

Names and Arms in Wellington County, Ontario

The Armorial Achievement Created for the County in 1860 by Edward Marion Chadwick (the First Canadian Heraldist), His Family Ties to the County, and Its Allusions to the Arms of His Most Eminent Kinsman, the First Duke of Wellington

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1. Introduction

Mostly owing to the diligence of Darrel Kennedy — now Assiniboine Herald — few mysteries remain as to the origins of the heraldic emblems pertaining to Wellington County municipalities.¹ Located in South-western Ontario, Wellington County was organised in 1853, with its seat at Guelph. Named for the highest-ranking of the dazzling multitude of English peerage titles successively showered upon Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), first Duke of Wellington, by the British Crown, **Wellington County** furnishes both an enduring heraldic mystery as well as one of a string of local nineteenth-century examples of what are termed here **Imperial toponyms**.² An exercise of power, imperial toponymy is the colonial practice of naming far-flung, newly settled places for luminaries

¹ Darrel E. Kennedy, *Wellington County Municipalities* (Guelph: The Corporation of the County of Wellington, 1984), and, by the same author, 'An Armorial Mystery: The Origin and History of the Armorial Achievement of the City of Guelph, Ontario, Used by the City Corporation before 1978', *Alta Studia Heraldica* 2 (2009), pp. 117-136.

² Because he had been out of the country fighting its wars for some years, it was only after his triumphant return that the patents of his successive creation as a Baron, an Earl, a Marquess, and a Duke in the Peerage of the United Kingdom were introduced to the House of Lords in May of 1814 and read consecutively in a unique and lengthy ceremony lasting the entire day. See Andrew Redman Bonar, *Life of Field Marshal His Grace the Duke of Wellington Down to the Present Time, with an Appendix* (Halifax, West Yorkshire: William Milner, 1844), p. 330.

and landmarks of metropolitan significance.³ The neighbouring communities of Arthur, Waterloo, and Wellesley, Ontario, are additional, networked examples of this, all of them constituent elements of a wider imperial namescape.

This short article documents the origins of the armorial achievement — essentially the arms and crest — adopted by the administration of Wellington County in 1860. The author compares amateur and authoritative revisions of the blazon of this achievement and considers the connection between imperial *toponym* and heraldic *emblem*, between *name* and *arms*, for the first time positively identifying the designer as the then fledgling but later celebrated Canadian heraldist **Edward Marion Chadwick** (1840–1921).

2. The Origin of the Original Arms and Crest in 1860

In 1860, having arrived at the age of twenty, Chadwick left his home on his father's plush estate outside of Guelph, in Puslinch Township in Wellington County, for a new independence at nearby Waterloo.⁴ Already registered as a student at law enrolled in Toronto's Osgoode Hall, Chadwick undertook the relocation at the behest of the partners of the law firm to which he was apprenticed, Lemon and Peterson. At Waterloo, Chadwick served as the local agent of the solicitors to the newly opened branch of the Bank of Montreal there.

Despite his tender years, Chadwick was already established as an heraldic authority in the County, having both lectured the members of the Guelph Debating Society on the subject and redesigned the municipal arms of Guelph in the previous year. In 1860, to commemorate his being commissioned a provincial notary public, he devised for himself a handsome heraldic seal, an indispensable requisite of office, engraved by Joseph Thomas Rolph of Toronto (v. 1831–1916).

While the matrix of this seal is no longer extant, several examples of impressions Chadwick made using it are included within the volumes of his diaries. That same year — probably in anticipation of the visit on 12

³ Stephen J. Hornsby, *Imperial Surveyors: Samuel Holland, J. F. W. Des Barres and the making of the Atlantic Neptune* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), p. 141.

⁴ All biographical details are drawn from Chadwick's diaries, ten volumes on loan to the Trinity College Archives, and from my study based on these and other sources: *'A Blessed Word: The Mixed Life of Edward Marion Chadwick (1840–1921)'* (ThD diss., University of Toronto, 2017).

September of the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII – he also designed the arms and crest of Wellington County.⁵

While no documentation survives explaining why county officials entrusted these specialised tasks to the young Chadwick, it is likely that his family's membership in the ascendant Tory clique figured in the decision. Furthermore, in all probability there was no other local person with either a comparable *interest* in heraldry or a comparable *competence* as an heraldic artist to call upon for such work.



Figure 1. The Frontispiece of Chadwick's *Album Selectum Waterloo 1860*

The prime candidate for the *commissioner* from Chadwick of the new armorial achievements for Guelph and Wellington County was Colonel **James Webster** (1808–1869), the first Mayor of Guelph. He was an ardent Tory and, in addition to the office of Mayor, pluralistically held the office of Registrar of Wellington County. Webster had also founded Fergus, Ontario, and had taken 'an active interest in the organisation and success of the militia and volunteer movements in the district and county'. In addition he was well acquainted with Chadwick's father, Captain **John Craven Chadwick** (1811–1889) – himself a scion of a family of Tipperary landed gentry, referred to by his son as 'the

⁵ Chadwick was also involved with engrossing the loyal address to the Prince of Wales presented by the Town Council of Guelph on the occasion of the visit. See also Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Immigrant'.⁶ Mayor Webster almost certainly attended, if he did not commission, what appears to be the first public art exhibition at Guelph, arranged and curated entirely by Chadwick, and held at the town hall in 1859.

