

## **Edmund Hakluyt: New College Singing Man, Tutor, and Youngest Brother of Richard Hakluyt**

Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616), the great advocate of English expansion and the leading editor of travel of his day, had a brother, Edmund (or Edmond), with New College connections that have been largely overlooked. Richard – namesake of the Hakluyt Society formed in 1846 – matriculated at Christ Church in 1570, following his election as a Student (as a Queen’s Scholar of Westminster School). He proceeded to his BA in 1574 and his MA in 1577, and retained his Studentship until 1586. By 1580 he had taken holy orders and in 1583 he travelled to Paris as chaplain to the resident ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, where he remained until 1588. In this decade Hakluyt’s assiduous career as a compiler of travel-related documents also began, starting with *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* (1582), dedicated to Philip Sidney. In 1589, he published his major work, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land*, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham. He expanded the edition in three folios between 1598 and 1600, the first being dedicated to Lord Howard (the Lord Admiral and hero of naval actions in the Armada and in the capture of Cadiz), and the second two to Sir Robert Cecil.

Richard’s youngest brother, Edmund, followed him to Oxford. He matriculated at St. John’s College c. 1575-77, at the age of 17, also after studying at Westminster School, under the designation ‘generosus’ (meaning here gentleman) of London. The earlier date for matriculation must be closer to the mark (if his age at matriculation is correct) since his father died in 1557 (the year of Edmund’s birth).<sup>1</sup> Edmund supplicated for his BA on 13 June 1582. In the biographical register of college members of St. John’s recently published by Andrew Hegarty, he has noted the interesting point that Edmund is also ‘probably’ the Clerk or Singing Man of New College who was paid for teaching choristers 1578-89 and 1579-80 and possibly further.<sup>2</sup> The only reason for hesitation in identifying him as the travel editor’s brother, I suspect, is the variety of spellings of the name Hakluyt, which are legion, in a period known for its innovative orthography in such matters. In the New College records Edmund appears under the economically literated version ‘Hacklet’. (I have noted at least twenty spellings of the name Hakluyt in various documents and publications of the period.)

Edmund’s association with New College may have been occasioned by the fact that his own college, St. John’s, abolished its college choir in 1577 for financial reasons. The statutes of the college had provided for a choir consisting of three chaplains, four singing men, and six choristers, but on 12 October 1577 the decision was made

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Hakluyt Snr was ‘sicke in body’ when he made his will 31 March 1557. *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols, ed. E.G.R. Taylor (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1935), 1:69. The will was proved 27 May 1557. His wife Margerie apparently did not long survive him, as Edmund remarks in his own will (echoing Psalm 27:10 in his initial phrase) that ‘my father and mother forsook me and were taken from me by deathe even in myne infancy’. *Original Writings*, 2:413.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John’s College, Oxford 1555-1660* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 2011), 297.

that the whole quier, viz. chaplaines, clarkes and choristers, should be removed and discharged of their places before the next auditt [i.e. November], and that such as should departe before the saide auditt should have 40s. at their departinge, to be paide by the Bursars; and others which did staie the said auditt should departe without any further consideration.<sup>3</sup>

At New College, provision was made from its foundation in 1379 for sixteen boy choristers and an organist for chapel services, and instruction in music was given as early as 1394. Music also formed part of the BA, although it remained more theoretical in focus.<sup>4</sup> In the mid and later sixteenth century the vicissitudes of the Reformation intruded on several occasions. According to Penelope Gouk, the college organ was removed in 1548, but restored under Mary, and was removed again in 1572.<sup>5</sup> In terms of his duties, Edmund was presumably an ordinary lay clerk who served as *informator* for a couple of years. The role of lay clerk would have involved daily singing of morning and evening prayer, with polyphony sung fairly regularly. In his teaching capacity he would have been responsible for training boys in song, as well as reading and writing; normally this included vocal training, the reading of composed polyphony or ‘pricksong’ and the playing of keyboard instruments (and sometimes viol as well).<sup>6</sup> No music books survive that can be linked to the choir (the

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1939), 209. On the college's financial straits, see 169-70.

