

**John Caius, master of Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge, 1559-1573 : a biographical sketch written in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth celebrated on the 6th day of October, 1910 / by John Venn.**

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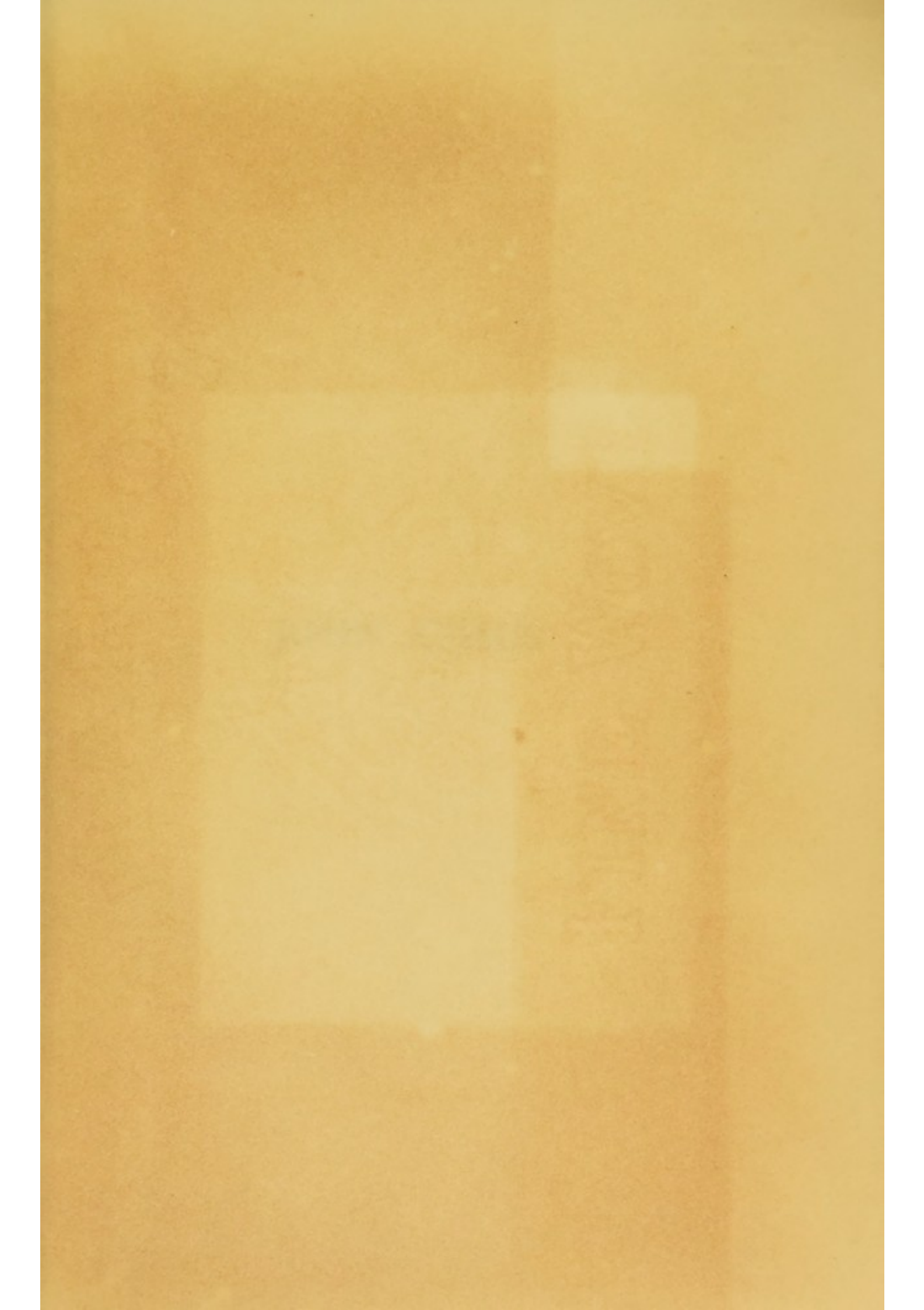
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JOHN CAMP

JOHN CAIUS

JOHN CALUS







IOHANNES CAIUS  
 (From the picture in the College Hall)

# JOHN CAIUS

Master of Gonville and Caius College  
in the University of Cambridge

1559—1573

## A Biographical Sketch

written in commemoration of the Four-hundredth  
Anniversary of his birth celebrated on the  
sixth day of October, 1910

by

JOHN VENN, Sc.D., F.R.S.

Fellow and President of the College

Cambridge :

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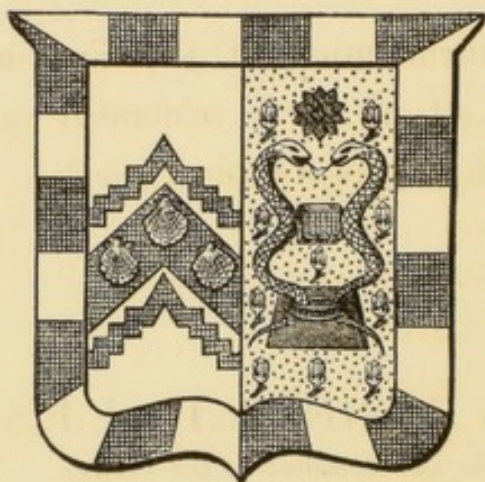
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JOHN CALIUS

Master of Gonville and Caius College  
in the University of Cambridge

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*Reprinted, with corrections and additions, from the  
Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College.*

## JOHN CAIUS.

Suæ memor juventutis,  
Viam indicans salutis,  
Portam condidit Virtutis  
Et Honoris proximi:  
His præfixit arctam satis  
Januam Humilitatis,  
Monens intrent ne sublatis  
Animis discipuli. (*Carmen Caianum.*)

OUR great second founder, John Caius (sixteenth master, 1559-73), was born at Norwich, probably in the parish of St Ethelred, Oct. 6, 1510. He was the son of Robert Caius, who died in 1532, and was buried in that parish; and of Alice Wode or Woda, who died in 1547<sup>1</sup>, and was buried in the parish of St John at the Gate. His father, though a resident in Norwich,

<sup>1</sup> These personal details are given by Cooper, and others, without authority assigned. They rest, so far as we are concerned, entirely upon the statement of Dr Tanner in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, who says "In Ephemeridibus extraneis manu Johannis Caii sequentia annotata fuisse dicuntur"; and he proceeds to quote them as follows: "Giovanne Caio fu nato et educato in Norvico de parenti Roberto Caio, et Aloicia Woda nell anno MDX mense Octobr. 6. Vene prima a Cantabria 12 Sept. MDXXIX.... Roberto Caio morse MDXXXII; sepolito in S. Etheldreda Norvic.; Aloisia morse MDXLVII 24 April. sepelita in S. Johanne alle porte. Giovanne Caio creato A.B. MDXXXII. M.A. MDXXXV. electo principali dello Hosp. Tyshwyc [Physwick] 12 Nov. MDXXXIII. collega in Coll. Gonvil. MDXXXIII 6 Dec., lection. publ. dialect. in Padoa MDXLI. doct. in med. in Padoa MDXLI. Parti de Cantabr. verso Italia MDXXXIX. Ritorno verso Inghilterra MDXLIV." The expression used by Tanner, and the language in which the statements are written, suggest their having appeared in some Paduan Admission register, or Italian journal. But, after enquiries most kindly made for me by Professor Ferraris of Padua, and by the learned University librarian, no confirmation can be found of this suggestion. There is in any case some difficulty to be cleared up, as the date here assigned for his mother's death was three years after he had left Padua. (All the biographers have followed Cooper in giving "*Wodanell*" as the maiden name of Caius' mother. If the reader will turn to the Italian quotation above, he will see at once how this odd blunder, to which my attention has only just been called, arose.)



was of Yorkshire origin. This fact has been needlessly doubted by Blomefield (III. 296), but is definitely stated in the Grant of Arms to John Caius, and confirmed by Richard Parker, fellow of Caius College, in his *Skeletos*. Parker entered the College in 1590, whilst Dr Legge was master, and must have been personally acquainted with several men who had known Caius in college. Hence it has been conjectured, and even stated as a fact, that he was connected with some branch of the well-known Yorkshire family of Kaye or Kay. The recent discovery of the sheets containing the bursars' accounts whilst Caius was a student do not confirm this. His name occurs there in *ten* different forms (Kees, Keys, Keis, Kesse, Cais, Kaius, Keyse, Cayus, Keysse, Caius). It will be observed that no one of these is of the type "Kaye," but that they all end with the letter, or the sound, *s*. There can therefore be no doubt that his English name was always Keys or Kees<sup>1</sup>. Search has been made amongst the wills both at York and at Norwich with the view of finding some clue to the origin and history of the family, but hitherto without any success. Considering how strongly local sympathies generally expressed themselves in the appropriation of endowments, it seems rather singular that Dr Caius should have confined his benefits almost entirely to Norfolk, and have made no reference whatever to Yorkshire.

He entered Gonville Hall, Sept. 12, 1529, at the age of 19, rather older therefore than was usual at the time. From the comparative paucity of our records at this date we know but little of the actual state of the college. Dr Buckenham was

<sup>1</sup> That is, whereas it was commonly supposed that the pronunciation of the name might be rendered by the spelling, "Key's College," we must now drop the apostrophe and write "Keys College." However spelt, the familiar pronunciation is not, as vulgarly supposed, a peculiar conventional rendering of the Latin name *Caius*, but the unaltered perpetuation of the English name by which he was always known amongst his contemporaries. It may be remarked that the name Keys is by no means uncommon. It is found repeatedly amongst lists of citizens in Norwich, Lynn, and elsewhere; but I have failed to find amongst these any Robert of the approximate date required for John's father. In the singular form Key (Kay, Cay, Caye, &c.) the name was decidedly common.



the master—a man whose attainments and University position and influence place him rather above the average—and the college, though small, contained several men of some mark. Two future bishops, Shaxton and Skipp, were included among the few fellows, besides the somewhat prominent reformer Edward Crome. As students of University history are aware, there were, about this time, two markedly contrasted component elements in most of the colleges. One of these was furnished by the monks who, now on the eve of their disappearance, still formed a considerable proportion of the resident students. They represented a rather select body in their own community, having been chosen for their ability and industry by the various houses which supported them at the University. The other element was composed of a few resident fellows and masters of arts who, especially in Gonville Hall, were strong adherents of the reforming party. Several amongst them suffered for their opinions, though it does not appear that any one of them lost his life in their support.

The period therefore of young John Caius' entry must have been one of considerable mental activity and even excitement. If we may trust his own account, the students of his day were indeed a model race. In an interesting digression in his *Historia* (pp. 91-96) he contrasts the ways and thoughts of the undergraduates of 1572 with those of their predecessors of 1530-40. The conditions of life of the Elizabethan student would make his modern successor stare and gasp; they would seem to him to be those of an over-worked, under-fed, sternly-disciplined schoolboy. But to the eye of the old master the youths of the latter date were simply revelling in unscholarly indulgence<sup>1</sup>. He contrasts them, sadly to their disadvantage, with the short-haired long-gowned lads of his remembrance, who found their only joy, not in games, but in admiring and critical attendance on each other's disputations in the Schools; who never missed

<sup>1</sup> In his work on the *Sweating Sickness* he says "Children be so brought vp, that if they be not all daie by the fire with a toste and butire, and in their fures, they be streight sicke."



a public lecture, or visited a public-house; who spent their scanty pocket-money not on clothes which would wear out, but on books which might endure for ever. They seldom stirred from the college walls except on their way to the Schools; and were ever on the look-out reverently to salute their elders. As to discipline it was not needed, such was their instinctive awe of those in authority. Their only notion of relaxation was in the preparation of the Latin Plays during the brief Christmas holiday.

Young men are used to comments of this kind from their seniors; and no one is likely to accept the reminiscences of a stern and somewhat soured old man for scientific observation. But, after making ample allowance of this kind, there can be little doubt that the period just before the Reformation did really mark the close of a phase of University life. For one thing the hostels were then numerous, and were frequented by the comparatively wealthy: the colleges were still, for the most part, the resort of the studious poor for whom they were originally intended. Again, political and social changes had not yet thrown a mass of wealth into new hands, and thus introduced a new class to the University. And the still unbroken authority of the Church doubtless influenced, in every direction, the thoughts and actions of the students. As Dr Caius implies, the change was a very rapid one. He left college in 1539, and returned—almost for the first time—in 1558. He declares that he found everything changed: manners, teaching, pronunciation: and that he knew no one, and was known to none (*Hist.* p. 3).

As he has told us (*Annals*), he entered college Sept. 12, 1529. His name first appears as a scholar (*bibliotista*—only four of these had at that time been founded) at Michaelmas 1530, and remains as such till Lady Day 1533. He graduated B.A. in Jan. 1532-3, being placed first of his year in the *ordo senioritatis*: i.e. he was what we should now call "senior wrangler": and commenced M.A. in 1535. He was elected a fellow of Gonville Hall, Dec. 6, 1533 (*Annals*), retaining his fellowship till Sept. 29, 1545. He was one of the principals of Physwick's Hostel—an annexe of the college, standing on



part of the site of the present Trinity College—for a year or so from Nov. 12, 1533. By his own account his main interest, when a student, lay in the direction of Theology: not improbably he had looked forward to the priesthood, and was diverted from this to medicine by his want of sympathy with the principles of the Reformation. He tells us that, in his twenty-first year, i.e. in the latter part of his undergraduate career, he translated, for various friends, a Greek treatise of Nicephorus Callistus, and one of Chrysostom, into Latin, as also a treatise of Erasmus into English. He was also a diligent student of Hebrew. One of our MSS. (No. 404) is a Hebrew Bible. At the beginning are two pages of notes in his hand, "de Canonicis libris veteris Testamenti," ending "Caius, juvenis adhuc, et Hebraicæ linguæ studiosus, Cantabrigiæ scripsit." From the reference in the *Annals* we should infer that he was a personal friend at this time of Thomas Gresham, as he certainly was, through life, of Richard Willyson, fellow and benefactor of the college. His principal student friend was a young schoolfellow from Norwich, named William Framingham, of Pembroke, afterwards fellow of Queens', whose remarkable ability and attainments he records, and who died in 1537, at the early age of 25. Caius had intended to edit his friend's works, with notes of his own, but the MSS. were lost during his absence in Italy.

In 1539 he left England and proceeded to Padua to study medicine. His letters testimonial from the University of Cambridge are dated Jan. 31, 1538-9. He started from Dover about March 17 following<sup>1</sup>; and spent somewhat more than five years in Italy. The first four of these were devoted to medical study at Padua, where J. B. Montanus was his principal teacher ("preceptor meus optimus et doctissimus": —Pref. to *De Meth. Med.*). The celebrated Vesalius<sup>2</sup>, pro-

<sup>1</sup> The date is fixed by his statement (Preface to *De Methodo Medendi*) that he was at Dover at the same time with the King and his physician, Dr W. Butts. The King's movements may be traced by the *State Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> A very full account of the Life and Work of Vesalius was published by Prof. Roth of Basel (*Andreas Vesalius, Bruxellensis*. Berlin, 1892). He maintains that, whereas Vesalius rapidly freed himself from the early trammels imposed



fessor of Anatomy 1537-44, was at this time engaged in the preparation of his work *De Fabrica Humani Corporis*. Caius formed a close acquaintance with him, and for eight months was his fellow-lodger in the *Casa degli Valli* near the *Ponte della Paglia*<sup>1</sup>. The only other glimpse we have of his Paduan life is given in his *De Ephemeride Britannica*, where in illustration of varieties in diet he states that, of three who lived there together, one took only acid drinks, another, a Milanese, only hot water, and the third (? himself) only sweet drinks (*solis dulcibus capiebatur*).

He graduated M.D. ("artium et medicinæ doctor"), at Padua, May 13, 1541: the diploma is preserved in our treasury. Shortly before this he had been appointed to a professorship there: a rare thing for a foreigner, and perhaps unique for an Englishman. Cooper, followed by others, calls him Professor of Greek. This is not quite correct. The real title, according to Tomasino (*Gymn. Patavinum*) was "professor sophisticæ," or, as it is termed in his diploma of M.D., "dialectices Græce professor." He appears in Tomasino's list as "Gavius," which may account for the fact that some writers have denied that any official record of his appointment is to be found. He held this office for about a year from 1541. His own description is "...defunctus publico munere prælegendi Aristotelicam disciplinam Græce publico salario illustrium Venetorum, concurrente Realdo Columbo Cremonensi, in scholis publicis." That is, as we should now express it, he lectured on the Logic and Philosophy of Aristotle in the original Greek. He adds that his lectures were delivered in the schools of St Blaise, as the Arts schools were not then finished (*De Lib. prop.* p. 163).

In July 1543 he left Padua, and studied for a short time at Florence, and at Pisa under Matthew Curtius. From thence he made a tour through the principal towns of Italy: Venice,

by his devotion to Galen, Caius remained an earnest supporter of most of the old views, and even became a strong opponent of Vesalius. There certainly seems no sign of any subsequent friendship between the two.

<sup>1</sup> "Casa de gli Valli, seu ut Patavini loquuntur ca valle." The position of these places does not seem now to be known.



Ferrara, Siena, Rome, &c., directing his attention in every place to the various public and private libraries. His main object was the examination of MSS. of Galen and Hippocrates. The attainment of complete and correct versions of these writers, especially of Galen, occupied much of his time and attention for many years; and in his *De Libris propriis* he gives a long account of the difficulties he encountered in his search. Of the nine volumes of MSS. in our college library, given by him, the majority consist of treatises by Galen and Hippocrates: not improbably collected during this tour.

He returned to England, in 1544 or 1545, by way of Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. At Basle he probably made some considerable stay, as his work *De Methodo Medendi* was published there. The preface is dated May 15, 1544. It was probably on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of Conrad Gesner<sup>1</sup>, his intimate and life-long friend. It was for him that Caius compiled his treatise *De Canibus Britannicis*, and *De variorum animalium Historia*. In his *De Libris propriis*, when he comes to mention the death of Gesner, he breaks out into a striking and pathetic declamation on the vanity of human life and hopes. Gesner died in 1565, and his friend, writing seven years afterwards, declares that his sense of bereavement had increased rather than diminished by lapse of time.

On his return to England—according to Cooper, who is followed by Munk and others—Caius practised his profession at Cambridge, Norwich, and Shrewsbury, before settling in London<sup>2</sup>. I can find no authority for this. In the first place he had, so far as we know, no English qualification till his fellowship of the College of Physicians in 1547. Had he commenced practice at Cambridge, such a stickler for form as he always showed himself would certainly have obtained

<sup>1</sup> Our copy of Gesner's *Historia Animalium* was his presentation to Caius. In Vol. iv. are the words, presumably in Gesner's hand, "Johanni Caio, Anglo, medico et philosopho illustri...."

<sup>2</sup> This statement is doubtless taken from Aikin's *Biographical Memoirs*. Aikin gives no authority, and his dates are confused, and not a few of his facts inaccurate.



the Cambridge M.D., on the strength of his Padua degree, at once, instead of waiting as he did till he came to Cambridge in 1558. He probably resided for a time in college, after his return from abroad, before settling in London, as he says (*Annals*, p. 87) that he finally ceased to be fellow and left college Sept. 29, 1545; but there is no reason to suppose that he practised in Cambridge. He certainly was in Shrewsbury at the time of the Sweating Sickness, but, to my thinking, his words ("Ipse, dum hæc tragedia agebatur, præsens spectator interfui") are more suggestive of a brief visit than of the position of a resident practitioner. See also the reference below to his anatomical dissections.

He was admitted fellow of the College of Physicians, Dec. 22, 1547; appointed an Elect, March 30, 1550; and Consiliarius in that and the following year; and for the next eight or ten years seems to have led the life of a busy London practitioner. He was chosen President of the college in 1555, and annually re-elected till 1560 inclusive; again in 1562 and 1563, and for the ninth time in 1571. The high estimate in which he was held in his profession is also shown by his appointment as physician to Edward VI., and afterwards to Mary, and Elizabeth. It is said that he was dismissed from this last in 1568, on account of his religious opinions. Probably his attendance on Royalty, and frequent calls to visit patients of position at a distance<sup>1</sup>, account for the wide knowledge which he evidently possessed of the country. His descriptions of the "rarer animals" in his published volume contain references to what he had seen in various parts of the country, from Cumberland to the sea off Selsey.

During these years his greatest contribution to the cause of scientific progress in Medicine probably consisted in his lectures and demonstrations in Anatomy, at the hall of the Barber-surgeons. These seem to have been commenced soon after his return from Italy, for he says (*De Lib. prop.*, p. 18), of some one who had attended them, "ad annos pæne

<sup>1</sup> In two of his letters in the Summer of 1557 he speaks of being suddenly summoned to attend the Countess of Oxford, at Heningham, Essex, and a son of Sir John Baker, in Kent.



viginti semper interfuit nostris dissectionibus anatomicis, quas Londini obivimus voto illustrissimi principis Henrici octavi," presumably therefore in 1546, if not earlier. These lectures were delivered in the hall of the Barber-surgeons—who had a licence, by their original charter of 1540, to claim the bodies of four criminals annually for purposes of dissection. In this he was making a very important advance, for no such demonstrations had previously been given. These lectures are thus mentioned by his contemporary, Dr Bulleyn: "Whereas through learned lectours and the secret anothomies by and through the learned doctor M. John Kaius, reveiling unto this fraternity (viz. the Company of Barbers and Chirurgeons of London) the hidden jewels and precious treasures of Cl. Galenus, showing himself to be the second Linacer" (*A Little Dialogue*, 1579). They are also referred to in the verses on the portrait in our Hall: "Qui lucem dedit et solatia magna chirurgis, ut scirent partes Anatomia tuas." This picture is dated 1564. Sir G. Baker (*Opuscula*, p. 219), who first drew attention to these anatomical demonstrations, thinks that the lack of subjects at the command of the Physicians was the reason why Caius selected the Barber-surgeons<sup>1</sup>. It was not till 1564, probably at his own suggestion, that the former body obtained the like permission.

