

# The Armorial Bearings of Nova Scotia: Why Two Official Versions?

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Several Canadian provinces (namely Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec, have been identified by both adopted granted arms, though except in Quebec the latter replaced the former, and in all cases the later arms were based upon the earlier ones. Nova Scotia is unique in that its two armorial emblems — a full achievement acquired in 1625 or shortly before,<sup>1</sup> and a shield of arms alone acquired in 1868 — were both grants from the Crown, but (as can be seen from Figures 1 and 2) the latter nevertheless bore no resemblance whatever to the former. The two emblems came about under specific historical circumstances, but the reasons for the second of the two grants remain elusive. The preference of Nova Scotians for the earlier arms gave rise to a movement to have them restored. Though the basic elements of the achievement were known, the available documentation left the type of helmet and the depiction of the human supporter open to interpretation.

**Fig. 1. The Original  
Armorial Bearings of Nova  
Scotia, granted by James  
VI and I in or by 1625,  
from a 1750 map**

Library and Archives  
Canada (LAC), negative C-  
17598



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<sup>1</sup> The arms existed in 1625 and may have existed slightly before. (Conrad SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977], p. 121).

It is my purpose in the present article to investigate the circumstances in which the second emblem was granted and the first one revived, in the hope of shedding light on the question of why it was thought necessary or desirable to create a new emblem when one already existed, and why the new one was ultimately rejected in favour of the original one. I shall also attempt to explain when and why the helmet came to acquire its current, royal, form, and when and why the original human supporter was converted from a generic wild man into an Amerindian.

### 1. Were the Old Armorial Bearings Forgotten?

The grant of arms to Nova Scotia after Confederation is explained as follows in *Beddoe's Canadian Heraldry*: 'Some 243 years later it had apparently been forgotten that Nova Scotia enjoyed armorial [sic] status by a Royal Warrant of 1625, and when in 1868 the four original provinces were assigned arms by Queen Victoria, through the College of Arms in London, Nova Scotia received a shield blazoned: *Or, on a fess wavy Azure, between three Thistles proper, a Salmon naiant Argent.*'<sup>2</sup> An early representation of this can be seen in Figure 2 below.



Fig. 2. Cream jug displaying the 1868 arms of Nova Scotia, augmented by the royal crown, mayflower (the provincial floral emblem), and the motto *Terrae marisque opes* ('wealth of land and sea') taken from early provincial seals. Late Foley bone china made in England by Shelley c. 1910 for W. L. Harding of Yarmouth, N. S.

There is evidence, however, that the 1625 arms had not fallen into disuse at the time of Confederation, and that Nova Scotia quite possibly received the 1868 version for reasons other than ignorance of the earlier grant. Clearly the early achievement was known in the eighteenth century, since it was illustrated on a widely-published 1750 map entitled 'A Plan of the Harbour of Chebucto and Town of Halifax'.<sup>3</sup> In this depiction, represented in Figure 1 above, the human supporter is shown as a wild

<sup>2</sup> Alan BEDDOE, *Beddoe's Canadian Heraldry*, Revised by Col. Strome GALLOWAY, (Belleville, Ont.: Mika Publishing, 1981), p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Map by Moses HARRIS in the July 1750 issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, between pp. 294 and 295.

man, wreathed about the head and loins with leaves but without a club. An earlier version, which appeared in *The British Compendium of Rudiments of Honour*, 3rd edition, vol. II, 1729, is close to the 1750 rendering except that the motto is below the shield, and the escutcheon of Scotland is ensigned by the royal crown.<sup>4</sup>

There is evidence as well that the early achievement continued to be used in the nineteenth century. A plate illustrated with the older achievement was produced in at least two sizes by Wedgwood & Co. for the china merchant Cleverdon & Co. of Halifax c. 1850-65.<sup>5</sup>



**Fig. 3. Plate by Wedgwood & Co., c. 1850-65.**

The presence of the 1625 achievement on advertisement plates of a prominent Halifax china merchant, c. 1850-65, indicates that the old arms of Nova Scotia were known to many inhabitants of the city near the time of Confederation. These pieces were meant for wide distribution, probably to be given out as gifts to the clientele. An even stronger indication of the popularity of the old achievement is its presence on the Bank of Nova Scotia ten-dollar notes from at least 1877 until 1935. The arms show no

<sup>4</sup> John A. STEWART, *The Arms of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1955), pp. 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly, Wedgwood & Co is not the company founded by Josiah Wedgwood and today known popularly for its blue jasper ware, but a very little known manufacturer with interesting connections to Canada. (For further details, see appendix I.)

