Section of the History of Medicine

President—J. F. HALLS DALLY, M.D.

[*October* 1, 1941]

John Caius and the Revival of Learning

By Sir WALTER LANGDON-BROWN, M.D.

IT is typical of the present break with tradition that when a new President was installed at the Royal College of Physicians on the day following Palm Sunday 1941 he was the first for nearly four centuries who did not receive at the hands of the Senior Censor the silver caduceus, the gift of John Caius. That insignia of office, which the President alone may carry, is at present buried in the vault of a bank. What manner of man was this John Caius, repeatedly President of the College of Physicians, the re-founder and later Master of the College which now goes by his name, the author of the first medical treatise in English, who introduced the study of anatomy in the University of Cambridge? What part did he play in the revival of learning?

The more one considers the Middle Ages the more one is impressed by the idea that they were divided by two contemporary events like a chasm, the flight of the Popes to Avignon and the Black Death. The broken, or more correctly the uncompleted bridge at Avignon is symbolic, reaching as it does from the fortified Palace of the Popes to end abruptly in mid-stream of the turbulent Rhone. For this bridge, like the church at Winchelsea, was never completed because of the Black Death. These two events changed the religious, political and social face of Europe, just as it is changing to-day. If it is perhaps extravagant to maintain that this Papal retreat had within it the seeds of the Reformation, it was undoubtedly a blow to religious unity, while the Black Death profoundly affected the whole social system. The reaction to the resulting difficulties then as after the last war was the assertion of ruthless authority; the difference being that now the successors of John Ball have been able to seize the reins instead of the Church. But in both cases a repression of intellectual freedom followed. It is not surprising therefore that at the outset the revival of learning took an authoritarian form. Till recently we have been inclined to attribute too large a share in the Renaissance to the fall of Constantinople; now we realize that the fertilizing seeds that were then broadcast into Western Europe fell on soil already prepared to receive them. That the first harvest from those seeds was strictly a revival is shown by the establishment by Cosmo de Medici of a Platonic Academy at Florence, which his son Piero and his grandson Lorenzo the Magnificent also ardently supported. The teachers and students of that academy are delightfully portrayed on the walls of the old Medici chapel at Florence in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco *The Magi* with all his characteristic springtime charm. Sir George Newman eloquently says: "It was a gay and pagan world of carnivals, masquerades,

tournaments, revelry and dissipation, in the midst of which a mighty transformation of the human mind was already in progress. Its setting was the garden of Florence. Into this beautiful city of flowers, colour and song there came about 1485 a grave, studious and sober-minded Englishman, Thomas Linacre. . . . He came out of the shades of scholasticism at Oxford into the sunlight of a larger life and a wider purpose."

This is not the occasion to expatiate on the admittedly great services of Linacre to English medicine. It was rather startling, however, when Professor Topley said in the lecture founded by Linacre's own bequest that the only reason he did not do more harm as a physician than he did was that the times were too much for him. Surely this is to be wise after the event. The first necessary step was the preparation of accurate Greek texts and that he saw to; one can hardly blame him if he did not foresee the next step, that of experiment, when so much had to be done to put medicine on what he believed to be a sound basis. That this basis must be authoritarian his whole upbringing would declare.

