# The Church and the Trencher:
# An Examination into How England's Changing Theology and Church Have Influenced the Evolution and Design of the Square Cap Causing its Use as Academic Attire

## By Seamus Addison Hargrave

Square academic caps, or 'mortarboards', as they are affectionately known, have declined in use remarkably since the 1940s, even compared to other academic items, like the gown and hood. Despite this, they remain one of the most iconic elements of academic dress, enjoying an evocative academical symbolism in most countries. The cap retains its current form in the changing modern world of academic dress (at least within the UK), whilst other components, like the hood, have continued to develop. From beginnings in the Middle Ages to the present day, the square cap still accompanies scholars in their academic lives. Various customs have evolved including the American custom of moving the tassel from right to left during graduation, then tossing the cap at the ceremony's completion, and the German tradition of personalization. Square caps are so emblematic of academia that one honour society dedicated to recognizing scholarly achievement in America is named 'Mortar Board'.[1]

For many, the square cap symbolically embodies academia; whilst gowns and hoods vary between institutions, the square cap remains iconic: as identifiable today as it was nearly 250 years ago. The cap is part of academic attire for institutions across the world, reaching establishments in America, China and Malta. The square cap has gained unexpected symbolism: for institutions like St Andrews and Durham it symbolized women's right to be educated, following the story that men symbolically threw their mortarboards into the sea at the induction of women to their academy; in such institutions the tassel also indicates the year of study for undergraduates.[2] This prestige makes study of the cap worthwhile, despite some universities, like Cambridge, making it optional, and others, including King's College London and St Andrews, removing it from the graduation ceremony.[3] At King's however, student protests led to its use being permitted for photos after the graduation. Other institutions, in an attempt to 'modernize', have eliminated caps from the dress code and drastically altered the remaining attire, including their gowns, viewing them as medieval trappings which cannot represent modern, developing education. One example is the Open University which in spite of huge student-led protests, continues to reject the square cap as a part of its academic dress.[4]

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1    'About Mortar Board,' Mortar Board National College Senior Honor Society. <www.mortarboard.org/about/index.html> [accessed 30 Jan. 2014].

2    Oliver James Keenan, 'How Can Academic Dress Survive in the Third Millennium?' *TBS*, 10 (2010), pp. 99–125 (p. 109).

3    Ibid, 101.

4    W. Perry, *Open University: A Personal Account* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1976), p. 47.

The contested decline of the mortarboard means it is imperative that those interested in academic dress or ecclesiastical garments gain clear insight into the history and symbolism of this cap. The way ecclesiastical institutions shaped the evolution of a simple round skull cap, the *calotte*, into the present-day mortarboard warrants investigation. Aspects covered in this article will include how the cap's religious use caused it and its successors to become part of academic dress; how the mortarboard's association with ecclesiastical institutions developed and how theological battles led to its becoming an embodiment of an independent England and the established church. A richer understanding of the theological and cultural heritage of the square cap contextualizes modern-day disputes giving a clearer image of the square cap as a distinctive garment, both in academic and ecclesiastical settings. This cannot be understood outside of the influence of the changing universities and churches of the English Reformation.

## The *calotte* is born, 1000–1300

The mortarboard's evolution begins in the early church. The bestowal of tonsure, the rite of admission to minor orders from the late seventh century,[5] left a bald part of the head vulnerable to the cold. Almost as soon as this problem arose, it found a solution. Clerics had for a long time worn a *cappa* or cope. This garment, in various forms, from a long cloak to simple cowl, uniformly provided a hood to protect the cold clerks' heads.[6] However, whilst this temporarily solved the problem, the hood of the cope soon suffered the fate often befalling clerical clothing, and became a vestigial liturgical ornament. This re-introduced the problem of comfort. Robinson reports that when the cope hood was still functional, it became customary to wind the long liripipe around the head like 'a sort of turban'.[7] Following the loss of the hood, an imitation turban replaced the wound liripipe. Such imitation became simpler and less cumbersome, inspiring the idea of cheap, easily made caps providing comfort; we thus embark upon the journey of the square cap.

The shallow skull cap or *calotte*, formally called the *pileus*, was used by all monks and higher clerics to protect the vulnerable tonsure from the elements in lieu of the previous hood of the cope.[8] (See Fig. 1.) Since the bestowal of tonsure was the first act of investiture with ecclesiastical standing, the *calotte* became a way of visibly dividing the cleric from the laity. Such a separation of priest and people was a vital part of both medieval theology and ecclesiology and is still found in the Roman Catholic Church today,[9] which still teaches that the priesthood of all believers and the ministerial priesthood of the ordained are different 'in essence and not only in degree'.[10] The *calotte's* symbolic use to separate the ordained and lay became widespread and over time 'it acquired the role of identifying ecclesiastical rank by the colour'.[11] This made the *calotte* a collective item of attire for the church across

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5    'Tonsure', newadvent.org, <www.newadvent.org/cathen/14779a.htm> [accessed 4 July 2013].

6    'Cope', newadvent.org, <www.newadvent.org/cathen/04351a.htm> [accessed 4 July 2013].

7    N. F. Robinson, 'The *Pileus Quadratus*: An Enquiry into the Relation of the Priests Square Cap to the Common Academical Catercap and to the Judicial Corner-Cap,' *Transactions of St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 5 (1905), pp. 47–63 (p. 47).

8    Ibid.

9    'Laity', New Advent: Catholic Encyclopaedia, modified 2009, <www.newadvent.org /cathen/08748a.htm> [accessed 19 June 2013].

10   Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, *Lumen Gentium*, 21 Nov. 1964, §10.

11   'Zucchetto (Scull Cap)', EWTN.com, <www.ewtn.com/expert/answers/zucchetto.htm> [ac-

Europe. Whilst such descriptions demonstrate that the mortarboard's predecessor did not originate in theological conflict, it does nevertheless demonstrate the great potential headwear had to take on ecclesiastical symbolism and consequent theological significance.

