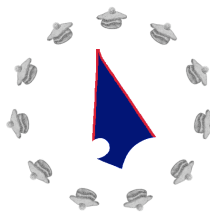


THE BURGON SOCIETY



ANNUAL 2004



THE BURGON SOCIETY

Founded to promote the study of Academical Dress

The Burgon Society Annual 2004

Edited by Alex Kerr

Published by The Burgon Society

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www.burgon.org.uk

Front cover: Members examining a Lampeter BA hood from the Burgon Society Archive wardrobe in the Library of St George's College, Weybridge, during the Garden Party held in July 2004.

BURGON SOCIETY ANNUAL 2004

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From the Chairman

It is with great pleasure that I write to introduce myself and commend the 2004 edition of the Burgon Society *Annual*.

Married with two grown-up children, my full-time paid employment is as the Music Adviser and Head of the Music Service for a local education authority. In addition, I work as a non-stipendiary curate in my local parish church.

Like several other members of the Society, I first became aware of academical dress while at school, where I became fascinated by the various shapes and colours of the hoods and gowns of the teachers. This interest was deepened when, having been awarded various music college diplomas, I discovered the academical dress for each award was different.

In 1992, I was put in contact with Nicholas Groves, with whom I exchanged several letters. This in turn led in 1999 to an invitation to attend a meeting of like-minded people in London, which led to the formation of the Burgon Society. Having served the Society as Registrar from its formation, I was very privileged to be elected its Chairman in 2004.

Under the chairmanship of the Revd Philip Goff, the Society quickly developed and established a reputation for high quality scholarship and it is now widely regarded as the leading authority on academical dress, and I would like to place on record my appreciation to Philip and all of the members of Council for the work they have undertaken, and continue to undertake, on behalf of the Society.

In parallel with the development of the Society, the *Annual* edited by Dr Alex Kerr has also gone from strength to strength. The current edition contains many authoritative articles, which reflect the expertise of the membership.

We now need to build on the Society's initial success and consider its future development. Such development needs to reflect the wishes of the membership and I would value any thoughts you might have. In particular, I would like to know, what you would like the Society to do for you, and hear what you might have to offer to the Society.

If you have any thoughts, suggestions or comments, please write to me at the address below. I look forward to hearing from you.

Best wishes

Stephen James

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31 December 2004

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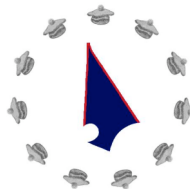
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Bruno Neveu

Catholic historian and convivial director of the Maison Française¹

An obituary by John Rogister

Bruno Neveu was one of the most distinguished and productive historians of the Early Modern Catholic Church. His main contribution lay in the field of 17th-century theology and erudition, though in recent years he had moved forwards in time and was working on the impact of modernism on the Church. He had very close connections with Britain, having been Director of the Maison Française in Oxford in the 1980s and subsequently maintaining a wide circle of friends over here.

Born in 1936, Neveu, the son of an engineer, began his university studies in his native Grenoble. His merits earned him a place at the École Nationale des Chartes in Paris—the school for the study of documents of all periods—and it was as a *chartiste* with the diploma of ‘*archiviste paléographe*’ that he first made his mark. He secured one of the coveted scholarships at the Fondation Thiers, which provided him with board and lodging in Paris.

It was during this period, 1963–66, that he obtained a doctorate at the Sorbonne and produced his great work *Un Historien à l'Ecole de Port-Royal: Sébastien Le Nam de Tillemont* (‘A Historian of the School of Port Royal: Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont’, 1966). It was a careful delineation of the strands of thought and scholarship that underpinned both theology and erudition in the pre-Enlightenment age. Neveu managed to write sensitively about the contribution of Jansenists without hostility to them but also without personal commitment to their cause.

In 1966, he moved to the prestigious École Française de Rome for a three-year period, the first of his many links with Italy, a country which Neveu came to love and visited as often as he could. He obtained a further four-years, 1969–73, in Rome as a *chargé de mission* attached to the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique).

It was a prolific period for Neveu, as he produced a full-length study of another religious figure, Du Cambout de Pontchâteau, in *Sébastien, Joseph Du Cambout de Pontchâteau, 1634–1690, et ses missions à Rome: d’après sa correspondance et des documents inédits* (1969) and edited two volumes of the diplomatic despatches of a papal nuncio at the court of Louis XIV (*Correspondance du nonce en France Angelo Ranuzzi*, 1973).

In 1973 he was appointed *directeur d’études*, a post of professorial standing, at the history and philological section of the École Pratique des Hautes

¹ Professor Neveu was the leading authority on French academical dress and had published several articles on the subject, one of which, ‘French University Dress: Regulations and Custom’, was published in the *Burton Annual* 2002. He was admitted as a Fellow of the Burton Society *honoris causa* at the Congregation held in October 2003. He died on 24 March 2004.

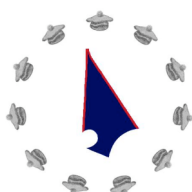
Études at the Sorbonne in Paris. The École Pratique, a creation of Napoleon III, exists to foster research by allowing its members to devote themselves to it full time with a minimum of teaching in their chosen field. Neveu was truly in his element in this institution, where he remained until his retirement in 2002, with a stint as president of all the sections from 1994 to 1998.

From 1981 to 1984 he had been seconded from the École Pratique to become Director of the Maison Française in Oxford. He threw himself wholeheartedly into Oxford life. He was made an associate member of All Souls College, he joined the Athenaeum—places where his conviviality was much appreciated. He came to love the Anglican establishment with its choir schools and cathedral closes. To him, it was like discovering a vanished world.

The French government could have extended his term, and its failure to do so created a mini-scandal. With his return to Paris, his publications resumed their impressive course. He sat on several bodies and councils involved with history or with the publication of texts, both in France and at the Vatican. In 2001 he was elected to the Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques and no fewer than 45 British academics and friends contributed to the purchase of his ceremonial sword. He was honoured by many countries, becoming a Corresponding Member of the Royal Historical Society and the holder of decorations from Italy and Portugal. Last year [2003] he was appointed Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur and was also made a Knight Commander of the Order of St Sylvester by the Pope. He took an immense pleasure in wearing his *habit vert* and his colourful decorations.

A gentle, convivial bachelor, Bruno Neveu remained a very private person. When he learned that someone had described him as having the gait and manner of a Trollopian prelate, he was immensely gratified by the comparison. Not liking the Roman liturgy that prevailed after the Second Vatican Council, but wishing to remain within the discipline of the Church, he practised the Greek Catholic rite. It was on a visit to the Lebanon and at the residence of the Patriarch that he died suddenly in his sleep. His funeral at the church of St Etienne-du-Mont in Paris was celebrated in the rite that he had come to love, and it was attended by the former French prime minister Pierre Messmer and by numerous friends from many countries.

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Visit to Ede & Ravenscroft at Waterbeach

On Saturday 24 April 2004 a group Burgon Society members and friends were guests of Ede & Ravenscroft at their warehouse in Waterbeach, near Cambridge. Due to engineering works on the line between Cambridge and Ely, those of us travelling by train had to catch a replacement bus from Cambridge, but I think we managed to round up everybody at the station (or near to it) and were provided with a lift to the warehouse.

After a formal welcome, we were given an explanation of the on-line gown hire ordering process and shown the area where orders are packaged. Then, en route to the main warehouse, we came across a large supply of assorted Leeds robes, which were about to be sent to the University for its distinguished graduates and honorary doctors to wear at its centenary celebrations.

When we arrived at the main warehouse, we were let loose to sample to delights of the sweet shop! Personally, I was keen to see some of the more interesting and unusual robes, including the Sussex gowns, the Greenwich doctor's robe (which is not as bad in the flesh as it appears in photographs) and the tartan piping of the Napier gowns, amongst others. Also of interest, following a recent discussion in postings on the academic dress e-group, we noticed that the St Andrews doctoral robes had a fully gathered yoke underneath a flap collar. After about half an hour, we were taken to a room upstairs where a display had been set up for us of various doctoral robes, including those of Greenwich, London Metropolitan, Birmingham, and Coventry, and a Cambridge MusD. All of those present were also given a copy of E&R's new book on the history of legal dress.

At the conclusion of the tour, a fine selection of alcohol and comestibles was laid on for us, during the drinking and eating of which, we were given a demonstration of the software used to design new robes.

Having thanked our hosts and said our goodbyes, most of those attending set off by car for home. Those of us who are pedestrians were given a lift back to Cambridge by Dr George Shaw, where two of us spent the rest of the afternoon looking at the robemakers' shops and strolling along the Backs before attending Evensong in King's College Chapel.

We are very grateful to our hosts, James Middleton and Nick Shipp, for entertaining us and making our visit to Waterbeach an exceptionally enjoyable day.

Peter Durant

Garden Party

About thirty-five members and their friends gathered at St George's College, Weybridge, on 16 July 2004 at the invitation of Brother Michael Powell, for the Burgon Society Garden Party. It was an opportunity for us all to give our academic dress a good airing. After a warm welcome from Michael in the friendly surroundings of the Old Georgians' clubhouse we enjoyed an excellent buffet lunch, meeting old friends and others attending a Burgon Society event for the first time.

In the early part of the afternoon rain kept us indoors, but later it brightened up as we made our way across the grounds to the main school building, where Michael has set up a wonderful display of the items from the Archive wardrobe in the library. Members spent a considerable time looking at the magnificent collection of robes, gowns, hoods and caps, feeling the fabrics and discussing finer points of different robemakers' styles, techniques—and shortcomings. In fact, it was no easy task to drag the enthusiasts away for the next part of the programme.

The college chapel has a very fine modern organ and we enjoyed a splendid and varied recital from Philip Aspden, Assistant Director of Music at the School at that time, that showed off the wide range of the instrument's capabilities.

Returning to the Old Georgians' clubhouse, we were able to have tea on the terrace, conversation and photographs. At the end of the afternoon something that might become a Burgon tradition took place: after the usual group picture had been taken, we all turned our backs on the camera for a group display of hoods. (Is there a collective noun for displayed hoods?)

Everyone agreed that the occasion had been a great success, proved by the requests for another Garden Party in 2005 (which has indeed now taken place). The pleasure of the event owed very much to the efficiency and hard work of Brother Michael and the staff at St George's, who looked after us all so well.

There are some photographs of the 2004 Garden Party on the cover of this *Annual* and more can be viewed on the Burgon Society website at www.burgon.org.uk

Annual General Meeting

The AGM of the Society was held in the impressive Court Room and Jessel Room of Senate House at the University of London on 10 September 2004. After the formal business had been conducted, Alex Kerr gave a presentation on Academic Dress in Costume Plates, using transparencies on an overhead projector to illustrate his talk.

The pictorial record of academic dress, especially in England, provides some of the most significant evidence of what robes were like in the past. However, even the most authoritative modern writers on the subject have occasionally misinterpreted the illustrations. For example, Hargreaves-Mawdsley made at least twenty-five mistakes in identifying details of prints in his chapter on Oxford alone. Franklyn recognized the significance of the early prints, but dismissed out of hand a lot of the nineteenth-century material.

Of course, it is important to compare the sets of pictures from different artists and from different periods and then to assess them in the light of contemporary written records. The relationship between one engraver's work and another's must be established if possible, before we can judge how reliable an image is in showing the academic dress of its time.

Franklyn was right to acknowledge that the engravings of George Edwards (1674), the earliest printed specifically to illustrate a range of academic dress, were 'the best set of all, and by far the most accurate'. The detail in these eleven prints is remarkable and allows us to compare such items as the kinds of round cap worn by different members of Oxford University; the various types of braid and tassels used on the gowns of lay doctors, noblemen, gentlemen-commoners and commoners at that period; and the robes from different angles in some cases, since multiple images on some engravings show front, back and profile.

David Loggan's famous plate from *Oxonia illustrata* (1675) has a complete set of Oxford dress and gives us plenty of scope for research. Bruce Christianson and Nick Groves have written about the bachelors' and MA hoods and the DMus on this engraving. Other odd features catch our eye: for example, the silk sleeve covering on the DM's robe is turned up and held by a button, like a modern Cambridge robe. Loggan's Cambridge plate (1690) includes several mirror images of figures from the Oxford one. Bruce and Nick note the case of the DMus/MusD (in their article in *Burton Notes*) and Charles Franklyn referred to the MA. And in fact there are at least five of these mirror images in the Loggan engravings. Differences in dress at Cambridge and Oxford do not appear to have become so marked as they would be later.

Loggan's plates were copied many times in various publications through to the mid-eighteenth century. Versions of them, always inferior and usually reduced in size, appear in England, Italy, and the Netherlands, with text in Latin, English, Italian, French and German. In fact Loggan has never been 'out of print': his figures turn up in magazine articles in the nineteenth century; and picture

postcards, notelets and even a mug on sale for a while at the Bodleian Library shop bear Loggan's robed academics.

The new statutes of 1770 at Oxford were accompanied by a set of twenty-five illustrations engraved by Charles Grignion from drawings by William Huddesford and J. Taylor, and these form the originals on which James Roberts based his excellent watercolours of 1792. Grignion's work should be reliable evidence, as it was produced with an official stamp of approval. The plates were reprinted several times up to 1807. Meanwhile, in Cambridge Richard Harraden published a set of fifteen coloured plates in 1805, including several of the elaborate gold-trimmed gowns of noblemen and fellow-commoners.

Rudolph Ackermann's lavish histories of Oxford and Cambridge (1814 and 1815) contain thirty-two high-quality coloured engravings in line and stipple by Agar taken from drawings by Thomas Uwins. They should be accurate since they were drawn from life; we know whose portraits they are. During the nineteenth century several sets of prints intended for a more popular market were published. Nathaniel Whittock issued at least three sets for Oxford (1822, 1828 and 1840) and one for Cambridge (1847), and there are several revised reprints, inferior copies and pirated editions. Thomas Shrimpton published two large sheets of Oxford robes (1870 and 1885), and versions of figures from these turn up in early-twentieth-century encyclopedias in the USA and articles in tailors' trade journals in Britain.

During the twentieth century academic dress finds its way on to postcards (George Davis, from 1902 onwards, and Ryman, about 1910), Wills's cigarette cards (1926) and playing cards in America (1985). Of course photographs and line drawings appear in encyclopedias, robemakers' catalogues, and the books on academic dress we know and love, illustrating robes of a wide range of institutions worldwide.

There is a wealth of material here stretching at least from the seventeenth century down to the present day waiting for further research: what is the iconography of the costume plates? how do the plates compare with contemporary portraits of figures in academic dress? ... and so on.

Before the meeting and during tea afterwards, members were able to look at three display cabinets of early academic dress prints and modern ephemera (some thirty-five items) from Alex's collection, using a printed handlist as a guide.

Congregation

The fourth Congregation of the Burgon Society was held in the Great Hall, Charterhouse, London, on Saturday 23 October 2004. The proceedings comprised a Ceremony for the Admission of Fellows and the President's Address.

Fellowship of the Burgon Society

Admissions 2004

Fellowship by Examination

Candidates introduced by Nicholas Groves deputizing for the Dean of Studies

It is with a certain sense of surprise that I find myself standing here this year, having handed over the Deanery to Bruce last year. However, he is involved this afternoon with an organization even more recondite than ours, which requires him to impersonate various characters from *The Jungle Book*. And he informs me that having been Dean imparts an indelible character, so here I am.

