City Corporation before 1978

DARREL E. KENNEDY

B.Math. (Wat.), B.Ed. (Queen's), L.R.H.S.C., F.R.H.S.C., F.S.A. Scot., Hon. F.H.S.
Assiniboine Herald of Arms, Canadian Heraldic Authority

1. Introduction

On 27 September 1978, Dr. Conrad Swan, York Herald, delivered Letters Patent dated 8 May 1978 to Mayor Norman Jary of the City of Guelph on behalf of his colleague A. Colin Cole, Windsor Herald, that contained a grant to the city of lawful armorial bearings (**Figure 1**) by Garter Principal King of Arms and his fellow Kings of Arms at the College of Arms, London England. Guelph is a municipality that was founded in an outdoor recorded ceremony by John Galt on St. George's day, 23 April 1827, on land belonging to the Canada Company. Writing in his autobiography, he reports that he chose the name 'Guelph' 'in compliment to the Royal Family, both because I thought it auspicious in itself, and because I could not recollect that it had ever been before used in the king's dominions'.¹ At this time, George IV was King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as King of Hanover.² While this report is interested in the armorial emblems of Guelph and the House of Hanover, and a lengthy discourse on dynastic history is beyond its scope, other writers have explained their relationships.³ In 1851, the village was incorporated, in 1855 it became a town, and in 1879, it became a city.⁴ Since then, on the

¹ John GALT, *Autobiography* (London, 1833) Vol. II, pp. 58-59.

² The name 'Guelph' is the Anglicized version of the Italian name 'Guelfo', which itself represents the German name 'Welf.' It was applied as a sort of collective name to the German branch of the House of Este, whose chiefs had been the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and whose capital was the city of Hanover. In 1692, when for political reasons it was decided to increase the number of the Prince Electors of the Holy Roman Empire to nine, the current Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg was given the new seat in the College, along with the dignity of Archtreasurer of the Empire; he and his successors were informally known to 1814 as the Electors of Hanover.

³ For example, see J. H. & R. V. PINCHES, 'The Hanoverian Succession', *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), pp. 199-200.

⁴ Guelph was founded as a Village on 1 January 1851 under the provisions of Cap LXIV (2 August 1850) and a Proclamation (27 September 1850); became a Town 27 December 1855 by virtue of a Proclamation (27 December 1855); became a City 23 April 1879 under the provisions of Chap 41 (11 March 1879). It is

basis of Galt's reason for naming the municipality, the nickname 'The Royal City' has often been used. Because incorporated bodies required a seal for their use, a new one was prepared to represent each change in municipal status. At each stage in this process, the emblem set on the seal was armorial in form, starting with a simple shield of the first assumed arms, and culminating in an achievement with new arms and an assumed crest and supporters.'



Figure 1. Guelph Achievement granted in 1978



Figure 2. Assumed Guelph Achievement, in use 1879-1978

The final design of these ungranted⁵ armorial bearings was approved by the new city as its official armorial bearings (the achievement) in 1879 (**Figure 2**). As the figure shows, it included arms that could be blazoned as *Argent, on a fess Gules cotised Vert, a horse courant of the first*; a crest identical to that of the king in right of England, and supporters in the form of a colonist with an axe and the personifying goddess Britannia holding a cornucopia: external elements typical of contemporary achievements adopted unilaterally by municipal authorities. It was this design that would serve as the basis of the grant made by the English kings of arms to celebrate the city's sesquicentennial of 1977. In the Letters Patent delivered by York Herald, the new achievement was blazoned in the following terms: [Arms] *Argent on a Fesse Gules cotised Vert between three Ancient Crowns Gules a Horse courant*

situated 100 kilometres (62 miles) west of downtown Toronto. It is the seat of Wellington County, and has a population of c. 115,000.

⁵ The word 'official' applies to a design approved by the municipal Council. The word 'ungranted' will be applied to such a design that was not granted by a British or Canadian king of arms: in practice including all of those used by the Guelph authorities other than the granted achievement of 1978.

Argent. And for the Crest Within an Ancient Crown Gules a Mount Vert thereon a Lion statant Or anciently crowned Gules resting the dexter forepaw upon the haft of an Axe head downwards and inwards proper, Mantled Gules doubled Argent and Or: And by the Authority aforesaid I the said Garter do by these Presents further grant and assign unto the Corporation of the City of Guelph the Supporters following that is to say: - Upon a Grassy Mount with on the dexter side in front of a Copse a felled Tree Trunk lying to the dexter in the stock an Axe proper in front of the same a Man with a hat open shirted in breeches and boots proper vested of a tail coat cut away Gules on the sinister a Female figure proper vested Argent cloaked Azure wearing a helmet Or crested Gules supporting with the dexter Arm a Trident⁶ points upward Sable and holding by the sinister hand by the point a Cornucopia proper.

2. The Challenge and the Investigative Process

Clearly the origins of the present, granted achievement are well known — especially to me, as I played a significant part in its design.⁷ By contrast, the origins of its predecessor and model, in use from 1879 to 1978, remained until recently quite obscure, as did the identity of its designer — lost in the mists of memory for generations. I saw this as an intriguing armorial mystery, and in 2001 set out to answer once and for all the question ‘Who designed the achievement of 1879?’ This article is an account of the steps I took to solve the mystery, and therefore begins with the present time and works towards earlier times, following the idea of working from the known towards the unknown. During this investigation, the approach that has been used is the mathematical process of elimination:⁸ this states that if all possible options are enumerated, and one after another is revealed as being inadequate, then the last one considered has the best probability of being acceptable. The investigation incorporates research involving flags and seals on which armorial emblems related to the design appear, and what various writers had to say about such media. Suggestions are also made in the body of the text about possible reasons for developing the design. Throughout this report, the reader must be aware of the identity of the writer of original material being quoted, and the misuse of terms that commonly

⁶ The city received a very large carving by Eric Barth presented by the University of Guelph which does not show the trident. This is an example of the problems that can arise from starting things early based on preliminary paintings, rather than the final blazon.

