

“Some Heraldic Propriety of Composition” Solving the Mystery of the Origin and History of the Armorial Achievement of the County of Wellington, Ontario

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Résumé de l'article

Dans cet article, nous allons documenter les origines des armoiries, de l'écu et cimier, adopté par le comté de Wellington en 1860. Nous pourrions comparer les révisions amateurs et officielles du blason de ces armoiries, et considérer la connexion entre toponyme impérial et emblème héraldique, c'est-à-dire, entre nom et écusson, qui permettra pour la première fois d'identifier le créateur comme le célèbre héraldiste canadien Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921).

“Some Heraldic Propriety of Composition”

Solving the Mystery of the Origin and History of the Armorial
Achievement of the County of Wellington, Ontario

by Jonathan S. Lofft

Mostly owing to the diligence of herald and historian Darrel Kennedy, few uncertainties persist as to the origins of the coats of arms pertaining to municipalities in the County of Wellington.¹ Located in South-western Ontario, Wellington County, originally founded as a District, was re-organized as a corporation sole in 1853 with its seat at Guelph. Named for the highest

ranking of a dazzling multitude of peerage titles successively showered upon Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), 1st Duke of Wellington, by the British Crown, Wellington County poses an enduring heraldic mystery in connection with an example *par excellence* of what are termed here imperial toponyms.² Like the granting of armorial bearings, the bestowal of such toponyms is an imperial gesture; one of social denotation, and a means

¹ Darrel E. Kennedy, *Wellington County Municipalities* (Guelph: The Corporation of the County of Wellington, 1984), and by the same author, “1984, A Bonus Year for Wellington County,” *Heraldry in Canada* XIX:1 (March 1985), 19-26, and “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), 117-36.

² Having been absent from Britain for some years whilst on campaign, when Wellesley was finally introduced to the House of Lords in May 1814, his letters patents of creation as a Baron, Earl, Marquess, and Duke, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom were all proclaimed consecutively in a unique and lengthy ceremony lasting the entire day, for which 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), 330.

Abstract

This article documents the origins of the armorial achievement, the arms and crest, adopted by Wellington County in 1860. It compares amateur and authoritative revisions of the blazon of this achievement, and considers the connection between imperial toponym and heraldic emblem, that is, between name and arms, for the first time positively identifying the designer as fledgling celebrated Canadian heraldist Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921).

Résumé: *Dans cet article, nous allons documenter les origines des armoiries, de l'écu et cimier, adopté par le comté de Wellington en 1860. Nous pourrions comparer les révisions amateurs et officielles du blason de ces armoiries, et considérer la connexion entre toponyme impérial et emblème héraldique, c'est-à-dire, entre nom et écusson, qui permettra pour la première fois d'identifier le créateur comme le célèbre héraldiste canadien Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921).*

of creating cultural landscapes by gazetting new settlements named for luminaries and landmarks, sacred and secular, derived from metropolitan canon.³ The constituent communities of Arthur and Maryborough, and neighbouring Waterloo and Wellesley, Ontario are each ad-

ditional nodes along the same local semantic network, part a globe-spanning imperial namescape, and an affirmation of the idea expressed by Christian Jacob that “toponyms can lend themselves to discursive forms of organization, to serial articulations that cannot be reduced to the sum of their component parts.”⁴ In this short article I document the origins of the armorial achievement, comprised of a coat of arms and crest, adopted by Wellington County in 1860. I compare amateur and authoritative revisions of the technical blazon of this achievement, and consider the connection between imperial toponym and heraldic emblem. Breaking down two scholarly solitudes, bridging the gulf between onomastics and that area of heraldic studies concerned with the armorial system of signs in the abstract, between name and arms as aspects of intangible cultural heritage, is a priority.⁵ I also make a

³ I have borrowed this term from 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), 141. For the ubiquity of Victorian ‘geographical deification and earthly apotheosis,’ see David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 102-103. For the ‘closely related practices of name-giving and heraldic transmission in the context of private inheritances,’ see Steven Thiry, *Matter(s) of State: Heraldic Display and Discourse in the Early Modern Monarchy (c. 1480-1650)* *Heraldic Studies* 2 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018), 71. See also Michel Pastoureau, *Du Nom à L'Armoirie Héraldique et Anthroponymie Médiévales* in Patrice Beck, ed., *Genèse Médiévale de L'Anthroponymie Moderne* Tome IV (Tours: l'Université de Tours, 1997), 83-106.

