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LUKE CHALLONER, D.D.¹

IN the noble panegyric by the son of Sirach which begins, "Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us," the name of Zerubbabel has an honourable place. All that we know about him is that he was a prince of David's line who, in response to the decree of Cyrus, "went up" as leader of those who returned from captivity in Babylon; and, in spite of many discouragements, carried through the rebuilding of God's temple in Jerusalem; an ordinary man, probably, who succeeded where a genius might have failed; who rose to the demand made upon his patriotism by the circumstances of his time; who was great only because he did not shirk an unattractive duty; one who did not make history, but brought an epoch to the birth; *felix opportunitate nativitatis ejus*.

Such, though of course in a lower degree, was Luke Challoner. He was never a "famous man"; but he is one of "our fathers that begat us"; and it is altogether fitting that in the series of memorial discourses which are spoken here year by year he should not be forgotten by whose unflagging zeal and constancy this institution, Trinity College, Dublin, was nurtured in infancy and preserved to vigorous youth.

Luke Challoner was probably born in Dublin; the date is given as 1550.² Of his father, Francis Challoner, little is known, except that he had a "right in certayne howses in St. Thomastret nere the Hospytall of St. Johns."³ But the Challoners were not an old Dublin family like the Usshers or Balls: Luke's grandfather, Roger (*d.* 1521), was a citizen and mercer of London;⁴ and it is significant, as indicating the connexion of the

¹ A memorial discourse delivered in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, at the Festival Service on Trinity Monday, 1908.

² W. Ball Wright, *The Ussher Memoirs*, p. 107.

³ Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, ii., p. 262.

⁴ W. Ball Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

family with England, that a sister of Luke's was a bookseller in Oxford in the beginning of the seventeenth century—she is mentioned more than once in Bodley's correspondence¹—and Sir Thomas Challoner, of Guisborough, Yorkshire, who has a considerable space devoted to him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is said to have been an uncle,² the elder of two. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that John Challoner, of Lambay, Chief Secretary of State in Ireland from May, 1560, till his death in 1581, was an uncle of Luke Challoner, whom we commemorate to-day.³ John Challoner, in addition to his political importance, seems to have been a proficient in the business of demanding and acquiring other people's property by which fortunes were made and families founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If one may hazard a conjecture, Francis Challoner followed to Ireland his more prominent and prosperous brother John.⁴

The first dates in Luke Challoner's history of which we can speak with absolute certainty are those of his life as a student at the University of Cambridge. He matriculated as a pensioner of Trinity College on 13th October, 1582 [*Chalenor*]; was admitted a scholar of that college 15th May, 1584 [*Lucas Challenerus*]; graduated B.A. in 1585 [*Chaloner*]; and M.A. in 1589 [*Chaloner*]; but he was never a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, as Fuller says.⁵

We learn therefore to our astonishment that he did not enter college until the mature age of thirty-two. At a period when thirteen or fourteen was the usual age of

¹ *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, ed. T. Hearn, letters 33, 38, 60, 68, 69.

² W. Ball Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³ *Cal. of Carew MSS.*, 1515-1574, p. 293; *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1509-1573, pp. 218, 225; 1574-1585, pp. 301, 304.

⁴ John Challoner, the Chief Secretary, is not to be identified with a John Challyner, or Challoner, who figures in the *Cal. of Dublin Records* (i., pp. 417, 422, 423, 426, 431, 445, 455, 471, 481; ii., p. 43) as Auditor from 1547; Alderman, 1555; Mayor, 1556; died towards the close of 1565, or very early in 1566. It was to him, and not to Luke's uncle, that the Dublin Corporation, in 1555, granted a lease of "all the possessions of Alhalous for terme of xxxi. yeares."

⁵ *Church History of Britain*, ix., p. 212.

matriculation, and when men began their careers much earlier than they do now, Luke Challoner must have been an extraordinarily old junior-freshman; and I think that we may certainly conclude that he had not been originally intended for a learned profession, but for a life of practical activity as a manager of property.