⁷ The author was the advisor for the city through its various committee stages. Windsor Herald was the actual agent at the College of Arms. York Herald agreed to present the Letters Patent since he was already planning on being close to Guelph, having arranged to present the Letters Patent of a grant to the Town of Goderich the next day. See: Rick BANKS, ‘Arms for the Town of Goderich’, *Heraldry In Canada* 13.1 (March 1979), pp. 5-9.

⁸ The author taught mathematics to teenagers from 1971-2002 in Guelph, and is inclined to follow such thought patterns.

appears in heraldic references by the general public, particularly ‘crest’ for the armorial achievement.

3. The Report of the Investigation

Prior to the grant of 1978, the most public comment on the achievement that appeared in any public context was the result of a speech about the city’s flag. The largest Guelph newspaper, *The Daily Mercury*, printed an article on 21 July 1965 entitled ‘Royal City Flag to Fly In Guelph’. The flag, in two versions, consisted of the then official city achievement set on either a white facing or a blue facing. This reportedly, from the newspaper articles, was better known in the rest of Canada and the United States than within the city. However, on 11 July 1970, the newspaper reported on a speech given to the Guelph Rotary Club, that the ‘City’s Flag [was] Called [a] ‘Horrible Design’’. This speech was given by the then Rev. Ralph Spence, minister at St. George’s Anglican Church, who was an authority on flags.⁹ The Rev. Mr. Spence was reported to have said that ‘no flag should have wording on it ... [and] said that the best type of flag was one that had a simple design on it’.¹⁰ Verne McIlwraith responded in his *Daily Mercury* column ‘Current Comment’ on 29 July 1970 that the ‘‘Horrible’ City Flag’ was popular in advertising the city.

Because the use of the city’s official crest [sic] on a banner was originally the idea of this writer, it is necessary that objection be taken at least to the manner in which this authority on heraldic matters shot down what was considered a good idea.

More enlightening about further background information was the letter to the editor printed on 12 August 1970 from Mr. Fred W. Dixon.¹¹ He wrote

Until several years ago, only a small monochromatic version of our crest [achievement] was available, then requirements necessitated a larger crest in colour, which I made and this now hangs in the mayor’s office at city hall.... The crest which has been Guelph’s official symbol for over 100 years was certainly designed to chronicle the many facets of our history and the mayor’s chain of office made by a very reputable English firm was designed with this also in mind. The crest apparently was never intended to conform to the heraldic standards of the College of Arms and

⁹ He was consulted by the government of Canada concerning contemporary flags, and later became the Bishop of Niagara. In 2006, he was appointed as Albion Herald Extraordinary of the Canadian Heraldic Authority.

¹⁰ Sadly, the City of Guelph flag in 2007 still has wording on it: GUELPH CANADA, the two words appearing on opposite sides of the lowest crown. The original flag design based on the grant of arms of 1978 did not have any wording on it, as shown in the newspaper article of Monday 23 April 1979.

¹¹ Address at 44 Oxford Street, later The Park Mall.

there has never been a belief that this crest, used for so many years could, without substantial changes, be properly matriculated by any accredited heraldic establishment.

As it turns out, the painted achievement was prepared for use in the 1967 festivities marking the centennial of Canadian confederation, as reported in his obituary printed in the *Daily Mercury*, 25 September 1975.

Taking this letter at face value, one might believe that Mr. Dixon had assigned the colouring to the achievement, particularly for the arms. However, statements of earlier writers on the history of the emblems in question, going back as far as 1937, contradict this superficial reading. The most recent of these was published in the year before the Centennial of 1967.

Verne McIlwraith wrote an article in the *Daily Mercury* 29 June 1966 entitled 'Royal City Official Crest Has Significant History'. Therein he described the city's seal, and declared that

'Before the renovations in the council chamber a few years ago, the city shield, in colour occupied a prominent position on a marble-inlay circle high in the front wall above the mayor's chair. The only place this shield is to be found there today, is as part of the ornament atop the back of the mayor's chair. The white horse of Hanover, on a red background, was adopted at some time as the city badge or coat-of-arms'.

(2) Two years before this, on 24 and 25 November 1964, the *Daily Mercury* had published articles about the opening of a time capsule in the corner of the old Carnegie library, entitled 'Studying History Of Old Library' and 'Find Some Interesting Data Cornerstone of Old Library'. In the box, placed there in 1903, 'were well-preserved coloured crests of the city of Guelph, the county of Wellington, the public library, the provincial secretary, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. Articles recovered were immediately placed in a glass-covered display case and they are to remain there for the present at least'. Unfortunately, by 2002 these had been misplaced, and after extensive searching, city and library officials could not find any of them.

(3) Nearly thirty years earlier, in 1937, Charles W. Jeffreys, well known as a historical artist and scholar, had published an article entitled 'Canadian Municipal Arms' in *The Canadian Historical Review*.¹² This incorporated an article from *Americana* (July 1932) by Howard M. Chapin, a prominent U. S. armorist, in which he had depicted and described the armorial bearings used by many municipalities in Canada. He recorded for Guelph, Ontario, the following: *Argent on a fess gules cotised vert a horse courant of the field. Crest: A crown ensigned by a British lion. Motto: FIDES FIDELITAS PROGRESSIO. Supporters: a woodchopper with axe over his shoulder and*

¹² Volume XVIII, No. 3. September, 1937.

Britannia with cornucopia and shield with union device. Of particular note is that no Compartment was blazoned. This appears to be the only formal description of the achievement recorded anywhere before the letter patent of 1978. It demonstrates that both the form and the tinctures of the achievement had been established by 1932.

