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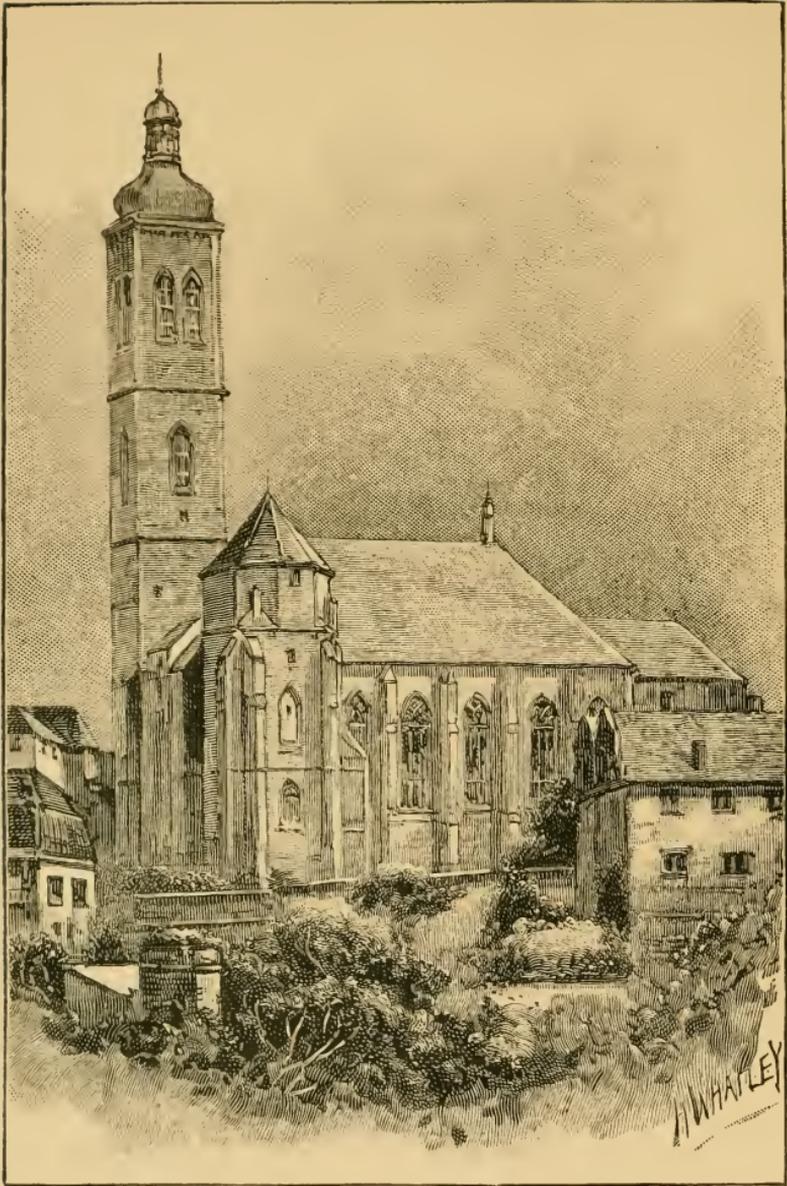
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A forgotten great

Englishman; or, The life



ST. JACOBI CHURCH AT KUTTENBERG, IN WHICH PETER PAYNE PRESIDED
OVER HIS LAST GREAT DISCUSSION.

A FORGOTTEN

GREAT ENGLISHMAN

OR

*THE LIFE AND WORK OF
PETER PAYNE, THE WYCLIFFITE*

BY

JAMES BAKER

AUTHOR OF 'PICTURES FROM BOHEMIA,' 'MARK TILLOTSON,' ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HENRY WHATLEY

LONDON

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

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1894

P R E F A C E

IN sending forth this volume upon a most interesting and momentous period of the world's history, I plead for it fair and generous criticism. I have tried to deal with the subject in no narrow sectarian spirit. Tracing the material for it has been a most interesting and even exciting occupation; and as the wild yet earnest life of the time has passed under review, with all its fierce cruelties, jealous hatreds, and hot passion, the sense of how much we in these later days owe to Wycliffe and Payne and their followers in Bohemia has deepened. They were among the first in mediæval Europe to make a firm stand against the corrupt dominance of the Roman Catholic system over the souls of men.

If this book proves that England, through

Wycliffe and Payne, was the nation that gave the world the Reformation, let us in England, of the nineteenth century, cling to the freedom our countrymen won through that Reformation; and resist firmly, without bitterness, and with none of the cruelties practised so freely on both sides in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, all attempts to undo the work of those centuries. The study of that period will prove that every so-called new fancy or fad of this century was essayed five hundred years ago; that dress and manners have changed, but that the human soul and human nature are the same, leavened by a little more prevalence of the greatest of all Christian virtues, charity. With the spread of that virtue, we need never dread the need of another Reformation.

CONTENTS



PART I.

	PAGE
PROOF THAT HE WAS FORGOTTEN	9

PART II.

PETER PAYNE'S LIFE-WORK	35
--------------------------------	----

PART III.

HOW EARLY ENGLISH WRITERS MALIGNED PAYNE ...	126
--	-----



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



ST. JACOBI CHURCH AT KUTTENBERG, IN WHICH PETER PAYNE PRESIDED OVER HIS LAST GREAT DISCUSSION	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PETER PAYNE'S PRISON AT GUTSTEIN	8
TABOR, FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING OBTAINED BY THE AUTHOR FROM THE TOWN CLERK OF TABOR ...	43
OLD HOUSE AT TABOR WITH STONE TABLE IN FRONT, AT WHICH THE OPEN-AIR COMMUNION WAS TAKEN	74



PETER PAYNE'S PRISON AT GUTSTEIN.

(From a drawing by H. Whatley.)

A FORGOTTEN GREAT ENGLISHMAN



PART I

PROOF THAT HE WAS FORGOTTEN

THE first thing to prove in this volume is that Peter Payne was a wholly forgotten Englishman ; the last will be to prove his right to a place amongst the great men who have illumined England's history.

Whilst writing some articles in the *Leisure Hour* upon his work, I visited most of the scenes in which he lived and worked in England and Bohemia, and since that date (1890) I have revisited them and received many letters about Peter Payne. Some of those letters I can introduce here to prove that he was a wholly forgotten hero. For truly he was a hero in the highest sense, working for the truth

blamelessly, fearlessly, self-sacrificingly, undaunted by threats or imprisonment, speaking the truth before pope, or kaiser, or infuriated populace boldly and with honesty ; and with naught of self-seeking intent.

When travelling in Bohemia and diving into her fascinating and exciting history, I first noticed the continually recurring name of Peter Payne. I thought my own dips into English history had been too slight, and that I should at once, upon looking into the works of our great historians, find references to a man who had so influenced and led thought in Europe at a momentous period of the world's history. But all my seeking was at first in vain. No ordinary history mentioned him. All the accepted and generally read histories of Hume, Green, Lingard, Knight, etc., were searched, but no trace of even the name of Peter Payne could be found. Further visits to Bohemia, and the fact that I found ordinary students, even innkeepers in that country, acquainted with Peter Payne, drove me to make inquiries of living English historians as to where I could find the best account of him by some English writer.

Having the privilege of knowing Professor Rowley, who occupies the chair of history at Bristol University College, I first applied to him, knowing how carefully he had studied our history, and how much the late J. R. Green had altered his *Short History of the English People*, to fall in with views expressed by Professor Rowley in his articles upon it in *Fraser*. But Professor Rowley knew naught of Peter Payne, though he put me on the right scent, by suggesting I should seek for him in church, and not in general histories ; and when later on I sent to him the first proofs of the articles upon Peter Payne, Professor Rowley, under date March 4, 1885, wrote as follows : ‘ Thank you very much for the favour of reading the proofs of your paper, which I have at last been able to do. It is exceedingly interesting, and will prove, I have no doubt, a very taking article. But the historical part is outside my range of knowledge ; Bohemian history is still an unexplored land for me. I have no doubt, however, that your history, coming as it does from Palacky, is perfectly correct.’

The fact that such a careful student and thinker knew nothing of Payne led me to take up other

correspondence, to see if it could be true that this English link between Wycliffe and Luther had wholly passed from our English life. I wrote to Mr. Leslie Stephen, the then editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and received a reply from Mr. Sidney Lee, which threw no light whatever upon the matter in hand. I also ventured to broach the subject to Mr. J. A. Froude, who replied to my note accompanying the first of the articles with the following interesting letter, written before he had received the proofs, and dated March 11, 1890: 'Your letter addressed to the Molt has reached me, but not what ought to have accompanied it. I return home in three or four weeks, when I suppose I shall find the articles waiting for me. Meanwhile, the Payne you speak of is an unknown personage to me. You will have enough to do if you rake up all the forgotten Englishmen who have made their mark about the globe. But I shall be glad to hear about this one.' But on June 18, a famous day on which to receive a letter from a great English historian on a historical subject, I received the following still more agreeable letter from the Molt, Salcombe: 'I write in haste, on the point of going

abroad for a few weeks, to thank you for your account of Peter Payne. As I am absent from London, my letters and parcels have reached me irregularly, so that I have been barely able to glance through what you have written. Every one, however, who preserves the memory of the great men of the past, the men who have given our country all the real grandeur which it possesses, have done good service. When I return I will try to learn more about your friend, and what he did. Bohemia is far off, and, except at such a crisis, came little in contact with us. Pardon this brief letter.'

I next wrote to Dr. Percival, then President of Trinity, who wrote to the Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, of which Foxe states Peter Payne was Vice-Principal. Dr. Percival forwarded me the answer of Mr. E. Moore, with a note from himself in red ink upon it, running thus: 'This from the Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. I should recommend your applying for any information to the Bodleian Librarian.' The note from Mr. E. Moore ran as follows: 'We have no archives or documents of the Hall going back anything like far enough. I find, on reference to Foster's recently published

Alumni Oxonienses, the name does not occur, which presumably implies that there is no evidence of his matriculation in the University archives. I am sorry I cannot help your friend.'

In June I also wrote to the Bodleian Library, as suggested by Dr. Percival, but here again the very name of Peter Payne was unknown, as the following letter from Mr. F. Madan proves, and as the circumstances of a later visit to the Library also most fully confirmed: 'I am sorry to say that neither the librarian nor I know anything of the Oxford life of Peter Payne, nor where to look for such information. I did not even know that he was ever at St. Edmund's Hall, but perhaps you do not imply this. The recollections of contemporaries are generally the best sources of information, but I fear I know of none such in this case.'

Knowing Mr. W. E. Gladstone's fondness for strange passages in English history, when the three articles on Peter Payne had appeared, I sent them to him; and his reply is most characteristic, but proves that he too was ignorant of the work of this forgotten Englishman. He writes on

August 25, 1890, 'I thank you for your interesting articles. The transplantation of the Wycliffe movement and its relative force in the two countries of origin and import is, I think, one of the most curious things in ecclesiastical history. And you have told us enough about Payne to make us wish to know more ; nor least about the conclusion at which he finally arrived.'

I felt my evidence that Peter Payne was entirely forgotten by his own country was now fairly complete, but there was still one historian from whom I longed to have a word on the subject ; and fortune favoured me, for on July 24, 1890, I was present in the ruins of Glastonbury when Mr. E. A. Freeman gave a paper on the history of the abbey. Afterwards, standing opposite the old Pilgrim's Rest in the town, I had a pleasant conversation with him, and told him of my wish to learn all I could from English historians of this Peter Payne. He was much interested in the matter, and told me he knew nothing of him, but if I would send him the articles he would afford me all the help he could ; and if he knew nothing about it, he had a friend in Oxford who was more

deeply read in that special period of history than he was, and he would know all about him. Who that friend was he did not tell me, and I never heard his friend's name from himself ; but that he kept his word I learnt afterwards in Oxford in an indirect way, and, averse as Mr. Freeman was to general correspondence, the interest he took in the matter is evidenced by the letter which he sent some six weeks afterwards, dated September 6, 1890. It is a very difficult letter to decipher, and, in spite of help from several who knew Mr. Freeman's handwriting well, it is still slightly doubtful if the latter part of the letter is correctly given : ' I ought to have thanked you long ago for your papers on the "Forgotten Great Englishman." I am sending them to one who knows much more about Wycliffe and such matters than I do. Your man was clearly a power among them, and I have a certain yearning to the men of Bene (*sic*), that I sometimes go so far as to call them Boemish (*sic*) boys, because I take a good deal of interest in them now, and in their claim as a separate kingdom.'

Having already visited, with one exception,

every spot in Bohemia to which Peter Payne has been traced, and where his name is remembered, I wished to tread in his steps in England, and learn if in his English home or haunts aught of his life or work was still known; and, forgetting the letter I had received through Dr. Percival from Mr. Moore, I wrote to the Rev. R. G. Plumtre, the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, but his reply was hardly encouraging. He wrote from St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, May 25, 1891, 'I thank you for your note received this morning, and in reply I can only say that I have no recollection whatever of having heard from Dr. Percival at all on the point in question. If I had done so, I am pretty sure that I should have remembered something about it, or have had some note of it. So, to the best of my knowledge and belief, your letter is the first I have heard about the inquiries into the history of Peter Payne. If we can find out anything here about him, so much the better; but I dare not hold out any expectations, as I am afraid they would not be justified. I will, however, ask the Principal if he knows anything about the matter. I shall be

happy to show you anything I can on Saturday, and, if possible, to aid your search.'

I went to Oxford, but found that the St. Edmund's Hall of the days of Peter Payne had been almost wholly swept away ; only one pointed arch, half hid by later masonry, dated from his time. And in the library the records only went back to 1477. But it was interesting to be in the same hall, in the same foundation in which Peter Payne had lived and worked, and learned from his master, Wycliffe, how to judge the priestly dominance and corruption around him. The old church of St. Peter's hard by, around and beneath the roof of which he had often walked, is not much changed since his day. New College, but just round the corner, also carried one back to Wycliffe's time. But of Peter Payne himself I could learn nothing ; and Mr. Plumptre assured me no trace of him was to be found in the library or archives of the Hall.

Another friend who had interested himself in the matter was Mr. Herbert Warren, the President of Magdalen, and after some talk with him in his library on Payne's work, and the strange fact he

had been so wholly lost sight of in his own university, we started out for the Bodleian; and here Mr. Nicholson, the librarian, took much pains to discover something substantial about this Wycliffite, or Hussite, as Mr. Nicholson termed him. For a time he laboured to no purpose, until at last Mr. Warren said it was very strange; surely something was to be found about him in the Bodleian. Then Mr. Nicholson suggested perhaps his name would be found under Paganus; and mounting a high ladder and opening a folio, in triumph he called out, 'Here we have him;' but on looking into the reference, we found it was but a repetition of the slighting notes on his life to be found in most of the Latin writers who ever mentioned him. As there was no time for a longer search, Mr. Warren accompanied me to the rooms of Mr. R. Lane Poole, who he felt sure would be able to tell me all that could be possibly known about him.

I found Mr. Poole somewhat prepared for my visit, for to him Mr. Freeman had sent my articles, although at the commencement of our conversation he did not know I was the writer of them; but

he kindly went into the matter, and gave me the names of the writers in whose works I should probably meet with Payne's name, such as Jöcher, Tanner, the Wycliffe publications, Maxwell Lyte's *Ancient History of Oxford*, Wood's *History of Oxford*; and, turning to the list of principals in Oxford, he found Payne's name entered as Principal, and not, as Foxe states, Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. Probably he thought this was an error of Foxe, as the list of vice-principals was not kept. But he had not gone into the matter minutely, as he had sent on my articles to Mr. Morfill, the Professor of Slavonic Literature, to whom he referred me.

At length here were some crumbs of information on Payne's life, but they were indeed but crumbs; and, with the exception of Anthony Wood's gentle leaning towards the heretic, they were all of a slighting and defamatory character, as the extracts from the works mentioned will show. So my interview with Mr. Poole only proved more fully that Payne was forgotten in Oxford; for it was the sending of my articles to Mr. Poole by Mr. Freeman, and his forwarding them on to Mr.

Morfill, that aroused in Oxford some interest in his life.

I had yet one spot in England to visit where, perchance, some memory still clung around the name of this stedfast reformer. Foxe and Wood state that he was born at Hough, near Grantham. So I wrote twice to the present Vicar of Hough ; but receiving no answer, I set out for Grantham, arriving there doubting whether it was at all likely I should find any trace remaining of a certain Payne who had lived some five hundred years ago, the more so as I was entirely ignorant whether he was born of poor or of wealthy parents. But on alighting at the old Angel Inn, where King John lodged, and where Richard II. signed the death-warrant of Buckingham, I was delighted to read in a local guide, that at Hough (pronounced Hoff) there was a good church of the Decorated order, carrying one at once back to Payne's time, and that in the chancel were some fine monuments to the Payne family, who were the lords of the manor.

At last the hope revived of getting some insight into the reformer's early life, and, overjoyed at what

promised to be the success of my little pilgrimage, I started off to Hougham, the nearest point of railway to Hough.

Leaving the quiet little railway station for my three-mile walk, I fell in with an intelligent country traveller, who was calling on all the village shops, and knew the district well; and as we walked on I told him the object of my journey, and he became interested in Peter Payne's life; but asked pertinently how it was nobody had ever heard of him, especially where he had lived. In pleasant chat we passed on through Gelston, and as we entered Hough, on the right-hand side there was a cottage with a little trefoil-head window, suggestive of church spoliation—a hint of how much might have been swept away of a fourteenth-century building.

On entering the churchyard a little lad pointed out a door that was unlocked, and, anxious as to what I should find, I entered the church and passed up to the chancel; but all had been cleared, swept, and garnished. No old historic tombs, chapters in history, stood within the small chancel; two brass candlesticks, and a poor,

gaudily painted, but faded reredos was all that the eye rested upon. The tombs to the Payne family were gone. Disheartened and saddened at this wiping out of history, I made a careful examination of the church, and at last I was rearoused to intense interest on seeing behind the organ, and wholly out of sight, two fine sarcophagus-like marble tombs with the following inscriptions :—

‘In memory of Edward Payne, Esq., who early engaged in the cause of Liberty and Religion. In a meeting of the Gentlemen and Clergy of the County, he (being then High Sherriff) publicly declared he would stand or fall by the Prince of Orange, which resolution was received with universal satisfaction and applause. He was a gentleman of sound sense, great integrity, affability, and moderation, which made him highly valued as an excellent magistrate. He loved the Religion of his country, and constantly attended its offices with exemplary seriousness and devotion.

‘He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hatcher, Esq., of Carby, whom, after several

years of mutual happiness, he buried Nov. 1688.

‘By her he had Elizabeth-Anna, John Edward, who died abroad, Judith Elizabeth Jane, and Thomas. Elizabeth - Anna died 1686; John, a gentleman of great hopes and universally esteemed, died 1710; Judith, a lady of excellent understanding, worn out by a tedious and painful illness, with great patience and submission resigned her breath 1717. He himself departed in the fear of God Dec. 30, 1728, aged 71.

‘Elizabeth, the wife of Francis Fane of Fulbeck.