As well as heraldic fantasies, Chadwick enjoyed painting in watercolours and sketching scenes of local interest (including such subjects as rowing with friends on the river Speed) along with portraits of fashionable young ladies. In the early volumes of his diaries, he often included such illustrated vignettes within his text. Separate from his diaries, Chadwick produced a number of sketchbooks, including one extant volume that he titled his *Album Selectum Waterloo 1860*.⁷ Originally a stationer's blank book, it includes a variety of studies and designs in different media on the recto side of its forty chosen leaves. (Fig. 1 shows the frontispiece.) The collection as a whole merits much more extensive consideration than the present study can provide.

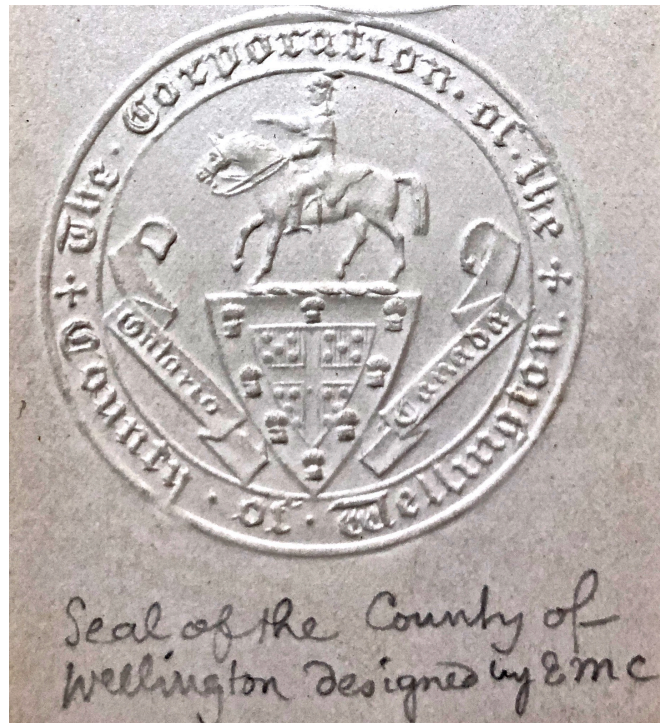


Figure 2. The Seal of Wellington County Represented in Chadwick's *Album*

⁶ Thompson Cooper, ed., *The Register and Magazine of Biography*, vol. 1 (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1869), pp. 395-396.

⁷ Edward Marion Chadwick, *Album Selectum Waterloo 1860*, illustrated stationer's blank book, Edward A. Chadwick fonds, private collection, Toronto.

Inserted at page thirteen of the *Album* is a piece of stiff card bearing two crisp examples of an impression of an heraldic seal, captioned with a short note in pencil written by Chadwick that reads: 'Seal of the County of Wellington designed by EMC'. **Fig. 2** shows part of a card with two impressions. The artwork discernible from the impressions is clearly Chadwick's own, characteristic of a talented amateur, and done in the naïve style typical of the decades preceding the late Victorian heraldic revival. As is the case with his notarial seal, the manufacturer of the Wellington County matrix and its fate are unknown, though the firm was probably the same one, based in Toronto.

From the impressions in Chadwick's *Album* can be discerned plain ridges forming the inner and outer edges of the circular legend-band of the seal. The unconventionally placed inscription – written in an early form of Chadwick's distinctive neo-Gothic script – reads: **The . Corporation . of . the . County . of . Wellington.** At the centre of the seal are the arms and crest Chadwick created. The inelegant shield is a flat-topped variant of the popular triangular 'heater' shape, and neither element of the achievement is hatched to indicate tinctures. The crest is poised atop a conventional representation of a wreath, or *torse* of six twists but – lacking the helm that should have been set below it in a formal representation – it is set directly on the rim of the shield. Extending out on both sides from beneath the shield, a **scroll** bearing the words **Ontario Canada** in the place usually occupied by a motto completes the seal-design – again in a rather unorthodox fashion.

3. The Two Successive Versions of the Blazon (and Design): Amateur (1908) and Professional (1984)

It does not appear that Chadwick originally composed a **blazon** (or technical description) in which to embody his visual rendition of the armorial achievement he designed for Wellington County. Dismayingly, indeed, in this springtime of his heraldic activities, he neglected for nearly half a century the important task of providing his design with such a description – essential for any armorial design, especially to indicate its tinctures. This long delay was probably a result of Chadwick's youthful inexperience in 1860 in a field whose practices were not widely understood. It was only later in his life, with decades of experience drafting legal and heraldic documents, that he finally proposed the necessary description.