We have, despite your programmes, two Fellows by submission to admit this afternoon.

Dr Nicholas Gledhill

First, is **Nicholas Gledhill**, who I was about to introduce *in absentia*, but I see he has just arrived. [This, he said later, was the fault of the Holloway Road buses ...] As with many of us, his interest in academic dress started at school; being born and brought up in Bradford, this involved Leeds AD – which, as we all know, consists of green, and green, ... and a bit more green. He attended the South Wales Bible College for two years, which he says awarded no AD (though I am sure the federal University has moved in there now!). He also holds the degrees of ThM and DMin from the Trinity Theological Seminary in Indiana. For his day job, he has what is probably one of the most widely removed from the sphere of AD—he works for a trade federation in the motor trade.

His FBS dissertation is on the University of Sheffield—which involves yet more green. One of the late-nineteenth-century foundations, as Firth College was not admitted to the Victoria University, and so awarded London external degrees until it was chartered in 1904. Nick has chased up the origins and development of the scheme in both published works and by personal correspondence, revealing such things as why the

various faculty colours were assigned. (I always feel that Sheffield is a very *vegetarian* place—Arts is strawberry, science is apricot, Economics lemon, Laws olive ...). It is also hailed as a very logical system, but Nick's research has revealed that it started out as a system with anomalies that have been gradually excised from the scheme: a reverse of the usual pattern, and something for others to learn from. Amongst many good points, the dissertation ends with a very good timeline, which we hope will serve as a model for others.

Thorsten Hauler

Our second candidate, **Thorsten Hauler**, must have written the quickest submission ever. I remember discussing it with him on the train back from the garden party at Weybridge in July, and it was submitted by September. Referred for minor corrections, it returned almost within a week, and was ratified by Council only this morning. Thorsten read physics at Mainz and at Heidelberg, and is reading for a PhD at Munich – on topics which my colleague Dr Horton is better qualified to speak than I am. Since 2003, he has been working as an administrator at City University, and tells me his other interests include English choral music (so that's alright then), literature, theatre, and sports. And in addition to his mother tongue, he speaks and writes English extremely well, and also French and Japanese.

Thorsten's dissertation examines the use of AD in Germany. It was finally done away with in the 1960s by the will of the students, who said (in German) 'Under the gown lies the frowst of 1000 years'—obviously student hygiene was as poor then as now ... He examines the medieval dress, and also the reintroduction of AD—again, by the desire of the students, many of whom are international and want something to mark their achievement. Thorsten says that, when he took his first degree, he went to the secretary's office, was handed a diploma, shook hands, and left—nothing more. He has also made some suggestions for reintroduced AD, which draw on a number of traditions: British, in that he suggests a gown and hood; German, in the shape of the gown, and the faculty colours, which he has researched meticulously; American, in that the hood will be lined with a university colour and trimmed with a faculty colour which will be uniform across all universities; and, owing to his own place of work, the faculty colour will form the neckband rather than a facing inside the hood. Not only this, but he promises us that this dissertation is but the first of three articles which will examine different aspects of German AD, and I look forward to reading the next two.

Fellowship De Jure

Dr Mike Kearsley

Mike Kearsley was admitted to the Fellowship of the Society *de jure*, having been elected as a Member of the Council of Management.

Fellowship Honoris Causa

Kerstin Froberg

Using her extensive experience in creating textiles and designing clothing and accessories, Kerstin Froberg has undertaken commissions for robes for academic staff at Växjö University, Blekinge Tekniska Högskola, and Malmö University. In the past no academic robes were worn in Swedish institutions of higher education. Kerstin's pioneering work has encouraged an interest in academic dress and started a movement for the adoption of robes in other Swedish universities.

At the conclusion of the Congregation, Kerstin gave a short talk about these developments and the designs and textiles she has used for her gowns.

President's Address

by Dr John Birch

Good afternoon, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a great pleasure to me, your President, to welcome you to this, the Fourth Congregation of the Burgon Society. My short speech will be rather in the form of a 'State of the Union' address, for, although we are as yet a new and small society, our progress in all fields has been such that it is well worth spending a few moments looking back at those, for some of us, momentous and strategic beginnings. Hopefully, I shall not sound too much like a headmaster on Speech Day addressing limitlessly gullible parents! Our Founding Fathers were Bro. Michael Powell of St George's College, Weybridge, whose discussions on the web on the subject of academical dress were discovered by Philip Goff, Academic Consultant to Ede & Ravenscroft, who then contacted other people he knew were interested in the subject, including Nick Groves, Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of East Anglia, who in turn contacted other people. At a meeting of seven members held on Saturday, 2 September 2000 a draft constitution was written and discussed, and on Saturday, 21

October 2000, the Constitution was ratified, and final plans were put in place to launch the Society. Growth has been modest but steady (several new members each month), and, to date, we have 150 Members of whom five are Corporate Members. We are delighted to welcome new members, but are particularly pleased over the number of our membership who are renewing their subscriptions each year, which encourages us to believe that we are moving in the right direction,

This year there have been some changes in the composition of the Council. Dr Stephen James, after a distinguished period as Registrar, has now become Chairman, whilst Ian Johnson succeeds him as Registrar, in addition to his duties as Treasurer. The present Dean of Studies is Professor Bruce Christianson, succeeding Nick Groves, the Founder Dean. Philip Goff has resigned as Chairman but remains a member of the Council. The Publications Editor is Dr Alex Kerr, and I personally feel that the current Year Book is particularly outstanding. Each year there has been an upgrading of the print and presentation, and plans are already in hand for further progress leading to the next publication. Those of you who missed the AGM also missed a brilliant and fascinating address by Dr Kerr, together with notable examples from his personal collection of prints and illustrations, The Marshal, Dr John Horton, remains unchanged, thankfully still retaining his infallible sense of direction in bringing us safe to the haven where we would be, rather than causing traffic chaos, marching us down Ludgate Hill!

If proof were needed that our Society is becoming more widely known and respected, then the report to the AGM by the Webmaster, Peter Durant, should encourage you. I quote from his report on the progress during the year. 'The number of visitors to the Burgon Society website continues to increase exponentially. Already this year there have been over 120,000 requests for pages, which looks set to overtake the 152,311 requests for the whole of last year. The average number of requests for pages per day is in excess of 400, with busy days chalking up over 1,000. The most popular pages remain the same as last year, with the index of topics discussed on the Academic Dress Yahoo Group being the most popular, followed by the Robemakers section, the Wardrobe, and then the University Regulations section.' These are to me incredible figures, and, together with our warm thanks to Peter Durant for all his work, must be the fact that our actual membership of the Society is but a tip of the iceberg, and that our reputation as a reliable and informed society is already well established.

The Archive is in the very capable hands of Bro. Michael Powell, who also very generously houses the Collection. The number of gowns, or so he reliably informs me, is around thirty, most of them doctoral robes. Hoods number between 200 and 300. Amongst the Collection are the famous set of Lambeth doctoral robes presented to Dr Turpin of the Royal College of Organists, together with all the documentation—a history in itself. The College is not empowered to present them to the Burgon Society, so they are lodged. This is not a unique situation, since about fifty

per cent of the Archive is there under similar conditions. I am happy to say that the Royal College of Organists is about to make another 'lodgement' in the form of the doctoral robe and hood for a London Doctor of Music, and also, presumably from some stage of the owner's life superseded, a London BMus hood.

It was a great sadness to us all, particularly those who knew him to hear the news of the sudden death of Fellow of the Burgon Society, Bruno Neveu, one of the most notable of French academics. It had been hoped that he would be able to enlarge, with further illustrations the paper he gave when he received his Honorary Fellowship, and that we should be able to print it in a French and English edition. There is a distinct likelihood this may still come to pass. We are delighted that some of his academic dress has come to our Archive, including two full professorial sets (pristine), and also an Oxford MA hood and that of a PhD Halifax, and, sadly, his FBS. In addition we have received four epitoges. This is a landmark for our Society, being the first addition to the Archive of academic dress from mainland Europe. In addition a valuable collection of photographs has been donated, which will be of great interest and value to scholars in the future. We are grateful to Professor John Rogister for his invaluable help in arranging for this collection to come to the Society. He and his wife are with us today.

We are much aided with our Archive of dress by the expertise of our Communications Officer, Susan North, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, whose advice on the preservation of our Collection has been of the first importance. Needless to say, the Archive contains much more than the collection of academic dress, and is a valuable source of information on all documents, publications and illustrations on the subject. Any further contributions would, I know, always be warmly received and acknowledged.

This year the Society is, due to good husbandry, modestly in the black, and the proposal has been made and ratified at Council this morning of an initial grant of £500 for immediate help with the restoration of some of the more important items in the Archive and to provide better hangers for the gowns and storage bags. I personally hope that this will be an annual grant in the years to come, and will in time increase. If any of our Members would like to 'adopt' any items in our Collection, then the Registrar/Treasurer and/or the Archivist would be more than delighted to give assistance.

Ian Johnson, who now becomes Registrar as well as Treasurer, has looked after our financial affairs with great skill, efficiency and immediacy from the outset. Before the formation of the Burgon Society such spare time as he had in a busy career in business was devoted to being Treasurer of the Friends of Kensal Green Cemetery and also Treasurer of the Mausolea and Monuments Trust. (He once invited me to attend an 'Open Day' at the former, without briefing me exactly of what an open day at a cemetery would consist; it put one in mind of a famous painting by Stanley Spencer.) Anyhow, his appointment subsequently as

Treasurer of the Burgon Society shows, without doubt, certainly as far as he is concerned, that there is life after death. Having no quarrel with the description of the British as a Nation of Shopkeepers, the matter of merchandise is one that is close to my heart. The fact that the Burgon tie is now into its second edition is encouraging. (Eventually someone is going to ask ‘what about something for the women?’ This question was asked from the floor at a meeting when I was Hon. Treasurer of the Royal College of Organists, and, as I judged the distance to the door, I suggested oven gloves! Since we were meeting near to Smithfield, with its gruesome record for roasting martyrs, I was lucky not to have added to their number.) But the outstanding addition to our list this year has to be Nick Groves’ quite excellent book on the hoods of the theological colleges, splendidly researched, written (and proof-read) and, encouragingly, in addition to orders from individuals, breaking new ground for the Society with orders coming for the first time from bookshops. At the same time as giving Nick Groves our warmest congratulations, we are now eager to know what is next in the pipeline.

Phil Goff, as I said earlier, has stepped down as Chairman, although remaining a member of the Council. As far as I am concerned as President, that is as far down as he is going to step if I have anything to do with it! You have heard earlier how Philip was a great driving force at the beginning of our formation. Our paths first crossed when, as Treasurer of the Royal College of Organists, it fell to me to design a full range of academic dress for the College to add to the, originally, one hood for the FRCO diploma. This was later superseded by a new hood designed by Dr Francis Jackson, then organist of York Minster. With the introduction of new and additional diplomas it was necessary to adopt a comprehensive scheme, and it was then that on a visit to Chancery Lane, I first met Philip to discuss the production of samples. It was, as you might say, ‘good to do business’ with a perfectionist. Even the best was not good enough, and a tremendous amount of time and trouble was spent in achieving our aims, even to the re-weaving of fabrics and linings. Since church organists, after the clergy of the Church of England, probably wear hoods more frequently than any other profession/calling, by our back shall ye know us. And I think the final results were certainly met with approval by those entitled to wear the new designs. How Philip has managed to combine Burgon with Ede & Ravenscroft, and being Chaplain to the Bishop of Edmonton I do not know, particularly as bishops now seem to operate by both day and night (evening confirmations is to what I was referring!). One bishop was once asked what were the two things he most disliked, to which he replied, ‘the hymn “Thy hand, O God, has guided” and cold chicken’, the one invariably following the other. There are numerous examples to be seen in and around degree ceremonies of Philip’s great taste and talent for designing academic dress, perhaps none more so that the robes of the officers which are facing you this afternoon. Philip, in thanking you most warmly for all that you have done as a Founding Father of this Society, we look forward to the service and input that you will give in the years to

come, and that is both an observation, and, hopefully, a command, if I have an authority to command. I am sure that all present would wish me to give to you and your new work as priest in charge of St Augustine, Highgate, every encouragement, support and good wishes.

Nomenclature is something about which I like to be as precise and correct as possible. In the case of our Patron, James Thomson, Master of the Charterhouse, I find myself in confusion. As a medical student he was Mr Thomson, as a qualified physician Dr Thomson, as a surgeon Mr Thomson, as the holder of a Lambeth DM Dr Thomson, as Master of the Charterhouse Master Thomson. For simplicity's sake I always think of him as James. For us, the Burgon Society, to have had the great privilege since our inception to hold our Congregations in this most historic and impressive of surroundings gives our proceedings a dignity and already a feeling of history that it would be hard to imagine being found elsewhere in this great city. We are indeed grateful, James, to you for your always warmest of welcomes and for all your hospitality to the Society, and I would like to thank you and Kate, your wife (she is either Mrs Thomson or Dr Thomson), on behalf of us all for your generosity.

In any new venture it is the early days and the putting down of secure roots that, together with astute planning for the road ahead, are the most hazardous and crucial. We have a Council which constantly dazzles me with its collective erudition, an examining board which at the same time as encouraging new supplications will not allow anything remotely unworthy to be acceptable, an Archive of impressive comprehensiveness, a website by which, when I have eventually managed to make entry, I shall no doubt be astounded. We now have moved forward in our aims to further develop a Society of the utmost seriousness of purpose, for any future we may have must in the end depend on our impeccable credibility.

That, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the State of the Union, or, in the case of the Headmaster, 'here followeth the prizes'!

Robes and Robemakers

Study Day at Trinity College, Oxford

Following the very successful study day in Cambridge in November 2003, a similar event was held in Oxford at Trinity College on Saturday 27 November 2004, with about twenty-five Burgon Society members and friends attending.

John Venables

After coffee and a welcome from the Chairman, Stephen James, the guest of honour, John Venables, was invited to talk about his family firm, Shepherd & Woodward, and robemaking in Oxford.

John's father, Dennis Venables had been apprenticed in 1927 to Arthur Shepherd who had run a tailor's shop in Oxford for fifty years. In 1929 Shepherd amalgamated his business with Wilton Woodward's at 110 High Street. At that time academic dress formed only a small part of the business. When Shepherd retired in 1945, Dennis Venables bought his share in the partnership.

John was born in 1937. He attended New College School in Oxford and then Bloxham School. At this time his father's firm was moving into supplying school uniforms—and Bloxham School became one of his customers. When John left school, he was apprenticed for four years to the Oxford department store of Elliston & Cavell, still a private company. It was a tyrannical regime, but a useful training. John's father took him into Shepherd & Woodward, and with the retirement of Sid Blackler, put him in charge of the now flourishing academic dress section.

Dennis Venables died in 1984 and John took over the direction of the firm. In the next few years several tailoring businesses and shops in Oxford came up for sale and Shepherd & Woodward acquired them: Walters in Turl Street, Bodgers, Castells in Broad Street. They had started another shop in Summertown, North Oxford, specialising in school wear, and now it had the same turnover as the High Street shop. John recalled that when he joined the firm the turnover had been £65,000 a year; now it was about £5 million.

