

Hargreaves-Mawdsley's *History of Academical Dress* and the Pictorial Evidence for Great Britain and Ireland: Notes and Corrections

by Alex Kerr

In 1935 L. H. Dudley Buxton and Strickland Gibson wrote that ‘the history of academical costume is one of great difficulty and one which at present has no authoritative historian’.¹ W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley is generally acknowledged to have succeeded in filling that role with the publication three decades later of his *History of Academical Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century*.²

Charles A. H. Franklyn welcomed it in a short review, declaring, with an echo of Buxton and Gibson, that Hargreaves-Mawdsley had ‘tackled a most difficult subject in a masterly manner and his book, filling a long-felt need, will remain for all time the standard work on the subject and a monument to his industry’.³ From Franklyn that was praise indeed! While he picked up one or two errors of fact, he did not detect—or at any rate did not comment on—the numerous inaccuracies the book contains in references to the pictorial evidence.

As a conventional historian, Hargreaves-Mawdsley was more at home with textual records than pictorial ones. I suspect that he made notes of what he saw—or sometimes thought he saw—in the images of academic dress he examined, but did not check his draft text later against the original materials. And yet, almost all the engravings he cites in the two chapters on Great Britain and Ireland were available to him in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. As far as other material is concerned, the present-day researcher enjoys a distinct advantage: many of the portraits Hargreaves-Mawdsley saw perhaps only once or knew from indifferent black-and-white photographs in books are now recorded in fully illustrated catalogues or can be viewed, often in colour, on the Internet.

I am very grateful to Professor Bruce Christianson for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ *Oxford University Ceremonies* (Oxford: OUP, 1935), p. 19.

² Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963; repr. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978.

³ *Oxford*, 19, No. 1 (December 1963), pp. 102–06 (p. 102). Franklyn took the opportunity to rehearse his own oft-repeated preoccupations: for example, degrees were not held in the genitive, and hence we should say Doctor *in* Theology, etc.; and the chimere was an academical robe and not popish, to be worn by all doctors and BDs, and long established. Then, referring to himself in the third person, he chided Hargreaves-Mawdsley for making only one fleeting footnote reference to his (Franklyn's) publications.

The main purpose of this article is to annotate and correct Hargreaves-Mawdsley's account of the pictorial evidence in Chapters 3 and 4 of his *History of Academical Dress*, covering Oxford, Cambridge, Scotland and Ireland.⁴ My comments are based on a review of the drawings, paintings, engravings, seals, stained glass and monuments he refers to. I have not examined the other documentary evidence in any systematic way. References to primary sources on paper or parchment are given in the text by artist/source and date, with details in a list at the end. References to secondary material, including online resources where, at the time of going to press (1 October 2009), particular images may be viewed, are given in the footnotes.

Hargreaves-Mawdsley's career

William Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley (H-M) was born in Clifton, Bristol, in 1921.⁵ He attended Clifton College and in 1940 went up to Oriel College, Oxford, to read Classics and Modern History. His studies were soon interrupted by war service and he spent five years in the Royal Army Ordnance Corps. He returned to Oxford in 1946 to complete his studies and graduated in 1948. At about this time, he and his parents moved to a house in North Oxford. For a short period during his student days he was literary editor of the undergraduate journal *The Isis* and (under the name Norman Mawdsley) published a slim volume of his own verse and a collection of poems by contemporary fellow Oxonians.

In 1955 he began work for a DPhil on the history of academic and legal dress. In 1957 he published a piece which gives a very lucid and accurate thumbnail sketch of Oxford academic dress and its history in just over fifteen hundred words.⁶ The following year he submitted his thesis, entitled 'A History of Academical and Legal Dress in Europe from Classical Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century'. He stipulated—as candidates could at that time—that the copy deposited in the Bodleian Library should be embargoed in perpetuity, and therefore it is not

⁴ I am indebted to Oxford University Press, the copyright holder, for permission to quote extensively from Hargreaves-Mawdsley's work.

⁵ Information for this biographical note has been drawn from *Clifton College Register 1979–1994* (Clifton: Council of Clifton College, 1996), the University of Oxford *Calendar*, *Kelly's Directory of Oxford*, and a special issue of the Brandon University student newspaper, *The Quill*, 18 April 1980, which following his early death was devoted to warm appreciations of 'H-M' (as he was affectionately known there) as distinguished scholar, devoted teacher and wise colleague. I am very grateful to Arthur Casey for bringing this last item to my notice and for his account of visits to the Hargreaves-Mawdsleys' home in Oxford. Rob Petre, Archivist of Oriel College, and Jeremy Drew, of the University of Oxford Degree Conferrals Office, have verified several details from their records.

⁶ 'Academical Dress', *Oxford Magazine*, 76, No. 6 (21 November 1957), pp. 132–34, and No. 7 (28 November 1957), p. 148.

possible to consult the thesis even now, half a century later. The Library's catalogue and other records show that it runs to some 753 pages in three volumes: one of plates, one on academic dress and one on legal dress.⁷ The Clarendon Press published his work as two books in 1963.⁸

He did not pursue his history beyond the eighteenth century and he wrote disparagingly of the iconoclastic nineteenth century, which **'gave scope for robe-makers to use their ingenuity in creating new robes for institutions without a past, sometimes borrowing freely and without true knowledge of the manner whereby the old universities had gradually acquired their costume through the years'** (p. vii). Extraordinary then that it was he who drew up the radical scheme of academic dress adopted by the University of Sussex when it was founded in 1961.⁹ George Shaw, whose own proposals had been rejected, said that some features of it showed tendencies to return to the style of dress worn in the medieval universities of Europe.¹⁰ However, these features are merely echoes of unconnected items found in continental universities at various times. The bachelors' hood lined with squares of grey nylon fur and the doctors' cylindrical *pileus* bear no relation to British graduate academic dress at any earlier period. And yet this was the work of a historian otherwise so careful of tradition.¹¹

⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D.Phil. 2010 (Vol. I), MS D.Phil. 353 (Vol. II), MS D.Phil. 354 (Vol. III).

⁸ A. H. Campbell, the Scottish legal historian, reviewed 'these two informative and intriguing volumes' for the *English Historical Review*, 80 (1965), pp. 145–46, commenting that 'even those historians who do not thrill to details about gimp and tumps and liripipes will find them pleasant fireside reading'. However, he identifies significant historical errors in the *History of Legal Dress* and claims that H-M's 'general historical background, is ... second-hand, sketchy and sometimes inaccurate'. Later, J. H. Baker found the *History of Legal Dress* 'full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies' ('History of Gowns Worn at the English Bar', *Costume*, 9 (1975), pp. 15–21 (p. 20)).

⁹ The practical implementation of H-M's proposals was apparently left to the artist John Piper, with the couturier Hardy Amies engaged later to create the officers' robes. I am grateful to Phyllis Hicks of the Graduation Office at the University of Sussex for confirming these facts from the University's archives (pers. comm., 7 May 2008) and to Dr Andrew Campbell for his account of discussing Sussex academic dress with H-M, who was his regent (personal tutor) at St Andrews in 1967 (pers. comm., 13 November 2008). Dr John Birch recalls that he saw samples of silks for the doctors' robes in Piper's studio when he visited the artist's home ('Burgon: A Hooded Progress', *Burgon Society Annual*, 2 (2002), pp. 12–14 (p. 13)).

¹⁰ *Academical Dress of British Universities* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1966), p. 10. See also A. Kerr, 'Robes and Robemakers: Study Day at Girton College, Cambridge', *Burgon Society Annual*, 3 (2003), pp. 13–16 (p. 15).

¹¹ Franklyn, who like Shaw had submitted designs that were rejected, described the Sussex hoods as 'freaks, which should be redesigned' (*The Degrees and Hoods of the World's Universities and Colleges*, 5th edition, revised and enlarged by F. R. S. Rogers et al. (Lewes: W. E. Baxter, 1972) p. xiv). A more conventional bachelors' hood was introduced in 2004.

After he had been awarded his doctorate H-M held a post as tutor and sub-librarian at Exeter College, Oxford, and then a senior research fellowship at Edinburgh University before taking up a lectureship in history at St Andrews in 1964, a post he held until 1969. He was a visiting professor at the University of South Carolina in 1970 and later that year was appointed professor and head of the Department of History at Brandon University in Manitoba. After his parents' deaths in the early 1970s, he and his wife, Josefina, kept the house in Oxford and returned there from Canada in university vacations. He died suddenly of a heart attack in 1980, aged fifty-eight, while attending a university committee meeting at Brandon. His name is commemorated in scholarships, endowed by his widow, for graduate studies in history at Brandon University and at Wolfson College, Oxford.

Between 1967 and 1978 he wrote half a dozen books on historical subjects, focusing especially on Spain and on England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but to the best of my knowledge he published nothing more on academic dress. Hardly surprising perhaps, since he opens his book with these words: **'This history is detailed, and contains all the facts gathered together during more than eight years of work. Supplementary information could be collected, but this would increase the size of the book for no commensurate gain. I trust that the essentials and all the necessary implications are here'** (p. vii). This last statement is probably true and after forty-five years the *History of Academical Dress* remains the standard work on the subject.¹² However, it contains many errors of detail.

Notes on Chapters 3 and 4

As H-M points out in his Preface (pp. vii–viii), Oxford and Cambridge have a longer and more elaborate history of academic dress than other universities; and there is more evidence about it. In the sections on these two universities he devotes subsections to the dress of each office and degree and one to the dress of undergraduates. No doubt this is the best way to proceed, although it produces a somewhat piecemeal effect. These sections must therefore be read in conjunction with the concise and (on the whole) accurate survey in his Introduction in order to appreciate general trends at different periods. In the later parts of Chapter 4, dealing with the Scottish universities and Dublin, he gives a brief chronological account of the academic dress of each university (as he does in Chapters 1, 2 and 5 on universities outside Great Britain and Ireland).

¹² Histories of universities and studies of costume commonly cite the work as their source for statements about academic dress. However, Franklyn makes no reference to it in his own book, except in his Bibliography, where he calls it 'a work of great scholarship, containing an immense Bibliography of pp. 15' (*Academical Dress from the Middle Ages to the Present Day, Including Lambeth Degrees* (Lewes: W. E. Baxter, 1970), p. 247).

Hoods

For H-M the word ‘hood’ means two things: the medieval cowl and the post-medieval simple-shape hood. He thinks of the cape, which he calls a ‘shoulder piece’, as something separate and additional. As Franklyn rightly says in his review, he misses the point that ‘the hood proper’ consists of three parts: cape, cowl, and liripipe. In his Introduction (p. 7) H-M does acknowledge that the medieval hood **‘was small and close to the neck, and was joined to its “shoulder piece” which covered the shoulders and the upper part of the arms, the two together in reality forming one article’** (see Fig. 1, below), but he forgets this last, crucial point in Chapters 3 and 4. Furthermore, he says: **‘In England the academical “shoulder piece” was abandoned [during the sixteenth century] and the hood was worn alone’**. The pictorial evidence proves that the process was more complex than that.

During the 1520s the part of the cowl round the neck (which H-M calls a ‘roller’) and the top of the vertical seam in the front of the cape were opened up to form a V shape and reveal some of the lining (Fig. 2). By about 1600 the fabric on either side of this gap was turned back further to display more of the lining, and the front seam was sewn up again for part of its length. A consequence of this was that the cape rode up at the front and usually no longer covered the upper arms, but took on a V shape like the part covering it (Fig. 3). It also followed that the rest of the hood slipped lower down the wearer’s back. In the late seventeenth century the front of all hoods was reduced even further, eventually losing its V shape, and during the eighteenth it shrank to a mere neckband (Fig. 4). This neckband narrowed to an exceedingly thin strip by 1800 (Fig. 5), but has become a little wider again in modern times.



Fig. 1. 1387



Fig. 2. 1522

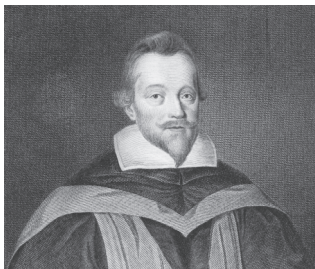


Fig. 3. 1640s



Fig. 4. 1720



Fig. 5. 1815

When the front and sides of the cape were reduced, the back remained, with the cowl and liripipe lying over it. This gave the so-called ‘full’ hood. At Oxford the process went a stage further for masters and bachelors other than BDs: the cape covering the back was lost, probably by the early seventeenth century, leaving only the ever-narrowing neck portion at the front and the cowl and liripipe at the back, that is the ‘simple’ hood. Then, during the eighteenth century the simple hood came to be worn back to front, with the fore-edge of the cowl against the wearer’s back and the liripipe pointing outwards. (This reversal was rectified with the Burgon hood, introduced at the turn of the twentieth century.) Failing to recognize the distinction between full and simple hoods leads H-M into difficulties, especially in the section on Cambridge.

Developments at Dublin are less certain, but until the early twentieth century doctors and masters there apparently wore a full hood and bachelors a simple one. At Scottish universities hoods were not worn from the Reformation until the 1860s.

Note: From this point on, H-M’s page numbers are shown in the left-hand margin.

CHAPTER 3: Great Britain and Ireland— I. Oxford

(a) *The Chancellor*

- 60 H-M believes that the first four figures he describes are wearing a loose or wide-sleeved *supertunica* (medieval gown) as the outer garment, but this is incorrect. In the universities the *supertunica* did not start to develop wide sleeves until the end of the fifteenth century. In formal circumstances like those represented in these images, a sleeveless habit (*cappa*) or a mantle would be worn over the tunic or gown as an essential article of academic or official dress; H-M has mistaken the folds of these voluminous garments for sleeves.

He writes that the figure of the chancellor on his seal of 1238, ‘**which appears as half-length, with the face in profile, wears a *pileus* and a loose *supertunica***’. Edward T. Beaumont, his source for this description, provides no illustration, but says the figure wears a ‘loose robe’,¹³ and Beaumont uses the term ‘robe’ in a general sense throughout his book for both *cappa* and *supertunica*. In fact, the chancellor is wearing a *cappa* or mantle, with his hands emerging from a gap in the middle.¹⁴

¹³ *Academical Habit Illustrated by Ancient Memorial Brasses* (Oxford: privately printed, 1928), p. 63.

¹⁴ See H. E. Salter (ed.), *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College*, Oxford Historical Society, 64 (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1913), plate facing p. 364, Fig. 1.