The first blazon of the achievement appears in Chadwick's own 1908 manuscript book, which he called *An Ordinary of Arms Borne in the*

Province of Ontario.⁸ Donated to the Provincial Government by its author, and currently held by the Legislative Library, Chadwick's *Ordinary* — the first work of its genre composed in Canada — clearly deserves a separate study, but once again this task is well beyond the scope of the present article, and I shall restrict my account of it to a general description.

Chadwick's '*Ordinary*' — a term properly meaning *an alphabetical dictionary of armories, especially arms, organized by the principal elements of their designs*, as opposed to an *armorial* or *armory*, in which they are typically arranged in a similar order based on the *names of the armigers* — is divided into several sections, devoted, respectively, to (1) **public achievements**, (2) **indigenous totemic emblems**, (3) **the arms of ecclesiastical entities**, and (4) **personal achievements**. The achievement of Wellington County is included in the public section.

Evidently satisfied with his own precocious handiwork in designing it, Chadwick commented on the designs included in the *Ordinary* that 'None of these are noted except such as display some heraldic propriety of composition'.⁹

Chadwick's blazon of the Wellington County achievement reads: *[Arms] Gules, a cross between five plates in saltire in each quarter Argent, all within a bordure of the last charged with eight garbs proper, and for a crest A Field Marshall [sic] of England temp. George the Fourth, mounted, proper*. No mention is made in it of the usual **crest-base**, though, as I noted above, a **torse** (the most common and essentially *meaningless* type of base) was represented in that role in his emblazonment.

The design of the *arms* proper alludes very strongly to those of **Wellesley** as borne by Wellington's father, **Garret Wellesley**, first **Earl of Mornington** in the peerage of Ireland (d. 1781), and the duke's elder brother **Richard**, second Earl of Mornington and first **Marquess Wellesley** (1799-1842), who both bore as their patrilineal arms *Gules, a cross Argent between in each quarter five plates in saltire* and quartered this with *Or, a lion rampant Gules ducally gorged proper* for **Colley of Castle Carbery**, County Kildare. **Arthur**, younger son of Garret, bore those quartered arms eventually augmented with *an escutcheon in point of honour charged with the badge of the United Kingdom* — an augmentation of honour conferred on him by the king (seen in Fig. 3 above).

⁸ Edward Marion Chadwick, *An Ordinary of Arms Borne in the Province of Ontario*, bound manuscript volume in the possession of the Legislative Library of the Province of Ontario, Toronto.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

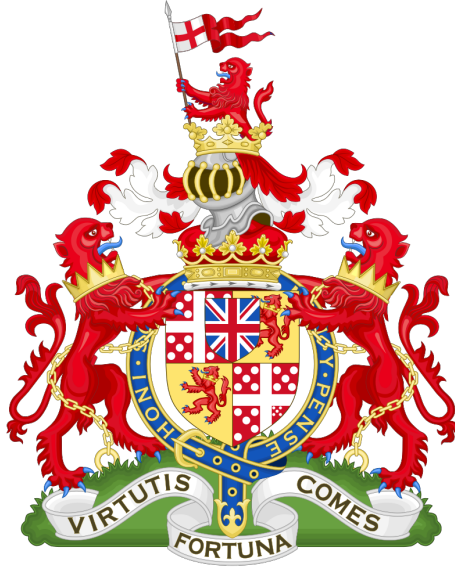


Figure 3. The Armorial Achievement of Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington

In the quarterly arms, the augmentation in centre chief took the place of a brisure of juniority.

Though he prided himself on his ability to draught lengthy legal formulas without punctuation, Chadwick's blazon redundantly specified that the *plates* in the arms be tinctured *argent* — ignoring the fact that 'plate' was a blazonic term meaning '**roundel argent**'. Chadwick added to the basic Wellesley arms *a bordure Argent charged with eight garbs proper* 'to symbolize the rural character of the county'.¹⁰

A heavily modified version of Chadwick's design for the armorial achievement of Wellington County was eventually granted by the then current Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir Malcolm Innes of Edingight, on 19 September 1984, and was subsequently registered by the Canadian Heraldic Authority on 29 July 1996.¹¹

It appears that Lyon Innes felt more significant differences from the arms of Wellesley were required, along with a more explicit reference to the Duke of Wellington in the crest, because the Scottish grant reads: *Azure a cross Gules fimbriated Argent between in each quarter five plates in saltire all within a bordure Argent charged of seven garbs Tenné and for a crest above a coronet composed of a circlet of eight points Vert alternating with garbs Or the circlet charged with eight maple leaves bendways Or (four visible) on a wreath Argent and Azure a figure of the first Duke of Wellington holding a sword in his dexter hand and mounted on a horse passant proper.*

¹⁰ Kennedy, *Wellington County Municipalities*, p. 7.

¹¹ Canadian Heraldic Authority, *Public Register of Arms, Flags, and Banners*, vol. III, p. 110. <http://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=627&ShowAll=1>.

