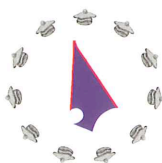


*TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE BURGON SOCIETY*



VOLUME 7
2007



THE BURGON SOCIETY

Founded to promote the study of Academical Dress

Information about the Burgon Society can be found on its website at
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Transactions of the Burgon Society Volume 7 (2007)

Edited by Alex Kerr

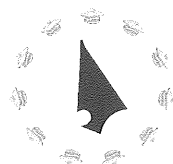
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Front cover: Sir William Browne, President of the Royal College of Physicians, 1765–66, painted by Thomas Hudson in 1767. This was the first full-length portrait of a PRCP wearing his robe of office. (*Reproduced by permission of the Royal College of Physicians.*)

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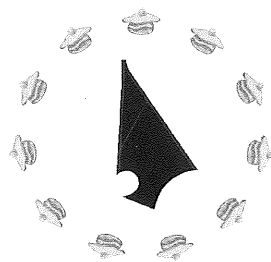
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From the Editor

This issue of *Transactions of the Burgon Society* contains a remarkable variety of topics and includes versions of three papers submitted for the Fellowship of the Burgon Society. We have another account of the development of dress at a particular university, but this time one outside the United Kingdom: Toronto. The question of academic dress for Lambeth degree holders is re-examined by a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of London. Academic and official dress in two spheres outside the universities is explored: the royal medical colleges and other societies and that unique institution, the Chapel Royal. In addition we are including reproductions of all the Wills cigarette cards, accompanied by critical annotations on Charles Franklyn's text.

I am very grateful for the cooperation and patience of our contributors and my colleagues on the editorial board, whose support is very much appreciated.

Alex Kerr



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Burgon Society Events in 2007

- 21 April** **Fellowship Study Day**
Victoria & Albert Museum, London
Programme included:
Talk by Susan North — *What's that stuff? The material culture of academical dress*
Presentations by Elizabeth Scott, David Baldwin and Colin Fleming — *How I earned my Burgon Society Fellowship*
Round table — *Secrets of a successful FBS* (speakers: William Gibson, John Horton, Alex Kerr)
- 7 July** **Garden Party**
St George's College, Weybridge
Programme included:
Auction of items of academical dress
Organ recital in the College chapel by Philip Aspden
- 9–10 September** **Visit to the University of Montpellier**
at the invitation of Professor Yves Mausen
Programme included:
Sunday 9th—Visit to the Château de l'Engerran vineyard and Aigues-Mortes
Monday 10th—*Séance académique* in the Faculty of Law (short talks by Peter Durant on British and Professor Jacques Michaud on French academical dress); visit to the Faculty of Medicine (to view a collection of portraits displaying academical dress); *Rentrée Solennelle* (opening ceremony of the academic year, with Burgon Society members and their hosts in full academical dress)
- 20 October** **AGM and Congregation**
Charterhouse, London
Annual General Meeting
Admission to the Fellowship of the Burgon Society:
Mary Shaw (*honoris causa*)
Arthur B. Casey (*honoris causa*)
Talk by Nick Groves — *The significance of robes recently acquired for the Burgon Archive*
Arthur Casey in conversation with Alex Kerr — *Academical dress: personal reminiscences*
Display of items from Arthur Casey's collection

Correction

In Bruce Christianson's article 'Doctors' Greens', published in Transactions of the Burgon Society, 6 (2006), pp. 44–48, a footnote was omitted from the final paragraph. The author pleads incuria; the editor offers his apologies. The paragraph should read:

Depending on one's point of view, the green doctor's robes of Leeds and of the other universities which currently use them²⁸ can thus be thought of either as a re-introduction of an ancient tradition, or as symbolic of a process only half completed.²⁹

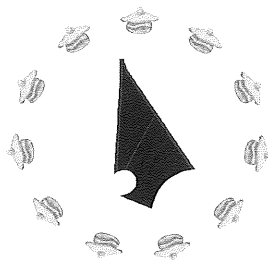
²⁸ These include (inter alia) William and Mary VA, Michigan State MI, Portland State OR, Tulane LA, Washington St Louis MO, Wayne State MI, Hawaii Manoa HI, Tashkent UZ, and Unitec NZ.

²⁹ See Hopman, p. 563, n. 22, for more on such symbolism.

Burgon Society On-line Bibliography

www.burgon.org.uk/society/library/biblio.html

- The aim is to build up a comprehensive resource for those researching the design, history and practice of academical dress.
- The *Introduction* is a brief survey of the key materials on academical dress that are either in print or available in the larger public and university libraries.
- The *Alphabetical list* that follows is intended to cover what has been published on the subject since the beginning of the nineteenth century; earlier items are listed if they include engravings that provide important evidence of robes of the period.
- Suggestions for additions (or corrections) are welcome. Please e-mail webmaster@burgon.org.uk



‘By our gowns were we known ... ’: The Development of Academic Dress at the University of Toronto

by Matthew Cheung Salisbury

Introduction

Many of the first Canadian universities (i.e., King’s College, Halifax; Dalhousie; Toronto) were founded by men whose perceptions were largely informed and inspired by the proceedings at their European counterparts. The character of the institutions, in particular the federated University of Toronto, justifiably shows the influence of largely British traditions imported to Canada. The University had its origins in a Royal Charter granted in 1827 to the first Bishop of Toronto, John Strachan, who intended to found what he called a ‘Church of England University in Canada’. The resulting institution, called King’s College, opened in 1843 but opposition to its church affiliation forced its secularization six years later. The new University of Toronto, as it was then called, began with a single college (University College). By 1904, it was affiliated with three more. St Michael’s College, an independent institution established by the Roman Catholic Congregation of St Basil; the Methodist foundation Victoria University; and the University of Trinity College, Bishop Strachan’s more successful second attempt at a C of E University, also became ‘federated’ with the University of Toronto for reasons of economy. The nature of this federation allowed them to retain their degree-granting status in Theology but transferred teaching of undergraduates in Arts to the united University. Twentieth-century expansion saw the establishment of five *constituent* colleges. New College, Innis College, and Woodsworth College are governed wholly by the University. Scarborough and Erindale colleges occupy two additional campuses and enjoy some autonomy in academic programming.

This paper was originally submitted for the Fellowship of the Burgon Society. I am indebted to the following for their assistance in seeking the very limited documentation of academic dress in Toronto: at the University of Toronto Archives, Harold Averill, Assistant University Archivist, and Loryl MacDonald, Archivist; at the offices of the Governing Council, Susan Girard, Secretary to the Office of Governing Council, and Erika Bailey; from Harcourts robemakers, Bert Harkes, General Manager.

Over 175 years of institutional history have seen many changes in the structure of the institution which reflect changing trends in university education and in particular the example of neighbouring institutions in the United States. The original influences and their successors have been reflected in the system of academic dress which developed. Leaving aside for the moment the questions posed by its own development, the fundamental historical significance of academic dress lies, as might be predictable for a medium in which symbolism is rampant, in what it represents. This paper will be, above all else, an examination of the development and use of academic dress at a Colonial university in which the influence of the ancient institutions was heavily felt at the outset. Professor Steven Plank has described how academic dress became a political issue at Oberlin College in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;¹ at Toronto, it has not *created* such an issue but has rather *reflected* the social mores prevalent throughout the history of the University.

I discuss first the development of academic dress in the context of the development of the institution; namely, how the intention to create what was described as a university akin to the ancient British foundations may have been reflected in the design of the scheme. While succeeding components of this paper are by nature of the sources quite procedural, I attempt to describe how, in the years since the founding of this University, the mainly Oxbridge influence on the Canadian perception of hoods and gowns and indeed on their construction has diminished, but the influence of both internal and external elements on the University continue to be reflected in the design and use of academic dress.

A British university in Canada

Strachan's attempt to import education to Canada was supported by the hiring of faculty and staff from Britain. From its beginnings in 1843, the University had at or near its head the Reverend John McCaul, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, under whose administration '... it [was] a high crime and misdemeanour to appear in College hours otherwise than in cap and gown.'² Formerly the principal of the foremost public school in the Dominion of Canada, Upper Canada College, McCaul's influence was felt in all elements of the development of the College and later the University, from curriculum to discipline. The importance that he accorded academic dress was notable. In a letter which characterized McCaul as 'a bit of a martinet in all matters of College discipline', professor and later president Sir Daniel Wilson reported:

¹ Steven Plank, 'Academic Regalia at Oberlin: the Establishment and Dissolution of a Tradition', *Northeast Ohio Journal of History*, 1, no. 2 (Spring 2003).

² Sir Daniel Wilson, personal diary. Letters, October 15, 1853. UTA, B74-0033/1.

At one of my examinations I learned that I should only have three students present, and so was appearing in surtout and natural wig. Oh dear, that would never do! Back I had to go and don my officials ... even when one poor solitary student awaited my arrival! It cost me some difficulty to preserve my gravity under my silk tassel.³

During his tenure at the University, McCaul participated in every committee and discussion on academic dress that was reported in the minutes of the Council.

The first recorded reference to hoods, gowns, or other costume in the minutes of that body was on 14 April 1842. Interspersed with matters of finance, real estate, and the necessity of professorial adherence to the Thirty-Nine Articles in accordance with Strachan's vision, the Council appointed a Ceremonial Committee, of which McCaul was predictably a member, which would be responsible for the ceremony that would open the College. It directed 'that Gowns should be provided for the Porters of King's College and Upper Canada College, and for the Beadle ... it was suggested that the Gowns of the Clerk and Sexton of the Cathedral might be used for this purpose, as by this arrangement but one [in addition] would be required.'⁴

The next mention of academic dress in the minutes occurred on 10 January 1844, during the final preparations for the organization of a Faculty of Medicine,⁵ shortly after the establishment of premises in the summer of 1843. The Council proposed a series of regulations for medical students indicating that 'students of the first class', those who were candidates for degrees, 'shall wear a distinctive academic habit and shall be subject to the same discipline as students in Arts,' while the 'occasional' students who attended only certain courses would 'wear no academic habit, nor be subject to any other part of discipline in Arts than that which relates to orderly conduct.'⁶

It is not clear why there is no record of regulations being adopted for students in Arts. The prescribed gown for undergraduates is 'similar to that of the pensioners of Clare College, Cambridge, with three chevrons of black velvet upon each sleeve.'⁷ One of McCaul's biographers, John King, suggests that the undergraduate gown of King's College resulted from a connection with Clare through another

³ Wilson personal diary, Letters, 15 October 1853. UTA, B74-0033/1.

⁴ Minutes of the Council of King's College, 14 April 1842. UTA, A70-0024/003.

⁵ W. J. Alexander, *The University of Toronto and its Colleges, 1827-1906* (Toronto: The University Library, 1906), p. 174.

⁶ Minutes of the Council of King's College, 10 January 1844. UTA, A70-0024/003. There is no indication that the habit was distinct from that of Arts.

⁷ Governing Council, University of Toronto, 'Summary of Statutes Respecting Academic Costume'. 24 April 1996, last amendment 15 January 2002.

former principal of Upper Canada: the Revd Joseph Harris was a graduate and Fellow of Clare⁸ and in his position was predecessor of John McCaul.

While no evidence that Harris was ever present at meetings of the Council exists, nor is the speculation made anywhere else in the written record beyond King's account, it is the closest connection which the author has found between Clare College and the founding of the University, and should at least be considered.

John McCaul's next appearance in the minutes as a proponent of academic dress comes on 2 October 1849: he reported that the Chancellor would be present in Convocation 'at the Commencement, on Thursday next ... whereupon it was moved by the Dean, seconded by the Proctor, that in expectation of the visit of the Chancellor ... the President [McCaul] be requested to provide suitable robes for His Excellency.'⁹ Statutes of the College Council of 19 October 1844 already ordained that members of Convocation should 'assemble ... in their proper habits'.¹⁰

It is perplexing that no complete regulations for other academics exist in the minutes or any other record of life at the College, including calendars, periodicals, and personal effects. One may speculate with a reasonable degree of certainty that McCaul was involved in the development of hood patterns and colours for the entire College. It may be that at this stage there was no committee at all and that McCaul took matters into his own hands.

Certainly McCaul himself was no wallflower when it came to ceremonial. In a letter dated 1 October 1853, recently arrived professor Daniel Wilson wrote:

... [The matriculation examinations] are managed with all becoming pomp and formality and at the same time with a degree of strictness such as would rather frighten some of our Scottish students. For two hours and a half in the morning and again in the afternoon the candidates for honours have been for the two last days put to the severest tests. Each in his college gown seated at a little desk in the College Hall receives a series of printed questions The examining professor enters in full costume preceded by the College Beadle bearing the mace, and is received by all the students standing, uncovered. Dr McCaul looks, I assure you, quite a magnificent fellow, having, in addition to his gown and square cap, his clerical bands and his scarlet hood as a LL.D of Trin. Coll. Dublin. I am afraid the custom of such 'rags of popery' has so completely fallen upon the ban of the Presbyterian successors of St.

⁸ John King, *McCaul: Croft: Forneri: Personalities of Early University Days* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1914), p. 43. According to A. G. Almond, the Clare gown with the chevrons was in common use by October 1836. See *Gowns and Gossip* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1925), p. 17.

⁹ Minutes of the Council of King's College, 2 October 1849. UTA, A70-0024/003

¹⁰ Minutes of the Council of King's College, 19 October 1844. UTA, A70-0024/003

Rule that a St. Andrew's [sic] LL.D could not with any reasonable propriety superadd that to his other officialities...¹¹

Despite his own honorary doctorate, awarded in 1851, Wilson, writing in 1853, would not have been entitled to any hood whatsoever until the reintroduction of hoods at St Andrews in the mid-1860s.¹²

Years later, though, Wilson himself seems to have become engaged in the formulation of academic dress. In April 1867, he put forward to the Senate 'a resolution to provide for distinctive hoods and gowns to be worn by the graduates of this University.'¹³ At the next meeting (7 May) Wilson proposed that John McCaul and the Chancellor, along with himself and another member of the Senate, 'be a committee to consider whether it is desirable to make any change on the hoods and other academic costume with a view of preserving the distinctive character of the graduates of this University.'¹⁴ This committee returned the next year 'recommending that the hoods of graduates should bear as a distinctive mark a narrow strip of white velvet under the silk or fur edging' and advised the Registrar 'to prepare a circular addressing all graduates informing them of the changes introduced in the academic hoods and inviting them to adopt the same.'¹⁵ A further change in the general design of the hood was to come later: the velvet strip was replaced with white cord no later than 1875¹⁶ (but first mentioned in statutes in 1923). The reason for this change was not preserved in the records of the Senate.

The minutes reveal no reason why a 'distinctive mark' would be necessary. Yet upon examination of certain hoods their similarity to those of other universities becomes clear: the MA hood, for instance, is in simple shape, black silk lined and bound cerise, an apparent attempt to mimic the Oxford MA. Other parallels with Oxford use are discussed later.

There is some support for an argument that John McCaul was influential in the development of a scheme of academic dress. McCaul was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, whose LL.D hood he wore frequently in the presence of Daniel

¹¹ Wilson personal diary, Letters, 1 October 1853. UTA, B74-0033/1. Emphasis in original text.

¹² Letter from George E. Day to Wilson, in Harold Averill and Gerald Keith, 'Daniel Wilson and the University of Toronto', in Marinell Ash et al., *Thinking with Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New* (University of Toronto Press, 1999). Also see R. G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, rev. edn (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970).

¹³ Minutes of the Senate of the University of Toronto, 23 April 1867. UTA, A68-0012-1. Volume 1, p. 688. Note that King's College had ceased to exist upon its secularization in 1849, and the University mentioned above is the present institution.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1867.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 February 1868.

¹⁶ See T. W. Wood, *Ecclesiastical and Academical Colours* (London and Derby: Bemrose & Sons, [1875]), pp. 52-53.

Wilson. The hood for the Bachelor of Arts ([s1] black edged white fur) bears a resemblance in materials to that of the same degree at TCD, which also possessed white fur. It should be noted, however, that several other universities (i.e., Oxford, Cambridge, Lampeter, Durham) also prescribe a black hood trimmed with fur, and that the inspiration for the Toronto design might have come from any of these sources. Nevertheless, it seems relevant that these common characteristics were chosen for the hood.

Special committees and statutes

After the matter of the 'distinctive mark', academic dress is not mentioned in the surviving minutes for over fifty years.¹⁷ In January 1922, the Council of the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering recommended to the University Senate that:

the new Hood for the professional degrees [in Engineering] be similar in form to the old CE [Civil Engineer] hood except that it consist of two colours which should be Dr Boswell's new dyes, according to samples submitted.¹⁸

In addressing this matter, a special Committee of the Senate 'to deal with academic costume' was to be appointed by the President. This development preceded by four months the establishment of the School of Graduate Studies, a result of a 1921 Royal Commission¹⁹ which had advocated the development of graduate studies and research. It is speculated that the Senate may have hoped to account for the academic dress of all of the new graduate degrees at once.

At the meeting of the Senate on 10 March, after two meetings where no mention of the Committee was made in the minutes, 'Professor [H. E. T.] Haultain enquired regarding the delay which had occurred in calling together the Special Committee on Academic Costume.'²⁰ Even after this enquiry, it seems no resolution was forthcoming until the day prior to the next meeting of the Senate.

The first report of the Committee, dated 20 April 1922, addresses bachelors' and masters' hoods in the departments of Architecture, Commerce, Forestry, Medicine, and Engineering. Hoods for the newly established degrees in the School of Architecture were to be constructed from (Bachelor) or lined with (Master) a common colour, 'corn yellow'.²¹ The Bachelor and Master of Commerce hoods

¹⁷ Many documents dating prior to 14 February 1890 have been lost. See Appendix I.

¹⁸ From a letter of the Secretary of the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, read into the minutes of the University Senate, 13 January 1922 (Vol. 14) It is presumed that Dr Boswell was Prof. Maitland Boswell, head of the research department of the same Faculty.

¹⁹ For more information, see Martin Friedland, *The University of Toronto: A History* (University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 285–301.

²⁰ Minutes of the University Senate, 10 March 1922.

²¹ University of Toronto, *A General Handbook* (1966), p. 35.

were to be similarly constructed or lined with orange silk, a colour adopted for Commerce by the University of New Zealand in 1906 and by the University of London in 1920,²² while the hood for the Bachelor of the Science of Forestry degree (BScF) was to be of rifle-green silk. The Committee also recommended that the hood for the Master of Surgery (ChM) 'be the same as that already authorized for the degree of MD [simple shape, dark-blue silk, edged scarlet].'²³ Upon hearing the report Professor Haultain of the Department of Mining moved that the report of the Committee should be forwarded to the faculties concerned 'for their consideration and approval.' The Committee itself was reconstituted, with Professor Haultain added to its membership, with its next object the degrees in Engineering.

At the next meeting of the Senate on 12 May, the Faculty of Arts (responsible for degrees in Commerce) and the Faculty of Forestry both acknowledged and accepted the recommendations of the Committee on Academic Costume.²⁴ Yet at least one faculty saw fit to question to the Committee's proposals. The Council of the Faculty of Medicine, having received the report, offered to the Senate on 9 February 1923 a counterproposal that 'the hood for ChM be black silk, with white cord, lined with blue silk'.²⁵ Buxton and Gibson give black lined blue for the Oxford MCh, after noting that 'in the past [Masters of Surgery] claimed to wear the scarlet robes of Doctors of Medicine.'²⁶ This had, of course, been the Toronto committee's proposal as well.

With the counterproposal lodged, Professor Haultain moved 'that the Committee on Academic Costume be relieved of its duties.' The record continues, 'The motion was lost. At Professor Haultain's request, his vote in favour of the motion is recorded in the minutes.'²⁷

On 9 March, the Committee reasserted its prior recommendation for the ChM hood but also presented the Faculty's earlier proposal as an alternative should its own be rejected. The entire matter was referred back to the Committee 'for further

²² See Bruce Christianson, 'Lined with Gold: London University and the Colour of Science', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, 5 (2005), pp. 80–89 (p. 84).

²³ University of Toronto Senate, Minutes, 21 April 1922.

²⁴ Minutes of the University Senate, 12 May 1922, citing letters from A. B. Farrell, Acting Registrar of Arts (p. 81) and A. D. Howe of Forestry (p. 82).

²⁵ University of Toronto Senate, Minutes, 9 February 1923. The discussions on this date are the first time that white cord is mentioned instead of white velvet.

²⁶ Dudley Buxton and Strickland Gibson, *Oxford University Ceremonies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 39. The Oxford Master of Surgery remains black lined blue.

²⁷ It should be noted that Prof. Haultain seems to have had an interest in symbolism: he invented an 'Iron Ring Ceremony' for graduating engineers, now adopted by every Canadian Engineering faculty. In the ceremony, students receive an iron ring and recite an 'Obligation' to adhere to the standards of the profession, written by Rudyard Kipling. See Karen Kelly, 'Traditions that Bind', in the Convocation supplement to the *University of Toronto Bulletin*, 30 May 2005, p. S3.

consideration and report'. At the same meeting, swatches of corn-yellow silk were approved for the Architecture hoods and of violet and maroon corded silks (from Boswell's dyes) for Engineers' hoods.²⁸ These last would be 'of the same pattern as the Master's hood,' (i.e., [s1]) violet lined maroon). With the approval of the Faculty of Forestry, the hood for the 'Forest Engineer' qualification would be constructed of violet corded silk lined with rifle-green silk. Finally, the Committee recommended that a statute be enacted authorizing these hoods. The first reading of such a statute was done at the same meeting.

Codification of the design model for hoods and gowns continued in 1929 with the re-establishment of the Committee on Academic Costume headed by then University President Robert Falconer, which convened on 30 January and 7 February to examine the appropriateness of design of the hoods for the 'Doctor's degrees' in Medicine and Dentistry. Because the MD and DDS were the product of an undergraduate course and were considered a 'first degree', the Committee resolved that each hood should resemble in design and colour a bachelors' hood, i.e., it should not be fully scarlet nor be 'full' shape. The Committee recommended that the hoods of such degrees should be easily differentiable from one awarded for a graduate course or a doctorate *honoris causa*. It proposed that the MD hood should be that formerly of the MB, 'of dark blue silk with the fur replaced by strips of scarlet broadcloth one and one-half inches wide'; and that the DDS should be similarly designed, with the blue silk replaced with gold.

The Senate approved these recommendations²⁹ and at the next meeting a complete statute was read and passed outlining these changes and the entire scheme of academic dress of the University. This was the first summary of hoods, gowns, and caps to appear in the minutes of the University Senate. A complete copy is reproduced in Appendix 2.

Establishing a pattern

According to the Senate minutes, the deliberations over the hoods for medical degrees 'took into consideration the general principles underlying academic costume as prescribed by this University.'³⁰ This seems to suggest that there were indeed 'general principles' that were understood at the time. Some of these principles may be inferred from usage. In the Academic Costume Committee's report in April 1922 it was indicated that the hood for the anticipated MCom (Master of Commerce) degree, 'if and when such degree is established, [should] be

²⁸ Minutes of the University Senate, 9 March 1923. Civil, Mining, Mechanical, Electrical, and Chemical Engineers' qualifications could be had through three years of instruction and three of practical work (Friedland, p. 84).

²⁹ University of Toronto Senate, Minutes, 7 February 1929.

³⁰ Ibid.

black silk lined with orange silk’, suggesting in general terms that the master’s hood for a given discipline should be of black silk lined with the colour of the corresponding bachelor’s hood. The establishment of such a ‘faculty colour’ is again seen in the February 1929 Committee report, where descriptions of hoods and higher doctoral gowns (with certain exceptions involving Medicine and Dentistry) include the phrase ‘distinctive colour of the degree.’³¹ A different phrase, ‘distinctive colour of the faculty’ is used in describing for the first time the gowns of office of faculty deans.³²

The statute as presented in February 1929 codifies and strengthens elements of this developing system. The bachelors’ gown of the time is revealed to be ‘the undergraduate gown with the chevrons removed.’ It further instructs that the gown of a doctorate taken as a first degree should be the bachelors’, while the gown for doctorates taken as graduate degrees was the masters’.³³ The undergraduate gown had remained the knee-length Clare pattern, while the masters’ gown was described as ‘similar to the Master’s gown at Oxford University’.

A great deal of information heretofore not present in any extant Senate document is also established in the statute. For honorary doctors—and this had not heretofore been expressed—there was prescribed a gown of ‘scarlet cloth—fronts and sleeves trimmed with silk of the distinctive colour’. This was not a new development: a photograph of the procession to a 1907 degree ceremony shows honorary LLD and Canadian Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier wearing such a gown (see Fig. 1).³⁴



Fig. 1. Canadian Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier (at left) wears the gown of an honorary doctor in the procession for the installation of University President Robert Falconer, 26 September 1907.

University of Toronto Archives image 2001-77-103MS

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

In parentheses, the Secretary noted that this description contained ‘an amendment respecting the Chancellor’s gown and cap which the Senate directed to have inserted.’³⁵ While the Chancellor’s gown is one of the first to be mentioned in the history of the Senate, no evidence is in the minutes that its particulars were ever described. Perhaps the design of such a gown, held in common with many other universities in Britain and the Commonwealth, would not require explanation? If so, might some of these assumptions relate to an acquisition or borrowing of certain practices from elsewhere?

Certainly a similarity to some of the characteristic hoods of the University of Oxford exists in some aspects of dress. Bachelors’ hoods are made of silk of different distinctive colours and edged with fur, with the exception of the BA and later the BSc, both made of black stuff.³⁶ Further, the February 1923 proposal of the Faculty of Medicine offered a design for the ChM, which, if the characteristic Toronto white cord is disregarded, strongly resembles the hood of the same degree at Oxford. Other aspects suggest Cambridge use—for instance, the design of the undergraduate gown, and the later (mid-twentieth century) adoption of red facings on the doctors’ gown, which is discussed later.

From whence came the colours prescribed for hoods? Considering the resemblances mentioned above, the choices of black for BA and of blue for Medicine are not surprising. The hoods for Forestry-related degrees take the predictable colour of green. In the March 1929 statute two hoods are prescribed to be ‘violet’: while the colour might be a derivative of the Oxford colour (lilac) in the case of Music, the violet silk is also used for engineers’ hoods. The colour violet seems to have been associated with the Royal Engineers, the Merchant Marine engineers, and their counterparts throughout the Commonwealth.³⁷

The 1929 statute also suggests that the colour grey represents the scientific disciplines; it is manifested in the hoods for several different degrees. Grey forms the exterior for the Bachelor of Science in Medicine and Dentistry (trimmed with dark blue and gold respectively); the Master of Science in Dentistry (there was no Master of Science, and the ChM, of course, was blue); and the DSc hood is scarlet lined grey—this last is also used at Oxford. The pre-1961 maroon Bachelor of Science hood is anomalous here, although it was awarded by the Engineering faculty.

³⁴ University of Toronto Archives, A1973-0003/002(45).

³⁵ University of Toronto Senate, Minutes, 8 March 1929.

³⁶ It should be noted that the Bachelor of Science (described in Haycraft/Stringer (1948) as maroon in colour) was offered until the 1960s by the Faculty of Engineering—the ‘School of Practical Science’.

³⁷ Violet is also worn by New Zealand engineers. I thank Bruce Christianson for this note. Coincidentally or not, Canadian engineering students dye themselves violet for beginning-of-term orientation week.

A final note respecting 'faculty colours': the assignment of pink to Law may have been at the hands of President McCaul, whose LLD hood from Trinity College Dublin would also have been lined pink.

Trinity College—an exception to the rule

At present, there is little variance among the shapes and colours of the hoods and gowns of the independent and constituent colleges of the University. The federated universities—Victoria University, the University of St Michael's College, and the University of Trinity College—maintain their degree-granting status through the presence of independent theological faculties, having ceded the ability to grant other degrees to the parent institution.³⁸ Degrees granted by these universities call for a separate scheme of academic dress; well described in Smith (1970), they do not enter the scope of this study. For practical purposes, the federated universities, along with seven other constituent colleges, participate in the familiar collegiate system, and the most frequently visible distinctive items are the robes of office of the various college heads.

There is one significant exception to this uniformity of dress among the colleges. Aside from a significant relaxation of the dress code outside the grounds, the design and use of academic dress at Trinity College has not changed much since its establishment.

From a design standpoint, it is interesting to note that the gown worn by junior members of Trinity College has never been the University's standard gown with chevrons, but has been a knee-length black gown with open arm seams resembling nothing if not a shortened Geneva gown.

The prescriptive nature of college regulations existed from the beginning: only members of Trinity and its affiliated women's college, St Hilda's, were required to wear cap and gown in the streets outside college grounds. In the 1860s, the act of going out gownless was described as 'an indecent exhibition of academic nakedness' and was punishable by a fine of twenty-five cents.³⁹ The following excerpt describes one student's attitude with respect to his sartorial obligations:

... If we want to go to the city, we have to wear our cap and gown. It only makes us look superior in the eyes of the townfolk and causes ill-feeling. So, at risk of being caught, most of us cache our gowns in the Bellwoods ravine at the back of the College and slip out across the fields and then onto Queen Street. Yesterday, Jack

³⁸ University of Toronto, *A General Handbook* (1966), p. 5. In addition to nine colleges at which 'arts and science' are taught, the University of Toronto is now affiliated to two other theological colleges: a graduate college after the manner of All Souls, Oxford and the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, all with distinctive academic dress.

³⁹ T. A. Reed, ed., *A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto—1852–1952* (University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 238.

and I went into town without gowns, and unluckily ran into the Prov[ost] ... The inevitable happened. By tonight we must write out the complete chapel service for him, psalms, responses and all ...⁴⁰

Trinity undergraduates took solace in the fact that their colleagues from the University's other colleges were also obliged to wear gowns—with velvet chevrons, no less. A student petition argued that the garments prescribed were impractical during the winter, but the governing body of the College rejected their claim, suggesting that 'the present cap [a square] may be made sufficiently warm by the addition of black fur to meet all reasonable objections (if approved by the professor in residence), and that the gown must still be retained.'⁴¹ The enforcement of the regulation lasted until 1867, but the gown remained an integral part of the identity of the College. A graduate of 1930 fondly described the prevailing attitude:

... By our gowns were we known at the university and we did learn to wear them, even when tattered, with a flair which members of the other colleges could never achieve; they didn't live in them as we did.⁴²

In recent years the gown has been more important than ever in differentiating members of Trinity from others at the University. While Massey College also prescribes a gown in Hall, members of Trinity are expected to wear gowns in Hall on all nights of the week, in chapel, and at various College meetings.⁴³ Students are also often seen gowned at University-wide events including Remembrance Day services and student Orientation Week activities. Perhaps surprisingly, the regulations have not been perpetuated solely by the governing officials—they have been bolstered by support or at least tolerance from the students themselves: a recent (2004) decision of the student union endorsed the wearing of academic dress in the dining hall. Yet contention about the issue has existed: former Dean of Women Melinda Seaman outlined 'many serious discussions pro and con.'⁴⁴

The very fact that the practice is deemed anachronistic makes it desirable to some junior members of College. As one student wrote,

⁴⁰ Andrew Watson, ed., *Trinity, 1852–1952* (University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 17.