A seal of the University probably also from the thirteenth century, very detailed and beautifully executed, shows the chancellor in what Beaumont describes as ‘a loose robe and almucium’.¹⁵ But the seated figure is wearing a form of cloak, the front of the garment being draped over the forearms and pulled in below them. It is probably a *cappa* or mantle; the skirt is spread across the knees and ends above the ankles, with the folds at the hem of the *supertunica* visible below. He has a *pileus* and appears to be wearing an academic hood rather than an almuce.¹⁶

The chancellor’s second and third seals, which date from the fourteenth century and are almost alike, show the figure full-length, wearing a *supertunica*, a *cappa clausa* with one very large slit, a hood and *pileus*.¹⁷

Stained-glass windows in Merton College chapel include multiple images of Henry de Mannesfield (or Mamesfield), Master of Theology and chancellor. We read that he is wearing ‘**a wide-sleeved *supertunica* and an amess (almuce), ... not the costume of his degree**’. In fact, each figure of this donor does appear to be wearing the academic dress customary for his degree in the early fourteenth century. This includes a narrow-sleeved *supertunica* under a *cappa clausa* with one slit at the front for the passage of the arms, although in some of the lights this looks more like a mantle, open at the front. There is no almuce, but as the figures are in profile the cowl and liripipe of the hood, which is part of the *cappa*, as is usual with this style of habit, can be seen clearly. ‘**In addition he has a *pileus*.**’ This is quite large and has a narrow brim.¹⁸

H-M writes that the chancellor in a miniature in Registrum A (1375) in the University Archives wears ‘**a scarlet *supertunica* with great hanging sleeves, which are lined with grey fur and edged with it**’. In a footnote he adds that J. E. Sandys ‘**wrongly states that it is sleeveless**’.¹⁹ Sandys is quoting verbatim from Hastings Rashdall, and Rashdall is right.²⁰ Under the almuce the kneeling figure is wearing a voluminous sleeveless cape, lined but *not* edged with miniver. The wearer’s outstretched arms lift the front edge of the cape, which hangs down to the

¹⁵ *Academical Habit*, p. 64.

¹⁶ See Salter, plate facing p. 364, Fig. 4; also as the frontispiece in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. I, *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: OUP, 1984). For a similar effect in modern times see the photograph of Sir Henry Miers, vice-chancellor of Manchester University, wearing a cope (like the one still worn at Cambridge) and seated with honorary graduands in 1919, reproduced in P. Lowe, *Manchester Academic Dress* (Manchester: John Rylands Library, 2002), Pl. 17, following p. 21.

¹⁷ See Salter, plate facing p. 364, Figs 2 and 3.

¹⁸ For several of these donor figures see <<http://www.sacred-destinations.com/england/oxford-merton-photos/index.htm>>.

¹⁹ ‘Ancient University Ceremonies’, in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dictatus* (Cambridge: privately printed, 1909), pp. 217–39 (p. 238).

²⁰ *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: OUP, 1895), Vol. II, p. 643. In the revised edition by Powicke and Emden (1936) this is in Vol. III, p. 392.

floor at the side and in a deep fold between the arms and could be mistaken for ‘great hanging sleeves’. The end of a close-fitting sleeve of the true *supertunica* underneath can be seen where the chancellor’s hand and forearm emerge from under this cape.²¹

- 61 The figure on the chancellor’s fourth seal, dated 1429, is described as wearing ‘**a long loose *supertunica* with large sleeves and an amess**’. Again, this paraphrases Beaumont: ‘a long loose robe with large sleeves and an almucium’.²² And yet again, the seated figure is actually wearing a *cappa* or mantle draped over the arms and gathered up in his lap. Under this he has a narrow-sleeved *supertunica*, and over it a hood. He is wearing a *pileus* with a narrow brim.²³

We may conclude from the pictorial evidence that on formal occasions the medieval chancellor wore the academic dress of his degree (*supertunica*, *cappa* and hood) or a form of ecclesiastical dress (a narrow-sleeved tunic with a cope or mantle over it and an almuze).

‘There is a portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton painted at the time of his appointment to this office in 1588, but its value as evidence is very small owing to the darkening of the picture, and we are left in doubt as to whether or not he is wearing a distinctive dress or, as seems more likely, merely the dress of his degree, which was Master of Arts.’ The picture has been cleaned and it is now clear that Hatton is wearing a black gown with wide facings of marten fur, continuing up as a broad collar across the shoulders. This is probably a robe of dignity, but not necessarily distinctive dress for the chancellor, and it is certainly not the full dress or undress of an MA at this period.²⁴

‘The chancellor’s gold-brocaded black robe ...’ The chancellor’s robe introduced in the seventeenth century was (and still is) of black figured silk damask, decorated with gold lace frogs and braid.

‘The head-dress was a round black velvet cap.’ This reads as though it continues a description of Roberts’s watercolour of 1792, but no cap appears in that image: the chancellor leans on a table with an earl’s coronet and coronation robe on it. The picture is based on George Huddesford’s posthumous portrait of the 3rd Earl of Lichfield, chancellor 1762–72.²⁵ However, a footnote to this sentence cites a plate in Combe (1814), wrongly attributing it to Uwins. The engraving in question is by

²¹ See J. Wells, *The Oxford Degree Ceremony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), plate facing p. 19.

²² *Academical Habit*, p. 63.

²³ See Salter, plate facing p. 365, Fig. 1.

²⁴ See National Portrait Gallery <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search.php>>, NPG1518.

²⁵ See *Portraits in Oxford* <<http://www.odl.ox.ac.uk/portraitsinoxford/index.php>>, search ‘Lichfield’, OP14.

Meyer after a portrait by William Owen and shows Lord Grenville, chancellor 1809–34, holding a square cap with a gold tassel and the skull edged with gold braid.²⁶ Combe's text (Vol. II, p. 17) explains that although a wig and round bonnet were customary with this dress Grenville did not wear them for reasons of ill-health. I have not discovered any image of an Oxford chancellor wearing a round bonnet with his official robe. At Cambridge the chancellor was already wearing a square cap in 1803, as seen in Harraden's plate. All Oxford chancellors since Grenville have worn a square cap rather than a bonnet and of course the wig never reappeared.

(b) The Vice-Chancellor

- 62 **'In 1588 it was decreed that all Bachelors of Civil Law on their presentation should give the vice-chancellor gloves, and as late as the third quarter of the seventeenth century they wore them'.** H-M refers to Edwards's plate of 1674 as evidence. However, all doctors and the proctors wore gloves with academic dress until the mid-nineteenth century, as we read on p. 104 (and see Whittock 1840). Throughout the period in question the vice-chancellor at Oxford was invariably a doctor (usually DD) and therefore wore them in any case as part of the dress proper to his degree. (The first vice-chancellor since the Restoration who was not a doctor was Benjamin Jowett, in office 1882–86.)

(c) Proctors and Collectors

'There are no early records of proctors' dress, nor is there any illustrative material in which they are depicted.' Possibly so, but the bare-headed figures on either side of the chancellor on his second, third and fourth seals may be proctors: their dress is probably indistinguishable from that of other MAs in this period.²⁷

- 63 H-M claims that in 1675 collectors' gowns **'were exactly the same as those of bachelors with long pointed sleeves ... their sleeves were more pendulous than those of proctors ... they had no tippet'**. Neither the collector nor the BA in Loggan has noticeably pointed sleeves. The collector's sleeves are not so long or full as the BA's, but they are slightly more pendulous than the proctor's. Like the proctor's, they are covered in velvet from the wrist to elbow level. The collector's gown does have a tippet, just like the proctor's, covering the left shoulder, plainly visible even though it is turned away from the viewer.²⁸ The comment that **'the authorities of the eighteenth century, careless of tradition in many ways, allowed them to assume one ...'** is therefore incorrect; it was there already.

²⁶ See <<http://www.life.com/image/3368930>>.

²⁷ See Beaumont, *Academical Habit*, p. 63.

²⁸ Loggan's Oxford costume plate, as photographed by Henry Taunt c.1907, like those of Edwards, Grignon and Uwins, can be viewed at <<http://viewfinder.english-heritage.org.uk/>>.

(d) *Doctors of Divinity (originally called Masters of Theology)*²⁹

- 65 **‘With the *cappa* a hood and “shoulder piece” were worn.’** The normal medieval style of hood was worn over the less formal *cappa clausa* with two slits. It was not worn with the *cappa clausa* with one slit. It has been suggested that this *cappa*, prescribed as the formal outer garment for the DD and DCanL, was itself a huge hood, the cape of which reached the feet.³⁰ If this is right, the upper part, which looks like a cape or ‘shoulder piece’, must have been the cowl flattened out, turned down and draped over the shoulders to display the fur lining. Thus there is no roll of fabric or fur formed by a cowl round the neck (compare Fig. 3a with Fig. 3b in H-M’s Glossary, p. 91).

The dress of a Master of Theology in the fifteenth century, as shown in the brass of Thomas Hylle (d. 1468), is described as: **‘a *cappa clausa* with its one large opening in front, a hood and its “shoulder piece”, a *subtunica* (cassock), and a “stalk”-apexed *pileus*’**. In fact, the sleeves that emerge from the front slit in the *cappa* belong to a *supertunica* (gown). All that is seen of the *subtunica*, a separate garment underneath, is what look like tight shirt cuffs showing above the ends of these coat-style sleeves.

In a fifteenth-century window at Clavering, Essex, depicting St Catherine disputing with philosophers: **‘the latter are given the *cappa clausa* and are no doubt intended to be Masters of Theology.’** Not all of them: on p. 72 H-M identifies one as a DCL and the group may well represent different faculties.³¹ A figure on the left—perhaps a member of a religious order and a medical man—is tonsured, has no cap and wears a dark-red *cappa* with two slits, and he holds what could be a box of ointment. One in the middle—probably a Master of Theology—wears a blue *cappa* with one slit and a black *pileus* with a stalk (apex). One on the right—probably a DCL—has a dark-red *cappa manicata* and a black cap with no stalk, but side pieces which come down round the ears like a lawyer’s coif or *tena*, and he has an open book in his lap. Kneeling in front with his back to the viewer, there is a fourth, bare-headed and tonsured, in a dark-brown or black habit of some sort.

²⁹ Degrees have been known by various titles at different times: the DD would also have been styled Professor of Sacred Theology in the medieval period; the DM/MD would have been called Doctor in Physic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For brevity I have used the modern DD, DCL, DM, LLD, MD, etc., even when referring to periods when these abbreviations were probably unknown.

³⁰ F. E. Brightman, note on academic dress in R. T. Günther, *A Description of Brasses and Other Funeral Monuments in the Chapel of Magdalen College* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1914), pp. v–vii (p. vi).

³¹ See fifth photograph and text in F. C. Eeles ‘Medieval Glass in Clavering Church’, *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 16 (1922), extracts online <[http://www.claveringonline.org.uk/Local History/medieval_glass_in_clavering_chur.htm](http://www.claveringonline.org.uk/Local%20History/medieval_glass_in_clavering_chur.htm)>.

Each figure has a fur-lined hood to match his *cappa*. Faculty colours were by no means fixed at this period, but the cut of the dress seems to be distinctive of the degree held.

However, this is probably not Oxford dress at all. The artist, identified as a member of the Norwich School of glass painting, is more likely to have been familiar with academic dress at Cambridge, less than twenty miles from Clavering.

- 66 In a series of illuminations in Harley MS 2887 (c.1475) **‘the Masters of Theology ... appear in undress.’** In other words, they do not wear a *cappa* over their *supertunica*, which is described as having **‘moderately hanging sleeves’**. However, this is misleading: the sleeves are like those of a coat; at the wrists they are only about six inches in diameter.

‘In the later fifteenth century, when Masters of Theology gave up wearing the *cappa clausa* with one slit, they used the *cappa* with two slits as their formal dress. This was what came to be known in the course of the sixteenth century as the “Convocation habit”. I wonder whether this was a less cumbersome version of the old *cappa* with two slits, made up in the shape of the MA’s *cappa nigra* (see H-M’s p. 79), having the slits at the sides at shoulder level rather than at the front at elbow level. N. F. Robinson takes a different view: he believes that the *cappa* was replaced by a sleeveless tabard and that this was the forerunner of the Convocation habit.³² A *cappa* is made from a circular disc of fabric or segment of a disc. A tabard is of a different construction: if it has sleeves it is made from two T-shaped pieces of fabric; if it is sleeveless it is made from two oblong pieces.

- 67 Of Philip Bisse in Convocation dress, painted in 1612 (illustrated in H-M’s Pl. 8): **‘He wears ... the hood fastened low in front ...’** This deep V shape is what remains of the front of the cape, covered to within a couple of inches of the lower edge by the black silk facing, formed by the turned-out lining of the upper part of the cape. **‘... the gown appears underneath the habit with very short glove sleeves appearing through the arm-holes.’** In fact, Bisse’s wrists and hands emerge from tight velvet cuffs at the ends of the sleeves, not halfway down as they would if he was wearing his sleeves in the glove style. The gown also has wide velvet facings, which show below the hem of the habit. A variety of gown styles was acceptable in the pre-Laudian period, and this alternative is found in several portraits and monuments around the end of the sixteenth century. Of course, we should not assume that we are looking at the latest styles in academic dress. Portraits may include robes dating from any time between the wearer’s admission to his degree and when he sat for the artist: in Bisse’s case that is a span of thirty-two years. A good example of a gown with short glove sleeves worn with

³² ‘The Black Chimere of Anglican Prelates’, *Transactions of the St Paul’s Ecclesiological Society*, 4.3 (1898), pp. 181–220 (pp. 192–93).

Convocation habit and DD hood can be seen in a sculptural monument to Richard Latewar (d. 1601) in St John's College, Oxford.

The *pileus quadratus* had been obligatory since 1565, but Bisse wears a sort of skullcap or *pileus rotundus*, which was allowed officially only in cases of ill-health (although images of academics wearing one are common).

- 69 **'To the original tump on the square cap a tassel was unofficially added during the 1730's.'** The tump was a pompon made up of silk threads. In some pictures of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth a button had already replaced the tump, and it was to this button that the tassel was added later.

Of the DD in full dress in Roberts (1792): **'it is noticeable that his broad black cincture is drawn over the scarlet robe and holds it closed.'** Confusion has occurred because the figure is wearing a red cassock under his robe rather than the usual black. Velvet facings are visible on either side above the cincture, showing that the robe is not held closed.

