

Costume and Practice: Evolution in Design and Use of the Chancellor's and Pro-Chancellor's Robes at the University of Dublin, Trinity College (1800–2020)

By Andrew J. C. Hogg

Abstract

The University of Dublin is the degree-awarding body for Trinity College, Dublin and maintains a long tradition of academic dress and ceremonial. Commencements are formal meetings of the Senate chaired by the Chancellor or Pro-Chancellor (formerly the Vice-Chancellor) conducted in Latin, in full academic costume. This paper examines the evolution of design and use of these officers' robes in the context of University governance; the public and political profile of these officers; their personalities and involvement in College affairs; and the waxing and waning of Trinity's influence in Irish society. A coherent system of design for the Dublin Chancellor's robes began to emerge organically from 1850 onwards, its roots in a combination of accident, design, and personality. There is evidence that the University of Dublin officers' dress are of two distinct lineages. The Chancellor's robe seems to be influenced by nineteenth-century clerical taste inspired by the design of the robes of the Speaker of the former Irish House of Commons, while the Pro-Chancellor's robes appear to be in continuity with an earlier tradition of eighteenth-century judicial costume. However, since the early 1960s the robes have been used interchangeably. As costly and elaborate garments, it is not unusual for them to be in use for fifty years.

The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth *juxta* Dublin or Trinity College Dublin was founded by Elizabeth I in 1592, modelled on the college structure of the ancient Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. It is the only constituent College of the University of Dublin.¹ As an institution distinct from the College, the University of Dublin holds degree-awarding powers and has a governance system including a Senate, chaired by the Chancellor or the Pro-Chancellor.

The Act of Union (1800) uniting Great Britain and Ireland and the profound changes to Irish society that came with it, seem to be a convenient point from which to launch this study of official dress at the University, though 'so far as Trinity was concerned the nineteenth century only began ... in 1831'.² This first thirty years of the nineteenth century marked a period of limbo for Trinity as it transitioned from 'late-Georgian brilliance' to Victorian innovation and reform.³ It was also over this period that largely absentee aristocratic Hanoverian Chancellors were succeeded by Chancellors

1 Dublin University Calendar, *A History of Trinity College* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1979), pp. 136–41.

2 Robert B. McDowell and David A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 74.

3 McDowell and Webb, p. 74.

with Irish roots, generally more implicated in the life of the University. This transition is arguably mirrored in shifts in custom and practice of academic dress by senior University officers from 1800 onwards.

Methodology

This research draws on sources including the University Statutes and regulations, TCD Archives and administrative papers, the College portrait collection, visual media, press and other published sources. As an influential seat of learning in the heart of a capital city, press coverage of College events proved to be a rich source of information. The work included field visits to TCD and Birr Castle, Co. Offaly, to inspect robes worn in the past or in current use. Robe descriptions are composites, compiled by the author based on portrait and photographic evidence where the original gowns are missing. The descriptions follow the order established by Smith and Sheard,⁴ though here more detailed, particularly concerning the lace and ornaments. Groves (2011) presents useful illustrations of the parts of academic gowns⁵ while the nomenclature of the components of the officers' robes in this work is based on an annotated diagram kindly provided by The Revd Kenneth Crawford of Robes of Distinction, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Appendix). In the absence of other evidence, it is assumed that all robes are black with gold ornaments and lace.

University of Dublin: Trinity College governance

The history of Trinity College and the University of Dublin has been the subject of numerous scholarly works, notably by W. B. S. Taylor, J. W. Stubbs, C. Maxwell, K. C. Bailey, and McDowell and Webb.⁶ It is also well summarized in the College Quatercentenary series published in 1992, and on the College website.⁷ It is not intended to re-cover this ground here beyond a brief contextual overview. The 2010 Consolidated Statutes provide the definitions of the various University and College governance bodies and officers.⁸

Founded as part of Tudor strategy to extend its influence in Ireland, the new College was modelled on Trinity College, Cambridge, in terms of organization and constitution, at least at the outset.⁹ The foundation charter refers to the institution as the *mater universitatis* (the 'mother of a university'). This suggests that the founders

⁴ Hugh Smith and Kevin Sheard, *Academic Dress and Insignia of the World*, 3 vols (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1970), Volume 1.

⁵ For illustrations of the elements of gowns see Nicholas Groves (ed.), *Shaw's Academic Dress of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3rd edn, (London: Burgon Society, 2011), Vol. 1, *Universities and Other Degree-Awarding Bodies*, pp. 20–21.

⁶ William Benjamin Sarsfield Taylor, *History of the University of Dublin* (London: Cadell, 1845); John William Stubbs, *The History of the University of Dublin, from its Foundation to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1889); Constantia Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin 1591–1892* (Dublin: The University Press, Trinity College, 1946); Kenneth Claude Bailey, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1892–1954* (Dublin: University Press, Trinity College, 1947); McDowell and Webb.

⁷ Trinity College Dublin, History, online at <www.tcd.ie/about/history> [retrieved 10 April 2023].

⁸ Trinity College Dublin and the University of Dublin, The 2010 Consolidated Statutes.

⁹ Maxwell, pp. 24–25.

envisaged the College would eventually form part of a larger University and was vested with powers and functions of both a College and University.

Occasionally, the interface between University and College has been a matter of contentious debate and it was not until 1857 that a governance structure for the University was formalized. While Trinity remains the only constituent College of the University of Dublin, in practice both are one and the same, operating under the auspices of the Board, which is the principal governing body of both the College and the University. The Board performs the functions of the Body Corporate of the College, that is the 'Provost, Fellows, Foundation Scholars and other members of the Board of the College'. Chaired by the Provost until September 2023, when the function passed to an independent external chair, it acts as the College on all matters concerning finance, education, scholarship, external relations, ethics, and discipline.

The University Senate comprises the 'Chancellor, the Pro-Chancellors, the Provost, the Registrar, and the Doctors and Masters of the University'. Meetings of the Senate must take place in the presence of the University Caput, comprising the Chancellor (or the Pro-Chancellor) along with the Provost and the Senior Master Non-Regent.

The principal function of the Senate is to confer degrees of the University of Dublin and degrees earned at TCD are awarded by the University of Dublin. Whilst its functions are in the main formal and ceremonial, it approves Graces proposed by the Board and no degree can be awarded without its approval. Any member of the Caput may veto a Grace for a degree.

The interfaces between College and University can be fluid, as attested by the composition of the Caput. The Registrar acts as the Secretary of the Senate and is both a College and University appointment. Business to be put before the Senate must be approved by the Board of Trinity College.

The Chancellor

The Chancellor is the Head of the University on ceremonial occasions and is elected by the Senate. Formerly a life-time appointment, since 1977 the office holder must retire at seventy-five. The Chancellor presides at meetings of the Senate, including Commencement and honorary degree ceremonies. Whilst visibly a ceremonial role, the Chancellor is also one of two Visitors of the College. Often, it has been during 'Visitations' that Chancellors have left their mark on the institutions of College and University.

Elected by the Senate, the University has had twenty-four Chancellors since 1592.¹⁰ The roster inevitably reflects the political tides and social currents of the times. But dynastic and family loyalties also played their role as Trinity sought to leverage the power (and sometimes munificence) of the Chancellors to enhance its influence, and at times survival.

For much of the eighteenth century the office holders were Hanoverian Princes and aristocrats. As title holders more often than not absent, their association gave a certain royal imprimatur and protection of the College.¹¹ This situation continued into

¹⁰ Trinity College Dublin, 'Former Chancellors 1592 -', online at <www.tcd.ie/chancellor/former-chancellors/> [retrieved 10 April 2023].

¹¹ A notable exception was the installation of John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, on 9 September 1768, some three years after his election in 1765. The event generated great excitement in Trinity. The Installation ceremony is described in 'Postscript from the London Gazette,

1851 with the death of the last Hanoverian Chancellor, Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover and Duke of Cumberland.

From the mid-1800s the character of chancellorship has gradually evolved in line with the political and social environment in Ireland. From 1851 to 1963 the role was essentially occupied by members of Anglo-Irish peerage beginning with Lord John George de la Poer Beresford, who was also Anglican Primate of All Ireland. The role then passed to William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, a distinguished scientist and philanthropist.

Parsons' successor, Hugh McCalmont, 1st Earl of Cairns, saw the return of the absentee Chancellor, greatly occupied as he was in London as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. The Rosse family resumed service during the 23-year chancellorship of Laurence Parsons, the 4th Earl of Rosse, an engineer. Following his death in 1908, the University was led successively by two Chancellors from the Guinness family: Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh and his son Rupert Edward Cecil Lee Guinness, 2nd Earl of Iveagh. Their support and generosity to the College helped Trinity survive the political and social upheavals of two World Wars and Irish Independence.

Since 1963, the Dublin University Chancellors have been drawn from eminent Irish people from the world of diplomacy (Frederick Henry Boland, 1963–82, a former president of the General Assembly of the United Nations); academia (William Bedell Stanford, 1982–84); and business (Francis Joseph Charles O'Reilly, 1985–98). Two distinguished women, both former Presidents of Ireland have led the University. Mary Therese Winifred Robinson (1998–2019) is a senior lawyer and former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. The installation of Mary McAleese, a canon lawyer, as Chancellor in 2019 continues the tradition since foundation of honouring senior Irish statespersons.

The Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Chancellors

In the absence of the Chancellor the formal responsibilities for the University, including presiding at degree ceremonies, fall to the Pro-Chancellor, or before 1964 to the Vice-Chancellor. There have been sixty-four Pro- or Vice-Chancellors since 1609 with a maximum of seven Pro-Chancellors at any one time.¹² The Pro-Chancellor must retire, like the Chancellor, on reaching seventy-five.

The appointment of John Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare as Vice-Chancellor in 1791 began the tradition of appointing Vice-Chancellors from the legal establishment. Two churchmen apart, the Vice-Chancellors for over 150 years were drawn from the ranks of Lord Chancellors of Ireland, Lord Chief Justices, and an Attorney General for Ireland.¹³ This tradition continued through to 1931 with the election of Sir Thomas Francis Molony, who had been the last Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

Ireland', *The Kentish Gazette*, 21 September 1786, p. 1. No expense seems to have been spared for the lavish entertainment that ensued (McDowell and Webb, p. 52). There is no mention of academic dress worn by the Duke.

12 Trinity College Dublin, 'Former Pro-Chancellors 1609 -'. online at <www.tcd.ie/chancellor/prochancellor/former> [retrieved 10 April 2023].

13 Lord John George de la Poer Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh, Vice-Chancellor 1829–51, Chancellor 1851–62, and John Henry Bernard, Archbishop of Armagh, who relinquished the vice-chancellorship after one year to become Provost in 1919.

The abolition of the role of Vice-Chancellor in 1964 was an important change. The proposal, made at a meeting of the Senate on 6 December 1963, was approved during a Senate private business meeting on 26 February 1964, immediately following the installation of the new Chancellor, Frederick Boland.

At the time the College justified the change noting the regular confusion of the honorific role of the Dublin Vice-Chancellor with the administrative role of Vice-Chancellors in other universities. The new arrangements, they felt, would bring TCD in line with practices elsewhere. They also noted the practical difficulties of needing a Board meeting to elect a deputy when neither Chancellor nor Vice-Chancellor were available.¹⁴ Three Pro-Chancellors would allow more flexibility. The retirement age was also extended by five years to seventy-five in line with that of the Chancellor.

In the event the Senate opted for continuity, and presumably to avoid diplomatic incident, by electing the existing Vice-Chancellor, Laurence Michael Parsons, 6th Earl of Rosse, and Brian Walter Guinness, 2nd Baron Moyne, as two of three Pro-Chancellors.¹⁵ In this way the two family dynasties of Dublin University Chancellors were finally brought together.¹⁶

Less well publicized implications were that the Chancellor lost the right to choose his Vice-Chancellor on election. Prior to the change the Vice-Chancellor was often an important external figure, most often from the judiciary, with profiles much the same as the Chancellor. With the high-profile Chancellors frequently absent, the Vice-Chancellors did much of the heavy lifting and, along with the Provost, were often the public face of the University. The new Pro-Chancellors, most often members of College, 'have all the powers and privileges of the Chancellor when acting in place of the Chancellor ... [and] hold office in their own right' rather than as delegees.¹⁷

The panel of Pro-Chancellors now comprises up to seven, allowing duties to be shared in the face of the large expansion in the number of degree ceremonies. These new arrangements give the College opportunity to honour the contributions of distinguished members of the academic staff and eminent alumni. Accordingly, the Pro-Chancellors since the 1960s have been drawn mainly from the College academic community and occasionally high-profile lawyers and businessmen.

The Dublin officers' robes in the university statutes and academic dress literature

Trinity College Dublin looks to the University of Cambridge for its roots, with its first Provosts coming from that institution, in particular Trinity College, Cambridge. How

¹⁴ 'Honorary Degree for Taoiseach', *Irish Times*, 25 February 1965, p. 1.

¹⁵ Presumably for reasons of proper procedure and decorum, Dr H.W. Parke, Pro-Vice-Chancellor was deputized by Vice-Chancellor Parsons to preside the meeting of Senate on 6 December 1963, where the two first Pro-Chancellors were elected, including Guinness and Parsons himself ('Boland Appointed Chancellor', *Irish Times*, 7 December 1963, p. 5). The third Pro-Chancellor selected later, was George Alexander Duncan, Professor of Political Economy at TCD.

¹⁶ Lord Moyne's sister, the Hon. Grania Maeve Rosaura Guinness, Marchioness of Normanby, was Pro-Chancellor from 1984 to 1996.

¹⁷ Trinity College Dublin, 'Role of the Pro-Chancellor', online at <www.tcd.ie/chancellor/pro-chancellors-role> [retrieved 10 April 2023].

