

Conforming to the Established Standards: American Degree Colours (1936–1961)

By Kenneth L. Suit, Jr

Academic costume is dignified and effective just in proportion as it is correct in type and color. Unless it conforms exactly to the established standards, the use of it degenerates into meaningless display. [...] [Cotrell & Leonard] invite correspondence from any one who is interested in the adoption of the code, or custom, by any institution, particularly as we are entrusted with the arrangement of details, so as to avoid confusion, easily arising from independent action in the choice of colors representative of the degrees, or in the combination of colors in hood linings.

Concerning Caps, Gowns and Hoods, Bulletin 17 (Cotrell & Leonard, 1902)

Academic dress in the United States was first standardized by representatives from Columbia, New York, Princeton, and Yale Universities, who wrote the Intercollegiate Code of Academic Costume in 1895. Gardner Cotrell Leonard was a consultant to this committee, and his family's firm, Cotrell & Leonard of Albany, New York, dominated the academic garment industry for the next forty years. By the late 1930s Cotrell & Leonard manufactured about 75 per cent of all academic gowns in the country¹ but was facing stiff competition by academic regalia manufacturers in other parts of the US.

Cotrell & Leonard was also the 'depository' for the records of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, commissioned by the Code's authors to promote conformity to Code, including the colours that had been assigned to various faculties. For instance, Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of *Science* degrees used hoods edged with golden yellow velvet; Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of *Arts* degrees used white velvet; and Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of *Philosophy* degrees used dark blue. The Bureau would sometimes group similar degrees into a single degree colour category, so that the Doctor of Chemistry and Doctor of Mathematics degrees would both use the golden yellow degree colour of Science, but the Bureau was also authorized to create new degree colours when needed.

In 1902 the Regents of the University of the State of New York granted a charter to the Intercollegiate Bureau to assign colours to all degrees offered by institutions of higher learning in New York.² This meant that the IBAC designated a new colour once the Regents

1 'Caps & Gowns for Commencement', *Life*, 7 June 1937, p. 38.

2 *University of the State of New York College Department Fifth Annual Report: 1902* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1903), p. 14. The Regents were responsible for accrediting all of the educational institutions in the state of New York (primary, secondary, and collegiate) and were not (as the title suggests) a university proper.

had approved a new degree for New York colleges and universities. A new colour might also be assigned when a client of Cotrell & Leonard from another state requested a hood for a newly created degree.³

With the help of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, in 1932 an association of college and university presidents which had been established in 1918, called the American Council on Education, formed a committee to review and revise the 1895 Intercollegiate Code. In 1935 the ACE distributed a booklet containing the text of the new Academic Costume Code to American institutions of higher education, and in 1936 began periodically publishing the 1935 Code in *American Universities and Colleges*.⁴ The Council adopted the Bureau's list of twenty-two faculty colours in its entirety, and while the ACE acknowledged the Intercollegiate Bureau as 'a source of information and guidance', the importance of the IBAC began to wane, particularly since Cotrell & Leonard did not publish its advertising catalogues containing the Bureau's list of degree colours during the Depression and World War Two with the same frequency they had previously. The ACE, on the other hand, published its colour list every four years in new editions of *American Universities and Colleges*. This lack of documentation from the IBAC makes it extremely difficult to establish the exact year the Bureau authorized a given degree colour after 1936.

As American higher education evolved, conforming to the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume's established standards became difficult. After World War One there was a proliferation of various types of newly minted 'tagged' degrees, which included the faculty *and* subject within the title of the degree.⁵ The stated policy of the Bureau was to assign the degree colour to the faculty and ignore the tagged subject of the degree. In the late 1920s the Bureau wrote:

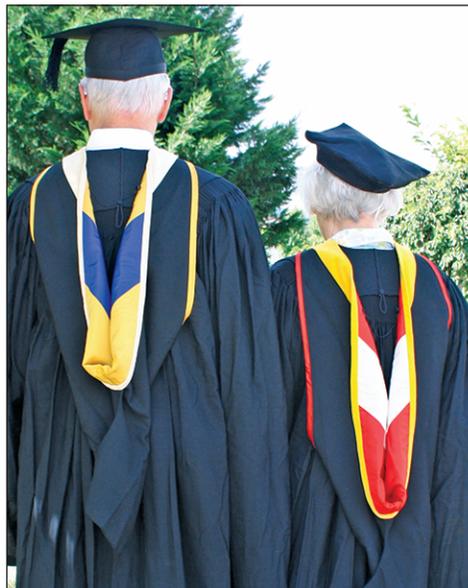
It is important to note that the reading of the degree, and not the department in which major work was done, governs the color proper for

3 For more on the history of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume and early academic degree colours, see Kenneth L. Suit, Jr., 'The Iridescent Web: American Degree Colours (1895-1935)', *TBS*, 15 (2015), pp. 41-74.

4 In this article, I will refer to the various academic costume codes by their first date of publication, not by the dates the various committees met to write the codes. Thus, the '1895 Intercollegiate Costume Code' refers to the code the Intercollegiate Commission wrote in 1895 and published that same year, the '1935 Academic Costume Code' refers to the code a committee at the American Council of Education wrote in 1932 and published in 1935, and the '1960 Academic Costume Code' refers to the code another ACE committee revised in 1959 and published in 1960.

5 Tagged degrees are usually BA, BS, MA, or MS degrees, and there is often no difference between a standard degree in a particular subject and one with the particular subject 'tagged' onto the end of the title. In *Academic Degrees: Earned and Honorary Degrees Conferred by Institutions of Higher Education in the United States* (Washington: US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960), Walter Crosby Eells and Harold A. Haswell classified the first type as a 'degree' and the second type as a 'degree with major subject'. At that time the most popular type of degree with major subject (tagged degree) was the Bachelor of Science in Education, which in most cases employed a curriculum no different from the (standard) Bachelor of Science degree with a major in Education. Since the tagged degree exhibits a difference in title without a distinction in curriculum, one wonders if tagged degree titles like this one exist merely as marketing tools used by academic departments seeking new ways to advertise their programmes. The proliferation of different degree titles for identical academic programmes in the US has been criticized since the 1880s at the latest; see, for example, Flavel S. Thomas, *University Degrees: What They Mean, What They Indicate, and How to Use Them* (Syracuse, N.Y.: C. W. Bardeen, 1887).

Two Cotrell & Leonard hoods from 1929–35 that illustrate how the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume would slot multiple degrees into a single colour category. On the left is the gown and hood formerly owned by J. Evan Armstrong, the founder of Armstrong College, a private business and management college in Berkeley, California, which operated from 1914 until 1986. Armstrong received a Life Teaching Certificate from Oklahoma Central State Normal School in 1906. The Bureau interpreted the certificate as a BA, with white for Arts. Oklahoma Central's colours at that time were bronze and blue, but for a more brightly coloured effect gold was commonly substituted for bronze, as seen here in the hood's lining. On the right is the gown and hood for Armstrong's wife Esther, who also worked at the College. Mrs Armstrong earned a Bachelor of Secretarial Science from Boston University. It was a degree without a colour in the Bureau's scheme, so Cotrell & Leonard used the golden yellow of Science. Mrs Armstrong's hood is lined with the scarlet and white of Boston University.



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Fig. 1

the velvet of the hood. Thus a degree conferred as 'Bachelor of Science in Engineering' requires the golden yellow of Science and not the orange of Engineering.⁶

A 1948 Cotrell & Leonard catalogue goes into a little more detail, stating that the academic hood should be

bordered with velvet or velveteen of the proper width to indicate the faculty. The reading of the degree, and not the department in which the major work was done, governs the proper color of the border. Thus, a degree conferred as 'Bachelor of Science in Engineering' requires the gold yellow of Science whereas 'Bachelor of Engineering' requires the orange border of Engineering.⁷

The American Council on Education seems to have taken a different approach. The 1935 Academic Costume Code said that the velvet edging of the academic hood and the velvet on the doctoral gown should be in a 'color distinctive of the Faculty or subject to which

⁶ John Erwin, *The History of Academic Costume in America* (Albany, N.Y.: Cotrell & Leonard for the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, n.d. but c.1928), p. 11.

⁷ O. J. Hoppner, *Academic Costume in America* (Albany, N.Y.: Cotrell & Leonard, 1948), p. 11. The widths of the velvet border were stated as being 2 inches for bachelors, 3 inches for masters, and 5 inches for doctors.

the degree pertains, as indicated by the wording of the diploma' and that 'the color should be distinctive of the subject named in the diploma given in conferment of the degree.'⁸ In other words, for the ACE the title of the degree continued to determine the colour, but apparently it would be assigned according to either the faculty *or* to the tagged subject if present in a tagged degree. So the traditional Bachelor of Science degree with a major in engineering would use golden yellow, but the professional Bachelor of Engineering degree would use orange and the new Bachelor of Science in Engineering degree would use either golden yellow *or* orange.

In the decades that followed, the 1935 American Council on Education degree colour list remained largely static, but at Cotrell & Leonard the Intercollegiate Bureau added additional degree colours to its list, as did other robe manufacturers which offered colours not on the lists of the Bureau or the Council. This made it difficult to maintain conformity to the degree colour standards established in 1895, and a slow entropy of the system began, as changes in American higher education after 1945 threw American degree colours into disarray.

New colours for specialized medical degrees (1936–58)

When the American Council on Education published its Academic Costume Code in 1935 the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume had not authorized a new colour since the end of the First World War. Thus the ACE's degree colour list in the 1935 Code was essentially the same twenty-two colours the Intercollegiate Bureau had published since 1918. But in the meantime a number of new degrees conferred at various universities meant there were new colours needed.

By 1936 almost all degrees could be indicated by existing IBAC and ACE colours. The most common exceptions were:

Architecture, Bachelor and Master of
Design, Bachelor of
Didactics, Bachelor of
Foreign Service, Bachelor of
Journalism, Bachelor of
Landscape Architecture, Master of

Landscape Design, Master of
Nursing, Bachelor and Master of
Secretarial Science, Bachelor of
Social Science, Bachelor of
Social Work, Master of⁹

The Bureau probably considered Architecture and Design degrees to be part of Fine Arts (brown); Didactics to be part of Education (light blue); Nursing to be a part of Medicine (green); Journalism to be a part of Arts and Letters (white);¹⁰ Sanitation to be a part of Public Health (salmon pink); and Secretarial Science¹¹ and Social Science to be part of

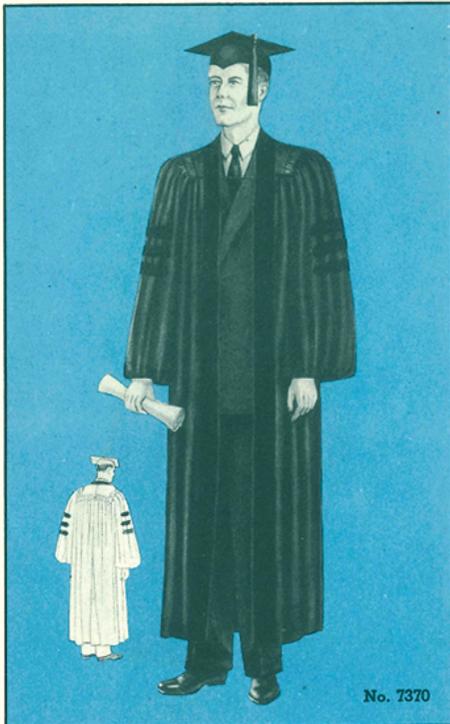
⁸ *An Academic Costume Code* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1935), pp. 4–5. Also, Clarence Stephen Marsh, ed., *American Universities and Colleges*, 3rd edn (Washington: American Council on Education, 1936), pp. 1065–66.

⁹ See David Allan Robertson, ed., *American Universities and Colleges* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons for the American Council on Education, 1928), pp. 865–68; John Henry MacCracken, ed., *American Universities and Colleges*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins for the American Council on Education, 1932), pp. 1028–30; and Clarence Stephen Marsh, ed., *American Universities and Colleges*, 3rd edn (Washington: American Council on Education, 1936), pp. 1068–71.

¹⁰ Stephen Wolgast says that white was the degree colour for Journalism used at Columbia University prior to 1960. See 'King's Crowns: The History of Academic Dress at King's College and Columbia University', *TBS*, 9 (2009), pp. 80–137 (p. 130).

¹¹ A vintage Cotrell & Leonard hood in the author's collection that is known to have been cre-

The Doctor's Cap and Gown



The Doctor's gown has an open front with wide velvet panels down each side of opening and loose bell shaped sleeves with 3 velvet bars on each.

Doctor's gowns may be ordered with panels and bars in black or in official colors, such as, blue for Philosophy, purple for Law, green for Medicine, etc. Other official colors are appropriate but seldom used as they create too much contrast.

Most of our orders call for black velvet panels and bars and therefore, unless otherwise specified, black will be furnished.

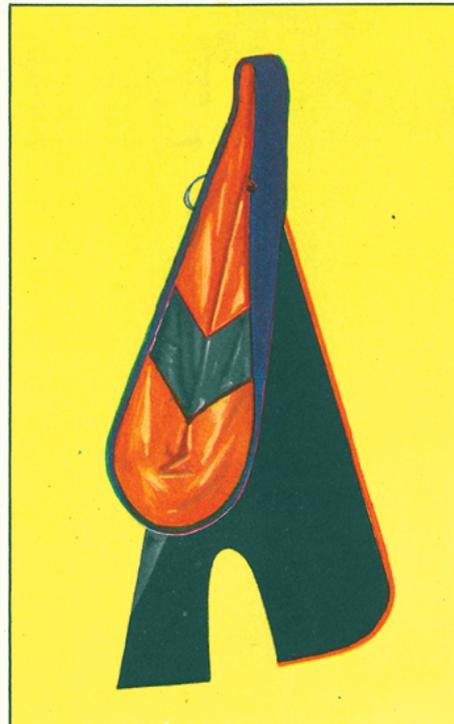
The Doctor's cap is made of same material as gown. The holder of a Doctor's degree may wear a tassel of either black or gold silk or gold bullion. Black tassel will be furnished unless otherwise specified.