(4) The tinctures of the arms in use by this date were clearly derived from those of the 'Hanover' quartering of the Royal Arms in use under the House of 'Hanover' from 1714 to 1837 — of which the versions in use after the Union with Ireland in 1801 would have been the most familiar to the designers of the Guelph arms. The Royal Arms since a Royal Proclamation of 1 January 1801¹³ (**Figure 2**) — later revised by a Royal Proclamation on 8 June 1816¹⁴ (**Figure 3**) after Hanover was recognized as a Kingdom by the Congress of Vienna in 1814 — can be blazoned as: *Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gules, three lions passant guardant Or (England); 2nd, Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counterflory Gules (Scotland); 3rd, Azure, a harp Or, stringed Argent (Ireland); over all an escutcheon, ensigned by an arched royal crown, Tierced per pale and per chevron, 1st Gules, two lions passant guardant Or (Brunswick); 2nd Or, semée of hearts Gules, a lion rampant Azure (Luneburg); 3rd, Gules, a horse courant Argent ('Hanover')¹⁵; an inescutcheon over all three, Gules, the Crown of Charlemagne proper (the office of Archtreasurer of the Holy Roman Empire, which like the dignity of Prince Elector of the Empire to which it had been attached, had become obsolete in 1806).¹⁶ Presumably the arms associated with 'Hanover' had been chosen as the model for the arms of Guelph because they were the closest that could be found to arms for the House of Guelph, which was commonly called the 'House of Hanover' (though in reality it was the arms of Brunswick that constituted the arms of the dynasty).*

¹³ *The London Gazette*, Issue No 15325, 3 January 1801, p. 23. The relevant portion of the lengthy Proclamation is 'Quarterly: Third and Fourth, England; Second, Scotland; Third, Ireland; and on an Escutcheon of Pretence the Arms of Our Dominions in Germany, ensigned with the Electoral Bonnet'.

¹⁴ *The London Gazette*, Issue No 17149, 29 June 1816, p. 1237. '... instead of the ... ensigned with the electoral bonnet, ...there shall henceforth be used ...on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of His Majesty's dominions in Germany, ensigned with the Hanoverian royal crown...'

¹⁵ In reality, a quartering of the ducal arms of referring to Westphalia, one of the historic regions of the original Duchy of Saxony, of which Brunswick was also a part.

¹⁶ The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (as it was officially called) was effectively dissolved in 1806 following the abdication of the last Emperor, Franz II von Habsburg-Lothringen, who had earlier assumed the title 'Emperor of Austria'. See PINCHES, J. H. & R. V., *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), p. 216.

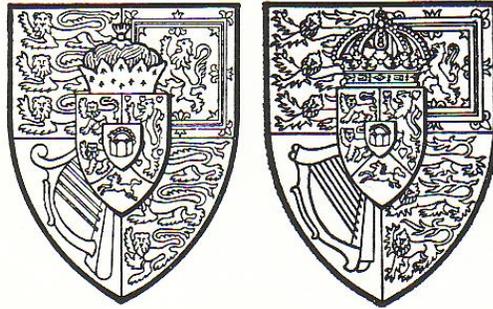


Figure 3. 1801

1816



Figure 4. 1816

These references led to a firm conclusion that the twentieth century writers had not written about the creator of the city's armorial bearings. It was necessary to turn elsewhere, to the common seal of the municipality.

The next question I had to address in my research was: What municipal seals still exist that show changes in the design of the achievement? Unfortunately, since no bylaw by which a new seal was legally created included a blazon, and none of the early matrices survives, a historian must examine the seal impressions themselves to discover both when such changes occurred and what form they took.

The current common seal of the city was adopted by Bylaw 10034 on 17 April 1979 — although it had been used as early as 27 February 1979 in an Agreement contained as part of Bylaw #9998. The new seal bore the armorial achievement of the 1978 grant (**Figure 2**). Not surprisingly, the seals authorized by the municipal council over the previous century to replace worn matrices bore the ungranted achievement described earlier by Chapin, each bylaw superseding a previous one: bylaws of 7 September 1971 (#7736), 30 June 1952 (#3728), and 2 June 1879 (#2). The microfilm copies of the city Bylaws in the Guelph Public Library and the original copies deep in the vault of City Hall show that the seal used to authorize Bylaw #2 had also been used on that attached to Bylaw #1, dated 19 May 1879. The hatching marks on the large and small horizontal bars etched on the impressions of the arms on the original documents (intended to represent the tinctures) demonstrate that exactly the same armorial design had been in use on all seals from 1879 to 1979 — the former year being the one in which the Town of Guelph became the City of Guelph.

When I examined the seal in use immediately before this final elevation in status, however, I discovered a different and much simpler design, lacking both crest and supporters, and bearing a different (though similar) coat of arms. The seal-impression attached to the last Bylaw of

the Town of Guelph (#323), dated 17 March 1879, bears only a shield of arms in the form of a running horse on a plain field. (**Figure 5**). When coloured, it would presumably have been *Gules a horse courant Argent*: the arms conventionally associated with 'Hanover' and 'Guelph' without any differences whatever.¹⁷

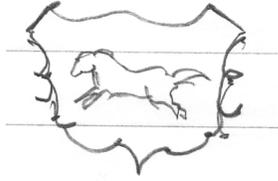


Figure 5: 1879



Figure 6: 1856

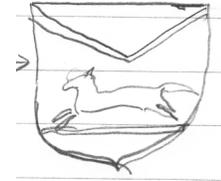


Figure 7: 1856

The shield itself was of a very different shape from that used in the standard representations of the achievements of 1879 and 1978: while the latter had been a Renaissance version of the classic war-shield, the shield of the 1856 seal took the more convoluted form of the Renaissance pig-faced shield. This had been revived in Britain under Queen Anne, and would remain a favourite form for arms of all ranks — not least the royal arms — down to about 1935,¹⁸ so no significance can be attached to it here, and it merely serves to differentiate the design last used on the last Town seal of 1879 more clearly from those of its successors.