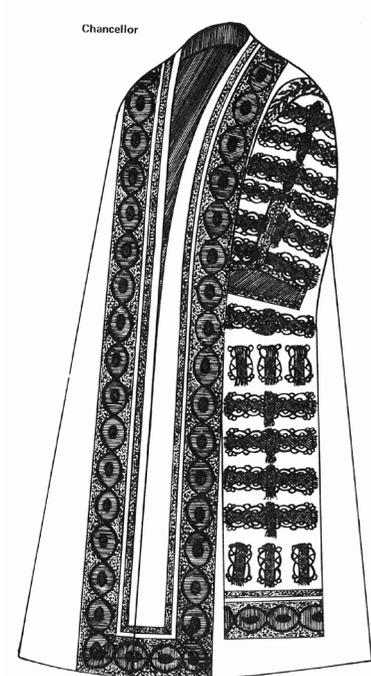


Fig. 1. University of Dublin Chancellor's robe c. 1965 from Smith and Sheard (1970). This appears to be the gown worn by the Dublin Vice-Chancellors from around 1850 up to installation of Frederick Boland as Chancellor in 1964. That year the role of Vice-Chancellor was abolished and replaced by that of the Pro-Chancellor at which point it seems the new Chancellor opted to wear the Vice-Chancellor's robe.

much this influenced the academic dress at TCD has been a matter of some debate. According to Hargreaves-Mawdsley the Dublin scheme was substantially copied from Cambridge with some influence from Oxford, though later scholars assert that academic dress in Dublin was more strongly influenced by the Oxford tradition between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁸

The University Statutes give no detailed guidance on the design of the Chancellor's robes, nor do they prescribe a specific dress for Pro-Chancellors.¹⁹ They simply stipulate that their 'academic dress shall be as follows: (a) The Chancellor: a cap

of the usual pattern covered in velvet with a gold tassel, and a robe of black corded silk, with two rows of bullion lace down the front and round the cope, and gold lace trimming on the sleeves'. It is the addition of the two rows of lace down the front and around the 'cope'²⁰ (or square flap-collar) that renders the garment distinctively University of Dublin. The origin of this regulation is discussed further below.

Smith and Sheard's description of the Dublin robe is of a classic Chancellor's robe as might be seen in Oxford, though without a train.²¹ Accordingly, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, or Pro-Chancellor, wear a gown of 'black watered silk and having facings, down each side in front, and a square collar at the back of the same material. The gown is trimmed with gold lace and ornaments'. The hat worn is a black velvet square cap, with gold lace edging to the skullcap and a gold tassel.

Whilst their description does not mention the two rows of lace facings, their illustration of the Dublin robe does show the two rows: a wide row of 3 ½" plate-lace at the opening of the coat²² and a second narrow row of ½" oak-leaf lace running in parallel

18 William Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academic Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 146; Bruce Christianson, 'In the Pink: The Strange Case of Trinity College Dublin', *Burgon Society Annual*, 2004, pp. 53–57, <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1031>.

19 Trinity College Dublin and the University of Dublin, *The 2010 Consolidated Statutes*, p. 226.

20 The 'cope', a term usually applied to liturgical dress, described in the Statutes refers to the square flap collar at the back of the robe.

21 Smith and Sheard, pp. 426–27; Dennis Roy Venables and Ralph Ernest Clifford, *Academic Dress of the University of Oxford*, 2nd edn (Oxford: University Press, 1966).

22 'Coat' refers to the main body of the robe.

up the front. A row of the same wide plate-lace is used to face the foot of the sleeve boot with the row of narrow lace just above (Fig. 1).

The ornaments on the sleeve boot comprise, from the bottom up: three vertical single frogs, then four rows of two horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre of each row. This is followed by three single vertical frogs. Two horizontal frogs with a rosette at the centre complete the lower part of the boot. An inverted-T armhole is fully bordered by narrow lace, from which extend two rows of horizontal frogs. There is an olivet at the centre of the second row, on the outer side of the armhole. Above the armhole are four rows of two horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre of the top three rows (i.e., a total of four olivets above the armhole). The shoulder wing is embroidered with an oak-leaf pattern.

The robe described by Smith and Sheard in 1970 is quite different from the style of robe habitually worn by Dublin Chancellors in the previous 100 years. Rather, it appears to be the gown worn by the Dublin Vice-Chancellors from around 1850 up to installation of Frederick Boland as Chancellor in 1964, when it seems the new Chancellor opted to wear the Vice-Chancellor's robe.

The Dublin Chancellors' and Vice-Chancellors' robes

There is evidence for seven Chancellors' robes and three Vice- or Pro-Chancellors' gowns in use between 1800 and 2020. This section provides an overview of these officers' robes as recorded in the College Art Collection and in the photographic record.

Portraits between foundation and 1716 show the Dublin Chancellors in ecclesiastical or military attire, then court dress for the Princes and Royal Dukes between 1716 and 1851 (Fig. 3). The first portrait in the College Art Collection showing a Chancellor in a bespoken academic robe of office appears in 1851. It is a large painting of Lord John George Beresford, by Stephen Catterson Smith the elder (1806–72) hanging in the College Dining Hall. The picture shows the sitter in Chancellor's robes and wearing the badge of the Prelate of the Order of St Patrick.²³ There are six other portraits of the Chancellors in the College Art collection. Five show the sitters in their robes as Chancellor of the University: the late nineteenth-century portraits of Rosse Chancellors, the portrait of William Bedell Stanford painted seated just before his death by Andrew Festing (1941–) in 1984, a 1991 portrait of Francis O'Reilly by Limerick-born artist Thomas Ryan (1929–2021) and most recently the portrait of Mary Robinson by Mark Shields (1963–), unveiled in 2019.²⁴ The portrait of Hugh McCalmont Cairns in the Dining Hall, however, shows him in his robes as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. The Iveagh and Boland chancellorships are not recorded in portraiture, though many official photographs are to be found, particularly of the 2nd Earl of Iveagh and Chancellor Boland in ceremonial dress (Fig. 2).

For almost two hundred years (1609 to 1791) Trinity Vice-Chancellors were exclusively senior churchmen and bishops, often Archbishops of Armagh. Where portraits exist,

²³ Beresford was also Anglican Primate of All Ireland. Anne Crookshank and David Webb, 'Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College, Dublin', *Trinity College Dublin Quatercentenary Series*, 4 (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1990), p. 20.

²⁴ Crookshank and Webb, pp. 108, 109, 122; Thomas Ryan (1929–), Portrait of Francis Joseph Charles O'Reilly, Chancellor 1985–1998, 1991, oil on canvas, c. 175 x 150 cm, Trinity College, Dublin; Mark Shields (1963–), Portrait of Mary Robinson, Chancellor 1998–2019, 2019, oil on canvas, 270 x 180 cm, Trinity College, Dublin.

Fig. 2.

**2a. John George de la Poer
Lord Beresford
1851–62**



**2b. William Parsons
3rd Earl of Rosse
1862–67**



**2d. Laurence Parsons
4th Earl of Rosse
1885–1908**



‘Clerical’ lineage



‘Judicial’ lineage

Fig. 2. University of Dublin Chancellor’s robes 1850–2000 in portraits and photographs. The robes can be grouped into a ‘clerical’ lineage initiated by Archbishop John George Beresford (Chancellor 1851–62) and a ‘judicial’ lineage inspired by the robes worn by Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors who were law lords, for example, Hugh McCalmont Cairns (Chancellor 1867–85), who is depicted his robes as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain.



**2c. Hugh McCalmont Cairns
1st Earl of Cairns
1867–85**

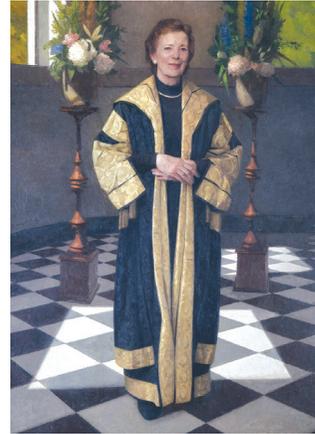
2e. Edward Cecil Guinness
1st Earl of Iveagh
1908-27



2f. Rupert Edward Cecil Lee Guinness
2nd Earl of Iveagh
1927-63



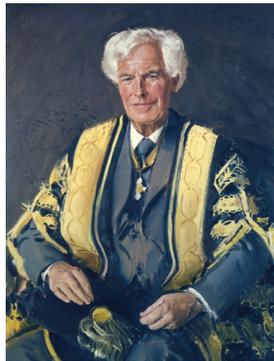
2j. Mary Therese Winifred Robinson
1998-2019



1900 1908 1927 1963 1982 1985 1998 2000 2019



2g. Frederick Henry Boland
1963-82



2h. William Bedell Stanford
1982-84



2i. Frances Joseph Charles O'Reilly
1985-98



2k. Mary McAleese
2019-

the sitters are usually in episcopal robes. The earliest portraits in the College collection of Vice-Chancellors in academic dress are of Michael Ward 1678–81) and Anthony Dopping (1682–97).²⁵ Both portraits, painted posthumously by Hugh Howard (1675–1737), show the sitters dressed in white bands, in *cappa clausa* dress comprising a scarlet robe trimmed with fur and large white fur hood draped over the shoulders. While Hargreaves-Mawdsley and Crookshank and Webb describe this as Vice-Chancellor's dress, Kerr asserts that it more likely that the sitters are in the 'business dress' of their degrees (both from Dublin), that is, the costume of a Doctor of Divinity typical of the period.²⁶

A later portrait of Vice-Chancellor Arthur Price (1747–52) similarly shows the sitter in a full-length scarlet, fur-lined *cappa clausa* with white fur hood of a Doctor of Divinity. The sitter's hands emerge from a slit at the front, holding a square cap with a gold tassel.²⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, it seems these Vice-Chancellors began to wear a robe dedicated to their university role, though clearly inspired by the design of a Lord Chancellor's robes. The point at which this happened is a matter for further discussion below, though the first instance in which Crookshank and Webb mention a dedicated Vice-Chancellor's robe is in the portrait of Dodgson Hamilton Madden dated 1907 (Fig. 12a).²⁸

Chancellors' robes

There appear to have been at least seven versions of robes worn by Chancellors since 1800. This section examines each in turn with respect to design and what is known about the history of each robe and its use.

The Beresford robe

This is a full-length gown of black fabric with two closely spaced rows of wide gold lace running in parallel down the opening of the coat apparently continuing around the collar of the gown.²⁹ The coat is hemmed at the bottom with the same wide gold lace. The base of the sleeve boot is apparently untrimmed (Fig. 2a).

The sleeve has an inverted-T armhole. There are no ornaments. Instead, the sleeve is decorated with three horizontal rows of the same wide gold lace: two rows extending either side of the armhole slit and one row above. There are no visible shoulder wings.

25 Hugh Howard (1675–1737), Portrait of Michael Ward (1643–81), Vice-Chancellor, Trinity College Dublin, c. 1710, oil on canvas, 76 × 63.5 cm, Trinity College, Dublin; Hugh Howard (1675–1737), Portrait of Anthony Dopping (1643–97), Vice-Chancellor, Trinity College Dublin, c. 1710, oil on canvas, 76 × 63.5 cm, Trinity College, Dublin.

26 Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 146; Crookshank and Webb, pp. 47, 138; Alex Kerr, 'Hargreaves-Mawdsley's History', *TBS*, 8 (2008), pp. 106–50 (pp. 144–45), doi.org/10.148/2475-7799.1066.

27 Benjamin Wilson (1721–88), Portrait of Arthur Price (1680–1752), Vice-Chancellor, Trinity College Dublin, c. 1749, oil on canvas, 221 × 165 cm, Trinity College, Dublin; Crookshank and Webb, p. 112.

28 Alfred Aaran Wolmark (1877–1961), Portrait of Dodgson Hamilton Madden, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, c. 1908, oil on canvas, 102 × 76 cm, Trinity College, Dublin; Crookshank and Webb, p. 93.

29 Stephen Catterson Smith, Portrait of Lord John George Beresford, c. 1854, oil on canvas, 300 × 183 cm, Trinity College, Dublin.

History of the robe

Lord John George de la Poer Beresford (1773–1862), Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, was created 14th Chancellor of the University in 1851 having distinguished himself as an effective Vice-Chancellor.

Beresford was an active and popular Chancellor. McDowell and Webb describe him as ‘a solid aristocrat who had been a bishop as long as anyone could remember’ who played the ‘role of honest broker and in some respects of constitutional monarch’.³⁰ Beresford was a ‘High Churchman of the old school who saw education as the key to renewal and expended vast sums in great generosity’.³¹ That said, Beresford is reputed to have had a rather high self-esteem and to have been conscious of his appearance, whose contemporaries referred to him as the ‘beauty of holiness’.³²

He is the first Chancellor in the College Art Collection to be shown in the dress of a University official.³³ As the first cleric to be elevated to the chancellorship since Archbishop Laud (Chancellor 1633–45), with mainly royal Dukes and Lord Lieutenants of Ireland between, Beresford would have had few precedents to call on with respect to official dress. As a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford (1793) he might well have been familiar with the Oxford Chancellor’s dress. Beresford graduated only a year after another Christ Church alumnus, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1738–1809), Duke of Portland, was appointed Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1792. There were great celebrations at the College which Beresford may have witnessed.³⁴ A portrait Bentinck gifted to Christ Church in 1797 shows him wearing the classic Oxford Chancellor’s robe.³⁵

Beresford’s predecessors and immediate successors as Vice-Chancellor in Dublin are mainly depicted in robes of their public office as Lord Chancellors and Chief Justice of Ireland. He may therefore have seen the need to commission a robe that befitted his ceremonial status as the head of the University, but with a modest decorum appropriate to a clerk in holy orders.