⁴ Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches to Cartography Throughout History* ed. Edward H. Dahl, trans. Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 236.

⁵ Jennifer S. H. Brown, “Intangible Culture on Inland Seas, from Hudson Bay to Canadian Heritage,” *Ethnologies* 36:1-2 (2014), 141-59.

positive identification the achievement's designer as fledgling celebrated Canadian armorer Edward Marion Chadwick (1840–1921).

The Origin of the Arms and Crest

In 1860, being arrived to 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.⁶ 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 firm to which he was apprenticed, Lemon and Peterson. At Waterloo, Chadwick served as the agent of the solicitors to the newly opened branch of the Bank of Montreal there. Despite his tender years, Chadwick was already well established as the premier local heraldic authority, having lectured the members of the Guelph Debating Society on the subject, and redesigned the municipal arms of Guelph in the previous year. To mark his commission as provincial notary public in 1861, he devised for himself the first in a succession of handsome heraldic seals, an indispensable requisite of office. Chadwick identified the tal-

ented engraver as Joseph Thomas Rolph (1831-1916) of Toronto. While the matrix of this seal is lost, several examples of impressions Chadwick made from it are included within his archival remains. Also, in 1860, in anticipation of the celebrated visit to Guelph on 12 September of the Prince of Wales, and of the forty-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo (1815), he designed the coat of arms and crest of Wellington County.⁷

While no documentation survives explaining precisely why County officials entrusted these specialised tasks to the young Chadwick, his family's membership of the tight-knit Tory Anglican clique surely figured into the decision. Chadwick's older brother, Frederick Jasper Chadwick (1838-1891), would in the fullness of time become mayor of the place. Most likely, there was no other person with a comparable interest in heraldry, or competence as an amateur artist, available to call upon for such work. Colonel James Webster (1808-1869), the first mayor of Guelph, ardent Tory Churchman, unsuccessful candidate for the provincial Legislative Assembly, and Registrar of Wellington County, is the prime candidate. Webster, also a co-founder of Fergus, Ontario, reportedly "took an active interest in the organisa-

⁶ Biographical details are drawn from Chadwick's diaries, ten volumes in the possession of the Trinity College Archives, Edward Marion Chadwick fonds, F2351, for which see Jonathan S. Lofft *A Brief but Accurate Record, 1858-1921: The Diaries of Edward Marion Chadwick* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, in preparation) and by the same author *In Gorgeous Array: The Life of Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in preparation).

⁷ Additionally, Chadwick was 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).



Figure 1. Page 13 of Chadwick's *Album Selectum Waterloo*, 1860.

tion and success of the militia and volunteer movements in the district and county," and was well acquainted with Chadwick's father, Captain John Craven Chadwick (1811-1889), an immigrant scion of a family of the Protestant Ascendancy from Tipperary, who acted as a justice of the peace.⁸

As well as heraldic fantasies, Chadwick enjoyed painting watercolours and sketching scenes of local interest, such subjects as boating parties with friends on the river Speed, along with portraits of fashionable young ladies. In the earliest volumes of his diaries, he often in-

cluded such illustrated vignettes within his text. Separate from these volumes, Chadwick produced sketchbooks, including one extant collection that he titled his *Album Selectum Waterloo 1860*.⁹ [Figure 1] Originally a stationer's blank book, a variety of studies and designs in different media are included on the recto side of its forty chosen leaves. The *Album* merits deeper consideration than the present study can afford. Inserted at page thirteen is a piece of stiff card bearing two crisp examples of an impression of a heraldic seal captioned with a short note in pencil written in Chadwick's hand that

⁸ Thompson Cooper, ed., *The Register and Magazine of Biography* volume 1 (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1869), 395-96.