‘Jane, the wife of Richard Nelthorpe, Esq., of Scawby.

‘Thomas, his youngest son, all survived him.’

The second inscription ran thus :

‘To the memory of Thomas Payne, Esq., who departed this life Dec. 1st, 1742, aged 57. A gentleman from his youth firmly attached to the Protestant succession, the security of our laws and Religion, a worthy magistrate, a tender husband, a kind father, a good neighbour, of a graceful person, of a cheerful disposition, of great steadiness and sobriety. He married Elizabeth,

daughter of Martin Folkes, Esq., of Hillington, in the county of Norfolk, a lady adorned with every good and amiable quality, and universally lamented at her death, which happened in March, 1727.'

He had by her—

'Dorothy, who dy'd Sept. 1723, age 7.

'Edmund, who dy'd April, 1740, age 14.

'Elizabeth } who, as a testimony of their filial
'Ethelred } piety and natural affection, have
erected this monument.'

Here was the most interesting evidence that in this family of the Paynes the earnest convictions of the first reformer had taken deep root, and was still fruit-bearing two and three hundred years after his death.

But after reading these inscriptions, which proved that the Paynes had been a considerable and powerful family for many centuries, the question forced itself still more persistently upon the mind, how was it that their great ancestor was so wholly forgotten here in the home of his childhood, in Oxford, and throughout England, though revered and remembered in the country of his adoption, Bohemia? And with this question yet only half

answered, I went on round the church, noting all its interesting details.

Just beneath the two great Payne tombs was a fine, rich, foliated cross cut in stone on the floor. This cross had been moved from somewhere, and was now being destroyed by the organ-blower's feet. At the east end of the church was a stained Perpendicular window, a plain sedilia and ambrey or credence niche, and some quaint heads to the corbels of the mouldings round the chancel windows. There were marks where the rood screen had been, and a little door leading up to it on the north pillar; and on the south pillar of the chancel, behind the pulpit, a trefoil-headed niche; and on the south wall a half-walled up niche as a piscina. On the north wall at the east end is another piscina with a stone shelf, and here the Commandments are put up.

The nave is separated from the aisles by four wide, octagonal-pillared arches, two on each side, and above these are four Decorated clerestory windows. At the west end of the church is a good square tower; with, on the exterior, four Decorated windows at the fourth tier, and above

these a moulded parapet with crotcheted pinnacles and wide projecting gurgoyles. The curious and unique thing about the church is, that to the west of the square tower, and joined on to it, is a round tower ; and on entering are seen the stone stairs that wind up it, and the small deep splayed Norman windows that light it, whilst squared and pointed headed doorways are cut through from it into the later square tower. Thus the builders of this later tower utilized the old stairway in the earlier so-called Saxon tower.

Having thus well studied the old church, where one may well imagine that Peter Payne worshipped as a boy, and until he started for Oxford, I ventured to call upon the vicar, who had not answered my letters.

I was fortunate enough to find him at home, but he knew nothing of Peter Payne, and hardly appeared to like my intrusion into the quiet of his village. Whether the removal of the Payne monuments from the chancel to behind the organ had aught to do with this cool reception, I cannot judge ; but after some talk I asked to see the registers, and this he could hardly refuse. We

went across to the church to search for the oldest, but, on looking into the iron chest, the vicar remembered that he had the oldest of the registers in his house ; so, after another look round the church, we returned to his rooms, and there found the earliest registers. But they only went back to 1651 ; yet several entries of the Payne family were traced, and the Ethelred whose name occurs on the monument to Thomas Payne was found to be the last of the race, and she married into the Cust family, thus merging this honourable historic family into that of the present Earl of Brownlow.

As will be seen from the inscription, Dorothy and Edmund, the two eldest children of Thomas Payne, died young ; and Elizabeth, the only other child, remained single, thus leaving only Ethelred to bear fruit to this famous stock of an ancient English family, who for three hundred years had powerfully influenced the thought around them in their Lincolnshire home.

I found the vicar not too willing to devote any time to the matter, going on with his writing whilst I searched the old registers. He was coolly

courteous, and pleaded his excess of work as a reason for not answering my letters ; but he gave me the name of the Nottingham merchant who now owned the Hall, thinking that there I might glean some information, and see some domestic architecture of an early date. But the Hall I found to be a very new building, with naught ancient left save the great kitchen chimney ; but a few grand old chestnuts, the remnant of a great avenue four miles in extent, spoke of the former greatness of the house.

I was recommended here to find out the oldest inhabitant, a Mr. Ripley, who remembered some skeletons being dug up on Castle Hill ; and as it was likely he might recall some traditions of the Paynes, I discovered his cottage, and was fortunate enough to find the old man at home, with his poor afflicted one-armed wife. I did not tell my errand, but simply said that I was interested in the village, and soon he rambled on in his reminiscences. He told me 'how once, when he was cutting a drain just by the school-house, his tool drove into something, and he pulled out a skull ; and as he went on he found a dozen all in one hole. A number

of people came and looked at these skeletons, and one brought a lot of books, and said, "There has been no battle here." But not far off he had found six stone coffins, but had broke 'em all up save one, and he was there now.' And so I found it on the north side of the church tower. He found 'some coffins with ladies in 'em, and little children at their feet.' Then he asked me if I knew there used to be another Hall, where Squire Payne lived. 'But,' I said, 'you cannot remember Squire Payne.' 'No, but my father could mind him. Why, you can see their tombs in the chancel now.' Hearing the name of the descendant of him whose history I was trying to link together spoken of thus glibly by this old man in his native place, struck strangely, for I had not expected to find any trace left of Peter Payne; but although he himself was forgotten, I had found the tombs of his family, and had traced his descendants into a noble English family of to-day, and had heard from a man's lips the old name as one of our own day, in this village that Payne the Wycliffite had left probably about the year 1395, some five hundred years ago.

I left Mr. Ripley with a hearty handshake from the old man, and went out again round the village. The so-called Castle Hill is at the east end of the church, a circular hill, and below it are traces of embankments and a stream bearing great resemblance to a castle moat ; near it is a great farmhouse, and on the other southern side of the road which cuts through the hill are further traces of embankments, a high square mound, and trenches.

Having now traced Payne into the Brownlow family, I wrote to the Earl of Brownlow, and received the following interesting reply, dated October 24, 1892: 'I fear I cannot give you any information about Peter Payne. The Paynes were well-to-do squires owning property at Hough-on-the-Hill, which was once a place of some importance, with a castle and a priory in which King John spent a miserable night, after having been poisoned at Swinshead Abbey. The family lived in the house at the corner of the cross-roads, half of which was pulled down about a hundred years ago, since which time it has been a farmhouse, and the iron gates at the end of the avenue, and the fittings of the

rooms, have since been removed. The castle dates from the time of Elizabeth or James I. I regret that I have no papers or portraits of the Payne family. Ethelred, the last of the family, married Sir John Cust, Speaker of the House of Commons. If I can come across any further information, I shall be happy to forward it to you.'

Thus the Earl of Brownlow's note verified that the farmhouse, with the moat-like stream and embankments near it, is the old home of Peter Payne's descendants, and perchance his own home. The strange thing is that the records and portraits of a family who lived in one place for four hundred years at least should be thus wholly lost. Probably there are still records extant, even of Peter Payne and his English life, but they are buried in the archives of castle or hall, to be discovered by some patient worker in history.

As I walked back over the hills towards Grantham, and again rested in the old Angel Inn, that can trace its history back to before Payne's day, as one of the *hospitia* belonging to the

Knights Templars in 1291, I felt satisfied with my little pilgrimage. I had found no positive proof that Peter Payne, the reformer, was born at Hough, but I no longer doubted Foxe's statement, and I was to get the links from Anthony Wood's *Annals*. I pictured to myself the young man leaving Hough, riding probably into this town of Grantham, and halting at this hospice ere starting forth, with some collection of students for the university, on the high-road for Oxford, with probably other travellers. Riding on down through the Fenland to the famous city, dreaming not of the strange career that lay before him in unknown and distant Bohemia. He was to be forgotten in his ancestral home, by his descendants, in the university where he had first learnt and then taught, in the Hall that he had governed. He was to be unknown to our historians and statesmen, and to our librarians; and his name was to be unrecorded in general history or biographical works; and yet in Bohemia to be remembered and known, even by the common folk. And now my task is to prove that he was worthy of remembrance by his own countrymen and by his

descendants; that his work is a powerful link in the history of man's bursting the bonds of soul subjugation to earthly powers; (that he is the English link that connects Wycliffe with Luther)

PART II

PETER PAYNE'S LIFE-WORK

To be great, and yet to be forgotten by one's own countrymen ; to have swayed the minds of men at one of the greatest periods in the world's history ; to have led the rulers of that period, and made popes and emperors await the words that decide a nation's fate ; to have been first and foremost in debates that still re-echo through the world, though nearly five hundred years have elapsed since the actors in these scenes have passed away from earth—and yet to be forgotten !

And yet Peter Payne is remembered lovingly by the country that adopted him, and for whose cause he so boldly fought in their mighty struggle against Europe. If in England this great man is forgotten, in Bohemia his name is cherished ; and her historians give him ample space, and her

people of to-day know his name. If in the fifteenth century the Bohemians ransomed him at a high rate of ransom when taken prisoner, so now in this nineteenth century her historians have fully and ably rescued his name from the oblivion to which English historians would have condemned it, if we can say men condemn that which they ignore. The plain name of Peter Payne will ever shine forth as a bright star in Bohemian history ; and my aim is to prove that the writers of English history cannot ignore him, if they would set before the world the work of the English people, and their onward course. For Peter Payne strenuously and persistently cherished the seed which burst forth into much flower and fruit ere his own century had set.¹

Peter Payne was one of the greatest of the

¹ The whole of the matter in the succeeding pages has been gleaned from foreign writers, largely from Palacky's famous *History of Bohemia*, and from personal visits to most of the places where Peter Payne lived and worked—towns and castles rich in historical and archæological interest, yet where we were repeatedly assured by resident professors and editors, no modern Englishman had ever set foot. A research for years past through the visitors' books in famous churches and castles has confirmed their words ; for in the years 1889 to 1894 no English names could be seen, so curiously do our countrymen travel in well-worn grooves in Europe.

leaders of the Wycliffites (known to us English as Hussites) of Bohemia through all the fierce years from 1417 until 1455. In 1410 he was Principal of St. Edmund's Hall in Oxford, and at the same time Principal of Whitehall, whose front, though it looked to the High Street, yet the back part thereof joined to that of St. Edmund's Hall; but he was driven thence, against the will of the king, Harry of Monmouth, because of his intense earnestness and persistency in spreading the teaching of his master, John Wycliffe. On February 13, 1417, he was received amongst the professors of the Prague University.

We may perhaps glean the reason of his flight from England to Bohemia from Capgrave's *Chronicles of England*. In speaking of the increase in the number of Wycliffe's followers in the year 1389, this quaint old writer says, 'The Bischoppis of this lond saide right nout to this mater, but kepte hem in here houses, and opened no mouth to berk ageyn these erroneous doggis.' At a later date, 1401, he speaks of the edict against the Lollards in the following interesting words: 'In the third yere of this Herry was a Parlement

at London, wher was mad a statute ageyn Lollardis, that where evyr thei were founde preching her evcl doctrine thei shuld be take, and presented to the bischop; and if thei meynnten here opinionones, thei shuld be committed to seculere hand, and thei shuld brenne him and her bokes. This statute was practized in a prest, that sone aftir was brent at Smythfield.'

In the political poems of the period there are constant references to the strife over the Sacrament and the refusal of the friars to do aught for the people unless 'thei willin paien,' and in the reply of Friar Dan Topias with Jacke Upland's rejoinder, of the year 1401, are the following lines:—

'But sith that wickide worme,
Wyclif be his name,
Began to sowe the seed
Of cism in the erthe.'

These references to the chronicles of the times show how the whole matter had eaten into the hearts of even the common folk, and how bitter was the persecution of these earliest reformers, and they fully account for Payne's journey into Bohemia. The first important mention we have

of his name is where it occurs in a list of the men who, in the year 1420, were held in high esteem in Prague; and here he is spoken of as the Englishman Peter Payne, 'who is generally spoken of as Meister Englisch.' Five years had elapsed since Huss had died for his adherence to Wycliffe's teaching, and already his followers were beginning to break up into those sects that so weakened the unity of Bohemia. A year before, the strange town of Tabor had been founded by the troops of people who streamed out to this tent-bedecked, water-surrounded height to worship God in their own fashion under the free heavens; and it was in the controversies between the Praguers and the Taborites that Payne's name first came prominently forth as a peacemaker between the controversialists. The Taborites had drawn up certain propositions upon the fourth of the famous Prague Articles, upon the frequenting taverns, extravagance in dress, deceptions in work and trade; and these the New Town of Prague had agreed with, but the Old Town wavered in their decision, not being willing to adopt the reading of the Taborites. But their

leaders went to Peter Payne, and after they had been instructed by him they fell in with their fellow-townsmen, and, with some qualifications, and under certain conditions, were one with the Taborites.

This first action of Payne's gives us the key to his work in Bohemia. It was generally that of a peacemaker and arbitrator, and though we shall find him standing up boldly before council and pope and emperor, holding forth and expounding with fiery words the teaching of his master, Wycliffe, yet generally he is the mediator between the passionate fighting sects of the Bohemians.

The teaching of the Taborites was similar to the dream of honest revolutionists in all ages—those of 1789 and 1848, and of some few socialists of the present day. There was to be no king or over-lord; all were to be brothers and sisters. 'In Tabor,' ran their first article, 'there is no mine and thine, all is in common; and so it ever shall be—all in common, and no personal property. Whoever holds such shall commit a deadly sin.' But in Tabor, as in both earlier and

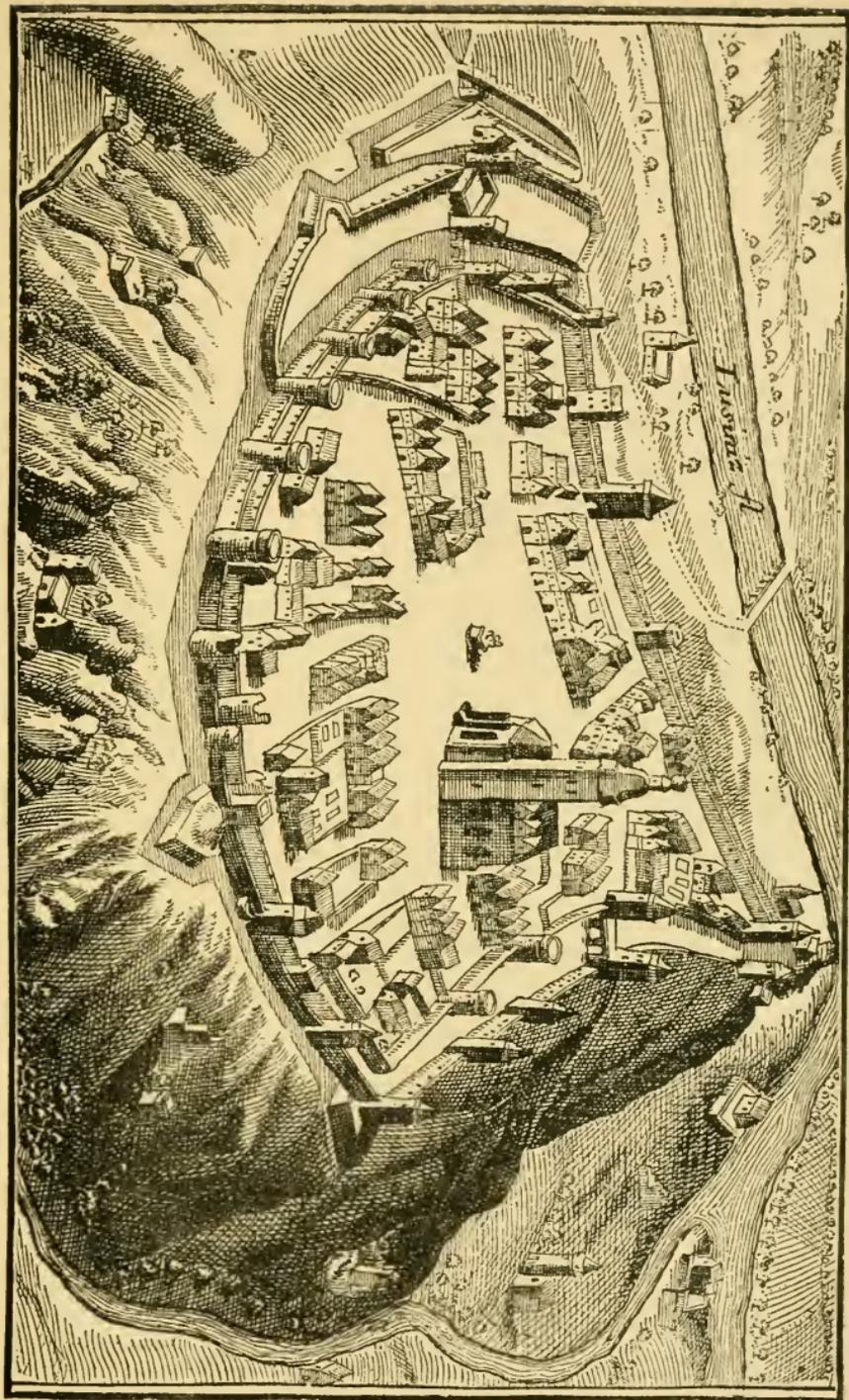
later years, this impossible dream of a universal brotherhood soon vanished, and the laws of mine and thine were re-established.

This first public action of Payne's was in the year 1420, and between this and the next time we hear of him, on November 14, 1421, ensued a time of terror and tumult, and of the fiercest bloodshed in Bohemia: King Sigmund fleeing, and then promising all that is demanded of him, earning his title of the 'word-breaker,' and leaving his land to be torn by furious sects, who committed fearful horrors in religion's name. In Prague the quarrel was developing into a class-war of democracy against aristocracy, the former being led by Priester Johann, formerly a monk of Selaw. It was as a mediator between this Priester Johann and the magistrates of Prague, upon certain points laid down for the more peaceable ordering of the town, that we find Peter Payne again chosen.