We know that he rented from Archbishop Loftus 940 acres of land at Finglas.¹ His notebooks, still preserved in the Trinity College Library, contain many entries relative to his farms there. In 1592 he obtained from the Corporation of Dublin a lease for 61 years of the disused church and churchyard of St. Andrew.² His will testifies that he had acquired a considerable property in land and houses. All this leaves us with the impression that he was a man of business before he became a man of books and a clergyman; and it may be added that he remained a shrewd man of business to the end of his life, to the advantage of this College. His death, in fact, involved the loss to the College of an extremely valuable Dublin property.

The comparatively advanced age, thirty-five, at which Challoner graduated also helps us to understand why he did not obtain higher preferment in the Church than the Prebend of Mulhuddart,³ in St. Patrick's Cathedral, to which he was appointed by the Crown, 27th May, 1597. It is not likely that he had taken orders before he left college; in any case, he could not have seriously entered on his professional career at an earlier date; and, as a rule, prizes fall to those who start early in the race.

As I stated at the outset, we give to Challoner a place in our Roll of Honour, not because he conferred distinction on Dublin University by achievements in the world of thought or of action, but because we are grateful to him for the leading part that he took in the foun-

¹ T.C.D. MS., D. 1. 9.

² Gilbert, *Cal. Records of Dublin*, ii., pp. 259, 545.

³ Morrin, *Cal. of Irish Patents*, ii. 432. In Loftus's Certificate of the Diocese of Dublin, 1604 (*Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 170), the prebend of Mullahiddert, *valet* £46 6s. 8d.; the incumbent is "Mr. Luke Challoner, a doctor of divinity, a minister and learned preacher."

dation and conservation of this College; so that we who are working here to-day may be stimulated to noble aims and strenuous effort by the memory of an Ussher, a Berkeley, a Burke, an Archer Butler, a Rowan Hamilton, a Lloyd, a Salmon.

Those who go into the passage to the College kitchen between the Chapel and the Dining Hall, brought by duty or led by curiosity, may see on their left a tiny railed-in enclosure containing a few sepulchral memorials. The largest of these, which supports what was once a recumbent effigy, but is now nothing more than a misshapen mass of alabaster, represents the "fair monument"¹ which Phoebe Challoner placed in the old chapel over her father's grave. Her mother, his first wife, and their other children were also buried there. The monument has served since it was exposed to the weather, when the present chapel was built, in 1798, as a sample of the indecent outrages on a noble past which irresponsible guardians of a historic institution can commit with impunity. We have lost, needlessly lost, the only certainly authentic presentation of the bodily presence of Luke Challoner²; even the epitaph can no longer be seen, which told in few words what he had done to deserve a grateful recollection:

"Conditur hoc tumulo Chaloneri triste cadaver
Cujus ope et precibus conditur ista domus."

This has been Englished by Fuller:—

"This Tomb within it here contains,
Of *Chalnor* the sad remains;
By whose prayer, and helping hand,
This House erected here doth stand."³

¹ So Fuller calls it, *op. cit.*

² In Stubbs's *History of the University of Dublin*, 1889, p. 322, he says, "The two portraits of Chaloner which Dunton mentions as existing in his time (A.D. 1698) have long since disappeared." There is at present in the Regent House, a portrait, with a modern label attached, "Luke Challoner, D.D., Fellow, 1592." I am assured on good authority that the age of the picture is consistent with the accuracy of this legend, but it is evident that, as Dr. Stubbs knew nothing about it, the identification is precarious.

³ Fuller, *The Church History of Britain* (ed. 1655), book ix., p. 212. In the same enclosure can be seen, fixed against the Chapel wall, the epitaph of Provost Seele, in which we read:—*Tecta Chalonerus pia condidit.*

The task assigned to me is a memorial discourse on Luke Challoner, not the history of university education in Ireland, or of this University in particular. Nevertheless, we cannot properly place Challoner, or appreciate his work, unless we know something about the conditions which called forth the man. Let me, then, recapitulate a few of the main facts and dates.