John Caius was born at Norwich half a century after Linacre and was only 14 years old when Linacre died in 1524. His devotion to Linacre's memory was lifelong and was exemplified by his erecting a monument in 1537 over Linacre's neglected grave in St. Paul's Cathedral. The family name was Keys, and although he followed the prevalent fashion of latinizing the spelling of it, the original pronunciation was retained. He was 19, rather older than the undergraduates of that time when he entered Gonville Hall. This College originally stood between Free School Lane and the churchyard of St. Botolph's, a site which is now the Master's garden at Corpus, although at one time it was a plague pit from which bones still turn up. In 1353, only five years after its foundation, William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, moved the College to where Gonville Court of the present college now stands and renamed it the "Hall of the Annunciation of the B.V.M.", though this name seems seldom to have been used. Gonville Hall, however, retained land on the other side of Free School Lane, so-called because here was built the school endowed by Stephen Perse, Senior Fellow of the College in 1615. Here it remained until the last decade of the nineteenth century when it migrated and the School of Engineering took its place, to be succeeded in its turn by an extension of the ever-growing Cavendish Laboratory. Caius' original bent was towards theology, to which he made contributions before he was 21. He graduated at the head of the list in 1532 and in the following year was appointed Principal of Physwick Hostel. This hostel, now absorbed into Trinity College, was then a branch of Gonville Hall, and was governed by two principals, one chosen from among its own scholars, the other from Gonville Hall. It was distinguished by the number of learned men it sent out into the world. In that year he was also elected Fellow of Gonville. In 1539 he set out to study medicine under Montana at Padua, that famous university formed by a secession from Bologna in 1222. It may fairly be urged that the modern study of anatomy began with the artists, and those who have seen the frescoes of Signorelli in the cathedral at Orvieto must realize that here was a new approach to the study of the human body, which was carried to a much higher pitch by the great genius of Leonardo. In 1516, three years before the death of Leonardo, there was born in Brussels Andreas Vesalius who was destined to do for anatomy what his contemporary Copernicus did for astronomy. Since a man's talents are so often accredited to his mother, let it be kept on record that the mother of Vesalius was an Englishwoman, whose maiden name was Isabella Crabbe. He went to Paris to study under Sylvius for four years and was then appointed Professor of Surgery and Anatomy at Padua at the early age of 22. Here he discarded Galenic tradition and set his students dissecting the human body for themselves, as Frederick II had enjoined at Salerno three centuries before. As is well known Caius lodged in the same house as Vesalius at Padua and came very much under his influence. He thus obtained a training in direct observation for which Linacre had no such opportunity. Vesalius published his great work, *De Fabrica Humani Corporis* in 1548, the same year as Copernicus published his. It is tragic that subsequently abandoning anatomy he was compelled by the Pope to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a penalty for contradicting the authority of Galen; for on his return journey he was drowned off the island of Zante at the early age of 49. Thus he joined the ranks of the martyrs to science, to be followed by Giordano Bruno and Lavoisier, a roll to which the authoritarian of to-day is rapidly adding. Though Archimedes shouted "Eureka" the last word lay with the Roman soldier.