There is some evidence that design of the Beresford Chancellor’s robe may have been inspired by the robes of the Speaker of Irish House of Commons, which had been dissolved following the Act of Union in 1800. The robes worn by the last Speaker, John

30 McDowell and Webb, pp. 166, 216.

31 Michael James Thompson, ‘The High Church Tradition in Ireland 1800–1870 with Particular Reference to John Jebb and Alexander Knox’, MA thesis, Durham University, online at <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/5713/>> [retrieved 11 April 2023]. He presented the iconic Campanile to the College to commemorate his appointment to the role and laid the foundation stone on 1 December 1852 (Peter Boyle, *Trinity College Dublin, The Provosts 1592–1927* (Dublin: Hinds, 2015), p. 301) and participated in the inauguration ceremony with speeches, prayers and psalms a year later (McDowell and Webb, p. 237).

32 Personal communication with the Rt Revd Michael A. J. Burrows, Bishop of Cashel, Waterford and Lismore with Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, 17 March 2021.

33 Crookshank and Webb, p. 20.

34 Judith Curthoys, ‘From the Archives’, e-Matters, 30 June 2020, Christ Church, Oxford University, online at <www.chch.ox.ac.uk/alumni/e-matters-june-30th-2020-0> [retrieved 11 April 2023].

35 George Romney (1734–1802), Portrait of William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1738–1809), Duke of Portland, c. 1795–99, oil on canvas, 231 × 150 cm, Christ Church, University of Oxford.



Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Fig. 3. The Right Honourable John Foster in the robes of Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, c. 1790–91, by Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828). The robes worn by Chancellor Beresford in Fig. 2a sport similar relatively simple ornamentation using flat gold lace.

Foster, in portraits by Hugh Douglas Hamilton and Gilbert Stuart, are similar to those seen in Beresford's portrait by Catterson-Smith, painted some fifty years later (Figs 2a, 3).³⁶ The Speaker's robe is slightly more elaborate, however, sporting ornaments at the ends of the bands of gold plate-lace on the sleeve, but nevertheless simpler than its British equivalents.

Might this choice of design have been to display prestige, symbolize the equivalence of governance functions of Speaker and Chancellor, demonstrate political sympathies or all three? The more modest pattern may also have suited the low-church tendencies of the Church of Ireland of the time.³⁷

It is notable that while the Speakers' robe has only one row of gold lace facings, the Beresford gown shows two rows of gold lace facings. This may be the origin of the stipulation in the University Statutes that the Chancellor's gown bears two rows of lace

³⁶ Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740–1808), *Portrait of John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, 1799*, oil on canvas, 246 × 150 cm, Dublin City Collection; Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), *Portrait of John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, 1791*, oil on canvas, 211 × 150 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo.

³⁷ Taylor, in his history of the College, congratulates Beresford for not favouring 'the revival of the old, absurd, and justly neglected ceremonials of Laud's time, which have so strong a taint of Romish theatrical display about them' (Taylor, p. 521).

facings, presumably to ensure that the University Chancellor's robe could be distinguished from the Irish Speaker's.

The resulting robe is of a much simpler design than those worn, for example, by the contemporary Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge.³⁸ The Beresford taste for restrained clerical elegance seems to have influenced the design of the University of Dublin Chancellors' robes ever since.

Regrettably, the Beresford robe met an unhappy demise. The *Belfast Telegraph* in February 1960 reported that 'the robes worn by Lord John Beresford as Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin' were exhibited during a gala fashion show in aid of Leprosy Relief in the Belfast Opera House on 19 February, 1960.³⁹ The robes were lent by relatives of the Beresford family to the Ulster Museum. Sadly, the robe was destroyed when Malone House, where the museum's collection of costumes and textiles was kept, was destroyed, following the planting and detonation of two terrorist firebombs on 11 November 1976.⁴⁰

The Rosse robe

This is a full-length gown of heavy ribbed black silk having two rows of 2 ½" oak-leaf lace approximately 2 ½" in from the opening of the coat. A square flap-collar is trimmed on the outer edge with one row of the same oak-leaf lace. The coat is gathered in pencil pleats at the back, and the hems untrimmed.⁴¹ The foot of the sleeve boot is similarly undecorated (Figs 2b, 4).

The sleeve has an inverted-T armhole. Instead of ornaments, the sleeves are decorated with four horizontal rows of the same oak-leaf lace. Two rows extend either side of the armhole slit and two rows above. The shoulder wings are the same heavy black ribbed silk, are an integral part of the garment construction and are undecorated.

The hat is a black velvet square cap with silver gilt lace edging to the skullcap and a gold tassel issuing from the square board.

Overall, the gown worn by the Earls of Rosse seems to draw its inspiration from the Beresford robe.

History of the robe

The election of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, as Chancellor of the University of Dublin (1862–67) marked a transition to Victorian modernity. Rosse came from 'cautiously liberal' old Irish nobility, was President of the Royal Society and had a world-wide reputation as an astronomer.⁴²

There was considerable excitement around Rosse's installation as it was only the second ceremony since John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, was installed in splendour

38 Francis Grant (1803–78), Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799–1869), 14th Earl of Derby, 1857–59, oil on canvas, 233.7 × 142.2 cm, Examination Schools, University of Oxford; Frederick Richard Say (1805–68), Prince Albert (1819–61), Consort to Queen Victoria, c. 1849, oil on canvas, 133 x 86 cm, Trinity College, University of Cambridge.

39 'Take Husbands to Dress Show—Call', *Belfast Telegraph*, 19 February 1960, p. 6.

40 Personal communication with Julien Walton, Waterford Historian, Dunhill Multi-Education Centre. 14 May 2020.

41 See Groves, pp. 20–21.

42 McDowell and Webb, p. 205.

as Chancellor some 100 years earlier, in 1765.⁴³ As a result, the event was well covered in the Dublin and London press with vivid descriptions in the *Irish Times* and the *Illustrated London News* of the ceremony on 17 February 1863.⁴⁴ The News coverage included an accurate engraving of the occasion in the Public Theatre based on sketches by W. Tomsohn of Dublin (Fig. 5).

The Pro-Vice-Chancellor, The Rt Hon. Judge Keatinge (1793–1876), conferred the degree of LLD *honoris causa* on Rosse before admitting him to the chancellorship.⁴⁵ A detail from the engraving shows the moment described in the *Irish Times* when Lord Rosse kneels before the Chair to receive his honorary doctorate, wearing ‘the splendid robes of the Chancellor of the University. The robe is composed of thick black silk, trimmed with solid gold, and the cap, which is likewise of silk, bears a gold tassel.’

The portrait by Stephen Catterson Smith, in the TCD Dining Hall of the 3rd Earl, as Chancellor shows him wearing such a robe and carrying a cap of the same description (Fig. 2b).⁴⁶ Rosse was asked to sit for this portrait in 1865 but it was completed only in 1868, a year after his death.⁴⁷

Further information on the Rosse robes can be gleaned from a statue of the 3rd Earl located in front of the Court House at John’s Place, Birr, Co. Offaly (Fig. 4).⁴⁸ The statue by Irish sculptor J. H. Foley, RA (1818–74), is dated 1875 and was cast in London by R. Masefield & Company. Foley was popular with the Victorian establishment in Dublin and London. He also executed the statues of Daniel O’Connell on O’Connell St, Dublin; Oliver Goldsmith which stands in front of TCD; and Albert Memorial in London. Foley had somewhat of a reputation for the quality of the detail and pleasing aspect of the drapery in his sculptures.⁴⁹

The statue is a rare example in Ireland of a civic monument with the subject dressed in academic garb. It shows the 3rd Earl in court dress and wearing a Chancellor’s gown together with the riband of a Knight of St Patrick.⁵⁰ Although it was cast after the 3rd Earl’s death and necessarily stylized, the statue provides useful evidence

43 ‘Installation of the Chancellor of Dublin University’, *Illustrated London News*, 28 February 1863, p. 217.

44 ‘University of Dublin—Installation of the Right Hon. The Earl of Rosse’, *Irish Times*, 18 February 1863, p. 3; *Illustrated London News*, 28 February 1863, p. 217.

45 A Pro-Vice-Chancellor may have had to act in place of the Vice-Chancellor whose mandate expired with the Chancellor. The new Chancellor then went on to confer an LLD *honoris causa* on Benjamin Lee Guinness. The collaboration on TCD matters between these two dynastic families continued well into the 1960s.

46 Stephen Catterson Smith, *Portrait of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, 1868*, oil on canvas, 266.7 × 172.7 cm, Trinity College, Dublin.

47 Crookshank and Webb, p. 109.

48 Michel Byrne, ‘John’s Place, Birr and Foley’s Memorial to the 3rd Earl of Rosse’, Offaly History Blog, 2017, online at <www.offalyhistoryblog.wordpress.com/2017/10/01/johns-place-birr-and-foleys-memorial-to-the-third-earl-of-rosse-michael-byrne> [retrieved 11 April 2023].

49 Judith Hill, *Ideology and Cultural Production: Nationalism and the Public Monument in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), p. 63.

50 In Foley’s statue the riband is worn running diagonally from left to right as for a Knight of the Garter. Normally this would be from right to left for a Knight of St Patrick (personal communication with The Revd Kenneth Crawford). It is shown correctly in the Catterson-Smith portrait.



4a.

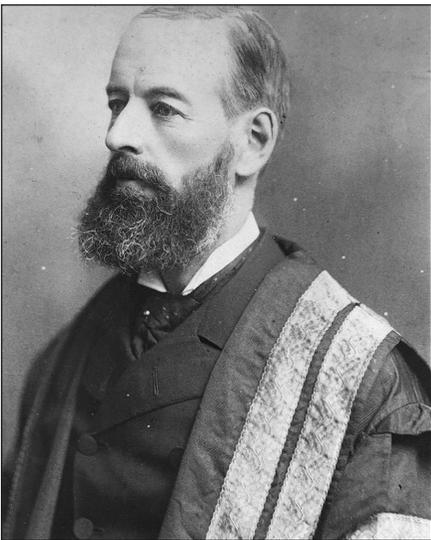
Fig. 4. Statue of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, in the dress of Chancellor of the University of Dublin, 1875, (a-c) by J. H. Foley, RA (1818-74). Details show the square flap-collar and gathered coat, oak-leaf lace facings and sleeve decoration (b, c). Laurence Parsons, 4th Earl of Rosse, c. 1900, (d) in a Chancellor's robe.



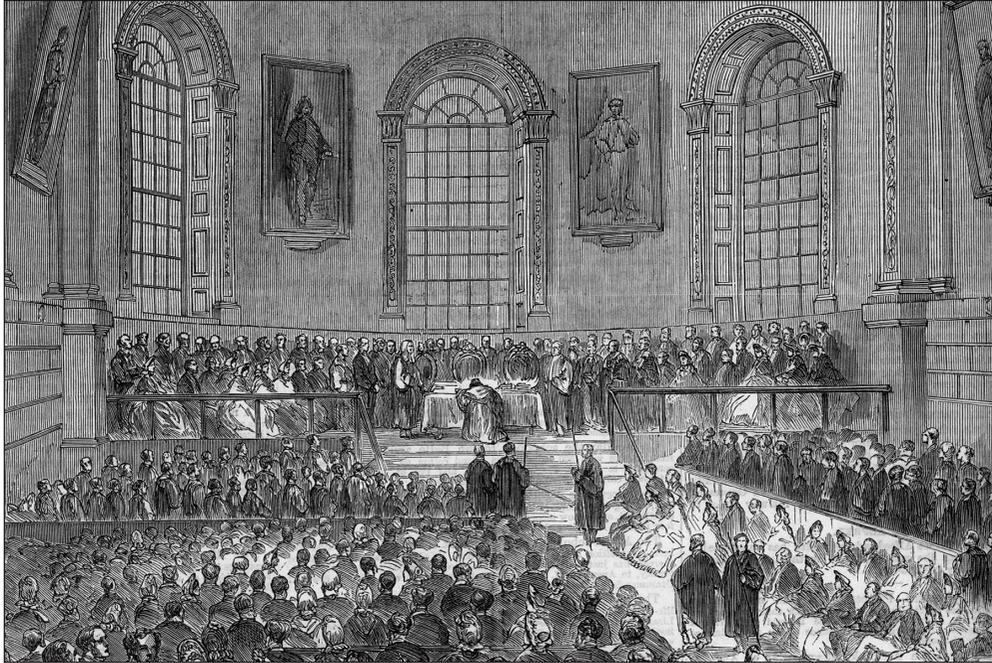
4b.



4c.



4d.



Detail from an engraving of a sketch by W. Tomsohn, of Dublin. *Illustrated London News*, 28 Feb. 1863

Fig. 5. Installation of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, as Chancellor of the University of Dublin, 17 February 1863. In the centre Rosse kneels to receive an LLD *honoris causa* in advance of being installed as Chancellor. The standing figure in judicial wig to the left of the table is presumably Pro-Vice-Chancellor the Rt Hon. Judge Keatinge, who conferred the degree (*Irish Times*, 18 Feb. 1863).

on the Rosse Chancellor's robe. An obvious advantage over portraits is that a statue also gives an idea of the back of the robe.

Like the portrait, the bronze shows a full-length, unornamented gown with one row of oak-leaf lace along the front opening of the coat. The sleeve is decorated with four horizontal rows of lace: two rows on either side of the T armhole slit and two rows above. The shoulder wings are an integral part of the garment construction and are undecorated.

The bronze provides several helpful pointers that add to the detail in the Dining Hall portrait, notably:

- The square flap-collar is trimmed on the outer edge with one row of lace.
- The statue reveals no ornaments on the boot sleeves or lace round the hem of the gown coat. The shoulder wings are confirmed as being undecorated.
- The back of the coat appears to be gathered in pencil pleats, and the hems untrimmed.
- All of the lace is clearly of the oak-leaf pattern.

Portrait and photographic evidence suggest that Laurence Parsons, 4th Earl of Rosse (1840–1908), installed Chancellor in 1885 following the death of Lord Cairns, continued to wear a robe identical to, if not the same as that worn by his father. This

Fig. 6: TCD Tercentenary Celebrations, 6 July 1892. Detail showing Laurence Parsons, 4th Earl of Rosse (left) accompanied by John Thomas Ball (1815–98) Vice-Chancellor 1880–95, probably wearing the robes of a Lord Chancellor of Ireland (right).



Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin, reproduced courtesy of Birr Castle Archives

gown is well illustrated in the portrait of the 4th Earl donated to the College in 1959 by Laurence Michael Parsons, 6th Earl of Rosse (at that time Vice-Chancellor of the University) (Fig. 2d).⁵¹

This same robe is seen being worn by a youthful 4th Earl of Rosse in a group photograph of him presiding at the TCD Tercentenary Celebrations on 6 July 1892, accompanied by his Vice-Chancellor, John Thomas Ball (1815–98), who is probably wearing his robes as Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Fig. 6).⁵² The studio photograph of the 4th Earl, tentatively dated around 1900, again shows the same robe with benefit of greater detail (Fig. 4d). The thick black ribbed silk with tailored shoulder wings is clearly apparent as is the oak-leaf detail on the lace facings. This confirms the accuracy, not seen in the portraits, of the oak-leaf patterns observed on the Foley statue.

The Rosse robes saw use on several important occasions. Press engravings of the visit of Princess Alexandra to Trinity on 10 April 1885 show the ‘Princess of Wales receiving the certificate of her degree as Mus.Doc. from the Chancellor, Trinity College,

⁵¹ Unknown artist, Portrait of Laurence, 4th Earl of Rosse, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, undated, 152 × 102 cm, Trinity College, Dublin; ‘Regent House TCD to be used as Library’, *Irish Times*, 1 July 1959, p. 6.

⁵² McDowell and Webb, pp. 335–39. The occasion of the TCD Tercentenary in July 1892 was used by Trinity as an opportunity to raise the profile of the University on a global stage with extensive communication in the Dublin and London press both in advance and following the events. See for example ‘Tercentenary Trinity College Dublin’, *Illustrated London News*, 9 July 1892, p. 45. Honorary degrees were awarded to chancellors and senior academics from British, Colonial and European Universities and to public figures including the actor Henry Irving. Two group photographs specially commissioned for the occasion are a particularly rich source of images of Irish, British, and European academic dress of the period. The *Irish Times* reported on the taking of the two photographs by Mr W. Lawrence. ‘The Tercentenary Celebration Confering of Honorary Degrees’, *Irish Times*, 7 July 1892, pp. 5–6.

Dublin.⁵³ The final time we see this robe is in press illustrations of the visit of Edward VII and Alexandra as Queen to TCD on 22 July 1903.⁵⁴ In both cases the artists' rendition of the robe is at best approximative, but the style is clearly the Rosse robe.

Hugh McCalmont Cairns robe

The portrait in the Dining Hall of Hugh McCalmont Cairns, 1st Earl of Cairns, as Chancellor (1867–85) by Lowes C. Dickenson shows Cairns in what are almost certainly the robes of Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain rather than academic dress (Fig. 2c).⁵⁵ An almost identical portrait of Cairns in his Lord Chancellor's gown painted by the same artist in 1876, but this time with a judicial wig, is displayed in Hughenden Manor, Buckinghamshire (National Trust).⁵⁶ Both portraits function to remind viewers of his high status and great political power in London 'as second only to Disraeli'.⁵⁷

Although he was a Trinity graduate, Cairns' relations with the College seem to have been tense. His installation as Chancellor, initially anticipated for February 1868, did not happen, and it was not until 30 June 1881 that he first presided at commencements, more than thirteen years later.⁵⁸ In these circumstances a dedicated Chancellor's robe may not have been seen as necessary. The portrait, however, could have justified the adoption of the more classic judicial design of Chancellor's robe worn by the Vice-Chancellors and later Chancellor Frederick Boland in 1964 (see below).

The Iveagh Chancellors' robes

A full-length robe of black Truro damask having two rows of 3 ½" gold plate-lace facings running approximately 1" apart gold in parallel along the opening of the coat.⁵⁹ These same two rows continue around the square flap-collar at the back. The coat appears to be gathered in pencil pleats at the back and trimmed at the hem with the same gold plate-lace. The sleeve boot is trimmed at the foot with one row of the 3 ½" plate-lace (Figs 2e, 2f, 7).

The sleeve has an inverted-T armhole. The gown has no ornaments; instead, the sleeve is decorated with five horizontal rows of the same 3 ½" plate-lace. There is one row of the plate-lace below the armhole, two rows extending either side of the armhole slit and finally two rows of the plate-lace above. The shoulder wings are adorned with plate-lace extending in a curved shape over the shoulder.

53 'The Royal Visit to Ireland', *Graphic*, 25 April 1885, p. 417. In fact, the degree was awarded by the Royal University in Dublin. The occasion shown is Chancellor Rosse giving a Loyal Address in the TCD Public Theatre.

54 'The King at Trinity College Dublin', *Black and White*, 1 August 1903, p. 153.

55 Lowes Cato Dickenson, Portrait of Hugh McCalmont, 1st Earl Cairns, c. 1876, oil on canvas, 264 × 175.5 cm, Dining Hall, Trinity College, Dublin.

56 Dickinson, The Right Honourable Hugh McCalmont Cairns (1819–85), 1st Earl Cairns, PC, QC, DCL, 1876, oil on canvas, 152.5 × 122 cm, Hughenden Manor, National Trust.

57 Crookshank and Webb, p. 33.

58 'Leader Article', *Irish Times*, 23 June 1881, p. 4, and 'First Visit of Earl Cairns as Chancellor', *Irish Times*, 1 July 1881, p. 5.

59 Designed by F. J. Flanagan inspired by eighteenth-century French Marlborough and Blenheim period patterns. M. Perkins & Son, Yard-Dyed Damasks, online at <www.mperkins.co.uk/truro-damask/> [retrieved 11 April 2023].

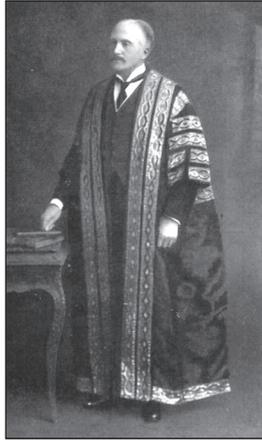


Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b

Fig. 7. Iveagh Chancellor's robe as worn by the 1st Earl of Iveagh (a). He addresses George V and Queen Mary on the Dining Hall Steps, TCD, 8 July 1911 (b). The 2nd Earl of Iveagh after commencements in 1943 (c). The Truro pattern damask of the robe is apparent in (d), taken in 1956, as are the lace facings extending around the square flap collar.



Fig. 7c

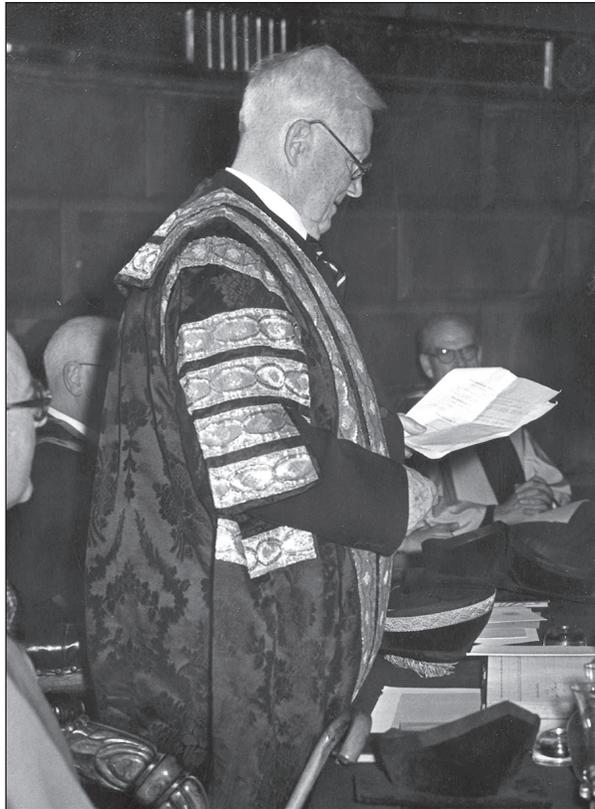


Fig. 7d

The robe is in the Beresford/Rosse design, though with the double row of facings in plate-lace rather than the oak-leaf lace found on the Rosse robe. The lace trimmings are also wider than on the Rosse robe, with five rows on the sleeves, compared with three on the Beresford and four on the Rosse robes, respectively (Figs 2a, b, d, and 7). There is some inferential evidence that there may have been two Iveagh Chancellor's robes of this basic design (see below).

The hat worn is a black velvet square cap, decorated with gold lace at the edge of the skull cap and sporting a gold tassel.

History of the robe

A businessman and philanthropist, Edward Cecil Guinness (1847–1927) was born in Dublin and educated at TCD. He was successively created baronet (1885), Baron (1891), Viscount (1905), and 1st Earl of Iveagh (1919). He built the brewery at St James' Gate, at the time the largest in the world, and became Ireland's richest man. His generosity to Dublin and Trinity in the fields of sciences and medical research was unparalleled.

Unsurprisingly, Guinness left much of the work to his Vice-Chancellors, Dodgson Hamilton Madden and Sir James Mussen Campbell, Lord Glenavy, and images of him in academic dress are rare. Neither Iveagh Chancellor was painted for an official College portrait, though a good photo portrait of the 1st Earl of Iveagh is reproduced in Bailey, 1947 (See Fig. 7a).⁶⁰ Nevertheless, photographs exist for two important occasions in the first Iveagh chancellorship. The first was the visit of King George V and Queen Mary to Trinity College Dublin on 8 July 1911. The Royal Party were received by the University Caput and guests on the steps of the Dining Hall where the Chancellor, and Viscount Iveagh delivered the address on behalf of the College 'wearing his official robes'.⁶¹ A postcard of the occasion show the square flap-collar on the back of the Chancellor's robe with the two wide-rows of lace, shoulder wings and two rows of plate-lace on the sleeves (Fig. 7).

A second significant event attended by the 1st Earl as Chancellor was the Gala Party to celebrate the 200th Anniversary of the TCD Medical School. A superb picture feature in the *Weekly Irish Times* of 13 July 1912 shows the assembled guests of senior academics, in full pomp who travelled to Dublin from across Europe for the occasion.⁶² Iveagh is seen posing in official dress beside the Provost.

Rupert Edward Cecil Lee Guinness (1874–1967), 2nd Earl of Iveagh, was elected Chancellor in 1927, succeeding his father, who died in October that year. A Chairman of Guinness, the 2nd Earl was also an MP and a keen oarsman. He also carried on the Iveagh tradition of extreme generosity to TCD, although he himself was an alumnus of Trinity, Cambridge.

Through his long, 36-year chancellorship Rupert Guinness seems to have been more involved in Trinity life than his father and, as well as being a major donor to the College infrastructure, undertook his duties as Chancellor with diligence. He also

⁶⁰ Kenneth Claude Bailey, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1892–1954* (Dublin: University Press, Trinity College, 1947), opposite p. 256.

⁶¹ 'Visit to Trinity College Dublin—Presentation of Addresses', *Irish Times*, 10 July 1911, pp. 11–12.

⁶² 'Trinity's Gala Week—Scenes at the Bi-Centenary Celebrations', *Weekly Irish Times*, 13 July 1912, pp. 12–13.

appears to have been an important figure in the transition years as old Trinity began to navigate relations with the new Irish State established in 1922. Honorary degrees seem to have been an important tool of diplomacy. Guinness was present at many commencements over the years. As a result, there are extensive photographic records of him in his robes of office.

The majority of these show the 2nd Earl in a Beresford-style robe but with plate-lace facings. It is not clear whether this was his father's robe. It seems that Edward Cecil Guinness was a rather slight man.⁶³ Rupert Guinness was of larger stature (he was an oarsman). Photographs show both men in full-length robes, suggesting that there were two gowns of the same design, but cut to suit their respective builds (Fig. 7). This is supported by the notes of a conversation in 1976 among Frederick H. Boland, his successor as Chancellor, and a couple of other TCD dons, in which Boland (probably) says that Rupert Guinness had a 'special light-weight gown of his own made for him—Chancellor's gown like lead'.⁶⁴ A photograph taken in 1928 early in his chancellorship shows the 2nd Earl of Iveagh in the robes of his Vice-Chancellor (see discussion below) also indicates he did not wear his late father's Chancellor's robes.

The Boland robe

This is a full-length gown of heavy black ribbed watered silk, having two rows of gold lace facings; a first wide row of 3 ½" plate-lace at the opening of the coat and second narrower row of ½" plain gold lace running in parallel down each side in front. The two rows of gold lace continue around a square flap-collar of the same material. The coat is gathered in pencil pleats at the back, as for an academic gown, with a border of the 3 ½" plate-lace around the rear split-seam.⁶⁵ The sleeve boot is trimmed at the foot with the same wide gold plate-lace with a row of the narrow gold lace just above (Fig. 8a).

The shoulder wings feature a pattern of alternating oak leaves and acorns embroidered in high relief with gold thread.

The ornaments on the gown are generally large and in high relief. On the sleeve boot they comprise, from the bottom up: three vertical single frogs with long fringes hanging downwards, then four rows each comprising two frogs with an olivet at the centre of each row. These are followed by three single vertical frogs. Two horizontal frogs with a rosette at the centre complete the lower part of the boot. An inverted-T armhole is fully bordered by narrow lace with two rows of horizontal frogs and olivets either side of the armhole and two sets above.

Both sides of the coat are ornamented with, from the bottom up: three vertical or slightly fanned single frogs, followed by five rows of horizontal frogs each with an olivet at the centre. The uppermost row comprises three vertical frogs.

The ornaments around the lace-bordered rear split-seam comprise six rows of horizontal frogs each with two olivets on either side of the gusset. These are followed by a

63 Personal communication with Kevin Egan, PhD student in History at University College Dublin researching the life of Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh, 3 September 2020.