(f) *Doctors of Civil Law*

- 71 **'According to an illumination in the Holkham Bible (c.1330), the head-dress of a Doctor of Civil Law was a red *pileus rotundus* with a blue button on top.'** H-M gives no explanation for this statement, which does not agree with his source, W. O. Hassall, who says of the scholars addressed by St John the Baptist:

Here the caps are black (for theology), with red stripe and button, red with blue button and dark brown (or black) with red button. The hood [coif?] is a pale blue *biretta floccata* of a DCivL in [a *cappa* with] false sleeves.³³

The different colours of the caps in this image, like the two styles of *cappa* visible, may be intended to represent different faculties, as Hassall thinks, although the Anglo-French caption calls the whole group *mestres de la ley* ('masters/doctors of law'). The cap that H-M refers to belongs to a figure at the back whose habit cannot be seen. The black cap with the red stripe and button, which Hassall identifies with theology, belongs to one in a calf-length tabard with short, diaphanous bell sleeves—hardly the habit of a theologian or canonist. The pale-blue, coif-like headdress, which comes down round the ears, belongs to one at the front in a *cappa manicata*—the obvious candidate to be a civil lawyer.³⁴

The Holkham picture book was made in London and there is nothing to suggest that Oxford rather than Cambridge dress is depicted (if, indeed, there was anything to choose between them at this date).

³³ *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London: Dropmore Press, 1954), pp. 106–07.

³⁴ See M. P. Brown, *The Holkham Bible: A Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2007), f. 19r, in colour.

- 72 Of the *cappa manicata* used for this degree in the fifteenth century: **‘It was sometimes red and sometimes blue, as in [a window] in Clavering Church, Essex.’** At Clavering it is dark red (see note to p. 65, above).

‘The *cappa clausa* with two slits appears in a particular character in the brass of John Lowthe ... at New College, for attached to the back of the dress on each shoulder are two hollow pendants or liripipes, the open ends being dressed with fur, and as long as the main costume. The liripipes were merely an extravagance and do not seem to have any significance.’ This may be right, but it could be a *cappa manicata*, like the ones illustrated in a late-thirteenth-century Cambridge manuscript (see note to p. 116, below), the Holkham Bible picture book (see note to p. 71, above) and the Clavering glass. In these images the pendants are redundant sleeves hanging behind the arms, like those on the Congregation dress of Cambridge lay doctors until the early nineteenth century.³⁵

- 73 **‘In another brass (1605) also at New College, that of Hugh Barker, D.C.L., is to be found the first example of black tassels added to the buttons in the rows of braid.’** This is a fine sculptural wall monument, not a brass.

- 74 The full-dress robe in Loggan (1675) is described as **‘without taffeta on the sleeves’**. In the figures of both the DCL and the DM the sleeves are actually turned back to the same point as the top of the velvet of the DD, and one cannot tell whether they are faced or not. H-M says that the sleeves are **‘hitched up with a cord and buttons’**; no buttons or cords are visible: they appear to be held up by a stitch at the elbow.

‘the Convocation dress, perhaps better illustrated in Edwards [1674] ...’ Edwards does not illustrate the DCL’s Convocation dress but only the DD’s; for the DCL/DM he gives only the undress gown. However, he does succeed in presenting all the different styles of Oxford dress as economically as possible in just eleven plates, with multiple images in several to display some gowns from different angles.

‘the round bonnet is worn only with festal dress [in Loggan], but in Robert Sayer’s *Oxonia Illustrata* (1700) ... it is worn with the undress.’ In fact, the DCL and the DM are shown in Loggan with a round bonnet for all three dresses. The plates published by van der Aa (1707) and by Sayer copy Loggan. Edwards’s plate of a lay doctor in undress also shows this style of cap, and contemporary portraits invariably do the same. According to the statutes of 1636 jurists and medical graduates are to wear round caps, and there is no suggestion that this means only with full-dress. This is repeated in 1770, and the convention that lay doctors in undress and Convocation dress wear a square emerges only later. In

³⁵ A. Kerr, ‘Layer upon Layer: The Evolution of Cassock, Gown, Habit and Hood as Academic Dress’, *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, 5 (2005), pp. 42–58 (pp. 45, 53).

1814 Combe records: ‘The square cap is considered most appropriate to this dress, though a velvet one, which appears in [Uwins’s] print, is frequently worn with it’ (Vol. II, p. 260).³⁶ And yet lay bachelors are always shown in a square cap.

Sayer’s plate is later than 1700, a date repeated several times in this chapter. On this very large sheet, a montage after Loggan’s plates, including the academic dress figures at the foot, there is one image captioned ‘Worcester College, was Gloster Hall’, and Worcester was not founded until 1714. In fact, it was originally a prospectus or advertisement for one of Henry Overton’s reprints of Loggan in c.1724 or 1730. Sayer re-issued it, with his own imprint, after he acquired the printseller’s business on Overton’s retirement in the 1740s.

Richard Rawlinson’s dress in his portrait of c.1750 is described as **‘a scarlet cloth robe with salmon-coloured silk on the facings in front and half-way up the bell-sleeves, which are no longer held up by means of a cord because they have been reduced in size’**. In Loggan, as noted above, the sleeves had been turned up and possibly held by a stitch (not a cord), but the silk covering them is now sewn in place, like the DD’s velvet.³⁷

- 75 **‘Thomas Uwins (1815) [1814] gives the three kinds of costume.’** He illustrates only two for the DCL: full dress and Convocation dress. There is no separate image of the undress gimp gown in Combe (1814), probably because it is so similar (if not identical at this date) to the BCL’s, which is included.

(g) Doctors of Medicine

‘In a stained glass window of about 1440 in Minster Lovell Church, Oxon., a Doctor of Medicine ... wears a crimson *cappa manicata* lined with miniver, and a black *pileus* (Pl. 9).’ This figure of St Cosmas or St Damian, depicted as a medical practitioner examining a urine sample, appears to be wearing the less formal tabard: it has small bell sleeves and is not so full as a *cappa*.

- 76 Sir Charles Scarborough in a watercolour in the Royal College of Physicians copied from a portrait in oils of 1651 is described as wearing **‘a very high bonnet, a very large white fur hood with only a thin line of pink silk showing’**. The original oil painting now hangs in the rebuilt Barber-Surgeons’ Hall.³⁸ In both pictures the turned-down part of the front V-shaped portion of Scarborough’s hood is covered to within two inches of the lower edge with the white fur lining. The lining is also

³⁶ Buxton and Gibson, p. 29, n. 3, say that the practice of lay doctors wearing a square in Convocation survives from a 1620 statute, but the ruling in question (which they quote in translation on the previous page) refers specifically to regent and non-regent MAs.

³⁷ See K. Garlick, *Catalogue of Portraits in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2004), p. 262.

³⁸ See I. Burn, *The Company of Barbers and Surgeons* (London: Farrand Press, 2000), p. 101; or <<http://www.scarboroughgenealogy.com/Scarborough3.htm> - SCAR09A>.

turned up at the foot to form a narrow binding of fur, about one inch wide, on the lower edge of the V. The thin strip about an inch wide between the fur covering above and the fur binding below is not pink silk but scarlet cloth, exactly the same colour as Scarburgh's Convocation habit: it is part of the shell of the hood and not some silk facing. These hoods, like the habits, could still be lined with either fur or silk (but surely not both together). Oxford Convocation dress and Cambridge Congregation dress for the DM/MD must have looked very similar at this time, except for the long, redundant sleeves behind the arms on the Cambridge dress (see the notes to H-M's p. 117, below). By 1675 Oxford seems finally to have abandoned fur as an alternative to silk for lining this dress—in practice, though not in the regulations; Cambridge would continue with it until the nineteenth century—although the Congregation dress there was rarely worn by the late eighteenth century.

An earlier type of bonnet is worn in the portrait dated 1674 of Baldwin Hamey, the younger, incorporated DM at Oxford from Leiden in 1630.³⁹ The crown is high, like Scarburgh's, but below the brim there is a flap covering the ears and back of the head. No doubt the wearing of wigs put an end to this once common but now outmoded style.

'The height of their bonnets seems to have been a particular feature of their dress until the end of the seventeenth century.' This is true, and appears to contrast with the smaller, toque-like bonnet of the DCL. And yet Loggan (1675) gives the same medium-sized bonnet to both these lay doctors, in all three dresses, and to the DMus. The high bonnet continued in use into the eighteenth century: H-M cites the portrait of Richard Hale, but does not record that this posthumous painting dates from as late as 1733.⁴⁰

'In the diary of Dr. Claver Morris, he mentions that in 1691, on taking this degree he paid £2. 13s. for having velvet and tufts added to his Bachelor of Medicine gown, which means that the doctor's undress gown differed from it in having extra decoration.' To judge by Loggan and Edwards, lay bachelors were allowed up to four rows of tufts on the foot of their sleeves, while lay doctors had five or six. In addition, the doctors had tufts on the back of the gown, which the bachelors did not have (*pace* H-M, p. 85).

n. 5. **'See Loggan's plate (1675). The only difference between the dress of the [DM and DCL] is that in No. 23 the Doctor of Medicine wears the round bonnet with the undress gown instead of the square cap.'** In fact, both these lay doctors wear the round bonnet with all three dresses in Loggan (see note to H-M's p. 74, above).

³⁹ See image in 'Hamey, Baldwin, the younger (1600–1676)', in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [henceforth *ODNB*] <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>.

⁴⁰ See image in 'Hale, Richard (1670–1728)', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>.

- 77 **‘it seems likely that the elaborate dress of Doctors of Music was adopted in late Elizabethan or early Jacobean times.’** The earliest portrait showing it is William Heather’s (DMus 1622). He wears a white damask robe with very ample, rather pendulous bell sleeves and a hood typical of the period, with a V-shaped front almost completely covered by the deep-cherry lining turned down over it. The front of the robe is open, unlike all other DMus robes in seventeenth-century pictures. No coloured silk appears on the sleeves or facings. Heather wears a large Jacobean ruff and a round bonnet of moderate size.⁴¹

‘Laud ordered inceptors in Music at the Vesperies and Act to wear sleeved gowns with “white wavy damask capes” and round black caps, all of silk, which shows that they were to wear a hood with the festal robe. ... They naturally had no Convocation ‘habit’, but until recently, as Laud had ordered, wore their hood with their festal dress.’ The full dress of the DMus was indeed peculiar in including the hood with the robe, but this is not what the Code means here. If H-M had consulted the Latin text instead of relying, inexplicably, on G. R. M. Ward’s translation,⁴² he would have seen that ‘capes’ translates *capas*, that is (Convocation-style) habits. The words *toga* for gown or robe, *capa* (now invariably with one *p*) for habit, and *caputium* for hood (of whatever shape) are unambiguous in Latin texts of this period. The same clause in the Laudian Code speaks of *capas* that may be worn *clausas vel apertas* (‘closed or open’), which could not refer to capes of hoods—as H-M acknowledges when he writes of Laud’s prescription for the DD’s habit (pp. 68–69). Although there seems to be no supporting pictorial evidence, Laud’s statutes required *any* graduate to wear a habit with his gown and hood when incepting, when delivering a formal lecture at Vesperies and when attending specified church services.⁴³ Of course, some of Laud’s directives, especially those that were antiquarian reinventions, fell into abeyance during the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration only the DD, DCL and DM continued to wear the Convocation habit.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Bridgeman Art Library, Art, Culture & History Images [henceforth Bridgeman] <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 310289. The bonnet can only just be made out in the painting and is invisible in the online image.

⁴² *Oxford University Statutes* (Oxford: OUP, 1845), Vol. I, p. 71.

⁴³ J. Griffiths (ed.), *Statutes of the University of Oxford Codified in the Year 1636 under the Authority of Archbishop Laud, Chancellor of the University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), pp. 77–78, 144–45. This supports Franklyn’s claim for the continuing use of the habit by masters and BDs (*Academical Dress*, p. 112), although he argues from Henry VIII’s sumptuary laws rather than Laud’s Code. In ‘Layer upon Layer’, p. 51, I repeated the conventional belief that the DMus never had a Convocation habit; now I am not so sure.

⁴⁴ However, in a forthcoming article William Gibson will suggest that MAs may have worn habits in Convocation as late as 1658, when Walter Pope successfully opposed the abolition of cap and hood by the Puritan vice-chancellor, Owen.

As it happens, no candidate incepted in Music during Laud's chancellorship (1630–41); the first to do so under the Code was John Wilson, admitted in 1644 or 1645. However, in his portrait of 1655 he wears a full-dress robe with a hood that is of the same style as Heather's, but a little larger at the front, like Bisse's or Scarburgh's (see above), and a black bonnet.⁴⁵

- 78 John Evelyn recorded in 1669 that the shape of the DMus full-dress robe **'was the same as that of the festal robes of other doctors'**; H-M continues: **'as is to be seen in the costume plate of Loggan (1675) where the Doctor of Music (No. 12) wears hood, festal robe and round bonnet'**. However, in Loggan there are differences between the robes of the DMus and the other doctorates. It should be noted that Loggan's DMus is clearly copied from a portrait of William Child probably painted in 1663, the year his degree was conferred.⁴⁶ The robe is closed, while those of the DD, DCL and DM are open. It has longer, more pendulous sleeves than theirs and the lower part of the sleeve is not faced like the DD's or turned back and held with a stitch like the DCL's or DM's. The neck portion of the hood appears to be deeper than theirs even though the V has become very shallow. It was normal for the DMus to wear the hood when in full dress at least until 1813, by which time the robes had become similar in shape to those of other doctors.

'The shape of the hood changed during the seventeenth century.' H-M bases his description of the changes on a collection of eighteenth-century engravings he found in an album in the Bodleian Library (MS. Top. Oxon. c. 16). **'Orlando Gibbons (D.Mus. 1623) wears his tucked down in front and fastened underneath his closed robe.'** There is a conspicuous seam down the middle of the V at the front. It forms a vertical cleft but the hood is not tucked into the slit on the chest of the robe.⁴⁷ The seam or cleft is not so marked in the better-known portrait of Gibbons; the original, said to date from c.1623, is lost and the small-scale copy that has been preserved was painted in the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ **'William Child (D.Mus. 1663) wears his hood squarely and not tucked into the robe.'** It is simply that the neck portion has now become shallower. **'William Croft (D.Mus. 1713) wears in his print of that year a smaller [hood] than Gibbons and Child.'** The neck portion is narrower still, now no more than a neckband, but that does not

⁴⁵ See Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 312482. A strong light is needed to see Wilson's bonnet in the oil painting; like Heather's it is invisible in the online image.