After taking his M.D. in 1541 Caius became Professor of Greek at Padua, a post he appears to have held for only two years, as in 1543 he began a tour all over Italy studying at Florence and Pisa and visiting all the most celebrated libraries to collate MSS., principally those of Galen and Celsus. He enjoyed the hospitality of Cosmo de Medici, and as he writes of a visit to Fiesole it may be assumed that he stayed at the famous Villa Medici there. Urbino and Ferrara yielded him some reward for his researches, Bologna very little and Siena none at all. He found a good manuscript of Pliny at St. Maria Novella in Florence, and studied the Greek manuscripts in the Vatican Library. " When I say books ", he remarked, " I generally mean Greek manuscripts ". He gave a description of the ruins of ancient Rome, of which there was far more to be seen then than in later years until the modern excavations. Sir Norman Moore tells us that he travelled back through Germany and made one friend who added much to his happiness, Conrad Gesner. This learned and kindly physician, Greek scholar, botanist and writer on natural history, died of the plague in 1565 at the early age of 48. Caius was deeply afflicted and felt his loss more and not less as time went on. This is to anticipate, however, for Caius returned to England in 1547 and was elected F.R.C.P. Venn can find no evidence for the legend that he practised at Cambridge, Norwich and Shrewsbury. In 1551 there was an outbreak of sweating sickness at the last-named town, and Caius certainly went to investigate it; in the following year he published an account of this disease, the first medical treatise in English, though he subsequently translated it into Latin. It must also have been the first medical treatise for a long time that was based on personal observation and not merely a compilation of authorities. His publisher was Richard Grafton who had been Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's. This may well have influenced his choice of abode when he took up his residence in London that same year for he was granted a lease of the house within the precincts of the hospital just inside the Smithfield gate. It faced the Church of St. Bartholomew the Less, occupying part of the site of the present pathological laboratory. It does not seem to have been very commodious except for the hall, which was spacious enough to accommodate the whole College of Physicians at their first college feast in 1556. For the rest it seems to have consisted merely of a kitchen, two or three bedrooms and a garret. Yet Caius must have liked it for he retained its possession throughout his lengthy and repeated absences in Cambridge and he actually died there. Nevertheless though he was in Bart's he was not of Bart's; apart from some minor benefactions to the hospital his relationship to it remained merely that of a tenant towards a landlord. He never entered the wards as far as is known, though he must have walked across to the Little Britain gateway on his way to give his lectures on Anatomy at the Barber Surgeons Hall, which survived the fire of London in 1666 to perish in the German incendiary raid of 1940. Here Caius lectured for nearly twenty years in spite of many other demands on his time. For he had a large and lucrative practice and was physician to three sovereigns in succession, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. By this time he was an " Elect " at the College of Physicians, i.e. one of the eight senior Fellows who withdrew into another room and like a little conclave of Cardinals elected one of themselves, returning to the Comitia to announce the happy tidings. Moreover when a vacancy occurred among the elect it was filled by the votes of the remaining seven. This extraordinary self-propagating method was brought to an end in an interesting manner, as was related to me by Dr. Sidney Phillips, when he was Treasurer. When the General Medical Council was created by the Medical Act of 1858 the College not unnaturally became fearful of the loss of their privileges. So the officials approached Graham, then Home Secretary. He promised to do what he could to conserve their position but on one condition. He told them frankly that he disliked their method of electing their President, and this must be altered if he was to give his support. Accordingly in the amended Medical Act of 1860 it was laid down that the election of President was always to take place on the day following Palm Sunday and carried out according to the bye-laws of the College for the time being. At the same time he made it clear that he expected the method to be adopted of free election by ballot without preceding nominations as it is to this day.

Caius became President in 1555 and was re-elected annually till 1560. He was most industrious in its interests. He collected its annals from scattered papers into a volume, and therein wrote the records on a plan that has been continued ever since. He presented the silver caduceus to which I have alluded, and with the love of symbolism which

characterized him explained that this sceptre of silver indicated that the sway of the President should be mild, while the serpents at its head inculcated sagacity in rule and in act. He also presented a cushion on which it was to repose in honour, a book of the statutes bound in red velvet and decorated with silver, together with a seal " the token and support of fidelity ". His election for the year 1560 was postponed till December 22 because of his absence in Cambridge, to the distraction of the Electors, as he said when he duly inscribed the story of his delinquency in the Annals. Perhaps it was to teach him a lesson that next year they elected Dr. Richard Master on St. Luke's Day. Master had been a beneficed clergyman but resigned because he felt he was not qualified by inclination or knowledge of the Bible, but also, as he said, because popery however abandoned in name flourished here in reality. So he applied himself successfully to the study and practice of physic, becoming physician to Queen Elizabeth two years before receiving the presidential caduceus. Whether he filled that office with distinction is not known, but at any rate Caius was forgiven and re-elected in 1562 and 1563. Then they reverted to Robert Huicke, who had previously been President in 1551 and 1552, and physician to Henry VIII. This could hardly have been an improvement for when he appealed against a suit of divorce, the Privy Council dismissed his appeal in 1546 with these words: " We have never in all our lives had matter that more pitied us; so much cruelty and circumvention appeared in the man, so little cause ministered by the woman." It does not speak well for the Elects that they should have chosen such a President three times after this open condemnation of his conduct.

Caius did not become President again till 1571, the ninth and last time, for his duties in Cambridge had become more imperative. Of those who occupied the Presidential Chair in the interval the most interesting is Richard Caldwell who was elected to the Fellowship and a Censorship on one and the same day. Only eleven years later he became President in 1570. The great debt the College owes him is his joining with Lord Lumley in founding the Lumleian lectures in 1582, and the importance of this gift was recognized by the erection of a suitable theatre. Yet no one could have anticipated that this gift would give the opportunity to William Harvey, who had attended Caius' anatomical demonstrations at Cambridge as we learn from his own notes, to make his great researches and that this theatre would witness the exhibition of an immortal discovery.