64 Dr McConnell, mathematician, and former Provost; Professor Frank Mitchell, geologist; Professor Donald Wormell, Professor of Latin and Public Orator; and Professor David Webb, botanist. Personal communication with Egan, *ibid.*

65 Kenneth Crawford, *Robes of Distinction*, Trinity College Dublin, Chancellor's Gown: A Report on the Visit to Birr Castle, 6 December 2019'.

row of two frogs with a rosette at the centre, above which is a final row of three horizontal frogs slightly fanned outwards. The gown has no maker's mark. The hat worn is a black velvet square cap, with black silk edging to the skull cap and a gold tassel.

History of the robe

This robe, which is a departure from the Beresford-inspired patterns, appears to have been originally worn by the Vice-Chancellors and is closer to the design of a traditional Lord Chancellor's gown. It appears in a photograph taken in 1947 of Sir Thomas Francis Molony (1865–1949) as Vice-Chancellor (Fig. 8a). Molony had been the last Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (1918–24) and was appointed Vice-Chancellor in 1931.

A new robe may have been commissioned on Molony's appointment. The robe worn by the previous Vice-Chancellor, Lord Glenavy, appears rather worse for wear in a 1928 photograph of the 2nd Earl of Iveagh wearing it not long after his appointment as Chancellor.⁶⁶ Molony was exceedingly conscious of preserving his title as Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and would no doubt have demanded a new robe in line with the dignity of the office of Vice-Chancellor and his self-image.

The detail on the shoulder wings and the untrimmed coat hem prove that this same robe was worn by Molony's successor as Vice-Chancellor, Laurence Michael Parsons, 6th Earl of Rosse (1949–79) (Fig. 8b).

Frederick H. Boland, former permanent representative of Ireland to the United Nations and Chairman of the UN General Assembly, began to wear this same robe from his installation as Chancellor on 26 February 1964.⁶⁷ The abolition of the role of Vice-Chancellor and appointment of Pro-Chancellors in its place, approved at the same Senate meeting, seems to have offered an opportunity to streamline robing practice. The creation of the office of Pro-Chancellor with the acting as Chancellor in their own right, may have led to the conclusion that only one robe was needed for both offices. That said, economy cannot be ruled out as a factor in the cash-strapped Trinity of early 1960s. In any case, the Vice-Chancellors (and Pro-Chancellors) are rarely present at the same ceremonial occasions, though with some notable exceptions.

Photographs from the College collections and press coverage show that this robe saw heavy use by both Chancellor Boland and Vice-Chancellor Parsons.⁶⁸ Boland is seen wearing the robe on numerous occasions as the award of honorary degrees became a more frequent tool of College diplomacy on the civic and international stages (see Fig. 8d).

Boland resigned the chancellorship in 1982, and at some point after this the robe, in a rather delicate condition after forty years use, made its way into the collections at Birr Castle, the Parsons' family seat in Co. Offaly.

⁶⁶ TCD MS4717-95: *Irish Times* photograph taken during Burke and Goldsmith Centenary Celebrations, Dublin, December 1928. See also Fig. 13.

⁶⁷ 'Mr. Boland, wearing the black and gold robes of the office, walked in procession to the public theatre, led by the mace-bearer ... with the Provost ... and the Senior Master Non-Regent', *Irish Times*, 27 February 1964.

⁶⁸ The 6th Earl used the robe continuously until his death in 1979, notably during the conferring of an honorary LLD on President John F. Kennedy in Dublin Castle in 1963 (Estelle Gittens, 'JFK and TCD', Research Collections at Trinity, online at <www.tcd.ie/library/manuscripts/blog/2013/06/jfk-and-tcd/> [retrieved 24 July 2023]).



Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b

Fig. 8. Boland Chancellor's robe (a). Vice-Chancellor Sir Thomas Francis Moloney in heavily ornamented robes of black watered silk, c. 1935. The robe was also worn, in 8b, by Laurence Michael Parsons, 6th Earl of Rosse, as Vice-Chancellor in this photograph of the University Caput taken following his installation in 1949 (left to right: Senior Master Non-Regent, Dr Herbert Parke in MA hood and gown; the Vice-Chancellor; the Macebearer (in background); and the Provost, Prof. Ernest Alton LittD).



Fig. 8c

The shoulder wing detail (c) shows that this same robe, now preserved at Birr Castle, was later adopted by Chancellor Frederick Boland, as seen in 8d, in discussion with Queen Fabiola of the Belgians, visiting TCD, 15 May 1968.



Fig. 8d



Andrew J. C. Hogg



The Revd Kenneth Crawford

Fig. 9. Stanford Chancellor's robe. The portrait in Fig. 2h shows W. B. Stanford in this robe made c. 1982 by Joshua Taylor, Cambridge, in black St Nicolas damask silk faced with the requisite two rows gold lace facings extending around the square flap collar (left). The shoulder wing embroidery is less detailed than the earlier Boland robe and the gold thread brassier (above). The same robe was worn by Chancellor Francis O'Reilly (Fig. 2i) and was in use up to 2021, by which time it was rather the worse for wear.

The Stanford robe

This robe, in the College collection, is a relatively short gown of black St Nicolas damask⁶⁹ silk and having two rows of metallic gold lace facings: a first wide row of 3 ½" plate-lace at the opening of the coat and second narrower row of ½" oak-leaf lace running in parallel down each side, terminating in an L-shape at the bottom. These two rows of gold lace continue around a square flap-collar of the same material. The coat is box-pleated at the back, with the rear split-seam trimmed with a border of slightly wider gold lace also in oak-leaf pattern. The sleeve boot is trimmed at the foot with the same 3 ½" metallic gold lace with a narrow row of the oak-leaf lace just above. The shoulder wings feature a pattern of alternating oak leaves and acorns embroidered in gold thread (Fig. 9).

The ornaments on the sleeve boot comprise, from the bottom up: three vertical single frogs, then three horizontal rows of two frogs with an olivet at the centre of each row. These are followed by three single vertical frogs. A row of two frogs with a rosette

⁶⁹ The weavers M. Perkins & Son, Hampshire, describe this damask as a combination of Ottoman and Gothic Styles. The fan figure is based on a sixteenth-century Turkish design in the Kelekian Collection, originally designed by William Randall Blacking (1889–1958) for the War Memorial Chapel in the St Nicolas Church, Guildford (M. Perkins & Son, 'Yarn-Dyed Damasks', online at <www.mperkins.co.uk/st-nicolas-damask/> [retrieved April 2023]).

at the centre completes the lower part of the boot. An inverted-T armhole is trimmed all around with ½” gold oak-leaf lace. There are two frogs on each side of the armhole with an olivet on the outer side of the sleeve where the frog meets the T slit. Above that, there are two rows of horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre of each row.

Both sides of the coat are ornamented with, from the bottom upwards, three vertical single frogs slightly fanned. These are followed by four rows of horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre. The three vertical frogs complete the decoration.

The ornaments around the rear split-seam are arranged in five rows of horizontal frogs each with an olivet on either side. There follows a row of two horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre, above which is a final row of three vertical frogs fanned slightly outwards.

The hat is a black velvet square cap, with a wide gold lace edging to the skull cap and a gold tassel with a large gold knot at the base.

History of the robe

As a Trinity academic and Irish Senator, the popular and charismatic William Bedell Stanford was an unusual choice for Chancellor. Former Regius Professor of Greek, Senator and Pro-Chancellor (1977–82), he was elected unopposed by the Senate in December 1982 following the resignation of Frederick Boland. However, his chancellorship was short-lived, and he died only two years later.

The robe worn by Boland had seen better days, judging by press photographs of Stanford wearing the Boland robe at his appointment and the condition of the garment now in the Birr Castle collection.⁷⁰ A new robe was needed, and the commission given to Joshua Taylor Robemakers, Cambridge, England. This robe appears in a portrait of Stanford painted for the College by Andrew Festing in 1984, as attested to by the shape of the oak-leaf shoulder wings (Fig. 9).⁷¹ The portrait was painted from life, though not long before Stanford died.⁷²

The same robe was worn by Stanford’s successor, Francis J. C. O’Reilly, a distinguished TCD Engineering graduate, who became Chairman of Irish Distillers and Chancellor of the University from 1985 until 1998 when he relinquished the post at the age of 75. He wears the Stanford robe in his official College portrait by Thomas Ryan, dated 1991 (Fig. 2i).

The Stanford robe has been worn by Pro-Chancellors ever since and was most recently used for the photo portrait of the current Chancellor, Mary MacAleese, taken on her installation in December 2019 (Fig. 2k).

Taylor’s of Cambridge were active in robemaking in Cambridge from around 1945 until 1992, when they were acquired by Ede & Ravenscroft, robemakers of London.⁷³ This is consistent with the date of the making of the Stanford robe, around 1982/1984.

⁷⁰ ‘Stanford elected as TCD Chancellor’, *Irish Times*, 2 December 1982, p. 11.

⁷¹ Andrew Festing (1941–), Portrait of William Bedell Stanford, Chancellor 1982–1984, 1984, oil on canvas, 91.3 × 71 cm, Trinity College, Dublin.

⁷² Personal communication from Sarah Webb, W. B. Stanford’s granddaughter, to Prof. Rachel Moss, TCD. Email Prof. Moss to author, 3 March 2020.

⁷³ Alex Kerr, ‘Robes and Robemakers: Study Day at Girton College, Cambridge’, *Burgon Society Annual*, 2003, pp. 13–16 (p. 14), doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1013; Philip Goff, ‘Len Brown, 1918–2007’, *TBS*, 6 (2006), pp. 12–13, doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1046.

The garment was in continuous use for over forty years and is in a delicate condition with many parts of the ornaments missing or hanging by a thread and the gold facings extremely frayed (Fig. 9). This robe was judged to be beyond repair on inspection in summer 2019.⁷⁴ The original poor workmanship and the rather brassy aspect of this gown would ‘fit the cheap and cheerful image which Joshua Taylor has within the trade: it was sometimes referred to as “the Woolworths of the robemaking world”’.⁷⁵ Value for money would also have been an imperative in the Trinity of the early 1980s.

The Robinson robe

This is a long gown of black Truro damasksilk with two rows of 3 ½” gold plate-lace facings running in parallel along the opening of the coat and continuing around a square flap-collar of the same material.⁷⁶ The space between the two rows is very narrow, giving the impression of an almost continuous gold surface to the front and flap-collar. The coat is pleated at the back with one row of the same plate-lace around the coat hem and extending in a curved shape around the rear split-seam. There is a slight gap between plate-lace trim at the bottom of the coat and the vertical trim on the front (i.e., the trimmings do not meet). The sleeve boot is trimmed at the foot with one row of 3 ½” plate-lace (Fig. 10a).

The sleeve has an inverted-T armhole. The gown has no ornaments; instead, the sleeve is decorated with five horizontal rows of the same 3 ½” plate lace. There is one row of the plate-lace below the armhole, two rows extending either side of the armhole slit and finally two rows of the plate-lace above.

A row of plate-lace extending in a curved shape adorns the shoulder wing.

The hat is a black velvet square cap. The skull cap is edged with gold lace and the square board is completed with a gold tassel and knot.

History of the robe

Mary Robinson (1944–) is a distinguished academic lawyer, barrister lawyer and statesperson. She assumed the chancellorship of the University in 1998 having been Senator for the University of Dublin, the first woman President of Ireland and becoming UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

This robe became a symbol of the Robinson chancellorship and first appears in photographs and a video of her installation ceremony on 17 December 1998, where it is clearly new and the Ede & Ravenscroft maker’s label evident.⁷⁷ It is later seen in numerous photographs of College events. Robinson seems to have been rather proud of the robe and she appears in it in a very large, yet approachable portrait of her in the

⁷⁴ Email from Crawford to the author, 24 June 2019.

⁷⁵ Email from the Revd Philip Goff to the author, 14 June 2020.

⁷⁶ Trinity Today, Autumn, 2018, cover photograph; Fergus Mulligan and John Jordan, *The Trinity Year, A Portrait of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009), pp. 134, 139, 143; *Trinity College Dublin, Trinity 425* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 2017), p. 126.

⁷⁷ University of Dublin, Trinity College, ‘Installation of Chancellor’, 1998, <www.tcd.ie/Secretary/Communications/Press_Releases/PRArchive/PR9899/chancellor.html>, no longer accessible [retrieved 10 July 2021].



Fig. 10a



Fig. 10b

Fig. 10. Mary Robinson Chancellor's robe (a) shows extensive use of plate lace in a double row of facings, on the arms and sleeve boots and no ornaments in the style of the earlier Beresford, Rosse and Iveagh Chancellors' robes. Although there is no distinction mentioned in the University regulations, the Chancellor's and Vice-/Pro-Chancellors' robes have in practice been considered to be different. They are rarely seen together (b), as when Robinson and Pro-Chancellor Robert Percival Willis (left), pose at Robinson's installation ceremony, 17 December 1998, with Provost Thomas N. Mitchell, LittD.

setting of the Public Theatre.⁷⁸ The painting by Mark Shields was unveiled in the Dining Hall in 2019 to mark the conclusion of Robinson's 21-year chancellorship (Fig. 2).

The design clearly looks back to Chancellor's robes of the Beresford, Rosse and Iveagh chancellorships (Fig. 2). The plate-lace facing on Truro fabric is in continuity with the robe worn by the last Iveagh Chancellor (the earlier Rosse robe used oak-leaf lace on ribbed silk), though the generous use of 3 ½" plate-lace throughout gives the robe a rather flashy, showy aspect. This robe has, however, suffered after over 20 years of use and by 2017 had lost its shape.