Between this mention of his name and any further record of his life five fiery bloody years pass over Bohemia. Ziska, with his waggon-forts, marched and countermarched against Sigmund with a rapidity that astonished his contemporaries,

but with such attendant horrors that after his victory at Deutsch-Brod his remorse for the deeds of cruelty was so great that it clung to him until his death. But Ziska was dead, and the great victory of the Hussites at Aussig over the Germans had been won ere we hear of Payne in the presence of Prince Koryhut upholding Wycliffe's doctrines. A reaction had set in in Prague against the teaching of Wycliffe and his follower Huss, and the priests and doctors of that town now taught that the communion should truly be taken both in bread and wine by the laity, but that many other of the doctrines of Wycliffe were heretical, or at least mischievous and errorful. And M. Pribram, who is described as 'the most miserable of sinners, but a warm denouncer of heresy, and especially of Wycliffism and Picardism,' commenced in such hot terms to inveigh against these errors that the followers of Wycliffe began to fear that if Wycliffe be declared heretical, Huss, his follower, must also be arraigned under the same category. And to oppose the fiery denunciations of M. Pribram a discussion was arranged in the university, and Peter Payne was chosen to

TABOR, FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING OBTAINED BY THE AUTHOR FROM THE TOWN CLERK OF TABOR.



oppose M. Pribram, 'for he had ever defended and taught most ardently and thoroughly the views of his famous countryman.' The fiercest struggle was, as usual, upon the point of transubstantiation; and the importance of the task thus set Payne is made clear by the Bohemian historian's words: 'If,' he writes, 'matters had gone according to M. Pribram, the Chalicers, out of pure opposition to Wycliffism and the bolder Hussites, would have been drawn even nearer to Rome, and would soon have found themselves again in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and all their former sufferings and struggles would have been but strayings from the right way and as but an injurious dream.' And so the moment came when a decision must be made whether Hussitism (ignoring the sects of Taborites and Orphans) should have a self-existence, and become an organic development in the inner life of the future.

As this discussion led up to an important step in Payne's life, we must briefly follow the events of the next year, although his name is not mentioned in them; but the fact of his sustaining

the weight of the defence, and his after action, proves that he must have been in the whole heat and turmoil of the events.

Prince Koryhut, thinking that M. Pribram's party outnumbered Payne's, as we may term it, quickened the decision, but not to his own advantage. He sent a private messenger to Pope Martin, writing that the Bohemians were ready to fall into the Church's arms if but the pope would himself hear them. The pope was only willing to listen to them if they unreservedly bowed to the Church's teaching and did not come to wrangle and argue upon various points ; and he appointed King Wladislaw and Prince Witold as their intercessors. But the Hussites, as the victors, did not care to become pleaders to the defeated power, and even the moderate Chalicers objected to such an action. These now had as their leader M. Johann Rokycana, a man of poor parentage, but of great power, and preacher in the Marien-Tein church. Many others amidst the moderate party, with priests, doctors, and burghers, and even close adherents of the prince, objected with Rokycana to this approaching of Rome ; and when at length

this preacher, on April 17, 1427, made publicly known the truth of the letter of the prince, one of those scenes occurred with which Prague in those days was so familiar. The bearers of the prince's letter had been captured during the night. The words of an old song, which may be translated as follows, quaintly recite the scene :—

'They rode out of Prague as night began,
Well knowing what Koryhut secretly span;
But when they rode back from their ride of night,
They brought all the rogues in the full daylight.
They bid ring the bells from the towers on high,
And the folk all flocked to the Tein hard by.
Not long did the priests in the church there stay,
But streamed to the Ring in the light of day;
And they cried aloud, with fearful cries,
"Beloved, we're threatened! To arms, arise."
And the streaming folk then quickly knew
With treacherous letters they had to do.'

The bells did ring forth, and the people, armed, swarmed in street and square, crying out, 'Treason!' Two men of the court, at the head of an armed troop, possessed themselves of the prince, and at night carried him to the castle. Many of the doctors, Pribram amongst them, were imprisoned in the Rathhouse, and so, without at least bloodshed, Rokycana's party gained the upper hand; and after Easter the prince was taken to one of

the wildest castles in all Bohemia, a castle the only entrance to which was, and is, between two narrow walls of rock pierced for shooters, and at this castle, Waldstein, so secretly was he kept, that his faithful followers, amongst whom was the owner of the castle, did not know where he was.

When quiet was restored articles were drawn up to preserve peace and unity, declaring how and what should be believed, and what rules and ordinances in the Christian's observances should be obeyed; and these articles give the difference between the true Chalicers and Rome, and also in what they differ from the Taborites and Orphans. The articles upon transubstantiation, upon which Payne felt and spoke so strongly, ran thus: 'The visible altar sacrament, that Christ Himself, His apostles, and other saints in truth call "bread," is in a miraculous and secret manner before the eyes of our mind and understanding the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ as He received it from the Virgin Mary, died upon the cross, rose again from the dead, and sitteth on the right hand of God.' This was to be simply believed; and

no new interpretation was to be sought for or accepted. This article was directed not only against the Taborites, but most especially against Peter Payne, so writes the Bohemian chronicler ; and thus it happened that this 'talented foreigner' separated from the Praguers, joined himself first of all to the followers of Ziska, called the 'Orphans,' and afterwards to the Taborites, becoming one of their most noteworthy teachers.

Split up as Bohemia now was, yet against outward foes and Rome she so unitedly held her ground that even Rome bent to arguments with her, until the question was asked what was there left of truth, holiness, or safety, when the Church itself was in doubt and wandering? The Taborites and Orphans sent forth their armies into the wild Lausitz territory, now Silesia. They had learnt Rome's teaching of *vexatio dat intellectum*, and assumed the offensive under Priest Prokop the Great, who almost equalled Ziska as a general ; and in Austria also their troops had been successful. The prosperous town of Zittau, though aided in its defence by the Teutonic Order of Knights, was besieged, and the towns of

Hirschfeld, Oschitz, Bernstadt, and Lauban were taken, and the inhabitants brutally murdered. The priests flying to their churches, only to be hewn down or burnt.

To stay the dreaded power that now seemed to threaten all Europe, Pope Martin V. strove to induce a new crusade against the Bohemians, and to aid this, appointed Henry of Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (whom he had specially raised to the cardinalate as a strength against Hussitism), as legate of the apostolic chair for Bohemia, Hungary, and Germany. 'His name,' ran the mandate, 'the name of a kingly and victorious race, would so much the more set the enemies of the Church in fear, as his fame was remarkable for the highest virtues, wisdom, experience, and knowledge.' Thus we have the strange fact that an Englishman, cardinal and bishop, with all Europe and the power of Rome at his back, is appointed by the pope to arouse a crusade to destroy that which in every critical moment was being vigorously sustained and advanced by that other Englishman, plain Peter Payne, the defender of the teaching of Wycliffe.

Mighty indeed now were the efforts made to crush finally this tiny land, whose sturdy, vigorous, and heroic enthusiasts defied all Europe. A new order of knighthood, that of St. George, was instituted, the members binding themselves especially to combat the godless heretics of Bohemia. In Germany all feud was to be laid aside, and all countries—Holland and Alsace, Suabia and Switzerland, France, Saxony, Pomerania, and Austria, joined in raising armies to defeat finally this heretical force. Cardinal Henry of England came at the head of a thousand Englishmen to aid in that defeat, to crush and slaughter the Wycliffites of Bohemia, as the Lollards had been crushed in England. Their own weapons were to be used against them, for waggon-forts were to be with each army.

But the supreme danger had united Bohemia, as danger ever did. Praguers, Taborites, and Orphans combined ; but their whole force against this mighty host was not fourteen thousand footmen and fifteen hundred horse, with waggons and guns ; but, with Priester Prokop at their head. Cardinal Henry joined the crusading host only

to meet the first fugitives, and his rage at their cowardice was intense. He placed himself, with the papal banner unfurled, at the head of the few who heeded him, and, crucifix in hand, stayed the flight, but only for two days. The whole host of crusaders formed once more in battle array at Sachaw, and the princes and leaders swore an oath that they would stand by each other; but the approach of the Bohemian army scattered their firm resolves, and even at the commencement of the fight fleeing bodies of men threw the whole army into disorder. All prayers and threats of the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester were useless. Useless his mighty rage, and his seizing the imperial banner and tearing it, and with fearful curses trampling it beneath his feet. Terror of the dreaded waggon-forts and the mighty heretics who manned them possessed the whole hosts; and Henry of Winchester must needs fly himself or fall into their hands.

And thus ended for the time this other great Englishman's attempt to enter Bohemia by force of arms. He wrote of the defeat that it was caused by the absence of good tactics and organization on

the part of the crusaders. It was not the number of troops that were required, but war-hardened and war-practised warriors, as were the Bohemians themselves ; and he suggested that levies in future should be directed to the sustaining of armies of such men, to combat this terrible foe. And so an income-tax was imposed upon all over fifteen years of age, and with this tax a mighty host of trained inured soldiers was to be raised, to be upon the borders of Bohemia on St. John's Day, 1428. The appointed leaders of the new crusade were Cardinal Legate Henry of Winchester, and the Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg. Pope Martin wrote to his newly appointed English legate, 'Thou art truly the man we took thee for, since thou hast shown so much courage and foresight,' a lengthy and flattering letter, and he also issued a bull commanding that the yearly tithes should be devoted to the raising of this army. But in another matter he and his legate went counter to one another ; for whilst the pope in his bull described all Hussites as Adamites (a strange sect whose religion oftentimes developed into orgies of lust, and who took the sacrament naked in the open air ; a

sect living and hiding themselves in forests and valleys), and commanded that no disputations should be held with them, for the Church required no further testimony of its truth, yet Cardinal Henry had instituted a disputation to try and convince the Bohemians of their errors.

The discussion took place in the castle of Zebrak ; and we find our forgotten Englishman's influence has been silently working, for, with Master Johann of Rokycana, he is chosen to defend the tenets and faith of the Bohemians. This conflict of two Englishmen, the one with the whole power of Europe behind him, both church and sword, the other with only his power of mind and ardent soul, is remarkable. Of Payne's action of body we have but little ; it is whenever mind and soulful sustaining is required that the Chalicers immediately fly to him. That he was oftentimes in extreme danger we can glean, but in fighting he does not seem to have joined, as did so many of the priests and doctors of the time. This disputation led to no conviction of the Bohemians of their error by the Romish delegates, neither does it seem to have welded more closely together Praguers, Taborites, and

Orphans. M. Pribram, Payne's old opponent, treats of this disputation in a tractate, but only in a cursory manner.

Whilst the theologians were discussing, the Bohemian armies of each sect were marching triumphantly to Pressburg, in Hungary, on the south, through Silesia on the north, and on to Breslau, and then away to Austria and the Danube borders and through Bavaria, taking towns, villages, and castles, and immense booty ; but, according to a letter addressed to the Grand Master of the 'Deutschen Orden,' sparing the common people, 'burning only the churches, priests' houses, noble estates, and inns ;' and thus by their leniency drawing into them the poor of the countries through which they marched. In spite of this victorious march of the Bohemians, the Germans refused to pay the taxes the pope had ordered to be levied ; and Cardinal Henry of England's energetic help was not at hand, for home affairs and troubles had called him back to England.

Until the spring of 1429 this work of fighting and bloody retaliation went on intermittently, until Herr Meinhard, of Neuhaus, a leader of the nobles, but

the son of an ardent Wycliffite, took the opportunity of King Sigmund being at Pressburg to arrange a meeting between the king and the religious leaders of the Hussites. Priester Prokop, as leader both in religion and war, stands first of those chosen to meet the king, but next comes the name of Peter Payne; and these two, with other delegates and some two hundred horsemen, make their way from Bohemia over the mountains, and down the Danube flood to royal Pressburg. Prokop, knowing well he had to do with Sigmund, the 'word-breaker,' taking care to have a safe-conduct from him, made sure by the persons of two princely hostages and other nobles.

At Pressburg were assembled the chief representatives of all the opposing parties, one of the chief of the king's party being Ulrich of Rosenberg, who played so important a rôle in Bohemia's history in the coming years. He held the castles and enormous territory now owned by Prince Schwarzenberg. Germany also sent bishops and doctors to uphold her views of the questions in discussion, and from Paris also came four learned doctors.

The disputation lasted until April 9; and

Sigmund, ever bending to the ascendant of the moment, was gracious and friendly to the Hussites. He spoke of his kingly right, and of his inborn love to Bohemia, and begged them to quit their new ideas and tumult, and to return to the faith of their fathers. If, however, they would not do this, then let there be a truce, until two years hence a general council of the whole Christian Church would be assembled at Basle, and before this council they could lay their articles and submit themselves to this supreme judge in matters of faith ; until then let there be a truce between them and all Christian countries.

The answer to this mild speech of Sigmund's was such as Payne ever gave to the soft conciliatory words which would lead the Hussites from the faith of Wycliffe. Palacky does not say the words are Payne's, but the thought is certainly his. 'It was not they (the Bohemians) who had departed from the old true Christian faith, but their opponents ; and there could be no peace until the Church returned from all its false ways again to the teaching of Christ and His apostles. As to the coming council, if it resembled Constance, to that they

could not submit themselves, as there their bitterest enemies denounced the law; and it would be madness to appear before their enemies' judgment-seat. Therefore there must be a higher and non-partisan judge between the council and themselves; that judge should be the Holy Scriptures and the law of God, and the writings of those learned men who stedfastly had built their work upon that law.'

This sharp difference even the flattering words of Sigmund could not smooth away, and at length the Bohemians drove him from his diplomatic gentleness. They had addressed him as king, but not of Bohemia—as King of Hungary and Rome. This he bore silently, but they informed him that should he change his faith they would receive him more gladly than any other in the world, and aid him against all his enemies. This was too much for even Sigmund's pliability, and he burst forth, and swore by God and all present, he would rather die than change his faith. The congress ended in the deputies stating they had not the full power to act in the name of the nation, and a Landtag was called in Prague for May 23, at which Sigmund's ambassadors were to be present.

And thus we can picture Rokycana and Payne and the other deputies again wending their way back from the heights of Pressburg overlooking the wide Danube, on over the hills and passes of Bohemia, back into the plain-lands around Prague, and being received with anxious hearts and questionings as they came in sight of the high fortress-walled rock of the Wyscherad, that had witnessed so much bloodshed and such fearful horrors for the right of free conscience and the tenets of their English leader Wycliffe.

The Landtag was held, and certain conditions laid down by the Bohemians for the time, and also for the conduct of the council; amongst others that, to be a 'general council,' it was necessary that the Greeks and Armenians, and all who received both bread and wine in the sacrament, should be present. The Taborites also laid before the king their own six points for a reconciliation, but without issue.

Sigmund had not waited for these conditions, but had supported the pope in bidding a new crusade against Bohemia to be proceeded with; and again we have that other Englishman, Henry

of Winchester, hastening with energy to suppress once for all Wycliffe's growing power in Europe. Not a thousand, but five thousand, fighting Englishmen he had now with him wherewith to stay the timid Germans from fleeing from the waggon-forts of the Chalicers ; and what effect these five thousand English crusaders might have had upon the history of Europe and the foundations of the Reformation cannot be told, for at this moment had arisen in France a religious enthusiast whose presence had aroused her countrymen to feel that even the English were not indomitable ; and Henry of Winchester and his five thousand fighting men, though they were marching through Belgium, were hastily called upon to give up their crusade against the Wycliffites and to march to France to aid their countrymen, who were fleeing before the Maid of Orleans. Unwillingly by the cardinal, readily by his men, was this call obeyed, and the Germans quickly seized upon his absence to give up the crusade ; and thus was it that the defeat of the English in France by Joan of Arc aided the onward progress of Peter Payne in Bohemia in his fervent, assiduous teaching and upholding of Wycliffe's faith.

And thus 'the Maid' was aiding that mightier movement that was to sweep away for ever the universal power of that Church of which she was so devoted a follower. Joan of Arc thus helped forward the Reformation. How powerfully her work in other respects then tended in favour of the Romish Church may be gathered from the fact that a letter was circulated amongst the Bohemians threatening them with the wrath of God 'and the Maid' unless they quickly and fully returned to their obedience to the Church.

Whilst these events were agitating Europe, the town of Prague was by no means at peace. As usual, when at truce with their foreign foes the Bohemians strove amidst themselves; the old and the new town were ever rivals; and heal their quarrels as they would, there was no real unity so long as the different religious divisions were at variance. M. Johann Pribram, the great opponent of Wycliffe, was again at liberty, and was renewing his ardent opposition to his teachings. 'And as Mr. Peter Payne, the countryman and chief pupil of Wycliffe, never ceased to defend his master with courage and keenness and penetration,' it was determined

to hold a disputation between the two, each being supported by four of their most important men.

The ordering of this debate is a great proof of the high esteem in which Payne was held (though of that we shall have greater proof), and if further at the moment is wanted, the names of the men who supported him give it. The four were the chief leader, M. Johann, of Rokycana ; Priest Wenzel, of Drachow ; Priest Peter Nemeč, of Saaz ; and Niklas, of Pilgram, Bishop of the Taborites, the latter name being a sign that Payne was now in fellowship with the Taborites.

For three weeks this debate lasted. Pribram strove before all to deny any unity between Huss and Wycliffe, and chose two hundred passages from Wycliffe's writings that were heretical, erroneous, or at least vexatious. Payne won great praise by the acuteness with which he handled these passages, and proved them to be true and Christian teachings ; but when the discussion turned upon the question of transubstantiation, two of his followers left him to agree with Pribram, Rokycana, and Dracow ; but Payne was successful in proving error in many of Pribram's statements ; and the outcome of the

debate was rather a truce than a reconciliation. None of those concerned in the debates were to be denounced as heretics, whether the dead or living, Wycliffe or Huss, Jacobellus, or Payne, or Pribram, and the words of either were not to be made public save in Latin.

But Pribram could not adhere to this, and quickly denounced Wycliffe and Payne, and all the Taborite party, as heretics, and this in Bohemian. The Taborites responded, at a conference held in Tabor from the 6th to the 13th of January, 1430, by a strong command to all their followers that no priest of Pribram's party should be suffered amongst them.

From this date until the next mention of Payne's name two years elapse, the Bohemians meanwhile marching triumphantly far away eastward to Leipzig and Altenburg, making their name feared, until a truce was again established, Nurnbergers and Bambergers and Bavarians paying heavy tribute to the Bohemians; and a peaceful deputation at Nurnberg was arranged for April 23, 1430. The return of the army to Prague was delayed through the weight of their waggons, that

were overladen with treasure and booty, so that six, 'yea, frequently even fourteen horses could scarcely move one of them !'

The effect of the teaching of Wycliffe was, through the adherence of Huss and his followers, and the firm and stedfast upholding of it by his ardent pupil Peter Payne, spreading and taking root in Europe, especially in Germany and France, and even in Spain many began to waver and be unsettled in their faith. The Hussites were most earnest against the misuse of worldly power by the 'priesthood, and against the heavy rule of the nobles over the common folk ; and their ever-continuous and unbroken victories made many ask whether God was not with them, and their cause just. Thus silently the way was being prepared for the later reformers, Luther and his followers.

To read of the struggles of class and race in Bohemia of to-day, in this nineteenth century, of Old and Young Cechs, of Catholics and neo-Hussites, is but to read the story of the continuation of the struggles which were so bitterly fought in the fifteenth century. The same families even take sides for and against Catholics and

Hussites as in the days of Peter Payne ; and to visit the old castles of the Rosenbergs (now occupied by the Schwarzenbergs), the Waldsteins, or, as we term them, Wallensteins, is to be amidst the struggles of class and race of to-day in the scenes where these same struggles were most fiercely and bloodily enacted just four hundred years ago. But to-day Austria is ruled by an emperor who is loved and trusted by all races and all classes, and the personal love for whom is the cement that binds the various sects and races ; but in Payne's time the emperor was one whom no one trusted and no one loved, and noble and baron, and burgher and peasant, looked for no loving help from Sigmund the 'word-breaker.'

