

Towards a More Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement¹

*An Historical and Semeiotic Analysis of the 1921 Achievement,
with Proposals for Modifications of its Elements*

Part I. The Emblematic Elements

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1. Introduction

Since November 1921,² the then Dominion and now Kingdom of Canada has possessed an armorial achievement superior in all respects but one to those of the other sovereign states of the Commonwealth.³ It is superior

¹ The article that follows is based on a paper delivered on 20 September 2006 in Ottawa, Ontario, to the IVth Annual Colloquium of the Royal Heraldry Society of Canada. I should like to thank those present for their many suggestions and words of encouragement, all of which I have taken seriously, and a number of which I have included in this article.

² The Royal Warrant by which the new achievement was established was dated 21 November 1921. The full text of the blazon is printed in Alan B. BEDDOE [FRHSC] and Strome GALLOWAY [FRHSC], *Beddoe's Canadian Heraldry* (Belleville, Ont., 1981), p. 64. See also Conrad SWAN, York Herald of Arms [FRHSC], *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty, An investigation of the arms and seals borne and used from the earliest times to the present in connection with public authority in and over Canada* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1977), pp. 63-64.

³ The unprecedented title 'dominion' was assigned to the newly confederated entity to which the name 'Canada' was at the same time extended in the British North America Act effective on 1 July 1867. The term 'dominion', in the basic sense of 'a territorial entity subjected to a territorial lord', had long been a generic term for the lands outside Britain and the United Kingdom that were under the lordship of the British monarch, but it had never previously been used as the *specific* title of any such dominion, all of which had been called by such traditional titles as 'kingdom', 'principality', 'duchy', 'lordship', 'province', or the like. 'Dominion' seems to have been adopted for this new purpose for two reasons: (1) to avoid the use of the obvious alternative title 'kingdom', which would have been the most natural one but might have offended the republican sensibilities of the United States, and encouraged it to invade the newly autonomous federation; and (2) to suggest the continuing dependency of the new 'dominion' on the British Crown. Neither of these reasons was valid after the

first for including *all* of the elements a sovereign achievement should include (*arms, a crest set on a helmet, supporters, a motto, and a sort of compartment*); second in including (however accidentally) a national coat of arms designed in keeping with classical heraldic standards of simplicity (three ‘proper’ maple-leaves conjoined on a white field); and finally in including two of the distinctive characteristics of a regal⁴ achievement in the British armorial systems: a *royal helm* and a *regal crown* set above it (albeit in a curious and unsatisfactory floating position).

Unfortunately, the one respect in which our very splendid Regal⁵ and Regnal Achievement is seriously deficient is one that has become increasingly important in the more than eight decades since the achievement was assigned: namely, that of a strong symbolic association with the state it represents *as such*, rather than the relationship of that state to its mother countries, especially the United Kingdom.

As Figure 1 demonstrates, despite the recent addition of a circlet representing the principal Canadian order of merit, more than four fifths of the visual mass of the achievement is composed of figures representing the mother countries, and less than one fifth is composed of figures representing Canada.

passage of the Statute of Westminster on 11 December 1931, however, when Canada ceased to be a ‘dominion’ in the then established sense of an autonomous dependency of the British Crown, and became an *independent monarchical state* whose monarch bears the title ‘king’ or ‘queen’. That is the very definition of a kingdom, so it cannot be denied that Canada has been a kingdom since that time, both *de facto* and *de jure*, and I shall refer to it in this article as such.

⁴ My preference in this context for ‘regal’ rather than the more familiar ‘royal’ might seem pedantic, but in both legal and armorial contexts an important distinction is in fact drawn between things pertaining to all members of the monarch’s immediate family (who are all ‘royal’ and marked both by titles and attributes distinctive of ‘royalty’ generally) and things pertaining to the monarch alone, whether a king or queen. These things — including the achievement of the monarch as such, which includes a number of features that would not be included in the achievement of any other member of the Royal Family of Canada — must be described as ‘regal’ to distinguish them in a clear and unambiguous way.

⁵ The achievement is ‘regal’ because it is that of the Queen for use in Canada, and as I shall argue, four of its marshalled arms represent the Queen in capacities other than that of Queen of Canada. Its outer emblematic elements, however, are also ‘regnal’, as they are (at least in detail) peculiar to Canada, and in combination with the arms set in the champagne, make it a true armorial emblem of the Kingdom of Canada. It is also in a sense the ‘federal’ achievement, because our kingdom is a federation, but it is better viewed as a federal *kingdom* than as regal *federation*, especially as the current arms and achievement ignore its federal character completely. It is not the ‘national’ achievement, because the ‘nation’ (to the extent that one exists) is a *set of people* distinct from both the *kingdom* and the *monarchy* — both of which are *political* entities entailing jurisdiction over a *territory*. It is true that flags now represent *peoples* as well as *governments*, but arms and other armories do not.

This disparity was never really appropriate, but has become increasingly less so over the years between its conferral and the present, and at the



Fig. 1. The Current Form of the Achievement (with the elements symbolic of Canada highlighted in grey) (By the author)

same time has become increasingly out of alignment with the attitude of most Canadians towards their country and its history. While the new achievement was very well received by the overwhelmingly Anglophile and Imperialist citizenry of Anglophone Canada in 1921, and more than adequately represented the dependent status of the Dominion at that time,

changes both in the *legal status* of the country (since adoption of the Statute of Westminster of 11 December 1931⁶ a wholly independent kingdom bound in a purely personal union to the United Kingdom and the other newly-independent kingdoms like Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, of all of which it is a full equal), and in the *ethos* of the majority of its Anglophone citizenry (which since 1945 has become steadily more nationalistic and less interested in its British heritage) have made the form of the achievement ever less expressive both of the *legal status* of Canada and of the *ethos* of Anglophone Canadians. Furthermore, as the recent proposals for the alteration of the motto in the Achievement indicate,⁷ the symbolism of its various parts is at present neither clearly understood nor strongly appreciated even by our political leaders. Finally, the Achievement has never adequately represented the French heritage of Canada, and partly for that reason, has never been highly regarded in Quebec.

It is my purpose in this article to argue that, if the Regal and Regnal Achievement of Canada is not to become completely irrelevant to Canadians, its form must be modified in various ways to represent the new realities. Most of the legal realities in question have existed since

⁶ On this statute, see ANON., 'Statute of Westminster', *Wikipedia*.

⁷ I refer to proposals made by representatives of the northern territories that some reference to the Arctic Ocean be added to the implicit references to the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans included in the current motto, A MARI USQUE AD MARE.

1931, and some of them were introduced as early as 1926, when through the Balfour Declaration the leaders gathered at the Imperial Conference of that year jointly proclaimed that the United Kingdom and the Dominions were thenceforth to be 'autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs'.⁸ Although I am by no means a new-style nationalist myself, I have long felt that, if the Achievement is to be held by Canadians generally in anything approaching the affection in which they hold the national flag of 1964, alterations must be made in both its structure and its content, to indicate more clearly four aspects of the nature of our state that are obscured both by the present *selection* of its elements, and by their *arrangement* relative to one another. These four aspects are: (1) the *absolute sovereignty* of the Kingdom of Canada (as it became in law and ought to have been called since 1931), and its complete separation from the British (as distinct from the Canadian) Crown; (2) the status of our monarch as the Queen of *Canada* as such, and not of the United Kingdom or of England (titles by which she is commonly called even in Canada, and which the current achievement strongly if misleadingly suggests⁹); (3) the *dual* nature of the linguistic, legal, and general cultural heritage of our kingdom, as the legitimate successor not only to the *British Empire* in North America, but to the *French Empire* under its *Ancien Régime*; and (4), something more of the distinctive character of the territory currently included in the kingdom, through allusions to its geography, flora, and fauna that would be familiar to most of its citizens.

At the same time, however, I feel that it would be preferable not to go farther in the direction of innovation than is necessary to achieve these goals, and to retain as many as is possible of the current components of the achievement — or components closely resembling them — in order to maintain continuity with the design of 1921 and its various English, Scottish, and (where possible) French predecessors. Most of what I shall

⁸ The Balfour Declaration was first given a statutory expression in the *Royal and Parliamentary Titles Act 1927*, which altered the titlature of the British monarch within the British Isles to 'King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of Ireland [i.e., the Irish Free State], and the [other] British Dominions'. This was intended as a model for the 'Dominions' other than Ireland, whose governments were authorized to adopt an analogous form of titlature, including the relevant title 'King of Canada', 'King of Australia', and so forth, in the place of 'King of Ireland'. Unfortunately, most of the governments did not get around to doing this until the accession of George V's granddaughter and third successor, Elizabeth II, in 1952. (See ANON., 'Balfour Declaration of 1926', *Wikipedia* and ANON., 'Royal and Parliamentary Titles Act 1927', *Wikipedia*.)

⁹ She is not, of course, the 'Queen of England', as the Kingdom of England was conjoined with that of Scotland in the Kingdom of Great Britain by the first Act of Union of 1707, and with that of Ireland in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland by the second Act of Union of 1 January 1801. The correct British title since 1949 has been 'King or Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland': the designation adopted in 1927 for the united elements of the old kingdom.

propose, therefore, involves *rearrangements of*, *minor modifications to*, and *minor additions to* the current elements of the achievement, both emblematic and insignial.

These changes must of course be made cautiously, and probably in several stages. They should probably be preceded by campaigns led by this Society to explain to the politicians and the general population what changes have been proposed and why they are desirable. In this article it is merely my intention to raise the issue in a forum of the well informed, and to present a series of specific proposals for reform for the thought and comment of my readers, both in Canada and abroad.

2. The Achievement Created in 1921: The Current Emblematic Elements and Proposed Modifications

2.1. The Current Achievement and its History

It will be useful to begin with a brief history and description of the current Regal-Regnal Achievement of Canada.¹⁰ On 21 November 1921, King George V issued a Royal Warrant assigning to his Dominion of Canada a completely new set of armorial bearings, intended to replace the unofficial achievement commonly employed in various forms since 1868, and to bring the arms and achievement of his government in Canada more in line with those assigned to his other principal dominions a decade or so earlier.

Figure 2a reproduces the exemplification of the achievement painted on that document, in the unfortunate Late Baroque style the College of Arms continued to cling to a century after the Gothic Revival: an exemplification that became the model of almost all *official* representations down to 1957.¹¹ Curiously, as figure 2b indicates, the new Canadian achievement took the form of a lightly modified version of the achievement which the King and his predecessors had used since 1837 (and would continue to use to 1931) both in England, as the Regal-Regnal Achievement of that kingdom and throughout the Empire, as the Imperial Achievement of General Purpose.¹²

¹⁰ For a detailed presentation of the origins of this achievement, see SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, pp. 61-65.

¹¹ By 'official representation' I mean the form used by the government and its agencies, and authorized by them for use by others when appropriate. This has tended to be fixed for long periods on the basis of a single representation by a single artist: from 1921 to 1957 the one on the Warrant, from 1957 to 1994 the one painted by Allan Beddoe, and since 1994 the one painted by Cathy Bursey-Sabourin, *Frazer Herald*. The existence of such official representations, however, does not constrain the artistic freedom of heraldic artists who are *not* working for the government, and the renderings by Gordon Macpherson given in Fig. 3 and by myself in Fig. 4 are among the many representations of the achievement that have been superior — artistically or technically or both — to the current official version.

¹² On the notion of arms and achievements 'of general purpose', see *ibid.*, p. 5.

In fact, every major emblematic and insignial element of the Canadian achievement — the arms, the crest, the crown, the supporters, the compartment, and the motto-scroll — referred much more strongly to the corresponding element of the then (and still) current English-Imperial achievement than it did to the dominion it was intended to represent, and only relatively minor elements of the design — the design in the base of the composite arms, a small figure in the paw of the crest-lion, the tinctures of the wreath and mantling, and the motto — referred specifically to Canada.

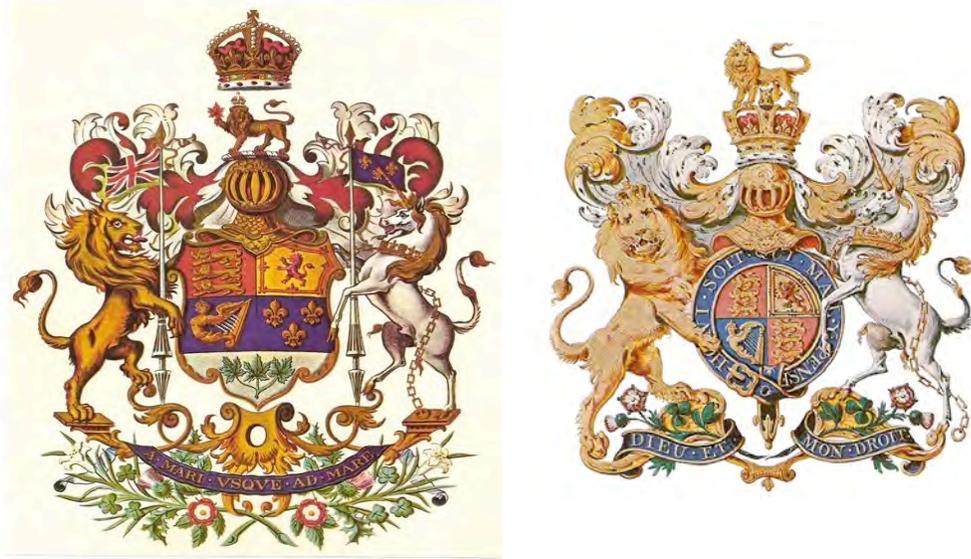


Fig. 2. a. The Achievement granted in 1921, represented on the Royal Warrant
b. The Imperial Achievement of General Purpose, official depiction, 1837-1931
The close resemblances between them, both in content and in representation, are evident.

Since 1921, only four substantive changes have been made to the achievement, all of them very minor. The first three — effected in 1957 in the context of the new, more up-to-date (which is to say, neo-Gothic) ‘official’ rendering of the achievement by Alan Beddoe — took the form of (1) fixing the tinctures of the ‘proper’ leaves of the arms as gules, (2) reversing the tinctures of the mantling,¹³ and (3) replacing the Victorian ‘Imperial’ crown (officially adopted in 1911) with a representation of the Restoration ‘royal’ (or regal) crown of 1660, called somewhat misleadingly ‘St Edward’s Crown’.¹⁴ (4) The final change, effected in 1994, not long after the establishment of the Canadian Heraldic

¹³ It would appear that this change was made because of the order in which the livery-colours were mentioned in the blazon, but if so, the decision to do so was completely wrong-headed, as the distribution of livery-colours is governed by established conventions unless the blazon explicitly states otherwise.

¹⁴ On the (modern) distinction between these two forms of crown, see below, n.

Authority,¹⁵ involved the simple addition of the circlet of the Order of Canada around the shield, on the model of the garter invariably included in the English-Imperial version of the achievement since 1530. The first and third of these changes were long overdue, the last having been delayed for nearly thirty years after the foundation of the Order on 17 April 1967.¹⁶ I represent them both (along with the reorientation of the helm that some artists have already undertaken when not working for the government) in my own renderings of the achievement, the first of which (in Figure 1) follows the usual official conventions with regard to the depiction of mantlings (of the tailed type I prefer to call a ‘lambrequin’), and the other take a more exuberant form I have based on that of an achievement in a fifteenth-century English tapestry.¹⁷

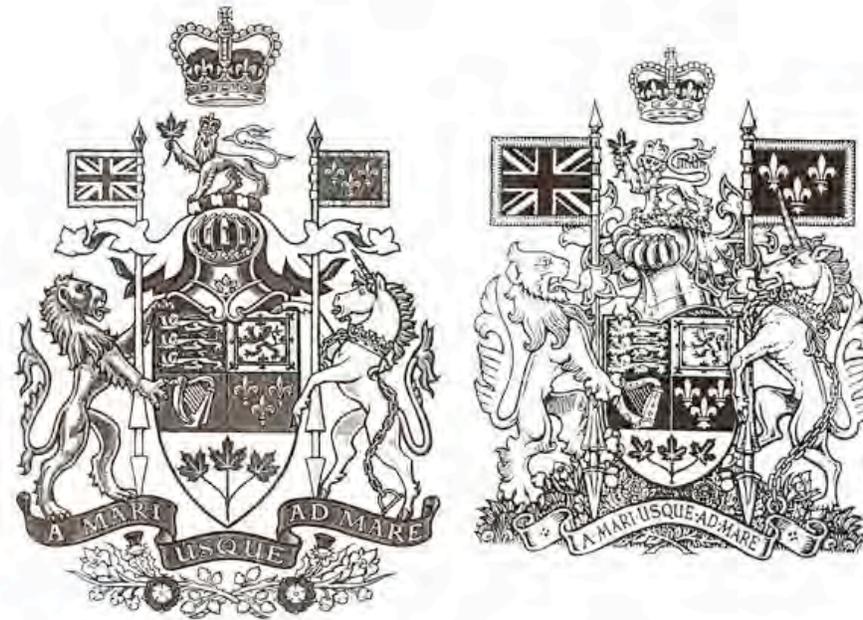


Fig. 3. The Intermediate Form of the Achievement (1957-1994)

Representations by a. Alan Beddoe (official) and
b. Gordon Macpherson (unofficial)

The latter has improved upon the official model by setting the helm in the logical orientation for the crest, by setting the wreaths on a proper compartment, by reducing the size of the champagne, and by increasing the size of the banners.