⁴⁶ See Garlick, p. 69; or image in 'Child, William (1606/7–1697)', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>. Costume plates often include figures copied from (or at least modelled on) earlier portraits or engravings. The robe and hood worn by Christopher Gibbons (DMus 1664) in his portrait are identical to Child's—indeed, they could be the same garments (see Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 312494).

⁴⁷ See <http://www.flickr.com/photos/oxfordshire_church_photos/2218537642/>.

⁴⁸ See Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 312480. J. Harley questions whether Orlando Gibbons was ever admitted to this degree (*Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 64–65).

mean the whole hood is necessarily smaller. This engraving is not as early as H-M thinks, for it is based on Murrey's painting of c.1720 (see below).

- 79 **'Cherry-coloured facings and sleeves [on the DMus robe] are not found until the 1815 plates [actually 1813–14] of T. Uwins.'** This is true of the sleeves, but not the facings. There are still no coloured facings on the robes in Murrey's portrait of Croft of c.1720⁴⁹ or Hudson's of Pepusch of c.1735.⁵⁰ However, Cornish's painting of c.1760 of William Hayes (DMus 1749)⁵¹ and all later portraits, do have them. This includes portraits mentioned by H-M: Burney (DMus 1769), painted c.1781, and Dupuis (DMus 1790).⁵² Dupuis's shows only head and shoulders; all the other figures mentioned here have the sleeves turned back to display some of the cherry lining, but this is not yet stitched up or otherwise held in place. Grignion's engraving (1770) and Roberts's watercolour (1792) are back views, but the lower part of a cherry facing can be seen in Roberts.

(i) Masters of Surgery

In a footnote H-M says that in the nineteenth century the MCh **'wore a plain blue hood'**. He provides no evidence for this. **'From the fact that the hood was of navy blue it can be seen that it was derived from the old Civil Law faculty colour of blue, which in the fifteenth century Bachelors of Medicine assumed in common with Bachelors of Law as the colour of their hood.'** But Buxton and Gibson, cited as authority for this statement, say that the hood is 'of black ribbed silk, lined with light blue silk (not navy)' [the phrase in parentheses is theirs], approved by Decree in 1923.⁵³ I cannot find any pictorial or other evidence of a hood specifically for the MCh before that date.⁵⁴

(j) Masters of Arts

- 80 Describing the MAs in the Chaundler Manuscript of 1463, H-M writes: **'The sleeved robes which they wear reach to their feet and have short bell sleeves which come only to the elbow.'** This is an understandable misinterpretation of the figure on the extreme left with his back to the viewer in Pl. 7. A faint, but crucial line across the MA's back indicating the lower edge of the cape of the hood is easy

⁴⁹ See *18th-Century English Music* <<http://www.rslade.co.uk/croft/index.html>> for the engraving and Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 312495, for the painting.

⁵⁰ See NPG <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search.php>>, NPG2063.

⁵¹ See Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 312483.

⁵² For Burney see Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 316375; for Dupuis see NPG <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search.php>>, NPGD1812

⁵³ *Oxford University Ceremonies*, p. 38.

⁵⁴ B. Christianson offers observations and hypotheses on the origins of the MCh hood in 'Oxford Blues: The Search for the Origins of the Lay Bachelors' Hood', *Burgon Society Annual*, 2003, pp. 18–22 (p. 21).

to miss in the manuscript and it has disappeared entirely in H-M's halftone plate. It is visible in a plate in Robinson's article, but omitted in the otherwise very useful marked-up key, which faces it and which H-M will have consulted.⁵⁵ What he takes to be a bell sleeve is simply one side of the cape of the hood. A few lines earlier we read that in the mid-fifteenth century the *cappa clausa* with two slits was left off by masters and the *roba*, a gown developed from the *supertunica*, was worn as the outer garment—at least on less formal occasions. However, in near-contemporary monumental brasses, naturally formal in style, MAs still wear a *cappa* over their gown, although by this time it is a shorter, less cumbersome article, the *cappa nigra* (see note to p. 66, above, on Masters of Theology). As far as one can judge, the Chaundler figures of MAs, arranged for their group portrait, are dressed formally in *cappa* and hood.

- 81 **'On special occasions even as late as 1636 the old "shoulder piece" as a kind of cape (*mantellum*) was still worn by all inceptors.'** The MA seems to have been required to wear a kind of tippet (*mantellum*) perhaps of the kind the proctors continued to wear covering one shoulder, which possibly derived from a mantle to indicate admission to a role of authority.
- 82 **'In the engravings which Grignon made in order to illustrate the academical dress mentioned in [the statutes of] 1770 there is a notable change in the Master of Arts hood. It has become narrow and deep, as have those of all non-doctors except Bachelors of Divinity.'** It has, but H-M has not grasped that the hoods he refers to had lost the back of their cape as early as the seventeenth century and the distinction between full and simple shapes was already established then. Also he seems not to have noticed that between 1675 and 1770 all simple hoods have come to be worn back to front with the liripipe pointing outwards (see also the BMus, below). The custom of wearing the MA hood inside out in Loggan's day may have contributed to this extraordinary development.⁵⁶ This was rectified only at the turn of the twentieth century with the introduction of the Burgon shape as an alternative.

(k) *Bachelors of Divinity*

- 83 **'By the early sixteenth century, they ... had left off the upper dress, so that the by now full-sleeved *supertunica* appeared as the outer garment (*roba*), as is to be seen in the brass of John Spence, B.D. (1517), at Ewelme, Oxon.'** Although this certainly was the trend, Spence wears a *subtunica*, a *supertunica* and a habit (*cappa nigra*) in the old style.

⁵⁵ 'The Black Chimere of Anglican Prelates', Pl. 1, following p. 208.

⁵⁶ B. Christianson, 'The Evolution of the Oxford Simple Shape', *Burgon Society Annual*, 2002, pp. 30–34 (pp. 31–32); B. Christianson, N. Groves and A. Kerr, 'The BA Robes of Oxford and Cambridge Compared', *Burgon Notes*, 2 (2003), pp. [4–6].

H-M must be wrong when he writes: **‘The “shoulder piece”, which had long been abandoned, appears again in the Laudian Codex (1636) in the form of a cape, to be worn on certain occasions.’** As noted above, the Laudian statutes require all graduates, on certain solemn occasions, to wear a habit (*capa*) over their gown and under their hood. It can be assumed that the habit of the BD would be of black silk, but I know of no pictorial representations of this dress. BDs never lost the back of the cape of the hood or ‘shoulder piece’.

‘In Grignon’s plates (1770) (Pl. 11B) ... the hood is not shown.’ A very large full hood is plain to see in the plate referred to, which faces H-M’s text.

(l) *Bachelors of Canon Law*

- 84 **‘in 1507 the *toga talaris* is mentioned as their costume on the occasion of their being allowed a *typet* or *cornetum* as an alternative.’** If this is a garment like Lowth’s DCL dress, as H-M suggests, these words could refer to a *cappa manicata*.

Of the figure of John Noble (d. 1522), on his tomb in St Aldate’s Church: **‘He wears over a *roba*, a full “shoulder piece” which covers the shoulders and arms as far as the elbows. The hood is detached from the “shoulder piece” in a deep V-shape. Hood and “shoulder piece” are red.’** There is no reason to believe that the cowl is detached from the cape: it is simply that the roll formed by the cowl round the neck and the top of the cape have been opened out and turned back to form a V displaying a little of the lining. This marks an early stage in the evolution of the hood from its medieval to modern shape. As for Noble’s outer garment, it is very loose, only calf-length, and has extraordinarily full open sleeves reaching to the knees, quite unlike a *roba* or gown of the early sixteenth century. The fairly wide cuffs of the cassock underneath can be seen inside these sleeves. In a mid-nineteenth-century etching of this alabaster figure a hand-coloured inset of the head and shoulders in profile has the hair black and the hood red, but the lining of the hood and the top of the garment underneath are uncoloured, and thus white; any paint present on the sculpture itself when the drawing was made has since been stripped.⁵⁷ In fact, Noble appears to be wearing a surplice rather than a *roba*.

(m) *Bachelors of Civil Law*

- 85 **‘The colour of the dress of this degree, as was the case with all medieval academical dress at an early period, greatly varied ... but the dress of bachelors was restricted as to the fur with which it was edged, for it might**

⁵⁷ T. and G. Hollis, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London: Nichols, 1840–42), unnumbered plates [30]. For the Hollises’ main drawing see <<http://gothic-eye.com>>, search ‘John Noble’; for a recent photograph of the monument see <http://www.flickr.com/photos/oxfordshire_church_photos/521414857/>.

only be of cheap kinds or of wool.' It may not be so simple. At any rate, H-M could usefully have reviewed developments in the lay bachelors' hood in the later medieval period when colour becomes an indicator either of faculty or of rank.⁵⁸

Of Loggan's plate, No. 11, the BCL: **'Here are to be seen the black tufts in rows joined together by pieces of braid, and these are laid on the upper part of the sleeves, and on the skirt of the gown in three places, that is the sides and the back.'** This is inaccurate. There is decoration on the foot of the sleeves but not on the skirt, unless it is underneath the sleeve and not visible. The tufts or tassels are smaller on the foot of the sleeves than on the upper parts. Indeed, the gown looks like a cross between the BMus with cord and buttons and little tassels and the BM with larger tufts the size of those on the lay doctors' gowns. Of course, Loggan may just be illustrating the possible permutations of tufts and tassels on any lay gown. Like the BMus, the BCL has no decoration on the back of the skirt. The BM figure is turned so that the back cannot be seen.

- 86 **'The tufts are still to be seen in Overton's print ... of 1730.'** Overton's plate is merely a reprint from Loggan's original now fifty-five years old, one of those advertised on the oversize poster referred to above. It is precisely the same as Loggan's in every detail apart from Overton's imprint added in the bottom right-hand corner. No conclusions can therefore be drawn about the use of tufts in 1730.

Of Grignon's plate (1770): **'a silk gown with the false sleeves key-shaped at the ends'**. In fact, this BCL gown clearly has the expected square-ended sleeves. It is interesting that the BCL here has a panel of gimp on the side of his gown under the elbow; in modern dress it would signify a doctor in a lay faculty or an MCh.

(o) Bachelors of Music

- 87 Of the BMus figure in Loggan (1675): **'Their hood was less full than those of other degrees.'** Actually, it appears to be about the same size as the BCL's, both being shorter than the MA's or the determining BA's. However, by this time all these hoods have lost the back part of the cape and are now of the simple shape. H-M fails to notice that, unlike the BCL's, the BMus's is worn back to front, with the liripipe pointing outwards and the fur or lambswool on the outer edge of the cowl rather than next to the wearer's back.⁵⁹ Perhaps this was peculiar to the BMus, but Loggan may simply be illustrating that any bachelor's hood could be worn either way round at this time. Like Edwards the year before, Loggan plans his presentation with great care, although his conception is very different. The forty-two figures in his academic procession are not just individual images: how they are depicted, from the front, from the back or in profile, sometimes two in the same

⁵⁸ See Christianson, 'Oxford Blues', for various hypotheses on this topic.

⁵⁹ Christianson, 'The Evolution of the Oxford Simple Shape', pp. 31–32; Christianson, Groves and Kerr, 'The BA Robes of Oxford and Cambridge Compared'.

pose, directs our attention to parallels, contrasts, and possibly (as here) optional alternatives. As noted above, the back-to-front style becomes the norm for all simple hoods by 1770.

(p) *Bachelors of Arts*

- 89 Of the BA gown: **‘It had by the Tudor period, as was the case with masters’ gowns, a “standing collar”, that is an upright one ... in opposition to the flap collar of the lay type of gown; but in the course of the seventeenth century this collar was cut away.’** This is based on the prescription for an ecclesiastical gown in Canon 74 of the Church of England of 1604, but I have found no pictorial or other evidence of bachelors or masters wearing a gown with such a collar. However, they often did have an upstanding collar on their coat at this time.

Under the Laudian statutes of 1636 *graduati* were to wear a hood lined with miniver or silk (rather than the usual budge) at certain church services on Sundays. H-M adds: **‘They were also to wear “capess” (i.e. the remnant of the old “shoulder piece”) ...’** Once again the reference in Laud must be to a habit, not a cape added to the hood. The habit was not retained (or revived) after the Restoration except for doctors who were members of Convocation. **‘... and their hood was to be square in shape.’** There is no reference in the Code to a hood that was to be square in shape—whatever that may mean.

- 90 Referring to Loggan’s plate of 1675: **‘A determining bachelor wore the hood with the fur fully displayed, but when the degree had been taken the fur was not displayed.’** This may be correct, but can we be sure that the fur or lambswool on the upper edge of the cowl was not an addition for this special occasion, as we know it was in the eighteenth century?

‘The gown [in Grignion 1770] had no cuff strings when worn by a determining bachelor.’ There is no difference between the BA’s gown when determining and in other circumstances. The sleeves of the gown in both images are tucked up to the elbow, probably held there by cuff strings hidden under the folds of cloth.

- 91 **‘It should be noticed that only the determiner’s hood was *lined* with fur. The other was merely trimmed with fur after the seventeenth century.’** No evidence is given for this statement. Both are trimmed, not lined, with fur in Grignion’s plates, as is clearly intended in the 1770 statute they accompany. The determiner’s hood is differentiated from the ordinary one only by the additional ‘wool fells’ sewn to the upper edge for the occasion, a practice perhaps introduced when the hood came to be worn back to front.