<sup>4</sup> The Elizabethan statutes of 1564/5 required two terms of study in music, but this rule was far from routinely observed. John Caldwell, ‘Music in the Faculty of Arts’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T.H. Aston, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 201, 203. See also Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 153.

<sup>5</sup> P.M. Gouk, ‘Music’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T.H. Aston, vol. 4: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 627; Paul R. Hale dates the second removal of the organ to 1571. ‘Music and Musicians’, in *New College Oxford 1379-1979*, ed. John Buxton and Penry Williams (Oxford: Published by the Warden and Fellows of New College, 1979), 268. ‘Injunctions’ for New College in the State Papers, dated 1553, record: ‘We forbid the customary daily offices celebrated in chapel by chaplains, clerks and choristers: no clerks, choristers or chaplains are to remain in the college except those needed in the daily morning prayers and the sacred ministry on holy days’ (The National Archives, SP 10/18, no. 42 (f. 77)). *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (Edward VI, 1547-1553), ed. C.S. Knighton (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1992), 300. Presumably these restrictions did not remain in force in the 1570s.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Magnus Williamson for clarifying these duties. For information on the repertory in the late fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, see Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 4th ed. (Buren, the Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1980), 157-61. The earliest date in the New College records with a definite mention of polyphonic music is 1470-71. Other records survive referring to individuals who were paid for noting antiphons and masses at various dates between 1479 and 1533, as well as two books of antiphons, masses and other music from 1538-39 and 1540-41 (Harrison, 158-9). For valuable contextual studies, see Jane Flynn, ‘The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century’, in *English Choral Practice, c.1400-c.1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180-99; and Flynn, ‘Thomas Mulliner: An Apprentice of John Heywood?’, in *Young Choristers, 650-1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 173-94. Thomas Nashe offers a glimpse into this during the period in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (London, 1594), where the protagonist, Jack Wilton, observes a religious disputation and

only extant example, now in the Christ Church library, featuring songs of Luca Marenzio, is of a later date).<sup>7</sup>

We know little about Edmund otherwise, but he did lead an interesting if abbreviated life. At some point, he became tutor to the eldest son of Charles Howard, to whom Richard dedicated the first volume of *The Principal Navigations*, in 1598. Edmund's brother Richard advertised the family connection with the Howards in print when he offered his dedication to Charles (now Earl of Nottingham). Explaining his decision to approach Howard as dedicatee he noted several ties, starting with his brother:

For first I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the government and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted unto me.<sup>8</sup>

Precisely what kind of tutoring Edmund provided or the dates of his tenure are unclear. His charge, William Howard, was born 27 December 1577 and Edmund died before February 1593. In his will of 1592, Edmund confirms the duration of his role, referring in the past tense to the fact that he 'was Tutor fower yeres togeather'.<sup>9</sup>

Edmund paid tribute in his will to his former pupil, calling him 'the sweete courteous and honourable younge gentleman Mr William Howard sonne and heire to the Lord Admiral'. He added:

I bequethe as a shadowe of loving and dutifull mynde fortie shillings to be put into a Ringe with his Armes to be engraven thereon: desyryng hym to accept of my name and to know them the rather for my sake.<sup>10</sup>

The larger question of how the opportunity to enter the Howard household came about remains a matter of conjecture. But it is possible that Edmund's brother Richard had some responsibility in securing it. As the ambassador's chaplain in Paris, Richard served Sir Edward Stafford. Stafford was married to Douglas Sheffield, who was the sister of Charles Howard. Thus the Howard whom Edmund tutored was Douglas Sheffield's nephew. The suggestion that Richard Hakluyt was involved in his brother's advancement becomes more plausible in view of the fact that the clerical living Richard enjoyed at Wetheringsett and Brockford, Suffolk, which he held from

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finds some 'morsell of mirth' in the participants' 'outward iestures', observing: 'One peckte like a crane with his fore-finger at euey halfe sillable he brought forth, and nodded with his nose like an olde singing man, teaching a yong querister to keepe time' (f2v).

