X Marks the Spot: Hagiotoponymy and the Translocal Spread of the British Imperialist Cult of St Alban the Martyr in Canadian Anglicanism, 1865-1921

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In my favorite scene from the Hollywood blockbuster movie, *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (Steven Spielberg, 1989), the title character, a swashbuckling treasure hunter who supports himself by slumming it with an academic job in the Ivy League, insists to his class of sleepy undergraduates that "90% of an archaeologist's time is spent in the library. Myths can only be taken at face value. We do not follow maps to buried treasures, and X never *ever* marks the spot." In the end, of course, it is precisely this assumption that he must discard in order to gain the advantage. Speaking as a student of church history, one sensitive to the critical turn in place-name studies and taking cues from an emerging interdisciplinary field of inquiry called cognitive toponymy, in this short paper I would like to begin to describe how, like Indy's intrepid character in the film, I have come to an appreciation that, just occasionally, X *does*, in fact, mark the spot.[1]

My conclusions are preliminary and tentative, and much research remains to be done into what I term here imperial hagiotoponymy, the naming of places in settler colonies for saints. However, through an exploration of Victorian High Church devotion to St. Alban the Martyr, his name, attributes, and emblem, and by tracing the network between the first three Anglican dedications to his patronage in Canada across two important dioceses, the outlines of a previously invisible Imperialist cult begin to emerge.[2]

The notion of a patron saint of the British Empire did not originate with the *impresarii* of St. Alban, however. In his consideration of the fashionably resurgent cult of St. George the Martyr in Victorian Britain, Jonathan Good describes a transition in which the romantic medievalism of this revival shifted emphasis from English agrarian concerns, associated with figures like John Ruskin, his Guild of St. George, and the Pre-Raphaelites, to the political program touted by Lord Baden-Powell, and other notable Imperialists.[3] The waning of Georgian utopianism among the elite made space for the continued growth of the popular cult of St. George, Good contends, transforming the Martyr from mere patriotic symbol into "an Imperial icon."[4]

Wherever Britain's Empire spread, devotion to St. George followed, as evidenced by an Imperial hagiotoponymy, the repeated dedications of places, both sacred and secular, throughout Britain's colonies, to the saints of Britain at home, and especially to St. George and his Hanoverian namesakes and their successors.[5] This practice entwined cultic and Imperialist zeal in the production of places, and of so-called translocal geographies, a concept understood "as a simultaneous situatedness across different locales which provide ways of understanding the overlapping place-time(s) in migrants' everyday lives."[6] Imperial hagiotoponyms index British and other translocalities, "virtual neighbourhoods that emerge at the articulation of media and mobility as . . . 'deterritorialized imaginings' of ethno-national identity . . . networks of sites . . . linkages and interconnections."[7]

Probably the most important pioneer of the study of hagiotoponyms, Frances Arnold-Forster (1857-1921), compiler of the voluminous *Studies in Church Dedications* (1899), was herself remembered, like her brother, sometime British Secretary of War H. O. Arnold-Forster, as being possessed of an "ardent Imperial vision . . . only she carried it further still to the universal Empire of Christ."[8] This revealing epitaph re-enforces that, for the Victorians, Imperial hagiotoponymy was a practice best understood as simultaneously devotional and colonial.

Along with his name, the attributed coat of arms of St. George, featuring a red cross straddling a white field, on its own, or as a constituent element of the British Union Flag, proliferated in an innumerable variety of highly visible representations to visually striking effect across the nascent worldwide Anglican Communion as the flag of an ecclesiology of Empire, of an Imperial Anglicanism. Typical of this pattern, the cross of St. George features prominently in the arms of the General Synod of the

Anglican Church of Canada, to name only one example of relevance to the context of this paper.[9] Heraldry, a decorative element of the Gothic idiom, a medievalism abroad in the modern world, conveys a symbolic politics, like the pointed architecture it adorns.[10]

More recently, Rowan Williams has commented on the "uncomfortable symbol . . . of aggressive Englishness" the emblem too frequently becomes in popular culture.[11] However enduringly significant the cult of St. George continues to the enterprise of British identity, and, in view of one recent naming of a senior heir in the House of Windsor, to the perpetuation of the British, as well as Canadian, Crowns, there remains another highly venerated heavenly patronage, perhaps only an aspiring icon, repeatedly invoked in the production of place, in the dedication of translocal nodes, in the British Empire, that of St. Alban the Martyr.