When John joined his father's firm they would hire out about twenty-five or thirty gowns on a degree day; nowadays the number was 250 or more. Up to the 1950s and 60s there were several other tailors in Oxford specialising in academic dress, for example Adamsons, Taylor, Millin, and Chris Clarke at James Clarke & Son. None of these of these remained, but Hall Bros, in High Street, survived longer, and was eventually taken over by Ede & Ravenscroft. Fifty years ago Shepherd & Woodward employed many local outworkers to make up gowns; seven or eight worked on the undergraduate (commoner's) gown alone. Nearly all that work was now done abroad.

During the Second World War, the colours used for hoods were inconsistent, because suitable fabrics and dyes were difficult to come by. In 1956 John's father prepared a Register of Colours and Material, which was accepted by

the University's Hebdomadal Council in February 1957. A copy was kept in the University Archives and another by Shepherd & Woodward. Each was bound in leather and made up of parchment leaves to which were fixed patterns of silks, materials and fur. Following the acceptance of the Register, Dennis Venables and Ralph Clifford, who worked in the University Registry, collaborated in publishing a booklet entitled *The Academic Dress of the University of Oxford*. (John recalled that he and Ralph Clifford's son had been in the same class at school.) Ralph Clifford wrote the text and John's father prepared the academic dress for the photographs—and he was pictured wearing the Chancellor's gown. The book had gone through eight editions as new degrees and new hoods had been introduced. From the fourth edition, published in 1979, John and Ralph Clifford's successor at the Registry, Philip Moss, had taken over the task of updating the book. The last edition was published in 1998, and John could not say when another might be issued, particularly as the University no longer gave copies to graduates after degree ceremonies as it once did.

In John's time with the firm they had made gowns for many of the famous people who received honorary degrees: Prince Philip, Prince Charles, the King and Queen of Spain, the President of Portugal, the President of Italy, Bill Clinton ... In their centenary year, 1977, they made a gift of the Chancellor's gown to the University for Harold Macmillan. The robe dated from 1930 and was repaired and remade by Vera Bond at a cost of £3,000. It was put on display in the window of Castell's shop and put away in a chest at night, but when the University discovered what it was worth, it was removed to the University offices!

There had been more changes in Oxford academic dress during John's time than for many decades. When women were first permitted to wear mortarboards in the late 1970s, most chose to do so, and the firm was left with a large unsold stock of soft caps. Hood patterns were the same as they had been in 1950s, but new combinations of colours were needed for new degrees. John had brought along some of the recent examples: the Doctor in Clinical Psychology—Burgon shape in blue lined red; the Master of Fine Art—Burgon shape in gold lined white. When a new hood was needed, the University Registry asked Shepherd & Woodward about the colours available, but did not seek their advice about what was appropriate for a particular degree. It would have been logical for the MFA to have black lined gold to fit the pattern established already for the BEd/MEd and BTheol/MTheol degrees. And so the Oxford scheme of hoods continued to be chaotic.

When John had retired as Managing Director of Shepherd & Woodward in 1999, Adrian Palfreyman, his son-in-law, took over as Group Managing Director and so the business remained in the family. In retirement John had maintained his connection with the firm as Chairman. However, he confessed to a lifelong fascination with motorbikes and cars, and now he had more time to indulge his hobby, car rallying. And he admitted he could take an MG to bits, but he couldn't make a gown!

At the conclusion of his talk, John Venables was admitted as a Fellow of the Burgon Society *honoris causa* in recognition of nearly fifty years service in the robemaking business in Oxford.

The rest of the morning session was devoted to three short presentations on different aspects of academic dress.

Silks and damasks

Philip Goff showed three early robes faced with silks of a quality and colour generally unknown to modern robemakers in this country: a Doctor of Laws style judge's gown that may have belonged to Judge Storrey, founder member of the Harvard Law School; a doctoral robe from Harvard dating from the nineteenth century; and an Oxford DCL, possibly from as early as the 1830s, with linings in a pinkish silk. (John Venables believed the Oxford robe must have been refaced by James Clarke: the tape on the sleeves was a peculiarity of that robemaker.)

Phil explained that modern looms cannot weave the style of silk used in the past, but he had found that the old looms had gone to the East. He had located them and had old-style silks rewoven and a silk/rayon mix in flame and plum colours to give a shot crimson effect.

The damasks used for Doctor of Music robes came in many designs, some of them attractive, some of them quite horrid. Phil and others were at work recreating the more beautiful white and cream damasks. Philip Lowe had had a Truro damask made up; a robe brought along by John Venables had Florence damask on the sleeves and facings; and Phil had had an beautiful apple-blossom design woven of the type used for Oxford DMus robes in the past.

Gown key

Dr George Shaw gave a short talk introducing his work in progress on a list identifying the different gowns prescribed by British institutions. As the universities in Britain have grown in number from nine or ten in the late thirties, when George began to take an interest in academic dress, to over a hundred today, the range of gowns and robes has become ever more complicated. He circulated a draft of his list, with entries colour-coded to distinguish the different types and degrees represented.

George is now working with Nick Groves on preparing the key to the identification of hoods for publication, and it is intended to issue it in a format uniform with Nick's hood key.

Unrecorded Oxford academic dress plates

Dr Alex Kerr displayed a unique set of five unrecorded Oxford academic dress engravings that seem never to have progressed beyond the proof stage. He drew attention to features of the robes that helped to date the plates, as well as those which differed from what was to be seen in near contemporary pictorial records. (An article on these plates is included on pp. 44–48 of this *Annual*.)

An Oxford degree ceremony

The Vice-Chancellor's office had generously provided twenty tickets for participants in the Burgon Society's Oxford study day to attend a degree ceremony (officially the Ancient House of Congregation), which was to take place in the afternoon. Early in the autumn, structural problems had been discovered in the roof of the Sheldonian Theatre, where the event would normally have been held, and the building had been closed for repairs. The degree ceremony was transferred to the Examination Schools, the monumental building by T.G. Jackson in High Street. After lunch, those with tickets made their way to the Schools to take their seats.

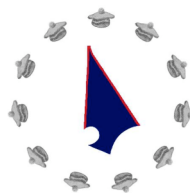
This was one of the first ceremonies presided over by Dr John Hood as Vice-Chancellor, for which he wore the newly introduced Vice-Chancellor's gown of black damask trimmed with gold lace.

Monuments in college chapels

Alex Kerr led the small group of those who were not attending the degree ceremony on a visit to New College and Merton College chapels to see the monumental brasses and other memorials of figures in academic dress. These represent some of the most important evidence of what robes were like between the late fourteenth and the early seventeenth century: from medieval Doctors of Theology and of Canon Law in cappa clausa and a Master of Arts in his tabard to post-Reformation figures such as Sir Thomas Bodley and Sir Henry Savile in their doctoral undress gowns and hoods.

At the end of the afternoon the two groups met outside the Examination Schools among the new graduates and college deans of degrees in their academic dress, and returned to Trinity College for tea. Our thanks are due to everyone who made the study day such an enjoyable and successful occasion and especially to Dr George Shaw for his generous support in securing Trinity as the venue for the event.

Alex Kerr



A Fellow's Progress

by Thorsten E. Hauler

When I came to Britain in October 2003, I wouldn't have believed that I would be a Fellow of this honourable Society only one year later. Here is what happened. I started my job as Academic Administrator in the School of Engineering and Mathematical Sciences at the City University, London. My line manager thought it would be a good idea for me to act as Departmental Marshal at the School's graduation ceremony in November that same year. I couldn't resist, bearing in mind the rather sad memory of a certificate simply being handed to me in a departmental office at the University of Heidelberg a couple of years earlier. I needed to make up lost ground! The first step was to obtain a proper garment—the University hires robes for members of staff. This obviously posed a problem, as there is no academical dress for German state universities any more.¹ My scientific instinct kicked in: this was my first contact with academical dress, so I had to find out more about it. I came across a variety of information—the internet is a wonderful invention!—the most important of which was the website of the Burgon Society. Becoming a member was a must for me. The second most important was the Society's bibliography, especially the book by George Shaw, *Academical Dress of British Universities*.² I found a copy in the City University Library, signed by the author and donated when the institution acquired university status in 1966. I borrowed it and started immediately to draw up a concept for academical dress in contemporary Germany. Meanwhile, Ede & Ravenscroft provided me with a standard black gown and, based on my degree specification, a bright orange hood for the graduation ceremony. I felt proud—and a little unsure of what to make of this. But I enjoyed every second of the ceremony and deeply regretted the absence of these celebrations at my university in Germany.

I joined the Burgon Society in January 2004 and contacted the Dean of Studies, Professor Bruce Christianson straight away, my proposal being for a critical study of academical dress in Germany. My intention was to investigate the history and to propose a new design, based on my findings. My second intention was to hand this in as a Fellowship submission, which if successful would be a great honour for me and would entitle me to my first hood in this country. In any case, I would need a proper outfit for the forthcoming graduation ceremonies and for another of my favourite pastimes, the University of London Church Choir: we sing in gowns and hoods, on a regular basis. Lively discussions via e-mail followed—may I express my deepest gratitude to everyone involved—and the work took shape. I flew to Heidelberg to do some research there, visited various libraries in London and started putting together my results. The Burgon Society's next event was the Garden Party on 10 July 2004, and I intended to present my

¹ See Hauler, Thorsten E., 'Academical Dress in Germany: A Historical Outline and the Development of a New System' (submission for the Fellowship of the Burgon Society, 2004).

² (Cambridge: Heffer, 1966). The Burgon Society on-line Bibliography can be accessed at www.burgon.org.uk/society/library/biblio.html

draft to Bruce's critical eye. I was very impressed by the knowledge and expertise the members of the Burgon Society possessed. For a fresher like me it was a revelation, something I so much had wanted to belong to, and now did! I had started to wear my boss's gown and hood (City MBA), the only one easily accessible and remotely suitable. But I hoped to have my own academical dress very soon. The Garden Party was extremely enjoyable; I met hugely interesting people, was impressed by the Archive collection and enjoyed the organ recital during the afternoon. I also discussed the possibility of a speedy submission for the FBS with the Chairman, Fr Philip Goff, who was delighted by the prospect of having another Fellowship by Submission in 2004. However, the date of the next Congregation was fixed for the 23 October, roughly three months away. But I was confident that Bruce would make only minor corrections and praise the style and content—no problems there. Bruce stripped down the paper, made valuable suggestions and left me with the task of rewriting half the paper in a very short time to allow for the examiners to do their bit!

The opportunity of admission to the Fellowship so soon and the prospect of the alternative, the disappointment of missing it only by days, both encouraged and motivated me. The paper went to the examiners by the end of July, and their reports came back in early September. They recommended a few amendments but their tone was incredibly positive. I submitted the amended version in early October, and in the week before the Congregation took place, Bruce informed me of the examiners' recommendation, the award of a Fellowship that Saturday! In fact, the decision came too late for my name to be included in the printed programme but just in time for the decisive Council meeting. One year, one week and one day after I came to this country I proudly received my FBS. Nicholas Groves, who stood in for Bruce as Dean on the day, summarized my design as having originated from different sources: historic German (general shape of gown, button and cord, faculty colours), English (idea of hood, hat) and City University (neckband colour representing faculty).

What happened next? I am in contact with my old university, Heidelberg, and have received approval to have a gown made according to my design. More on this will be presented in a forthcoming short article. I am currently writing the second paper in my series on German academical dress. As the University of Heidelberg intends to reintroduce academical dress for its doctorate graduands, this publication will serve as a basis for a new design. A third part is planned and will conclude this short series on German academical dress, which I hope will eventually be published together by the Burgon Society in its monograph series.

The Regulation of Undergraduate Academic Dress at Oxford and Cambridge, 1660–1832

by William Gibson

The Whiggish treatment of the eighteenth century by historians up to the 1960s tended to the opinion that most the features of the Church and State were corrupt and unreformed, until the Victorian zeal for improvement changed things for the better. This applies as much to the universities. Indeed the Cambridge historian D. A. Winstanley encapsulated this in the titles of his books, *Unreformed Cambridge* being that of his study of late eighteenth-century Cambridge.¹ In matters of academic dress also there is an impression that between the Laudian and other statutes of the seventeenth century and the reforms of the Victorian period there was increasingly chaotic practice in dress and an abandonment of the statutory rules governing it.² The analogy is that just as the Reform Act of 1832 and the Whig reforms of the 1830s improved Parliament and society, and the Ecclesiastical Commission's reforms of the 1840s improved the Church, so the reform of regulations at Cambridge in 1870 and 1889, and 1857 at Oxford, improved and modernized a decayed system of academic dress. Just as there has been an abandonment of Whig history in the study of religion and society, which has shown that the eighteenth century witnessed both reform and revision in many fields, so it is the argument presented here that the system of academic dress in the period between the Restoration and the Reform Act was comparatively conformist and on at least two occasions was regulated at both Oxford and Cambridge.

W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley's *A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* provides an exhaustive treatment of academic dress of both graduates and undergraduates;³ the purpose of this study is to draw on a range of contemporary sources to illustrate the features of undergraduate academic dress. It is also to place the changes to eighteenth century undergraduate academic dress in a context of a form of dress increasingly dissonant with lay and civil dress. Thus the period 1660–1832 is one in which the undergraduate—arguably the university member most strongly influenced by civilian dress—was regulated to wear dress most at odds with his lay peers. Inevitably this led both to tensions and to breaches of regulations, some countenanced as were the reforms of 1769–73, others not tolerated. What follows then is a redaction of scholarship of undergraduate academic dress of the period, with a fresh insight into the issues of class, status and fashion drawn from contemporary sources.

¹ D. A. Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1935).

² In fact, of course, the revision of dress at Cambridge excluded King's College.

³ (Oxford, 1963; repr. Westport, CT, 1978).

In 1674 Charles II expressed himself scandalized by the laxity in academic dress at Cambridge and insisted on a return to the pre-Civil War regulations, and thereafter the regulations were firmly enforced. In June 1681 the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge issued a proclamation:

Whereas several undergraduates and Bachelors of Arts have of late neglected to wear such gowns as by Order and Custom are proper for their rank and standing in the University, whereby the common distinction of Degrees is taken away, upon which have followed many and great inconveniences. It is this day in Consistory resolv'd, order'd and decreed by the Vice-Chancellor with the consent of the Heads of Colleges ... that none residing in the University under the degree of Master of Arts shall hereafter upon any pretence whatsoever be allowed to appear publickly either in or out of colleges in mourning gowns, or gowns made after that fashion, or any other but what by Order and Custom of the University belong to their degree and standing.⁴ And that if any shall presume after the feast day of St Barnabas next following the date of this decree and act contrary to the tenor of it, he shall be proceeded against and punished with all the severity that such disobedience and contumacy shall deserve.⁵

Generally, of course, a BA might be assumed to have attained a social as well as academic distinction and, whilst technically not *in statu pupillari*, he remained subject to the authority of the university on matters of dress. Similarly masters and doctors were not free from university authority in this regard. At Oxford also, following Vice-Chancellor Fell's reassertion of Laudian rules in 1666, patterns for gowns, hoods and hats were made and stored in the Convocation House and tailors warned that they risked punishment if they diverged from the patterns by so much as a 'nail's breadth'.⁶

Throughout the 'long' eighteenth century undergraduates at both universities were differentiated into four principal classes: noblemen; gentlemen-commoners (at Cambridge fellow-commoners); scholars (including pensioners at Cambridge); and servitors (sometimes known at Cambridge as sizars and also at Oxford as battlers).⁷ At Oxford there was an additional group, commoners, between scholars and servitors. Each of these classes of undergraduates was entitled to a different form of dress.⁸

⁴ Professor Bruce Christianson has pointed out to me that mourning gowns had pudding sleeves and were condemned at Oxford in 1689, and four years later a member of Convocation was denied a vote while wearing such a gown; the gown was suppressed at Cambridge for those below MA in 1681 though it remained available as an alternative to the MA gown as undress for the DD.