⁴¹ Reed, p. 239.

⁴² Margaret Ham, 'Timor Dei Principium Sapientiae', in Barbara Sutton, ed., *Sanctam Hildam Canimus* (University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 20. Ham also describes 'academic dress' as 'a dark skirt (navy or black) worn with a long-sleeved white blouse—and gown, of course. For Sunday chapel ... academic dress plus mortar-board was required wear.'

⁴³ *TrinLife*, student handbook, Trinity College (2005).

⁴⁴ Melinda Seaman, 'My Life with the Saints and Others' in *Sanctam Hildam Canimus*, p. 37.

For those of you who lament that things like gowned dinners are pretentious, look around: Trinity is pretentious, and justifiably so. If you cannot embrace it, then you may be in the wrong place.⁴⁵

While public displays of this attitude have probably perpetuated the association of academic dress with conceit, especially among students from other colleges and in a minority of Trinity's own students, it should be noted that other steadfast traditions—Latin grace at meals, matriculation convocations, choral scholarships, etc.—have enjoyed broad support. Because knowledge of these idiosyncratic customs is widespread, in recent years the College has attracted students who are drawn to such an environment.

Several particular practices are worthy of note. After matriculation and more formal matters are dispensed with, students are 'gowned in' after having been 'initiated' by upper-year students,⁴⁶ before which time they are instructed not to wear their gowns. A second practice apparently peculiar to Trinity although claimed to possess British origin⁴⁷ is 'pooring-out', a purportedly physical but tongue-in-cheek ejection from Hall which in recent times involves the ripping to shreds of the 'offender's' gown. The garment is thereafter worn as a sash. A recent interview with a Trinity don who was an undergraduate student in the 1970s suggests that this addition to pooring-out has developed since his undergraduate days.⁴⁸

The mess we're in now: notes on present use

Since the 1960s, the chevrons on the undergraduate gown of the University have unaccountably disappeared⁴⁹—while at the same time, the cut of the gown itself has changed considerably, such that it now resembles that of an American bachelor (that is, a bell-sleeved gown falling below the knee, with multiple pleats on the facings.) Given that many undergraduates wear gowns only at rare College events and at their own degree ceremony we suspect that robemakers, in an effort to

⁴⁵ Aaron Christoff, Letter to the Editor, *Saltterrae* (Trinity College newspaper), 21 March 2005.

⁴⁶ Ann Tottenham, a retired bishop of the diocese of Toronto, described the goings-on at St Hilda's thus: after wearing signs and haloes made of coat-hangers for several days, '[on] St Hilda's Night ... we were dubbed 'true St Hildians' while wearing academic dress complete with the demure black tie that symbolized our first-year status.' In *Sanctam Hildam Canimus*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ No authoritative source from either side of the Atlantic offers convincing evidence: the belief is sustained by its continued publication in the student handbook.

⁴⁸ See 'Once u-don a time at Trinity College', *Saltterrae*, 24 January 2005.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, photographs in the student annual, *Torontonensis*, published until 1966.

economize, ceased to produce the undergraduate gown, and when such a garment was requested, provided instead the more commonly purchased American-style bachelor's gown. A similar practice is also seen at Trinity College, where all students, including most postgraduates on the Divinity course possessing a first degree, wear the open gown. Because the College purchases gowns in bulk to be sold to new students and fellows, this may be a result of economy rather than a conscious decision.

Mention must also be made of the present distinctive gown of the graduate doctors. This garment began to see use in the late 1950s at the earliest, until which time graduate doctors had worn the Oxford masters' gown. While Harcourts, the official robemaker to the University, has suggested that the design dates back 'to the 1800s' at Toronto, there is no pictorial evidence to support this in printed matter or in portraiture. A photo spread in the 1958 *Torontonensis* annual shows all doctors in attendance wearing black masters' gowns. Reproduced below is a similar image from 1968, suggesting the distinctive gown was not in widespread use at that date.

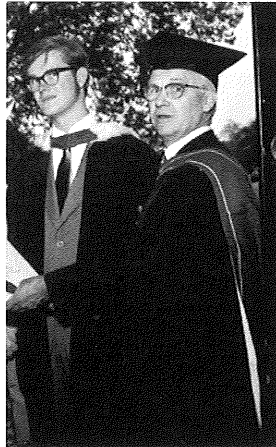


Fig. 2. Professor Jones of the Faculty of Engineering (right) wears a master's gown with the hood of his doctorate at Convocation, 1968.

University of Toronto Archives image A197800H/030(15)

The distinctive Toronto doctoral gown that replaced the masters' is the same shape as an Oxford doctor's robe, but made of black silk with the facings and lower half of the sleeves covered in scarlet broadcloth, the facings being edged with the same sort of white cord as the University's hoods. Worn with a mortarboard with red tassel, the gown affords an opportunity for doctors to wear scarlet. In practice, however, and subject to the availability of hire stock, doctors are seen, even at their own degree ceremonies, to wear the bachelors' gown. Honorary doctors continue to wear a scarlet gown with coloured facings and sleeves.

We have noted that the robemakers have in general taken liberties in producing gowns which do not fit the prescribed designs. Many of the gowns offered to graduands for degree ceremonies, both for rental and purchase, are furnished with a single hook-and-eye fastening at the neck. Consequently (or perhaps incidentally), gowns worn at Convocation and elsewhere are inevitably seen to be worn ‘closed’, in the American fashion. Because only one hook-and-eye is present, the neck remains closed (and rather constrictive) while the rest of the gown flaps open.

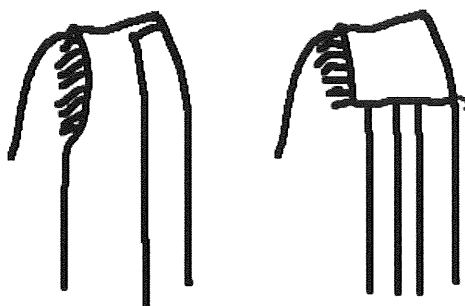


Fig. 3. Left: the standard gown. Right: a gown with the front constructed with several pleats on the facings.

A second feature of bachelors’ and masters’ gowns which seems to reflect American practice is the use of multiple pleats on the facings. Moreover, gowns produced by Toronto robemakers have a concave yoke. These developments seem to reflect the influence of American patterns and tailoring on garments originally of British design, which parallel similar southern influences on Canadian institutions.

At any time when hoods are worn, the button loop is usually overlooked and men do not tuck the neckband under their neckties. Added to this is the well-documented influence of photographers who tend to pull the neckband of the hood down to the navel region, which practice is mimicked by graduands at their degree ceremonies. The result, coupled with the half-closed gown, seems less than dignified.⁵⁰

The fact that graduands are largely ignorant of the appropriate wearing of hood and gown is curious in light of the fact that the donning of academic dress at a University degree ceremony seems to be expected by graduands and their families—but as hood and gown are perceived to be ‘graduation robes’ more than anything else, the precise nature of the garments to be worn remains unknown until

⁵⁰ The matter of the neckband and the possible influence of photographers have been mentioned on the Academic Dress discussion group <academic_dress@yahoo.com> several times: see, for instance, message 20524 and following.

graduation. Given that the degree convocation may be the only time most members of the University will ever robe, and that the result may be discouraging, it might be helpful for university personnel or assistants from the hire company to provide instruction or assistance.

Conclusions

The use of academic dress at the University at present is rare beyond the boundaries of the degree ceremony and the photographer's studio. When academicals are worn, they are frequently seen as symbols of 'graduation' only, and not of rank, discipline, or vocation—with few but notable exceptions they are certainly not garments often worn by faculty or members of the community in fulfilling their roles. Yet exceptions to the rule continue, not least at Trinity College where the continuing presence of gowns reflects a sustained interest in the maintenance of tradition in other aspects of the life of the College. Elsewhere, the influence of apparently American practices as described in the last few pages seems to be the latest development in the scheme of Toronto academic dress, which might be best described by the influences, both internal and external, that have been exerted upon it throughout the history of the University.

The establishment of patterns and colours for hoods and gowns was likely spearheaded by President John McCaul. While one's perspective might be too much tied to the testimony of Daniel Wilson, there are clear links—some explicit—to Oxford and Cambridge (Clare) patterns that have been copied by many other Commonwealth institutions. The choice of these, in some respects, can be interpreted to reflect the desire of the founders to provide in all aspects of its existence a University based on the British model. Why it seemed appropriate for the MA and ChM hoods to appear almost identical to the comparable Oxford hood is a mystery. Yet before any allegations of impersonation are levelled, it should be noted that the reason why the Senate felt a 'distinctive mark', the white velvet (now cord) added to all hoods in 1868, should be added has not come down to us either. At present, the system of academic dress seems to have remained faithful to the original schemes. While the number of degrees offered (seventy-two) has increased significantly, the common elements of bachelors', masters', and doctors' hoods have been retained with the addition of new but predictable colour combinations. The hood for Master of Arts in Teaching is, for instance, lined with cerise silk like the hood for Master of Arts, and edged with chartreuse, the colour of the Faculty of Education (see Appendix 3).

It seems that the University will never again see examinations sat by students in gowns and invigilated by doctors in scarlet. These McCaulist visions are now restricted to fond memory by the increasingly casual atmosphere of the University and by different social expectations. Yet in the present state of affairs, it is heartening to witness the importance of academic dress to the degree ceremony.

While its regular use in a variety of conventional situations remains attractive in certain circles (viz., Trinity College) for the majority of the University population its presence there seems to be a matter of course. On the subject of these traditional customs at Convocation, Secretary of the Governing Council Louis Charpentier wrote that ... '[they] remind us that universities have been around for a very long time, they will continue to be around and there are certain basic things that universities are here to protect.'⁵¹ If nothing else, hoods and gowns are irrefutable symbols of those things, and their presence at certain notable events remains important.

Considering the history of academic dress at the University, perhaps it is fitting, if not universally desirable, that its design and use should continue to be affected by changing proclivities. In this way, from the years of McCaul to the present, the scheme has become, and remains, an indicator of internal and external influences on the University as a whole.



Fig. 4. W. E. Phillips, Chairman of the Board of Governors, wearing the gown of an honorary doctorate, and Chancellor the Rt Hon. Vincent Massey, c.1947.

University of Toronto Archives image A1978-0041/017(30)

⁵¹ Quoted in Janet Wong, 'Pomp and Pageantry', in the Convocation supplement to the *University of Toronto Bulletin*, 30 May 2005, p. S4.

Appendix 1

On research methods

Few resources exist that permit the study, especially historical study, of academic dress at the University of Toronto. A further complication to the research process was the fact that many early documents and records pertaining to the foundation of the University perished in a major fire in 1890. The standard British and international texts (Shaw (1995), Franklyn (hidden in the Rare Books library), Haycraft/Stringer (1948), and Smith) are available in the University Library, but only the latter two supply 'snapshots' of Toronto use from the time of writing. The Office of Governing Council (the successor to the University Senate) kindly provided the modern 'Statutes on Academic Costume', which it is their responsibility to maintain.

Perhaps the greatest source of information was the collection of microfilms of the minutes of the Senate, accessible from the University Archives (accession number A1968-0012, 28 reels). There are tolerable indices to the minutes at A70-0005.

A complete collection of the student annual *Torontonensis* (published until 1966) allowed for the observation of the undergraduate gown in particular. Gowns were worn in photographs of student groups until the 1950s but began to be replaced by college or university blazers.

Appendix 2

A—Resolution of 7 February 1929

TO THE SENATE:

Your Committee met on January 30th and again on February 7th, 1929, and took into consideration the general principles underlying academic costume as prescribed by this University. On account of the fact that the Doctor's degree in medicine and Dentistry is conferred upon the completion of the undergraduate course, your Committee felt that the hoods for these degree should be distinguished from the hood of a Doctor's degree taken on the completion of a graduate course or granted *honoris causa*. Your Committee accordingly submits the following recommendations with regard to academic costume in this University:

I HOODS—

All hoods to be trimmed with white cord.

Bachelor—of silk of the distinctive color of the degree, with the exception of the BA hood which is of black stuff; all Bachelors' hoods to be trimmed with white fur (This is in accordance with the existing regulations).

BSc(Med)—the Bachelor's hood of grey silk with a tapering strip of dark blue silk adjoining the fur.

BSc(Dent)—the Bachelor's hood of grey silk with a tapering strip of gold silk adjoining the fur.

Master—of black corded silk lined with silk of the distinctive color of the degree (this is in accordance with the existing regulations).

ChM—black corded silk lined with dark blue silk

MSc(Dent)—of black corded silk lined with grey silk and edged with gold silk tapering from a width of one and one-half inches.

Doctor (a) first degree

MD—the MB hood of dark blue silk with the fur replaced by strips of scarlet broadcloth one and one-half inches wide.

DDS—a similar hood of gold silk with the fur replaced by strips of scarlet broadcloth one and one-half inches wide.

(b) Graduate or Honorary degree—of scarlet broadcloth lined with silk of the distinctive color.

II GOWNS

Undergraduate—as now authorized.

Bachelor—the same as the undergraduate's gown with the chevrons removed.

Master—as now authorized.

Doctor (a) first degree—Bachelor's gown

(b) graduate—Master's gown

(c) honorary—Scarlet cloth—fronts and sleeves trimmed with silk of the distinctive color.

Dean of a Faculty—the Master's gown with the fronts trimmed with silk five inches wide of the distinctive color of the faculty.

President—blue silk gown with fronts trimmed with silver braid

Chancellor—black silk brocade with collar, fronts, hem and sleeves trimmed with gold braid.

III CAPS

Undergraduate, Master, Doctor (first degree and graduate)—black stuff mortarboard with black tassel

Doctor (honorary)—black velvet mortarboard with gold tassel

Dean of a Faculty—black velvet mortarboard with black silk tassel

President—black velvet mortarboard with silver tassel

Chancellor—black velvet mortarboard with gold tassel

February 7th 1929

(Sgd.) R. A. FALCONER, Chairman

(This report contains an amendment respecting the Chancellor's gown and cap which the Senate directed to have inserted.)

B—Statute of 8 March 1929

BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
BE IT ENACTED:

That the Statutes respecting academic costume heretofore passed be and the same hereby are rescinded.

I Hoods

1. That all hoods of this University be trimmed with white cord one and one half inches from the edge and approaching more closely to the edge as the hood becomes narrower.
2. That the hoods for the degrees of Bachelor, Master, Doctor (first degree) and Engineer be of the 'simple' or Oxford shape.
3. That the hoods for the degrees of Doctor (graduate or honorary) be of the 'full' or 'Cambridge' shape;
4. That the hoods for the Bachelors' degrees be made each of the material prescribed in the following schedule, unlined, and trimmed with white fur one and one half inches wide along the longer edge:
 - Bachelor of Arts—black stuff
 - Bachelor of Commerce—orange silk
 - Bachelor of Medicine—dark blue silk
 - Bachelor of Applied Science—maroon silk
 - Bachelor of Architecture—corn yellow silk
 - Bachelor of Household Science—lavender silk
 - Bachelor of Pedagogy—light blue silk
 - Bachelor of Forestry—rifle green silk
 - Bachelor of Music—violet silk
 - Bachelor of Laws—pink silk
 - Bachelor of Pharmacy—french white silk
 - Bachelor of Science in Agriculture—cardinal silk
 - Bachelor of Veterinary Science—brown silk
 - Bachelor of Science in Medicine—dark grey silk with a strip of dark blue silk adjoining the fur and tapering from a width of one and one half inches;
5. That the hoods for the Masters' degrees be made of black corded silk, each lined with silk of the colour of the corresponding Bachelor's hood, except as set forth in the following schedule:
 - Master of Arts—lined with cerise silk (*why this change? Oxon MA?)
 - Master of Surgery—lined with dark blue silk

Master of Science in Dentistry—lined with dark grey silk and edged with gold silk tapering from a width of one and one half inches;

6. a) That the hoods for the Doctors' degrees, when such degrees are conferred on the completion of the undergraduate course, be each the same hood as that authorized for the corresponding Bachelor's degree with the fur replaced by a strip of scarlet broadcloth of the same size, the material to be determined according to the following schedule:
 - Doctor of Medicine—dark blue silk
 - Doctor of Dental Surgery—gold silk
- b) That the hoods for the Doctors' degrees, when such degrees are conferred upon the completion of graduate courses or as honorary degrees, be made of scarlet broadcloth, each lined with silk of the colour of the corresponding Bachelor's hood, except as set forth in the following schedule:
 - Doctor of Philosophy—lined with white corded silk
 - Doctor of Letters—lined with cerise silk
 - Doctor of Science—lined with dark grey silk
 - Doctor of Engineering—lined with maroon silk
 - Doctor of Dental Surgery—lined with gold silk
7. That the hoods for the Engineers' degrees be made of violet corded silk, each lined with material to be determined according to the following schedule:
 - Civil Engineer, Mining Engineer, Mechanical Engineer, Electrical Engineer and Chemical Engineer—lined with maroon silk
 - Forest Engineer—lined with rifle green silk

II Gowns

1. That the gowns to be worn by the various members of this University be determined according to the following schedule:
 - Undergraduate—a black stuff gown similar to that of the pensioners of Clare College, Cambridge with three chevrons of black velvet upon each sleeve
 - Bachelor—the same as the undergraduate gown, but without the chevrons
 - Master—a stuff gown similar to the Master's gown of Oxford University
 - Doctor (first degree)—the Bachelor's gown
 - Doctor (graduate)—the Master's gown
 - Doctor (honorary)—a scarlet broadcloth gown with red sleeves, and with trimming on fronts and sleeves of the silk prescribed for the lining of the corresponding hood.

Appendix 3
Statute last amended 15 January 2002

BE IT ENACTED:

Hoods

1. That all hoods of the University be trimmed with white cord one and one half inches from the edge and approaching more closely to the edge as the hood becomes narrower.
2. That the hoods for the degrees of Bachelor, Master, Doctor (first degree) and Engineer be of the 'simple' or Oxford shape.
3. That the hoods for the degrees of Doctor (graduate or honorary) be of the 'full' or 'Cambridge' shape;
4. That the hoods for the Bachelors' degrees be made each of the material prescribed in the following schedule, unlined, and trimmed with white fur one and one half inches wide along the longer edge:

Bachelor of Arts	Black stuff
Bachelor of Science	
Bachelor of Commerce	Black stuff with a strip of orange silk adjoining the fur on both sides of the hood, two inches wide at the bottom and gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Business Administration	Orange stuff with a strip of drab silk adjoining the fur on both sides of the hood, two inches wide at the bottom and gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Applied Science	Maroon silk
Bachelor of Architecture	Corn yellow silk, with a strip of medium green silk adjoining the fur on both sides of the hood, two inches wide at the bottom and gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Science in Dentistry	Dark grey silk, with a strip of gold silk adjoining the fur and tapering from a width of one and one-half inches
Bachelor of Education	Chartreuse silk
Bachelor of Science in Forestry	Rifle green silk
Bachelor of Laws	Pink silk
Bachelor of Science in Biomedical Communication	Dark blue silk, with a strip of dark grey silk, adjoining the fur and tapering from a width of one and one-half inches

Bachelor of Science in Occupational Therapy	Dark blue silk, with a strip of dark grey silk adjoining the fur with a second strip of kelly green adjoining the dark grey silk both gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Science in Physical Therapy	Dark blue silk, with a strip of dark grey silk adjoining the fur with a second strip of medium yellow silk adjoining the dark grey silk both gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Music Bachelor of Music (Performance)	Violet silk
Bachelor of Science in Nursing	Powder blue silk with a strip of gold silk adjoining the fur on both sides of the hood two inches wide at the bottom and gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Science in Pharmacy	Red silk with a strip of black silk adjoining the fur with a second strip of medium yellow silk adjoining the black silk, both one and three-quarters of an inch wide gradually tapering to the neckband on both the inside and the outside surfaces of the shell. White cord to be located on the yellow silk one-half of an inch from the red shell and gradually tapering to the neckband
Bachelor of Physical and Health Education	Powder blue silk, with a strip of maroon silk next to the fur on both sides of the hood two inches wide at the bottom and gradually tapering to nothing at the neckband

5. That the hood of the Master's degree be of black corded silk with a trim of white soutache braid on both outside edges, starting one and one-half inches from the back edge and tapering to one half inch apart at the neckband, lined [and edged, except where otherwise noted] with the silk of the colour of the corresponding Bachelor's hood, as set forth in the following schedule:

Master of Philosophy	White silk, trimmed with blue silk along the lower edge
Master of Arts	Cerise silk
Master of Science	Grey silk, edged with 3/8 inch cerise silk
Master of Arts in Teaching	Cerise silk, edged with 3/8 inch chartreuse silk
Master of Science in Teaching	
Master of Business Administration	Orange silk
Master of Laws	Pink silk
Master of Studies in Law	Pink silk edged with maroon silk tapering from a width of one and one-half inches

Master of Applied Science	Maroon silk
Master of Architecture	Antique brass silk, edged with 3/8 inch corn yellow taffeta
Master of Landscape Architecture	Antique brass silk, edged with 3/8 inch medium green taffeta
Master of Science in Planning	Slate grey silk, edged with 3/8 inch corn yellow silk
Master of Museum Studies	Cerise silk, edged with 3/8 inch white silk
Master of Science in Forestry	Rifle green silk
Master of Music	Violet silk
Master of Social Work	Olive green silk
Master of Library Science	Blue silk (lighter than royal blue)
Master of Information Science	Blue silk, edged with gold silk tapering from a width of one and one-half inches
Master of Information Studies	Blue silk, edged with 3/8 inch cerise silk
Master of Education	Chartreuse silk
Master of Science in Pharmacy	Red silk, edged with 3/8 inch medium yellow silk
Master of Engineering	Maroon silk, edged with 3/8 inch golden yellow silk
Master of Science in Nursing	Light blue silk, edged with 3/8 inch gold silk on the outside of the hood
Master of Nursing	Light blue silk with a double border as follows: inner border of 3/8 inch gold silk and outer border of 3/8 inch dark blue silk
Master of Industrial Relations	White silk edged 3/8 inch cerise silk
Master of Health Science	White silk edged 3/8 inch gold and blue silk
Master of Science in Biomedical Communications	Dark blue silk edged 3/8 inch dark grey silk
Master of Forest Conservation	Rifle green silk, edged 3/8 inch orange silk, with the white cord beginning 1/2 inch from the edge
Master of Management and Professional Accounting	Orange silk edged 3/8 inch white silk
Master of Mathematical Finance	Grey silk edged 3/8 inch orange silk
Master of Engineering in Telecommunications	Maroon silk edged 3/8 inch white silk
Master of Urban Design Studies	Slate grey silk edged 2 inches cerise silk, trimmed with 3/8 inch braid corn yellow
Master of Urban Design	Antique brass silk, edged 3/8 inch scarlet taffeta
Master of Teaching	Chartreuse taffeta (#97), edged 3/8" white taffeta on both anterior and posterior edged, under which is a 3/8" border of cerise taffeta

Master of Spatial Analysis	Royal blue silk, edged 3/8" yellow silk
Master of Science in Occupational Therapy	Blue silk, edged 3/8" grey silk, with a strip of 3/8" kelly green adjoining the grey and tapering to the neckband
Master of Science in Physical Therapy	Black silk edged 3/8" grey silk, with a second strip of 3/8" medium yellow silk adjoining the grey and tapering to the neckband
Master of Biotechnology	Black silk edged 3/8" grey silk and 3/8" orange silk, both gradually tapering to the neckband
Master of Engineering in Design and Manufacturing	Maroon silk edged 3/8" yellow silk and 3/8" white silk, both gradually tapering to the neckband

6. a) That the hood for the Doctor's degree when such a degree is conferred on the completion of the undergraduate course, be the same hood as that for the corresponding Bachelor's degree with the fur replaced by a strip of scarlet broadcloth of the same size, the materials to be determined according to the following schedule:

Doctor of Medicine	Dark blue silk
Doctor of Dental Surgery	Gold silk
Doctor of Pharmacy	Red silk edged with a strip of black silk adjoining, with a second strip of medium yellow silk adjoining the black silk, both 1 3/4" wide gradually tapering to the neckband. White braid to be located on the medium yellow silk 1/2" from the red shell and gradually tapering to the neckband.

b) That the hood for the Doctor's degree when such a degree is conferred on the completion of a graduate course or as an honorary degree, be of scarlet broadcloth lined with silk of the colour of the corresponding Bachelor's hood, or as set forth in the following schedule:

Doctor of Philosophy	White corded silk
Doctor of Letters	Cerise silk
Doctor of Laws	Pink silk
Doctor of Engineering	Maroon silk
Doctor of Science	Grey silk
Doctor of Architecture	Corn yellow silk
Doctor of Music	Violet silk
Doctor of Juridical Science	Pink silk edged with royal blue silk 2 inches wide on the inner side of the hood
Doctor of Education	Chartreuse silk

Gowns

That the gowns to be worn by the various members of the University be determined according to the following schedule:

Undergraduate	A black stuff gown similar to that of the pensioners of Clare College, Cambridge, with three chevrons of black velvet upon each sleeve
Bachelor	The same as the undergraduate gown, but without the chevrons
Master	A black stuff gown similar to the Master's gown at Oxford University
Doctor (first degree)	The Bachelor's gown
Doctor (graduate)	Black silk with scarlet broadcloth front panels four inches wide, edged $\frac{1}{4}$ inch white silk, the sleeves to be loose as in the Oxford gown, with black silk at the top and lower half scarlet broadcloth to match the front panels
Doctor (honorary)	A scarlet broadcloth gown with full sleeves, and with trimmings of fronts and sleeves of the silk prescribed for lining of the corresponding hood
Dean of a Faculty	The Master's gown with fronts trimmed with silk five inches wide, the colour of the silk to be determined according to the following schedule:
Arts	Cerise
Medicine	Dark blue
Law	Pink
Applied Science and Engineering	Maroon
Education	Chartreuse
Forestry	Rifle green
Music	Violet
Graduate Studies	Scarlet
Dentistry	Gold
Pharmacy	$4\frac{3}{4}$ " red, and $\frac{1}{4}$ " medium yellow on the outer edge
President of the University	A blue silk gown with sailor collar and long sleeves, trimmed with silver braid and ornaments
Chancellor of the University	A black brocaded silk gown with sailor collar and long sleeves, with collar, fronts, sleeves, and hem trimmed with gold braid. ⁵²

⁵² Although all of the University's gowns are designed to be worn open, a recent Chancellor's gown was designed to be closed at the front with several hooks. ' ... Wearing

Caps

That the caps to be worn by the various members of the University be determined according to the following schedule:

Undergraduate, Bachelor, Master, Doctor (first degree)	Black stuff mortarboard with black tassel
Doctor (Graduate)	Black felt mortarboard with red tassel to match the scarlet in the gown, except as otherwise provided for the Doctor of Juridical Science degree, which shall be a black velvet mortarboard with royal blue tassel
Dean of a Faculty	Black velvet mortarboard with black tassel
President of the University	Black velvet mortarboard with silver tassel
Chancellor of the University	Black velvet mortarboard with gold tassel ⁵³

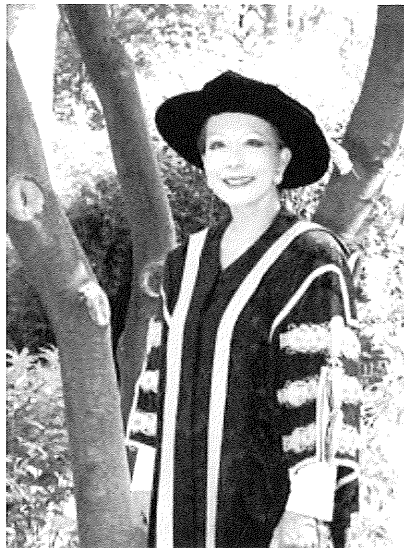


Fig. 5. Chancellor the Hon. Vivienne Poy (2003–06) wearing a modified Chancellor's gown. At one time, Poy was a fashion designer.

it open is fine for a big tall man,' she said, 'but it kept falling off my shoulders.' See the *University of Toronto Bulletin*, <<http://www.news.utoronto.ca/bin6/060623-2397.asp>>.

⁵³ The same Chancellor opted for a black velvet bonnet with gold cord.

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Lambeth Academic Dress and the University of London

by Graham Zellick

Introduction

There were several references to the University of London in Professor Noel Cox's article in Volume 5 on 'Lambeth Degree Academic Dress',¹ since that is the only University apart from Oxford and Cambridge to have produced an Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr Carey, who holds the London degrees of BD, MTh and PhD, became the 103rd holder of that office in 1991.

Professor Cox speculates about the University of London's 'understandable jealousy'—a strange choice of word—on missing 'the opportunity to see its own academic dress utilized when Dr Carey, a London graduate, chose Oxford for its model'.²

Readers of Professor Cox's article may be interested in the protracted exchange of correspondence with Lambeth Palace between 1996 and 1998 initiated by me first as Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of London and eventually as Vice-Chancellor and President. The correspondence is summarized below and largely speaks for itself, but some commentary will follow.

The Correspondence

The correspondence began in June 1996 with the following letter from me to the Archbishop:

I understand that the recipients of Lambeth degrees are wearing academic dress based on the University of Cambridge.³ I had thought that the principle was that Lambeth graduates wore academic dress in the style of the Archbishop's own university, which in your case (for the first time) is the University of London.

I should appreciate clarification of the situation.

¹ *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, Vol. 5 (2005), pp. 64–75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³ It was, in fact, Oxford.

A prompt response was received from the Archbishop's Research Officer, pointing out that Archbishops have always associated Lambeth degrees with Oxford or Cambridge—'the only universities in existence in England at the time of the 1533 Act'—because all (until Archbishop Carey) had attended either of these universities. She went on to explain that Archbishop Carey had followed the tradition of his predecessor, an Oxford graduate, and not used the robes of the University of London 'as he cannot use the robes of a university—even his own—which was not in existence at the time of the 1533 Act'.

In reply, I questioned the assertion that it was only the robes of universities in existence at the time of the Ecclesiastic Licences Act 1533 that could be prescribed by the Archbishop and I asked for the basis of this contention. I continued:

I see nothing in the Act of 1533 which refers to the existence of any particular universities at that time, nor should there be, since we are talking about a power vested in the Archbishop which formerly reposed in the Pope. Nor do I see anything about the academic dress to be worn by the holders of Lambeth degrees. I assume that it is purely a matter of custom.