While translocal geographies may be a new context for exploring hagiotoponymy, the introduction of the concept in the course of an examination of the Victorian cult of St. Alban affirms the sentiment that "toponyms can lend themselves to discursive forms of organization, to serial articulations that cannot be reduced to the sum of their component parts," expressed by Christian Jacob.[12] The present interest in Imperial hagiotoponyms also builds on work by Nicholas Orme, and others, in assessing a process, perhaps overstated, that Orme calls the "invention and casting" of Victorian parish dedications. In solidarity with him, I must hazard a shared accusation of rashness in the claim asserted that ours is a topic never adequately surveyed.[13]

The occurrence of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne on 20 June 1837, one of several days in that month confusingly designated as the *dies natalis* of St. Alban in the liturgical calendars of Western Christianity, cannot be ignored.[14] This happy accident will be shown to have encouraged the Imperialist cult of St. Alban, the informal tutelary of Queen Victoria's reign, and so, in a sense, also of Victorianism. That the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign was celebrated on 22 June, the oldest dating of the martyrdom of St. Alban, is another notable cultic overlap.

Like the Hanoverian George, though never sainted, Queen Victoria's regnal name is another ubiquitous feature of the British Imperial namescape with distant translocal nodes dedicated to her, typical of the "entangled" nature of "imperial networks and relationships."[15] The many far-flung places dedicated to St. Alban, St. George, Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, and a few others, risk undermining the utilitarian

function of toponyms in the service of commemoration, blurring the distinction between the 'who' and the 'where.'[16] Regardless, following Jankulak, in the present context, hagiotoponymic commemoration is taken to be a higher form of veneration than even calendrical fixity.[17]

St. Alban the Martyr

As for St. Alban himself, the most striking aspect of his hagiography may be the resemblance to that of St. George, and the closeness of their typology is striking in places. Some recent popular agitation has even called for St. Alban to replace St. George as England's tutelar guardian![18] The value of St. Alban's imputed ethnicity, however, his *praesentia*, the antiquity of the dedications to him in England, his Anglicanism, cannot be underestimated. These endowed his cult, to the disadvantage of St. George, with a heightened sense of place, and, thereby, the potential for translocation, manifested through "a network of 'interpersonal acts.'"[19] I contend that these networked acts include creating Imperial hagiotoponyms, names that, as Peter Brown explains, "both facilitated and further heightened the drive to transmute distance from the holy into the deep joy of proximity."[20]

Curiously, few, if any, of the details of St. Alban's *acta*, *passio*, or *inventio*, were ever mentioned in the Canadian context. Only his evolving status as English Protomartyr, subsequently British, and, finally, of the Anglican Communion, was repeated. St. Alban's was also a rather late Victorian cultic revival, encouraged, though not initiated, by the creation of the Diocese of St. Alban's in 1877, the product of what Arthur Burns calls a geographically destabilising rearrangement of jurisdictions by High Church activism in Parliament.[21]

High Church historians in the Church of England, in their belief that nationality, including religious identity, extended into the Empire, had much to do with this casting of St. Alban, exercising influence in the settler colonies, Anglicanism "making them as much a part of England as 'Kent or Cornwall,'" constituents of a "Greater Britain," in the expression of Sir John Robert Seeley (1834-1895), author of *The Expansion of England* (1883).[22] The British myth also weighed heavily in these considerations. The argument for the descent of the Church of England from a British antecedent continued to be influential in ecclesiastical matters. Thus, while the majority of historians were keen to bust the myths of figures like King Saint Lucius, a churchy minority, including Catholic

hagiographer Fr. Alban Butler (1710-1773), the Rev. Sir William Palmer (1803-1885), Dean Walter Farquhar Hook (1798-1875) of Chichester, and others, resisted "the conclusion that the Romano-British civilization, including its church," of which St. Alban became Protomartyr, "had not been inherited, but rather destroyed, by the conquering Anglo-Saxons."[23] Thus, St. Alban's Englishness was easily recast, blurred, perhaps, as Britishness by High Church Imperialists.

Liberated, perhaps by Protestant disdain, from complex hagiographical entanglements, yet absolutely rooted in place, and possessed of his own distinctive heraldic emblem, a sort of inversion of that attributed to St. George, consisting of a golden saltire on a blue field, St. Alban became increasingly useful as a sentinel at the edge of Empire. In places where identity was defined within the context of Britain's symbolic vocabulary, St. Alban became a marker of translocality.[24] The coat of arms granted to the newly erected See of St. Alban's with its eponymous abbey-cathedral, the familiar golden saltire on a blue field, but differenced by the superimposition of two preeminent symbols of martyrdom, a sword and a celestial crown, suggests a symbolic convergence at his shrine, or, X marks the spot.[25]

The Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa, Ontario, 1865

Setting down "a page of personal history" in 1901, Archdeacon Thomas Bedford-Jones (1830-1901), in failing health, recorded the beginnings of the parish he founded, St. Alban's, Ottawa.[26] He recalled:

> The first celebration of Holy Communion took place on Advent Sunday, 3 December, 1865 . . . and the name of the new parish was then announced for the first time, as that of St Alban the Martyr. That was the name selected by the Bishop out of three submitted to him. It was the very first church in all of what is now the Dominion of Canada dedicated to St Alban, England's proto-martyr. Indeed, I am inclined to believe it was the first so designated on this continent. There are now very many, the Bishop of Toronto having named his new Cathedral "St Alban's."[27]

In cooperation with Bedford-Jones, Archbishop John Travers Lewis (1825-1901) of the Diocese of Ontario allegedly became the first *impresarii* of the cult of St. Alban in North America. The rhetorical strategy of repetition employed by Bedford-Jones in touting the reportedly

innovative and unprecedented naming in the annals of Imperial hagioto-ponymy was likely intended to be a demonstration, not merely of antiquarian prowess, such as motivated the foundational studies of dedications and toponyms in the eighteenth century, but of Loyalism by two Anglo-Irish colonial clergymen, both educated at Trinity College, Dublin, both acutely aware of the pre-existing nationalistic and sectarian associations of the cults of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, at home in Britain, as well as elsewhere in the colonies.[28]

Admittedly, Bedford-Jones employed this strategy looking back on the events of 1865 nearly four decades later, permitting him the luxury of making explicit connections to later dedications to the same name. However, his active support of organized Loyalism in Ontario in the interval, described below, leaves less room to doubt his intentions. Carl Berger's description of a persistent "conflict in Canadian thought" between nationalism and Imperialism in the period discussed in my paper suggests that St. Alban's iconic value would be gradually diminished, as other, frequently secular, saints and (female) personifications of Canada and the Empire challenged the ideology he signified.[29]

It may be that the symbolic encoding of St. Alban's Britishness within a theo-political programme of Imperial Unity was begun in Canada by Bedford-Jones and Lewis, newly arrived in a precocious city, already planned to become the new national capital at Confederation in 1867. This was at a stage when it is claimed that "the notion that there could be" a saint for all Canadians, or the settlers in other British colonies, like Australia, at least in the Anglican context, was "absurd."[30]

The dedication to St. Alban at Ottawa may also be helpful for understanding the full effects of Tractarianism upon Anglicanism "in a wider, imperial context."[31] Lewis and Bedford-Jones shared more intimate connections than even their Anglo-Irish, Imperialist, High Church sentiments; so, the decision to dedicate the new church as they did was probably not rendered haphazardly, whatever difficulties, as well as imitations, arose from it.

The difficulties came first. The laity of Ottawa had opposed Bedford-Jones' arrival in their city, since his invitation had come at the personal behest of Lewis, himself newly patented to his episcopal office, and without consultation. Thus, the innovative dedication could have been popularly perceived as high-handed – a prelatical gesture in an unstable context.[32]

Neither, of course, could an informed Victorian churchman, even in

Canada, be ignorant of the scandalous developments at St. Alban's, Holborn, in the metropolis. Within two years of the dedication of St. Alban's, Ottawa, Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825-1887), described as the so-called "martyr" of St Alban's, Holborn, was famously prosecuted for breaches of ritual discipline as rector there.[33] Bedford-Jones distanced his Ottawa parish from the taint of scandal, explaining away the unintended association:

> In one way, however, the name proved to be unfortunate and detrimental. In 1864, in London, England, St Alban's Holborn, under the Rev. A. H. Machonochie [*sic*] had become notorious for its advanced ritual. As few people in Canada had ever heard of St Alban's Church before, all the extravagances and novelties of worship in St Alban's, Holborn, were attributed to St Alban's, Ottawa![34]

While absolving both Lewis and Bedford-Jones of advanced Ritualistic tendencies, Donald Schurman, though without reference to Bedford-Jones' recollections, repeats the suggestion that the dedication of St. Alban's, Ottawa, did "rouse suspicions" about their theological orientations.[35] The establishment by Bedford-Jones, with Lewis as Visitor, of a Canadian chapter of the Guild of St. Alban the Martyr, originally founded at Birmingham in 1851 with the object of encouraging "the study of . . . the Liturgy and Principles of the Church of England," and possessed of its own Office, further evidences a very High Churchmanship at Ottawa, indeed.[36]

Perhaps this conflation of an ecclesiastical expression of Loyalism for Romanising subversion – a conflation of colonising influences, an old High Churchmanship as the Anglicanism of Empire, on the one hand, and the exported Ritualism of subsequent waves of migrant clergy, on the other – reveals a significant problem for understanding what sanctity faced in reviving an obscure cult for a political cause, Ottawa's case being a translocal digression along a line of British anti-Romanist paranoia.[37] New invocations cannot erase cultic history, however inconvenient, felicitous, detrimental, geographically removed, or even accidental, these may prove for the suppliant.