As early as the year 1547, when the Reformation in England was assuming its final shape, the Archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, who had been sent over in 1535 to carry out the policy of Henry VIII. in matters ecclesiastical, suggested that a university should be erected at St. Patrick's Cathedral (the cathedral church to be restored as a college chapel), and endowed with the revenues of it and of other churches in Ireland.¹ The history of English administration in this country is strewn with memories of large projects which, if they had been realized at once, might have had the most beneficent results. But the adage, "out of sight, out of mind," has never been so well exemplified as in the treatment of Ireland by England.

Archbishop Browne's scheme was pigeon-holed for about sixteen years, when it was revived, October, 1563, by Sir William Cecil.² Cecil's project received warm support, or rather it was vehemently urged, in 1565, by Hugh Brady, Bishop of Meath,³ and by Adam Loftus, then Archbishop of Armagh.⁴ Not long after this, we hear, for the first time, the voice of the people, the citizens of Dublin; who were, if I may use technical scholastic terms, the *efficient cause* of our present Trinity College, while Luke Challoner was the *instrumental cause*.

From the reign of King John, the family of Ussher had been leading citizens of Dublin. At the time of which we are now speaking, John Ussher was the chief

¹ E. P. Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. ii.

² *Cal of Carew MSS.*, 1515-1574, p. 359; Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. lxxiv.

³ Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. lxxii.

⁴ Shirley, *Original Letters*, nos. lxxix., xci., xcii.

representative of this family. He is described in letters of the time as "a rare man"¹; "a zealous man in Christ's religion, an honest man of life, and well reported of them that have to do with him."²

John Ussher was a merchant prince, of the same type as the more fortunate and illustrious merchants, patrons of art and letters, to whom the cities of Italy owe so much. He paid for the printing of the first Irish book ever printed.³ This was in 1571; and in the same year, when asking the Council to entrust to him the reformation of the Staple, or Custom House, in Dublin, he declares his intention to devote whatever profits he might reap from it "to the advancement of Goddes glory, Her Majesties honour, and utilitie of this my native contre, in erecting one Colledge of Universitie here, whear Her Grace and your honours shall thinke convenient."⁴ Again, in 1582 (March 8th), in a letter to Walsyngham, he "strongly urges the erection of a university out of the escheated lands, as the only means, by educating the Irish youth at home, to keep them from rebellion in the future, and the notions imbibed at Louvain and Douay."⁵

I have dwelt upon John Ussher and his desire to see a university founded in Dublin, because I believe that it was the Ussher connexion and the opinion of that circle that produced the work of Luke Challoner. John Ussher died in 1590; but in that year Adam Loftus, the Archbishop, started the movement of which Trinity College is the result. Now, one of Loftus's daughters, Isabella, married the only son of John Ussher. Henry Ussher, afterwards Primate, who was an active agent in procuring the first College charter from Queen Elizabeth, was a cousin of John Ussher. Luke Challoner's first wife, Rose Ball, was a daughter of Ellinor Ussher,

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, p. 285.

² Shirley, *Original Letters*, no. lix.

³ A Catechism in Irish, by John Kearney, Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

⁴ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1509-1573*, p. 452; Gilbert, *History of Dublin*, i., p. 384.

⁵ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, p. 353.

a cousin of the Primate's; Luke Challoner's first cousin, Thomas Challoner, was married to a Rose Ussher; and Lancelot Money, one of the three first Fellows, was son of another Ussher. It is manifest that the Ussher family was, more than any other, responsible for the foundation of this College. In 1569, James Stanihurst, as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, also urged this matter. He was grandfather of James Ussher.