helmet above the shield; the unicorn is on all fours; the Amerindian supporter is crouched, wears a few feathers, a medal, and fringed trousers as are often seen on leather wear, as can be seen in Figure 4. From 1924, the old achievement appears on the front of the note and the 1868 arms on the back.<sup>6</sup> The early achievement was also etched on the doors of Province House where politicians of the time could not fail to notice them.<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 4. Bank of Nova Scotia, 10 dollar note, July 2, 1877,  
Bank of Canada Currency Museum Collection

The strong likelihood that the old arms and dependent armories would have been known to prominent Nova Scotians at the time of Confederation makes the 1868 grant even more puzzling. Moreover, the provincial delegates — in London (England) from December 1866 to March 1867 — were consulted regarding the content of the arms that would represent their province. While Nova Scotia and Quebec requested no changes to the initial proposal, Ontario discarded its two first concepts, and New Brunswick had one previous design.<sup>8</sup> It seems inevitable that at

<sup>6</sup> These banknotes are found on the website of the Bank of Canada's Currency Museum: <http://www.currencymuseum.ca/collection/browse>.

<sup>7</sup> STEWART, *Arms of Nova Scotia*, p. 34.

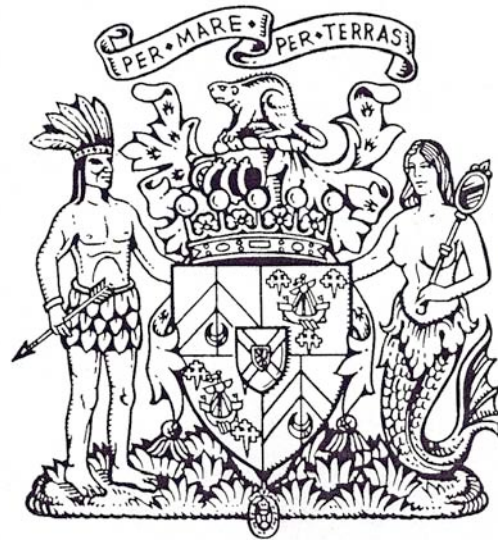
<sup>8</sup> Four documents allow us to follow the delegates' interventions. The first one, 'Memoranda [sic, a memorandum for each province] Explanatory of the proposed Armorial Bearings for the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada' describes for Ontario: a Union Jack in chief to represent the almost equal proportion of English, Scot and Irish colonists and a sprig of maple leaves in base. New Brunswick's arms are described as a horse in chief and a ship in base, with the cautionary note: 'The Horse is introduced into the Coat as being the most prominent and popularly recognized of the many Coats in the Escutcheon of the House of Brunswick (although properly representative of Hanover only).' The exact date and source of this document are not known, but it seems to summarize what had been discussed so far. A second document consists of tricked drawings of the four proposed arms. Here New Brunswick keeps the Hanover horse, but Ontario combines the cross of St. George in chief with a garb Or on a base Vert. A third document is a tricked drawing of a seal reflecting the intention that the arms of



least one of the five delegates representing Nova Scotia would have known of the earlier arms and could have raised the question.<sup>9</sup>

**Fig. 5. The Achievement of Sir William Alexander, Baronet of Nova Scotia (1625), Viscount Stirling (1630), Earl of Stirling and Viscount Canada (1633), Lord Proprietor of Nova Scotia (1625/9)**

Recent rendering from *Beddoe's Canadian Heraldry*, Fig. 76, p. 57



## 2. What was the Model for the Amerindian Supporter?

The Amerindian or First Nation supporter on the Cleverdon plate in Figure 3 wears a four-feathered panache, a long tunic or coat with a hem at the neck and lower end, and a blanket over his shoulders, folded over his left arm. The right hand supports the shield while left hand grasps a bow with lower tip resting on the ground. The supporter also wears moccasins and fringed leggings that appear to be fastened with buttons.

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the four provinces in their quartered form should serve as a common seal for the new Confederation. Ontario still has its garb, but no doubt responding to the remark in the memorandum, New Brunswick has opted for a gold lion passant guardant on a red chief, which better represents the Duchy of Brunswick. Finally a letter dated 29 April 1868 from Sir Frederick Rogers, Under Secretary for the Colonies, to Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King of Arms, states: '... in the communications which His Grace [Richard Chandos, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Secretary of State for the Colonies] had with the Delegates from the North American provinces a desire was expressed for the adoption of the Maple Leaf in the Arms of Ontario and His Grace would prefer its adoption to that of the Wheat sheaf if it could properly be retained. That is the only alteration which he would propose.' These documents are found in box no. 5 entitled 'Coats of Arms' held in the Documentary Art Collection of Library and Archives Canada (LAC). They are described in the documentary art file 622-6 and are inscribed with the acquisition numbers 1949-1 and 1949-1-2. Roger's letter to Young is also found in the Public Record Office: CO 324, vol. 170, pp. 229-31. See also SWAN, *Symbols of Sovereignty*, pp. 123-24, 137, note 10.