Dr Caius' connection with the College of Physicians is naturally treated very fully by Dr Munk. He seems to have been heartily devoted to the interests of the Society, and to have been unusually punctilious in his attendance at their meetings. He made the same careful inquiry into their history, charters, &c., that he did in the case of his own college at Cambridge; compiling the *Annals* of each in MS. It was also largely through his influence that the dispute between the College of Physicians and the Barber-surgeons as to the right of surgeons to administer inward remedies, was decided in favour of the former. He "was summoned to appear before the Lord Mayor and others of the Queen's

<sup>1</sup> Enquiries have been most kindly made for me by Mr S. Young (author of *Annals of the Barber-surgeons*), amongst the records of the Barber-surgeons, but unfortunately these do not commence till some years later than this.



delegates, before whom he so learnedly defended the College rights and the illegality of the surgeons' practice...that it was unanimously agreed by the Queen's Commissioners that it was unlawful for them to practise in the forementioned cases" (Munk's *Roll*, I. 42).

During this period he lived in the Parish of St Bartholomew the Less; in the house in which he continued to reside whenever he was in London, and in which he eventually died. Dr Caius rented this house from 1551 till the time of his death, that is, for 22 years, at first at an annual rent of £4. In 1567 he was granted a lease of 20 years at an annual rent of £2 13s. 4d. The house itself has long ceased to exist, but its site is approximately known as being just inside the Entrance Gate from Smithfield. It was one of some twenty houses in the Close of St Bartholomew, which the College was in the habit of letting: the occupants being generally persons of some distinction. Dr Caius had no connexion whatever, as far as we know, with the Hospital itself.

As to the house itself, we find, by the Inventory taken after his death, that it possessed a "hall,"—apparently the sitting-room, as containing a table, and most of the chairs—; "his bed chamber"; "the chamber over his bed chamber" (used, to judge from its contents, as a lumber room); "the chamber over the hall" (a bed room); "the garret" (empty); and the kitchen, where his servant probably slept, as it contained a bed. His life here was evidently of a very solitary and eccentric kind, as shown by the following letter from Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, to Caius' friend Conrad Gesner. It is dated May 21, 1559, i.e. a few months after his election as master of his new college. "As soon as I came to London I sought out your friend, Caius, that I might give him your letter; and, as he was from home, I delivered it to his maid servant, for he has no wife, nor ever had one. Not a week passes in which I do not go to his house two or three times. I knock at the door; a girl answers the knock, but without opening the door, and peeping through a crevice, asks me what I want. I ask in reply, Where is her master? Whether he is ever at home, or means



to be? She always denies him to be in the house. He seems to be everywhere and nowhere, and is now abroad; so that I do not know what to write about him. I shall certainly tell him something to his face whenever I have the chance to meet him, and he shall know what kind of man he has to deal with." (*Transl. in Zurich Letters*, p. 31: published by the *Parker Society*.)

Whilst in London he took much interest in the restoration of the tomb in St Paul's Cathedral, of Thomas Linacre, formerly president of the College of Physicians. We have in our Treasury (Box I. 47) the permission of the bishop, and of the dean and chapter, for him to remove the remains from where they were "obscure condita" to a more conspicuous place. The monument, of course, perished in 1666. It is referred to by Weever. After giving the inscription, he proceeds "somewhat above the Tombe, in the wall, under the picture or portraiture of the Phoenix, this inscription. *Vivit post funera virtus. Thomæ Linacro clarissimo medico, Johannes Caius posuit, ann. 1557.*"

It was during these years of busy work in London that he formed the design of enlarging what he pathetically describes as "that pore howse now called Gonville Halle," so as to make of it almost a new college. In his first communications with the master and fellows he seems to have given no hint that it was he who was the intending benefactor. His earliest letter on the subject is missing, but most of those which followed are preserved in our Library (MS. 714). The reply of the college to the first letter is as follows,

To the right worshipfull M<sup>r</sup> Caius doctor of Phisike

After o<sup>r</sup> hartie recommendacons and lyke thankes as well to you o<sup>r</sup> lovinge and earnest mediator as also to o<sup>r</sup> well mynded and great benefactor as yet to us unknowne these shall now signifie unto yo<sup>r</sup> worshipp that yo<sup>r</sup> case and request hath bene moved amongst us and after good deliberation had we have agreed upon yt and are verie gladd that yt hath pleased God so sone after the stormye and evell tymes to have gevne us such a great benefactor or founder, prayeng you and also o<sup>r</sup> frind made by you so to use wyse and godlie mens counsell in that behalf that the matter godlye entended may have good successe and for so much as many tymes delaye doth reverse and overthrowe suche godlie



purposes as experience daylie teacheth us therfore one of us shall at all tymes be redye to repayre unto you in this behalf yf yt shall please you to dyrecte yo<sup>r</sup> letters unto us as here to fore you did wryte in yo<sup>r</sup> letters left at Bacon's howse in London. Thus God send you health and good successe in all yo<sup>r</sup> godlie affairs. From Cambridge the therd of June (i.e. 1557).

Yours the M<sup>r</sup> and felowes  
of Gunwell Hall

To this Caius, still preserving his incognito, replies :—

Yor lre of y<sup>e</sup> III<sup>de</sup> of y<sup>s</sup> presente I have receyved, and thereupon have talked w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> gentleman yor freinde, who is contente to performe al thinges he hath sayd, and wold y<sup>t</sup> yow shuld cum to know him, and make yor sute accordyngly to his demande, which don, he is content to disburse accordyngly for his intent, and yor succorse. If it please yow therfor, the Mr, to cumme up to y<sup>t</sup> purpose upon yor own expenses (he saith) untill he may se the thinge obteyned, do yor pleasure. If yow cum I thinke it shalbe best to cum at y<sup>e</sup> begynnynge of this next terme; and M<sup>r</sup> Sergant Browne tellyth me y<sup>t</sup> yow must brynge up with yow yor writyngs or lres patentes of your first fundacon. I am mynded to present this enclosed to one of the counsel in yor names before yor cummyng, and to send yow word of the successe, y<sup>t</sup> yow may have the redier spede at yor cummyng; ner this is eny other thinge but articles for remembrance to him that shal ask the quene's pleasure in those matters. I have showed them to sergaunt Browne, who lyketh them wel, savyng he dowgtheth we shall not obteyn leav to obteyne landes for XX<sup>ti</sup> yeares purchase. Thus fare yow hartely wel. At London this XVI of June. Yor Caius.

The next communication is a draft, in Caius' hand, of a petition to the Queen, dated a few days later:—

That it may please the kyng and quenes majestes to graunte under their greate seale frely geven to y<sup>e</sup> pore howse of Gunvyl hall in Cambridge, at their humble sute, a license, y<sup>t</sup> a frende of theirs for his benefits passed and to cumme, may be counted reputed and called their fownder wyth Gunville, the name of eny not withdrawen.

And y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> pore howse now called Gunville halle may from hensforth for ever be called a college of his and Gunvilles name, and in that name to do and suffer al thinges, as sue and be sued, etc.; and to enjoyne to y<sup>e</sup> Universite of Cambrige y<sup>t</sup> so thei may and wylle calle it. And they shall continually pray for the prosperosse estate of their maiestes.

Mr secretarie Boxall movyng this sute to y<sup>e</sup> queene's maieste, made answer upon Trinite Sunday, y<sup>e</sup> 13 Junii 1557, in the mornynge, to John Caius in y<sup>e</sup> presens of Mr Cornewallis counsellor to y<sup>e</sup> queene's maj., and Mr Cicile y<sup>t</sup> hir grace was wel contented and pleased therwith.



He wrote on the same day to Mr Bacon, the Master, as follows :—

Right worshipfull. I do yow understonde y<sup>t</sup> I have in yor behalf spoken with my Lord Chancelor and my lorde of Ely in yor sute (before I wold mak meanes unto the queenes maieste) to know how they lyked it. Bothe favoureth it wel, and promised to further it, if y<sup>e</sup> Queene movyd the mater to them for their advise. Only they like not the sute for y<sup>e</sup> landes. Therfor that sute I lefte of, and prosecuted yor other mater. Betwen yow and yor freinde, in suche maner and wordes as I writte to yow and streight desired Mr secretary Boxall my freinde to move it to y<sup>e</sup> queens maieste and to know hir pleasure in it. Which thinge frendly don, and favorably to yor college, made me answer this presente day Trinite sunday, in the presence of M<sup>r</sup> Cornewallys counsellor to y<sup>e</sup> queenes maieste, and M<sup>r</sup> Cicile, y<sup>t</sup> hir grace is well contented and pleased therwythe. No thinge therfor now restith but y<sup>t</sup> yow, y<sup>e</sup> Mr, cumme uppe so spedely as yow can w<sup>th</sup> yor fundacon and suche other things appertinent, as yor statutes, in y<sup>e</sup> begynnyng of the terme, because the terme lastith not iii weekes, to have counsel and folowe yor sute, and sone to make an ende. This with commendacons I bydde yow hartely fare well. Yor Caius. At London y<sup>is</sup> Trinite Sunday 1557. I pray yow lay uppe all my lres although they be not worth the kepyng.

There are several more letters from him to Mr Bacon and others, indicating the various obstacles to which the new foundation of the college was exposed; amongst these the following, addressed to "Mr Cordelle<sup>1</sup>, sollicitor to the Queene's Maieste":—it may be mentioned here that his enterprise was complicated by his discovery that he had not merely to add to the endowment of an existent corporation. As he soon ascertained, Bp Bateman had neglected to secure for the college a formal legal incorporation, but had been content with a royal Licence of Foundation. As it now appeared, their corporate position was untenable in law.

Right worshipfull my duty remembered, loth I am, if your favor wyll suffer, to make bonde my charite and good wyll to eny man, that owght always to be freggh, thinkyng myself moch bownd to God well to dispense

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Cordell, Solicitor-General, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons. "M<sup>r</sup> Cicile," is presumably Sir W. Cecil, Lord Burleigh; and "M<sup>r</sup> Cornewallys," Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Comptroller of the Household. John Boxall, D.D., was Secretary of State to Queen Mary, and Master of the Court of Requests.



that he hath lent to me, trustyng my honest promise to my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Elie to geve the poor howse one thousand pownds to be imployed in land to the use of the said poore howse, to be bonde sufficient, havynge a regarde to lose rather the doble than to dispoynthe my worde to them. Agayn, to geve owght before I have leve from the Queenes ma<sup>tie</sup> I may not, and to whom I shuld assure it before it hath a name, I wot not. Althowgh God may sodaynly take away my bodie yet I trust that he wyll never take away my good mynde, which I have lefte so sure in wyll and writing to their behoves, as y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>r</sup> knowyth that if nothing els their were, it war their sufficiently in the lawe. Ones I am resolved if not this waye, one other way to bestowe by my life tyme that which God hathe sent to me to his honor. But more I am inclined this way then the other, if it may please the queenes ma<sup>tie</sup> to geve me leve, and yo<sup>r</sup> worshippe to helpe it forwarde. As sone as hir ma<sup>tie</sup> hath graunted to y<sup>e</sup> poor howse to receyve my gift, and me to geve it, forth-with uppon covenants and bondes, landes shalbe bought, yea within one monyth if it may be. If the howse require bonde of me, this bonde I wyll graunt, that they byndyng them selves to performe, and performyng such resonable covenants as I shall require, I wyll beare all their charges passed & to cumme in this mater, and geve the M<sup>r</sup> xx nobles to that for his paynes, if I performe not that which I have promised. This hopynge of yor furtherance in this behalfe, most hartely I wishe yow helth and prosperite. From London this XI of august

By yo<sup>r</sup> Caius

Soon after this Dr Caius obtained his Charter<sup>1</sup> of Foundation and Confirmation. It is dated Sept. 4, 4th and 5th Philip and Mary, i.e. 1557. It confirms to the new incorporation, under the name of "Goneville and Caius College," all the possessions, privileges, &c., of "Goneville, alias Gonvell, alias Gonwell Hall"; refers to Dr Caius as about to add two fellowships and twelve scholarships; grants a common seal; concedes a licence in mortmain to the annual value of £500; and places the college in a legal position to sue and be sued. To Dr Caius is expressly reserved power to appoint, and to remove<sup>2</sup>, at his free will, during his life, any of the fellows or scholars of his own appointment; as also to make new

<sup>1</sup> It is printed in full in *Documents relating to...Cambridge*, II. 215. Though only two fellowships are mentioned, Caius actually founded three. This charter is in our Treasury.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the explanation of the "above twenty expulsions" which he was afterwards charged with inflicting. He evidently regarded the fellowships to which he nominated as being entirely at his own disposal.



statutes for the general government of the college, provided that they did not interfere with those of Bp Bateman.

In this work he received considerable assistance from his friend Dr Wendy, former fellow of the college, as the following letter shows.

To the right worshipfull Mr doctors Wendy and Huys<sup>1</sup>, these.

Mr doctors, after my hartie commendacons thes be to desire yow hartely to be so good frendes to the Mr and felows of Gonevil college in Cambrige as to helpe them forwarde in ther sute which more at large thei shall expresse unto yow, and to show them howe they shall use themselves w<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> best counsell for the obteynyng thereof. So doyng, yow shall do like men of lernyng, and geve the college cause to pray for yow, and me to thank yow. Thus god kepe yow bothe. From London this xii of September

By yo<sup>r</sup> Caius

While these matters were in progress, and Dr Caius was forming his conclusions,—as he certainly did,—about the indolence and incompetence of the master, Mr Bacon, he began to interest himself in the project of a new seal, to mark the change of name and enlargement of the foundation. The following letters refer to this subject.

To the right worshipfull Mr Bacon, Mr of Goneville College.

Sir upon michelmasse daie(?) at iii of the clocke I cam home and streight I was sent for to Henyngham Castel to my lady of Oxford, compellyd to leve bothe my own busines and the election also of o<sup>r</sup> president, w<sup>ch</sup> shuld have ben upon the day after michelmas daye. Streight I sent to speke with yow and word was browght y<sup>t</sup> yow war departed to Cambridge, which I well allowed, for y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> charge of horse and man is gret, and to tarie upon uncerteyn returne had not ben wel. So sone as al thinges may be in a redines I wyl send yow word, for avoydyng further charges and losse of tyme. Sory I am y<sup>t</sup> yow returnyd withowt mony for yo<sup>r</sup> patentis, thinking y<sup>t</sup> such a college wyl be hardly such a tyme mayntayned with XL<sup>s</sup>. But at yo<sup>r</sup> returne yow shal not fayle of it

Yo<sup>r</sup> Caius

At London this michaelmas day(?). The seale is returnyd to y<sup>e</sup> paynters to be mended in certeyn poyntes wherein it dislyked me. The indenture

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Huys, of Merton College, Oxford, M.D. Like Caius, he was a Fellow of the College of Physicians, of which he had been Consiliarius in 1551. He died soon after, in 1558 (*Munk's Roll*).



Mr Chidley wole not meddle with, for y<sup>t</sup> it had (as he sayd) neyther hed nor fote. Therfor I put the instructions agayn to Mr Manhode to make new, which he promised me to do in one fortnyghts respite and no lesse. Thus fare you & yo<sup>r</sup> cumpany well, with commendacons.

To y<sup>e</sup> right worshipful Mr Bacon

Sir, Mr Madwode hath perused yo<sup>r</sup> boke, but litle he hath done in it, nor so moch as he wold, partly for want of tyme and troble of his disease. And except he myght have tyme to see it at leysure and so as he myght have honest(?) of it, he is loth to go any further in it. I therfor considering yo<sup>r</sup> hast brought the boke to Mr Chidley, who sayd it was a cumbersome boke, but he wyl take paynes in it for my sake, as he sayd. And so, now am I of forse pullyd away in to Kent to Sr John Bakers, my frynde, for y<sup>e</sup> sicness of his sonne ther to continue how longe I knowe not, but not past iiii or v days I trust. Whether yow wyl tary here or go home in the meane space seyng thinges can not be don before I go, and nor in my absence, consider yow, and do as yow wyll. I am desirose Mr Grarer shuld see them before they be ended, if it myght be. Towching the seale yow can do nothing untill I cum agayn for y<sup>t</sup>. I wol a better workman shuld have it in hand than Rowel is, and how the patern shal please me I wot not.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Caius

Reproductions of the old seal and of the new are given here for comparison. I think that many persons will agree that the former,—taken from an impression in the collection at the British Museum,—is decidedly the better; and that Caius would have consulted the interests both of antiquity and of taste if he had retained, or merely modified, the ancient design of Gonville or of Bateman.

Shortly after this he conveyed the first of those large gifts of land and of money with which he was intending to endow the new college. This consisted of three manors: namely those of Croxley, near Rickmansworth, Herts; of Runcton Holme; and of Burnham Wyndhams: these two latter in Norfolk. They are described in the *Annals* as "uberrima sua maneria," and were worth, respectively, £23, £22, and £6, annually, at that time. They were therefore amply sufficient to meet the charges of support of the new fellows and scholars. The deeds of gift by which they are conveyed are dated March 1, 1557-8. It may be mentioned that all these were originally Monastic property; Croxley having

- I. (Old Seal.) The Annunciation. In base a bishop with mitre and pastoral staff, kneeling, between six other kneeling personages.

S' CŌE. AULE. ANUCIACŌIS : BE : MARIE. CANTEBRI....



- II. (Caius Seal.) The Annunciation. In base an oval shield with carved work, between the letter B on the left and a mitre on the right.

SIGILL' COLLEG. DE GONEVIL ET CAIUS FUND.

Ŧ. HO. AN. B. MA. VIR. Ŧ. UNITE CATAB

(from the British Museum Catalogue of Seals).





belonged to St Albans<sup>1</sup>, Runcton to Bury St Edmunds, and Burnham to Wymondham. Dr Caius bought them of Queen Mary.

He now came to Cambridge, to pay his first visit, after many years of absence, to the old college for which he had done so much, and for which he doubtless had it in view, already, to do yet more. He came, as we should now say, to "open" his college. The visit was, to him, however, a disappointing one. He has left it on record how he found everything changed, and changed for the worse, in his opinion, since his own time. He missed the stately dignity which he remembered, or thought he remembered, on the part of the seniors, and the deferential respect towards age and authority which used to be the attitude of the juniors. In former days the disputations at the Schools were carried on with the ceremony of a Court; from doctors downwards the graduates and students went in solemn procession, headed by the Esquire Bedells, each clothed in his appropriate robes. Now all this was changed, and much of the ancient state and pomp was gone. He knew no one, he tells us, and no one knew him. Evidently he felt that the president of the college in London, the physician to the Queen, the founder of what was almost a new college, was not received as he ought to have been.

On this particular occasion, however, there was no lack of due ceremonial, so far as he personally was concerned.

<sup>1</sup> The manor court rolls of Croxley, an unusually early set, extending from 41st Hen. III. to 23rd Hen. VIII., are at the Brit. Museum (*Add.* 6057). They came into Cole's hands in 1749, having been given to him by Mr J. Bentham, the Cambridge bookseller. Cole has given extracts from them (*Add.* MS. 5834, p. 221: Brit. Mus.), and says that he proposed to bequeath them to our college as the rightful possessors. They went however, with his other collections, to the Museum. There is an index, and a title-page, of Elizabethan date, at the commencement. The writing of the latter confirms, what is probable in itself, that the rolls must have belonged to Dr Caius, and have been somehow lost from our college. It may be remarked, as an illustration of the immemorial antiquity attaching to fishing rights, that in a dispute as to the right of fishing in the river Colne, recently forced upon the College (1889) by one of our Rickmansworth tenants, these manor rolls had, by order of the Court, to be searched through for precedents. A similar dispute had arisen before, about the middle of the eighteenth century.



Being a pious man he duly celebrated his new foundation with a solemn religious service, to which, like an Englishman, he added a grand feast. He has given the account in his *Annals*. On the Feast of the Virgin, March 25, 1558, he marched in solemn state from his room to the chapel, preceded by four servitors bearing the emblems presently described, and followed by the fellows and scholars, two and two. There they placed before him his cushion to kneel on, the *caduceus* (this is preserved with our College plate), a desk, and a large silver salver, also his gift. Kneeling there before the High altar,—it was still under the reign of Mary,—Mass was performed with full musical ritual. Caius then solemnly handed the caduceus, the cushion, the salver, and the book of statutes, to the celebrating priest, with the words "We offer these to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to our Society." He received them and placed them on the altar. The service over, they solemnly returned to Caius' room,—he tells us that this was between the Hall and Library;—four servitors (*ministri*) marching first, each carrying one of the articles which had just been dedicated<sup>1</sup>.

Later on in the day followed the feast, which Caius provided at the considerable cost of £6. 16s. 11½d. The principal guests were the Vice-Chancellor (Dr Brassie), Drs John Pory, Andrew Perne, and Henry Walker, other prominent members of the University, and two representatives from each existent college. The repast finished, four servitors entered bearing the articles which had been dedicated at the altar, and placed them before Caius, who sat in the centre of the table; the new Foundation Charter being placed in the salver. Then Caius arose and briefly expounded the nature of his new foundation, and announced to the Master, Thomas Bacon, who sat opposite to him, that the charter appointed him master of the new college. Then he handed over to him the several symbols or emblems. First the cushion, with the words, "We give thee the cushion of

<sup>1</sup> It deserves notice that Caius had already given similar ensigns (*pulvinar, caduceus, liber, et sigillum*) to the College of Physicians, as described in his *Annals* of that college. They were first put to solemn use Jan. 10, 1557-8.





The Caduceus  
Gift of Dr Caius to the College





Reverence": then the wand, with the words, "We give thee the rod of prudent governance": then the book, saying, "We give thee the Book of Knowledge (*liber cognitionis*) that thou and those who follow after thee may understand that it is by knowledge and prudent counsel that this college stands and shall stand." Finally he brought forth the salver, as he said, "We give to the College and Society this silver vessel, with the Letters Patent and Charter of Foundation...And thus we create and appoint thee perpetual master or keeper of this College, for the furtherance of virtue, letters, and honest and gentle manners<sup>1</sup>." The symbols being removed, he prayed for all happiness for the college, and so finished his discourse. Then<sup>2</sup>, with merriment, spiced wine was supplied, and spikenard, and various after-dinner dainties, and the feast came to a close. Before they parted, however, the Vice-Chancellor, in the name of the whole University, in gratitude for his beneficent foundation, offered him the degree of M.D., in accordance with his Padua degree, and with the same Academic seniority. He was accordingly created M.D. on the following Friday, Ap. 1, 1558.