⁵ Quoted in C. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1874), pp. 514–15.

⁶ C. E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols (London, 1924–27), Vol. II (1924), p. 333.

⁷ Because they were entitled to eat free of charge at the common table and to charge food to the college battlers.

⁸ At Oxford there was also a class of Student of Civil Law who had their own gowns, and, like today's BCL candidates, occupied an intermediate position in the University. SCLs had been on their college's books for four years but had no BA. I owe this to Bruce Christianson. Loggan described SCLs as 'Juris Civilis Studiosus non graduatus postquam.'

Dress as a mark of status: noblemen

Noblemen at Oxford since 1490 (and following clarification in 1576) were entitled to wear silk and brocaded gowns of bright colours.⁹ Such rich materials emphasized noble status, as did the costly dyes. The gowns had flap collars,



Nobleman at Oxford (1675)

Tudor bag sleeves with gold lace decorations (akin to the black lace decorations used today on Oxford gimp gowns)¹⁰ and a velvet round cap with a gold tassel or tuft was worn. This was a pattern comparable to the doctor's undress gown, also suggesting a status comparable to the most senior academics. In 1712 the *Guardian* referred to the undergraduate nobleman's fashion for green velvet sleeves turned up to reveal the flash of colour; such touches enabled noble undergraduates to keep abreast of fashionable trends in clothing.¹¹ Lord Fitzwilliam, as a nobleman at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1764, wore a pink gown with gold lace,¹² and in 1790 George Selwyn, tutor to Lady Carlisle's son, wrote

⁹ Noblemen were technically 'nobiles minorum gentium' and included the sons of bishops, knights and baronets and, by resolution of Convocation, could include heirs of esquires.

¹⁰ In the feverish atmosphere in the University of Oxford between 1714 and 1720 Whigs and Tories adopted gowns of different patterns as a badge of their party and dynastic allegiance, the Whigs wore 'pudding sleeve' gowns, the Tories MA gowns (Wordsworth, *Social Life*, p. 36).

¹¹ *Guardian*, 18 March 1712/13. The sons of Irish and Scottish peers were required to dress in darker colours, which Hargreaves-Mawdsley ascribes to their disqualification from seats in the House of Lords. This argument lacks force after the Union with Scotland in 1707 and Ireland in 1801.

¹² A. D. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1908), p. 164.

advising her on a gown for the young nobleman. Selwyn hoped that Lady Carlisle approved of his choice of colour for her son's silk gown:

I think light blue celeste, which Lord Stafford had, would be detestable, and scarlet is too glaring. No, it must be a good deep green.¹³



Nobleman in full dress at Cambridge (1815)

Clearly there was a common knowledge of which noblemen favoured particular colours. The desire of noblemen to keep in touch with fashionable trends outside the universities led to some relaxation of regulations. For example, at Cambridge after 1750 noblemen, as well as non-regent MAs, were permitted to wear a tall hat instead of the velvet round cap,¹⁴ and there was a special nobleman's gown for state occasions which was bright blue, richly trimmed with gold lace, worn with a cap tassel of gold. At King's College the nobleman's state gown was enhanced with 'bishop's sleeves'.¹⁵ Such rich dress made for some considerable display: in 1792 an undergraduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, described

In silk, gay lords the streets parade
Gold tassels nodding overhead.¹⁶

¹³ H.M.C. Carlisle MSS, Vol. VI, p. 689.

¹⁴ At Oxford such lay headwear was always illegal.

¹⁵ J. R. Tanner (ed.), *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1917), p. 197. Bishop's sleeves were large voluminous sleeves such as bishops wore on their lawn rochets.

¹⁶ Quoted in Godley, p. 167.

Thus the nobleman undergraduate could enjoy marks of distinctive status as well as opportunities to follow fashions in colour and headwear. About 1799 one description of a nobleman undergraduate was:

A gay golden tuft on his cap he displays
Which dazzles all eyes with its ravishing rays
True badge of nobility, awful and grand
Confined to the essence and cream of the land ...
How I love to adore thee with honours divine
To count thy bright favour and bask in thy shine.¹⁷

Inevitably perhaps those who courted the favour of such exalted undergraduates—fellow undergraduates as well as tradesmen—were sometimes called ‘tuft hunters’. Indeed at Oxford those who wore ‘golden tassel and silk gowns’ were said to be ‘infested’ by flatterers.¹⁸

Fellow- and gentlemen-commoners

Gentlemen-commoners at Oxford, and fellow-commoners at both universities, were distinguished by their armigerous status and the payment of full fees to the college and university. They ate with the fellows although they were commoners.



Gentleman-Commoner at Oxford (1674)

¹⁷ A. Allardyce, *Letters of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, The New Oxford Guide* (London, 1885), Vol. I, Introduction.

¹⁸ G. Midgley, *University Life in Eighteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1996), pp. 11, 13.

At Oxford they were entitled to wear velvet and silk round caps, with a black silk tassel;¹⁹ and silk gowns, though they were denied the bright colours of the noblemen.²⁰ The gentleman-commoner's gown was black, though it was also decorated with buttons, silk lace or rows of tufts, and used a winged-sleeved pattern in Edwards's and Loggan's illustrations. Jeremy Bentham paid £1 12s 6d for his son's gentleman-commoner's gown and seven shillings for a cap.²¹ Though denied the colours of the nobleman, gentlemen-commoners' gowns were rich enough to be a mark of social distinction. Richard Polewhele described the Oxford gentleman-commoner as wearing:

... the velvet cap, whose power
Exempts from care the frolic hour
There gives, as triumph lights her face,
The silken gown its fringed grace
And bids its rustle in the breeze
A sanction to the sons of ease
And still, with supercilious air
The tufted cap of folly wear.²²

In 1721 the Oxford student newspaper *Terrae Filius* published the 'Academicum; or, The Gentleman-commoner's Matriculation'. In it, the newly minted gentleman-commoner arranged his garb:

I sallied forth to deck my back
With loads of tufts and gown of black
Prunello²³
My back equipt, it was not fair
My head should 'scape, as so square
As chessboard
A cap I bought, my skull to screen
Of cloth without, and all within
Of pasteboard.²⁴

Terrae Filius also described a gentleman-commoner as an 'Oxford smart':

When he walks down the street he is easily distinguished by a stiff silk gown, which rustles in the wind ... a square cap of above twice the usual size ... his clothes lined with tawdry silk.²⁵

¹⁹ After 1675 they were entitled to square caps.

²⁰ Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 93.

²¹ Midgley, p. 19.

²² R. Polewhele, *The Follies of Oxford* (London, 1785), p. 142.

²³ Prunello was a coarse wool. I owe this to Susan North.

²⁴ *Terrae Filius*, No. 41, June 1721, in N. Amhurst, *Terrae-Filius, or the Secret History of the University of Oxford, in Several Essays to Which are Added Remarks on a Late Book Entitled 'University Education' by R. Newton DD* (London, 1754), pp. 215–17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 245–46.

Clearly some ‘smarts’ ignored the rules regarding headwear. At Trinity College, Cambridge fellow-commoners were distinguished from those of other colleges by a blue rather than black gown, a zigzag silver braid on the facings of their gowns and a silver tassel on their caps.

Noblemen and gentlemen-commoners often had an undress gown for daily wear and a dress gown for formal occasions. At Magdalen College, Oxford it was the custom for both nobles and gentlemen-commoners to appear in full dress for all meals.²⁶ Pensioners elected to fellowships (for which undergraduates could also qualify) were distinguished at Cambridge by the privilege of dining at the fellows’ table with wine and gowns with velvet collars and silver and gold lace of particular shapes for each college.²⁷

Scholars, commoners and pensioners

In 1666 Vice-Chancellor Fell ordered Oxford scholars (‘foundation men’) to wear wide-sleeved gowns, whose extent was to the finger ends of the wearer and not to exceed an ell in circumference.²⁸ This bell-sleeved gown was worn with a square cap, made from cloth (rather than velvet). Similar gowns and caps were worn at Cambridge by pensioners on the foundation at Peterhouse, King’s and Queens’. At Trinity College, Cambridge, the gown was blue.

At Oxford commoners were a separate class of undergraduate, paying their own fees and not associated with the foundation of their colleges, though they were not armigerous. Fell laid down that commoners should wear a gown with a flap collar with streamers, or leading strings. The gown was in the same style as the modern Oxford ‘Graduate Student’ gown, but ankle-length and with the streamers decorated with three bands of ruched black braid decorated with buttons.²⁹ They wore a round cap, one of which cost Henry Brougham between two and three shillings and sixpence in the late seventeenth century. In 1770 commoners were ordered to wear the square cloth cap with a silk tassel and their gowns had lost their buttons but had gained pleats in large squares in a line below the flap collar. Within the next twenty years the streamers broadened and lengthened to the ankle.³⁰

John Skinner at Oxford toward the end of the eighteenth century referred to his gown as,

Behind our gowns (black Bombazine)³¹
Are sewed two leading strings, I ween
To teach young students in their course
They still have need of learning’s nurse.³²

²⁶ T. Seccombe and H. S. Scott (ed), *In Praise of Oxford* (London, 1911), Vol. II, ‘Life and Manners’, p. 616.

²⁷ Tanner, p. 196.

²⁸ Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 97.

²⁹ By a statute of 1675 all gowns were ordered to be ‘talaes’, i.e. ankle length.

³⁰ Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 98–100.

³¹ Bombazine was a mixture of silk and worsted. I owe this point to Susan North.

³² British Library, Add. MSS, 33,634, f. 10.

The reference to ‘leading strings’, used by ostlers in training their horses and by parents and nurses in the training and control of children, suggested that, unlike noblemen or gentlemen-commoners, the commoner was much more likely to be treated as the inferior of the tutors and dons and directly under their authority.

At Cambridge pensioners at colleges where most undergraduates were not on the foundation wore gowns and caps similar to those used by commoners at Oxford, although the sleeveless gown had lost its streamers by the late eighteenth century.

At both universities there was a plethora of exceptions in dress for scholars and exhibitioners, usually based on specified colleges, scholarships or foundations. Westminster scholars at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at Christ Church, Oxford, wore a gown with large open sleeves, and the Duchess of Somerset’s exhibitioners at St John’s College, Cambridge, wore square caps without tufts or tassels.³³



Commoner at Oxford (1770)

Sizars and servitors

At the bottom of the undergraduate hierarchy came the servitor, sometimes at Cambridge called the sizar, and, at Oxford, the batteler.³⁴ These were the poorest students admitted to the universities on the basis that they acted as servants in

³³ See also Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 132 et seq.

³⁴ The class was abolished in 1867. Sizarships remained at Cambridge up to 1902 by which time they were worth an income of £40 a year. Bruce Christianson has pointed out that servitors, battelers, sizars and sub-sizars probably enjoyed their own hierarchy, though by the middle of the eighteenth century this was breaking down.

colleges, usually to gentlemen-commoners and noblemen, in return for their tuition, board and lodging. At Cambridge they were sometimes derisively called 'hounds'.³⁵ A servitor wore a black stuff gown without any marks of status such as buttons, sleeves or streamers. These plain sleeveless gowns were sometimes nicknamed 'curtains'.³⁶ They were usually black but on occasion were also dark blue,³⁷ presumably the same hue as the 'toga coloris violacei' used by scholars at Trinity College, Cambridge.³⁸ The collar flap of servitors was round and that of battelers was square.³⁹ Servitors also wore a simple round cap, sometimes known as the 'thrum cap' and often likened by detractors to a cowpat.⁴⁰ At Cambridge the round cap was sometimes called the 'Monmouth cap'. This round cap was also used by battelers, such as Henry Fleming, who paid three shillings for his in 1681 at Oxford. Battelers were a class of Oxford undergraduate below commoners and slightly above servitors. Their food was paid for by a nobleman or gentleman-commoner, for whom they undertook lighter duties such as cleaning shoes. When in 1682 Fleming progressed to become a scholar on the foundation of his college he paid a further five shillings for a square cap. He appears to have gone through both round and square caps pretty fast, buying four square caps in fourteen months, suggesting that such headwear took a considerable level of wear and tear.⁴¹

Headwear, perhaps more than gowns, was a source of tension for undergraduates whose status was marked by their caps. The square and round caps used at Oxford were lampooned in verse in 1691:

Some trenchers on their heads have got
As black as younder porridge pot
And some have things exactly such
As my old Gammers mumbles' pouch
Which fits upon his head as neat
As 'twere sew'd to't by every pleat.⁴²

The Servitour, a poem of 1739 portrayed a servitor with ragged circular hat, threadbare gown so thin the light shone through it. His gown was greasy and 'clotted with sweat' of ten years' service.⁴³

³⁵ D. A. Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge*, p. 192.

³⁶ C. Wordsworth, *The Undergraduate from 'Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century'*, revised, edited and abridged by J. Brimley Roberts (London, 1928), p. 148. Curtains were abolished in 1834.

³⁷ J. R. Green, G. Robertson and C. L. Stanier (eds), *Studies in Oxford History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford Historical Society, 41, (Oxford, 1901), p. 37.

³⁸ See Logan plates.

³⁹ Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 100.

⁴⁰ Midgley, p. 14.

⁴¹ J. R. Macgrath, (ed), *The Flemings in Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, 62, (Oxford, 1913), Vol. II, pp. 15, 83, 117.

⁴² *Academia: Or the Humours of the University of Oxford in Burlesque Verse...* (Oxford, 1691), p. 34.

⁴³ Wordsworth, *Social Life*, p. 102.

Agitation for change

For some commoners and servitors their academic dress became a source of shame for their lowly standing in the universities. ‘Lampoon’, a character in Colley Cibber’s 1704 play *An Act at Oxford*, denounced scholars in the following terms:

I hate your odious gowns, like so many daggie-tail Questmen, and your filthy square caps that serve only to teach one to squint.⁴⁴

Similarly in 1730 Thomas Hearne bemoaned that servitors

scorn to wear their proper habits, their gowns being not what properly belong to servitors ... and their caps ... being what (when I came to Oxford) the commoners wore.⁴⁵

At meals in the college halls the servitors and scholars were also separated from the noblemen, gentlemen-commoners and Bachelors of Arts.⁴⁶ Richard Newton’s plans for a new college at Oxford, Hart Hall, included such provision for the lowest undergraduates:

Extending from the high raised floor
In length: we count two tables more
For me and my compeers
That is, for youths with leading strings
And sleeveless gowns, poor awkward things ...⁴⁷

The discontent of the servitors at their ‘caps of servility’ and lowly gown came to a head in both universities in the period 1769 to 1770. In 1750 the *Gentleman’s Magazine* described their hats as ‘frightful things’. In 1750 a Cambridge University regulation ordered those *in statu pupillari*—effectively pensioners and servitors rather than noblemen and fellow-commoners, who were not deemed to be *in statu pupillari*—to wear clothes of ‘grave colour’ without lace, fringe or embroidery and without bright colours. Bachelors’ gowns were to be made of prunello or ‘prince’s stuff’ and the only restriction on noblemen was an inhibition from wearing lace on their caps.⁴⁸ The agitation for change may well reflect the influence of civil dress and the blurring of social distinctions outside the universities. As Lawrence Stone has pointed out, England, in comparison with other European countries in the eighteenth century, was an ‘open elite’ in which merit and skill strongly influenced social standing. And yet, ironically, in the

⁴⁴ Quoted in Midgley, p. 14.