(q) *Undergraduates*

1. *Students of Civil Law, or civilians*

The brass of Thomas Baker (d. 1510) at All Souls is described as an example of the special dress of the civilian before the Reformation: **‘He wears a cloak of the pattern familiar to us from the *armelausa* of judges, but as if to show that he is a legal tyro, it is the left side that is open, while the right is closed, the opposite to theirs.’** H-M does not give any evidence that this was an accepted convention, and the cloak or mantle was by no means restricted to lawyers. **‘There are buttons on the shoulder of the cloak on the open side.’** There are no buttons (or indeed rivets that could be mistaken for buttons) visible anywhere on this figure. **‘Under it he wears an open tabard with furred bell-sleeves, and under the tabard a *supertunica* with a girdle.’** As a tabard was an outer habit rather than a gown, it would not be worn with a mantle or cloak. Under the mantle the garment with furred bell sleeves is a gown or *roba*, an open version of the *supertunica*, like others recorded in the early sixteenth century. Under that the narrow-sleeved garment worn with a girdle is a *subtunica* or cassock. Beaumont’s captions for his illustrations of this brass are accurate for once, but H-M has not followed them.⁶⁰

‘In Edwards’s plate of 1674 the gown is of black silk with a plain flap collar and plain *glove* sleeves like those of a master at the time, straight at the ends, but in Loggan’s plate (figure No. 6) of 1675 the tops of these sleeves are decorated with formal square pleats.’ In both Edwards’s and Loggan’s plates the civilian actually has an inverted-T opening in the sleeve, unlike the master, who has a horizontal slit. The master did not have straight ends to his sleeves: they were curved, although the sharp crescent cut-out is not found until the late eighteenth century. In Loggan, but not in Edwards, the civilian appears to have a seam or slit from above the inverted T to the shoulder with two small buttons spaced out along it. The square formal pleats appear only on the little wings and are not peculiar to this dress: they appear in Loggan on the gowns of all undergraduates (except scholars), graduates in lay faculties and University servants.

- 92 **‘The flap collar was removed from the gown before 1815.’** Actually, it is still present in Uwins’s image in Combe (1814), but is quite small and does not cover the ruching or gathering of the yoke, as it did before and would do again later.

2. *Noblemen and gentlemen-commoners*

- 93 Of Loggan’s plate, No. 5, the figure of a gentleman-commoner wearing a false-panel-sleeved gown with a flap collar (which here and elsewhere H-M calls a

⁶⁰ *Ancient Memorial Brasses* (London: OUP, 1913), p. 110; *Academical Habit*, figure facing p. 27. The reference to the *armelausa* may have been prompted by Beaumont’s caption for the latter.

‘winged-sleeved gown’): ‘the shoulders of the gown and the sides of the skirt being richly decorated with button and cord braiding’. The decoration does not in fact show on the sides of the skirt, but only on the upper and lower part of the sleeve. In Edwards the skirt has no decoration on the sides, but does have it on the back.

- 94 **‘In 1686 this practice of wearing a square cap [by gentlemen-commoners] was well established; but was forbidden and finally suppressed in 1689.’** And yet van der Aa (1707) gives square caps with tumps to gentlemen-commoners, baronets and noblemen, unlike Loggan, who was his source. Overton’s advertisement poster (c.1724 or 1730), later re-issued by Sayer, copies Loggan’s round bonnets for these dresses.

‘The round black silk bonnet worn by these orders [of 1689] had by 1700 come to be made of black velvet’ and a footnote refers to Sayer’s plate. It is not clear in Sayer (actually Overton) that the bonnets are of velvet rather than silk or cloth.

Of the tassels prescribed for square caps in the 1770 statutes: **‘gold ones for noblemen and black ones for baronets and gentlemen-commoners’.** In fact, the baronet was allowed a gold tassel, like the nobleman, and he wears one on his cap in full dress and undress in Grignion’s plates to accompany these statutes and in Roberts’s watercolours of 1792.

- 95 Describing the undress gown of the gentleman-commoner in Roberts: **‘the middle of the wings of the sleeves is decorated with small black “pebble” pleats formed into a square with a pointed top.’** This description is unclear; there is pebble pleating on the upper part of the arm and also, in an oblong with a pointed top, on the hanging part of the sleeve.

3. *Scholars or students*

- 96 H-M is right in stating that in general undergraduates on the foundation at most Oxford colleges originally wore a tabard. He does not mention, as his source does, that of course they wore it over their *supertunica* or gown.⁶¹ It seems that the tabard became optional for undergraduates and was rarely worn by them by the sixteenth century. However, H-M writes: **‘The tabard was always worn closed before the sixteenth century but in 1507 scholars at Magdalen had to be warned against wearing tabards not sewn together in front.’** He cites W. D. Macray as his source for this, but the contemporary notes Macray quotes in translation refer explicitly to gowns: the warning in question is not about tabards.⁶²

⁶¹ E. C. Clark, ‘English Academical Costume (Mediaeval)’, *Archaeological Journal*, 50 (1893), pp. 73–104, 137–49, and 183–209 (pp. 139–40). Incidentally, H-M misspells this author’s name as ‘Clarke’ throughout these chapters and in his Bibliography and Index.

⁶² *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen* (London: Henry Frowde, 1894), Vol. I, p. 55.

- 97 The memorial brass of Henry Dow (d. 1578), junior student (i.e. scholar) of Christ Church is described as showing **‘a long full gown with a high standing collar and large bell sleeves which hang down below his elbows behind, a ruff and a small round and unlined hood of black cloth’**. It is impossible to know from the brass what colour the hood would have been or whether it was lined. H-M says that Dow and John Bisshop (d. 1588), mentioned next, are **‘similarly dressed’**. Their sleeves are fairly loose, but not large bell sleeves: they are only about six inches in diameter at the ends. Bisshop has no hood.⁶³

‘By 1700, the approximate date of Robert Sayer’s *Oxonia Illustrata*, the scholar’s square cap had a tump.’ Sayer, actually Overton and after 1714 (and possibly c.1724 or 1730), like Loggan (1675) and van der Aa (1707), depicts the scholar with no tump on his square cap.

4. Commoners

- 98 The gown in the brass for Edward Chernock (d. 1581) is described as **‘winged-sleeved, after the style worn by Bachelors of Civil Law, but not so elaborate’**. Indeed, it has no decoration on the sides or sleeves, but the facings and flap collar appear to be covered with fur. The shape is as prescribed much later for the Student of Civil Law in Fell’s *Orders to Tailors* of 1666⁶⁴ and illustrated in Edwards (1674) and Loggan (1675). But the fur is difficult to explain: is this academic dress at all? In any case, it is idle to think, as H-M does, that the commoner’s sleeveless gown with streamers evolved from a gown like Chernock’s.
- 99 Of Edwards’s plates of 1674 **‘it can be seen that the cap of gentlemen-commoners had a broad band, of commoners a narrow one, while there was no band on the cap of servitors.’** The brim of the gentlemen-commoner’s cap is narrower and the crown fuller and higher than the commoner’s—this is also the case in Loggan—but the band is very much the same width. The distinction H-M mentions comes not from these engravings but from Fell’s *Orders*.

H-M does not refer to the fact that commoners, like gentlemen-commoners, took to wearing a square cap, in defiance of regulations, early in the eighteenth century, a practice not officially sanctioned until 1770. For example, Thomas Tyers, a sixteen-year-old commoner of Pembroke College, Oxford, appears in a family portrait of 1740 in sleeveless gown and square cap with the tassel which had started to appear about 1730.⁶⁵

The decoration at the top of the streamers on the gown in Grignion (1770) is described as **‘formal pleating in large squares, which was also placed in a line below the flap collar (Pl. 11D)’**. In fact, pebble pleating is confined to the

⁶³ For Bisshop see <http://farm1.static.flickr.com/146/392858943_162161a941.jpg>.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Buxton and Gibson, pp. 30–31.

⁶⁵ See NPG <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search.php>>, NPG5588.

streamers. The back of the gown is ruched below the flap collar in the conventional way.

5. Battelars and servitors

- 100 **‘The flap collars of the servitors were to be “round” [according to Fell’s Orders] (that is, with a yoke), but those of batellars were to be “square”, but in Loggan’s plate of 1675 their dress which appears in figures 1 and 2 is exactly the same, there being no difference in the collars, which in both cases are square.’** There is no need to suppose ‘round’ meant with a yoke. In Loggan’s plate the servitor has a flap collar with rounded corners, while the battelar’s has square corners. However, Edwards, who has no plate for the battelar, shows the figure captioned ‘*Serviens*’ with square corners to his flap collar.

CHAPTER 4: Great Britain and Ireland— II. Cambridge

(a) *The Chancellor*

- 107 The figure on the chancellor’s seal of 1580 is incorrectly described as wearing ‘**a festal robe with pudding-sleeves ... The old *cappa* has been reduced to a shortened cape worn over the robe but under a large miniver “shoulder piece”. This “shoulder piece” covers the shoulders and the upper part of the arms, and thus almost entirely covers the cape.**’ He is actually wearing the medieval *cappa* dress unchanged, but only the upper part is visible: the ornate front of the pulpit in which the figure is shown and which H-M seems to mistake for part of his dress hides the rest. There is no question of a shortened cape, festal robe or pudding sleeves.⁶⁶
- 108 Of the chancellor now in his special robe of office in Harraden (1803): ‘**Such a dress, hardly academical dress but rather a dress of dignity, was worn also by such important officials of the realm as the lord chancellor.**’ True, but here an academic square cap with a gold tassel is worn with the robe.

(b) *The Vice-Chancellor*

H-M does not refer to any contemporary pictorial evidence to support his statement that when the chancellor began to wear his special official dress in the seventeenth century ‘**the vice-chancellor continued to wear the pudding-sleeved robe with the shortened *cappa* and the large miniver hood which he had used earlier**’. In the light of his mistake about the 1580 seal mentioned above, this cannot be right.

⁶⁶ See W. H. St.J. Hope, *The Seals and Armorial Insignia of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, Vol. I [no more published] (London: Satchell, 1883), Pl. 2, facing p. 2, Fig. 3.

He relies on Harraden's 1803 image, which he illustrates in his Pl. 13, and also misinterprets: **'a scarlet cloth robe with pudding-sleeves, and over this a scarlet cape, the shortened *cappa*, which now comes down square over the sleeves of the robe. The robe is edged with miniver, and a huge miniver hood, developed from the original "shoulder piece", covering the shoulders entirely, is worn over all the other dress ... the cape is now square in front and longer than it had been in the sixteenth century.'** H-M has been misled by the way the upper part of the sleeveless cope is draped over the arms of the seated figure. It does not help that the colourist applied a red wash to a sleeve underneath, perhaps mistaking it for part of the cope. In an uncoloured example the shading suggests that it was not part of a scarlet robe but the sleeve of the black cassock worn under the cope.⁶⁷

Uwins's DD in Congregation (1815), seated in the vice-chancellor's chair in the same pose as Harraden's figure, is clearly wearing a full-length sleeveless cope of scarlet edged with fur, a large miniver hood, and no separate shoulder cape—very similar to the dress of the modern vice-chancellor. In fact, down to the late eighteenth century, the Cambridge vice-chancellor, like his Oxford counterpart, wore the dress of his degree, and that was almost invariably DD; after that the cope was regarded as his official Congregation dress, whatever his degree.

(c) *The Proctors*

- 109 **'In the seal of the late thirteenth century ... the two proctors standing one on each side of the chancellor wear coifs ... and sleeveless tabards open down the sides from the arms. In the fifteenth-century seal the two proctors are bare-headed, and their sleeveless tabards, which were plain in the earlier example, are pleated.'** The coif worn by the figures on the first seal may indicate that they are lawyers; they appear to be engaged in a disputation. The figures on the second seal are, in fact, wearing a *cappa manicata* with long, streamer-like redundant sleeves, the dress prescribed for Cambridge lawyers.⁶⁸

H-M says of the two proctors in the University seal of 1580 (not the chancellor's seal of this date mentioned above): **'The right-hand figure, the senior proctor, wears a large tippet on the left shoulder falling equally before and behind, but the junior proctor is without one.'** This is inaccurate. J. H. Baker is right when he says: 'Both wear gowns and hoods and what appear to be mantles reaching to the ground. These mantles are open from the shoulder, apparently on different sides, so that each proctor is a mirror image of the other.'⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Reproduced in R. B. Johnson, *The Undergraduate* (London: Stanley Paul, 1928), plate facing p. 28. In 'Layer upon Layer', p. 57, n. 41, I accepted H-M's description of Harraden's plate, but with reservations. Now I see that we were both mistaken.

⁶⁸ See Hope, Pl. 2, facing p. 2, Figs 1 and 2.

⁶⁹ 'The Dress of the Cambridge Proctors', *Costume*, 18 (1984), pp. 86–97 (p. 89). Baker argues persuasively that these mantles followed a process of attenuation, like judges'

‘In a print of Andrew Willet (d. 1621) as a proctor, he is shown wearing a gown with full bell sleeves, open in front and with silk facings, a skull-cap, a ruff, and a very square-shaped miniver hood fastened far down in front.’ The sleeves of the gown are actually of the closed MA/undress DD style, not bell-shaped. By ‘ruff’ H-M here means the Jacobean neckwear, not the special abbreviated mantle-like proctor’s cape. The hood, like others of this period, is faced to within an inch or two of the lower edge with miniver and the ample neck portion is bound with the same fur. Willet was a DD and this is the contemporary winter dress for that degree; there is nothing peculiarly proctorial about it. The lettering on the cartouche round the figure on this engraving of 1630 states that he was a DD and does not mention his being a proctor.⁷⁰

As the treatment of Cambridge proctors’ dress after this point is very confused and full of errors, it will be better to describe the figures in Loggan (1690), Harraden (1803) and Uwins (1815) than to provide a detailed commentary on H-M’s text. J. R. Tanner, to whom H-M refers in a footnote on the following page, is perfectly clear about the proctors’ two styles of dress:

The Proctors had two costumes, the ‘Congregation habit’—the ordinary hood worn over the cape of black silk known as the ‘ruff’; and the ‘*ad clerum*’ habit—the squared hood without ruff.⁷¹

H-M betrays that he has not grasped what the ruff is or what a Cambridge hood is like, always of the full shape with what he would call a ‘shoulder piece’ as an integral part of it. As Baker observes, ‘Dr Hargreaves-Mawdsley even confuses ruffs and squared hoods!’⁷²

Loggan neatly shows the two styles by drawing figures in profile of the proctor in Congregation dress and the taxor (see below) in *ad clerum* dress. The proctor wears an MA gown with a ruff gathered in to a button on the shoulder, and over it a displayed or flourished regent MA hood lined and edged with white silk. He wears a square cap with a tump.

- 110 Harraden’s plate of 1803 has the proctor in *ad clerum* dress.⁷³ He wears an MA gown and a squared regent MA hood. To be worn squared, a hood is laid flat; then

mantles of the period, and eventually evolved into the proctors’ ruff. Such a parallel with legal dress suggests that the figures in a coif or in a *cappa manicata* on the earlier seals may indeed be proctors too.