In the remainder of my essay, I shall proceed through the elements of the achievement in an orderly fashion, beginning with the arms and the secondary and tertiary emblematic species, and moving on to the

¹⁵ The decision to include the circlet — an idea suggested by several people at the time of the establishment of the Authority, including myself — was finally taken in 1994.

¹⁶ On the form of the circlet, see below, Fig. 8.

¹⁷ The tapestry, representing the achievement of Lord Dynham, Knight of the Garter, is currently in the collection of the Cloisters Museum, a division of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.

insignial elements. In each case, I shall first discuss briefly the current form and effective symbolism of each element, then indicate the ways (if any) in which that element is deficient from any of the perspectives announced earlier, and finally suggest ways in which it might be improved.



Fig. 4. The Current Version of the Achievement
A wide rendering by the author, with a snowy compartment

2.2. The Regal and Regnal Arms: An Analysis of their Content and Structure

Like the other dominions that received arms from the English Kings of Arms in the same period — Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa¹⁸

¹⁸ South Africa (a dominion from 30 May 1910) had been granted an achievement in the same year, New Zealand (a dominion from 1907) in 1911, and Australia (a dominion from 1901) in 1912. (That of Australia is represented above in the article by Richard d'Apice, along with those of all of its states.) The delay in the grant to Canada to 1921 was probably due to a mistaken idea that Canada already had adequate arms, formed by combining those granted to the

— the Dominion of Canada was assigned regal arms¹⁹ of a quarterly rather than a simple form.²⁰ In striking contrast to those assigned to the other dominions — and to those informally employed by the Canadian government since 1868²¹ — the quarterings included in the new regal arms for use in Canada did not represent either the provinces of the Dominion²² or the basis of its economy,²³ but rather the Kingdoms of

first four provinces in 1868; certainly the arms of the two other dominions were composed on that model, albeit using non-armal designs for all of the quarters. The South African achievement was granted by a Warrant of 17 September 1910, which established all of the emblematic elements that would be used both by the dominion and by the republic until recently, when a merely quasi-armorial emblem was adopted in its place. Absurdly, since any supported achievement may employ any form of compartment unless a particular one is specified, a compartment in the absolutely standard form of a grassy mound was granted by a second Warrant of 1930; and a third Warrant of 21 September 1932 inserted the helm that should have been under the crest in the first place (though of the wrong type), and added national flowers to the compartment. (See the *International Civil Heraldry Site*, South Africa, National Arms of South Africa.)

¹⁹ It should be noted that I use the term ‘arms’ exclusively in its earliest and only proper sense: that of the emblematic design that was conventionally represented covering the whole surface of a shield, banner, or coat. The name ‘arms’, along with its full synonym ‘coat of arms’, is often loosely applied to the whole achievement, but the latter is quite clearly a distinct type of sign, composed of a shield of arms and one or more additional armorial signs, either emblematic or insignial. Similarly, the arms are not to be equated with ‘the shield’, as that is merely one of several possible *underlying contexts* on which the arms — essentially an abstract design without any fixed outline — can be displayed. The other such contexts include have historically included several species of flag, the horse-trapper, and the *literal* ‘coat’ of arms, still worn by heralds in most countries in its standard form since about 1430, known as a ‘tabard’.

²⁰ All three of the arms assigned to the other dominions had a quarterly design: South Africa’s of four quarters bound by a wavy fess-line between the upper and lower ranks; New Zealand’s of four quarters bound by a pale set between them; and Australia’s of six quarters arranged three and three, and bound with a bordure.

²¹ Since the adoption of the arms of the four founding provinces in 1868, the government of Canada had employed as arms of dominion a quarterly coat composed of those four arms — ignoring those of the five newer provinces. (See SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, pp. 57-61.)

²² The quarterings in the arms of Australia and South Africa did represent their states or provinces, but in neither case had most of the designs employed for this purpose been assigned to those entities as arms, as was true in Canada. In the case of South Africa, the first two quarters included motifs from the arms of the former colonies of Cape of Good Hope and Natal, and the other two included non-heraldic emblems used to represent the Republic of Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. This whole composition was recently replaced by a new coat, of a much simpler form, but not in heraldic tinctures. (*ICHS*, South Africa). The Australian quarterings had similar origins, each including a figure that represented one of the six states.

²³ In the arms assigned to New Zealand, the quarterings represent respectively (1) the Southern Cross, a feature of the southern skies that was adopted as an emblem by *both* antipodean dominions; (2) a golden fleece, curiously used to

England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Canada as distinct entities, and included as their dominant elements the traditional arms of the first four kingdoms, completely undifferenced. The blazon specified that the

Arms or Ensigns Armorial of the Dominion of Canada shall be, Tierced in fess the first and second divisions containing the quarterly coat following namely, 1st, Gules three lions passant guardant in pale Or, 2nd Or a lion rampant within a double tressure flory-counter-flory Gules, 3rd Azure a harp Or stringed Argent, 4th Azure three fleurs-de-lis Or, and the third division Argent three maple leaves conjoined on one stem proper.

The text quoted describes the quarterings and their arrangement in a rather peculiar way, indicating that the design was composed of a 'quarterly coat' occupying the first two tiers, and a fifth element of unspecified significance occupying the third tier, which is more precisely termed a 'champagne'. It also states that this whole composition was to be regarded as the '*Arms or Ensigns Armorial of the Dominion of Canada*'.

Nevertheless, as I have argued elsewhere,²⁴ whatever the designers of this compound coat *intended* to do in combining this set of elements, what they *actually* did was to establish a new arrangement of the several discrete coats included in the arms of King George that was suitable for use in Canada (in the way the arrangement of quarterings employed in Scotland is appropriate for use in that country),²⁵ and to create a wholly new coat of arms representing Canada as a distinct entity that was included at the base of the quarterly coat. Had it been set on a chief, a pale, or a fess, the design representing Canada would have constituted both a *mark of difference* and what may be called a *binder* for the other coats, welding them into one indissoluble design. Because it was set on a champagne, however, it did not bear that meaning at all. Although the champagne was a relatively unusual division for marshalling a distinct coat in *English* armory, it was well established as a field for marshalling distinct arms in the international conventions of *regal* armory, and those were the conventions that properly pertained to

represent the dominant industry of sheep-raising; (3) a *garb* or sheaf of wheat, representing agriculture, and (4) a pair of hammers crossed in saltire, representing the mining industry. The pale is itself said to represent Cook Strait that separates the two islands, and the three lymphads set on it represent trade by sea. The design thus suffers from most of the faults commonly found in the municipal arms of the period, and only the careful balancing of the tinctures prevents it from looking like a dog's breakfast.

²⁴ D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'The "Arms of Canada": An Analysis,' *Heraldry in Canada* 8.2 (June 1974), pp. 5-14. The following commentary was largely anticipated in that article.

²⁵ In England, the monarch and his or her government had since 1837 used a quarterly coat with the arms of England in the first and fourth quarters, that of Scotland in the second, and that of Ireland in the third. In Scotland, the Scottish arms had assumed the position occupied by the English coat in England, and the English coat had replaced it in turn in the second quarter.

such a design even in 1921 (as Canada was already a kingdom, even if a dependent one).²⁶

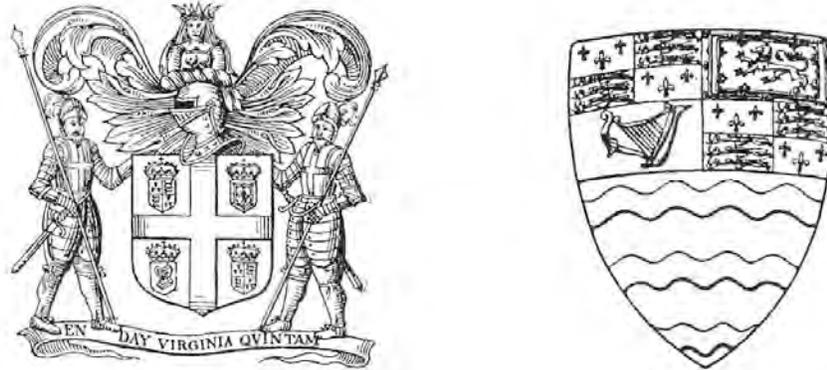


Figure 5.1. The Achievements of the Virginia Company and the Company of New England (See nn. 28 and 29)

Furthermore, there was no precedent for creating a design for the arms of a single state composed either wholly or largely of the marshalled but otherwise undifferentiated arms of two or more older states,²⁷ and no one with a serious knowledge of the history and conventions of marshalling would have read the coat blazoned by the Royal Warrant of 1921 as anything other than a collection of five discrete quarters

²⁶ The champagne had been employed as a unit for marshalling arms (or in some cases insignial 'fields of regality' [*Regalienfelder*] of a type peculiar to Germany) by the Kings of Denmark and Norway and Prussia, and by other German princes; the Danish-Norwegian form had in fact been displayed in all three British Kingdoms by Anne, wife of James VI and I. What could be regarded as a champagne bearing two or three quarterings was even more common in the compound arms of European princes, including the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Electors of Hanover. The champagne was roughly the equivalent in this role to the *enté-en-point*, which was even more widely used to bear one or two additional coats in a compound design: most notably in the present context, the arms of Westphalia set at the base of the fourth grand quarter of the British kings from George I to William IV. (For representations of many of these arms, see Michael MACLAGAN and Jirí LOUDA, *Lines of Succession: Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* [London, 1981])

²⁷ The only regnal coat to be composed of even *two* existing coats, marshalled in a normal manner, was that of Sicily, and this originated as a combination of the arms of the first armigerous dynasty of that country with that of the second dynasty when King Pere I of Aragon, head of the House of Barcelona, claimed it as the heir of Manfredi, last King of Sicily of the House of Hohenstaufen — a claim partially realized (through the conquest of the *insular* part of the kingdom) in 1282. The arms in question might be blazoned '*Quarterly per saltire, in chief and base Or four pallets Gules (for Barcelona), to either side Argent an eagle displayed Sable (for Hohenstaufen)*'; in practice, however, the design was always treated as a unitary coat, in which the two older arms were in effect 'blended' rather than marshalled. The fact that marshalling by quartering per saltire, though common in Spain, was unknown in Italy, must have contributed to this idea.

representing at least comparable sorts of entity independently associated with the armiger: in this case the King of Canada. If the designers had really wanted the four coats in question to serve as mere *symbols* of ethnic heritage rather than as distinct *emblems* of sovereignty, they should have set them on discrete shields arranged on a field around a cross or the like (as had been done in the arms of the governors of the Virginia Company in 1619²⁸), or occupying the upper half of a coat party per fess (as had been done in the arms of the Council of New England in or soon after 1620²⁹ — as represented in Figure 5.1).

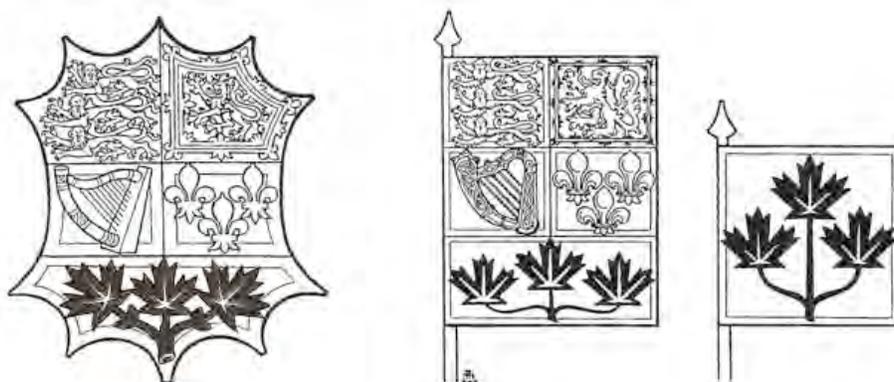


Fig. 5. The Current Form of the Composite Regal and Simple Regnal Arms
a. The composite regal form on a shield — b. The composite regal form on a banner — c. The simple regnal form on a banner (By the author)

²⁸ The Virginia Company, which founded the province of that name in 1607, assumed a complete achievement for its own use in 1619. In this the arms was dominated by a cross of St. George for England, but the cantons bore crowned shields of the four quarterings of the new royal arms, arranged in the usual order: first and fourth France quartering England, second Scotland, third Ireland. This was a very striking design, whose significance was explained in a fine heraldic fashion by the motto *EN DAT VIRGINIA QUINTAM*: 'Behold, Virginia gives the fifth', or, more plainly 'Behold, Virginia gives (the king) his fifth (crown)'. (See Eugene ZIEBER, *Heraldry in America* [New York, 1895; repr. 1984], pp. 185-192.)

²⁹ The first colonial authority to acquire (by assumption) both arms and an achievement was probably the Plymouth Company, which at some time between 1606 and 1620 assumed a coat whose central element was the cross of St. George. (See Howard M. CHAPIN, *Civic Heraldry: A Roll of Arms of Cities and Towns in the United States Including Those of Some Counties, Councils, and Courts* [Providence, 1935], p. 37, and Ernst LEHNER, *American Symbols: A Pictorial History* [New York, 1957, p. 15.]) The Council for New England, which replaced the Plymouth Company as the proprietor of that region in 1620, soon assumed a similar achievement with a traditional coat and distinctly Classical crest and supporters. The arms could be blazoned: *Per fess, in chief the great royal arms of general purpose (Stuart version), in base Argent, three barrulets Azure*. Thus, while it lacked the cross of the two older coats, it included the royal arms of the second, with the quarters together rather than divided among separate shields. (See CHAPIN, *Civic Heraldry*, p. 32.)

It is significant in the present context that the first three of the traditional quarterings included in the new royal arms for Canada were in fact identical to the first three included, in precisely the same manner, in their current English-Imperial analogue. As a result, the arrangement of quarterings above the champagne in the compound coat adopted for use in Canada differed from the standard compound version of the royal arms only in including — in place of the *repeated* arms of England in the fourth quarter — the arms of France. This itself was hardly a novelty, as a quartering for France of identical form had similarly been included in the compound English-Imperial coat from January 1340 (when Edward III had laid claim to the French crown) to 31 December 1800 (when George III had formally surrendered that claim).

The only novel element of the compound coat of 1921, therefore, was the design set in the champagne at the base of the shield, below those of the other four kingdoms. This design was clearly intended by the designers to represent Canada itself, as it is the only element of the design that does not represent a European state, and the only one to include a motif previously associated with Canada. For these reasons, and those given in the immediately preceding discussion, the design assigned to the champagne can only be regarded as the arms of the Dominion of Canada proper, set *below* those of the kingdoms held or claimed by the British King, presumably because of its status as a mere *possession* of the United Kingdom. Certainly the simple design of the champagne is a much more appropriate form of arms for a particular kingdom (or dominion of any rank) than a coat composed largely of the arms of four *other* kingdoms, none of which is included in the territory of the kingdom represented by the compound coat.

Surprisingly, the true nature of the design set in the champagne seems to have been recognized by the Canadian government itself from the very beginning, as it was immediately displayed on separate shields at various points in the new Parliament Building in Ottawa, most prominently at the door of the Senate Chamber, where the shield in question is borne by one of the supporters of the achievement. The other quarterings were also displayed in separate shields, indicating that they, too, were correctly understood as the arms of different kingdoms, and not merely symbolic motifs in the unitary and indivisible arms of Canada.

The new arms thus inadvertently assigned to Canada in 1921 consisted of a white field charged with a set of three maple leaves arising from a single stalk. The design of the new coat was undoubtedly modelled on those of the *fields* of the arms assigned to Ontario and Quebec in 1868, below the chiefs of affiliation (as they may be called³⁰).

³⁰ I have adopted the term 'affiliation symbol' to represent signs included in emblems in order to indicate a relationship between a dependent or junior entity and a dominant or senior entity. In the context of a Canadian coat of arms, a chief bearing the red cross on white of St. George, or a fess bearing a single gold lion passant guardant on a red field, was almost certainly included in the design

The field of the Ontario arms bore an identical design with gold leaves on a green field, while the base of the Quebec arms bore the same design as Ontario with the tinctures reversed.