The coronet assigned is a Canadianised version of the type for some time used by county authorities in Scotland, though already obsolescent there and now replaced. It was not appropriate in a Canadian context, because neither it nor any analogous form of civic coronet had been — nor has since been — authorised for use by Canadian municipal entities: an unfortunate state of affairs that should be corrected.

While the text of Chadwick's blazon of 1908 had made the allusive aspects of the arms and crest *overt*, he had resisted making an explicit reference in his blazon of the **crest** either to the name of Arthur Wellesley or to any of his many titles, preferring to identify the mounted figure by his rank and historical epoch only. No doubt he felt that the association of the figure of a mounted field marshal of the specified period with a version of the arms of Wellesley required no explicit specification.

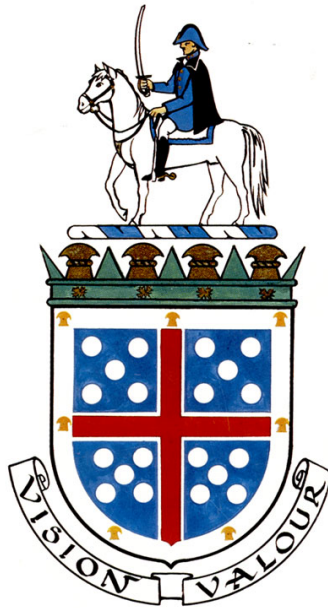


Figure 4. The Achievement of Wellington County Granted by Lyon in 1984

(The rendering of the crest, especially the torse, is in a rather ugly early Victorian style, and it lacks a helmet to bear the crest. The replacement of the baton of Chadwick's version with a sword undermines its intention to represent a Field Marshal.)

As Bruce Patterson, the current Deputy Chief Herald of Canada, has demonstrated, the practice of blazoning actual *individuals* from modern history was then, and remains, uncommon.¹² At about the same

¹² Bruce Patterson, 'Real People', *Hogtown Heraldry* vol. 9, no. 3 (Fall 1997): p. 22, personal correspondence with Dr. Claire Boudreau, Darrel Kennedy, and Bruce Patterson of the Canadian Heraldic Authority, June 16-18, 2015.

time as he created his blazon for the Wellington County achievement, Chadwick's correspondent A. C. Fox-Davies (1871–1928) opined that 'it is rare to find supporters definitely stated to represent any specific person' but then enumerated several examples to the contrary.¹³

Such descriptions are somewhat more common for the designs set on seals *in place of arms* – designs that by their nature are not subject to any comparable constraints. The Great Seal of the Confederate States of America, for example, adopted in 1863, bears what was explicitly described as a representation of the equestrian statue of George Washington erected in the Capitol Square at Richmond, Virginia, sculpted by Thomas Crawford (1814–1857) and Randolph Rogers (1825–1892),¹⁴ so major contemporary specimens of such quasi-blazonic descriptions of both types did exist, although not in strictly armorial contexts or in a country subject to British conventions.

Chadwick's preference exemplifies the arguably more decorous practice of blazoning military figures used as elements of an armorial achievement not by *name* but, rather, according to *rank*, *regimental* affiliation (for officers of less than general rank), and, occasionally, by epoch. A partial example of this practice, surely familiar to Chadwick, is the dexter supporter of the achievement of Field Marshal Sir John Colborne, first Baron Seaton (1778–1863), blazoned *a soldier of Her Majesty's 52nd (or Oxfordshire) regt. of foot, habited and accoutred, in the exterior hand a musket, all proper*. In this case, however, mention of his regiment replaces any of his rank, and indeed gives no suggestion of it. Puslinch Township, located within Wellington County, where Chadwick's father made his home, was named for the hometown in Devonshire of Colborne's wife, Elizabeth Yonge (1790–1872), and aspects of Colborne's biography – particularly his reputation as an heroic veteran of the Peninsular Wars and Waterloo – were integral to the local mythology and namescape.

Like the Great Seal of the Confederacy, with its explicit reference to the Washington monument at Richmond, Chadwick's rendering of the crest of Wellington County bears a close resemblance to the equestrian statue of the Iron Duke sculpted by Matthew Cotes Wyatt (1777–1862) in 1840. Adjudged a 'notorious carbuncle' on the face of London, Wyatt's

¹³ A. C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York: Dodge, 1909), p. 433.