The Irish University question reached an acute crisis in 1584, when Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy, an able man, whose methods were summary and violent, proposed (21st August) a modification of the existing scheme. He suggested that two colleges, one at Armagh, and one at Limerick, should be endowed out of the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the sacred edifice itself to be turned into a court house. This desecration, Perrot said, was specially desirable, inasmuch as "there were two Cathedrals in Dublin, of which St. Patrick's, being held in more superstitious veneration than the other, ought to be dissolved."¹

We have seen that, eighteen or nineteen years before, Loftus had urged the diversion of the revenues of St. Patrick's to the endowment of a university in Dublin; but in the meantime he had contrived to fill the Chapter with his own sons, relatives, and connexions, and had also acquired large personal pecuniary interests in the Cathedral property. Loftus consequently vigorously opposed Perrot's scheme; and after a struggle with the Lord Deputy of the most violent description, he procured from the Queen a warrant forbidding the dissolution of the Cathedral.² Loftus employed as his agent in this matter Henry Ussher, then Archdeacon of Dublin.³

¹ Stubbs, *Hist.*, p. 4.

² *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, pp. 537, 555, 556.

³ "De Ecclesia Cathedrali S. Patricii pene actum fuerat . . . nisi intercessisset Reginae pietas, & Henrici Ussevi . . . prudentia & sedulitas, qui missus a Decano aliisque, quorum maxime intererat, in Angliam, istius Ecclesiae jura adeo dilucide & tauta argumentorum vitutatus est, ut diram istud omen, . . . penitus averteretur." *Vitæ Quorundam . . . illustrium virorum* scriptore Thoma Smitho, Lond., 1707, p. 10.

It is fair to say that the scheme supported by Loftus would not have involved the desecration of the Cathedral, or neglect of the parishes dependent on it.

The defeat of Perrot's proposals had, at least, this result, that action of some sort could not any longer be delayed. The Government was resolved, for reasons of policy, to establish a university in Ireland. It had always been tacitly assumed that the normal procedure in such a case was confiscation of Church property; but as Loftus had prevented the spoliation of the church, it seemed incumbent on him to suggest another site and source of revenue. This could only be found in a voluntary offering from that section of the people of Ireland which was heartily in sympathy with the project, that is, the leading merchants of Dublin who formed the Corporation.

It is at this juncture that we may, with confidence, date the beginning of the active interest and influence of Luke Challoner in the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin. In July, 1590, Archbishop Loftus made a speech to the citizens at the Tholsel, commending to them "the free granting of a fitting Place whereon to found a Colledge, and the conveniencies that necessarily belong vnto such a Society, neere this City."¹ About six months after this, January, 1591, the Dublin Corporation, at their quarterly meeting, passed the following resolution:—

"Forasmoch as there is in this assembly by certayne well-disposed persons petition preferred, declaring many good and effectual persuacions to move our furtherance for setting upp and erecting a Collage for the bringing upp of yeouth in lerning, wherof we, having a good lyking do, as farr as in us lyeth, herby agree and order that the scite of Alhallowes and the parkes therof shalbe wholly gyven for the ereccion of a Collage there; and withall we require that we may have conference with the preferers of the said petition to conclude how the same shalbe fynished."²

¹ J. W. Stubbs, *Archbp. Adam Loftus and the Foundation of Trinity College*, p. 3.

² Gilbert, *Cal. Records of Dublin*, vol. ii., p. 239, Fourth Friday after 25 December, 1590.

The ground on which this College and its adjoining Dublin property now stands is "the scite of Alhallowes and the parkes thereof." The Dublin Assembly Roll does not indicate the names of any of the "well-disposed persons" whose petition was granted; but there is a consensus of early testimony that the grant was obtained "by the motion and procurement of Lucas Challoner,"¹ that "he was the first mover and the earnest Solicitour for the buildinge and foundinge of Trinitie Colledge by Dublin."²

Challoner was a man who was respected and trusted and liked by his fellow-citizens. It is perhaps questionable if Adam Loftus could have persuaded the Corporation to grant a site for the new college if it had not been supported by a man of whose disinterestedness there was no question. There is evidence that Challoner was on good terms even with those who differed from him in politics and religion. In 1604, the Mayor, John Shelton, made a difficulty about taking the oath of Royal Supremacy, and asked a respite to consider about it. "In the meantime," we are told, "he had conference with Dr. Chaloner, a learned divine and a zealous Protestant; upon which conference the Mayor did seem to be fully satisfied that he might with a safe conscience take the oath, and to be resolved likewise touching divers other points of religion, in so much that he sent word to the Lord Deputy that Dr. Chaloner had given him satisfaction, and at the day appointed he would be ready to perform his duty touching the oath."³ In point of fact, Shelton did not take the oath; but the incident illustrates the regard in which Challoner was held by his fellow-citizens.