See Page 10 for Prices

Doctor's Cap and Gown furnished in Harvard Style at same prices as above.

See Page 10 for information concerning Yale Blue Doctor's Gown.
See Page 11 for Details of Ward's Rental Service.

The Doctor's Hood



The Doctor's Hood is larger and of a shape different than the Bachelor's or Master's. Body of the hood is black in any of the materials listed on page 10, edged with velvet in the official colors of each department of learning, such as blue for Philosophy, purple for Law, green for Medicine, scarlet for Divinity, etc.

Hoods are lined with long wearing satin in the official color or colors of the Institution conferring the degree.

See Page 10 for Prices

Doctor's Hoods furnished in Harvard Style at same prices as above.

See Page 11 for details of Ward's Rental Service.

Fig. 2. One of Cotrell & Leonard's competitors was the C. E. Ward Company, which was founded in 1905 in New London, Ohio, as a manufacturer of masonic and academic regalia. Here are two pages from the company's academic clothing catalogue c. 1938-43. The panels on the sides of the hood and the dark blue velvet trim of the hood indicate a Doctor of Philosophy degree, and the orange lining with a black chevron indicates a degree from Princeton University. (Author's collection)

Science (golden yellow). But what about Foreign Service and Social Work? Did the Bureau fold Foreign Service into Laws (purple)? Did Social Work use the salmon pink of Public Health? We cannot be sure.

Each of these degrees could be accommodated in existing colour categories, but a special case could certainly be made that some of the graduate degrees deserved separate colours. The Depression had severely curtailed the use of hoods for Bachelor's degrees, which was a practice that had never become very common. A 1943 newspaper article explained why: 'There are hoods for all degrees, including bachelors, but the latter are seldom seen for the simple reason that they are expensive and 99 per cent of the bachelors never wear academic dress again after commencement day.'¹² So after World War One, and certainly in 1936–58, the Bureau apparently adopted a policy of assigning new colours only for new graduate degrees.

This was not soon enough for some. To fulfil hood orders for clients that had conferred a degree not on the Intercollegiate Bureau's list, a few academic costume manufacturers besides Cotrell & Leonard used colours not authorized by the Bureau, or expanded the degree category for an authorized IBAC colour. This diluted the authority of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume and led to confusion about which colours were or were not 'official'. One manufacturer, the National Academic Cap & Gown Company in Philadelphia, even had the chutzpah to claim that it was the representative of the 'Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic *Wear*' (my emphasis), publishing a lengthy catalogue largely plagiarized from Cotrell & Leonard catalogues and other sources.¹³

Cotrell & Leonard published catalogues only in 1936 and 1948, and because primary documentation from the company no longer exists and supplemental materials are rare it is difficult to ascertain with any precision the adoption dates of the new colours the IBAC authorized or considered between 1936 and 1958.¹⁴ But half of these new degree colours were for medical specialties.¹⁵

Osteopathy: green (used by the E. R. Moore Company)

Naprapathy: cerise (used by the E. R. Moore Company)

The masonic and academic regalia manufacturing company E. R. Moore became one of Cotrell & Leonard's most dogged competitors in the 1930s. Moore was located in Chicago, home to a variety of important medical schools, both traditional and alternative, which explains why the company's 1932, 1939, and 1949 catalogues listed medical degrees and

ated for a woman with a Bachelor of Secretarial Science degree has golden yellow edging (see Fig. 1).

¹² Don E. Weaver, 'Cap and Gown', *The Pittsburgh Press*, 6 June 1943.

¹³ Emanuel I. Cohen, *History of Academic Caps, Gowns and Hoods* (Philadelphia: National Academic Cap & Gown Co., 1940).

¹⁴ See *The History of Academic Costume in America*, pp. 10–11; Frank W. Haycraft, *The Degrees and Hoods of the World's Universities and Colleges*, 4th edn, revised and enlarged by E. W. Scobie Stringer (Cheshunt: privately printed by Cheshunt Press, 1948), p. 76 (containing information from the Bureau c.1946); Hoppner, p. 14; and *Authentic Academic Costumes of Lasting Enjoyment* (New York: Bentley & Simon, 1958) (containing information from the Bureau). See also this undated (but probably c. 1928) Cotrell & Leonard catalogue: John Erwin, *The History of Academic Costume in America* (Albany, N.Y.: Cotrell & Leonard for the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, n.d.), p. 11.

¹⁵ The IBAC had already authorized degree colours for medical specialties in Dentistry (lilac c. 1898) and Pharmacy (olive green c. 1901).

Cotrell & Leonard sent this collection of velvet swatches to Columbia University in 1936 or 1937, when Columbia considered a proposal to use mortarboard tassels in degree colours. The chart illustrates most of the degree colours the Bureau had approved at that time, but Arts and Letters (white) and Humanics (crimson) are not shown, and Social Work (citron) is absent, perhaps because the Bureau was in the process of approving it. By the end of the 1930s the Bureau's list would be longer than the list of the American Council on Education, having added Surgical Chiropody (Nile green), Nursing (apricot), Philanthropy (rose), and Social Work (citron). One may note the confusing similarity between the shades of greens, yellows, oranges, and browns, making the precise identification of an individual's degree



UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Fig. 3

difficult to discern when the colour is seen by itself. The colours are also perhaps darker than one might expect; this was to avoid too great of a contrast between the black gown and the degree trim of the gown and hood.

medical colours—what E. R. Moore and the Intercollegiate Bureau called ‘faculty colors’—that never made it into the official lists of the IBAC or the ACE.¹⁶

For instance, Chicago’s American College of Osteopathic Medicine and Surgery (1900) was one of the earliest Osteopathic medical schools in the United States and was a client of E. R. Moore. So between 1939 and 1949 the firm added Osteopathy to its catalogue’s degree list, using green, the same colour the Bureau assigned to Medicine in 1895. The shared colour reflected the belief by Osteopathic doctors that a Doctor of Osteopathy was professionally equivalent to a Doctor of Medicine—a belief that was contentiously and vigorously challenged by MDs throughout the twentieth century. This colour choice by Osteopaths illustrates the tendency for disciplines seeking professional or academic legitimacy to use a degree colour as a visual statement of the professional or academic legitimacy

¹⁶ See E. R. Moore Company catalogue (Chicago: E. R. Moore, 1932), p. 5; Helen Walters, *The Story of Caps and Gowns* (Chicago: E. R. Moore, 1939), p. 14, which was reprinted in 1949, p. 18.

they seek. Such a motivation continues to influence the selection of new degree colours in the US today.

The Intercollegiate Bureau and the American Council on Education did not *officially* expand the green colour for Medicine to include Osteopathy (i.e., green for ‘Medicine and Osteopathy’), but the inclusion of the Doctor of Osteopathy degree into the Bureau’s Medicine category seems to have been assumed in the same way a Doctor of Chemistry degree was assumed to be incorporated in the golden yellow degree colour for Science or a Master of Painting degree was assumed to be incorporated in the brown for Fine Arts.¹⁷

Between 1932 and 1939 E. R. Moore also began to use cerise as the colour for Naprapathy.¹⁸ In 1908 the Oakley Smith School of Naprapathy in Chicago was founded, changing its name to the Chicago College of Naprapathy in 1912. In 1949 the National College of Naprapathy, was also founded in Chicago.¹⁹ Both colleges conferred the Doctor of Naprapathy degree. Naprapathy is largely considered to be a pseudo-medical field in the United States; of the fifty states, Naprapathic doctors are licensed to practise only in Illinois and New Mexico.

In the 1934 edition of *Webster’s Unabridged New International Dictionary*, cerise is described as a highly saturated bluish red colour of low brilliance. The rationale behind E. R. Moore’s selection of cerise for this discipline is unknown, although the colour of muscle can be a reddish hue similar to cerise. Because the Regents of the University of the State of New York have never approved a degree in Naprapathy, this colour was not officially approved by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, and is probably why it was not a shade within the medicinal greens the Bureau tended to use. Nevertheless, Naprapathy is still listed on at least one academic garment manufacturer’s colour chart, paired with Chiropractic Medicine, which reflects the shared historical roots of both naturopathic disciplines.²⁰ Strangely, this manufacturer has not assigned Chiropractic and Naprapathy the colour cerise, but has instead reassigned the two disciplines silver, which unfortunately duplicates the silver grey that the Bureau assigned to Oratory and Speech between 1906 and 1909. Chiropractic also appears on the websites of several other academic garment manufacturers with the colour grey, the IBAC colour for Veterinary Medicine since 1901.²¹

Because of the confusion this colour duplication creates, it would be better if aca-
17 In *Scholars on Parade* (1969), David Lockmiller includes Osteopathy (green) in his list of American colours that were being used at the time of publication.

18 Naprapathy is a naturopathic approach to musculoskeletal disorders that is related to chiropractic medicine. In the early 1900s, a chiropractic doctor named Oakley Smith successfully developed a regimen of pain relieving nutritional strategies and manual therapy techniques for the connective tissues of his patients. Having studied in both the United States and Bohemia, Smith coined the term for this medical practice from the Czech word *napravít*, which means ‘to correct’, and the Greek word for pain, which is *pathos*. Thus Naprapathy means: to alleviate the suffering.

19 These two institutions merged to form the National College of Naprapathic Medicine in 1971. See *National College of Naprapathic Medicine: Academic Bulletin 2017-2018* (Chicago: National College of Naprapathic Medicine and Clinic, 2017), p. 1.

20 ‘Academic Cap & Gowns (also known as Academic Apparel) in California’, at <www.academicapparel.com/caps/regalia_colors.html> [retrieved 2 April 2018]. Murphy Cap & Gown Co. does not include Naprapathy but cites the colour for Chiropractic as silver, at <www.murphyrobes.com/index.cfm?event=page.display&pageID=48%20> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

21 See, for instance: Oak Hall, <www.pittuniversitystore.com/StoreFiles/178-SchoolFiles/178-docs/178-custom_academic_regalia_price_list.pdf>, Jostens, <www.jostens.com/apps/shop/images/pdf/FineQualityRegalia_TrifoldBrochure.pdf>, and The Robe Shop Worldwide,

demical costume manufacturers expanded the historically correct (albeit unapproved by the Bureau) cerise colour for degrees in Naprapathy to include degrees in Chiropractic.

Surgical Chiropody: Nile green

Surgical Chiropody is an archaic term for what Americans today call podiatry. The oldest podiatric medical school in the United States is the New York School of Chiropody, founded in 1911 (today the New York College of Podiatric Medicine).²² But the colour for degrees in Podiatry probably originated at the Illinois College of Chiropody and Orthopedics in Chicago, which was founded one year later by Dr William Scholl of Dr Scholl's footwear fame and began conferring the Doctor of Surgical Chiropody and Orthopedics (DCO) degree in 1913.²³ If any of the early chiropodical colleges that began to spring up across the US in the 1910s and 1920s used academic costume, the colour of the hood edging was probably green, the degree colour the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume had authorized for Medicine in 1895.

Before these institutions were founded, chiropody was a profession taught through apprenticeship, but the first half of the twentieth century saw chiropodists make their discipline a medical profession by formalizing the legal certification for doctors with academic training and organizing professional groups like the National Association of Chiropodists (1912).²⁴ The allopathic medical establishment was not impressed, however, and it would not be until 1938 that doctors of the American Medical Association's House of Delegates would finally and pejoratively declare that

the practice of chiropody is not a cult practice as is osteopathy, chiropractic or Christian Science, which have bases of treatment not supported by scientific or demonstrated knowledge but [sic] on which bases all diseases are treated. Chiropody is rather a practice ancillary—a hand-maiden—to medical practice in a limited field considered not important enough for a doctor of medicine to attend and therefore too often is neglected. General opinion seems to be that chiropody fairly well satisfies a gap in medical care that the profession has failed to fill.²⁵

This demonstrated that there had been a positive (albeit begrudging) reevaluation of podiatry by mainstream medical doctors in the 1930s.

As a symbol of the emerging professional legitimacy of podiatry, in the mid-1930s the Illinois College of Chiropody and Orthopedics (now renamed the Illinois College of Chiropody and Foot Surgery) ordered hoods for its Doctor of Surgical Chiropody graduates and requested a new degree colour, probably from the E. R. Moore Company. Either E. R.

<www.robeshop.com/regalia.htm#4> [all retrieved 2 April 2018].

22 See 'History of the College', New York College of Podiatric Medicine, at <www.nycpm.edu/history.asp> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

23 Email correspondence, 3 Jan. 2018, with Kelly Reiss, the University archivist at Rosalind Franklin University of Medicine and Science. Degree requirements were strengthened in 1915, and the degree was renamed Doctor of Surgical Chiropody (DSC) in 1917.

24 In 1957 the term chiropody was officially changed to podiatry by this organization, which was renamed the American Podiatry Association. See 'Historical Highlights of APMA', American Podiatric Medical Association, at <www.apma.org/content.cfm?ItemNumber=1203&navItemNumber=625> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

25 Quoted in Gerald H. Grayson, *The First 100 Years (1911–2011): The Past and Future of The New York College of Podiatric Medicine* (Melville, N.Y.: Academic Publishing Company, 2011), p. 48.