The red-on-white version of this arrangement, minus the other elements, was in fact an excellent design for arms of dominion in Canada. This was true not only because of its clear allusion to the arms of the most important provinces — the two successors to the original province of 'Canada' — but because the maple-leaf was the most distinctive and attractive popular emblem of the Dominion as a whole (much preferable esthetically to the beaver), and had served in the Great War that had just ended as the badge of the Canadian Corps. The general nature of the design was also highly appropriate for the arms of a great kingdom: both because the arrangement of three charges of one tincture on a plain field of another echoed the much older arms of England (which bore three lions Or) and France (which bore three fleurs-de-lys Or), and because the simple design involving a small number of identical charges in a single major tincture, it conformed to the traditions of imperial, regnal, and principial arms more generally.³¹ Indeed, the only defect in the design was the use of the term 'proper' to designate the tincture of the charge in the official blazon, primarily because — given the annual changes in the colour of maple leaves in Canada — it was quite ambiguous. In fact, the designer seems to have meant the leaves to be represented in *red*, the colour of the liveries specified, but this intention had been thwarted by another official, who felt that red was a symbol of decline and near-death in a leaf. Therefore in practice the leaves in the arms were almost

to indicate the affiliation of the entity represented by the arms with the English Crown or kingdom.

³¹ All of the kingdoms of Latin Europe other than (insular) Sicily, and almost all of their subordinate principalities, bore and still bear very simple arms, most commonly composed of an undivided field in one tincture, bearing one, two, or three identical figures in a second tincture. This is true of the arms of the Holy Roman Empire, and of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Castile, Leon, Navarre, Norway, Sweden, Bohemia, Poland, and Armenia, and of the Grand Principality of Lithuania, to name only those in existence before 1500. It is also true of the old republics of Switzerland and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, of the newer Empires of Russia, Germany, and Austria, and of the newer kingdoms of Prussia, Belgium, Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia. The Kingdoms of Aragon, Hungary, Croatia, and Bavaria had equally simple arms consisting of a *patterned* field in two tinctures, while those of Majorca and Saxony had similar patterned fields charged with a form of bend in a third tincture, and those of Denmark and the Netherlands had *geratted* fields surcharged with lions (three and one), in the first case in a third tincture. The arms of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and of the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Portugal were slightly more complex, including two major forms of charge, but they were still dichromatic and visually simple, as they were dominated either by a *cross* (in the first two cases) or a set of *escutcheons* arranged in cross (in the case of Portugal). (Again, all of these are represented in MACLAGAN and LOUDA, *Lines of Succession*, passim.) The regnal arms of Canada *stricto sensu* thus conform perfectly to the traditional and still normal pattern for regnal arms in Europe.

invariably represented as green, the colour of spring and youth, down to 1957, when the intended red was finally normalized.

Despite the presence of what must be regarded (and was, as I have noted, actually regarded by the government) as the *arms of dominion* in Canada as such, the arms of the *monarch* for use in Canada adopted in 1921 were actually dominated by the arms in the first four quarters, which occupied four fifths of its area. These non-Canadian arms were almost certainly included for two distinct reasons: (1) first, to make the new royal arms look as much like the Imperial Arms of general purpose as possible, thus increasing their dignity and assimilating them to a tradition of quarterly arms going back in England to 1340; and (2) second, to symbolize (through emblems to which the king had a claim in capacities quite distinct from that of King of Canada) the origins of the majority of the Canadian population in England, Scotland, Ireland, and France. In their *symbolic* capacity, the four quarters were in fact analogous to the chiefs or fesses of affiliation included in the arms of every one of the provinces that were granted after 1867³² — though the latter otherwise took the much simpler forms of (a) a cross of St. George (in the arms of Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta), (c) a Union Badge (in the arms of British Columbia), (d) a single lion passant guardant from the arms of England (in the arms of Quebec, New Brunswick, P.E.I., and Saskatchewan), and (e) a set of three fleurs-de-lys (in the arms of Quebec). In the arms assigned to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland under the Stuarts, the affiliation-symbols had been more thoroughly integrated into the basic design, which consisted entirely of such symbolic elements. Each coat included a field dominated by a form of their respective patronal cross (of St. Andrew with the tinctures reversed in the former, of St. George in the latter), with elements of the regal achievement set upon or around it (an inescutcheon of the regal arms itself in the former, English armal lions and Scottish para-armorial unicorns in pairs in opposite quarters in the latter). In the provincial arms assigned in and after 1868, by contrast, the affiliation-symbols in the provincial arms occupied in most cases only about a *third* of the area of the design — Quebec being the sole exception because its *tierced* arms included both an English and a French affiliation-symbol. In all ten provincial coats, however, the affiliation-symbols were integrated into the armal design in an unambiguous manner: no one could mistake them for marshalled arms.

³² Although Nova Scotia was granted new arms along with the three other Original Provinces in 1868, these were discontinued in 1929 in favour of the arms granted at some time between the sealing of the charter of James VI & I of 29 September 1621 erecting the province, and the first attestation of the provincial achievement in 1625. The achievement in question reflected the Scottish name and affiliation of the colony: the arms consisted of the cross of St. Andrew with the tinctures reversed, and debriused at the center with an inescutcheon of the royal arms of Scotland. (See SWAN, *ibid.*, p. 121)

Unfortunately, the two purposes for which the quarterings in the regal arms of 1921 were used were not entirely compatible from a strictly *emblematic* perspective, as the display of undifferenced versions of arms of dominion by a sovereign has normally implied either a claim to current dominion over the lands represented (whether *de facto* or merely *de jure*), or membership in the royal or princely house of another kingdom or principality whose chief had such a claim. Both types of claim could of course be made in that year for the use by King George V of Canada of the regal arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland (in all of which he was both *de jure* and *de facto* king), but only a very forced claim of either type could be made for his use of the arms of France. Unfortunately, the claim of our sovereigns to the arms of Ireland has been equally dubious since 1922, and indefensible since 1949. I shall examine each of these claims in turn.

a. The Claim to the Arms of France. A claim to *de facto* jurisdiction in France as the heir to the French kings could perhaps have been made on the basis of King George's *de facto* sovereignty over either or both of two *fragments* of the former kingdom: (1) the lands formerly included in New France, which had been treated legally as an extension of the European kingdom; and (2) the Channel Isles, which were a fragment of the old Duchy of Normandy, and therefore of the Kingdom of France proper. A claim to the arms of the France on the basis of the latter sovereignty would have been comparable to the claim to the arms of the Kingdom of Ireland implicit in the continued use of those arms in the Regal-Regnal Arms of the United Kingdom after the conversion of the Irish Free State into a republic in 1949, as I shall demonstrate. But such a claim has never in fact been made, and would not in any case have conformed to the normal custom with respect to regnal arms (as the claim to Normandy was quite independent of the traditional claim to the throne of France).

Similarly, a genealogical claim to the French regal arms could have been made on the basis of the king's descent from Edward III, whose mother Isabel had been the only daughter of the French king Philippe IV, and on the death of her youngest brother Charles IV in 1328 had been the only one of Philippe's four children to have given birth to a son. This had made Edward for a time the presumptive heir general to the French throne under the normal laws of succession then operative in both France and England, and on that basis he and his heirs had in fact claimed the throne of France from 1340 to 1800. Unfortunately for this claim, in 1328 the French magnates had preferred to give the throne to Edward's cousin Philippe, Count of Valois — the elder son of King Philippe's late brother Charles of Valois — thus keeping it in the Capetian House. Furthermore, this decision came during the course of the next century or so to be justified by the legal theory (totally fallacious but generally accepted by 1435) that the so-called 'Salic Law' prohibited both the succession *of* women, and succession *through* women, to the throne of France.

Even worse for the claims of Edward and his heirs, however, was the effective nullification in 1332 of his status as heir-general

presumptive, as a result of the birth of a son to Jehanne de France, the only daughter of the *eldest* of Philippe IV's three sons, Louis X: the rights of a son and his heirs always trumping those of a daughter. Jehanne had married another of her Capetian cousins, Philippe Count of Évreux, and their son Charles 'the Bad', King of Navarre in succession to his mother, had given rise to a long line of Kings of Navarre. Several of the Navarrese monarchs had claimed to be the rightful King of France as heir-general of Philippe IV, and all of them had had a much better claim to that status than the Kings of England even down to the death of Richard II in 1399 — when such genealogical claim as the latter had possessed passed to the Mortimer Earls of March, and thence to their heirs of the House of York.³³

Nevertheless, Henry V not only claimed the French throne, but succeeded in conquering half the kingdom after his victory at Agincourt in 1415, and married the daughter of his rival King Charles VI shortly before his own death in 1422; his son Henry VI, however, though crowned King of France, lost all of his father's conquests, and died childless in 1461, extinguishing the new claim established by his father. The English kings of the Houses of York (from 1461 to 1485) and Tudor (after the accession of Henry VIII in 1509) did inherit the claim made by Edward III (essentially invalid since 1332), as did the Stuart kings from 1603 to 1689. The replacement of James II by his daughter Mary II in 1689, however, once again removed that claim from the regnant line of the House of Stuart, and the Hanoverian and Saxon dynasties that succeeded them on the throne after 1614, as a result of the exclusion of Catholics, lacked even Edward III's invalid claim to the throne of France — which passed from the Stuart pretenders to the Dukes of Bavaria.

In the meantime, the two rival French claims had been merged in 1589 when Henri de Bourbon, King of Navarre in succession to Jehanne daughter of Louis X of France, succeeded his cousin Henri III, last King of France of the Valois line descended from Philippe VI, as King Henri IV of France. The Bourbon kings down to Charles X, deposed in 1830, were therefore the rightful rulers of France by any legal standard. Thus, George V's only possible claim to the arms of France as *de jure* king (or even as the heir general of a king) was on the basis of the *doubly* invalid claim made by his predecessors from 1689 to 1800, and formally *renounced* in the latter year by George III.

This means that the revival of the French quartering in the Regal-Regnal Arms of Canada in 1921 was essentially unjustifiable on any grounds other than the traditional use of that quartering by his predecessors before 1801 — a use that was itself based on false claims, and had been abandoned one hundred and twenty years earlier. The quartering should therefore be abandoned as soon as politically possible, and its loss compensated for by greater emphasis on the French heritage in some part or parts of the achievement that do not make claims to

³³ For the genealogy of the last 'direct' or senior-branch Capetians and their heirs, see Patrick VAN KERREBROUK, *Nouvelle Histoire Généalogique de l'Auguste Maison de France II: Les Capetians 987-1328* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2000), pp. 150-195.

public authority. I shall propose that the sinister supporter be used to this end.

b. The Claim to the Arms of Ireland.³⁴ In December 1921, when the composite arms including the arms of Ireland were adopted for use in Canada, George V was still the king in all of Ireland — which from 1541 to 1800 had been an autonomous kingdom in personal union with England or Great Britain, and since 1 January 1801 had been (like England and Scotland) a mere administrative territory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Since 1801 the Irish quartering in the regal-regnal arms of the United Kingdom had therefore effectively represented sovereignty within this region of the unitary state — though the fact that the quarterings were not bound in any way meant that the arms continued (and still continue) to suggest nothing more than a *personal* union of the sort that had existed among all three kingdoms before 1707.

In any case, in 1921 when the arms of Ireland were quartered with those of Canada, this position of Ireland within the United Kingdom was already in the process of changing. The leaders of the Catholic majority in southern Ireland had unilaterally proclaimed the independence of the whole island in 1919, and the civil war that had followed this declaration had led the British-Imperial government to sign the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 9 December 1922, recognizing Ireland as an autonomous dominion under the name the ‘Irish Free State’. The new dominion initially included the whole territory of the former Kingdom of Ireland, but was soon reduced to that of the erstwhile autonomous region of Southern Ireland (which had been established on 3 May 1921) through the secession from it of the erstwhile autonomous region of Northern Ireland on 13 December 1922.

For different reasons, neither the government of the new southern *dominion* (though its monarch used the title ‘King of Ireland’ from 1927), nor that of the new northern *province* of the United Kingdom, employed as its distinctive emblem the arms of the old undivided Kingdom of Ireland. In fact, the government of the dominion chose to live without any sort of state emblem down to 1945, and the province of Northern Ireland was assigned its own distinctive arms on 2 August 1924.³⁵ Nevertheless, the composite arms of the truncated United Kingdom of Great Britain and *Northern* Ireland continued to include the traditional Irish quarter, perhaps on the (implicit) grounds that the current monarch remained not only the *titular* but the *de facto* monarch of both parts of the old kingdom

³⁴ For what follows see ANON., ‘Irish Free State’; ANON., ‘Republic of Ireland’, *Wikipedia*; and Susan HOOD, *Royal Roots, Republican Inheritance: The Survival of the Office of Arms* [Dublin, 2002], Figs. 14 and 15, fol. p. 134.)

³⁵ The new arms (to which supporters were added in the following year) took the form *Argent, a cross gules, debruised at the centre by a mullet of six points of the first, charged with a dexter hand coupé palewise of the second, and ensigned with a British Imperial Crown proper.* (See Hood, *Royal Roots*, col. fig. XIV (after p. 134). The achievement with supporters (but no crest) are represented on p. 126, a photograph of the exemplification in Register of the Office of Arms.

down to 1949. Given the fact that the British king now reigned in Ireland in two quite distinct capacities, however, and that most of Ireland was now external to the United Kingdom, the Irish quartering ought to have been removed from the composite coat used in the United Kingdom in 1921, and replaced with one of the arms of Northern Ireland in 1924. Such a change had become even more imperative on 29 December 1937, when the government of the Free State had changed its official name to 'Ireland' without any title, having already removed all references to the monarch in the internal affairs of the state, and having replaced the Governor General with a President. The rôle of the King was retained in external relationships down to 1949, when the government of 'Ireland' (no doubt so called in token of its claim to sovereignty over the whole island) proclaimed the state a republic externally as well as internally.

Four years earlier, in 1945, the government of the *de facto* Republic of southern Ireland had also assumed for its own use the arms of the former unified Kingdom of Ireland, and set it on the flag of its President. This assumption was no doubt intended as a visual symbol of the claim made by the government of the south to sovereignty over all of the lands of the historic kingdom, including the counties forming the Province of Northern Ireland — still today incorporated in the United Kingdom. Whatever one may think of the legitimacy of this claim, and the appropriateness of the assumption of the arms of the undivided kingdom by the government of one of its two successors, it is clear that the British monarch (who made no claim to sovereignty over the southern state after its abolition of its own monarchy in 1949) ought certainly in that year to have replaced the arms of the kingdom with those of the province, which was a wholly different entity. Rather astonishingly, however, nothing has even yet been done to rectify the anomalous composition of the British Regal-Regnal Arms, fully sixty years since the separation of southern Ireland from the Crown, and nearly ninety years since its separation from the United Kingdom.

What all of this means in the present context, of course, is that the inclusion of the Irish quartering in the Canadian Regal-Regnal Arms has been equally anomalous since 1922, and completely unjustifiable since 1949. Once again, therefore, this quartering should be abandoned, and other means should be found to represent the Irish contribution to the common national tradition.

2.3. The Composite Arms: Suggestions for Modifications of their Structure

In any case, whatever functions these quarterings were *intended* to fulfil in the royal arms, they had the unfortunate effect of reducing to a considerable extent the visual impact of the arms of the Dominion itself — or the motif symbolizing Canada, as its designers may have conceived of it — and the even worse effect of calling the very nature of those arms into doubt. The inclusion in the composite regal arms assigned in 1921 of the simple arms of the four European kingdoms made the composition as a whole (however it is interpreted) far more *European* than Canadian, and

that has come to be ever less appropriate in the eyes of Canadians. The relegation of the quartering for Canada to the *champagne* at the base had the additional unfortunate effect of emphasizing the inferiority of the status of the Dominion of Canada in relation to the other kingdoms represented. If rather impolitic, this was justifiable in 1921 because of the dependent status of the Dominion. Nevertheless, it ceased to be justifiable ten years later, on 11 December 1931, when Canada legally ceased to be a dependency of the British Crown, and became an independent kingdom equal in status to the United Kingdom. Since that date, therefore — now nearly eighty years ago — the position of the arms of the independent Kingdom of Canada at the *base* of the regal arms specifically intended for use in Canada has been completely inappropriate, and indeed insulting to the dignity of our Crown.