Knowing that this triumphant people must be brought into subjection if the power of Rome was to be maintained, and doubting Sigmund's power to crush them, the pope now turned first to the Teutonic knights, and then to the King of Poland and the princes of Lithuania, for help. And yet onward went the armies of the Taborites and Orphans, ever victorious, and with three Slavic princes in their ranks, until again a congress was

called at Krakau by Prince Koryhut, to allow the different sects a further opportunity of debating their various points of belief.

Again we have Peter Payne, with Priest Prokop and a numerous following, leaving Bohemia to support their faith at this congress, in the presence of King Wladislaw. As at Pressburg, the discussion ended in naught, though the old king begged that the Bohemians would take him as an example, for from a heathen he had become a Christian. Let them, therefore, return into the true way of salvation. We can imagine Payne's answer as to what was the true path. But the whole assemblage was dismissed without real issue, as the king communicated to the pope and King Sigmund.

In the following year, the year marked by the assembling of the Council of Basle, and the death of Pope Martin V., a yet further crusade against the little mountain-encircled land of Bohemia was to be launched—a mighty host that had the fiery assistance of Cardinal Julian, who replaced the passionate energy of Cardinal Beaufort; but with a like result. Ninety thousand footmen and forty

thousand horsemen crossed the frontier. At Taus the two armies met, the noise of the waggon-forts of the Hussites, with their clanging connecting chains, and the shout of their victorious chant, 'Ye who are God's warriors,' that had so often struck terror in the armies of pope and king, being heard long ere they came in sight. Cardinal Julian mounted a hill to watch the defeat of the heretics, but, like Cardinal Beaufort, he had to flee for his life, leaving the papal bull that ordered the crusade, his golden crucifix, his mantle, and coat in the hands of those same heretics. The end of the victory was that ere long all Bohemia and Moravia was free from its enemies; and 'the Holy Chalice,' the victorious sign of the national unity and spirit, ruled without opposition in the Fatherland, to the joy of its children and the dread of its enemies. And thus again the warriors of Bohemia secured at the Council of Basle a hearing for her doctors and priests, at whose head ever ruled with his influence our own great countryman.

The power of this victory was shown by the great care with which the letter to the Bohemians

begging their presence at the Council of Basle was drawn up. The name of the Cardinal Julian was omitted from it, though his seal was attached to it; and every point which could offend was avoided.

To consider the important matter of sending delegates to Basle a preparatory meeting was arranged at Eger, and here on May 8, 1432, assembled some ninety representatives of the different parties in Bohemia; Peter Payne's name coming just before Priest Prokop the Great. They had already received the terms upon which the council were ready to give them what was called a free hearing, and they in their turn drew up eleven articles as the conditions upon which they would appear before the council. Many were the difficulties to be overcome, and many the dangers of surprise and treachery to be guarded against; but at length, at Eger, all was arranged, and Priest Prokop the Great wrote to King Sigmund, begging his personal presence at the council, and his safe-conduct—a letter which Sigmund most diplomatically and graciously answered.

But whilst these letters were passing, the now

reunited Taborites and Orphans sent forth an army, under their fighting priest and leader Prokop, that marched through Silesia and the Lausitz, and even taking Bernau, near Berlin, but leaving Berlin alone. Other troops possessed themselves of Tyrnan in Hungary, and their ambassadors were well received by King Wladislaw of Poland.

A yet further Landtag was held at the rich and important town of Kuttenberg, to again consider who should be the ambassadors at Basle, and as to their bearing when there. At this Landtag Peter Payne was again present, and two forerunners were appointed to proceed to Basle to make all arrangements, or to lay certain points before the Council, and also to arrange for the housing and living of the ambassadors themselves.

At length, on December 6, 1432, the Bohemians set out from Taus on their eventful journey to Basle. In the list of the names 'M. Peter Payne, from England,' occurs after Johann Rokycana, and before that of their mighty fighting priest, M. Prokop, a position full of significance, which his earnestness and the ability displayed before the Council fully justified.

The progress of the ambassadors through Germany was a veritable triumphal march. Nobles and people strove to do these hated heretics honour. Thirty-two nobles came from Germany to accompany them on their way as far as Cham, and there awaited them Konrad, Bishop of Regensburg, with other nobles, who led them on their journey as far as Nurnberg. Not with bent heads and silent steps, as messengers from a despised race, did they proceed through an enemy's country, but with banners flying over their carriages, and the hated sign of their beloved chalice floating over them ; for Mathias Lauda had raised a standard above his carriage, whereon waved a banner upon which was painted upon one side Christ upon the cross, whilst upon the other was the Chalice and Host, with the inscription, *veritas omnia vincet*. And the other Hussite carriages had similar inscriptions and painting upon their coverings.

At Nurnberg, Lauda allowed himself to be persuaded by the accompanying nobles to put away his banner, as it aroused dissensions amongst the people through which they passed ; but the

people of Nurnberg received them nobly, and made them many presents.

Surely Payne must have thought, whilst thus traversing in triumph half Central Europe, that his master Wycliffe's work had borne great fruit ; that his own unceasing efforts to uphold it in the midst of this determined and indomitable people had spread the light of pure truth over a mighty expanse of territory, and in the hearts of many nations. England had extinguished that light in her own borders, but had, in driving him from her shores, made it flame forth in a blaze of fire that neither pope, nor king, nor council could put out. How strange would have been his emotion could he have foreseen that but fifty-seven years hence a man should be born of the hated German race that had so persistently striven to deluge the light his whole life was given to feed ; a man who should re-illumine the light of Reformation ever smouldering, largely from Payne's own teaching, and should carry it back to England, until she became the successor of Bohemia in Reformation work, the giver of freedom of conscience to all men, and a true follower of his own master, Wycliffe !

Well might Payne's thoughts be those of triumph, intermingled with careful study of the task before him, of convincing a Romish council that Rome was in error. From Nurnberg, Albert, the son of the Margrave of Brandenburg, conducted the embassy to Gungenhausen, and from here to Schaffhausen the nobles of the district gave them escort, the people of various towns striving to do them honour, and presenting them with rich and varied gifts.

From Schaffhausen they took ship and sailed up the Rhine, entering Basle on January 4, 1433. Thus they had been just a month in traversing Europe from Bohemia to Basle.

Their unexpected arrival prevented their being received with the honour which the Council had prepared for them ; but the chief citizens hastened to their ships ere they had left them, and the people streamed in crowds to look upon the ambassadors of the much-dreaded heretics, especially upon Prokop, their leader, 'an unconquerable, bold, restlessly active, no-danger-dreading commander ;' and before even this man's name the Bohemians had placed that of Peter Payne.

At first they were lodged at the inns, but after a few days they hired four houses for the leaders ; and the order of these houses is noteworthy, as they indicate the various parties of Bohemia. The two leaders of the whole embassy occupied one house. The second was occupied by the Prague party, the third by the Taborites, and the fourth by the Orphans. The last included Peter Payne amongst them, thus showing that he had not yet joined the Taborite party, although the two often worked amicably together, especially when any general danger threatened.

Cardinal Julian's manner had changed towards the Bohemians since the day when he ascended the hill-top at Taus to watch their leader Prokop crushed beneath the overwhelming force that the cardinal had around him. Now he sends two messengers to greet that same Prokop and his companions, and to express his joy at their safe arrival at Basle ; and regrets that their coming by water had prevented him from receiving them with all honours he had prepared for them had they come by land.

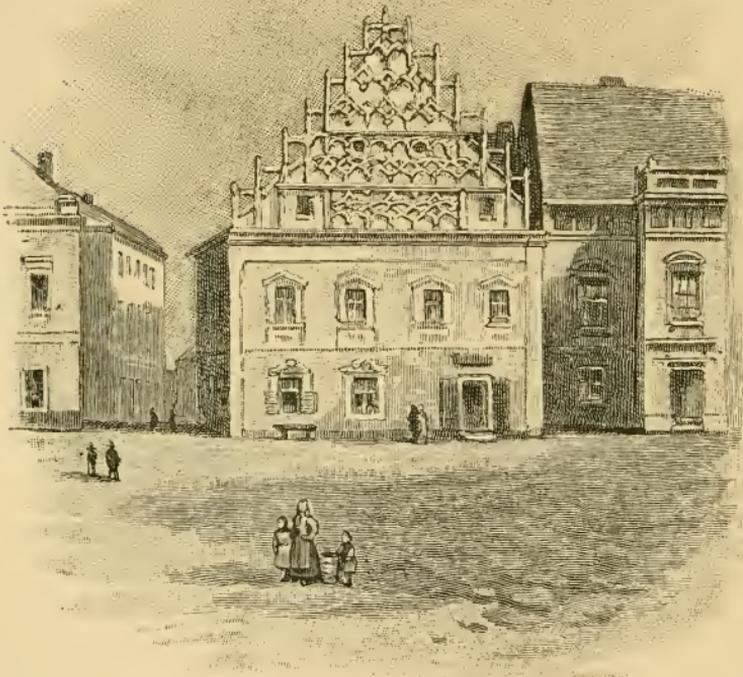
Priests and prelates, archbishops and holy

fathers, all hastened to greet the Bohemian leaders, to flatter and feast them, and not without effect, for this overwhelming homage and hospitality commenced to have its influence upon many, but not upon our countryman Payne. He ever held before him the one stedfast aim—the adhering to and spreading of the teaching of Wycliffe.

Upon the feast of the Epiphany the Bohemians celebrated in their houses the Holy Communion, each sect according to its own rites ; and many people of Basle pressed in to see the ceremony. In that of the Prague Chalicers, was nothing remarkable, except that the laity drank of the cup ; but so much the more was the astonishment at the plain ceremony of the Taborites, who had neither altar nor vestments, nor any especial ceremony, the whole service being only some short prayers, a sermon, and the receiving of the Communion in both kinds. In their own town of Tabor they took the Communion at roughly hewn stone tables, which stood in front of their houses ; and one of these tables may still be seen in position as in the Hussite days.

With the Orphans the sermon was preached in

German. It must be remembered that Payne was the leader of this party, and the suggestion that their sermon should be preached in a tongue



OLD HOUSE AT TABOR WITH STONE TABLE IN FRONT, AT WHICH THE OPEN-AIR COMMUNION WAS TAKEN.

that would be understood by those around him was very probably his. This he knew was the only way to advance their cause amongst the

common folk. All their speeches in the council for this would be of no avail. At least, Payne's influence was more than sufficient to have forbidden such an action ; and the excitement caused by this sermon in German proved how dangerous a step the council considered it, and how great was their dread of the people hearing the teaching of Payne and his followers.

A great commotion arose in the town, and the cardinal's house was besieged by those who begged him to stay this disorder. He called the Bohemians to him, and begged them not to preach in German—in Bohemian they might. 'But,' argued the Bohemians, 'we have German servants amongst us who do not understand Bohemian, and therefore we cannot give up preaching in German ; and, in fact, by the Eger condition we have a right to do so. We did not invite the people of Basle to come to us, but if they come we shall not shut them out. We cannot stop preaching in German ; you must take care yourselves that your people do not come to us.'

That there was much of Payne's influence in

this action and bold answer we gather from the incidents of the following day, January 7.

Priester Prokop invited the principal of his followers, and also some of the Basle leaders, to his table; and ere long a hot dispute arose between these latter and Peter Payne. Johann Stoigkovic, of Ragusa, spoke of him as 'the English Hussite, who was like a slippery snake: the more you pressed him, so much the more ably he extricated himself'—a great compliment to Payne's ability and knowledge in debate. Yet, continues the chronicler who describes the hot dispute, 'the bounds of propriety and politeness were not overstepped.'

The general actions and discussions of the council we are not concerned with here, except in so far as they affect our history of Payne, though Palacky's account of them is so interesting that it tempts one to reproduce it.

Upon January 16 the Bohemians were conducted with all ceremony to the general assembly of the council, and after their treasurer, Mathias Lauda (he who had borne the banner over his carriage), had spoken, introducing, as it were,

the embassy and its cause, and had been shortly answered by Cardinal Julian, Peter Payne made his first speech before the council upon the text from the Psalm of David, 'When the sun ariseth, they gather themselves together.'

In a poetical and allegorical manner he spoke in praise of the Hussite teaching, comparing it to the sun, and expressing the hope that as soon as the people thoroughly understood it they would all with joy hasten to accept it.

How readily his teaching was already being seized upon by the common folk was well illustrated by an interlude in the proceedings of the council, upon the complaint that some of the serving-men of the Bohemians were spreading amidst the villages around the faith of their masters. It was true, answered Rokycana, that their horse-boys went into the villages to get hay for their horses, but surely they were incapable of speaking upon religion; but if the German folk, out of curiosity, asked them as to their worship, and they told them the truth, that could not be called preaching, or spreading Hussite doctrines.

As at their entry into the council Peter Payne

had been nearly the first to speak, now, upon January 26, he was the last to 'take up his parable' upon an important article—that of the worldly rule of the priesthood. For three days he earnestly spoke upon this weighty but dangerous subject, for did he not thus arraign against himself every self-seeking priest in Europe?

His speech aroused the anger of the members of the council, and the courage and indomitable bravery of this Englishman is most worthy of admiration; standing up for days together amidst an assembly of powerful and dangerous enemies, feeling oftentimes that even those with whom he was associated, and whose country he had made his own, were wavering in the faith he had so strenuously and unintermittingly taught; yet, ever persistently, and without fear, boldly in the face of all revilings, or threats, or personal danger, being constant in season and out of season in upholding and teaching that faith.

Not only was the subject of his speech unpleasant to cardinal and council, but also his manner of delivering it. Not only did he pour forth words in praise of John Huss, but also of his

master, Wycliffe, and reproved in powerful words their condemnation by the Council of Constance.

He described the discussions and struggles which he had maintained in Oxford in favour of Wycliffe's teaching, struggles which had compelled him to leave his own country and take refuge in Bohemia. This earnest reference of his to the divisions in Oxford was too much for the other Englishman present at the council, and a long wordy debate ensued between them. At last he handed in a ticket, upon which was written in few words the pith and substance of his speech. It ran somewhat thus:—

That the possession of worldly goods, so long as they were not in excess and superfluous, might be enjoyed by the priesthood. The administration, however, of estates and possessions, inasmuch as they prejudiced the priestly office, should be denied them, and in that direction, where the sins of the priesthood habitually tended, duty and right demanded that the cause and the charm of that sin should be removed. In conclusion, he asked that this ticket might be entered upon the acts of the council. A most mild and moderate

statement, but one which had an intense sting to many of those sitting around him.

M. Rokycana followed Payne ; and then Cardinal Julian replied in mild, conciliatory words, breathing 'eternal unity and peace,' forgetful of the scene on the hill-top, where raging hosts were at his bidding fighting against these same Bohemians. His peaceful words soon were levelled at the various parties in the Bohemian camp to cause strife amidst them ; and he reminded them how one of their ambassadors had spoken of Wycliffe as an evangelical doctor, and read out twenty-eight articles in which Wycliffe's and the Taborites' and Orphans' teaching was laid bare ; and he asked the Bohemians if they recognized these articles. This first attempt to divide the Bohemian forces failed.

The wordiness of these debates tending to nothing, and promising to lead rather to division than unity, Duke William of Bavaria proposed that fifteen of either side should discuss in private how an arrangement should be arrived at. But the number of thirty was also too great, and still discussion rather than agreement raged ; and Duke

William again intervened, and arranged that eight only from either side should meet in Cardinal Julian's dwelling, and in close conference discuss the matter. But the only agreement arrived at was—that in Basle all agreement was impossible. This small committee was appointed upon March 19.

The Bohemians had hoped that at last a part of their teaching would be embodied in the teaching of the Church ; but when they saw this was not to be, their eagerness to discuss matters in the council cooled, and they asked that an embassy should be sent from the council to the Landtag at Prague, to debate there, directly with the people. They, the ambassadors, had no power to sacrifice so many important points. The council, seeing it was useless to continue in Basle the negotiations, decided to appoint a deputation to accompany the Bohemians to Prague ; and whilst this was being arranged the theologians were to continue their discussions.

At the end of March, Payne again spoke for two days against Kalteisen, but with continuous interruptions from his opponents. In this wordy

war Palacky remarks that Rokycana was remarkable for his ready, forcible wit, and gave the 'Ragusaner' plenty to do ; and that Peter Payne distinguished himself by his incisiveness.

The deputation appointed from the council to Bohemia consisted of ten persons—the Bishops of Coutance and of Augsburg, and eight others, amongst whom was Alexander Sparur (^{or} ? Sarum), an archdeacon of England, so that Payne was again to be intimately opposed by one of his own countrymen.

Both Bohemians and the newly - appointed legates from the council left Basle on April 14, 1433, and proceeded to Schaffhausen, where they had left their carriages. And here a discussion arose in which we can trace Payne's influence. The legates suggested that the Taborite insignia upon Lauda's carriage, or waggon, should be taken down, and they begged Priest Prokop to speak for them in this matter, and he did so. But after a long discussion the Bohemians decided that to hide and deny their insignia upon the waggons would be a dishonour, but they agreed to roll up their banners ; and these were no more displayed.

The Landtag was opened in Prague on June 12, and on the 13th the Basle legates were introduced to the sitting, and were not a little surprised to find that the Bohemians commenced the business of each sitting by singing *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and with prayer. The preliminary discussion on this day was opened by three priests, who sat near each other upon three professorial chairs: for the Chalice party, M. Johann Rokycana; for the Orphans, M. Peter Payne; and for the Taborites, Niklas Viskupec, of Pilgram; Rokycana greeting the legates with a speech upon a text of St. Paul to the Philippians. Payne's position again proving his leadership and authority amongst the Bohemians.

The debates continued much as in Basle, without any conclusion being arrived at; and though the legates on one occasion agreed with a word-of-mouth declaration of Rokycana's upon the four Prague articles, yet, when this declaration was brought forward in writing, they affirmed it had been changed, and eight delegates were chosen to discuss this matter, Peter Payne's name being the second of this eight. The four Prague

articles upon which the Wycliffites took their stand were as follows :—

First : That the Word of God in the kingdom of Bohemia shall be freely and without hindrance preached and spread abroad by Christian preachers.

Second : That the holy sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ in both kinds shall be freely given to all true Christians against whom no deadly sins are charged.

Third : That since many priests and monks rule in a worldly manner over much earthly goods, against the law of Christ and to the injury and prejudice of their spiritual office, as well as to the great disadvantage of the temporal powers ; that the possession of such unlawful property shall be given up and discontinued by such priests, and they shall live as examples according to Holy Scripture, and be led into the way of Christ and of His holy apostles.

Fourth : That all deadly sins, especially those openly committed, as well as those disorderly acts that are contrary to God's laws, shall be, by those whose office it is, reasonably and in order, stopped and punished ; that the evil and false

report of this land shall be removed, and the general good of the kingdom and of the Bohemian nation be advanced.