⁴⁵ Hearne’s diary 14 May 1730, quoted in Midgley, p. 14.

⁴⁶ The slit in the sleeve of the BA gown was introduced at Cambridge to allow ease of dining (C. Wordsworth, *The Undergraduate*, p. 148).

⁴⁷ R. Newton, *A Scheme of Discipline ... to be established ... in Hart Hall* (Oxford, 1720), p. 29.

⁴⁸ Wordsworth, *The Undergraduate*, p. 119.

universities this social mobility was restrained by what servitors and sizars viewed as their habits of shame.⁴⁹

The dissatisfaction of servitors with their lowly dress, and particularly their dislike of round caps led to a campaign at Cambridge by Charles Farish in 1769 to persuade the heads of Houses to change the regulation requiring them.⁵⁰ The campaign coincided with the election of the Duke of Grafton as the Chancellor of the University. Grafton agreed to the change for his installation ceremony, so that undergraduates could attend ‘in a dress more decent and becoming’, and in the wake of the decision the Council permitted general use of cloth square caps for servitors and pensioners.⁵¹ The *Cambridge Chronicle* of 1 July 1769 punned:

What ancients and what moderns vainly sought
Cambridge with ease, hath both attained and taught
The truth even envy must herself allow
For all her scholars square the circle now.

Oxford was not far behind Cambridge, although change here resulted from greater discontent with the round cap. In 1770, perhaps influenced by the change at Cambridge, the servitors of Christ Church revolted *en masse* and adopted the dress of ‘foundationers’ or scholars. In turn the scholars were discomforted by



Pensioner of Trinity College and Sizar at Cambridge (1815)

⁴⁹ L. Stone, *An Open Elite?* (Oxford, 1983).

⁵⁰ Farish's campaign was part of a wider attempt to persuade the University to allow fellows to marry.

⁵¹ Wordsworth, *The Undergraduate*, pp. 134–35.

such association and, disliking the possibility of confusion with servitors, they in turn adopted the larger gowns of Bachelors of Arts. In response some of the heads of Houses demanded that the University should rigorously enforce the Laudian Statute XIV of 1633: 'De Vestitu et Habitu Scholastico'. Nevertheless in the Hebdomadal Council the servitors' unilateral action was endorsed but, with strong campaigning from the Proctors, this was later overruled by the Congregation of the University. By the summer of 1770 a new regulation was imposed—replacing the Laudian statutes—that reached a compromise between the need to endorse the status of scholars and 'higher' undergraduates and to relieve the servitors of their hated round caps. Servitors were permitted to wear the square cap, but without a tuft or tassel. Scholars were confirmed in their right to wear a gown like that of the Bachelor of Arts but with shortened sleeves to distinguish them from graduates. Noblemen were confirmed in their right to wear coloured silk and gold lace, though the sons of baronets and knights were now limited to black silk gowns with gold lace. Gentlemen-commoners were confirmed in their right to wear a black silk gown with a velvet square cap.⁵² The 1770 change was endorsed by the production of formal patterns of gowns and engravings.⁵³

The enforcement of regulations

The enforcement of the 1769 and 1770 regulations seems to have been fairly effective—at least initially. In the 1770s Edmund Gibbon recorded his reaction to academic dress at Oxford. He observed that while noblemen 'dress according to their fancy and fortune ... the uniform habit of the academics, the square cap and black gown, is adapted to the civil and even clerical profession; and from the Doctors of Divinity to the undergraduate, the degrees of learning and age are extremely distinguished.'⁵⁴ The effectiveness of the regulations can also be judged by those who transgressed them. In at least one case the prospect of transgression thoroughly embarrassed an undergraduate. In 1778 John James arrived at Queen's College Oxford with a cap and gown that he had ordered to be made by a London tailor, who was clearly not versed in the patterns of the University's gowns. Unfortunately when he reached Oxford, James realized that the style of the gown was neither that of the commoner nor of the gentleman-commoner, being, he told his father, 'a mongrel kind.' James was warned he would be hooted at in the street for wearing such an unconventional gown, and consequently he wrote to his father asking for money for a gown that conformed to the usual pattern.⁵⁵ Similarly in 1784 the correspondent of a young Oxford scholar explained that he would quickly learn the dress code that denoted the undergraduate hierarchy. He would soon be shocked 'if a servitor should dare to be so irregular as to put on a gentleman-commoner's cap' and he himself would 'never think of putting a gold tassel on [his] own cap.'⁵⁶ The following year Polewhele referred to

⁵² Godley, pp. 166–67

⁵³ Mallet, Vol. III, p. 194.

⁵⁴ Seccombe and Scott, p. 750.

⁵⁵ Midgley, p. 19.

⁵⁶ *Letter to a Young Gentleman of Fortune, Just Entered at University* (Oxford, 1784), p.

undergraduates who feared ‘the terror of the velvet sleeve’ of the Proctors who would punish infringement of the dress regulations.⁵⁷ One author in 1788 proposed that infringement of the rules of academic dress should be punished by six months rustication and expulsion on the third offence.⁵⁸ Thus, though gradually diverging from lay dress, the reforms of 1769 and 1770 seem to have commanded a considerable measure of assent within the universities.

All undergraduates were also required to wear appropriate neckcloths or bands. In 1778 bands, known as ‘the saintly ornament’, were an absolute requirement for undergraduates.⁵⁹ Undergraduates who wore black neckcloths in public were ordered back to their college to change into white neckcloths or bands.⁶⁰ Wearing boots with academic dress was also absolutely forbidden for those below the level of DD; inceptors in Divinity earned the privilege in 1733 at Oxford, but shoes were required for all others.⁶¹ In 1793 the penalty for wearing boots was described:

But the whole set, pray understand
Must walk full dress, in cap and band
For should grave Proctor chance to meet
A buck in boots along the street
He stops his course and with permission
Asks his name, sets imposition.⁶²

The importance of the distinctions between different classes of undergraduates was keenly felt by many eighteenth-century members of the universities. Hence Skinner versified in the 1790s:

Such nice distinctions one perceives
In cuts of gowns, and hoods, and sleeves
Marking degrees, or style, or station
Of members free or on foundation ...⁶³

Abandoning the undergraduate dress

Undergraduates who advanced to the degree of Bachelor of Arts were often pleased to assume the gown that signalled their status had risen above that of an undergraduate. In some measure it freed them from the distinctions of servitor, commoner, scholar, gentleman-commoner and nobleman—though it placed them on the lowest rung of the ladder of degrees. Almost a century before the reforms mentioned above, Abraham de la Pryme graduated at Oxford in January 1694

⁵⁷ Polewhele, p. 160.

⁵⁸ *Remarks on the Enormous Expense in the Education of Young Men in the University of Cambridge*... (Cambridge, 1788), p. 28.

⁵⁹ Godley, p. 165.

⁶⁰ Seccombe and Scott, p. 616.

⁶¹ Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 103.

⁶² Godley, p. 166.

⁶³ Quoted in L. M. Quiller Couch, *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559–1850*, Oxford Historical Society, 22 (Oxford, 1892), p. 184.

after three days examination in St John's College, and three further days in the public schools.⁶⁴ He recorded:

Then when the day came of our being cap'd by the Vice-Chancellor, we were all called up in our Soph's gowns and our new square caps⁶⁵ and lamb-skin hoods on. There we were presented four by four, by our father⁶⁶ to the Vice-Chancellor saying out a sort of formal presentation speech to him.⁶⁷

The graduands took the required oaths, signed the University Register and kneeled before the Vice-Chancellor, who took each graduand's hands in his own and admitted him to the degree of Bachelor of Arts by touching him on the head with the New Testament. John Byrom, in 1711/12, graduating from Trinity College, Cambridge wrote to a friend:

I would fain have nothing hinder the pleasure I take in thinking how soon I shall change this tattered blue gown for a black one and a lambskin, and have the honourable title of Bachelor of Arts.⁶⁸

And as the *Gradus ad Cantabrigiam* recorded:

My head with ample square cap crown
And deck with hood my shoulders ...⁶⁹

By 1802 the ceremony of admitting a graduand—sometimes known in Cambridge as a 'questionist'—to his degree included the process of 'hoodling'.⁷⁰ The graduands assembled at the Senate House Gallery for the preliminary ceremonials and then descended from the gallery to be met by their bed-makers. At a given signal each bed-maker placed the 'rabbits fur' hood over the head of their graduand before the latter proceeded to take their oaths and be admitted to the degree of BA by the Vice-Chancellor.⁷¹ At Oxford the wealthy could dispense with their undergraduate garb in spectacular fashion as a 'grand compounder'. Grand compounders were those, usually sons of aristocrats and gentry, with an income in excess of three hundred pounds a year. In exchange for a higher fee for the BA—thirty pounds rather than the usual fee of seven pounds—they could graduate with an exalted processional place next to the Vice-Chancellor and wearing a bright red gown, which earned them the nickname 'university tulips'. The practice fell into disuse after 1817.⁷²

⁶⁴ De la Pryme was examined in rhetoric, logic, ethics, physics and astronomy.

⁶⁵ As an undergraduate de la Pryme wore a round cap. A 'Soph' was an undergraduate who had reached his ninth term.

⁶⁶ 'Father' meant the tutor who presented the graduand on behalf of his college.

⁶⁷ C. Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae: Some Account of Studies at English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1877), pp. 23–24.

⁶⁸ H. Talon, *Selections from the Journals and Papers of John Byrom*, (London, 1950), p. 38. At Trinity the undergraduate gown was blue.

⁶⁹ Wordsworth, *Social Life...*, p. 524.

⁷⁰ Perhaps a corruption of 'hooding'.

⁷¹ Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae*, p. 59.

⁷² G. V. Cox, *Recollections of Oxford* (London, 1870), pp. 250–51.

The academic dress of those who obtained degrees above that of BA, described by Vicesimus Knox as ‘velvet sleeves, scarlet gowns, hoods, black and red’, was often taken as evidence that ‘wisdom, science, learning ... flourish and abound.’⁷³ But it was not simply status and learning that different dress denoted. There were privileges that went with certain classes of undergraduates at both universities. For example visiting the markets at Cambridge was a privilege restricted to nobles and gentlemen-commoners, and the Proctors could punish any below those ranks who went there.⁷⁴ Pensioners were also forbidden to keep dogs, to take part in fencing, from 1708 they were forbidden to drive carriages and from 1791 to take part in duels.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The nature of undergraduate academic dress reflected the highly stratified and differentiated nature of eighteenth-century society. Aristocratic status remained at the apex of society, but men of wealth and enterprise—in land or commerce—entered a relatively open elite, moreover with the professionalization of the clergy, medicine and the law a new, putative, stratum of society was emerging that would become the ‘middle classes’. There was also the opportunity for men of talent to rise from plough-boy to bishop, as John Robinson did in the first decade of the eighteenth century. All these strands can be seen in the undergraduate community and in the dress that denoted their place in university society. Academic dress provided a visible indicator of status that was vital for the social interaction at the university to take place. Paul Langford and other historians have emphasized that eighteenth-century Britain was becoming a society in which ‘polite’ values were increasingly important.⁷⁶ Central to politeness was the assumption that each individual knew his place in society and the imagined boundaries that circumscribed it. For undergraduates that boundary was reflected in the colour, shape, cloth and decoration of their gowns and headwear. And it is clear that velvets, silks, bright dyes, tassels, shapes and designs of gowns and hats possessed a powerful influence as indicators of status and rank. But in a society in which advancement by merit was growing and in which wealth was not always an indicator of aristocratic standing, the social distinctions of dress were becoming anachronistic. The revolt of the servitors and sizars of 1769–70 was one which implied academic dress was part of a social rigidity that was irrelevant to the late eighteenth century. Certainly it seems that for much of the period under review undergraduates of all statuses pressed against the boundaries laid down by the universities’ authorities in matters of dress.

It should not be assumed, moreover, that conformity was absolute; indeed universities are by their nature likely to be centres of diversity rather than conformity. It is certainly the case that dress outside the universities was changing rapidly, and academically related dress of professional men (with the exception

⁷³ Quiller Couch, p. 160.

⁷⁴ The Proctors for the purpose of supervising the markets and fairs wore their hoods squared.

⁷⁵ Tanner, *passim*.

⁷⁶ P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1992). See also P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, 1660–1830* (London, 2000).

perhaps of lawyers) was falling away. This created a gulf between university dress and that of society at large, which inevitably made undergraduates question the reason for their garb. 'Ambient dress' and academic dress became two separate categories.⁷⁷ By 1832 academic dress was more of a 'sartorial anachronism' than it had been in 1660.⁷⁸ Certainly there were examples of rejection of the rigid system of academic dress, and of official exasperation at it. In 1816 there were sufficient instances of the flouting of dress regulations that they were reasserted at Oxford.⁷⁹ In Cambridge in 1799 Professor Pryme recalled that his uncle had been scandalized to see MAs wearing doctors' bonnets.⁸⁰ And in the same year the new Vice-Chancellor, Mansel, inveighed against irregular dress at Cambridge.⁸¹ In 1816 new statutes at Cambridge imposed a punishment for the first three offences against the dress regulations, the fourth being referred to the Proctors for more formal disciplining such as rustication.⁸² By 1827 Dr Whewell complained that rules of academic dress were routinely infringed.⁸³ But this does not suggest that there was an absence of regulation, or that in the case of academic dress the eighteenth century should be viewed as an era of neglect or decay. Indeed the period was one in which both universities reformed their regulations.

⁷⁷ I owe the phrase 'ambient dress' to Bruce Christianson.

⁷⁸ I owe this idea and phrase to Susan North.

⁷⁹ Mallet, Vol. III, p. 194.

⁸⁰ Wordsworth, *The Undergraduate*, p. 134.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁸³ W. Whewell, *On the Principles of English University Education* (London, 1837), p. 89.

Wearing Mummy's Clothes: An Introduction to Academical Archaeology

by Nicholas Groves and Bruce Christianson

This note is based upon the observation that the academic dress (AD) adopted by (former) British colonies and dominions potentially provides an archaeological record of UK AD.

Court and legal dress became fossilized in the eighteenth century and have remained largely (indeed almost completely) unchanged since then. In contrast, AD in the UK has continued to evolve in response to demands made by its wearers and by the authorities which imposed its use. In this respect AD is analogous to liturgical vesture, with which AD has long shared historical connections, in exhibiting both sympathetic response to changing lay fashion and deliberate reaction against it.

Most colonial universities initially borrowed their AD from the mother country, and particularly, in the case of British colonies, from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These initial borrowings typically reflected aspects of 'home' usage at the point in time when the colonial university (or the wearing of AD there) was first established, although occasionally a later form of home use would be transplanted and grafted on to an existing colonial AD practice.

Once transplanted, colonial AD found itself largely removed from the influence of UK fashion and the related pressures for change. AD in the colonies was usually worn less frequently than at Oxbridge (where AD continued for much longer to be everyday wear), and had in any case a symbolic status, as an icon of continuity with a geographically remote intellectual tradition, which made it relatively resistant to ephemeral change.