<sup>9</sup> They were Sir Adam George Archibald, William Alexander Henry, Jonathan McCully, John William Ritchie, and Sir Charles Tupper.

His quiver, from which emanate four feathered tips, is evidently worn across his chest. Obviously, the artist strove to represent the Amerindian in a credible costume 'of the clime', and probably that of a member of the Micmac (or Mi'kmaq) Nation.



Fig. 6. a. The Achievement of the Compagnie d'Occident, c. 1718, LAC, negative NMC 18252.  
b. The proposed Achievement of the Province of Canada, c. 1718, LAC, negative NMC 18251.

Feathers, bows and arrows, and quivers are traditionally associated with what Canadians now call the First Nations, as are moccasins and blankets worn over the shoulders. Nineteenth-century depictions reveal that Micmacs did wear long coats not unlike the one worn by the supporter, although the coat most associated with that Nation is hooded.<sup>10</sup> The depiction of the Amerindian wearing a feather skirt and headdress, as in Nova Scotia's 1929 restored achievement, was found in a number of Canadian achievements dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, beginning with the dexter supporter of the arms registered to Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, in 1632.<sup>11</sup> Other armorial ensigns connected with Canada and displaying the same stereotyped Amerindian, this time with quiver and bow, were those granted to the Compagnie d'Occident in 1717 and later transferred to the Compagnie des Indes, created in 1719. Essentially identical supporters appear in a proposal of an achievement for the 'Province of Canada' in

<sup>10</sup> Mary ALLODI, *Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1974), vol. 2, nos. 1446-47, 1452, 2113, 2215; René VILLENEUVE, *Lord Dalhousie, mécène et collectionneur* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2008), pp. 158, 163.

<sup>11</sup> STEWART, *Arms of Nova Scotia*, pp. 12-15.

1718 or a little earlier.<sup>12</sup> On the shield granted to François Hertel in 1716, the two Amerindians supporting a harrow — described as ‘two Americans’ — wear the same feathered attire, but are holding a club like the wild man.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, we know from its seal that the supporters of the armorial bearings granted to the Compagnie des Indes occidentales in 1664 were traditional wild men, each wreathed about the head and loins with leaves and grasping a club.<sup>14</sup>

Although New World iconography represents many first inhabitants in various forms of garb, often wild looking enough, it does not seem to include depictions of the traditional wild man, outside of heraldry. On the other hand, the same iconography depicts a number of Amerindians wearing the feather skirt and headdress.<sup>15</sup> When the seventeenth-century achievement was restored in 1929, the way to depict the human supporter could have been modernized. We have already seen two different attempts to depict the First-Nation supporter more realistically. A more recent drawing done c. 1921 by L. M. Fortier, President of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, featured a seventeenth-century Micmac supporter wearing a feather, a loincloth, and moccasins, and holding a calumet.<sup>16</sup> The hooded coat typical of the Micmacs, often embroidered, is well documented in nineteenth-century

<sup>12</sup> *Édits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'état du Roi concernant le Canada ... publiés par ordre de Son Excellence Sir Robert Shore Milnes ... Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Province du Bas-Canada ...*, vol. 1 (Quebec : P.E. Desbarats, 1803), p. 373 ; Auguste VACHON, ‘Des armoiries pour le Canada au temps de Louis XIV’ and ‘Des armoiries pour le Canada au temps de Louis XIV: nouvelles données’ in *Heraldry in Canada (H in C)*, March 1991, pp. 13-18 and June 1991, pp. 6-8.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Règlement d’armoiries pour le sieur François Hertel ...’, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des titres, Cabinet d’Hozier 344, dossier 9756: copy in LAC, MG 7, IA2, 31225. An illustration of the arms is found with the letters patent in André VACHON, *L’enracinement: le Canada de 1700 à 1760* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1985), p. 230.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel COGNÉ and Patricia KENNEDY, *Lasting Impressions: Seals in our History* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991), pp. 20-21.