Of that last presidency urged upon Caius against his own wishes we know little, except that in the following year he was permitted to resign, if only he would come to the College for the quarterly comitia when any specially important business was to be discussed. It is sad to report that the Annals of the College which he had so scrupulously kept except for part of the time he was so busy in Cambridge are a complete blank for nine years after his resignation. Then Dr. Marbeck was appointed Registrar, since when there has been no gap in the recording, though the volume of that record for 1771-1781 is missing, having been abstracted by a Treasurer who presumably destroyed it because it contained the statement of his rejection by the Censors' Board when he first came up for examination.

One more fact about Caius' work for the College of Physicians which is quoted in Munk's Roll. He was the chosen defender of their privileges when the surgeons claimed the right to give internal remedies for sciatica, syphilis or any kind of ulcer or wound. In this they were supported by the Bishop of London and the Master of the Rolls. " 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 so to do.

I will now revert to his life at Cambridge; it seemed to me better to treat this separately rather than to attempt a chronological plan. In 1557 he brought before the authorities of Gonville Hall a scheme for an expansion and fresh endowment of the College without revealing that he was the intending benefactor. However, as it was discovered that the plan involved a charter of foundation, the Hall having no letters patent, he was declared a co-founder with Edmund Gonville and William Bateman. Appropriately, Lady Day in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was chosen for the college to be re-dedicated to the Virgin Mary, though its name was now to be Gonville and Caius College. Caius

handed over nearly all his wealth and landed property including the Manors of Croxley near Rickmansworth, Runcton and Burnham in Norfolk and Caxton in Cambridgeshire. He also bought four houses opposite St. Michael's Church from Trinity for the enlargement of the College. He confirmed the existing Master of Gonville, one Thomas Bacon, as Master of the new College, who, however, proved himself in the words of the College Annals: "Certainly serious, gentle and lovable but useless and negligent as a custodian". Consequently the next year the Fellows unanimously requested Caius to become Master, which he did, but refused to accept any salary while continually enriching the college with gifts of plate and valuable books.

Caius took the greatest personal interest in the rebuilding of the College. His study of Italian architecture enabled him to play a most useful part here. The new Caius Court was placed to the south of the old Gonville Hall, and its south side was to be merely a wall. We have become so accustomed to the idea of a closed quadrangle for a College Court that it is perhaps surprising to learn that no such form was adopted in either University until in 1352 was built the original Court of Corpus which is still standing. Caius believed this arrangement was unhygienic so he only had buildings on three sides of his new court, which also had the Fellows' garden to the east of it and the Masters' Garden to the west. Here we see the medical mind at work. But one of his chief cares, and one in which his love of symbolism is again declared, was the arrangement of the three gates—a small rather austere gate of entrance, the Gate of Humility in Trinity Street, the appropriate beginning to a student's career—an inner more sumptuous one under the tower, which bears the word Sapientia on its outer side and Virtus on the inner; these representing what he hoped the student would acquire; and the third a most ornate erection—the Gate of Honour by which the student left to take his degree in the adjoining Senate House. These gates are such an important landmark in Cambridge architecture that we must deal with them in some detail. The first Renaissance architecture to be found in this country is a Chantry in Christchurch Minster, of the date 1500. Though there is some Tudor architecture which has affinity with the Renaissance style, Professor A. E. Richardson holds that the first real Renaissance architecture in Cambridge is represented by these three gates. The Gate of Humility was removed by Waterhouse in 1869, but was fortunately preserved by someone who had more feeling for tradition than he had, and it can now be seen at the foot of the Masters' garden, the less interesting side being visible to the general public on going along the first staircase to the left after entering the Gate of Honour. There are engaged Ionic pilasters on either side with Humilitas incised on the lintel, and a more ornate pediment. Under this is a simple arch. The Gate of Virtue is a noble work; it has been ascribed to John of Padua, a plausible ascription in view of Caius' old association with that city. Professor Richardson points out however that the design follows even in minute details of mouldings one in the book of designs published by Gianbattista Alberti. An architect friend of mine tells me that the book of Alberti's designs had in their day as widespread a popularity as that of Chippendale two centuries later. The foundation stone of this gate was laid with great pomp and ceremony in 1565 by Caius himself and the Gate of Humility was built at the same time. The Gate of Honour was not built till 1574, the year following the death of Caius, who had, however, left the most precise plans for its construction. It is extremely ornate and has been regarded as being with the fountain in Trinity Great Court the best examples of Elizabethan Renaissance which the University possesses. To me it is delightful, but it is rather too exotic for the taste of many moderns. It has two storeys of the Italianized Ionic and Corinthian orders, while the arch of the doorway is in the Tudor style with classical mouldings. Over this is the word "Honoris" and the whole is surmounted by a solid cupola of stone. Originally it was even more decorated for there was a weathercock on the top made in the shape of a serpent and dove. The commentary accompanying the plans shows that in every detail this gate was of symbolic significance to Caius. Perhaps the most beautiful ceremonial use of the gate now is on the occasion of the funeral of a Fellow. The Gate is closed, until at the end of the service the bier is brought up to it; the choir ranged on either side chants the Nunc Dimittis; the gate is thrown wide open and the body is borne to its last resting place, thus leaving its former abode with honour.