Moore contacted the Intercollegiate Bureau for advice on this matter, or E. R. Moore chose a colour on its own and the Bureau followed suit, but either way the Bureau probably approved a colour for Chiropody in late 1936. Chiropody was on the Bureau's agenda in the late 1930s because the Regents of the University of the State of New York were considering the approval of a similar doctoral programme at the First Institute of Podiatry (since 1919 the name of the New York College of School of Chiropody).²⁶

Appearing for the first time in a 1939 E. R. Moore catalogue,²⁷ the new colour the Bureau assigned to the Doctor of Surgical Chiropody degree at the Illinois College of Chiropody was Nile green. According to the 1934 edition of *Webster's Unabridged New International Dictionary*, Nile green is a brilliant yellow-green of low saturation. This official colour was referred to in a US military report from 1941, which stated:

The degree, Doctor of Surgical Chiropody, is nationally known and is placed with other degrees related to medicine. The Nile green border of the academic hood, registered with other degrees at Albany, N.Y. [the location of the Intercollegiate Bureau], represents the chiropodical degree and is related in academic formality with the green of medicine.²⁸

In assigning Chiropody Nile green, the Bureau continued to group health related disciplines within the green family whenever possible, but it is unknown why this particular shade was chosen. That said, the earliest artistic depiction of podiatry is found in an ancient Egyptian tomb painting from c. 2400 BC and podiatric treatments are described in Egyptian papyri from c. 1500 BC, so these historical antecedents may have influenced the Bureau's choice of Nile green.

Nursing: apricot

In 1923 Yale University established the first School of Nursing under university (rather than hospital) administration, and on 25 April 1927 the Yale University School of Nursing adopted apricot for the Bachelor of Nursing hoods.²⁹ It is not known why the nursing fac-

²⁶ In 1912 the degree Master of Chiropody (MCp) had been approved by the Regents of the University of the State of New York and in 1913 the New York School of Chiropody first conferred this degree on its graduates. In the mid-1930s the president of the School, Dr Maurice Lewi, began discussions with the Regents of the University of the State of New York about beginning a Doctor of Podiatry (PodD) programme, which eventually led to the 1939 merger with Long Island University and the conferral of the University's first PodD degree in 1943. For more information about this subject, see Grayson.

²⁷ In Walters (1939), p. 14, the printer has transposed the colours for Optometry and Chiropody. The error was corrected in the 1949 reprinting, at p. 18.

²⁸ 'Chiropody (Podiatry) Corps: Hearing Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate, Seventy-Seventh Congress, First Session, on S. 1459, a Bill to Establish a Chiropody (Podiatry) Corps in the Medical Corps of the United States Army' (26 June 1941), p. 27.

²⁹ Donna Diers, 'The Editor Responds', *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 23.4 (Winter 1991), p. 264. See also *The Yale Corporation: Charter, Legislative Acts, By-Laws, and Other Official Documents* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), p. 116. Although the first class of Bachelor of Nursing students graduated the year before I have not been able to discover what colour they used, but it was probably green. Notice, however, that during this period Yale employed a system resembling faculty colours rather than degree colours. Gold yellow was used for all degrees conferred by the Sheffield Scientific School (including the Bachelor of Philosophy and all Engineering degrees)

ulty at Yale chose apricot rather than a shade of green, the Bureau's colour for medicine, but apricot is a fruit known for its medicinal uses, particularly in midwifery, the ancestor of the profession of Nursing.

Unaware of Yale's decision, a 1932 E. R. Moore catalogue cited green *and* white as assigned to degrees in Nursing.³⁰ This two-colour assignment was probably effected by dividing the edging of the academic hood in the same manner as the hood for persons with more than one doctorate was divided, a customary practice at this time for individuals with more than one doctorate.³¹ E. R. Moore seems to have been trying to assign Nursing degrees a combination of the Bureau's green for Medicine with the traditional white of nurse's uniforms.

Yale conferred the first Master of Nursing degree in 1937,³² and with graduate degrees having become the minimum requirement for a degree colour to be assigned, this was probably the impetus for the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume to add apricot to its list as the official colour for Nursing about that time, a decade after it was first adopted for the Bachelor of Nursing degree at Yale.³³ Deferring to the Bureau's authority in these matters, E. R. Moore began to use apricot for Nursing in its 1949 catalogue after omitting the discipline entirely in its 1939 catalogue.

Optometry: sea foam

The history of the official colour for the Doctor of Optometry is blurry; the tentative narrative here has been pieced together from various (and often contradictory) sources.³⁴

The Illinois College of Optometry (1872), based in Chicago, is the oldest Optometry school in the United States. In the 1930s, the College (then known as the Northern Illinois College of Optometry) had apparently purchased Doctor of Optometry hoods using orchid coloured velvet edging from the E. R. Moore Company, as this is the colour for Optometry listed in Moore's 1939 and 1949 catalogues.³⁵ The Bureau was not consulted on this matter.

Meanwhile, in Oregon the North Pacific College of Optometry (1921) merged with Pacific University in 1945 and began using grey edging for its Doctor of Optometry hoods. Pacific chose grey because that achromatic shade had an ancient association with the eye.

and both the Doctor of Philosophy and the Doctor of Public Health graduates wore dark blue, even though degree colours for Engineering (orange) and Public Health (salmon pink) existed by this point.

30 *E. R. Moore Company* (Chicago: E. R. Moore, 1932), p. 5.

31 For a vintage example of a hood with a split edging (in this case, for an individual holding PhD and DD degrees), see Fig. 2 in Suit, 'The Iridescent Web', p. 50. The American Council on Education would formally prohibit this practice in its 1935 Academic Costume Code. Manufacturers, of course, ignored this stipulation and continued to offer hoods tailored in this fashion. The Bureau had begun to phase this practice out by 1948; see Hoppner, pp. 12–13.

32 *Yale Corporation: Miscellaneous Regulations* (21 May 2013), Section 8, at <www.yale.edu/about/corporation/regulations.html#eight> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

33 The 1939 edition of E. R. Moore's *The Story of Caps and Gowns* omits Nursing entirely.

34 My research on the history of Optometry's degree colours would have been incomplete without the help I received from Dr Jenny Coyle, dean of the College of Optometry at Pacific University; Dr Wid Bleything, emeritus dean of the College of Optometry at Pacific University; and Kimberly O'Sullivan, communications director of the Association of Schools and Colleges of Optometry.

35 In Walters (1939), p. 14, the author has transposed the colours for Optometry and Chiroprody. See n. 29.

The Greek word for owl is *glauk* due to its large eyes, and *glaukos* described what the Greeks considered an unattractive pale grey, pale blue, pale green, or pale blue-green eye colour. Thus *glaukos* became the source of the archaic Hippocratic term *glaukosis* which described a variety of corneal diseases like cataracts, keratitis, and glaucoma.³⁶

In 1948 or 1949, Pacific attempted to register grey as the colour for Optometry with the Intercollegiate Bureau, but it informed Pacific that grey was already assigned to Veterinary Medicine. Maintaining the historical association between Optometry and the colours described by the Greek term *glaukos*, the Bureau suggested sea foam as the discipline's colour.³⁷ This pale bluish-green had the additional advantage of being within the green spectrum which the IBAC typically used for degrees in the medical disciplines.

With various colleges and academic costume manufacturers using orchid, grey, and sea foam for Optometry degrees,³⁸ a commitment to resolve this disarray was made at the 1949 annual meeting of the Association of Schools and Colleges of Optometry. Orchid never seems to have been seriously considered. A committee suggested grey for Optometry, but after discovering that sea foam had already been approved by the Intercollegiate Bureau, the Association officially adopted seafoam for Optometry degrees in the summer of 1950.³⁹

Minor changes to American degree colours (1936–58)

In addition to the medical colours, the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume made minor changes or clarifications to a few colours or degree title categories approved before 1918. These revisions were often sparked by changes the American Council on Education made to its colour list.

Humanics: dark crimson

Humanities: white (authorized by the American Council on Education)

The Bureau had assigned crimson to Humanics between 1912 and 1915, but this obscure degree had never become very common. Even the Master of Humanics degree at Springfield College, where it originated, had been changed to a traditional Master of Education degree by the 1930s, and the Bachelor of Humanics degree had been dropped in 1926.⁴⁰ An *honoris causa* Doctor of Humanics degree, however, was conferred on rare occasions.⁴¹

Few in the United States had even heard of Humanics when the American Council on Education grandfathered the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume's degree co-

³⁶ See Michael Tsatsos and David Broadway, 'Controversies in the History of Glaucoma: Is it All a Load of Old Greek?' *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, 91.11 (Nov. 2007), pp. 1561–62.

³⁷ Various forms of this term—sea foam, seafoam, and sea-foam—were used in contemporary sources, with or without green as an accompanying noun.

³⁸ See, for instance, Emanuel I. Cohen, *History of Academic Caps, Gowns and Hoods* (Philadelphia: National Academic Cap & Gown, 1940), p. 37; and Walters, p. 18.

³⁹ Henry W. Hofstetter, 'The Mysteries of Optometry's Green', *Optometry and Vision Science* [The Journal of the American Academy of Optometry], 67.2 (Feb. 1990), p. 72.

⁴⁰ For more on the Humanics degree, see Suit, pp. 62–63.

⁴¹ Springfield College still confers an honorary Doctor of Humanities degree from time to time. The degree colour used for the velvet edging of the hood is white. See, for instance, <www.tecom.marines.mil/News/News-Article-Display/Article/528088/gen-receives-honorary-doctorate-for-leadership-and-humanitarian-service/> [retrieved 2 April 2018]. In the ceremony, Brigadier General Lefebvre wears his military uniform instead of an academic gown, which is permitted under the rules of the Intercollegiate Code of Academic Costume.

lour list into the ACE's 1935 Academic Costume Code. Probably because the ACE thought Humanics was a typographical error, between 1936 and 1938 the ACE changed Humanics to Humanities in its list, retaining crimson.⁴² This was confusing, because in 1895 the Bureau had already assigned white to degrees in Arts and Letters—what most people would consider to be degrees in the Humanities. Nevertheless, from 1940 the ACE list had two colours (white and crimson) for what were essentially the same degrees in the liberal arts.

This duplication was unnecessary, so the Bureau clarified its rejection of ACE's revision. Between 1946 and 1948 the Bureau broadened its assignment of white to Arts, Letters, and Humanities, and also described the original crimson of Humanics as dark crimson.⁴³ Dark crimson more accurately described the shade of red Cotrell & Leonard had been using for Humanics, which was in fact very similar to the maroon of Springfield College where the degree had originated.⁴⁴

Architecture: brown

Bachelor of Architecture and Master of Architecture degrees had been conferred in the United States since the 1870s. The Bureau considered these degrees to be subsumed by the brown assigned to Fine Arts in 1895, but did not clearly state this in its lists. Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Design were treated the same way. But when the ACE merged the Bureau's colour list into its 1935 Academic Costume Code, the Council stated that brown pertained to degrees in 'Fine Arts, including Architecture'. Seeing the wisdom in this clarification, the Bureau made the same addition to its degree title description for brown not long after the end of World War Two.⁴⁵

Given the Bureau's postwar practice of assigning new colours to emerging fields of study with uniquely titled graduate degrees, it is strange that Architecture and Design were not treated in the same way. Instead, the brown of Fine Arts remained for the Bachelor and Master of Architecture, honorary Doctor of Architecture, Bachelor and Master of Design, Master of Landscape Architecture, and Master of Landscape Design degrees. But dissatisfaction with the IBAC's and ACE's views in this matter would erupt into open rebellion later in the century.

A revised name for 'Pedagogy'

The Intercollegiate Bureau updated the degree title for Pedagogy between 1946 and 1948.⁴⁶ 'Pedagogy' was by then an outmoded title for degrees conferred on teachers, so when the American Council on Education made minor revisions to its colour list in 1940, it changed

42 Compare the colour list in Clarence Stephen Marsh, ed., *American Universities and Colleges*, 3rd edn (Washington: American Council on Education, 1936), p. 1066, with the list in *Presenting an Exhibition of Academic Costume at the University of Minnesota* (1938), a catalogue for an exhibition curated by Ruth Lawrence.

43 Compare the Bureau degree colour list (c. 1946) in Haycraft, p. 76, with the list in Hoppner, p. 14.

44 See Appendix A for a close approximation of the shade of crimson the Bureau assigned to Humanics. The crimson shown on pp. 69 and 71 in Suit, is slightly too bright. One should recall that the Bureau tended to use darker shades to create less contrast between the black fabric of the gown and its facings, sleeve bars, and edging of the hood.

45 Compare the Bureau's degree colour list (c. 1946) in Haycraft, p. 76, with the list in Hoppner, p. 14.

46 Compare the IBAC degree colour lists, *ibid.*

it to Education; likewise, the Bureau later expanded the name of its degree title for light blue on its list to Education, Pedagogy.

Multiple changes to the name Commerce and Accountancy

The Intercollegiate Bureau twice revised the degree title for Commerce and Accountancy between 1936 and 1958, updating it to Business Administration and Commercial Science after World War Two,⁴⁷ and then back to Commerce and Accountancy no later than 1956,⁴⁸ in both cases still using the unfortunate colour name of 'drab' which the Bureau had assigned between 1903 and 1905. This was a significantly darker shade of drab than is seen today.⁴⁹ Business Administration and Commercial Science was actually a more accurate degree title category as these had been the names of most business degrees since the 1920s.⁵⁰

Retailing: turquoise (considered for authorization by the Intercollegiate Bureau, c. 1957)

In the early 1950s the College of Business Administration at the University of Pittsburgh began conferring the Master of Retailing degree, and in 1957 or 1958 may have asked the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume to assign the colour turquoise to degrees in Retailing.⁵¹ Since Retailing is clearly a type of Business degree, I suspect Pittsburgh was unhappy with the Bureau's drab assigned to Commerce and Accountancy and wanted to use something more attractive. Apparently this request was never officially approved by the Bureau.