<sup>15</sup> The first known engraving to represent the Amerindians is a woodcut published in Germany in 1505 depicting Tupinambas cannibals of Brazil wearing a feather headdress and skirt. There is no doubt that the skirts are of feathers, and not leaves, which they resemble, because the caption below the engraving specifies what they are. See François-Marc GAGNON, *Jacques Cartier et la découverte du Nouveau Monde* (Musée du Québec, 1984), p. 34. For other examples of this type of dress see Charles A. MARTIJN, ‘Frise des Sauvages’ in *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, vol. 11, n° 4, 1981, p. 322; also illustrations on the following maps: *North America* by Herman MOLL, London, 1720; *The British Colonies in North America* by John MITCHELL, London, 1755; *British Dominions in America* by Thomas KITCHIN, London 1770, all in John GOSS, *The Mapping of North America, three centuries of map-making 1500-1860* (Secaucus, N.J.: Wellfleet Press, 1990), pp. 118-119, 130-131, 140-141. Also Conrad SWAN “American Indians in Heraldry” in *The Coat of Arms*, July 1971, pp. 96-106 and Oct. 1971, pp. 148-159.

<sup>16</sup> STEWART, *Arms of Nova Scotia*, p. 44

watercolours and drawings and could have presented interesting possibilities for the human supporter.<sup>17</sup> Changes were possible because the early entries in the Lyon Register merely specified 'a Savage or wild man.'<sup>18</sup> But modernization had to be weighed against the desire to be faithful to the traditional representation.

The Amerindian supporter as depicted in the seventeenth-century achievement of the Earl of Stirling was a model to follow in restoring the arms of Nova Scotia.<sup>19</sup> The obverse of the seals of the province, from at least 1730 to 1879, depicted a 'savage man' attired with the traditional feathers within a seashore scene. Though not supporting a shield of arms, this depiction constitutes another connection with the old model.<sup>20</sup> The rendition that would appear with the 1929 royal warrant, though based on the Stirling supporter, was conceived some ten years earlier by the promoters of the 1625 arms.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Why a Royal Helmet?

Where did the royal helmet come from? The helmet in the 1729 *Compendium* drawing looked like that of a baronet, and the one on the 1750 map is rather indistinct. It seems that the Heraldry Committee for the arms' restoration, with John Alexander Stewart as the driving force, would accept nothing less than a royal helm: 'The arms granted to Jamaica in 1661 are always shown with a royal helmet ... and a royal helmet is essential in the older and more regal arms of Nova Scotia.' The idea of regal arms is repeated several times: 'In theory, the arms are 'arms of sovereignty and dominion,' and as such may be borne by the King as his arms of Nova Scotia.' The achievement is also termed 'arms of dominion of the country of New Scotland' and 'of Scottish regal origin.'<sup>22</sup> The actual royal warrant restoring the old arms and cancelling the 1868 ones mentions the 'escutcheon of the Royal Arms of Scotland', and although a royal helmet is not specified in the wording, it is part of the depiction.

### 4. Was there Opposition to the Restoration?

Not everyone was happy with the idea of reviving the original achievement. The most vehement opposition came from Edward Marion Chadwick, a Toronto lawyer, well known as a genealogist and heraldist. In 1920, when he learned of the movement to restore the old arms of Nova Scotia, he expressed strong disapproval to some concerned Nova Scotians

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<sup>17</sup> See note 10.

<sup>18</sup> STEWART, *Arms of Nova Scotia*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>20</sup> SWAN, *Symbols of Sovereignty*, pp. 124-132.

<sup>21</sup> STEWART, *Arms of Nova Scotia*, pp. 41, 43, 44. Stewart's work was first published in 1921.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 20, 39-40.



and to the office of the Secretary of State. His objections were that: 1. The older arms 'are a composition in the style of a debased period'; 2. 'The shield by its charges, states that Sir William Alexander married an heiress of the Royal Stewarts, which I am pretty sure he did not';<sup>23</sup> 3. 'It seems extremely absurd to yoke together a quadruped and a human being'; 4. 'in the present authorized Arms of Canada the third quarter for Nova Scotia stands and should by no means and under no circumstances be displaced by the Arms granted in the seventeenth-century for Nova Scotia.'