It is not clear whether this robe was made at E&R's specialist workroom in Chancery Lane, London, where high-profile robes would have received careful handmade cutting and attention to detail. This is a costly route so, where possible, the robes would be made by the E&R manufacturing plant in Ely, Cambridgeshire. The current condition of the Robinson robe suggests it is unlikely to have been made in Chancery Lane.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Mark Shields (1963–), *Portrait of Mary Robinson, Chancellor (1998–2019)*, 2019, oil on canvas, 270 × 180 cm. Dining Hall, University of Dublin, online at <www.tcd.ie/artcollections/assets/pdf/maryrobinson-portrait-mark-shields.pdf> [retrieved 22 May 2022]; Aoife Grimes, 'Look Up: Mary Robinson's Dining Hall Portrait', *University Times*, 8 April 2022, online at <www.universitytimes.ie/2020/04/look-up-mary-robinsons-dining-hall-portrait> [retrieved 11 April 2023].

⁷⁹ Emails from Goff to the author, 14 and 17 June 2020.

The Robinson robe presents a number of design problems. Firstly, the robe, which was made bespoke for Robinson, is rather long and trails to the ground (Fig. 10a). As she is a rather tall woman the robe cannot easily be worn by persons of shorter stature.⁸⁰ Official photographs show her successor as Chancellor and some Pro-Chancellors wearing the Stanford gown, while others wear the Robinson robe (Figs 2j, 2k). This reinforces the second problem: with the reversion to the Beresford pattern, what is now the official design of the Dublin University Chancellor's robe?

Vice- and Pro-Chancellors' robes

The current University Statutes 2010 do not prescribe a specific dress for Vice- or Pro-Chancellor's gowns.⁸¹ Portrait and photographic evidence, however, shows that the Vice-Chancellors and Chancellors usually wore different costumes until 1964 (and occasionally since; see Fig. 10), when Chancellor Frederick Boland adopted the Vice-Chancellor's robe as his official dress. There have been three, possibly four, bespoke Vice-Chancellors' robes in use in Dublin since around 1900. This section examines the tradition and emergence of these robes.

Vice-Chancellors' robes: the legal tradition

For a hundred and fifty years the Vice-Chancellors of the University of Dublin were, with one exception, drawn from the legal profession beginning with the first lay Vice-Chancellor John Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare, elected in 1791 and ending with Sir Thomas Francis Molony in 1949.⁸² Portraits and engravings from then until around 1895 show the Dublin Vice-Chancellors in legal outfits, either ornate black and gold Lord Chancellor's robes (Fig. 11) or the full-length scarlet, white-fur-lined *cappa clausa* of Lord Chief Justices of Ireland.⁸³

Whilst this does not preclude the existence of a dedicated academic costume, documentary sources suggest that legal dress was worn during university ceremonial of the period. Taylor says that the Chancellor of the University 'must be sworn into office ... before the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, or before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland'.⁸⁴ The installation of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, as Chancellor in 1863, presided by the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the Right Hon. Justice Keatinge.⁸⁵ Detail from the *Illustrated London News* engraving of the event shows the figure to the left of the chair, presumably Justice Keatinge, wearing a judicial wig and a robe (Fig. 5).⁸⁶

Contemporary accounts of an early nineteenth-century commencements ceremony provide a further example. In a letter describing his own graduation ceremony on 9 July 1816 to his brother, William S. Guinness writes, 'The ceremony was somewhat

80 Arguably a reason for equipping Chancellors' robes with a one-size-fits all train.

81 Trinity College Dublin and the University of Dublin, *The 2010 Consolidated Statutes of Trinity College Dublin and of the University of Dublin Including Updates to 22 May 2019* (Dublin: Trinity College and University of Dublin, 2010), p. 226.

82 Lord John George de la Poer Beresford, Vice-Chancellor 1829–51, was an Archbishop.

83 Crookshank and Webb, *passim*.

84 Taylor, 1845, p. 218: reference to Letters Patent, Charles I, 1637.

85 *Irish Times*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

86 *Illustrated London News*, 28 February 1863, p. 217.



Board of Trinity College Dublin



Board of Trinity College Dublin

Fig. 11b

Fig. 11. Dublin University Vice-Chancellors in the robes of Lord Chancellors of Ireland. John FitzGibbon, 1st Earl of Clare, painted c. 1789–1800 (a). Sir Joseph Napier, 1860 (b).

Fig. 11a

impressive in appearance. Chief Justice Downes, vice-Chancellor of our University, presided on the occasion dressed in his Judicial robes, and on his left hand sat the Provost in his complete Academic Dress.⁸⁷

Photographs of the TCD Tercentenary Celebrations in July 1892 show a rare example of a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor pictured together at a University event. Vice-Chancellor John Thomas Ball (1880–95) is shown in the same group as Chancellor Laurence Parsons (Fig. 6). Ball wears a full-length gown of damask silk faced with one row of 3 ½” wide gold lace well in from the opening of the coat so that the rose-pattern of the damask is clearly displayed on each side of the opening. The coat is hemmed with the wide gold lace and the sleeve boot is trimmed at the foot with 3 ½” lace, possibly oak-leaf.

An earlier engraving of Ball presiding at a graduation ceremony in 1890 appears to show him in a simple doctor’s or master’s gown rather than an officer’s robe, suggesting that there was no bespoke Vice-Chancellor’s robe at the time.⁸⁸ Ball had been Lord

⁸⁷ William Watts, *William Watts, Provost Trinity College Dublin: A Memoir* (Dublin: Lilliput/Hinds 2008), Appendix 3, p. 207.

⁸⁸ *Daily Graphic*, 14 May 1890, quoted in Peter Henry, ‘Old Trinity: Good-Humoured Rioting on Degree Day’, *Trinity News*, 57.4 (23 November 2010), p. 21.

Chancellor of Ireland from 1872 to 1880 and so it may be that the robe he wears in the Tercentenary photograph is of that office, more befitting the splendour of the occasion.

The transition from wearing the robes associated with legal office to bespoke academic costume for Vice-Chancellors appears to date from around 1900. The portrait by A. A. Wolmark, dated 1907, shows Ball's successor as Vice-Chancellor, Dodgson Hamilton Madden (1895–1919), in officer's robes described by Crookshank and Webb as being the robes of a Vice-Chancellor (Fig. 12a).⁸⁹ This is their first reference to a bespoke Vice-Chancellor's robe, though on what basis they make this attribution is uncertain. It is possible, as an Attorney General for Ireland, Madden would not have possessed the appropriate legal robes and a customized outfit would have been commissioned.

Firmer evidence of the emergence of a bespoke Vice-Chancellor's robe appears in photographs of James Henry Mussen Campbell, 1st Lord Glenavy, Vice-Chancellor 1919–31.

The Glenavy Vice-Chancellor's robe

A full-length gown of black fabric faced with two rows of gold lace and outer row of 3 ½" plate-lace and second narrower row of lace, perhaps 1" wide running in parallel down each side in front. The gold lace (probably two rows) continues around a square flap-collar of the same material. The coat is hemmed at the base with at least one row of wide gold lace extending around the rear split-seam. There are suggestions of ornaments on the sides of the coat. The shoulder wings are embroidered in gold thread in the traditional oak-leaf pattern (Fig. 12).

The sleeve boot is trimmed at the foot with wide lace, probably with a row of the narrow gold lace just above. The ornaments on the sleeve boot appear to comprise, from the bottom up, a row of vertical frogs, followed by five horizontal rows of two frogs and olivets. An inverted-T armhole is trimmed all round with narrow gold lace. There are three rows of frogs on each side of the armhole with an olivet on the outer side of the sleeve where the frogs meet the T slit. Above that, there are three rows of horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre of each row.

The hat worn is a black velvet square cap, with a velvet edging to the skull-cap. The tassel appears to be gold.

History of the robe

James Henry Mussen Campbell, 1st Baron Glenavy (1851–22 March 1931), was a TCD graduate successively appointed Attorney General for Ireland (1917), Lord Chief Justice for Ireland (1918), Lord Chancellor of Ireland (1919). He became Cathaoirleach of Seanad Éireann (Chair of the Irish Senate) in 1922. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1919 to 1931, elected shortly after becoming Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1918. As Vice-Chancellor he was a frequent delegate for the 1st Earl of Iveagh.

Photography became more common in press coverage of the 1920s and pictures exist of Glenavy arriving for commencement ceremonies between 1924 and 1929. A rare British Pathé newsreel of university ceremonial shows Campbell in his Vice-Chan-

⁸⁹ Alfred Aron Wolmark (1877–1961), Portrait of Dodgson Hamilton Madden, Vice-Chancellor (1858–1919), 1907, oil on canvas, 102 x 76 cm., Trinity College, Dublin; Crookshank and Webb, p. 93.



Fig. 12b. Burke and Goldsmith Centenary Celebrations, TCD, December 1928. Left to right: Chancellor Rupert Lee Guinness, 2nd Earl of Iveagh; Provost Edward J. Gwynn, LittD; President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, W. T. Cosgrave; Frederick E. Smith, 1st Earl of Birkenhead, LLD; Sir James H. Mussen Campbell, 1st Lord Glenavy, LLD. Guinness, photographed soon after his election as Chancellor, appears to be wearing the robe normally worn by Vice-Chancellor Glenavy who is relegated to wearing his doctoral robes.



Fig. 12c. The University Caput arriving for Spring Commencements, 1929. Lord Glenavy in the (same?) robes of Vice-Chancellor with the statutory two rows of gold lace facings.

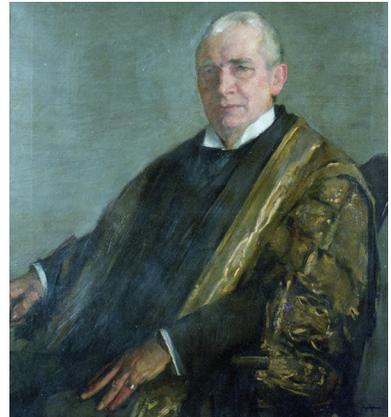


Fig. 12a. Portrait of Dodgson Hamilton Madden in the robes of Vice-Chancellor.

cellor's gown presiding at the inauguration in 1928 of the Hall of Honour Memorial to Trinity's World War I dead in Front Square.⁹⁰

It is not known whether the gown he wore was made for predecessor Dodgson Madden, but it seems certain that this was a bespoke Vice-Chancellor's robe. In photographs of Glenavy as Vice-Chancellor we see the 'two rows of bullion lace down the front and around the cope' stipulated in the University Statutes. On the other hand, a glorious portrait of Glenavy in the raiment of Lord Chancellor of Ireland painted by Sir William Orpen in 1922 shows a robe with a single row of plate-lace facings.⁹¹ The portrait by Leo Whelan in the College collection similarly shows only a single row of facings, though whether this is Glenavy in Lord Chancellor's robes or simply artistic licence is unclear.⁹²

Glenavy was known to take a close interest in regalia and understood the importance of costume as a symbol of power and identity. He was at the centre of a lively debate on the design of the costume of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland following independence. Unionist desire for independence of the judiciary was pitted against the nationalist need for differentiation from the British system of legal dress. In the event, the unionist Glenavy won the day, and the traditional Lord Chancellor's robes were adopted in Ireland, at least initially (Orpen's painting is in many ways a pictorial victory lap ...).⁹³ It is possible therefore that Glenavy was sensitive to the need for a distinctive robe for the Dublin University Vice-Chancellor.

The Glenavy robe is seen in a rare photo of a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor together. Taken in 1927, very soon after succeeding to the chancellorship, Rupert Guinness, 2nd Earl of Iveagh, is shown in the Vice-Chancellor's robe while Glenavy is relegated to wearing a doctoral gown, suggesting that at that time both officers shared the same robe (Fig. 12b). The robe looks rather the worse for wear and it is not surprising that Glenavy's successor, Sir Thomas Francis Molony, appears to have had a new robe made. A photograph taken in 1947 shows Molony in a fresh-looking robe of the traditional design similar to Glenavy's, with the two rows of bullion lace (see Fig. 8). The absence of hemming on the coat, which can be seen on the Glenavy robe, suggests that this was indeed a different gown (compare Figs 8b, d and 12b). This same gown was used by his successor as Vice-Chancellor, Laurence Michael. Parsons, 6th Earl of Rosse, and later adopted by Frederick Boland on his installation as Chancellor in 1964 (Fig. 8d).

Pro-Chancellor's robe 2021

This is a gown of black St Nicolas pattern damask silk and having two rows of gold oak-leaf lace facings; a first wide row of 2 ½" lace at the opening of the coat and a

90 British Pathé, 'Trinity's Dead Honoured. Lord Glenavy Opens War Memorial Hall of Honour in Trinity College', (1928), online at <www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-8NlOUTjDM> [retrieved 11 April 2023].

91 Willam Orpen (1878–1931), Portrait of James Campbell, 1st Baron Glenavy, 1922, oil on canvas, Dáil Éireann.

92 Leo Whelan (1892–1956), Portrait of James Henry Mussen Campbell, 1st Baron Glenavy, Vice-Chancellor (1919–31), c. 1931, oil on canvas, 111 × 91 cm, Trinity College Dublin, Crookshank and Webb, p. 34.

93 James I. Dougherty, "Ocular demonstration" or "tremendous treasure"?, *History Ireland*, 18.3 (2010), pp. 34–37.



Fig. 13a



Fig. 13b



Fig. 13c



Fig. 13d

Fig. 13. University of Dublin Pro-Chancellor's robe 2021, made by The Revd Kenneth Crawford, Robes of Distinction, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, incorporating the two rows of gold lace. The coat is made of St Nicholas damask and the lace in oak-leaf pattern. The detail, 13D, shows the bespoke shoulder wings with the University of Dublin coat of arms at the centre surrounded by elements recalling Trinity College and Ireland.

second narrower row of ½” lace running in parallel down each side in front.⁹⁴ The two rows of gold lace continue around a square flap-collar of the same material. The coat is box-pleated at the back with the same two rows of oak-leaf lace around the coat hem and extending around the rear split-seam. The sleeve boots are trimmed at the foot with the same 2 ½” gold lace with a row of the narrow lace just above (Fig. 13).