The next questions that had to be answered were: When did the arms used by the Town of Guelph before 1879 come into use, for how long was it used, and what other designs, if any, preceded it? To answer these questions I had to turn once again to the seals attached to the bylaws during the preceding years. There I found yet another alteration in both the sigillary design and in the design of the arms included in it some twenty years earlier, in 1859: four years after Guelph had become a Town (1855). Thus, I was able to determine that the final arms of the Town of Guelph were officially used from 1859 to 1879, but could find out nothing about their designer.

My research also revealed that these arms had been adopted between 7 March 1859 (#82) and 15 August 1859 (#83), as the seals

¹⁷ This is the same figure as that which appears on the seal of the Guelph Junction Railway, a Federally chartered railway wholly owned by the City of Guelph.

¹⁸ The pig-faced Renaissance targe — a name reflecting the resemblance that its eared upper corners and embowed cheeks give it to the face of a pig seen affronty — can be seen bearing the British royal arms in every reign from 1707 to 1935 in Charles HASLER, *The Royal Arms: Its Graphic and Decorative Development* (London, 1980), pp. 213-282. It was particularly popular in the nineteenth century, but was employed in the exemplification on the Royal Warrant conferring the armorial achievement of Canada in 1921. Thanks go to Prof. D'Arcy Boulton for identifying it thus and offering suggestions.

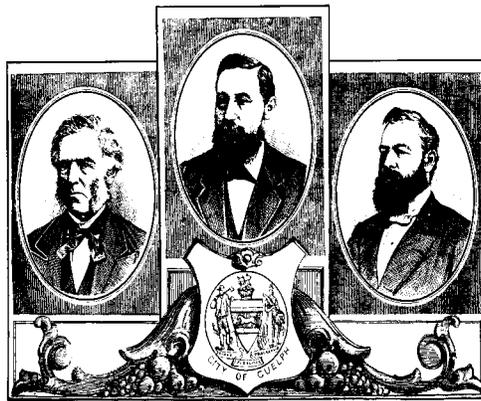
attached to all earlier documents were of yet another form. The wax is too broken to see everything clearly on Town seal #82, but the shield shape is definitely different, being once again that of an English Renaissance targe. An apparently identical shield appeared on the seal of Bylaw #60 (**Figure 6**), dated 6 October 1856, and almost perfectly preserved; its annulus has 'Municipality. Town of Guelph.' The top portion of the arms on this seal appears to have a chevron reversed, and the running horse that it shares with all of the later designs is set above a 'road' (**Figure 7**). Bylaw #2 (10 February 1851) has a seal that has been worn down, but there is enough to deduce that it is the same design showing the annulus inscribed with the words 'Municipality of the Town of Guelph'.¹⁹

Ross Irwin of the Guelph Historical Society directed me to a copy of a file card in the Archives of the Guelph Historical Society relating to the

first Municipal Seal. Attributed to the Guelph Advertiser of 10 April 1851,²⁰ the transcribed copy reads as: 'We have seen the new Seal executed for the Municipality of this Town, by M. Judge. It is an exceedingly handsome specimen of workmanship and would do credit to any engraver in the first-rate establishments of the mother country. The centre of the Seal contains a shield and the White Horse known as the heraldic device of the House of Hanover.'

Since an unincorporated community is not required to possess a

common seal, this last document ended this major stage of my investigation. I could now state that the ungranted armorial bearings as used by the municipality on its common seal had progressed through three stages of design prior to the 1978 grant: **Ungranted Arms and Shield I** (1851-1859), **Ungranted Arms and Shield II** (1859-1979), and **Ungranted Achievement** (1879-1979).



LEFT TO RIGHT: John Harney, City Clerk and Treasurer of Guelph. George Howard, Esq., Mayor of Guelph. Frederick Jasper Chodasick, Esq., Ex-Mayor of Guelph. (*The Canadian Illustrated News*, May 17, 1879)

Having established this succession of designs with their chronology, I turned to the question of who might be the designer of the 1879 achievement, the official records

¹⁹ Leo Johnson writes on page 74 of *History of Guelph 1827-1927* that in 1850 the provincial government had to enact a special Act to make up for an omission from the 1849 Municipal Act. The new Act 13-14 Victoria, Cap. 64, authorized Guelph, and others, to be 'established for all intent and purposes as an incorporated village but be given the honorary title of Town for legal purposes'.

²⁰ Although the actual date of that newspaper appears to be April 11, 1851.

being particularly unhelpful by not recording such information. Inspired by the Scottish essayist and historian Thomas Carlyle (1795 - 1881) who said that 'History is the essence of innumerable biographies',²¹ I decided that, in this situation, it meant that if I paid attention to who was around the city of Guelph at the crucial time, and who was not, I could reduce the number of people to consider. The person had to meet certain essential criteria: have the right ability to draw heraldically, the personal connections to the decision-makers in the city, and naturally be in the right place at the right time.

Once again, I found it was simplest to work backwards through time from 1879. The earliest example in print of the 1879 design appears to be that of 17 May 1879 printed in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.²² The University of Guelph Special Collections and Archives has an original copy for that date. Although the separate index²³ does not list 'Guelph arms', I found the design by looking for the names of the men represented in the engraving. On page 309 of Volume XIX there is shown a set of city officials.²⁴ Page 295 of the same issue records that:

On other pages of this issue of the *Canadian Illustrated News* will be found a number of views of the city, &c. Where not otherwise mentioned they are from photographs taken by Mr. W. Marshall or Mr. W. Burgess, and for the collection we are indebted to Mr. C. Acton Burrows, formerly Managing Proprietor of the *Guelph Daily Herald*, and now of Ottawa... The other views comprise ... the *Herald* building, erected in 1877, by Mr. H. (sic) J. Chadwick, for the use of Acton Burrows & Co., publishers of the *Daily and Weekly Herald* of which firm he was then senior and is now sole partner... Portraits are also given of Mr. John Galt, the founder of Guelph, from an engraving in Mr. Burrow's possession; of Mr. John Harvey, City Clerk and Treasurer, who was Mayor in 1861(sic) on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit; of Mr. Frederick Jasper Chadwick, Mayor in 1877, the jubilee year, and of Mr. George Howard, the present Mayor.