Chadwick praised the 1868 arms as 'the very highest style of heraldic composition telling his [sic] story plainly, yet fully with the simplicity which is characteristic of the work of accomplished heralds ... The design is historically, politically and geographically complete and perfectly correct.'<sup>24</sup>

These statements are astounding, particularly coming from someone who did so much to shape Canadian heraldic emblematic practices. In fact Chadwick was missing some information. Though he knew what the supporters of the original arms were, he believed that the original crest was 'a bear sejant rampant,' and therefore, 'eminently suitable.' He added: 'The crest now proposed (not to be carried out I hope) is a "build up" crest, composed of four things grouped together; this is in the mid-Victorian style, much discredited by able writers of the revival of the last half century.'<sup>25</sup> Here he has presumably mistaken the beaver in Sir

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<sup>23</sup> He was quite wrong in this interpretation, as of course the design of the field (the 'national' arms of Scotland with the tinctures reversed) is entirely different from the arms of Alexander (whose principal charge is a chevron rather than a saltire). Furthermore, setting the arms of heiresses on inescutcheons was not the normal practice in Scotland, and was unknown in the Scottish Royal House. (See Sir Thomas INNES OF LEARNEY, *Scots Heraldry* [Edinburgh, 1956] p. 98.)

<sup>24</sup> Chadwick had a predilection for symbols of the land: polar bears, black bears, moose, Canadian deer, bulls of the Canadian prairies, cod, wheat sheaves, branches of oak, sprigs of maple. Circa 1900, he created arms for provinces that already had official grants, namely, for Newfoundland: *Sable, three codfishes hauriant, on a chief engrailed ermine a crown proper*; for Prince Edward Island: *Per fess nebuly silver and gold, in chief a spreading branch of oak issuing from the top vert and in base a sprig of three maple leaves gules*. As these designs suggest, he also had an even more unfortunate taste for varied lines, busy fields, and chiefs of affiliation. For greater details, see LAC, MG 30, E86, file 89: Chadwick's 'Armorial of Canada', sent to Pope, 25 April 1904; Robert Merrill Black, 'SHAGOTYOHGWISAKS; E. M. Chadwick and Canadian Heraldry' in *H in C*, Sept. 1990, pp. 10- 11; Swan, *Symbols of sovereignty*, pp. 162-63; Auguste Vachon, 'The arms of Alberta - an artistic challenge' in *The Prairie Tressure*, Fall/Winter 2007, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Chadwick's opposition to the restoration of the 1625 arms and praise of the 1868 ones are expressed in the following letters: Chadwick to L. M. Fortier, Sept. 30, 1920; Chadwick to Miss Munro, Sept. 30, 1920; Chadwick to Thomas Mulvey, Oct. 5, 1920. I consulted these letters in the files of the Secretary of State copied as support documentation for the heraldry collection within the pictorial archives of LAC.

William Alexander, Earl of Stirling's crest for a bear (though it is difficult to see how he could have mistaken its attitude as well), and has attributed this crest to the arms of Nova Scotia. He has therefore wrongly imagined that the actual crest of the original achievement (admittedly somewhat clumsy) was a recent creation, and condemns what was in fact an early Stuart confection as 'Victorian'.

Chadwick also states mistakenly that the original motto of the province was 'PER MARE PER TERRAS' (see Figure 5 above), which — being the motto of the MacDonalcl clan — was very appropriate because taken from the arms of Sir William who belonged to that clan. In other words, Chadwick is again confusing elements of the achievement of the Earl of Stirling with the first achievement of Nova Scotia. His affirmation that the content of the shield signified that Stirling had married an heiress of the Royal Stewart family is perhaps explained by this same confusion. His objection that the 1868 Nova Scotia arms should not be changed because they appear in the shield of the Dominion is ludicrous, as that was a makeshift affair that represented only the founding provinces, and not the dominion to which they were subject. Chadwick knew very well that proper arms for Canada were imminent.<sup>26</sup>



**Fig. 7.**  
Butter pad  
displaying the  
present  
achievement  
of Nova  
Scotia, part of  
a porcelain set  
made in  
Western  
Germany,  
sold in North  
Bay, Ontario

<sup>26</sup> LAC, RG 26, vol. 210, file 1156, part 2, pp. 258-59: Chadwick to Mulvey, 20 July 1920.

The criticism regarding the absurdity of combining human and beast supporters seems logical at first glance, but mythology often combines human elements with animal ones, and pairs of supporters of precisely this sort have been by no means uncommon in Britain, or indeed in Scotland. The supporters of the arms of Douglas, Earl of Angus in the Dublin Armorial of c. 1592, for example,<sup>27</sup> are very similar to those of Nova Scotia: dexter a wild man and sinister a stag. The supporters assigned to Prince Philip when he became Duke of Edinburgh in 1947 are comparable: dexter the Herakles of Greece and sinister the lion queue-fourchée of Mountbatten. Combining the two types of supporters in an aesthetically pleasing way is not easy, however, because it tends to create a huge imbalance that the artist strives to correct by working with proportions. For reasons of symmetry, one supporter must not overwhelm the other. The illustration of the Nova Scotia achievement in Conrad Swan's *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty* is interesting in this respect. The unicorn looks ferocious but has a somewhat delicate body, while the Amerindian is tall and muscular and has a determined look. To use Chadwick's own analogy, he seems quite capable of holding his own under the yoke with the unicorn.