When the *calotte's* usage was prevalent, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, all European universities were either monastic or heavily influenced and patronized by ecclesiastical institutions. Because of this all of their students were at least in minor orders.[12] This association of the church and clergy with universities is probably best shown through the University of Paris. In the Middle Ages, all students hoping to enter the University of Paris would have to receive the clerical tonsure, usually from the Bishop of Paris, affording the students many valuable legal immunities and privileges.[13] The bestowal of the tonsure has been noted not just as being the students' sign of addition but also the start of what for many a medieval would be an ambitious career in the Church.[14] As the *calotte* was worn by every cleric, it was seen widely around the universities. For this reason, clergy involved in education would also wear the *calotte*. Thus it became synonymous in popular imagination with academia. There were many reasons that universities originally insisted on admitting those only in minor orders; students would become clerks (a general term for those of minor orders)[15] as part of their entry into the university. Clerks were vital to the smooth running of the medieval church, performing such duties as giving the responses at mass.[16] When universities began to accept lay masters, the masters adopted the dress of their predecessors,[17] a practice which in some sense continued until after the Laudian Statutes of 1636 were no longer obeyed.[18] Clerical attire may have been used because, whilst accepting lay students, universities remained deeply religious in nature and reminiscent of their foundations. Most university statutes prior to the Reformation still required 'the attendance of both graduates and undergraduates at Mass'.[19] Students, lay and religious alike, shared a common life, perhaps explaining the adoption of religious attire by students outside of Holy Orders. The acceptance of lay students into universities and the resultant assumption of clerical garb made the *calotte* a distinctive component of academic dress for both lay and clerical masters. Oxford and Cambridge originally used the *calotte* to identify

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cessed 13 Sept. 2013].

12   Paul Johnson, *The Renaissance: A Short History*, Modern Library Chronicles (New York: Modern Library, 2000), p. 9. F. M. Powicke, *Ways of Medieval Life and Thought: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Biblo & Tannem, 1964), p. 179.

13   Cornelius O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine: Medical teaching in the University of Paris, 1250–1400* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 46.

14   Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 74.

15   Donald Attwater, *A Catholic Dictionary* (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1997), p. 101.

16   Edward L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London: Virtue & Co, 1872), p. 218.

17   W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 4–5.

18   Those wishing to read more on the Laudian Statutes: *Oxford University Statutes: The Caroline Code or Laudian Statutes, Promulgated AD 1636*, trans. by G. R. M. Ward (London: William Pickering, 1845).

19   T. E. Bridgett, *A History of the Eucharist in Great Britain* (London: Burns & Oates, 1908), p. 243.

doctors and masters of theology,[20] forbidding by statute its use amongst more minor academics such as bachelors. Since the church used the *calotte* to denote rank and ecclesiastic status, it was logical for medieval universities to use the *calotte* to denote academic status; they wore what was, at the time, the cap of prestige and dignity.

## The evolution begins, 1300–1500

Angus Trumble states that the *calotte's* evolution into the mortarboard started 'between 1300 and 1500'.[21] This period saw much development in fashion both clerical and secular, and witnessed the phenomenon of exaggeration. Though many contemporary artists enlarged clothing in their artwork, this was still a change in style; items of clothing became bigger and took on almost comedic proportions; a pronounced example is the *hennin*, or steeple headdress. Hats were described as 'headwear that towered over or elongated the profile of the head'.[22] Such an exaggerative fashion trend resulted in clergy and masters attempting to appear contemporary by extending their *calottes*. Towering headwear in academic fashion was exacerbated by inefficient communication between the university and tailor. Because there were no standard examples of items such as the cap, variations in the individual tailor's imagination, and the scholars' pocket, contributed to the many versions of what became the *pileus rotundus*, a large and variable cap that marked academics and clergy. This problem is mentioned by Hodges, who states that universities began to imprison tailors who produced academic attire 'against the dignity of the university'.[23] However the formal acceptance of the *pileus rotundus* did not initially come easily. Moralists and Superiors within the church were actively condemning the new fashions evolving in Europe. One friar, Br John Waldeby, spoke of women who succumb to new fashions such as the *hennin* as offering 'their bodys as weapons for the Devil'.[24] In spite of the attempts of Br John and others like him, Western fashion continued with its heightening phase, and though small at first, clerical and academic fashion began to follow suit. The eventual acceptance of the *pileus rotundus* was soon codified in the Synod of Bergamo in 1311. The Synod commanded that clergy bear the cap, *pileus rotundus*, 'after the manner of the laymen'.[25] Clergy before the synod were still being by law expected to wear the *pileus* previous to its evolution into the *pileus rotundus*. The synod raises the question that is the fate of the previous version of the *calotte*, though Clark suggests that the *calotte* was worn under the now evolving *pileus rotundus*.[26] The *pileus rotundus* began to envelop more of the head and became longer. This gave it the name, *pileus rotundus*, a reference to the cap's newfound shape and size.

20  George Clinch, *English Costume* (London: Methuen & Co, 1909), p. 253.

21  Angus Trumble, 'Old Hat: The Evolution of The Mortarboard', *Yale Alumni Magazine*, July/August, 2008, <www.yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/2130> [accessed 4 June 2013].

22  'Fifteenth-Century Fashion', *Fashion Encyclopaedia*, <www.fashionencyclopedia.com /fashion_costume_culture/European-Culture-15th-Century/Fifteenth-Century-Headwear.html> [accessed 4 June 2013].

23  Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Clothing: Clerical and Academic Costume in the General Prologue of the Canterbury Tales* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), p. 172.

24  Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 110.

25  Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* (London: J. M. Dent, 1949), p. 161.

26  E. C. Clark, 'College caps and Doctors' hats', *Archaeological Journal*, 61 (1904), pp. 33–74 (p. 39).

FIG. 1 A late fourteenth century example of the *calotte*'s use to distinguish a religious master.



FIG. 2 Example of the square cap being used to distinguish a 'person of learning.' It seems to follow the Roman design being more of a projection up than out. This would fit; the subject, Dr Robert Brassie, lived during the reign of Mary I.



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5 William Laud wearing his square cap. (1636)

Two contemporaries: David Beaton (FIG. 3), being a Catholic wears the Italian Spanish European square cap. (16th Century painting, Beaton died in 1546) Thomas Cramner (FIG. 4), being a protestant wears the English form of square cap. (1556)

FIG. 6 A contemporary example of the square cap as a sectarian rallying point. Archbishop Laud, depicted as the Antichrist, is offered by a Catholic (right) the square cap. (1644)
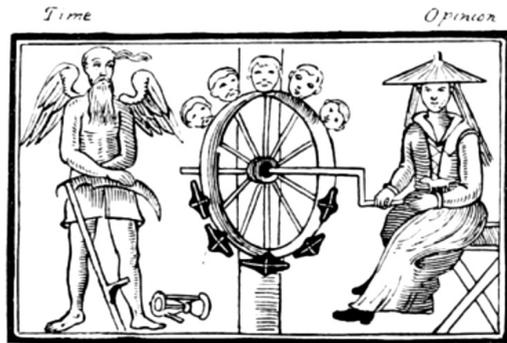