<sup>7</sup> Luca Marenzio, *Il primo, secondo, terzo, quarto & quinto libro delle villanelle, et canzonette alla napolitana a tre voci nuovamente stampate & in un corpo ridotte* (Antwerp, 1610). This volume came from the bequest of Richard Goodson Snr, organist of Christ Church, who previously held the same position at New College. For details see <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+974--8>. I am grateful to John Milsom for drawing my attention to this.

<sup>8</sup> *Original Writings*, 2:427.

<sup>9</sup> *Original Writings*, 2:414.

<sup>10</sup> *Original Writings*, 2:414.

1590-1616, was in Douglas Sheffield's gift. She was clearly supportive of Richard and may have asked for his advice if the subject of a tutor for her brother's heir arose.

The related question of Richard's own success in attracting the attention and support of substantial and noble patrons is difficult to determine. The Hakluyt family itself had roots in Hereford. An elder cousin, also called Richard Hakluyt (d.1591), was established at the Middle Temple and inspired the future travel editor's interests. At Christ Church, Richard received assistance from the Clothworkers Company, although his father was a member of the Skinners Company.

Edmund named his brother Richard as executor. The will was made 20 June 1592 when he was still 'in perfect health of bodye and good understanding of mynde', but it was proved 1 February 1592/3 before William Lewin (Keeper or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury) and Richard Hakluyt.<sup>11</sup> On 3 January 1592/3, Richard named his own son Edmond, either in his brother's memory or, if he had knowledge of it by then, in recognition of the will's grant to him of Edmund's 'free land in Eaton' and other gifts.<sup>12</sup> Evidently Edmund died holding considerable property.<sup>13</sup> Given his relative youth and profession it would seem likely that this wealth came from family inheritance.<sup>14</sup>

While sounding a Protestant religious sensibility, Edmund's will also seems to bear traces of his connection with sacred music. After recalling Psalm 27:10, he adds the line 'Tibi laus tibi honor tibi gratiarum actio in secula seculorum. Amen', which echoes the responsory and antiphon in the Trinity Office. There is a motet by Orlandus Lassus for the Matins Responsory on Trinity Sunday with these words, minus the 'tibi honor' phrase, and William Byrd's motet 'Tribue, Domine' (1575) contains a similar formulation.<sup>15</sup> The will concludes by amplifying the Vulgate of Apocalypse 22:20: 'Veni domini Jesu, veni cito et noli tardare. Amen. Alleluia.' A motet for six voices published in 1575 by Palestrina contains the phrase 'Veni Domine et noli tardare'.<sup>16</sup>

Although the evidence of Edmund's life remains limited and shadowy, his famous brother ensured that he would not be entirely forgotten.

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<sup>11</sup> For the identification of Lewin (correcting the information in Taylor, *Original Writings*, 2:414), see the transcription and annotation of Edmund Hakluyt's will by Nina Green, [http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Probate/PROB\\_11-81\\_f\\_135.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Probate/PROB_11-81_f_135.pdf). On Lewin, see *The History of Parliament*: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/lewin-william-1545-98>.

<sup>12</sup> *Original Writings*, 2:413.

<sup>13</sup> George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, 2nd ed. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), 244.

<sup>14</sup> For the division of his father's estate, see *Original Writings*, 1:70.

<sup>15</sup> On the latter, and Byrd's source, see Kerry McCarthy, 'Byrd, Augustine, and *Tribue, Domine*', *Early Music* 32:4 (2004): 569-76.

<sup>16</sup> He may also echo Advent antiphons in weeks 3 and 4. I am grateful to Jane Flynn for this suggestion.