Chadwick's praise of the 1868 arms is rather lavish, though there is nothing heraldically wrong with the design. As Conrad Swan puts it: 'As these arms are technically sound, had they been assigned for a province which had never had ensigns of public authority, then none could have objected. But bearing in mind the historic and splendid complete achievement which they supplanted, one can only say that one's breath is taken away. Complete inadvertence seems to be the only explanation of how this came about ...'<sup>28</sup>

### 5. Can the Second Grant be Explained?

The delegates' failure to promote the earlier grant might be explained in various ways. Possibly the earlier arms were viewed as belonging to a colonial territory of a remote period, which was considerably larger than the province of Nova Scotia. Perhaps the delegates did not understand the historical importance of the first arms and did not feel any particular attachment to an emblem which they most likely never saw well-rendered in full colour.

The fact that Chadwick, a man long exposed to heraldry, was so enthusiastic about the 1868 arms raises the possibility that the provincial delegates were quite content with what they saw, and not inclined to publicize the former arms. Conceivably they were advised not to bring up the issue, or told that the old arms were not in line with those granted the other provinces. Recognizing a full achievement for Nova Scotia and

<sup>27</sup> *The Dublin Armorial of Scottish Nobility: GO. Ms. 36: Scottish Nobility E* [1592], Heraldry Society of Scotland 2006, pp. 40-41.

<sup>28</sup> SWAN, *Symbols of Sovereignty*, p. 123.

granting simple shields to the other three provinces would inevitably have raised questions at a time when the need for unanimity was great.

It is widely believed that the achievement of Nova Scotia was virtually the same in 1625 as it is today. It is true that the 1929 achievement does not actually violate the terms of the original blazons, and that the arms, crest, motto, and dexter supporter are depicted in exactly the forms the original blazoner (probably the contemporary Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir Jerome Lindsay) would have expected. On the other hand, the sinister supporter was consistently represented before about 1850 as a wild man with a significantly different appearance from the stereotyped member of the First Nations of North America in the 1929 version of the achievement still in use today. Moreover, the definite choice of a royal helmet was made at the time of restoring the ancient achievement. Thus, the modern version differs in these two minor respects from the original one, but is essentially the same.

This article provides answers to part of the enigma surrounding the two achievements. It clearly shows that — contrary to what has long been believed by heraldists — the seventeenth-century version was widely known at the time of Confederation, and that the delegates in London had ample opportunity to bring up the earlier grant. In a sense, these facts only deepen the mystery surrounding the two grants raised in the title. Only speculative answers are possible at this time. Unless new documentation comes to light, this segment of history may forever remain a mystery.

**Editor's Note:** Although the precise date of the original grant of arms to Nova Scotia is unknown, it is certain that it had been effected *before* the creation of the first Baronet of Nova Scotia, Sir Robert Gordon, on 28 May 1625, as the patent of creation specifies that Sir Robert and his heirs were thenceforth to bear, as the insigne of their new dignity, the *arma regni Novae Scotiae* — that is, 'the arms of the Kingdom of Nova Scotia' — in their own arms.<sup>29</sup> Given this definition of the arms borne to this day by the baronets, *both* on a canton or inescutcheon in their arms, *and* on an escutcheon set at the centre of their pendant badge or device, there can be no doubt that the arms, at least, of Nova Scotia had not been forgotten in Britain, where at any given moment after 1700 they were displayed by well over 100 baronets both in their arms and on their persons.<sup>30</sup> And given the name of their order — that of the Baronets of *Nova Scotia* — and the privileges they were supposed to enjoy in that province, it seems highly unlikely that either they or those who knew or saw either them wearing their badge, or their armorial achievements, had all forgotten what the arms they bore in these two manners actually represented.

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<sup>29</sup> SWAN, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, p. 121.

