Introduction
THE paths of literary and historical research are winding and circuitous, their ends unknown. Little did I foresee that my desire to examine a manuscript of verses sometimes attributed to the Lady Anne Howard, first Countess of Arundel, would lead to the rediscovery of the Harington Manuscript of miscellaneous Tudor poetry which had disappeared from scholarly knowledge after the time of its use by George Frederick Nott in the early nineteenth century.

During the year 1933 I was working in the British Museum, investigating the literary activities of English women of the Renaissance, and on a day in October I was particularly concerned with accounts of Anne Dacre, wife of the recusant Philip Howard, first Earl of Arundel, who died in prison in 1595. I had come to Edmund Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, where are printed the verses beginning,

In sad and ashie weeds I sigh,
I grone, I pine, I mourn;

with ascription to the Countess of Arundel, and the suggestion that they were written after the death of her husband.\(^1\) In his *Portraits of Illustrious Personages* Lodge again refers to "part of an elegiac poem" by the Countess and to some of her letters which "are now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk."\(^2\) With only slight variants, however, the verses appear in *The Crowne Garland of Golden Roses* as "The good Shepherds sorrow for the death of his beloved Sonne."\(^3\) William Chappell in *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, noting this fact, suggested that the Countess had written the verses from memory, altering slightly a few lines to accord with her

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2 *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, Engraved from Authentic Pictures in the Galleries of the Nobility*, vol. i (1821), p. 3 of the account of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel (no continuous pagination).

3 Ed. Richard Johnson, 1631, sigs. D8-\*E1", where seven ten-line stanzas are printed.
own circumstances. It occurred to me that I could form a better opinion of the composition if I knew more about the manuscript mentioned by Lodge; and, after consulting Mr. Harry Sellers, Director of the North Library in the British Museum, I addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr. R. C. Wilton, then librarian to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk. Not long after I received a gracious reply from Mr. Wilton, suggesting that I might like to examine the manuscript. On a day in November, therefore, Mr. Wilton and I, accompanied by Mr. Philip Hereford, arrived at Arundel Castle. Taking us into the beautiful Tudor library, Mr. Wilton led us to the Special Case, located on the balcony. In a volume of "Autograph Letters," 1585-1617, I found the verses I sought on fol. 218v, written on the back of a letter by Robert Cansfield to his nephew, dated July 25, 1617. Beneath the verses a note by the cataloguer reads as follows: "These verses are printed in Lodge, III, 357, and said to be in the handwriting of Anne, Countess of Arundel. But her letter (no. 160) does not bear any resemblance to this." After comparing the handwriting of the verses with that of letters by the Countess on fols. 119 and 160, I was forced to conclude that if the Countess was the adapter of the verses, someone else had written them on the back of Cansfield's letter.

Thinking that I might find additional material of value for my study of Renaissance women, I turned to other volumes on the shelves of the Special Case. I was attracted to a handsome folio manuscript, bound in full calf with gold tooing on the sides and back, entitled on the spine of the binding (see page opposite).

4 Chappell, i [1855], 201-02, prints four ten-line stanzas, stating that he has "chiefly followed the Countess of Arundel's transcript." Chappell's suggestion that the Countess wrote the verses from memory implies, of course, that the poem was well known long before its publication in The Crowne Garland in 1631. This point is attested by a version of 1612 in fourteen ten-line stanzas included among The Peyps Ballads, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, vol. i (1929), no. 5. Another version in six six-line stanzas is given by William R. Morfill in "Ballads Relating Chiefly to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," Ballads from Manuscripts, ed. F. J. Furnivall, II, ii, Ballad Society Publications, No. 10 (1873), 292-93. Headed "The good Sheepheards sorrow for the death of his sonne P. Henrye," the poem is attributed to King James I on authority of the Jackson MS. at the University of Edinburgh, which is dated about 1623.