A decorative feature of the court that Caius built which has now completely vanished was in the words of the College Annals a pillar and a stone "of exquisite and wonderful

workmanship, bearing 60 dials (horologia) placed upon it . . . and adorned with the arms of those who were at that time resident in the college and given by him to the college as a memorial of his good wishes towards it." Presumably this curious and interesting object fell a victim to an earlier Waterhouse. The College Annals kept as scrupulously as those instituted by Caius at the College of Physicians give a complete account of the expenses of Caius' buildings—they amounted to £1,834 4s. 2d., a considerable sum for those days—"besyde the expence omytted by neglygence and expences also yet to come for the perfection of the buyldynge of the College and pavynge of the courts of the same". In these accounts one may notice the distinction drawn between the sums paid to the freemasons, the rough masons and the labourers.

It will be convenient here to deal briefly with the chief architectural extensions of the college since the time of Caius. His immediate successor Thomas Legge, who died in 1607, left money for a range of buildings facing St. Michael's Church while Stephen Perse in 1615 bequeathed some more for a block at right angles to it, i.e. facing Trinity Lane. Thus Tree Court was formed, but the Gate of Humility and the adjacent garden were spared. In the later part of the seventeenth century the Chapel was rebuilt and then in 1869 Waterhouse destroyed the quite inoffensive buildings of Legge and Perse, removed the Gate of Humility and erected his extraordinary version of a French chateau which obtrudes itself on the eye of every beholder coming up King's Parade, overpowering the classical outlines of Gibbs' Senate House. A Fellow of Caius criticizing some recent additions to Peterhouse to the late Lord Chalmers while he was Master of that College, was met with the rejoinder "Those who live in Waterhouses should not throw stones". Of no one is it truer than of architects that the evil men do lives after them. Yet tastes change and as someone recently remarked, in another thirty years the vanguard of the highbrows may be holding this building up to admiration. Quite possibly, for I note that in Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge published in 1847, the classical perfection of Gibbs' Fellows' building of King's College is referred to as mean and incongruous while the sham Gothic veneer of stucco imposed on the late Elizabethan red brick buildings of Sidney Sussex is highly praised.

In the '90s of last century the houses on the inner curve of Rose Crescent were altered and added to the College as St. Michael's Court. And now that has been extended to the Market Place in the best style of factory architecture with a row of shops underneath. Symbolical no doubt, but not exactly in the tradition of Caius' symbolism!