Halsbury's Laws of England notes: 'The recipient is entitled to wear the academic costume of the university of which the archbishop himself is a member.' *Halsbury's Statutes* says: 'It is by virtue of this [s.3] and the following section [of the Act of 1533] that the Archbishop of Canterbury is empowered to grant . . . Lambeth degrees, which entitle the holder to wear the academic dress of the Archbishop's University without making him a member of it.' If, as I suppose, the wearing of academic dress by the holders of Lambeth degrees is purely a matter of custom and practice and not of law, then the basic principle noted in *Halsbury's* ought to be preserved and Lambeth degree-holders should now wear the academic dress of the University of London.

Over a month later, the Research Officer wrote to say that the points I had raised were being considered by legal advisers. Three months later, I enquired whether the legal advisers had completed their consideration of the matter and after a further delay of three weeks the Research Officer responded, making several points:

- 'London University' had contacted Lambeth Palace by telephone following Dr Carey's appointment and advised that the University's Statutes did not permit anyone but actual holders of its degrees to wear its robes: 'I was told therefore that under no circumstances would it be appropriate for recipients of Lambeth Degrees to wear London University robes, thereby creating the perception that the recipients were getting actual "London" degrees.'

- ‘We therefore took the decision to continue the custom, followed from time immemorial, to use the robes of either Oxford or Cambridge—the only universities being in existence in England in 1533.’
- The two ancient universities accept the position and their statutes present no impediment.
- It would be difficult, five years into Dr Carey’s archbishopric, to change what had become an established custom of using the robes of Oxford University.

I made the following points in reply:

First, there is the point you make about the University of London itself (which you have not mentioned hitherto). I have consulted officers of the University and no one can understand how this telephone call came to be made. Perhaps you could inform me who made this call so that we can ascertain on what authority it might have been done. As it happens, the information as you report it, is entirely inaccurate. Neither the Statutes of the University at the time, nor the present Statutes (for whose drafting I was responsible), contain any provision on academic dress at all, let alone stipulate that it could not be worn by Lambeth graduates. The only body at the time that could have given an authoritative ruling or indeed expressed any opinion on the matter was the Senate; it would now be the Academic Committee. Either then or now, my own view is that it is inconceivable that the University would have resisted the consequence of having one of our graduates as Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, how could it be anything but a privilege for the University’s robes to be worn by Lambeth graduates?

In your earlier letter you said that the matter had been referred to your legal advisers and that, I believe, accounts for the substantial delay until now. However, I see little evidence of a legal analysis and nothing really adds to what you have already said and which I have questioned. You say that the ancient universities have accepted the position: I do not accept that the University of London would not also accept it if given the chance. There is certainly no impediment presented by our Statutes or any provisions made thereunder.

What have your legal advisers said about the statement in all the texts that the holders of Lambeth degrees wear the robes of the Archbishop’s own university? By what authority are Lambeth graduates at present wearing the robes of the University of Oxford?

You say that, in any case, the position could hardly be changed now five years into Archbishop Carey’s term of office. I do not agree.

I should be grateful if these points could be further considered.

The Research Officer replied by stating that my various points were being considered but an early reply was not likely since the Archbishop was preparing for

Christmas and shortly thereafter would be taking seven weeks' sabbatical leave. 'We are being asked not to bother him with issues which are not urgent.'

Three months later, the Research Officer wrote again, having consulted the Archbishop on his return. The Archbishop felt very strongly that the use of the robes of the two universities in existence at the time of the 1533 Act should be retained, since 'the link must be one of history and not related to any particular occupant of office'. There would, it was argued, be 'grave concern' if the robes of a particular university were being 'particularly advertised'. Moreover, the Archbishop would not wish his successors to have to be involved in a debate over the robes to be worn. The Research Officer concluded:

'... I confirm that the Archbishop does not wish to vary the practice of ancient custom which is widely accepted to use the robes of either Oxford and [*sic*] Cambridge. I am sure no future Archbishop would wish to do so either.'

I replied seven months later, having assumed office as Vice-Chancellor, in the following terms:

However strongly the Archbishop may feel on this issue, I have yet to hear from you any justification for departing from the principle that has been acknowledged by every authority on the subject, namely, that holders of Lambeth degrees wear the robes of the Archbishop's own University. You have produced no authority to confine this proposition to the two universities which were in existence in 1533.

You say there would be 'grave concern if the use of the robes of any particular university was being particularly advertised'... Robes of particular universities are being used at present. Whether or not that gives rise to grave concern, I very much doubt.

I do not understand your paragraph which says that 'this Archbishop would not wish his successors to have to be involved in a debate over the robes to be worn when they are giving their own degrees'. If Archbishop Carey were to adhere to the long-established rule, there would be no debate. Disquiet is caused now because the Archbishop is determined to disregard a principle what has been universally acknowledged.

You conclude by saying that 'this Archbishop does not wish to vary the practice of ancient custom'. But this is precisely what he is doing. The ancient custom only limited the robes to those of Oxford and Cambridge because we have not previously had an Archbishop of Canterbury who was a graduate of another university. We now have a ludicrous situation in which each Archbishop, if he is not a graduate of either Oxford or Cambridge, will have to determine which of these two Universities will be used for Lambeth graduates, even where the Archbishop has no connection with either of them.

The Archbishop's conclusion is not only insulting to his own University of London, but it derives no support from history, tradition, law or custom and I urge the Archbishop to reconsider the matter with care.

The reply, after just under two months, this time came from the Rt Rev. Frank Sargeant, Bishop at Lambeth, who made the following assertions:

- Neither the present Archbishop nor his successors would wish upon installation to become involved in a debate over the robes to be worn by Lambeth degree-holders.
- Successive Archbishops have rejected the suggestion that distinctive unique robes could be instituted for Lambeth degrees ‘as this might well have the effect of seeing [*sic*] to create the Archbishop’s own university’.
- No objections have ever been raised by Oxford or Cambridge and nothing in their statutes prevents it.
- There is no such ‘long-established rule’ but a convention or custom that the robes of one of the two English universities in existence in 1533 were to be used and ‘generally, the preference would be for the present Archbishop’s own university’. Although it was not possible to invoke the second part of the convention under Archbishop Carey, it was possible to adhere to the first part.
- The use of different robes could imply that the recipients were in fact holding degrees of a particular university which could jeopardise the Archbishop’s power to grant degrees.
- The Archbishop wished to know whether my views were shared by a majority of the Council of the University but in any event ‘the Archbishop’s decision in this matter is final’.

After a further exchange of letters, in which Bishop Sargeant expressed Dr Carey’s wholehearted support and affection for the University of London, the correspondence was closed without any convergence of views.

Commentary

First, as any lawyer with trial experience will say, a witness who shifts his ground from statement to statement is vulnerable. This correspondence illustrates the point nicely. In particular, an alibi needs to be advanced fully and early. The ‘alibi’ here—the mysterious telephone call referred to in the letter of 20 November 1996—surprisingly does not emerge until the second substantive letter and then is devoid of supporting detail. Had it been averred in the first reply, it might have been a clincher. Moreover, the inevitable request for further details as to who made

the call elicited no response at all. Is it possible that no proper note was taken of the call and the file does not record to whom the office was speaking? If so, it betrays an unfortunate laxity in the administrative arrangements. Did Lambeth Palace really believe that such a message would be conveyed by telephone rather than in writing? And would not normal prudence dictate that the caller should have been asked to put the point in writing?

Dr Carey became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1991. In April of that year, Dr J. H. Pryor tabled the following question for answer at the next meeting of the University of London's Convocation (the body of the University's graduates, since abolished):

(a) It has long been the custom, when the Archbishop of Canterbury grants Lambeth degrees, for the recipient of the degree to wear the academic dress of the Archbishop's university, Oxford or Cambridge. Now that we have the first Archbishop who is a London graduate, is the custom to be followed so that the grantees of Lambeth degrees in the present Archbishop's period of office may wear the academic dress of the University of London?

(b) If so, will such graduates be eligible for membership of Convocation and/or to wear the distinctive Convocation dress?

Dr Pryor, a graduate of the University and Chairman of Convocation's Academic Dress Sub-Committee, died before the next meeting on 14 May and so the question went unanswered, but it is possible that it was he who made the telephone call referred to in the letter, purporting to speak for the University, though having no authority to do so and conveying wholly inaccurate information if the Research Officer's recollection is reliable.

The second part of Dr Pryor's question calls for comment. First, Lambeth graduates would obviously not have been eligible for membership of Convocation. As Professor Cox makes clear, the holder of a Lambeth degree does not become a member or graduate of the university whose robes he is disporting. Secondly, if Dr Carey had opted for London academic dress, the issue of what dress would have had to be confronted, because at that time what is variously called full academical dress, festal robes or doctors' scarlet was confined to members of Convocation, i.e. those graduates who had troubled to make the modest payment for lifetime membership of Convocation. This had always struck me as an odd and questionable practice and it was abandoned in my time as being offensive in principle and a crude device to promote membership of Convocation. Clearly, academic dress of the non-Convocation kind would hardly have been apt for the holders of Lambeth doctoral degrees.

Secondly, another oddity is the interval in the dialogue while the issue was referred to the legal advisers. Over four months later, when the conversation is resumed and the legal advisers have reported, the letter in November 1996 contains

no legal points at all, which is perhaps hardly surprising since the question is not in fact a legal one. The legal advisers presumably reported as such, but Lambeth Palace was by this stage so committed to obfuscation and opacity that they could not bring themselves to say so. Or maybe the lawyers too couched their advice in impenetrable language to justify the long delay and a fat fee! The invocation of the Act of 1533 as limiting the academic dress to the only two universities in existence at that time is nonsense. Distinctive academic dress for different institutions did not in any event emerge for two centuries. If there were merit in this argument, it might mean that the actual academic dress current in 1533 should be used for Lambeth degrees without modification or adjustment. That has only to be stated to be rejected.

Thirdly, the correspondence does little to conceal the impatience, irritation and defensiveness of the writers, or the Archbishop, for pressing the point. Underlying this was, I believe, an anxiety that the press might become interested in the debate if it became public and throw a searchlight on Lambeth degrees and perhaps bring their continued existence into question.

Conclusions

Academic dress in Britain is not regulated by law. The power to prescribe academic dress does not even derive from university charters. The academical dress to be worn by the holders of Lambeth degrees is also not a matter of law but merely of custom or convention. After over four centuries, however, that custom or convention is neither clear nor settled. Lambeth Palace appears to believe that it is a matter for determination by each Archbishop individually, who will choose between Oxford and Cambridge. They seem unsure, however, whether his formal power to choose is broader than that.

Without wishing to rehearse Professor Cox's full discussion, the following seem to be the possibilities and all are clearly arguable:

- Only the robes of Oxford or Cambridge may be prescribed.
- An Archbishop who is a graduate of one of these will choose that University's robes.
- An Archbishop who is a graduate of both must make a firm election between them for the duration of his archiepiscopate.
- An Archbishop who is a graduate of both may use either, making the choice at each conferral.
- An Archbishop who is a graduate of neither is free to choose one of them or both, making the choice at each conferral.

- Where an Archbishop is willing to use either Oxford or Cambridge, the choice will be influenced by whether the recipient already holds a degree from one of them.
- An Archbishop who is a graduate of neither will continue the usage adopted by his immediate predecessor.
- An Archbishop who is a graduate of neither should normally choose the academic dress of the university of which he himself is a graduate (*quaere* whether that university would be able to refuse its consent⁴).
- An Archbishop may prescribe unique academic dress designed specifically for Lambeth degree-holders. This is already the case in respect of the Lambeth diploma of Student in Theology (STh).
- Any future Archbishop could alter this, or indeed any decision on academic dress taken by his predecessor.
- It is not a matter for determination by the Archbishop at all, but operates automatically, with the recipient 'entitled', as *Halsbury's Laws* and *Statutes* put it (see p. 40, above), to wear the academic dress of the Archbishop's own university.

One possibility absent from this list, though canvassed by Professor Cox,⁵ is the use of the robes of the new Lambeth graduate's own university on the curious argument that the Lambeth degree may be said to represent some kind of advancement. This possibility, in my view, is devoid of logic or sound policy and it is without precedent.

Dr Carey or his advisers clearly came to the unexceptionable conclusion on his appointment that on grounds of expediency or policy it was preferable to adhere to the centuries-old custom of conferring Lambeth degrees in the dress of Oxford or Cambridge, both of which had long acquiesced in the practice, though the basis on which a non-Oxbridge Archbishop is to select between the two is unclear: perhaps he merely makes no change from his immediate predecessor, as with Dr Carey who continued Archbishop Runcie's use of Oxford robes.

The old stated principle that Lambeth degree holders wore the academic dress of the Archbishop's own University must therefore be read on the assumption that every Archbishop would be a graduate of either Oxford or Cambridge. The principle should apparently now read that each Archbishop will prescribe the robes to be worn, choosing between those of Oxford and Cambridge because of ancient usage and because it means that the consent of another institution does not have to be sought and obtained. After all, it is even possible that there could be an Archbishop who was not a graduate of any (British) university.

⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 73, n. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.

Despite the use of Oxbridge robes over the centuries, it is, however, difficult to see any basis on which an Archbishop could be prevented from prescribing other robes, whether of another university or designed specifically.

There is a substantive point that also arises in this connection which is not touched on in Professor Cox's article and which is arguably of greater significance. The choice of university determines not only the academic dress but also the range and nomenclature of degrees that can be awarded. There are differences between Oxford and Cambridge in this respect, as well as in how their degrees are abbreviated for post-nominal and other purposes. That is one reason why it does not seem desirable for any Archbishop to vary between the two universities as the mood takes him.

The main difference in terminology is in Law where Cambridge awards the near universal LL.D. but Oxford the fairly rare (though not unique) DCL (Doctor of Civil Law). The abbreviations for other degrees also differ considerably, with both universities adopting practices which are occasionally unusual and which usually differ from each other. Thus, for Science, Cambridge has the Sc.D., and in Medicine, Oxford the DM (instead of the universal MD) and the two universities have diametrically opposed practices in respect of their other degrees too: thus, in Music and Letters, Oxford has the DMus and DLitt while Cambridge the Mus.D. and Litt.D. Only the DD is common to both.

I understand Lambeth is about to introduce a doctorate in philosophy, a degree unknown in 1533 and for several centuries thereafter. Not only do the Oxford and Cambridge robes for this degree differ fundamentally, but Oxford styles it DPhil and Cambridge the more usual Ph.D. Will this, too, alternate from Archbishop to Archbishop or even from graduate to graduate?

The use of Oxbridge degree titles, terminology and academic dress is unexceptionable. Perhaps some of us in London were disappointed (though certainly not jealous) when Lord Carey eschewed our robes for Oxford's. The Archbishop's degree-awarding power is a quaint historical relic, inappropriate and incongruous but inoffensive and benign. I recently had the pleasure of observing Dr Williams' admission of Rabbi Tony Bayfield, Head of the Movement for Reform Judaism, to the degree of Doctor of Divinity—a gesture warmly appreciated in Rabbi Bayfield's community. I understand Rabbi Bayfield wore a Cambridge DD gown, in recognition of his own membership of that University. Dr Williams seems to be alternating between Oxford *and* Cambridge robes. Can that be in conformity with the convention as Lambeth understands it? Perhaps someone would like to initiate correspondence with Lambeth Palace on this point!

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Popularizing University Hoods and Gowns: Wills's Cigarette Cards, 1926

by Nicholas Groves

with Bruce Christianson, William Gibson, and Alex Kerr

This is a set of twenty-five cards, published in 1926, illustrating the following hoods: the full or Cambridge type of hood; the simple or Oxford type of hood; BA, MA, MB, ScD, MusB, MD, DD Cambridge; BA, MA, DSc, BCL Oxford; BA, DLit, DSc, LL.D, MD London; BA, MA Wales; BA, MA Dublin; BA, MA Durham; MD Edinburgh. The illustrations were by Bt-Major A. V. Wheeler Holohan, and the accompanying text on the reverse of each card was written by Charles A. H. Franklyn. What follows is a set of annotations on Franklyn's notes, together with a reproduction of the cards.

The date of publication was 1926, and so the statements Franklyn makes can be checked against the second edition (1924) of Haycraft's *Degrees and Hoods*, although that has several errors.

The first thing to be noted is the Cambridge bias: out of twenty-five cards, seven illustrate Cambridge degrees. Oxford gets four; London five; Wales, Dublin, and Durham, two each; and Edinburgh one. Presumably Franklyn chose which to include, but why he should have skewed the selection in this way is—as ever with him—unclear. Fewer Cambridge hoods would have allowed the inclusion of the other Scottish universities (Aberdeen, Glasgow, St Andrews—and Edinburgh is represented only by its MD hood), or the newer English ones (Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield), or Queen's, Belfast. Again, in his keenness to illustrate all the higher doctors of London, he has to omit the PhD. (We pass over his omission of the most beautiful and dignified hood in the world, the Lampeter BA, in silence).

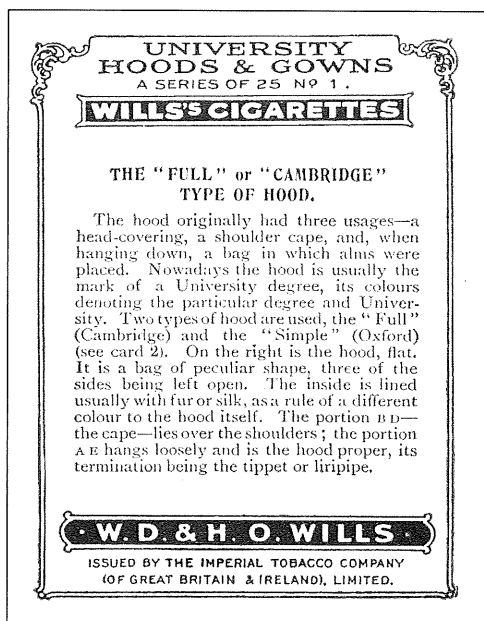
Franklyn also, given the small space available, uses a large number of words in repetition and circumlocution (e.g., on card 3, '... the MB a black hood lined with pink silk of the colour approved for the lining of the scarlet gown of the MD': why not just 'lined with the same silk as the MD'?) and thus has to omit other information that would be useful. Some of the entries read badly, and one wonders how much is Franklyn's fault, and how much might be editorial. For example, he makes comments on the inconsistencies of gowns and hoods on cards 5 and 22 which would have been better put on card 1 or 25: is this because it occurred to

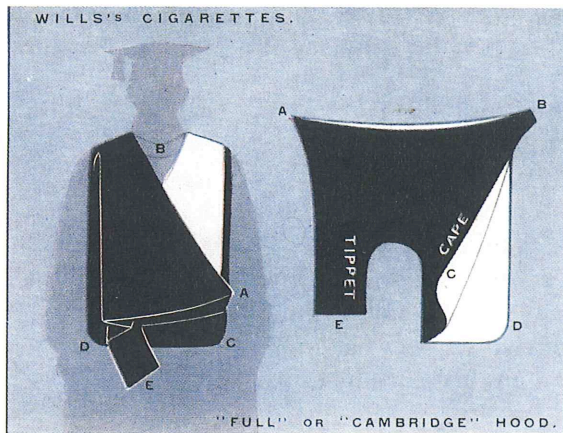
him then (which is known from other publications to be his method of working), or he has been the victim of the editorial 'cut-and-paste', to fill a gap? This is almost certainly the case on card 23, where we find the following extraordinary sentence:

All the Durham hoods are of the full shape, except the MA, MLitt, MS, MusBac, MSc, and MComm, which have been brought into use of the simple shape.

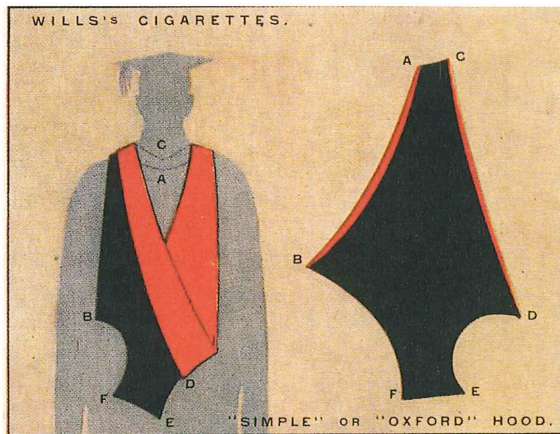
Quite what the final clause means is obscure. He means either '... which are of the simple shape' or '... which use the simple shape'; '... have been brought into use of ...' is nonsensical. However, his *Academical Dress* of 1970 exhibits this fault: statements are made which he then contradicts in the following sentence.

The text as given preserves Franklyn's somewhat erratic capitalization, but, in line with current practice, omits the stops in degree titles (MA, not M.A.).





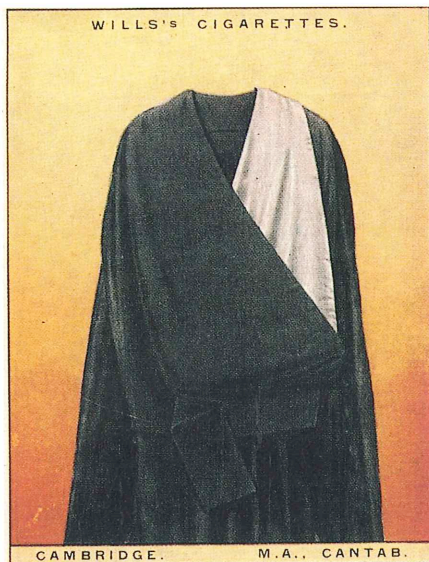
<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 1: The 'Full' or 'Cambridge' Type of Hood.</p> <p>The hood originally had three usages—a head-covering, a shoulder cape, and, when hanging down, a bag in which alms were placed. Nowadays the hood is usually the mark of a university degree, its colours denoting the particular degree and University. Two types of hood are used, the 'Full' (Cambridge) and the 'Simple' (Oxford) (see card 2). On the right is the hood, flat. It is a bag of peculiar shape, three of the sides being left open. The inside is lined usually with fur or silk, as a rule of a different colour to the hood itself. The portion BD—the cape—lies over the shoulders; the portion AB hangs loosely and is the hood proper, its termination being the tippet or liripipe.</p>	<p>The hood illustrated is what is now the London shape—i.e., with rounded corners to the cape, and liripipe shorter than the cape. It is shown flat, and also as worn—but unflourished, as indeed are all the Cambridge hoods. (All others are shown with the lining turned out.)</p> <p>The flat hood has the word 'TIPPET' clearly marked along the liripipe; at Cambridge, 'tippet' always means the cape. Franklyn's justification for this usage is on p. 36 of <i>Degrees and Hoods</i> (1972); it is based on a misreading of the 1604 Canon.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 2: The 'Simple' or 'Oxford' Type of Hood.</p> <p>... This shows the second type, the 'Simple' or 'Oxford' shape. It is a smaller hood, and consists simply of a hood portion and tippet, the cape being absent. The hood is shown laid out flat. It is a peculiarly shaped bag, of which the two sides, AB and CD, are left open, and it is lined with either fur or silk of a different colour to that of the hood itself. The hood is simply flung over the shoulders and is secured in its position by the neckband, AC, which passes in front of the throat. The portion AB goes next to the shoulders, while the part FE is the tippet or liripipe.</p>	<p>What is shown here is the Burgon hood; the 'plain' shape is not acknowledged. This makes his animadversions on the plain shape as opposed to the Burgon on card 11 (MA Oxon) somewhat hard to comprehend.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 3: Cambridge University BA Only one shape of hood is used at this University, what we have called the 'Full' shape. Bachelors' and Masters' hoods are of black silk or stuff, lined with a silk or fur, and Doctors' hoods are of scarlet cloth lined with a silk, an exception occurring in the case of the MusBac, which is denoted by a hood of satin of the same colour as that used for lining the MusDoc hood (a darker cerise), lined with white fur. The BA and LL.B have a black hood lined with white fur; the MB a black silk hood lined with pink silk of the colour approved for the lining of the scarlet gown of MD, and the BD has a black silk hood lined with plain black silk.</p>	<p>All the Cambridge hoods illustrated have square corners, and are shown unflourished.</p> <p>'Darker' than what?</p> <p>The BA is shown in such a way that it looks to be fully lined with fur.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 4: Cambridge University MA The MA and LL.M have a black silk hood lined with white silk. The degrees of MLitt and MSc have recently been established by the University, and they have the same hood as an MA. The Master of Surgery (MCh) has a black silk hood lined with scarlet silk, and the Master of Music (MusM) the same as the MA. An awkward feature of the Cambridge system is the impossibility of distinguishing between MA, LL.M, MSc, MLitt, MusM, as they wear the same gown as well. In no case has the lining of the corresponding Doctors' hood been adopted for the lining of the Masters', as is so often done in other Universities, which amounts to establishing one colour for each Faculty.</p>	<p>It is only an 'awkward feature' as CF does not grasp the underlying principle, <i>vidz.</i>, that most graduates wore the robes of their standing in the Faculty of Arts.</p> <p>This did happen in the 1934 revision, to which CF had a certain amount of input.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 5: Cambridge University MB The Bachelor of Medicine has a hood of black silk lined with pink silk of the same colour as is used for lining the scarlet gown of Doctors of Medicine, and is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful Bachelors' hoods. The Bachelor of Surgery has the same hood as the MB. The MB gown is of black silk or stuff of the same shape as the scarlet gown of Doctors of Medicine, and has a cord and button on the sleeve, which is the only difference from the BA gown when properly worn (without the sleeve being slit and worn behind the arms). There are startling anomalies arising from the gowns worn for the same degree at various Universities, the MB Edinburgh wearing the world-wide MA gown.</p>	<p>Under the MD, he describes it as 'dark cherry'.</p> <p>'... in the world' ...</p> <p>The Cambridge BA gained the slit in the sleeves between c.1803 and 1815.</p> <p>The 'anomalies' are there only because he wishes to see them!</p>



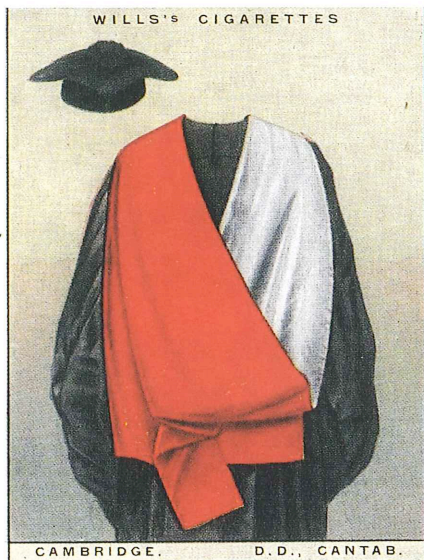
Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 6: Cambridge University ScD The Doctor of Science, known at Cambridge as ScD, has a hood of scarlet cloth lined with a silk shot with pink and light blue, producing a <i>fraise</i> effect, and may be distinguished from the LittD which has a lining of scarlet silk. The full dress robe for the ScD is of scarlet cloth lined with the same coloured silk as used in the hood, the DD robe being distinguished by black loops on the sleeve instead of red. These shot silk linings after they have faded somewhat, are not very distinct. The ScD and LittD undress gown is the silk MA gown, with a single row of Doctors' lace above the armhole on the sleeves, the lace being horizontal for ScD and vertical for LittD.</p>	<p>The actual colour shown on the card is a fairly strong pink—similar to the FBS lining—and not the grey that it really is.</p> <p>He fails to specify the DD lining, which is indeed similar to the ScD.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 7: Cambridge University MusBac</p> <p>Cambridge grants three degrees in Music—Bachelor, Master and Doctor, the Mastership being comparatively rare. The MusBac has a very beautiful hood of dark cerise satin (the same as is used for lining the MusDoc hood) lined with white fur. It is distinguished from the BMus of Oxford very easily, being of the full shape (see card 1) instead of the simple shape, and being of dark cerise satin instead of purple, though it is possible that the purple used for the BMus Oxon is a corruption of the peculiar crimson used for lining the DMus hood. The MusBac Durham hood is of the simple shape, of palatinate purple (very pale) bound with brocaded white satin one inch wide.</p>	<p>The MMus is indeed rare—it has only ever been awarded once, in 1909.</p> <p>The hood as illustrated is scarlet</p> <p>The purple is in fact more likely a 'corruption' of the blue used for the BCL and BM hood.</p> <p>'Peculiar crimson': it was in fact cherry.</p>



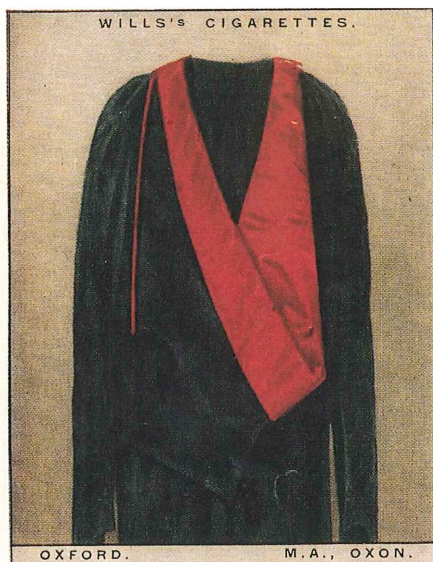
<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 8: Cambridge University MD The Cambridge Doctor of Medicine has a hood of scarlet cloth lined with dark cherry coloured silk. The full dress robe is of scarlet cloth with long wing-like sleeves, lined and turned up with the same cherry coloured silk. The undress black gown is of silk trimmed with Doctors' lace, the MusDoc wearing the same, but with an additional row of lace at the bottom of the collar. Doctors of Divinity, Law, Physic, Science and Letters also wear the cope when presenting for degrees, and the velvet Doctors' bonnet, but the DD wears the Bishop Andrewes' velvet cap (like a soft mortar board) instead of the round velvet Doctor's bonnet.</p>	<p>Interestingly, this becomes 'mid-cherry' (the official designation) later on.</p> <p>He fails to explain what the Cambridge 'cope' is. 'Also' implies 'as well as the undress gown'.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 9: Cambridge University DD The Cambridge Doctor of Divinity (DD), the senior Doctorate in the University, has a hood of scarlet cloth lined with silk shot with pink and violet, producing a dove colour effect, resembling the original Ackermann shade. The full dress robe is of scarlet cloth with a lining of the same silk as is used in the hood, each sleeve being looped with a black cord and button, and a similar loop is used at the back of the collar. The undress gown worn is either the MA gown with scarf, or the full-sleeved gown with scarf, similar to the Oxford Doctors' full-dress robes. The velvet Bishop Andrewes' cap is worn.</p>	<p>Not clear what it actually was—pink and violet may be the effect, and this is the description several late-19th-c. sources. It should be rose shot turquoise, which it was by 1932. The reference to Ackermann is to Almond's <i>Cambridge Robes</i> of 1909. He drops it in as if it is familiar to all!</p> <p>The sleeves are gathered into a band at the wrist—the 'pudding-sleeved' gown.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 10: Oxford University BA Two types of hood are used at Oxford, the simple (see card 2) and the full (see card 1). All Bachelors, save the BD have hoods of the simple shape, and all Doctors and the BD have the full shape. The MA hood is also of the simple shape. All Bachelors' hoods, except the BD are of silk lined with white fur, being black for BA, blue for BM and BCL, a lighter blue (neutral grey) for BSc and BLitt, and purple for BMus. These Bachelors' hoods are often seen merely trimmed with fur, but by Statute (1489) they are directed to be fully lined with fur.</p>	<p>The Oxford full shape is very different from that illustrated on Card 1; those he illustrates are of the Oxford full shape.</p> <p>This is wishful thinking, so as to bring the BLitt and BSc in line with the DLitt and DSc hoods—making grey the 'faculty colour'. It should be a grey-blue. The BMus is lilac, not purple.</p>