¹⁴ Ioannes Didymus Archæologos [John T. Pickett], *Sigillologia: Being Some Account of the Great or Broad Seal of the Confederate States of America* (Washington, D. C.: Kervand and Towers, 1873), p. 5.

monument was eventually banished from the Metropolis to relative obscurity at Aldershot.¹⁵

While Lyon Innes inexplicably blazoned the figure of the Duke of Wellington *holding a sword in his dexter hand*, in the impressions of Chadwick's seal for Wellington County, the mounted officer grasps a baton — an item of insignia distinctive of the supreme rank of field marshal in the British army — in clear imitation of Wyatt's statue. In fact, Wellesley amassed as many as ten *additional* such batons from grateful allies after the final defeat of Napoleon — all insignial of the highest rank in their armies, variously designated. An illustration of a part of his trophy appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in 1852 and may have provided Chadwick with a model for his design.¹⁶

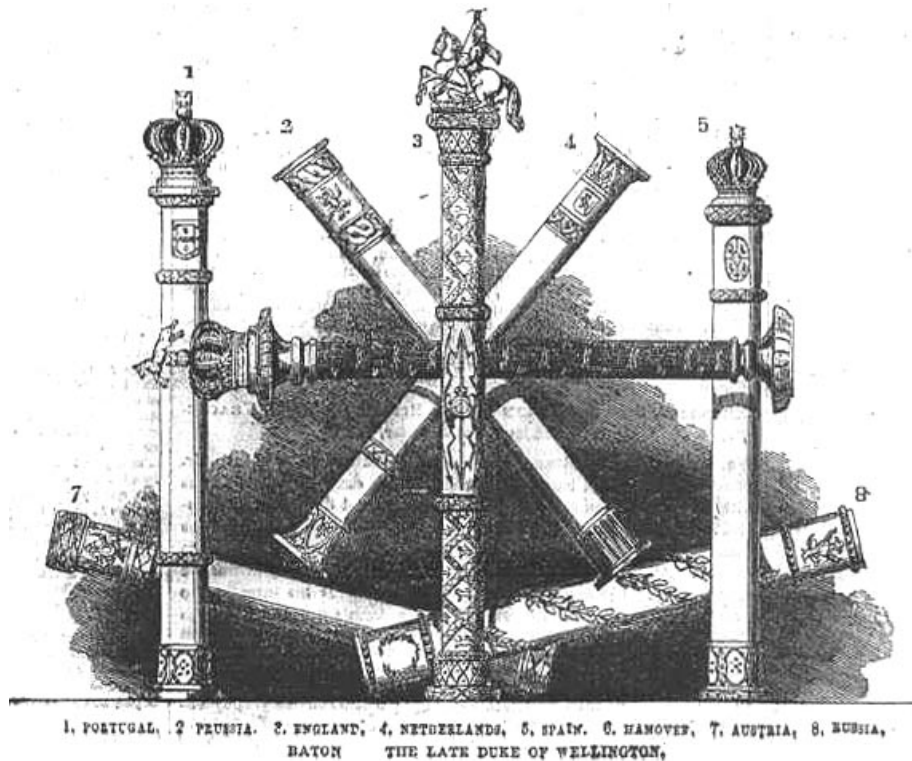


Figure 5. Wellington's Batons

¹⁵ F. Darrell Munsell, *The Archduke of Hyde Park Corner: The Victorian Controversy Surrounding the Wellington War Memorial* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991). See also P. W. Sinnema, 'Wyatt's "Wellington" and the Hyde Park Controversy', *Oxford Art Journal*, 27:2, (2004), pp. 175-192.

¹⁶ 'Batons of the Late Duke of Wellington', *The Illustrated London News*, December 11, 1852, p. 532.

A leading Victorian heraldist, The Rev'd John Woodward (v. 1837–1898) — described by Chadwick as 'perhaps the most learned writer on heraldic matters of recent times' — wrote of 'the needlessness of specifying such *minutiae*' in blazons. This suggests that, rather than blazoning the man and his accoutrements explicitly, a generic description of an officer of appropriate rank, unit, and period — based on the monumental figure by Wyatt as employed in Chadwick's blazon and representation — was arguably preferable.¹⁷

In this light, Lyon Innes's revision of 1984 seems regrettable, but the explicit reference to the 'First Duke of Wellington' on horseback and carrying a sword stipulates a representation of that duke *after* he had been made a field marshal and, therefore, wearing the appropriate uniform. It is thus effectively *unambiguous* as to how he should be represented and, in some respects, more succinct.

It is finally necessary to concede that no evidence exists to demonstrate that Chadwick obtained explicit permission from the relevant chief of name and arms (the then current Marquess Wellesley) to use the arms of his lineage as the basis for the principal element of his design, even though they are differenced by the addition of a distinctive bordure. Lyon Innes's rather radical alterations in this area — which included changing the *field* tincture from **gules** to **azure**; the *cross* tincture from **argent** to **gules** with a fimbriation **argent** to separate the two *colours*; and the tincture of the garbs on the bordure **argent** from the *metallic Or* to the non-metallic **tenné** (a similar but darker tincture) — may be justified.

Curiously, the Canadian Heraldic Authority (which has taken over jurisdiction of such matters in Canada since its establishment in 1988) omits from its online blazon any mention of Lyon Innes's coloured burghal coronet of garbs and points charged with maple leaves, while the printed registration document first issued in 1996 — also viewable online — includes it, as does the online image.¹⁸

¹⁷ Edward Marion Chadwick, *The Armiger* (Toronto: The Church of England Publishing Company, 1901), p. 31, John Woodward, *A Treatise on Heraldry British and Foreign*, vol. 2, reprint (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), p. 638.