As already stated, Caius was mainly responsible for introducing the study of anatomy into England. This he did, not only at the Barber Surgeons Hall in 1546 but at Cambridge in 1557. In 1565 this was regularized by a formal annual grant of two bodies of criminals or unknown strangers for dissection in Caius College. After his time the Regius Professors of Physic were responsible for the teaching of anatomy, a duty that was often neglected by them even including the famous Glissen. It was not until 1707 that a Chair of Anatomy was instituted, and ill fortune still followed, for George Rolfe the first occupant was after unheeded warnings deprived of his Chair for neglect of his duties.

It must not be imagined that although Caius was a medical man he intended his college to be devoted solely to the study of medicine; his interests were far too wide for that. Moreover until after 1870 the number of Cambridge medical graduates was quite small. Nevertheless his college has always had a reputation in medicine. Of the 21 Regius Professors of Physic 7 were Caius men originally, while the present occupant of the Chair was incorporated into that college. One of these, Glisson was also President of the College of Physicians. St. John's College comes next with 5. Strange to say Trinity, so rich in other professorships, has never filled the Chair of Physic.

When the medical school began to grow so rapidly towards the end of last century this medical reputation of Gonville and Caius attracted so many medical students as to embarrass the then tutors. These two powerful personalities, E. S. Roberts, afterwards Master, and J. S. Reid afterwards Professor of Ancient History, were determined that the college should not become regarded as solely or even mainly medical. In this they were quite right if sometimes rather ruthless. For obviously the great advantage of the collegiate system is the opportunity it gives for the mixing socially of students in the different

faculties. It is this which is one of the great distinctions between a university and a technical college. This is also entirely in the spirit of Caius who was interested in theology, and was a profound classical scholar as well as an antiquarian and the most distinguished natural historian of his time. Gesner described him to Queen Elizabeth as the most learned physician of his age. He contributed articles on rare animals and plants for Gesner's *Historia Animalium,* and wrote a treatise on British dogs which was included in Pennant's *British Zoology.* He was a protagonist for what we now call the modern pronunciation of Latin and Greek from which England, and England alone, had departed.

F. W. Maitland has declared that the oldest of all inter-university sports was a lying match about their respective antiquity. Into that sport Caius hurled himself with delight. When Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564 the public orator made a speech extolling the antiquity of the University to the prejudice of Oxford. This naturally provoked a rejoinder, and Oxford, hitherto content with merely tracing its origin to Alfred in 870, now through the mouth of Thomas Caius, Master of University College but no relation to our Caius, asserted that it was founded by some Greek philosophers who were companions of Brutus. This was too much for John Caius, who instigated by Archbishop Matthew Parker, published anonymously a dissertation denying these claims, and using all the apparatus of learning revived the preposterous legend that the university was founded in 394 B.C. by one Canteber, son of a King of Spain, who being banished came to Britain. I do not think we need take these solemn scholastic jokes as intended too seriously—they were probably of the same nature as the one recently perpetrated by Mgr. Ronald Knox. As a matter of fact the origin of both Universities is shrouded in obscurity, which in the case of Cambridge is all the denser because in 1381 during one of the periodical town and gown riots an unruly mob instigated by the mayor and led by one James Granchester broke into Corpus Christi, seized the college charters and plate and then proceeded to burn the university charters in the market place. Caius relates that an old woman, Margaret Sterr, threw the ashes of these in the air, savagely shouting: "Thus let the learning of all scholars be confounded". The twice burnt library of Louvain is among the witnesses that this spirit is not yet dead.

The legend of the vast antiquity of Cambridge had one curious survival. Close by the orchard of St. John's College is an ancient building known as the School of Pythagoras, and in the past it was pointed out as the most ancient academic building in Cambridge. Actually it was never so called until the time of Caius, who labelled it thus in support of his contention. In point of fact it is well known that the original Norman building was merely called the Stone House, which belonged to the family of Dunning, believed to be the forerunners of Sir George Downing of Gamlingay, who founded Downing College and whose grandfather gave his name to the famous street in Whitehall. Walter de Merton purchased the Stone House in 1270 not long after he had founded his "Hall of Scholars" at Oxford. Becoming alarmed that the issue of the Barons' War against Henry III would imperil his Oxford foundation, he held this Cambridge property in reserve ready to transfer his scholars hither. The crisis never came and so the Stone House was never used for any academic purpose, except curiously enough from 1872 to 1874 as the original home for Newnham College for Women. To-day it forms part of Merton Hall, the residence of Lord Rothschild.