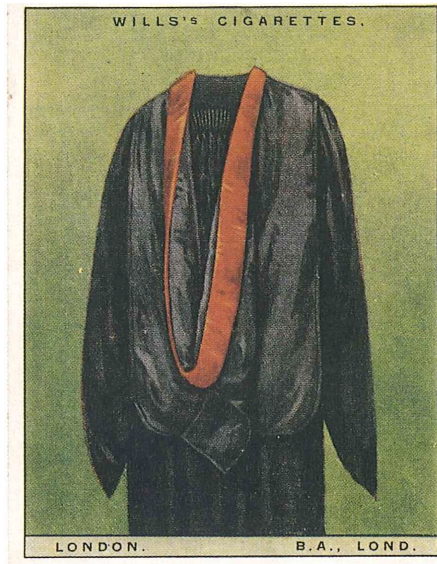
Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 11: Oxford University MA The MA Oxford hood is of the simple shape, of black silk lined with crimson silk, and is one of the best known to the public by reason of its frequency amongst the Clergy of the Church of England. In its most commonly recurring form it is a mere shadow of its former self. An attempt has been made of recent years to revive the proper shape, the Burgeon [<i>sic</i>] type being now largely worn, and in particular by Oxford MAs in the Abbey Church of Westminster. This is a much larger, wider hood, with quite an appreciable amount of the cape part restored.</p>	<p>Was it better known than the Cambridge MA—or indeed the AKC?</p> <p>CF does not illustrate the difference between the plain and the Burgon shapes. The MA hood as illustrated is a Burgon shape one, although he does not say so.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 12: Oxford University DSc All the Doctors' hoods, except the DMus, are of scarlet cloth lined with a silk, this being black for the DD, crimson for the MD [<i>sic</i>] and DCL, blue for PhD, [<i>sic</i>] and neutral grey for DSc and DLitt. The DMus hood is of cream brocaded satin, lined with pinkish crimson silk, the DMus ranking after an MA, as originally musical degrees could be obtained without having taken an Arts degree. All Doctors have full-dress scarlet robes (except DMus), with sleeves and a facing of silk of the appropriate colour, and also a Convocation robe, somewhat resembling the MA gown, but of scarlet cloth. Their undress gowns are of silk, embroidered with Doctors' lace.</p>	<p>DM at Oxford, of course. Likewise DPhil.</p> <p>So could Law degrees, and the DCL ranks above the MA. (This could have been omitted, and the Convocation habit described properly.)</p> <p>So what is the DMus robe? The DD robe is faced with black velvet. The habit more closely resembles the dress robe without the sleeves.</p> <p>Not the DD in undress, which wears the MA gown, with scarf. 'Gimp', not lace, is the term used at Oxford.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 13: Oxford University BCL The differentiation of the BM/BCL, and BSc/BLitt is not particularly easy, for they are all of blue silk of the simple shape, lined with white fur. The BM and BCL go together in being of a darker shade than the BSc and BLitt, which latter more nearly resemble a French grey colour. The BMus is the same, except for being of a dark purple silk. The BD has a black hood of the full shape, lined with black silk. All the Bachelors, except BA wear black silk gowns trimmed with lace embroidery, but the BD being a higher degree than the MA wears the ordinary MA gown with a scarf.</p>	<p>Do they need to be differentiated?</p> <p>Not French grey—wishful thinking. CF is trying to impose a rigid London-style faculty colour system, which is not there, on Oxford. See note on Card 10.</p> <p>From 1923 until c.1945, the BDs wore the gimp gown.</p>



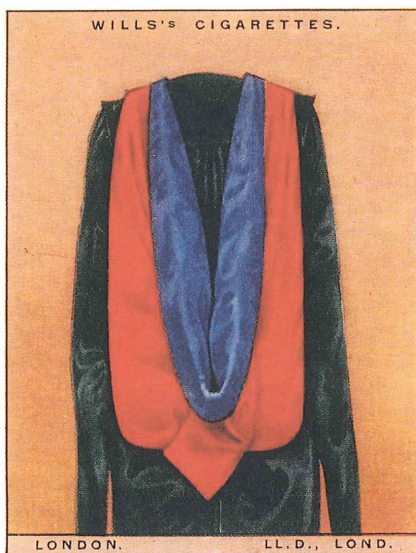
<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 14: London University BA All the London University degree hoods are of the full, or Cambridge shape, and follow a definite scheme, which, once grasped, enables and observer to identify any degree in this University. Each Faculty is distinguished by a colour, and a Bachelor from a Master by whether the hood is only partly lined (to a depth of three inches) or fully lined. All Bachelors' and Masters' hoods are of black silk, and all Doctors' are of scarlet cloth. The Bachelor of Music is an exception, his hood being of blue silk lined with white silk. The Faculty of Arts has russet brown; Divinity maroon red; Law, blue; Medicine, violet; Science, gold; Commerce, orange; Music, white; and Philosophy, claret.</p>	<p>CF appears in his true colours here—the 'logical and progressive scheme'.</p> <p>He does not mention the Convocation lining until the next card!</p> <p>He omits the PhD's claret hood—until card 17.</p> <p>The correct term is 'sarum red'.</p>



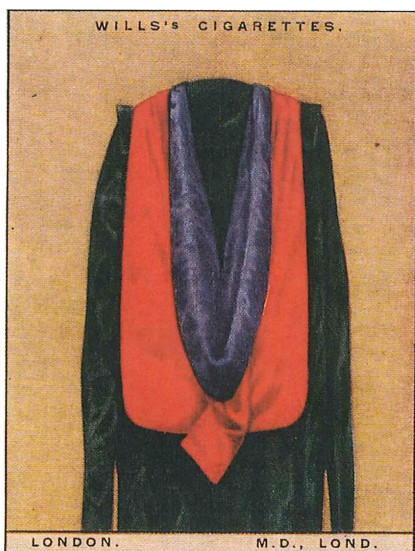
<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 15: London University DLit This Degree is the highest in the Faculty of Arts. The BA has a black silk hood lined for three inches only with russet brown silk; the MA a black silk hood fully lined with russet brown silk; and so the DLit has a hood of scarlet cloth fully lined with the same silk of russet brown. Bachelors who are members of Convocation have the remainder of their hoods lined with white silk, and are thus distinguished from non-members whose hood with only a three-inch lining are hoods in name only, for to be properly constituted a hood must be fully lined with silk or fur.</p>	<p>The browns depicted are both inaccurate. The BA hood is bordered with terra-cotta, while the DLit is lined with old-gold. He has already explained the system—but still repeats it for each faculty. Alas, the BA as illustrated is the non-Convocation version. This is fair comment. Unfortunately, the part-lined hood for bachelors was adopted at (too) many other places.</p>



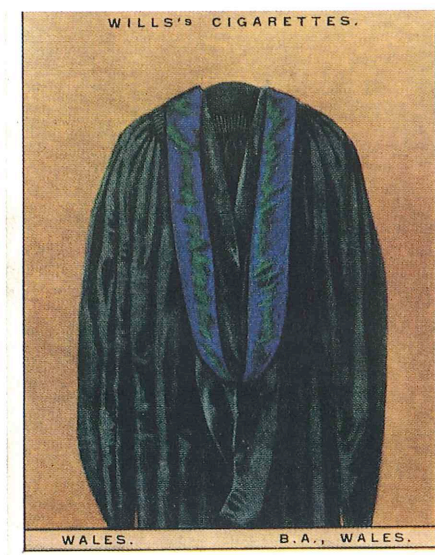
<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 16: London University DSc The Faculty of Science in this University offers three degrees, BSc, MSc, and DSc, the DSc being the most prized Science Doctorate in the world. The distinguishing colour is golden yellow, the BSc having a black hood lined for three inches with this colour, the MSc's being fully lined, and the DSc having a hood of scarlet cloth, lined with the same coloured silk. Bachelors and Masters have besides hoods, gowns of black stuff or silk, but Doctors possess as well as undress black silk gowns, robes of scarlet cloth, the sleeve linings and robe facing being of silk of the Faculty colour.</p>	<p>So it was—it faded to the pale lemon currently used. (Gold became gold shot white, which looked like lemon, then lemon was adopted.)</p> <p>This should be a separate paragraph, as it applies to all degrees, not just science ones. He ought to have mentioned the PhD here as an exception.</p>



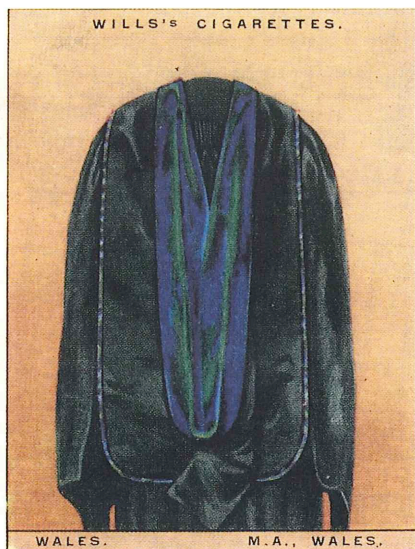
<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 17: London University LL.D The Faculty of Laws is distinguished by a blue silk lining. Until recently there were only LL.B and LL.D degrees, but an LL.M has just been instituted. The LL.B's hood of black has a three-inch lining of blue, the LL.M's is fully lined with blue, and the LL.D has a hood of scarlet cloth, lined with the same blue silk. Bachelors and Masters use the 'mortar board' cap, but Doctors, when in full dress, wear round velvet 'Doctors' bonnets, the cord and tassel being of the Faculty colour. Doctors of Philosophy have an undress black gown, a full-dress robe of claret-coloured cloth faced with claret-coloured silk, a hood of claret-coloured cloth lined with claret-coloured silk, and a Doctor's bonnet of black stuff.</p>	<p>The date of institution of the LL.M is 1925.</p> <p>It might have been better to have omitted one of the higher doctors, and illustrated the PhD instead.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 18: London University MD The London MD is popularly known as the most difficult MD degree, but its value is largely due to the extremely high standard the MB degree entails. Since 1904 the joint degrees of MB and BS are awarded as the medical qualification, the hood for both being the same—of black silk with a three inch lining of violet, but the remainder lined with white if the Graduate is a Member of Convocation. The Master of Surgery (MS) has a black silk hood lined with violet silk, and the MD a hood of scarlet cloth lined with the same coloured silk. A Bachelorship in Dental Surgery has been added to this Faculty.</p>	<p>The fact that CF held the MB(Lond) is immaterial . . .</p> <p>This means lined with violet silk. CF disapproved of the BDS (and other 'queer degrees'). He might have said its colour is olive green.</p>

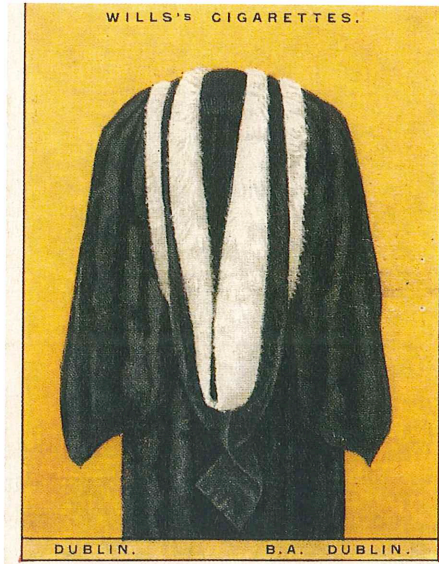


Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 19: University of Wales BA The University of Wales was founded in 1893. A definite and progressive scheme governs the hoods of its degrees, two types of hood being employed:—(1) Bachelors have hoods of silk, of the simple shape with a three-inch lining of some colour; (2) Masters have a silk hood of the full shape, fully lined with the same coloured silk as the corresponding lower degree, the cape of the hood being usually edged as well; (3) Doctors have hoods of the full shape, of scarlet cloth fully lined with silk of the same colour as the appropriate lower degree. The BA has mazarine blue shot with green; BSc, bronze silk; LL.B, red shot with purple; and BD, mazarine blue shot with red.</p>	<p>Bachelors' and Masters' hoods have a black shell. 'Some colour' is insulting—why not 'faculty colour'?</p> <p>Usually spelt 'mazarin' within the University. 'Bronze' is actually yellow shot black.</p>

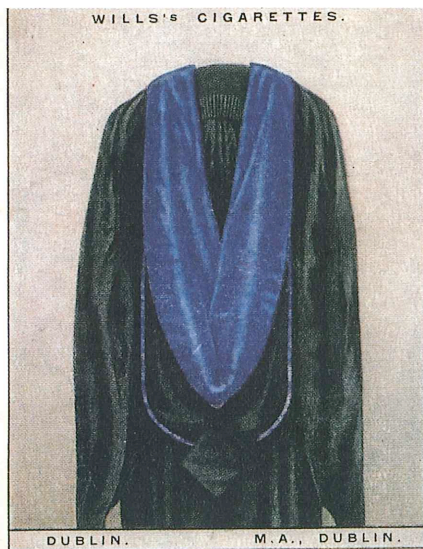


Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 20: University of Wales MA This shows a Master's hood, of silk, of the full shape, completely lined with the mazarine blue shot with green which denotes the Faculty of Arts. The DLitt and PhD have hoods of scarlet cloth lined with the same coloured lining as the MA. The MSc has a bronze silk lining; the LL.M red silk shot with purple; and MusM, pearl-coloured silk. The MusBac is an exception to the general scheme, and has a hood of dark blue silk lined with pearl-coloured silk. The LL.D is of scarlet cloth lined with red silk shot with purple; DSc scarlet cloth lined with bronze; and DD scarlet cloth lined with mazarine blue shot with red.</p>	<p>The hood illustrated is of London shape—with rounded corners to the cape. It is usual to use the Cambridge shape (square corners) now, but there are grounds for believing (a Northam's workbook of) the London shape was the correct shape, with Cambridge as an alternative. The hood as illustrated also does not have the reversed neckband currently in use.</p> <p>The DLitt and PhD were originally the same degree, the PhD being awarded for work in Philosophy, Economics and Political Science, Education, Pure and Applied Mathematics and in any subject cognate to them; the DLitt for other subjects. The crimson cloth robes lined with faculty silk for the PhD were introduced in 1921, [cont.]</p>

	<p>thus CF is five years out-of-date. The BMus hood may have been fully lined originally, although it no longer is. The MMus did have a black shell until 1918; it may have become blue to align with the BMus hood.</p>
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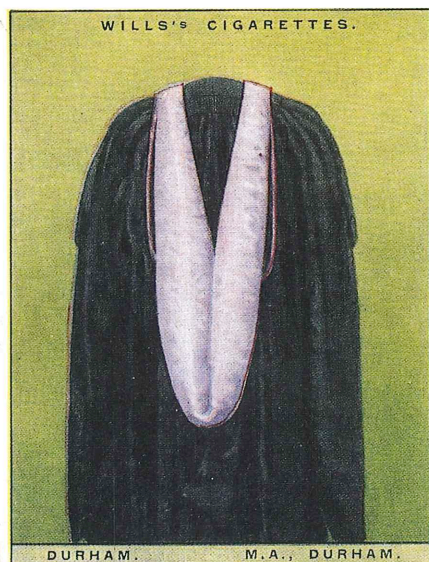
Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 21: Dublin University BA All hoods of this University are of the full shape. The BA, which is illustrated, is black lined with white fur like the BA of Cambridge. The BD is black lined with black silk; the LL.B of black faced with white silk; the MB black cloth lined with crimson silk edged with white fur; the BSc of black silk lined with gold silk; the BEng of black silk lined with green silk, and the MusBac of blue silk partly lined and trimmed with white fur. The MEng is of white silk, lined with the same green silk as the BEng.</p>	<p>The BA illustrated is of the simple shape—the 'Irish' version as still used at Belfast. The Dublin BA was often made in this shape until c.1909 (Haycraft, 1948). The MB had lost its fur binding by 1947, and the BSc had been changed to green lined black by the same date. BEng and MEng are more usually BAI and MAI at Dublin.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 22: Dublin University MA The MA hood is of black silk lined with blue silk, and the MCh is of crimson silk lined with white and bordered with blue inside the first part. The DD is of scarlet cloth lined with black silk, the LL.D is lined with light rose silk, the MD lined with scarlet silk, and the DSc lined with an olive green silk; the MusDoc is of white figured silk lined with crimson satin; the DLitt is of scarlet cloth lined with the MA blue silk. It will thus be seen, by a brief study of these cards, that the most gross anomalies exist between the degree represented and the hood provided for that degree.</p>	<p>The hood illustrated is of a very unusual full shape: a very narrow cape, with semicircular base. The description of the MCh hood is particularly unclear: he appears to mean a facing of blue inside the cowl. Usually 'myrtle green', not olive. This <i>obiter dictum</i> ought really to have been on the final card, as it refers to all hoods, not just Dublin's.</p>



<i>Franklyn's text</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
<p>CARD 23: Durham University BA This resembles the BA of Cambridge and Dublin, being of black stuff or silk lined with white fur, though for cheapness these are usually only partly lined. All the Durham hoods are of the full shape, except the MA, MLitt, MS, MusBac, MSc, and MComm, which have been brought into use of the simple shape. The BD is of black corded silk lined with black silk; the BCL of palatinate purple (pale mauve) silk bound with white fur; the MB of scarlet silk lined with palatinate purple silk and bound with white fur; the BS having rose silk instead of scarlet; the BSc is of palatinate purple silk bound with white fur and with a scarlet band half an inch wide next to the fur.</p>	<p>The hood illustrated has a rather broader cape than is usual now, and approximates to the shape used for the BCL.</p> <p>That is rose silk instead of scarlet for the shell.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 24: Durham University MA The MA hood is of black silk lined with palatinate purple silk and is usually of the simple shape. The MS is of rose silk lined with palatinate purple silk; the MSc of black silk lined with palatinate purple silk and bound with half an inch of scarlet silk on both sides; the MLitt of black corded silk lined with old gold satin, and the MComm of black silk lined with cerise silk. The Doctors' hoods are of scarlet cloth, the DD being lined with palatinate purple silk, the DCL with white silk, the MD lined with scarlet silk faced with palatinate purple, the DLitt lined with old gold satin, the PhD with scarlet silk bound on all edges with one inch of palatinate purple silk.</p>	<p>There is no evidence it was ever made in the full shape.</p> <p>He omits a good number of the other degrees: BLitt, BCh, DMus, DSc, BHy, DHy, BComm, (the 'queer degrees' of which he disapproved) all of which are listed in Haycraft 1924—not to mention the LTh, ASc, etc.</p>



Franklyn's text	Commentary
<p>CARD 25: Edinburgh University MD All the hoods of this University are of the simple shape, but the MD hood has in addition a crimson cape, thus resembling a hood of the full shape. All the hoods are of black cloth except degrees in Music, which have scarlet silk. Bachelors' are edged with white fur; Masters and Doctors remove their fur. Each faculty has a colour, these being white for Arts, purple for Divinity, blue for Law, green for Science, crimson for Medicine. Thus, the MA hood is simple, of black silk or cloth, lined with white silk; the BD is black, lined with purple silk, edged with fur; and the LL.B black, lined blue, edged fur.</p>	<p>The 'appended cape' seems to have been peculiar to the MD at this point: it was later added to the other senior doctorate hoods (DD and LL.D). Black cloth is reserved for doctors' hoods, silk being used for the lower degrees. The same distinction is made with the Music hoods.</p> <p>Again, several degrees are omitted: BComm, BEd, BL, DLitt, MCh, PhD. He omits to say that the Music hoods are lined with white.</p>

The authors are grateful to Imperial Tobacco, Ltd, for permission to reproduce the text and illustrations from the cards.

The Robes of the Medical Royal Colleges and Other Societies: Medical Education outside the Universities

by John L. Brennan

In his book *English University Life in the Middle Ages* Alan Cobban remarked on the theoretical nature of medical education in the Middle Ages.¹ Many men who graduated were more interested in teaching the subject than in the practice of medicine. A more practical approach would be gained from Continental centres, Padua and Leiden, but the non-academic bodies in London, the two Royal Colleges and the Society of Apothecaries would play an important part.

As a doctor, I wanted to see how the formation of the profession as we know it today would also influence the development of ceremonial robes outside the two ancient universities. The seventeenth, eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century would see, after a good deal of rivalry and infighting, the crystallization of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries into the unified profession of registered practitioners qualified in medicine and surgery, culminating in the Medical Act of 1858.

The early foundations

It is not so easy to demonstrate the evolution of ceremonial robes, since they do not seem to have developed in any logical or systematic way, as at the universities. The physicians might be expected to have brought their academics from Oxford or Cambridge, but some like William Harvey had studied abroad. A gown, often trimmed with fur, was worn by all men of dignity, whether lawyers, doctors or merchants, in Tudor times and Linacre, the founder of the physicians' college, is so portrayed (Fig. 1). Apothecaries and barber-surgeons, humbler practitioners little above the rank of tradesmen, would not wear anything so grand. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they would make a deliberate effort to raise their status and one way would be to create for themselves and particularly for their Presidents a dignified robe.

This article is based on a paper submitted for the Fellowship of the Burgon Society in 2006. I am very grateful to all those who assisted me in its preparation by providing information, illustrated booklets and photographs and especially to Professor Bruce Christianson for his help and encouragement.

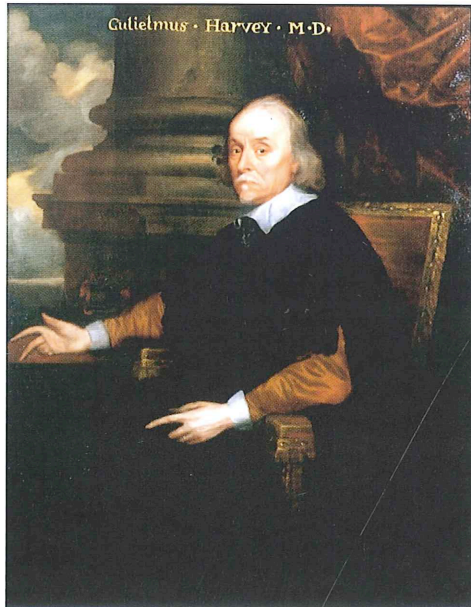
¹ (London: UCL Press, 1999), pp. 169–70.



**Fig. 1. Thomas Linacre (1460?–1524)
in a furred gown**



**Fig. 2. 'The Apothecary or The Spice shop'
by Pietro Longhi (1752): apothecary with a
physician writing a prescription**



**Fig. 3. William Harvey (1578–1657)
in an academical gown**



**Fig. 4. Sir William Brown, PRCP,
portrait painted in 1767; the gown
lacks some of the modern decoration**

(Images reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Physicians of London)

The picture of an Italian apothecary at work (Fig. 2) shows a homely man in an apparent nightcap and shirt-like garment, but in fact a coat buttoning down the left side, examining a young woman. At his desk sits a dignified man in full-bottomed wig and black gown, apparently writing a prescription. It would seem that the physician has come and wants some medicine made up. 'Certainly, *s'accomodi, Signor dottore!* Sit down, there's pen and paper.' I do not think this well-dressed man in his black knee-breeches and buckled shoes can be a mere colleague. The poor apothecary has patients waiting, but is not lacking in courtesy to his important visitor. This eighteenth-century Italian painting may not represent the exact state of affairs in England, but the smart physician could be a fashionable London doctor, but for the gown, not commonly worn outside the universities by then.

The seventeenth-century scholars were polymaths in an age when nearly every university-educated man would claim some knowledge of medicine and 'natural philosophy'. In his book *A Priest to the Temple* that exemplary village parson George Herbert told his readers that the priest should be prepared to give his poorer parishioners legal and medical advice.² By this time lawyers were better organized than doctors and the two branches of the profession, barristers and attorneys, were apparent. By the next century the medical profession would begin to organize itself with the rise in status of the surgeons, some of whom, like John Hunter and Percival Potts, teaching at the Royal College and practising in the London hospitals, would rival the physicians in wealth and importance.

Even so, educated amateurs such as Samuel Johnson were confident enough to write on medical matters. He helped a doctor friend, Robert James by contributing several articles to his *Medical Dictionary*.³ John Wesley, with no formal training in medicine at Oxford, was the author of a home doctor, *Primitive Physic*, which ran into several editions and was still read in the early 1800s. The eighteenth century, when the present robes of both Royal Colleges in England were apparently designed and worn, was remarkably casual in its attitude to ceremonial dress. In this regard its way of thinking was more modern than that of the Victorians who enjoyed pomp and ceremony. Durham University, founded in 1832, had a full set of robes designed and seems to have had graduation ceremonies *ab initio*; London held presentation ceremonies from 1850.

It is difficult to deduce much from silence, but the one great man whose life was meticulously recorded by his biographer, Samuel Johnson, received three honorary degrees, apparently never attending any graduation ceremony. He received his MA after publication of his dictionary in 1755,⁴ his LLD from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1765⁵ and his DCL from Oxford in 1775.⁶ Johnson, very pleased and grateful,

² Ch. 23, 'The Parson's Completeness'.

³ Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* Everyman edition (London: Dent 1910), p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.533.

wrote letters of thanks in Latin. There was no ceremony; he was not invited to attend, nor did he suffer any disappointment, although Boswell records several informal visits to his alma mater.

The lack of ceremony in conferring a doctorate on the most outstanding literary man of his day does not tell us anything explicitly about the medical colleges and their robes. It does, however, explain why there is so little mention of gowns, their design and the occasions when they were worn in the historical records of the physicians' and surgeons' colleges in the eighteenth century. As now, each President could choose his style of dress for his formal portrait. Most simply wear the civilian dress of their age and one or two their scarlet MD gowns. No very precise description of the Fellows' dress has survived but apparently the second President of the Royal College of Physicians, John Caius (1510–73), who had studied at Padua, was keen to promote a dignified ceremonial for his college. It was he who designed the silver caduceus, the President's wand of office, which was ordered to be carried in front of him by the beadle in processions, but usually held by the President himself or herself in formal portraits up to the present day (as in the portrait of Sir William Browne in Fig. 4). The serpent was intended by Caius to represent that fashioned by Moses, to which the children of Israel looked for healing (Numbers 21. 9) rather than the pagan serpent of Aesculapius. Caius ordered that Fellows should wear their scarlet gowns, presumably their MD robes from Oxford or Cambridge, on feast days (red letter days in the Prayer Book) and for 'solemn meetings'. On other occasions black gowns were worn with a purple cap, of unspecified shape. A Fellow failing to wear this was liable to a fine of 2s. 6d.⁷

In the more narrowly confined life of a Cambridge college, Gonville, of which he was Master, now Gonville and Caius College, it was easier to enforce rules regarding academical costume. It was not so easy to discipline London physicians, who were for the most part, busy prosperous men. The Tudor age was one of transition; a long robe was worn by all men of dignity, whether statesmen, lawyers, clergymen or physicians. At the universities, gowns would be worn outdoors, although the hoods were already recognizable, since the oldest Prayer Book orders that they are to be worn over the surplice by cathedral clergy and preachers.⁸ A hundred years later, Stuart noblemen and professional men would no longer wear long robes in daily life. The portrait of William Harvey (Fig. 3) shows him wearing what appears to be an academical gown with a T-shaped opening to its sleeve over his ordinary dress, the orange-brown sleeves of his doublet. With all the disturbance of the Civil War and the Puritan dislike of ceremonial, Caius's regulations about robes seemed to have become a dead letter. By Queen Anne's

⁷ G. Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 3 vols, (Oxford University Press, 1964), Vol. II, pp, 137–38.

⁸ *First and Second Prayerbooks of King Edward the Sixth*, Everyman edition (London, Dent, 1910), 1549 Prayer Book, p. 288.

reign (1702–14), although each Fellow had in theory his own black gown, they were rarely worn at meetings. A compromise, still the present arrangement, was agreed by which only the President, Treasurer, Registrar and the four Censors would wear gowns.⁹ The Presidential gown follows the pattern of the Lord Chancellor's. Such gowns decorated with 'guards' of gold lace began in the sixteenth century. The first such gown is seen in a portrait of Sir Robert Broke, speaker of the House of Commons in 1554.¹⁰ The other officers wore and still wear a black silk gown resembling that of a QC. Referring back to the portrait of Sir William Browne (Fig. 4), one of the earliest PRCPs to have his full-length portrait painted wearing his official gown, it will be noted that this 'primitive' robe does not have the full decoration of the present gown (Fig. 5) or even that of John Latham in his portrait painted in 1816 (Fig. 6). The gold lace edging down the front is missing and there are only three bars on the glove sleeve, near the bottom.

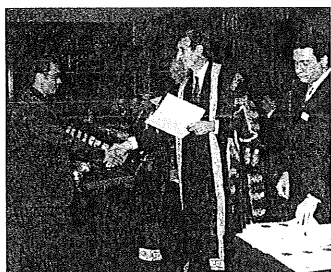


Fig. 5. A modern President of the Royal College of Physicians



Fig. 6. John Latham, PRCP, 1816

(Images reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Physicians of London)

The Royal College of Surgeons only received its charter as such in 1822, though it had existed as the Company of Surgeons long before that. Its Master wore the black velvet gown with crimson facings and this has served as a kind of template for medical Royal Colleges, if they use any robes at all.

Before going further, it is pertinent to ask 'Why gowns faced with a colour, and not gowns and hoods?' There is no intrinsic objection to the use of hoods; theological and musical colleges prescribe them for their diplomates. In the case of theological colleges, however, the wearers, future clerics would need hoods to wear over their surplices in church. Many music diplomates too, as organists, choirmasters and cathedral lay clerks, will do the same.

⁹ Clark, Vol. II, p. 534.