But in spite of isolation and inertia, colonial AD did continue to evolve. As well as innovations necessitated by the establishment of new degrees, and of new degree-awarding institutions, two other forces have been at work. The first is inculturation, where AD gradually adapts to and in some cases adopts local cultural practices. Examples of this are the Maori dog-skin cloak worn over gown and beneath hood in New Zealand, rather like the shoulderpiece worn in the seventeenth century at Oxford, and the use of kente cloth to face the gowns of some African universities. A second force is globalization: as more of the former colonies look to the USA for cultural referents, so their AD has been influenced in design or use by the USA Intercollegiate Code.

However, both endemic and global changes are relatively easy to identify and so to factor out. Thus our hope is that in many cases it will still be possible to use colonial AD as an archaeological record of former UK usage. Such a record could be exploited in two directions, allowing us both to reconstruct the evolutionary history of 'home' AD and to deduce the date of introduction of AD in the colonies from the forms used there.

In one direction, where the date of colonial/provincial adoption (or readoption) of a particular pattern of AD is known, the corresponding

reconstruction of former ‘home’ usage can be securely dated. For example the University of Wales still uses the simple hood shape which was current in Oxford in 1893, although Oxford itself has moved on. Edinburgh did the same for the simple shape current in Oxford during the 1870s, which is when hoods were reintroduced to Scottish AD. Going further back in time Trinity College, Dublin (founded 1591) consciously borrowed AD from both Oxford and Cambridge, and for over three centuries preserved many aspects of sixteenth-century English usage.

Interestingly, one early form of Burgon hood shape is still preserved at Belfast and the NUI, which inherited it from TCD in 1909 when they were chartered, even though it had by then long been abandoned at Oxford, and has since been abandoned by TCD. For more along these lines, refer to the paper by Nicholas Groves: ‘Evolution of Hood Patterns’, *Burgon Society Annual*, 2003, pp.18–23.

Conversely, in cases where an early form already has a secure ‘home’ date, we can use this to estimate the date at which that article of AD was transplanted. This is not necessarily the date of foundation of the colonial/provincial institution: for example, Harvard (founded 1636) uses the Oxford MA hood in the same shape which was readopted at Edinburgh, thus pointing to a date of adoption in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but prior to the setting up of the ICC.

Although we stress that what we are proposing is a methodology for generating hypotheses for further investigation, and not a crystal ball with which to gaze into the past, our approach does emphasize the continuing importance of catalogues of AD; not only of the early editions of Wood and Haycraft, but also of the much later works of Shaw (1966) and Smith (1970).

Even the lists and patterns in Pear’s *Cyclopaedia* and the *Girl’s Own Paper*, far from being merely outdated trainspotting, provide not only a valuable snapshot of AD as it was at the time of compilation, but also a potential record of the effects of prior transplantations. A comprehensive survey of colonial AD with this agenda has yet to be attempted.

Unrecorded Engravings of Oxford Academic Dress from the Early Nineteenth Century

by Alex Kerr

In 1992 I discovered in a print dealer's shop two engravings of academic dress that were not previously known to me. They were trial proofs or what are termed 'proofs before letters' of costume plates, one of an Oxford Doctor of Divinity and the other of a Master of Arts. Later, a second example of each of these plates came to light in the same shop, together with a third engraving clearly from the same series, showing a Proctor. The proprietor of the shop, an acknowledged expert on antique Oxford prints, had yet another in his own collection; it showed a 'determining' Bachelor of Arts.¹ He did not know the source of the plates and could not identify the artist or engraver. The following year another print dealer offered for sale two more engravings in the series, an Esquire Bedel and a Yeoman Bedel, but she was unable to provide any information about them and had no record of their provenance. Intermittent researches in the years since then have not thrown up any further evidence.

These proofs are on different qualities and weights of wove paper, apparently odd sheets or offcuts, but two of them very helpfully show part of the watermark of the paper maker Whatman, with the year of manufacture: 1803 on one of the MA prints and 1808 on one of the DDs. As the hairstyles and the clothing worn under the robes belong to the second decade of the nineteenth century, it seems reasonable to date the prints to about 1810 or shortly after that.

Most series of academic dress costume plates reveal links with their predecessors or their successors. Artists, intentionally or unwittingly, copy features of earlier images, most often in the poses adopted for certain figures. Here are some examples. David Loggan copied several of his Oxford figures (1675) as mirror images, with hands, faces and accessories altered, for his Cambridge plate (1690)²—presumably because the dress was the same, and not just out of laziness! James Roberts (1792) copied most of William Huddesford and James Taylor's figures (1770), adding some life to them in his watercolours by more striking poses and melodramatic gestures. Several of Nathaniel Whittock's Oxford figures (1822, 1828 and 1840) owe their poses to Thomas Uwins (1814), and Uwins and Whittock are then used as models by Thomas Shrimpton (1870 and 1885) and by George Davis for his postcards (1902). A mirror image of Uwins's Doctor in Physic in convocation dress appears seventy years later as Shrimpton's Doctor of Medicine and again as Davis's Doctor of Civil Law or Medicine. However, our plates stand alone. Remarkably enough, they do not appear to owe anything to their predecessors such as the Loggan or Huddesford and Taylor images, which the artist must surely have known.

¹ That is taking part in the ceremonial last exercise for his degree; for this one occasion a lambswool edging was added to the fur-lined hood.

² Dates given here are those of publication, not necessarily those of drawing or engraving.



Figure 1: DD

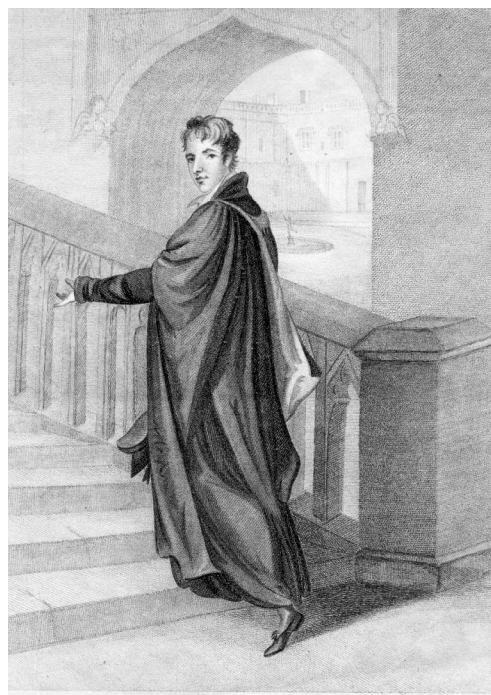


Figure 2: MA

Two of the figures are placed in recognizable Oxford locations and the other three stand in front of plausible Oxford architectural features. (The ‘determining’ Bachelor, not shown here, stands at a reading desk in the Convocation House.)

The **DD** (Figure 1), standing under an ogee arch, is shown in a realistic pose suggesting strength of character, with his head turned, his left hand on hip, and his right foot advanced as if about to step forward. A significant feature of his dress is the length of the robe: it is very much shorter than the ones worn in costume plates before or for some twenty years after these plates were produced (if *c.* 1810 is right), reaching to two or three inches above the ankle. The doctoral robes in the pictures of Huddesford and Taylor, of Roberts and of Uwins trail the ground. His square cap and its tassel are of a size and pattern that, like the robe, are indistinguishable from a modern DD’s. This is remarkable at this date.

The **MA** (Figure 2) is climbing a flight of steps and so the man and his gown are in movement. His left hand is stretched forward and his head is turned towards us, as if he is inviting us to join him in hall, for the scene is the staircase to the dining hall at Christ Church, with a view of Tom Quad and the Mercury Fountain through the archway. His gown reaches his heels and the semicircular cut at the foot of the sleeve is in fact clearer than in any previous illustrations of Oxford dress. The hood is turned out to show a generous amount of the silk lining. But it is difficult to tell whether the liripipe points outwards or inwards. It is not remarkable at this period that it reaches down to mid-calf level and that the neckband is very narrow. The figure is carrying what appears to be a conventional square cap.

Although the **Proctor** (Figure 3) is shown from behind, to display his ermine hood, he is clearly walking briskly away; interest is added by the inclusion

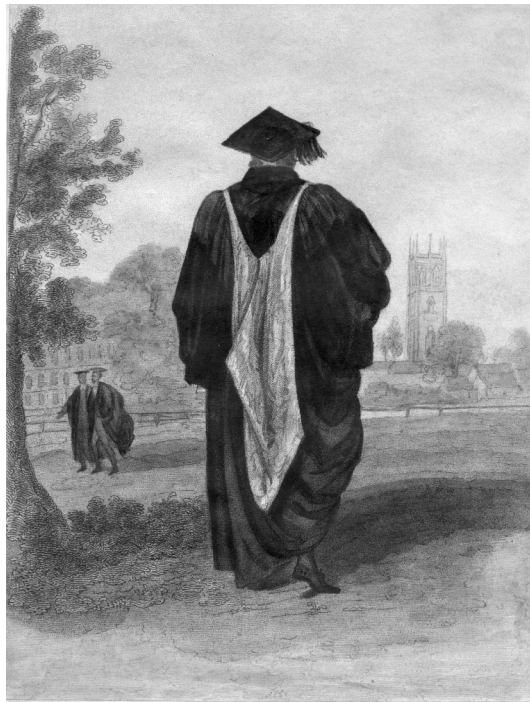


Figure 3: Proctor

of two gowned figures in the distance looking in our direction, and the scene is by a tree in Merton Field, with the south range of the Fellows' Quad of Merton College to the left and a cottage to the right with the tower of Magdalen College behind it—a scene that is just the same today. The gown seems to be fuller than the DD's robe, although the same shape; it reaches the heel, like the MA's. The hood, turned inside out to show only the fur lining, as has always been the custom, is very narrow and has a narrow neckband. This very slender style of hood seems to have been adopted only in the very early years of the nineteenth century. The square cap looks slightly larger than the modern style, but similar to contemporary ones.

The **Esquire Bedel** (Figure 4) trips lightly down a flight of shallow steps. He wears a gown similar to a lay bachelor's, with gimp on the upper part of the sleeves and in panels at the foot of the sleeves and near the hem on the skirt. These lower panels are in the five-sided pattern normal from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Here they are in the fairly rounded version also found in the drawings of Uwins. (Later, Whittock's gimp panels are ovals and in the late nineteenth century the pentagons have slightly concave sides—all these possibly reflecting passing fashions or varieties favoured by different tailors.) He wears a bonnet probably of velvet and the curious chain of office that had been usual since the seventeenth century for Esquire Bedels.³

The **Yeoman Bedel** (Figure 5) looks more stolid and immobile beside the buttress of a university building. He wears a plain gown with glove sleeves, the armholes of which appear to be in a rounded triangular shape, the predecessor of

³ The office was abolished in reforms of 1856, but the last Esquire Bedel continued in post until his retirement some ten years later.

the inverted T. He wears a cloth bonnet fuller and higher in the crown than the one worn by his modern successors.

The Esquire Bedel carries his stave the right way up, as is customary before the Chancellor or royalty. The Yeoman Bedel's is inverted, as it would be before the Vice-Chancellor. However, these staves are slender mace-like objects compared with the genuine article. It is all but impossible that the artist could have known different ones at Oxford; the staves in use now were acquired by the University in 1723 (apart from one renewed in 1803),⁴ and even the ones shown in Loggan's 1675 plate look as hefty as those in use today.

Perhaps these engravings never proceeded beyond the trial proof stage. If that is so, the most likely explanation is that the plates prepared from Uwins's drawings and published in Ackermann's lavish and hugely successful *History of the University of Oxford* in 1814 eclipsed them completely. This is a pity, since the artist seems to have possessed some talent and created a lively and unique set of images worth preserving.⁵



Figure 4: Esquire Bedel



Figure 5: Yeoman Bedel

⁴ Wells, pp. 94–95.

⁵ The material in this paper was given as a presentation during the Burgon Society's study day at Trinity College, Oxford, on 27 November 2004.

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Burgon Society On-line Bibliography

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

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

Academical Dress at the University of Sheffield: A Timeline

by Nicholas Gledhill

To meet the growing local demand for higher education in the second half of the nineteenth century a group of university colleges was formed, one of which was Firth College in Sheffield. In the 1870s the Cambridge University Extension Movement was helping those who could not attend Oxbridge for circumstantial reasons. This movement's lectures began in Sheffield in 1875, and their success inspired the mayor (Mark Firth) to found a college in which university courses could be conducted on a permanent basis. Some students attained graduate status, but since university colleges were not empowered to confer their own degrees such students took the External London University degrees.

Thirty years later, however, Sheffield University was created by Royal Charter, which provided; 'There shall be and there is hereby constituted and founded in Our said City of Sheffield a University by the name and style of "The University of Sheffield".' That was on 31 May 1905, and by October the first academic session was under way with 114 full time students reading for degrees in Arts, Science, Medicine.

The timeline given below is primarily concerned with tracing the official regulation of Academic Dress of the University of Sheffield since its foundation. However, various secondary sources have been used to interpret the regulations and place them in context. Although the regulations are now without anomaly this was not always so, and tracking down the specifics of when changes were made would not have been possible without access to the complete set of the *Calendars of the University of Sheffield*. Some enigmas remain. Why green for bachelors and masters? Why red and not scarlet, for doctors' hoods?

A Timeline of the Academic Dress of the University

1908–09

The Regulations provide for undergraduates and graduates to have academic dress, the particulars of the former not being specified. Bachelors are to have Oxford BA [b1] gowns, masters to have Oxford MA [m1] and doctors to have Oxford doctors' robes with bell-shaped sleeves in black cloth [d2]. Hoods for all graduates are to be of the Cambridge shape [f1]. Bachelors have a fine green cloth shell, the cowl lined with fur and the cape bound with two inches of silk of the colour distinctive of the degree. Masters have a hood of green silk, lined throughout with the degree silk, while doctors have a red hood shell and are lined as the masters'. The degree colours are to be: Arts—crushed strawberry; Pure Science—apricot; Medicine—red; Surgery—red edged with white; Engineering—

purple; and Metallurgy—steel-grey. Academic caps are to be black and of the ordinary academic shape, but doctors' caps are to be covered in velvet rather than the fine cloth of other graduates.

1909–10

The Master of Surgery alone is to be red edged white for hood lining purposes. The Bachelor of Surgery, MB and MD have red as the degree colour. (Presumably the previous *Calendar* that stated the BCh and MCh both had the red and white colour was wrong).

1911–12

Law is introduced with a distinctive border and lining silk of pale green.

1912–13

Associates in Applied Science (Engineering having purple trim and Metallurgy having steel-grey) are entitled to wear gown and cap only [b4] with coloured button and cord on the sleeve gathering.

The regulations note that Ede & Ravenscroft are Robemakers to the University.

1917–18

Similar to the sub-degree gowns just introduced is that of the Art Master's Diploma, but with crushed strawberry trim. This gown also has a similarly coloured cord 'on the outside edge of the revers down the front of the gown'.

1921–22

The PhD hood lining of dark green is introduced.

1926–27

Dentistry is introduced with the silk colour of pale rose pink. BDS and MDS degrees have predictable hoods, and the LDS has the sub-degree gown following earlier examples of such gowns.