A further difficulty with Bedford-Jones' speculations about the history of St. Alban's, Ottawa, is his mistaken claim that its dedication in 1865 was the first to the Protomartyr in North America. It is surprising that Bedford-Jones made so a bold claim, apparently accurate in the Canadian context, but one impossible to maintain in light of the Imperial hagio-

toponymy of the United States, itself a former British colonial frontier. Perhaps this was wilful ignorance.

Both the dedications of St. Alban's Episcopal Parish in Washington, DC, and St. Alban's Town, Vermont, antedate St. Alban's, Ottawa. The great notoriety of the so-called St. Alban's Raid in October 1864, a paramilitary incursion by armed agents of the Confederacy into Vermont, covertly attempting to use Canada as a neutral base of operations in the course of the American Civil War, could not have escaped the attention of either Lewis or Bedford-Jones, nor the congregations committed to their charges.[38] The public crisis provoked by the raid was a catalyst for Canadian Confederation in 1867.[39]

In fact, the town of St. Alban's, in present-day Vermont, was founded by Benning Wentworth (1696-1770), Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, on 17 August 1763. Its Imperial hagiotoponym was one of the first two examples of its kind in New England.[40] The unexplained novelty of the practice caused offence to local sensibilities in an increasingly patriotic environment, and complemented a simultaneous dedication elsewhere in the Province by Wentworth to St. George, twinned Imperialist gestures by one eager to curry royal favour at the dawn of "a High Church revival" occasioned by the recent accession of George III in 1761.[41] The reason for Wentworth pairing St. Alban and St. George in the cause of Loyalism remains to be researched, though he appears to be the first *impresario* of St. Alban's cult, particularly in its Loyalist aspect, in North America.

Considering the prevailing attitude of "hostility to their cults [the cults of the saints] and to ceremonies like dedications," characteristic of eighteenth-century Anglicanism, that hampered the antiquarian curiosity characteristic of the same period, to which "the study of church dedications owes much," Wentworth's unprecedented namings of places for saints, albeit in the dedication of secular spaces, seems bold.[42] The two pioneering dedications link his enterprise with the labours of subsequent Imperial hagiotoponymists, such as the above-mentioned Arnold-Forster. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Wentworth also dedicated Imperial toponyms to his own fame, including the town of Bennington, New Hampshire, though he did not presume to describe himself as a saint, as other proprietary colonial officials frequently did.

Mount Alban, in Washington, D.C, was named by Joseph Nourse (1754-1841), a pious Presbyterian and political foe of President Andrew Jackson, who purchased his farmland in 1817 and named it as he did,

"because the sloping hillside reminded him of the hill on which St Alban's Cathedral is located in Hertfordshire."[43] The Protestant reluctance of Nourse to include any mention of sainthood in the name he gave his land is equally typical of seventeenth-century English hagiotoponymic practice as it was of early-nineteenth century America – though subsequent generations of the family, converts to the Episcopal Church, would see Alban's sainthood restored, so that there was an "evolving toward Mount St Alban."[44]

The Episcopal Parish of St. Alban's, founded there by the Nourse's offspring in 1854, more than a decade before the eponymously dedicated church in Ottawa, derives its name from the ancestral translocal invocation. The church building was executed in the style of the Gothic Revival by Frank Wills (1822-1857), perhaps the most important proponent of the Imperial Gothic idiom in architecture of his generation.[45] These were surely credentials to rival those of Lewis and Bedford-Jones in the future Canadian capital and their architect, Thomas Fuller (1823–1898), designer of the original parliament buildings in Ottawa. While Canadians could easily have been ignorant of the Washington parish at the time of its dedication, by 1901, its prominence, like that of the town in Vermont, seems unavoidable.