When the site for the college had been promised, January, 1591, the next step was to obtain from the Queen a licence for its erection. For this purpose

¹ *Book of Benefactors*, Preamble, printed in the *Dublin University Calendar for 1858*, p. 248.

² *Funeral Entries*, Ulster Office, vol. ii., p. 39, quoted by W. Ball Wright, *Ussher Memoirs*, p. 108.

³ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 212.

Henry Ussher, then Archdeacon of Dublin, was sent over to England with letters from the Irish Government, from the Mayor and Sheriffs, from the Lord Deputy, and from Archbishop Loftus. This was in November, 1591.¹ It is almost certain that Challoner accompanied Ussher on this mission. Dudley Loftus (1619-1695) notes in his *Annals*, a MS. in Marsh's Library,² that "Henry Usher had at that time with him in the setting of this structure afoot Dr. Luke Challoner"; and an early MS. of the Speeches of Adam Loftus³ states that "among many prudent inducements . . . which moved the Queene to establish this Vniversity & Colledge at All Hallowes, The humble petition of Henry Usher . . . in the name of the City of Dublin, faithfully & most zealously solicited by Doctor Luke Challoner . . . was not held the least of efficacye as to extrinsicall impression with the Queene in that behalfe."

When Ussher and Challoner returned with the Queen's letter, dated, 29th December, 1591, Adam Loftus again summoned the citizens, "and in his speech Returned them thanks from her Majestie, producing her Majesties Letter for their better satisfaction."⁴ This must have been very early in 1592. The foundation-stone was laid on March 13th in that year by the Mayor, Thomas Smith (anticipating the formal grant of the site, which is dated 21st July, 1592); and the College was opened to students January 9th, 1594.

In the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, dated 3rd March, 1592, Luke Challoner was nominated one of the three first Fellows, with Henry Ussher and Lancelot Monie, *nomine plurium*. Challoner had been for a year previously active in collecting the moneys which were being subscribed throughout Ireland in response to a circular addressed by the Irish Government to the principal gentlemen in each county in Ireland.⁵ He "received,

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1588-1592, pp. 437, 438.

² V3. 2. 7. sub. ann. 1590.

³ Published by Dr. J. W. Stubbs.

⁴ Dudley Loftus, *Annals*.

⁵ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

and disbursed the monies, had the oversight of the fabrick, which he faithfully procured to be finished.”¹ He contributed £10 himself, a considerable sum in those days; but, what was most important of all, he gave his time and his ability as a practical man to correspondence with the various contributors and to supervision of the actual building operations. He was, as the Lord Deputy said in 1595, “a carefull and painfull Instrument for the building of the Colledge.”² Fuller adds, “Nor must it be forgotten, that, what *Josephus* reports of the Temple built by *Herod*, During the time of the building of the Temple, it rained not in the day time, but in the night, that the showers might not hinder the work; I say, what by him is reported, hath been avouched to me by witnesses above exception, that the same happ’ned here from the founding, to the finishing of this Colledge; the officious Heavens always smiling by day (though often weeping by night) till the work was completed.”³ This pretty legend testifies, perhaps, to public goodwill towards the builder as much as to his work.