¹⁸ Compare <http://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=627&ShowAll=1> with <http://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project-pic.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=627&ProjectImageID=1777>. M. D. Dennis notes that, in Scotland, until the great upheaval caused by the coming into force of the *Local Government (Scotland) Act* in May 1975, coloured burghal coronets of eight points *Vert* alternating with garbs *Or* were employed in the armorial achievements of counties, an element of a superseded system of insignia for representing the authority of local governments. In light of this, Lyon's grant in 1984 of a coloured

In the next section of this article, however, I shall show that the connections between certain members of the local Tory clique in Wellington County and Arthur Wellesley, personally, were sufficiently intimate that Chadwick may have construed an informal sort of authorization for the allusion to Wellesley in his original design. Chadwick's published ideas about the authority required for bearing arms in Canada, perhaps shaped by his formative experience of designing the achievement of Wellington County, are of significance for understanding his choice.

4. The Network of Wellington's Relatives in Canada and the Other Toponyms They Introduced

The relationship of Guelph to the family of Arthur Wellesley was increased in the period in question here by the arrival there of his kinsman the Rev'd Edward Michael Stewart (1797–1883). Having come to the country from Ireland with no ministerial charge several years earlier, Stewart served as a cavalry trooper with Chadwick's father on the Niagara frontier during the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837.¹⁹ Residing for a time at Cayuga, he subsequently settled at Guelph, becoming master of the grammar school there and assistant minister of the Anglican parish, called St. George's.

Stewart's mother, the Hon. Elizabeth Pakenham (1769–1851), was a daughter of the second Baron Longford in the Peerage of Ireland and a sister of the Hon. Catherine 'Kitty' Pakenham (1773–1831), who – by her marriage to Wellesley in 1806 – became the first Duchess of Wellington. Guelph's assistant minister was therefore a nephew of the famous duke. In Canada, this kinship network widened to include the family of Chadwick himself, with the marriage in 1861 of Chadwick's older brother, Frederick Jasper Chadwick (1838–1891), to Stewart's daughter, Elisabeth Stewart (1839–1894).²⁰ In addition, Chadwick's closest male friend in his youth was Stewart's third son, Pakenham Edward Stewart (1841–1861) – the founding Scribe of *Episkopon*, a secret society at Trinity College, Toronto.

burghal coronet to Wellington County appears anachronistic, if not retrograde, which may account for the inconsistent Canadian blazons. See M. D. Dennis, *Scottish Heraldry: An Invitation* (Edinburgh: The Heraldry Society of Scotland, 1999), p. 20.

¹⁹ Biographical and genealogical details from Edward Marion Chadwick, *Ontarian Families: Genealogies of United Empire Loyalist and other Pioneer Families of Upper Canada*, vol. 2, reprint (Lambertville: Hunterdon House, 1983), p. 117.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

As most of the local imperial toponyms commemorating different aspects of Wellesley's legacy — his name(s), victories, peerage titles, and so forth — were already established by the time of Stewart's arrival in Upper Canada around 1832, they surely offered some consolation — a form of psychological toponymic attachment — to a member of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy who was far from home.²¹

Of course, the toponym of the town of Pakenham, Ontario, along with Stewart's own forenames recalled another maternal uncle, the Hon. Sir Edward 'Ned' Michael Pakenham (1778–1815), who was killed leading British forces against those of the future American president Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) at the Battle of New Orleans. A trusted lieutenant to Wellesley in the Peninsular Wars, the fame of Major General Pakenham's name and fate extends as far as the lyrics of the seminal folk song, *Jump Jim Crow*, written by Thomas Dartmouth 'Daddy' Rice (1808–1860), the father of American minstrelsy, in 1828.²²

Perhaps Chadwick's design for the heraldic achievement of Wellington County — devised within one year of his own family joining the Stewart-Pakenham-Wellesley network — was as much an effulgence of family piety, of connecting name to arms, as a public act of commemoration; Wellington County boasted more than its fair share of Wellesley's relations. Needless to say, the ripples of pride that swept through the family at the presentation in 1896 of Frederick Jasper Chadwick's son — the Rev'd Frederick Austin Pakenham Chadwick (1873–1952) — to the living of Arthur, Ontario, contributed to an almost overwhelming conflation of names.

The repetitive personal naming habits within this widening family, unfolding in the geographical context of the dense local namescape, demonstrate considerable engagement with the 'inter-generational component' of naming described by Gwilym Lucas Eades.²³ Indeed, Chadwick's own pioneering genealogical publication, *Ontarian Families* (1894/'98), by recording these and many other similar sets of names, also provides a foundation for understanding how identity was perpetuated among Anglo-Irish settlers in the period. Serving colonising ends, the repetition of names embedded values 'not only in the brains

²¹ Laura Kostanski, *Toponymic Attachments* in Carole Hough, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 414–415.

²² For which, see T. D. Rice, *Jim Crow, American: Selected Songs and Plays*, ed. W. T. Lhamon, Jr. (Cambridge: The Bellknap Press, 2009), p. 161. 'I git upon a flat boat, I cotch de Uncle Sam;/ Den I went to see de place where dey kill'd de Pakenham'.