The Cathedral of St. Alban the Martyr, Toronto, Ontario, 1883

I turn now to consider a second example of a dedication to St. Alban, this one already mentioned by Bedford-Jones in his own recollections. Recall that in reference to the proliferation of dedications in Canada to St. Alban, following the precedential naming of his own parish in Ottawa in 1865, Bedford-Jones made mention of the new chief church of the Diocese of Toronto. In fact, for reasons too complex to unfold here, for more than a half century, Toronto Anglicans looked with considerable ambivalence to the unfinished Cathedral of St. Alban the Martyr as the seat of their bishop.[46]

The perilous work of cathedral building along the fashionable, metropolitan lines of contemporary diocesan revival was at last undertaken by third diocesan Archbishop Arthur Sweatman (1834-1909), consecrated to his episcopal role on the Feast of Saints Philip and James, 1879. Apparently, Sweatman's original intention had been to dedicate the new cathedral to these patrons of his own episcopate. In 1883, however, during a meeting of Ontario's provincial parliamentary Private Bills Committee

opposition arose to this dedication in the form of a representative of the older, informally styled St. James Cathedral, a courtesy befitting the mother church of the diocese.

The draft act of incorporation, eventually passed, creating the cathedral establishment was being officially scrutinized, and it was objected that two nearly identical cathedral dedications in one city would "give rise to confusion and misapprehension."[47] A recent bond issue floated by the wardens of St. James was intended to help manage mounting debt, and the brand recognition of this financial instrument was at stake. Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921), Sweatman's most trusted legal advisor, subsequently Treasurer of the Cathedral Chapter, conceded the point, and arranged on the spot for the substitution of the name of St. Alban the Martyr.[48]

Of the dedication, Chadwick recalled at the end of his life that, "St Alban is regarded as the Proto-Martyr of the Anglican Church."[49] His statement repeated a portion of the inscription found on an elaborately engraved memorial brass that Chadwick himself had earlier designed. Decorated with a golden saltire on an azure field, the same as the arms of St. Alban's Abbey-Cathedral in Hertfordshire, the plaque was affixed to the cornerstone of St. Alban's, laid "on the Sixteenth day of June A.D. 1887 being the eve of the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of St Alban Protomartyr of the Anglican Church and also at the completion of half a century of the happy reign of our most illustrious Sovereign Victoria Queen and Empress."[50]

If the dedication of the new Cathedral to St. Alban in 1883 was not sufficient evidence of cultic devotion, the choice of date four years later for laying the corner stone, perhaps in imitation of the example of St. Alban's, Adolphustown, considered below, leaves less room for doubt. But still more powerful testimony remains to be described.

Probably the most remarkable connection to St. Alban was made at Toronto by the possession of a relic of the Protomartyr's *passio*. Set within the *cathedra* of the bishop of Toronto, also designed by Chadwick, was set,

> a large Roman tile or brick which was taken from ruins of a building discovered near St Alban's, anciently Verulamium, in Hertfordshire, identified by archaeologists as the Forum, in which it may be presumed that St Alban was condemned to death: this tile to which some of the original cement still adheres, was sent out to us with a certificate of verification signed by the Mayor of St Alban's and the

Rector of the Parish in which it was found; an interesting relic of 1700 or more years ago.[51]

From Chadwick's information, it seems evident that by this dedication he and Sweatman sought further to refine Imperialist devotion to St. Alban by combining the commemoration of his protomartyrdom, and its particular Anglican significance, with Queen Victoria's accession, however coincidental the timing may have been to their original plans. While another golden saltire adorned the corporate seal of the St. Alban's Cathedral School for boys, and the newspaper prepared by the students was named the *Crux Aurea*, the presence of a lesser relic raises a question as to the churchmanship practiced at the cathedral. As at St. Alban's, Ottawa, charges of advanced Ritualism were from time to time made against innovations in the new Diocesan Cathedral in Toronto, undoubtedly by unsympathetic visitors, roused to "extraordinary passions" by the presence of the reliquary throne installed therein.[52]

The arrival not only of St. Alban's name, his role as English, now Anglican, Protomartyr, his attributed coat of arms, and even, most surprisingly, a certified relic, signalled a further refinement of his cult in Toronto, known as the Queen City, "the most ultra-British city on earth," in the estimation of one contemporary observer, by Sweatman and Chadwick, both active members of the Imperial Federation League of Canada.[53] Chadwick's interior adornment of the cathedral also included a display of heraldic banners, consistent with the "time-honoured custom to decorate Churches with flags," that included "three pairs of long pennons displaying crosses – St George, St Andrew, St Patrick, and St Alban."[54]

The Loyalist Memorial Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Adolphustown, Ontario, 1884

Finally, let us return to the Diocese of Ontario to consider the case of the Loyalist Memorial Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Adolphustown. This dedication rounds out the three earliest examples of their kind in Canada.

