

1-1-2007

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Recommended Citation

Baldwin, David (2007) "Having Dignities ... ': Academic Attire as a Component of the Livery of the Chapel Royal," *Transactions of the Burgon Society*. Vol. 7. <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1058>

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

by David Baldwin

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals of Rome*, 13.32.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The whereabouts of Chapel Royal Scholars

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

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

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

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

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

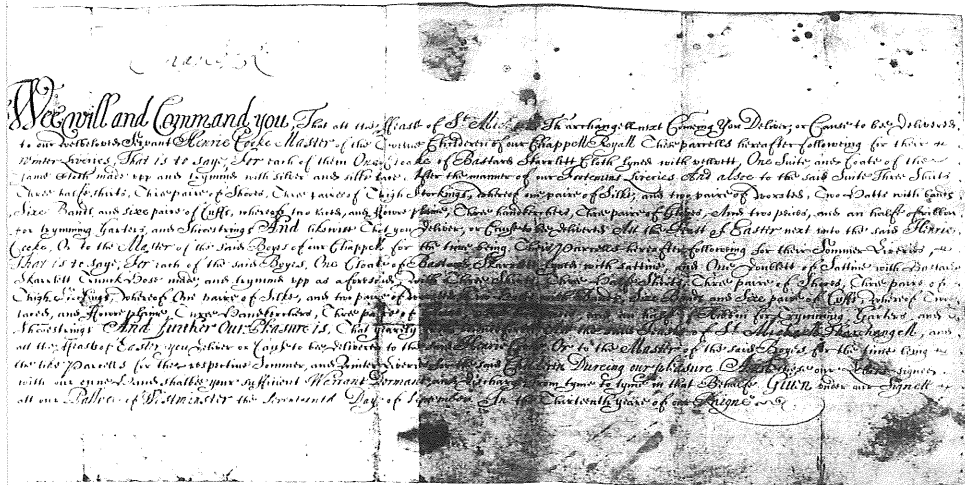


Fig. 1. Letter Patent of King Edward III dated 7 October 1337 concerning the foundation of the royal college of King's Hall
King's Hall Cabinet No. 8, Muniment Room, Trinity College, Cambridge
 (Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The complement of Chapel Royal Scholars