1931–32

Women, both undergraduates and graduates, start to use the Oxford ladies' soft cap. Graduates from earlier than 1930 can wear either this or a mortarboard.

1933–34

The doctors' undress and full-dress robes are distinguished from one another; the Oxford bell-shape sleeved robe for the scarlet, and the Oxford gimp lay gown for the undress, with the pentagons on the sleeves and skirt modified to have concave sides.

Music degree hoods begin to have a distinctive white watered-silk border at this time, the degrees having been introduced a year earlier.

1946–47

Graduands are advised that the Marshal may exclude persons in the degree ceremony if they are not dressed in clothes of ‘subdued colour or Naval, Military or Air Force Uniform’.

1955–56

Music degree hoods are conformed to the same style as other hoods, cream brocade being used to border the Bachelors’ hoods and line those of Doctors.

The anomalous MCh hood is conformed to the rest of the masters’ hoods and was lined in red only henceforth.

Another subject is accorded a sub-degree gown similar to the others mentioned above: Architecture has old gold as sleeve trim.

1960–61

Lemon yellow is introduced as the silk for the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies.

1963–64

The higher doctors begin to use the Cambridge festal robes while the PhD retain the Oxford doctors’ robe.

Jurisprudence is allocated olive green as its distinctive subject silk.

The Science in Technology degrees depart from the Engineering colour of purple and begin to have lilac.

1967–68

Cerise is introduced as the Medical Science degree colour; and pearl as the Education colour.

1972–73

The MA in Law is to use olive-green lining.

1973–74

The BA(Law) is brought in with olive green as silk border.

1977–78

The MPhil begins to be awarded, with the predictable dark green lining in a green silk hood shell.

1980–81

The MMus is introduced with cream brocade as lining.

1992–93

The joint degree with Sheffield Hallam appears: the hood [f1] has a gold shell, lined and edged dark blue.

1993–94

Gowns for undergraduate certificate and diploma holders come into the scheme. Facings and yoke are in the distinctive faculty colours.

Postgraduate diplomate hoods are entered in the *Calendar* for the first time, being an appropriate blend of bachelors' and masters' hoods: unlined silk with the subject colour bordering the cape and neckband.

A distinctive colour for Board of Collegiate Studies (dealing with associated FE college awards) is introduced. That colour is Saxon (deep) blue.

Women's headwear returns to the pre-1930 arrangement: all members of the University are to use the mortarboard.

1994–95

Professional doctorates begin to develop, taking the PhD robe but with hoods lined according to subject. The first is Doctor of Clinical Psychology. (Incidentally, the regulation on hood linings for newer degrees has considerable potential for confusion. DClínPsy is awarded jointly in the Faculties of Pure Science and Social Sciences.¹ Since the regulation for hood lining simply states that degrees in Faculty X are such a colour and degrees in Faculty Y are another colour, it becomes difficult if not impossible to discern from the regulation if this particular doctorate has an apricot or lemon-yellow lining.)

1996–97

The Doctor of Education degree is approved.

1999–2000

The Doctor of Business Administration degree is approved.

The Regulations note:

A graduate in any Faculty may wear the academic costume prescribed for his or her degree or other qualification in the Regulations in force at the time of the date of conferment of the Degree or award of the qualification.

2001–02

The higher doctorates are itemized as: LittD, DSc, LLD, MD, DEng, DMet, DSc(Tech), and DMus. The PhD robe is also worn by the following mushrooming set of professional doctorates: DBA, DClínPsy, EdD, DDSc, DMedSci, and DMin. The hood lining of these professional doctorates, however, reflects the subjects of study and not the dark green of Philosophy.

¹ Sheffield University Calendar 1994-95 p. A79.

In the Pink: The Strange Case of Trinity College Dublin

by Bruce Christianson

According to the frontispiece of Taylor's history of the University of Dublin, published in 1845, the MA hood of Trinity College was once lined with pink.¹ However in Gutch's table of 1858 the MA lining is listed as dark blue, and it has been given as blue (with various qualifications of the shade) by every authority since then.

It is natural to assume that the academic dress of Trinity College was, since the University's eventual foundation in 1591, developed from and subsequently influenced (although not constrained) by that of Oxford and Cambridge. Indeed, Hargreaves-Mawdsley asserts (p. 146) that the academic dress of Trinity 'was almost entirely copied from Cambridge, and in a few cases from Oxford'. I shall argue below that the influence of Oxford was in fact considerably more pronounced than this quotation allows, but in either case the pink lining of the MA presents us with a conundrum.

Was the pink intended as a compromise between the red of Oxford and the white of Cambridge? Was pink a 'corporate colour' for the new university, much as palatinate purple was later to be for Durham?² Or was the Oxford MA once lined with the same pink as was used there by the lay doctors?³

Gutch's table assigns a crimson lining to the Oxford MA in 1858 so any change away from pink for the MA lining at Oxford must have taken place before this date.⁴ However a pink MA lining originally derived from Oxford might persist at Trinity well after Oxford practice changed.⁵ An examination of MA linings at those early colonial universities showing traces of an Oxford influence

¹ See Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 147, n. 7. According to p. 148, n. 2, the plates date from about 1820, although they were probably coloured in 1845.

² Hargreaves-Mawdsley (p. 147, n. 9) points out that at Trinity the equivalent of an Oxbridge 'blue' is called a 'pink'. However, I am inclined to think this consideration anachronistic as far as the origin of the MA lining colour is concerned: the earliest reference to any 'corporate' use of the colour blue by either of the ancient universities is not until the use of light blue by Cambridge as an innovation in the boat race of 1836. The present foundation at Durham dates from 1832.

³ Lay doctors at Oxford had moved from scarlet to pink linings supposedly following Laud's ruling of 1636 (coincidentally the year of Harvard's foundation). However the DCL lining was described as scarlet as late as 1663 (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 74, n. 2, citing Clark, vol. I, 494). See my 'Oxford Blues' for more on the use of pink by doctors at Oxford and Cambridge.

⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century (see Wood 1882) the colour of the lay doctors' lining at Oxford had become the same crimson as that of the MA, a situation which remained until the latter acquired its crimson and orange shot lining in 1957. The lay doctors appear in recent years to be in the gradual process of lightening their linings from crimson to scarlet, thus completing the cycle of change.

⁵ Nick Groves and I articulate a general thesis along these lines in our 'Wearing Mummy's Clothes', on pp. 42–43 in this *Annual*.

shows little enthusiasm for pink, although many use crimson,⁶ thus pointing to a pre-19th century date for any use of pink for the MA lining at Oxford.

The one significant (and anomalous) exception is the University of New Zealand. This sets the lining of the MA as pink and that of the LLB as light blue, the LLB being ‘bordered’ (in fact faced) with white fur.⁷ However, the University of New Zealand was founded in 1870 and the first specification of academic dress does not occur until the 1879 calendar, printed twenty years after the appearance of Gutch’s table.

Although the use of pink for the MA lining at Trinity appears to rest entirely on the evidence of Taylor’s plate, an eighteenth-century use of pink for the MA lining at Oxford cannot be ruled out.⁸

The change by Trinity College to dark blue for the MA lining also represents an interesting colour choice. It is a remarkable fact that many colonial universities founded during the middle part of the nineteenth century adopted various shades of blue for the MA lining.⁹ As I remark in my ‘Oxford Blues’, blue (usually dark) was the traditional colour of Arts/Philosophy over large parts of Continental Europe¹⁰ and so the choice by Trinity may reflect a European, rather than an English, influence.

Implicit in my argument so far has been the assumption that academic dress at Trinity was influenced by Oxford at least as heavily as by Cambridge. As discussed in note 17 of my ‘Evolution of the Oxford Simple Shape’, I am inclined

⁶ Examples (with foundation dates) include New Brunswick (1789), King’s College Nova Scotia (1802), Dalhousie Halifax (1818), and Madras (1857), all of which use the Oxford simple shape lined with crimson. Queen’s Kingston (1841) and Manitoba (1877) use simple lined and bound scarlet. Toronto (1843) uses simple lined cherry, Mount Allison (1843) the Oxford full shape lined and bound garnet.

⁷ The hoods for all degrees are specified as being ‘of the size and shape of the Cambridge Masters of Arts’ Hood’ (at that time the various degrees at Cambridge did not all share the same hood pattern: see for example Vincent’s *Cutter’s Guide*, Plate 32, p. 73). It is an old tradition in the NZ Federation of University Women (who sewed many hoods to raise funds for scholarships) that the initial New Zealand system followed ‘Cambridge patterns and Oxford colours’. A London influence is also discernible in some of the later developments, but the origin of the use of pink for Arts remains a mystery. I am obliged to Noel Cox for providing me with access to the early University of New Zealand regulations.

⁸ An alternative hypothesis, of course, is that the MA lining at Trinity was never pink at all, but was dark blue from the early days. The corresponding possibility of an early dark-blue lining for the non-regent MA at Oxford is advanced in my ‘Oxford Blues’.

The correspondent ‘DCL Cantab’ makes the interesting statement in *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., VI, no. 147 (1858), 337, that he has seen a Dublin MA hood which ‘was lined with lilac and not with blue; which is correct I know not.’ As Nick Groves has pointed out to me, the lilac could be the result of a blue lining having oxidized with age and exposure to light, in similar fashion to what happens with modern Oxford DPhil robes, but this explanation results in an extremely tight timescale for any change from pink to blue at Trinity: pink in 1845 when Taylor’s plates were coloured, and faded blue by some time prior to 1858.

⁹ Examples include: McGill (1821)—Cambridge full shape lined light blue; Sydney (1850)—Cambridge shape lined and bound blue; Melbourne (1853)—Oxford Burgon shape lined and bound blue; Calcutta (1857)—full shape lined dark blue; Victoria Manchester (1880)—Oxford simple lined with pale blue; and Tasmania (1890)—Burgon shape lined dark blue. In contrast, the University of New Zealand adopted dark blue as the lining for degrees in science from 1889.

¹⁰ Although the Arts colour is pink in part of Italy, including Florence, Messina, Perugia and Rome. See Volume II of Smith for details.

to regard the ‘proto-Burgon’ pattern used at Trinity for the BA until 1909, and still in use at Belfast and the National University of Ireland, as a preservation of a seventeenth-century Oxford practice.

Another living Oxford fossil may be the cut-out on the sleeve of the masters’ gown used at Trinity, which even today is identical with the shape shown on the boot of the Oxford MA sleeve by Nathaniel Whittock in his print of Buckland’s 1823 lecture (see Figure 1 below).¹¹



Figure 1: William Buckland in his Oxford MA gown, lecturing on fossils (1823)

The present-day undergraduate gown at Trinity (Smith, Plate 104, p. 428), although clearly debased from that of the Trinity fellow-commoner depicted in Taylor in the plate opposite p. 530 (see Figure 2 below) and described by Hargreaves-Mawdsley (p. 148, n. 5), is also arguably more nearly the full-dress gown of an Oxford gentleman-commoner) in the late eighteenth century than that of any fellow-commoner at Cambridge. Compare Loggan’s figure a gentleman-commoner, no. 5 on his Oxford plate (*pace* Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 93–95), with the fellow-commoner, no. 4 on his Cambridge plate (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 130–31).

Although Dublin’s doctors’ robes follow pretty nearly the present pattern of Oxford, this shows nothing as to their origin, as the Cambridge robes did not diverge from this to their present pattern until after the time of Loggan’s plates.

¹¹ The same-shaped boot is shown for the MA in a series of Whittock’s Oxford prints, with dates ranging from 1822 to 1840 (see the references given below). Interestingly, the cut-out which Whittock shows on his 1847 print of the Cambridge MA gown is the form adopted in 1881 for the boot of the masters’ gown by the Victoria University of Manchester, an observation which I owe to Dr Alex Kerr (see Figure 3 below).



Figure 2: TCD Fellow-Commoner (c. 1820)

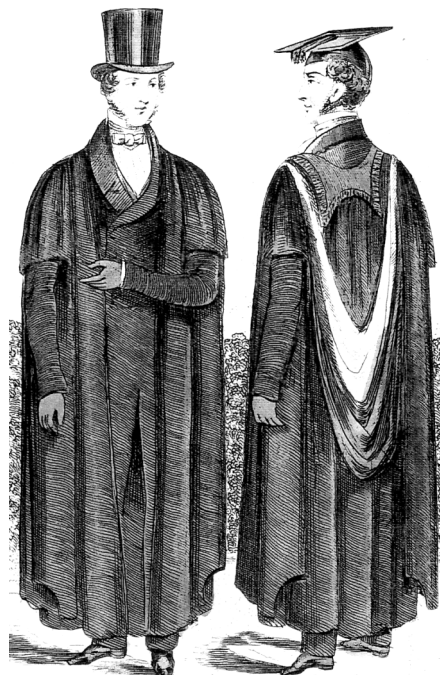


Figure 3: Cambridge MAs (1847)

The use of black silk for the DD lining at Trinity, as given in Gutch's table, is a clear Oxford influence¹² although Hargreaves-Mawdsley asserts (p. 147, n. 2), again on the sole authority of Taylor (plate opposite p. 530), that the DD lining was originally white at Trinity, thus providing us with a further conundrum.

However there is also a distinct possibility that the current LLD and MD linings at Dublin preserve a frozen snapshot of a transitional period at Oxford. Gutch assigns pink linings to both LLD and MD at Trinity in 1858.¹³ Although Hargreaves-Mawdsley (p. 147, n. 5) asserts that the MD lining at Dublin has always been crimson, not pink, his only cited authority for this assertion is Wood's later catalogue of 1875.

The present lining colours for LLD and MD at Cambridge (respectively light and mid-cherry) were not adopted there until 1889, and so are too late to influence Trinity prior to the time of Wood.¹⁴ On the other hand, Gutch's table assigns pink and crimson, the current Trinity colours for Law and Medicine respectively, to the DCL and DM at Oxford in 1858.¹⁵ Innovations in lay

¹² In 1858 at Cambridge the DD, LLD and MD linings were all identical shades of pink silk, according to 'DCL Cantab' (loc. cit.), the LLD having by then finally abandoned the use of the alternative ermine lining, thus copying the change made much earlier at Cambridge by the MD.

¹³ Probably on the authority of the Trinity resident John Ribton Garstin. See his posting to *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser., VI, no. 120 (1858), 324. Garstin, and Gutch, refer to the Trinity LLD lining as 'light pink' and the MD lining as 'rose'.

¹⁴ Wood 1875 lists the Cambridge DD, LLD and MD all simply as 'scarlet lined pink'.

¹⁵ Gutch's table gives the Oxford lining colours in 1858 as pink for DCL but crimson for MA and DM. This assignment is disputed by 'DCL Cantab' (loc. cit.), who asserts that the Oxford DM lining is actually also pink. However, the Cambridge man may be recalling an older, and by

academic dress at Oxbridge were usually made by the medics and followed a generation or so later by the lawyers.

My hypothesis is therefore that the Oxford DM moved from pink to crimson lining at some time shortly before 1858, with the DCL making the same transition around 1880.¹⁶ Under this hypothesis, the medics' innovation made the transition to Dublin some time between 1858 and 1875, but the Trinity College system then froze with the lawyers still in pink.