FIG. 7 Contemporary evidence of the Puritans' use of the square cap to represent high church theology. Here Time watches as Opinion turns bishops (represented by square caps), into round heads (representing Puritans). (1642)
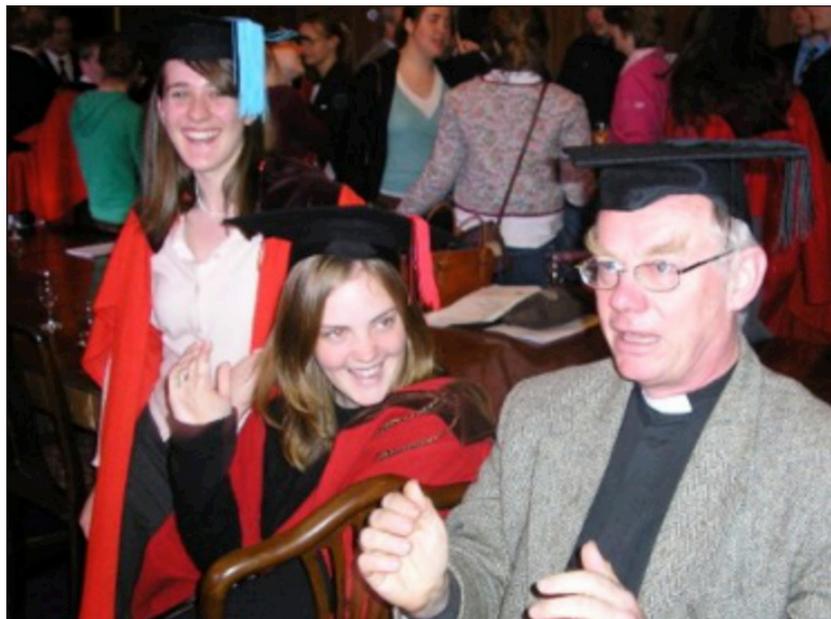


FIG. 8 Even today, St Andrews uses the mortarboard to indicate the year of undergraduate study. In 2005, two students, one with a blue tassel (1st year) and one with a red tassel (2nd year) speak to a lecturer (with black tassel).

The new *pileus rotundus* is described as having 'quite a lot of potential for individuality'.[27] Such individuality, and the expansion of the *pileus rotundus*, makes an exact design hard to isolate. In spite of this, Nuno Gonçalves' *Adoration of St Vincent* shows a good late example of the *pileus rotundus*. A modern *pileus rotundus* is part of the University of Sussex's doctoral dress. The Sussex *pileus*, being more rigid and cylindrical than the medieval version, more resembles the French *pileus* than the English. As the *pileus rotundus* gained size, the cap took more time and fabric to create. Changes to the structure of the *pileus rotundus* were initially small and insignificant, but later fashions induced more significant changes in the *pileus rotundus'* evolution in the late fifteenth century.

By the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, the *pileus rotundus* had become the common headdress for doctors,[28] due to its 'individuality' and consequent ability to demonstrate wealth or wealthy patronage. Due to this association the *calotte* became associated purely with lower academics and clergy, as shown in one 1505 woodcut which, depicts a doctor in *pileus rotundus* teaching Scottish students in *calottes*.[29] New symbolism made the *calotte* more accessible to the laity and by the late fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century, depending upon the country in question, it was 'the common head-gear of all people of substance'.[30] The wider adoption of the *calotte* by the prosperous followed from prior use by high-ranking members of the church (themselves acting on occasion as academics and politicians). Wearing the *calotte* enabled members of the public to affirm their social and academic status, once more illustrating the influence of the church on the *calotte's* and *pileus rotundus'* transition into academic dress.

## The square appears, 1500–1550

Popular use of the *pileus rotundus* led to its gaining a markedly secular character. Whilst remaining the headwear of ecclesiastics and academics, popular use led to deviation from the previous design. Production of the common *pileus rotundus* was becoming prohibitively expensive.[31] Several pieces of cloth were sewn together to make the cap. This took much time and material, which in turn cost large amounts of money, so a new method was developed during the beginning of the sixteenth century by a company owned by Patrouillet of Paris.[32] Robinson observes that Patrouillet devised an economic and aesthetically pleasing design that involved sewing together four pieces of fabric, instead of the previous seven.[33] This altered design meant an altered shape. The new cap, called a *pileus quadratus*, had a somewhat square appearance. At that point, Trumble tells us, 'the first "square cap" or *pileus quadratus* was invented.'[34] Whilst the change in sewing technique was small, it almost immediately led to yet another new fashion trend, seeking to 'emphasize the ridges of the sutures and thus produce a square shape'.[35] The new emphasis meant that the

27  Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 305.

28  Clark, p. 34.

29  At this point England still forbade its students to wear hats.

30  'Biretta', *EB Classic Encyclopaedia* (1911), modified 24 April 2013, <eb.tbicl.org /biretta/> [accessed 5 June 2013].

31  Hodges, p. 174.

32  Robinson, p. 2.

33  Ibid.

34  Trumble.

35  *EB Classic Encyclopaedia*, 'Biretta.'

'horns', creating the square effect, exaggerated the cross atop the cap. There are some suggestions that the *pileus rotundus* was already becoming square-shaped in England, but they are informed by monumental brasses which have difficulty conveying the early square design and cannot therefore be relied upon. The cruciform design of the *pileus quadratus* had understandable symbolism for the clergy which led to its becoming a permanent fixture in the ecclesiastical and academic worlds. This stage of the cap's evolution, whilst not provoked by apparent ecclesiastical dispute, helps us glean how the *pileus quadratus* of later disagreements acquired its characteristic square design.

The new square cap of the sixteenth century took the ecclesiastical and scholarly world by storm. The two worlds were still somewhat indistinguishable then as shown by the use of the square cap to indicate episcopal, high academic or judicial standing,[36] illustrated in Holbein's depiction of St Thomas More. The design of the square cap during this period had distinct variations. The first was more voluptuous, warmer and expensive, as it was made of velvet.[37] This cap indicated high status for a 'bishop or an Oxford graduate and a senior statesman'.[38] The second form is described as 'plainer but still essentially four-cornered', and signified minor clergy or undergraduates.[39] This cap was influenced by the growing secular fashion for shortening, as recorded in Hodges.[40] Other factors were influential here: lower academics and clergy in England would have been regulated by sumptuary legislation passed in 1509 and amended in 1533 which limited the quality, quantity and colour of fabric they might use. Large amounts of fine-quality materials were reserved for clerical and academic superiors.[41] This helps to explain the 'voluptuous' nature of the first cap, excess in fabric denoting high standing. This period of the square cap's evolution illustrates the occasional intrusions of secular fashion into the *pileus quadratus'* progression. Clark's article refers to Bishop Warham, stating that the cap Warham wears clearly shows that the *pileus quadratus* was entirely one hat and not an upper square cap and lower skull cap as previously suggested.[42] Although the plainer form eventually became obsolete, the ongoing influence that ecclesiastical fashion (occasionally helped by the secular) had on scholarly attire is clear, including the continuing evolution of the *pileus quadratus*.