Now there was a time frame that was moving earlier in 1879. The city seal was being used as early as 19 May 1879. With its publication in the 17 May issue from Montreal, and the information supplied by Burrows who now lived in Ottawa, the design had to be well under way much prior to the city's creation date of 23 April. But how much earlier can its inception have been? If, as seems most likely, the design was

²¹ Thomas CARLYLE, *Essays - On History*.

²² Published in Montreal between 1869 and 1883

²³ Compiled by Andrea RETFALVI.

²⁴ This same illustration is also printed on page 263 of Leo JOHNSTON's *History of Guelph 1827-1927* (Guelph Historical Society, 1977), 389 p.

introduced to celebrate the incorporation of the city, it was reasonable to suppose that the process was set into motion at or shortly after the time the council decided to seek that change of status. The microfilm copies at the library of 'Various Committee Minutes' show that 23 September 1878 was the date of the first meeting of the Special Committee²⁵ to consider the advisability of having the Town of Guelph incorporated as a city.²⁶ Its proceedings were approved by the town council on 7 October 1878. Events moved swiftly. The provincial Act to incorporate was adopted and assented to on 11 March 1879,²⁷ and became effective on 23 April 1879. In all probability, therefore, the achievement was designed between October 1878 and March 1879, and it was within that narrow frame of time that I had to look for the designer.

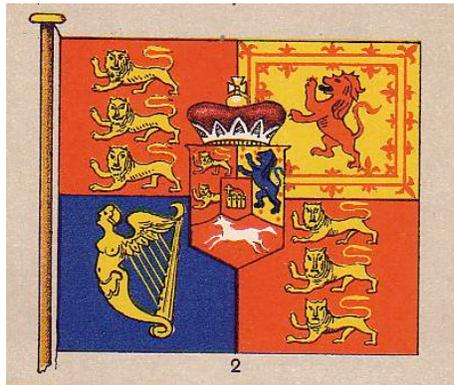


Fig. 8. Royal banner of arms, 1801



Fig. 9. Royal Arms, 1816

Looking at particular men mentioned in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, I first eliminated C. Acton Burrows from being involved in its creation for the following reasons. The *Guelph Daily Herald*, of which he was an owner with Frederick Jasper Chadwick, published on 24 April 1879 the description of the city celebrations of the 23rd in very great detail. With reference to the city arms, the reporter wrote 'The White Horse of Brunswick, the arms of the Royal City, was particularly noticeable, and attracted very considerable attention'. The *Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser* of 24 April also reported that after the Mayor George Howard had read the Act

²⁵ Page 57 of Reel/Box #5 of microfilm of minutes.

²⁶ There had to be special considerations because of the population size of the Town. Having reached 10,000, it was not enough to match the 15,000 stated in the clause 15 of Division II of *The Municipal Institutions Act* (Cap 48, 1873), which automatically changes the status from Town to City. In default of that, a special Act of the Legislature would be required.

²⁷ As Chapter 41 of 1879.

of Incorporation and declared the said city shall hereafter be known as ‘the Royal City’, ‘Alderman MacMillan ran up the Royal Standard [sic] on the flag-staff at the platform’.

Thus, it would appear that the first flag to fly over the new city was the Royal banner of arms²⁸ (Like **Figures 8** and **9** but minus the crowned inescutcheon²⁹, abandoned when the German lands passed to Queen Victoria’s uncle Ernest Augustus when she succeeded her senior uncle William IV in 1837), even though this would have been the appropriate time to raise a new flag if it had been manufactured in time. Because the reporter makes particular comment about the considerable attention that the arms of the Royal City received, the new City arms (and presumably the whole achievement) were apparently displayed in some other form. The fact that the reporter did not suggest that the owner, or former owner/editor, of his newspaper had developed the design, makes Burrows’ authorship unlikely. Burrows was also the man who compiled *The Annals of the Town of Guelph 1827-1877*³⁰ in time for the 1877 jubilee celebrations. This work reports on page 159 that the St. George’s Society had appointed him on 25 January 1877 to ‘secure a fitting celebration of the day’, but does not mention anything of the arms or achievement of the city — which it surely would have if he had been the designer.

Nevertheless, the Preface of Burrows’ book does mention people that he wanted to thank for the ‘loan of valuable books and documents’. Among those whom he thanked is E. M. Chadwick! Seeing this name, I felt as if I were seeing metaphorical stars, because he was very familiar to me, I having grown up and worked in Guelph.

The name Chadwick loomed large in Guelph at that time. The Chadwick family had settled in Guelph in 1849 and lived along the Waterloo Road,³¹ ultimately owning the town Park Lot 51 of the Canada Company’s Survey.³² John Craven Chadwick, Sr., became a Justice of the Peace and a member of the Corporation of Trinity College, Toronto.³³ He left four sons by his first wife,³⁴ who may be identified as follows.

²⁸ The Royal Banner was commonly, but never properly, called a ‘Standard’: the name of a quite different type of flag.

²⁹ The Royal Proclamation is dated 26 July 1837 and is printed in Issue Number 19528 of *The London Gazette*, Tuesday 1 August 1837, pp. 2001-2002.

³⁰ C. Acton BURROWS, *The Annals of the Town of Guelph, 1827 to 1877*, (Guelph, 1877), 170 pp.

³¹ Con 2E Lot 1B in Guelph Township then, which is now between Fife and Whitelaw Roads.

³² The block bounded by Glasgow, Cork, Yorkshire, and Durham Streets, as shown by the map at the Wellington County Museum and Archives.

³³ This family name became a street name in Guelph. J.C. Sr.’s widow Elizabeth, his third wife, then residing at 11 Queen Street, was the first victim of a fatal elevator accident in the *Herald* office building on 26 June 1920.

³⁴ Edward Marion CHADWICK, *Ontarian Families: Genealogies of United Empire*

(1) J. Craven, Jr., was a Lieutenant in the Wellington Militia. He died in 1890, having lived also in Arthur and Puslinch Townships.