Caius' love of symbolism comes out very strongly in the following description. "Now the book indicates wisdom and knowledge, and the cushion reverence, as has been already explained in the statutes where the appointment of the master is prescribed. All these marks or signs of virtue are so inscribed on a shield that the two serpents with their tails entwined stand erect amongst the amaranths, and leaning against the square stone of virtue with their breast sustain the book and with their head the sempervivum. To the shield succeeds a helmet, and to the helmet a dove, supporting a flower of amaranth, by which it may be known that letters are rendered acceptable by simple hearted wisdom. By these symbols he desired to intimate to the members of his college that Letters and Prudence being strengthened by the stone

<sup>1</sup> By his Statutes (No. 7) the same formalities were to be repeated on the election of each master.

<sup>2</sup> "hilariterque postea acceptis vino aromatico, foliato, et cetero bellariorum genere."



of virtue, they might thus arrive at immortality. In order that they might always have these symbols before their eyes he was careful to have them pourtrayed by pencil, and called them the symbols of virtue" (*Annals*). The same ideas recur in his Grant of Arms, evidently instigated by him.

After this brief visit, lasting probably only a few days, he took his departure and returned to his London home. He had done a noble work of charity, and parted with a large portion of his fortune, whilst still in the prime of life. Apparently he had no other view at this time than that of continuing his professional work to the end of his life. Fortunately, however, events were otherwise disposed. Bacon, the master of the college, lived only for a few months after this. He died at his Kentish rectory, Chelsfield, Jan. 1, 1558-9; and the thoughts of the fellows not unnaturally turned to their new benefactor, who was accordingly elected master Jan. 24, 1558-9. He tells us that his predecessor had left the affairs of the college in a deplorable state, having wasted its resources by negligence, and indeed by fraud; for, being largely in its debt, he disposed of his property by deed to his brother Nicholas, a London merchant, shortly before his death. On this account, as well as for his splendid services, Caius was earnestly pressed to accept the Master-ship himself. He says he was very unwilling to do so, partly because he thought the Master should preferably be a theologian, partly because his own professional work would entail long absence from Cambridge. He only accepted on pressure by some of the fellows, and by the Vice-Chancellor and other important members of the University. But he refused to accept a stipend, or any other emoluments.

He declares that ruin stared them in the face. None of the few residents knew anything of the college business or property, or its history, recent or remote: many of the college deeds were lost; others lying in the rooms of various fellows: the very chapel utensils had been diverted to private use: and whereas, when he ceased to be fellow in 1545, there was £600 in gold in the treasury, he found but four pounds sixteen shillings in 1559. Creditors, he says, were becoming very



urgent, so that he had even to proceed at law against the executors of his predecessor Bacon, and to prosecute the three senior fellows in the Vice-Chancellor's<sup>1</sup> court, to recover what they owed to the college; incurring thereby much obloquy (*Annals*, p. 79). He sums up what he had saved and given to the college, during the six years from 1557 to 1563, as follows,—

	£	s.	d.
Saved to the College . . . .	59	13	5½
Spent in purchase of estates given .	1033	12	6
Silver salver (labrum cum gutturino)	22	1	1
Expenses of incorporation . . .	22	0	0
Feast on the re-foundation . . .	6	16	11½
	1144	4	0

He had given also a valuable astrolabe and many books.

He next proceeded to remedy the neglect of the buildings: cleaning the court, remaking the paths, repairing gates, &c., at a cost of £20. The college had become "an Augean stable," he says (*Annals*, p. 81), before his restorations.

Dr Caius became Master Jan. 24, 1558-9. Two years afterwards he obtained a Grant of Arms, now in the treasury (there is a facsimile in the Combination Room). It is addressed by Lawrence Dalton, Norroy King, to

John Caius Doctor in Physic sonne of Roberte Caius of the countye of Yorke, founder & master of Goneville & Caius Colledge in Cambridge & president of the worshipfull Colledge of physicions in London, who hath not only long tyme with his great paynes & travayles labored in study in the Universities of Cambridge & Padua and els where, & finally hathe obteyned moche vertue & knowledge to his great comfort & avancing his countrye, by foundinge a College & indowing it withe landes for mayntenance of scholers in the University of Cambrige; & also makinge of boks commendable to the increase of vertue & lerninge, for the maintenance of the service of God & of his kinge & countrye; but also in other his affayers practices & behaviors hath well faythfully & worshipfully guyded & behaved hym selfe, wherby worthely he hath meryted & deserved from henceforth as his right worthy & perpetuall fame for hym & his posteritie, & to be in all places of honor & worshyppe

<sup>1</sup> These records are not preserved so far back.



renowned accompted nombred admitted accepted & receyvid into the nombre & of the compeny of other ancient gentlemen. For these considerations, I say, & for the remembrance of the sayd his vertues vocation lerning knowlege and habylite, I the sayde Norroy, by powre & authoryte to my office anexed, & to me graunted & attrbyuted by lettres pattents undre the greate seale of England, have devysed ordeyned & assigned, & by these presents do geve graunt & assigne, unto & for the sayd John Caius, gentleman, & his posterite, theis Armes & Creste with thappertenance as here aftre followith: that is to say, golde semyed with flowre gentle, in the myddle of the cheyfe sengrene resting uppon the heades of ii serpents in pale, their tayles knytte together all in proper color, resting uppon a square marble stone vert, between theire breasts a boke sable garnyshed gewles, buckles golde, & to his crest upon thelme a Dove argent bekyd & membred gewles, holding in his beke by the stalke flowre gentle in propre color, stalked verte set on a wreth golde & gewles, mantelled gewles, lyned argent, buttoned golde, as more plainly apperyth by the picture therof in this margyn; betokening by the boke, lerning; by the ii serpents resting upon the square marble stone, wisdom with grace founded & stayed upon vertues stable stone; by sengrene & flower gentle, immortalite that never shall fade; as though thus I shulde saye, *ex prudentia et litteris virtutis petra firmatis immortalitas*; that is to say, by wisdom & lerning graffed in grace & vertue men cum to immortalite... (Dated Jan. 2, 1560—1.)

The ideas here, and even the language towards the close, are evidently those of Caius himself, and repeat what he had already so carefully expounded at his dedication festival. That he also contemplated a Grant of Arms for his college may be assumed for certain; but this was not secured till after his death, in 1575.

As we have said, Dr Caius became master Jan. 24, 1558-9. Splendid as were his services to education, and keenly as he interested himself, in every direction, in the past history and future fortunes of his college, his domestic rule there was far from successful. Several causes contributed to this result. The master, though not old, as we should now reckon, was prematurely aged, of somewhat feeble health, and apparently of gloomy and irritable constitution. He was a great admirer of the past<sup>1</sup>, with little sympathy for new views, whether

<sup>1</sup> Like many a man of later times, he looked back fondly to the days when we lived "quietly friendlie and merrily one with another: as men were wont to do in the old world when this countrie was called Merye Englande."



religious, political, or educational. In fact there is no reason to believe that he ever ceased to be at heart a decided Roman Catholic. The fellows, mostly if not entirely, were of the new way of thinking, Puritans; and apparently narrow-minded and bitter in spirit. Not one of them achieved any distinction in after life. They were also very young:—it is often overlooked how youthful the resident fellows in college generally were in those days. As far as I can ascertain, not one of the fellows of the college was over 24, in the year 1564, when the quarrel was at its height; and their average age was but 22. One must be older (or younger) than this to believe that those in authority can be in the right. Even therefore if the college had stood alone, it would have been difficult enough to preserve the peace, but the contagion of suspicion and hostility had spread through the University and the country, and those who took either side in the controversy were sure to find many to urge them further on. For instance, in a letter to the Chancellor, a few years later, Dr Caius is mentioned along with several other of the masters, and it is added “they are all either enemies unto God’s Gospel, or so faint professors that they do little good in the Church.” We shall see presently to what lengths the bigotry and fanaticism of the fellows could lead them directly they secured the support of the Vice-Chancellor in their attack upon their Master.

The following letter will show to what a pass things had come within three or four years of Caius’ accession. It is a petition to the Chancellor from S. Warner and R. Spencer, fellows of the college. (State Papers Dom. Eliz. Vol. XXXIX.)

In most lamentable & humble wyse complayninge beseacheth yo<sup>r</sup> honor yo<sup>r</sup> humble & daylie orators Stephen Warner & Robert Spenser that whereas yo<sup>r</sup> sayde orators do partlie understande of certayne orders appoynted in the controversie betwixt o<sup>r</sup> Mr & us yt maye please you to consider o<sup>r</sup> most myserable condition yf that we (havige allwayes gyven o<sup>r</sup> selves to studdie) shall now be excluded the Colledge not havige ells wher to abyde: for that we shall not onlie herby lose the favor of all o<sup>r</sup> frends, wherby we shal be altogether undone, but also utterlie defaced in the hole Unyversitie (not other wyse taken then as expelled persons) which shal be to o<sup>r</sup> utter confusion. Yf yt myght have pleased yo<sup>r</sup> honor



further to have expended the cause of o<sup>r</sup> expulsion (which we were purposed to have shewed you yf we had ben admitted before you with o<sup>r</sup> Mr the last daye) we ar perswaded that you would have so judged of yt as the hole Universitie have heretofore dyverse tymes judged. And not onlie o<sup>r</sup> owne case we had to shewe you of, but also as o<sup>r</sup> othes do bynde us of the breche of dyverse statuts by certayne fellowes of the Colledge which by no means can be observed yf thei abyde styll ther which thinge in conscience we ar moved to desyer yo<sup>r</sup> honor to have consideration of. And last of all concerninge those orders which yt shall please you to appoynte for o<sup>r</sup> quietnes hereafter (which God forbyde we should once repyne at but onlie by humble petition to desyer yo<sup>r</sup> honors favor) o<sup>r</sup> earnest request unto you is that yt would please you in the appoyntinge of them to have consideration of these fewe things subscribed. And thus onlie trustinge to yo<sup>r</sup> honors gentellnes we conclude with earnest prayer to Allmyghtie God for yo<sup>r</sup> good estate longe to continue & prospere. Fyrst that all suche orders as for o<sup>r</sup> quietnes yo<sup>r</sup> honor shall appoynt maye playnlie appeare in writinge to avoyde all troble hereafter & that what allowance be made unto us of o<sup>r</sup> fellowshyppes yt maye be certayne the value of Warners fellowshipe beinge VII<sup>li</sup> XII<sup>s</sup> & Spensers VIII marks.

Item we may eyther be suffered to tarie in the Colledge all the tyme of o<sup>r</sup> allowance or ells in o<sup>r</sup> absence nothinge be defalted of o<sup>r</sup> fellowship by Statute.

Item that consyderinge o<sup>r</sup> great charges in this longe sute o<sup>r</sup> allowance may be considered accordingle & that nothinge be defalted by statute for o<sup>r</sup> absence since o<sup>r</sup> expulsion for that we would have ben continuallie presente yf o<sup>r</sup> Mr would have suffered us.

Item that our stipends maye not be defalted for the last halfe yere as o<sup>r</sup> Mr have done in the last accompte.

Item that those fellowes which shall remayne in the house be not oppressed or injured by o<sup>r</sup> Mr for anythinge done heretofore in o<sup>r</sup> behalfe but maye receyve pupills (as other do) & have thir chambers offices lectures & other preferments accordinge to senioritie which have ben allwayes the custome of the house, & that such mulcts as thei have ben heretofore unjustlie punyshed with maye be redressed & that thei maye have lycence of necessarie absence accordinge to Statute as other have.

Item that Mr Dorington be not mayntayned in the Colledge contrarie to his founders will & Mr Vice Chancelors order taken nor yet Mr Holland our statuts expresslie agaynst the same.

Item that the contumacie towards Mr Vice Chancelor the fyghtinge with the fellowes & bloudshed committed by Mr Dorington may be punyshed accordinge to Statute.

Item that no mans goods be confiscate for departinge the Colledge.



Item that no man hereafter be stocked<sup>1</sup> or beaten for kepinge his ryghte untill the matter be decyded.

Item that my Lord of Canterburie & London thir decrees maye be observed.

Item that Mr Vicechancelor o<sup>r</sup> sume other in the Universitie whom yt shall please yo<sup>r</sup> honor, maye see y<sup>or</sup> orders made, put in execution, & that o<sup>r</sup> Mr maye be ruled by sume good mans counsell hereafter & not to dryve the fellowes to such chargeable suts & troubles wherein he delyteth to undoe pore men, he never beyng quiet since he came to the colledge, as maye appeare in the number of his expulsions which have ben above<sup>2</sup> twentie, with an infinite number of injuries to the old founders & benefactors & their fellowes which is well knowne to the hole Universitie

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors daylie orators Stephen Warner & Robt Spenser.

Jan. 7, 1565—6.

The Archbishop's opinion, given in a letter to the Chancellor, seems very fair and reasonable. He begins, truly enough, "I have had very moche adoo with the quarells of Gonvel Hall from tyme to tyme. The truth is both parties ar not excusable from folye." He admits that he sees "over-moche rashnes in the Mr for expelling felowes so sodenly." On the other hand "suerly the contemptuouse behaviour of these felowes hath moch provoked hym. The truth is I do rather beare with the oversight of the Mr in respect of his good done, and like to be done in the College by him than with the brag of a fond sort of troublouse factiouse bodyes. Founders and benefactors be very rare in these dayes.... Scholars controversies be nowe many and troublouse, and

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to doubt that "stocking" is to be taken in its literal sense. In fact this implement seems to have been a part of the ordinary college furniture at the time. In the decree of the Heads against bathing (1571) it is ordered that if the offender be a B.A. "quilibet sic delinquens in cippis, pedibus constrictis, per unum diem integrum in aula communi ejus collegii plectatur." A few years later, i.e. about 1584, it is recorded of one Tobias Blande, B.A., of Corpus, who had published what was considered a blasphemous libel, "after confession he was put to shame of sytting in the stockes, and then expelled and banished the college" (*Camb. Trans.* i. 392).

<sup>2</sup> Harsh as he may have been, these were probably not expulsions in the ordinary sense of the term. As we have seen, he had the power, by his deed of foundation, to appoint and dismiss at his pleasure, as regards his own special endowment. So far as his own fellows were concerned, he was in the position of the master of a private school dealing with his assistants.



their delite is to come before men of authorytie to shewe their witts...my olde experyence hath taught me to spie daye light at a smale hole..." (Stat. Pap. Dom. Eliz. Vol. XXXVIII.)

Dec. 29, 1565.

The general conclusion of the Chancellor was to the effect that the expulsion of Warner was confirmed; but a hint was given to the Master to be more cautious in future.

The following outburst evidently belongs to this time, though it is not dated or signed. It is extracted from a volume of MSS. (No. 720) at the Lambeth Library<sup>1</sup> which contains, amongst other things, Dr Caius' funeral expenses, and several of his letters:—

Articles concerninge the preposterous government of Dr Caius, and his wicked abuses in Gonevill and Caius Colledge.

Imprimis he mainteyneth wythin his colledge copes vestments albes suinches sensors crosses tapers also all kinde of Masse bookes Porteses pies grales processionalls w<sup>th</sup> all massinge abominations and termeth them the college treasure.

Item he hathe bounde the fellowes uppon perjury and expulsion not to reveal or disclose the forsaid abuses or whatsoever.

Item he hath erected and sett upp of late within his colledge a crucifix and other Idoles with the image of a doctor knelinge before them.

Item he dothe sweare all the ffelowes to observe all suche statutes as he hathe or shall hereafter devise and constitute whatsoever.

Item certaine statutes by him made and by the ffelowes sworne to be observed are corrupt, contrarye to God's trewe religion and repugnante to the lawes of o<sup>r</sup> soveraigne ladye the Quene. (Probably a reference to the clause in statute § 45, "miserere animæ Johannis Caii fundatoris nostri, remitte illi peccata, et concede vitam æternam.")

<sup>1</sup> Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca Anglo-Hibernica*, asserts that he was ejected from Archbishop Parker's house on account of his opinions ("Quia autem religioni pontificiæ addictus erat ideo circa An<sup>o</sup> MDLXVIII ex familia Archiepisc. Cantuar. ejectus; quod insinuare videtur Epistola Parkhursti Rad<sup>o</sup>. Gualtero. MS. Norwic. 125"). This seems a mistake; and in any case Caius could not have been a resident in Lambeth Palace at the time he was a busy Head of a House in Cambridge. The MS. referred to is now in the University Library (Ec. 11. 34). It is dated Mar. 4, 1568-9, and contains the words "Ejus etiam (i.e. Qu. Elizabeth) jussu Arch. Cant. quosdam e suis ædibus profligavit." There is not a word about Caius in the text, but someone—at apparently a slightly later date—has written in the margin "*Johann. Caium.*"



Item he lying upon his bedde did threaten a precher and in a rage (he rysing up) wold have beaten him awaye for saying that we deserved not God's favour by o<sup>r</sup> works. The said Dr Caius addinge moreover that he desired Gods favour according to his deserts.

Item he doth arrogate to himselfe authorytie to forgive perjurie as appereth as well by this clawse in his statutes (*nolo ut ob hoc perjurus censeatur*) as allso for that he did assoile two of the ffellowes that were commanded on thir knes to crave his pardon.

Item he hath enjoyed by his statutes that the one half of his scholars shall absent themselves from the sermon under pretense of kepinge the colledge.

Item his colledge inhabytants are neither instructed nor incoraged in relligion as is usuall in all other colledges nor yet examined of false beleife, and himself did never contrary the antichristian doctrine or confirme and allowe the trewe religion either by his statutes or otherwise.

It is a relief to turn from the details of this bitter and undignified quarrel, and to remember that, during its progress, Dr Caius was busily at work, designing and carrying out those architectural additions which,—though some of them have been unfortunately destroyed—now give to our college buildings their principal interest.

He had probably long decided that the best side for immediate expansion was towards the south, over what is now the Caius Court; as, besides the sunny aspect, it secured direct access to the Schools, in place of the circuitous route from Trinity Lane. The history of the site, which is rather intricate, is fully given in Willis-Clark (I. 162). It may be mentioned that the present master's garden had belonged to the college from the first, and had long been walled in on the west side<sup>1</sup>. The area now covered by the Caius Court and Tree Court was then occupied by a number of gardens,

<sup>1</sup> I presume that the wall of this garden, now facing Trinity Hall, is the oldest existent piece of visible building (i.e. excepting the Chapel walls, and west side of Gonville Court now covered over with ashlar). It is not improbably the original wall built in 1480-90 (*Biog. Hist.* p. 20). The other portions of old wall, viz. those of the Caius Court and Tree Court which face Senate-House Passage, were probably built by Dr Caius—parts of them certainly: but there was no reason for him to alter the old garden wall, and we have no known reference to any alteration of it.



belonging to different owners; with several houses at the east end, towards Trinity Street. Two of these garden plots had for some time belonged to the college, and Dr Caius now bought the rest of them, thus securing the whole existent area of the college, with the exception of the south-east corner, where our present Gateway Tower stands. This last plot seems from early times to have been occupied by houses. It was not bought by the college until 1782.

His first purchase of land was from Trinity College, June 1, 1563, by which he secured the greater part of our present Tree Court. He then proceeded to collect materials which his workmen were to employ in the erection of the new buildings. Most of the colleges in Cambridge are connected, either by their site or their materials, with some previous monastic building, and ours is no exception. When Caius was looking about for stone, none was found at hand suitable for his purpose. There are no good quarries near, and the ruins of Barnwell Priory were already largely used for Trinity College. But in Huntingdonshire, not far off, and with conveniences in the way of water carriage, he found what he wanted. Our Caius Court is, it appears, mostly composed of the ruins of Ramsey Abbey<sup>1</sup>, as the following indenture shows. It is dated May 1, 1564, between Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook (grandfather of the Protector) and John Caius, M.D.

The said Henry Cromwell, for the sum of £10 paid that day...hath bargained & sold all that his heap of stone which...lyeth in the cross aisle of the Church of the late Abbey of Ramsey between the body of the church there & the late choir or chancel of the same, in the place of the belfry or steeple otherwise called the Lantern, which said heap was sometime parcel of the said steeple or Lantern before the fall thereof.

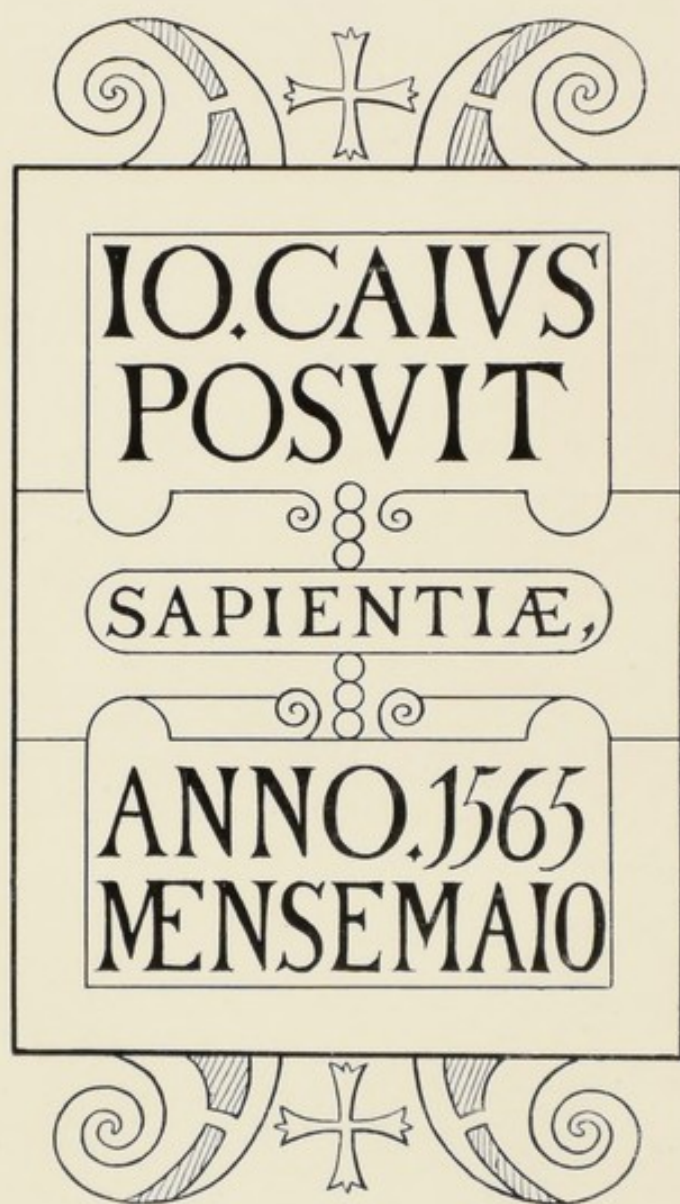
He also obtained a licence of access, &c., for three years, for the purpose of removing the said stones (Coll. MS. 714: *Treasury*, I. 49).