6 Similarly a note in the index to the volume reads, "On the back of this letter are the Verses erroneously attributed to Anne Countess of Arundel & printed in Lodge, III, 357."

7 Fol. 119, a letter dated November 12, 1589, addressed to Lord Burghley, and signed, "Anne Arundell?" fol. 160, a letter to her son Thomas, second Earl of Arundel, dated May 2, and probably belonging to the year 1609.
Poems
By

Henry Howard
Earl of Surrey
Sir T. Wyatt

Queen Elizabeth
Sir Philip Sydney
Sir Walter Rawley
Sir John Harrington

Thomas Churchyard
Henry Constable
Devereux E. of Essex
Vere Earl of Oxford

John Dudley
Earl of Warwick
Robert Dudley
And Other Authors

Harrington
MS.
Temp. Eliz.
Interested at once because of the mention of Queen Elizabeth as one of the authors represented, I opened the volume for more careful examination. On the verso of the first flyleaf Canon Mark Aloysius Tierney, chaplain and librarian at Arundel Castle from 1824 to 1862, had penciled the following note:

Dr. Nott in his Edition of the Poems of the Earl of Surrey & Sir Thomas Wyatt, states that to this Identical Manuscript & one lent him by the Duke of Devonshire the Purity of the text is entirely indebted. Some poems the Dr. appears to have found out since that publication in this volume by the Earl of Surrey which he has noted to be printed in the next Edition. The Miscellaneous poems in the volume by many celebrated Poets of Queen Elizabeth’s tyme are very important, including some by Her Majesty, Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Harrington (who formed the collection and in whose autograph a great portion of the volume is in) Thomas Churchyard, Stephen Hawes, Henry Constable, Devereux Earl of Essex, Vere Earl of Oxford, John Dudley Earl of Warwick & Duke of Northumberland, & His Son Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, and many other Illustrious Literary Characters of that Poetical age, a great portion of which has not been printed, but the greater part of the volume consists of those by the Earl of Surrey, see the Drs. Notes.

Although I found later that Canon Tierney’s note was not altogether correct, it was nevertheless of value to me in pointing the way directly to George Frederick Nott’s two-volume edition of *Surrey and Wyatt*, published for Longmans, Hurst, Rees, and Orme in 1815 and 1816. Further, the note established definitely the fact that this Harington MS. was in the library at Arundel Castle before the death of Canon Tierney in 1862.

No doubt I should have recognized at once the identity of the volume before me, but I did not. I was only pleased by the prospect of finding more material on Queen Elizabeth. I began turning the leaves in search of compositions by her, noting a varying number of contemporary hands, with one predominating, in which the poems are written, and observing later marginal notations by some of the poems, indicating that they had been printed “In Surrey,” with folio reference. I was puzzled by completely blank leaves of obviously different paper which appeared at irregular intervals, sometimes only one such leaf, sometimes several together, the number seeming to coincide with lapses in the foliation, which was clearly marked on the other leaves. My suspicion that these blank leaves indicated lacunae

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8 Canon Mark Aloysius Tierney, F.R.S., 1795-1862, became chaplain to Bernard, the twelfth Duke of Norfolk, in 1824, and resided at Arundel Castle until his death in 1862. His manuscript of his *History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, 2 vols., 1834, is still in the Castle library.
INTRODUCTION

... in the original manuscript later proved to be correct. I observed in passing that on two of these leaves were pasted prints of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and “The Fair Geraldine,” both dated 1809. At length on fol. 164v I came to the lines beginning, “The dread of future foes exyle my present Joy” (No. 238), ascribed, “Elizabetha Regina.” Although I was glad to have another version of these verses, I hoped to find something new. I was not disappointed. Toward the end of the manuscript, on fols. 219v-220v, I found lines headed, “Triumphe Petrarcke,” beginning, “Amased to see, nought vnder heavens cope” (No. 320), with the subscription, “E. R.” I knew I had not seen this translation before. Was it an unknown work by “Elizabetha Regina”?