¹⁰ J. Derriman, *The Pageantry of the Law* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955), p. 160.

Surgeons and apothecaries would have had no connection with the universities, being trained by apprenticeship. Their bodies, the Surgeons' Company and the Apothecaries' Society were City Companies and, as such, were accustomed to seeing their Masters in some kind of gown, often furred and more akin to a modern mayor's robe, than a university doctor's. Rarely universities have dispensed with hoods; Ceylon (1942) and La Trobe (post-war) use gowns with some kind of coloured facings. There seems to have been an attempt to introduce a hood for the MRCP and MRCS in 1975,¹¹ both black, the former Oxford simple shape, edged inside with 5" of white silk, the latter Cambridge full shape, lined black silk, edged 2" of red, but I have never encountered these in use. Medical men, even the most competent, seem to have a knack of putting on hoods reversed with the tippet outside. Twice I have had to turn a colleague's hood straight, once an Edinburgh MD for a consultant and the other, a Cambridge MA, for a GP at a service. One cannot go wrong with a faced gown!

The surgeons were very grateful to George IV for his generosity in the gift of a fine mace bearing their coat of arms below the royal arms. They responded by voting their President a 'more splendid gown' to wear at the Coronation.¹² This was of scarlet cloth, with gold decoration and is described fully in the Appendix. The modern President has a third gown, a light-weight edition of this, especially designed for air travel, since he may have occasion to bestow an honorary Fellowship on a distinguished foreign surgeon at a ceremony overseas. In course of time, the College would prescribe gowns with different facings, for Fellows in Dental Surgery and of the Faculties of Anaesthetists and Radiologists. When these specialists formed their own colleges they retained the same colours, but in both cases designed a more elaborate gown for their respective Presidents.

Before the first Medical Act was passed in 1858 many young men wanted to be able to practise both medicine and surgery and so after suitable training took the examinations of both the RCS and the Apothecaries' Society to become MRCS, LSA. It was only in 1884 that the two ancient colleges agreed to hold examinations for a joint diploma MRCS, LRCP, which has been known as the 'Conjoint', until modern times. It was only abolished as recently as 1996, when the Membership of the Surgeons' college was raised to a specialist diploma on a par with the MRCP. The Fellowship is now a higher diploma to be obtained after several years practice as a surgeon and, as with the Edinburgh Fellowship, the candidate elects a special branch of surgery, orthopaedics, neurosurgery, etc. This has not affected the academical costume of the College. The Fellows and Members still wear a black gown faced with broad and narrow crimson facings respectively.

Separated from the grocers in 1617, the apothecaries formed their own Worshipful Company, still a City company today. Compounders of medicine for

¹¹ See *Hoodata*, 7 (Autumn 1975).

¹² Z. Cope, *History of the Royal College of Surgeons of England* (London: Blond, 1959), p. 40.

the physicians and medical advisers to humbler people (as in Fig. 2), their status was improved by the Act of 1817, establishing their qualification, LSA. The Medical Act 1858 made it obligatory for every practitioner to be qualified in medicine and surgery and from 1907 the amendment LMSSA was substituted. The Master and Wardens of the Society had always worn gowns. The Licentiate's gown was designed only in the nineteenth century, being the customary BA shape, of blue alpaca with sleeves bound about 1" in blue shot gold silk and facings, which continue round the back of the neck, covered in the same silk. According to the Clerk, none has ever been made. Many like the present author, who first qualified LMSSA before going on to the MB, BS London three months later, will wear the robes of their higher degree. Others, mainly general practitioners who are content with the diploma will, perhaps, never have an occasion to wear academical dress. From 1928, the Society conferred a higher diploma by examination, the Mastership in Midwifery, for which a turquoise blue gown with white budge trimming was prescribed, but it was discontinued in 1963.¹³

Today the LMSSA is rarely granted but the Society examines for a large number of diplomas, for example the Diploma in Medical Jurisprudence (DMJ) and the Diploma in Genitourinary Medicine (DipG-UMed). None of these gives rise to academical dress.

Scotland and Ireland

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland were not quite the same as those in London.

In Edinburgh, there were barber-surgeons and apothecaries in the city before there were university-trained doctors, since the university was founded only in 1582, seventy-seven years after the surgeons received their first charter. The physicians' college would not follow until 1681. There must have been physicians practising in the Scottish capital before that, but they were either graduates of St Andrews, Oxford or Cambridge or of foreign universities, notably Padua or Leiden.

It was said that it was easier here for an impecunious man to qualify in medicine, for all he needed was 'Latin and three guineas'. Also the social division between university graduates, surgeons and apothecaries was not so marked since all lived in similar lodgings and not in college. For this, or for whatever, reason, both Royal Colleges do not seem to have devised any robes for their diplomates until the nineteenth century.

The Glasgow college received a charter from James VI in 1599, granted jointly to Peter Lowe, surgeon, and Robert Hamilton, Professor of Medicine, and was from the first a united body for physicians and surgeons. There was still some rivalry between the medical faculty of the University and the surgeons of the College, who disputed the right of university graduates to practise surgery. The University countered by granting its own Master of Surgery (CM) degree. With the

¹³ [An article on the origins and surviving examples of the Mastership in Midwifery robes will be published in *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, Vol. 8. (Ed.)]

passing of the Medical Act, 1858, all students had to qualify in both medicine and surgery with the MB, ChB degrees or the Scottish Triple diploma: LRCSE, LRCPE, LRFPSG. There seems to have been little demand, or perhaps practical need, for academical dress in Glasgow, for the College adopted its President's gown only in 1869 and Fellows' and Licentiates' robes in fairly recent times, 1905, when any ill feeling between Glasgow University and College had gone.

In Ireland, although university education, at Trinity College Dublin, had existed since 1591, medical education seems to have been theoretical and unproductive. Over a period of thirty-one years (1743–73), for example, only twenty-nine MD degrees and twenty-seven MBs were awarded, an average of fewer than two annually. The physicians' college received its first charter from Charles II in 1667, though it became known as the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland only in 1890. The society of surgeons in Dublin received its charter from George III in 1784. The Conjoint diploma, LRCPI, LRCSI, was started in 1886 to provide an essential qualification in medicine, surgery and obstetrics. Students of the Cecilia Street Medical School, part of Newman's Catholic University, were allowed to take this qualification. Nearly a century later, in 1978, the National University of Ireland recognized the Licentiates as having the equivalent of the MB, BCh and BAO (Bachelor of Obstetrics). The Chancellor of the NUI, Senator T. K. Whitaker before conferring the first degrees on the Licentiates, referred to the debt owed by the Catholic University to the Royal Colleges in helping its students to qualify. He went on:

Now, by a somewhat paradoxical, but most welcome turn of events, the Royal College of Surgeons has itself become a Recognised College of the National University of Ireland, and today as Chancellor of that University it is my privilege to return the historic compliment by conferring degrees on the students of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.¹⁴

The Fellows and Licentiates of the RCSI have had, since the nineteenth century, black gowns with wider and narrower St Patrick's blue facings respectively, to be described more exactly in the Appendix. Since 1978, they also have had the right to wear the green and scarlet hood of the NUI medical degrees.

Like those of London and Scotland, the Dublin physicians did not adopt any distinctive robes before Victorian times. Portraits of the founder, John Stearne (President 1667–69), and of Sir Patrick Dun (five times President) show both men in scarlet doctors' gowns. The first of Oxford or of TCD, for Stearne had studied at both, has facings of almost the same shade of scarlet. Sir Patrick Dun was elected President in 1685, ten years after coming to Ireland. In his portrait of 1687 he also wears a gown of Oxford/TCD shape with hood, the facings and linings of rich gold, not associated with any known degree then.

¹⁴ J. D. H. Widdess, *The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland and its Medical School, 1784–1984*, 3rd edn (Dublin: RCSI, 1984), p. 7.

The present President's robe is similar to the London college's gown, but with broader lace bands, embellished with buttons and loops on the front. The gown of all other Fellows and officers is of black poplin with facings of czar violet. This colour may have been chosen rather than some shade of green, because a number of Trinity College hoods have linings or edgings of green, whereas only one hood, the MAO, has a purple lining, not quite the same colour (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. The President and officers of the RCPI in their robes—

l. to r.: Secretary (in MA (TCD) robes); Registrar; Treasurer; Vice-President; President; Censor

(Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland)



Fig. 8. Princess Diana with the President and officers of the RCOG on the occasion of her honorary Fellowship—

l. to r.: Hon. Treasurer; President; Princess Diana; Vice-President; Hon. Secretary

(Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists)

The later medical Royal Colleges

Although the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists may be termed the first 'modern' college, it holds a key position in medical education and indeed, for the design of academics for those of subsequent colleges. In incorporating his new institution, Sir William Blair-Bell, its founder-President had to overcome opposition, not only from the two older colleges but also from many of his fellow obstetricians. Some, including the senior 'honorary'¹⁵ at Westminster (the writer's medical school) refused to join and when Blair-Bell invited the Duchess of York, our late Queen Mother, to open the College in 1932, the then PRCS tried to

¹⁵ i.e. unpaid consultant in the Voluntary Hospitals.

dissuade her! Sir William ‘knew that ceremonial proceedings and the wearing of academic gowns would give an air of dependability and status to the organisation ...’.¹⁶ He had to push his ideas through against the opposition of several members of his own council. Blair-Bell designed the new robes in black, blue and silver himself and produced, in the author’s opinion, gowns which were, and still are, handsome and dignified (Fig. 8). He also introduced what might be termed the ‘heraldic principle’. With the help of a friendly expert, Sir George Bellew, Somerset Herald, he produced a beautiful coat of arms which would feature the same main colours, black, blue and silver. The shield, party per pale, azure and sable, charged with a Star of Bethlehem argent¹⁷ symbolized day and night, for babies are born at any time. The notion of having the same two or three colours both for the gowns and for the achievement¹⁸ would be adopted by a number of other new bodies as follows:

- Royal College of General Practitioners—black and silver (see Fig. 9a, below)
- Royal College of Ophthalmologists—silver and gold (see Fig. 10a–b, below)
- Royal College of Paediatricians—blue and gold (President’s only)
- Royal Society of Medicine—red and green (recently designed robes)

The author, and, if it is not presumptuous to suggest it, the Burgon Society, owes William Blair-Bell a debt of gratitude, for carrying through his designs for the arms and robes of his new College, in the face of opposition from his own council. Had he given way, it would have been a precedent for newer institutions to dispense with ‘all this flummery’. Even in the 1940s, some of my fellow students, mainly left-wing, would have abolished all forms of academical as well as legal dress. In the event, most of the new colleges adopted some gowns, at least for their officers, and all a grant of arms.

Strangely, none of these bodies had anything but support and good will from the ancient colleges. Most of their premises were large private houses, and for many years, the Physicians have given my second college, the RCPATH, the hospitality of their fine building for the admission ceremony of new Members.

Before dealing with the remaining new Royal Colleges, it will be convenient to include one body overlooked by Smith and Sheard, because they must have regarded it as a society or ‘club’ and not a college: the Royal Society of Medicine. Created in 1805 as the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, it was founded as a forum for doctors and surgeons to meet, exchange views and to form a library.

A number of special societies dealing with various branches of medicine were included and in 1907, with a charter from Edward VII, the now large body became the RSM. The present building, at 1 Wimpole Street, was opened by King George V and Queen Mary in 1912.

¹⁶ P. Barnett, *75 Years of the RCOG, 1929-2004* (2005), p. 7.

¹⁷ Divided vertically into blue and black halves with an eight-pointed star superimposed.

¹⁸ The complete coat of arms, shield, supporters, crest and motto.



Fig. 9a. PRCGP (r.) with a Fellow (l.)



Figs 9b and 9c. PRCGP's badge and chain

(Photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of General Practitioners)



Fig. 10a. Honorary Fellows of the RCOphth

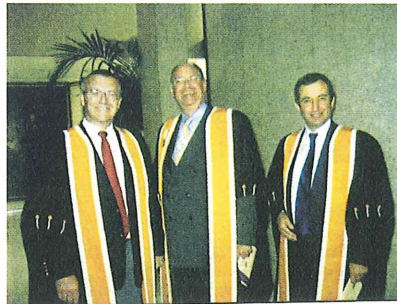


Fig. 10b. Council Members of the RCOphth

(Photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Ophthalmologists)



Fig. 11. The original Presidential robe presented in 1931

(Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Society of Medicine)

has a row of tiny buttons down the front. This is meant to cover the wearer's collar and tie. The outer robe is open to the lower chest and then fastened in the Chinese fashion with loops and toggles. (The only comparable robe in Britain is the St Andrews higher doctors' undress gown, designed to resemble a black cassock under a gown.)²⁰ It was allotted to the Vice-President in 1959, when a new black and gold barred gown with the Society's arms on the right breast was introduced for the President. The President usually wears this robe when presenting the honorary Fellowship of the RSM to a distinguished doctor or lay person. The recipient is invited to wear his or her scarlet Doctor's gown or the corresponding European academicals. At the same time, I was able to see two new gowns designed recently for the Society. Both have flap collars and long straight glove sleeves, with a vent in the skirt, the shape of the QC's, or the London LLD undress gown. Again the heraldic colours have been used and the two robes are complementary. That of the Dean is deep red with green facings passing round to

Although the RSM holds no examinations and grants no diplomas, except the honorary Fellowship, it plays a vital part in postgraduate education; the writer has been a Fellow since 1949. Its interest for this paper lies in its four gowns, all comparatively modern. By courtesy of officers at the RSM, I was able to see all their gowns. The first President's gown (Fig. 11) was given by Lord and Lady Dawson in 1931 on the termination of Dawson's Presidency. It is claret colour and is supposedly based on the robes worn by the Rector of Padua. Beautiful and interesting, this bears no resemblance to the Padua rectorial robes described in Hargreaves-Mawdsley.¹⁹ Lord Dawson's gift is designed to give the effect of two robes, an under-cassock-like tunic, the figured material of which consists of two false sleeves or cuffs sewn inside the wide bell sleeves, and the neckpiece folded over the cross bar of the hanger, which

¹⁹ *A History of Academic Dress in Europe* (Oxford: OUP, 1963), pp. 20–22.

²⁰ G. W. Shaw, *Academic Dress of British Universities* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1966) pp. 24, 84.

the flap collar at the back. The Vice-President's new robe is green with similar red facings. Both have a gold trim passing round the back to the edges of the collar, on which the Society's arms are embroidered.

The supporters of the shield are Ss Cosmas and Damien, the early martyred doctors portrayed here in the costume of Renaissance physicians with wide hats and their gown sleeves lined with ermine.

The new colleges, all post-war, are the result of the complexity and specialization in twentieth- and twenty-first-century medicine. The purpose of each may be defined as

- (i) to lay down conditions for training doctors in its specialty;
- (ii) to examine them for their fitness to practise it; and
- (iii) to define ethical problems peculiar to such specialists.

So far as academical dress is concerned, the colleges which are 'daughters' of the RCP, as might be expected, do not prescribe robes for their Fellows and Members:

The Pathologists have a scarlet Presidential gown and a black gown for other officers.

The Paediatricians have only a Presidential gown.

The Psychiatrists have no robes. They discarded white overalls as a potential barrier between doctor and patient and presumably robes are viewed in the same light, though the patients would not normally attend College functions. For formal purposes, e.g. a portrait painting, the President would wear his or her university robes.

Those colleges who are 'daughters' of the RCS have tended to prescribe gowns for all Fellows as the Surgeons' College does. The radiologists and the anaesthetists started as faculties within the RCS and their qualified specialists were entitled to put 'FFR RCS' or 'FFA RCS' after their names. The ophthalmologists' college had a similar history and, like the other two bodies, had to appoint a President and a council. All three would design special robes for their new Presidents.

The Royal College of General Practitioners, founded in 1952, might be said, like the RCOG, to be a 'daughter' of neither ancient college. Like the obstetricians, the GPs in the 1950s felt that robes would add dignity to their new institution. The first President, Dr William Pickles was a Yorkshire doctor who did some outstanding clinical research in his practice. He was an MD of London University and on ceremonial occasions wore his scarlet gown. In 1961, however, the present robes were designed. The President's, of black silk with silver facings, was worn with his silver chain and badge (Figs 9a–c). All other Fellows wore a black rayon

gown, looking very similar but for the College arms embroidered on the right breast. Members wore, and still wear, the same gown without the arms.

One other body attracted the interest of the author and deserves mention, although its purpose is not educational. The Academy of Medical Sciences has a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Registrar, a Treasurer and about six hundred Fellows and therefore, at first sight, might be mistaken for the equivalent of a medical college. It is in fact a registered charity, founded in 1998, which exists to co-ordinate medical research between universities, medical schools, government bodies like the Lister Institute and the large drug firms. Its Fellows, doctors and medical scientists, are all outstanding research workers. It holds admission ceremonies for new Fellows and an annual dinner, but in the main, it is a practical body. It prescribes no robes for its President or any other officers or Fellows.

It would be a bolder man than the author who could say with confidence, that the number of medical Royal Colleges has reached saturation point and that we, whether the profession or the public, need no more. The Faculty of Community Medicine was founded in 1972 as a joint body of the Glasgow, Edinburgh and London RCPs. The Faculty of Pharmaceutical Medicine was a body founded between the same three bodies in 1989. Finally, the Faculty of Accident and Emergency Medicine was formed as a joint body between the London RCP and the English RCS, since casualty departments are now staffed by consultants who have to diagnose and deal with both medical and surgical conditions. Such bodies may, like the radiologists, anaesthetists and paediatricians, eventually want to assert their independence by becoming colleges in their own right. When they do this, they will at least, one supposes, award their President a gown! So this article cannot be the last word on the matter.

Conclusions

The robes of the medical Royal Colleges have been derived for the most part from those of city companies or trade guilds, rather than from university gowns.

The 'heraldic principle' introduced by William Blair-Bell—the use of two or three main colours both on the facings of the gowns and as the main colours of the armorial bearings—has been adopted by more recent colleges, the general practitioners, the ophthalmologists, the paediatricians, for their Presidential gown and the Royal Society of Medicine for its two recently designed gowns.

It is unlikely that the pattern of gowns in this specialized field will have much effect on mainstream academic dress where gowns and hoods are still the norm. Several of the new universities already employ the heraldic theme for their hood colours, drawing on their coats of arms. So far as new medical Royal Colleges are concerned, it appears likely that they will use no ceremonial dress except perhaps for a Presidential gown.

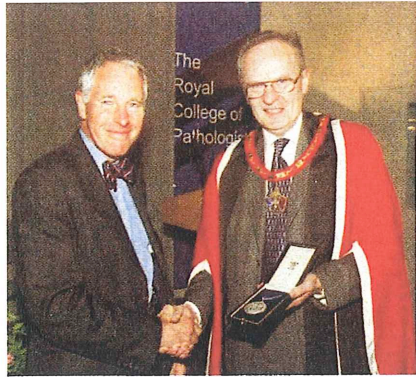


Fig. 12. The PRCPath in scarlet Presidential gown

(Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Pathologists)



**Figs 13a and 13b.
The PRCA gown**



**Fig. 13c. The FRCA gown:
this is the old FFA RCS gown
unchanged**

(Photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Anaesthetists)



Fig. 14a. RCR President's gown



Fig. 14b. RCR Officer's gown



Fig. 14c. RCR Council gown

(Photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Radiologists)

Appendix

The medical Royal Colleges and other learned bodies and their academical dress

The Royal College of Physicians of London

11 St Andrew's Place, Regent's Park, London NW1 4LE (0207 935 1174)
www.rcplondon.ac.uk

From its incorporation in 1518, the College granted Licences to physicians practising within seven miles of the centre of London. (See also the 'Conjoint' diploma under the RCS below.)

The Membership has been granted by examination since the early nineteenth century and has always been a qualification for would-be specialists. It is now granted in cooperation with the RCPE and the RCPSG as the MRCP(UK). This diploma grants no privileges of Membership of the College. The successful candidate becomes a Collegiate Member by paying an annual subscription.

The Fellowship is granted to an established consultant by the Comitia of the College. He or she cannot apply, as a barrister does to 'take silk'.

Robes

President: a robe of black damask, generally resembling that of the Chancellor of Oxford University. There are four bars of gold lace on the upper sleeve and five on the hanging part of the glove sleeve, compared with the seven of the Oxford Chancellor's. The edging of the front facings, round the skirt and on the flap collar is the same. The gown does not, however, have a train which needs to be carried by an attendant.

Registrar, Treasurer and four Censors: a gown of black silk with straight glove sleeves and flap collar resembling that of the QC or the old London undress LLD gown.

Other Fellows and Members: no robes.

The Royal College of Surgeons of England

35-43 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London WC2A 3PE (0207 405 3474)
www.rcseng.ac.uk

The Company of Barber-Surgeons received their charter from Henry VIII in 1540. The Company controlled the practice of surgery in London for about two hundred years until an independent Company of Surgeons was created in 1745. The College received its charter from George III in 1800. In the early nineteenth century it was common for London students to qualify MRCS, LSA.

The 'Conjoint' or MRCS, LRCP qualification was introduced in 1884 as an alternative to the MB, ChB degrees. The Fellowship as a specialist surgeon's qualification was started in 1844. In 1996, the Conjoint was abolished and the MRCS introduced as a specialist qualification on a par with the MRCP(UK). The FRCS is now a higher qualification to be taken after some years as a practising surgeon and the candidates elect one particular branch of surgery. The FRCS and MRCS gowns remain the same as before.

Robes

President:

Full dress—a scarlet cloth robe with a train. The facings and square collar at the back are of purple velvet. The facings, the collar and the bottom of the sleeves are trimmed with gold lace and the sleeves also with gold ornaments. A second (light-weight) gown is also of scarlet silk but with scarlet satin facings replacing the purple velvet. The gold ornaments and lace edging appear to be the same.

Undress—black silk gown, with facings in front continuous with a square collar behind of crimson velvet. The sleeves are trimmed with black lace and tufts.

Vice-President: similar to the President's undress gown but with facings of crimson satin, not velvet.

Members of the Council: the Fellow's gown (see below).

Members of the Court of Patrons: a gown of crimson Russell cord with facings of crimson satin, continuous round the neck. The sleeves are looped up with gold silk cord and button.

Lecturers: a gown of black silk with facings like those of the Vice-President's.

Fellows: a gown of black stuff with a long wide open sleeve similar to that of Cambridge doctors, looped up with a crimson cord and button. (In practice the gown is usually made up in the Cambridge MB shape, which has rather shorter sleeves.) The 6" facings and yoke are covered with crimson silk.

Members: a similar gown but with 2" facings covered with crimson silk and a 2" band of crimson silk across the base of the yoke.

Former Fellows of the Faculty of Anaesthetists; see Royal College of Anaesthetists below.

Fellows in Dental Surgery: a similar gown to that of the Fellows but the facings consist of two crimson cords 6" apart with a crimson satin vertical band 3" wide between them.

Licentiates in Dental Surgery: a black gown with two crimson cords 2½" apart as facings.

Headgear. President, Vice-President and Members of the Council: a round black velvet bonnet trimmed with gold cord and tassels; honorary Fellows: a round black velvet bonnet with crimson cord and tassels; other Fellows and Members: a black cloth mortar-board with black tassel.

The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London

Blackfriars Lane, London EC4V 6EJ (0207 236 1189)

www.apothecaries.org.uk

From a medieval guild of Pepperers, the Grocers' and Apothecaries' Society developed until the Apothecaries became a separate body in 1617. The first Master was Edmond Phillips, 1618-1621. The Licentiate'ship (LSA) was first awarded in 1815, after the passing of the Apothecaries Act. The examination included surgery, obstetrics and gynaecology from 1885 and was amended to LMSSA in 1907.

Robes

Master: a black cloth gown trimmed with musquash.

Wardens: a gown of black cloth trimmed with fitch.

Clerk: a barrister's gown trimmed with blue ribbons.

Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (LMSSA): a dark blue gown with a wide, open sleeve not quite so long as that of Cambridge doctors. The facings of blue and gold shot silk taper from 3½" at the bottom to 2" at the neck. There is a narrow edging of the same silk on the outside of the sleeves (about 1"). See Smith, p. 815, Plate 219. The Society rarely awards the Licentiate'ship now.

Master of Midwifery (MMSA), first awarded in 1928 and discontinued in 1963: a gown is of a lighter blue than the Licentiate's. It has facings of white budge (treated lamb's wool) about 4" wide above the arm slit and two further rows on the straight glove sleeve. There is an epitoge on the right shoulder, divided vertically, the inner half being white, the outer half blue (Smith, p. 816, Plate 220, incorrectly shows the epitoge on the left shoulder).

Headgear. Recipients of both these diplomas wear a black Canterbury cap.

Other diplomas, including a higher diploma, Master in Medical Jurisprudence (MMJ): no academical dress.

The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Nicolson Street, Edinburgh EH8 9DW (0131 527 6406)

www.rcsed.ac.uk

The College was founded in 1505, ratified by a charter of James IV the following year. There is a Membership examination comparable to that of the RCS of England. The Fellowship is specialty-based in one branch of surgery: orthopaedics, neurosurgery, etc. In Scotland, the comparable diploma to the English Conjoint, was the Triple Qualification—LRCSE, LRCPE, LRFPSG, i.e. Licentiate of the two Edinburgh Colleges and of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. This was introduced in 1884 and 'faded out', according to my informant,

in the 1990s. I take it this means that it was not formally abolished, but that candidates ceased to apply for it.

Robes

President: a gown of dark navy corded silk, with wide facings of azure blue silk, edged with wide (about 1") silver lace. These are continuous with shoulder pieces and a square collar behind. The straight glove sleeves are trimmed with silver lace bars, six above and eight below the armhole.

Vice-President: a similar gown, but with four rows of lace, on the upper arm only. The hanging glove sleeves are plain.

Secretary and Treasurer: a similar gown but with only three rows of lace on the upper arm.

Clerk to the College: a dark navy gown with a wide sleeve of the BA pattern with a silver loop and button. There is a circular badge on each breast, apparently the same, and silver decoration on the shoulders.

Regent (functions unclear): a gown with the same azure and silver trim facings. It has a long glove sleeve, the T-shaped opening of which is piped with silver, but there is no other decoration.

College officer(s): a gown with open sleeves. It is plain except for a small shield-shaped badge on the right breast and a larger oval badge on the left breast.

Fellows: a navy gown with an open sleeve, as shown in Plate 218 on p. 809 of Smith. The facings are azure with two horizontal white braid frogs on each side. The sleeves are pleated in front with a single white silk cord and button.

Licentiates (according to the photo supplied by the College, more recent than Smith's information): a plain gown with no coloured facings. The sleeves are, however, apparently pleated with a single white cord and button.

Headgear. President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer: a black velvet John Knox cap; Fellows and Licentiates, and lower officers of the College: a round bonnet of the same navy material as the gown.

Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh

9 Queen Street, Edinburgh EH2 1JQ (0131 225 7324)

www.rcpe.ac.uk

Informal meetings of physicians were held from 1680 and a royal charter was granted in 1681. Examination for the Membership was first held in 1682. Fellows are elected by the whole body of Fellows.

Robes

President: a gown of black corded silk with an open sleeve pointed behind and gathered up into folds in front with a gold cord and button. The sleeves are decorated with

two gold frogs and lined with crimson taffeta. The gown is faced with crimson velvet 5" wide.

Vice-President: as for the President, except that the frogs, cords and buttons are all silver.

College Secretary, Council Members and past Presidents: a similar gown, except that the frogs and buttons are black and the cords crimson.

Fellows: a gown of the same shape but made of black queen's cord woollen material. Facings of crimson velvet as for the higher officers. The sleeves are gathered up in front with a black cord and button and are unlined. See Smith, p. 808, Plate 218.

Headgear. President: a black velvet birretum with a gold button and tassel; Vice-President: a black velvet birretum with a silver button and tassel; College Secretary, Council Members and past Presidents: a black velvet birretum with a black button and tassel; Fellows: none specified.

Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow

232–242 Vincent Street, Glasgow G2 5RJ (0141 221 6072)

www.rcpsg.ac.uk

The College was founded by royal charter of James VI in 1599. The joint Founder Presidents were Peter Lowe, surgeon, and Robert Hamilton, physician and professor of medicine. Previously the Royal Faculty of Physicians, etc., it was renamed the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow by an Act of Parliament of 1962. The College now cooperates with the Edinburgh and London RCPs in examining for the MRCP(UK). As at the other surgeons' colleges the basic specialist qualification for a surgeon is the MRCSG followed later by the FRCSG, a higher diploma in one branch of surgery.

Robes

President: a black corded silk Geneva gown, the sleeves lined with scarlet silk. Facings are of black velvet, 10" wide, bordered on the front edge and inside with 3½" of scarlet silk and having yellow (whin blossom*) piping behind the scarlet silk and at outer edge of the black facings. There is a velvet tippet, loose and 5" deep at its centre with a 4"-wide semi-circular collar of scarlet silk piped with yellow and showing 1" of velvet at the yoke.

Other office bearers (Visitor, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Librarian, Hon. Secretary and ex-Presidents): a gown of black corded silk of the Bar gown shape with a looped sleeve. The facings are of black velvet, 9" wide at the bottom tapering to 5" at yoke, with bordering of yellow silk 3" wide, with scarlet piping (i.e. the colours reversed from those of the President's). Scarlet silk piping at the back edge of the yellow. The

* *Whin* is another name for gorse, from Scandinavian.

velvet tippet, loose, is 7½" deep with semi-circular collar of yellow silk, 4½" at its deepest and showing 1" of velvet at the yoke.

Fellows and Members: a gown identical with that of the Office bearers, except that there is no scarlet piping.

Licentiate: a gown of black Russell cord of the Bar shape with a looped sleeve. The facings are of yellow silk, 4" broad below tapering to 2" round the yoke.

Headgear. Officers, Fellows and Members: a black velvet John Knox cap; Licentiate: a mortar-board.

The Royal College of Physicians of Ireland

Frederick House, 19 South Frederick Street, Dublin 2 (01 8639700)

www.rcpi.ie

The College received its charter from Charles II in 1667. Founder-President: John Stearne. Its Latin title was changed to the 'King and Queen's College' by William and Mary in 1692. It became the RCPI only in 1890.

Robes

President: a gown of black Irish poplin trimmed with gold lace after the pattern of Chancellors' gowns. The pattern is very unusual however. The facings are decorated with horizontal bars, bounded on the outside edge by a narrower lace edging (about 2"). At the bottom of the gown in front, the lace edging is continued *inwards*, it does not go round the skirt like that of the London PRCP. The bars are broad, about 5" and each is surmounted by a cord and gold button after the manner of those seen on gorget patches on the uniforms of high army officers. There are three similar bands on the upper sleeve and three more of equal width on the glove sleeve. I do not have a photograph from the back, but the gold lace appears to continue round the square flap collar. The opening of the sleeve is T-shaped and has a narrow edging of gold lace, about ½" wide. See Fig. 7.