In the light of this fact, I believe that we ought at the very least to give considerably greater prominence to the arms of Canada in the arms of the Queen used in Canada than has been the case up to now, and ought to do so in a manner that does not abandon either the requirements of blazon or the conventions of armorial design. The attempts made by heraldic artists to increase the prominence of the Canadian coat by increasing significantly the size of the champagne on which it has been set (a change made in most of the 'official' representations since 1957) have not only failed to give that coat its appropriate place before the other coats included in the compound arms, but have violated the rules of blazon by giving the champagne a much larger share of the shield than is permissible for such a division: especially given the specification of the blazon that the compound coat be 'tierced', with three *equal* panels.



Fig. 6. The Regal Arms with Canada in the 1st and 4th Quarters (Author)



Fig. 7. The Arms of James VI and I used in Scotland (Author)

I therefore propose that, at least as a transitional measure, the arms of Canada proper be placed in the first and fourth quarters of the Queen's composite arms, while those of the four other kingdoms be placed in the third and fourth, in the manner indicated in Figure 6. Given the very dubious claims the Queen can make to the arms of both France and Ireland, of course, these quarterings ought to be removed entirely, but that is a separate matter that cannot be addressed here.



Fig. 8. The Simple Royal Arms with the Current Crown and Circlet

This is in fact the only possible rearrangement of the existing set of quarterings that would represent the current state of affairs both appropriately and unambiguously. It is still quite traditional, being based on the arrangement employed under our Stuart monarchs from 1603 to 1707 (illustrated in Figures 7, 10, and 17), and retaining all of the elements of the present design. It ought also to be much more acceptable to nationalists that the latter, however, and is in fact much more appropriate given the primary function of the design. Even in Scotland, the standard arrangement of the quarterings in the coat of general purpose is altered to give the place of honour to the arms of that kingdom — and Scotland is a mere *province* of the United Kingdom, not a wholly independent monarchy like Canada. The new arrangement could, of

course, be used in all of the same ways as the old, including such abridged versions of the achievement as the one represented in Figure 8 (below).

When people have become used to this arrangement — and in some contexts even earlier — it should be possible to introduce a version of the Queen's or monarch's arms in which the arms of Canada stood alone: a clear mark of our separateness from the other kingdoms represented. I illustrate the simple version in Figure 8. As I noted earlier, there is a very strong precedent for this version, actually carved in stone in the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, and that could be cited if anyone should question it. Both versions could well be employed in alternation, according to what seems appropriate in the context. One principle on which a decision could be made as to which form to use might be this: that the quartered version should be used by the Queen, the Governor General, Lieutenant Governors, Ambassadors and High Commissioners who represent her full authority in a direct manner, while the simple version should be used by all lesser offices and agencies of the federal government, from that of the Prime Minister on downward.

2.4. The Crest and its Base: An Analysis of their Content and Structure

So much for the reform of the arms of the 1921 Warrant. The crest granted by the same document was blazoned as follows: *On a wreath of the colours Argent and Gules, a lion passant guardant Or, imperially crowned proper and holding in the dexter paw a maple leaf Gules.* This crest was no less clearly based on that of England and the Empire, as its principal element

was the crowned gold lion that had been the central figure of the crest of England since 1340 — and for the first couple of centuries had been both statant and not guardant, and had stood upon a cap of estate.³⁶

The Canadian crest-design nevertheless differed from its model in two respects, one strictly emblematic and the other primarily insignial. The first of these consisted of the alteration of the lion by placing in its dexter forepaw a single red maple leaf, like those conjoined in the arms, thus subtly converting the lion of England into a lion of Canada. The crest thus modified was clearly conceived along lines similar to those of the crests already assigned to South Africa in 1910 and New Zealand in 1911: respectively *a lion passant guardant gules*, holding a bundle of rods symbolic of the unity of the 'Union', and *a demi-lion guardant Or* holding in its forepaws the Union Flag of the United Kingdom.³⁷ In retaining the tinctures, the posture, the full extent, and the crown of their common English model, however, the crest granted to Canada bore a much closer resemblance to that model.

The Canadian crest was also the only one of the three crests to include an established emblem of the country it represented, so from every perspective it was superior to its predecessors. It is worth noting here that the maple leaf in the crest was blazoned *gules* rather than *proper*, thus establishing the colour that would finally be assigned *de facto* to the three leaves of the arms in 1957. It is also worth noting that at that time (as Figure 3 indicates) it was decided to interpret the blazon a little loosely by making the leaves in both emblems *gules veined Or*: a decorative addition that does improve the appearance of the leaves, even if it cannot be insisted upon.

Like those of the other new dominions, the crest assigned to Canada was also altered *insignially* by replacing the Crown Imperial that

³⁶ On the evolution of the Regal Achievement between 1485 and 1783, see J. H. and R. V. PINCHES, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), pp. 127-217; Lady Antonia FRASER, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1975), pp. 156-7, 184-5, 224-25, 240-41; and Charles HASLER, *The Royal Arms: Its Graphic and Decorative Development* (London, 1980).

³⁷ South Africa had been granted as a crest in 1910 '*On a wreath Argent and Gules a lion passant guardant of the second resting its dexter forepaw on a bundle of three visible rods Azure and Argent tied with a ribbon Gules, itself resting on the wreath*'. It thus had an almost identical form to the Canadian crest, differing only in the reversal of the tinctures of the lion, and the substitution of the bundle of rods for the maple leaf in its dexter forepaw. In the following year, New Zealand had received a crest that could be blazoned: '*Issuant of a wreath Argent and Azure, a demi-lion rampant guardant Or, holding in its forepaws a staff bearing the Union Flag, proper*'. This was in fact the upper half of the dexter supporter granted to Canada in 1921, differing from the latter otherwise only in retaining the traditional guardant orientation of the lion's face. It also resembled the crest granted to Canada in that year in consisting of a gold, guardant lion holding a secondary emblem in its paws: though in this case, of course, an emblem of the mother country rather than the new dominion. In contrast to Canada, in both South Africa and New Zealand, and indeed in Australia, it was the *supporters* rather than the *crest* that represented the dominion itself.

served as the crest-base of the English and Imperial Achievement (and marked the crest as that of a kingdom in the English tradition) with a simple wreath or torse, lacking any implications of status. In the Canadian case, however, the Crown was not actually suppressed, but set *over* the lion of the crest, as though ensigning a badge. The fact that it was not physically connected to the rest of the achievement left its formal relationship to the crest in doubt, as was no doubt intended by the designer, and it is significant that the crest used as a badge by successive Governors General in recent decades has lacked the crown.

The wreath or torse that replaced the crown as the base of the crest was also given an emblematic content, in keeping with the conventions of sub-royal armory in England. Specifically, it was made one of the *two* armorial contexts for the display of the so-called 'livery-colours': actually, since early in the seventeenth century, the armal livery-colours, since they were always the principal tinctures of the arms, and not those of the true liveries worn by servants. It is significant that the tinctures selected for this purpose were gules and argent — or red and white — as they are the tinctures *intended* for use, and since 1957 *actually* used, in the arms of Canada set at the base of the composite coat, and are found together in no other part of that coat. This strongly suggests that the designer himself recognized the design in the champagne as the true simple arms of Canada.

2.5. The Crest and Base: Suggestions for Modifying their Structure and Content

In any case the crest, while still very English in appearance, did at least include a very clear allusion to Canada as such, and one that connected it visually to the arms. Its emblematic content, at least, should therefore be reasonably acceptable to moderate nationalists, if not to the more extreme variety. Unfortunately, however, like the arrangement of the quarterings in the arms, the *general structure* of the crest established in 1921 has been inappropriate for use in the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement since 11 December 1931. At that time, as I have said, Canada became an independent kingdom, equal in rank to the United Kingdom, and ought to have been given — or simply assumed, since insignia require no special grant — the normal armorial attributes of kingdoms in the British tradition. Prominent among these is a crest-base in the form of the current imperial or royal crown used in the country in question. Until recently, the crown of England and general purpose was used throughout the former Empire, but in the last few decades the Scots have revived their own distinctive form of crown for use wherever such an insigne is employed, including the base of their royal-regnal crest.³⁸

³⁸ See Mark D. DENNIS, *Scottish Heraldry: An Invitation* (Edinburgh, 1999), cover and p. 11 for illustrations.

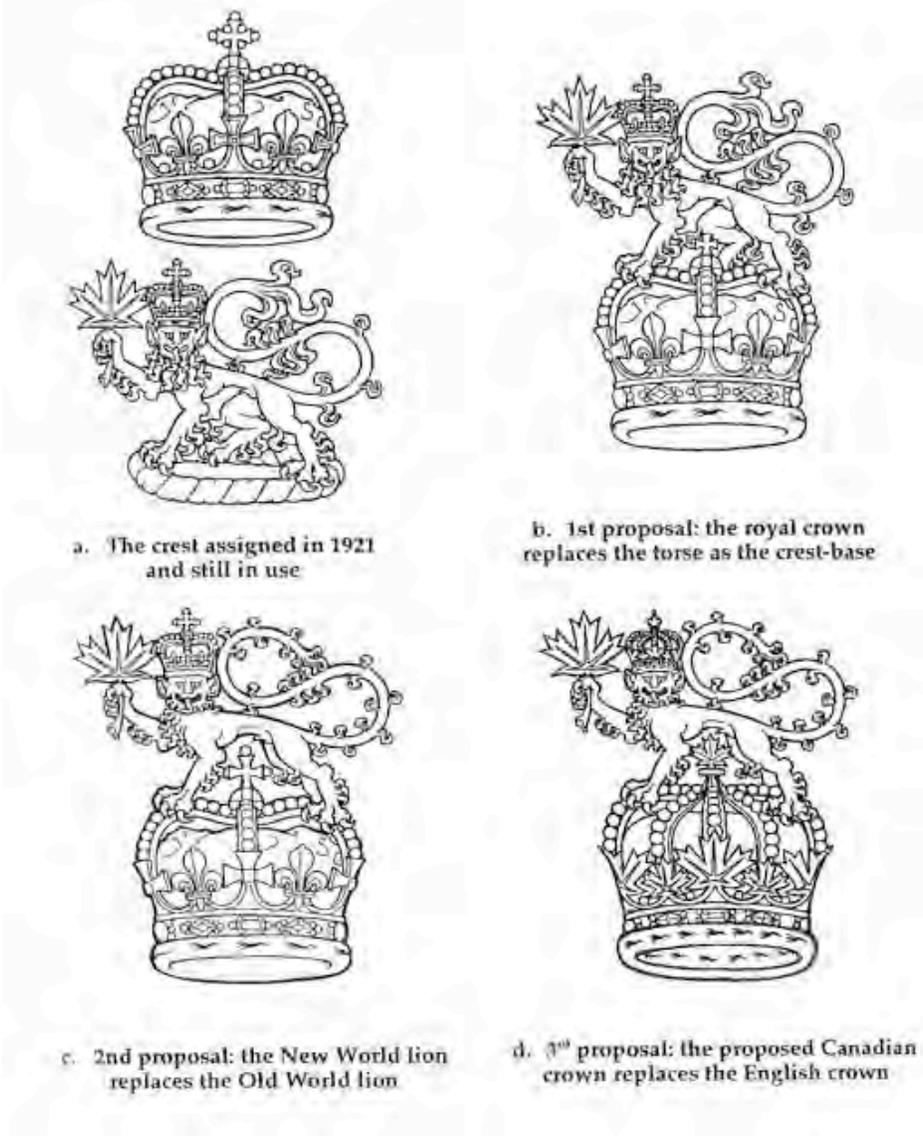


Fig. 9. Proposed Modifications to the Canadian Regal-Regnal Crest

The second, third, and fourth figures represent alterations to the current form that are cumulative in nature, but even the fourth, though differing in most details, resembles the current form enough to make it easily identifiable

The crown floating ambiguously above the lion should therefore have been transferred at that time to the summit of the helm (which was, unusually for the period, already of the appropriate form for a sovereign state), and the torse should have been suppressed as redundant. Both of these changes should still be made, though the crown to be used in the Canadian crest should arguably be of a different form. That, however, is different matter (which I shall discuss in Part II of this article), and until it

is dealt with, the current form of crown — now incorporated into the crests of almost all of the provinces³⁹ — should certainly be employed in this way, as the representation in Figure 9 b indicates.

As I just observed, the crest proper — the crowned lion statant guardant holding a maple leaf — *need* not be altered at all, but there is something to be said for Canadianizing it to a slightly greater extent. At the present time, while Canada has a highly distinctive *plant-badge* in the form of the red maple leaf, it lacks a truly distinctive *beast-badge*, as both of the supporters are traditional British badges, and have no distinctive connection to Canada as such. By substituting for the traditional Old World lion the lion of North America — otherwise known as the *mountain lion*, *cougar*, and *puma* — the crest could be altered in such a way as to embody both a distinctively Canadian *plant-badge* and a distinctively Canadian *beast-badge*, without actually altering the general appearance of the crest, or completely abandoning the allusion to England made by the present crest. After all, as my illustrations in Figure 9 c and d indicate, the only *visually significant* differences between an Old World lion and a North American lion are that the latter lacks both the mane and the tail-tuft of the former, and bears a much closer resemblance to the lioness. And as my illustration also demonstrates, the heraldic mountain lion can be represented with the same kinds of stylizations as those long imposed on the Old World lion, so that the differences between a mountain lion statant guardant and a simple lion in the same posture — while discernable upon close examination — do not leap to the eye of the beholder.

It should be noted that there is a particular reason to improve the Canadian content of the crest in this way, and that is that the royal crest of Canada has come to be used as the principal badge of the Governor General and his or her household. As such, it is displayed on a small scale on lapel-pins and on a large scale on the official flag of the Queen's deputy. Given the prominence of its display on occasions of state, it would be preferable to have a crest whose principal figure is distinctively Canadian.

2.6. The Mantling: Analysis and Proposal for Modification

Below the crest in the 1921 achievement was set a mantling or lambrequin.⁴⁰ On the sub-royal level in England, and the sub-baronial

³⁹ As of the time of writing, the only provincial crests still lacking crowns are those of Ontario (where the matter has been raised in the provincial parliament) and Quebec (which has as yet to acquire a crest or any other armorial emblems external to the shield. Quebec, however, sets a royal crown over the shield of its arms in lieu of a crest.

⁴⁰ These terms have long been used as synonyms in Anglophone blazon, and the former has generally been preferred, but I believe that it is more useful to employ the former as a generic name for the classic form of helm-cover that emerged in the 1340s, and the latter as the name for the type of mantling whose curtain is both extended well below the lower rim of the helm and divided into two or more tails, usually dagged (i.e., scalloped) in some manner.

level in Scotland, the tinctures of the wreath have long been conventionally repeated in those of the mantling or lambrequin, and this was done in the case of the lambrequin assigned to Canada. Once again, therefore, an element of the Regal-Regnal Achievement of Canada was treated like the equivalent element of a sub-royal (let alone sub-regal) entity in the English tradition, but at least this permitted the display of a set of colours peculiar to Canada, and linked the helm-complex further to the Canadian quarter of the arms. Symbolically, the red represented the natural colour of the maple-leaf emblem in autumn, and also that of the blood spilt in vast quantities by Canadians during the recent war, while the white represented the snow that in winter covered virtually the whole Dominion. All of these were apt allusions, and all thoroughly Canadian. Nevertheless, they were far from obvious to the viewer — especially as red and white were extremely common heraldic colours, and could represent any of dozens of other ideas, or nothing in particular at all.

Figure 10. The Achievement of James VI of Scotland



In any case, once again this form of symbolic allusion became inappropriate in 1931, as it should have been trumped by a superior form of statement of an *insignial* rather than an emblematic nature. In the British tradition, established in England under Queen Elizabeth I and extended to Scotland under James VI and I,⁴¹ the mantling of the helm in the achievement of a sovereign is not in the armal livery-colours, but of gold doubled or lined in ermine. This form of

mantling should have been adopted by the king in right of Canada the instant Canada became an independent kingdom in December 1931. And once again, this long-delayed change should still be made, if only to assert the equality of Canada with its mother-kingdom, and within the

⁴¹ See Fig. 2 b above. Before 1603, the Kings of Scots used a mantling of gules lined in ermine, as can be seen in the achievement of James VI in *The Dublin Armorial of the Scottish Nobility* (1592), ed. Leslie HODGSON (Glasgow 2006), p. 21, of which a monochromatic representation by the author is given in Fig. 10 above.

community of the Commonwealth states (whose helms and mantlings should all be of the same type, even when they are republics).

I illustrate the appearance of such a mantling in the Queen's Canadian achievement in Figures 15 and 23 below.