Textiles: rose (at North Carolina State College)

Statistics: light rose (at North Carolina State College)

Earlier I discussed several colours selected by the E. R. Moore Company which had not been authorized by the IBAC. Unauthorized colours were also chosen by individual colleges and universities. In his 1969 book, *Scholars on Parade*, David A. Lockmiller cited a list of colours that included two that never appeared in lists from the Intercollegiate Bureau, the American Council on Education, the E. R. Moore Company, or any other manufacturer: Textiles (rose) and Statistics (light rose).⁵² Lockmiller had been a professor at North Carolina State College from 1935 until 1942, and it was there in 1939 that the first honorary Doctor of Textile Science degree was conferred. In 1945, after Lockmiller's departure for the University of Chattanooga, North Carolina State also began conferring the Master of Experimental Statistics degree. I suspect that the College used rose and light rose velvet on

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ See 'To Increase Your Enjoyment of Commencement Pageantry', *Southern California Alumni Review*, 40.8 (May 1959), p. 11, with a list from Moore of California, a branch of E. R. Moore created through the purchase of the Cap & Gown Company of California c. 1956-57.

⁴⁹ For more information about this unattractive greyish-brown, see Suit, pp. 56-58.

⁵⁰ For Americans, the Master of Business Administration degree is the most familiar example today.

⁵¹ See the letter from O. J. Hoppner to the president of the American Council on Education (7 Oct. 1958) in the Hoover Institute Archives, American Council on Education Collection, Box 468 [hereafter HIA ACE 468], Folder 9. Turquoise for Retailing is listed in Raymond F. Howes, 'Memorandum to Members of the Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremonies' (23 June 1959).

⁵² New York: Macmillan, 1969, p. 186.

the hoods for these degrees, and that this was the source of Lockmiller's information about these unique degree colours.

Many other American colleges and universities were conferring atypical degrees and were using institutionally specific colours for them without permission from the Intercollegiate Bureau or the American Council on Education, colours which were not recorded and are thus unknown to us today. Some of these would have duplicated official Bureau colours, like North Carolina State's rose, which the Bureau was already using for Philanthropy, one of several new degree colours the Bureau would approve for the social sciences.

New colours for degrees in the social sciences (1936–58)

Collegiate programmes in the social sciences experienced considerable growth during this period, and with the increased specialization of these disciplines came uniquely titled professional degrees that were allocated new colours from the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume.

Philanthropy: rose

Social Work: citron

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, courses in Philanthropy were often found in the religion departments of American colleges and universities, but the Progressive Era impulse to muster the forces of religion, science, medicine, and politics in a joint campaign of social reform had a secularizing effect that moved the study of philanthropy, public welfare, or social planning out of religion departments and into the emerging disciplines of the social sciences.

Whether these new academic programmes were called Philanthropy, Social Service, Social Welfare, or Social Work, colleges and universities did not initially grant specialized degrees in public welfare or social planning, and thus would not have required a new colour from the Intercollegiate Bureau. But in 1925 Princeton University conferred the first Doctor of Philanthropy on an alumnus who had done Presbyterian missionary and charitable work in India.⁵³ It was an honorary degree that Princeton continued to confer until 1959, and was probably the source of the Bureau's rose for degrees in Philanthropy. The rose is an ancient symbol for charity and love and was thus a perfect degree colour for the study of philanthropy. Rose is also a shade of red, the IBAC's spectrum assigned to the religious virtues of charity, benevolence, selflessness, and service to others.⁵⁴ The shade of Philanthropy's rose was dark, and was almost indistinguishable from the dark crimson of Humanics, so much so that Cotrell & Leonard may have used the same fabric for the hoods of both degrees. The Bureau, in other words, was apparently creating a difference without a distinction. Not that it mattered. The Doctor of Humanics and the Doctor of Philanthropy degrees were both honorary and the number of hoods Cotrell & Leonard produced must have been miniscule.

Exactly when the Intercollegiate Bureau approved this colour is a mystery. Philanthropy (rose) appears in its postwar lists from *c.* 1946 and 1948.⁵⁵ But the colour may have

⁵³ *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 25.36 (17 June 1925), pp. 893, 934.

⁵⁴ The Bureau had assigned Theology scarlet in 1895 and Humanics crimson between 1912 and 1915.

⁵⁵ Compare the IBAC degree colour lists of Haycraft and Hoppner.

been assigned when Princeton created the Doctor of Philanthropy degree, even though a IBAC list from 1936 does not include it. Perhaps as a singular example (and as an honorary degree) the Bureau did not feel that it needed to include Philanthropy in a list it published for general use. However, a Cotrell & Leonard chart from 1936 or 1937 includes Philanthropy (see Fig. 3), so perhaps this was the period when the Bureau decided to officially authorize a colour for it—one which also happened to come during the same general time the IBAC approved a colour for a related academic discipline: Social Work.

The economic and social disruptions of the Great Depression accelerated the academic professionalization of public welfare and social planning. Gradually, the philanthropic public and private training programmes for social workers started by metropolitan civic and religious leaders began to be merged into prestigious colleges and universities to create professional degree programmes, in what was now more often called Social Service, Social Welfare, or Social Work. For example, the independent Pennsylvania School of Social Work, founded in 1908, became a professional School within the University of Pennsylvania in 1935 and first conferred the Master of Social Work degree in 1936.⁵⁶ Pennsylvania's MSW graduates wore hoods edged with citron velvet.⁵⁷ Citron is a bright yellow similar to lemon yellow, so to avoid confusion with the colours that were already assigned to Science and Library Science Cotrell & Leonard used velvet edging on Pennsylvania's Social Work hoods that was closer in shade to the sample that *A Dictionary of Color* (1930) identified as citrine, a greenish yellow.⁵⁸ Inadvertently or not, citrine captured a particularly modern view of social reform, as it eschewed the Bureau's theological red shades in favour of a combination of the scientific yellows and the medicinal greens—symbolism that reflected a strikingly secular confidence in the ability of science to heal the problems of human society.

Following Pennsylvania's adoption of citron for the Master of Social Work in 1936, the Bureau officially authorized it for degrees in what the IBAC initially called Social Work. The Bureau later changed the name to Social Service after the Regents of the University of the State of New York authorized the Master of Social Service degree in the early 1940s.⁵⁹

Public Administration: drab

Foreign Service: peacock blue (considered for authorization by the Intercollegiate Bureau c. 1957)

Political Science: royal blue (considered for authorization by the Intercollegiate Bureau c. 1957)

The increased political extremism of the 1930s along with the catastrophe of World War Two had the combined effect of accelerating the theoretical study of political science in

⁵⁶ Mark Frazier Lloyd, *100 Years: A Centennial History of the School of Social Policy & Practice* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania School of Social Policy and Practice, 2008), pp. 28–43, also available at <<http://repository.upenn.edu/centennial/1>> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

⁵⁷ *Catalogue of the University of Pennsylvania: 1936–1937* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1937), p. 183.

⁵⁸ A. Maerz and M. Rae Paul, *A Dictionary of Color* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930). The colour for Social Work shown in the list in Wikipedia is citron (not citrine). See <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academic_regalia_in_the_United_States> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

⁵⁹ A Bureau degree colour list from the late 1930s that includes 'Social Work' survives in 1940s and 1950s editions of *The Encyclopedia Americana* (*s.v.*, 'Costume, Academic'), but Bureau lists from the late 1940s refer to citron as the degree colour for 'Social Service'.

American colleges and universities, but professional programmes for government workers had been offered for several decades. A Master of Diplomacy degree was first offered by the Department of Jurisprudence and Diplomacy of Columbian University (later called George Washington University) in 1898. Similarly, Georgetown University began offering a Master of Foreign Service degree in the 1930s. In 1924 Syracuse became the first college or university to grant the Master of Public Administration degree, and Harvard began conferring MPA degrees not long after it opened its Graduate School of Public Administration in 1937.

Initially, the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume probably intended for the Master of Diplomacy, Master of Foreign Service, and Master of Public Administration degrees to use purple, which the Bureau had assigned to Laws.⁶⁰ But these political disciplines were developing distinctive pedagogical identities within academia during the early years of the twentieth century and were no longer considered to be subsets of the study of law. In 1905, for instance, the Department of Jurisprudence and Diplomacy at George Washington University split into the Department of Law and Jurisprudence and the Department of Politics and Diplomacy; thereafter the Master of Diplomacy degree was only conferred by the latter. In 1907 the Department of Politics and Diplomacy became the College of the Political Sciences.⁶¹

It is possible (but unlikely, perhaps) that the copper which the Bureau assigned to Economics around 1912 was intended for these new political science degrees. *Webster's New International Dictionary* broadly defined economics as 'the science that investigates the conditions *and laws* affecting the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth' (my emphasis). So the Bureau may have been using an abbreviated form of political economics or public economics, which were terms (now archaic) to describe 'the art of managing the business affairs of a government' according to *Webster's*. If this hypothesis is correct, it would explain why the IBAC adopted a degree colour for Economics when no Bachelor of Economics, Master of Economics, or Doctor of Economics degrees existed, but Master of Diplomacy, Master of Foreign Service, and Master of Public Administration degrees did.⁶²

In any event, after the Second World War the Intercollegiate Bureau reconsidered whether these professional degrees deserved colours.⁶³ The problem was that public administration, public economics, public service, political economics, political science, social service, and even social work and social science were being used as related and often synonymous terms to describe overlapping professions in government that reflected the interdisciplinary nature of the subject. For example, New York University began offering a Master of Public Administration degree in 1938, but in 1953 the MPA programme was moved into the University's new School for Public Service and Social Work 'which advanced the

60 In 1895 the IBAC had assigned purple to degrees in Law, but by 1902 this had been changed to Laws, probably to reflect the understanding that purple was to be used for all degrees conferred in law, government, or politics.

61 Compare *The George Washington University Bulletin*, 3.4 (Dec. 1904), p. 116, and 4.1 (1905), p. 16–17 and 173–77. See also John Ball Osborne, 'Education for the New Consular Career', *The North American Review*, 635 (Oct. 1908), pp. 558–60.

62 For more discussion of the colour for Economics, see Suit, pp. 63–65.

63 See Raymond F. Howes, 'Memorandum to Members of the Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremonies' (23 June 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 9.

careers of public servants by teaching them to apply social science theory to public policy management in an urban setting.⁶⁴ The definition of the political sciences was also changing during this period, with academic divisions forming between the theoretical and the practical aspects of the field. So the term political science began to be associated with a liberal arts or social science approach to the study of government and not to professional programmes for employees of the government.

The response of the Bureau to this explosion of jargon was to adhere more closely to the stipulation of the 1895 Intercollegiate Code of Academic Costume that said that colours were to be used to indicate the faculty of the degree title, not the subject of the degree, the field of study, the name of the major, or the name of the department, school, or college where the major was studied. Since political science programmes in Arts and Sciences or Social Science schools conferred Master of Science or Doctor of Philosophy degrees they would not have required a special colour for Political Science, except for honorary Doctor of Political Science degrees that were conferred.⁶⁵ Professional programmes for government workers, on the other hand, regularly conferred master's or doctoral degrees in Public Administration, Diplomacy, Foreign Service, or International Affairs.⁶⁶ These uniquely titled degrees would have needed a special colour.

Because documents from the Bureau no longer exist, we cannot reconstruct a timeline for these discussions, but we do know that at some point between 1948 and 1956,⁶⁷ the Intercollegiate Bureau assigned Master and Doctor of Public Administration degrees the same colour, drab, as the newly renamed Commerce and Accountancy degrees (formerly Business Administration and Commercial Science). Drab was therefore listed twice in the Bureau's official colour list, for both Commerce and Accountancy and for Public Administration (see Fig. 5). The Bureau probably assigned a shared colour because there was a significant amount of overlap between the Public Administration and Business Administration programmes. A 1946 study noted that about 13 per cent of the 83 college or university Public Administration programmes at that time were in Business or Management schools or departments. Over half the Public Administration programmes, however, were in Political Science schools or departments; these would have conferred MS or PhD degrees.⁶⁸

By 1957 or 1958 the Intercollegiate Bureau considered (and may have officially authorized) royal blue for honorary Doctor of Political Science hoods and peacock blue for Mas-

64 'Our History', Wagner School, at <wagner.nyu.edu/about/legacy#> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

65 In the late 1940s and 1950s, no Bachelor or Master of Political Science degrees were being conferred in the US and the Doctor of Political Science degree only existed as an honorary degree.

66 Columbia University began a Master of International Affairs programme in 1946. As stated earlier, Master of Diplomacy, Master of Foreign Service, and Master of Public Administration degrees all pre-dated the Second World War.

67 See 'To Increase Your Enjoyment of Commencement Pageantry'. Since this list does not have Social Science as the E. R. Moore lists before and after, I suspect this was information from the Bureau, kept by the Cap & Gown Company of California, before it was purchased by E. R. Moore. Note, also, that the list includes separate citations for Humanics (crimson), Humanities (white), and Public Administration (drab) as in the later Bureau list from *Authentic Academic Costumes of Lasting Enjoyment* (New York: Bentley & Simon, 1958).

68 Hiba Khodr, 'Public Administration and Political Science: An Historical Analysis of the Relation Between the Two Academic Disciplines' (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 2005), p. 178.

ter of Foreign Service, Master of Diplomacy, and Master of International Affairs hoods.⁶⁹ The political origins of royal blue make it a rather obvious choice for degrees in government, particularly since it is a purplish shade of blue that would nicely combine the purple of Law and the dark blue used by so many of the political science PhD programmes. On the other hand, the dark teal of peacock blue seems to be an odd choice, as it is not related to the Bureau's purple for degrees in Laws.⁷⁰

So by the late 1950s, the velvet edging for hoods for degrees in the political sciences could have been dark blue, drab, peacock blue, or royal blue. This riot of degree colours was unfortunate, which was not lost on the Intercollegiate Bureau. The IBAC had always grouped similar degree faculties under one colour, so the Bureau needed to choose a single colour for all of the professional degrees in Government or the Political Sciences (MPA, DPA, MFS, MDip, MIA, and *honoris causa* DPS).