The ornaments on the sleeve boot comprise, from the bottom upwards: three vertical single frogs slightly fanned outwards, three rows of horizontal frogs with central olivet, and another three vertical single frogs slightly fanned outwards.⁹⁵ A row of two horizontal frogs with a rosette at the centre completes the lower part of the boot. The armhole is an inverted T bordered all round by ½” gold oak-leaf lace. There are two frogs on either side of the armhole with an olivet where the frog meets the T-slit on the outer side of the armhole. Above that, there are two rows of horizontal frogs with an olivet at the centre of each row.

Both sides of the coat are ornamented with, from the bottom upwards, four rows of horizontal frogs with central olivet followed by three vertical single frogs slightly fanned outwards.

The ornaments around the bordered rear split-seam are arranged in five rows of two horizontal frogs with two olivets, one on each side of the rear split-seam for the bottom four rows. The fifth row of two horizontal frogs are finished with a single olivet at the top of the vent, above which are three vertical single frogs slightly fanned outwards.

The shoulder wings are black velvet embroidered in gold thread. At the centre, the arms of the University of Dublin, on each side of which are three Irish wood sorrel flowers (*Oxalis acetosella*) on a background scattered with small Irish shamrocks.⁹⁶ Each end is adorned with a representation of the ‘Brian Boru harp’ of thirteen strings, a medieval Irish harp which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College Dublin (Fig. 13).

The hat is a black velvet square cap with a gold tassel. The skull is trimmed with the same narrow gold lace as the gown.

History of the robe

By 2020 the Stanford Chancellor’s robe, in use since the 1960s, was in a parlous state and indeed beyond repair. The author’s proposal to sponsor a new gown was enthusiastically received by the then Provost, Dr Patrick Prendergast. The commission was awarded to The Revd Kenneth Crawford, Robes of Distinction, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who suggested the idea of a uniquely designed shoulder wing and who brought together the final design of the robe. Advised by the Head of the History of Art and Architecture, Dr Rachel Moss, the College sought a garment in continuity with the tradition of academic dress in the University of Dublin, drawing its inspiration from existing and past robes: ‘The aim was to create a new robe in the Trinity tradition, drawing its inspiration from the existing and past robes that people would recognize from the por-

94 Woven by M. Perkins & Son Ltd., 2 Weyside Road, Newman Lane, Alton, Hampshire, England.

95 Made by Badge of Honour, Uttar Pradesh, India.

96 Arms of University of Dublin. Quarterly Azure and ermine. First quarter an open book proper, bound gules, clasped or, and in fourth quarter a castle of two towers argent, flamed proper. In the Fess point the harp of Ireland ensigned with the royal crown. University of Dublin, *Dublin University Calendar 1979–1980* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1979), p. 4.

traits around College'.⁹⁷ The research included a visit to Birr Castle in December 2019 to study the robe and photographs of the 6th Earl of Rosse as Pro-Chancellor held in the castle archives.

The brevity of the Statutes allowed for significant latitude in designing the robe. The new gown largely follows the Stanford (Joshua Taylor) design, of black St Nicolas damask with the two rows of bullion lace. However, elements of the earlier gowns have been incorporated, notably the oak-leaf lace facings seen in the earlier Rosse gown. These extend round the hem of the coat as in the gown worn by Vice-Chancellor Ball in the TCD Tercentenary photographs.

Although the St Nicolas damask is not faithful to 'corded silk' referred to in the Statutes, all the Chancellors back to the 1st Lord Iveagh wore damask silk gowns, and this was taken as precedent enough. Also, because the weight of the existing robes was a concern, St Nicolas fabric had the advantage of being of lighter weight than corded silk, but nevertheless sturdy. Reducing weight also guided the decision to use box pleating for the back of the coat. It was feared that the pencil pleat gathering used in the Molony robe would make the gown very bulky and lose the clean line of the current gown and might look less well on a Pro-Chancellor of smaller stature.⁹⁸

The gold lace facings were also extended round the hem of the gown to the rear split-seam (both wide and narrow lace) to give balance to the gown. Finally, as the Stanford gown is very short and looks spare, the new gown was made three inches or so longer.

The bespoke pattern of the shoulder wings incorporating symbols unique to the University of Dublin and Ireland was a new addition enthusiastically endorsed by the College. The robes were handed over to the University at a ceremony in the Saloon of the Provost's House on 25 August 2021 and used for first time at a commencements ceremony held that the same day.⁹⁹

Conclusions

The present research suggests that a coherent system of design for the Dublin Chancellor's gowns begins to emerge organically from 1850 onwards, and has its roots in a combination of accident, design, and personality of the Chancellors. The work reveals evidence that the University of Dublin officers' robes are of two distinct lineages. The Chancellor's robe seems to be influenced by nineteenth-century clerical taste, while the Pro- and Vice-Chancellors' robes appear to be in continuity with an earlier tradition of eighteenth-century judicial costume. However, since the early 1960s the robes have been used interchangeably by the two officers.

Chancellor's robes

The design of the Chancellor's robe, which appears to be unique to Dublin seems to have had its origins in the taste for restrained ecclesiastical elegance of Lord John George Beresford (Chancellor 1851–62). The first non-royal Chancellor since 1716,

⁹⁷ Dr Rachel Moss, quoted in 'Pro-Chancellor Robe Unveiled', *Trinity Today*, August 2021, p. 34.

⁹⁸ Pencil pleats are normal for clerical-style robes such as BA/MA, while box pleats are usual for lay-gowns including lay doctor's undress gowns and officer's robes. The Molony robes may therefore be the anomaly. See Groves, p. 8.

⁹⁹ 'Pro-Chancellor's Robe Unveiled', *Trinity Today*, Autumn 2021, p. 34.

Beresford may have had no precedent to draw on for his academic dress, other than Chancellor's robes he may have seen at Oxford. There is some evidence that the design he chose was inspired by the robes worn by the Speaker of the defunct Irish House of Commons. It also has the advantage of being distinct from the legal attire worn by contemporary Vice-Chancellors, while signalling status by inferring the equivalence of the roles of Chancellor and Speaker. As Anglican Archbishop and Primate of All Ireland this modest design may also have been more acceptable to the low-church movement dominating the Church of Ireland of the day.

The two rows of bullion lace facings stipulated in the University Statutes for the Dublin Chancellor's robe may have been a device introduced to allow it to be distinguished from the Irish Speaker's gown. This feature is distinctive to the University of Dublin Chancellor's gown, though when and how this became formalized in the regulations would merit further investigation.

The pattern of the Beresford robe is echoed in the gown worn by William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse (1862–67). The same gown can be identified in contemporary press engravings and in early photographs of Laurence Parsons, 4th Earl of Rosse, as Chancellor (1885–1908) taken during the TCD Tercentenary celebrations of 1892.

On the death of the 4th Earl of Rosse the Dublin chancellorship transferred to the 1st and 2nd Earls of Iveagh (Chancellors from 1908 to 1963). Their robes of office further elaborate the Beresford model taken up by the two Rosse Chancellors. It is possible that there were two Iveagh gowns, given the difference in build of the father and son.

Chancellor Hugh McCalmont Cairns' (1867–85) appearance in his College portrait not in academic dress but rather in his robes as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain is perhaps an expression of both his distant relations with Trinity and his political power. This portrait could arguably have justified the classic judicial design of Chancellor's adopted by the Vice-Chancellors and Chancellors from 1964.

Following the resignation of the 2nd Earl of Iveagh in 1963, the incoming Chancellor, Frederick Boland (1963–92), adopted the robes worn by the Vice-Chancellor of the time. This coincided with the abolition of the role of Vice-Chancellor and the creation of the pro-chancellorship, and his choice may have been the logical outcome of the change in scope of the deputy's role, convenience, economy or indeed all three. This robe, of traditional Chancellor's design, appears to have been made in the early 1930s for Sir Thomas Francis Molony as Vice-Chancellor (1931–43).

With the resignation of Frederick Boland, the Dublin Chancellors reverted to an 'off the shelf' traditional Chancellor's robe worn successively by Chancellors W. B. Stanford and Francis O'Reilly from around 1983 to 1998 and by Pro-Chancellors since. This economy-class robe has not travelled well.

The installation of Mary Robinson (1998–2019) provided an opportunity to replace the gown worn by her predecessor. Her robe revived the distinctive pattern of Dublin University Chancellor's robes inspired by Beresford (Fig. 14). It could be argued that this gown became a trademark of the Robinson chancellorship and the design is unique when compared with robes worn by the Chancellors of the eight other universities of Ireland.¹⁰⁰ This robe was also used by the Pro-Chancellors of her era and since.

100 National University of Ireland, 'Conferring of an Honorary Degree Jointly by the Universities of Ireland North and South on Charles F. "Chuck" Feeney', National University of Ireland, 6 September 2012, online at <www.nui.ie/news/2012/post_ChuckFeeney_HonCon.asp>



Photograph reproduced with the permission of the Irish Times Ltd, 6 Dec. 2012

Fig. 14. The nine universities of Ireland, North and South, confer an honorary LLD from each institution on Charles ‘Chuck’ Feeny (front row centre), at Dublin Castle, 6 September 2012. Chancellor Mary Robinson (third from right) wears the distinctive robes of Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

Vice- and Pro-Chancellors’ robes

The design of the Dublin Vice-Chancellor’s robe seems to have its roots in the judicial dress of Irish Lord Chancellors and other legal figures who held the Dublin Vice-Chancellor’s office, beginning with John Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare, in 1798. Portraits of Clare, the first lay Vice-Chancellor, show him in classic Lord Chancellor’s robes. Portraits and photographs throughout the nineteenth century show the Dublin Vice-Chancellors in legal costume.

Eyewitness accounts of a commencement ceremony in 1861, together with tentative evidence from engravings of the installation of the 3rd Earl of Rosse as Chancellor in 1863, indicate that the Vice-Chancellors at the time wore judicial robes at University ceremonial.¹⁰¹ At what point it began to be formalized as a distinctive academic costume is a matter of conjecture. Early photographs from the TCD Tercentenary in 1892 show Vice-Chancellor John T. Ball in Lord Chancellor’s robes but his successor, Dodgson Hamilton Madden, a lesser legal figure, is depicted in a College portrait wearing Vice-Chancellor’s robes around 1900. It is possible these were the first bespoke academic robes for a Vice-Chancellor. But what is more certain is that his

[retrieved 11 April 2023].

101 Watts, p. 207.

successor, James H. Mussen Campbell, Lord Glenavy, did not wear the same robes as Vice-Chancellor of the University and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

The same pattern, with minor variations, has been employed in the robes worn by the Vice- and Pro-Chancellors ever since. A photograph of Sir Thomas Francis Moloney, the last Chief Justice of Ireland and Vice-Chancellor (1931–49), shows the wearer in a new gown of the same design in 1937. This same gown, worn by the 6th Earl of Rosse up to the late 1970s as Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the University, is now preserved in the Birr Castle Archives.

Custom and practice

For Oxford University 'Academic dress is a physical representation of the University's structure and a reward'.¹⁰² This arguably is reflected in the custom and practice of academic dress worn by the senior officers of the University of Dublin and Trinity College, where the interface and distribution of power between University and College have been fluid. In Dublin the traditional Chancellor's robe is markedly less decorative than the Pro-Chancellor's attire, and at times worn interchangeably by the two officers. On the other hand, the Provost, who in many ways wields the power, simply wears the gown of his or her highest degree.

Just as the first thirty years of the nineteenth century marked a period of limbo for Trinity as it transitioned from 'late-Georgian brilliance' to Victorian innovation and reform, it can be argued that this shift is mirrored in customs and practice of academic dress by senior University officers from 1800 onwards.¹⁰³ Over this period the absentee Hanoverian Chancellors were succeeded by Irish Chancellors who were generally more invested in the life and traditions of academic dress of the University.

Although there is no distinction mentioned in University regulations, Chancellors' and Vice-/Pro-Chancellors' robes have in practice been considered distinct and are only rarely seen together (Figs 6 and 10). In the early 60's the Chancellor adopted the gown traditionally worn by the Vice-Chancellor. The suppression of the role of Vice-Chancellor and creation of the Pro-Chancellor in 1964, meant a fundamental change in governance philosophy, which may have led to a debate on the academic dress regulations for those offices as well. Academic dress fell out of fashion and portraits and newspaper photographs of these officers from the 1960s and 70s show them more often in business attire than academic dress. By 1998 however, Chancellor Mary Robinson looked to historical precedent and a design unique to Dublin by reviving the Beresford pattern for her robe. Since then, Vice-Chancellors have tended to wear the robe of their Chancellor, but this has broken down in recent years.

In the absence of detailed prescription, the deployment of the robes has been influenced by custom and the personal taste of the incumbents, as well as practical considerations of University ceremonial. The result has been confusion. For example, the Robinson robe is rather long, and having been made for a tall woman, Pro-Chancellors of shorter stature have tended to wear the Stanford gown. Indeed, Chancellor Mary McAleese reverted to using the Stanford gown for her installation as 24th Chancellor

¹⁰² Oxford University, 'Academic Dress', online at <www.ox.ac.uk/news-and-events/The-University-Year/Encaenia/academic-dress> [retrieved 11 April 2023].

¹⁰³ McDowell and Webb, p. 74.

of the University in December 2019.¹⁰⁴ The weight of the robes, worn during long summer ceremonies, has also been of recurring concern.¹⁰⁵

As costly and elaborate garments, Chancellors' robes often see long innings. For example, an Oxford University Chancellor's robe made in 1899 was not replaced until 2015, by which time it was beyond repair.¹⁰⁶ At Dublin University it is not unusual for officers' robes to be used for fifty years. Both the Rosse and Iveagh Chancellors appear to have used robes which were kept in the family. On occasion a new Chancellor appeared initially in the robe of their predecessor or Vice-Chancellor, before a new outfit could be made.¹⁰⁷ The University currently holds over forty-five commencements annually, which, together with Senate meetings and other events, means that the officers' robes are heavily used throughout the University year and by several different people. As a result, significant wear and tear can be seen in the three existing gowns and in photographs of earlier garments.