⁹ Edward Marion Chadwick, *Album Selectum Waterloo 1860*, illustrated stationer's blank book, Edward A. Chadwick fonds, private collection, Toronto.

reads: “Seal of the County of Wellington designed by EMC.” [Figure 2] 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.¹⁰ As with his notarial seals, the engraver was identified as Rolph of 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 inscription, placed in the same unconventional manner as on his notarial seal, and written in an early form of Chadwick’s distinctive Gothic script, reads: The . Corporation . of . the . County . of . Wel- lington. 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 colouring. The crest is poised atop a wreath, or torse, of six twists. Extend-

ing out on both sides from beneath the shield, a motto scroll bearing the words Ontario Canada completes the achievement. The impression is 46mm in diameter.

Historical Variants of Blazon

It does not appear that Chadwick originally created a blazon for his rendering of the armorial achievement of Wellington County. Dismayingly, in this springtime of his heraldic talent, the essential task of grafting the design to a prescriptive technical description was neglected for nearly half a century. This omission likely owed to Chadwick’s youthful inexperience in 1860 of an admittedly occult practice.¹¹ Later in life, however, with decades of experience drafting legal and heraldic documents, he belatedly proffered a version.

The first blazoning of the achievement appears in Chadwick’s own 1908 manuscript entitled *An Ordinary of Arms Borne in the Province of Ontario*.¹² Gifted to the Provincial



Figure 2.

¹⁰ For this revival ‘as an aspect of the general Gothic Revival,’ see Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 13.

¹¹ Forrest Pass, “‘Something Occult in the Science of Flag-Flying:’ School Flags and Educational Authority in Early Twentieth-Century Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 95:3 (September 2014): 321-51.

¹² Edward Marion Chadwick, *An Ordinary of Arms Borne in the Province of Ontario*, 1908, bound

Government by its author in a fit of *mal d'archive*, and currently held by the Legislative Library, Chadwick's ambitious *Ordinary*, perhaps the first complete roll of arms created in Canada, also deserves a separate study, though, once again, this task is well beyond the scope of the present article.

Divided into several sections variously treating public arms, Indigenous totemic emblems, ecclesiastical, as well as personal arms, the achievement of Wellington County is included within Chadwick's *Ordinary*. Satisfied with his precocious handiwork, Chadwick admitted of his selections that "None of these are noted except such as display some heraldic propriety of composition."¹³ His blazon reads:

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.

This arrangement alludes blatantly to the undifferenced coat of arms belonging to the chief of the name and arms of Wellesley, *Gules, a cross Argent between in each quarter five plates in saltire*. These, quartered with *Or a lion rampant Gules*, for Colley, augmented by *an escutcheon in point of honour charged with the badge of the United Kingdom*, formed the personal coat of arms of Arthur Wellesley. Though Chadwick prided himself on his

ability meticulously to draft lengthy legal formulas without punctuation, one idiosyncratic element of his blazon appears to be a technically redundant specification that the *plates* in the arms, evocative of silver coins, be tinctured *Argent*. To differentiate these appropriated arms, Chadwick added a *bordure Argent charged with eight garbs proper*, likely "to announce the rural aspect of the county."¹⁴

A modified version of the Wellington County achievement was granted by the Lord Lyon King of Arms in Scotland on 19 September 1984, and subsequently registered by the Canadian Heraldic Authority on 29 July 1996.¹⁵ Nothing suggests Lord Lyon resourced Chadwick's *Ordinary* before making his grant. [Figure 3] Indeed, the blazon announced in the Scottish letters patent departed substantially from Chadwick's original, particularly as regards the crest, and 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.