He next procured, by Patent Roll, Aug. 1, 1564, an order,

<sup>1</sup> The Hall of King's College was rebuilt in 1562 with stones taken from this Abbey (v. Willis-Clark, I. 536).







Foundation Stone of the Caius Court



addressed to all mayors, sheriffs, constables, &c., forbidding any disturbance of his workmen for the next five years. It specifies that he "hath prepared timber, stone, lime, bricke, slate, leads, and other necessities," and directs that none of the labourers, or others, in any way employed about the said works "shall be in any wise taken or withdrawne...by any of our officers or servants," &c. (Printed in *Biog. Hist.* III. 340.)

On the same day is dated the Royal licence for the purchase of the houses from Trinity. A new and very important concession was included in this licence. It was a formal grant, from the Queen, of bodies for dissection, to the effect that "they and their successors shall have for ever, at their free discretion and will, without the contradiction of any one, two human bodies for anatomy, condemned by law for theft or homicide, and dying in the town, castle, or county of Cambridge. And that they may freely dissect them at their will, with the reverence due to the human body, for the increase of medical knowledge; and this without any payment" (*Treasury*). He gave careful directions in his Statutes concerning these dissections, desiring that "every year, during the winter, there shall be spent by the students of our College, on anatomy and on the worthy burial of the dissected bodies at St Michael's, 26<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>. The president and every one residing in college to attend the burial of the remains with as much respect and ceremony as if it were the body of some more dignified person; and this on account of the advantage they have thus received. And the master shall see that the students of medicine do not treat the body with any lack of respect or humanity." It is to be feared that very inadequate use was made of this privilege: (the evidence on the subject is discussed under the heading *Lecturers: Biog. Hist.* III. 253).

The laying of the foundation stone of the new buildings is fully described in the *Annals*, and is a touching illustration both of his piety and of the importance which he attached to his work. It took place on Saturday, May 5, 1565, at 4 A.M. After prayer had been offered that the college thus commenced might have a successful career, and that those who should be trained there might be honest, studious, God-fearing,



and serviceable to the State, he laid a stone<sup>1</sup> with these words,

*Dico istud Ædificium Sapientiæ: pono hunc lapidem in fundamentum Ædificii in incrementum Virtutis et Literarum. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*

Caius remarks that, whereas it had rained almost incessantly during the two preceding months, the weather changed suddenly at this time, and became beautifully fine for nearly three weeks, whilst the foundations were being laid: "Id quod in signum faventis Dei habui."

Two friends of Caius, Thomas Hatcher, provost of King's, and Abraham Hartwell, fellow of the same, sang the following verses of their composition during this ceremony:

O Deus, O cujus frustra sine numine tectum  
Surgit, et artificum cura laborque jacent.  
En hodie placidis Caius fundamina musis  
Musarum sacro ductus amore locat.  
Tu Deus auspiciis firmes incepta secundis,  
Conveniat cœptis exitus inde suis.  
Cultores olim Musarum numine pleni  
Diffundent nomen voce tonante tuum.

(T. Hatcher)

Floreat his inquit Caius, Sapientia tectis  
Et simul his, inquit, tectis Sapientia præsit.

(A. Hartwell)

This west side was completed by the laying of the last stone at 3 P.M., Sept. 1, 1565 (as we are precisely informed:—a curious illustration of the founder's minute interest in his work). It had thus occupied only four months; but, as already stated, the materials had all been collected beforehand. On Sept. 15, following, the ground was dug for the foundations of the east side, the building of which was probably carried on with similar despatch<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This stone stood in the centre of the wall, facing the master's garden; with the inscription *Jo. Caius posuit Sapientia. Anno 1565, Mense Maio*. It is figured in the *Annals*, and (copied therefrom) in Willis-Clark, I. 172. No trace of it is now to be found above ground.

<sup>2</sup> In 1615 there is a charge of £4 for enclosing the inside of this court with







The Gate of Humility



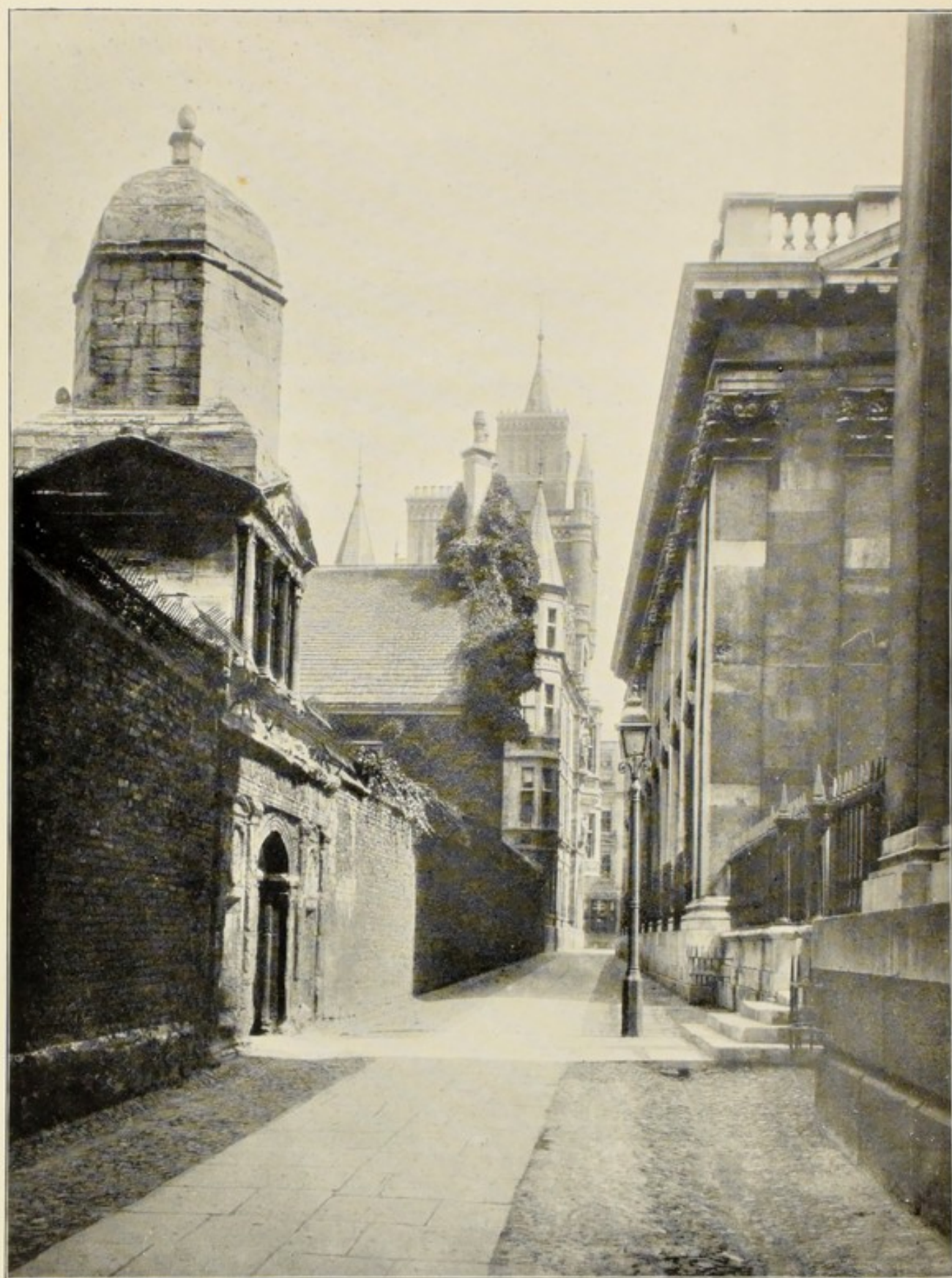




The Gate of Virtue







The Gate of Honour



Dr Caius was still far from having completed his generous benefactions. From the day of his election to the mastership, until 1566, the entire emoluments of his office were devoted to the following improvements: the completion of the west end of the master's lodge, including the "turret-staircase" adjoining it; the raising of the old "sacred turret" on the south side of the chapel; the walling in of the new fellows' garden; with other minor additions. He also laid by a considerable sum for the Gate of Honour, but this was not built till after his death.

The Gate of Humility, with its well-known symbolism, was now built—(the student, entering thereby, passed through the Gate of Virtue (and Wisdom), and thence out by the Gate of Honour to the Public Schools)—and became the principal entrance to the college. It stood till the rebuilding of the court in 1868, when it was removed and set up at first in the Senate House Passage, and then in the Master's garden, in the south wall. There is, however, scarcely any of the ancient work visible about it at present, as it had been almost entirely covered with Roman cement. As Dr Caius left our present "Tree-Court," as it is now called, it was not really a court at all. The approach from the Gate of Humility to the Gate of Virtue was made along a comparatively narrow alley, with a high wall right and left such as we see in the present approach to Jesus College. This alley was afterwards planted—it is generally supposed about 1658—with an avenue of lime trees as at present. The wall on the left, enclosing the President's garden, stood till 1850. The first part of that on the right was removed some time in the eighteenth century, thus throwing open the Perse and Legge Buildings: the further part of it, being the wall of the fellows' garden, was left standing till 1868. The following account is from Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (i. 193). "This Gate of Virtue is joined by two long walls to the Porta Humilitatis, and in these are two little Doric frontispieces, all in appearance of the same date, and showing the Roman architecture wooden rails. These had disappeared in 1688, when Loggan's view was taken; but those in Gonville Court were still standing.



reviving, with little columns and pilasters, well enough proportioned in themselves and neatly executed, though in no proportion to the building they were intended to adorn." (This account by Walpole is taken from a letter by Thomas Gray, the poet, dated Sep. 2, 1760. Gray speaks of the "frontispieces" as "leading into gardens," so that they were apparently the entrances into the fellows' and president's gardens.)

During this time Caius was only occasionally resident, his duties as President of the College of Physicians, and presumably his private practice, causing him to be much away. But he was kept constantly informed of the progress of his buildings, as the following letters from two of the fellows of the college will show. The first is from Mr Matthew Trott, dated June 4, 1566. He says that, in the absence of Mr Dorington and Mr Holland,

Who would have sygnyfyed unto your worship the case of your college and forwardnes of your buyldinges I thought good with my duty to supplye ther place that your worship should not be ignorant altogyther what is done. The turret at the gable ende of Mr Parker his chamber, ryseth a pase with suche beauty to the buyldinge and commodytie to the chamber that it had been great pitye ether not to have bene begonne ether to have bene left of. Your rough masons departed hence upon Whitsonday even, at which tyme Mr Dorington in lyke case repayed to Warboys, whom I here to be very careful for the caryage of your tymber ther. Your Quarry man bringeth in stone as he was wonte, I mean weakly, so long as I have taryed here..... (MS. 714.)

The turret referred to here was the so-called "master's turret," or turret-staircase; Mr Parker, afterwards Lord Morley, was admitted as fellow-commoner in 1563 (Vol. I. 50). The tower, which stood a little to the south of the present dining-room, was removed in 1795, when the lodge was enlarged and extended westwards (see Loggan's view of the college).

The next letter is from Mr Henry Holland. (MS. 714.)

Jesus (?). 1569

Ryght worshipfull my duetye remembred &c.

I have recev<sup>d</sup> your letters by Sir Stephens this present nyght, and will visit M<sup>r</sup> Mylsent with your letters if I stand nede. I was yesterdaye at



Reche, and Mr Slegge, maior (Roger Slegge, mayor 1568—9) with his aldermen being ther as Lords of the fayer, I convented Mannyng before them who after they had well coled him an houre or two in the blockehouse, made him to promyse to bringe you in three chalder before Whitsundaye, and other v chalder before Midsom<sup>r</sup>, and yf there be eny more behind of the bargayn to brynge it in as spedely after as maye be, which yf he doo not he shall fele the smarte. The other lyme owners of Reche aske a noble the chalder. Humfreye lokethe for his man this weeke without fayle, yf he come not we will visitt M<sup>r</sup> Melsent on Sondaye. In the meane tyme I wil learne if father Evett have eny executors, and who hathe taken administration of his goods. He had of me XL<sup>s</sup> for threscore tuns of ston allredye dygged and scapled, wherof XXX tuns and more be come in and the rest shall come in as fast we can gett carts. But it is dygged allredye and therfore nothings is owyng on eyther part. Your gate is rysen on the syde to the Courte v fote that is to the toppe of the wyndoe and on the other syde to the thyrd jalm (jamb) of the windoe. I trust the next weeke to have it levell round for the florr. Humfreye hathe more of these roghte layers (roughlayers) and more than he can do to fynd them worke. The chimneyes will serve for raynye dayes as we had some last weeke. M<sup>r</sup> Samuell hathe sent you XXXI hundrethe and XXXIII Li of lead donne (?) weyght for the which he hathe recev<sup>d</sup> of me xv<sup>li</sup> XII<sup>s</sup> & VIII<sup>d</sup>. There is come in also of bord XXXV hundrethe good bord full measure. Wherefore I have payd XII<sup>li</sup> and more. If you come not home quicklye we shall be dryven to unseal some of the baggs of gold sealed. Thus havynge certyfyed you of all things as neare as I can for my busynesse I betake you to Allmyghtye God

From Cambryge this XVI of Maye

Yours Henry Holand

The date, 1569, deserves notice as showing that the completion of the building took longer than is commonly supposed. I presume the upper stories of the Gate of Virtue are here referred to. The inscription over the archway is dated 1567.

The gardens belonging to the college, after these alterations, were very nearly as they now are : viz. (1) The master's garden, which, except for the encroachment upon it by the additions to the lodge and former stables (now Lecture Rooms), is as large as it was in Caius' time. The wall opposite Trinity Hall is presumably the old one of 1480-1500. (2) The president's garden, as the little enclosure on the south side of the Tree Court is still called. Dr Caius says that he



bought this piece of ground "in place of" the garden which formerly occupied part of the area covered by his new court. As he states that the new plot was assigned to the president of the college, it is possible that the old one had gone by the same name, though the title of president was a new one, created by Dr Caius' statutes. The Senate House now darkens this garden; but, as Caius left it, with a high wall, built by him, on the north and east, and fairly open to the south, it was a sheltered and pleasant little garden<sup>1</sup>. (3) The fellows' garden. Part of this, viz. a small plot beyond the north end of the present garden, now mostly occupied by rooms, had belonged to the college from the first. It was known as "the cook's garden," being used by him for growing herbs. When Caius bought the houses facing St Michael's, part of the land behind them was thrown into this old cook's garden, more than doubling its size, and it became the fellows' garden. It is presumably the "bouling ground" referred to in the bursar's accounts for 1623, when 10s. was paid to a "beater" for it:—it was used as a bowling ground until 1868. This old fellows' garden was, of course, larger than the present one, as it extended as far as Trinity Lane towards the north. It remained unaltered till the great building operations of 1868, and was far more private than would now be supposed; for the walls—built presumably by Caius—were very lofty, and the old Legge and Perse buildings considerably lower than the present buildings. In the eighteenth century there seems to have been an open bath in it. The illustration in *Biog. Hist.* III. 147, gives a good idea of its former appearance.

In 1570 some changes were made in the chapel. Till 1565 there had been no passage out of the Gonville court into what is now the Caius court. The entrance to the chapel was to the left, and that to the master's lodge to the right, of the present passage; both of them facing the court. Dr Caius altered this by making these entrances face each other, as

<sup>1</sup> "The Principal's garden" of Caius College has got its place in English Literature (v. Chap. XXXVI. of *Woodstock*). Whether Scott was speaking at random, or whether he had really heard anything about our college gardens, is hard to say.



now, in the middle of the passage. It may be added that this passage itself had formed part of the old lodge, and that what is now the entrance hall was then a dwelling room.

About the same time Dr Caius gave his last important addition to the endowment of the college for which he had already done so much. This consisted of his property at Bincombe, Dorset; and included the Manor of Bincombe, bought for £309: that of Woburne, bought for £260 (these two purchased of Mr Clement Sysley): and the advowson of Bincombe, bought of John and Rowland Argall for £20, Ap. 20, 1570 (*Annals*, p. 126).

We have already mentioned the large sums spent for the college by Dr Caius, from the commencement of his mastership till 1564. The following details carry on the account from 1564 till his death (*Annals*, p. 186).

For trees bought of Sir Henrie Cromwell out of Warboys and Ramsey woods, in number 510	66 . 5 . 0
For vewing, marking, felling, lopping, squaring, drawing and carriage by land and water from thens to Cambridge	46 . 4 . 8
To Thorne Raynsforth and Rothery for the fyrst and weste frame part by greate part by daye	84 . 10 . 9
To Rothery and his men for their worke by day from Midsomer 1566 untill Midsummer 1573	123 . 6 . 3
For bourdes bought and brought into the colledge	29 . 15 . 10
For staging tymber, hardles, lathes, lyne, cordes and nayles	31 . 16 . 6
For Ramsey stone, free and ragge, cutting and carriage by land and water	254 . 19 . 8
For free stone from Kyng's Clyffe and Welden, digging and carryage, parte by lande part by water	101 . 19 . 2
For whyte stone from Haslingfeld and Barrington, digging and carriage	91 . 3 . 5
For stone from Barnewell (Abbey?), digging and carriage	6 . 5 . 2
For lyme from Reche, Hinton, and elsewhere	54 . 10 . 1
For sande and claye by Barnes, Thompson <sup>1</sup> and others	11 . 6 . 6

<sup>1</sup> There is an agreement in the Vice-Chancellor's Court (*Acta Curia*, May 23, 1565) between Dr Caius and Tomson "carrier of sande" to pay the latter 6d. for every load delivered in the college.

For iron worke for wyndowes, dores, &c.	24 . 8 . 10
For leade, and to the plommer for casting and laying it	46 . 15 . 7
To free masons from Michaelmas 1564 untill Midsomer 1573	337 . 11 . 7
To the carver	7 . 4 . 11
To roughe masons	97 . 8 . 2
To laborers	219 . 8 . 5
To slatters for slatte, tyle, and the workemanshippe	161 . 8 . 6
For charges extraordinarie	37 . 15 . 2
	<u>£1834 . 4 . 2</u>

Besides the expences omytted by neglygence, and expences also yet to come for the perfection of the building of the Colledge & paving of the Courts of the same.

The above items carry the account down to the time of his death: the next refer to what was subsequently paid out of the money which he left.

A further summarie Table of the whole charges about the buildings of Porta Honoris, the Chapel Tower, & the Founder's Mr Dr Caius Tombe, a 27<sup>o</sup> Junii 1573 unto the finishing of the same 1575

For ffree stone from Kings Clyffe & white stone from Haselingfeild, digging and carriage	18 . 9 . 4
To ffree masons & rough masons for Porta Honoris & the Tower	73 . 7 . 4
For lyme from Hinton	8 . 18 . 0
For sande	1 . 19 . 6
Iron worke for porta honoris	1 . 7 . 0
To laborers	24 . 8 . 3
	<u>£128 . 9 . 5</u>

The severall charges of the Tombe

For Alabaster & carriage	10 . 10 . 0
To Theodore (Haveus) & others for carvinge	33 . 16 . 5
To laborers	18 . 1
Charges extraordinarie	2 . 0 . 2

The whole summe of theis expenses last recyted £175 . 14 . 1

In spite of all these splendid services, it does not appear that his relations with the fellows became more friendly, or rather that the animosity of the more bigoted amongst them was ever relaxed. As he grew older and feebler he probably



found his position in college becoming harder to bear, and towards the close of 1572 he retired to the house in London which he still retained. The immediate cause of his departure was probably the authorized pillage of his college rooms, and the destruction of a number of chapel ornaments which he had retained there. Dr Sandys, bishop of London, seems to have been the instigator of the outrage, by writing to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Byng, as soon as he heard what Caius was thus retaining in his possession.

The following is the letter of Dr Byng, to the Chancellor, Lord Burghley, dated Dec. 14, 1572:

I am further to geve your honor advertisement of a greate oversight of D. Caius, who hath so long kept superstitious monumentes in his college, that the evil fame thereof caused my lord of London to write very earnestly to me to see them abolished. I could hardly have been persuadid that suche thinges had been by him reservid. But causing his owne company to make serche in that college I received an inventory of muche popishe trumpery, as vestments, albes, tunicles, stoles, manicles, corporas clothes, with the pix and sindon, and canopie, besides holy water stoppes, with sprinkles, pax, sensars, superaltaries, tables of idolles, masse bookes, portuises, and grailles, with other such stuffe as might have furnished divers massers at one instant. It was thought good by the whole consent of the heades of houses, to burne the bookes and such other things as served most for idolatrous abuses, and to cause the rest to be defacid; which was accomplished yesterday with the willing hartes, as appeared, of the whole company of that house. (Printed in *Camb. Trans. in Puritan period*, I. 124.)

Remembering what were the relations between most of the fellows and their master, we can well believe with what "willing hearts" they set about the business, and how they must have enjoyed the fun of rummaging through the lodge in their hunt for the "massing abominations" which they had so long denounced. In fact Dr Caius declares that it was they who planned the outrage at a supper party, some of them keeping guard through the night lest the offensive articles should be removed. His own<sup>1</sup> account in the *Annals*

<sup>1</sup> The following are the words of the original (MS. 371): "Anno Dni 1570º, 13º Decembris discerpta dissecta et lacerata prius, combusta sunt omnia ornamenta Collegii hujus, privata autoritate Thome Bynge Procancellarii (ut ipse dicebat).....nec æque invisum erat illi quidquam quam nomen et imago Christi



—if, as I presume, composed by him, it must have been about his last contribution to the volume—is dignified but bitter. He says that the work of destruction was superintended by Dr Byng, the Vice-Chancellor; Dr Whitgift, the Master of Trinity; and Dr Goade, the Provost of King's. They were engaged on the work from noon to 3, carrying it out in a shamefully sacrilegious way. The articles which they could not burn were smashed to pieces with hammers. It is added to this account, of the fellows who shared in the proceedings, "but of these God removed some by death, others he removed in other ways, not without disgrace. In order that they might conceal their own fault, they laid the blame on one Dinsdale, a pensioner of the college."