The Academic Costume Code is revised (1959–61)

By 1958 the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume was overwhelmed by the number of professional degrees, interdisciplinary degrees, and other changes that were encouraging a laissez-faire attitude towards the Academic Costume Code by American colleges, universities, and academic costume manufacturers. So O. J. Hoppner, the president of the Bureau, wrote to the president of the American Council on Education asking the ACE to convene a new committee on academic costume. 'It is some twenty years since the Council on Education discharged its Committee on Academic Costume', Hoppner wrote.

Since then there has been a very rapid growth of academic facilities and many new departments of education have been developed.

In 1957 and 1958 the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume received a greatly increased number of requests for information from academic institutions desiring to design distinctive garb or in some way to make changes in the costumes in order to distinguish new developments.

It would, therefore, seem expedient that a review of the position of the academic code could well be undertaken now so as to lay down specific rules regarding the newer departments of education to avoid incorrect usage of regalia and confusing duplication of the colors.⁷¹

Hoppner, who had been the IBAC representative on the committee that created the 1935 Academic Costume Code, realized that the Intercollegiate Bureau had run out of co-

69 See the 1958 letter from Hoppner to the president of the American Council on Education, *loc. cit.* Royal blue for Political Science and peacock blue for Foreign Service are listed in the Howes memo.

70 I have not been able to find a vintage example of a Foreign Service hood. But the peacock blue shown in in *A Dictionary of Color* (1930) resembles dictionary definitions and would be consistent with Cotrell & Leonard's habit of using darker degree colour shades. The shade of peacock blue in the list in Wikipedia is too bright and too blue. See Appendix C and <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academic_regalia_in_the_United_States> [retrieved 2 April 2018].

71 Letter from O. J. Hoppner to the president of the American Council on Education (7 Oct. 1958), HIA ACE 468, Folder 9. Some of these requests no doubt involved special colours for the doctoral gowns of Columbia University, Cornell University, and Princeton University, like those earlier adopted by Harvard and Yale. See Robert Markowitz, 'Rainbow Robes: Doctorate Gowns Lose Drabness', *The Sunday Telegram: Elmira (N.Y.) Star-Gazette Sunday Edition*, 21 May 1961, as well as David T. Boven, 'American Universities' Departure from the Academic Costume Code', *TBS*, 9 (2009), pp. 156–74.

lours that could be easily distinguished from one another. For instance, the royal blue of Political Science was almost indistinguishable from the dark blue of Philosophy. It was also difficult to tell the difference between Fine Arts brown, Forestry russet, and Economics copper. And the greens used for various degrees in the medical specialties were visually similar as were the yellow shades used for degrees in the sciences.

The American Council on Education agreed, so in 1959 the Executive Committee of the Council appointed 'a new Committee on Academic Costume to study the 1932 Code in the light of new degree fields established since the Code was drawn up.'⁷²

In the opinion of the ACE, any authority the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume possessed was strictly regional. A 1959 letter from the assistant to the president of the Academic Council on Education stated: "The firm of Cottrell [*sic*] and Leonard is a group which furnishes academic costumes to a large number of colleges and universities in the East and Midwest.' It continues:

Cottrell [*sic*] and Leonard was designated by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, Albany, New York, as the official depository for the Code of Academic Costume used by the institutions in New York State. So far as we know the New York State Code is similar to that prepared by the Council's Committee in 1932.⁷³

The American Council on Education was mistaken. It is true that the Intercollegiate Bureau (not Cotrell & Leonard, although the line between the two was not well defined) was charged with the responsibility to assign colours to new degrees authorized by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, but the ACE was wrong to think that the 1895 Intercollegiate Code of Academic Costume applied only to New York. In fact, there was no 'New York State Code of Academic Costume' and the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume certainly did *not* see its authority as limited to New York.

But the IBAC was experiencing problems with academic costume manufacturers who were creating hoods for schools that were conferring professional degrees outside New York and then choosing new colours for the hoods of those degrees without consulting the Bureau, which had itself been expanding its list of official degree colours without, unfortunately, making this information easily available to the public, to colleges and universities, or to their competitors. For example, by 1959 the Regents of the University of the State of New York had authorized the following doctoral degrees:⁷⁴

⁷² Letter from Helen C. Hurley, assistant to the president of the American Council on Education, to R. P. Ward, president of Pan American College, Texas (6 March 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 8.

⁷³ Letter from Hurley to Ward, *ibid*.

⁷⁴ Information about doctoral and master's degrees authorized by the Regents of the University of the State of New York is compiled from Eells and Haswell.

Aeronautical Engineering, Doctor of
Chemical Engineering, Doctor of
Civil Engineering, Doctor of
Civil Law,* Doctor of
Commercial Science, Doctor of
Comparative Religion, Doctor of
Dental Surgery, Doctor of
Divinity,* Doctor of
Education, Doctor of
Electrical Engineering, Doctor of
Engineering Science, Doctor of
Engineering,* Doctor of
Fine Arts,* Doctor of
Fine Arts,† Master of
Hebrew Letters,* Doctor of
Hebrew Literature, Doctor of
Jewish Theology,* Doctor of
Juridical Science, Doctor of
Laws,* Doctor of
Letters,* Doctor of
Library Science, Doctor of
Mechanical Engineering, Doctor of
Medical Science, Doctor of

Medicine, Doctor of
Metallurgical Engineering, Doctor of
Music,* Doctor of
Musical Arts, Doctor of
Optical Science, Doctor of
Optometry, Doctor of
Osteopathy, Doctor of
Pedagogy,* Doctor of
Pharmacy, Doctor of
Philosophy, Doctor of
Podiatry, Doctor of
Public Administration, Doctor of
Public Health, Doctor of
Religious Education, Doctor of
Religious Education,* Doctor of
Sacred Music, Doctor of
Sacred Theology,* Doctor of
Science of Law, Doctor of
Science,* Doctor of
Social Science, Doctor of
Social Welfare, Doctor of
Theology, Doctor of
Veterinary Medicine, Doctor of

* *Honoris causa* † *Also a terminal degree*

By 1959 the Intercollegiate Bureau had assigned a colour to all of these doctorates except Osteopathy (which was probably considered to be a part of the green of Medicine) and Social Science (which was probably considered to be a part of the golden yellow of Science—although Library Science had been given its own lemon yellow). But how was anyone to know this? In the years between 1937 and 1959 the Bureau had published (through Cotrell & Leonard) *one* catalogue with a colour list, in 1948.

There was a plethora of new professional masters' degrees in New York, and here the IBAC had also kept up, for the most part. In addition to the masters' degrees in New York state already covered by the Bureau's list (Master of Arts, Education, Forestry, Music, Science, etc.) by 1959 the Regents of the University of the State of New York had also approved the following new masters' degrees:

Architecture, Master of
Food Science, Master of
Industrial and Labor Relations, Master of
Industrial Design, Master of
International Affairs, Master of

Landscape Architecture, Master of
Nutritional Science, Master of
Regional Planning, Master of
Social Science, Master of

The Bureau probably considered Food Science, Nutritional Science, and Social Science to be covered by the golden yellow of Science. By 1948 the Bureau indicated that Architecture degrees were to be included in the brown of Fine Arts, so master's degrees in Industrial Design were probably treated the same. This left masters' degrees in Indus-

trial and Labor Relations, International Affairs, and Regional Planning without a colour. Industrial and Labor Relations would have been considered a business or social science (economics) degree, International Affairs would have been a degree in social science (political science), and Regional Planning would have been considered either a social science degree or an architecture degree. So hoods for these degrees would have likely used either drab (Business), copper (Economics), purple (Laws), golden yellow (Science), or brown (Fine Arts).⁷⁵

The American Council on Education agreed with Hoppner that the Code was due for a reappraisal. The ACE formed a Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremonies, which met on 19 June 1959 to discuss the 1935 Academic Costume Code. Chaired by Daniel L. Marsh, president emeritus of Boston University, the committee was composed of David Lockmiller, the president of Ohio Wesleyan University;⁷⁶ O. J. Hoppner, the president and general manager of Cotrell & Leonard and president of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume; Ted McCarrel, the registrar of the State University of Iowa; Karl E. Metzger, faculty marshal at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey; Marjorie Nicolson, the chair of the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University; Bernard M. Peebles, a professor in the Department of Latin and Greek at the Catholic University of America; and possibly J. Hampton Robb, the University marshal at Harvard University. Coordinating this effort was Raymond Howes, the staff associate at the American Council on Education.

The changes the Committee made to the 1935 Academic Costume Code have been broadly outlined by Stephen Wolgast.⁷⁷ In what the ACE called its 'faculty and subject' colours, the committee members wanted to achieve what appeared to be contradictory goals. On the one hand, to reflect the increased number of professional degrees, the Committee wanted colours that would indicate the subject of the wearer's degree with more precision, which would also add more colour to the commencement ceremony. On the other hand, the Committee did not want to greatly increase the number of authorized faculty and subject colours. In fact, the first change the Committee made to the Code's list was to remove a persistently problematic degree the ACE had inherited from the Intercollegiate Bureau: the Committee moved Humanities into Arts and Letters (white), calling the new degree category Arts, Letters, Humanities (as the Bureau had done in the 1940s). The Committee also changed Commerce and Accountancy to Commerce, Accountancy, Business and clarified Oratory as Oratory (Speech).

Two Intercollegiate Bureau colour casualties: Humanics (dark crimson), and Philanthropy (rose)

Undecided were these questions: which of the new post-war degrees could be merged into existing ACE categories, and which of these new degrees would need new colours? Af-

⁷⁵ One thing to note about this data is that by the late 1950s the social sciences were beginning to be considered a separate field of study from the natural sciences, which would mean that Social Science might have earned the right to a new degree colour, separate from Science. Architecture and Design had also begun to be perceived as possibly a separate category from Fine Arts, a situation discussed earlier in this article.

⁷⁶ Lockmiller would later write *Scholars on Parade* (1969), an important source of information about American academic costume in the late 1960s.

⁷⁷ Stephen L. Wolgast, compiler, 'The Intercollegiate Code of Academic Costume: An Introduction', *TBS*, 9 (2009), pp. 9-37 (pp. 25-28).

ter the Committee adjourned, Raymond Howes prepared a revised draft of the Academic Costume Code that he sent to Committee members for further discussion and revision on 23 June 1959.⁷⁸ In the meantime, O. J. Hoppner returned to Albany where he compiled an up-to-date list for the Bureau that included seven additional official colours and three proposed colours that were not on the approved ACE list.

Official IBAC degree colours not on the revised (23 June 1959) ACE list:

Humanics	dark crimson
Nursing	apricot
Optometry	sea foam
Philanthropy	rose
Podiatry	Nile green
Public Administration	drab (shared with Commerce and Accountancy)
Social Service	citron

Proposed IBAC degree colours not on the revised (23 June 1959) ACE list:

Foreign Service	peacock blue
Political Science	royal blue
Retailing	turquoise

Hoppner was unhappy with the large number of colours on the official IBAC list—this was, after all, one of the things that had led him to ask the ACE to reevaluate the 1935 Academic Costume Code—so he eliminated two of the Bureau’s lesser-used categories.

Humanics and Philanthropy were removed in 1959. Degrees in Humanics were uncommon and by the 1950s only one institution was conferring the Doctor of Humanics degree (as an honorary degree), so it was nonsensical for the Intercollegiate Bureau to assign a colour to this single degree, which could instead use the scarlet of Theology or the citron of Social Service. Likewise, only Princeton conferred the Doctor of Philanthropy (also an honorary degree), and philanthropic degrees could in those cases be represented by the Bureau-approved citron for Social Service.

Hoppner also used this opportunity to revise the name of the Social Service colour category. Columbia University’s Doctor of Social Welfare degree had been approved by the Regents of the University of the State of New York in 1946 and awarded for the first time in 1952.⁷⁹ The Bureau consolidated the degree titles of Social Service, Social Welfare, and Philanthropy into a single colour, using the IBAC’s original degree name of Social Work with citron.⁸⁰ Rose was deleted.

Three Intercollegiate Bureau degree colours adopted by the American Council on Education: Foreign Service (peacock blue), Nursing (apricot), and Social Work (citron)

Hoppner’s culling of the Bureau’s list left five authorized colours, as well as three that had been requested in 1957 and 1958 but probably not officially authorized. Hoppner sent the

⁷⁸ *A Code for Academic Costumes and Ceremonies* [first revision] (23 June 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 9.

⁷⁹ For more about the history of Social Work degrees at Columbia, see Ronald Feldman and Sheila Kamerman, eds, *The Columbia University School of Social Work: A Centennial Celebration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁸⁰ Compare the lists of Hoppner and Howes, *loc. cit.*

list to the American Council on Education for discussion, but not before making another change. Hoppner omitted Public Administration (drab) from his list, probably understanding it to be subsumed by Political Science (royal blue).

At the ACE, Raymond Howes received Hoppner's list of seven Intercollegiate Bureau colours and on 23 June 1959 mailed it, along with a copy of the first revision of the Code, to the members of the Committee with instructions to select which, if any, of Hoppner's colours should be added to the revised Code. Only those which received a unanimous vote in their favour would be added. The Bureau degree titles and their colours that Howes sent to the Committee members were:

Chiropody	Nile green
Foreign Service	peacock blue
Nursing	apricot
Optometry	sea foam
Political Science	royal blue
Retailing	turquoise
Social Work	citron. ⁸¹

By 7 July 1959, the members of the Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremonies had responded, and a revised version of the Academic Costume Code was produced.⁸² The Committee members had used their veto to eliminate all but three of the IBAC's authorized and proposed degree colours: Foreign Service (peacock blue), Nursing (apricot), and Social Work (citron) were added to the Academic Costume Code as subject colours.⁸³ The IBAC's official colours for Chiropody and Optometry were eliminated, as were the unauthorized colours for Political Science and Retailing.