In recent years, however, academic dress in Dublin has seen a renewal of interest, not least because of the recognition of the importance of the College's branding in an increasingly competitive international higher education sector. There is an argument for the codification of dress regulations for the senior University officers in the light of these research findings. Maintaining the tradition of a distinctive Dublin Chancellor's gown based on the Beresford model, together with a Pro-Chancellor's gown in the legal tradition, seems to be a logical outcome. This would provide clarity on practice of dress for these officers and ensure that their academic costume remains the physical representation of not only the structure of the University but also its history.

Acknowledgements

The interest showed by the people consulted during this FBS research was very gratifying. I thank the former and current Provosts of Trinity College Dublin, Dr Patrick Prendergast, and Dr Linda Doyle and their teams, in particular Claire Tracey, Events Officer, for her insights on running University ceremonial, Robyn Ní Chasarlaigh and Róisín Cody. Professor Rachel Moss, Department of the History of Art and Architecture, TCD, for her support for the research and guidance on the College requirements. Dr Jane Maxwell gave me access and help on searching the College Archives. Kevin Egan, PhD history student at University College Dublin, kindly shared information from his research on the life of Cecil Edward Guinness. Waterford historian Julien Walton and The Rt Revd Michael A. J. Burrows, shared insights on Lord John George Beresford. The 7th Earl and Countess of Rosse and Lisa Shortall, Offaly County Archivist, for their generous welcome to the Birr Castle Demesne to inspect robes and documents relating to the Rosse chancellorships. The Revd Kenneth Crawford, FBS, provided constant support and expertise of on all aspects of robemaking and its vocabulary. Dr Alex Kerr, FBS, for his thoughtful and encouraging guidance throughout the work.

¹⁰⁴ Chancellor McAleese has worn the 2020 Pro-Chancellor's gown since it was donated by the author in August 2021.

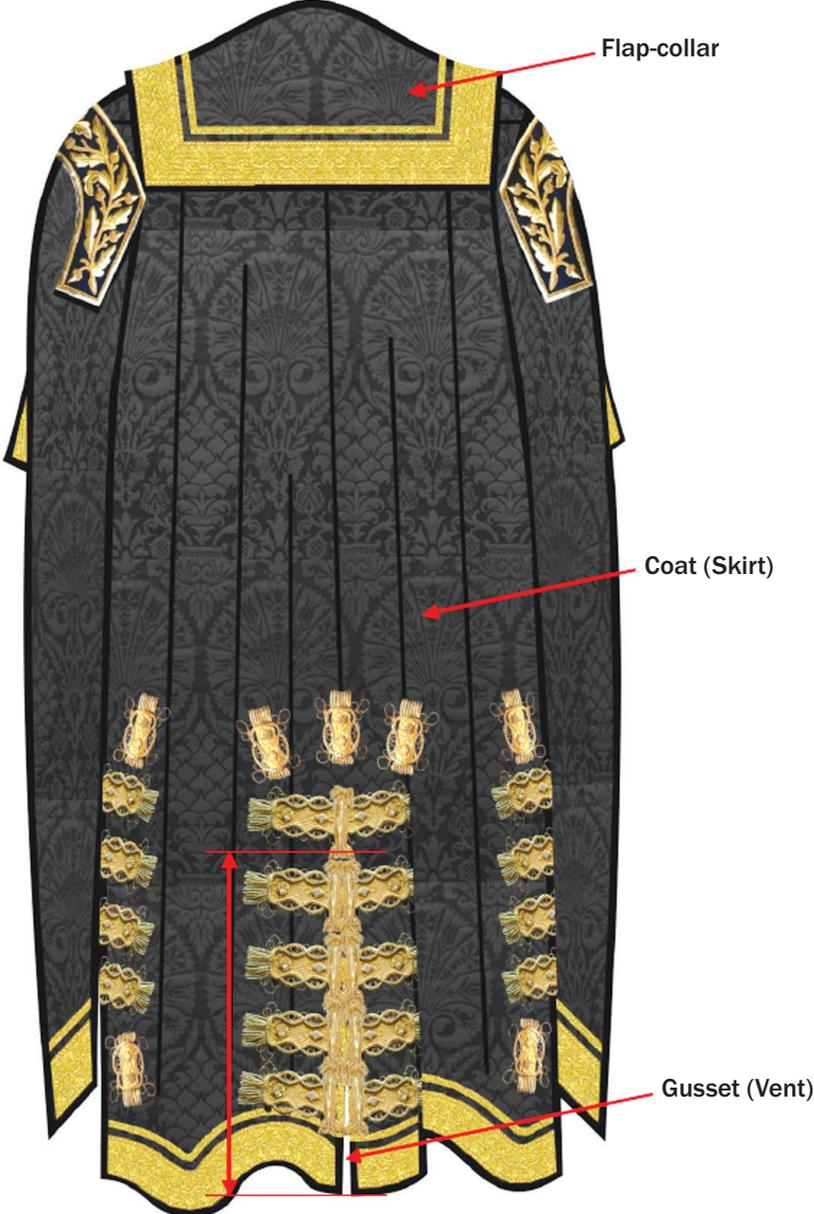
¹⁰⁵ Claire Tracey, University Events Officer, personal communication, June 2020. See also remarks attributed to Chancellor Frederick Boland in footnote 64.

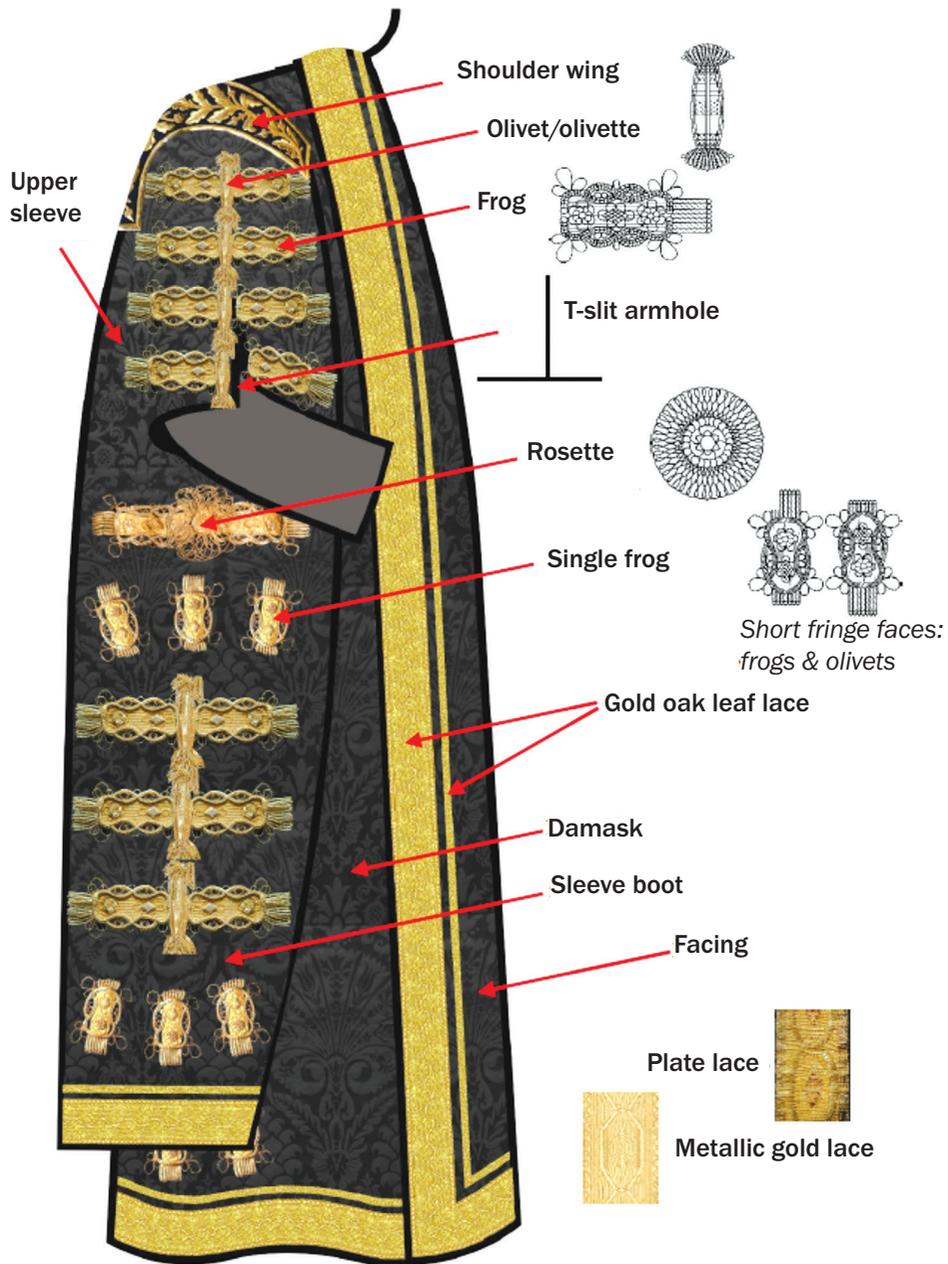
¹⁰⁶ Oxford University Images, 'The Chancellor's New Robes', Image No. PAD003822-01 (2015), online at <www.oxforduniversityimages.com/results.asp?image=PAD003822-01> [retrieved 6 September 2020].

¹⁰⁷ E.g., both Iveagh Chancellors and Chancellors Boland and McAleese.

Appendix

Annotated diagram of a traditional Chancellor's robe with ornaments and lace.
Courtesy: The Revd Kenneth Crawford, Robes of Distinction, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.





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Fig. 2.

- Stephen Catterson Smith, Portrait of Lord John George Beresford, c. 1854, oil on canvas, 300 × 183 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
- Stephen Catterson Smith, Portrait of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, 1868, oil on canvas, 266.7 × 172.7 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
- Lowes Cato Dickenson, Portrait of Hugh McCalmont, 1st Earl Cairns, c. 1876, oil on canvas, 264 × 175.5 cm, Dining Hall, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
- Unknown artist, Portrait of Laurence Parsons, 4th Earl of Rosse, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, undated, 152 × 102 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
- Andrew Festing (1941–), Portrait of William Bedell Stanford, Chancellor 1982–1984, 1984, oil on canvas, 91.3 × 71 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced by permission of the artist.
- Thomas Ryan (1929–2021), Portrait of Francis Joseph Charles O'Reilly, Chancellor 1985–98, 1991, oil on canvas, c. 175 × 150 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. ©Estate of Thomas Ryan, IVARO Dublin, 2023.
- Mark Shields (1963–), Portrait of Mary Robinson, Chancellor 1998–2019, 2019, oil on canvas, 270 × 180 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced by permission of the artist.
- Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh, Chancellor 1908–27, in: Kenneth Claude Bailey, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1892–1954* (Dublin: University Press, Trinity College, 1947), facing p. 256.
- Rupert Edward Cecil Lee Guinness, 2nd Earl of Iveagh, Chancellor 1927–63. *Irish Times* (Dublin), October 17, 1956. Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Times Ltd.
- Frederick Henry Boland, Chancellor 1963–1982, *Irish Times* (Dublin), 12 December 1971, photographer Dermot Barry. Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Times Ltd.
- Mary McAleese, 2019, reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 3.

- Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), The Right Honourable John Foster, c. 1790–91, Oil on canvas, 212.41 × 152.08 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum. Reproduced with the permission of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo.

Fig. 4

- Photographs of the statue of William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse taken by the author.
- Photograph of Lawrence Parsons, 4th Earl of Rosse c. 1900 by Robinson, Dublin, reproduced courtesy of Birr Castle Archives.

Fig. 7.

- Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh, in Bailey, 1947, facing p. 256.
- Rupert Edward Cecil Guinness, 2nd Earl of Iveagh, in Bailey, 1947, frontispiece.
- Rupert Edward Cecil Guinness, 2nd Earl of Iveagh, *Irish Times* (Dublin), 17 October 1956, photographer Eddie Kelly. Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Times Ltd.

Fig. 8.

Sir Thomas Francis Moloney, detail from photograph marking award of honorary degree to the poet James Stephens. *Irish Times*, 13 December 1947. TCD MS4712-31. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Dublin University Caput. Lafayette (Dublin), c. 1950. TCD MS4712-30. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Photograph by The Revd Kenneth Crawford, 7 December, 2019. Reproduced courtesy of Birr Castle Archives.

Frederick Boland with Queen Fabiola of the Belgians, 15 May 1968. Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Photo Archive Ltd.

Fig. 10.

Mary Robinson, photographer Frank Miller. Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Times Ltd.

Robert Percival Willis, Mary Robinson, and Thomas Noel Mitchell. *Irish Times*, 17 December 1998, photographer Joe St Leger. Reproduced with the permission of the Irish Times Ltd.

Fig. 11.

(a.) Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828) and assistants, Portrait of John FitzGibbon, 1st Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, oil on canvas, 241.5 x 152.5 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced courtesy of the Board of Trinity College Dublin.

(b.) Stephen Catterson Smith (1806–72), Portrait of Sir Joseph Napier, 1860, oil on canvas, 142 × 112 cm, Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced courtesy of the Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 12.

Alfred Aron Wolmark (1877–1961), Portrait of Dodgson Hamilton Madden, 1907, oil on canvas, 102 × 76 cm., Trinity College, Dublin. Reproduced with permission of the artist's family.

Burke and Goldsmith Centenary Celebrations. *Irish Times*, December 1928. TCD MS4717-95. Reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Provost E. J. Gwynn, Vice-Chancellor Sir J. H. Mussen Campbell, 1st Lord Glenavy and Mr J. Frazer, Senior Master Non-Regent. *Irish Times*, 18 March, 1929.

Fig. 13.

Photos by The Revd Kenneth Crawford.