The political hijacking for the Imperialist cause of the centennial celebrations of 1884 at Toronto marking the settlement of the United Empire Loyalist refugees in Ontario by Colonel George Taylor Denison (1839-1925) proved highly unpopular, setting back the cause of organized Loyalism for a decade. "Most offensive" to the sensibilities of many

Torontonians was the "perverted" invocation of the Loyalist myth in the Tory cause, popular civic sentiment being then inclined to a less partisan tone than that sounded by Denison's jingoism.[55]

Elsewhere in Ontario, however, as at Adolphustown, located in Lennox and Addington County, east of Toronto, a different form of Imperialist commemoration was contemporaneously devised that, while also contentious, successfully achieved monumental proportions, creating an enduring translocal feature dedicated to St. Alban on the namescape. Built adjacent to the site of the 16 June 1784 Loyalist refugee landings on the shore of the Bay of Quinte, the name of Adolphustown itself supplies another blatant, albeit unique, example of an Imperial toponym, this one commemorating Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge (1774-1850), seventh son of George III.

The idea to commemorate this local heritage had long circulated, though local opinion remained divided on what form such memorialisation should take. The rector of the place, Rev. Richard Sykes Forneri (1836-1924), newly appointed to Adolphustown by Archbishop Lewis in 1883, zealously took up the cause in anticipation of the Loyalist centennial the next year.[56]

While Forneri's "authorship" of St. Alban's, Adolphustown, is undoubted, he did not work in isolation.[57] The laying of the cornerstone for the so-called Loyalist Memorial Church was planned as part of a coordi-nated effort to commemorate the Loyalist centennial simultaneously at Toronto, Adolphustown, and Niagara over three consecutive days in June 1884. Forneri, as rector, Bedford-Jones, now collated to the Archdeaconry of Ontario and chairman of the local building committee, acting with the support of Lewis, seized the occasion to deliver a joint address at the dedication of the new church that made specific mention of the

> auspicious coincidence that on this day, 17 June, the Church of England commemorates in her calendar England's Proto-Martyr, St Alban, the first man who on British soil sealed with his life-blood his testimony as a loyal subject of his Heavenly King . . . May his name, under which the memorial church is to be dedicated to God, ever unite our affections to the dear old mother land.[58]

The coincidence referred to, the date of the original Loyalist landings and the idiosyncratic *Book of Common Prayer* commemoration of the Protomartyr, connected that greatest virtue of empire, Loyalism, to St. Alban's cult.

At Adolphustown, the infusion of the cult of St. Alban with an Imperialist ethos was modified by deemphasizing the Saint's sectarian, Anglican identity, even his Englishness, in contrast with the High Church exaltation of the heroic virtue of his British Loyalism. Nevertheless, this gesture was not adequate to prevent feelings of resentment and alienation from many Loyalists and local residents who were not adherents of Anglicanism, whose clergy appeared to be co-opting the centennial for their own ambitions of church extension.[59]

The dedication of St. Alban's, Adolphustown, became the establishment of a translocal node dedicated to his name, described by Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta as a networked point of simultaneous situatedness, useful for understanding the overlap of space and time in the lives and memories of migrant populations, such as the Loyalists, their myth, and its uses. Nowhere in Victorian Canada would a more effulgent expression of the Imperialist cult of St. Alban be manifested than at Adolphustown, "fractured," as the place came to be, through the "personal histories, memories, and a spatialized politics of difference."[60] As discussed above, the influence of the rhetoric invoked at Adolphustown to associate St. Alban's *dies natalis* with the unity of empire was measurable at the new cathedral being built in Toronto in 1887.

Conclusion

In this short essay I have presented preliminary and tentative evidence, in the form of the narrative history of the first three hagiotoponymic dedications in Canada, of the existence of an Imperialist cult of St. Alban the Martyr active in Canadian Anglicanism and beyond. This distinctly High Church following, that evidently included lay *impresarii*, came to be associated with the usable history of the United Empire Loyalists, as well as with Victorianism itself, whose adherents championed Imperial Federationism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Under the leadership of Archbishops Lewis and Sweatman, Archdeacon Bedford-Jones, Canon Forneri, Chadwick, and others, this cult claimed significant spaces for itself, all extant at the time of writing, in the creation of translocal geographies, networked nodes spanning the province, as well as the broader horizons of the Empire. These connected to evoke a specific *locus*, encoded as Imperial Britain through the mediation of St. Alban the Martyr. The flourishing of St. Alban's cult appears to be an expression of Loyalist piety by a movement predomi-

nantly Anglo-Irish in extraction, affirming their Britishness at a time when the "distinctions between the culture of the Ascendancy and the Catholic majority," in Britain, Ireland, and in the colonies, were "becoming still more sharply articulated."[61]

Several more dedications to St. Alban in Victorian Canada remain to be researched, along with others throughout the Anglican Communion. The most commonly occurring hagiotoponyms of the British Empire, as a group and individually, too, deserve attention, as well as those of other European colonizers.