Vice-President: although Smith makes no mention of a gown for this office, the Vice-President, standing to the left of the President in Fig. 7, is wearing a different robe from the other Fellows. The facings are of a more reddish purple and the flap collar appears to be edged with gold lace.

All other officers and Fellows: a black velveteen gown of the Oxford doctors' shape with facings continuous round the yoke, of czar violet poplin. (Smith at p. 444 describes facing on the sleeves, but in all the photographs of Fellows in robes, in the publications sent to me by the College, violet is only apparent on the facings down the front.)

Members: a black stuff gown of the Dublin University (i.e. TCD) masters' shape with facings of czar violet.

Licentiate: a black stuff gown of the Dublin University bachelors' shape with czar violet facings.

Headgear. Officers and Fellows: a black velveteen cap with a black tassel; Members and Licentiates: a black cloth mortar-board with a black tassel.

Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland

123 St Stephen's Green, Dublin 2 (01 402 2400)

www.rcsi.ie

The College received its royal charter in 1784. The first President was Henry Morris.

Robes

President: a gown of black poplin, with long closed glove sleeves trimmed with scrolls of gold lace. The facings of claret (material not specified, so presumed poplin) are edged with gold lace. The square collar behind is covered with the same material and has lace edging.

Vice-President: a similar gown of black cord with facings and square collar behind of St Patrick's blue, similarly edged with gold lace.

Secretary; a black cord gown with crimson poplin facings and a pen-wiper's badge (on right breast?) in silver.

Council Members: a black cord gown with crimson poplin facings.

Examiners: a black cord gown, with pointed sleeves, faced with St Patrick's blue poplin.

Registrar: a black cord gown of the Dublin University masters' shape with facings of St Patrick's blue poplin and with the armorial bearings of the College worked in silk and gold in front (presumably on the right breast of the gown). The width of all the officers' facings is not specified but one would expect it to be wider than on the Fellows' gowns, perhaps 6".

Fellows; a black cord gown of the Dublin University masters' shape and faced with St Patrick's blue poplin, 4" wide.

Fellows of the Faculty of Anaesthetists: a gown like that of the surgical Fellows but faced with celtic-blue poplin.

Fellows of the Faculty of Dental Surgeons: a similar gown faced with emerald green.

Licentiates; a black cord gown of the Dublin University bachelors' shape, with ½" of St Patrick's blue poplin down the outer edge of the facings.

Headgear. President: a black velvet mortar-board with a gold tassel and gold lace edging. None specified for other officers, Fellows or Licentiates.

Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland.

This institution (with which I did not correspond) used to grant a medical qualification, LAH. Like the English LMSSA it seems to have fallen into disuse.

Robes

Governor: a gown made from purple velvet and trimmed with gold lace.

Members of the Board of Directors: a black gown trimmed with purple velvet and edged with gold lace.

There was never any gown prescribed for Licentiates.

Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists

27 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, London NW1 4RG (0207 772 6200)

www.rcog.org.uk

Founded in 1929, the College was granted the title 'Royal' in 1939, but World War II delayed the drafting of the charter until 1948. The Founder-President was Sir William Blair-Bell, who designed the robes himself. Would-be specialists are admitted to the Membership after examination. Promotion to the Fellowship is not automatic but may be granted after a minimum period of ten years to Members who have made an important contribution to obstetrics and gynaecology, either in clinical diagnosis and treatment, or research. The honorary Fellowship may be granted to distinguished persons, e.g. to Princess Diana (see Fig. 8), whether medical or lay, or to foreign specialists.

Robes

President:

Full dress—a gown of black satin damask, with blue silk facings 5" wide, continuous over the shoulders with a square flap collar behind and trimmed on the edge with silver lace. The armorial bearings of the college are embroidered at the top of each facing. The glove sleeves are decorated with bands of silver lace both above the elbow and on the hanging part.

Undress—a gown with a long wide open sleeve, looped up in front with three silver cords and buttons. The facings are like those of the dress gown, 5" wide and decorated at the top with the armorial bearings. This undress gown is also worn by past Presidents.

Fellows: gown of the same shape as the President's undress gown (Smith, p. 80, Plate 217) but of black stuff and with blue silk facings 4" wide with lace 1" wide. The sleeves are looped up in front with three silver cords and buttons; similar cord and button are sewn on the yoke.

Members: a stuff gown of the same pattern, but with blue facings 1½" wide, edged with ½" silver lace. The sleeves are looped with black cords and blue buttons.

Diplomates no longer have an admission ceremony and as the DRCOG is meant for general practitioners practising obstetrics, their gown would not be made up or worn very often. The gown is of the same shape as Members', but without coloured facings. It is decorated high up on the breast on each side with a blue and silver flash, 4" long by 2" wide. Each flash is of blue silk 1½" wide with a ½" edging of silver-grey silk.

Headgear. Presidents and past Presidents: a black velvet mortar-board with a blue button, a silver tassel and silver lace edging; Fellows and Members: a black cloth mortar-board; diplomates: none specified.

The Royal Society of Medicine

1 Wimpole Street, London W1G 0AE (0207 290 2900)

Website www.rsm.ac.uk

Although two hundred years old as a body, it has only used any academics since the 1930s. Originally a medical club or forum for London doctors and surgeons, it never set out to train men for a qualification or set examinations. Beginning as the London Medical and Chirurgical Society, it was renamed the RSM in 1907 and was open to Members or Fellows from all over Britain. A distinguished doctor was appointed President but had no robe or badge of office until in 1925, Sir St Clair Thompson, the then President, presented the Society with a seventeenth-century gold chain of office. Lord Dawson of Penn was President from 1928 to 1930 and on retirement he and Lady Dawson gave the RSM a claret-coloured robe and cap (see p. 86 above, and Fig. 11). In 1959 the red gown was replaced by a more conventional black robe decorated with gold lace. In recent years robes have been introduced for the Vice-President and the Dean.²¹

Robes

President: a black gown, edged along the facings, round the skirt and along the glove sleeves with gold lace. This gown is very similar to that of the PRCP, except that a badge of the RSM's arms is sewn on the right breast. A modern silver chain of office, presented by Sir David Innes Williams (President 1990–92) is now worn.

Vice-President: a green gown shaped like the QC's court gown; with a square collar behind, long straight glove sleeves and a vent about 9" long in the skirt behind. The facings are deep red or maroon, bordered along the outside with gold lace about 1" wide, continuous round the edge of the collar behind. This collar is embroidered with the arms of the RSM.

²¹ By the kindness of Ms J. Rose, PA to the Administrator, I able to view the four gowns of the Royal Society of Medicine for myself and confirm that the two new robes did not in fact have attached 'hoods' but flap collars. I obtained a clearer idea of the make-up of the 1934 red gown than my impression from the colour photo.

Dean: a gown similar to the Vice-President's, but with the colours reversed—it is deep red or maroon with green facings

Headgear: apparently none.

The Royal College of General Practitioners

14 Princes Gate, Hyde Park, London SW7 1PU (0845 456 4041)

www.rcgp.org.uk.

Formed as the College of General Practitioners in 1952, with Dr William Pickles as its first President, it became a Royal College by charter in 1972. All doctors intending to enter general practice must work first as trainees and from 1967 have had to take the examination for the Membership. Fellowship may be by nomination or assessment. Promotion is not automatic but awarded for outstanding work in practice.

Robes

President: a gown of black silk with an open sleeve. The gown is faced with silver silk, the facings about 4" wide. The sleeves are bordered with about 1½" of silver silk. With this gown, the President wears a silver chain and a badge bearing the arms of the College (see Fig. 9a–b).

Fellows: a gown of black rayon with a glove sleeve and inverted-T opening. The facings and edgings are of the same width as the President's. A large badge bearing the college coat of arms is sewn on the right breast.

Members: the Fellows' gown, but without the arms.

Headgear: apparently none.

The Royal College of Radiologists

38 Portland Place, London W1B 1JQ (0207 636 4432)

www.rcr.ac.uk

After Roentgen discovered X-rays in 1895, they were swiftly applied to medical diagnosis and were found to be efficacious in the treatment of malignant disease. By the time of the writer's student days (1939–44), both radiologists and radiotherapists were established specialists. The Faculty of Radiologists, attached to the RCS, was formed in 1939. It received a royal charter in 1953 and became the Royal College (RCR) by supplemental charter in 1975.

Robes

President: a black gown with glove sleeves (Fig. 14a). It is faced with blue silk about 5" wide bordered on the outside by gold lace 2½" wide. This continues round the skirt

of the gown. There are diagonal flashes on both shoulders of blue silk bordered on both sides with gold lace. The inverted-T shaped armhole of the glove sleeve is bound with gold lace. There is one band of gold lace 2½" wide on the bottom of the sleeve.

Officers: a black gown with facings of blue silk about 4" wide with flashes of blue silk on the shoulders (Fig. 14b).

Council: a black gown with broader blue silk facings, between 5 and 6" wide (Fig. 14c).

Ordinary Fellows: a black stuff gown, with long straight glove sleeves and inverted-T opening. The blue silk facings are about 5" wide and are continuous with the facing of the square collar behind. This is the former FFR's gown (see Smith, pp. 803 and 805. Plate 217).

The Royal College of Pathologists

2 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AF (0207 451 6700)

www.rcpath.org

Virchow, the German pathologist associated postmortem changes with disease in the 19th century, but in Britain, physicians performed their own postmortems and GPs those for the coroner. Koch and Pasteur pioneered bacteriology on the Continent, but only Lister took note of their work here. Pathology as a specialty developed in the 1920s and 30s with the formation of the Association of Clinical Pathologists. The College, formed in 1962, received its royal charter in 1970. Candidates for the Membership hold approved laboratory posts and take two examinations. Promotion to the Fellowship is automatic after eight (formerly twelve) years. The first President was Professor Sir Roy Cameron.

Robes

President: a scarlet cloth gown with black facings about 5" wide, edged with white a little more than 1" wide. The long wide sleeves, like those of a Cambridge doctor's gown, are lined with black and have the same white edging. With this is worn the Presidential badge, bearing the arms of the College on a red and gold ribbon.

Headgear: a black John Knox cap with a gold button at its centre. This is Smith's description, but the writer, who remembers Professor Cameron from 1965, had never seen him, or any subsequent President in photographs, actually wearing the cap (see Fig 12).

Other officers: a similarly shaped black gown with the same white edging.

Fellows and Members: no robes.

The Royal College of Psychiatrists

17 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8PG (0207 235 2351)

www.rcpsych.ac.uk

The Medico-Psychological Association has existed since 1841. It became the Royal Medical Psychological Association and by a further royal charter in 1971 the Royal College. Specialists in mental disease have been recognized in this country since the eighteenth century and treated their patients often very harshly; even a royal patient, George III, fared little better. A more humane policy was introduced in the nineteenth century. The term 'psychiatrist' was first used in Germany in 1808 but here about a century later (the old term was 'alienist'). Training, as for other specialists, consists of holding a number of recognized appointments in mental hospitals and passing the examinations for the Membership (MRCPsych). There is no automatic promotion to the Fellowship. After a minimum period of five years, a Member may be nominated by two Fellows and his/her name approved by a sub-committee of the Court of Electors.

Robes

None,

The Royal College of Ophthalmologists

17 Cornwall Terrace, London NW1 4QW (0207 935 0702)

www.rcophth.ac.uk

Specialists in eye disease have existed since ancient times. A German, Bartisch, wrote a treatise on treatment of eye conditions in 1583. A Frenchman, Jacques Daviel, described the method of extraction of the lens for cataract in 1745. In this country, the Faculty of Ophthalmologists of the RCS became a separate college in 1988 and added 'Royal' to its name in 1993. Training in recognized posts leads to three exacting examinations for the Membership. The final 4½ years as a specialist Registrar lead to the FRCOphth examination with a numbers of submitted cases. A Diploma is available to those intending to practise outside Britain.

Robes

President: a black gown with wide open sleeves gathered up with three gold loops and buttons. This gown is faced with a broad band of gold and a broad band of silver grey outside this, each about 5" wide.

Council Members: a similar gown, with a wide band of gold bordered with a narrow edging of silver-grey on both sides, about 1" wide.

Fellows, whether honorary or by examination: a similar gown, but with the silver-grey edging only on the outside of their gold facings (see Fig 10).

Members: a similar gown, but the facings are a narrow band of gold with a narrow band of silver outside.

Diplomates: a similar gown, but with only one loop and button on their sleeves. The facing is a narrow band of gold, edged with silver-grey on the outside only.

The Royal College of Anaesthetists

Churchill House, 35 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4SG (0207 092 1500)

www.rcoa.ac.uk

Nitrous oxide, ether and chloroform were all used as anaesthetics in the nineteenth century and at first any junior person could pour the liquid on a cloth over the patient's face. Almost a century went by before the need for properly trained experts was recognized and the Faculty of Anaesthetists was formed in 1948 within the RCS. The College was formed in 1988 and received its royal charter in 1992. Doctors who train as anaesthetists proceed at once to examination for the Fellowship. The modern anaesthetist is a skilled physician with care of the patient, before, during and after operation. Some specialists now concentrate on palliative medicine, the relief of pain in incurable disease.

Robes

President: a gown of black figured damask with long glove sleeves. The upper sleeve is decorated with three broad bands of gold lace and a further five on the hanging part. There is a decoration of narrower lace on the upper arms. The facings are of crimson like the Fellow's gown (see below), but about 5" wide below tapering to about 2" at the neck and bordered outside by a band of gold lace about 2½" wide. This is continuous behind on the square collar which is covered with crimson silk, embroidered with the arms of the College (Figs 13a–b).

Fellows: a black gown with wide sleeves, gathered up with a crimson cord and button and with broad facings like those of the FRCS gown, except that the crimson silk is divided in the middle by a 2" band of black (Fig 13c).

The Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health

5–11 Theobalds Road, London WC1X 8SH (0207 092 6000)

enquiries@rcpch.ac.uk

Several physicians began to take a special interest in children's diseases in the eighteenth century and by the nineteenth; Barlow, Still and Hutchison were famous. Dickens describes the forerunner of Great Ormond Street in the East End but there were older children's hospitals in Northampton and Glasgow. The British Paediatric Association became the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health by royal charter in 1996.

Robes

President: a gown of Giotto blue wool with a wide open sleeve of the Cambridge doctor's style lined with gold silk taffeta. The facings, 2½" wide, are of blue silk taffeta bordered with gold lace having an oak leaf design. There is a double helix gold wire design round the skirt of the gown. The sleeves are looped back with a green button and two blue and gold tassels. (This gown was the gift of the Welsh Paediatric Society and the green button is a reminder of the Welsh connection.) The blue and gold are the main colours of the College arms. There is a lightweight version of the gown for air travel, without the wire border and tassels.

The Academy of Medical Sciences

10 Carlton House Terrace London SW1Y 5AH (0207 969 5288
www.acmedsci.ac.uk

The Academy exists for the purpose of coordinating medical research between universities, medical schools and members of the Forum, companies engaged the production of drugs, medicines and vaccines. It has a President and other officers and about six hundred Fellows, all experienced research workers. Each has the right to put FMedSci after his or her name.

Robes

None.

John Brennan, MD (London), LLM (Keele), MRCP, FRCPath, LMSSA, DipTheol, FBS, qualified in medicine in the war years and later specialized in pathology. He worked as a USPG missionary at the Christian Medical College and Hospital in Ludhiana, Punjab, for ten years. He was ordained there and has worked both as a pathologist and priest subsequently.

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‘Having Dignities ...’: Academic Attire as a Component of the Livery of the Chapel Royal

by David Baldwin

Although the first Choir School of the Chapel Royal was founded nearly fourteen hundred years ago in AD 635 by King Sigbert of the East Angles on the coast at Dunwich, now submerged beneath the sea,¹ it is not until the Conquest by the Normans under William the Bastard in AD 1066 that any idea of outward recognition of academic rigour within the Chapel Royal emerges.²

To set the context, Christianizing of the British Court began with the capture of the Silurian king, Caratacus, and his family, by the Roman army at Stanwick-in-Teesdale in AD 51.³ They were confined to Rome under successive Emperors Claudius and Nero as punishment for defiance of the Roman army until released in AD 58 by Nero.⁴ Caratacus returned to British shores, albeit now firmly under the sway of the Roman Empire, but as a Christian. Thus the first Christian in a British court was none other than its king.⁵ Caratacus’s son, Linus, succeeded Peter as Bishop of Rome, while a ‘blue-eyed British princess’ who was either the daughter of Cogidubnus or of Caratacus, Claudia, was adopted by the Roman emperor and

This article is based on a paper submitted for the Fellowship of the Burgon Society in 2006.

¹ Writing of the year 635 Bede described the East Angle Court provision for ‘a school for the education of boys in the study of letters’ at the same time as ‘the knowledge of sacred music, hitherto limited to Kent, now began to spread to all churches of the English’ (*A History of the English Church and People*, trans. by L. Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth, 1955), pp. 171, 205).

² The earliest Chapel Royal constitution describing its duties, workings and personnel is that contained in the ‘Liber Rubeus Scacarii’ of 1135 and the ‘Constitutio Domus Regis’ of 1136.

³ The Palace of Queen Catimandua of the Brigantes, where Caratacus was betrayed, was unearthed by Dr Colin Hazelgrove of the Archaeology Department of Durham University at Stanwick-in-Teesdale in 1984.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals of Rome*, 13.32.

⁵ Caratacus is regarded by the Chapel Royal as their founder, and accordingly their Old Choristers’ Tie displays the date AD 58 and Claudian Arch as a reminder of this.

married the Roman senator, Pudens. These duly appear by name at the end of St Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy.⁶

The Kambrian, Kentish, Angle and Northumbrian courts subsequently led the way in the adoption of Christianity at court during the first millennium—the later Anglo-Saxons having chaplains who served as clerks. Following the Norman invasion of AD 1066, the chancellors of England had the chaplains and chancery clerks in their charge from AD 1068. At this time, one of the chaplains was designated Keeper of the Chapel, with four Serjeants to assist him; the Chapel then including books, plate, vestments, relics, etc., carried in panniers on two pack-horses.⁷ To understand why this was so it is important to recall that in origin, and still in principle, the Chapel Royal is not a building but an establishment: a body of priests and singers to serve the spiritual needs of the sovereign.⁸

This body developed into a much larger establishment of priests, singers and servants who travelled about England with the king—their earliest permanent 'chapels' as buildings being the Chapel of St John the Evangelist in the White Tower of the Tower of London, Westminster Palace, and later Eltham Palace, Richmond Palace, Placentia (Greenwich) and a number of castle chapels such as those at Dover and Ludlow.⁹ From 1312, the Chapel Royal (known variously as the Household Chapel or King's Chapel) has had a Dean, and from 1483 there has been a Sub-Dean. Choristers were regularly 'impressed' into the service of the Chapel Royal and shipped from Southampton to join the King's court upon numerous campaigns across Europe. Examples range from presence with King Henry III at Meilham in 1254, to Richard II's expedition to Ireland in 1394, to Agincourt in 1415 and for King Henry VI's coronation as King of France by Cardinal Beaufort (Bishop of Worcester) in Notre Dame in Paris in 1431.¹⁰ In 1520

⁶ 4.21. See discussion of this in D. Baldwin, *Disciples from 'Chichester' in the Pauline Epistles and the Birth of the Chapel Royal*, printed for Her Majesty's Royal Maundy Feast 1994.

⁷ *Liber Rubeus Scacarii*, AD 1135, under heading 'Haec est constitutio Domus Regis', published as 99 Rolls Series, Vol. 3, p. 807.

⁸ See J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100–1300* (Manchester, 1970), for definition as applied to earliest post-Norman Conquest Chapel Royal activities.

⁹ Remains of the Tudor Chapel Royal at Placentia were unearthed in 2006. See London Archaeological Unit preliminary findings, January 2006, and BBC *Inside Out* Web-page <http://www.bbc.co.uk/insideout/london/series9/week_seven_extra.shtml>, 21 February 2006 by D. Baldwin. A brief summary of the evolution of the Chapel Royal is found in entries by D. Baldwin headed: 'Chapels Royal', 'Chapel Royal, St James's Palace', 'Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace', 'Chapels Royal, Chaplains of', 'Chapels Royal, Choir of the', 'Chapels Royal, Dean of the' and 'Chapels Royal, Organist, Choirmaster and Composer at the', in *The Royal Encyclopedia*, ed. by R. Allison, and S. Riddell (London, 1991), pp. 85–87.

¹⁰ See D. J. P. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal Ancient & Modern* (London, 1990), pp. 22–54.

'the Chappell' went with Henry VIII to the Field of Cloth of Gold, where they sang with the French Chapel Royal, to the accompaniment of a silver chamber organ.¹¹

Until the seventeenth century the Dean of the Chapel Royal was in effect the arch-diplomat of the realm, called upon by the sovereign to oversee truces upon the battlefield and to administer oaths cementing international treaties, upon holy ground (i.e. within a chapel or church) or in the presence of the Vulgate Bible proffered in person by the Dean (until the Reformation) in accordance with the Order for the Portable Altar in open ground anywhere.¹² Since 1603 the office of Dean has been filled by a bishop, and since 1748 by the Bishop of London.

The whereabouts of Chapel Royal Scholars

In the reign of Edward I, a patent roll of 1303 states that 'Richard of Nottingham and Thomas Duns, choirboys of the Chapel Royal, were sent to Oxford'. If this was for educational purposes, then it is by no means certain how many colleges of the King's foundation received Chapel Royal Scholars at either Oxford or Cambridge, since we also learn from a writ of Edward II to the Sheriff of Cambridge just thirteen years later, dated 7 July 1316, of one John de Baggeshotte in connection with twelve Children of the Chapel Royal: 'Come nous eions envoiez noz chs. Clerk Johnade Baggeshotte et douze autres einfaunz de notre chapelle a l'universite de Cantabrg a demorer y en estodoz (a nos coustages) pour profiter'¹³

John de Bageshotte thus became the first Warden of the 'Aula Scholarium Regis' in Cambridge (i.e. the Society of King's Hall), founded initially for the purposes of educating members of the Chapel Royal as Scholars and promoting their progress towards preferment in the Church by means of academic degrees as high as Doctor of Divinity. If not at one of the many existing hostels then constituting Cambridge University, some or all of these twelve Scholars may have

¹¹ A list of Chapel Royal participants is found in the National Archive (PRO) MS SP1/19, pp. 260 ff.

¹² *Liber Regie Capelle*, 1449, written by Dean William Say and given as a gift to Prince Afonso of Portugal. Original on display as MS CV 1-36 in the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora, Évora, Portugal. Published edition by Walter Ullmann, Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society, 92 (Cambridge, 1961). Section XII reads 'De Altari Portatili et Celebracione in Omni Loco Honesto ... Omnes preterea de capella Regis necnon omnes servientes eiusdem per privilegium apostolicum hebent potestatem audiendi missam et cetera divina official facinedi in quocumque loco honesto, necnon erigendi altare, etaim sub divo, si oportuerit, etn ibidem conficiendi corpus Christi ac ministrandi scaramenta necessitates, dummodo aliquis de Capella Regis aut aliorum servitorum eiusdem presens in eodem loco fuerit.'

¹³ *Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge, Queen's Commissioners* (London, 1852), Vol. I, p. 66.

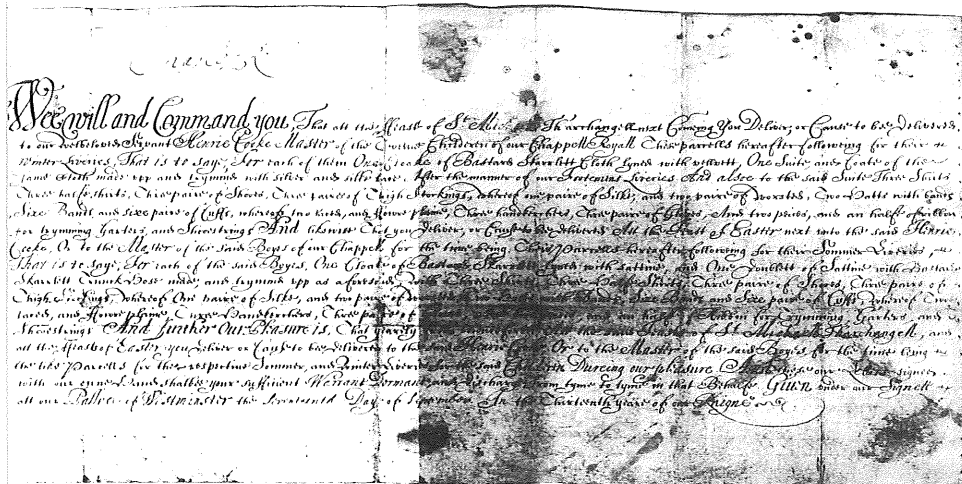


Fig. 1. Letter Patent of King Edward III dated 7 October 1337 concerning the foundation of the royal college of King's Hall

King's Hall Cabinet No. 8, Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge

(Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)

belonged (at least to begin with) to Peterhouse, but upon the foundation of King's Hall in 1317 were subsequently educated at the latter (see Fig. 1).

Certainly the link between Chapel Royal and University was most obviously cemented in the Middle Ages by the Dean of the Chapel Royal also holding simultaneously the Wardenship of King's Hall, Cambridge, and the fact that all its Scholars, alone of all English collegiate bodies, were appointed directly by the King through Writ of Privy Seal until 1546. This afforded the King direct personal supervision, and had the consequence that royal livery was worn by all its Scholars.

It is known that Edward III enlarged King's Hall to accommodate an extra thirty-two Chapel Royal Scholars in 1336, through purchase of Robert de Croyland's house adjoining what is now King's Hall Lane and King Edward's Gate. Further purchases were made of Edmund de Walsingham's house and garden in the High Street in 1338 and more property in 1347 adjacent to St John's College.¹⁴

Governing the Chapel Royal Scholars, Dean of the Chapel Royal John Wodford held the Wardenship of King's Hall in 1349.

¹⁴ W. D. Caroe, *King's Hostel Trinity College Cambridge with Plans and Illustrations—An Examination of the History of King's Hall with Special Reference to the Ancient Buildings Recently Discovered*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 2–3.

With the purchase of William Atte Conduit's house near the Great Gate in 1376 the land necessary for enlarging King's Hall was finally acquired, but in the meantime it is clear that the Chapel Royal Scholars had been annoying their college neighbours to the extent that glazed windows of obscured glass were placed in the boundary wall between King's Hall and St John's extending for 115 feet from the north end of the kitchen towards the river. Furthermore if the glass was broken for any reason it had to be repaired within one month under penalty of 40*d*.

Significantly, from the point of view of the academic rigour of life at King's Hall this glass agreement also mentions the existence of an extensive library at King's Hall. In 1416 the Bishop of Rochester, Richard Young, contributed £20 to the founding of a new library there. This was a year before the Chapel Royal went abroad on campaign to Normandy, where they were to stay for three years, and a year after the great Battle of Agincourt, at which the Chapel Royal had also been present to conduct Mass before the commencement of battle.¹⁵ The new library for the Scholars at King's Hall was completed in 1422.

The wooden chapel and cloisters were completed in 1418/9, and in the library and bursarial accounts there is mention of 'Pro i peri organum pro missa regia xcs', indicating the installation of an organ in 1423. A new chapel was begun in 1465 but not completed until 1485 or consecrated until 1498/9, the old wooden one sufficing meanwhile. This was eventually replaced in 1556/7 by the Marian Chapel (see Figs 2a and 2b).¹⁶

These buildings therefore constituted the environs in which the Chapel Royal Scholars went about their academic rigours

The complement of Chapel Royal Scholars

There is dispute as to the numbers of Chapel Royal Scholars originally educated at King's Hall. Stamp and Rouse Ball claim that the terms of the writ of 7 July 1317, issued by Edward II to the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire from Buckby, Northamptonshire, where the Court resided, indicated that it constituted the very foundation of the Society of King's Scholars—'scolaris' being the term used to designate this.¹⁷ Because only ten of the twelve Scholars accompanied Baggeshotte to Cambridge two days later, and pointing to the past tense of the medieval French

¹⁵ The original 'Agincourt Song', composed by Chapel Royal Gentlemen-in-Ordinary Nicholas Sturgeon and Thomas Dammett survives as Bodleian, MS Arch. Sheld. 13, 26, f. 17v.

¹⁶ King's Hall 'Account Book', under heading '1423-3 Expense extravagantes', Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge.

¹⁷ A. E. Stamp, *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge*, ed. by W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn (London, 1916), Vol. I, pp. 82–83; W. W. Rouse Ball, *The King's Scholars and King's Hall: Notes on the History of King's Hall Published on the Six Hundredth Anniversary of the Writ of Edward II Establishing the King's Scholars in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: privately published, 1917), pp. 2–3.