⁷⁰ Image reproduced in ‘Willet, Andrew (1561/2–1621)’, in *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com>; or see NPG <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search.php>>, NPGD25972.

⁷¹ *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: CUP, 1917), p. 197.

⁷² ‘The Dress of the Cambridge Proctors’, p. 96.

⁷³ See *Costumer’s Manifesto* <<http://www.costumes.org/history/100pages/1803cambridge.htm>>.

it is draped round the back of the neck; the liripipe is brought forward over the left shoulder, the cape over the right, and the ends are fixed in place below the neck.⁷⁴ He wears a square cap with a tassel.

In Uwins's illustration in Combe (1815) the proctor in Congregation dress wears an MA gown, a ruff, now with a bow in place of the button seen in Loggan, and a flourished regent MA hood. He also wears a square cap with a tassel. The button or bow on the ruff simply decorates the pinched-in middle part on the shoulder; laces on the ends, tied out of sight under the opposite arm, hold it in place.⁷⁵

(d) *The Taxor*

- 111 **'according to Loggan's costume plate (figure No. 11), [his dress] retained a medieval character. Over a master's gown he wore a black silk "shoulder piece" of the same nature as the "ruff" of proctors but not pleated, and lined with white silk.'** H-M has misinterpreted this figure. The taxor wears a regent MA hood squared and no ruff, which in any case is the prerogative of proctors—and see the notes below on the hood of the non-regent MA and the BD.

(e) *Doctors of Divinity*

On the medieval dress for this degree (and lay doctorates) see also the notes above on H-M's pp. 65, 71 and 72 (the Clavering glass and Holkham Bible picture book).

- 112 H-M writes of **'the brass (Pl. 12b) of the Cambridge Doctor of Divinity, William Taylard, 1530, in All Saints' Church, Huntingdon. He wears a Tudor cap with side pieces ...'** In fact, Taylard died in 1532 and his monument is at Offord Darcy, near Huntingdon. It is now known that he was an LLD, not a DD; therefore a Tudor cap rather than a *pileus quadratus* is to be expected.⁷⁶
- 113 Describing Loggan's plate (1690): **'No. 15 shows the undress consisting of a square black cap with a tuft, a cassock with a sash, and the Master of Arts gown.'** Unlike the MA, the DD wears long black gloves, like gauntlets.
- 'the festal dress (No. 18) consists of an open bell-sleeved robe, the sleeves being folded back at the wrists, a scarf, and a square cap.'** The turn-backs on the sleeves are not yet held up by a cord and button and no hood is worn.
- 114 H-M describes a loose plate dated 1805. He records that **'the scarlet festal robe' is 'lined with cherry-coloured silk, which is incorrect, the full tapering sleeves**

⁷⁴ Baker says 'the tail is placed over the left shoulder and the cowl on the right' ('The Dress of the Cambridge Proctors', p. 94), but it is the cape, not the cowl, on the right; the cowl lies across the wearer's back.

⁷⁵ Baker, 'The Dress of the Cambridge Proctors', pp. 86–87.

⁷⁶ J. H. Baker, "'Doctors Wear Scarlet': The Festal Gowns of the University of Cambridge", *Costume*, 20 (1986), pp. 33–43 (p. 37).

being fastened up by means of button and cord'. Each sleeve does have a scarlet button, but there are no cords. However, this is an image of a Cambridge DD adapted as an illustration of a 'Doctor of Laws' for one of Pyne's plates showing occupational and professional dress (1808, Pl. 22).⁷⁷ This accounts for the incorrect colours applied for the silk on the buttons and lining. Miller was the publisher and not the artist, as H-M seems to think.

- 115 **'the undress is not illustrated [in Combe 1815], but is said to be the pudding-sleeved gown and the cassock, sash, and scarf.'** In fact, it is illustrated, with the caption 'Doctor in Divinity in his ordinary dress', in the same plate as the 'Doctor in Divinity in his surplice', the 'Esquire Beadle' and the 'Yeoman Beadle'.

'the hood worn with the chapel dress [as illustrated in Combe 1815] was full and rounded, of exactly the same shape as that worn by Oxford doctors.' Like all the other hoods in these plates, it has a square cape with quite sharp square corners to it, a shape quite different from its Oxford counterpart.⁷⁸

(g) *Doctors of Laws (LLD)*

Franklyn points out in his review that the degree is 'Doctor in Law', despite the double 'L' in the abbreviation. When canon law was no longer taught, 'Laws' was changed to the singular, but the abbreviation was left unaltered.

- 116 **'In accordance with the statutes for the *studium* of Cambridge made by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, in 1276, incepting Doctors of Laws were to wear a red *cappa manicata*.'** A footnote adds: **'This dress is worn by the LL.D. on the extreme right in the illuminated initial of the Confirmatory Charter of Cambridge (1291–2).'** The *cappa manicata* in this image, with its redundant sleeve clearly visible, is black, not red.⁷⁹

'In 1558/9 the square cap was enjoined for them as for others.' Burghley's letter speaks of 'scholars' and 'graduates' on the foundation of a college, which may mean bachelors and not necessarily lay doctors. (Also see the note to p. 112, above, about William Taylard (d. 1530), an LLD, previously mistaken for a DD.)

- 117 **'The Congregation dress (No. 19) [in Loggan 1690] is a scarlet dress, closed in front and with holes at the sides for the passage of the arms like the Oxford Convocation habit, with a large hood lined with fur, the flat liripipe of which**

⁷⁷ See Bridgeman <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, 13861. The website captions this as 'Doctor of Civil Law at Oxford University ...', but Pyne does not specify the university. The buildings behind look like Oxford, but the figure is wearing a Cambridge festal gown.

⁷⁸ Franklyn dismisses square corners as 'a tailor's innovation' (*Academical Dress*, p. 191), but here they are in 1815 and they are to be seen even in Loggan in 1690.

⁷⁹ See University of Cambridge—Darwin College <<http://www.darwin2009.cam.ac.uk/cambridge/university>>.

hangs down almost to the foot of the dress, and a round bonnet.' What H-M takes to be the liripipe is a redundant fur-trimmed sleeve, preserved from the medieval *cappa manicata*, hanging behind the arm as a streamer.

'In using the bonnet [in undress and Congregation dress in Loggan] Burghley's order, to the effect that then the square cap should be worn, was ignored.' The question is whether Burghley intended his directive to apply to lay doctors: even in Cobbould's picture, H-M's Pl. 14, after Stokys's painting of c.1590, they wear or carry round bonnets with their Congregation dress (see note on the MD, below).

In Uwins (1815) **'a hood is incorrectly worn over the festal robe.'** This is H-M's Oxford prejudice. There is no historical reason to prevent wearing a hood with a full-dress gown; it is simply a matter of fashion or custom, which changed from century to century.⁸⁰

'the Congregation dress [in Combe 1815] ... consists of the scarlet cloth *cappa* of the same shape as that of the Doctor of Divinity.' It is not like the DD's; it is similar to the LLD/MD Congregation dress in 1690 except that it is probably worn open at the front, although it is hard to be sure. H-M has again failed to recognize the redundant sleeve: the figure is seated and the furred end of the sleeve lies on the floor.⁸¹ Although included in Combe, lay doctors' special Congregation dress may have been falling out of use by the late eighteenth century.⁸²

- 118 **'The undress [in Combe 1815], with which a black tasselled square cap is worn.'** The LLD has no cap while the MD in undress in the same plate holds a top hat.

(h) Doctors of Medicine

'The first evidence we have of the round bonnet worn by holders of this degree is the ... picture by Cobbould ... after Bedell Stokys (1590).' H-M does not remark on the fact that the lay doctors in this university procession are wearing Congregation dress, not festal dress, with the bonnet (see note on the LLD, above).

The MD's bonnet is fuller in the crown than the LLD's in portraits from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although in Loggan's costume plate the distinction is not obvious. A portrait of Edward Tyson painted c.1695 by Lilly shows the sitter in Cambridge MD Congregation dress, wearing a large bonnet, like the DM's at Oxford at this period. Incidentally, the dress is now open on the chest, the slit trimmed with a generous edging of fur.⁸³

⁸⁰ Baker, 'Doctors Wear Scarlet', p. 42, n. 25; Kerr, 'Layer upon Layer', p. 49.

⁸¹ See Kerr, 'Layer upon Layer', p. 53, n. 29, and Fig. 15, p. 52.

⁸² See J. Beverley, *An Account of the Different Ceremonies Observed in the Senate House of the University of Cambridge throughout the Year ...* (Cambridge: Archdeacon, 1788), pp. 27–28. Uwins's figure is a portrait of Joseph Jowett (LLD 1780).

⁸³ See image in 'Tyson, Edward (1651–1708)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>.

A good example of MD festal dress, contemporary with and very similar to Loggan's figure, appears in a portrait of Charles Goodall, painted c.1690–1700.⁸⁴

A portrait of Robert Nesbitt (MD 1728) shows Congregation dress as it was later in the eighteenth century: it was painted c.1760.⁸⁵ The neckband of the scarlet hood still has fur on the upper and lower edges, like Loggan's in 1690, but the slit on the chest now reaches almost to the navel, with fur trimming much wider at the top than at the foot, giving an impression of lapels. Nesbitt's redundant sleeve is not trimmed with fur. He holds a bonnet with gold cord.

H-M claims that in Loggan (1690) '**a bonnet with a gold cord**' is worn with the festal robe and the Congregation *cappa* and '**without one**' with the undress gown. In fact, no cord is visible on any of the three bonnets, and this is also true of Tyson's, but it is present on Nesbitt's.

While LLDs left the braid-and-tassel decoration off their undress gowns in the eighteenth century MDs '**had theirs worked with ornaments of black cross and bead braiding.**' But H-M goes on to say: '**The change must have come about after 1780**', because a chalk drawing of Thomas Okes, MD, by Downman in that year shows the sitter in a plain gown, the same as an LLD's. Perhaps this sketch is an anomaly: it seems more likely that with changing fashion Cambridge lace of the modern style replaced braid and tassels in the mid-eighteenth century without a break, as gimp did at Oxford about that time. The removal of all ornament from the LLD's undress gown is a separate question; perhaps professional legal dress was a factor in that development.

(i) *Doctors of Music*

- 119 **'In Loggan (No. 13) they wear the round bonnet, the brocaded robe and a hood to match.'** The figure is a mirror image of the Oxford DMus in Loggan's 1675 plate with the face and hands and other minor details redrawn, a technique Loggan uses for several figures, in cases where Oxford and Cambridge dress was very similar.⁸⁶ The MusD wears his robe closed, unlike the other doctors, and the sleeves are more pendulous than theirs. The MusD festal dress follows the same development in the first half of the eighteenth century as its Oxford counterpart: for

⁸⁴ See image in 'Goodall, Charles (c.1642–1712)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>.

⁸⁵ See W. LeFanu, *A Catalogue of the Portraits and Other Paintings Drawings and Sculpture in the Royal College of Surgeons of England* (Edinburgh and London: Livingstone, 1960), No. 177, and p. 20 in the plates section; or see <<http://surgicat.rcseng.ac.uk>>, search Reference number RCSSC/P 177.

⁸⁶ The figures in question are: No. 3, scholar > No. 2, pensioner on a foundation; No. 9, determining BA > No. 5, BA; No. 12, DMus > No. 13, MusD; No. 13, MA > No. 7, MA; No. 15, mourning gown > No 10, MA in mourning; No. 31, vice-chancellor > No. 23, vice-chancellor (not reversed).

example, Maurice Greene (Cambridge MusD 1730), painted *c.*1735,⁸⁷ and William Croft (Oxford DMus 1713), painted *c.*1720, wear very similar robes. Later, differences appear: sleeve cords and buttons, peculiar to Cambridge, are present in Harraden's plate of 1805;⁸⁸ coloured facings always present on the Oxford DMus robe from 1760 onwards (see note to p. 79, above) seem not to have become the norm at Cambridge until after Whittock in 1847, the last image to include facings without cherry silk.

'In Harraden's plates (1803) ...' Unlike the others, this one is dated 1805, but in the Bodleian example, which H-M no doubt examined, the date has been cropped.

- 120 **'the robe [in Harraden], instead of having a yoke as do the other festal robes, has a black velvet flap collar.'** H-M has mistaken the deep Regency velvet collar of the wearer's coat for part of the robe; the gathering of the yoke appears below it.

(h) *Masters of Arts*

- 123 Of strings on gowns from the sixteenth century onwards: **'The reason for their not appearing in Loggan, Harraden, and Uwins is because from their position they could not be seen unless the wearer was in movement.'** H-M may have a point, but the strings could be pulled to the back under the gown and tied there to hold the garment in place, and so would be out of sight. In Uwins's illustrations of the LLD, MD and the MA (Combe 1815) the strings are tied in a bow on the wearer's chest.

'The non-regent (No. 9) [in Loggan] wears a plain black cloth hood which appears as a simple square of black material covering the shoulders and reaching half-way down the back.' H-M fails to see that the figure is wearing the hood squared, so that the cape and liripipe are brought round the neck to the front.

H-M thinks that by 1815 **'the non-regent hood has become full and of the same shape as that of the regent'**. It always was the same shape. The difference lay in the white lining for the regent and the black lining for the non-regent; either hood could be worn flourished or squared as the occasion required. Incidentally, I have found no pictorial evidence to support the contention that latterly the non-regent MA hood was unlined.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ See image in 'Greene, Maurice (1696–1755)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>; and see <http://www.rslade.co.uk/images/Greene_colour.jpg> for detail showing the academic dress in colour.

⁸⁸ And possibly even Hoppner's portrait of Edmund Ayrton of 1786 (see D. Baldwin, 'Having Dignities ...: Academic Attire as a Component of the Livery of the Chapel Royal', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, 7 (2007), pp. 106–41 (p. 129)).

⁸⁹ Piece by 'D.C.L. Cantab.' in *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., 5, No. 129 (19 June 1858), pp. 501–02. The Non-Regent House was abolished in the reforms of 1858; all MAs lined their hoods with white thereafter.

Also H-M does not notice that by the early nineteenth century at least two shapes of Cambridge hoods seem to have co-existed. Harraden (1803) puts his MA and BA in very rounded, Aberdeen-shape hoods with no liripipe visible and Whittock (1847) does the same. Uwins in Combe (1815) has square-cornered capes on his Cambridge hoods.