While Chadwick's blazon makes both the allusive and the canting aspects

manuscript volume in the possession of the Legislative Library of the Province of Ontario, Toronto.

¹³ Chadwick, *An Ordinary of Arms*, 11.

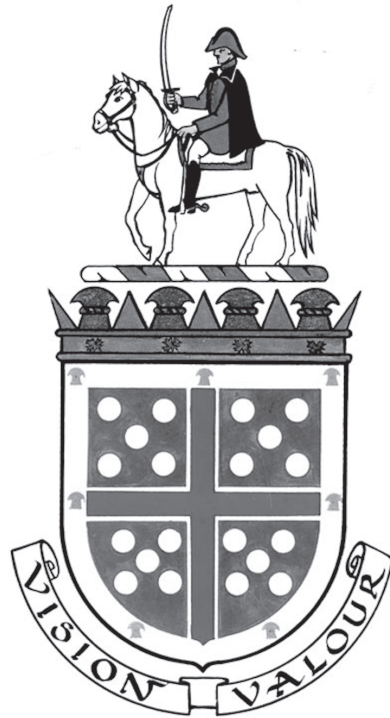
¹⁴ Kennedy, *Wellington County Municipalities*, 7.

¹⁵ Canadian Heraldic Authority, *Public Register of Arms, Flags, and Banners of Canada*, vol. III, p. 110. <<http://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=627&ShowAll=1>>.

Figure 3. Current Wellington County achievement from Public Register of Arms online.

of the arms and crest overt, he resisted making an explicit reference to the name of Arthur Wellesley, or to any of his many peerage titles, preferring to identify the mounted figure featured in the crest by his rank and historical epoch only. His reason for this reticence demands a brief accounting. Could Chadwick's design for the arms leave any reasonable doubt as to the name to which they belonged that a heavy-handed blazoning of the crest might alleviate? Probably not, considering both the anniversary year of Waterloo and that in 1860 Wellington had been dead for less than a decade and his posthumous celebrity remained immense. Few actually possessed of sufficient esoteric interest to pursue the text of the blazon for the Wellington County achievement could fail to recognise Wellesley's arms featured so prominently. And, as Bruce Patterson has ably demonstrated, the practice of blazoning actual individuals from modern history is uncommon.¹⁶

At about the same time as Chadwick belatedly blazoned the Wellington County achievement in 1908, his correspondent, the prominent armorer A.C. Fox-Davies (1871-1928), opined in his classic work, *A Complete Guide To Heraldry* (1909), that "it is rare to find sup-



porters definitely stated to represent any specific person," but then enumerated several notable exceptions.¹⁷ The Great Seal of the Confederate States of America, newly deputed in 1863, to provide one prominent contemporary example, bears what was stated as an explicit 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), so that significant coeval specimens of blazons of both kinds are readily identified.¹⁸

¹⁶ Bruce Patterson, "Real People," *Hogtown Heraldry* 9:3 (Fall 1997), 22; personal correspondence with Dr. Claire Boudreau, Darrel Kennedy, and Bruce Patterson of the Canadian Heraldic Authority, 16-18 June 2015.

¹⁷ A. C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide To Heraldry* (New York: Dodge, 1909), 433.

¹⁸ Ioannes Didymus Archæologos [John T. Pickett], *Sigillologia: Being Some Account of the Great or*

Following consensus, Chadwick's preference exemplifies the more decorous practice of blazoning military figures not by name, but rather according to rank, regimental affiliation, and by historical epoch. A preeminent example of this, likely familiar to Chadwick, is the dexter supporter of the armorial achievement of Field Marshal Sir John Colborne, 1st 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*. Puslinch Township, located within Wellington County, where Chadwick's father made his abode, was named for the hometown in Devonshire of Colborne's wife, Elizabeth Yonge (1790-1872), while other aspects of Colborne's biography, particularly his martial exploits in the Peninsular Wars and at Waterloo, were also integral to the local mythology and namescape.