(2) Frederick Jasper was a Provincial Land Surveyor, real estate agent, publisher, Councillor, and Mayor of Guelph.³⁵

(3) Edward Marion became a law student with *Lemon and Peterson* in Guelph, then moving to Toronto to be called to the bar on 16 May 1864, serving in partnership for a few months with the Hon. John Beverly Robinson and W. H. Beatty.³⁶

(4) Austin Cooper became a lawyer also, and Judge in Guelph.

In later life, Edward Marion ('Chadwick' hereafter) became well known for his genealogical and heraldic skills, having designed the crest, supporters, and motto for the Province of Ontario³⁷. It seemed too much of a coincidence to ignore. As a long-time member of the (now Royal) Heraldry Society of Canada and reader of this journal, I was aware that a major article had been published about Chadwick in the September 1990 issue³⁸ entitled 'SHAGOTYOHGISAKS: E. M. Chadwick and Canadian Heraldry', by the Rev. Dr. Robert Merrill Black, sometime Chaplain of Trinity College, Toronto, and a Fellow of the R.H.S.C.

The Rev. Dr. Black listed the known publications that can be attributed to Chadwick. He said in conclusion:

After his death in 1921, Chadwick's vast armorial library was scattered by sale. While many of the physical traces of his activity were thus dispersed, however, he left many symbols and ideas which are now commonplaces of Canadian heraldic life. His painstaking research, his good common sense, and his sustained advocacy of a home-grown symbol-system conforming to internationally-accepted principles, did much to promote heraldry in Canada. His disciples included Scott Carter, whose paintings at Hart House of the arms of the universities in the Empire and its Great War Allies were supervised by Chadwick; James Nicholson, who continued some of Chadwick's armorial work within the Anglican Communion; and others who were founders of the Heraldry Society of Canada.

Loyalists and other Pioneer Families of Upper Canada, II, pp. 119-125. (1894; reprint Hunterdon House, Lambertville: 1970),

³⁵ Balsarroch Place was named after the residence which he purchased (or his wife Elisabeth inherited) from her father, the Rev. Edward Michael Stewart, who gave it that name.

³⁶ Law Partnership announcement printed 3 October 1866, *THE GLOBE*, page 1. This connection for Robinson, appointed Lt.-Gov. in 1880, seems to have been ignored by his biographers until now. Partnership dissolved 30 April 1868, under apparent poor circumstances regarding Robinson, as stated in Chadwick's diary.

³⁷ Archives of Ontario, RG 8-14, I-1-C, Box 1; MSS, misc coll, pkg #11, Box 2 #68, MU 2096.

³⁸ Vol XXIV, No. 3, pp. 2-17.

Having known Robert Black for some years,³⁹ I called him about his article. He then related that he had been able to read the actual journals that Chadwick kept. These had been kept by his granddaughter, Mary Chadwick⁴⁰ (Mrs. Reginald Walsh), who allowed them to be microfilmed. Black had given one copy to the Archives of the Diocese of Toronto, and another to the Canadian Heraldic Authority in Ottawa. When I was arranging to visit the Archives of the Diocese, I was eventually told that they could not find their copy. The Librarian at the Authority — very happily for me — offered to lend me their copy to read, and it arrived on 6 December 2001.

The diaries of Edward Marion Chadwick on the microfilm have about 1085 frames in negative format, some which are difficult to read. They cover the period of 14 June 1858 until 1 October 1921, although internal evidence reveals that he began his journals in 1855.⁴¹ The number of frames per year starts high, but then diminishes after 1862. He seemed to be recording daily for the first few years, but then appears to make summaries shortly before the ends of months. I think his style is that of an 'iceberg writer': he recorded what he did, but without describing much of his thought about it, leaving the reader to fill in the atmosphere from what is already known via other sources. Frustratingly for this topic, he recorded mainly social activities, rather than his artistic accomplishments and correspondence, mostly now lost. I think that he was encouraged to start by a young lady friend, and alluded at times to expecting its being read by other people.

In the records of the early years, there are lengthy entries in what first appeared to me to be Greek. I thought that he was either keeping up his skill,⁴² or wanted to record a private comment. However, in those paragraphs he was actually using a combination of letters and mathematical symbols to create his own code.⁴³ These deserve to be decoded. (**Figure 10**)

I eagerly flipped through to 1879: no comment about the arms of Guelph. Then I began at the beginning, to see if I could determine who the author was. He was clearly part of the 'upper crust' of the social life of Guelph, displaying an artistic ability for lady friends by drawing in their albums. His diary has many drawings, some of which are heraldic. Many

³⁹ It turned out that our male-line ancestors came from the same farm of Balephuill on the Isle of Tyree, Scotland.

⁴⁰ Died 18 January 1994. *Globe and Mail*, 19 January 1994, p. s13; *Toronto Star*, 19 January 1994, p. B19.

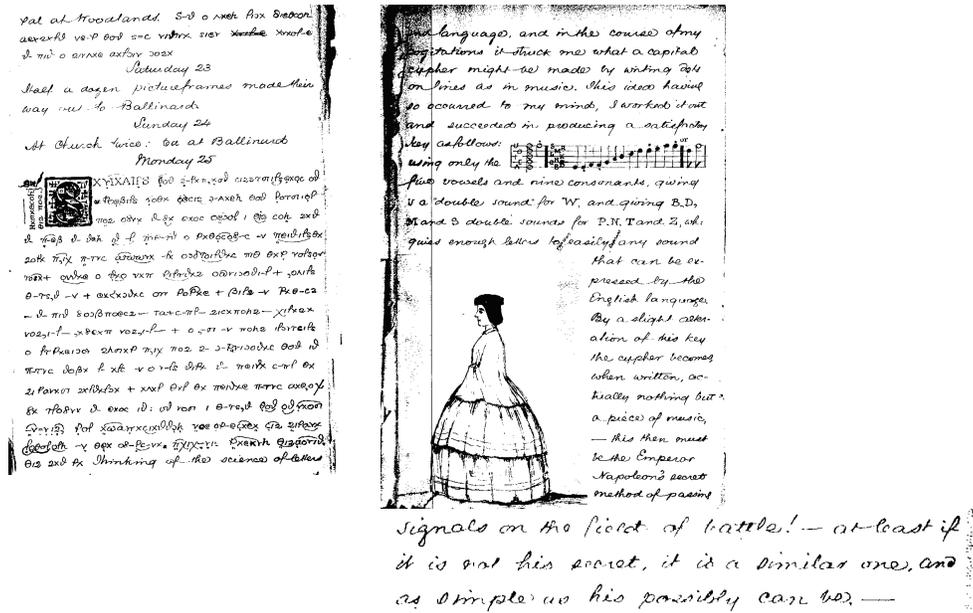
⁴¹ see 8 January 1861.