## All change, the Reformation

During the mid-1500s, England underwent the Reformation: England's religion and church were reformed from their past 'abuses'. The Reformation was not just due to Henry VIII's wish to re-marry. It was the culmination of theological disputes and issues subtly festering in English and European church life during the decades before. It would be equally naïve to believe that Henry VIII saw himself as standing for godliness against Rome's allegedly misguided approach: Henry's 'reforms' were driven as much by material avarice as

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36  *EB Classic encyclopaedia*, 'Biretta.'

37  Philip Goff, *University of London Academic Dress* (London: Phildress Books, 1999), pp. 22–23.

38  Trumble, 'Old Hat.'

39  Ibid.

40  Hodges, p. 172.

41  Noel Cox, 'Tudor Sumptuary Laws and Academical dress: An Act Against Wearing of Costly Apparel 1509 and an Act for Reformation of Excess in Apparel 1553,' *TBS*, 6 (2006), pp. 15–43 (p. 29).

42  Clark, p. 42

by religious zeal.[43] Regardless, matters erupted with Henry VIII's petition to Pope Clement VII for an annulment of his marriage. With the Pope's refusal, Henry broke England's ties with Rome, making himself the 'Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England', thereby hoping to make all churches in England subject to the King and his submissive guiding body of bishops. Such actions were not restricted to England. Wider parts of Europe experienced Reformation as well, with varying degrees of success. Countries found themselves polarized between those seeking religious change and those still embracing Rome.

The English Reformation allowed many to express hope for their country's new direction. Some adhered to the teachings of Luther who maintained a distinction between priest and faithful, with the real presence of the Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Others wanted the theology of Zwingli, who taught the equal 'priesthood of all believers' and mere 'symbolic presence' in the Eucharist, to lead the new church of England. Some Englishmen hoped instead for a restoration of the Roman church. In spite of these mixtures of thought, England largely retained a Roman Catholic tradition.[44] This left the Lutheran and Calvinist factions dissatisfied and eager for more radical changes, at least during the reign of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Whilst Edward VI gave some hope for greater change, many Reformers felt his changes did not go far enough; square caps and gowns were still worn. During Henry's reign those advocating greater change in England were temporarily thwarted, but the Reformation had initiated change and those in England seeking greater 'reform' awaited their chance to further such transformation. Such people wanted a sign to exhibit their protest: for many scholars and clerics that sign was found in the square cap.

## The Reformation leaves its mark, 1550–1600s

During this period the square cap's symbolism of differing theologies particularly affected its evolutionary process (leading to the form the British call the mortarboard and Canterbury cap, and the continental equivalent, the biretta). Clark believes there were slight differences between the English and continental caps before the Reformation,[45] but a number of reliefs show English clergy and doctors wearing the same *pileus* as the Europeans, even just ten years before the Reformation. [46] The minor differences in the English *pileus* may have other explanations. Possibilities mentioned by Clark include 'artistic exaggeration'[47] and the aforementioned English laws and taxes on fabrics. Therefore in the period leading up to and including the Reformation, the design of the *pileus quadratus* was still largely universal and still highly significant of the clergy and church. However, the Reformation soon influenced the *pileus quadratus'* evolution in England and Europe. Whilst previously the church of Rome had been largely 'catholic' and its clergy likewise, with the start of the Reformation, clergy diverged and allied either with the Reformers, such as Calvin or Lu-

43  Diarmaid MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), p. 625.

44  Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 241.

45  Clark, p. 36.

46  As might be expected of a Divinity student, I should just like to point out that I use the phrase 'Reformation' advisedly as a common name for the period AD 1529–1558. I should like all uses of the word 'Reformation' to be read as such casting no opinion for or against the changes that took place during that period.

47  Clark, p. 36.

ther, or the Roman church. Due to this, many clergy sought visible identification to show their alliance to either the Roman church or Church of England. Some older clergy opted for the novelty of growing a beard, a symbolic renunciation of Rome's strict edicts against facial hair,[48] whilst others used headwear to show their theological leanings. This caused the further evolution of the *biretum* towards the modern square cap.

After England split from Rome, the once universal *pileus* began to develop along different lines within each faction.[49] Europe, particularly Spain and Italy (remaining largely Catholic) seem to have almost immediately altered their *pileus quadratus* from the original, slightly square shape. (See Figs 3 and 4.) Within the countries remaining Catholic emphasis was on augmenting the height of the *pileus quadratus*. As the height of the *pileus quadratus* increased it required card covered with cloth to maintain rigidity;[50] though card was present in the English *pileus* it only maintained the pre-existing shape rather than adding height. An accidental side-effect of the European style was that the square shape of the cap became more pronounced, akin to the current hat of the Roman clergy. This stage exhibits one of the most blatant roles that ecclesiastical institutions (now the Catholic and Protestant churches) played in the evolution of the mortarboard. The religious separation of England and mainstream Europe excluded the clerical *pileus quadratus* of England from Europe's height enhancing trend, and thus it was free to evolve along completely different lines.

Clergy in England approached their distinctive cap differently. In what was probably an attempt to differentiate themselves from their continental Roman counterparts, the English clergy, rather than emphasizing the height of the *pileus quadratus*, emphasized the prominence of the square shape at the top of their cap 'forming a rim of thick material projecting beyond the close-fitting cap'.[51] The square shape of the European biretta was an unintentional side effect of architectural support, but for the English clergy the square shape of their cap implies a deliberate aim of separating secular from religious, scholar from uneducated, and an open defiance of the previous, rigidly obeyed fashions of Catholic Europe. The square cap, now one of the few items of clothing following a purely English style and fashion, grew out of the purely English idea of Anglicanism. This again illustrates the role that religious differences played in the square cap's evolution, but for the first time demonstrates the role that an almost religious form of patriotism played in the development of what eventually became the mortarboard.

The impact of the newly altered design of the square cap on the Church of England was considerable. By 1559, an independent Church of England was restored and clergy within that church had to wear square caps.[52] This symbol was so important that the Royal injunctions of 1559 command anyone 'admitted into any vocation ecclesiastical, or into any society of learning [...] shall use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward VI'.[53] From these injunctions we see that the square cap was not merely an item

48  Ibid, p. 361.

49  Noel, Cox, 'Academic Regalia Tams and Caps: History of The Cap, Tam and Mortar Board.' Academicapparel.com, 2000 <http://www.academicapparel.com/caps/Tam-Cap-Establishment .html> [accessed 5 June 2013].