A more serious antiquarian work of Caius was his *History of the University* which was edited by Matthew Parker and published the year after the author's death, from which source Thomas Fuller drew considerably for his own history, carrying the story down to 1634. Caius' Annals of his College, edited by Venn, were printed in 1904.

It is sad to record that despite all he had done for learning and for the College he refounded, Caius' tenure of the Mastership was not a peaceful one. His relations with the fellows of the College became strained; according to Venn the fellows were narrow-minded and bitter, very young, none of them in 1564 being 25 years old—and Caius certainly expelled some of them. At the instance of the fellows the dispute was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury who blamed both parties, the master the more severely. Yet the fellows quite inconsistently refused to accept the finding and carried the matter to Lord Burghley, the Chancellor. The question of depriving Caius of his mastership was

discussed but finally nothing was done. Caius having been accused by his fellows of being an atheist was later accused of being a papist. Pitseus gives it as his opinion that he had no very determinate ideas in religion and observes that he was always of the same religion as the reigning monarch. My own feeling after studying his career is that his religion was that of all sensible men, that is the one which no sensible man ever tells. He must have been inclined to cry " a plague on both your houses ", but I think he had a decided leaning to the æsthetic and ritual side of Catholicism. Certainly he kept a great number of Catholic vestments and ornaments for the altar with other things in order to save the College the cost of buying more should it please the sovereign to change the religion of the state again—for after all Caius had seen four alterations within twenty-five years. This came to the knowledge of Dr. Sandys, Bishop of London, who with Dr. Byng, Master of Clare, and Vice-Chancellor of the University organized a raid on Caius' lodge and found in the Bishop's elegant language " much popishe trumpery ". " It was thought good ", he continued, " by the whole consent of the heades of howses, to burne the books and such other things as served most for idolatraous abuses and to cause the rest to be defacid." This outrage was carried out in the presence among others of Whitgift, then Master of Trinity and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who had already ejected Cartwright from his Chair on the opposite charge of Puritanism, and thus laid the foundation of a reputation for bigotry and persecution which he so consistently maintained as Primate of all England.

This blow seems to have broken Caius. He went to London, returning six months later to resign his mastership in favour of Legge on June 27, 1573, and took up his quarters in rooms over the Gate of Virtue and Wisdom for the short time that remained, for he predicted that he would die on July 29 and had his grave prepared in the college chapel early in that month. His death actually occurred on that date while in his little house at Barts, he being not quite three months short of 63 years of age. His body was disembowelled, those viscera being interred in the Hospital Church but the rest of his remains were brought to Cambridge according to his testamentary directions. At Trumpington Ford his coffin was met by Whitgift who was then Vice-Chancellor and who I hope had some feelings of remorse, as well as by the Master and Fellows of his college and many others. Thus he returned for the last time " in honourable procession " with as Matthew Parker said " the greatest funeral pomp " to his beloved College where little more than seven months previous they had done their best to break his heart. Mindful of his own latter end he had prepared the inscription for his tomb and it is interesting to note that he used the phrase he had placed on Linacre's tomb in St. Paul's " Vivit post funera Virtus " but whereas that formed part of a long epitaph, in his own case he simply added with a brevity as dignified as it is pathetic, " Fui Caius ".