After such a deliberate attack as this, sanctioned and even encouraged by the authorities of the University, upon all he held sacred, it is not surprising that he soon decided to leave college, and retire to his house in London; "much grieved and disturbed at the furious and rash zeal of those times," as Dr Brady says. He did not long survive. For many months before his death he was declining into a condition of extreme weakness. The following two letters to Archbishop Parker, the last he wrote, so far as we know, give a touching account of his condition towards the close.

crucifixi Beate Marie et sancte Trinitatis. Nam has indignis modis tractavit dissecando et in ignem projiciendo et abominandis titulis et epithetis prose-quendo. Nec hoc factum est nisi instigandis quibusdam male affectis sociis, quorum alii rem procurarunt convivio, alii, ne conserventur aut noctu sustollantur pervigiles extiterunt. Sed ex his alios Deus morte sustulit, alios aliis modis subduxit non sine ignominia. Ut celarent tamen culpam suam dissimularunt sedulo, et omnem culpam in Dinsdallum quendam pensionarium.....Collegii nostri transtulerunt, cum tamen ipsi omnis mali authores extiterunt. Ad hæc præfuerunt foco et multum defatigati comburendo ab hora XII<sup>a</sup> ad tertiam idem Thomas Binge, Johannes Whitegifte præfectus Collegii S. Trinitatis et Gulielmus Gode præfectus Collegii Regalis. Postremo quæ comburere nequiverunt malleis contuderunt et violarunt, et tantus erat illis fervor in religionem, ut nec beneficia personarum nec gratia in Academiam ædificio et editis libris suadere potuit moderationem." This is from the original vellum MS. of the *Annals*, apparently the composition of Caius himself, though not in his handwriting. The dots mark two lines which have been carefully scraped out sometime before the paper copy was made in 1656.



Most reverende

After my dutye most humblye remembered theis be to yo<sup>r</sup> grace to desyre the same of pardon for that I have not come to yo<sup>r</sup> grace, to shewe my dutie as yt becometh me. At my last being with yo<sup>r</sup> grace I partelye shewed yo<sup>r</sup> grace the cause of my absence a lytle before, which cause hath bene the occasyon of myne not seeing yo<sup>r</sup> grace untill this tyme, because yt ceased not untill the XXVIII of Maye last, leaving me in great weaknes which I can not yet recover, nor shall not, I feare me, yet this fortnight and more. I am so faynte I can not go twyse aboute my house but I must sitt downe; but whan I maye waight upon yo<sup>r</sup> grace, yt shalbe the first thinge I shall doo. I trust yo<sup>r</sup> grace is well, for the contynuance whereof I shall praye to God, and for yor grace's prosperitie long to contynue to his pleasure. From my poore howse at lytle S<sup>t</sup>e Barthillmews, the second daye of June 1573

By yo<sup>r</sup> grace's      John Caius.

Most reverende

My dewtie remembred, I came to Cambridge upon S<sup>c</sup>t<sup>e</sup> Johis even, wearied muche with my horselyther, but after a daye or ii with a lytle reste somewhat more quyetted. Notwithstanding my greate infirmitie and wecknes doth yet remayne, looking still rather for death, whiche God sende at his will, than for lyfe. Theis fewe wordes I thought to signifie unto yor grace that yor grace might understande the state of my bodie. I can not eate anything but yt swellyth in my stomocke and putteth me to payne longe after, so that I am afrayd to eate, and yf I eate not, such weaknes enseweth y<sup>t</sup> I am not able to susteyne my bodie and strength. And thus doubtfull of the one, the other will make an ende of me, yet content and submitting myselfe to Godes pleasure. And thus referring all my thinges to yo<sup>r</sup> grace, as in my will, for shortnes I take my leave, committing yor grace to the tuition of Almightye God, who preserve yor grace in honor and health to hys pleasure. I have done here at Cambrydge all thinges according to my mynde and discharged myselfe of all thinges to thintent I woulde geve myselfe from the worlde, and depend of Godes mercy onlye. Yo<sup>r</sup> grace knowe what I meane in all thinges. The Lorde preserve yor grace. From Cambridgee this last day of June, 1573

By yor grace's Caius.

To this the Archbishop replies as follows:

I am glad to heare howe obedientlie you submitt yo<sup>r</sup> self to almighty Godes good will towarde you whatsoever it shall be, which is the beste towardses us howsoever we take it. That *fiat voluntas tua* is alwaie a good praier to agree unto which argueth o<sup>r</sup> undoubted eleccon. And



though it be Godes pleasure you goe a little before us, yet we truste shortlie to followe you. You have done prudentlie to dispose all yo<sup>r</sup> doinges temporall, wherby yo<sup>r</sup> minde & conscience shall not neade to be troubled in that disposition suche as in conscience towarde God be yo<sup>r</sup> frendes I doubt not will doe, all thinges to his honor & to yo<sup>r</sup> reasonable contentacon. Be not to much sparinge for receiuinge such thinges as maie doe you cumforte. In the meane season I shall offer you to God in my praier. Thus God blesse you & send you the comforte of his holie spiritt, as I wish to myself when my turne shall be

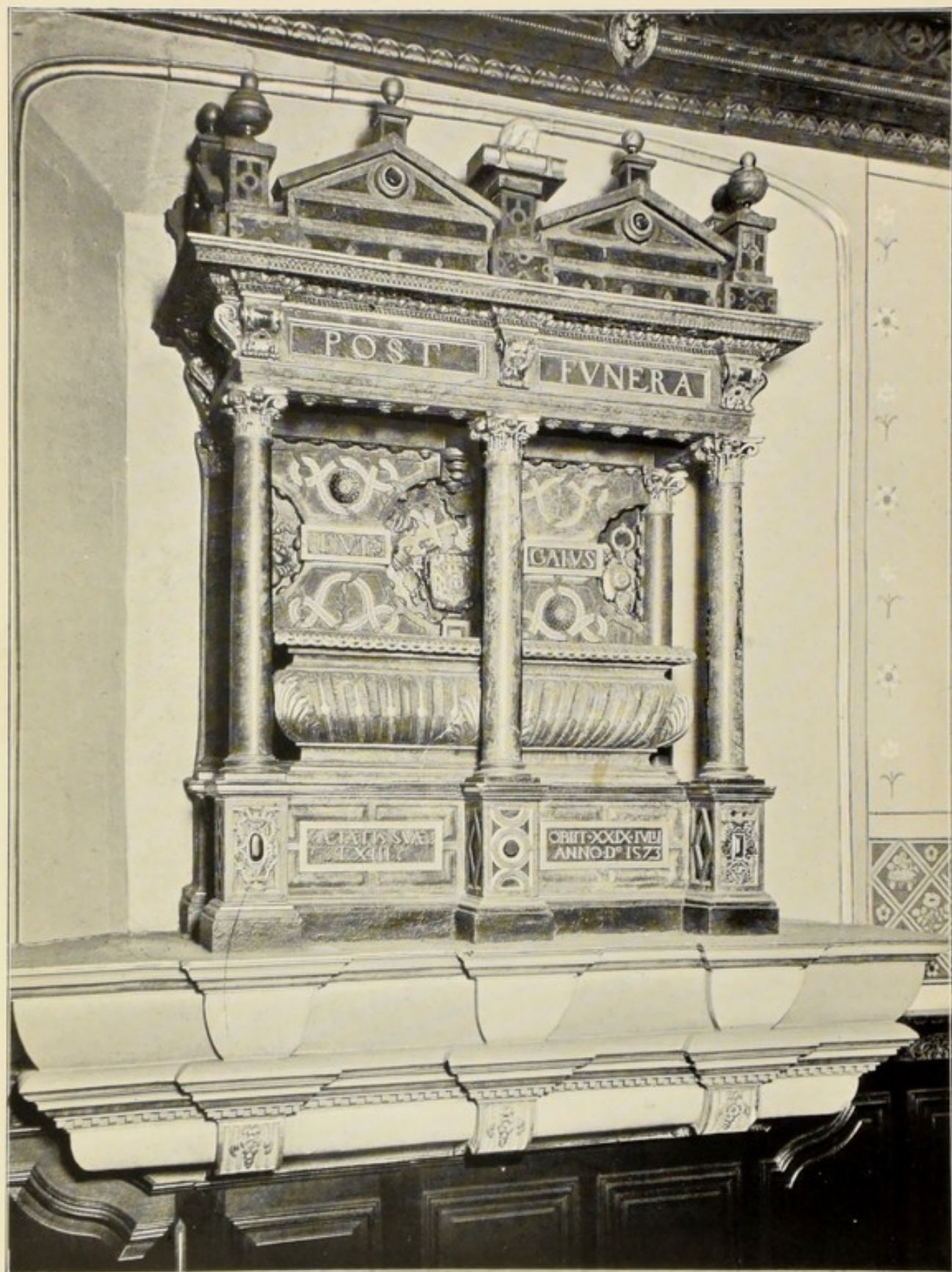
ffrom Lamhith 4<sup>o</sup> July 1573

The account which Caius has given of his bodily condition reminds us of the statement of Dr Muffet as to the method by which he endeavoured to remedy his indigestion: "What made Dr Cajus in his last sickness so peevish and so full of frets at Cambridge, when he suckt one woman (whom I spare to name), froward of conditions and of bad diet; and contrariwise so quiet and well when he suckt another of contrary disposition?" (*Health's Improvement*, p. 123). Muffet entered our college in 1572, when the condition of the master must have been a matter of common talk.

It was on the occasion of this last visit that Caius resigned the mastership to Dr Legge, on June 27, 1573, "at six o'clock in the morning, immediately after chapel" (*Annals*). The few remaining days of his stay were devoted to arranging about his monument and the place of his burial in the chapel. As the *Annals* tell us, "On the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of July, waiting upon the will of God, and being stricken with years and disease, he gave orders for the construction of a chambered tomb, in which his body should be laid to rest." He then returned to his house in St Bartholomew's, and, growing continually weaker, died there, July 29, 1573. His body was brought to Cambridge by William Gerrard, Esq., and William Conway, citizen of London (his executor), and was met at Trumpington ford—i.e. the brook at the first milestone—by the master and fellows of the college, and the Vice-Chancellor and doctors, with many other members of the University. On the following day, after a sermon in St Mary's Church, he was buried with great solemnity in his college chapel. After this there was a modest repast







Monument to John Caius



in the college hall, at which the Vice-Chancellor and Heads were present.

Of his well-known monument in the college chapel Fuller pleasantly says, "Few might have had a longer, none ever had a shorter epitaph: *Fui Caius*."

His features are familiar from the portraits and engravings. They display a high forehead and a countenance of some determination. In stature, however, he was very short. Prof. Alex. Macalister, who measured the thigh-bone when the grave was opened in 1891, holds indeed that he could not have been more than 5 ft. 1 in. I cannot but think however that it is more likely that his lower limbs were abnormally short. It seems to me unlikely that a man who gained such obloquy amongst those over whom he ruled, should not have been reminded of his physical deficiencies by some of the fellows whom he had punished. "Atheist," "papist," and so forth, they freely called him: surely a dwarf would have received these epithets in the form of what the grammarians call diminutives of contempt.

We may picture him as a rather sad and stern man, not strong in constitution, for he died utterly<sup>1</sup> worn out, at the age of 62. His voice was weak; for when he disputed, in the Medical Act before the Queen in 1564, she was impelled more than once to bid him speak up, and even then had to come nearer in order to hear him clearly. He was not a genial man, and he did not attempt to disguise his contempt for what he considered the indolence and indifference to learning of most of his juniors: "young men be now a days so negligent that they care for nothing," as he remarks to Archbishop Parker. But he was learned in all that could be known at the time; and had travelled much, as well as studied much, both at home and abroad. He was full of reverence for the past, especially for those who had contributed by their talents or their wealth to the advancement of his University and college.

As has been said, the general impression we gain of Caius is that of a somewhat stern and rigorous man. Almost the

<sup>1</sup> Rather strangely, his own judgment was that he had "*plus senectæ quam senii*."



only set-off to this general impression is to be found—where indeed we should naturally look for such indications—in some letters from a life-long friend, from school and college days, which are preserved in our library. The writer was Richard Willison, of Sugwas, Herefordshire, but a native of Norfolk. Unfortunately we have not the replies of the master to his old friend.

In the first of these, dated Nov. 10, 1566, near the time when the poor master was in the worst of the squabble with his refractory fellows, he cheers him with the promise of further endowment.

I have been glade to choose you for a pattern to treade a litle in your steppes, because of our education, one Citie & Colledge being mother, & nurse, to us bothe, I have thought it good to putt some myte into that treasure house of yours. My meanyng is to endue yor Colledge with twentie pound Landes. And if I might obtayne so muche at yor handes to helpe my devise in th'order thereof, you shuld please me vearie muche. You & I were bothe borne in the Citie of Norwiche, & gladly I would have syxe schollers chosen out of the free schole, & of the Citisens children thereof of the best learned there, which shuld be able before they came to yor house to make a verse, & a theme, that your House shuld not be troubled with blockeheads but likelye men t'aspire to vertue & learnyng. My mynde is they shulde have eache of them three pownde syxe shillynge eight pence yearelye for three or fower yeares after they come to Cambridge.

In the second, dated March 31, 1571, he says :

I thanke you for your booke of th'antiquitie of Cambridge. In myne opinion the Universytie can not geave you too much honor. I mervailed much in the reading, how you were hable to gather suche a fardell of straunge Antiquities together, being otherwise occupied in weightie affaires. But you were ever Helluo Literarum, & that the worlde may well understande. But what thankes they will geave you I knowe not : but I am sure God will rewarde you for bestowing your goodes & landes so charitablie to the honor of him & advauncement of the Comon Welthe. And twise-happie is he that can have regarde to the principall parte, I meane the Sowle, other thinges be but pulvis et umbra. I trust by Gods grace to meete you & Mr Barker [another College friend] in our olde, & your newe Colledge, where we mynde to spende a whole g: (? gallon) of beare ; & pricke it uppon one Doct<sup>re</sup> Caius heade, for I feare me old Coll. is wearye of payeng. He was wont to be an olde Dunstable ladd, & when none wold paie then we shuld blotte his



heade. You made me a proude man when you tolde me that Mr Barker wold sett his helping hand to the garnyshing of the Chappell. A man may knowe (as they saie) by his nose, what drincke he loveth. And he that dothe care for the glorie of God woll gladlie showe some outwarde thinge to his power to the sitting forthe thereof. But no more of this. I will goe again to my potte. My dynner ys comyng in. And so wishing long & prosperous lief unto you, I bid you farewell from Sugwas the last of Marche, 1571, yours to commande.

In a third letter, dated April 20, 1572, he says:

Still I doe honour your greate diligence & zeale. And if there be any calumpniators to deface verteous enterprises, I think it best to deale with them as one suld with their grandsyre Beelzebub from whence everie such Zoilus doth spring. You may be sure that God will never suffer so chargeable charitable deeds unrequited, but yor fame shall flie to the starres when others shall be drowned in oblivion. If I were not at this tyme a little melancholie I wold have one peice of a merie fitt with you of our old Cambridge toyes. I thanke you for yor booke. I have lately heard of learned Oxford men of such abundaunce of learning & eloquence out of yor drowsie dreamyng nowll that they could not perswade themselves you had it before they sawe th'utterance thereof. I have said often tymes that I have knowen you almost these fiftie yeares of good remembraunce, & besides the benefight of greate memorie you have been as errant a drudge in tumbling over of papers, that scase the like is anywhere to be had. But yet of trouthe I must needes yet lawghe a little, when I remember yor booke of Dogges. I wonder in Gods name who made you a hunter & made you acquainted with gentlewomens little puppies. Sir I thinke I have well nyghe some scoare of all kinde of dogges, & mynde very shortly to clyme up to the mountaines with them, where I culd wishe to have yor companye, but I beleave for your following a good crie of howndes a man wold scantely beteme you a good cuppe of sower whaye. I am in haste, you gette no more at this tyme.

The following lines are taken from a printed memorial sheet (Lambeth MSS. 720), dated London, Aug. 10, 1573.

Why should I think, O lerned Cay, that thou art clearly lost,  
Syth that thy death excells our life, with stormy tempests tost?  
We stand amid ten thousand woes, and through our sinful will,  
Both odious to God & world, in darknesse wander still.  
But thou, to whom thy mortal corpse a prison did resemble,  
Enjoyest God, & seest the light where Angels do assemble.  
We caytifes in this wretched world our laboures lost bewayle,  
To study artes that are despisde, alas, what doth avayle?



Thou, following the course which God & fortune did thee send,  
 In buildings great for sacred Muse thy life & wealth didst spend:  
 And with thy learned bookes the world adorned thou hast,  
 That fame thou wanst, as virtue's meed, before thy life was past.  
 This life, O Cay, full happy was, more happy is thy grave,  
 Thrice happy would I thinke myselfe, if I such end might have.

In 1719, in the course of the alterations in the chapel, the grave was opened. The following account by Mr Warren of Trinity Hall, of the appearance of the body, has been more than once published ;

This brings to my mind what I saw in Caius College Chapel. I remember when they were repairing and beautifying that Chapel, the workmen had broke a hole either by accident or design into Dr Caius' grave, which was a hollow place lined with brick on the north side of the chapel at a little distance from his monument which was a mural one. The lid of the coffin was off when I looked in with a candle fixed in a long cleft stick which the workmen furnished me with and with which I could survey the sepulchre very easily. The sides of the coffin were remaining, though in a disjointed and rotten condition. The body seemed to have been a very lusty one, and the coffin was pretty full of it: the flesh was of a yellowish black colour, and yielded to the least touch of the stick and fell to pieces: the eyes were sunk deep into their sockets. A long grey beard, much like that we see in the picture of him, only this was grown very rough by long time: I think it was then about 145 years from the time of his death. I touched his beard with the stick, and turned it a little on one side: it accordingly lay on one side, having lost all manner of elasticity: I therefore brought it back to its right place again. The sight occasioned in me serious reflections, and I went away with such a regard as I thought due to the memory of so celebrated a man as Dr Caius had been. (Warren MS. in Trin. Hall; quoted in *Camb. Portfolio*, p. 175.)

The grave was again opened in 1891, during some repairs in the chapel. At this time a cast was taken of the skull, by Prof. A. Macalister, and the thigh-bone was measured, with the conclusion as to his probable height recorded above. An account of the tomb, as it then appeared, is given in the *Caian*, I. 104.

We have his inventory in the Treasury ; mentioning, with the usual minuteness, every article, if valued only at a penny, and even recording some things as being worth "*nil*." There



is the usual contrast between the nature and value of the various kinds of personal property mentioned in such a list and what anyone in the same relative position would now leave. For instance there is not a single clock or watch, picture or other ornament, or any furniture corresponding to the modern easy chair or sofa; and there is only one carpet. On the other hand "his Apparell" is valued at more than double the amount of the entire contents of the sitting room. The plate is comparatively valuable, and so are the gold rings (seven in number). The totals are as follows: they refer, of course, to his London house.

In the hall	1 . 15 . 5
Domestic utensils	2 . 1 . 9
His Apparell	3 . 19 . 8
In the bedchamber	4 . 5 . 0
Chamber over above	1 . 2 . 4
Chamber over Hall	7 . 8 . 3
Garret	1 . 4
Kitchen	5 . 19 . 0
Plate	32 . 6 . 5
Rings of Gold	10 . 10 . 0
Books	6 . 6 . 6
In College	6 . 10 . 0
In Ready Money	428 . 1 . 2
Total	<u>£513 . 7 . 10</u> ( <i>sic</i> )

Of the "ready money," £241 was apparently in the house but handed over to his executor before his death, for the purchase of lands in Caxton, Cambs.; the rest being in the keeping of the college. As will be seen, the plate and rings amount to more than the value of the whole of the rest of his personal property.

The executors' accounts<sup>1</sup> for the funeral, &c., are extremely minute and full, and many of the items are curious and significant of the times, as the following extracts will show.

For black cloth for gowns for the master, fellows, executors, &c.; "for coveringe of the wagon" that brought the body; "lynyng the halle & chappell," &c. more than £40.

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth Library, MS. 720. Printed in the Appendix.

"For our charges in goynge to Cambridge to the funerall & carryinge of his body thither XLV<sup>s</sup>

"To the poore by the waie in caryinge of him to Cambridge, XIX<sup>s</sup> IV<sup>d</sup>

"For hyer of the waggon and horses & the man for fyve daies XXVIII<sup>s</sup> IV<sup>d</sup>

"For the dynner made at his buriall VI<sup>li</sup> VII<sup>s</sup> VIII<sup>d</sup>"

(The total of these, and similar items, amounts to £71. 1s. 4d.)

The legacies are mentioned in the will; but, besides these, gifts were made; e.g. a gilt cup to the College of Physicians "for a remembrance"; and the following remarkable donations: "To his sister's sonne an old cloke & a hatt, VII<sup>s</sup> VIII<sup>d</sup>." "Given to his poore sister dwellinge in Norwiche for the releif of hir and hir poore children, by thadvice of my Lord of Canterburie his grace & also of the Mr and fellowes of the college X<sup>li</sup>." (I had assumed,—*Biog. Hist.* Vol. I. 65,—that the sister was that of Mr Tracy, fellow of the college, as this gift follows immediately after one to him. But the Inventory shows that Dr Caius had a sister<sup>1</sup>, whose daughter died in his London house, and I now feel convinced that this gift was to her).

"The money spent in the tyme of his sicknes" includes every such item as "milke for a possett, ii<sup>d</sup>"; and amounts to £2. 16s. 0d.

"Money spent after his death & before his buryall:

One pound of tow, thread, spice & sweet powder for the corpse, &c.