²³ Gwilym Lucas Eades, *The Geography of Names: Indigenous to Post-Foundational* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 54.

and bodies' of participants but also in the landscape itself, creating networked nodes capable of transcending even the succession of generations.²⁴

Commemorative names therefore abound in the region in question. Described by onomasticians as being *non-descriptive* in structure, relevant examples include: (i) the personal names (or *anthroponyms*) associated with Wellesley and his wife's relations that were passed along to new sons and settlements and (ii) the *toponyms* in and around Wellington County and throughout the colonies that received the transferred names, possibly *descriptive*, of already existing settlements. These included the name Waterloo (Flemish for 'sacred wood') in present-day Belgium, which became *non-descriptive* in a new linguistic environment — the case of Waterloo, Ontario. Thus, although the distinction between *descriptive* and *non-descriptive* names may *appear* to be clear, as Carole Hough cautions, on close examination — and in the particular case of Wellington County and Chadwick's kin — this line can be fuzzy. The names of places and of families inhabiting those places 'begin to merge into each other'.²⁵

5. Chadwick's Doctrines on the *Meaning* of Arms in the British Empire and on the *Right of Free Adoption*

When in 1901 Chadwick pondered the question of who may legitimately bear heraldic arms, he enumerated first those who do so 'by inheritance' as holders of a right that 'vests in all descendants of the ancestor'. He defended this rather unorthodox view on the grounds that 'ordinary *armorials* [i.e., *armories*] are not honours ... but merely the insignia [i.e., *emblems*] by which families may be symbolically or pictorially distinguished from other families'.²⁶

Chadwick — here defying edicts of the British kings in all three kingdoms and especially that of the English king Henry VIII of 1530 establishing the right of his heralds to 'visit' the homes of all existing armigers to determine the legitimacy of their arms and record those found legitimate — challenged the existence of any legitimate heraldic

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Carole Hough, *Settlement Names*, in Carole Hough, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, pp. 92-93.

²⁶ Chadwick, *The Armiger*, p. 34. Here he effectively challenged the official doctrine that, in the British armorial systems, arms were, in principle, emblems of individuals, possibly representing numerous 'families' (i.e., patrilineages) from whom the individual was descended through heiresses, and duly differenced to indicate juniority in every generation within his own patrilineage.

jurisdiction belonging to royal or state heralds even in the three kingdoms of the British Isles, let alone in the colonies of the British Empire (where the heralds' authority was less firmly established).

Furthermore, Chadwick argued for the right of individuals who lacked any hereditary claim to patrilineal arms to adopt such arms for themselves and their (patrilineal) descendants so long as the arms exemplified 'rectitude' (by which he meant *technical correctness*) in design and were not so similar to the arms already borne by the members of any other patrilineage as to be confounded with them. In this, he ignored both the difficulty of determining what designs were already taken — in the absence of authoritative works of reference available to the public — and the long-established tradition that personal arms were legally *insignia of gentility*, or *minor nobility*, and could be affirmed or granted only to individuals whose personal condition and culture made them worthy of membership in that social order.

In addition to the difficulty of avoiding *redundancy* was that of creating designs that conformed to the 'laws of arms' governing the design of such emblems. In the absence of learned experts to guide and approve the creation of new designs — which had to conform to a considerable array of arcane conventions — it was extremely unlikely that private individuals would achieve an adequate level of 'rectitude' of *composition* to produce acceptable designs. Proof of this can be found in the generally appalling *quasi*-armal designs set on the seals of hundreds of municipal and even co-sovereign entities both in the United States and in Canada in the years before the creation of the Canadian Heraldic Authority in 1988, and the innumerable errors exhibited in the official renderings of the armorial bearings of the United States since the time of their adoption in that manner.²⁷ Only someone like Chadwick — who, like the designer of the U.S. achievement a century earlier, had at least a basic command of the conventions of armorial design — was actually capable of designing new armories that conformed even approximately with those conventions, and people like him have always been very thin on the ground in North America generally.

²⁷ See D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'The Creation of the Armorial Achievement of the United States of America (1776-17820) and Its Representation and Misrepresentation' in *Alta Studia Heraldica* 5, (2012-2014), pp. 96-184. See also *idem*, 'The Heraldic Emblematism of the Provinces of British North America and their Successors before and after the Partition of 1776/83: A Study in Contrasts', in *Genealogica et Heraldica... Proceedings of the XXXe International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, Maastricht, 24-28 September 2012*, ed. Jan T Anema, et al. (The Hague, The Netherlands, 2014), pp. 39-68.