2.7. The Supporters: An Analysis of their Current Nature

The supporters assigned to the Canadian achievement in 1921 were both selected and modified in ways that closely paralleled the choice and modification of the crest. The figures chosen were the English lion and Scottish unicorn of the Imperial Achievement. In keeping with the usual practice of the two countries before 1500 or so, both had originated as para-armorial emblems of the type now called 'beast-badges', which were often used to support flags, shields, and entire achievements, but could also be used as independent emblems, and were transmitted to heirs, like arms, often in a cumulative fashion.¹ The lion supporter had been one of the many beast-badges of the Kings of England since the later fourteenth century, but the one particularly associated with the kingship (from whose arms and crest it was almost certainly taken),² while the unicorn had been the sole beast-badge of the Kings of Scotland since 1460.³ Their juxtaposition as the supporters of the English and Imperial

¹ On para-armorial emblems generally, see Michel PASTOUREAU, 'Aux origines de l'emblème: La crise d'héraldique européenne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles', in *Emblèmes et devises au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1981); repr. in idem, *L'Hermine et le sinople: Etudes d'héraldique médiévale* (Paris, 1982), pp. 327-33; D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Para-Heraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350-1500,' in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame and London, 1990), pp. 103-127. See also J[oa]n] EVANS, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900*, vol. I (Oxford, 1931; repr. 1976), pp. 94-113; Mrs. B. PALISSER, *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries* (London, 1870; repr. Detroit 1971); A[rthur] C[harles] FOX-DAVIES, *Heraldic Badges* (London, 1907); H[ugh] S[tanford] London, *Royal Beasts* (London, 1958); C[olette] BEAUNE, 'Costume et Pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Age', *Revue des sciences humaines* 183 (1981), pp. 125-46

² The form of the English Royal Achievement acquired most of its modern characteristics under the Tudors. As supporters, Henry VII (1485-1509) most commonly used the red dragon emblem of the native Princes of Wales (in token of his membership in the original princely house of Wales) and the white greyhound beast-badge of Richmond (representing his own former dignity as Earl of Richmond), but he also used on occasion two greyhounds, and a gold lion (the beast-badge of England, taken from its arms) opposite the red dragon. His son Henry VIII (1509-1547) used a similar variety of supporters, but preferred the crowned gold lion and red dragon, and these were finally fixed under his son Edward VI (1547-1555).

³ Before succeeding his cousin Elizabeth I on the throne of England in 1603, James I had been James VI of Scotland, and as such had employed, like his mother Mary and her immediate predecessors, an achievement in which the shield and helmet were supported by two white unicorns with gold manes, tufts, and hooves, gorged with radiate or 'antique' crowns, chained. The unicorn had

achievement dated from the accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England in 1603, so they had already had a long history in this capacity in 1921.

Their Canadian derivatives were both differenced primarily by being made to hold a lance supporting a distinctive banner. This was in fact a practice borrowed from Scottish tradition, where from 1460 to 1603 supporters in the form of two *unicorns*, and since 1603 (as shown in Figure 10) in the form of a *unicorn* and a *lion*, had borne (and still bear) national banners: specifically, since 1603, the cross of St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland, and the cross of St. George, patron saint of England.⁴ Thus, the supporters of the Canadian royal arms bore a close resemblance to the current supporters of the royal arms as borne in Scotland.

The principal difference introduced was in the identity of the emblems set on the two banners. Instead of the cruciform badge of St. George alone, the Canadian lion's banner bore the Union Badge of the United Kingdom, combining the crosses of SS. George, Andrew, and Patrick. This badge — best known in its vexillary form — had been the principal non-armorial emblem of the British Empire since its adoption (following the union with Ireland) on 1 January 1801. In the context of the 1921 achievement it was no doubt intended to represent the membership of Canada in that Empire (like the same flag carried by a demi-lion in the *crest* of New Zealand), as well as to allude, para-armorially, to the first three quarters of the new royal arms.

Similarly, the Canadian unicorn was assigned a banner bearing — instead of the cruciform badge of St. Andrew its analogue bears in Scotland — the royal arms of France, already quartered in the arms. For some reason, the latter emblem was preferred to the analogous French

become a royal badge in Scotland by 1426, when it gave its name to one of the junior officers of arms there (Unicorn Pursuivant), and a pair of unicorns had replaced the earlier pair of lions as the supporters of the royal arms (used since 1406) on the reverse of the Great Seal of James V shortly after his accession in 1512. From the outer part of this Scottish achievement, James imported into his new English and Imperial Achievement only one unicorn, deprived of its lance and its banner, and gorged with a current *royal* coronet rather than the *radiate* one used in Scotland. (See Sir Thomas INNES OF LEARNEY, Lord Lyon King of Arms, *Scots Heraldry* [2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1956], p. 213; and PINCHES and PINCHES, *Royal Heraldry*, p. 159.) Images of the unicorns in Scottish Royal Achievements of the sixteenth century can be seen in *ibid.*, pp. 163 (from the Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount), 164 (on the seals of Mary, Queen of Scots), and Leslie HODGSON, ed., *The Dublin Armorial of Scottish Nobility* [1592], p. 21.

⁴ From the time of their introduction the Scottish unicorns, in their role as supporters, had normally if not invariably borne lances with banners. In the representation of the achievement given in the Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (c. 1542), both banners bore the cruciferous armiform badge of St. Andrew, but by the time the Dublin Armorial was composed in 1592, the dexter bore instead the arms of the kingdom. On the version of the compound Royal Achievement of the Kings and Queens of Great Britain used in Scotland since 1603, the lion, set to the dexter, has borne the banner of St. George, and the unicorn that of St. Andrew.

national cross, white on a blue field, historically associated with St. Michael.⁵ The latter would have been preferable for several reasons, as I shall explain.

Although it is all but certain that the principal model for the general form of the Canadian supporters was that of the supporters used for the Regal Achievement in Scotland, it is at least possible that the banners in the paws or hooves of the supporters were intended to allude secondarily to the banners similarly borne on lances by the angel-supporters in the Great Achievement of the Kings of France, as represented by French armorists (though never officially used by a French king) from at least 1488;⁶ both of these banners were armorial, and after 1589 the arms they bore were those of the two kingdoms of France and Navarre ruled by all of the French kings from the accession in that year of the first Bourbon monarch, Henri IV: already King of Navarre.⁷ In any case, their inclusion does serve to tie the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement to those of both Scotland and France, as well as to provide a locus for yet another form of affiliative symbolism.⁸

No additional change was made to the unicorn supporter on transferring it from the British to the Canadian achievement. It was still gorged with an open version of the English royal crown, as it had been in the English version of the achievement from 1603, and a gold chain was still suspended from this crown and 'reflected' around its back — as had been true of its Scottish model since 1512. Only the French royal arms on its banner therefore distinguished it from its Scottish model.

By contrast, for reasons that are not at all clear, the lion supporter representing England in the Canadian achievement *was* further differenced: first by removing the crown it wore both in the Scottish and in the English-Imperial version of the achievement; and secondly by

⁵ On the use of the white cross generally, and its association with St. Michael, see below, n. 41. On its vexillary use, see Whitney SMITH, *The Flag Book of the United States* (N.Y., 1970), pp. 12, 18; and Pierre CHARRIÉ, *Drapeaux et étendards du Roi* (Paris, 1989), esp. pp. 9-25. According to Smith (the founder of modern vexillology), the white cross appeared on most French flags used on land and sea, but the flags borne at sea had a smaller range of designs, and the basic form was simply a white cross on a blue field. The principal variants of this designs were one with the field *semé-de-lys Or*, and one with a shield of the royal arms (*Azure, three fleurs-de-lys Or*) over all at the centre, and the latter was made the official design of the merchant flag at sea in 1661.

⁶ See below, n. 79

⁷ For a representation of the banners borne by the French angel-supporters in the theoretical great achievement, see SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, Pl. 4. On the general history of the Regal-Regnal Achievement of France, see Hervé baron PINOTEAU, *Héraldique capétienne* (1st edn. 2 vols., Paris, 1954, 1956; 2nd edn. Paris 1979). See p. 1 for a representation of the official angels.

⁸ Several other kingdoms and empires have employed supporters bearing banners, all probably inspired by the theoretical French practice; these include or included the Kingdom of Prussia from 1701, the Kingdom of Spain (in theory) from 1714 to 1931, the Russian Empire from 1800 to 1801, the Kingdom of the Belgians since 1830, and the German Empire from 1870 to 1918.

having its face reoriented from the guardant attitude (derived from the English arms and crest) to the standard, profile attitude. Because no new attributes were added, these two changes gave the lion a form indistinguishable from that of scores (or even hundreds) of lions used as supporters by European princes and nobles. If they made it rather less *English* in appearance than its model, therefore, they cannot be said to have made it more *Canadian*, or even emblematically distinctive.

To summarize, the supporters assigned to the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement in 1921 were effectively the para-armorial equivalents of the first four quarterings of the compound arms, representing the same four kingdoms in a manner already anticipated in the Regal Achievement for Scotland, and their forms and content added no reference whatever to Canada itself. This lack of Canadian content is not necessarily problematic, as the supporters could reasonably be seen as the most appropriate place to allude to the dual cultural heritage — British and French — of the Canadian confederation. This is clearly *one* of the functions intended for the current set of supporters, but they were no less clearly intended to allude to the supporters of the English-Imperial achievement as such, whose forms they reflect very closely indeed.

2.8. Proposals for the Canadianization of the Supporters

What could be done to make the supporters more Canadian? Since the Kingdom of England is not only represented by its *beast-badge supporter*, but by its *arms*, by its *crest* (which includes the same beast as the supporter), by its *cruciferous patronal banner*, and by its *plant-badge*, while the Kingdom of France is only represented by its *arms* (repeated on shield and banner) and its *plant-badge*, it would not be unreasonable to replace the beast-badge supporter representing England with a comparable *beast-badge supporter* representing France, and to give it a *patronal* rather than an *armal* banner. In this way, the bilingual/ bicultural nature of Canada could be clearly represented in a formal context that is uniquely bilateral, and is thus uniquely susceptible to this form of symbolism.

To maintain the precedence of the British supporter and patronal flag over those of France (an appropriate arrangement given that Canada as a whole is the *immediate* successor of the post-Partition British Empire in North America, and only *indirectly* the successor of the empire of France in the northern half of its former territory), the new French supporter will have to be set in the place currently occupied by the Scottish unicorn, which would have either to be suppressed or to be moved to the dexter position to replace the English lion.

The next question is: What figure should serve in the role of French supporter? There are in fact only two serious historical candidates, each of which has a different set of claims. From the point of view of both historical relevance and current familiarity, the obvious candidate is one of the angels that were first introduced in an official context as supporters of the royal arms on the Counterseal of King

Charles VII shortly after his accession in 1422,⁹ and were the sole figures employed as supporters by successive Kings of France from the accession of François I in 1515 to the abolition of the French kingship in September 1792.¹⁰



Fig. 11. The Official French Regal Achievement with Angel Supporters
(a) Achievement of Louis XI, c. 1470 (from a contemporary woodcut)
(b) Counterseal of Louis XIII, 1610-43 (after SWAN, *Canada: Symbols*, Fig. 2.3)
The same counterseal was used by Louis XIV, 1643-1715 (ibid., Fig. 2.4)

A pair of such angels — each clad either in an alb or (by 1589) in the essentially similar loose white tunic of a Classical Roman goddess (which was either much shorter or provided with a slit exposing most of one leg) — was displayed supporting the royal arms both on the *seals*¹¹ and on the principal *flags*¹² of the Kings of France throughout that period, and throughout the territories of the French Crown. These, of course, included the whole of New France from its foundation in 1608 to its incorporation into the British Empire in 1763. Unlike the angels represented in the unofficial *full* achievements of the French kings from

⁹ See Martine DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Age*, T. II. *Les Sceaux des rois et de régence* (Paris, 1991), pp. 249-304 passim.

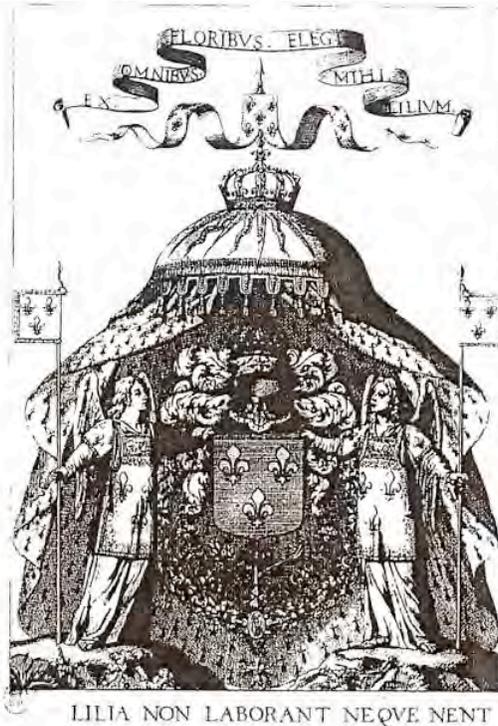
¹⁰ On the suppression of the traditional armorial bearings of France in 1792, see Hervé baron PINOTEAU, *Le Chaos français et ses signes: Etude sur le symbolisme de l'état français depuis la Révolution de 1789* (La Roche-Rigault, France, 1998), pp. 41-45. Strictly speaking, all armorial emblems in France were abolished by an act of 19 June 1790 (see *ibid.*, p. 45), but the king himself seems to have ignored this while he still sat on his throne, and the Royal-Regnal seal continued to bear the old achievement, quite unaltered.

¹¹ Representations of royal seals of this period bearing achievements with angels as supporters may be seen in SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, Figs. 2.1 – 2.5 (pp. 17-21)

¹² Representations of the French royal flag of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bearing a middle achievement with angels as supporters, may be seen in Whitney SMITH, *Flags through the Ages and Across the World* (New York, London, Montreal, 1975), p. 133; in *idem*, *The Flag Book of the United States* (New York, 1970), p. 12; and in Alfred ZNAMIEROWSKI, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags* (New York, 1999), p. 54. As in these cases, the vexillary angels seem often to have been represented naked, like Classical deities, with a single length of cloth draped loosely over their bodies; these cloths might be represented in different colours, in these cases purple on the dexter and blue on the sinister.

the 1480s, those displayed in the official *middle* achievements lacked any distinctive accoutrements, heraldic or otherwise: certainly they were never represented in tabards, nor given lances supporting banners of any kind.

An angel of this sort would certainly be a possible form of supporter to replace one of the current ones in the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement, but two aspects of the nature of the angels actually employed as supporters by the French kings make them inappropriate in that context. One of these is that they are not sufficiently *distinctive* as emblems to serve in such a role in the English heraldic tradition — which unlike that of France, has always treated supporters as figures that should



be capable of standing on their own as emblems (for use as badges), and should therefore, like the arms and the crest, be unique in their form within the national armorial corpus. The French royal angels, like most supporting figures in France, were by contrast conceived of as essentially decorative or symbolic additions to the achievement, lacked any real emblematic function of their own, and therefore had no distinctive

Fig. 12. The Unofficial French Great Achievement 1589-1789 (strictly French version, from Louvan GELIOT, *La Science héroïque*, 1635, p. 495)

features. For that reason, the royal angels were no different from those used as supporters by hundreds of different individuals and entities from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, at least.

Of course, the French angel could be made more distinctive in order to be incorporated into the Canadian achievement, perhaps by putting it into the tabard or dalmatic of the royal arms of France that French armorists invariably placed upon the dexter angel-supporter (at least) in their *unofficial* (but widely-used and recognized) versions of the achievement, or placing a banner-bearing lance in its hand, or both.¹³

¹³ See, for example, the representations of the angel-supporters in the great achievements of King Henri IV published in SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of*

This would over-come the first objection to the use of an angel to represent France in the revised Canadian achievement, but not the second objection, which is traditional, or the third, which is esthetic. In the British heraldic tradition, on which that of Canada is firmly based, the supporters of the royal arms have always been beasts, and the French angels are not beasts but anthropomorphic figures.

This purely traditional objection is not, perhaps, particularly strong by itself, but it is supported by the third objection, which is much stronger. As a general rule of design (admittedly not always followed), supporters should balance one another visually, so that beast should be paired with beast (ideally of similar form), and anthropomorphic figure with another such. Angels, like wildmen, gods, and goddesses, look perfectly well when they are set in pairs — as they always are in regal achievements (where indeed the pairs are almost always exactly matched)¹⁴ — but paired with a beast they undermine the symmetry of the design in a serious way. Thus, the substitution of an angel for a beast must be rejected for esthetic reasons.