⁴² The Archives of The Guelph CVI has an original certificate from 1854 awarded to him by the Guelph Grammar School for translation of Euclid, signed by Edward Michael Stewart, Master.

⁴³ He discusses codes at one point, dealing with a possible musical code to relay information. See 25 September 1859.

house names are recorded, and one can work out who inhabits them. With the 1861 Census, they might be located. His father's place was called 'Ballinard,' after their ancestral home in

Figure 10. Chadwick diary, September 1859



Ireland.⁴⁴ When his diary starts, he had already been at work at *Lemon and Peterson's* as a law student for three years. On 13 January 1859 he was elected as President of the reformed Guelph Debating Society. On Thursday, 27 January 1859, he wrote:

Debate tonight. I read an essay on heraldry which was very well received by the audience.

Then on Tuesday 5 April 1859 he wrote:

Annexed to the preceding page is the new seal of the Town of Guelph, having been about this time made, being altered from the old seal (annexed to this page) according to my suggestions — the arms of the new Town being — gu (sic; Gules): in pale⁴⁵ the 'White horse of Hanover'.

Here he claims the credit for the design of the new seal, although

⁴⁴ A Ballinard Avenue was also named for this home's name.

⁴⁵ It is a puzzle what this phrase 'in pale' means in this context.

there appears to be little essential change in design. Did he make the suggestions in his earlier speech? Sadly, once again in the experience of heraldists, it is another example of a corporate body taking the arms of its namesake without justification or adaptation to fit the particular changed situation.

Following his life forward in time leads us to some other conclusions about the future design.

(1) In October 1858 he drew a lad climbing a flagpole, from which flies a personal banner of the arms of Chadwick, in good perspective.

(2) His talent was known in the city by its officials. On 12 September 1860, after describing, with a drawing, the set-up of the greeting area for the young (born 1841) Albert (later 'Bertie') Edward, the Prince of Wales, he wrote concerning the addresses that were made to the Prince by several dignitaries. These were greetings read out but then handed over. Such documents were generally well inscribed, or decorated.

Alt was not my address that would be presented to The Prince, which happened this wise: George Hough engrossed the address first and did it so badly that it had to be done again and I was commissioned to do it, which piqued the Houghs to such an extent that, contrary to the wishes of the Mayor and Reception Authorities, they would not allow mine to be presented, and as I am informed there is going to be an awful row in the Council in consequence. Dined at Rose Cottage. Went to a dreadfully rowdy Ball given by the Sheriff and the Mayor at the Town Hall. The town was decorated to no end during the day and there were illuminations in the evening.

(3) On the starting page of 1861 he drew the arms and crest of Chadwick.

(4) On 4 September 1861 he drew the marshalled arms for his brother Frederick Jasper, of Rockmaple,⁴⁶ and his new bride Elizabeth Stewart, second daughter of the Rev Edward Michael Stewart of Balsarroch.⁴⁷ **(Figure 11)**

(5) In 1862 he drew a window showing arms for the inhabitants of his household in Toronto.

(6) A memorial plaque for his first wife Ellen Byrne who died suddenly on 10 February 1865,⁴⁸ only having been married on 28 June 1864, shows a Hatchment structure, heraldically signifying a death.

(7) In 1872, he and his second wife, Maria Martha (Mattie) Fisher, took a trip to England and Ireland. On 19 August 1872, he visited Dublin Castle to discuss with Ulster King of Arms the state of the Chadwick arms. The result, to arrive the next year, was a Confirmation of Arms issued by Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms,⁴⁹ dated 10 December 1873, of the arms of Chadwick unto Edward Marion Chadwick and his descendants

⁴⁶ House name of his farm in Guelph Township.

⁴⁷ A House name.

⁴⁸ St. James Cathedral, Toronto.

⁴⁹ Now in the library of the Canadian Heraldic Authority.

and the other descendants of his grandfather John Craven Chadwick of Ballinard.⁵⁰

(8) On 23 April 1877, he was invited to be a guest of the town in the procession. His brother Fred was Mayor. He recorded in his diary '*A conspicuous thing in the procession was a pair of banners on the mayor's carriage, worked in silk and velvet and made by me - one the arms of the town of Guelph and the other Fred's arms impaling Stewart.*

While this listing appears lengthy, I report them to record evidence of a man who has developed the certain essential criteria outlined previously as necessary for the designer.

After he left Guelph in August 1861 — having been recorded in the 14 January 1861 Census of the Village of Waterloo at the *Lemon and Peterson* office in one enumeration District, and then once in each of the other two⁵¹, with different enumerators each time, and all by coincidence recording his amusement at being 'considered by Her Majesty's servants to be equal to three inhabitants' — his diary shows that he regularly visited Guelph: it was only an hour or so away by train. His diary records that he was in Guelph in February 1879, the perfect time to discuss in person any heraldic matters for the forthcoming city. The Town Clerk of 1879 had been Mayor when Chadwick engrossed his address for the Prince of Wales in 1860. His brother Fred had been Mayor in 1877, and

was still involved in politics and the newspaper business. Who better to approach the most recent designer than these two ex-Mayors?