Chadwick followed his opinions concerning individual armigers with a supportive argument regarding the necessity that '*every government, paramount or subordinate, must have a great seal, and therefore has an inherent right to compose, as it may please, the devices to be displayed on such a seal ... [in consequence] every government has a generally recognized inherent right to devise arms for its own use*'.²⁸ This doctrine, too, was contrary to British laws, because (1) *arms* and other *armories* belong to a different category of emblems from seal-designs, (2) were subject to a different set of rules for their *acquisition*, and (3) had to be approved *as such* before their use *in any setting whatever*. (4) Furthermore, the designs on seals *as such* are by their nature of an *achromatic* character, and, even if a sigillary design takes the *outline* form of arms or an achievement, it *necessarily* lacks the tinctures that are *inherent* in all armorial emblems, and cannot acquire an armorial character from its use in a sigillary context alone.

This problem would have arisen in the case of the achievement of the authorities of Wellington County only if Chadwick had chosen to treat his design as *primarily* or *essentially* sigillary. In fact he did not, so his sigillary argument is not really relevant except as a *false* justification of the practice of adopting armories without proper authority. For the latter his only *real* justification was that it was difficult in his day of slow and uncertain communications between Ontario and any of the three heraldic authorities of the United Kingdom to seek the grant of such emblems from any of them.

Taking into account both the density of the *namespace* of Wellington County and its surrounding region with names taken from the lineages of the Duke of Wellington and his kinsmen, and the physical presence of numerous individuals settled within the county who were related in some way to the Duke, Chadwick's youthful selection of the arms of Wellesley — duly differenced by a *bordure Argent charged with eight garbs proper* — as the **arms** of Wellington County must appear quite appropriate and demonstrative of his mature sense of Victorian heraldic propriety of design. By contrast, the **crest** he assigned to the achievement, in the form of a canting figure of the Duke on horseback — based, in practice, on Wyatt's famous monument — is more dubious by traditional heraldic standards, but is at least *technically* acceptable, and consistent in its symbolism with the arms.

Certainly, the design of the achievement as a whole was vastly superior to many others of unofficial origin produced in Canada before 1921, as can be seen by comparison with the unofficial arms of the Dominion itself in widespread use around the latter date represented in Fig. 6 below.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

6. Conclusion: Chadwick as Armorial Designer

This short article considered the origins and history of the armorial achievement of Wellington County, Ontario, revealing Edward Marion Chadwick as the designer of its original version. A comparison of the successive emblazonments of this achievement revealed significant problems in the interpretation of Chadwick's design, for which the author has offered reasonable solutions and argued for the inferiority of Lyon's grant text of 1984 – subsequently retained by the Canadian Heraldic Authority. Furthermore, the theoretically robust exploration presented of the peculiarities of the local imperial toponymic landscape, and its deep significance for Anglo-Irish settlers of a specific kinship network, offers a plausible rationale for Chadwick's blazon overlooked in the process of formalizing the achievement.

As the designer of its original form, Chadwick displayed a precocious talent in his conception of the armorial achievement of Wellington County, which exemplified what he himself described as an 'heraldic propriety of composition'. By considering in detail the history and local significance of this fine early design, the author of this article has established a firm foundation for Chadwick's reputation as 'the father of modern Canadian heraldry'.²⁹ He has also achieved the official recognition of Chadwick's fundamental contributions to correct armorial design in Canada from the Canadian Authority. The latter, upon receiving from him in 2015 images of the seal impressions from Chadwick's *Album*, graciously updated the entry for Wellington County in the online version of its *Public Register of Arms, Flags, and Banners*, acknowledging Chadwick's role as its creator.

²⁹ Bruce Patterson, 'Heraldry in the Church of St. Alban the Martyr', in *Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Toronto: Windows, Plaques, Arms and Memorials, A Transcription* (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1998), p. 23.



Figure 6. A crude monochromatic rendering of an unofficial version of the arms of Canada of c. 1920, composed of nine coats (four official and five unofficial) arranged in three columns and three rows. Both the designs and the renderings are very poor.



Figure 7. A polychromatic rendering of the same unofficial arms c. 1920, equally poor both in design and in representation but appropriately surmounted by a royal crown

Sommaire en français

Cet article présente une étude de « la toponymie impériale » d'un comté du sud-ouest de l'Ontario, nommé pour Arthur Wellesley, 1^{er} duc de Wellington, le

héros des guerres contre Napoléon. Il définit le terme « toponomie impériale » comme la pratique de donner à de nouvelles habitations le nom d'un « lumière » ou d'un monument de signification britannique. Cette pratique établit une sorte de « namescape » impériale. Dans le cas du comté de Wellington, on trouve aussi les communautés nommées Arthur, Wellesley, et Waterloo. Dans cet article, Dr. Lofft décrit les origines et l'évolution des armoiries du comté de Wellington, qui furent adoptées en 1860 d'après un dessin d'Edward Marion Chadwick. Ce dernier deviendrait le premier dessinateur héraldique du Canada. Il trace les connexions parmi un clique de familles conservatrices (« Tory ») du comté et leurs rapports avec le duc. Il continue par noter que les armoiries de Chadwick furent remplacées en 1984 par une nouvelle version assignées par le roi d'armes Lyon, et enregistrées par l'AHC en 1996.