'Faculty colors' or 'subject colors' for tagged degree titles?

In the summer of 1959, D. V. Trexler, the president of a marketing board of the major US academic costume manufacturers called the Cap and Gown Association of America, contacted the American Council on Education.⁸⁴ Trexler was also the president of the E. R. Moore Company, and probably learned of the revisions of the Academic Costume Code from fellow Cap and Gown Association member (and former Cap and Gown Association president) O. J. Hoppner.⁸⁵ Trexler wanted to meet with the ACE's Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremonies to discuss the proposed changes, so Trexler, Hoppner, chair of

81 See Raymond F. Howes, 'Memorandum to Members of the Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremonies' (23 June 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 9.

82 'A Code for Academic Costumes and Ceremonies: Second Version' (7 July 1959), HIA ACE 468, *ibid.*

83 The first revision of the ACE's Academic Costume Code had shortened 'faculty and subject colors' to 'subject colors', and in his memo, Howes refers to Hoppner's degree colours as a list of 'tassel colors'.

84 Letter from Howes to Trexler (13 Aug. 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 9. Try as I might, I have been able to find precious little about the Cap and Gown Association of America, except that its members included Cotrell & Leonard, E. R. Moore, the C. E. Ward Company in Ohio, and probably other major academic costume firms such as Bentley & Simon in New York and Collegiate Cap & Gown in Washington.

85 As president of E. R. Moore, Trexler probably was also irked that Cotrell & Leonard was, as usual, invited to the ACE's academic costume discussion but E. R. Moore was not.

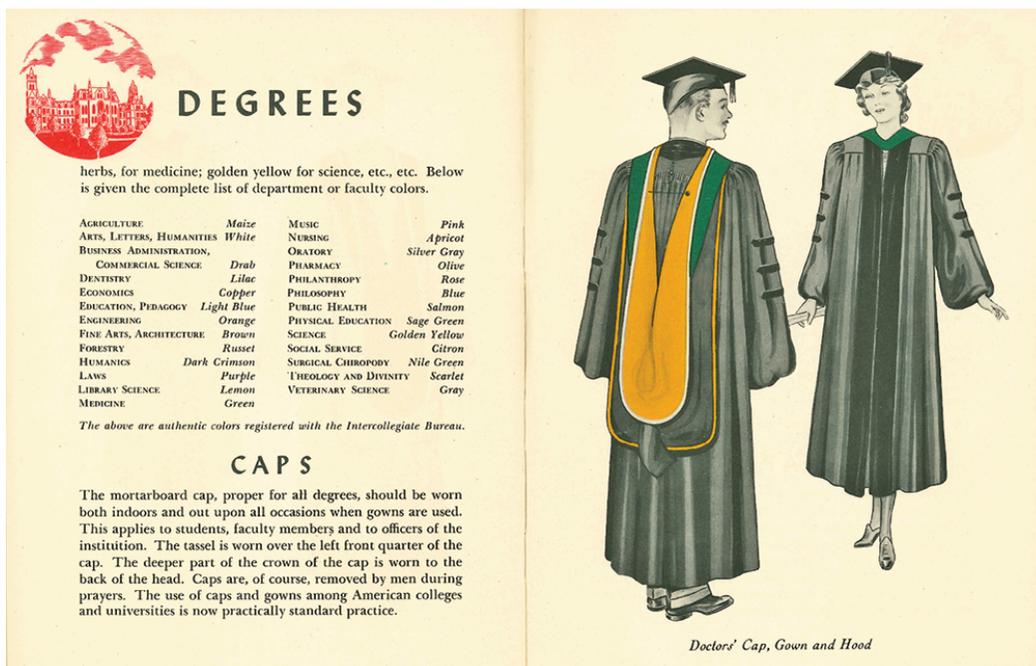


Fig. 4. Two pages from a 1948 catalogue from Cotrell & Leonard, illustrating the 'complete list of department or faculty colors' approved by that date, as well as a Doctor of Medicine hood from the University of Rochester, which used a single colour hood lining of dandelion yellow (a gold or light orange).

the Committee Daniel L. Marsh, and ACE representative Raymond Howes met on 31 August.⁸⁶ The specific concerns of the Cap and Gown Association are unknown, but the result of this meeting was another revised draft of the Academic Costume Code on 12 October 1959 and a final draft seventeen days later.

The Cap and Gown Association probably requested clarification of what the revised Code meant by 'subject color', because the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume and the American Council on Education were apparently using different methods to determine the colour for tagged degrees. Cotrell & Leonard's 1936 catalogue stated that

the reading of the degree, and not the department in which major work was done, governs the color proper for the velvet of the hood. Thus a degree conferred as 'Bachelor of Science in Engineering' requires the golden yellow of Science and not the orange of Engineering.⁸⁷

The ACE's 1935 Academic Costume Code, on the other hand, said that the edging of the hood and the facings on the doctoral gown 'should be distinctive of the *Faculty or subject to which the degree pertains*, as indicated by the wording of the diploma'⁸⁸ (my emphasis),

⁸⁶ Letter from Raymond Howes to Daniel L. Marsh (13 Aug. 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 8.

⁸⁷ *The History of Academic Costume in America* (Albany, N.Y.: Cotrell & Leonard for the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, 1936), p. 11.

⁸⁸ *An Academic Costume Code* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1935), p. 4. Also Clarence Stephen Marsh, ed. *American Universities and Colleges*, 3rd edn (Washington: American

which suggests the Bachelor of Science degree should use golden yellow to indicate the faculty (Science), but the tagged Bachelor of Science in Engineering degree could use *either* golden yellow to indicate the faculty (Science) *or* orange to indicate the subject (Engineering).

The different ways the IBAC and ACE were determining the colours for tagged degrees needed to be standardized. Exactly who revised the Code in September is not known, but the new drafts of the Code in mid-October omitted 'faculty' and stated that 'the color should be distinctive of the subject to which the degree pertains'. These new drafts also omitted the clarification that the 'wording of the diploma' should be used to determine the colour. Unfortunately, this made the Council's policy more opaque. Did this policy still refer only to the subject found in the degree title, as in the 1935 Code? Or did the ACE now intend the major subject of the degree—which is not always included in the degree title—to determine the colour of the hood?

The ACE's third revised draft (12 October 1959), final draft (29 October 1959), and published version (1960) of the Code attempted to clarify that the coloured velvet of the hood edging and the doctoral gown facings

should be distinctive of the subject to which the degree pertains. For example the trimming for the degree of Master of Science in Agriculture should be maize, representing agriculture, rather than golden yellow, representing science.⁸⁹

In other words, the way the Intercollegiate Bureau had been determining the correct colour for tagged degrees was now definitively proscribed: the colour for tagged degrees would indicate the tagged subject of the degree title (in the example above, Agriculture), not the faculty (Science).

But were these colours also supposed to indicate a major subject or field of study *not* included in the degree title?⁹⁰ The ACE had worded its new policy ambiguously, so in the years that followed many faculty who read this passage in the 1960 version of the Code understood it to apply to the major subject of their degree or their field of study *even if it was not included in the wording of the degree title*. A Master of Science degree in agriculture, they thought, should use maize, not golden yellow.

Journalism: crimson

Public Administration, including Foreign Service (revised title): peacock blue

A 1960 compilation of college and university degrees published by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, entitled *Academic Degrees: Earned and Honorary Degrees Conferred by Institutions of Higher Education in the United States*, led to the addition of two colours to the American Council on Education's Academic Costume Code list, three additional colours to the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume's list, and the re-

Council on Education, 1936), p. 1065.

89 'Memorandum' including 'Appendix II: An Academic Costume Code and Academic Ceremony Guide' (12 Oct. 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 8. Also 'Appendix II: An Academic Costume Code and Academic Ceremony Guide' (29 Oct. 1959), *ibid.* Also Mary Irwin, *American Universities and Colleges*, 8th edn (Washington: American Council on Education, 1960), p. 1135.

90 Notice how the ACE capitalized the tagged degree title ('Master of Science in Agriculture') but did not capitalize the academic majors ('agriculture' and 'science'). To me this suggests that the ACE did not intend to assign degree colours to particular majors, only to the faculty or tagged subject included in a particular degree title.

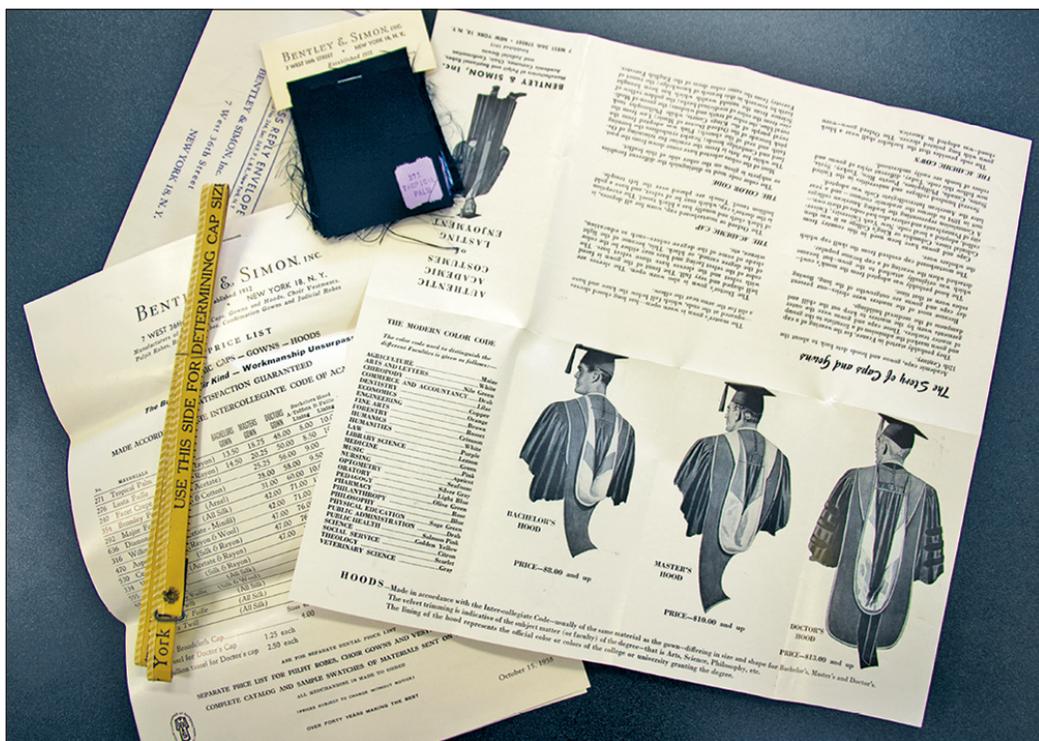


Fig. 5. A complete advertising packet dated 1958 from Bentley & Simon, a judicial and academic costume manufacturer in New York, N.Y. The packet contains several brochures, gown fabric samples, a tape to measure one's hat size, and a return envelope. In 2017 this packet was purchased on eBay from an elderly widow who said that she and her husband had been the young parents of a baby at the time of his graduation in 1958 and did not have enough money to order his cap, gown, and hood, so he did not participate in his commencement ceremony. (Author's collection)

naming of one of the degree categories on both lists.

By October 1959 the authors working on this compilation had sent a survey to the ACE and to more than 2,000 American colleges and universities listed in the US government's *Education Directory*, asking them to indicate the types of degrees conferred at their institution.⁹¹ All of the degree titles printed on the survey had already been assigned a degree colour by the ACE, except for the Master of Journalism degree. This is probably why Journalism suddenly appeared in the third revised version (12 October 1959) of the Academic Costume Code, and given the same colour, crimson, formerly assigned to the ACE's Humanities/Humanities. The ACE apparently did not consult the Bureau about this decision, which was unfortunate because the Bureau had traditionally assigned red shades to degrees in religious or philanthropic subjects, and had probably used either the white of Letters or the silver grey of Oratory and Speech to signify Bachelor and Master of Journalism degrees in the past. It is impossible to know precisely why the American Council on

91 Eells and Haswell, pp. 4–5.

Education added Journalism, except that it appeared in the survey of degree titles sent by the authors compiling the data for *Academic Degrees*.

This third revised draft (12 October 1959) of the Code also reflected the desire of the Bureau's president, O. J. Hoppner, to consolidate the various political science colours, a desire no doubt expressed at the August meeting between the ACE and the Cap and Gown Association of America. Since a colour for Political Science had been rejected by the Committee on Academic Costume and Ceremony, the name of the ACE's Foreign Service category was revised to 'Public Administration, including Foreign Service', still with the peacock blue colour approved by the ACE in the second revised draft (7 July 1959) of the Code. Broadening this category allowed the ACE and the Bureau to encompass all the professional degrees in government and political science cited earlier in this article under one colour.

The additional colour for Journalism (crimson) and the new category for peacock blue (Public Administration, including Foreign Service) were added to the third revised draft (12 October 1959) of the Academic Costume Code and were unchanged in the final draft (29 October 1959) and published (1960) versions of the new Code.⁹²

Social Science: cream

Naprapathy: cerise (possibly considered for authorization by the Intercollegiate Bureau c. 1959–60?)

When the surveys were returned, tabulated, and in 1960 published in *Academic Degrees*, the authors organized all American degrees into twenty-six 'subject matter fields'.⁹³ These fields included all the categories recognized by the Intercollegiate Bureau and American Council on Education (including the new Journalism and Public Administration categories) as well as two new subject categories for Social Science and Home Economics that were not in the IBAC's and ACE's lists. Their absence did not go unnoticed.