Anticipating future contributions to the late Victorian "golden age of monument building and public remembrance," of which he was an inventor in the provincial context, Chadwick's rendering of the crest of Wellington County in the seal impression most closely resem-

bles the colossal equestrian statue of the Iron Duke sculpted in 1840 by Matthew Cotes Wyatt (1777-1862).¹⁹ Dismayingly adjudged a monstrous carbuncle on the face of London, Wyatt's monument, the largest of its kind in Britain, was banished from its original perch in the Metropolis to relative obscurity at Aldershot.²⁰ While Lord Lyon 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, in clear imitation of Wyatt, a most proper item of insignia belonging to the exalted rank of field marshal. In fact, Wellesley amassed a collection of as many as eleven such batons at the height of his prowess, and lively illustrations of this trophy, as well as of the installation of Wyatt's work, appeared in successive numbers of *The Illustrated London News* between 1846 and 1852, providing Chadwick with accessible source material for his design.²¹ It may not be a coincidence that the year of Chadwick's birth was the same as the debut of Wyatt's war memorial, furnishing the designer with an opportunity for embedding in his work something of a private joke. [Figure 4]

Broad Seal of the Confederate States of America (Washington, D. C.: Kervand and Towers, 1873), 5.

¹⁹ Michael D. Stevenson, "Free from all possibility of historical error: Orillia's Champlain Monument, French-English Relations, and Indigenous (Mis)Representations in Commemorative Sculpture," *Ontario History* 109:2 (Autumn 2017), 214-15. See also Norman Knowles, *Inventing The Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

²⁰ P. W. Sinnema, "Wyatt's 'Wellington' and the Hyde Park Corner Controversy," *Oxford Art Journal* 27:2 (2004), 175-92; F. Darrell Munsell, *The Archduke of Hyde Park Corner: The Victorian Controversy Surrounding the Wellington War Memorial* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991).

²¹ See "Colossal Statue of the Duke of Wellington by M. C. Wyatt," *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday, 3 October 1846, 1, and "Batons of the Late Duke of Wellington," *The Illustrated London News*, 11 December 1852, 532.

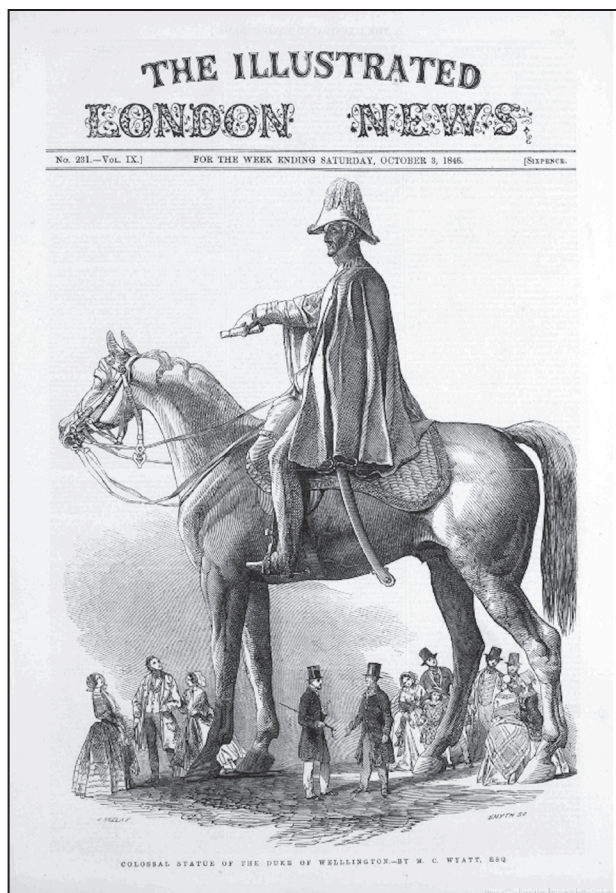


Figure 4. Statue of Wellington, The Illustrated London News, 3 October 1846.