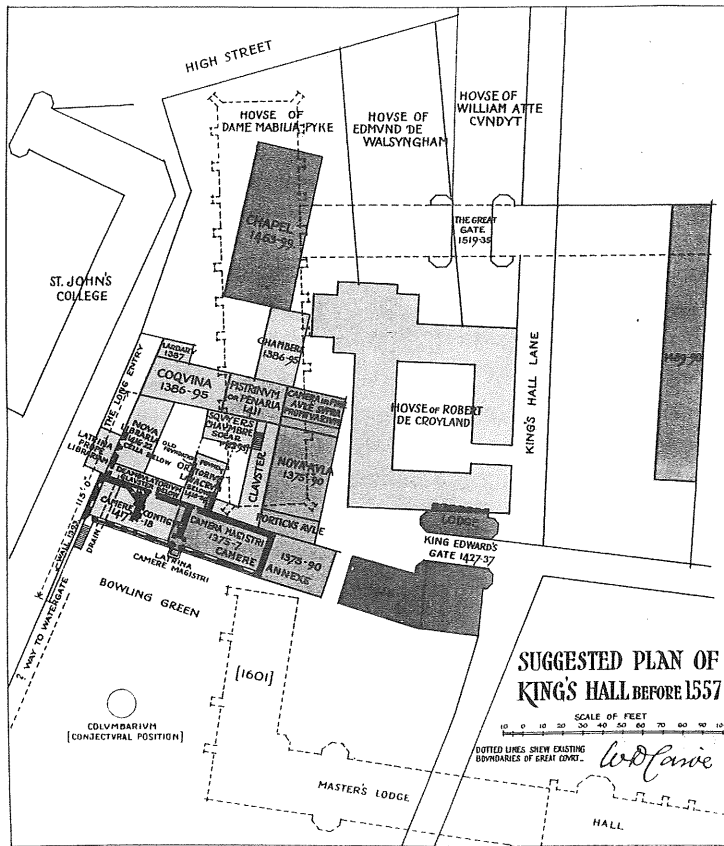


Fig. 2a. Caroe's plan of King's Hall, Cambridge, before 1557

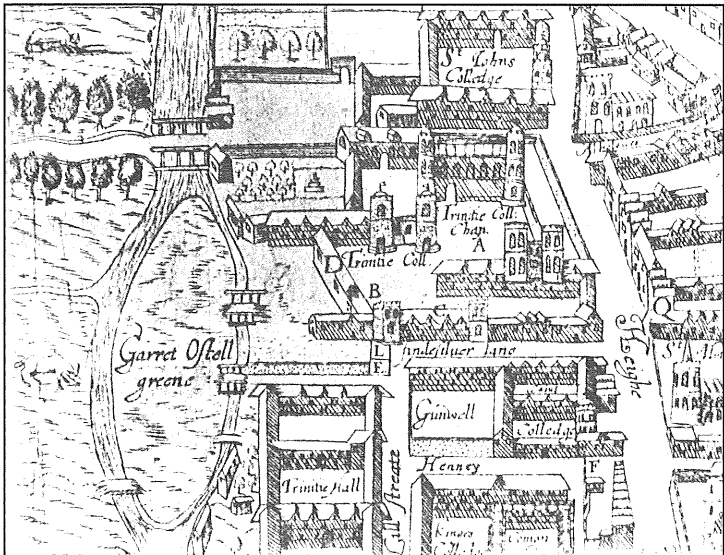


Fig. 2b. Detail from Lyne's Map of Cambridge, 1574

verb 'envoiez' employed in the writ, Cobban argues for a foundation anterior to the 7 July writ. The two missing Scholars must, he argues, have remained at Court in Buckby, leaving only ten to return to Cambridge, as happened when three Scholars remained at Court in York after a similar group of Scholars visited the Court there in 1319.¹⁸ Perhaps they were retained by the Chapel Royal as 'Epistolers' or 'Gospellers' for Divine Office at Court and thus prevented from returning until later.

The idea behind the 7 July writ must have been in the making some good while before its issue. Therefore, we can place King Edward's petition to the Pope of 18 March 1317 (seeking to gain the support of the new Pope in Avignon by asking him to 'perpetuate' the University and augment its privileges) in the same post as the royal mission to Avignon by means of which Edward sought permission of the Pope to tax the clergy and enlist papal support for a foray against the Scots.¹⁹ The envoys, Pembroke, Badlesmere, and the Bishops of Ely and Norwich, had set off for Avignon in December 1316 but remained there until April 1317, by which time Edward's petition had arrived. The creation of King's Hall for the Chapel Royal Scholars was itself evidently a child of the intense international politicking.

Originally solely for undergraduates recruited from amongst Children of the Chapel Royal, it is also clear that between 1317 and 1350 a total of sixteen Scholars attained the status of *magistri*, which could indicate either MA or even a doctorate or degree in a superior faculty. Although only one of these *magistri* was a Bachelor of Law before 1350, a thorough mixture of undergraduates and senior graduates characterizes the complement of King's Hall by 1350. Between 1382 and 1417 at least nineteen Children and Clerks of the Chapel Royal of undergraduate status were admitted to King's Hall. The fact that a few managed to stay for up to twenty years without attaining any academic distinction whatever (two such being William Lake who resided from 26 April 1412 until 7 March 1432, and John Fisser from 3 December 1417 until 7 July 1432) indicates that there was not necessarily a minimum academic qualification, or limitation to the length, for tenure of a fellowship. The minimum age of fourteen was written into the King's Hall statutes of 1380 and indicates retrospective practice. We can conclude from its records that the typical age to take a BA at King's Hall then would have been nineteen and a half, give or take when the voices of the Children of the Chapel Royal broke.

The appointment by Henry IV of the first Chapel Royal Master of the Grammar, John Bugby, in 1399 indicates that a distinction must be made between the Children of the Chapel Royal singing and being educated at Court with Bouge

¹⁸ Alan B. Cobban, *The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 9, n. 2.

¹⁹ Cobban, *op. cit.*, p. 33, for Avignon mission coinciding with the King's Hall initiative in 1316/17.

entitlement (i.e. provision to eat and live at Court) and those whose voices had broken and were subsequently educated at Oxford or Cambridge to continue their studies. The latter at the same time would discharge occasional duties as 'Gospellers' and 'Epistolers' of the Chapel Royal in company with the Sovereign, in the course of awaiting preferment at Court.

Specifically, Henry IV appointed in 1401: 'John Bugby our chaplain retained three years ago pur apprendre et enformer les enfants de notre chapelle en la science de grammaire at 100/s p.a. nothing yet paid, £15 due'.²⁰

The Master of the Grammar would therefore have taught the necessary rudiments of education at Court before admission to King's Hall, although instances such as that of Richard Lunteleye being admitted by Privy Seal Writ of 1385 'non obstant que le dit Richard nest pas suffisamment enformez en gramer', and John Fisser who was admitted in 1417 'ce quil nest nye uncore pleinement enformez en son gramer non obstant', undeniably constitute exceptions. The preparation of university intake by prior education in the Court's own (but still travelling) school was to provide a model for the more stationary Wykehamist progression to New College, Oxford, which in turn was acknowledged by Henry VI as the inspiration for the foundation of Eton and King's Colleges.

The continuing link between the Dean of the Chapel Royal and academic Wardenship of the King's Hall, where the Scholars who 'retired' from the choir as choristers continued to receive their education, is evidenced by the 1448 Patent Roll entry recording Dean Robert Ayscough as 'warden of the king's Scholars, Cambridge, and of the 32 Scholars herein, of the foundation of Edward III and of the king's patronage'.

Robert Ayscough's successor as Dean of the Chapel Royal, William Say, wrote in 1448 of the distinction between the Master of the Music and the Master of the Grammar. Concerning the ten Children of the Chapel the former had the duty 'to teach these boys and duly to instruct them in both plain chant and harmony ... To this master is assigned for the needs of each boy, sixteen ducats a year, as well as table rights and allowances, at the charges of the King, within the Court; and he is under the Dean's supervision'. Among the many obligations of the Children was to sing the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary 'Twice a week at least, that is too say on Wednesdays and Saturdays, this mass is sung solemnly by the boys of the Chapel, supervised and assisted by their schoolmaster; and at this mass, too, the King is often present, when he is so pleased. The queen, again, hardly ever misses it'.²¹

But this musical teaching is not to be confused with the duties of the Master of the Grammar of which Dean Say wrote also in 1449: 'There is also one Grammar Master appointed to teach the science of grammar to the young noblemen brought

²⁰ 'Royal Household Account', 1401, discovered by Serjeant of the Vestry Colin Scull c.1980. Transcript held at the Chapel Royal.

²¹ *Liber Regie Capelle*, Dean William Say, 1449, Chapter 3, under 'Numerus Capelle', and Chapter 6.

up in the King's court and the boys of the Chapel as they grow older'. Although it is tempting to place this Master of the Grammar at University it is clear that one such Grammar Master could not be in more than one place at a time, so it could perhaps be most reasonably concluded that he worked alongside the Master of Music at Court.²²

This conclusion is confirmed by reference to the 'Liber niger Domus Regis' of Edward IV in 1483, from which it becomes clear that university education was by then something that was available only to those who had left the Chapel Royal choir rather than to those who still sang in it. It should be noted at the same time that as the voice of a child in those days would often survive intact until he was about eighteen years old, a Child of the Chapel Royal who subsequently went to university would be very much older than his colleagues there who had come from other walks of life.²³

The relevant passage reads:

When they be growen to the age of xviii year, and theyre voice be chinged, he cannot pferryd in this chapell, nor within this courte, the numbyr beyngn full, than if they wull assent, the kinge assigneth every such childe, to a college of Oxinford, or cambrige, of the Kinge findacon, there to be fynding, and study, suficiauntly, tyll the king other wise list to avaunce him.²⁴

Of the Children still singing with the Chapel Royal the 'Liber niger Domus Regis' of 1483 details that there were 'Children of the Chappell viiii' who went to 'the Kinge Jewelhouse for all that belongeth to thayre apparayle'. It also becomes clear soon after, in the early sixteenth century, that some of the Children were boarded out to the adult Gentlemen-in-Ordinary of the Chapel Royal choir for their daily upkeep and general education. In 1509, for example, two Children, William Aderton and Arthur Lovkyn, were boarded out to Robert Fayrfax who was paid 46s 8d 'for their learning' throughout the year.²⁵ Also, it appears that some opted not to go to university once they left the choir, for in 1514 William Cornish was paid for 'finding and teaching' William Saunders, 'Late Child of the Chapel'.²⁶ King's Hall was combined with Michaelhouse in 1546 to form Trinity College as one of the last Acts of Henry VIII—this would seem to have brought to an end the Chapel Royal Scholars' special relationship with Cambridge as the automatic host for their further education.

²² *Liber Regie Capelle*, Chapter 3.

²³ See David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), Chapter 8, 'A High Clear Voice', pp. 192–250.

²⁴ 'Liber niger Domus Regis', 1483, London, BL, MS Harley 642, fols 1–196.

²⁵ 'King's Book of Payments', April 1514, Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge.

²⁶ *Ibid.*



Fig. 3. Detail from the Foundation Charter of King's College, Cambridge, 1446

(Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Scholars of King's College)

Academic attire and livery of the Chapel Royal Scholars, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century

If some of the earliest Chapel Royal Scholars had indeed attended Peterhouse, we know its Statutes promulgated in 1344 required, then at any rate, the wearing of clerical habit and tonsure of Scholars.

We can also conjecture that in terms of head-dress, at both Oxford and Cambridge, Chapel Royal Scholars during the reign of Edward III may have worn as a conspicuous element of academic attire the soft pileus, with a tuft on top, since they were of the Royal Household, though according to one Cambridge University Library manuscript of 1414 the wearing of the pileus was reserved for doctors only. From this it is inferred that no undergraduate was permitted head-dress of any kind until Edward VI's reign in 1549.²⁷ Certainly, the 1414 regulations excepted those of nobility and permitted them to use rich fur rather than budge upon their hoods.

²⁷ W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academic Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963), p. 127.

The Foundation Charter of King's College Cambridge consequent upon Act of Parliament of 16 March 1446 depicts at the bottom a collection of brightly attired figures, either Commoners of Parliament or else Scholars. All without exception wear a tight cincture around the waist and what appears to be a pileus as head-dress (unless it is merely depicting the short-cropped above-the-ears hair style of the mid fifteenth century) and they are led by an individual wearing a long scarlet *roba* with pileus, all beneath a collection of scarlet-robed Peers of the Realm (Fig. 3).

Whatever the exceptions to the stricture that only doctors were to wear the pileus until the sixteenth century, it was not until after the introduction of the Elizabethan Code of 1570 that the square (*pileus scholasticus et quadratus*) for Fellows and the catercap for others became the norm in Cambridge, though Hargreaves-Mawdsley points to earlier enjoinings in 1549 and 1559 for all Cambridge Masters of Arts to wear the *pileus quadratus*.²⁸ From 1602 Archbishop Whitgift's Injunctions required both undergraduates and graduates to wear the *pileus quadratus*, and from 1604 Canon Law required all clerics and graduates to wear the *pileus quadratus*. These constituted the last change of academic attire to grace the Chapel Royal Scholars at a university of the Sovereign's foundation before that particular royal provision, along with the Children's entitlement to Bouge of Court when singing at an earlier age, ceased with the advent of the House of Stuart. The 1604 Canon was enforced by the Laudian Visitation enjoiners of 1634–36 which became enshrined in the Oxford University statutes of 1636, though there is conjecture that the John Knox laical cap may have been worn by Doctors of Music, amongst others (Fig. 4).²⁹ This is fascinating on two counts from the point of view of the influence of the Chapel Royal upon such matters, for William Laud had been Dean of the Chapel Royal from 1626 until 1633, while in the previous century, John Knox had served as Yeoman of the Vestry of King Edward VI's Chapel Royal after renouncing Roman Catholicism (yet keeping his title as a priest). He discharged his duties in that capacity at the funeral of Edward VI and the coronation of Queen Mary, then to be dismissed from his post for not

²⁸ p. 121, citing J. B. Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1873–1911), Vol. II, p. 392, for 1549 evidence; J. Heywood, *A Collection of Statutes for the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1840), p. 241, n. 10, for 1559 evidence.

²⁹ Conjecture found in N. Cox's work at <www.geocities.com>, where he writes: 'The Laudian Code of statutes for the University of Oxford in 1636 changed the prescribed headdress. The *pileus quadratus* was to be worn by doctors of theology. The *pileus rotundus*, perhaps the John Knox laical cap, was worn by doctors in civil law, medicine, music, etc., instead of the *pileus quadratus* which they had previously worn. In the Laudian visitation articles of 1634–6, enforcing the canons of 1604, there were two sorts of academical square cap, that of the DD, and the common catercap or college cap (29)'. Cox's footnote 29 refers to N. F. Robinson, 'The *pileus quadratus*: An Enquiry into the Relation of the Priest's Square Cap to the Common Academical Catercap and to the Judicial Corner-cap', *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 5 (1901), p. 14.



Fig. 4. The only known contemporary portrait of John Knox

Engraving by Adrian Vinson, 1580

(Reproduced by permission of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh)

renouncing Protestantism. He returned to Scotland, where he promoted Presbyterianism, in the face of Chapel Royal opposition.³⁰

One might have expected the Chapel Royal Scholars at university in the fourteenth century to have worn the *vestimentum clausum* in the form of the sombre-coloured *cappa clausa* (and occasionally on less formal occasions the *cappa manicata* until the mid-fifteenth century) except for those in regular orders, who would wear instead the *casula* and fur-lined *pellicae*, together with surplice. But because King's Hall was more than just a royal foundation, being to all intents and purposes an extension of the Court with all its Scholars appointed by the King, every Scholar was required to wear the royal livery. From its inception until at least 1448, this royal livery was blue—described in Privy Seal Writs from 1364 to 1366 as ‘de la suite de noz autres escolers’ at King's Hall.³¹ Thus on 1 September 1326 Aymer Simeon was issued with 7 ells of blue cloth for his livery;³² on 23 September 1332 Richard de Wymondeswold was, in addition to his scarlet doctoral robe, issued with blue cloth for his tunic,³³ and in 1334 Thomas Powys, Warden, witnessed receipt of blue-grey (*glaucus*) for robes with tabards for thirty-one King's Hall Scholars.³⁴ This livery continued into the next century, the Great Wardrobe List of 1444 detailing that all King's Hall Scholars (i.e. the Inceptor of Civil Law, Masters of Arts, Bachelors of Canon and Civil Law and Arts, as well as all undergraduates)

³⁰ National Archive (PRO) E101/427/6, f. 28 Great Wardrobe Accounts relating to the Funeral of King Edward VI, 8 August 1553. John Knox appears by name as Yeoman of the Vestry of the Chapel Royal. Also in LC2/4 (1), ff. 17a and 17b.

³¹ National Archive E101/395/2(A) 1364 and (D) 1366.

³² *Ibid.*, E101/382/8.

³³ *Ibid.*, E101/386/6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, E101/386/18.

were recipients of blue cloth (*blodius* or *blodeus*) for their robes. On 19 November 1448 Henry VI issued a letter patent in which it is lamented that the failure to deliver robes to King's Hall for a period of three years had resulted in its having become impossible for Scholars there to attend Masses for royal benefactors, perform scholastic duties or appear in public places properly attired 'in habitu clericali de liberate regia secundum gradum suum quem in scolis habuit'.³⁵ Cobban ventured that the Scholars at King's Hall were the only academic body at English universities to wear the royal livery.³⁶

Those who attained doctorates between 1250 and 1350 wore a scarlet or purple *cappa clausa*, Hugh de Balsham's draft regulations of 1276 for the halls of Cambridge specifying in particular that Bachelors of Divinity of the studium were required wear the *cappa clausa*.³⁷ The 1379–80 Ordinance of Richard II specifically for King's Hall, Cambridge, required that dress for Scholars was to be the *roba* reaching to the ankles (*talaris*), 'decent and reputable, as suited the clerical status of the wearer, if he were a Bachelor, a *roba* with a tabard suited to his degree'. Of this particular ruling, Professor Edwin Clark ventured his conclusion that 'I think the terms *Roba* and *Toga* generally mean a loose frock or gown, the tighter cassock being in correctness, styled *tunica talaris*. I cannot draw any distinction between the two'.³⁸ It is not certain if Chapel Royal Scholars at King's Hall had to tonsure in the fourteenth century, though other colleges did.

Meanwhile at Court, from the point of view of attire, we have a valuable glimpse of what at least six of these Chapel Royal Children at Court were wearing in the early fifteenth century, recorded in an Act of the Privy Council dated 15 June 1423:

Thys ben necessary thynges that be rythe needful for ye schyldern of the schapel
– of which ye nemaes be,

Thomas Myldevale
John Brampton

³⁵ King's Hall old Cabinet, 104, Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge; Nat. Archive, Patent Roll 19 Nov. 1448.

³⁶ *The King's Hall Within The University of Cambridge*, p. 200.

³⁷ BL, MS Harleian, 7030. But note that the first Chancellor of Cambridge and canonist, Richard de Leycestria, in his *Summa*, Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 3471, reveals neither *cappa* nor *pallium* as elements of academical attire worn by the Scholars illustrated therein. Commentary upon this point is found in Benedict Hackett, *The Original Statutes of Cambridge University: The Text and its History* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 147.

³⁸ 'English Academical Dress Costume (Mediaeval)', *Archaeological Journal*, 50 (1893), Part I, pp. 73–104 (pp. 81–82). Professor Clark argues this by comparing the terminology of this 1380 King's Hall Ordinance with Cardinal d'Estouteville's 1452 admonition to the Bachelors of Law at Paris to wear 'habitus honestos et talares vestes non apertas'.

John Maydeston
John Grymmesby
Nicolas Hyll
Stephnus Howell

In primus every schyld I gowne, I hode, I doublet, ii payre of linen clothys and ii payre of hosyn and iii payr of schon. In bedyng ii schylder, I contour testour, I payr blankets, ii payr schetys, I paylet, I canvas

Lra inde fuit facta apud Westm. xxiii die Junii anno primo³⁹

Cloth and furs directed from the Great Wardrobe to the Chapel Royal Scholars at King's Hall were issued annually around Christmas, for an accounting entry of 1448 specifies that it had been the practice to issue 'contra le feste de Noel' either in kind or else to the monetary value of 40 marks.⁴⁰

Initially the Wardens were supplied with two sets of robes, Thomas Powys receiving annually from 1334 one lined with fur ('cum pellura') and the other with linen ('cum linura').⁴¹ A parchment comptous roll of 1351 stipulates further: 'Prefatus custos computat pro quatuor robis suis, duabus cum linura et duabus robis videlicet una cum pellura at alia cum linura ... et una roba cum pellura ...'.⁴² One entry of 1333 indicates that silk was sometimes issued, as with John de Langtoft's 'drap pour sa robe ... et sandal'.⁴³ From 1317 until the hiatus of the three years leading up to Henry VI's letter patent of 1448 (with the exception of a monetary substitute forthcoming from Waltham Holy Cross 1338–39), cloth and furs for gowns and other attire of the Scholars were paid in kind from the Great Wardrobe, with every degree holder receiving 9 ells of material and every undergraduate 7 ells. From 1448 an annual remuneration of 40 marks replaced the supply in kind, with the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex bearing the charge until 1462, after which Edward IV transferred the burden to the Prior of Barnwell to find the necessary 40 marks from the farmed Manor of Chesterton.⁴⁴ This arrangement was confirmed as late as 4 March 1510 by Henry VIII.⁴⁵ The shearing, packing and transporting of the cloth itself issued for the Scholars' royal liveries appear in the accounts furnished by the prosecutor annually in London for external exchequer audit.

³⁹ BL, Add. MS 4603, art. 130.

⁴⁰ National Archive, E101/395/2(A); E101/409/12 and E101/409/6.

⁴¹ National Archive, Patent Roll 28 September 1334, Thomas Powys.

⁴² King's Hall old Cabinet, 30, Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁴³ National Archive, E101/386/18.

⁴⁴ Arrangement confirmed in National Archive, Patent Rolls, 19 November 1448, Henry VI; 19 November 1484, Richard III, which refers also to an earlier one of 3 February 1462, Edward IV; 18 June 1486, Henry VII.

⁴⁵ King's Hall old Cabinet, 122, with Great Seal dated 4 March 1510, Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge.



Fig. 5. John Bull wearing Oxford Bachelor of Music dress

Anonymous portrait of 1589

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Heather Professor of Music, University of Oxford)

From 1400 until 1450, of the 127 Fellows admitted to King's Hall, by now obviously open to members of the Court beyond the membership of the Chapel Royal, 57 took second degrees, broken down by academic discipline as follows: MA 25; DCL 3; BCL 22; BCanL 4; DD 1.

However, the exact type and colour of hood worn by Chapel Royal Scholars at King's Hall in the fifteenth century remain a matter of conjecture.

From 1327 until 1493, in addition to miniver for lining hoods of Inceptors in Civil Law and Masters of Arts, for which the former received 32 ventures and the latter 24 ventures each,⁴⁶ they were also issued with cheaper 'fur de popull'—perhaps squirrel or coney.⁴⁷ Legists in the fourteenth century were issued with fur of white budge, while bachelors in all other faculties, as well as all undergraduates, were permitted only lambskins, a practice confirmed by the terms of the later University statute of Henry V: 'De penulis et pelluris baccalaureorum' of 24 May 1414.

This stricture was relaxed somewhat from 1494, after which Bachelors of Divinity were permitted to use silk for the lining of their hoods, and from 1553 scarlet lining in their *roba*. Chapel Royal Scholars were expected to study Divinity, Canon Law or Sacred Music whilst awaiting preferment at Court or within the Church, as evidenced by their conferrals. Burghley's Regulations of 1585, permitting silk to run part of the length of the gown of a Bachelor of Music, are complemented by the magnificent portrait of Dr John Bull in 1589 now hanging in the Oxford University Faculty of Music, in which he is shown wearing the hood of

⁴⁶ The author surmises that the term *ventures* means pelts, but is open to correction.

⁴⁷ Oxford English Dictionary: 'an inferior kind of fur; derivation unknown'.



Fig. 6. The King's procession to open Parliament at Westminster in 1512

a Bachelor of Music (see Fig. 5). Bull was a Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the Chapel Royal from 1585 and Organist from 1591 to 1613.

John Stowe mentions Bull's wearing of his 'citizen's gowne, cappe and hood' at Merchant Taylors' Hall on the occasion when he played the organ there to accompany music he especially composed, with words set by Chapel Royal playwright Ben Jonson, for King James's visit on 16 July 1607. This is now known commonly as the National Anthem, but in 1607 beginning 'God save great James our King ...'.⁴⁸

The academic attire of the Children of the Chapel Royal from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century

Although there is much conjecture over the form of academic attire of the Children of the Chapel Royal worn in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, there is a more general consensus that a form of attire similar to monastic novices would have been worn.

Arguing along these lines one historian maintained that the four figures of small stature holding the poles of the canopy over Henry VIII on his procession from Westminster Abbey to the Palace of Westminster to open Parliament in 1512 depicted tonsured Children of the Chapel Royal. This is erroneous, though, as the four figures concerned were habited and tonsured Benedictine novices from the Abbey whose duties to carry the canopy over the King are detailed in the Abbey's Muniment Room records (see Fig. 6).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ John Bull, *Catalogue of Music*, MS 56: 'God Save the King...'. Another notable first at this occasion in 1607 was William Byrd's composition, set to music as a canon, and now almost universally sung as a college Latin Grace: 'Non nobis domine...'. See also *The Times*, 30 January 1822, for discussion of the commissioning of these items of music by the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1607.

⁴⁹ Correspondence between David Baldwin and Dr Roger Bower, of Jesus College, Cambridge, 8 November 1984, Chapel Royal Archive.



Fig. 7. Miniature of Queen Elizabeth I's distribution of Royal Maundy at Greenwich in 1565

Attributed to Lavina Teerlinc

The 1558 and 1560 Cambridge statutes required surplices to be worn in chapels and were required of all Scholars by the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, by which time the Chapel Royal had ceased its automatic membership of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges of the Sovereign's 'fundacion' or 'patronage'.

The consequence of this was that any academic attire worn hitherto had to become a component of Royal Household livery or existing clerical dress as determined by provision of the stipulations contained within the Prayer Book and Canons.

At least seven of the twelve Children of the Chapel Royal are detailed in Lavina Teerlinc's fascinating miniature of 1565, depicting Queen Elizabeth I distributing Royal Maundy (see Fig. 7).⁵⁰ The Children (to be seen near the top of the painting) are clad in long white surplices over royal scarlet cassocks, while the Gentlemen-in-Ordinary (standing behind the Children) wear elaborate, highly coloured copes. Although green and cream was the royal livery of the House of Tudor, royal scarlet was reserved to the Sovereign, certain officers of state,

⁵⁰ Owned by the Executors of the late Countess Beauchamp. Previously and until 1989 erroneously attributed to Nicholas Hilliard.

university doctors and, by the mid-fifteenth century also judges, while black was the colour of mourning.

However, there are indications within two anonymous tracts of 1598 that a form of specific royal livery was worn, at least during the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign. One rails against Chapel Royal Children 'hunting after Spur Money, whereon they set their whole mindes'. The other allied tract, almost certainly written by Bishop Bancroft, gives a vivid picture: 'Plaies will never be supprest, while her majesties unfledged minions flaunt it in silkes and sattens. They had as well be at their popish service, in the devils garments Even in her majesties chapel do these pretty upstart youths profane the Lord's Day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparel ...',⁵¹

At the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the matter of liturgical and academic attire was soon revisited and uniform state coats and breeches were designed specifically for the Children of the Chapel Royal—the warrant of 17 September 1661 being a:

Warrant to deliver to Henry Cooke, master of the twelve Children of the Chappell Royall, the following materials for their liveries: For each of them one bastard cloth lined with velvet, one suit and coat of the same cloth made upp and trimmed with silver and silk lace after the manner of out footmen's liveries, and also to the said suit three shirts, three half shirts, three pair of shoes, three pair of thigh stockings, whereof one pair of silk and two pair of worsted, two hats with bands and six pairs of cuffs, whereof two laced and two plain, three handkerchiefs, three pairs of gloves and two pieces and a half of rebon for trimming garters and shoestrings. And at Easter for their summer liveries, for each boy one cloak of bastard scarlet lined with satin and one doublet of satin with bastard scarlett trunk hose made and trimmed up as aforesaid, with three shirts, three half shirts, three pairs of shoes, three pair of thigh stockings, whereof one pair of silk and two pairs of worsted, two hats with bands etc.⁵²

Thereafter the academic square returned atop the livery of the Children of the Chapel Royal, although a range of hats, including bicorns, made a brief appearance from 1790 to c.1800 (during which it is presumed that the royal choristers were exempt from the hat tax levied between 1784 and 1811). The Gentlemen-in-Ordinary retained their Canterbury caps, except for a period of wig-wearing from the late seventeenth century until the reign of William IV. (See Fig. 8.)

⁵¹ See 'Hunting after spur money, whereon they set their whole mindes' in *The Feast of The Epiphany AD MMIV and Offering of The Queen's Gifts at Her Majesty's Chapel Royal*, Chapel Royal Service Booklet, Epiphany 2004, Chapel Royal Archive.

⁵² PRO [National Archives], LC Vol. 814, p. 106.



Fig. 8. The Children of the Chapel Royal crossing St James's Park, c.1790

Watercolour painting in the Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal

(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)



Fig. 9. The ancient body of the Chapel Royal wearing the 'Stuart' state coats alongside Chapel Royal choristers of Hampton Court wearing royal scarlet cassock and white surplice

From The Times, 20 May 1996

The daily wearing of cassock and surplice continued for the Gentlemen-in-Ordinary and the Children, with the special state coats reserved for major events. However, Sandford's depiction of James II's coronation procession of 1685 shows the Chapel Royal Children in cassock and surplice; this was also the case in 1727 for the coronation of George II. The wearing of state coats and square academic mortar-boards became the norm, and the Chapel Royal Children of the ancient original foundation were no longer issued with cassock and surplice from the mid-nineteenth century. Choristers serving at the daughter Chapel Royal establishment at Hampton Court, though, have continued to wear scarlet cassock and white surplice (see Fig. 9).

It was the thought of wearing the royal scarlet uniform state coats, breeches and mortar-board that, according to his own recollections, provided the stimulus for Arthur Sullivan to join the Children of the Chapel Royal at their quarters in No. 6 Cheyne Walk, to which they had just moved three weeks earlier in 1854 from Onslow Square. He was taken initially to the old vacated quarters in Onslow Square but, undaunted, he is recorded as having said to his mother: 'They must have eaten when they were here; let us ask at the Butcher's Shop.' This initiative resulted both in his locating the new address and his successful recruitment.⁵³

Singing clerks and clergy of the Chapel Royal

The requirements of academic ability among the Chapel Royal adult Clerks mentioned in the 1449 Constitution of Dean William Say, detailing that 'In the said Chapel there are continually in the service of God and the King one Dean and thirty established Chapel clerks (*cantores electi*) of whom a half are usually priests' were more clearly defined in the 1483 'Liber niger Domus Regis' thus: 'The Chapleyns and Clerkis of Chapell xxvi ... men of worship, endowed with vertuose, morall, speculattiff, as of theyre musike, shewing in descant, clene voyseed, well relysed, and pronouncing, eloquent in reding, sufficaunt in organs pleying, and modestiall in all other maner of behaving.' The 1449 Constitution detailed that the daily routine for these Clerks of the Chapel Royal began with them 'clad in their surplices' and thereafter they were attired 'all in a mode and measure changing and varying, in song, in reading, in the colours of the vestments and other ornaments ... according to the varying solemnity of the festivals ... with varientts of its own, however, in music and in many ceremonies, as befits the honour and dignity of the Chapel'.⁵⁴

Clerks of the Chapel Royal, more correctly termed Gentlemen-in-Ordinary, provide some notable 'firsts' in breaking academical dress ground. In the case of Robert Fayrfax (fl. c.1470–1529), created the first Doctor of Music at Oxford in

⁵³ Frederick Helmore, 'Memoir of the Late Thomas Helmore MA', Masters, 1891, p. 73. Transcript held at Chapel Royal Archive.

⁵⁴ *Liber Regie Capelle*, 1449, Chapter 4.

1511 following incorporation into that degree from Cambridge, Charles Franklyn concludes that this indicated degrees in Music ‘were only just pre-Reformation, and Cambridge were the first to confer them, and also demonstrated that the BMus degree at Oxford dates from 1505 and not before’.⁵⁵ He goes on to point out that later Inceptors in Music had to wear ‘white wavy damask capes’, quoting the Laudian code of 1636 in support of this.