There is evidence extant of Challoner’s subsequent exertions to raise funds for the Colledge. A year after the foundation-stone was laid, he, with two other Fellows, Henry Lee and Launcelot Money, wrote to Lord Burghley, asking him to cash bills amounting to £623 os. 8d., “which the captains of this country for the great affections they bear unto this work have willingly afforded for their favourable contribution.”⁴ In August, 1595, Challoner, with Daniel, another Fellow, made a successful journey to England “to supplicate Her Majesty for 100l of attainted or concealed land in fee farm”⁵; and in 1612 he obtained for the

¹ Fuller, *Church History*, ix., p. 212; R. Parr, *Life of James Ussher*, p. 14.

² Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

³ *Church History*, ix., p. 212.

⁴ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1592-1596, p. 81, March 14, 1593. The application was renewed 26 May, 1594, by the Irish Government. It was not realized until 1601, when it “came to about £700, and was to be disbursed for books for a Library.” See J. P. Mahaffy, *Epoch*, pp. 70, 71.

⁵ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1592-1596, pp. 368, 371.

College from King James a grant of all the chantry lands and holdings in Dublin, at a head-rent of £22 16s. 7d. His death, unfortunately, removed the only man who had sufficient local knowledge to identify these holdings; and the College authorities resigned their claim, April 15th, 1629.¹

As I have already stated, Challoner did not possess academical distinctions sufficient to entitle him to the provostship, when Loftus resigned his nominal headship on 5th June, 1594. But he had the good sense and gentlemanly feeling which made him work loyally under the succession of eminent Cambridge puritans—Travers, Alvey, and Temple—for whom the English Government made provision in this place during his lifetime. In fact, we learn from Temple that he himself had been “drawn hither by Dr. Challoner’s protestation that the provostship was a mere civil office.”² And these early Provosts, on their side, appreciated and trusted Challoner. Travers speaks of him as “a godly learned man”³; Temple, as “a man of special note here in Ireland.”⁴ His position in the College was unique: alone of the three Fellows nominated in the charter, he continued to act after the College was opened to students; both Henry Ussher and Launcelot Money resigned in 1594. Challoner did not live in College, but in his own house in Castle Street, “In high Dublin.”⁵ In December, 1596, it was “agreed by the consent of the Provost and Fellows . . . that Mr. Lucas Chaloner . . . notwithstanding his residences and dwelling in the city, in regard of his great travail and care for the good of the said society, from the beginning and foundation of it unto this present, and sundry other

¹ The list of Chantry lands, &c., is printed in *Patent Rolls of James. I.*, p. 222. The statement that Challoner obtained the grant is taken from Dr. Mahaffy’s *Epoch*, pp. 10, 118, 155, 156, 169. References are given to *The Particular Book*, and to the Elrington (?) MS. on p. 156.

² Elrington (?) MS., p. 139.

³ Letter, 22 Aug., 1595, quoted in *Pedigree of the Devonshire Family of Travers.*

⁴ Elrington (?) MS., p. 113.

⁵ Elrington, *Ussher’s Works*, xvi., p. 323.

good considerations moving us thereunto, shall be allowed henceforth his diet at the College charges whenever he shall think fit to take it in the College, and further £20 per annum to be paid quarterly as by other of the Fellows."¹ His name, however, never appears in the College accounts as the recipient of any salary. It has been stated² that his farms at Finglas supplied the College with provisions. If this be so, he may have deemed it a point of honour not to receive payment for his academical services.

His College duties, in fact, seem to have been administrative rather than tutorial. His parish, and constant preaching engagements, cannot have left him any time for teaching students. We find a letter addressed to him as "Preacher in Dublin."³ From a note in his own writing we learn that by the year 1608 he had preached 1,428 sermons.⁴ These were delivered, for the most part, in Christ Church Cathedral, where he was "Preacher to the State," and in St. John's Church.⁵ Christ Church at that time was the Chapel Royal; thither came the Lord Deputy and the officers of State; and the College students were obliged to attend the Sunday sermon there. These sermons of Challoner's, as of contemporary puritan preachers, were continuous and minute expositions of Holy Scripture; thus he preached 367 sermons on Genesis, 245 on Deuteronomy, and 210 on Matthew. It was in this way that the Scriptures were then taught to the people. In more senses than one, "the Word of God was precious in those days." We learn from Ambrose Ussher's tutorial account,⁶

¹ Stubbs, *History*, p. 24.