Figure 11. Chadwick impaled with Stewart

But what design should be developed? Having been to England in 1872 and visited relatives in Bromley, Kent - as well as the boarding school in Clapham (Surrey) where he appears in the 1851 census⁵² with his younger brother, the future

⁵⁰ St. George's Anglican Church, Guelph, has a heraldic window with the arms, and St. Alban's (Royal St. George's School) Toronto has several more extensive stained-glass windows. Chadwick was a longtime supporter of St. Albans, and lived across the street at 99 Howland Ave.

⁵¹ 1861 Census, Reel C-1078, Village of Waterloo: Dist 1, page 2, line 18; Dist 2, page 17 line 3; Dist 3, page 22 line 31.

⁵² 1851 Census Vol 6, part 4; Wandsworth Registration District, Clapham Sub-district, Clapham Parish, page 10b. HO107/1576. East Surrey Family History Society, Record Publication No. C50604.

Judge Austin Cooper Chadwick — he would have been aware of the arms of the County of Kent, England, as *Gules a horse forcene Argent*. This is similar to the arms that he recorded in his manuscript *An Ordinary of Arms borne in the Province of Ontario* for the County of Kent, Ontario,⁵³ as *Gules a horse rampant Argent. Crest: a tree*.⁵⁴ However, it would now be in the best interests of Guelph to distinguish itself further from both Kents by ways in addition to having a horse with a different orientation or attitude. In heraldic terms, the new shield shows two insightful features to do this. One is to reduce the area upon which the horse runs. The second is to line up much smaller bars alongside with a different colouring. Thus we have a balanced shield design of the arms in 'Argent upon a fess Gules cotised Vert a horse courant Argent'.

Because of the change of status by Act of the Legislature from Town to City, the new one becoming the ninth city in the Province, it would have seemingly been considered appropriate for the new city to have a Crest and Supporters. There would be only one apparently suitable crest for the city when the officials were prepared to declare it the 'Royal City,' even though Chadwick probably knew that it would say something heraldically which in law it was not. Specifically, the Royal Crest he set atop the shield was both a distinctive emblem and the legal property of the person of the Sovereign. Although probably done with the intention of honouring the Sovereign, the inclusion of the Royal Crest was therefore a theft by the city. The Supporters were less problematic, following the style of many others that appeared in the nineteenth century for municipalities. The Supporters can be developed to represent elements of the tradition and ethos of the city, promoting its *esprit-de-corps*. Because the community had a known date of establishment by a known founder, a figure to represent him was perfectly appropriate. The other figure could naturally represent the source of pride in the residents' heritage and hope for the community's future. Thus, Britannia, with her shield containing the Royal Union Badge, holds the cornucopia, symbol of plenty for gifts to be bestowed by the future.

4. Conclusion

In 'Canadian Municipal Arms,' Jeffreys wrote that '*Canada's post-Revolutionary immigrants, coming mainly from the old land, where coats of arms, family and communal, were noticeable features, doubtless brought with them the habit of thus marking the individuality of places as well as of persons*'. And Chapin himself had declared that with '*A distinct coat of arms has a remarkable sentimental value that has long been appreciated by colleges which*

⁵³ Kept over many years, presented to the Premier of Ontario in 1908, and now in the Legislative Library at Queen's Park.

⁵⁴ The horses are both in an upright orientation, but with a slight difference in the position of the rear hooves.

have been very quick to adopt heraldic devices as one of those suitable influences which develop college spirit. In a like manner, civic spirit and the consciousness of community entity and community interest are unconsciously developed by the use of heraldic emblems'.

Chadwick was following those ideas when he created the 1879 achievement of the City of Guelph, which he probably completed in late March.

Sources of Illustrations:

1. Figure 1: Darrel E Kennedy, *Wellington County Municipalities* (Guelph, 1984), p. 8.
2. Figure 2: photograph by the author, 1976.
3. Figures 3, 4 and 9: J. P. Brooke-Little, *Royal Heraldry: Beasts and Badges of Britain* (Derby, 1978), pp. 13-14.
4. Figures 5, 6, and 7 are from wax seals on documents at the Clerk's Office, Guelph City Hall.
5. Figure 8: W. G. Perrin, *British Flags: Their early history, and their development at sea; with an account of the origin of the flag as a national device* (Cambridge, 1922), Plate VII.
6. Figures 10, 11: Diary of Edward M. Chadwick.

Sommaire en français

Dans cet article, Darrel Kennedy a recherché les origines des armes et des autres armoiries de la Cité de Guelph, Ontario, utilisées entre la fondation de Guelph comme village le 1er janvier 1851 et la donation aux autorités de la cité d'armoiries officielles par les rois d'armes d'Angleterre de 8 mai 1978 : un acte dont il était l'un des consultants les plus importants. Il a découvert que les premières armes non officielles se sont créées pour le premier sceau du village, adopté en 1851, les deuxièmes armes pour le sceau adopté immédiatement après l'érection du village en ville le 27 décembre 1855, et les troisièmes armes pour le sceau adopté immédiatement après l'érection de la ville en cité le 23 avril 1879. Les dernières de cette série — utilisées jusqu'en 1978 — étaient les premières dotées d'armoiries extérieures à l'écu d'armes: deux tenants et un cimier, usurpé de la Couronne britannique. C'est sur la base de ces armoiries qu'on a créé la version officielle de 1978.

M. Kennedy s'intéressait aussi (et surtout) à l'identité précise du créateur ou inventeur des armoiries de 1879, tout à fait oubliée quant il a commencé ces recherches. Il a découvert que le créateur le plus probable de loin était l'armoriste canadien très connu, Edward Marion Chadwick, qui était à Guelph pendant toute la période du processus de l'érection de Guelph en cité, et qui a connu, lui-même, tous les personnages importants de la ville à l'époque en question.

**Figure 12. The Achievement of Guelph
as Exemplified in the Letters Patent of 1978**