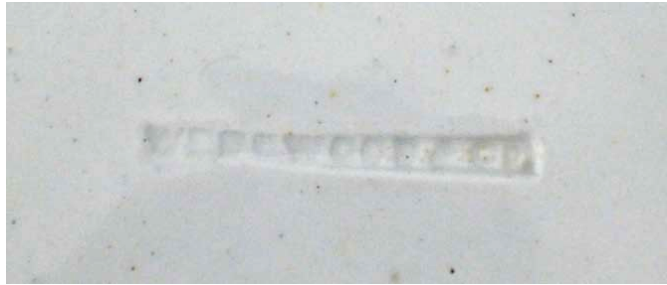
<sup>30</sup> More than 100 baronetcies of Nova Scotia created between 1625 and 1700 were still extant in 1926, so the numbers at any given moment in the eighteenth and nineteenth

It is therefore possible that what must have been a conscious rejection of the original arms and achievement of Nova Scotia was motivated in part, at least, by a desire to dissociate what had become a province of the Dominion of Canada, incorporating only a fraction of the territories theoretically included in the original Scottish province, from the latter province, and from the claims its baronets might have had upon it.

The fact that the Scottish province was designated in the letters conferring the dignity of baronet by the title *regnum* — which meant ‘realm’ or ‘kingdom’ — may also have contributed both to the desire of the representatives of the province to acquire new arms, and to that of the traditionalists to insist upon the use of the royal and sovereign helmet. In fact, the latter was the only appropriate type for all provincial achievements from the time of their establishment, as their arms and other armories constituted emblems of dominion in which authority was vested in a monarch enjoying a regal dignity: first the British and (since 1931) the Canadian monarch acting in a co-sovereign capacity on the provincial level.

### Appendix I

#### The Wedgwood & Co. advertisement plate ordered by the china merchant Cleverdon & Co. of Halifax, c. 1850-65.



Wedgwood & Co. impressed underneath plate.

The company manufacturing heraldic china and named Wedgwood & Co. in the mid-nineteenth century is a rather obscure one, mentioned by James T. S. Lidstone, a self-styled Toronto poet who visited the Staffordshire Potteries in the 1860s. He quotes the letterhead as ‘Wedgwood and Company, China and earthenware manufacturers, Talbot Works, Commerce Street, Longton. Arms, crests, landscapes etc., executed in the first style.’ His poetic description reads:

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centuries must have been in the hundreds. See *STANDING COUNCIL OF THE BARONETAGE, Roll of the Baronets as Authorized by Royal Warrant* (London, 1926)



Here's China to be had, or plain or burnished,  
Arms, Crests etc., by them furnished;  
Landscapes! And a thousand things besides we greet  
At the famous Talbot Works in Commerce Street.

This quotation is from Lidstone's 1866 *Thirteenth Londoniad*, a rambling kind of publication interspersed with poetry, devoted to many subjects such as the arts, crafts, industries, and other matters of interest in England, particularly in London and sometimes in Canada. The publication appeared regularly, and each issue concentrated on a specific subject, the 1866 one being devoted to 'a Full Description of the Principal Establishments in the Potteries', nearly 100 of them.<sup>31</sup> Regarding Wedgwood & Co., the *Encyclopaedia of British Porcelain Manufacturers* laments 'Alas this firm does not appear to be listed in other contemporary sources and no marked specimens have been reported.'<sup>32</sup> In other words, the plate illustrated here, which is clearly impressed on the bottom with the company's name, is a rarity of considerable documentary value.

Lidstone had a more than passing interest in heraldry. For the 'New Canada Confederacy', he proposed arms consisting of a C in the form of a 'lyre evolving rays, each province to have a string.' In 1873, he had a 'new Canadian flag' made (The *Canadianised* Red Ensign) for presentation to the Royal Geographical Society to be 'waved over the bier and tomb of the Great African Discoverer' (Livingstone).<sup>33</sup> This was probably Lidstone's way of paying tribute, on behalf of Canada, to a world-renowned figure who was also a fellow subject of the British Crown.

That the writings of a Toronto chronicler-rhymester should reveal to us the obscure Wedgwood & Co. that produced the Cleverdon plate is rather striking. That a plate made for a Canadian firm has long remained, and may still be the only known piece impressed with the maker's mark, renders this artefact even more singular. A plate formerly in the collection of Mrs. Elizabeth Collard, identical to this one, except that it is 18 rather than 19 cm. in diameter, was acquired by the Canadian Museum of

<sup>31</sup> Elizabeth COLLARD, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, 2d ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), p. 452; James Torrington Spencer LIDSTONE, *The New or Twentieth Londoniad.....* (London: Lidstone, 1876), p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> Geoffrey A. GODDEN, *Encyclopaedia of British Porcelain Manufacturers* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988), p. 759.