50  *EB Classic encyclopaedia*, 'Biretta.'

51  Cox, 'Academic Regalia Tams and Caps.'

52  Ibid.

53  William Cecil and Privy Council, 'The Injunctions of 1559,' in *Documents Illustrative of*

of comfort/academic status and had become a clear political and religious symbol, especially since the mention of Edward VI might infer that during Mary I's Catholic reign, the square cap's use ceased, possibly due to a brief introduction of the Roman biretta, would arguably fit the appearance of the brass of Dr. Robert Brassie in Figure 2. The *pileus* was now evolving quickly and was an object of pride amongst its wearers, as it betokened their own patriotic and religious alliance, not to Rome but to England. Such patriotism appears highly interconnected with the Church of England's theology at the time. With the head of state also being governor of the church, it is understandable that patriotism might be mingled with faith. In fact Moczar describes the theology of the early Church of England as 'Catholic trappings with […] a strong association with the crown and patriotic duty'.[54] The 1559 injunction shows how the square cap remained primarily clerical attire, mainly influenced by the church, but now later taken up by 'any society of learning'. However, it also indicates that England was searching for visible signs to indicate that England's church was now resolutely Anglican and how in searching for this sign the symbolism of the square cap deepened in meaning, as it became more closely associated with Anglicanism. This demonstrates that the evolution of the *biretum* was driven greatly by its potential as a signifier of theologies, as well as socio-political loyalty to the Ecclesia Anglicana.

This patriotic interpretation of the square cap might, *prima facie*, appear to be somewhat fanciful. The Church of England had, after all, a great armoury of patriotic symbols, a vernacular liturgy and prayer book among them, with a monarch who had styled herself 'Supreme Governor of the Church of England'. Despite such visceral objections, history does indeed support such a thesis. Cox observes that it was in 1604 that all members of church and university were required to wear[55] 'Wide Sleeves as is used in the Universities, with Hoods or Tippets of Silk or Sarcenet, and *Square Caps*.'[56] That English canon law should require all ecclesiastics and academics to wear the square cap, suggests that this cap represents something more than social status. Such an emphasis on this item of apparel implies the square cap has a wider and deeper significance for the subjects of 'reformed' England. This is worth considering as there was little English fashion: most of the fashions in England being copied from Continental Europe. Much of the Elizabethan style was copied from trends in Europe. Thomas Dekker (1572–1632) described contemporary Elizabethan fashion as 'a traitor's body that has been hanged, drawn and quartered: its codpiece is in Denmark … and the short waist hangs over a butchers stall in Utrecht.'[57] If there was a feeling that the English costume was inferior, then the square cap, being uniquely developed in England, was something that the English could take pride in, a specifically English item of apparel whose design was changed to demonstrate the current English religion. Such notions demonstrate the influence that religion and patriotism had on the evolution, predominance and survival of the square cap.

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*English Church History*, ed. by Henry Gee, W. H. Hardy et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1896), p. 432.

54 Diane Moczar, *Ten Dates Every Catholic should Know* (Manchester: Sophia Institute Press, 2005), p. 111.

55 Cox, 'Academic Regalia Tams and Caps'.

56 Emphasis added. Bishop of London & Convocation for the province of Canterbury, *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England* (London: Church of England, 1604), Canon 74, <www.anglican.net/doctrines/1604-canon-law/> [accessed 5 July 2013].

57 Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2012), p. 160.

## A time of trial, the square cap and the Puritans, 1600–1660

The square cap, however, was not without critics. Whilst many used the cap to express their loyalties (for clergy it was compulsory), some groups found it, and all other forms of clerical garb, abominable. Such views emerged from several interconnected factors, including the on-going association of vestments with the Roman church, as discussed by John Hooper in his now revisited, infamous, 1548 Lenten sermons. Many came to believe vestments and all outward forms of religious ornamentation were violations of the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.' Others, following the Presbyterian teachings of Calvin, rejected vestments as outward signs of distinction, indicative of a latent separation of priest and faithful. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, early in the seventeenth century, groups like the Puritans revived the Vestiarian Controversy, which was a heated debate in the early Church of England, ignited by the Revd John Hooper. The controversy pertained to whether vestments or other forms of clerical adornment were compatible with, or indeed beneficial to the Christian faith in England. Those supporting John Hooper and his broadly Calvinist doctrines considered garments both academic and religious, including the square cap, to be 'the livery of Antichrist'.[58] This belief may go back to its Catholic association; the Westminster Confession declares 'the Pope of Rome […] is that antichrist, that man of sin'.[59] Because of its liturgical and in academic circles ceremonial nature, the square cap was 'virulently denounced by the Puritans,'[60] who regarded any form of ornamentation, particularly those separating people on ecclesiastical and academic grounds, as straightforwardly indicative of a 'papist' and ungodly theology: 'the obligation to wear a surplice while conducting services and a square cap when outdoors particularly rankled these Protestant enthusiasts.'[61]

Again the square cap had acquired a strong theological and political significance. For those of the church who approved of vestments, the square cap (being outdoor attire and, therefore, the most eye-catching) became indicative of support for the mainstream Church of England and of obedience to episcopal and secular ordinance. For the Puritans the square cap was a dangerous symbol suggesting on-going allegiance with the European Pope (in spite of the cap's now explicitly English appearance), and one that denied 'the priesthood of all believers'. Such an unbiblical adornment could not be justified.[62] Polarized views of the square cap show that the square cap, whilst primarily remaining a piece of clerical attire, became a rallying point for sectarianism. For many the cap represented the problems within the institutional church, demonstrating the key part this predecessor to the mortarboard had in the religious atmosphere of England at that time.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Puritans, with their abhorrence of ecclesiastical and academic garments, were a vocal minority group with very little support,

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58 William H Brackney, *Historical Dictionary of Radical Christianity* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012), p. 257.

59 Assembly of the Divines, *The Confession of Faith* (Westminster: General assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1649), 25.6, <www.churchofscotland.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/650 /westminster_confession.pdf> [accessed 11 July 2013].

60 *EB Classic Encyclopaedia*, 'Biretta.'

61 J. P. Sommerville, 'The Reign of Elizabeth', *Faculty. History.wisc.edu/sommerville*, <http:// faculty.history.wisc.edu/sommerville/123/123%20261%201560s.htm> [accessed 9 June 2013].