For oyles for embalming the coffyne within & without III<sup>s</sup> IIII<sup>d</sup>

To a woman for watchinge VIII daies and IX nights VI<sup>s</sup> VIII<sup>d</sup>

To the surgeon for dissectinge the corps and trymmynge of the bodye XIII<sup>s</sup> IV<sup>d</sup>

To his servants XII<sup>d</sup>

Cariage downe of the corps coffyned VIII<sup>d</sup>

For a clothe nightcappe taken before his death VIII<sup>d</sup>

Oyles and baulme for coffyn by the waie XII<sup>d</sup>."

The total expenses accounted for by the executors for his last illness, burial, &c., including the proving of the will are £165. 5s. 6d. His will, omitting a few legal phrases, &c., is given in full in the *Appendix*.

<sup>1</sup> The entry in the register of the parish of St Bartholomew the less is as follows:—1563, "The third day of September Mary Usher, cosin to Mr doctor Kees was buried." This "cosin" is doubtless his niece, and the same, we may suppose, who kept house for him.



## STATUTES OF DR CAIUS.

Dr Caius was expressly authorized, in his Charter of Foundation, to compile a new set of Statutes, provided they did not infringe the Statutes of Bateman. There is some uncertainty as to when he first proceeded to do this. The authoritative code by which the college was governed until the results of the Commission of 1856 came into operation, is certainly that which was always kept in our Treasury<sup>1</sup> and produced at college meetings. It is dated Jan. 1, 1572-3, viz. about seven months before Caius' death. This is the code which the Commissioners printed in the *Documents*. They were not able to reproduce it from our copy, for, as is well known, several of the colleges declined to give them any such facilities, but they had access to an authentic transcript at the Lambeth Library (MS. 720). This had been sent to Matthew Parker in 1574—Dr Caius had expressly assigned to him the duty of interpreting any doubtful points—for his interpretation<sup>2</sup>; and there can be no doubt that it is genuine, and that the code of statutes thus submitted to the Archbishop represents the final version as approved by Caius.

It appears however that Caius had issued a previous body of statutes. This is expressly implied by the words at the conclusion of the code of 1573, "datum Londini tricessimo Martii An<sup>o</sup> Christi 1558, ac postea auctum primo Januarii An<sup>o</sup> Domini 1572...per me Joannem Caium." From this we should conclude that the college had been governed for fourteen years by statutes issued in 1558, these having been amended and re-issued at the beginning of 1573. If this

<sup>1</sup> Now transferred to the College Library. It is a small quarto, on paper, containing the Statutes of Bateman, with Caius' interpretation of some doubtful points; Caius' own Statutes, signed by himself at the end, and followed by Abp Parker's interpretation; and a few extracts from wills and deeds concerning benefactions.

<sup>2</sup> The Archbishop's actual interpretation is in our Treasury (Box I. 48). It is dated Jan. 1, 1574-5. Appended to it are the signatures of the master and all the fellows, approving it, and dated Jan. 24, 1574-5.



were so, nothing is now known of this earlier version<sup>1</sup>. All that does exist is a rough draft, utterly unlike the existent statutes, full of additions and erasures, and very uncertain and contradictory as to date.

This curious draft is in the University Library (Mm. 4. 20), and is entitled *Statuta Collegii de Gonville et Caius*. It consists of a text containing a succession of paragraphs marked alternately "Epus" and "Caius," these indicating respectively clauses of bishop Bateman's Statutes and those which Caius proposed to add to them. So far is plain. But this text has had a multitude of corrections introduced. Lines, paragraphs, and even whole pages are scratched through; and there are many and long additions in the margins. The Commissioners professed to print it (*Documents*, Vol. II.), but have done so in a very inconsistent manner; for the portions crossed through are sometimes simply printed, sometimes given in italics, and sometimes omitted. It was a mistake to attempt to print it, for nothing but a facsimile would convey any idea of its condition. Moreover the date of it is doubtful. The original text is dated April 20, 1558; which is later than the date assigned to the earlier version in the code of 1573. This had been corrected to May 7, 1557, which date is printed by the Commissioners, but cannot be correct, for Caius had not then obtained the Charter which is referred to. All we can say is that the draft must have been compiled in Mary's reign, sometime after Sept. 4, 1557.

This rough draft, as above stated, has been printed by the Commissioners. It possesses no authority, and as it largely consists of a mere repetition of Bateman's Statutes it need not be given here. Its only interest lies in the fact that, having been composed in Queen Mary's reign, it illustrates the wishes and convictions of Dr Caius at a time when his real sentiments could be freely expressed. Such clauses, for

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the following words in the *Annals* (p. 32) refer to this earlier copy, they belong to about the date 1558: "Dedit etiam Collegio librum Annalium et Statutorum holoserico villosa carmesino velatum, umbonibus laminibusque argenteis angularibus cathenaeque argentea ornatum." Our present copy of the *Annals* (MS. 371) by no means corresponds to this description, so the words may refer to a lost copy of Statutes.



instance, as the following, occur: "Hæc sacrosancta quæ sumpsimus mysteria quæsumus Domine Deus noster ut meritis tuis et precibus omnium Sanctorum tuorum nobis ad salutem proficiant, et fundatoribus nostris Edmundo Gonvyll, Willmo. Bateman, et Johanni Caio et eorum parentibus et benefactoribus, te favente, prosint ad peccatorum expiationem, misericordiæ indulgentiam, æternæ beatitudinis lætitiā, et requiem sempiternam." These, of course, are intended to be perpetual prayers for the repose of the founders' souls; and are probably what the fellows alluded to in the complaint recorded on page 26.

That Caius prepared various drafts of his proposed statutes before their final issue in 1573 is likely enough. Judging from some loose sheets found in our Treasury (now in MS. 714), one of these drafts seems to have been drawn up in English. The following are some of its regulations,

That every scholar shal singe at the lest his playn songe, and know his gramer, both Greek & Latine; and those only shalbe eligible, except gret scarcite of apte scholers ther be, in which case it shalbe sufficient if he knowe his gramer only.

That divine service be songe every principal fest at the lest, by note, and every majus duplex, if it may be. And he which shalbe absent at eny tyme from the divine service shall lose a grot and his diner.

That thei pray daylie in their graces and praiers, namely for y<sup>e</sup> sowles of their founders, Goneville, Bateman and Caius.

That non shal be felowe or scholar whose father is worth in goodes or landes XL<sup>li</sup>. (Restrictions on the private income of fellows are not uncommon; but I do not remember to have seen the limit so clearly assigned to the *father's* wealth.)

That all y<sup>e</sup> felowes and scholers be men of the universalle faith, civile quiet and grave, no strivers no disturbers of y<sup>e</sup> college, not factiose, obedient to y<sup>e</sup> Mr and president, and to y<sup>e</sup> statutes of the same college and universite, men apt witty and diligent to study and lerne, and so to behave himself that he fal not in the contrarie of eny of theis, poore mens children and non others, studiose vertuose and not sicly nor diseased with eny infective disease ner disfigured, borne in the cuntreys of Norff and Suff.

That if eny of the felowes and scholers shalbe notorious unthrifths dissolute persons and not studiose, and admonyshed thereof do not amende their faute, he to be utterly discharged y<sup>e</sup> third tyme from all benefite of the college, and other vertuose honest and thryvyng to be chosen in his stede or place.



That my scholers be students in the liberal studies and chefely in logic, and be excellent in the grek tunge, after in philosophie untyl thei be Mrs in arte; then every man to appoynt his studye to summe necessarie office in the Common wealth, eyther in Divinite Physic or Lawe, accordyng to the statutes of y<sup>e</sup> fownders and mynds of their benefactors.

No college statutes express more clearly what I conceive to have been the main objects of the principal founders and benefactors: viz. that these endowments were intended solely for those who were really poor; that the recipients were to be picked students from the districts in which the founder was interested; that they were not only to be diligent in their studies, but to aid in carrying on, according to their position, the work of the college; and that the ultimate object of their training was to be, not "research" or the perfecting of their private studies, but the more intellectual kinds of practical life, i.e. "some necessary office in the Commonwealth."

Dr Caius was a voluminous author, but of his many compositions several were lost, others exist only in MS., and others again were first published after his death. The following list<sup>1</sup> has been carefully revised by the catalogues of the British Museum and other libraries: (1) *De Medendi Methodo*... Basle, 1544. Reprinted at Louvain, 1556; and with the *Opuscula* of J. B. Montanus, Basle, 1558. (2) *Galenī libri aliquot Græci*... Basle, 1544. Some of these treatises had not previously been printed, and others have the text corrected from his own MSS. (3) *Galenī de tuenda valetudine libri sex*. Basle, 1549. (4) *A Boke or Counseill against the Disease commonly called the Sweate or Sweatyng Sicknesse*. London, 1552. This has been reprinted in 1844 and 1847. (5) *Opera aliquot et versiones*. Louvain, 1556. This contains the *De Medendi Methodo*, above; the *De Ephemera Britannica liber unus*:—the latter being a treatise on the Sweating Sickness intended for professional use (reprinted in London, 1721, and in Berlin, 1833); and *Galenus de propriis libris*. This contains the portrait referred

<sup>1</sup> I have not given the titles in full here, as this has been already done by Cooper (*Ath. Cant.*) and Mullinger (*D. N. B.*).



to in a later chapter. (6) *Galenī Pergamenī libri...* Basle, 1557. (7) *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensiſ Academiae libri duo.* London, 1568. This was anonymous, the author being simply described as "Londinensis." It was republished in 1574, after his death, with his name, together with (8) his *Historia Cantabrigiensiſ Academiae ab urbe condita.* (9) *De Pronunciatione Græcæ et Latinæ linguæ cum ſcriptione nova.* London, 1574 (after his death). (10) *De<sup>1</sup> Canibus Britannicis. De rariorum animalium et ſtirpium historia. De libris propriis;* 1570. Reprinted 1729. The first of these was written for Conrad Gesner, for insertion in his *History of Animals*, but owing to Gesner's death not published there. The last is a minute account of his various writings, published and unpublished. (11) *Of Engliſhe Dogges.* A ſhorte treatiſe written in Latine by Johannes Caius, drawne into Engliſhe by Abraham Fleming. London, 1576. Reprinted 1880. (12) *Epistola Bartholomæo Clerke.* Prefixed to his translation of *Caſtilion.* London, 1577.

In his *De Libris propriis*, above, he mentions ſeveral other works, for inſtance, juvenile translations of Greek and Latin authors. But theſe moſtly ſeem to have been loſt. The following MS. works are important. (1) The *Annales* of our College. This was printed in 1904. (2) *Annales Collegii Medicorum Lond.* This is a ſimilar work to the above, and deals with the hiſtory of the College of Phyſicians. It is preſerved in their library.

A number of other "works" are given in Cooper's liſt. Some of theſe, however, amount to nothing more than brief notes in books, principally in various Greek medical MSS.: there are ſeveral of theſe in our library (e.g. in Nos. 50, 495, 500: being MSS. which he collected in Italy and preſented to the college). Others, again, were merely juvenile translations from Greek done for friends when he was a ſtudent. And ſome are loſt; like his *History of the City of Norwich*,

<sup>1</sup> Fuller ſays that "when King James I. paſſed through the college the maſter thereof preſented him a Caius *de Antiquitate Cantabrigiæ*, fairly bound, to whom the King ſaid, 'What ſhould I do with this book? Give me rather Caius *De Canibus.*'"



which he commenced in early life, and his notes on the writings of his college friend W. Framingham.

Of these works the most controversial, and that which probably secured the most interest in his own day, was that on the Antiquity of the University. Its origin was this. On the occasion of the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Cambridge in 1564, the Public Orator, William Masters, asserted, in his speech, the superior antiquity of Cambridge over Oxford. This being reported to Thomas Caius of Oxford, Master of University College, he forthwith wrote a MS. reply. John Caius happened to see this and wrote a rejoinder. This he forwarded in MS. to Abp Parker, with a letter dated from Cambridge Ap. 8, 1567, in which he requests the judgment of the Archbishop, of Sir W. Cecil, and others. (Parker, *Corresp.* p. 298.) The volume was published anonymously in 1568. The rival advocates died within a short time of each other. The whole controversy was published by T. Hearne in 1730. No modern historian would attach much value to the arguments on either side.

As regards his treatise on Greek pronunciation (No. 9), strongly as he was interested in the subject, and often as he refers to it, it seems difficult to make out his views clearly; and the date of its composition seems quite uncertain. As is well known, a small band of Cambridge scholars, of whom the principal were Cheke and Smith, instigated by the teaching of Erasmus, advocated a reformed pronunciation of Greek, which in 1542 was condemned and forbidden by Gardiner. Caius, conservative as usual, supports the old, and what in his younger days had been the authoritative view. Prof. J. S. Reid says of it that "the tractate itself is of no value whatever as a contribution to the controversy, from the scholar's point of view. Both in its Latinity and in its dialectic it is vastly inferior to the letters which Gardiner addressed to Cheke. It displays a rather wide, but equally loose learning. The theme is a denunciation of change, and the treatment is frequently illogical....It is strange that Caius should speak as though the reformed pronunciation struck him as a novelty when he returned



to England in 1544. He says he found 'a universal buzz (personare omnia) of new men pronouncing in a new way.' The men were not new: they were already, when Caius left England in 1539, among the most prominent men in the University."

According to Strype (*Parker*, I. 467) Caius was supposed to have had a considerable share in Richard Grafton's *Chronicle*, 1569. It is also said that he assisted in compiling the University Statutes of 1570; and, jointly with Dr Perne, composed a treatise on the Privileges of the University, 1571 (*Harl. MS.* 7048. Transcribed in Baker MSS., Vol. XXI.).

### *Chronicle.*

1564. The month of August in this year was marked by all the magnificent ceremony which attended a Royal visit. For five days Queen Elizabeth was engaged (Aug. 5-10) in a round of services, plays, and disputations. The visit was announced to the Vice-Chancellor, about a month before, by Lord Burghley, who desired the authorities to consider "what manner of pleasures in lernynge may be presented to her majesty." Our college was duly visited by the Queen; and, in the arrangements for the accommodation of the attendant train, to us was allotted the housing and entertainment of the doctors and of the maids of honour. As to the way in which this unique welcome given to ladies was carried out one would be glad of information. Two members of our body took a part in those "pleasures in learning" which the University so amply provided. Dr Humphrey Busbey, a fellow-commoner, was one of the disputants in the Law Faculty; and Dr Caius naturally took the most prominent place in his own department. The Medical Acts took place in St Mary's Church; the subjects being *An cibus simplex sit preferendus multiplici*; and *An cœna prandio liberalior esse debeat*:—subjects, we should imagine, from what we know of his feeble digestion, already of painful personal interest to him. The discussion



was not very successful: "then Dr Caius, as antient in that faculty, moved the questions. And then the respondent made his position. But because their voices were small and not audible, her Majesty first said unto them *Loquimini altius*. When that would not help, she left her seat and came to the stage over their heads: but because their voices were low and she could not well hear them her Grace made not much of that Disputation" (Nichols; *Progresses of Qu. Eliz.* I. 171).

One document of some interest and importance had been prepared for this visit, and was put into the Queen's hand on her arrival. It contained a brief account of each college, with mention of its most distinguished members in Church and State, together with a complete list of all the residents. It appears that at this time, just before the building of the second court, our college comprised eight fellows, eleven fellow-commoners, ten scholars, and eighteen other students (*Harl.* 7033; i.e. *Baker*, vol. 6).

The *Annals* record, about this date, two narrow escapes from fire. One of these illustrates what a source of danger there must then have been in the rush-covered floors. A fellow of the college, a medical student, had left some herbs distilling over his fire. The flames had somehow set light to the rushes, crept along the floor, and the bed and hangings of the room (*peristromata*) were already in a blaze when the mischief was fortunately discovered.

In July, 1571, Henry Dethick, one of the more turbulent opponents of the master, became reconciled to the college. "To obtain his release from prison, where he was confined by mandate of the Archbishop,...and that no opposition should be made to his going abroad, he gave to the college £40, at the suggestion of the Archbishop, freely and without any condition" (*Annals*).



## APPENDIX I

### <sup>1</sup>CERTIFICATE OF MATRICULATION AT PADUA

Nos Symon Arborsellus Almæ Universitatis Dominorum Artistarum et Medicorum florentissimi Gymnasii Patavini Vicerector, Fidem indubiam facimus ac attestamur, Literatissimum Virum Dominum magistrum Joannem Caium Britannum Artium et Medicinæ Doctorem Excellentissimum, atque in hac nostra Universitate artis disserendi Græcè professorem publicum, esse in Catalogum seu Matriculam studentium nostræ Universitatis relatum ac conscriptum, et vigore statutorum et ordinum Universitatis prædictæ, esse liberum pariter et bona sua et suæ familiæ cujuscunque generis ab omni datii seu gabelle solutione. Quapropter hortamur et presentium tenore requirimus omnes datiaros palaterios aut datiis presidentes Illustrissimi Ducis Domini Venetorum ut ipsum D. Magistrum Joannem Caium, famulos, aut nuntios suos cum bonis et rebus suis et suæ familiæ cujuscunque generis Ire, redire, transire, emere, ac conducere permittant sine alicujus datii seu gabellæ solutione prout de Jure et ex predictorum statutorum forma facere tenentur et obligati sunt. Alioquin pœna in ipsis statutis specificata irremissibiliter punientur. In Quorum fidem et testimonium hoc mandatum scribi, et Sigillum nostræ Universitatis apponi fecimus, ac propria manu subscripsimus. Datum Paduæ ex Officio Artistarum, decimo quinto die Mensis Junii Anno MDXXXI.

Nos Simon Arborsellus, artistarum Vicerector subscripsi.

Jo. Antonius de S<sup>to</sup> Angelo Bidellus generalis et Notarius  
Loco Notarii mandato subscripsi.

<sup>1</sup> For help in the interpretation of some of the contractions in these documents I have to thank the Provost of King's, and some of the experts in the MS. Department of the British Museum.



## APPENDIX II

### CERTIFICATE OF DOCTORATE OF MEDICINE

In Christi Nomine Amen.

Universis et singulis personis hoc doctoratus privilegium visuris, lecturis, et legi pariter auditoris, Jacobus Rota Juris utriusque Doctor, Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopus Argolicencis, et in ecclesia Paduana reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Francisci, miseratione divina S. Marci sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconi Cardinalis, Pisani, et præfatæ Paduanæ ecclesiæ perpetui administratoris comitisque Saccensis, necnon et generalis antiquissimi celeberrimi et privilegiati gymnasii Patavini Cancellarii apostolici dignissimi Suffraganeus Locumtenens et Vicarius generalis, Salutem in eo qui est omnium vera salus. Gloriosa scientiarum ac bonarum artium mater Padua, cujus in tota Italia veneranda clarissimorum Doctorum autoritas sydereis splendoribus obtinet principatum, illos duntaxat ad summum Doctoratus gradum et magisterii dignitatem extollere consuevit, quos rigurosi examinis certamen, ac virtutum excellentia, necnon et meritorum copia laurea Doctoratus corona dignos exhibuerit quandoquidem majoribus nostris juri consentaneum visum fuit, unumquemque pro meritis digna præmia ferre, et propterea jure optimo sancitum est, ut qui liberalibus artibus philosophiæ et sacræ medicinæ vehementer operam darent, summo honore ac præmio afficerentur, quatenus eorum exemplo, posterì ad cape-scendam virtutem et summæ probitatis ac laudis decus et gloriam accenderentur. Significamus itaque vobis, et harum seriæ fidem facimus, quod die datæ presentium Nos Jacobus Rota Episcopus antedictus autoritate prelibato reverendissimo D.D. Car<sup>li</sup> et dictæ Paduanæ ecclesiæ perpetuo administratori, ex sua pontificali dignitate competente tam ex antiqua et approbata consuetudine studii prædicti Paduani, quam vigore privilegiorum fœlicis recordationis Dominorum Urbani Quarti, Clementis sexti, et Eugenii Quarti Romanorum pontificum qua fungimur in hac parte, existente magistro D. Simone Arborsello Cremonense, Artium et Medicinæ doctore, et almæ Universitatis Ultramontanorum et Citramontanorum Artium et Medicinæ Scholarium studii florentissimi jam dicti Paduani Vicerectore meritissimo, per venerandum collegium Artium et medicinæ doctorum ejusdem florentissimi studii Paduani, egregium et doctissimum virum dominum magistrum Joannem Caium Natione



Britannum civitate Norvicensem, Ruberti Caii honestissimi loci et familiæ viri filium, Artium et philosophiæ Doctorem excellentissimum, atque in hac nostra Universitate Patavina cum suo summo honore et omnium laude dialectices Græcè professorem publicum, qui in hoc studio Paduano et Cantabrigiæ celeberrimæ Britannorum Academiae (ubi artium et philosophiæ doctor concordi regentium et non regentium concensu, ut nobis ex literis patentibus tum testimonialibus tum commendatitiis ejusdem Universitatis sigillo signatis clarissime liquet, creatus est) in artibus et medicinis plurimis annis insudavit, et ita profecit, ut se dignum laurea corona exhibuerit, nobis per infranominatos promotores suos presentatum, punctis ei (ut moris est) in medicinis præassignatis, coram nobis diligenter et rigore examinari fecimus. Et quia in hujusmodi examine sua puncta recitando, et argumenta ac dubia circa ipsa contingentia, quamvis ardua et obscura, seriatim assumendo, et clare respondendo solvendoque, tam bene, laudabiliter, excellenter, et magistraliter se habuit atque gessit, talemque ac tantam ingenii, doctrinæ, memoriæ, cæterarumque rerum quæ in consummatissimo medico exiguntur, experientiam fecit, ut ab omnibus doctoribus collegii prædicti ibi existentibus Unanimiter et Concorditer, ac eorum nemine penitus dissentiente Idoneus et sufficientissimus in medicinis fuerit judicatus, sicut ex eorum votis secreto in scrutinio nobis in scriptis porrectis constitit evidenter. Nos ergo præfatam sequentes consuetudinem et formam privilegiorum studii sæpedicti, consideratis scientia, facundia, modo legendi, moribus et virtutibus, quibus eum altissimus illustravit, prout in dicto suo privato et riguroso examine in facto visibiliter demonstravit, De consilio omnium doctorum prædicti collegii ibidem existentium et instantium, pro tribunali sedentes, eundem D. magistrum Joannem Caium in Dei nomine approbavimus et licentiavimus, pronuntiantes et declarantes eum esse habilem, idoneum, benemeritum, ac sufficientissimum ad habendum, tenendum, tractandum, et exercendum officium et honorem doctoratus in medicinis, ipsumque continuo medicinæ doctorem fecimus solemniter et creavimus, ac facimus et creamus per presentes, tribuentes ei tanquam idoneo et sufficienti et hac promotione dignissimo cathedram Doctoralem ascendendi, et insignia Doctoratus a promotoribus suis accipiendi, ac eisdem promotoribus ea illi impendendi licentiam liberam et facultatem ac insuper eidem plenam in Domino concedentes potestatem et facultatem ut de cætero libere possit in medicinæ et singularum ejus partium sapientia legere, repetere, docere, disputare, glossare



practicare, interpretari, questiones determinare, scholas regere, bacchalariorum constituere, omnibusque et singulis uti, et gaudere privilegiis, prerogativis, exemptionibus, libertatibus, concessionibus, honoribus, favoribus, ac indultis aliis quibuscumque quocumque nomine censeantur, Quibus Romanæ Curiae Parisiensis Oxoniensis Bononiensis et Salamantiniensis studiorum doctores et magistri ex quibusvis apostolicis et Imperialibus concessionibus aut indultis aliis gaudent et utuntur, uti et gaudere possunt et poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, juxta continentiam, vim, formam, et tenorem privilegiorum apostolicorum a memoratis olim summis pontificibus prefato studio Paduano concessorum. Quibus ita gestis, famosissimus et excellentissimus artium et medicinae doctor, D. magister Junius Paulus Crassus civis Patavinus promotor ejus in medicinis, pro se ac famosissimis artium et medicinae doctoribus, viz. D. magistro Hieronymo Urbino, D. magistro Odo de Odis, D. magistro Francisco Frizimelega, et D. magistro Ludovico Pasino, civibus Patavinis compromotoribus suis in medicinis, memoratum D. magistrum Joannem Caium petentem et acceptantem consuetis ornamentis doctoralibus ibidem decoravit solemniter et insignivit. Tribuit namque ei medicinae libros primo clausos, mox et apertos, biretum doctorale capiti ejus imposuit, ac ipsum annulo aureo subarravit, pacisque osculum ei cum doctorali benedictione tribuit. Sic itaque cum summa laude et honore plurimo præfatus D. magister Joannes Caius ad apicem doctoratus in medicina ascendit. In quorum omnium et singulorum suprascriptorum fidem et testimonium has nostras patentes privilegii literas manu nostra subscriptas fieri, et prælibati reverendissimi domini domini Cardinalis sigilli jussimus appensione communiri. Datum et actum Paduæ in episcopali palatio in loco solito examinum. Presentibus nobilibus et egregiis viris, D. magistro Vincentio Madio Brixienſe, D. magistro Lazaro Bonamico Bassaniense, D. magistro Joanne Butirone Veronensi, doctoribus et professoribus publicis, testibus ad hæc specialiter vocatis, habitis, et rogatis, astante etiam nobili et copiosa aliorum doctorum civium ac scholarium multitudine, Decimo tertio die mensis Maii, Indictione xiiii, Anno Christi MDXXXI, Pontificatus autem Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli, divina providentia episcopi Romani tertii, Anno septimo.