Endnotes

1. For which see Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies," *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4 (2010): 453-60, as well as the homepage of the Cognitive Toponymy Project, http://cogtop.org/en/about/

2. 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.

3. Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St. George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), 140-3. For Ruskin and the Guild see Mark Frost, *The Lost Companions and John Ruskin's Guild of St George* (London: Anthem Press, 2014). For Baden-Powell's devotion to an Imperial St. George see Precious McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman: Victorian Travel Writers and the Fitness of an Empire* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 97-98.

4. Good, *The Cult of St. George in Medieval England*, 147. For the problematic distinction between *saints* and *icons* see James F. Hopgood, "Introduction: Saints and Saints in the Making," in *The Making of Saints: Contesting Sacred Ground*, ed. James F. Hopgood (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), xvii-xviii.

5. For the ubiquity of Georgian dedications on the contemporary Imperial namescape see Jeremy Gregory, "The Hanoverians and the Colonial Churches," in *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical* Culture, eds. Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 115-16. See also David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 102-3.

6. For which see Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1987), and Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta, eds., *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 4.

7. Michael Peter Smith, "Translocality: A Critical Reflection" in *Translocal Geographies*, 181-83.

8. E.G. Selwyn, "Frances Arnold-Forster," *Theology* 3, no. 17 (November 1921): 284.

9. Originally designed in 1908 by Edward Marion Chadwick (1840–1921), for whom see below. A modified form of these arms were granted by the Chief Herald of Canada in 1995, for which see *Public Register of Arms, Flags, and Badges of Canada*, 3:16, http://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project-pic.asp?lang=e& ProjectID=534&ProjectElementID=1870

10. G.A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 185-200.

11. Rowan Williams, "Epilogue," in *Praying for England: Priestly Presence in Contemporary Culture*, eds. Samuel Wells and Sarah Coakley (London: Continuum, 2008), 172, to whom I am grateful for encouragement with this essay when I ambushed him in Toronto with my argument.

12. 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.

13. Nicholas Orme, *English Church Dedications with a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), xi, 58.

14. Currently, the National Calendar for the Catholic Church in England, recognised by the Holy See in 2000, and the many calendars of the Anglican Communion, including those of the Church of England and the Anglican Church of Canada, do not agree as to the date of St. Alban's Day. The General Roman Calendar never enrolled St. Alban. The first-mentioned, National Catholic Calendar, provides for an optional memorial on 20 June, likely a modern, corrective dating, while most contemporary Anglican calendars memorialise St. Alban on 22 June, a date supplied by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, though the Calendar of the Church of England, as printed in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1662), unlike that in *Common Worship* (2000), retains the long-held, but apparently erroneous, 17 June. A summary of the problem and possible explanation are put forward in F. E. Brightman *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and*

Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer (London: Rivingtons, 1915), 1:ccxii-ccxiii. I am grateful to Professor Jesse Billett of Trinity College, Toronto, for this reference. In nineteenth-century Britain and Canada, 17 June was most frequently the date of the Anglican observance of St. Alban's martyrdom.

15. Hilary M. Carey, "Introduction: Empires of Religion," in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary M. Carey (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 3.

16. Rose-Redwood, et al., "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription," 459.

17. Karen Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 73.

18. Emma Flanagan, "St George's Day: What is the History of England's Patron Saint?," *Manchester Evening News*, 30 August 2015, http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/whats-on/st-georges-day-history-england-9057124

19. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 90.

20. Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 87.

21. Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England* c. *1800-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 161.

22. James Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England: Religion and Historical Scholarship, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 103-4.

23. Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England*, 86.

24. The precise origin of the attributed arms of St. Alban, blazoned *Azure a saltire Or*, is obscure, though, like the arms of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, they may be a differenced version of the attributed arms of St. Andrew, *Azure a saltire Argent*. St. Andrew was long a competing tutelary at St. Alban's Abbey-Cathedral whose cult was mostly, but not entirely, obliterated by Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham (d. 1146) in the mid-twelfth century, for which see William Page, *St Alban's Cathedral and Abbey Church: A Guide* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 25, 79, and *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries* 3 (1897): 96. The attributed arms of St. Alban are currently used by the Abbey-Cathedral.

25. John Woodward, *A Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry* (Edinburgh: W. and A.K. Johnston, 1894), 186-87.

26. Thomas Bedford-Jones, *St Alban's Parish, Ottawa: How St Alban's Church and Parish had Their Beginning Under the First Rector* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, 1995), 2.