62 Samuel Carr, *Early Writings of John Hooper* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), pp. 187, 479.

but by the mid-1600s support for Puritan views had increased on a range of theological issues, including sartorial matters. Leading clergy, including the Archbishop Laud of Canterbury and secular authorities such as King Charles I, were veering towards what the Puritans felt were papist ornaments and high church policy. The Puritans were concerned about the Counter-Reformation's success within continental Europe, as well as the King's obvious theological swerve away from Calvinist policy, both in his religious practice and in the tenor of his ecclesiastical appointments.[63] This move towards the high church, with his marriage to the Catholic Henrietta Maria, led many within the country to fear a re-introduction of Roman Catholicism into Britain. William Laud, one of the great campaigners for 'high church policy', often wore his square cap,[64] the very garment despised by the Puritans. (See Fig. 5.) Furthermore, Laud was renowned for encouraging, sometimes even forcing, the clergy to follow church rule and ritual, including wearing the square cap.[65] With such people now monopolizing the church hierarchy, and with fears of Catholic Europe gaining influence within the Anglican Church, many English churchmen were polarized, favouring either Puritan or high church sympathies. This instigated civil war and the square cap, along with other garments, encouraged these national divisions. At the time the square cap was a badge by which all high church adherents might be known, Stoyle points out that 'it was religion which ultimately divided the two parties.'[66] Since a part of this religious division was about clerical attire, and the role it could play in the Church of England, it is undeniable that the square cap was a cause as well as an identifier. (See Fig. 6.)

Charles's past confrontations with the Scottish Kirk due to his attempts to enforce the Book of Common Prayer showed the populace, through the resulting wars, that the monarch could be opposed. Oliver Cromwell, who in 1642, with supporters, started a series of British civil wars, intended to bring the monarchy to justice. In this, Cromwell eventually won, and by 1653 he was Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, giving him authority over the dress of the established church, as well as academic dress and civil law. Needless to say Cromwell, being a staunch Puritan seeking to reassure his like-minded supporters, abolished all signs of popery within the established church, including episcopal governance. This caused the square cap to fall from grace, at least from an ecclesiastical perspective. This was because it had, with other garb such as the cope, stole and surplice, become an ornament and ecclesiastical symbol, which Cromwell appointed the Harley committee to categorize and eradicate. The committee were charged with 'Taking into custody the Copes, Surplices, & Chapel-stuff'.[67] Whilst not explicitly mentioned, one imagines the square cap is included in Chapel-stuff, as it was, by this stage, the outdoors indicator and sometimes liturgical sign of the cleric and his status. After seizing these items, the committee was charged with 'disposing of Copes, surplices, and "other superstitious utensils"'.[68] During

63  J. Rickard, 'Charles I, 1600-1649, king of Great Britain and Ireland (1625–49)', modified 16 April 2001, <www.historyofwar.org/articles/people_charlesI.html> [accessed 9 June 2013].

64  Sir Anthony Van Dyck, *William Laud*, 1636. Oil on Canvas, 48½ in x 37 in. National Portrait Gallery.

65  Barry Coward, *The Stewart Age* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 174.

66  Mike Stoyle, 'Choosing sides in the English Civil War,' *BBC History*, 17 Feb. 2011, <www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/choosingsides_01.shtml> [accessed 8 July 2013].

67  Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 95.

68  Ibid.

the reign of Cromwell, the square cap's use as an identifier of the clergy was its undoing, as it would be persecuted along with all other ecclesiastical garb.

There were other reasons for the square cap's fall from grace during the Commonwealth period. The use of the cap to distinguish church rank became obsolete, since episcopal government had been abolished. Those who, prior to the Civil War, had supported the high church and rituals of the established church, now found that attempting to wear the square cap led to responses akin to revulsion, by what was primarily a Puritan state.[69] Furthermore, the Puritans felt that the square cap, along with other ecclesiastical garb, represented a barrier between the priest and people contrary to their predominantly Presbyterian faith. It is noted that during the Cromwellian period numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to remove the square cap from Oxford's academic dress,[70] though the Puritans found more sympathy in Cambridge. Such actions were fuelled by the on-going belief that they suggested solidarity with Roman theology, regarding them as 'reliques of popery and the scarlet whore'.[71] It is interesting to note that during this period only caps and hoods were railed against; the academic gown, particularly that of the Geneva cut, remained 'regarded as a sign of strong Puritanism'.[72] Such actions demonstrate religion and the established theology again shaping the history of the square cap; in this case causing its suppression.

## Transformation and Restoration, 1660–1700

Cromwell's persecution of those wearing clerical garb, including the square cap, was short lived and disintegrated soon after his death. By 1660 Britain underwent the Restoration and was again under the reign of a monarch, Charles II, the son of Charles I. Being influenced after his father's death solely by his Catholic mother Henrietta Maria, and having most of his supporters and aid during exile coming from Catholic countries, it seems understandable that Charles II reinstated a high church of England with his return. This greatly dismayed the Puritans. By 1662 the Act of Uniformity made the Church of England the country's established church and required all services and practised religion to be of the newly revived Anglican tradition. Amongst other things this meant that the square cap of the scholars and clergy was back in use. With the episcopacy restored, the cap was once again needed to separate the persons of priest and faithful. A new Book of Common Prayer was published, heavily influenced by bishops of the high church tradition.[73] The new rubrics and direction of the Church of England fostered the square cap amongst both clergy and scholars. During this period the square cap was, in Oxford, used to identify university officials and various degrees such as MAs, BAs and undergraduate Scholars. The DDs wore the square cap in festal and undress, whilst the bonnet was used for the dress and undress of the other doctorates. That the highest degree of doctor chose the square cap attests to

69  Morrill, 'Oliver Cromwell', BBC British History, 17 Feb, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk /history/british/civil_war_revolution/cromwell_01.shtml> [accessed 9 June 2013].

70  William Gibson, '"The remembrance whereof is pleasant": A Note on Walter Pope's Role in the Attempt to Abolish Academic Dress during the Commonwealth,' *TBS*, 10 (2010), pp. 43-46.

71  Ibid, 44.

72  Ibid, 45.

73  David Edwards, *Christian England: From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Collins, 1983), p. 312.

the square cap's sudden resurgence in popularity.[74] This sudden shift in ecclesiastical governance and state church, again, shaped the history of the mortarboard. The re-established Anglican tradition brought it back from the brink of extinction, and paved the way for its re-introduction into the religious and secular worlds.

The square cap's place as an academic and ecclesiastical garment was further secured by the effects of the new Book of Common Prayer upon the more Presbyterian clergy. During the restoration of the Anglican church in England, many of the more Puritan or nonconformist clergy remained within the church but the new Book of Common Prayer, along with other changes to the church including episcopacy, resulted in around two thousand Puritan clergy resigning from the Church of England by the end of 1662.[75] The remaining members of the church's laity and clergy were those more disposed to clerical garb (including the square cap) as well as loyalty to the King, linking the church with such loyalties. Such actions allowed the square cap to be shaped and re-introduced, not just as a religious symbol but also as a loaded political symbol.