(k) Bachelors of Divinity

- 124 **'By 1690 ... they wore the non-regent hood.'** True, but H-M fails to recognize that this is worn squared in Loggan's plate (see the MA, above). This leads him to write: **'By 1815 the hood was lined with black silk in conformity with the similar elaboration in the non-regent master's.'** The BD/non-regent MA hood had been lined before and there was no essential change now. Therefore the statement in the footnote that **'the Cambridge non-regent hood was simply the small clerkly hood common to all members of universities in the Middle Ages'** must be wrong.

(p) Bachelors of Arts

- 127 In Loggan (No. 5): **'a black gown with very full and long tapering sleeves exactly the same as the sleeves of the Oxford Bachelor of Arts.'** This figure is a copy reversed of the Oxford determining BA, but with the sleeves altered so that they are longer. (The fur lining of the cowl is longer too.)

(q) Undergraduates

3. Fellow-commoners

- 130 **'By 1690 [Loggan] they wore the winged-sleeved gown, braided in loop and button style at the bottom of the sleeves, on the skirt at each side, and at the back.'** The braiding is also laid on in two columns at the top of the sleeves and round the inverted-T armhole.

The decoration on these gowns took various forms in the eighteenth century. An interesting example, with delicate interlaced gold cord on the upper part of the sleeves is seen in the portrait of Ralph Wormeley V, of Rosegill, Virginia, fellow-commoner at Trinity Hall, painted in 1763. Robes or pictures brought home to the Colonies may have helped to make English academic dress known in America.⁹⁰

H-M's treatment of fellow-commoners' gowns becomes more confused as he proceeds. In paragraphs about Harraden's plates of 1803 he writes: **'Fellow-commoners of Trinity were distinguished from fellow-commoners of other colleges, who had black gowns decorated with gold braid, by having a blue bell-sleeved gown decorated down the front on each side of the opening with a**

⁹⁰ See <<http://www.vahistorical.org/dynasties/ralphwormeleyv2.htm>>.

zigzag line of silver braid.' In fact, it has false-panel sleeves, with an inverted-T armhole—and of course the rich decoration on the sleeves and shoulders is also silver rather than gold.⁹¹

- 131 The paragraph beginning '**In 1815 all fellow-commoners ...**' is so full of errors that a description of the dress as it appears in the engravings in question will be more useful than a commentary on H-M's text.

Three styles of fellow-commoners' gowns, all with false-panel sleeves, are illustrated in Harraden (1803) and again, without any significant change, in Uwins (1815):

Trinity—a blue gown with silver zigzag braid on the facings and silver lace decoration on the upper sleeves

Emmanuel—a black gown with velvet facings and panels of gold lace on the sleeves and skirt

Other colleges—a black gown with velvet facings and gold lace decoration on the sleeves, less elaborate than at Emmanuel, and one or two bars of gold braid at the foot of the sleeves

We can add the unique gown for fellow-commoners at Downing, founded in 1800 and therefore only just within H-M's compass, which Harraden and Uwins do not illustrate and H-M does not mention. It was black with rows of black braid and tassels on the sleeves and skirt, rather like a contemporary Oxford gentleman-commoner's dress gown, with the addition of black lace on the facings (*Gradus ad Cantabrigiam* 1824, plate facing p. 50).

A black velvet square cap was worn, with a silver tassel at Trinity and a gold one elsewhere, except by 'hat fellow-commoners', who wore a top hat. Both Harraden and Uwins give the Emmanuel fellow-commoner a top hat and all the others square caps.

The wide-ranging changes in undergraduate dress in the 1830s included several more colleges adopting their own distinctive fellow-commoner's gown: Whittock (1847) illustrates ten different styles in all.

4. Pensioners

- 133 Referring to Loggan (1690) H-M writes: '**at King's, Queens', and Trinity Hall a plain black gown was worn, in shape like that used at Trinity but in every way shorter.**' In fact, there is little difference between these other colleges and Trinity in the length of the foundation pensioner's gown or its sleeves; the main difference is that the Trinity figure is drawn with lighter shading and is captioned *Toga Coloris violacei* ('with a violet-coloured gown').
- 134 Describing Loggan's figure of the non-foundation pensioner: '**Broad streamers like those on Oxford commoners' gowns hang from the shoulder to the hem**

⁹¹ See <<http://www.costumes.org/history/100pages/1803cambridge.htm>>.

and they are decorated all the way down with small lozenges of braid.' The decoration is actually horizontal oblong strips of braid with a little tuft at each end. The streamers were lost during the eighteenth century.

'In Harraden's book of 1803 [published in 1805] the bell sleeves of Trinity, Peterhouse, King's, Queens', and Trinity Hall gowns had come to be split high up the arm so that the arm was free of them.' By 1803 the sleeves on the gowns in question are of a long, open shape rather than a bell shape, but the split is no more pronounced than in Loggan. Harraden illustrates only the blue Trinity gown,⁹² although the black gowns in the same shape worn at the other colleges named here are referred to in his text.

(r) Notes

3. *Academical Mourning at Cambridge*

- 136 **'The mourning gown at Cambridge was of the same shape as that used at Oxford, according to Loggan's costume plate, figure No 10.'** However, the mourning cap, which H-M describes on p. 137, was unknown in Oxford. He does not say when it came into use. Loggan's figure is wearing one: the ribbons and rosette are visible and three tiny tufts on the back of the skull appear to represent what came to be called 'butterflies'. This style of cap also figures in Uwins (1815) and Whittock (1847).

III. Scotland

St Andrews (1411)

- 137 Of the early period: **'We have no definite evidence as to the type of dress used, for Scotland is particularly poor in illuminated manuscripts, brasses and glass.'** Mention should be made of the incised gravestone of Provost Hugh Spens (d. 1534), which is of 'unique interest since it provides the only illustration of the everyday dress of a Scottish academic dignitary of the medieval period'.⁹³
- 138 **'Masters and doctors wore some form of cappa, perhaps a cappa manicata.'** No evidence is offered for this opinion. The figure of Spens, which is very mutilated, appears to be wearing a mantle or sleeveless *cappa clausa* with a *birretum*.

⁹² See <<http://www.costumes.org/history/100pages/1803cambridge.htm>>.

⁹³ R. G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator, its Foundation and Development* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1950), p. 89; also see *Inventory of Monuments in the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1933), Fig. 363. I owe this latter reference to a posting by Jonathan Cooper to the Academic Dress Yahoo group on 22 Sept. 2008.

‘A gown of lay type was [from the Reformation] worn by Regent Masters of Arts.’ This statement is based on a remark by an Englishman, Thomas Kirk, visiting Scotland in 1677, who described the gown as ‘almost such as our freshmen have at Cambridge’. H-M comments: **‘that is like the sleeveless “curtain”.**’ However, Kirk had probably seen a Geneva gown, commonly worn by masters in Scotland, and was comparing it with the contemporary bell-sleeved gown worn by pensioners on the foundation at Cambridge colleges.

- 139 The undergraduate’s scarlet gown before 1838 is described as short and sleeveless, **‘varying slightly for primars, secondars and termars’**. These are ranks similar to noblemen, gentlemen- or fellow-commoners, and commoners or pensioners; and the last should read *ternars*, meaning ‘third-rank’ and not ‘final-year’. Primars’ and secondars’ gowns had decoration on them, while ternars’ were plain and made of inferior cloth.⁹⁴

H-M states that the DD gown in the eighteenth century had **‘decorations of cloth sewn on ... in the form of the letter gamma and the gamma reversed ... an interesting example of the revival of the medieval *gammadium*’**. Cardon, whose engraving is cited as evidence, has drawn set-square shapes where his model, Raeburn’s 1795 portrait of Hugh Blair (DD 1757), has a style of decoration customary on Scottish doctors’ gowns: strips of braid with a tassel hanging from one end of each. Other engravings of Blair after Raeburn and others, collected in an album in New York Public Library, all have tassels or braid with tassels.⁹⁵

Glasgow (1451)

- 141 **‘In the eighteenth century Doctors of Medicine wore a black gown with a large flap-collar and wide bell sleeves. It was ... decorated at wide intervals down the front on each side with large square braided buttonholes to each of which was attached a tassel hanging from one side.’** This is based on a portrait by Cochran painted *c.*1768 of William Cullen (MD 1740).⁹⁶ In fact, like all other Scottish doctoral gowns of the time this one clearly has false-panel sleeves. The buttons and buttonholes appear to belong to Cullen’s coat, not the gown; only the tassels are attached to the gown.

An interesting set of watercolours by ‘J. G. H.’ (*c.*1844) includes eight figures in official and academic dress.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ J. Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews* (Edinburgh: Hill, 1807), p. 160.

⁹⁵ See <<http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/>>, search ‘Hugh Blair’.

⁹⁶ For the painting see, <http://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/online_search>, search ‘William Cullen’; for an engraving of it by Ridley see <<http://www.chem.gla.ac.uk/~alanc/dept/cullen.htm>>.

⁹⁷ See <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detaild.cfm?DID=77296>>.

The rector (fol. 1) wears a black gown with false-panel sleeves, the facings and sleeves decorated with strips of ornate gold braid, each with a gold tassel at the inner end. Unlike the other officers, who are wearing trousers and plain shoes, he has knee-breeches and shoes with gold buckles. From behind (fol. 2) we see that the back of his round flap collar is edged with gold braid and a half belt gathers the gown in at the waist. The chancellor (fol. 3) wears a gown similar to the rector's but the decoration is black: it is essentially the Scottish doctoral gown of the period. The dean of faculties (fol. 4) wears a gown of the same shape but with the facings and collar covered in ermine and no braid-and-tassel ornaments. An image captioned 'Teacher of High School, Glasgow' (fol. 5) shows a Geneva gown with pendulous bell sleeves: this is probably the MA gown. The bedellus (fol. 6) wears a gown of the same shape as the other officers, but with no decoration.

- 142 After quoting John Wesley, who saw undergraduates at Glasgow in 1753 wearing scarlet gowns reaching only to their knees, H-M says '**These gowns later reached well below the knees and a flap collar, a cape, and short panel sleeves were added to them.**' The change probably occurred following student pressure in the 1830s, as happened at St Andrews, and not in the late eighteenth century, as H-M supposes. J. G. H.'s watercolours (fols 7 and 8) show a red gown with a remarkable cape: it has a scalloped edge and raised seams or ribs radiate from under the flap collar above to the points between the curves, giving an impression of an open umbrella. One figure has a glengarry cap, while the other wears a silk top hat.⁹⁸

Aberdeen (1494)

- 143 On account of the bonnet with ear-flaps and lay style of gown with braid-and-button decoration H-M says '**there is no suggestion of academical dress**' in the memorial brass of Duncan Liddel, MD, d. 1613.⁹⁹ He may be right, but elsewhere he acknowledges that in Scotland after the Reformation an ordinary hat was worn when headgear was required—and in any case caps somewhat similar to this were worn also by MDs south of the Border in the seventeenth century. Doctors in all faculties are portrayed in gowns with braid-and-button, later braid-and-tassel, decoration through to the nineteenth century. However, Liddel's has fur on the facings and collar; velvet soon became the norm, following James VI's order.

Edinburgh (1582)

- 145 '**Principals of the college had no particular dress, but being generally clergy appeared in the Geneva gown.**' This is probably true and H-M cites a 1790 drawing of William Robertson (Kay 1838, No. 92).¹⁰⁰ However, in his portrait by

⁹⁸ H-M knows only the last of these watercolours, as it appears in D. Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Wylie, 1927), frontispiece.

⁹⁹ See <www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page83.html>, Continental brasses [*sic!*].

¹⁰⁰ See <<http://www.edinburghbookshelf.org.uk/volume8/page144.html>>.

Raeburn Robertson is wearing a doctoral gown with false-panel sleeves and braid-and-tassel decoration.¹⁰¹

‘In the eighteenth century the gown of Doctors of Divinity had ... large long braided buttonholes on each side, from the outer end of which hung a tassel.’ There is no question of buttonholes. This style of gown with braid-and-tassel decoration was also worn by doctors in other faculties: Joseph Black, MD, wears one in a drawing of 1787 (Kay 1838, No. 23),¹⁰² and Alexander Monro, MD, in a portrait by Raeburn of c.1800.¹⁰³ The claim that **‘this was an adaptation of a lay fashion of the time’** is tenuous; similar styles of ornament are common on academic gowns in England and Scotland from the early seventeenth century onwards. Roubiliac’s coat in Carpentier’s portrait, cited by H-M as evidence, is not **‘decorated with tassels in precisely the same way’**: the strips and the large round buttons or tufts on the chest are quite different.¹⁰⁴

H-M does not acknowledge that if all the Scottish universities are taken together a simple pattern emerges from the portraits and other evidence of post-Reformation dress. Doctors wore a black gown with a wide flap collar, usually in velvet, covering the shoulders, and with tassel or braid-and-tassel decoration on the facings and false-panel sleeves. Masters wore a black Geneva gown. Undergraduates wore a red gown, with local variation in shape.

IV. Ireland

Trinity College, Dublin (1591)

- 146 **‘its academical dress was almost entirely copied from Cambridge, and in a few cases from Oxford.’** Apart from the use of the cope by its vice-chancellor and its visitor (and possibly other DDs as ‘business’ dress), Dublin actually followed Oxford rather than Cambridge from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth.¹⁰⁵

‘The vice-chancellor’s dress was copied from that of Cambridge.’¹⁰⁶ It is likely that early vice-chancellors wore the ‘business’ dress of their degree, and for two

¹⁰¹ See <<http://www.scotlandsource.com/henry-raeburn/r2.jpg>>.

¹⁰² See <<http://www.edinburghbookshelf.org.uk/volume8/page84.html>>.

¹⁰³ For an engraving of this see <<http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/>>, search ‘Alexander Monro’

¹⁰⁴ See NPG <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search.php>>, NPG 303.

¹⁰⁵ A point examined in B. Christianson, ‘In the Pink: The Strange Case of Trinity College Dublin’, *Burton Society Annual*, 2004, pp. 53–58.