In order that I might have opportunity to study the volume more carefully, for the immediate purpose of seeking to determine whether it contained other poems by women, it was placed for a time in the Muniment Room at Norfolk House, and later was given temporarily into the keeping of custodians of the Manuscript Room at the British Museum. Without these generous arrangements my work on the Manuscript would have been greatly curtailed. I was assisted in many ways by Mr. Philip Hereford, who was also very much interested in the volume.

Following the obvious lead pointed out by Canon Tierney in his note, I turned first to Nott’s 1815-16 edition of Surrey and Wyatt. In his Preface to the first volume (pp. 16-17), Nott expresses gratitude to the Duke of Norfolk for the privilege of examining archives at Norfolk House, a statement which led me at first to assume that the Harington MS. now at Arundel Castle had passed into the possession of the Duke of Norfolk before the period of Nott’s work. This, however, was not the case. Nott also thanks Dr. Henry Harington of Bath for the “free and undisturbed use of his two invaluable MSS”; and in the Preface to his second volume, Nott describes in some detail one of these, the well-known Wyatt autograph manuscript, which he designated Harington MS. No. I, now Egerton MS. 2711 in the British Museum. But the second of Dr. Harington’s MSS. Nott does not describe. In his notes in both volumes, however, he refers frequently to “Harington MS. No. II,” citing the folio references. By checking these references with the corresponding readings and folios in the Arundel MS., I soon realized that I had before me the very manuscript he had used and called, “Harington MS. No. II.”

Curious then about the subsequent history of the Manuscript, I
looked into H. E. Rollins' scholarly edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*. Under an account of “Harington and *Nugae Antiquae*,” I was startled to read the following passage:

Henry Harington possessed at least three manuscripts that had belonged to his poet-ancestors. Two of these are continually referred to in Nott’s edition of Surrey and Wyatt as “Harington MS. No. 1” and “Harington MS. No. 2.” The first of these, containing the autograph poems of Wyatt as well as No. 29 [in Rollins' *Tottel*], is now in the British Museum, where it is called MS. Egerton 2711, and where Nott’s copy of it is preserved as MS. Additional 28636; the second manuscript has disappeared, but a careful transcript was made of it by Nott, and is now MS. Additional 28635. A third Harington manuscript, often used in the *Nugae Antiquae*, is now known as MS. Additional 36529.9

I looked long at the words, “the second manuscript has disappeared.” But I had just found that Nott’s references to Harington MS. No. II agreed in folio and reading with the Arundel Harington MS. At once I examined MS. Add. 28635. Quickly checking through it, I found that it was indeed a copy of the Arundel MS., carefully done in the regular hand of a scribe, with the arms of G. F. Nott on the binding, and a note by him on the flyleaf. Closer examination showed that it was a page-by-page transcript, its old foliation corresponding to that of the Arundel MS., and the blank leaves scrupulously inserted with the exception that the transcript contains poetry on two folios now blank in the original manuscript.10 There was now no question about it. The Harington MS. No. 11 and the Harington MS. at Arundel Castle were one and the same. Nevertheless, when the Wyatt volume, Egerton MS. 2711, was brought to me in the British Museum, I had the pleasure of adding one more bit of evidence. The Egerton MS. is bound exactly like the Arundel MS., and on the recto of the second flyleaf is pasted a print of Sir

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9 *TM*, ii, 91. In Hughey, pp. 408-14, I have given some account of MS. Add. 36529, pointing out that it had left the possession of the Harington family by 1663, when it belonged to Sir James Tyrrell of Oxford, and was, therefore, not at hand for Henry Harington’s use for his editions of the *NA*. In 1800 Thomas Park purchased the manuscript from the Rev. William Sayle of Stowe, Somerset, and used it for his revised edition of the *NA*, 1804. About this time Thomas Hill of London bought Park’s library, including this manuscript, which was borrowed by Alexander Chalmers in 1810 and by Nott in 1811, shortly before Hill sold his library to Longmans. For details on the identification of the “Hill MS.” as MS. Add. 36529, see the pages named in my article; for some discussion of its relation to the Arundel MS., see pp. 40-44 following; and for further account of the *NA*, see pp. 18-25.