The Puritan regime was not popular with the peasantry. With Anglicanism restored as the Church of England, Harris records that many people 'pranced around May poles as a way of taunting the Presbyterians and Independents'.[76] Such rejoicing implies that the English people were glad of an end to this period of history and that the populace enthusiastically employed visual forms of dissent with the previous regime. The return of ecclesiastical dress was a clear sign that an Anglican Church of England had been restored. The people wanted to see the Anglican traditions restored, and the remaining clergy wanted to prove their loyalty to the church and new king; therefore the square cap underwent one of the final stages in its evolution. To emphasise their adherence to the Anglican requirements for clergy to wear distinctive attire, and to show their loyalty to the monarch, many clergy and then academics took the initiative and once again extended the square shape of their caps.[77] The result of this enlargement was that the square became so prominent that it required further stiffening and bonding to a *calotte*-like skull cap for support.[78] In order to embellish the square cap, and perhaps compete with the European biretta, 'A centre tump was formed by 1665'.[79] This brought the square cap exceedingly close to the mortarboard of today, demonstrating the final stages of the theological and ecclesiastical influence over the evolution of the present mortarboard.

## Final stages, 1700–1800

It was at this point also that the fashion of wigs also came into England (starting in the 1660s).[80] Carried over by Charles II from France, wigs began to become a flamboyant and

74  Alex Kerr, 'Hargreaves-Mawdsley's *History of Academical Dress* and the Pictorial Evidence for Great Britain and Ireland: Notes and Corrections', *TBS*, 8 (2008), pp. 106–50 (pp. 117–30).

75  William L Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 11–12.

76  Tim Harris, *Restoration of Charles II and His Kingdoms 1660–1685* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), pp. 52–53.

77  Cox, 'Academic Regalia Tams and Caps.'

78  Ibid.

79  Ibid.

80  'Grey Wig: England Early 19th Century,' Body Arts <web.prm.ox.ac.uk/bodyarts/index.php/temporary-body-arts/hair/71-grey-wig-england-early-19th-century.html> [accessed 19 June 2014].

staple requirement for many professions including the clergy. The large nature of the 'episcopal wig' might help to explain the beginning of the gradual decline of the mortarboard's use amongst the clergy. That said we do still have records of many clergy trying to balance both the wearing of their mandatory wigs and theologically weighted and patriotic mortarboards.[81] In spite of this however the evolution of the square cap was not yet complete. Its place in major historical events continued. With the renewed significance granted by the restoration, the square cap again became essential for all fashionable clerics and academics. Within the Academy the cap remained a part of full dress, and thus visible in the most important of occasions, but only to those possessing a Doctorate in Divinity, MA, or BA, with the only undergraduates entitled to wear it being undergraduate scholars, though minus the tump. All other types of undergraduates, some of whom would have held great social distinction wore the *pileus rotundus*.[82] By the 1700s, the *pileus quadratus* was a visual statement of the wearer's patriotism or religious fervour and was an open act of defiance to the past severities of Puritanism. The square cap's use by high dignitaries, both ecclesiastically and academically, meant that, 'consistent with human nature, reserving the *pileus quadratus* for VIPs merely served to make it deliciously attractive to the lower ranks.'[83] The desirable nature of the square cap caused undergraduates to lobby the University of Oxford to permit them to wear it. This request was granted in 1675, when the vice chancellor permitted gentlemen-commoners to wear it, usually with a gold lining and pom-pom or knob to indicate aristocracy.[84] Such demands demonstrate the unique symbolism the square cap had for the English people; its patriotic, religious and academic embodiments are attested to by the high demand from scholars for its use. With 'gentlemen' having new-found access to the square cap, over and above the poorer undergraduates, it took on a meaning of wealth, just as its ancestor the *pileus rotundus* had before it; as well as differentiating the aforementioned gentlemen from their lower undergraduate colleagues. The secular world then shared with the ecclesiastical world the final shaping of the mortarboard.

Wider use of the square cap meant cheaper and easier ways of creating it were sought. This led to the final steps in the square cap's evolution towards the mortarboard prevalent today, during the 1700s. In the eighteenth century cloth covered wood or cardboard reinforced the square top of the cap.[85] Furthermore, the *calotte*, attached to this stiffened board, began to recede further up the head losing its ear coverings and stopping just above the ears.[86] Alongside these alterations, the knob, or pom-pom, commonplace on the square cap for higher academics since 1665, became more pronounced. By the late eighteenth

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81 Ibid.

82 Trumble. (With undress, other doctors (in Law or Medicine) could wear it, and other bachelors were required to wear it. —Ed.)

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid. Evidence of the square cap's use can also be found in the following to sources: Edward T. Beaumont, *Academical Habit: Illustrated by Ancient Memorial Brasses* (Oxford, privately, 1928), pp. 58, 82; 'Some Wood Family Letters from Oxford', Oxoniensia.org, <http://oxoniensia.org/volumes/1986/wood.pdf>, letter 11 [accessed 12 Feb. 2014]. Finally the woodcut in Fig. 20 demonstrates the existence of the tuft.

John Eglin, *The Imaginary Autocrat: Beau Nash and the Invention of Bath* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2005), p. 17. Eglin believes that by 1692 the use of gold in the Nobleman's square was already well established, suggesting an introduction around the time of the caps being made accessible

85 Clinch, p. 248.

86 Ibid.

century, it was a long tassel hanging over the side of the board. These tassels are still widely used to indicate rank, the customary black being seen most often, with gold or silver being used for chancellor and vice chancellor. At St Andrews University the tassel's colour indicates year of undergraduate study.[87] (See Fig. 8.) The 1911 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* stated that 'the evolution of the modern "college cap" was complete.'[88] This evolution was largely due (with minor exceptions, including the tassel of secular fashion and scholarly interests) to the influence of ecclesiastical fashion regarding religious inclination and secular patriotism.

## The tale goes on: the square cap in later years

Throughout the centuries the square cap remained, for most of the Church of England, a symbol of its theology and independence.[89] Early in the nineteenth century the Church of England commenced large-scale missionary work. Here the square cap reappeared, though in an unconventional way. Due to early lack of interest in spreading the Gospel overseas, the Church Missionary Society recruited people associated with Protestant churches in Europe.[90] Many English clergy raised objections, fearing that this would dilute the teachings and established nature of their church. Amongst them was the Oxford academic Stephen Reay, who, fearing that the Church Missionary Society was succumbing to 'the Romish doctrine, the end hallows the means',[91] wrote a pamphlet decrying the influence on the CMS of foreign theology. Reay chose anonymity and used the satirical pen name Pileus Quadratus. With this, Reay showed that he considered his lengthy article, calling for the purity of Church of England missionaries and theology, to be embodied by the historic and on-going associations attached to the symbolic piece of attire, the square cap.