The Intercollegiate Bureau was in a quandary. In 1902 the Regents of the University of the State of New York had chartered it to assign colours to all degrees they officially approved, so the Bureau was obliged to assign colours to degrees for New York colleges and universities, including terminal degrees,⁹⁴ like the Doctor of Optometry and Doctor of Podiatry, whose colours had been rejected by the ACE.⁹⁵

92 'Appendix II: An Academic Costume Code and Academic Ceremony Guide' (29 Oct. 1959), HIA ACE 468, Folder 8. Also Mary Irwin, *American Universities and Colleges*, 8th edn (Washington: American Council on Education, 1960), p. 1135.

93 Eells and Haswell, p. 68. It seems more than coincidental that 26 degree categories were used by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1960 and by 1961 26 degree colours had been authorized by the ACE, even though there were slight variations between the two lists. The US government used separate categories for Liberal Arts and Humanities, separate categories for Art and Fine Arts, and a Miscellaneous category, whereas the ACE and the IBAC had separate categories for Education and Physical Education and separate categories for Medicine and Public Health. Otherwise the lists were almost identical. At the very least, in the late 1950s and early 1960s the US government, the IBAC, and the ACE seemed to be thinking about pedagogical divisions between disciplines in a similar fashion. However, some of these divisions and categories seem odd today: for example, should Home Economics be considered a major pedagogical category of American academia?

94 In the US a terminal degree is the highest degree in a given field. These are usually doctoral degrees, but for historical reasons dating back to the medieval guild system, the Master of Fine Arts is also a terminal degree.

95 Eells and Haswell slotted Optometry and Chiropody/Podiatry under the broad category of

This is probably why the Bureau approved a colour for Social Science in 1959 or 1960. Bachelor and Master of Social Science degrees had been conferred in the 1920s and 1930s, but in 1945 Syracuse University became the first institution to begin a Doctor of Social Science programme, which had been approved by the Regents of the University of the State of New York.⁹⁶ The first DSSc degree was conferred in 1948.⁹⁷ The Intercollegiate Bureau probably did not assign a colour to Social Science at that time because it considered Social Science to be one of the Sciences, which used golden yellow. But several reasons to authorize a new colour for this degree emerged in 1959 and 1960.

One reason was that the E. R. Moore Company had been listing a colour for Social Science since the 1940s. Moore had mistakenly conflated Social Science with Social Work and Social Service and had listed citron as the colour for Social *Science* in its 1949 catalogue.⁹⁸ So perhaps this issue came up during the August 1959 discussions among Trexler of E. R. Moore, Hoppner of the Intercollegiate Bureau/Cotrell & Leonard, and Howes of the American Council on Education about the revision of the ACE's Academic Costume Code, which led Hoppner to realize that a new colour for Social Science was needed.

Another reason Social Science earned a colour was that the discipline had developed a pedagogical identity distinct from the natural sciences. The Social Science discipline category used in *Academic Degrees* (1960) reflected this way of thinking about the so-called 'hard' and 'soft' sciences. And since the Doctor of Social Science degree had been approved by New York, Hoppner may have felt that he had more than enough reasons to authorize a new colour for Social Science. So it was assigned cream. Because the social sciences are interdisciplinary, the Bureau may have chosen cream as a blending of the golden yellow of the (Natural) Sciences with the white of the Humanities.

The American Council on Education did not follow the Bureau's lead and did not authorize a colour for Social Science. I assume the ACE intended Social Science to use the golden yellow of Science.

The Intercollegiate Bureau may have considered one more colour at this point. In a list of colours in *Academic Heraldry in America* (1962), which was almost certainly obtained from the IBAC in 1960 or early 1961, Kevin Sheard included the new colours Journalism (crimson), Public Administration, including Foreign Service (peacock blue), and Social Science (cream).⁹⁹ Sheard also stated that colours for Humanics (crimson), Naprapathy (cerise), and Philanthropy (rose) 'have at one time been used', which meant that they had been discontinued by that point. So either Sheard received information about Medical Sciences. Likewise, the ACE probably conceived Medicine's green to include Optometry and Podiatry.

⁹⁶ The DSS was changed to a PhD in 1968. See John Robert Greene with Karrie A. Barron, *Syracuse University: The Tolley Years 1942-1969*, Syracuse University, 4 (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p. 91.

⁹⁷ William Pearson Tolley, 'The Doctor of Social Science Program at Syracuse University', *The Journal of General Education*, 3.1 (Oct. 1948), p. 16.

⁹⁸ Social Work never appears in an E. R. Moore catalogue. See Walters (1949), p. 18. Also see the chart between pages 12 and 13, 'Official Degree Colors', in Frank Baxter and Helen Welters, *Caps, Gowns and Commencements* (Chicago: E. R. Moore, 1966). Of note is the description of the chart that says these are official colours of the Intercollegiate Code which had been revised in 1932 and 1959—indicating that the E. R. Moore understood the Academic Costume Code and the Intercollegiate Code to be one and the same.

⁹⁹ Kevin Sheard, *Academic Heraldry in America* (Marquette, Mich.: Northern Michigan College Press, 1962), p. 7.

Naprapathy from the E. R. Moore Company, which (as I discussed earlier in this article) had approved cerise for that medical degree in the mid- to late 1930s, or the Bureau briefly considered adding Naprapathy to its list as a result of the 1959 discussions between Trexler and Hoppner—but decided against it, a decision that was communicated to Sheard. Either way, Naprapathy never entered the official IBAC list, and E. R. Moore dropped it from its list after the ACE's 1960 Academic Costume Code was approved without it.

Home Economics: maroon

In addition to the academic subject category for Social Science, *Academic Degrees* (1960) includes a subject category for Home Economics. But since the New York Regents had not approved a Master or Doctor of Home Economics degree, the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume had no reason to assign a colour to it. At the same time, the American Council on Education (with its 'subject color' policy for tagged degrees) probably intended the Master of Science in Home Economics and Master of Home Economics degrees conferred outside New York to share the copper colour assigned to Economics.

But in 1961, a year after the final revised version of the Academic Costume Code was published in the eighth edition of *American Universities and Colleges* and the US government had published *Academic Degrees*, the American Home Economics Association petitioned the American Council on Education for a unique colour to represent Home Economics degrees. The ACE forwarded the question, asking the Intercollegiate Bureau to suggest a colour that would not be easily confused with others already in the 1960 Academic Costume Code. Hoppner proposed maroon, a suggestion the ACE immediately approved for Home Economics degrees.¹⁰⁰ However, this twenty-sixth ACE colour (twenty-ninth for the IBAC) was not included in any list published by the Council. It is not clear why the ACE ignored it thereafter. I also do not know if there was a symbolic reason the Bureau selected maroon, except that it is similar in colour to the dark reddish-brown shade of copper the IBAC had assigned to Economics between 1912 and 1915. Knowing Hoppner's reluctance to add more degree colours to the system, especially for degrees not recognized by the Regents, it is possible that he chose it because it so closely resembled the dark copper the Bureau already used for Economics that the two colours might be considered visually identical, and Cotrell & Leonard could use the same coloured fabric for both.¹⁰¹

Conformity, compromise, and crisis

The revised Academic Costume Code of the American Council on Education was published in 1960 but Hoppner's attitude towards it is hard to discern. As the president of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, he had officially endorsed the 1960 ACE Code,¹⁰² and as president of Cotrell & Leonard, Hoppner would publish a catalogue that included

100 Letters from Howes to Hoppner (7 April 1961), and Letter from Howes to A. June Bricker (20 April 1961), HIA ACE 468, Folder 8.

101 Unfortunately, in actual practice the dark shades of crimson (Journalism) and maroon (Home Economics) are also easily confused with each other and with the dark shades of russet (Forestry) and copper (Economics). To solve this problem, modern manufacturers tend to use lighter shades of each, but this means that today Journalism's crimson is almost indistinguishable from Theology's scarlet.

102 Irwin (1960), p. 1134.

a copy of that Code and its 'subject colors'.¹⁰³ But Hoppner continued to supply lists of 29 degree colours to clients of Cotrell & Leonard—lists that included the colours for Optometry (sea foam green), Podiatry (Nile green), and Social Science (cream) the ACE had not approved.¹⁰⁴ Apparently Hoppner did not let his official endorsement of the 1960 Code stand in the way of commercial opportunities for his company.

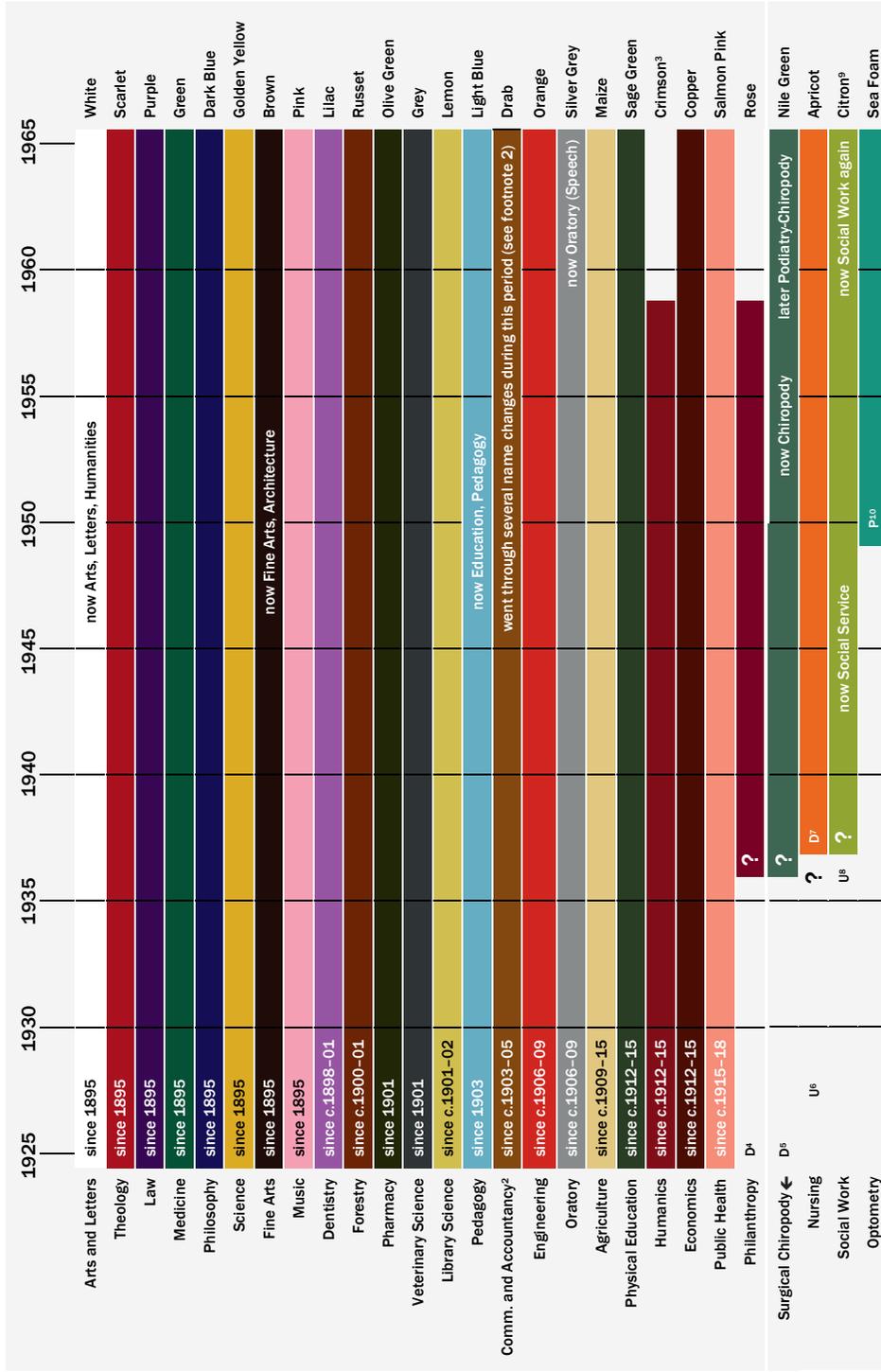
The Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume and the American Council on Education were not acting in tandem, perhaps because by failing to make clearly worded updates to the 1895 Intercollegiate Code of Academic Costume that conformed to the spirit and established patterns of that Code, the 1959–61 revisions to the Code had created more problems than they had solved. Those problems would become painfully obvious within a decade as interdisciplinary and professional academic programmes continued to proliferate in the US, each with a uniquely titled degree or major subject that—given the ambiguous wording of the 1960 Code—*might* be assigned a special colour. Regardless of whether those degree colours indicated the faculty of the degree, the subject of the degree, or the major of the degree, the Academic Costume Code and its twenty-six degree colours simply could not keep up.

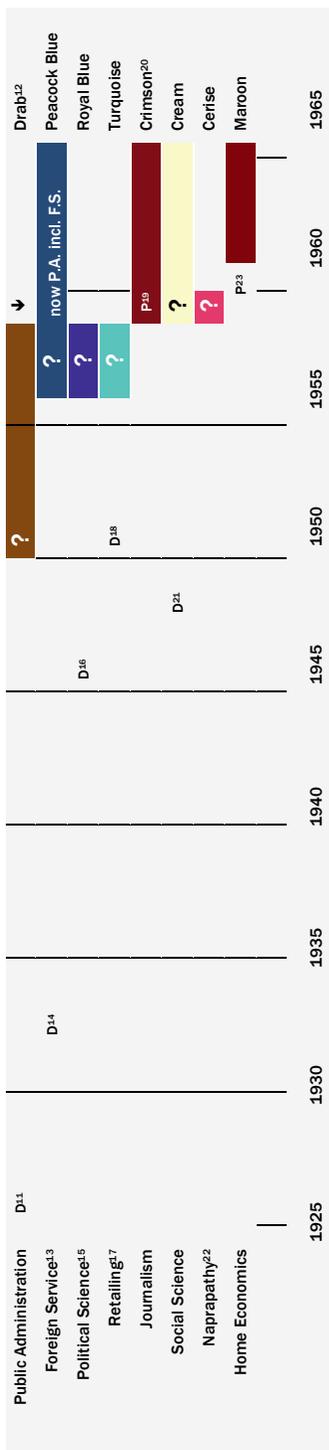
This post-1961 denouement in the history of American degree colours will be examined in another article.