ley's monumental figure by Wyatt in Chadwick's rendition.²² This was the artistic preference of the young artist and prudent judgement of the seasoned armorist. In this light, Lord Lyon's revision of the crest seems regrettable, though it originated with the redesign undertaken by Kennedy some time earlier. The substitution in the authoritative blazon of the specific attributes of his title and of a sword for the generic inadvertently diminishes the honour due Wellesley as a field marshal, and obliterates the visual connection to Wyatt's model. By neglecting Wellesley's rank and its appropriate insignia, it appears the explicit inclusion of his peerage title

In deference to leading Victorian armorist the Rev'd John Woodward (1837-1898), described by Chadwick as "perhaps the most learned writer on heraldic matters of recent times," who wrote of "the needlessness of specifying such *minutiae*," instead of blazoning by name the man and his accoutrements, a generic description of an officer of appropriate rank and period disguised Welles-

in the 1984 Scottish blazon comes at the cost of the heraldic dignity of its holder. The nuance omits that while there are as many as nine lineal holders of the dukedom of Wellington since the creation of the title, with further heirs in the eventual line of succession, to date, only one of these has ever been a field marshal.

It must be conceded that no evidence admits Chadwick obtained permission from any duke of Wellington for the in-

²² Edward Marion Chadwick, *The Armiger* (Toronto: The Church of England Publishing Company, 1901), 31; John Woodward, *A Treatise on Heraldry British and Foreign* volume two, reprint (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), 638.

clusion of their arms in his design, even though these he differenced by the addition of a special bordure, so Lord Lyon's alterations in this aspect may be justified. Curiously, the *Public Register Register of Arms, Flags, and Banners of Canada* maintained by Canadian Heraldic Authority omits from its online blazon any mention of the additional grant of a coloured burghal coronet of garbs and points charged with maple leaves, while the printed registration document first issued in 1996, viewable online as a scan, includes this item of insignia, as does the online image scanned from a painting by Patricia W. Bertram.²³ Writing in *Heraldry in Canada* in 1985, Kennedy elaborated on a correspondence with J. I. D. Pottinger (1919-1986), Islay Herald, who noted that Lord Lyon did not normally grant crests to municipalities, unless strong emotional attachment could be demonstrated to previously unauthorized designs, and that exceptions could be made because, "Scots Heraldry is not permanently fixed and ossifying, but is a developing concept adapting to the current needs as it has always done."²⁴ Scottish leniency evidently satisfied Wellington County Council's desire to retain its

existing achievement designed by Chadwick.

In the next section of this paper, however, the connections between certain Anglo-Irish members of the Tory clique in Wellington County and Arthur Wellesley, personally, will be demonstrated to be sufficiently intimate that Chadwick may have construed a kind of informal authorization for the allusion in his original design. The ideas Chadwick published elsewhere about the authority required for armorial entitlement in Canada, perhaps shaped by his formative experiences of designing achievements for Guelph and for Wellington County, are also of significance for understanding his choice.

Name and Arms

The social prominence in contemporary Guelph society of the Rev'd Edward Michael Stewart (1797-1883) manifested a local representative of the family of Arthur Wellesley. Having arrived in Upper Canada from Ireland about 1832 with no ministerial charge, Stewart served as a cavalry trooper with Chadwick's father on the Niagara frontier during the Upper Canada Rebellion

²³ 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>>. 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 now superseded system of insignia for representing the authority of local governments, for which see M.D. Dennis, *Scottish Heraldry: An Invitation* (Edinburgh: The Heraldry Society of Scotland, 1999), 20. Thus, Lord Lyon's grant in 1984 of a coloured burghal coronet to Wellington County appears anachronistic, if not retrograde, which may account for the inconsistent Canadian blazonings.