His grave was twice disturbed during alterations to the chapel, once in 1719 and again in 1891. On the latter occasion Professor Macalister estimated from the length of the femur that his height did not exceed 5 foot 1 inch. One is reminded of the child's comment in *Cavalcade* at the sight of Queen Victoria's coffin, " She must have been a very little lady ". But stature in cubits does not accord with character, and the world has often been much indebted to those who lacked inches. That Caius became eccentric in his latter years seems probable and I have sometimes wondered whether the Dr. Caius of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was based upon the memory of his curious ways. True the play was written more than twenty years after the death of John Caius, and the physician in it is a Frenchman. What views have Shakespearian scholars on this?

I believe that Caius was a man who was afraid of personal relations. He never married and his only intimate friend was Conrad Gesner. The way he grieved over the loss of Gesner for the remaining eight years of his own life suggests why he was unwilling to lend his heart to be torn by bereavements. But if friends die, institutions do not when carefully tended, and so he gave his heart to the College of Physicians and to his college at Cambridge. He adorned them both with gifts like a lover. Here his repressed affections found outlet. And then—the bitterness of it, his college turned against him, his University despoiled him. Perhaps even a worse grief was that he began to doubt his wisdom in supporting the new learning, when he saw the excesses to which men were led when they had thrown off the shackles of authority. Walter Raleigh expressed the point finely when he said: " That great movement of the mind of man brought with it the exhilara-

tion of an untried freedom and the zest of unlimited experiment; but it took the human soul from its station in a balanced and rounded scheme of things to deliver it over to every kind of danger and excess; . . . [man] was like a child out of school, trying his strength and resource in all kinds of fantastic and extravagant attempts." That I think is what Caius felt in his later life, just as Fairfax came to feel about the attitude of Parliament to Charles I and Wordsworth about the French Revolution. Emancipation brought disillusionment in its train. Is not the same feeling in the air to-day, as we witness the overthrow of moral standards which had seemed to our fathers to be absolute? And can we not sympathize with Caius as he watched his college drifting towards the unknown, when we are watching institutions to which we have devoted much of our lives in peril of change? What the future holds for them we know not, but we suspect it will hardly accord with the hopes we held. Still the adaptability of man is extraordinary and the brave new world to come will doubtless have virtues all its own. If Caius returned he would find his college flourishing beyond his wildest dreams. "Fui Caius", but the past tense loses its poignancy in the living present which truly proclaims of him "Vivit post funera virtus". For his name is not "one that is writ in water".

REFERENCES

LE KEUX, J. (1847), "Memorials of Cambridge", 2 vols. London.
MOORE, Sir NORMAN (1918), "History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital", vol. II. London.
MULLINGER, J. B. (1886), "Caius" Dictionary of National Biography. London.
MUNK, W. (1878), Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, vol. I. London.
NEWMAN, Sir GEORGE, "The Rise of Preventive Medicine". Oxford University Press, 1932.
ROLLESTON, Sir HUMPHRY (1932), "The Cambridge Medical School". Cambridge University Press.
Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, edited by J. R. Tanner. Cambridge, 1917.
VENN, J. (1910), "John Caius". Cambridge.

Paracelsus: Personality, Doctrines and His Alleged Influence in the Reform of Medicine

By H. P. BAYON, M.D., PH.D.

(*St. Catharine's College, Cambridge*)

AUREOLUS PHILIPP THEOPHRAST BOMBAST AB HOHENHEIM—commonly known as Paracelsus—died in Salzburg on September 24, 1541; the 400th anniversary of his death may be commemorated by an essay to evaluate the historical significance of his doctrines in relation to the development of medicine and modern science.

PARACELSIAN LITERATURE

From contemporary testimony it is known that Paracelsus was a copious author, but that, notwithstanding his efforts, only few of his writings were printed and published during his lifetime. After his death, Paracelsian writings were collected and edited, but there is reason to believe that among these several suppositious works made their appearance, for imitators were numerous.

For example, Johann Thölde published the *Triumph Wagen Antimonii* (Leipzig, 1604), which purported to be the MS. of a fourteenth century Benedictine monk, Basil Valentine, but in reality consisted of transcriptions from various Paracelsian works. This book gave rise to considerable controversy, because until Basil Valentine was shown to be a figment, it seemed that Paracelsus had copied from this MS.