Sovereignty, Pl. 4, (and again Fig. 3.9, p. 44-5), and Fig. 3.10, pp. 46-7. The tabard of the sinister supporter after 1589 normally bore the arms of the Kingdom of Navarre, of the cis-pyrenean part of which Henri IV had been king before coming to the throne of France, and which remained in personal union with the Kingdom of France until the abolition of both monarchies in 1792. Navarre on the Iberian side of the Pyrenees (essentially the original kingdom) had been annexed by force to the Crown of Aragon in 1512, and since that time its arms have been included in the marshalled coat of the Kings of Spain.

¹⁴ England was almost the only kingdom in Latin Christendom ever to employ *unmatched* pairs of supporters; all but one of the others either employed or still employ a pair of identical beasts or anthropomorphs: (1) **unicorns** in Scotland, as we have seen; (2) **winged stags** in France before 1459 (and either **dolphins** or **gryphons** by the heirs to the French throne); (3) **lions** in Spain, Sardinia, the Two Sicilies, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Sweden, Bohemia, Bavaria, and Saxony (plus many lesser sovereign principalities); (4) **gryphons** in Austria and the Holy Roman Empire; (5) **wyverns** in Portugal; (6) **wildmen** in Demark-Norway and Prussia; (7) images of **Herakles** in Greece; and (8) **angels** in France, Bourbon Spain (alternating with lions), Hungary, and Russia. Only the Kings of Hanover employed (after 1837) an unmatched pair, and their lion and unicorn were meant to indicate their position as the heirs-male of the Kings of Great Britain and Ireland after the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of the latter in 1837, and the separation of Hanover from the British Regal Domain. The English custom of employing unmatched supporters arose from the uniquely English combination of (a) the use by each king after 1360 of many different *beast-badges*, either adopted or inherited in groups, and (b) the use by each king of some of his *beast-badges* as supporters, at first in unstable combinations. The winged stags of France and gryphons of Austria were also *beast-badges*, but their users employed no other such badge at the time, so there was no reason to employ different beasts as supporters. The other supporters listed, by contrast, were never used as badges. Canada and the other Commonwealth states have all inherited the English custom of using unmatched supporters, even though their reasons for doing so — to serve as either affiliation- or typifying symbols — are completely different from those of the mother-country.

To these may finally be added religious reasons. Angels are part of the mythology only of the Abrahamic faiths, and their representation is peculiar to Christianity. Given both the steady desertion of Christianity among multi-generational Canadians in recent decades, and the growing importance in Canada of other faiths introduced by immigration, it does not seem appropriate today to introduce a distinctly Christian motif into our Regnal Achievement.

The only other choice for a supporter representing France in the context of the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement is the *winged white stag* that (with one slight alteration) served as the beast-badge and sometime supporter of the arms of both of the branches of the Capetian dynasty to rule France and its Empire during the period when France was exploring and settling North America: the House of Valois (1328-1589), and the House of Bourbon (1589-1848).¹⁵ Henry VII and Henry VIII of England also displayed the white stag as a badge in token of their claim to the throne of France during the period when their ships were exploring what have come to be Canadian waters, using it to support a banner of the French royal arms.¹⁶



Fig. 13. The French Winged Stag

- a. A pair of stags used as supporters of the Valois regal arms to 1461
(from GELIOT, *Science héroïque*, p. 85)
- b. A single stag used as a badge by the House of Bourbon
(After H. PINOTEAU, *Héraldique Capétienne*, Paris, 1954, repr. 1979)

¹⁵ See PINOTEAU, *Héraldique capétienne*, pp. 10-13, 34-38. There is a drawing by the author of the Bourbon version of the stag (differenced by a scroll bearing the ducal motto ESPERANCE) on p. 34.

¹⁶ See, for example, the representation of the winged stag bearing a banner of France in *Prince Arthur's Book* (now College of Arms, Vincent Ms. 152, of c. 1519, rep. in the *Heralds' Exhibition Catalogue*, Pl. XXXI), and that of a similar stag atop a pavilion on the Field of the Cloth of Gold of 1520 (rep. in S. DORAN, ed., *Henry VIII, Man and Monarch* (London, 2009), pl. betw. pp. 97 and 98.

This stag — an heraldic beast comparable in nature to the Scottish unicorn, represented in the same tinctures, and similarly gorged with a royal crown — would fit perfectly into the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement, especially if set opposite the unicorn, as suggested. Both beasts are magical creatures associated in European traditions with purity, snow, and the north, and are thus especially appropriate as emblems for a kingdom that calls itself the True North. Both beasts also have strong Celtic associations, and while the unicorn was particularly associated with Scotland, the white stag was associated with Ireland as well as with Brittany in France.¹⁷ Indeed, a white stag with gold antlers and hooves is part of the royal crest of Ireland.

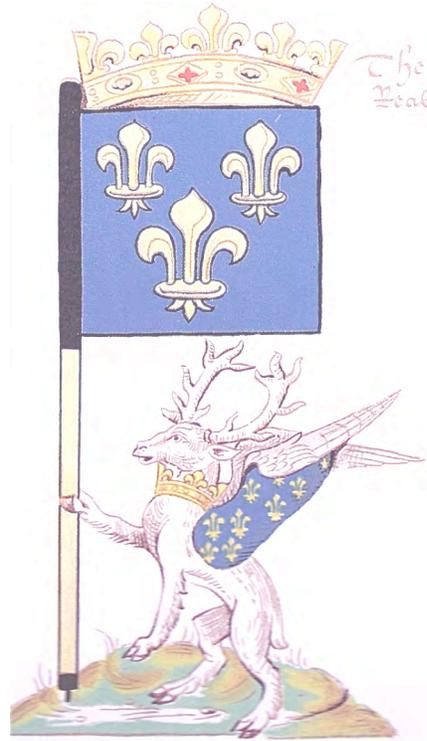


Fig. 14. The White Stag of France in Prince Arthur's Book, c. 1502

Both the form and the tinctures of the stag would work well esthetically with those of the white unicorn of Scotland — which, as I have suggested, could be placed on the dexter, and given the lance bearing the British Union Flag.

In its proposed capacity as the sinister supporter, the white winged stag of France would of course hold the lance bearing the flag that represents France. However, rather than the royal arms of France currently set on the flag — a redundant emblem given its inclusion in the arms — I should place on this flag the emblem that was the real French equivalent of the Union Flag, and has moreover come to serve as a model for the modern flag of Quebec: the blue flag bearing a white cross. This patronal cross — analogous with those of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick combined in the Union Badge — was associated with St. Michael the Archangel, patron saint of France from the fifteenth century onward,¹⁸

¹⁷ On the Celtic associations of these beasts, see Divi KERVILLA, *Emblèmes & Symboles des Bretons et des Celtes* (Kerangwenn, France, 1998), pp. 33 and 98.

¹⁸ On the history of the cult of St. Michael in France, see especially Colette BEAUNE, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), ch. 6, pp. 257-282; tans. and modified as *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley, 1991). Beaune has shown that the cult of St. Michael was developed under Charles VI and Charles VII both as a counterpart to the English cult of St. George, and as a replacement for the cult of the traditional patron St. Denis, whose authority was destroyed by the French losses in the first phases of

and of the French royal order of St. Michael — the equivalent of the English order of St. George or of Garter — founded in 1469.¹⁹ It would therefore in some measure represent the absent angel supporters, as they, too, were sometimes intended to represent St. Michael.²⁰ At the same time, its design merely echoes that of the British flag set opposite it, whose crosses have long ceased to have more than a traditional association with Christianity.

The winged stag bearing the flag of St. Michael would therefore be a much more appropriate sinister supporter for the arms of a kingdom that is the successor of the French Empire in North America as well as of that of Great Britain. The fact that both the dexter supporter and the crest would remain British in their allusions (the former Scottish and the latter English) would mean that the relative prominence of the two traditions in Canada would be accurately reflected as well. Of course, both the unicorn and the winged stag would still represent, like the banners they hold, the two imperial powers that governed part or all of Canada before 1763 and 1949 respectively, and their respective cultural inheritances, rather than Canada as such. Despite this, as I said, there is much to be said for retaining supporters bearing that kind of historical message, as they tell important truths about the nature and history of Canada that might be easier to forget if they were not there. Indeed, in my opinion it

the Hundred Years War. According to Beaune the white cross, clearly answering the red cross of St. George, had been adopted as a badge of the French monarchy quite independently of the cult of St. Michael in 1355. This purely secular cross had gradually come to be identified with the white cross frequently displayed on the shield of the Archangel Michael from the early fourteenth century, especially in Coutances near his sanctuary at Mont Saint-Michel. By 1400 pilgrims to that shrine were given white crosses to wear as souvenirs. The royal cult of the Archangel had begun in earnest only in 1393, by which time the image of St. Michael had come to be assimilated very largely to that of St. George. It was no doubt for this reason that the Dauphin Charles adopted St. Michael as his personal patron in 1418, when he was only fourteen, and used the newly militarized effigy of the archangel on all of his standards down to 1440. (See *ibid.*, p. 158. See also Brigitte BEDOS-REZAK, 'Idéologie royale, ambitions princières, et rivalités politiques d'après les témoignages des sceaux', in: *La "France Anglaise" au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1988), pp. 483-511; and Christian DE MÉRINDOL, 'St. Michel et la monarchie française à la fin du Moyen Âge dans le conflit franco-anglais', in: *ibid.*, pp. 513-542 (which argues that the cult of St. Michael was initiated by Philippe VI, lost ground under his successors, and was finally revived in a major way by Charles VII).

¹⁹ On the Order of St. Michael, see BOULTON, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. , and the works cited therein; Hervé baron PINOTEAU, *Études sur les ordres de chevalerie du roi de France, et tout spécialement sur les ordres de Saint-Michel et du Saint-Esprit* (Paris, 1995); and Guy Stair SAINTY and Rafal HEYDAL MANKOO, eds., *World Orders of Knighthood & Merit* (Wilmington, Delaware, 2006), pp. 315-322

²⁰ This was especially true in contexts related to the Order of St. Michael after its foundation in 1469. The frontispiece of the statute books of that Order, for example, often represented the royal arms supported by two angles in full contemporary armour, clearly representing the patron of the Order and the realm.

would be preferable to use the supporters for this rôle than to replace them (as some who heard me present this article as a paper suggested during the discussion) with more distinctively Canadian beasts of completely different form, to represent Canada alone rather than its founding powers. A relatively conservative version of such an achievement (with a crest with the current crown replacing the torse, and the form of compartment I shall propose below) is represented in Fig. 15.

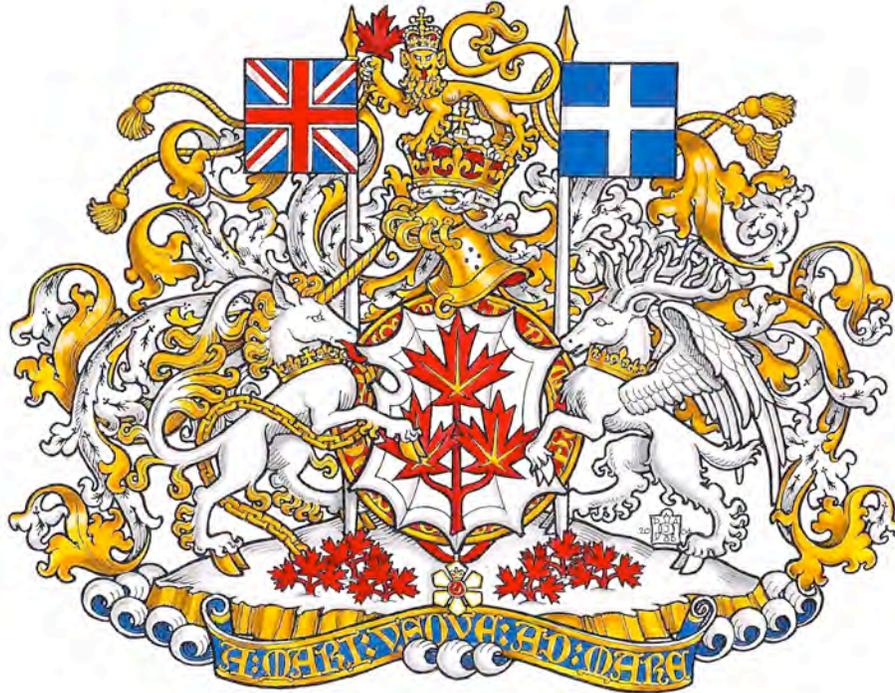


Fig. 15. A Version of the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement Incorporating a Winged Stag, (along with the simple arms, and a modified crest, mantling, and compartment)

Nevertheless, like the lion of the crest, the winged stag *could* be altered in minor ways to represent a distinctively Canadian species of the same cervid family, and that might actually be a good idea. The regnal supporters would thus resemble those of three of the provinces in symbolizing on one side the affiliation of the country with its mother-countries, and on the other the distinctive fauna of Canada²¹ — and at least one of the proposed regnal supporters would perform both of these functions at the same time.

It seems to me that the obvious choice for a cervid species to represent the French tradition in Canada is the *caribou*, or Canadian

²¹ This practice of assigning to the provinces a supporter representing historical affiliation and one representing native fauna was introduced in all three of the prairie provinces in the years since 1980.

reindeer. Not only is it historically indigenous to all but a few of the most southerly districts of Canada from coast to coast to coast, but in this hemisphere it is also confined almost *exclusively* to Canada (Alaska being the exception, as usual), so it is as close to a *universally* and *uniquely* Canadian beast as could be found. Furthermore, it has quite distinctive antlers that identify it as a caribou rather than some other species of deer, regardless of its tinctures, but otherwise resembles the traditional French stag, and could be substituted for it without obscuring the affiliative allusion in any way — especially when given its traditional tinctures, wings, and collar. This would produce what could truly be called a *French Canadian* royal beast, at once an affiliation-symbol with respect to France and a typifying symbol with respect to Canada. The fact that the caribou has long been employed as a Canadian emblem in a numismatic context — specifically, the reverse of the twenty-five-cent coin in use continuously since 1937 — makes its use in this way even more appropriate, and I accordingly represent the winged caribou in my later versions of the achievement.

The use of a Canadianized French supporter inevitably raises the question of whether one might treat the British supporter in the same way. This would be difficult if the unicorn were to be retained, as I have proposed, since the unicorn is a wholly mythical beast that has no obvious Canadian relative, and could only be Canadianized by replacing the British crown with which it is gorged with a Canadian crown (of a form I shall present below).



Fig. 16. A Winged Caribou representing a canadianization of the French Stag, gorged with a Canadian open crown, and holding a Lance with a Flag bearing the Cross of St. Michael of France

If we retained instead the English lion, however, that supporter could be Canadianized in the same manner as the crest, by substituting for the Old World species a Canadian mountain lion, or cougar. If this substitution were to be adopted (and it has much to be said for it), the lion could be both crowned with a Canadian

royal crown and gorged with a collar of Amerindian beadwork, perhaps supporting a peace-pipe symbolic of the treaties that bind the

Amerindian peoples to the Kingdom. This would represent more than adequately the indigenous heritage of Anglophone Canada, and something similar could perhaps be done with the caribou to symbolize the comparable heritage of Franco-phone Canada.

At least one of those who were present when I delivered the oral version of this article suggested during the discussion period that, in the present climate of political correctness, it would be wise to employ one or more aboriginal or non-European mythical beasts (like the raven-bear or the Chinese dragon) as supporters, in lieu of beasts representing our European heritage, to symbolize either the heritage of the indigenous peoples, or those of major immigrant communities, or both. In strictly political terms it might well be expedient to adopt supporters of one or both of these types, but in both historical and current legal and cultural terms the choice of even one such figure would be to propagate a soothing lie, and I am strongly opposed to representing deeply erroneous views either of the past or of the present merely to make some vocal minority happy. Though it is now unpopular to say so, it is nonetheless true that Canada's governmental institutions on all levels are entirely of *English* origin or inspiration, and that our laws and legal systems are similarly either *English* (in most of the country) or *French* (in Quebec) in origin and principles. This is also true to a very great extent of our *general* or *common* culture, which, whatever one's ethnic ancestry (if one excepts a few small and scattered communities that resist any kind of integration), is predominantly either Anglocanadian or Francocanadian, with very minor borrowings (mostly in the area of cuisine and popular music) from many other cultures.²²

The reason that this matters is that an armorial achievement is a legal emblem, and in the case of a state or dominion it represents the *government* of that state or dominion, not the people or peoples who live under that government, whether indigenous or immigrant. In a monarchy like Canada, indeed, the achievement represents the Monarch and her Crown, conceived of as the embodiment of the state and the nation. It is thus appropriate to make allusions in the elements of such an achievement to the historical *origins* and *affiliations* of the state and its government, and to employ for those purposes versions of emblems traditionally representative of ancestral states. It is also appropriate to allude to the official languages used by the government throughout the country, and the cultures historically associated with them: all inheritances from the founding European states.