¹⁰⁶ The vice-chancellor was in effect the pro-chancellor and one of two visitors, the archbishop of Dublin being the other visitor *ex officio*. The office of vice-chancellor was

hundred years that was always DD. Michael Ward, vice-chancellor 1678–81, is wearing *cappa* dress, ‘**the red robe [cope] and the white fur “shoulder piece”**’, in his portrait, like his successor, Anthony Dopping.¹⁰⁷ These companion portraits were probably posthumous, painted *c.*1710. The cope is still worn closed in the 1749 portrait of Arthur Price, vice-chancellor 1747–52, with the subject’s hands emerging from the front slit and holding a square cap with a large gold tassel.¹⁰⁸ John Fitzgibbon, later Earl of Clare, lawyer and lord chancellor of Ireland, was the first layman in this office, appointed in 1791. I have found no evidence that he or any of his successors wore the cope.¹⁰⁹

William King, archbishop of Dublin, wears *cappa* dress in his portrait, with a small round cap on the back of his head.¹¹⁰ Although H-M takes this to be DD ‘business’ dress, King may have worn it as visitor (1703–29). Would a DD who did not hold office as vice-chancellor or visitor have any occasion to wear this dress in the eighteenth century? Provosts of Trinity College and other doctors wear a black gown or the full dress of their degree in their portraits.

- 147 **‘The full dress [of the DD] was scarlet with bell-sleeves lined and faced with white silk.’** The plates in Taylor (1845), on which H-M relies heavily, are based on images from *c.*1820 and are the inexpert work of the engraver E[dward?] Williams, with colour crudely applied; they should be viewed with caution. His DD’s robe has pudding sleeves, with the lower half unpainted, and thus white. The facings have been coloured red (probably not what was intended), but one side, turned back a little at the foot, reveals some white lining. In a footnote, citing T. W. Wood’s catalogue of 1875,¹¹¹ H-M says: **‘In the nineteenth century the colour ... was changed to black.’** However, Dublin DDs in full dress in eighteenth-century portraits wear an Oxford-style scarlet robe with black facings and sleeve coverings: for example, Richard Baldwin (DD 1706), painted in 1745, and John Stokes (DD 1755), painted *c.*1770.¹¹² J. W. G. Gutch records black as the colour of the hood

abolished in 1964, replaced by a panel of pro-chancellors. The ‘chief executive officer’ at TCD has always been the provost.

¹⁰⁷ See A. Crookshank and D. Webb, *Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Trinity College, 1990), pp. 47, 138. For Ward (who had been provost 1674–78) see Trinity College Dublin, Former Provosts [henceforth TCD] <http://www.tcd.ie/provost/former/m_ward.php>.

¹⁰⁸ See Crookshank and Webb, p. 112.

¹⁰⁹ At Cambridge by the early nineteenth century the cope did become the official dress of the vice-chancellor, whatever his degree, but the role of the vice-chancellor was different there.

¹¹⁰ See an engraving based on the painting at <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Monasticon_Hibernicum_1876_Frontispiece_William_King.png>.

¹¹¹ *Ecclesiastical and Academical Colours* (London: Bemrose, 1875), p. 48.

¹¹² See Crookshank and Webb, pp. 15, 128. For Baldwin see also TCD <http://www.tcd.ie/provost/former/r_baldwin.php>.

lining in 1858.¹¹³ The plate in Taylor is an aberration; black was probably always the Divinity faculty colour.

‘Doctors of Laws wore as full dress a scarlet cloth robe with salmon pink bell-sleeves.’ In the engraving in Taylor (1845) described here, one sleeve is pulled in at the wrist as a pudding sleeve, but the other is open, almost bell-shaped. The sleeves are covered halfway up with pink silk but the facings have been coloured red like the body of the robe. Back in about 1710, when John Stearne (MD 1658, LLD 1660) was painted, there was little difference in shape between Oxford and Cambridge lay doctors’ robes. Like them, Stearne’s at Dublin has the bottom of the sleeves turned back a few inches to display the silk lining.¹¹⁴ As the two English universities’ dress diverged, Dublin followed Oxford, as seen in the portraits of John Hely-Hutchinson (LLD 1783) painted in 1788 and Edmund Burke (LLD 1795) painted c.1797, the silk now covering the bell sleeves well up to the shoulders.¹¹⁵ Taylor’s figure wears a square cap; Stearne holds a bonnet; Hely-Hutchinson and Burke have no cap. **‘The Master of Arts gown was worn as undress.’** H-M provides no evidence for this (although it is the case nowadays). In his portrait of c.1766 Francis Andrews (LLD 1745) wears a plain black silk gown with a flap collar and bell sleeves turned up about nine inches.¹¹⁶

In a portrait painted by Kneller in 1687 Sir Patrick Dun (MD c.1676) wears a scarlet robe with pink silk on the narrow facings and on the turn-backs of the bell sleeves, and he wears a hood to match.¹¹⁷ MD full-dress robes follow the same development as the LLD’s: this is seen in the portraits of Ralph Howard (MD 1694), c.1700, and William Clements (MD 1748), c.1780.¹¹⁸

‘Doctors of Music followed the Cambridge dress of that degree.’ There is no evidence to support this statement.¹¹⁹ No image of a Dublin MusD in his robes

¹¹³ *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., 6, No. 141 (11 September 1858), p. 211 (information incorporated from a note by J. Ribton Garstin, *N&Q*, 2nd ser., 6, No. 120 (17 April 1858), p. 324).

¹¹⁴ See Crookshank and Webb, p. 123, or Royal College of Physicians of Ireland <<http://www.rcpi.ie/About/Pages/HistoryoftheCollege.aspx>>. Captions stating that Stearne is wearing his RCPI president’s robe are incorrect as none existed until the nineteenth century; his robe is that of a Dublin LLD or MD.

¹¹⁵ See Crookshank and Webb, pp. 70, 29. For Hely-Hutchinson see TCD <http://www.tcd.ie/provost/former/j_hely_hutchinson.php>; for Burke see H-M’s Pl. 17.

¹¹⁶ See Crookshank and Webb, p. 12, and TCD <www.tcd.ie/provost/former/f_andrews.php>.

¹¹⁷ See J. D. H. Widdess, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, 1654–1963* (Edinburgh, Livingstone, 1963), Pl. II, facing p. 32.

¹¹⁸ See Crookshank and Webb, pp. 72, 38.

¹¹⁹ H-M cites Wood, p. 48, who specifies crimson cloth lined white silk for the hood, but this seems to have been wrong—or a short-lived anomaly—and in any case it is unlike Cambridge dress.

before the mid-nineteenth century is known. When John Smith and Robert Prescott Stewart were admitted to the degree in 1851 it was reported:

The correct dress for the doctor [of music] was never seen here before; the pattern was procured from the reverend the principal of St Edmond's [St Edmund Hall] Oxford, and the material was bought and made up in Dublin. It is a rich white figured damask silk gown, lined and faced with crimson satin; the sleeves wide and open, turned up with crimson satin; a double hood of white damask silk lined with crimson satin, and a black velvet round cap.¹²⁰

In 1858 the hood was said to be 'white figured satin, lined with rose-coloured silk'.¹²¹

Of the MA: **'The hood is given in Taylor's book as being of black silk lined with pink silk. The change to dark blue lining took place in the mid-nineteenth century.'** No other evidence of a pink-lined MA hood at Dublin has been found, except possibly a small portrait painted some two hundred years ago.¹²² Again, the colour in Taylor's plate may be incorrect.

In the next paragraph H-M relies on Wood, whose 1875 list does not always match Gutch's of 1858. **'The dress of the Bachelor of Divinity and the Bachelor of Laws was the same as the dress for these two degrees at Cambridge.'** Since the Reformation both Oxford and Cambridge have used a black hood lined black for the BD. The Dublin LLB wore a black hood lined white, while his Cambridge counterpart was supposed to wear the non-regent's black lined black (but some claim that he could, if qualified, wear the regent's black lined white).¹²³ **'That of the Bachelor of Medicine was the same as the Dublin master's dress ...'** By 1858 (if not before) the MA's hood was lined blue, and so the MB's, lined rose (or crimson), is not the same. **'... the dress of the Bachelor of Music had a mid-blue silk hood trimmed with white fur.'** This is like the Oxford hood. If Gutch is right in giving black lined light-blue, a change must have occurred between 1858 and 1875. **'The hood of the Master of Surgery was copied from that of this degree at Oxford.'** No hood is known at Oxford for the MCh before the twentieth century and the colours given in Wood are unique to the Dublin MCh.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ *Saunders Newsletter* (Dublin), 10 April 1851, p. 2. A description of the event and the robes, clearly based on this, appeared in *Illustrated London News*, 19 April 1851, p. 314. I owe these references to Dr Lisa Parker and Professor Barra Boydell (pers. comm., 14 April 2009). Dr Nicholas Groves confirms that 'double hood' means one of the full shape.

¹²¹ Garstin and Gutch, *Notes & Queries*.

¹²² See Christianson, 'In the Pink', esp. pp. 53–54; and the portrait in 'Have You Seen This Fellow?', *Burgon Notes*, 5 (May 2007), p. [1].

¹²³ See *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., 5, No. 129 (19 June 1858), pp. 501–02, and 8, No. 186 (23 July 1859), pp. 74–75.

¹²⁴ Degrees in Surgery at Dublin do not figure in Garstin or Gutch. In 1875 Wood has 'crimson silk, bound with blue, and lined with white silk' for the MCh; in 1882 he has

- 148 The BA's gown in the 1820 plates is said to have **'very large bell sleeves slashed open as at Cambridge'**. The sleeves are long, open and pointed rather than bell-shaped.

The figure in a black gown captioned 'Junior Fellow' in the 1820 plates is very similar to one in a plate of c.1819, captioned 'Fellow', whose gown is red.¹²⁵

Having described the gold decoration on the nobleman's gown in the 1820 plates, H-M mentions that **'the sleeves end in front at the elbow and hang down behind the arms in little panels with one gold tassel on the lower outside corner.'** He goes on to note that the fellow-commoner's gown differs from the nobleman's by having decorations in black instead of gold, but adds **'the sleeves in this case reach only to the elbow and stop abruptly there without the little panel.'** True, but the figure used here for the nobleman had appeared, in reverse, in a second plate of c.1819, captioned 'Fellow Commoner', with black decorations *and* the little panel and tassel on the sleeve. This gown is closer to a contemporary Oxford gentleman-commoner's dress gown than a Cambridge fellow-commoner's (except at Downing College).¹²⁶

'crimson silk, lined with blue, and edged with white' (*Degrees, Gowns and Hoods ...* (London, Pratt), p. 17). All this goes beyond H-M's compass.

¹²⁵ The first few sections of Taylor's book were printed in about 1819, but the job was not completed (three copies known, one in TCD Library). Two plates from drawings by Taylor himself were included, which were used as models for two figures in the 1820 set by E. Williams, published in the 1845 *History*.

¹²⁶ Again, a point noted in Christianson, 'In the Pink', p. 55.

Primary published and manuscript pictorial sources

- Album of loose plates of academic dress from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. Oxon. c. 16.
- Album of loose sheets bearing various engravings of Hugh Blair, DD. New York Public Library, Digital Gallery ID 1113896 to 1113898.
- Cambridge, Charter of the University (1291/92). Founding Charter of Edward I, dating from 1291/92, confirming the privileges of the University: illuminated initial. Cambridge, University Archives.
- Chaundler Manuscript (c.1463). Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS New College 122.
- Combe, William (1814). *History of the University of Oxford* (London: Ackermann).
- Combe, William (1815). *History of the University of Cambridge* (London: Ackermann).
- Downman, John (1780). Drawing of Thomas Okes, MD. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 1943.
- Edwards, George (1674). *Omnium ordinum habituumque academicorum exemplaria* ([Oxford: the engraver]).
- Gradus ad Cantabrigiam* (1824). *Gradus ad Cantabrigiam; or New University Guide to the Academical Customs, and Colloquial or Cant Terms Peculiar to the University of Cambridge* (London: John Hearne),
- Harley MS 2887 (c.1475). A miscellany of religious works and including a set of illustrations of theologians, in undress, arranged like students in a lecture room; the lecturer is the Virgin Mary. London, British Library.
- Harraden, Richard (1803/1805). *Costume of the Various Orders in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Harraden).
- Holkham Bible picture book (c.1330). London, British Library, Add. MS 47682.
- Grignion, Charles (1770). Twenty-five plates after drawings by W. Huddesford and J. Taylor (Oxford).
- J. G. H. (1844). 'Collection of original water colour drawings of academical robes, insignia, etc., connected with the University of Glasgow', compiled by Richard Cameron, bookseller of Edinburgh and presented to the University of Glasgow in 1889. Two of the drawings are signed 'J. G. H.'. University of Glasgow Library, MS Murray 593.
- Kay, John (1838). *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Paton; facs. edn Edinburgh: Berliinn, 2007)
- Loggan, David (1675). *Oxonia illustrata* (Oxford: the engraver), Pl. 10.
- Loggan, David (1690). *Cantabrigia illustrata* (Cambridge: the engraver), Pl. 7.
- Overton, Henry (c.1724 or 1730). Loose plates: prospectus advertisements for reprints of Loggan's Oxford (1675) and Cambridge (1690) plates; reprinted by R. Sayer, c.1745. Not c.1700 as H-M supposes.
- Pyne, William Henry (1808). *Costume of Great Britain*, 2nd edition (London: William Miller; repr. Ware: Wordsworth, 1989).
- Registrum A (1375). Oxford, Bodleian Library, University Archives, Registrum A.
- Roberts, James (1792). Series of watercolours of Oxford academic dress. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. Oxon. d. 58.
- Sayer, Robert. See Overton (c.1724 or 1730).
- Taylor, William B. S. (1819). Plates by Taylor himself in an abortive first printing of part of *A History of the University of Dublin*. Copy in the Library of Trinity College Dublin.

- Taylor, William B. S. (1845). Plates by E. Williams, based on drawings from c.1820, in *A History of the University of Dublin* (London: Cadell; and Dublin: Cumming; repr. General Books LLC (print on demand), 2009).
- van der Aa, Pieter (1707). Plates first published in J. Beeverell's *Les Délices de la Grand' Bretagne et de l'Irlande*, 1st edition (Leiden: van der Aa).
- Uwins, Thomas. See Combe (1814) and Combe (1815).
- Whittock, Nathaniel (1840). *The Costumes of the Members of the University of Oxford* (London: Whittock).
- Whittock, Nathaniel (1847). *The Costumes of the Members of the University of Cambridge* (London: Whittock).
- Willet, Andrew (1630). Loose plate: engraving after a portrait by an unknown artist of Andrew Willet (d. 1621), DD Cambridge, published in 1630.