The sting of these articles lay in the third, and in the list of sins to be punished, which ran :—

The sins particularized by the fourth article were 'for the laity ; unchastity, gluttony, theft, murder, lying, deceit, false swearing, magic, deceptive and injurious handwork or business, greed or usury or similar crimes. For the clergy ; simony, and heresy, obtaining of money for baptism, confirmation, confessions, altar sacrament, and the holy oil, marriage, for masses and vigils, for burials, church singing, or bell ringing, consecration of priests, churches, chapels, churchyards, for absolution ; for the bishops, archpriests, abbots, deans, vicars, and altar rank ; panting for exchange of benefices, for bulls, and such-like matters ; for any kind of stipend or rank, or for any spiritual thing, offence or heresy that issues herefrom and stains holy Church : and also for other trespasses and sins, such as pride, avarice, fornication, and other filthiness ; anger, envy, strife, contentious citations or legal strivings ;

hypocritical begging of payments; offerings, money or other goods, for churches or buildings, or other procuring from the common folk by means of false excitement or cunning speeches.'

It was in favour of articles such as these that Peter Payne spoke manfully for days before the council. Small wonder, perchance, that the priestly human nature withstood this wholesale abolishment of nearly all the rich sources of emolument and amusement it had hitherto enjoyed. And the increased hatred against Payne can be understood when we read further that upon July 1 Payne took occasion to renew in warm terms his denunciation of the temporal power of the priesthood, narrowing his propositions more closely down, and in this Priest Prokop supported him; upon which one of the nobles arose and requested them both to give up their possessions to other priests who were not so shy of having worldly goods. As for himself, he was ready at any time to give up the Church property of which he found himself the possessor. But on July 3 the Basle ambassadors quitted Prague, without having gained their end, a general truce.

The embassy returned to Prague again on October 22, the victorious army of Bohemia in the meanwhile having conquered even to Dantzic and the shores of the Baltic, though they had sustained a defeat in Bavaria. By the Baltic waters they held great festivities, to signalize the fact that naught but the sea stayed their victorious march. The Bohemians thus possessing that 'desert country near the sea' that Shakespeare refers to.

The return of the embassy from Basle was also made in Prague the occasion for festivities, in spite of the fact that the pest was raging, of which twenty thousand died. The conference recommenced with the determination of both sides to give as little and obtain as much as possible. But in this the Basle deputies had the advantage, as they knew exactly what they were to grant. But the Bohemians were divided, and not of one voice; some would grant more to their opponents, some less. At length the Basle delegates asked if the Bohemians gained their desired aim in the matter of the four articles, would they then agree in peace and unity with the Church? M. Rokycana replied in the name of the whole Landtag they would,

and from the mouths of the whole assembly came the loud cry of 'Yes, yes.' Only Peter Payne arose, and said, 'We can only gain the desired aim when we are all of one mind.' But a tumult arose against this, and for the first time we read that the Bohemians forced Payne to hold his peace. They all longed for unity. Payne, more far-seeing, looking into futurity, saw what that unity, yielding to their opponents, must ultimately bring upon their land—submission to Rome, and abrogation of free conscience. And as one walks now round about Sion, a high forest-hid fortified hill, and climbs over the high embankments, and looks out over the plain where lie Malesov and Kacin and the high blood-stained terrible hill of the Kahlenberg, now called the Kankberg; and remembers that once more the Church of Rome holds sway over the whole district, one feels how far-seeing was Payne in his eager earnestness for no compromise with soul-enslaving Rome. The towers of Tabor still look out over the Jordan, and Ziska, their builder, looks down upon a market crowd who all bow to the mass. Behind him still stands one of the thick wedge-shaped stone tables

at which in the open air the Taborites took the Communion in both kinds. Now it is used as a stand for the market-women to place their jugs and pots upon. 'The work of Payne and his fellows is stamped out,' as a Taborite said lately whilst standing under Ziska's monument, 'with fierce force in Bohemia;' and yet not wholly, for in some towns, as Kuttenberg and Znaim, there are communities of Protestants or Evangelists who have their own service and churches. But they hold their services in peace, for if Wycliffe and Payne's work seems lost in Bohemia, yet their influence and work had sown the seed which, under the impetus given it by Luther, born but thirty years after Payne's death, gave to Europe the right of a free conscience and tolerance in religious thought.

But if in this instance the Bohemians went against Payne, in whom they had trusted, and who had been their leader for so many years, he had by no means lost his influence over them; and thirteen days after we find him, with Rokycana and Prokop, debating with Palomar upon certain doubts which these three leaders had with regard

to the first compact of the Bohemians with the legates of Basle. The debates continued, the nobles striving by various means to regain their power over the democracy of Bohemia; and Ulrich of Rosenberg, who shifted freely with the times, and Meinhard of Neuhaus, secured the election of Ales of Riesenbergh as a president of the Bohemian Republic. The legates of the council yielded to many of the demands of the Chalicers, and ere they left Basle had secretly received many of the Prague doctors, and Meinhard of Neuhaus, the powerful noble, into the bosom of the Church, thus at once proving Payne's single-handed opposition to have been the wisest course against Rome's intrigue. But their lengthy debates had yielded no fruit of peace, and early in 1434 the council were again appealing for funds for a crusade against the heretics.

In the struggle which followed the six parties in Bohemia became but two—the nobles, against the towns, or democratic party; and in the terrible battle of Lipau, where the latter party were seduced from their waggon-forts, and thus suffered a crushing defeat, Prokop, their mighty leader

both in debate and in battle, was slain. 'The man who through so many stormy years had been the chief shield of his fatherland, and the wonder of the world, passed away silently in the flood of human blood, and no one even searched for his bones to show unto him the last honours of the dead.'

By a singular coincidence, at this same fight at Lipau there comes one to the fore who, in a different manner, was to carry on Prokop's and Payne's work, and carry it to a successful issue, and give to Bohemia years of peace. George of Podiebrad's name is first mentioned in the chronicle of the names of those who were on the nobles' side. With them now, but ere long to be their ruler and king, and the friend of those against whom he now fought.

The power of the nobles' party now went largely into the hands of Ulrich von Rosenberg, who is described as the 'bitterest enemy of the Taborites;' and in the debates and discussions that ensued upon November 8, 1434, at a conference at Prague, the greater number of the priests of the Orphans went over to M. Rokycana, who belonged to the more moderate Utraquists; and thus from this

time the Orphans as a party ceased to exist. But Peter Payne and some of the more ardent Orphans, not agreeing with this step, joined themselves wholly to the Taborites.

The strife between the two parties, the one led by M. Rokycana, and the Taborite party, promising no agreement or decision, it was agreed on both sides to entrust the very weighty and important matter to the mind of Payne.

The subjects entrusted to his decision were the matter of the seven sacraments, the invocation of the saints, the fire of purgatory, and the ceremony of the mass. Upon these he was to deliver a decision according to the teachings of Huss and Wycliffe and his own mind, but taking into consideration the standard adopted upon these matters at Eger. Only one subject was not entrusted to his decision, and that was the question of transubstantiation.

Payne saw how matters were drifting in Bohemia, and how the concessions of the Church had weakened the unity and strength of its redoubtable adversaries. Rokycana was fast drawing to himself the greater power of the nation,

and he was ready to yield and negotiate upon points rather than firmly to fix upon a standpoint, and hold to it, let come what might, as had done the Chalice leaders of the past. Payne saw that the only means whereby the Taborite party (and that to him now meant the Wycliffe party) could still continue their worship in their own manner, and retain their power, was by his delaying his decision. And so for the space of two years, from 1434 to 1436, he avoided pronouncing it.

Bohemia was still longing, as it ever had been, for a ruler and head, and *pourparlers* were ever proceeding with Sigmund. His most steadfast supporter, Ulrich von Rosenberg, who possessed great territory and strong castles in the neighbourhood of Tabor, was especially earnest that the nobles should be supported with subsidies to prevent the power of the Taborites again becoming dangerous. They still held at least twelve of the principal towns, and many strongholds. Fighting and besieging of the Taborites' stronghold was ever continuing with varied success: sometimes Ulrich gaining the ascendancy, and other times the Taborites dealing him severe defeats.

But at length, at Brunn, a congress was opened, at which all differences were to be settled, and the Prague delegates were to meet Sigmund face to face. They arrived at Brunn on June 18, but Kaiser Sigmund kept them waiting until July 1. Peter Payne was one of the four deputies from the Taborite party, still holding back his decision upon the important questions entrusted to him. What especial work the four Taborite deputies effected at Brunn is not known, but this congress only led to a further debate in the Landtag, at Prague, in October of the same year, the emperor's promises paving the way to a yet nearer *rapprochement*. The chancellor of the emperor, Kaspar Schlick, was present at this Landtag in the name of Sigmund, and to him was largely due the success of the party for union. The principal thing done at this Landtag was the choosing of Rokycana as archbishop; but a significant sign of how events were tending was the assembling of Bohemian deputies at the court of Sigmund at Stuhlweissenburg, to meet the Basle legates; and amongst these Bohemian deputies was neither priest nor doctor—none but nobles, knights, and burghers.

At length, after further meetings at Iglau, a compact was drawn up, to which all agreed, and the way was made clear for Sigmund to enter Prague as king. Thus, as Palacky writes, at Iglau the storm was silenced that had shaken not only Bohemia, but Europe—the first great struggle in history, not for material good, but for freedom of thought and liberty of soul. And in this struggle how great and determined a part Peter Payne had taken we have seen; how his counsel had been heeded, and how his incisive, thoughtful words had oftentimes held the Bohemians to Wycliffe's creed when they were wavering or inclined to yield to Rome, or rather Basle's arguments. His sadness at the present yielding of his friends to the 'word-breaking' emperor must have been great, though nominally they had gained their own ends and secured their own manner of worshipping God. But the very fact that Payne's name does not occur in the festivities connected with Sigmund's entry into Prague and the councils and meetings that ensued, seems proof that he held aloof from all. That with the entry of Sigmund came also the entry of evil life

into Prague is proved by the fact of Rokycana being constrained to speak of the town being, since the emperor's return, as a Sodom, full of gambling and drunkenness, where evil deeds and revellings in vice were openly enacted. And the Praguers agreed with him, and complained that the compact was broken and they were deceived by legates and kaiser, and this within a month of its being sealed.

If dissatisfaction quickly grew at Prague, it had never been absent from the towns of Tabor and Koniggratz; and here the opposition to the emperor was organized. They neither yielded nor openly rebelled, probably acting upon Payne's advice, and as he had acted with regard to the decision entrusted to him.

But the emperor's apparent repentance and readiness to yield caused a division even in the Taborite party. He had conferred with a member of their community before Iglau at Trebitsch, and with such an effusion of friendliness that suspicion was aroused. He was warm against the Romish hierarchy, and against the avarice and pride of its priesthood. That, he affirmed, he had learnt to

know at Constance, and at his coronation at Rome, and at Basle. He had always desired a reformation of the Church, and longed to treat for peace directly with the Taborites, and not through those who desired no peace ; and he desired, after the compact with the entire kingdom was settled, to meet the Taborites and to consult directly with them.

That Peter Payne was the great cause of the Taborites holding aloof whilst all the nation was trusting the word of one who had so often broken it, is proved by the sequence of events, for in October of the same year we read that he at length gave his decision and judgment that for two years he had delayed ; and now it was given because he was nearly forced to it by barons and kaiser. These facts prove how great was Payne's power, that he, a foreigner, and a chief of heretics, should so hold at bay the whole force of the emperor's party, and prevent a union which he too well knew meant an attempt to destroy the faith he had so loved and worked for.

The pressure now placed upon him must have been great, for his judgment was delivered as his

opponents wished, declaring Rokycana's party to be in the right and the Taborites in the wrong. Yet even in delivering this decision he openly avowed that he held another opinion in his own soul. (This is Payne's one lapse from unswerving adherence to Wycliffe.) The reason for the pressure brought to bear upon Payne by the emperor and his party, and the eagerness to obtain this spoken but not felt judgment, is seen in the fact that shortly afterwards, on October 22, 1436, Niklas of Pilgram, the bishop of the Taborites, arrived in Prague, and at once denied the authority of Payne's judgment. It had been pronounced in the absence and without the authority of his own party, and did not agree with the written standard ordained at the Eger Convention. But having obtained Payne's decision, the emperor had handed over the whole matter to the decision of Ulrich of Rosenberg and Pribrik of Klenau, and this decision of his own men he pronounced upon on the same day that the Taborite bishop made his complaint against Payne's judgment.

Ulrich of Rosenberg's judgment did not go as far against the Taborites as did Payne's decision,

his first article upon their religious faith running thus: 'That the Taborites should not be driven with force, but if it could be proved from Holy Writ that they had gone against its teachings or God's laws, then they should amend their ways.' To this clause Sigmund wrote that it went rather far, and was against the contract which the legates and the kingdom had decided upon, and still more against the decision of their own priest, 'Englisch'—a decision given especially at their own request. And so he (the emperor) decided to hand this matter over to the doctors and priests, so that it should not be said he acted upon his own judgment, or reopened matters to cause strife that were already settled.

The acute cunning of the management of this matter is apparent in every act; the more so when we hear Sigmund saying but six days later, in the presence of these same priests and doctors, that if he is come into the land to make peace, he would 'rather make it with the sword against the heretical Taborites than with words.'

After numerous questionings and debates it was agreed between Rokycana and Bedrich and the

Taborites that four priests and doctors should give, according to the standard fixed at Eger, their final decision upon all debatable points between them, and that both parties in word, heart, and deed should submit to this judgment. How fully they still trusted Peter Payne, in spite of his forced and wavering judgment given before Sigmund, is seen by the fact that of the four chosen to give this final decision his name comes first ; and upon the words of these four doctors the emperor's party, including Ulrich of Rosenberg, gave their decision, and the emperor set his gold seal to a letter to the Taborites, and they were allowed to worship God in their own fashion. This letter with the gold seal is preserved to the present day in the town hall at Tabor.

That this apparent yielding of the emperor's party was but a dividing and weakening of the national and Wycliffe party is seen from the swiftly following statement that on December 23 the service in all the Prague churches was held according to the wishes and written directions of the Basle legates, Rokycana gradually yielding upon all points save two—the giving of

the sacraments to children, and the reading of the Gospel and Epistle in Bohemian. Thus Payne's opposition to Rokycana is fully justified, and his power is yet more distinctly exemplified from the curious reading of a bull dated at the Basle Council, January 15, 1437. The same date was upon the bull ratifying the Iglau compact that was handed to the emperor upon the day Queen Barbara was crowned amidst great joy and festivity, and in the presence of many nobles and magistrates and burghers, and also of Rokycana. The second bull, instead of breathing conciliation as the first appeared to do to Rokycana, reminded the emperor to discontinue the giving of the sacrament to children, and without delay he was to send Dr. Peter Payne, who held erroneous views upon transubstantiation, to the council. This peremptory order from the council to the emperor, and Payne alone being named as one to be sent, of course perforce, to the council, is yet further proof of their dread of his power and influence. Point after point was being gained from Rokycana and his followers, and it was Payne's influence that they feared, and

therefore they wished him sent without delay, that at least in Bohemia his incisive speeches should have no further weight.

As the Hussites yielded inch by inch, truly but yet ever slowly retreating from the stedfast stand made by Huss and Ziska, Payne and Prokop, so the council advanced from entreaties to demands; and this same year that saw their command to the emperor to send Payne to Basle, saw also the return of various monkish orders to Prague. Rokycana was slowly being set aside, and Bishop Philibert given all rule. Rokycana, the chosen of the people of Bohemia, in spite of his yielding spirit, was to be wholly effaced by Rome, and his power annulled; each office was taken from him, and the firm friends of Rome installed therein, amongst others M. Pribram, the great opponent of Payne and Rokycana, receiving his reward.

Indirectly we learn that Payne held a cure or preachership at Saaz, for Palacky remarks that 'the old priest returned also to Saaz, and Peter Payne and Wenzel Koranda were driven away.'

Saaz had early and earnestly espoused the cause of Wycliffe and his follower Huss, and in 1421 had

energetically withstood six times the storming of its walls by the crusaders, who, however, only fled at the approach of Ziska, and it was in the Dechanal church that was built in the year 1206 that Peter Payne preached.

The town itself stands upon an abrupt rocky height in the centre of a great plain. There is still left much of its great walls and defence towers, and as one passes from its central square, and walks around its walls and beneath the shadows of the towers with their high sloping roofs, one can recall somewhat the picture of its mediæval, earnest life, and bitter struggles for freedom.

Down in the flat land beneath, where lay encamped the crusaders against these outspoken Bohemian heretics, there winds between fruit trees and hop-fields the wide river, and just below the towers, some hundred and fifty feet beneath, is a little brook that probably formed part of the defences of the citadel. To the north-east rises up a group of mountain peaks, and a solitary one in the plain, of the type generally chosen on which to perch a castle stronghold. In the town hall is a plan of the town as it was in 1464, enabling one

to picture well the place as it was when our countryman held spiritual sway over its indwellers. Then numerous towers and gateways, with their red sloping pent-roofs, were standing that are now swept away, but the Dechanal church and the Rathhaus are now much as they were then.

But how curiously are its inhabitants changed! Then they were Bohemians and passionate Hussites against Rome as an over-lord spiritual and temporal. Now, most strange reversion, they are German and Roman Catholic in religion, though the Church of Rome is careful to preserve much of the simplicity of the former Wycliffite appearance. The present inhabitants care not to hear of its past history, and most strangely no good historical handbook is obtainable in the town, and the name of Palacky was received with the exclamation, 'Oh, that is the Bohemian'; thus the race-hatred continues. One little gate that is still left is called the Branka or Outfall Gate, and the great gateway is the Priest's Gate, and the great tower the Water Tower.

The Dechanal church has high lancet windows and a square nave, with three high round pillars

on either side, a plain moulding at the capitals, from which springs the roof groining, with slight aisles at the side—literally a square church, but with deep chancel and apse with three windows. The pulpit stands now at the first north pillar in the nave, and probably here it stood when amidst these pillars Peter Payne's voice echoed with urging words to the Bohemians, to hold fast in unity to Wycliffe's teachings.

Children were then alive who would hear of Luther and of the blaze of fresh revolt against Rome's supremacy, and it requires no straining of the imagination to picture some aged man telling some fiery young Lutheran of how in this church in Saaz, as a child, he had sat with his father and heard a great Englishman speak words of truth against Rome's corruption, even as the master Luther now taught.

From beneath Saaz, in the fruitful plains, now richly and most carefully cultivated, one can look up to the towers and domes and spires of the town, almost Eastern in character, and picture easily the old town as it stood in Payne's day. And over this flat land Payne had to wander when driven

from the town by now triumphant Rome back once more into torn and distracted Prague. And to accomplish this journey in safety he was compelled to obtain a safe-conduct.

This very mention of a safe-conduct shows the altered state of affairs in Bohemia in four years. The man who passed through Europe in triumph, now required letters of safe-conduct to travel in Bohemia itself. The spirit of yielding, against which Payne had so strenuously striven, had done its work, and Rome was once more triumphant in the land of Huss; and as he journeyed on to Prague he must have felt all his work to be defeated; but he was yet to live to see it once more in the ascendancy.