² Stubbs, *History*, p. 23; Elrington (?) MS., p. 16.

³ Elrington (?) MS., p. 30.

⁴ T.C.D. MS., D. 1. 9.

⁵ Travers speaks of him in 1595 as "preacher to the State here for many years." In the same year, Nov. 8th, Loftus tells Burghley, "I allow yearly to Mr. Travers and Mr. Challoner two pensions out of mine own purse to continue three lectures weekly here" (*Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, 1592-1596*, p. 431). One of Ambrose Ussher's MSS. in Trinity College Library, (C. 5, 13) has "notes of M. Challoner's sermons on fridayes, 1594."

⁶ Mahaffy, *Epoch*, p. 105.

that a student paid eight shillings for a Bible, a quarter's tutorial pay being ten shillings. In any case, the Protestant preachers of that day did not think it natural to assume familiarity with the text of the Bible on the part of their hearers. These eminently useful sermons of Challoner's, none of which, fortunately, has been preserved, were much appreciated. Andrew Wood, Bishop of the Isles, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1611 (July 4), says, that, "excepting the Lord Chancellor himself [Loftus] . . . the Archbishop of Tuame, Dr. Challoner, and Mr. Ussher, he can name no man of the ministry in this kingdom who has knowledge or care to propagate the Evangell."¹

We also find Challoner interesting himself in the parish of St. Werburgh's, in which he lived, and endeavouring to "draw over" from England "a faithful minister to undertake that charge."² And he laboured, too, for the moral as well as the spiritual well-being of his fellow citizens. He was the most prominent of the "well-disposed persons" who in 1603 petitioned the Corporation for assistance in the erection of "a Bridewell or house of correction and labour, for the reception of the numerous vagrants, many of them able-bodied, who resorting hither from the country, endangered the lives of the citizens by introducing contagion."³ One of Challoner's notebooks shews that he himself superintended the building of this Bridewell, which was near the present St. Andrew's Church. It subsequently became a Hall of residence for the University, and was named Trinity Hall. The name of Trinity Street is the only surviving trace of the building.

This strenuous public life did not leave Challoner much time for the ordinary duties of a fellow; yet he seems to have acted as Vice-Chancellor and Vice-Provost⁴ during the three years that elapsed (10th Oct., 1598—8th Oct., 1601) between the resignation of Travers

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1611-1614, p. 81.

² Elrington, *Ussher's Works*, xv., pp. 68, 70; xvi. pp. 315, 320.

³ Gilbert, *Hist. of Dublin*, iii., p. 7.

⁴ So described, Jan., 1611. Elrington (?) MS., pp. 69, 154.

and the election of Alvey; also during the protracted absences from College of Alvey and Temple. Those early years were times of anxiety. The very existence of the institution was at stake; and it is not too much to say that to Challoner, who never left the post of duty, the preservation of this College in its early years is due.

I suppose that the proudest day in the life of Luke Challoner was Shrove Tuesday, 1601; the day of the first Commencements of this University of which there is any record; at which he presided as Vice-Chancellor and Vice-Provost, and himself took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. The sums disbursed on this occasion for the Degree-dinner and academical robes prove that Challoner desired to set before Dublin the ideals of dignity with which he had been familiar at Cambridge.¹

I have perhaps over-emphasized the part played by Challoner as a man of affairs. But if he was not himself a distinguished scholar, he loved books, and was the cause that learning was in other men. We have² catalogues of his books drawn up by himself in 1596 and 1608, with a note that up to August 1595 he had expended over £80 in purchasing them. It was a many-sided collection, and would be thought an extensive one even now. Indeed, it constituted the College library for some years; for Challoner lent his books freely to his colleagues, as his note of "Bookes abroad" testifies. And so when it became possible to make a beginning of a College library, Challoner and James Ussher were sent to England to buy books for it. We know of two such journeys, in 1602 and 1609. While thus employed, they met and consulted with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was engaged in a similar task for the benefit of Oxford; and Challoner, with characteristic generosity, added a gift of £20 worth of books to Bodley's benefaction. The fate of Challoner's library was such as any