The square cap's status continued to develop and just over a hundred years ago, it again became a vital part of religious symbolism and patriotism. From the nineteenth century onwards, the mortarboard was normal headwear for most clergy, alongside the Canterbury cap (a reinvention of a slightly earlier square cap from the times of William Laud). From this on-going association with the clergy the cap continued to be seen popularly as religious attire. Even in 1899, a handbook by the Revd Percy Dearmer for the Anglican clergy, refers to the 'college-cap' as 'the still beautiful college-cap',[92] demonstrating his preference for the mortarboard over other forms of clerical attire.

However, it is not Dearmer's thoughts on the mortarboard's aesthetics that should draw attention, but rather his later comment, stating that the European and Catholic biretta is 'positively ugly' and that '[t]here is no conceivable reason for English churchmen to discard their own shape in favour of a foreign one.'[93] Such words coming from little over a century ago demonstrate the level of religious zeal and patriotism still attached to the

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87  *Shaw's Academical Dress of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Nicholas Groves Vol. I (London: The Burgon Society, 2011), p. 358.

88  *EB Classic Encyclopaedia*, 'Biretta.'

89  My thanks to Br. Keenan OP, who wisely suggested I view the article 'Observations on the Defence of the Church Missionary Society Against the objections of the Archdeacon of Bath.'

90  'A Brief History of CMS,' cms-uk, <www.cms-uk.org/default.aspx?Tabid=181> [accessed 23 July 2013].

91  Pileus Quadratus [Stephen Reay], *Observations on the Defence of the Church Missionary Society Against the objections of the Archdeacon of Bath* (Oxford: Baxter, Printer, Oxford, 1818), p. 7.

92  Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook* (London: Grant Richards, 1899), p. 87.

93  Ibid.

mortarboard, and that even so long after the mortarboard's popularization in the reformation, it remained a truly authentic item of English attire and a sign of independence from foreign powers, including the Pope of Rome. Dearmer wrote to a church which had witnessed the Oxford Movement and many feared the 'wicked aping of a Papist Church.'[94] The mortarboard seems, from Dearmer's impressions, to have been yet again a physical manifestation of the independence of the Church of England and symbol of religious patriotism.

The mortarboard, through its direct link to the reformation and continued use by clergy to indicate their fealty to the established church, was significant to both the wearer and the observer, and whilst the Church of England may change, it remains true to its historical roots. This is probably why Dearmer thought the mortarboard superior to any other kind of clerical headwear. In Dearmer's own words, the Canterbury cap is commendable and 'there are good reasons for the parson to wear it with his cassock and for outdoor processions, *unless he wears the college-cap.*'[95]

## From past to present, a conclusion

This paper began with the mortarboard's origin as a *calotte* and practical item of religious attire. We have seen how, through the millennium of the cap's development, it was most often used by religious institutes which then conveyed it to their academic contemporaries. From its origin as an item of comfort for cold monks, through its gradual evolution towards showing rank and level of education, and finally as a way of showing theological alliance, the mortarboard has, for little under a thousand years, been one of the most widely used pieces of clerical attire. This caused its integration into academic dress, where it continues in use as opposed to the church, where secular fashions, despite the fervent pleas of Dearmer and others, became the norm, leading to the mortarboard's almost exclusive association with teaching today. Such heavy symbolism and earlier wide ecclesiastical use, along with the cap's embodiment of English religion and independence, is the cap's legacy to the university that uses it and the graduate who wears it. Whilst not all who wear the cap agree with, or understand, the cap's past theological meanings, it remains a staunch reminder of our country's academic and religious heritage, and the relationship that was once shared between them. Such heritage stretches back to the wearer's religious and academic ancestors who shaped the diverse and prestigious nature of England's universities which, for better or for worse, made the universities and country what it is today. It is unfortunate that this rich part of religious and academic garb has fallen into wide disuse, both by the church that created it and the academic institutions that adopted and sustained it. The academic square cap, which many people have now abandoned in the name of progress, is quite possibly one of the most politically charged pieces in the academic's wardrobe. It should be a cherished item for both the cleric and academic as it embodies England's religion, academies and culture.

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94 'Oxford Movement,' Pusey House, St Giles, Oxford <www.puseyhouse.org.uk/house /history /oxfordmovement/> [accessed 12 June 2013].

95 Emphasis added. Dearmer, p. 87.

## Appendix: Evolution of caps from the sixteenth century through today

From the entry 'biretta' in the 1911 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica, online at <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Biretta> [accessed 18 August 2015].
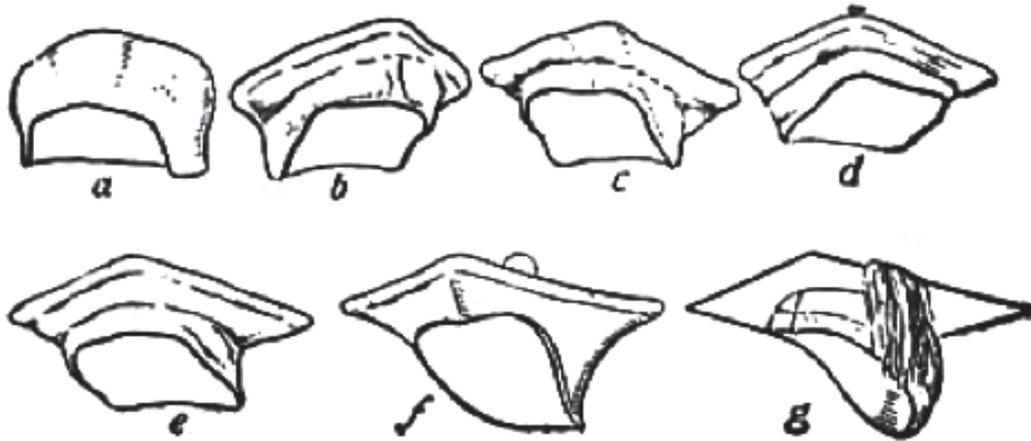


**A** Pileus of Archbishop Warham (d. 1532).

**B** Square cap of Archbishop Cranmer (d. 1556).

**C** Square cap of Archbishop Parker (d. 1575).

**D** Square cap of Archbishop Whitgift (d. 1583).

**E** Square cap of Archbishop Laud (d. 1645). All these are from portraits at Lambeth.

**F** Square cap of George Morley, bishop of Winchester (d. 1684).

**G** Modern college cap.