²² To take a salient example, our recent Governor General — though a woman of Chinese ancestry and birth who retained real ties to her ancestral culture — graduated from the same highly Anglophilic Anglican college as I did (Trinity College, Toronto), and was in her public (and I suspect her normal private) persona almost as English an Anglocanadian as I am — though my ancestry is almost purely English. Like many new Canadians, she was in fact bicultural, but the culture that functioned publicly in Canada was the one she had acquired in Canada, little affected by the one she had acquired by inheritance.

By contrast, it would not be appropriate even to *attempt* to represent the thousands of different indigenous tribes and bands scattered over our territory — most if not all of which are legally *protected communities* that happen to occupy lands falling within our boundaries, rather than constituent units of the Kingdom, comparable to a province or territory, with fully-integrated populations. And it would be quite absurd to imply — through the inclusion of figures representing indigenous peoples as *major* elements in the achievement of the national state as embodied in the Queen — that those protected but essentially alien peoples *had* made, were *now* making, or were *expected* to make in the near future, a major and distinctive contribution to that state and its institutions.²³

The same can be said of the even more numerous ethnic groups from every part of the world established by individual or familial immigration to Canada in the period since its fundamental laws and institutions were firmly established. As *individuals* they have often contributed in very significant ways to our society, but as *collective cultural entities* they have made no contribution whatever to our laws and institutions. Having a Governor-General of Chinese ancestry, for example, did not result in the smallest degree of Sinicization of our constitution, either in principle or in practice, and it is unlikely that any the laws or customs of Haiti will be introduced under her present successor.

As institutions and laws are not easily susceptible to direct visual representation, of course, they must instead be represented by symbolic figures drawn either from the historical emblematic vocabulary of the founding states, or from the indigenous flora and fauna that are also common to and characteristic of the country as a whole, or both. And if the emblematic flora and fauna of the founding states can be blended with related fauna characteristic of the country itself, in the ways that I have suggested, the resultant hybrids may reasonably be used to symbolize both the *origins* of the basic laws and institutions, and the cumulative small *alterations* in them that have been effected over the years that make them (like our two national cultures) distinctively *Canadian*, rather than either purely English or purely French.

As for national geography, it is best represented in the context of the compartment, on which the supporters (whatever their form) ought to stand. It is therefore to this much-neglected element of the achievement that I must now turn.

²³ This state of affairs is not, of course, found in all of our sister kingdoms or ex-kingdoms. The rôle of the aboriginal peoples of Australia has been similar to that of the tribal and sub-tribal peoples of Canada, but the position of the Maori in New Zealand has always been much more prominent, and that of the indigenous peoples of South Africa more prominent still, both in the *composition* and in the *common culture* of the majority of the population — if not until very recently in the creation of institutions and laws.

2.10. The Compartment and Plant-Badges: An Analysis of their Present Form and Meaning

2.10.1. The Compartment

The lower division of the achievement assigned in 1921 is described in the blazon of the Warrant in the following terms: '*below the shield upon a wreath of roses, thistles, shamrocks and lilies a scroll azure, inscribed with the motto A MARI USQUE AD MARE*'.¹ In the representation of this part of the achievement on the same document, however, a true compartment is included, the scroll bearing the motto is hung from it, and the 'wreath' composed of plant-badges is set below it. In this subsection I shall first examine the nature and significance of the compartment and then those of its adjunct the 'wreath' (more properly a 'spray'), and consider the motto and its scroll in § 2.12.



Fig. 17. The Early Stuart Achievement (From GUILIM, *Display of Heraldry*, 1609-10)

Until recently, the compartment was treated in the English armorial code as a semantically *neutral* element of the achievement, included solely to serve as a visual base for the supporters and upper achievement generally, and occasionally for badges set at the feet of the supporters (as was done in the achievements of both England and Scotland in the decades before the Union of 1603). Both its presence and its form were treated as optional, and before about 1500 supporters were sometimes shown floating in space, but from c. 1500 some

form of compartment has normally been represented below the supporters of the regal achievements of both England and Scotland, so its presence has at least been customary.

Down to 1660, the regal compartment had normally been depicted *either* as a grassy mound (the most common form between 1485 and about 1530, no doubt modelled on the one used to support the equestrian

¹ Quoted in SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, p. 64.

figures on contemporary seals)² or as a framed panel charged with the motto (the normal form in England between c. 1530 and 1660, and used



Fig. 18. An Official Representation of the Achievement of George I, with a metallic scrollwork compartment largely covered by the edged motto-scroll, and plant-badges to either side (HASLER, *Royal Arms*, Fig. 316)

for some time after the latter date).³ Between the Restoration of 1660 and the death of George V in 1936, however, the compartment was most commonly represented in official depictions as a confection of Baroque scroll-work, often divided into two distinct sections, on which the motto-scroll was merely hung.⁴ This was true in the standard official representation of the Imperial Achievement in use from the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 to the independence of the dominions in 1931 (represented above in Figure 2b). From 1672 to 1850 — a period long regarded by heraldists as one of general decadence in armorial design

² A number of representations of the achievements of Henry VII and Henry VIII and their sons show a grassy mound as a compartment. Early examples include one of Arthur Prince of Wales in his copy of Cicero's *De officiis*, preserved in Emmanuel College Cambridge Library, MS. 5.3.11, fol. 1, (published in James P. CARLEY, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives* [London, 2004], fig. 47, p. 51); and one of Henry VIII painted on the first leaf of the Golden Gospels, preserved in New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M 23, fol. iv (published in *ibid.*, fig. 62, p. 66). Others can be seen in HASLER, *The Royal Arms*, figs. 164, 172, 173, and 191), though the most common form in their reigns was still the ledge of a seal or architectural niche, or a two-dimensional representation of such a ledge (as in *ibid.*, figs. 154, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 177). For a Scottish example of a grassy mound from as late as 1592, see Fig. 10 above.

³ For examples, see *ibid.*, figs. 166, 189, 190, 202, 210, 211, 223, 237, 248, 261, 267, 272, 284, 285.

⁴ For examples, see *ibid.*, figs. 286, 288-294, 302, 303, 307, 310 etc.

and representation — the scroll itself was sometimes used as a precarious perch for the supporters (an arrangement common in representations of subroyal achievements from c. 1603),⁵ while in other cases it effectively concealed most of the compartment, as can be seen in Figure 18, representing an official Hanoverian achievement engraved c. 1720.

Not surprisingly, the compartment represented in the Royal Warrant of 1921 belonged to the last of these types (and to what is best termed its Rococo subtype), but as we have seen, it was not actually mentioned in the official blazon of the Warrant. It was no doubt for that reason that Beddoe omitted a true compartment of any form from his otherwise improved rendering of 1957, and instead set the supporters on the edge of the motto scroll. And it was probably for the same reason, as well as to maintain the general conventions of Beddoe's design, that Cathy Bursey-Sabourin maintained this unfortunate practice in her rendering of 1994, still in official use today.



Fig. 19. Neo-Gothic Grassy Mounds with Plant-Badges in Official Representations of the British Achievement (After HASLER, *Royal Arms*)

- a. Version used by the Royal Household, c. 1960-70 (Fig. 674)
- b. Version designed by Kruger Grey, in official use from 1924-1950 (Fig. 601)

By 1921, however, the Rococo form of compartment depicted in the Royal Warrant was already obsolescent, because the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century had revived the original grassy mound for this purpose, and compartments in this Gothic form had gradually replaced those of all of the Baroque types in new representations of the vast majority of supported achievements throughout the British Isles and Empire.⁶ Indeed, since at least 1922 (when Kruger Gray introduced his splendid Neo-Gothic version for use by the government), this form of

⁵ For examples, see *ibid.*, figs. 286, 289, 291, 302, 304, 320, etc.

⁶ Many examples can be seen in the illustrations to successive *Burke's Peerages* of that period.

compartment has been used quite commonly in official representation of the Regal-Regnal Achievement used both in England (as Figures 19a and b demonstrate) and in Scotland.⁷ In Canada (where, as we have seen, only three distinct official representations have been used since 1921, the second introduced in 1957) a compartment of this type has not yet been employed in the form of the achievement used by the government, but it has been introduced in unofficial representations, as those by Gordon Macpherson (in Figure 3b) and Karen Bailey (in Figure 21) illustrate.



Fig. 20. Plant-badges on a Grassy Mound in the Achievement of New Brunswick

Since 1980 an officially blazoned compartment of this form has also come to be included in the achievements of several of the Canadian provinces, which (as can be seen in Figure 20) provide another set of models, usually including not only grass but plant-badges.⁸

2.10.2. The Wreath or Spray of Plant-Badges

Since the early Tudor period, the compartment of each of these types in the Regal Achievement has sometimes been represented in association with the current royal plant-badge or badges,⁹ but it was only after the

⁷ For examples, see *ibid.*, 545 (1905), 590 (1922), 595 (1924), 603 (1934), 563 (1936)

⁸ Four provinces have so far been granted compartments in the form of a grassy mound with particular additions, in three cases including the provincial flower: Alberta in 1980, New Brunswick in 1984, Manitoba in 1992, and P.E.I. in 2002. In 1987 British Columbia was given, as part of its new outer achievement, a spray of the provincial flower (the dogwood) to set below the shield of its arms; it was no doubt modelled on the spray assigned to Canada in 1921, and was similarly represented without a proper compartment.

⁹ An early example is the page in the manuscript of Cicero's *De officiis* owned by Arthur Prince of Wales cited above (n. 62), in which a number of red roses (representing the House of Lancaster) are strewn in the margins above the achievement at the base, along with other princely badges. Another is the page of a manuscript bearing the achievement of Henry VIII himself before 1528, in which both red and white roses and two roses both red and white are strewn in a similar manner, preserved in the library of the Marquess of Salisbury, Cecil Papers, MS. 277/1, fol. 1r (and similarly published in CARLEY, *Books*, fig. 50, p. 54). Three double roses and three pomegranates (the badge of Henry's first wife Catherine of Aragon) are represented growing from entwined stems planted in a grassy mound (and surmounted by a crown set between two other Tudor badges) in an illustration to a Coronation Day poem by Sir Thomas More, in a

accession of James I in 1603 that it became common to display those badges growing on separate plants from the compartment to either side: the double rose of England to the dexter, next to the lion, and the thistle of Scotland to the sinister, next to the unicorn.¹⁰

Under the Stuarts the two plants normally grew from just below the base of the shield (though they were occasionally cut off and set next to the crown or crest¹¹), but under the first Hanoverian king they came to



Fig. 21. The Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement of 1957-1994

A version by Karen Bailey, with a proper compartment and the helm turned to suit the orientation of the crest

be represented (when they were included at all) at the outer ends of the Rococo scrollwork compartment as well,¹² and in unofficial representations were sometimes depicted on separate branches arising from behind the shield next to the crown.¹³ Immediately after the Union

manner anticipating the Stuart manner of displaying plant-badges; it is preserved in London, British Library MS. Cotton Titus D.iv, fol. 12v, published in *ibid.*, fig. 98, p. 111.

¹⁰ For examples, see HASLER, *The Royal Arms*, figs. 248 (1610), 252 (1627), 261 (p. 1660), 268 (p. 1660), 272 (p. 1660), and 268 (1662).

¹¹ For examples, see *ibid.*, figs. 257 (1642), 276 (p. 1660), and 284 (1662).

¹² For examples, see *ibid.*, figs. 329 (1736), 330 (1745), 376 (1789), 377 (1792), 379 (1796), and 381 (1801)

¹³ See for example *ibid.*, figs. 322 (1715), 323 (1725), 329 (1736), 370 (c. 1785), 375 (1788), 391 (1816),

with Ireland in 1801 the shamrocks of Ireland¹⁴ were added to the compartment, either on a separate branch, or (more commonly, especially in official representations) on a single branch of a rose-bush to which the thistles and shamrocks were grafted.¹⁵ Paired branches from which one or more roses, thistles, and shamrocks issued remained standard elements of the representations of the Regal-Imperial Achievement down to the death of George V in 1936.¹⁶ The two branches were sometimes crossed near their cut lower ends, but were often disconnected. In the official representations used from 1801 to 1931, indeed, they were set separately at the feet of the supporters, across the two lobes of the metallic scrollwork compartment on which the supporters themselves stood, and around which two distinct scrolls bearing the regal motto were wrapped.¹⁷

The customs just described certainly constituted reasonably effective ways to display the secondary badges of the kingdoms that formed part of the central dominions of the British monarch — from 1801 to 1922 combined in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland — and the badges themselves supplemented the supporters and the quarterings in the royal arms as emblems of those kingdoms. Like the quarterings they paralleled, the branches from which all three badges grew also functioned as union-symbols, suggesting very clearly by their

¹⁴ Down to 1783 — the year the United States became legally independent — Ireland had been represented in para-armorial contexts only by the crowned harp first adopted as a badge by Henry VIII. In that year, however, King George III founded the Order of St. Patrick to serve as an Irish equivalent to the Garter and Thistle, and incorporated into its insignia the shamrock that had emerged as an attribute of St. Patrick at about the same time as the red saltire that constituted the principal element of the new Order's device. The red saltire itself had first been used as an emblem of St. Patrick in Ireland itself in the reign of James I, when it was included along with the harp and the shamrock in the insignia of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick: a quasi-Masonic Irish order founded to discourage dueling. The separate use of the shamrock along with the rose and thistle seems to have begun shortly after the union with Ireland in 1801, signaled by the incorporation of the saltire of St. Patrick into the Union Flag in the manner still maintained today. On this, see Peter GALLOWAY, *The Most Illustrious Order: The Order of Saint Patrick and its Knights* (London, 1999).

¹⁵ An example of the first arrangement, in a Scottish version of the achievement, is represented in HASLER, *Royal Arms*, fig. 428, and one of the second, from the title-page of *Stockdale's Present Peerage of the United Kingdom*, in *ibid.*, fig. 432; both date from 1827.

¹⁶ For examples, see HASLER, *Royal Arms*, figs. 446-449 (1843-4), 487 (1872), 515 (1894), 545 (1905), 571, 572 (1911), and 610 (1910-35). The inclusion of the branches of plant-badges has been less popular since 1924, but Hasler includes examples from the 1937 Coronation (figs. 619, 622), and the stationery of the Royal Household of the 1960s.

¹⁷ See the reproductions of achievements painted in 1801, 1820, and 1841 in SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, figs. 12, 13.1, and 13.2, the second of which was set on a panel behind the justices' bench in the Supreme Court of New Brunswick in Fredericton.

form the inseparable relationship that theoretically existed among the three kingdoms they represented.

Given this general tradition, and the survival in the mother-country in 1921 of its nineteenth-century manifestation, it cannot be surprising two branches bearing national plant-badges were included in the achievement assigned in that year to the Dominion of Canada. It is odd, however, that the branches were described as constituting a 'wreath', and even odder that they were described as having the motto-scroll 'upon' them, as neither of these characteristics was actually represented in the accompanying depiction, and both were deviations from the long-established tradition just described. Their representation floating *below* the compartment, not visually connected to it in any way, was also a deviation from that tradition, and more importantly from the more general tradition that nothing be set below a compartment that is not in some manner connected to it. The blazon seems to suggest that the 'wreath' was meant to be the compartment, but it has never been treated in this way in official depictions, and both Beddoe in 1957 (Fig. 3a) and Bursey-Sabourin in 1994 have merely set it below the motto-scroll, which itself has been made to serve as a compartment. This is actually contrary to the specifications of the blazon, which require that the scroll be 'upon' the 'wreath, not over it, and it would be more reasonable to interpret the wording of the blazon as an indication that the branches were meant to be set *on* the compartment, and partially covered by the motto-scroll. This is how Gordon Macpherson interpreted it in his depiction of the achievement reproduced in Fig. 3b, and how I have interpreted it in my depiction reproduced in Figs. 1 and 4 — and as a solid compartment is always to be preferred to the precarious edge of a motto-scroll, it ought to be adopted as the normal interpretation.