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

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

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

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

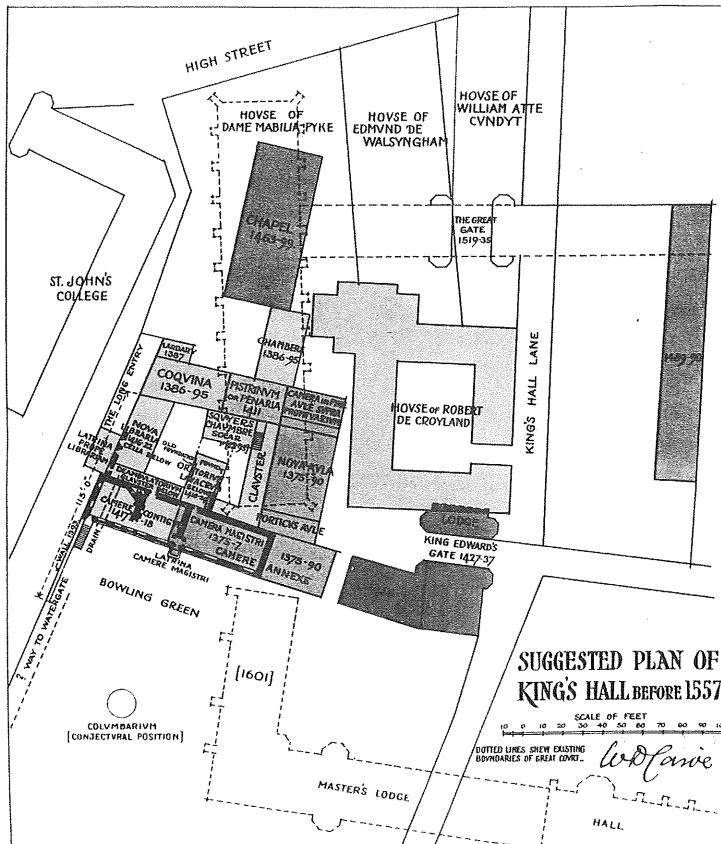


Fig. 2a. Caroe's plan of King's Hall, Cambridge, before 1557

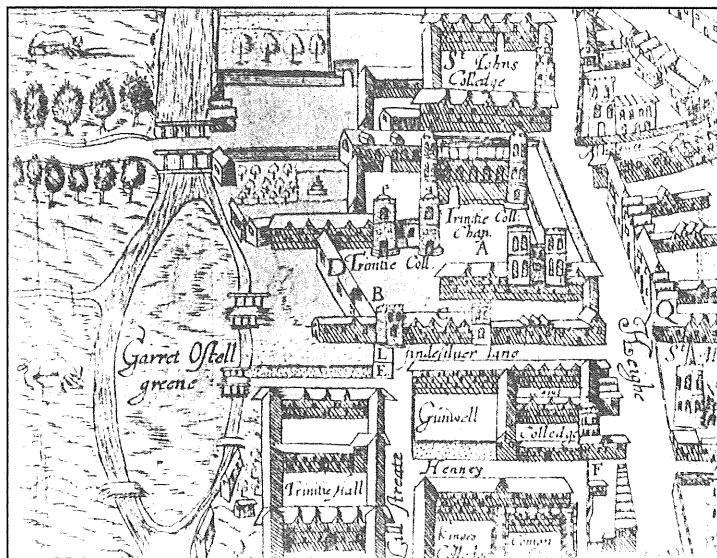


Fig. 2b. Detail from Lyne's Map of Cambridge, 1574

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The relevant passage reads:

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

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

²² *Liber Regie Capelle*, Chapter 3.

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

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

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

²⁶ *Ibid.*



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Engraving by Adrian Vinson, 1580

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

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

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

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

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

³² *Ibid.*, E101/382/8.

³³ *Ibid.*, E101/386/6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, E101/386/18.

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

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

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

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

Thomas Myldevale
John Brampton

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

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

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

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

John Maydeston
John Grymmesby
Nicolas Hyll
Stephnus Howell

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

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

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

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

³⁹ BL, Add. MS 4603, art. 130.

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

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

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

⁴³ National Archive, E101/386/18.

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

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



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

Anonymous portrait of 1589

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

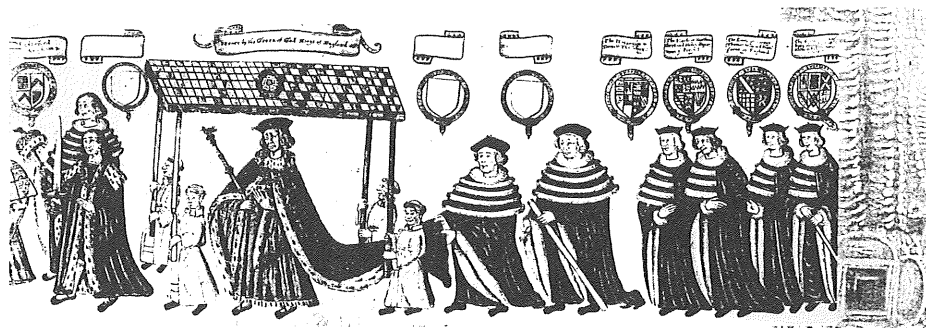


Fig. 6. The King's procession to open Parliament at Westminster in 1512

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Attributed to Lavina Teerlinc

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)



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

From The Times, 20 May 1996

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

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

Singing clerks and clergy of the Chapel Royal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* still requires:

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

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

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

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

⁶² 'Old Cheque Book', f. 59.

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



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

Anonymous portrait, 1623

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Portrait by John Hoppner, 1786

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

Chaplains having dignities 10



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

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

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

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

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

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

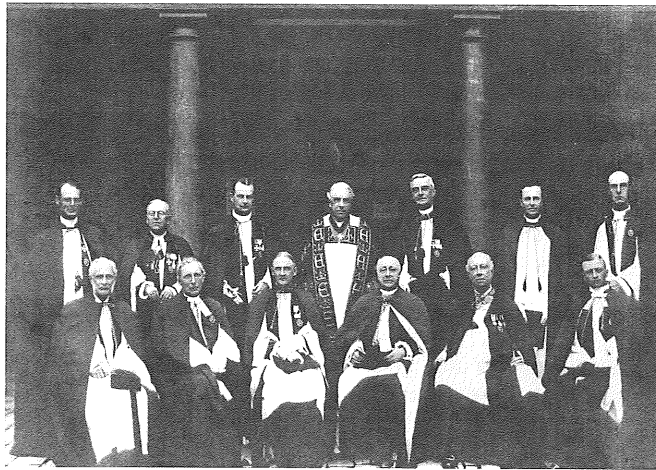


Fig. 13. Chapel Royal clergy attending the coronations of 1902 (above) and 1911 (below): group photographs in Colour Court, St James's Palace

Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal

(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)