¹ Stubbs, *History*, p. 25. Mr. Doctor Chaloner disbursed for the Commencements on Shrove Tuesday, for six gowns for six masters, £17 os. 3d.; three gowns for sophisters, £3 6s. od. Mr. Ware, for the College dinner, £18 6s. 8d.

² T.C.D., MS. D. 1. 9.

book-lover might desire for his own. It passed, with all the rest of his property, to his beloved daughter, Phoebe; and we are told that "he charged her upon his Death-bed that if Dr. *Usher* would marry her, she should think of no other person for a Husband, which command of her dying Father she punctually obeyed"¹ [about 1614]. So James Ussher won the books as well as the daughter of Luke Challoner; and no doubt a considerable number of them were placed on our shelves, when what was saved of Ussher's books came home here at last in the reign of Charles II.

Before Challoner died (27th April, 1613), he proposed a scheme for the future disposition of the College revenues which may be of interest just now, when the wisdom of the existing constitution is being called in question. It is a pity that our knowledge of Challoner's plan is derived only from the adverse criticisms of Archbishop Abbott, the Chancellor,² and of Temple, the Provost,³ whose rival plan was adopted, and is that now nominally in operation. To Temple is due the distinction between Senior and Junior Fellows, then seven and nine respectively, and also the fixed number of seventy foundation scholars. The circumstances of the University and of the country generally have so completely changed in three hundred years, that it is not fair to Temple to judge of his arrangements by our experience of their working in recent times. Temple's object was to support a learned society; but the main principle of Challoner's scheme was the encouragement of students for service in the country. It was really a modification of the plan that had been sketched by Archbishop Browne in 1547. Browne had proposed four teaching Fellows and 200 Scholars; Challoner suggested a Provost, six Fellows, all to be engaged in teaching, and 160 Foundation-Scholars, 20 in each class. Challoner was no fool, and he must have known quite as well as Abbott

¹ R. Parr, *Life of James Ussher*, p. 14.

² Elrington *Ussher's Works*, xv., p 72.

³ See Elrington (?) MS., p. 144 ff.

and Temple, that just then it would be impossible to fill 160 Scholars' places. But Challoner's prophetic soul looked beyond the day of small things. Besides, He had just secured for the College a grant of forfeited Dublin chantry holdings, an additional endowment more than sufficient to meet the financial liabilities foreseen by Abbott and Temple. His death resulted in the loss of this property; but it is not fair to judge of his educational proposals apart from the financial prospects of the College which he had every reason to believe would be realized. We can see now plainly enough that Challoner's plan would have made the College popular at once by dispersing all over the country a large number of men with grateful memories of an *Alma Mater* who had given them more than she had got from them. The love and loyalty of her children is the strength as well as the glory of a mother.

They used frankincense at Dr. Challoner's funeral.¹ One would like to be sure that it was intended to signify that his "memorial," like Josiah's, "is like the composition of incense, prepared by the work of an apothecary . . . sweet as honey in every mouth, and as music at a banquet of wine." Challoner was not a great ornament to this University; but he was the first of a series of men without whose good sense and patience and loyalty this University could never have become great. We have had many such in this place: their names are forgotten; but their work stands fast. Let us thank God for them, and for him.

N. J. D. WHITE.

¹ Elrington (?) MS., p. 16.

NOTE.—In addition to the authorities to which references are made, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness for many suggestions to an unpublished History of the early years of Trinity College, Dublin, kindly lent me by the author, Mr. Harold L. Murphy. The MS. cited as "Elrington (?)" is that cited as *Anon.* in Dr. Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*.—N.J.D.W.