In any case, the Canadian 'wreath' of plant-badges was differenced from its United Kingdom models only through the addition to each branch of a set of white lilies: the theoretical plant-badge of the Kingdom of France,¹⁸ whose arms were set in the fourth quarter of the Canadian Regal Coat. Astonishing as it must seem today, no one at the

¹⁸ The lily (called a *lys* or *lis* in French) was one of the many attributes of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and it was probably at least partly for that reason that it was adopted as an emblem by the Kings of France in the twelfth century, when Marian devotion spread from Byzantium to the Latin West. The form in which it was almost invariably represented as an emblem or emblematic motif, however — and also as an element of such insignia as the crown and sceptre — was clearly derived from that of another flower, the iris. For that reason, the armorial and para-armorial *fleur-de-lys* used emblematically and insignially both by the de facto Kings of France, and by the Kings of England as pretenders to the throne of France, bore little resemblance to any form of lily. The lily included in the sprays of plant-badges in the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement has nevertheless been represented in its natural form, and in its natural colour of white rather than its normal armorial tincture of gold. (For a discussion of the history and symbolism of the French 'lily', see Anne LOMBARD-JOURDAN, *Fleur-de-lis et oriflamme: signes célestes du royaume de France* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1991; and the review by Brigitte BEDOS-REZAK, in *Speculum* 69.1 (January 1994), pp. 205-207)

time thought to include even a single maple leaf to represent distinctively the Dominion to which this compartment had been assigned (and which was of course represented in the champagne of the arms). Thus, like the supporters, and like the upper four fifths of the arms, the branches alluded symbolically *only* to the four kingdoms from which the majority of the Canadian population had come, and to the Empire of which their country formed a part. In a Canadian context, therefore, it was not a *union*-symbol relevant to the state represented by the achievement, but an *affiliation*-symbol referring exclusively to the founding Imperial states (one of them still dominant in the political sphere, the other defunct as such).

2.11. The Compartment and Plant-Badges: Proposals for their Modification

Once again, this form of symbolism (to the extent that it was appropriate even in 1921) has been wholly inappropriate since 1931, and a new selection of plant-badges ought to be substituted for it. And whatever selection is adopted in its place should be set upon, and ideally represented as growing from, a proper compartment in the form of a mound, officially described in the blazon, and itself symbolic in various ways of the geography of the kingdom.

I therefore propose that the regal compartment of Canada officially take the form of a rocky mound, its upper surface largely covered with snow, but having one or more plants growing from it. Stylized waves of water should lap the mound at either end and at the centre base, below the motto-scroll. Symbolically, this main part of the design represents the land of Canada itself, and its attributes represent the importance here of winter and snow, and the ability of Canadians to live and flourish here despite our often harsh climate. The three sets of waves represent the three oceans that surround our land on all but its southern border, and allude to the words of the motto — solving, perhaps, the problem of how to represent the third ocean without altering the biblical quotation *A mari usque ad mare*.

What, then, should be done with the existing ‘wreath’ of plant-badges? In my opinion, it was from the beginning both redundant and misleading. The achievement of 1921 was already overburdened with affiliation-symbols at the expense of national symbols, and certainly did not need another set of emblems whose form suggested that Canada was itself simply an extension of the United Kingdom. The current set of plant-badges should thus be abandoned completely. If it is to be replaced by something comparable, I would suggest a maple seedling growing from the compartment below the shield with two long branches bearing the plant-badges of the ten provinces, set five to a branch, and alternating with maple leaves. As Figure 22 indicates, this can be done in a quite attractive way (especially if the flowers are given the heraldic form used in the provincial orders of merit), and would serve to represent the ten subordinate but sovereign members of the Canadian federation (otherwise wholly unrepresented in the achievement) in a manner that

does not detract from the primary role of the achievement as an emblem of the *kingdom* as whole. Indeed, the very form of this emblem — which might be called the **Tree of Confederation** — growing from a compartment that is itself symbolic of the land of Canada, can serve as an effective visual symbol of the historical relationship that exists between the provinces and the kingdom, and through the kingdom with one another. A similar **Wreath of Confederation** (with the two branches cut from the stock and crossed in base) could be used in lesser achievements, otherwise including only the shield of arms, ordinal circlet, and crown.



Fig. 22. A Replacement for the Current Wreath: The Tree of Confederation.
A Double Stalk of Provincial Flowers (in Geographical Order) and
Maple Leaves (by the author)

The flowers are 1. *dogwood* (B.C.), 2. *prairie rose* (Alta.), 3. *red lily* (Sask.);
4. *crocus* (Man.), 5. *trillium* (Ont.), 6. *white lily* (Que.), 7. *violet* (N.B.),
8. *lady slipper* (P.E.I.), 9. *mayflower* (N.S.), and 10. *pitcher plant* (Nfld.)

Alternatively, the current wreath could be replaced by a number of small maple-seedlings in red, growing from the compartment here and there. As I thought of this arrangement before I thought of the tree and wreath of provincial flowers, I represented it in the examples presented in my paper, reproduced in Figure 15 above and Figure 24 below, both of which include the proposed compartment. Emblematically, the compartment represented those figures is effective because (1) it is visually quite *distinctive* (as the British Regal-Regnal Achievements both stand on *grassy* mounds) and (2) it includes representations of the *most familiar* emblem of Canada (the red maple leaf). It also unifies the achievement visually by tying the compartment (and therefore the supporter-complex as a whole) to the arms and the crest — both through its dominant *tinctures*, and through its figural *motif*. In fact, the dominant tinctures of the whole achievement proposed are *gules* (or red) and *argent* (or white): the tinctures of both the arms and the flag of Canada, and those universally recognized as our national colours.

Nevertheless, much the same could be said for the version with the Tree of Confederation, which has the added advantage of representing the provinces in a symbolic manner that ought to appeal to most Canadians.



Fig. 23. The Imperial Achievement of General Purpose, 1714-1801
Polychromatic representation in wood in Trinity Church, St. John., N.B.
 The supporters stand on a motto-scroll edged in gold, the ends of which suggest an underlying compartment. (From SWAN, *Canada: Symbols*, Fig. 11.2)

2.12. The Motto and its Scroll

2.12.1. The Motto-Scroll

At the base of the compartment, the blazon of the Regal Warrant of 1921 set a motto, analogous with the motto DIEU ET MON DROIT consistently set at the base of the English-Imperial achievement since the reign of Henry VII.¹ As was commonly the case with the English motto from shortly, the Canadian motto was represented in the Royal Warrant as set on a scroll: the normal context for mottoes in English armorial achievements since the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. More remarkably, the blazon specifies the tincture of the scroll as azure, and in the accompanying exemplification it is in fact represented in that colour, while the letters of the motto set on it (whose tincture was not specified in the blazon) were represented in gold. These had been the most common tinctures used in representations of the British-Imperial scroll and its motto since the Restoration, though they seem to have been rare before

¹ On the evolution of the Royal Achievement between 1485 and 1783, see J. H. and R. V. PINCHES, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), pp. 127-217; Lady Antonia FRASER, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1975), pp. 156-7, 184-5, 224-25, 240-41; and HASLER, *The Royal Arms*.

that, and have never been either officially specified or consistently employed.²

It is likely that the now usual tinctures of the British- (now English-) Imperial motto-scroll on which the Canadian one was clearly modelled had been introduced by the heralds or herald-painters of the Restoration to mirror those of the scroll-like *garter* that since 1530 had always been set around the shield of the royal arms, to represent the status of the monarch as Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.³ In their turn, the colours of the garter (blue and gold) almost certainly alluded to those of the royal arms of France, just as the motto set on it (in Anglo-Norman spelled HONY SOYT KE MAL Y PENSE, eventually modernized to HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE) alluded to the claim of its founder to the French throne. It is finally likely that the late-Stuart heralds or herald-painters introduced the convention of representing the motto and scroll in the tinctures of the garter primarily to enhance the unity of the design of the achievement; certainly there was no established tradition in England of assigning tinctures of any origin to mottos or their scrolls, and even the former have rarely been mentioned in the blazon included in letters patent granting armorial emblems. Furthermore, until quite recently the scrolls actually represented on such documents have almost always been represented in the natural colour of parchment, sometimes modelled in pink or grey.

Presumably the garter tinctures were used for the first official representation of the motto and scroll of the new achievement assigned to the Dominion of Canada in 1921 in order to maintain its visual resemblance to the current official representation of the achievement of the United Kingdom. Since that time, the same tinctures, though not mentioned in the blazon, have been transferred to each of the successive official representations. In the 1994 version, indeed (by Cathy Bursey-Sabourin), the motto-scroll has acquired the gold edging characteristic of

² See Fig. 2a. above. I know of no study of the colours of the motto-scroll, but an examination of the numerous achievements represented in Hasler, *Royal Arms*, leads me to the conclusions presented here. Before 1660, the motto was normally displayed on a panel in the strapwork compartment, rather than on a separate scroll, and in the examples from that period printed in HASLER, *Royal Arms*, there is no sign that the panel was represented in a dark tincture. Even the scroll in normal use after 1660 could be represented in the more traditional white, as can be seen in the examples in *ibid.*, figs. 286, 287, 289, and 290.

³ On the Order of the Garter and its insignia, see *id.*, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1326-1520*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and New York, 1987; 2nd edn. 2000), pp. 96-166; Peter J. BERGENT and Hubert CHESYRE, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years* (London, 1999), esp. pp. 178-196; Hugh E. L. COLLINS, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000). On the achievements of the early Tudor kings, see D'A. J. D. BOULTON, "Henry VII and Henry VIII, 1485-1547 *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, Vol. II, ed. Martin GOSMAN, Alasdair MACDONALD, and Arjo VANDERJAGT, *Instituut voor Cultuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek Groningen* (Leiden, The Netherlands, 2005), pp. 129-190.

the Garter itself, though less regularly used for the scroll in the British and U. K. versions of the achievement since the garter tinctures were introduced around 1660.⁴

Whatever their original significance was, however, the blue and gold tinctures of the motto-scroll conventionally represented in the Regal-Regnal Achievement for Canada had nothing whatever to do with Canada as such — where the Order of the Garter has no formal place, and only four members: the Queen herself, her consort Prince Philip, and her two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Anne (all of whom are members of the *Canadian* no less than the *British* Royal Family, and ought long ago to have been assigned Canadian arms and other armories, and ideally Canadian titles as well).⁵ These tinctures thus represent yet another form of symbolism that is purely *affiliative* rather than *national*. Nevertheless, there are two good reasons for retaining the current tinctures. The more important of these is esthetic: both the current and the proposed emblems set on the flags borne by the supporters are dominated by the tincture azure or blue, and the overall design of the achievement is better balanced if a strong element dominated by the same tincture is set at the base. Having decided to keep the tincture for this reason, it would be useful to assign to it a new and more appropriate form of symbolism, and that can be done quite easily. The motto set on the scroll in question — A MARI USQUE AD MARE — refers to seas or oceans, and as azure is the tincture traditionally used to symbolize water, it can be retained for that purpose as the field-tincture of the scroll.

2.12.2. *The Motto*

Unlike its scroll, the motto assigned in 1921 did refer to Canada, alluding simultaneously to the physical extent of the Dominion, and to its formal title as such. It is in fact an extract from the Latin version of Psalm 72:8, whose full text was '*Et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminus terrae*'. Its King James version — much more familiar to Anglophone Canadians — read '*And he shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth*.' This passage aptly described the authority that the British monarch exercised in North America as a whole at the time the Dominion of Canada was created by the first British North America Act of 1 July 1867, and although the new Dominion itself would not stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific (or from the southern border to the Arctic) until the accession of Rupert's Land in 1870 and British Columbia in 1871, it seems to have contributed to the choice of the title 'dominion' given to the new entity by the original act of

⁴ Representations of the motto-scroll in the tinctures of the garter were in regular use from shortly after the Restoration, and more often than not included gold edging, as can be see in HASLER, *Royal Arms*, figs. 288, 291, 293, 294, 302, 307, 310, etc. Nevertheless, the edging was sometimes omitted, as in figs. 285, 292, 295, 304.

⁵ The existence of a Canadian Royal Family is of course another consequence of the status of Canada as a wholly independent kingdom that our governments have chosen to ignore, if not precisely to deny, since 1931.

confederation. Its assignment as the official motto of the Dominion government in the Warrant of 1921 merely completed the process of associating it with Canada.

The motto itself was thus a thoroughly Canadian emblem, and as it has remained equally appropriate since 1931, it requires no alteration — except perhaps to make a more explicit reference to the Arctic Ocean that became a boundary of the Dominion even before the Pacific did. In my opinion, the addition of an extra *ad mare* (proposed by some politicians) is neither necessary for the sense, nor appropriate in the light of the origin of the phrase. Nevertheless, that is a matter for the politicians to fight over, and it would not be a disaster if the Arctic lobby won its case for such a change. I have already suggested a way in which the three oceans could be symbolized in the compartment, however, and the inclusion of a third set of waves at the centre might be a sufficient allusion even in northern eyes.

2.13. Conclusion to Part I

I have now reviewed the current state of all of the emblematic elements of the achievement of the Queen and Kingdom of Canada, and suggested a number of ways in which they could be improved both to indicate more clearly the status of Canada as a wholly independent kingdom, and to increase the number and quality of the symbolic allusions made by its motifs to Canada itself, rather than to the European motherlands of its four founding peoples. In Part II of this article, to be published in the next issue of *ASH*, I shall conduct a similar review of the insignial elements of the achievement, and make a similar set of suggestions for improvements for the same general purposes.

Sommaire en français

Les armoiries (ou *cumul armorial*, dans la terminologie proposée pour cette revue) données à son dominion du Canada par le roi Georges V en 1921 étaient et restent les meilleures du Commonwealth, par ce qu'elles contiennent tous les éléments nécessaires à un cumul royal dans la tradition armoriale Britannique. Néanmoins, depuis le Statut de Westminster de 1931, quant le Canada est devenu un royaume indépendant du et égal au Royaume Uni, elles présentent plusieurs problèmes symboliques et insigniaux. Dans cet article, Boulton explique les problèmes symboliques des éléments emblématiques du cumul: les armes, le cimier et sa base, les supports, les badges floraux, la devise verbale, et le compartiment. Après chacune de ces explications il propose des modifications plus ou moins importantes à chacun de ces éléments, dont l'effet seraient de rendre le cumul plus canadien, plus respectueux de la tradition française, et plus convenable au statut d'un royaume indépendant.

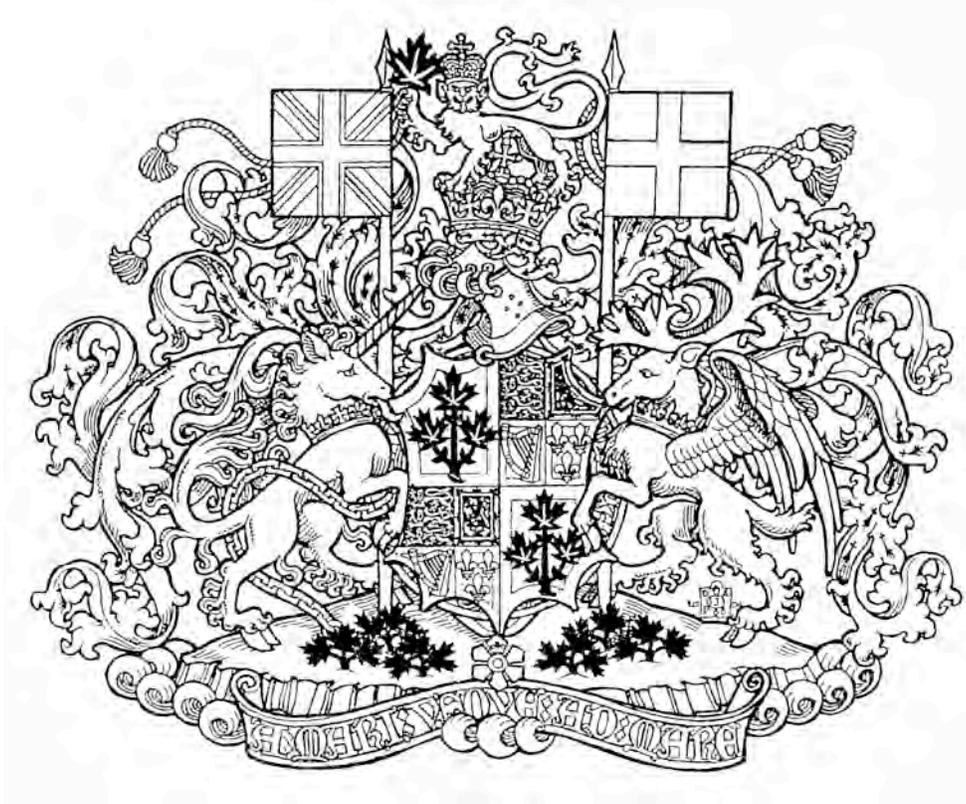


Fig. 24. A Version of the Canadian Regal-Regnal Achievement incorporating a Canadianized Crest and French Supporter, along with the Proposed Compartment and Remarshalled Arms, and the correct Regal Lambrequin or Mantling