<sup>33</sup> LIDSTONE, *The New or Twentieth Londoniad.....*, 1876, pp. 21, 105, 123. This is a good indication that the *Canadianised* Red Ensign was already widely viewed as a national flag. The flag would have displayed the four or five province shield of the Dominion in the fly. We know that the four-province Red Ensign, topped by the royal crown and within a wreath of maple leaves, was in use in 1871 and 1872: *Canadian Illustrated News*, May 6, 1871, pp. 274, 281; poster entitled 'Vote & Influence for Malcolm Cameron' 1872, LAC, negative C-120987. In early 1873, the adopted arms of Manitoba had become part of the Dominion shield: *L'opinion publique*, 2 Jan. 1873, p. 1.

Civilization in 2002.<sup>34</sup> Mrs. Collard dates her plate c. 1850 based on another plate with identical border featuring in the centre the Prince of Wales, born in 1841, as a child riding a horse.<sup>35</sup> She does not indicate a manufacturer for these two plates, which she never fails to do when known.<sup>36</sup> The plate illustrated here could be a little later, as it is impressed with the name of a company known to exist in 1866.

### **Sommaire français :**

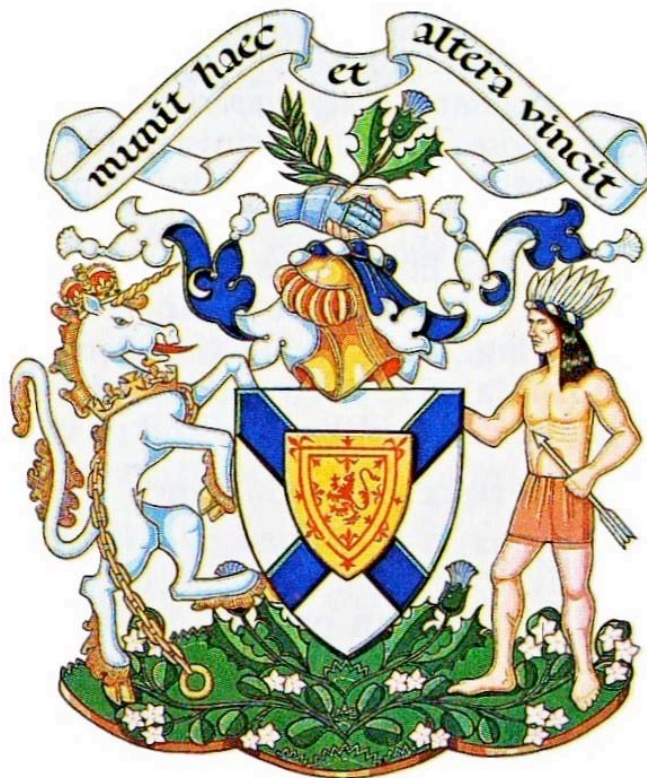
*Plusieurs provinces et territoires canadiens ont arboré des emblèmes de libre adoption avant ou après s'être dotés d'armoiries en règle. C'est le cas, notamment, du Québec, de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, du Manitoba, de la Colombie-Britannique, du Yukon et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest. La Nouvelle-Écosse présente un cas d'exception du fait que ses deux emblèmes proviennent de la Couronne : le premier, des armoiries complètes avec cimier, supports et devise, assignées vers 1625 et le second, un simple écu, assigné en 1868. L'article démontre, avec documents à l'appui, que les armoiries de 1625 n'étaient pas tombées dans l'oubli à l'aube de la Confédération. Cette constatation rend leur remplacement par un simple écu d'autant plus équivoque que les délégués canadiens à Londres participaient au choix des armes de leur province et les représentants de la Nouvelle-Écosse connaissaient vraisemblablement l'existence de l'ancien emblème. L'auteur s'interroge quant aux raisonnements ou aux circonstances qui ont pu motiver la supplantation des premières armoiries par de nouvelles, ceci pour plus de soixante ans, jusqu'au relèvement de l'ancienne concession en 1929. Il invite d'autres chercheurs à se pencher sur cette énigme.*

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<sup>34</sup> 'Spectacular Collard Ceramics Collection sells strong at Ritchies' in *The Upper Canadian*, Jan. /Feb. 2003, pp. 10-11.

<sup>35</sup> COLLARD, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery*, plates 27, 46.

<sup>36</sup> I have verified that the Nova Scotia plate in the Canadian Museum of Civilization bears no maker's mark.



**A Recent Emblazonment of the Achievement of  
H. M. the Queen in Right of Nova Scotia,  
by Karen E. Bailey, LAC**