The use of hoods with full-dress robes is now regarded as a Cambridge practice, but there are sufficiently late instances of it at Oxford to have informed early practice at Trinity (see for example the account of Charles I's visit in 1636 referred to in Hargreaves-Mawdsley, p. 67, n. 7). Conversely, the 1690 Cambridge plate of Loggan shows the hood as not then worn with festal dress. At Dublin, as at Cambridge, routine use of congregation dress has not been made by doctors for some time, and this may have lent encouragement to the practice of wearing a hood with festal dress instead. Apart from Doctors of Music, who had no congregation dress, the first evidence which I can find of a Cambridge hood worn with festal dress is that of the Doctor of Laws in Uwins's plates of 1815.

The fact that the Trinity cape has square corners might also be held as a Cambridge influence, although the presence of any binding at all is itself an argument for Oxford influence. However the square corners have a more likely origin in the decision of the Dublin tailors to bind linings over the cape (as well as cowl) edge of the full-shaped hoods.¹⁷ As Franklyn himself says (and I suppose that I had better let him have the last word) 'square corners are a tailor's innovation.'

then superseded, Oxford practice. See also his posting in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser., V, no. 129 (1858), 501–02.

¹⁶ Wood 1875 gives the Oxford DCL lining as pink and the DM lining as crimson. Wood 1882 gives crimson as the lining for both.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Philip Lowe for a convincing demonstration of the relatively greater difficulty of procuring such a binding on a cape with rounded corners. The shape of the Cambridge cape was never universally square until the reforms of the 1930s (First Report of the Council of the Senate, May 1932, IV (6), reproduced in Franklyn, p. 178) and the pattern adopted for the University of London cape reflects the Cambridge pattern being used by the London tailors in the 1860s.

Vincent's *Cutter's Guide* shows the Trinity MA with a square cape but a rounded liripipe in 1898, just as it is today. Franklyn's 1910 *Encyclopædia Britannica* article includes a picture of a Dublin MA hood with a rounded cape, but the item in question is on loan from a London robemaker. Franklyn's views on square-cornered capes are set out in his 1933 response to the Council of the Cambridge University Senate, in the section entitled 'General Errors' (Franklyn, p. 191, III (4)).

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Historical English Academic Robes: A Basis for a ‘National’ System

by Nicholas Groves

From time to time, various writers on the subject, Franklyn included, put out a call for a ‘national’ set of robes, which could be worn by any British graduate, whatever their degree and institution, as an alternative to the robes of their alma mater. Leaving aside any benefits it might have (one can see the attraction of it for graduates of the University of East Anglia and Kent ...), the great problem would be: who would design it, and who would approve it? My thesis here is that the remains of such robes in fact still exist, and that it is possible to piece together the ‘national’ system fairly easily.

We need to look, of course, at Oxford and Cambridge. (The three pre-Reformation Scottish universities. St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, had their own way of doing things, and do not concern us here; on the other hand, Dublin will be of great import.) Stripping away the accretions of modern degrees, such as DLitt, BSc, and certainly PhD/DPhil, we are left with the following degrees, which would have been recognizable to a late medieval member of either university: Doctor of Divinity, of Law, of Medicine (‘Physic’); Master of Arts; Bachelor of Divinity, of Law, of Medicine, of Arts—and arguably the Bachelor and Doctor of Music.¹

At Oxford, first, we find the doctors wearing scarlet cloth lined with miniver—an expensive fur.² These were inconvenient to wear in the summer, and silk linings were allowed to them in 1432.³ The BD had already adopted a black silk lining by 1426, and this was also adopted by the DD. The DCL and DM used red, as did the MA.⁴ Over the years, the doctors’ lining became paler, while the MA lining stayed the same; they were realigned in the nineteenth century, and now the DCL/DM and the MA hoods are both lined with crimson shot silk—a further development.

At Cambridge, doctors were not allowed silk linings until 1560,⁵ and the scarlet and miniver robes remain in use as those of the vice-chancellor: they are

¹ I am deliberately ignoring the degrees of Bachelor and Master in Surgery, as they had a somewhat shadowy existence, and on the whole did not develop their own robes until the nineteenth century. Likewise the degrees in Canon Law, which in any case appear to have worn the Divinity robes.

² What I have to say will bear principally upon the hoods, but may be taken, in the case of the doctors, to refer to the robes also.

³ Bruce Christianson, ‘Oxford Blues’, *Burgon Society Annual*, 2003, pp. 24–28 (p. 24, n. 2).

⁴ I avoid the question of whether this is the regent hood, as being irrelevant to my case.

⁵ Christianson, *ibid.*

not robes of office, but the medieval doctoral robes. When they adopted silk linings, it would appear that they chose a rose-colour silk, quite certainly the same as that used at Oxford. The sole difference was that the DD used the same robes (scarlet and rose) as the LLD and MD.⁶ These linings drifted apart in colour over the years, and by the late nineteenth century, the LLD became pink ('light cherry'), while the MD became magenta ('mid-cherry'), and at the same time, the DD took to using a shot silk lining, which had been introduced by London tailors, and was not officially approved.⁷

The Cambridge MA was more conservative than the Oxford counterpart: the difference between regent and non-regent MAs was still marked by the colour of the hood lining: white silk for regents (arguably representing the former miniver lining) and black silk for non-regents.

So far, so good: we have doctors wearing initially scarlet cloth lined with miniver, and later lined with rose silk; we have the MA wearing black silk lined with miniver, and later with varying shades of silk. The DD becomes an exception, too—though much later at Cambridge than at Oxford. We are starting to see differentiation between the two sets of robes.

The degree of Doctor of Music was a late medieval invention: 1464 at Cambridge, c. 1499 at Oxford.⁸ Initially, they were allowed to wear the same robes as the other lay doctors, but during the sixteenth century, their ambiguous status (graduates, but not members, of the Universities) was recognized by denying them the scarlet robe and hood (and convocation habit, for which they had no use), and allowing them instead to use cream brocade—but they retained the rose-coloured lining.⁹

The University of Dublin was chartered in 1591, and its robes are thus of great use in throwing light on sixteenth-century practice. Effectively, they did not bespeak a new design from the forerunners of Conan Phelan, but simply wore the robes proper to the various degrees: in other words, *there was no concept of a particular university being indicated by unique robes*.¹⁰ Thus, we find the Dublin doctors and MA wearing:

DD: scarlet lined black
 LLD: scarlet lined rose (>pink)
 MD: scarlet lined rose (>crimson)

⁶ 'The hood uniformly worn over the surplice being precisely the same by the DD as by the DCL viz., scarlet cloth lined rose-coloured silk.' *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., VI, 147 (23 Oct 1858), 337. (The correspondent held that the correct terminology for the degrees in Laws at Cambridge was DCL/BCL, as at Oxford.)

⁷ 'They [London robemakers] also substitute for the rose-colour of the higher degrees of [Cambridge] a very pretty shot silk, (light blue shot with crimson, I think) without the smallest authority.' *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser, 129 (19 June 1858), 502.

⁸ *Oxford Companion to Music*, tenth edn, s.v. 'Degrees and Diplomas'.

⁹ It would be very interesting to learn (a) when this substitution happened, and (b) why cream brocade was chosen.

¹⁰ It has also to be borne in mind that the various distinctions in cut are a very late development. Both Cambridge and Oxford doctors wore the same pattern dress robe: and that pattern is preserved (of all places) in the Cambridge MusD. At Cambridge, the sleeves grew longer, while at Oxford the lining silk crept up the outside of the sleeve.

MusD: cream brocade lined rose
MA: black lined rose pink.¹¹

They would seem to be copying from Oxford—at least as far as the DD and MA are concerned.

Turning to the lower degrees, things are a little more complicated. All are agreed that the BA hood is black, lined with cheap fur¹²—even with lambswool,¹³ although rabbit-skin has become the norm. This hood is used at Oxford and Cambridge, and was taken on by Dublin too—and, very tellingly, was copied by Durham (1837).¹⁴

The other lower degrees (Bachelor in Law, in Medicine and in Music) are a little more tricky. As Bruce Christianson has demonstrated, at Oxford they wore the same blue silk hood lined with cheap fur—though the shade of blue has varied: to such an extent that the BMus has now finished up with a lilac hood!—and that this use of blue may reflect the standing of these bachelors in the Faculty of Arts.¹⁵ This was precisely what happened at Cambridge, where the Bachelors in Law, in Medicine, and even in Music, wore the non-regent MA hood in 1545, the BA hood in 1690, and reverted to the non-regent MA hood by 1815. Bachelors in Divinity have consistently worn the non-regent MA hood, and they still do (black lined black). Thus we seem also to have historical backing for modern systems such as Reading, where all bachelors wear the same hood! (It should be borne firmly in mind that the degrees of BD, BCL/LLB and BM/MB at Oxford and Cambridge are regarded as higher degrees, and require a BA as a preliminary qualification.)

Thus, it is seen that there is, and always has been, a system of ‘national’ robes for degrees. Further, we are now in a position to state that the robes for Lambeth degrees, far from ‘stealing’ the robes of Oxford or of Cambridge, are in fact following in this tradition, and merely use the two local variants simply because the original archetype no longer exists.

So, if we were to reconstruct the scheme for use today, how does it work? I would suggest as follows:

All Doctors:

scarlet cloth lined with rose-coloured silk.¹⁶

Masters of Arts, and other degrees of equivalent status:

black silk, lined with rose-coloured silk.¹⁷

¹¹ The change to dark blue took place in the early nineteenth century: it has not been possible thus far to find out exactly when—or why. (See Bruce Christianson’s article, ‘In the Pink’, on pp. 53–58 in this *Annual*—Ed.)

¹² All bachelors’ hoods should be fully lined with fur—as the masters’ and doctors’ were: the reduction to a 6" border – or even a 1" binding in the case of the [s1] BA Oxon—is dictated by cost, and has, eventually, become the accepted way.

¹³ ‘The BA hood of Oxford ... should be lined ... (as at Cambridge twenty or thirty years ago) with lamb’s wool.’ *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser., 129 (19 June 1858), 502.

¹⁴ And the Lampeter BA (1865)—though its (mock-)miniver lining would seem to make it a de facto MA hood!

¹⁵ Christianson, ‘Oxford Blues’, p. 25.

¹⁶ We may ignore the two DD outfits as local variations.

Bachelors of Arts, and other degrees of equivalent status:
black silk or stuff, lined with rabbit-skin or lambswool.

The scheme might be refined by introducing a modern development, which is to use crimson/claret cloth for the body of the robes of ‘lower’ doctors—PhD, EdD, DCLinPsy, etc. The doctors’ dress robe ought to follow the Cambridge MusD pattern [d3]—but I leave it to others to suggest what the various gowns and the shape of the hoods ought to be!

To finish, perhaps I may just glimpse at the reasons for university-specific robes. I have referred above to Durham which gained degree-awarding powers in 1837, and while it stuck with the traditional scheme up to a point (BA: black and fur; BD: black and black) it introduced its own ‘corporate colour’ of palatinate purple to line the MA and DD hoods.¹⁸ But it is London which is really at the root of it: they invented a scheme in 1844 which had no resemblance to the traditional one at all, and its revised version of *c.* 1862 (still in use) was no closer. In the meantime, the doctors’ rose lining at Cambridge had, as we have seen, degenerated by 1889 to pink (Laws), magenta (Medicine), maroon (Music), and was replaced by shot silk for Divinity. These then became seen as ‘faculty colours’—quite possibly under the influence of London: so much so, that when the degrees of LittD and ScD were introduced, they were allowed to choose their own faculty linings (scarlet for Letters, and shot grey for Science¹⁹). Oxford had managed to keep its lawyers and medics in the same robes, but the new degrees in Letters and in Science provoked the use of grey linings for the doctor. The bachelors were made to share the blue and fur hood of the BCL and BM—though in course of time, they drifted apart, leaving the BCL/BM hood as mid-blue, while the BLitt/BSc became light blue. They are now trying to accommodate their systems, as new degrees are added, to a faculty-colour based scheme, which is proving unworkable. Cambridge’s case was made worse by the ill-advised revision of 1934.

The faculty colour system had in fact become so unworkable—especially as there was no consensus over assigning the colours to the faculties—that it was in danger of collapse. A start had been made with the ‘grade-hood’ system at Bristol (1909) and Reading (1926) (one hood for bachelors, one for masters, etc.), and many of the 1960s foundations, and also of the 1992 creations, have gone down this road. I think it is the right one. As there is no difference in the status of a BA, a BSc, and an LLB in virtually any university, do we really need to differentiate their robes? After all, as we have seen, the different robes came about to indicate different status, not different faculties.

¹⁷ Again, the two MA hoods are local variants, and Dublin probably kept the true hood.

¹⁸ These were the original degrees it granted; other followed later.

¹⁹ Far too close to the DD lining to be really distinctive.

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Academic Dress in the University of Hertfordshire
by Bruce Christianson and Brian Piggott

Published in 1993 by the University of Hertfordshire. Stapled. 20 pages.

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This book contains a description of the gowns, hoods, caps and official dress of the University of Hertfordshire as well as a description of its achievement of arms.

The Burgon Society Annual 2003
edited by Alex Kerr

Published in 2004 by the Burgon Society. A4 Stapled. 64 pages.

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The 2003 *Annual* contains articles on the academical dress of the University of Westminster, the origins of the lay bachelor's hood and the evolution of hood patterns; as well as accounts of last year's Congregation and the Study Days held at Weybridge and Girton College, Cambridge.

The Burgon Society Annual 2002
edited by Michael Powell

Published in 2002 by the Burgon Society. A4 Slide Bound. 38 pages.

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The 2002 *Annual* contains articles on French academic dress, the evolution of the Oxford Simple Shape hood and the literate's hood; as well as accounts of this year's Congregation and visit to Ede and Ravenscroft at Waterbeach in Cambridgeshire.

The Burgon Society Annual 2001
edited by Michael Powell and Philip Goff

Published in 2001 by the Burgon Society. A4 Slide Bound. 36 pages.

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The Burgon Society Garden Party at St George's College, Weybridge, July 2004



Consulting Nick Groves' book on the academic dress of theological colleges



Conversation on the terrace



Hoods on display

The AGM held at Senate House, University of London, September 2004



Early prints of academic dress in an exhibition mounted by Alex Kerr



John Birch, Bruce Christianson and Peter Durant looking at the display cases

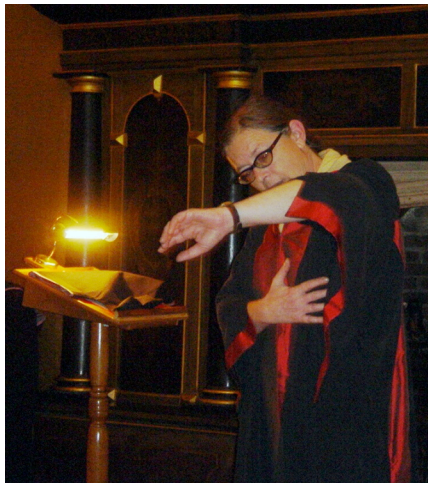
The Burgon Society Congregation held at Charterhouse, London, October 2004



The Council meeting before the Congregation



Thorsten Hauler, admitted as an FBS, having submitted a paper on the history of academic dress in Germany



Kirsten Froberg, admitted as an FBS *honoris causa*, explains details of one of the gowns she has designed for Swedish universities



Talking over tea after the Congregation

Study Day at Trinity College, Oxford, November 2004



John Venables speaking about robemakers and robemaking in Oxford