Ita est Jacobus Rota Episcopus suffraganeus et vicarius generalis *subscriptus* (?) manu propria.

Et ego presbyter Ludovicus de Tironibus notarius et cancellarius episcopatus Paduæ rogatus interfui et mandato subscripsi.



## APPENDIX III

### THE CHARGES<sup>1</sup> OF THE FUNERALS OF MR DOCTOR CAIUS

Imprimis for xii yardes of black Clothe at xviii <sup>s</sup> the yarde for Gownes & Coates for the executors	x <sup>li</sup> xvi <sup>s</sup>
Item for v yardes of black at xviii <sup>s</sup> the yarde given for a gowne to the Mr of Caius Colledge	iiii <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Item for xx <sup>tie</sup> yardes of black given to fower of the fellowes of the same Colledge beinge then resident at the tyme of his buriall at xvi <sup>s</sup> the yarde	xvi <sup>li</sup> —
Item for xii yardes of black at ix <sup>s</sup> the yarde given to the servantes of the Executors for viii Coates, viz. a yarde and a half a pece to every of them	v <sup>li</sup> viii <sup>s</sup>
Item for iiiii yardes di. of black at ix <sup>s</sup> the yarde given for iii Coates one to the waggoner an other to the beadle of the Physicians & the thirde to the servante of the Mr of the Colledge	xi <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item for ii yards di. of black for Coveringe of the Coffyne at vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> the yarde	xvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item for xii yardes of bayes at ij <sup>s</sup> the yarde for Coveringe of the waggon	xxiiii <sup>s</sup> —
Item for v yardes of black Clothe at xviii <sup>s</sup> the yarde for ii gownes for the executors wyves	iiii <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Item paide for the hyer of blackes for the lynynge of the halle & Chappell	x <sup>s</sup> —
Item for xii yardes of black rugge at xiiii <sup>d</sup> the yarde for gownes for two bedewemen	xiiii <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item for a poore man's Coate that served in the Colledge one yarde di. at vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> the yarde	x <sup>s</sup> —
Item for makeinge of the two poore womens gownes & the poore mans coate & thinges bought for the same by the Tailor, & for hanginge of the halle & Chappell & for nayles for the same	viii <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The additions of the sums in these accounts are given as they stand in the original.

Item to the poore of the Hospitall of little St Barthilimews where he died for Pytt & Knyll	xvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item to the poore for peales	iii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item to the Vicar there in recompense of his buriall	v <sup>s</sup> —
Item to the clerke in recompense of the same buriall	v <sup>s</sup> —
Item to the Sexten for knolling of the Bell	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item for buryinge of his Bowells in the Chancell	viii <sup>d</sup>
Item to the Paynter for viii peeces of his Armes made on Buckeram with mettall at ii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup> the pece	xviii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item for sixe other in mettall made on paper at xx <sup>d</sup> a pece	x <sup>s</sup> —
Item for x other made in collor at xiiii <sup>d</sup> the pece	xi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item given to the poore in xiii parishes within the Universitie of Cambridge	iii <sup>li</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item to the poore of Little St Bartilmews	x <sup>s</sup> —
Item for our charges in goyinge to Cambridge to the funerall & caryinge of his bodye thither	xl <sup>v</sup> —
Item given to the poore by the waie in caryinge of him to Cambridge & to certen poore folkes in Townes	xix <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item spent at Cambridge at our lyinge there for horsemeat & mans meate	iii <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> —
Item spent in comynge home from Cambridge	xl <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item for hyer of the waggon & horses & the man for ffyve daies	xxviii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item given to the Vice Chancelor & to the doctors & to the Regentes & non Regentes	xxxvii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item to the Bedells for their paynes	xv <sup>s</sup> —
Item for the dynner made at his buryall	vi <sup>li</sup> vii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Summa	Lxxiii <sup>li</sup> ix <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> ob.

LEGACIES GIVEN BY THE LAST WILL AND  
TESTAMENT OF MR DOCTOR CAIUS

[First a long list of books and their estimated prices  
given "to his Colledge"]

Item One Counterpoynt of Tapistrie	xl <sup>s</sup> —
— One Carpett of Tapistrie	xv <sup>s</sup> —
— One Celer for a bedd	xvi <sup>s</sup> —
— One old Celer for a bedd	viii <sup>s</sup> —



Item Six cussheens	VII <sup>s</sup> —
— A great boxe sent to the Colledge with Evidences	VI <sup>d</sup>
— Delyvered unto my L. of Canterburies grace one little Ringe of golde with a Table dyamond in the same which was delyvered the xxx <sup>th</sup> of July 1573	LIII <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup>
— Paide unto Mr Legge Mr of the Colledge of Gonevill & Caius for a Legacy	XXX <sup>s</sup> —
— To Mr Hounde one of the fellowes of the same Colledge for a legacy xx <sup>s</sup> & for makinge a Sermon at the buriall in the hall	XX <sup>s</sup> —
— To Mr Church one other of the ffellowes of the same Colledge for a legacy	XX <sup>s</sup> —
— Allowed unto Will <sup>m</sup> Gerrard of the money in Mr Coneways handes for a legacy given unto him by Mr Doctor Caius the some of	X <sup>li</sup> —
— Allowed unto the said Wm Conewey of the money remayninge in his handes for his legacy	X <sup>li</sup> —
— paid and delivered unto Mr Honde a legacy given unto him by the saide Mr Doctor Caius one pece of good velvett conteyn- inge fower yardes	III <sup>li</sup> —
— Unto Mr Hone of Satten III yardes given to his wief in legacie by the said Mr Doctor Caius	XXVIII <sup>s</sup> —
— Delyvered and paid unto Richard Clappham for a Legacy xx <sup>s</sup> & for money given him in rewarde by the consent of the Mr & ffellowes of the Colledge xx <sup>s</sup> in the whole	XL <sup>s</sup> —
— to the poore of little St Bartilmewes	XX <sup>s</sup> —
— Delyvered unto my Lorde Cheif Justice of England one Ringe of gold with the signe of a Corse in a sheete in the same	L <sup>s</sup> —
— Delyvered to my Lord Cheif Justice of the Common Place one Ringe of gold with T. W. upon the same	XL <sup>s</sup> —
— unto Mr Justice Wraye one Ringe of gold with a deaths hed graven upon the same	XXVI <sup>s</sup> VIII <sup>d</sup>
— unto Mr Attorney General one Ringe of golde made like a hoope	XV <sup>s</sup> —
— delyvered unto Mr Solicitor one Ringe of gold sett with a Turques	XIII <sup>s</sup> —
— given to my Lady Catlyne one Dyaper fringed Clothe	III <sup>s</sup> —
— to my Ladie Allington one Dyaper fringed Clothe	III <sup>s</sup> —
Summa	XLIX <sup>li</sup> VIII <sup>s</sup> II <sup>d</sup>

MONEY AND OTHER THINGS GIVEN BY THADVICE OF  
THE OVERSEER & EXECUTORS WITH THE CONSENT  
OF THE MR & FELLOWES OF THE COLLEDGE

Imprimis given to Mr Doctor Caldwell three yarde of Satten

xxiii<sup>s</sup> —

Item to the Colledge of Phisicions for a Remembrance of Mr Doctor  
Caius beinge manye tymes their president one gilt Cuppe  
weyinge xvi ounces at v<sup>s</sup> ii<sup>d</sup> the ounce

iiii<sup>li</sup> ii<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>

— to Mr Hone in further consideracion of his charges & paynes  
one olde Saddle with thappurtenances

vii<sup>s</sup> —

— to Mr Pierson for a Remembrance the Armes of England  
embossed in a Table

iii<sup>s</sup> —

— to his sisters sonne an old Cloke & a hatt

vii<sup>s</sup> iii<sup>d</sup>

— the Portall of Waynscott a standerd of the house & not to be  
solde

v<sup>s</sup> —

— given to Mr Tracy one of the fellowes of the Colledge for his  
paynes

xx<sup>s</sup> —

— to his poore sister dwellinge in Norwiche for the releif of hir  
& hir poore Children by thadvice of my Lorde of Canterbury  
his grace & also of the Maister & ffellowes of the Colledge

x<sup>li</sup> —

— Given unto Willm Chapman joyner by thadvice of the said  
Mr & ffellowes in recompence of a bargayne which he tooke by  
great to make seates in the Chappell by the which bargayne he  
saith he had great losse, which is given at the request of the  
Vicechancellor & dyvers other of the masters & hedes of the  
Colledge within the Unyversitie

xl<sup>s</sup> —

Summa xix<sup>li</sup> ix<sup>s</sup> —

Alabaster bought for Mr Doctor Caius Tombe. Paide to Mr Doctor  
Caldwell for fyve loades of Alabaster

x<sup>li</sup> iii<sup>s</sup> ii<sup>d</sup>

Reparacions of Mr Lynacres Tombe. Paide to the Paynter for  
renewing of Mr Lynacres Tombe in Paules

iii<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup> —



THE DRAWINGE OF THE PLOTT OF THE TOMBE  
AND OTHER NECESSARY EXPENCES

Imprimis for drawinge of the two plattes for the forme & makinge of the Tombe for Mr Doctor Caius in Cambridge	x <sup>s</sup> —
Item for gildinge & renewinge the Epitaphe in Brasse under Mr Lynacres Tombe	x <sup>s</sup> —
— for the clarkes wages	iiii <sup>d</sup>
— to the scavageors	iiii <sup>d</sup>
— for Cord nayles & cariage of a Chest	iiii <sup>d</sup>
— for a Baskett	xii <sup>d</sup>
— for cariage of it	vi <sup>d</sup>
— for the makinge cleane of the house	xii <sup>d</sup>
— for cariage awaie of rubbishe	xii <sup>d</sup>
— to Mr Henley for man	xv <sup>d</sup>
— delyvered in truest to the man that shuld worke the Tombe at Cambridge	xii <sup>d</sup>
— to the Sexten of Powles for lending of ladders & other paynes takinge	viii <sup>d</sup>
— to the Proctors clerke for his paynes	xii <sup>d</sup>
Summa	xxviii <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup>

MONEY SPENT IN THE TYME OF HIS SICKNES FROM  
THE XXIII<sup>TH</sup> OF JULYE TILL THE XXX<sup>TH</sup> OF THE  
SAME

Imprimis for beif the xxiii <sup>th</sup> daie at dinner	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item for salt, i <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, iii <sup>d</sup> ; mutton for supper, xii <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, v <sup>d</sup> ; Candles, vi <sup>d</sup>	
Item for egges for dynner the xxiiii <sup>th</sup> daie	iiii <sup>d</sup>
For butter, iii <sup>d</sup> ; cheese, ii <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iii <sup>d</sup> ; almondes, viii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; fishe, viii <sup>d</sup> ; bread at night, vi <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, iii <sup>d</sup> ; milke for a possett, ii <sup>d</sup> ; watchinge candles, vi <sup>d</sup> ; to the Laundres, xvi <sup>d</sup>	
For drinke at dynner the xxv <sup>th</sup> daie	v <sup>d</sup>
For bread, iii <sup>d</sup> ; cheese, iii <sup>d</sup> ; almondes, viii <sup>d</sup> ; egges, iii <sup>d</sup> ; butter, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; to a poore man that came from Cambridge, ii <sup>s</sup> ; bread for supper, iii <sup>d</sup> ; for cheese, iii <sup>d</sup> ; egges, iii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, iii <sup>d</sup> ; butter, iii <sup>d</sup> ; pepper, iii <sup>d</sup> ; candells, vi <sup>d</sup> ; sault, i <sup>d</sup>	

Beif for dynner the xxvi <sup>th</sup> daie	xii <sup>d</sup>
For bread, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; drincke, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; wyne, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; suger, ii <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; drincke, vi <sup>d</sup> ; Rosewater, xii <sup>d</sup> ; sault, i <sup>d</sup> ; mutton, xii <sup>d</sup> ; cloves & white vinagre, vi <sup>d</sup>	
Beif at dynner the xxvii <sup>th</sup> daie	viii <sup>d</sup>
Bread, vi <sup>d</sup> ; drincke, vi <sup>d</sup> ; almondes, viii <sup>d</sup> ; pepper, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; a rack of mutton, viii <sup>d</sup> ; corance, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; reyssens, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; prunes, ii <sup>d</sup> ; to the Laundres, xii <sup>d</sup> ; sault, i <sup>d</sup> ; mutton for supper, xii <sup>d</sup> ; suger, xii <sup>d</sup> ; bread, vi <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, vi <sup>d</sup> ; almonds, viii <sup>d</sup> ; candles, vi <sup>d</sup> ; sault, i <sup>d</sup> ; to the Laundres, ii <sup>s</sup> ; for ii drinke glasses, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; ii erthen pannes, viii <sup>d</sup> ; for an erthen potte, vi <sup>d</sup>	
Rosted beif for dynner the xxviii <sup>th</sup> daie	xii <sup>d</sup>
For drinck, vi <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; a rack of mutton, viii <sup>d</sup> ; pepper, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; corance, vi <sup>d</sup> ; reysens, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; prunes, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; sault & musterd, ii <sup>d</sup> ; mutton for supper, xii <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; pepper, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; candles, vi <sup>d</sup> ; rosewater, xii <sup>d</sup> ; to Mr Houdes daughter & servants, ii <sup>s</sup> ; for a linke, iiii <sup>d</sup>	
Beif at dynner the xxix <sup>th</sup> daie	xii <sup>d</sup>
To the mynister, ii <sup>s</sup> ; for bread, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, vi <sup>d</sup> ; to the poore man that came from Norwich, ii <sup>s</sup> ; the Laundres, ii <sup>s</sup> ; for mutton for supper, x <sup>d</sup> ; bread, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; drinck, v <sup>d</sup> ; to a Reader, xii <sup>d</sup> ; for cheese, ii <sup>d</sup> ; pepper, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; wyne, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; suger, iiii <sup>d</sup> ; milke for a possett, ii <sup>d</sup>	
Summa	lvi <sup>s</sup>

#### MONEY SPENT AFTER HIS DEATH & BEFORE HIS BURIALL

Imprimis the xxx <sup>th</sup> of Julye for i <sup>li</sup> of towe	iiii <sup>d</sup>
For thridd, ii <sup>d</sup> ; a pott, viii <sup>d</sup>	
Spice & swete powder for the Corps	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Branne, viii <sup>d</sup> ; herbes & posies, xii <sup>d</sup>	
For i pottle & a pynt of rennysh wyne	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Sugar, xii <sup>d</sup> ; botehier, xii <sup>d</sup>	
Bread drinck & butter for the doctors of Phisick & their men	iiii <sup>s</sup> iiii <sup>d</sup>
To my Lordes grace his men for their botehier	ii <sup>s</sup> —
Cariage of my Lordes boxe with books	iiii <sup>d</sup>



Meate for dynner & supper, ii <sup>s</sup> ; breade & drinke, xii <sup>d</sup> ; to the Laundres, xii <sup>d</sup>	
For oyles for embalminge the Coffyne within & without	iii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
The xxxi <sup>th</sup> of Julye to a Caryer of Cambridge	xii <sup>d</sup>
To a woman for watchinge viii dayes & ix nightes	vi <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
To a woman for watchinge v daies & vi nightes	iiii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
To the Surgeon for dissectinge the Corps & trymmynge of the bodye	xiii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
To his servante	xii <sup>d</sup>
The first of August for the Coffen with Iron ringes	viii <sup>s</sup> —
For houserent for one half yere ended at Michaellmas last	xxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Cariage downe of the Corps Coffyned	viii <sup>d</sup>
To the Laundres	xvi <sup>d</sup>
For a clothe nightcapp taken before his death	viii <sup>d</sup>
The seconde of August for the Clerkes wages	iiii <sup>d</sup>
For makinge the wagon clothe	xx <sup>d</sup>
To the scavageour	iiii <sup>d</sup>
For the trymmynge of the waggon clothe & naylinge thereof	xii <sup>d</sup>
To the Porter for watchinge & other paynes takinge	xvi <sup>d</sup>
For bread & drinck, iii <sup>d</sup> ; candles, iii <sup>d</sup> ; a Linck, iii <sup>d</sup>	
Oyles & Baulme for the Coffyn by the waie	xii <sup>d</sup>
Cariage of clothe from London to Cambridge	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
To a woman for washinge, viii <sup>d</sup> ; to Mr Luke, x <sup>s</sup>	
To a Preacher for a Sermon before the Colledge of Physicians	x <sup>s</sup> —
Summa	vi <sup>li</sup> iii <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup>

## TO CHARGES FOR PROBACYON OF THE TESTAMENT

Imprimis for the probate of the Will	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
For the Somners fee	xii <sup>d</sup>
Engrossinge thereof in parchement	xiii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
The regestringe thereof	x <sup>s</sup> —
The Proctors fee, iii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup> ; the proxie, xvi <sup>d</sup>	
The double engrossinge of the Inventaries	x <sup>s</sup> —
The Proctors fee for exhibitinge thereof	iii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
The Register's hande to them	xii <sup>d</sup>
Summa	xl ix <sup>s</sup>

MONEY DISBURSED FOR LANDE BOUGHT TO THE  
USE OF GONEVILL AND CAIUS COLLEDGE

Paide unto Iames Altham & Thomas Altham for the purchase of  
certen landes in Caxton in the Countie of Cambridge to the  
use of the said Colledge CCXL<sup>li</sup>

THE CHARGES OF THIS ACCOMPT

Item paide for the wrytinge of a Coppie of the Inventarie of this  
Booke, & a Breviate of the Accompte of the saide Executors  
All which are delyvered unto my said Lord of Canterburie his  
grace XIII<sup>s</sup> III<sup>d</sup>

Summa totalis CCCIX<sup>li</sup> X<sup>s</sup> VI<sup>d</sup> ob.