Arrived in Prague, he fell into strife with the emperor and Bishop Philibert. He probably maintaining his standpoint upon the teaching of Wycliffe, as he had ever done, and denouncing the renewed licentiousness and priestcraft which had so quickly reinvaded Bohemia. For the moment his power was gone, and he was driven from Bohemia as soon as his safe-conduct expired. The marvel is that he was not sent to Basle a

prisoner. But that the people of Bohemia still loved him is shortly afterwards proved; and perchance the emperor dreaded his imprisonment might lead to an uprising once more of the heretics. Koranda, his colleague, was forbidden to preach, and was commanded to live only in Tabor, being forbidden to leave that town under punishment of death by drowning. John Penning, a pupil of Payne, one who had come with him to Prague, and who had shared his triumphs, was imprisoned and subjected to long questionings, a statement which most probably implies that he was also tortured.

Rokycana was not wholly yielding. He was already reaping the fruits of his concession, but he appears to have refused to go again to Basle as a delegate, although Kaiser Sigmund promised him a safe-conduct. He probably remembered that this same Sigmund had given Huss a safe-conduct. He was yet a power among the people, and, as a quaint chronicler puts it, 'Der Rockzan, hat noch grosse Nachfolge und sicht man mee lude zu siner kirchen dan in enicher andern kirchen' ('Rokycana has still a great following, and more

people are seen in his church than in any other church'). For this reason Sigmund and Philibert would gladly have had him absent from Bohemia ; but in this same year, 1437, whilst troubles were again arising, Sigmund quits Prague and dies at Znaim.

In the gradual rising that ensued after the crowning of King Albert, we hear nothing of Payne ; but we are made aware of his return to Bohemia—if he had ever quitted it—by a note upon the wild state of the country in the year 1439. The nobles 'stormed out of fortresses and castles and fell upon each other, and then joined themselves to those with whom they were at enmity ; so that at last no one knew who was true to each other.' The mountain fortresses and isolated hill castles lent themselves to this raiding ; and it was in some such raid that Peter Payne was taken prisoner by Burian of Gutenstein, in February of that year.

This Gutenstein lies in the mountains, not far from the interesting little town of Mies. The drive out to it is through an interesting country of scattered villages, and over well-cultivated plains alternated with pine forests. The old castle consists now

simply of ruins of great halls and rooms, one high tower far above all, still intact in its stolid strength. Working round to the tower, we found it defended where the land sloped by a thick outer wall, and beyond by a craggy fall of rock some fifty feet down on one side. Eastward were three holes, where there had been attempts to enter or storm it; one had pierced it, and by lying down and wriggling through about fifteen feet of wall we got inside this tower: narrow at the bottom and widening at the top. Here only three storeys could be seen; the upper one a fairly wide room, but where we stood it was only about eight feet by five in measurement. Again wriggling out, we passed round to the south side of the tower; here, in a good hall, started up a fine pine shadowing the walls of these apartments, which rose up in three low storeys, having formed rooms about twenty-one feet by fifteen. From this point the height and strength of the tower could be seen. It was square, but with wide rounded corners—an unusual type of building; it rose to about eighty feet in height, and on its summit from the walls grew a fair-sized tree.

As we walked by the river we could see this old robber nest isolated on its craggy peak, and we wondered if Peter Payne had been allowed by the Robber Knight Burian to wander by the little river's brink ; or if he awaited the replies of those letters from Pope and King of England, within that dark tower's dungeon, dreaming of Oxford and Lincolnshire, of his home at Hough-on-the-Hill, and all his young life that he had left behind him for truth's and freedom's sake, to fight in here on distant Bohemia Wycliffe's cause.

Gutenstein being a not uncommon name, there was a doubt when we first visited this ruin as to whether this was the actual castle where Peter Payne was imprisoned ; but in the famous illustrated work on Bohemia called *Cèchy* we met with this passage, which positively sets all doubt at rest—

‘ During the Hussite war, the castle was in the hands of Burian of Gutstein, one of the leading lords of the Catholic party, who took an active part in all battles and discussions. In the year 1448, however, Burian went over, as did so many Bohemian nobles, to George of Podiebrad, and remained faithful to King George until his death.’

To glean further facts concerning Payne's imprisonment we have to go to an English fifteenth-century work — *The Correspondence of Bishop Bekynton, the Secretary of Henry VI.* From two letters that are printed in this correspondence it would appear that Henry VI. was not wholly unfavourable to Payne, even as his forerunner, Henry V. Johann Burian of Gutenstein seems to have felt he had secured an important prisoner, and one for whom either pope or king would pay a goodly ransom, and if not pope or king, at least his own people; so he entered into a correspondence with King Henry of England upon the subject. The king's answer is characteristic. Dated May 4, 1440, he speaks of Payne as 'Nomine Magistrum Petrum cognominatum apud vos ut sciebitis Peyne, sed apud nos Clerc qui insana et pestifera doctrina sua multas nationes et populos infecit subvertitgæ,' etc. But though he thanks Johann of Gutenstein for offering to send him to England, he offers no money for that purpose. But that Gutenstein had also informed the pope that he held Payne in his power seems apparent from the fact that King Henry writes also to the pope, May 18, in

which letter he again speaks of Payne as 'called by you Peyne, by us Clerc;' and gives the said Payne some remarkably hard names, continuing, 'Populos intoxicant et innumera fœna, monasteria, ecclesias altaria, loca religiosa, absque pietate quacumque incendit, subvertit destruxit provanavit;' thus apparently laying on his shoulders the work of those with whom he was associated; for from the Bohemian historians we can glean no trace of his taking an active part in the destructive work of burning and murdering that was so wildly adopted on both sides in all the wars of the struggle. But if Henry calls him hard names, thus proving his power, he prefers not to have him in his own country, as the pope, like Gutenstein, seems to have suggested; for it was too hazardous an undertaking, because of the dangers of the way, and especially of the *Idoli Basiliensis*.

Johann of Gutenstein appears to have soon grown tired of this correspondence with pope and king, which promised no money outcome. Henry in his second letter suggested to the pope he should be sent to Florence; but Payne's friends thought too highly of him to allow one who had been

their teacher for twenty years thus to be torn from them ; and their negotiations with Burian were more to the point, for they paid down two hundred schock of groschen, and once more welcomed him a free man amongst them. For says the old chronicle that Palacky quotes, 'Und die Taboritenstädte zahlten lieber diese Summe, als dass sie ihn gestelt hätten.' (The Taborite towns more willingly paid this sum than that he should be tortured.) A schock of groschen meant sixty of that coin (the word is still used in Bohemia), and when it is remembered that the ransom for an ordinary man was only five schock, it will be seen that they set a high value on Payne's limbs. But probably Burian expected better value than this from either pope or king, and seeing those sources fail, accepted the best offer he could get ; for money and booty were to many of these petty overlords and robber knights their chief aim. A proof of the high value set upon Payne is the indifference often shown at this period for prisoners. In *Round about Haida* is quoted an example of eleven schock of groschen being paid for a batch of prisoners, but when

seventy schock is demanded for another batch, the answer is given 'that they might rot before they would ransom them at such a high price.'¹ But for Payne two hundred schock were paid.

Whilst Payne was prisoner, perchance in one of the most terrible rock dungeons, or even Hunger towers, that now when opened yield such fearful and pathetic proofs of their inmates' sufferings, Bohemia was ravaged by a pest. The Turks were advancing in the south, Panslavism was threatening the east of Europe, and anarchy reigned in the land he had adopted. Whoever could overpower the other did so, and 'fistright' reigned after Albert's death, the great barons, such as the Rosenbergs, siding with whichever party was uppermost, king or commoners. But a man was slowly coming to the fore whose personal influence was to oversway all this anarchy, and after years of strenuous labour make Bohemia a united and powerful kingdom.

George of Podiebrad's name now more frequently occurs in the councils of nobles and

¹ See *Round about Haida*, by J. B., *Cornhill Magazine*, June, 1885.

burghers. The Taborite party was much reduced, but later, in the year 1440, its principal priests are named as Nicklas of Pilgram, called also Biskapuc, or the little bishop; Koranda, and Payne, who had now again taken refuge (after his imprisonment) at Saaz. From here he watched the comedy of two popes and two councils.

But his friends the Taborites were being attacked from all sides by Ulrich of Rosenberg and a strong union that besieged their towns, and by Rokycana and their old enemy Pribram, whom Payne had so often out-argued. Ulrich was now become friendly with Rokycana, and they joined their forces to overthrow the arguments of the Taborites, who still adhered to Wycliffe's teaching. Especially upon the question of the transubstantiation were they steadfast. But at length they agreed to send deputies to the meeting of priests at Kuttenberg to again discuss and agree upon the disputed points; and upon July 6, 1444, at the town of Kuttenberg, was held the last public discussion of the Taborites. Not only were the clergy of all parties here in great numbers, but also the lay leaders, including Herr Ptacek, who

may almost be termed the then President of Bohemia.

After some discussion as to the Taborites agreeing to abide by certain decisions, to which they only yielded town by town, the Saaz town, through Koranda, refusing to pledge itself, two presidents and directors of the assembly were chosen ; and it is highly significant of Payne's lasting power and sway over the Bohemians that at this meeting he and Wenzel of Drachow were the presidents appointed.

Kuttenberg of to-day is one of the most interesting towns in Austria, and especially rich in ecclesiastical buildings, its St. Barbara's church being a rich gem of fifteenth-century architecture ; but it was in the Pfarrkirche, amidst the tall graceful pillars of this beautiful building, that Peter Payne and Wenzel presided over the (to the Taborite party, and indeed all Bohemia) momentous assembly of doctors and nobles, burghers and priests. This building is now known as the St. Jacobi Erzdechenal church, an interesting and good example of fourteenth-century work, and where the Utraquists worshipped from 1423 until 1622.

Rokycana opened the discussion with a long speech, ending with a formula of his belief upon the Holy Sacrament: 'It is to be believed that (*a*) in the Holy Sacrament the holy body and blood is Christ, the true God and true Man; (*b*) in His natural body born in the flesh, and which body He received from Mary, and with which body He sits in heaven on the right hand of God the Father.' And he demanded that the Taborites should also believe this. Payne and his followers, however, answered they could accept the first part (*a*), but not (*b*), because Christ, according to His nature, was in one place upon His heavenly throne, though according to His sacramental, spiritual, effectual, and real nature He was here below, amongst us, and present in the sacrament of the altar.

And upon this they formulated their creed in contradistinction to Rokycana's, and the debates ensued thereon. So well and powerfully did the Taborites argue, that Rokycana, and Pribram, Payne's old antagonist and enemy, feared they would convince many, as their words were neither godless nor unreasonable. And so they adopted

the plan, too oftentimes successful, of abusing their opponents, and of bringing before the synod all the offences and wild statements of the Taborite priests for the past twenty-four years. That a good, virtuous man was more to be honoured than the sacrament and such-like statements were denounced ; and Pribram, who had said he would prove Koranda, Payne's colleague at Saaz, to be two hundred times a heretic, was replied to by Koranda 'that ere he could do this, he (Koranda) would prove him two hundred times to be a liar!' And he challenged Pribram to covenant that the one who should be proved to be in the wrong should suffer as a heretic. Such stakes, however, of body and soul the assembly would not permit ; but the statement proves how heated became the controversy. The Taborites complained also that Pribram attacked Payne only in the Bohemian tongue, though he knew that this doctor was not sufficient master of that tongue to answer him with it. The advantage of this was great to Pribram, for the assembly could listen to his fluent, heated speech, whilst Payne must stammeringly reply to him.

The synod was dissolved by Ptacek and Rokycana ordering that both parties should submit their points in writing to the Kuttenberg authorities, so that they might be considered at the next general Landtag, and until then each was to remain at peace, nor debate upon the strife.

At the Prague Landtag the Taborites sent few delegates but much writing, and Payne's name is not mentioned. But the result was that Rokycana and Pribram were declared to be in the right, and the people were forbidden to follow the teaching of the Taborites. Their towns gave in to the Chalice party one by one, and even in 1440 only one town was left to them—that from whence they derived their name, Tabor.

But this decision had no effect upon the unity of the country. The rock fortress and mountain stronghold lords attacked and seized all that they could conquer; and the towns in their distress combined against these marauders. The whole country was given up to anarchy, and men, even such powerful barons as Ulrich von Rosenberg, sided first with one party and then with another. This, the most powerful of the Bohemian nobles,

is said to have sided and assisted every party at one time or the other. But one was steadily advancing in power who was to conquer and overrule all parties, and at length unite them under his kingship.

George of Podiebrad and his party or Bund were fast assuming power; but of his struggles and continuous combats with the Rosenberg party and with emperor and pope we have no space to speak, as Payne's name does not appear in them until George, as regent, and with the support of the Rokycana party with sixteen thousand men, marched against Tabor and the towns that still held out against Rokycana.

Tabor is situated upon a rocky height, with water surrounding it, the river Lusinetz winding round two or almost three sides of its scarped precipitous hill, and the Jordan brook or river nearly, and with the aid of a moat entirely, completing the circle. So situated, and well defended with walls and towers, bastions and redoubts (many of which are still extant, with the very pulley-wheels in place that raised or lowered the drawbridges), it was a difficult place to assault,

as Ulrich of Rosenberg had found to his cost and defeat in 1420. The priests of the sect had all taken refuge in the town, and the burghers swore to defend them to their last drop of blood ; and as one to-day stands in the central place of the town, with the church and town hall, quaint gabled houses, and narrow irregular streets around one, from whence in but a few yards the walls and towers can be gained that look out upon the rocky height, with the water beneath and hills around where George of Podiebrad's sixteen thousand men were encamped, one can easily recall the scene.

But George was of different stuff to Ulrich, and only half an enemy, as he also was a *ketzer* (heretic). And the burghers of Tabor yielded, accepting George as regent, he confirming them in all their rights and liberties, and promising also to leave their friends and allies, the men of Saaz and Pisek and Laun, in peace, the Taborites still further stipulating that in the matter of differences of conscience a discussion should take place in Prague of six persons to settle these matters.

Again most significantly run the names of the chosen six. First came the now adopted archbishop, Rokycana, and next their great leader and defender (who ever through the fierce period of thirty-seven years had unswervingly clung to the pure teaching of Wycliffe), their *Meister Englisch*, Peter Payne. He in this their last stand against piecemeal yielding to Rome was the first named to still defend their tenets. It was further arranged, should there be any difference between these six, that the minority should obey the majority; and if the priests would not so obey, the burghers and councillors and citizens bound themselves to obey the general will of the Landtag.

That the priests Niklas, Viskupec, and Koranda did not agree is probable, for we learn they were imprisoned for a long time in the town hall of the Old Town at Prague, until probably forced to agree with Rokycana. But their yielding did not release them, for they were then sent one to George's castle in Podiebrad, the other to that of Litic, where they were retained till death.

As Payne's name is not mentioned as being imprisoned, it is probable that he either at length

joined the ranks of Rokycana, or more probably fled and was shielded by those who trusted to his teaching.

This was Payne's last recorded public defence of his master's creed and teaching. He lived on, it is thought, in Prague until 1455, when he saw Bohemia united and at peace with itself, under the powerful regency of George of Podiebrad, a heretic.

Of the importance of Peter Payne's work it is difficult indeed to speak, but the foregoing facts must have proved how great was this stranger's influence in Bohemia, and how her present historians honour his work ; for, with the one exception of the reference to Bishop Bekynton's letters, naught historical has been written but from the Bohemian writer's work. In dealing with Pribram's discussions, Palacky states how especially this ardent disputer levelled his diatribes against Payne, as the chief proclaimer of Wycliffe's doctrines in Bohemia.

The party self-styled the Orphans after Ziska's death adhered most closely to Wycliffe's creed, and it was to this party, as we have seen, that Payne

at first clung. At first he appears to have resided in Prague when not travelling with the various embassies to Basle or Pressburg or elsewhere upon his important missions. Other Englishmen were with him who had also been driven from Oxford, but the sole name of any of these pupils and disciples come down to us is that of John Penning.

After Payne was banished from Prague he took refuge at Saaz, and he also resided for some time in the house of Peter Chelcicky, whose *Character Studies* of the period give us such an insight into the life, the fierce turmoil and strife, and the habits and contentions of the period. The very fact of Payne going to him is given as a proof of the importance of Chelcicky at that period, for it proves, says Palacky, 'that the eyes of *the most eminent and prominent men* of this period were directed towards him.'

Peter Payne, says the Bohemian historian, remained always true in principle to his master (Wycliffe), never joining wholly any of the Hussite sections, as they all more or less differed from Wycliffe's teaching, though he never failed con-

tinuously to draw their attention towards him. By his learning and acute thought as a theologian he enjoyed the greatest respect and esteem. The two of his tractates that M. Pribram mostly inveighed against, have not up to the present been found, but a fairly large number of his writings are scattered about in various libraries, and all occupy themselves with his work of spreading and defending the teaching of Wycliffe. He strove, said his opponent Pribram, to make clear what was involved, and to abbreviate and emphasize that which was lengthy or verbose in Wycliffe's writing. The first words of the two lost documents are given by Palacky, as well as the commencements of some of the less-known works, and the places where they are to be found.

And yet this man, one of the most 'prominent and eminent' in a country that at the time when he was a leader of its thought was shaking to its foundations the most mighty power then known, is wholly ignored—forgotten by the historians and biographers of his own country.

PART III

*HOW EARLY ENGLISH WRITERS
MALIGNED PAYNE*

IN the work of early chroniclers there are items of information which throw light on Payne's English life.

As will be seen, Gascoigne, living the nearest to Payne's time—in fact, writing during his lifetime—promulgated the first defamatory and apparently lying notices upon his life from evidence received from his bitterest enemies, the papal party. Subsequent writers, such as Bale, Twyne, Hearne, Tanner, down to Robertson and Creighton of our own day, have re-echoed these falsehoods. The echo comes to us very fully in Anthony Wood's interesting work, and Wood seems to have had some faint inkling of Payne's greatness, for he qualifies quaintly here and there doubtful state-

ments. His first reference is upon the testimonial said to be given to Wycliffe by the university of Oxford.

‘The prime-breacher of this testimonial (of which we have nothing in our registers, records, or books of epistles) was John Husse, in the first tome of his works, and from him John Fox; against the former of which it was objected in the Council of Constance, celebrated a little after this time, that he had openly divulged the said commendatory epistle in the behalf of John Wycleve, falsely conveyed to Prague under the title of the University of Oxford by two students, one a Bohemian, the other an Englishman.

‘As for the Englishman before mentioned, that was the chief agent in the business, was one Peter Clerke, *alias* Payne, an Oxford scholar, who being extraordinary active in prosecuting the doctrine of Wycleve, took privately (the note quotes Gascoigne) an occasion to make use of the common seal of the university, and to apply it to a testimony that he and his companion had before drawn up, such companions I mean that were inclining to Wyclevisism, who divers times in these

days took advantages to serve their turns, the common seal being not so choicely kept as since it hath been.'

Wood modifies the stealing of the seal of Gascoigne into using a seal that was carelessly left about.