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

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

Modern-day practice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

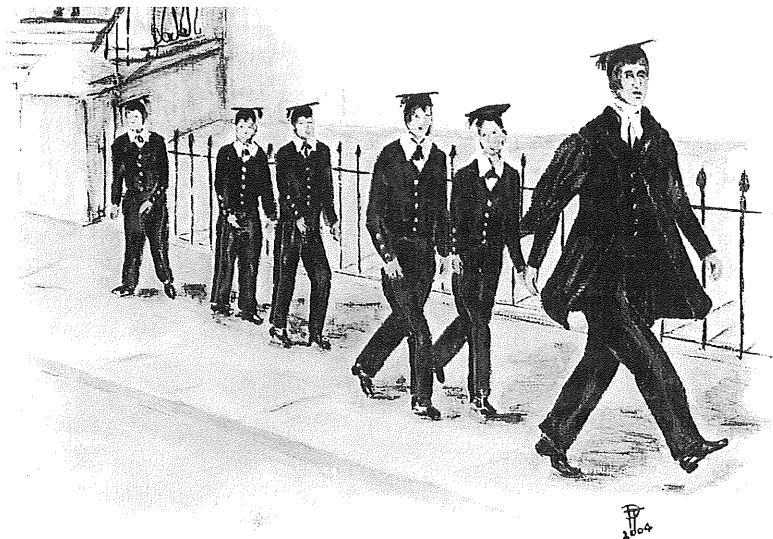


Fig. 14. Drawing of Chapel Royal Children's undress uniform with mortar-board, jacket and red-striped trousers as worn from 1846

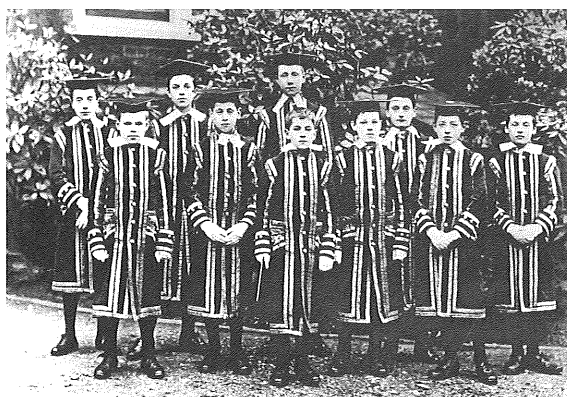


Fig. 15. Chapel Royal Children in state coat uniform and mortar-boards, photographed at the Chapel Royal Choir School, Clapham, 1896

Archive of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal

(Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)



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

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

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

The next fascinating observation concerns their wearing of academic mortarboards:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Vestry Officers of the Chapel Royal

Originally possessing the office of Sub-Deacon in the early medieval Chapel Royal, the Serjeant can trace his succession without a break from the Battle of Meilham in 1254. He and his staff, termed 'garciones' by Dean William Say in 1449, wore black gowns with appropriate academical attire, should they possess it.

The Serjeant of the Vestry's black gown traditionally bore one hundred black tassels representing the number of sacraments and relics carried into the battle by his predecessor at Agincourt in 1415. With the commemoration of the present Sovereign's Golden Jubilee, it was agreed that ribbon forming the ties of each tassel on his new gown should now and in future be in the predominant colour of his academic distinction. Thus the present Serjeant's bears golden ties in recognition of an MLitt Dunelm (see Fig. 17). The Serjeant's Gown is worn with wing collar, white bow tie, tail coat and striped trousers, although there are occasions when the older tradition is followed and a scarlet cassock is worn with it instead.

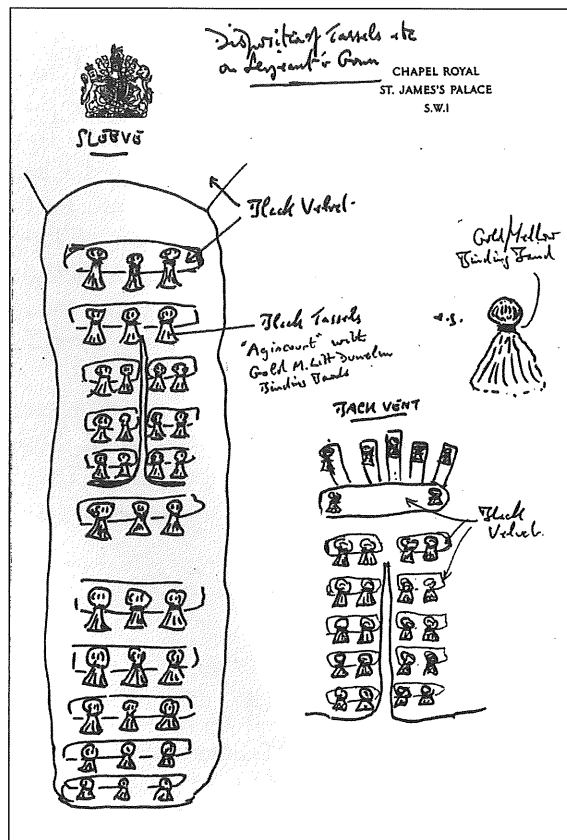


Fig. 17. Design template of the Serjeant of the Vestry's gown

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

Sister and daughter Chapel Royal establishments

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

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

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

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

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

Roman Catholic Chapels Royal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HM Chapel Royal of the Mohawk

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

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

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

⁷⁹ 'Her Majesty's Chapel Royal of The Mohawk Foundation Papers, 2003/4', original letters held by the Chapel Royal Archive.

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