10 Corresponding to fol. 15 and 48. The latter evidently consisted only of the lower half of the sheet at the time the transcript was made. The original leaves were lost before the Arundel MS. was given its present binding, as they are now indicated by blank leaves of modern paper. See pp. 14-16 below. The transcript is, on the whole, a good copy of the original, but there are errors. For some further estimate of it, see Hughey, pp. 405-07.
Thomas Wyatt, dated 1809, of the same series as the Surrey and Geraldine prints in the Arundel MS. These were the former companion volumes, Harington MS. No. I and Harington MS. No. II.

I soon found that Rollins’ statement about the disappearance of the Harington MS. No. II was substantiated by other scholars who have been concerned with the work of Wyatt and Surrey: Ewald Flügel, F. M. Padelford, A. K. Foxwell, and Sir E. K. Chambers, all of whom perforce made use of Nott’s transcript in their studies.\(^\text{11}\) But the interest of these scholars in the poetry of the collection was confined to that of Wyatt and Surrey, as Nott’s had been in his two-volume 1815-16 edition.\(^\text{12}\) Rollins in his edition of *Tottel’s Miscellany* prints collations from the transcript of all poems common to it and Tottel. He likewise makes some use of the transcript in his edition of other printed miscellanies of the period. I discovered that almost nothing at all had been done with the many other poems in the Arundel MS. collection. Some of them undoubtedly were unknown and unpublished; others presented evidence in the matter of ascriptions; still others should prove valuable in the study of textual variants. Here was a collection of more than three hundred Tudor poems which had been used only in a limited way. No study whatever had been made of the Manuscript itself, which modern scholars had not seen.

On the advice of Mr. Sellers I discussed my findings with Dr. R. B. McKerrow, and, as a result, was asked to prepare a paper on the Arundel MS. for the Bibliographical Society. In the course of my researches for this article I came across other material at Arundel Castle which, circumstantially, had a bearing upon the purchase of the Manuscript for that Library.\(^\text{13}\) I also received the kind permission of Mr. John E. M. Harington, of London, to examine his collection of Harington Family Papers.\(^\text{14}\) Among these I found several which

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\(^{12}\) Nott was, of course, also interested in all the poems of the *Songs and Sonnets* for his own projected edition of that work, partially printed but unpublished [1814?]. See H. J. Byrom, “Tottel’s Miscellany, 1717-1817,” *RES*, iii (1927), 51; *TM*, ii, 47-52; Hughey, pp. 394-97; also pp. 14-17 below. Nott’s manuscript collations from the Arundel MS. are in one of the partial, interleaved copies of his *Songs and Sonnets* in the British Museum, with press mark C.60.o.13, vol. i.

\(^{13}\) See below, p. 17.

\(^{14}\) All of these papers were purchased by the British Museum in 1947.
threw light upon the compilation and subsequent history of the Arundel MS. Consequently, the article, which appeared in *The Library*, xv (1935), 388-444, was entitled, "The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents." In this study, which deals mainly with bibliographical, paleographical, and salient textual problems connected with the Arundel MS., I have presented such positive records as I could discover, and I have described with fair completeness certain documents, related in one way or another to the Arundel MS., which throw light upon its history and significance. Some of my conclusions were the result of argument based upon careful consideration of circumstantial evidence. I have not considered it necessary to repeat these arguments in complete detail, although I have necessarily drawn freely upon the material and conclusions presented in that article. I regret to say that in the years since the publication of that study little new evidence has come to light on the compilation and subsequent history of the Arundel MS. Further investigation, however, has led me to conclusions which occasionally differ somewhat from those set out in the article.