His next reference is to the reception at Basle of the Bishop of Worcester and Prior of Norwich. 'They were received by the prelates with five hundred horsemen, with whom was an Englishman named Peter Payne,' implying that Payne was one of the horsemen of the prelates. Probably he was in their company as a chief personage.

'There also flourished in this king's reign, one Peter Clerk, *alias* Payne, of whom more anon, and others,' is Wood's note on events in the reign of Henry V., proving Payne's importance.

'The council of Basil being yet in continuance, and certain of our Oxford scholars being there on behalf of the university, it was ordered this year that those graduate doctors who had laboured in the said council for the union of the Church should be preferred before others, notwithstanding the statute of Pope Eugenius IV. Peter Payne, *alias* Clerk, lately an Oxford scholar, was there

(though a great Wiclevist), with one Nicholas and others as orators for Bohemia. He, the said Peter, disputed at that council some days concerning matters of faith, and three thereof were wholly taken up with the fourth article of the Hussites, which was concerning the temporal or civil dominion of the Church. But his arguments were answered, or endeavoured so to be, by John Polamore, Doctor of Decrees, auditor of the apostolical palace and archdeacon of the church of Barcelona, which, being reduced into a treatise with this beginning, "Deus in adiutorium meum intende," etc., seems for the most to be the same with another of that subject which precedes the first article of the Hussites in the acts of the Council of Basil.'

'The said Peter assisted much one Ulricus, a Bohemian, in the defence of the second and third articles of the Hussites, which is "De punitione peccatorum publicorum et de officio prædicandi:" both answered by Henry Caldifren, a preaching frier. So active and busy was he in disputing in this council on the Bohemian side (in the management of which he uttered dangerous

propositions), that the pope demanded a subsidy of the clergy of England to prosecute him. He, the said Peter, was born at a village called Haugh, or Hoogh, three miles from Grantham, in Lincolnshire, from which place he, according to the ancient manner, was sometimes called and written. At other times he was known by the name of Peter Freying, *i.e.* de Francigenis, because his father was a Frenchman; then Peter Inglys, *i.e.* Anglicus, because he was an Englishman; and when he was Master of Arts, Peter Clerk (which causeth Baleus to make him different from Peter Payne).’ Thus explaining his foolishly supposed assumption of aliases. ‘After he had spent some years in his native country—his father for the most part living at Hogh—he was sent to the University of Oxford, where, after he had spent his studies in grammar, logic, and philosophy, he became Master of Arts, and Principal of Edmund and Whyte Hall in St. Peter’s parish in the east.

‘While he abode in Oxford he was esteemed a person of good natural parts, and one also in his disputations and lectures an enemy to the friers. But Thomas Walden, a Carmelite, taking his

brethren's part, not only disputed with him concerning the mendicity and beggary of Christ, but of pilgrimages, the eucharist, images, reliques, and such like; and as the said Thomas doth himself report, that when he and Brother William were, at the instance of a noble person, selected to dispute against him concerning some of the said points, as also of votive beggary, he, the said Peter, when he appeared and was scarce ready to urge about it, was overtaken by madness and trouble of mind. This Walden is pleased to report, but how true it is I leave to others to judge.' Wood's doubt of the word of Payne's enemies is always to be taken as well worth noting. 'Certain it is that he, showing himself very forward and active in disputing against the said Walden and others in our public schools, . . . did for fear of being betrayed by the friers fly into Bohemia, and associated himself with Procopius of Prague, the chief of the heretics, dispersing copies of John Wiclyve's books, which he brought with him out of England, as the Bohemian scholars had done before, about Wicleve's time and after, particularly the chief captain

of them, John Husse, who made it his whole employment while he studied at Oxford to collect and transcribe his doctrines.'

'Baleus speaks something of the said Peter, but Pitseus not, because he was a Wiclevist, omitting all that are of his profession.' Again a hint from Wood of how carefully the side taken by a writer must be considered. 'The books he wrote were divers, some whereof are against the friers, others about the eucharist and ceremonies. He wrote also certain allegations while the Council of Basil was now held; among the rest, one was "that the pope hath not plenitude of power, etc. That a king for a just war can exact subsidies from ecclesiastical persons without the authority of the pope," the beginning of which is, "Est opinio aliquorum quod Papa," etc. Doubtless other things not unworthy a scholar's perusal he wrote in these times, but having for the most part been performed in Bohemia, few or none of them came into these parts, having been, after his death (which was at Prague, 1455, according to the English account), either burnt or quite lost.'

Wood's quotations in this interesting sketch of

Payne's life are from the acts of the Basle Council, from Gascoigne, and from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and his leaning towards Payne is very evident, though he himself was a papist. His last words explain also how it comes about that Payne has been forgotten. His great work was done in Bohemia, and our historians have been content to copy that which his enemies have written upon him, instead of searching the annals and archives of the country of his adoption, the country that defied all Europe under the teaching of Wycliffe through the mouth of Payne. The few references to Payne, derogatory and defamatory, have led them to look upon him as a minor item in the great events of the fifteenth century, instead of a moving power and of mighty influence; and even to our own day this yearning to still cling to and quote only from the Latin papal and untruthful writers is sometimes evident.

Wood's last references are the following: 'As Naboth was slain by Jesabel because he would not consent that his vineyard should be turned into a garden for the delights of King Ahab, so God granted that the fathers of the Church should

rather be slain, than that they should consent that the cure of souls should perish by the appropriations of churches to religious and collegiate persons, who by such additions grew rich, lived high, entertained useless servants, and purchased unnecessary ornaments, omitting those things most necessary, as the worship of God and cure of souls; for at this time it was very much complained that the cure of souls in England perished by such appropriations and by the non-residence of curates and prelates, by the proportion of unworthy persons, pluralities of benefices, bestowing ecclesiastical degrees on unworthy and vicious persons, and by the pride and ignorance of the graduates of the university. Those few that were learned and modest, and could not out of conscience embrace vile ways for promotion in the Church, abode long in the university, and received much harm thereby.' These were the very evils Payne had earnestly denounced before council and Kaiser, and how curious it is to read on, and hear that Payne was the destroyer of the Church! 'By the same means, and especially by the appropriations of parish churches, the kingdom

of Bohemia was destroyed, the danger of which being seen, the University of Prague wrote to Pope Martin V. for remedy, but being not prosecuted, the said kingdom was destroyed, and the Church there came to nothing for want of remedies, and by the doctrine of John Husse, Procopius, and Peter Paine.'

All the further quotations are also adapted from Gascoigne's work, and we now give Gascoigne's own words from the Lincoln MS., and extracts from his copyists and imitators.

'These two causes, to wit, the impropriation of churches and unworthy promotion in the churches, were the causes why churches and faith have now been destroyed by very wicked heresies and errors, in Prague and in the kingdom of Bohemia, by the instance and labour of Procopius the heretic, and of Peter, called Peter the Englishman, a principal heretic, who was the son of a man of Gaul, but was born in England about three miles from the town of Grawntham, in a town whose name is Hough; and that name in the English dialect is signified by this Latin word *crus* (shin, hough, or hock). And this Peter, the heretic, was Master of Arts of

Oxford, and exceedingly crafty ; and he stole the common seal of the University, under which he wrote to the heretics of Prague, that Oxford and the whole of England was of the faith of the men of Prague except the false Mendicant Friars. These things were written by that false heretic, who was called at Oxford Peter Clerk.' (Lincoln Coll. MS., 117 ; Gascoigne's *Dictionarium Theologicum*, p. i. p. 326, under the word *Episcopus*.)

'For the unworthy promotion of unfitting persons and the impropriation of parish churches were the causes of the destruction of the kingdom of the Bohemians, and of the heretics who destroyed that country and kingdom ; and when it seemed probable that such evils threatened the kingdom of Bohemia through unworthy prelates by the impropriation of churches and by the non-residence of curates in their cures, the University of Prague wrote to Pope Martin the Fifth for the remedy of these evils, but the remedy was not forthcoming, so that the kingdom of Bohemia was destroyed, and its churches were destroyed and burnt by Hus, the prince of the heretics, and by Peter Clerk, the Englishman, a good-for-nothing

Master of Arts of Oxford, who was born in England, in a town next Grawntham, called in English, Hoch; and there dwelt his father, who was a Gaul or Frenchman by nationality, having been born in Gaul; which Peter was associated with the evil heretic Procopius, the principal heretic in Prague.' (*Ibid.* p. 60, under the words *Appropriatio ecclesiarum.*)

There is also another reference in the Lincoln MS. to Payne, in part ii. p. 455, but this is translated by Rogers, whose words we give on p. 147.

'Peter Payne, the Englishman, a disciple of John Wicleve in the sincere doctrine of Christian truth, and sometime master of the profane arts at Oxford, on account of the persecutions which were then made by the Antichrists in England, fled forth to Prague of the Bohemians. Among them he was received as a pure propounder of the Gospel, as is stated by Æneas Sylvius in the *Description of Europe*; and they deputed him among their chief delegates to the Council of Basle, in the year of the Lord, 1436; where it was disputed with them concerning the articles of faith for fifty days, he himself reasoning with the

sophists by proofs when they rejected the Scriptures. And at the aforesaid council he published—

Concerning the civil authority of the clergy,
book i.

Against the superstitions of ceremonies, book i.

Upon both kinds of the Sacrament, book i.

And many more besides. He praised both John Wicleve and Huss, in respect of doctrine, not fearing to call them, in public synod, evangelical doctors. Then he returned to Prague with his associates, in the year 1438 from the birth of Christ. Against him Juan de Torre Quemada, a Spanish cardinal, wrote a book, concerning the efficacy of lustral (baptismal) water.' (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum*, autore Jo. Balæo. 4°. B. 38. Th. Seld, f. 193 b.)

To have aroused this fierce and implacable Inquisitor to publish a work against him, is alone almost a claim to immortality for our countryman.

'Whereupon it came to pass, that after the death of the same Wiclef, one of his disciples, named Peter Payne the Englishman, fled forth to Prague with his books, in the reign of Wenceslaus, being

probably influenced by this reason, that before him a certain Bohemian, of noble birth, of the house which they call the Rotten or Putrid Fish,¹ having been grounded in the study of letters at Oxford, brought back with him from thence to his own country the books of Wiclef, which bear the title *De Universalibus realibus*, as a precious treasure. Which books by divers transcriptions he communicated to many men at Prague, and in accordance with his name, he infused the deadly poison of rotten heresy into his fellow-citizens. And he lent those books chiefly to those who bore hatred to the Germans (as Æneas remarks), so that they (the Germans), being aggrieved by the new doctrines, might depart from the Academy of Prague, in which they had the upper hand, and leave it to be ruled by the Bohemians. Before, however, that pestilence had commonly increased among the multitude, the Doctors and Masters of the famous University of Prague, who had already understood that many of the articles of John Wiclef had been publicly condemned, not only in

¹ Meaning Jerome Faulfisch. How the curious name is cunningly used to defame Wycliffe's work!

England by the provincial council and by the University of Oxford, but also at Rome in the council general, and at Paris by the most celebrated Faculty of Theology, themselves propounded the forty-five articles of Wiclef for public examination.' (*Historiæ Hussitarum libri duodecim*, per Joannem Cochlæum, 1549, p. 8.)

'For although the common people regarded John Wicklef as a heretic to be held in execration—whom [the Bishop of] London thought fit on all occasions to object against the Oxonians as a reproach—and also all the Oxonians for his sake as guilty of heretical pravity, especially because the proctors refused the papal bull for the taking of Wycklef, as appears from Thomas Walsyngham ; nevertheless, by the testimony of the whole University, in the Commentaries of Fox, it appears that the Oxonians never had an ill opinion of Wycklef, but always regarded him as orthodox ; nor did they burn his bones, as the common mass of writers allege. Which testimony of the Oxonians, in the year of the Lord 1406, while assuredly I regard as worthy of no small meed of respect, so I cannot forget what was

asserted by Thomas Gascoigne in the Book of Verities, brought together in the form of a table or theological dictionary, namely, that Peter Payne once upon a time gave to his friends of Prague letters concerning these very matters, forged, and sealed with the seal of the University, which he had secretly procured.' (*Antiquitatis Academicæ Oxon. Apologia*, Authore Briano Twyno, Oxon. 1608, p. 308.)

'1730, June 15, Mond. 17 Kal. Jul.—Thomas Gascoigne in his Book *de veritatibus collectis in modum tabulae, sive in dictionario Theologico*, hath a remarkable story. . . . This is taken notice of by Bryan Twyne in p. 308 of his *Apologia*, where he likewise from Gascoigne observes, that one Peter Payne wrote a fictitious Letter in the Name of our University, he having privily stole the University Seal, to the university of Prague about Wickliff. This Matter ought to be considered, especially since Twyne from Fox says, that the University of Oxford had a great honour for Wickliff, and it seems this Letter was against Wickliff, as if the University of Oxford did not look upon Wickliff as an Heretick, and were not

for burning his bones.' (Hearne's *Diaries*, vol. 126, p. 83.)

'PAYNE [Peter]. Payne Freing, surnamed Inglys or *Anglicus*, Clerk or *Clericus*, born at Hogh, a town distant three miles from Grantham, his father being a Gaul or French, was brought up and studied in the Academy of Oxford, where he bestowed such sedulous labour on grammar, philosophy, and theology, that he was honoured with the degree of Master, and the government of the Halls of Saint Edmund and White[hall] next the east gate. He had a disputation with Thomas of Walden and other Carmelites concerning the voluntary mendicity of Christ. At length, for fear of the friars, he fled from the country, and betook himself to Bohemia, where he published the books and doctrines of Wicleve. In MS. Ashmol. Oxon. 789, fol. 98, there are two letters of King Henry the Sixth, 1. to the Lord John Burian of Gussensheim, a noble Bohemian, who captured Peter Payne in Bohemia, and imprisoned him in his castle; 2. to the pope, concerning this Peter, A.D. 1440. The same Peter stole the common seal of the University of Oxford, under

which he wrote to the heretics of Prague, that Oxford and the whole of England, except the false Mendicant Friars, was devoted to the faith of the men of Prague. Thomas Gascoign, under the words *Appropriatio* and *Episcopus*. In the year 1435 (or rather 1433), with the delegates of the Bohemians, he took part in the Council of Basle, where he maintained the Articles of the Hussites with all his power. He lived with the brethren of the monastery of the Slavs in Prague. He died at Prague in the year 1455. *Hist. et Ant. Oxon.*, i. 216. He wrote, according to Bale, who wrongly distinguishes between Clerk and Payn: Concerning the temporal authority of the clergy, book i. [beginning], "These are the words which yesterday." Concerning predestination and free will, book i. Concerning the abuses of ceremonies, book i. In favour of both kinds of the Sacrament, book i. That a council is above the pope, book i. To the synagogue of Antichrist, book i. Against the little Mendicant Friars, book i. *Bale*, vii. 86, 97. He further appears to have written, during the Council of Basle: Against the plenary power of the pontiff. Concerning the levying of

tribute from ecclesiastical persons by the king alone, without obtaining authority from the pope, as often as the necessity of a just war should require. This little book he began thus—"It is the opinion of some that the pope," etc.'—*Hist. et Ant. Oxon.*, i. 216.

Two of these tractates are supposed to be in the Museum at Prague, but up to the present year (1894) Mr. Borovsky, who is searching for them, has been unable to trace them.

'John de Palmer published an answer and reply against Master Peter the Englishman upon this matter. This Peter also wrote certain arguments "Concerning the punishment of mortal sinners as well among the clergy as the laity;" to which Master Giles . . . made answer.' (Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, p. 582.)

The following extract is given, as it is the work usually quoted from, rather than the original MS. already quoted.

p. cxi. He calls himself 'Thomas Gascoigne, of the diocese of York, Doctor of Theology of Oxford.'

Ibid. 'John de Capistrane made many preachings

in Bohemia against Master John Husse and another Master of Arts [named] Jerome of Prague, who were nourished in their evil errors and heresies by the books of that wicked Doctor John Wickliff of England, which books the Bohemian scholars in Oxford carried to Bohemia, as appears in the Book of the Proceedings of the Council of Constance and Basle. And the very wicked Queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenceslaus King of Bohemia, defended the aforesaid two Bohemian heretics and their adherents, and also that wicked Master of Arts of Oxford [named] Peter the Englishman, who brought many books of the aforesaid Wycliffe the heretic from England to Prague [and] to the kingdom of Bohemia; which Peter was the son of a Trentish man,¹ that is to say, he was born in the town of England which is called Hogh, next the town called Grantham,

¹ I conjectured 'of a Frenchman, but born,' etc. [This is a bad guess. *Trantigena* rather means a native of the Trent district; and it is therefore not necessary to suppose that it is a mistake for *Francigena*, or that *sc.* is a mistake for *sed*, which would make nonsense of a perfectly clear passage.] So suggests the transcriber, who made many of these extracts from the Bodleian Library; but most of the transcribers as we have seen have turned plain Peter Payne into a Gaul.

and he called himself Peter *Clericus*, in English Clark. And the aforesaid John Husse and Jerome of Prague were burnt as heretics in Constance.' (*Collectanea Historica*, from the *Theological Dictionary* of Thomas Gascoigne, p. 510.)

(p. 456.) 'Peter Payn, otherwise Clerk, an Englishman, died in Prague, 1455. This Peter the heretic had divers names. He was called Master Peter Payn, also Peter Hogh, because he was born in the town of Hogh next Grantam. Also he was called Peter Freyng, that is, of the Frenchmen, because a Frenchman was his father; and he was called Master Peter Inglys, *i.e.* Anglicus, because he was born in England; and because he was Master of Arts of Oxford he called himself Peter Clerk.' (See Ant. Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.*, l. i. pp. 203, 215. *Ibid.*, p. 536.)

There is no word in the Bohemian historian's work of Payne's being of French extraction. The slavish copying of Gascoigne by later writers is proved by this curious little point.

The following are passages from Gascoigne's *Theological Dictionary*, as quoted by Rogers:—

(p. 455.) 'Why should no one preach in public

save prelates and curates, and persons licensed by one of these? Note well in the great book Concerning the Acts in the Council of Pisa and Constance, and Concerning the Acts of the Council of Basle; and note these things there in that book in Durham College at Oxford, in the excellent act done by Master Henry Caldifren, of the Order of Preachers against Wulric the Bohemian in the Council of Basle; and note there in that book many things by Master John Polymare concerning the civil authority against Peter Payne, otherwise Clerk, Master of Arts of Oxford, and son of a Frenchman (Francigena), born in the town of Hoogh next Graantam, in England, who said and did many evil things in Bohemia, and in Prague in the kingdom of Bohemia. And the aforesaid book, Concerning the acts or proceedings in the Council of Pisa, and in the Council of Constance, and in the Council of Basle, which was transferred to Ferrara, and afterwards to Florence, is written in three volumes on paper, in Oxford, in Durham College; and in one of them are good acts concerning the civil authority and concerning the

punishment of sinners, and what persons should preach the word of God, and what kind of persons, and who are bound to preach publicly, and who are not bound, by Master Henry Caldifren, of the Order of Preachers.