²⁴ Quoted in Kennedy "1984, A Bonus Year for Wellington County," *Heraldry in Canada*, 23.

of 1837.²⁵ 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 2nd Baron Longford in the Peerage of Ireland, and an older sister to the Hon. Catherine 'Kitty' Pakenham (1773-1831) who, by her marriage to Wellesley in 1806, eventually became 1st Duchess of Wellington. Thus, Guelph's assistant minister was a nephew to Wellesley. In Wellington County, this kinship network gradually widened to include the family of Chadwick with the 1861 marriage of Frederick Jasper Chadwick, the future mayor, to Stewart's daughter, Elisabeth Stewart (1839-1894).²⁶ Chadwick's closest male companion in adolescence was Stewart's third son, Pakenham Edward Stewart (1841-1861), founding Scribe of Episkopon, a secret society formerly associated with Trinity College, Toronto.

The gazetting of several of the local imperial toponyms commemorating different aspects of Wellesley's legacy, his name(s), his victories, peerage titles, etc., occurred after the time of Stewart's arrival

in the country, and offered some form of consoling psychological toponymic attachment to a sojourning member of the Ascendancy who was far from home.²⁷ In fact, the place-name of Pakenham, Ontario, as well as Stewart's own personal names, recalled another distinguished maternal uncle, Major General the Hon. Sir Edward 'Ned' Michael Pakenham (1778-1815), killed leading British forces against those commanded by 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 General Pakenham's name and fate extends to the lyrics of the seminal folk song, *Jump Jim Crow*, written in 1828 by Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice (1808-1860), the father of American minstrelsy, and beyond.²⁸ Chadwick's design for the armorial achievement of Wellington County, devised within one year of his own family joining the Stewart-Pakenham-Wellesley network by marriage, was as much an effulgence of family piety, of connecting name to arms, as a public act of commemoration. As well as place-names, Wellington County boasted a disproportionate share of Wellesley's per-

²⁵ Biographical and genealogical details from Edward Marion Chadwick, *Ontarian Families: Genealogies of United Empire Loyalist and other Pioneer Families of Upper Canada* volume two, reprint (Lambertville: Hunterdon House, 1983), 117.

²⁶ Chadwick, *Ontarian Families*, 123.

²⁷ Laura Kostanski, *Toponymic Attachment* in Carole Hough, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 414-15.

²⁸ For which see T.D. Rice, *Jim Crow, American: Selected Songs and Plays* edited by W.T. Lhamon, Jr. (Cambridge, MA: The Bellknap Press, 2009), 161. 'I git upon a flat boat, I catch de Uncle Sam; / Den I went to see de place where dey kill'd de Pakenham.' See also Herbert F. Gardiner, *Nothing But Names: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Names of the Counties and Townships of Ontario* (Toronto: George N. Morang and Company, 1899), 69-70.

sonal relations, even if this imperial heraldic and toponymic mimicry was carried on at a considerable distance from Apsley House. 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 Anglican Rectory of Arthur, Ontario, contributed to an almost overwhelming conflation of names. Collectively, there is even the risk of these names blurring the important distinction between the "who" and the "where."²⁹

The repetitive personal naming habits within this widening family, unfolded in the geographical context of a dense local namescape, demonstrate considerable engagement with the "intergenerational component" of toponymy described by Gwilym Lucas Eades.³⁰ Indeed, Chadwick's pioneering genealogical publication, *Ontarian Families* (1894/'98), for recording these, as well as many other intergenerational names, makes a foundation for understanding how identity was perpetuated among Anglo-Irish settlers in the period, as do other of his works explicitly concerned with naming practices within the family. Serving colonizing ends, the repetition of names embedded