And so remayneth in the handes of the saide Willm. Coneway one  
of the saide Executors CIIII<sup>li</sup> II<sup>s</sup> III<sup>d</sup> ob. received by  
the M<sup>r</sup> & fellowes

## APPENDIX IV

### DR CAIUS' INVENTORY

The Invetarye of suche goodes as Iohn Caius Doctor in Phisicke  
hadd in his howse within the parishe of littell St Bartholimewes of  
London, praysed by Thomas Green, goldsmith, Iarvis Duberic,  
merchaunt-tailor, Richard Trevis, Sadler, Richard Ysode, paynter,  
Thomas Cadman and Henry Bineman, stacioners the xv<sup>th</sup> of August  
Anno Domini 1573

### IN THE HAULE

Imprimis the hangings conteyning xxxiiii yardes of olde paynted cloth at thre half pence the yarde	III <sup>s</sup> III <sup>d</sup>
Item a mappe of pimone (?Piedmont) in creste of joyners worke	XII <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde carde of descripts &c with other papers	XII <sup>d</sup>
Item the Armes of England imbossed in a Table	III <sup>s</sup> —
Item a Table with the frame & vi stoles	X <sup>s</sup> —
Item two shorte formes	II <sup>s</sup> —
Item two lowe stooles with backs	XVI <sup>d</sup>
Item two Turned chaires	XII <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde chayre with wyncts (Winches?)	XII <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde cupbord of wainscott	V <sup>s</sup> III <sup>d</sup>



Item an olde halsepace before the chemney	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item a portall of Ioyners worke	v <sup>s</sup> —
Summa	xxxv <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup>
Item a brasse panne with the handells	xx <sup>d</sup>
Item a litle olde kettell	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an old skillett	iii <sup>d</sup>
Item a litle brasse pott	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item iiiii brasen candelsticks	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item a small mortar and pestell of brasse	xx <sup>d</sup>
Item ii olde pewter saults	viii <sup>d</sup>
Item v pewter spoones	ii <sup>d</sup>
Item olde pewter platter mettall XLVIII <sup>li</sup> at v <sup>d</sup> the pounde	xx <sup>s</sup>
Item iii pewter potts iiii <sup>li</sup> at v <sup>d</sup> the pounde	xx <sup>d</sup>
Item ale potts ix <sup>li</sup> at iiiii <sup>d</sup> the pounde	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item a paire of ballands and weights	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item three dosen of Trenchers	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item one here brushe	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item one olde brushe	ii <sup>d</sup>
Item ii olde yrone crepers	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde Denex (?) carpett	ii <sup>s</sup>
Summa	xli <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>

HIS APPARRELL

Item a hatt a capp a vellet night cappe	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde damaske gowen furred with olde furre	x <sup>s</sup>
Item olde satten gowen faced with unshoren vellet olde	xx <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde vellet jackett	viii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde black satten dobblet	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde dublett with satten sleves	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde wast dublet with purple sleves of sattyn	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde satten Jackett garded with vellett	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde damaske Jackett	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde gowne of cloth faced with furre olde	xii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde turned gowen faced with blacke cunnye	vii <sup>s</sup>
Item a cloke of cloth olde	v <sup>s</sup> iiiii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde cloth coate	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde Hudde of blacke cloth	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item iii paire of cloth hoses	iii <sup>s</sup>
Summa	iii <sup>li</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>

## IN HIS BEDCHAMBER

Item xxxv yarde of paynted olde canvas at iii <sup>d</sup> ob. the yarde for hangings	iiii <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup>
Item a bedsteed without a tester	v <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde ffetherbedd	viii <sup>s</sup>
Item a fetherbedd and a bolster	xxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde toren coverlett	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item iii olde corteys of seye	v <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde table and ii Tressells	xviii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde wainscott chaire	xviii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde turned chaire	iii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde Hampere	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Item iii pillowes at xx <sup>d</sup> the pece	v <sup>s</sup>
Item ii olde blanketts	ii <sup>s</sup> iiiii <sup>d</sup>
Item a greate box for wrytings	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item a little hanpace and a litle footestole	iiii <sup>d</sup>
Item a paire of crepers a paire of tongs and a fier shovell	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde woddknife	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde blacke bill	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item v olde sherts	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item a paire of course canves sheets	v <sup>s</sup> iiiii <sup>d</sup>
Item iii olde course pilloberes	xviii <sup>d</sup>
Item vii course handetowells	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item vi table napkyns	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item night kerchefes	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Item v pillowberes	v <sup>s</sup>
Item ii drinkinge glasses	ii <sup>d</sup>
Item stone potts	ii <sup>d</sup>
Summa	iiii <sup>li</sup> v <sup>s</sup>

## IN THE CHAMBER OVER HIS BEDD CHAMBER

Item olde painted hangings of Sowtage xxxviii yarde at i <sup>d</sup> ob. the yarde	iiii <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde Almayne Rivett	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item a Jackett and a payre of splents, a stelle capp & a gorget of mayle	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde arminge sworde & a rapere	xx <sup>d</sup>



Item an olde broken hanginge knife	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde saddell with the hornyse sturreps and brydell	vii <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde saddell & ii olde bitts	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item ii olde basketts	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item iii stone potts broken and them nothings	nil
Item an olde maule & ii olde budgetts	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde flaskett of wiggs	ii <sup>d</sup>
Summa	xxii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE HAULE

Item olde painted Sowtage hangings xxviii yards at i <sup>d</sup> ob. the yarde	iii <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item a bedstead with a tester of Saye	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde chest banded with Iron	v <sup>s</sup>
Item an olde sheppe chest	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde paynted chest	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Item a litle olde chest of bords	viii <sup>d</sup>
Item a litle hampere	iii <sup>d</sup>
Item a litle square Table	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde Deske	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item vii course shets of canvas	ix <sup>s</sup>
Item viii litle canvas towells very course for servaunts	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item xl <sup>tie</sup> yards of course housewyves cloth at vi <sup>d</sup> the yarde	xx <sup>s</sup>
Item ix yards more of the same cloth at vii <sup>d</sup> the yarde	viii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item ii course tableclothes at iii <sup>s</sup> the pece	vi <sup>s</sup>
Item ii olde course diaper clothes	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item a dyaper Towell	xx <sup>d</sup>
Item a litle dyaper Tablecloth	xx <sup>d</sup>
Item ii sherts at vi <sup>s</sup> the pece	xii <sup>s</sup>
Item one playne Towell	xx <sup>d</sup>
Item one olde litell Towell	ii <sup>d</sup>
Item iii course pellowberes	xvi <sup>d</sup>
Item iii dyaper napkins	iii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde Handetowell	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item xx <sup>ti</sup> table napkins	vii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item iii course canvas sheets	viii <sup>s</sup>
Item vi olde course shets	viii <sup>s</sup>
Item one olde fyne shete	iii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>

Item one olde shurte	XII <sup>d</sup>
Item one square table cloth and one olde pellobere	XII <sup>d</sup>
Item III paire of sheets	XVI <sup>s</sup>
Item v paire of shets of course canvas at III <sup>s</sup> the paire	XV <sup>s</sup>
Summa	vii <sup>li</sup> XIII <sup>s</sup> III <sup>d</sup>

APPARELL OF HIS SISTERS DAUGHTER WHICH  
DYED IN HIS HOWSE

Item a Peticoat	v <sup>s</sup>
Item viii olde neckarchers	XII <sup>d</sup>
Summa patet	

IN THE GARRETT

Item III planks and a pece of frame for a tabell and olde lumbre valued at	XVI <sup>d</sup>
Summa patet	

IN THE KITCHEN

Item a Trindell beadstead and a mattris II olde blanketts and a pece of Rugge and an olde bolster	vi <sup>s</sup>
Item a binge	XVI <sup>d</sup>
Item a paire of racks of yron	III <sup>s</sup> IIII <sup>d</sup>
Item II litle spitts	VIII <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde fryinge pann and a fleshoke	VI <sup>d</sup>
Item one olde gridyron	IIII <sup>d</sup>
Item a paire of potthooks and a Trevett	IIII <sup>d</sup>
Item II yron wadges & an axe head	VI <sup>d</sup>
Item II Dreppans (drip-pans?) of plate a bastynge ladell, all olde and litle worth	IIII <sup>d</sup>
Item a Lantyrone	VIII <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde breadgrate a chopping knyfe and a belt	IIII <sup>d</sup>
Item a paire of olde boots & spurres	XVI <sup>d</sup>
Item v olde earth pannes and a chafinge dishe of earth	IIII <sup>d</sup>
Item one countpayne of tapestrie	XL <sup>s</sup>
Item one carpet of Tapestrie	XV <sup>s</sup>
Item a seller for a bedd	XVI <sup>s</sup>
Item one olde celler	VIII <sup>s</sup>
Item VI Cushens	VII <sup>s</sup>
Item III yards of satten	XXIII <sup>s</sup>



Item Satten III yards	xxviii <sup>s</sup>
Item Vellett III yards	iii <sup>li</sup>
Item two white diaper clothes frenged	vi <sup>s</sup>
Summa	x <sup>li</sup> xix <sup>s</sup>

PLATE

Item one standinge cupp with a cover all gilte wayinge	xx <sup>ti</sup> ounces at
v <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup> the once	v <sup>li</sup> viii <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item one other standinge cuppe all gilt the cover being broken	
wainge xvi ounces at v <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup> the once	iii <sup>li</sup> ii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item xi gilt spones weyinge xxi <sup>ti</sup> ounces iii quarters at v <sup>s</sup> the	
ounce	v <sup>li</sup> xii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item one gilt crucifix weyinge vii ounces di. at v <sup>s</sup> the ounce	
	xxxvii <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item one gilt sault with a pepper boxe in the same weyinge ix ounces	
at v <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup> the ounce	xlvi <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item one gilt pott with a cover weying viii ounces di. at v <sup>s</sup> the	
ounce	xlvi <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item a gilt sault with a cover weyinge vi ounces iii quarters at v <sup>s</sup>	
the ounce	xxiii <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
Item xii spones and one forke parcell gilt weyinge xiiii ounces	
quarter at iii <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> the ounce	iii <sup>li</sup> viii <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item a little Goblett parcell gilt weyinge v ounces di. at iii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> the	
ounce	xxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item one little pott parcell gilt weyinge vi ounces quarter at iii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>	
the ounce	xxix <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup>
Item one other white pott with a cover weyinge xii ounces di. at	
iii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> the once	lviii <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Summa	xxxii <sup>li</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup>

RINGES OF GOLDE

Item one Ringe with a Dyamonde	liii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item one Ringe of golde	L <sup>s</sup>
Item one Ringe of golde	xl <sup>s</sup>
Item one Ringe of golde	xxvi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item a hoope of Golde	xv <sup>s</sup>
Item one Ringe of gold with a Turques	xiii <sup>s</sup>
Item one ringe of golde	xii <sup>s</sup>
Summa	x <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>

## BOOKES

(There is a long list of books, mostly medical and classical, priced at)  
 XI<sup>li</sup> VI<sup>s</sup> VI<sup>d</sup>

THE INVENTORY OF CERTEN GOODS LATE M<sup>r</sup> DOCTOR  
 CAIUS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF GONEVILL AND  
 CAIUS COLLEDGE IN CAMBRIDGE DECESSED RE-  
 MAYNINGE IN HIS CHAMBER IN CAMBRIDGE AND  
 PRAISED THE XXVII<sup>th</sup> OF OCTOBER 1573 BY THE  
 PUBLIQUE PRAISERS THUNYVERSITIE

Imprimis a black gowne and a hoode lyned with Satten	xxxiii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item a Doctor in Physick his habite and hoode	xxxiii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Item an olde Gowne	vi <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup>
Item a Surples	v <sup>s</sup>
Item ii preist cappes	iii <sup>s</sup>
Item a paire of Sheets	v <sup>s</sup>
Item iii olde sheets	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item a booke of Eucled	ii <sup>s</sup>
Item a Paraphrase in Evang. Joh.	viii <sup>d</sup>
Item chepps and wood	xxx <sup>s</sup>
Summa	vi <sup>li</sup> x <sup>d</sup>

## IN REDDYE MONEY AT THE TYME OF HIS DEATH

Imprimis money remayninge at London delivered by the Testator into the hands of William Conewaye one of the saide Executors	ccxli <sup>li</sup>
Item money delivered by Mr Tracy and Mr Churche two of the fellowes of the saide Colledge at Mr Caius last comynge from Cambridge	v <sup>li</sup> xvi <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup>
Item money delivered unto the Mr and ffellowes of the said Colledge in his lief tyme and sithens receyved of them by the said William Conwaye the some of	ciiii <sup>xxi</sup> li v <sup>s</sup>
Summa	iiii <sup>cxxviii</sup> li xiii <sup>d</sup>
Summa totalis	v <sup>c</sup> xiii <sup>li</sup> vii <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup>



## APPENDIX V

### WILL OF DR CAIUS: FROM COPY IN OUR TREASURY

In the name of God Amen, the Fourteneth daye of June in the yere of oure Lorde God 1573, and the fiftenth yere of the Reigne of our sovereigne Ladie Elizabethe, by the grace of God Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland, Defender of the faithe, &c., I John Caius doctor of Physicke of the parishe of St Barthilmewes the Lesse next unto Smithfelde of London, beinge of good and perfect mynd, thanks be to God, doe make this my laste Will and Testament in maner and forme folowinge. Firste, I commend my soule to God Almightye and my bodie to be buried in the Chappell within my College of Gonnevill and Caius in Cambridge under the Tabernacle wherein the Image of our Ladie sometime did stand, in a Tumbe ther to be made of Allablaster. And I geve and bequeath unto my said College all my books newe and olde wherein thes words be written, Johannes Caius Collegio suo dono dedit. And I will that all the said books shalbe bounden with cheynes to the desks of the liberarie ther, for the common use of students. And all other my books I will shalbe solde and the monye thereof cominge to be imploid towards the charges of my buriall and performaunce of this my laste Will and Testamente. Also I geve and bequeathe unto my saide College of Gonnevill and Caius all my armore, all my plate, and all my monye that shalbe lefte and remaine over and besides my buyldings finished, the charges of my buriall discharged and paid, my Tumbe, and all other things appoynted by me in this my will to be done made and finished, and my legacies of this my laste will and Testament also paid and discharged, to thentent that there shalbe good lands of good title bought with the saide remnaunt of monie and plate. And the said Lands to be geven and assured



unto my said College of Gonnevill and Caius, that is to saie to the Mr and fellowes and their successors for ever to the use hereafter appointid. And I will that my exequutoors within one monethe next after my buriall shall make a perfect accoumpte of all my said goods and cattells, as well of that which is by them disbursed and expended for and uppon the exequution of this my said laste will, as of that whiche remainethe, the same accoumpte to be made before my Lord of Canterburies grace that nowe ys (if he shalbe then levinge), if not then before the Mr and felowes of Gonnevill and Caius College aforesaid. And I will that my exequutors with the same remnaunt, within towe years next after my decease shall purchase and assure to and for the Mr and felowes of the said College and to their successors forever, so moche good lands either in reversion or possession as that monie that remainethe will amount unto after twentie yers purchase in reversion, or xxv yeres in possession, of good title and unracked rents, and suche lands as shall lye so nere unto the said College as they canne, or els to lie nere or within one of the mannors belonginge to my said College. And also I will that my said exequutors shall within one monethe after my buriall deliver and paie to the Mr and fellowes of the said College all suche and so muche mony and plat as they shall have remaininge after the charges of my burialle and my legacies discharged and paid. Provided alwaies that the said Mr and fellowes of my said College upon requeste unto them made shall deliver unto my exequutors such reasonable some and somes of monie as by them shalbe thought meet to be expended about my Tumb and the clearinge and mendinge of Mr Lynacres Tumbe in Paul's Church in London. And likewise I will that the said Mr and fellows shalbe bound unto myn exequutors to deliver unto my said exequutors so muche or all the remanent of monie and plat as shall amount to the valewe of the lands that my said exequutors shall purchase, they accomptinge unto the said Mr and fellowes for everie parte and parcell of the monye receaved into their hands. And yf my said exequutors shall not within towe yeres after my decease purchase such lands as ys aforesaid, then I will the Mr and fellowes shalbe bound unto myn exequutors to purchase so much lande in valewe as the remanent of my monye and plate shall amount unto, and that within towe yeres next after the makinge of their said bond. Also I will that the yerelie rents and proffitts of the said lands, so to be bought and purchased to the use of my College, shalbe yerelie employd and



disbursed for the expenses and charges of the fyre<sup>1</sup> in the kichen within the said College for the necessarie dressinge of meate at lawfull tymes within the said kitchinge, to thend that the Mr and fellowes and scollers of the foundation of the said College shalbe disburdened yerlie forever for so moche of the said charge as the proffitts of the said lands shall yerlie extend unto. Item, I geve and bequeathe unto the Mr and fellowes of my said College all the evidents deeds writtings escripts myuniments terrors serveis courte rolls and rolls of accompts, and all other escripts and writtings whatsoever they be concerninge any of the mannors lands tenements or heriditaments belonginge to my said College, or any part or parcell of the same by anie meane or meanes. Item, I do geve and bequeathe unto the right reverend Father in God Matthewe Archebishoppe of Canterburie all my books which I have made not yet printed, and all those that I have made that be printed and augmented, upon condicion that it maie please his grace to cause them to be printed, as my trust is wholie in him that he will so doe in a faire letter and forme all togeather in one volume, and twelve of them to be geven to my said College ther to be kepte as the other books are, and to be successivelie tyed with cheynes in the librarie of the same College. Item by this presente laste will and testament I doe chose nominate make and ordaine my trustie and welbeloved ffriend Thomas Legge, of Jhesus College in Cambrige to be master of my said College of Gonneville and Caius after my decease, which I maie lawfullie doe by auctoritie of a graunt made unto me in writtinge by the Master President and fellowes of the said College under their common seale, and signed with their hands, bearinge date the firste daie of September Anno 1573 (sic), and in the fourteenth yere of the Reigne of our soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth. Item I doe geve and bequeath to my saide College my carpet of Tapestry and my counterpoint or coveringe of Tapestry, to laie upon the desks in the chappell at solempe ffeasts, and also all my cosshens bothe of carpet worke and of nedleworke and all my soellers and testers of silcke to be occupied in the Chappell within my said College as occasion shall serve from tyme to tyme. Item I geve and bequeathe unto the Master of my said College xxx<sup>s</sup>, to Mr Hounde Mr of Arte and one of the fellowes of the said

<sup>1</sup> This is the explanation of the small item in a senior fellow's annual dividend which was separately entered as "pro foco."



College xx<sup>s</sup>, and unto Mr Church one other of the fellowes of my said College other xx<sup>s</sup>. And I will that Mr Hounde shall make a sermon at my buriall and shall have for his paynes other xx<sup>s</sup>. And for the execution of this my laste will and testament I doe constituit and ordaine my trustie and welbeloved friends Mr William Gerrarde of Harrowe upon the hill in the county of Middlesex, gent., and William Conwaie of the parishe of St Sepulchre in London, grocer, my trewe and lawfull exequutors. And I will and moste humblie desier the said moste reverend ffather in God, Matthewe Archebishoppe of Canterburie, to be my supervisor of this my laste will and testament, unto whome I geve my ringe with diamond, havinge noe better thinge to present his grace withall. Item, I doe geve to eache of my exequutors tenne pounds apece for their paines to be taken about my buriall and other business to them appoynted to be taken from me after my decease, over and besides all other ordinarie charges which they shall spend aboute my said buriall and other my said busines to them appoynted, desieringe them that they will see me honestlie buried. And further I doe geve unto the said moste reverend ffather, my Lord of Canterburie his grace, full power and auctoritie and most humblie desier him to see that my exequutors do performe this my laste will and testament accordinge to the trewe meaninge of the same, and that my said exequutors shall execut this my laste will and testament in all things accordinge to the trewe meaninge of the same by his graces oversight assent and consent. And also I will that my said Lord of Canterburie his grace duringe his naturalle lief shall have like powere and auctoritie to see all the Statuts which I have made in my said College of Gonnevill and Caius, which are sealed and subscribed with my hande and seale to be performed kept and observed. And yf any ambiguitie or doubte shall rise in the same or in anye of them then I will the same shalbe expounded and declared by the said Archbishoppe. And I will and my minde is that the same his graces exposition to be observed as though I had done it myselfe. Item, I geve unto my Lord Catelyn chefe Justice of the King's Benche one ringe with a corse in a sheet made upon it. Item, I geve to my Lord Dyer one ringe with T.W. upon the same. Item, I geve to Mr Justice Wraie a ringe with deathes head. Item, I geve to Mr Attorney generall my hoope of golde. Item, I geve to Mr Solicitor my ringe with a Turquies desiering them to take thes things in good parte for wante of better and to be good unto my



poore College. Item, I geve to Mr Houe so much velvet as lieth in my chest beinge in one pece. Item, I geve unto Mr Houe three yards of satten. Item, I geve and bequeathe to my exequutors above named eche of them a blacke gowne. And for the performance of this my laste will and testament I doe leave unto my said exequutors fower hundreded pounds in reddie monie here in London and at Cambrige, most certainlie declaringe that I owe no man one peny savinge one quarters rent of my howse wherein I dwell. Item, I will to Richard Clapham that nowe servithe me xx<sup>s</sup>. Item, I geve to the poor of St Bartholmewes Hospitall in Smithfilde xx<sup>s</sup>. Item, I will that the Master and felowes of my College aforesaide shall within one quarter of a yere after my decease putt in and place my scollers in my said College, and that they excede not twelve in nombre, and the fellowes three, untill the leasses that nowe ben of the mannors of Crokeslie Snelleshall and Roughton be expired and determined, And afterwards upon newe leases maid of the said mannors accordinge to my statuts to make up the nombre of xx<sup>tie</sup> scollers and three fellowes, and in the meane tyme to provid good and hable scollers accordinge to my statuts to supplie those romes. Item, I clearlie forgeve unto the saide College all the monye that it oweth me and appeareth in the coumptinge booke. Item, I will that there be mayntained a lustie and healthie honeste trewe and unmarried man of fortie yeres of age and upwards, to kepe cleane and sweete the pavements and gutters without the gayts so farre as the necessarie places doe need, and likewise within my College, and doe saffie looke and attend to the gates, to open and shutte them at lawfull and dewe tymes, and to light the lanterens in winter in places appointed in the said College, and he to have for his stipend xl<sup>s</sup> by the yere with his chambre free, and once in a yere to geve him a gowen of ruge with my Armes in a scutchion to be sette thereon as my almes man. Provided alwaies and I will that yf ther be not sufficient of my monie and plate remanent after my buriall and discharge of my will, to purchase so much lands as shall suffice for the kitchin and almes man as ys aforesaid, then I will that the said College (the charges beinge firste rated and accoumpted for the kitchen and almes man what yt will amount unto) shall lay out so much of their owne monye as together with the remanent of my monie and plat will suffice for the purchase of the said lands, and thei to receive the same uppe againe yerelie of the rents and proffitts of the said mannor as it shall growe, anythinge aforesaide towchinge

the placing of my scollers in anywise notwithstanding. Item, I geve to my Ladie Catlyn a kercher of callico clothe frenged. I geve to my Ladie Allington one karcher also of calloco cloath frenged. In wittness whereof to this my presente laste will and testament I have subscribed my name with my owen hand the daie and yere above written. Thes beinge witnesses; Richard Greene, William Houe, Franciscus Clerke.

JOHN CAIUS.





















PAGINATION

INTERRUPTED

BY

ILLUSTRATIONS