103 Hoppner, p. 7.

104 See what appear to be IBAC degree colour lists in Sheard, p. 7; Hugh Smith and Kevin Sheard, *Academic Dress and Insignia of the World*, 3 vols (Cape Town, South Africa: A. A. Balkema, 1970), Vol. II, p. 1529; and Frank W. Haycraft, Frederick R. S. Rogers, Charles A. H. Franklyn, George W. Shaw, and Hugh Alexander Boyd, *The Degrees and Hoods of the World's Universities and Colleges* (Lewes, Sussex: W. E. Baxter, 1972), p. 115.

Appendix A: Approximate 'faculty color' adoption dates by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume¹





1 Whenever possible, the colour shades in this chart have been closely matched to the velvet edgings of vintage Cotrell & Leonard hoods, although there are often slight differences in the same hue due to dye variations and age fading of the fabric.

2 Commerce and Accountancy was briefly renamed Business Administration and Commercial Science in the late 1940s, reverted to Commerce and Accountancy by 1956, and then became Commerce, Accountancy, and Business in 1959.

3 To more accurately communicate the actual shade of crimson, at some point between 1946 and 1948 the IBAC revised its description of the Humanities colour to 'dark crimson'. Please note that the colour for Humanities shown in the charts on pp. 69 and 71 of Kenneth L. Suit, Jr, 'The Iridescent Web: American Degree Colours (1895-1935)', *TBS*, 15 (2015), is slightly too bright.

4 The first Doctor of Philanthropy degree was granted in 1925 by Princeton to an alumnus who had done Presbyterian missionary and charitable work in India. It was an honorary degree.

5 The first Doctor of Surgical Chiropody degree was granted in 1917 by the Illinois College of Chiropody and Foot Surgery.

6 Apricot for Bachelor of Nursing degrees was chosen by Yale University on 25 April 1927.

7 The first Master of Nursing degree was conferred at Yale University in 1937.

8 Citron for Social Work degrees was first used at the University of Pennsylvania in 1936.

9 The original IBAC shade of citron, shown here, was similar to the shade of 'citrine' in Maerz and Paul, *A Dictionary of Color* (1930). Later the velvet edging of Social Service and Social Work hoods began to be created in a true citron colour (see Appendix B), which means that today the citron of Social Work is difficult to distinguish from the golden yellow of Science and the apricot of Nursing.

10 The IBAC had recently approved 'sea foam green' for degrees in Optometry by the time the Association of Schools and Colleges of Optometry met in 1949 and discussed a colour to be used by all schools of optometry in the US. In 1950 the colour 'sea foam' was officially adopted for use by all schools of Optometry at the annual meeting of the association.

11 The first Master of Public Administration degree was conferred at Syracuse University in 1924; Harvard also began conferring this degree in the late 1930s.

12 'Drab' was the colour the IBAC assigned to Commerce and added to drab at some point between 1948 and 1956, but was removed in 1959 and combined with Foreign Service to use peacock blue.

13 Renamed Public Administration, including Foreign Service vice in 1959.

14 A Master of Diplomacy degree was first conferred by the Department of Jurisprudence and Diplomacy of Columbian University (later called George Washington University) in 1898; the first Master of Foreign Service degree followed in the 1930s at Georgetown University. Both institutions are located in Washington, DC.

15 It is not known whether the IBAC *officially* approved royal blue for degrees in Political Science between 1957 and 1959 or if the IBAC was only considering the degree colour for authorization.

16 Doctor of Political Science degrees had been awarded in Europe since the 1800s, but apparently the first in the US was conferred *honoris causa* by Providence College in 1946.

17 Between 1957 and 1959 the IBAC considered, but apparently did not officially authorize, this degree colour.

18 The first Master of Retailing degree was conferred by the University of Pittsburgh in the early 1950s. This degree colour does not appear to have been officially authorized by the IBAC, probably

because it is a business degree that could use Commerce and Accountancy drab.

19 In 1959 the American Council on Education approved crimson for Journalism.

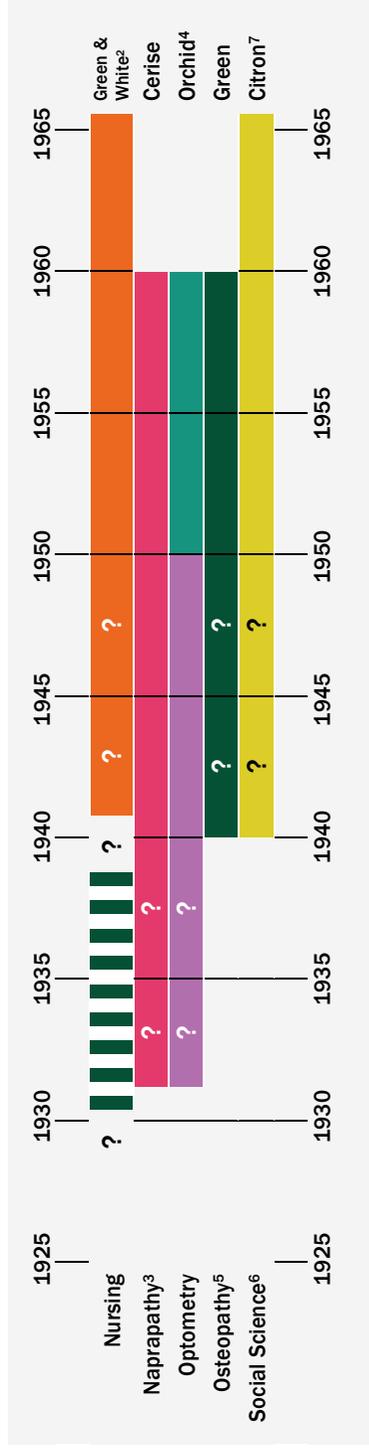
20 Journalism hoods created by Cotrell & Leonard used the dark shade of Humanities crimson, but today most manufacturers of academic costume use a true crimson. (See Appendix C.)

21 The first Doctor of Social Science degree was conferred at Syracuse University in 1948.

22 After discussions between the ACE and a representative of the E. R. Moore Company in October 1959, the IBAC may have considered officially authorizing this degree colour, but did not ultimately do so.

23 After the American Home Economics Association requested a degree colour, the ACE and the IBAC assigned maroon to Home Economics in 1961.

Appendix B: Approximate adoption dates for 'faculty colors' unique to the E. R. Moore Company¹



1 E. R. Moore used the degree colours authorized by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Academic Costume, as well as a handful of unique degree colours illustrated here.

2 'Green and white' were the faculty colours for Nursing in a 1932 E. R. Moore catalogue. Nursing disappears from the company's 1939 catalogue, which was published around the time the IBAC officially adopted apricot for the degree. By 1949 E. R. Moore had once again included Nursing in its catalogue, now with apricot as its faculty colour.

3 After discussions in 1959 between the ACE and the Cap and Gown Association of America, E. R. Moore discontinued the use of cerise for Naprapathy. Apparently the IBAC had also considered adding the degree to its list of official colours at that time, but chose not to.

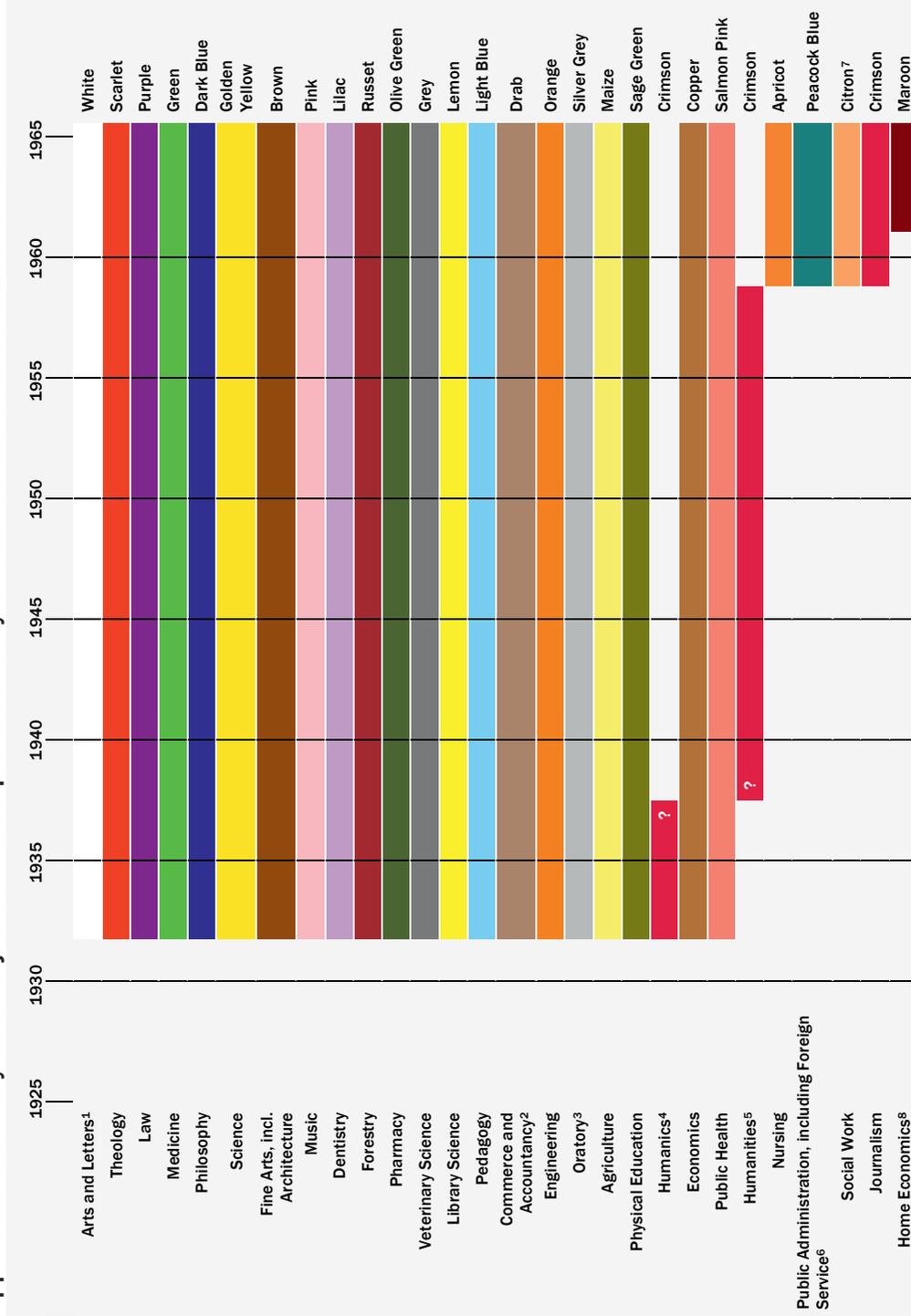
4 In 1950 seafoam was officially adopted for use by all schools of Optometry at the annual meeting of the Association of Schools and Colleges of Optometry, so E. R. Moore replaced its orchid colour with seafoam green. Following the lead of the ACE, post-1959 E. R. Moore catalogues deleted this faculty colour.

5 After discussions in 1959 among the ACE, IBAC, and E. R. Moore, the latter discontinued the use of green for Osteopathy.

6 The IBAC had assigned the citron degree colour to Social Work around 1936 or 1937 and the ACE did the same in 1959, but E. R. Moore consistently—and confusingly—assigned citron to Social Science, a completely different academic discipline.

7 The original IBAC shade of citron was closer to the shade of 'citrine' (see Appendix A), but here a common contemporary shade of 'citron' has been used for comparison. While popular with academic costume manufacturers today, this particular shade of citron is difficult to distinguish from the golden yellow of Science. It may also be contrasted with the orange shade of citron used in Wikipedia (see Appendix C).

Appendix C: 'Faculty and subject color' adoption dates by the American Council on Education



To illustrate the difference between the darker degree colour shades which the IBAC and Cotrell & Leonard used (see Appendix A) and the brighter shades typically used by academic costume manufacturers today, in this chart I have used the 'faculty color' hues shown in Wikipedia, online at <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academic_regalia_in_the_United_States> [retrieved 6 June 2018]. Some variation within a giv-

1 Renamed Arts, Letters, Humanities in 1959.

2 Renamed Commerce, Accountancy, Business in 1959.

3 Renamed Oratory (Speech) in 1959.

4 Humanics appears only in the 1935 version of the Academic Costume Code. By 1940 it had disappeared, replaced by Humanities.

5 When Humanities was merged with the white of Arts and Letters in 1959, crimson was reassigned to Journalism.

en degree colour may be expected, even on vintage hoods. But generally speaking, academic costume manufacturers today use colours that are much brighter and more vivid than the colours Cotrell & Leonard used a century ago, which makes it easier to distinguish among most of the colours but gives a more aesthetically lurid appearance to the garments.

6 Approved by committee in 1959 as Foreign Service but revised later that year to Public Administration, including Foreign Service.

7 The shade of 'citron' shown in Wikipedia is closer to a peach colour, which may be contrasted to the colours of 'citron' in Appendices A and B.

8 Approved by the ACE in 1961 but never published in any edition of *American Universities and Colleges*.