27. Bedford-Jones, *St Alban's*, 8.

28. Phillip Buckner, "Casting Daylight Upon Magic," in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture,* Identity, eds. Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 182.

29. Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884*-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969). For the growing nineteenth-century preference for classical personifications see Marilyn J. McKay, *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s-1930s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 43.

30. Josephine Lafin, "'A Saint for All Australians'?" in *Saints and Sanctity*, eds. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), 404.

31. Rowan Strong, "The Oxford Movement and the British Empire: Newman, Manning and the 1841 Jerusalem Bishopric," in *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*, eds. Stewart J. Brown and Peter B. Nockles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 79.

32. Donald M. Schurman, *A Bishop and His People: John Travers Lewis and the Anglican Diocese of Ontario 1862*-1902 (Kingston: Ontario Diocesan Synod, 1991), 97.

33. M. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism: Father Mackonochie of St Alban's, Holborn* (London: 1965); cited in Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 250.

34. Bedford-Jones, *St Alban's, Ottawa*, 8.

35. Schurman, *A Bishop and His People*, 104.

36. *Constitution, Rules, and Office of the Guild of St Alban Martyr, Ottawa* (Ottawa: Office of The Citizen, 1876), 3. For the role of the Guild in the Church of England see Jeremy Morris, *The High Church Revival in the Church of England: Arguments and Identities* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 90.

37. Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 109.

38. John Boyko, *Blood and Daring: How Canada Fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2014), 179-85.

39. Boyko, *Blood and Daring*, 223.

40. Esther Monroe Swift, *Vermont Place-Names: Footprints of History* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1996), 249-50.

41. Swift, *Vermont Place-Names*, 250, Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 10.

42. Orme, *English Church Dedications*, 44, 52.

43. Ruth Harwood Cline, *Church at the Crossroads: A History of St Alban's Parish, Washington, D. C., 1854*-2004 (Chevy Chase: Posterity Press, 2009), 10.

44. Cline, *Church at the Crossroads*, 10.

45. Cline, *Church at the Crossroads*, 22-25; Douglas Richardson, "Wills, Frank," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967-), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wills_frank_8E.html

46. For Toronto's vexatious 'Cathedral Question,' see William G. Cooke, "The Diocese of Toronto and Its Two Cathedrals," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 27, no. 2 (October, 1985): 98-115.

47. Edward Marion Chadwick, *Monograph of the Cathedral of St Alban the Martyr, Toronto* (Toronto: n.p., 1921), 14; *An Act to Incorporate the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of St Alban the Martyr*, 46 Vic. c. 63, for which see *General Index to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario from the Session of 1867*-8 to the Session of 1882–*3, Both Inclusive* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1883), 386.

48. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 14. Curiously, Chadwick was never diocesan chancellor, despite his legal activities. Long convinced of the intractability of the Diocesan Synod and the Corporation of the Rector and Wardens of St. James, Chadwick's ecclesiastical entanglements became more strictly limited to his bishop's Cathedral scheme, for which see Jonathan S. Lofft, "A Blessed Word: The Mixed Life of Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921)" (ThD diss., University of Toronto, 2017).

49. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 14.

50. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 16-17.

51. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 49.

52. Cooke, "The Diocese of Toronto and Its Two Cathedrals," 107.

53. John Foster Fraser, *Canada as It Is* (London: Cassell, 1905), 40-42. Most significant was their membership of a delegation representing the Imperial Federation League of Canada that also included Barlow Cumberland (1846-1913), J. Castell Hopkins (1864-1923), and others, that presented a formal address to the seminal Colonial Conference in 1894 advocating "the idea of the unity of the empire," for which see Parliament of Canada, *Proceedings of the Colonial Conference 1894* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1894), 369-71. For the significance of this presentation see Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism 1896-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 8-11.

54. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 49.

55. Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 82-83.

56. For the construction of Loyalist identity in Forneri's biography, related to his father's determination in 1824 "to seek the protection which the British flag then, as now, afforded political refugees from every quarter of the globe," see John King, *McCaul: Croft: Forneri: Personalities of Early University Days* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1914), 209.

57. *In the Beginning: St Alban's, Adolphustown* (Adolphustown: St Alban's New Horizons Committee, 1984), 42.

58. *The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, 1784-1884: The Celebrations at Adolphustown, Toronto, and Niagara, with Appendix* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1885), 36.

59. Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 52-53.

60. Ayona Datta, "Translocal Geographies of London: Belonging and 'Otherness' among Polish Migrants after 2004," in *Translocal Geographies*, 73.

61. Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood, "Introduction: A Union of Multiple Identities," in *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750-c. 1850*, eds. Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 2.