Then there is evidence provided by the contemporary *Cambridge Grace Book* concerning Gentleman-in-Ordinary Christopher Tye, Bachelor of Music, graduate of King’s College, Cambridge, in 1536, who was created MusD in 1545 but ‘as there is to be no other doctor in the same Faculty, he is to be presented in the habit of a non-Regent’.⁵⁶ Herbert Norris and the *New DNB* agree that ‘as no distinctive robes for musical graduates existed at this time, he was permitted to wear the robes of a Doctor in Medicine’.⁵⁷ Subsequently, Tye’s Cambridge colleague Dr Richard Cox became Chancellor of Oxford in 1547 and in 1548 Tye was incorporated at Oxford into the degree of DMus. Franklyn’s conclusion was that Tye’s example revealed that ‘about 1545–4 approval was given for Doctors in Music to wear the robes of the Doctors of another secular Faculty. Hence DM and DMus, as the two junior secular degrees, wore the same robes scarlet and crimson. The Bachelor of Music soon followed suit, and adopted the hood of the BCL and BM, unless in fact he had already done so before Dr Christopher Tye was permitted to use the DM robes’.⁵⁸ Later, a DMus in the Laudian injunctions wore white (watered) wavy damask capes with pink satin lining.

Canon 12 of the Convocation of 1529 regulated the parameters of academic finery in relation to clergy—objections being raised from many quarters that offerings intended for the Church were being squandered by clergy upon sumptuous clothing, raising unhealthy issues of jealousy.⁵⁹ The matter had to be re-addressed twenty years later.

The Book of Common Prayer issued in the second year of Edward VI’s reign, 1549, contained ‘Certain Notes for the more plain explication and decent

⁵⁵ *Academical Dress from the Middle Ages to the Present Day, Including Lambeth Degrees* (Lewes: 1970), p. 80. Franklyn claims that Sir Charles Mallett first identified this pioneering case of Fayrfax and his creation as Doctor in Music by Oxford in 1511 (*History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols (London, 1924–27), Vol. I, p. 183)). In fact, Mallett acknowledges his source to be C. F. Abdy Williams, *A Short Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge* (London, 1894), p. 66.

⁵⁶ *Cambridge Grace Book*, ed. John Venn (Cambridge, 1910), p. 579.

⁵⁷ Herbert Norris, *Costume and Fashion*, 3 vols (London, 1924–38), Vol. III, p. 156.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵⁹ *The Anglican Canons 1529–1947*, ed. by Gerald Bray, Church of England Record Society, 6 (1998), p. 43.

ministration of things contained in this Book', in the course of which are clearly stated rules relating to the wearing of academical with ecclesiastical attire:

in all Cathedral churches and colledges, tharchdeacons, Deanes, Provestes, maisters, Prebendaryes, and fellows, being Graduates, may use in the quiere, beside yr surplusses, such hoodes as pertaineth to their severall degrees, which they have taken in any universitie within this realme. But in all other places, every minister shall be at libertie to use any Surples or no. it is also seemly that Graduates, when they dooe preache, shoulde use such hoodes as pertayneth to theyr severall degrees.⁶⁰

The variant 'shall use such hoods', though, is found in the 1549 Whitchurch 26 June edition in the British Library (BL, 468. C.9, c.11).

Whether academical attire earned from the Sorbonne counted as 'within this realme' is a matter of conjecture, since the Kings of England at that time were still claimants to France.

Although these instructions were repealed by Act of Parliament in 1553 during the first year of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary's reign, they were restored by An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer in 1559 at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the latter terms of which were placed in the front of the 1559 Prayer Book: 'Providing always and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the church and the ministers thereof shall be retained and shall be in use as was in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI ...'.⁶¹

The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* still requires:

that such Ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this church of England by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

Examples of Clerks wearing academic attire with ecclesiastical robes are evident from entries in 'The Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal'. For instance, it flags up Gentleman-in-Ordinary William Turner's Doctorate in Music conferred at Cambridge in 1698 in its sequential lists of the Chapel Royal complement. He wore this hood with Chapel Royal choir robes until his death in 1740 at the age of eight-eight.⁶²

⁶⁰ 1549 Grafton editions of June 1549 and July 1549 agree on this wording, i.e. BL, 468 b.3, and 468 b.5, and are supported by the Grafton edition of March 1549 in the Bishop of Cashel Collection, Waterford.

⁶¹ Juggle and Cawode edition of the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, Maskell Collection, Broadleaze, agrees with Cambridge University Library Grafton edition of 1559.

⁶² 'Old Cheque Book', f. 59.

Upon careful examination of a painting of Dr Orlando Gibbons of 1623, Nicholas Groves, Bruce Christianson and Philip Lowe observed of Gibbons's neckband that 'it would appear that at this time the neckband was more of an integral part of the hood—not "let-in" as with many hoods today'.⁶³ In addition to this portrait there exists, as it happens, a contemporary reference to the wearing of a 'band' just three years earlier by Gibbons in 'The Old Cheque Book' recording of Yeomen of the Vestry Henry Eveseed's drunken brawl in the Chapel Royal in 1620, during which Eveseed 'did violently and sodenly without cause runne upon Mr Gibbons, took him up and threw him doune upon a standard wherby he received such hurt that he is not yet recovered of the same, and withall he tare his



Fig. 10. Orlando Gibbons in the dress of an Oxford Doctor of Music

Anonymous portrait, 1623

band from his neck too his prejudice and disgrace' (f. 37). On this basis the neckband may perhaps have been a Chapel Royal livery device worn by Gentlemen and Organists of the Chapel Royal. As a consequence of this text the question now arises as to the *raison d'être* in the seventeenth century for the wearing of the 'neckband' with academical attire. It is a matter yet to be resolved (see Fig. 10).

We can be certain of the academic attire of the Sub-Deans of the Chapel Royal from at least 1661 with the appointment of Walter Jones, who held office with a DD, until succeeded by Richard Colebrand in 1674, who likewise possessed a DD, and William Holder who served from then until the appointment of Ralph Battell in 1689. A reference on f. 55v of

'The Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal' in which Sub-Dean Edward Aspinwall records in 1728:

When his Majesty King George II from Newark visited the University of Cambridge Thursday in Easter Week April 25th 1728, according to the custom of his Royal Predecessors, his majesty gave the degrees of the university to several Persons. And it was then judgd by the Bishop of London Dean of the Chappel & by My Lord

⁶³ 'Musical Doctors', *Burton Notes*, 1 (June 2002), pp. 5–6 (p. 6).

Viscount Townsend first Secretary of State (whose Province it usually to draw up the List for degrees) that the Sub-Dean of the Chappel had a peculiar title to be set down in the List for the degree of doctor in divinity. And accordingly I was set down first in My Lord Townsend's List for that degree: (so subdean Battel obtained his degree by favour of her late Majesty Q. Anne when she visited the University of Cambridge) But the usual method of forming the catalogue for the degrees not being observed as formerly it happen'd by some mistake or accident that my name was omitted in the catalogue (for it was a very numerous one) that was delivered to the University. So that November following by performing all my exercises I was admitted to my degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge. This I thought proper to make a memorandum of, that my successors by this accident may not hereafter be depriv'd of a claim & privilege due to them on such occasions. Jan 1st 1728/9.⁶⁴

Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal 1780–1805 Dr Edmund Ayrton was painted in his doctoral academical robes by former Child of the Chapel Royal John Hoppner in 1786 (see Fig. 11).

The Chaplains-in-Ordinary to the King were and remain an integral part of the Chapel Royal complement, though formed into a College of thirty-six Chaplains in 1912 and headed thereafter by the Clerk of the Closet. Each of the thirty-six Chaplains of the College are thus still required through Warrant of Appointment by the Sovereign's Lord Chamberlain to preach in company with the Chapel Royal at least once a year—known more properly as the 'Rota of Waits'.

A fascinating illustration from Ogilby's 1662 *Entertainment of Charles II* is headed 'Chaplains having dignities 10', and depicts ten of the then forty Chapel Royal Chaplains-in-Ordinary to the King riding on horseback at Charles II's Coronation in 1661. Liturgical livery and academic attire are prominent upon each of them: they all wear academic mortar-boards with no tassel



Fig. 11. Edmund Ayrton in his Cambridge Doctor of Music robes

Portrait by John Hoppner, 1786

⁶⁴ Aspinwall was sworn Sub-Dean when still MA in March 1718, and took his DD in 1728.



Fig. 12. Detail from Ogilby's *Entertainment of Charles II, 1662*, depicting the coronation procession in 1661

(Reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, City of London)

(see Fig. 12).⁶⁵ This adds to the details so tantalizingly illustrated in the famous 1674 engravings of George Edwards, and then in David Loggan's *Oxonia illustrata* of 1675 and *Cantabrigia illustrata* of 1690. A group of Chaplains to the King is depicted in Sandford's engravings of James II Coronation in 1685 wearing mortarboards of the same kind.⁶⁶

By the twentieth century the King's Chaplains-in-Ordinary no longer wore such academical attire for coronations. Illustrations of King's Chaplains attired for the

⁶⁵ One of those King's Chaplains depicted 'with dignities' is Dr John Wallis, code-breaker for the Parliamentarians at the Battle of Naseby, and for the 1659–60 Republic, but subsequently upon the Restoration in 1660 in Charles II's employ as code-breaker when not conducting Divine Office as Chaplain to the King from 1661. See Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 93–95.

⁶⁶ Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of ... James II... and of his royal consort Queen Mary ... 23rd April ... 1685, With an exact account of the several preparations ... their Majesties most splendid processions ... in the Savoy*, printed by Thomas Newcombe, 1687. Westminster Abbey Muniment Room. Illustrations are on ESTC r22422 (wing S652) and ESTC r221588 (Wing S652A).

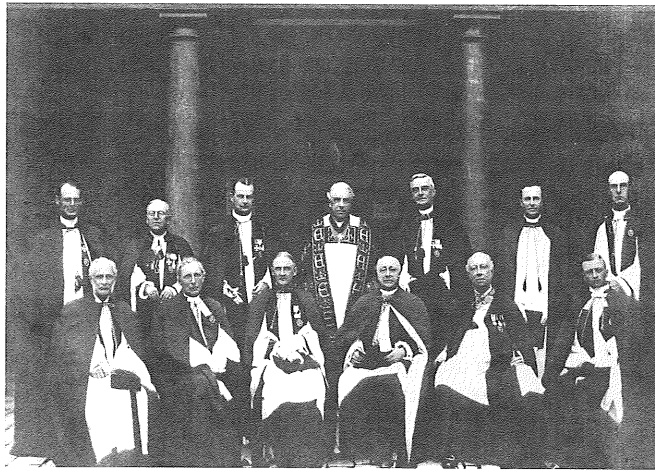


Fig. 13. Chapel Royal clergy attending the coronations of 1902 (above) and 1911 (below): group photographs in Colour Court, St James's Palace

Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal

(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)

1902 and 1911 coronations of Edward VII and George V respectively show them wearing royal scarlet cloaks instead (see Fig. 13). There is also a particular tradition resulting from an edict of the King in 1768 that the Dean of Westminster Abbey preach the Sermon on Good Friday with the Chapel Royal, and that he wear a Black Geneva Gown to do so—indicating his competence to preach upon Holy Scripture.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Baldwin, *Chapel Royal Ancient & Modern*, p. 246.

Modern-day practice

From the days of The Revd Thomas Helmore, Master of the Children of the Chapel from 1846 to 1886, the matter of the academic attire of the Children became formalized. Helmore himself taught the boys English, Latin, History, Geography, Euclid, Arithmetic, Scripture and Church History. But in order that they might attend musical events at St Mark's College, Chelsea, of which Helmore was formerly Vice-Principal and remained Precentor, the Children of the Chapel Royal were supplied with a uniform comprising 'navy blue with red cord stripes to the trousers, and crown buttons'.⁶⁸ This uniform was also worn from 1871 by the Chapel Royal Children when an arrangement was made for their education at the Westminster and Pimlico Commercial School (see Fig. 14).

With the death of Helmore in 1886, the Children were moved temporarily to St George's Square under the Mastership of the Revd Alsagar Sheringham, until the establishment of the first modern Chapel Royal Choir School at Clapham. A photograph of the Children there in 1896 reveals that they wore gold-buttoned mortar-boards, with no tassel, along with their uniform state coats and breeches as their academic distinction (see Fig. 15).

An old Child of the Chapel Royal, John Cole, recollected of his time between 1911 and 1916 that before they all moved to new premises in Streatham all the Children attended the Chapel of the Savoy's School in the Strand. Once they moved on 11 March 1912 to Derwent Mount, 15 High Road, Streatham Hill, they continued to wear a similar 'undress' uniform on a daily basis (see Fig. 16). Cole recalled:

In those days, in addition to our 'gold coats' (are they still known as that?) we had an undress uniform which we wore all the time that we were at school. It was a very dark blue Eton type of jacket with thin red striping, a waistcoat, and trousers with a thin red stripe down the legs. The jacket and waistcoat has brass buttons bearing the inscription 'H.M.Chapels Royal'. One of these was, and I believe still is, to be seen at the London Museum.⁶⁹

The boys travelled to all the services in St James's and Buckingham Palaces in their full uniform state coats with black mortar-boards. On one occasion a certain 'Robbo' failed to change out of his slippers, a fact only noticed on the way to the station at Streatham Hill, which thereafter resulted in uniform inspection before every journey on Southern Electric to Victoria Station.

⁶⁸ See Bernard Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839–1872* (Oxford, 1970), and quoted in Tim Page, *The Friends and Life of Richard Mann* (London, 2004), p. 27.

⁶⁹ *Reminiscence of John Cole, 1911–16*, Chapel Royal Archive.

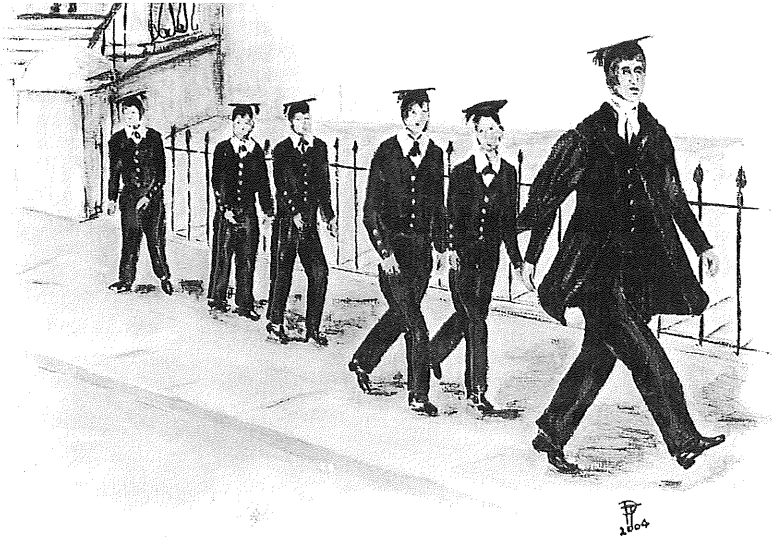


Fig. 14. Drawing of Chapel Royal Children's undress uniform with mortar-board, jacket and red-striped trousers as worn from 1846

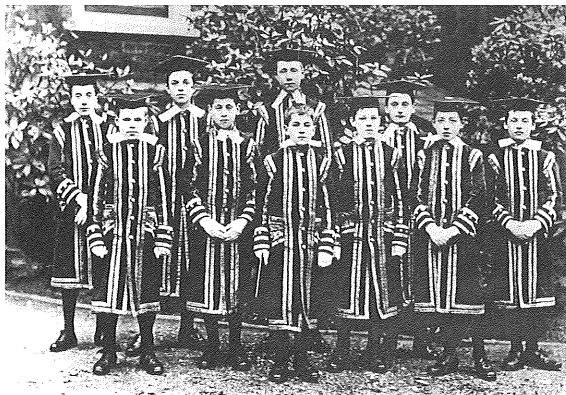


Fig. 15. Chapel Royal Children in state coat uniform and mortar-boards, photographed at the Chapel Royal Choir School, Clapham, 1896

Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal

(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)



Fig. 16. Chapel Royal undress uniform with mortar-board, photographed at the turn of the twentieth century

A little earlier, in 1896, during Queen Victoria's reign, F. Klickman had recalled that

the undress uniforms are renewed every eight months, but the more expensive State Dress has to last three years. This is no difficult matter, as it is only donned on Sundays and for such special functions as the State concerts at Buckingham Palace. Small wonder, then, that the public are interested when the boys march along the streets on their way from the Choir House to the Chapel. In the summer it is too hot for them to wear their large Inverness cloaks, and then they are simply a blaze of colour in the sunshine. At such times many questions are asked and surmises indulged in as to who they really are.⁷⁰

The next fascinating observation concerns their wearing of academic mortarboards:

... I chanced to be in a tramcar in Hamburg along with a Queen's chorister who was wearing his undress Uniform. Now in that military land there is nothing remarkable in the mere fact of wearing a uniform; but the square cap that is so common in England was evidently a decided novelty, judging by the interest the inhabitants of that German city evinced in the wearer and the comments that were made on every side concerning his headgear. 'What is the uniform this little boy is wearing? I don't seem to recognise it', said a lady, who was sitting next to us in the vehicle, to a gentleman who was with her. 'He is a cadet', her companion replied, 'and belongs to a military school for the sons of officers, in Berlin. The Emperor takes an immense personal interest in the school'; and he enlarged, in a clear voice, on the system of instruction carried on at the said school, and generally edified all the other occupants of the car, who listened interestedly and studied the small youth attentively. When a lull occurred in the speaker's discourse, the object of his remarks turned to the lady and said:

'Madam will perhaps pardon me, but I am not a Berlin cadet, I have the honour to be in the service of Her Majesty the Queen of England'. The lady looked a look of sudden enlightenment. 'So', she exclaimed, 'then that explains why you wear that strange extraordinary hat. I remember that I have seen a portrait of your Princess of Wales with one of those on her head. Of course, I see now that it is an English royal custom!'⁷¹

It is quite possible that the mortar-board 'square' mentioned in this 1896 account was black with gold trim and a gold button with no tassel. This form of mortar-board was employed certainly in 1898 when it figures prominently, held in each case by four Chapel Royal Children depicted in a portrait by W. B. Yeames that hangs in the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace (see illustration on back cover).

⁷⁰ *The Strand Musical Magazine*, July/December 1896.

⁷¹ *The Strand Musical Magazine*, July/December 1896.

Klickman also talks in his article of the state coats and 'hats somewhat similar to college caps, but with a line of gold running round the brim, and a large gilt button bearing a royal crown taking the place of the tassel'.

This form of royal academic mortar-board disappeared by 1913. Thereafter the Children are depicted consistently in ordinary black-tasselled mortar-boards when wearing state coats, either at their choir school or travelling on duty to and from Chapels.

With the demise of the Streatham establishment, the King decided in 1923 to educate all the Chapel Royal Children by means of the King's Scholarship at the City of London School in Blackfriars, which was founded in 1442 by the executor to Dick Whittington's will, one John Carpenter. Back in the mid-fifteenth century the Carpenter Children were subject to royal impressments into the Chapel Royal, and so there may have been a much earlier link with that school stretching back five hundred years.

Undress uniform became that of the City of London School, black jacket with CLS badge, or maroon, black-striped summer blazer with CLS badge, in both cases with boater and CLS ribbon with CLS central crest on the front of the boater ribbon.

Meanwhile, state coats and breeches, etc., continued to follow the form generally of the 1661 Charles II Warrant and do so today, as do the black double-lined cloaks with split sleeves used on outward engagements. To mark Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee, however, the Lord Chamberlain's Office sanctioned a return to the royal gold-trimmed mortar-board for the Children of the Chapel Royal as a mark of their academic distinction as holding the Queen's Scholarship. These have been worn since then in Her Majesty's company at the Service of Remembrance at the Whitehall Cenotaph and for the Queen's Commonwealth Broadcast on Christmas Day 2005, broadcast from the Domestic Chapel at Buckingham Palace.

As to the six Gentlemen-in-Ordinary, Queen Victoria ordered on 16 February 1862 an unusual element of conformity that applied to all those entitled to wear Chapel Royal robes, and for all clergy of the Chapel Royal. They had to remove all moustaches or else grow a 'full set' as per Queen's Regulations for the Royal Navy.⁷²

⁷² Instruction from Dean to Sub-Dean, 15 February 1862: 'I have received from the Lord Chamberlain an intimation that Her Majesty the Queen has given him authority to prevent the wearing of moustaches by clergymen holding appointments and officiating at Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, as a Household and Court regulation. I have therefore to request you to see that this regulation is carried out'. MS held in the Chapel Royal Archive.

Upon appointment to the Chapel Royal, the Serjeant of the Vestry, whose duties include responsibility for the Sacraments, archives, ceremonial, the imposition of Royal Household regulations and Canon Law, undergoes a service of formal induction whilst wearing academical attire. Since 1860 the lesser office of Yeoman of the Vestry has been incorporated into that of the Serjeant. Two offices of 'garciones', also lesser officers of the Vestry responsible to the Serjeant and known to have existed prior to 1449, have survived to the present day in the form of the Groom of the Vestry and the Keeper of the Closet. These office holders are required to wear their personal academic distinction in the form of hoods with their official black, tasselled gowns, although the predominant colour of their academic distinction is in neither case repeated in the ties to the tassels on their gowns.

Sister and daughter Chapel Royal establishments

As a result of Henry VIII's Eltham Palace Ordinances of 1525, the elements of the original Chapel Royal became much more domiciled in London and its environs. Divine offices at the Chapel Royal building at Hampton Court Palace were maintained by a Deputy Priest-in-Ordinary of the Chapel Royal, responsible, like the Chapel Royal Priests-in-Ordinary, directly to the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, and eventually this clerk in holy orders was given the simpler title of 'Chaplain'. A choir was eventually recruited to accompany the daily divine offices in the absence of the ancient and original body of the Chapel Royal, the latter soon in effect based solely in London, with a requirement to be within a horse ride's distance of the Court. The daughter complement now permanently based at Hampton Court Chapel Royal was granted permission to bear the title 'Chapel Royal'. Ultimately responsible to the Dean, this establishment is still visited annually by the original Chapel Royal body, at which celebration the Sub-Dean re-imposes his authority upon that establishment. However, the choir there has always worn only royal scarlet cassock and white surplice, and are not entitled to wear the uniform state coats, breeches and mortar-board of the ancient body, whose headquarters were at Whitehall until the fire of 1698 and from 1702 have been located at St James's Palace.

However, it should be noted that it is permitted by Royal Household regulation for the academic choral excellence of the choristers at Hampton Court to be recognized by the wearing of Royal School of Church Music medallions suspended by ribbon. Although also corporate members of the RSCM, it is not permitted for the ancient body to wear this distinction at St James's Palace, where only medals awarded in person by The Sovereign, or awarded in her name by other members of the Royal Family or Officers of the Armed Forces of the Crown, are permitted on Chapel Royal Court attire. The Children of the Chapel Royal of the ancient body do not, therefore, wear this form of academic attire. (See Fig. 9, above.)

The other two daughter Chapel Royal buildings, those of St John the Evangelist in the White Tower and St Peter ad Vincula at HM Tower of London, are similarly

serviced by a Chaplain holding the status of Deputy Priest-in-Ordinary of the Chapel Royal's ancient body, and the adult-only choir there also wear royal scarlet cassock and white surplice.

The Chapel Royal has a sister establishment in Scotland, the Scottish Chapel Royal, founded in 1501 by James IV, and then comprising sixteen canons, nine prebendaries and six boys. By 1621 it is recorded that the men wore black gowns and the boys 'sad-coloured coats'.⁷³ The debacle and clash of liturgical traditions brought about by Dean William Laud's orders to conform to High Church practices in Edinburgh during the visit of Charles I for his coronation as King of Scotland in 1633 led thereafter to withdrawal of attempted imposition of authority over the Scottish Chapel Royal by the Dean of the English Chapel Royal. With the exception of certain services held within the Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Scottish Chapel Royal has thereafter been recognized as a separate corporation within the Ecclesiastical Household. King James VII and II for a short while imposed Roman Catholicism simultaneously with Protestant services within Holyroodhouse, just as he did in London at the Palace of Whitehall in his specially built Roman Catholic Chapel while the Established Church's Anglican services were conducted by the Chapel Royal at the same time a few hundred yards away at St James's Palace. The Roman Catholic Queen's Chapel continued to operate there in juxtaposition to the Church of England Chapel Royal from 1685 to 1688, separated by only a courtyard.

Roman Catholic Chapels Royal

The unlikely simultaneous presence of sister Roman Catholic Chapels Royal in London and Edinburgh through periods of the seventeenth century is of interest in terms of academical attire, not least because it begs the question of whether the Court Dress regulations were suspended to allow the wearing of foreign academical marks of distinction—such as the adoption of French Court practice.

This is a very real question, and arises from 1625 when the Queen's Chapel at St James's Palace was opened for Roman Catholic services by specific provision of the Anglo-French Marriage Treaty, which supplanted that of 1623 with Spain, which failed. Charles I made provision by Warrant for Queen Henrietta Maria to have choirboys recruited in Paris by the Choirmaster of the King of France. Musical training for the Queen's Chapel was certainly treated as an extension of the French Court as is evident from the provision under the Queen's 1634 list of 'Fees, pensions and wages of servants and officers'. This mentions that one Richard Lewis was paid as 'Master of the Musick to the King of France' and 'Philip Burlachy of London, Marchant, for monie by him paid to one Lewes Richard who breeds boyes for Her Majesty's Musick in Paris, in consideration of monies layd out for him for Her Majesty being the sum of £60 ... as by Her

⁷³ Baldwin, *Chapel Royal Ancient & Modern*, p. 171.

Majesty's warrant dated 20th May 1630'. In 1640 Richard Lewis was paid £440 for training six boy choristers for the Queen's Chapel at St James's Palace. Lewis in fact flitted back and forth between the Courts in Paris and London, finally leaving England for good as late as 1644.⁷⁴ It is not known what academic distinction may have been worn by such choristers of the Queen's Roman Catholic Chapel Royal at St James's Palace and in the 1630s also at Somerset House, but if their training had been carried out initially in Paris sufficiently, then there may have been French forms of distinction. Certainly the Roman Catholic Chapel Royal at St James's was serviced throughout the 1620s by two Oratorians of Fr Berulle's French Order, who did not swear, and by three Cassinese Benedictines, who did swear the Oath of Allegiance to Charles I, and that at Somerset House by French Capuchins in the 1630s according to one their number, Fr Cyprien de Gamache, in his recollections.

Following the English Civil War and Restoration of the Monarchy the marriage of Charles II to Katharine of Braganza led to similar arrangements with the revival of Roman Catholic worship in St James's Palace and Somerset House from 1662. This time we learn that the choristers recruited for service at the Queen's Roman Catholic Chapel Royal in St James's Palace were to wear liveries identical to those of the Chapel Royal of the Church of England two courtyards away from one another: 'the Children of the Queen's Chapel, being three in number, with liveries similar to those of the Children of the Chapel Royal'.⁷⁵ It is known that in 1677 there were five boys and in 1679 that there were also '4 Clerks of the Chapel',⁷⁶ and an Organist from 1677.

The Warrant of 20 July 1664 provided 'for three liveries to be delivered to Mr Ferdinando for the three Children of the Queen's Chappell' at the same time as the liveries for the 'twelve Chapel Royal Children were to be delivered to Captain Henry Cooke, Master of the Chapel Royal Children'. The 9 October 1664 Warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to the Great Wardrobe requiring the latter 'to deliver to Mr Fernando the winter liveries for the three Children of the Queen's Chapel',⁷⁷ indicated an elaborate arrangement with regard to livery and therefore one might reasonably surmise that regulations were devised and enforced with regard to the

⁷⁴ Quoted in David Baldwin, 'The Politico-Religious Usage of the Queen's Chapel, 1623–1688' (unpublished M.Litt Thesis, Durham University Library), p. 26; and 'The English Benedictine Community at the Queen's Chapel, St James's Palace', in *The English Benedictine Community Ealing Abbey Centenary Publication*, Vol. 16 (1998), pp.19–66.

⁷⁵ National Archive (PRO), LC Bundles LC5 and 8. See discussion of this livery in David Baldwin, 'The Politico-Religious Usage of The Queen's Chapel, 1623–1688', p. 153; copies at Durham and Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy to the Holy See.

⁷⁶ BL, Add MS 15897, f.33v: 'The Establishment of Queen Katharine of Braganza for one year from Michaelmas 1677'.

⁷⁷ PRO [National Archives], LC Papers, Bundle 8,

academical attire that may have formed a component of it during the conduct of certain divine offices other than Mass.

Samuel Pepys's observation of 1686, and that of Weldon, though, make no mention of that specifically since they record Mass taking place at James II's Roman Catholic Chapel Royal at Whitehall rather than any other form of office. Dr Edward Corp has established that come the arrival of William of Orange in 1688 all members of the Roman Catholic Chapels Royal fled abroad to St-Germain-en-Laye—Germans, Italians, French and English, three boys eventually ending up in Rome at the deposed Queen Mary of Modena's initiative in the early 1690s.⁷⁸ What academical attire either the choristers, clerks or priests wore in the exiled Stuart Court in St-Germain is not yet known.

HM Chapel Royal of the Mohawk

Of other sister Chapel Royal establishments mention should also be made of the Chapel Royal of the Mohawk located at Tyendinaga in the Bay of Quinte, and at Grand River Six Nations Reserve in Canada—both jointly awarded this title as a single ecclesiastical establishment by Her Majesty the Queen in 2004 in accordance with the spirit of the diplomatic treaty known as Silver Chain of Friendship first established between Mohawk and Sovereign in 1677.

This Chapel Royal establishment wears Royal Scarlet Cassock and White Surplice, but for specific historical reasons to do with the origins of the Anglican Diocesan Church of Canada having grown from the witness of the Anglican Christian Mohawks from 1784 in this part of Canada by the Great Lakes, the Chaplains wear academical distinctions authorized by the respective Diocesan Bishops rather than directly by the Governor-General or Royal Household.⁷⁹

David Baldwin, RVM, BA, MLitt (Dunelm), FBS, has been Serjeant of the Vestry of the Chapel Royal, St James's Palace, since 1984.

⁷⁸ Correspondence between Dr Edward Corp and David Baldwin, quoted in 'The Politico-Religious Usage of the Queen's Chapel, 1623–1688', p. 152.

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Back cover: Children of the Chapel Royal, 1898. Oil painting by W. B. Yeames, on permanent loan to Her Majesty's Chapel Royal from Belinda Physick. (*Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.*)



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