‘In the year of Christ 1430 there was a Council General at Basle, in the time of Pope Eugenius the Fourth, and on account of the plague that council was transferred from Basle to Ferrara, and afterwards from Ferrara to the city of Florence; and the acts of that Council of Basle appear in three large volumes; and I wish that some good man would by the grace of God labour to have the acts in that council written in a true hand; because that great book, containing three volumes, comprises very many good acts and determinations of notable doctors in theology, concerning the union of the Greeks in one faith to the church of the Latins; to which [union] the Greeks afterwards raised objections; and then they were demolished by the excellent disputations and determinations against the heretics of Bohemia, especially against John Husse of Bohemia, and against Procopius Rasmus of Bohemia,

a great heretic, and against Peter Payn, otherwise Clerk, of the Bohemians, then being in England with the heretics; which [Peter] died in Prague in the year of Christ 1455, according to the reckoning of England, but [14]56, according to the reckoning of Bohemia. This Peter the heretic had divers names: he was called Master Peter Payn; also Peter Hogh, because he was born in the town of Hogh, next Grantam. Also he was called Peter Freyng, *i.e.* of the Frenchmen, because a Frenchman was his father; and he was called Master Peter Inglys, *i.e.* the Englishman, because he was born in England; and because he was Master of Arts of Oxford he called himself Peter Clerk. And against the aforesaid heretics there were many excellent preachings and determinations of doctors; therefore let there be obtained, in the Lord's name, a true copy of the aforesaid book Concerning the acts and proceedings in the sacred Council of Basle.' (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, James E. T. Rogers, Oxf., 1881, p. 186.)

(p. xxiv.) 'But what shall we think of his (Neander's) proceeding, when Krummel, without so much as attempting to subject the writings

of Hus and Wiclif to a comparison, soars to the height of the utterly false assertion, that his life long Hus never gave in his adhesion to many important dogmas of Wiclif? Only afterwards, he maintains, the whole of Wiclif's doctrines obtained through the influence of the Englishman Peter Payne, acceptance with a part of the Hussites.'

The greatness of Wycliffe's influence upon Hus was moreover accentuated quite sharply by Bohringer, eight years before the work of Krummel.

(P. 72.) 'The prebendary Nicholas Tempelfeld of Brieg, one of the most passionate opponents of King George of Podiebrad, speaks of the doctrines of Wiclif as brought to Bohemia by certain Englishmen, whose names he does not mention. He has manifestly in view the magister Peter Payne, who from 1410 to 1415 occupied the dignity of Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall in Oxford, and afterwards went to Bohemia, where he took the liveliest interest in religious questions. He was to the end of his life a zealous Wiclifite, and died only in the year 1455—three years before Tempelfeld composed his tractate.

‘Just as little credence is due to the report of Stanislas of Welwar, who appears in the year 1455 as dean of the faculty of artists in Prague, and was afterwards made canon of Prague. A discourse of his is still extant,¹ in which he relates that a bachelor of the University of Prague was sent to Oxford to ascertain whether it was a fact that Wiclif had been condemned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and many bishops. The bachelor obtained possession of a certificate of the University of Oxford, erased the writing down as far as the seal, and then wrote upon the parchment a commendation of Wiclif’s writings. Coming to his death-bed he repented of the act, and spoke of it in the presence of Sigismund Gistebnitz, saying that he had never in his life committed a worse offence than this. . . .

‘Some, says Prokop, carried into Bohemia the books of John Wiclif, who had been condemned by the Church, and falsified a document by

¹ *Oracio reverendi magistri Stanislai de Welwar canonici Pragensis ecclesie*, in Cod. univ. Prag., xi. l. 8, 280, 281; printed in the *Geschichtschreiber der husit. Beweg.*, iii. 279; comp. Palacky, *Die Geschichte des Husitenthums*, 116.

inserting the name of John Wiclif in place of the name of a master who was declared in this document to be Catholic. Here, likewise, the deceiver experiences remorse upon his death-bed, and pronounces this fraud the worst crime of his life.

‘Cochlæus combined the version of Enea Silvio with that of Nicholas Tempelfeld, and speaks also of Peter Payne as the person who transplanted Wiclif’s books into Bohemia.¹ With later historians, particularly from the time of Hajek, fresh details are found ; and so even in our own day the narration has been given of a certain Jerome Faulfisch to whom the propaganda on behalf of Wiclif is traced back.’ (Johann Loserth’s *Wiclif and Hus*, quoted from the English edition of 1884.)

‘There has been some controversy as to the origin of a remarkable testimonial which purports to have been issued by the Chancellor and Masters of Oxford in their House of Congregation on the 5th of October, 1406. After mentioning the spotless character of John Wyclif, his exemplary manner

¹ *Historia Husitarum*, 8.

“in responding, in lecturing, and in determining,” and his truly Catholic zeal against “all who blaspheme Christ’s religion by voluntary begging,” the document in question states that he was neither convicted of heretical pravity during his life, nor exhumed and burned after death, and that he had no equal in the university as a writer on logic, philosophy, theology, or ethics. An original copy written in the English style, and duly attested by the seal of the university, was quoted by John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, and there is an early transcript of it among the Cottonian manuscripts. Its authenticity has, nevertheless, often been called in question. Formal complaint was made in the Convocation that met at St. Paul’s in 1411, that, without the consent of the doctors and masters, the common seal of the University of Oxford had been secretly affixed to some lying letters, which gave a testimonial for the encouragement of heresy and error, and that letters thus improperly sealed had been despatched to different foreign countries. Then again, Thomas Gascoigne, who was Chancellor of Oxford in 1434, states positively that

a certain Peter Payne¹ stole the seal of the University, and affixed it to a letter assuring the heretics at Prague of the sympathy of the Oxonians. One circumstance, hitherto unnoticed, may perhaps clear up the difficulties of the case. The 5th of October, the date of the disputed document, fell during the Long Vacation. At such a time a handful of masters might easily snatch a sudden division in Congregation, and arrogate to themselves the authority of the whole university. Thus the testimonial in favour of John Wyclif may have been technically valid, though it had not received the assent of a majority of the doctors and masters.' (Maxwell Lyte's *History of the University of Oxford*. 1886.)

We have thus traced down through the centuries these defamatory and disparaging statements promulgated by Payne's fierce and unscrupulous enemies. Gascoigne writing in 1461, Bale in 1548, Cochlæus 1549, Twyne 1608, Wood 1684, Hearne 1730, Tanner 1748, Rogers 1881, Loserth 1884, Lyte 1886.

¹ *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Thorold Rogers, pp. 20, 186, 187; Loserth's *Wyclif and Hus*.

It is true that other modern writers upon Church matters have mentioned his name. Robertson has seven references, and Creighton four; but these references are slight and biassed. For example, only half of John of Ragusa's 'slippery snake' speech is given, and not the parts which, from an opponent, proves Payne's power. Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* has several notes upon Payne's name and work. From this we glean that Pope Martin sent to the clergy of England for a subsidy to persecute one Peter Clerk, Master of Arts of Oxford, who, flying out of England, was, at the Council of Basle, disputing on the Bohemians' side. And from a note in the appendix to vol. iii. of the same work it is seen that Peter Paine was Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall from 1410 to 1415, and was born at Haugh or Hough, three miles from Grantham. And thus we have, as more clearly in Wood, the aliases to which Creighton in his *History of the Papacy* refers, that were simply his being called after his profession or his birthland, instead of by his name of Peyne, or Paine, or Payne.

His actions through all these forty years of fierce desperate life are manly and noble. Hardship and continuous danger he must have endured; and yet only once did he waver before council or pope, emperor or people, in boldly teaching his master Wycliffe's doctrines.

Do not the foreign historians prove that Peter Payne was a great man? That he is forgotten by his own countrymen is proved, as we have already said, by the fact that no work read by the common folk of to-day in our schools or colleges chronicles his name, and that no biography or encyclopædia or ordinary history of England mentions his work. And yet was he not truly a Great Englishman?

INDEX

- Adamites, the, 52
Albert, King, coronation of, 108; death of, 114
Ales of Riesenbergh, election of, 90
Angel Inn, Grantham, 21, 32
Articles of Prague, the, 83
Aussig, victory at, 42
- Baleus, references of, to Payne, 137
Barbara, Queen, coronation of, 101
Basle, council at, 65; interlude at, 77
Beaufort, Cardinal, appointed legate, 49; at Sachaw, 51; march of, diverted, 59
Bekynton, Bishop, quoted, 111
Bernstadt, capture of, 49
Bodleian Library, visit to, 19
Bohemians, the, strife of, 48; union of, 50; victories of, 54; struggles of, 63; their modes of celebrating Holy Communion, 73
Booty, great, taken, 62
Brownlow, Earl of, letter of, 31
Brunn, conference at, 94
- Bulls, issue of, 101
Burian takes Payne prisoner, 108; letters of, 111
- Capgrave quoted, 37
Castle Hill, the, Hough, 31
Chalicers, the, 44; rites of, 73
Chelcicky, Peter, 124
Cochlæus, references to Payne, 138
Creighton, Bishop, references to Payne, 154
Crusade, a, undertaken, 49; a new, 58
- Dechanal church, the, 103
Deutch-Brod, victory at, 42
Deutschen Orden, letter to, 54
- Eger, meeting at, 67
- Faulfisch, Jerome, 139
Fistright, 114
Foxe, references to Payne, 155
Freeman, Mr. E. A., letter of, 15
Froude, Mr. J. A., letter of, 12

- Gascoigne, references to Payne, 135, 144
- George of Podiebrad, a leader, 91; rise of, 120
- German, sermons in, 73
- Gladstone, Mr. W. E., letter of, 14
- Gold seal of the emperor used, 100
- Gutenstein, 108, 109
- Hearne, references to Payne, 140
- Henry VI., letter of, 111
- Hirschfeld, fall of, 49
- Hough, visit to, 21
- Hussites, the, influence of, 63
- Iglau, meetings at, 95
- Income-tax imposed, 52
- Joan of Arc, influence of, 57
- Julian, Cardinal, at Taus, 66; at Basle, 72; reply of, 80
- Kahlenburg, 88
- Kalteisen, dispute with, 81
- Kankberg, 88
- Koranda, forbidden to preach, 107; imprisonment of, 122
- Koryhut, Prince, letter of, 45; imprisonment of, 47
- Krakau, congress at, 64
- Kuttenberg, Landtag at, 68; last discussion of Taborites at, 115
- Landtags at Prague, 58, 83, 119; at Kuttenberg, 68
- Lauban, fall of, 49
- Lauda, Mathias, conduct of, 69, 82
- Lipau, battle of, 90
- Lollards, the, edict against, 137
- Lyte, Maxwell, references to Payne, 152
- Madan, Mr. F., letter of, 14
- Marien-Tein church, 45
- Martin V., mandate of, 49; letter of, 52; death of, 65
- Meinhard, Herr, a leader, 54; perversion of, 90
- Moore, Mr. E., letter of, 13
- Nemec, Priest, 61
- New College, Oxford, 18
- Nicholson, Mr., interview with, 19
- Niklas at Prague, 61; called little bishop, 115; imprisonment of, 122
- Ochitz, fall of, 49
- Orphans, the, break up of, 91; creed of, 123
- Palacky quoted, 56, 102, 113
- Palomar, debate with, 89
- Payne family, relics of, at Hough, 23
- Payne, Edward, his tomb, 23
- Payne, Peter, unknown, 10; efforts to trace him at Oxford, 18; at Hough, 21; his journey to Oxford, 33; his name still cherished in Bohemia, 35; at Oxford, 37; arrival at Prague, 37; first mention of, in Bohemia, 39; his discussions with Pribram, 42; on transubstantiation, 47; at Pressburg, 55; at Prague, 61; at

- Krakau, 65; at Kuttenberg, 68; journey of, to Basle, 68; arrival at Basle, 71; abused by Stoigkovic, 76; at Prague, 83; foresight of, 88; his influence still felt, 89; decision referred to, 92; judgment of, 97; his cure at Saaz, 102; his safe-conduct, 106; at Prague, 106; made a prisoner, 108; shut up at Gutenstein, 109; heavy ransom given for him, 117; at Prague, 122; his influence, 123; his writings, 125; references to, by Wood, 126; Gascoigne, 135, 144; Baleus, 137; Cochlaeus, 138; Twyne, 138; Hearne, 140; Tanner, 140; Lyte, 152; Robinson, 154; Creighton, 154; Foxe, 155
- Payne, Thomas, his tomb, 24
- Penning, John, 107
- Percival, Dr., note of, 13
- Pest, the, in Prague, 87; in Bohemia, 114
- Philibert, Bishop, 106
- Plumptre, Rev. R. G., letter of, 17
- Poole, Mr. R. L., interview with, 19
- Prague, the Articles of, 39, 83; Landtag at, 58, 83, 119; state of, 60; debate at, 61; pest at, 87; conference at, 87; festivities at, 95; called a Sodom, 96
- Pressburg, meeting at, 55
- Pribram, his discussions with Payne, 42; again at Prague, 60; at Kuttenburg, 117
- Priester Johann, 41
- Progress, a triumphal, 118
- Prokop the Great, wars of, 48; at Sachaw, 50; at Pressburg, 55; at Krakau, 65; his journey to Basle, 68; at Basle, 71; death of, 90
- Ptacek, Herr, 115
- Ripley, Mr., interview with, 29
- Robertson, references to Payne, 154
- Rokycana, Johann, protest of, 45; at Zebrak, 53; at Prague, 61, 83; journey to Basle, 68; at Basle, 71; wit of, 82; chosen archbishop, 94; fall of, 102; followers of, 107; at Kuttenburg, 117; again at Prague, 122
- Rowley, Professor, letter of, 11
- Saaz, Payne's cure at, 102; description of, 103
- Sachaw, battle of, 51
- St. Edmund's Hall, visit to, 18
- St. George, knighthood of, 50
- St. Peter's, Oxford, 18
- Schlick, Kaspar, at Landtag, 94
- Sermons, German, 73
- Sigmund, King, the word-breaker, 41; at Pressburg, 55; at Bruan, 94; at Prague, 95; at Trebitsch, 96; gold seal of, 100; death of, 108
- Sion, 88
- Song, an old, quoted, 46
- Sparur, Alexander, 82
- Stoigkovic, Johann, his abuse of Payne, 76

- Table used in open air for celebrating Holy Communion, 89
- Tabor, foundation of, 39 ; conference at, 62 ; description of, 120
- Taborites, the, teaching of, 39 ; rites of, 73 ; last discussion of, 115
- Tanner, references to Payne, 140
- Taus, battle at, 66
- Ticket given by Payne to Council of Basle, 79
- Topias, Friar Dan, reply of, 38
- Trebitsch, conference at, 96
- Transubstantiation, Payne on, 47
- Twyne, references to Payne, 138
- Ulrich of Rosenburg, 55 ; policy of, 90 ; power of, 91 ; wars of, 93, 115 ; judgment of, 98
- Viskupec, imprisonment of, 122
- Waldstein Castle, 47
- Warren, Mr. H., interview with, 18
- Wenzel, Priest, 61
- William, Duke, proposal of, 80
- Wladislaw, King, at Krakau, 65
- Wood, references to Payne, 126
- Wycliffe, the number of his followers, 37
- Wyscherad, rock of, 58
- Zebrak, discussion at, 55
- Ziska, wars of, 41 ; death of, 42
- Zittau, siege of, 48



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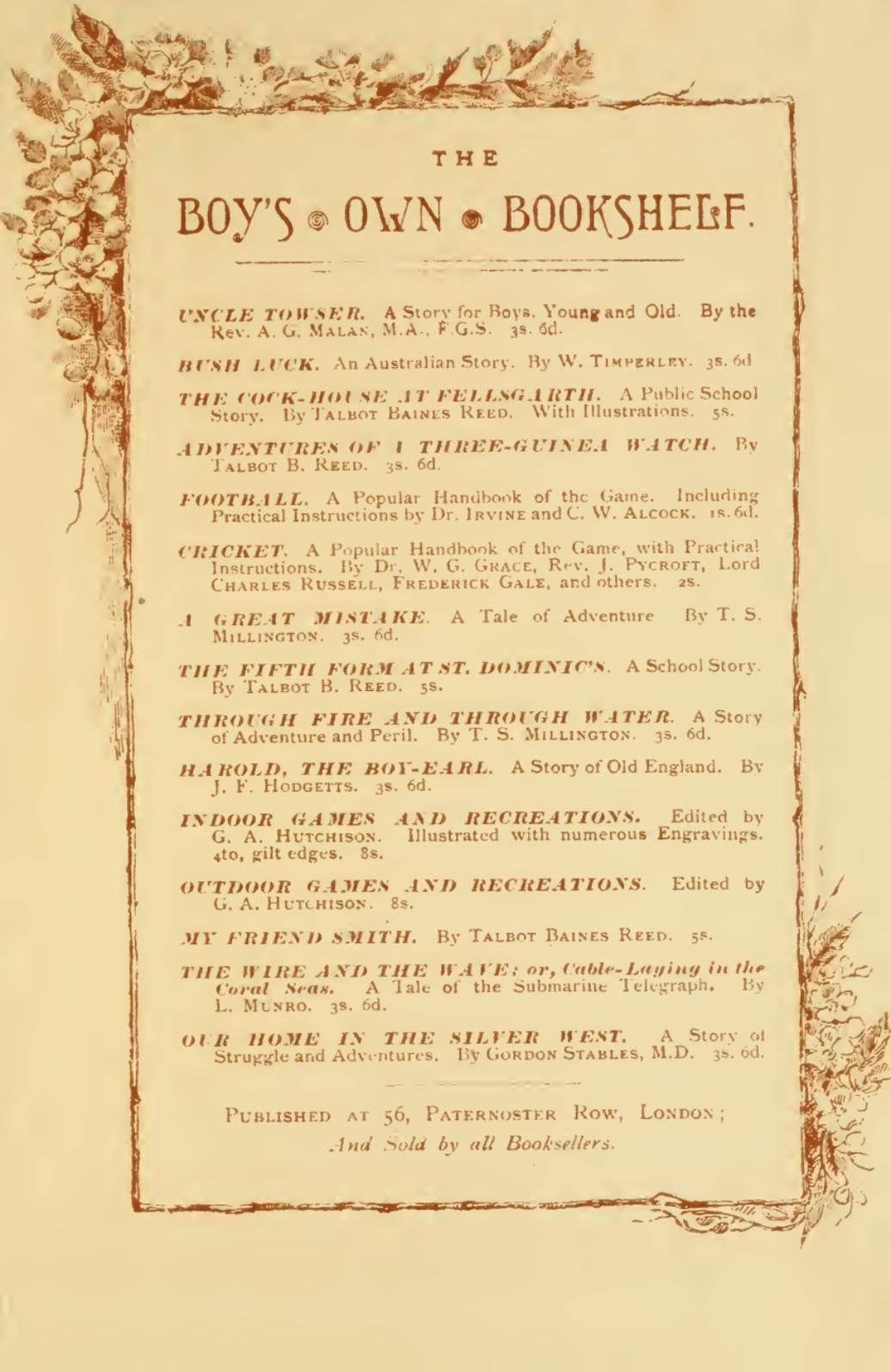
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