values "not only in the brains and bodies" of participants, but also in the landscape itself, creating networked nodes capable of transcending even the succession of generations.³¹ Commemorative names as imperial toponyms abound in the present narrative. Classified by academic onomasticians as non-descriptive in structure, relevant examples of commemorative names include: (i) personal names associated with Wellesley and his wife's relations passed along to new sons and settlements, and (ii) place-names in and around Wellington County, and throughout the colonies, that received the transferred names, possibly descriptive, of already existing settlements, such as Waterloo (Flemish for "sacred wood") in present day Belgium, that was rendered non-descriptive in translation, as in Waterloo, Ontario. While, as Carole Hough cautions, the distinction between descriptive and non-descriptive names may appear to be clear, on closer examination, and in the particular case of Wellington County and Chadwick's kin, this line can be fuzzy. The names of places and of the leading families inhabiting those places "begin to merge into each other."³²

When in 1901 Chadwick pondered the question of who may be considered

²⁹ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies," *Progress in Human Geography* 34:4 (2010), 459.

³⁰ Gwilym Lucas Eade, *The Geography of Names: Indigenous to Post-Foundational* (London: Routledge, 2017), 54, and by the same author, *Maps And Memes: Redrawing Culture, Place, and Identity in Indigenous Communities* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

³¹ Eade, *The Geography of Names*, 54.

³² Carole Hough, *Settlement Names* in Carole Hough, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, 92-93.

lawfully armigerous, he enumerated first those who are entitled to arms “by inheritance,” holders of a title that “vests in all descendants of the ancestor.” He did so in support of his view “that ordinary armorials are not honours... but merely the insignia by which families may be symbolically or pictorially distinguished from other families.”³³ Chadwick challenged the existence of any legitimate heraldic jurisdiction belonging to the professional heralds of England, including over the colonies of settlement of the British Empire, and argued for the free adoption of arms by individuals, so long as they exemplified rectitude in design and were not so similar as to be confounded with the arms already borne by another. He followed this opinion concerning individual armigers with a related statement 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 seal... every government has a generally recognized inherent right to devise arms for its own use.”³⁴ Taking into account the tremendous density of the namescape of Wellington County and surrounding environs, as well as the identity of his kinship network settled within it, Chadwick’s youthful allusive selection of the arms of Wellesley differenced by a *bordure*, along with a crest of the canting figure based on Wyatt’s famed memorial

to Wellington, remains consistent with his refined Edwardian aesthetic.

Conclusion

The preceding consideration of the origin and history of the armorial achievement of the County of Wellington, Ontario, discloses Edward Marion Chadwick as inventor. My comparison of the successive blazonings, designs, and renderings, of these arms revealed significant problems in the interpretation of Chadwick’s original, for which are offered reasonable solutions, and an argument for the deficiency of Lord Lyon’s blazon of the crest, subsequently perpetuated in Canada. Furthermore, a theoretically robust exploration of the peculiarities of the local namescape with its deep cultural significance for Anglo-Irish settlers of a narrow kinship network, offers a plausible rationale for Chadwick’s design, overlooked in the process of formalizing the achievement.

As designer, Chadwick displayed singular talent in his enduring armorial achievement for Wellington County, exemplifying what he called “some heraldic propriety of composition.” By a detailed consideration of this fine early work, a firm foundation for Chadwick’s renown “as the father of modern Canadian heraldry” is further bolstered.³⁵ Finally, it is significant to note that upon receiving images of the seal impressions from Chadwick’s *Album*, and other documen-

³³ Chadwick, *The Armiger*, 34.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁵ Bruce Patterson, *Heraldry in the Church of St Alban the Martyr in Church of St Alban the Martyr*,

tation referred to here, the responsible officers at the Canadian Heraldic Authority graciously caused to be updated

the entry in the *Public Register* for Wellington County, acknowledging his role as creator of the armorial achievement.



Toronto: Windows, Plaques, Arms and Memorials, A Transcription (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1998), 23.