

[=00] Cardanus epistle

To my loving friend Thomas Bedingfield, Esquire, one of her Majesty's Gentlemen-Pensioners.

After I had perused your letters, good Master Bedingfield, finding in them your request far differing from the desert of your labour, I could not choose but greatly doubt whether it were better for me to yield you your desire, or execute mine own intention towards the publishing of your book, for I do confess the affections that I have always borne towards you could move me not a little. But when I had throughly considered in my mind of sundry and divers arguments, whether it were best to obey mine affections or the merits of your studies, at the length I determined it better to deny your unlawful request than to grant or condescend to the concealment of so worthy a work, whereby, as you have been profited in the translating, so many may reap knowledge by the reading of the same, that shall comfort the afflicted, confirm the doubtful, encourage the coward, and lift up the base-minded man to achieve to any true sum or grade of virtue, whereto ought only the noble thoughts of men to be inclined. And because, next to the sacred letters of divinity, nothing doth persuade the same more than philosophy, of which your book is plentifully stored, I thought myself to commit an unpardonable error to have murdered the same in the waste bottoms of my chests, and better I thought it were to displease one than to displease many, further considering so little a trifle cannot procure so great a breach of our amity as may not, with a little persuasion of reason, be repaired again. And herein I am forced, like a good and politic captain, oftentimes to spoil & burn the corn of his own country lest his enemies thereof do take advantage, for rather than so many of your countrymen should be deluded, through my sinister means, of your industry in studies (whereof you are bound in conscience to yield them an account), I am content to make spoil and havoc of your request, and that that might have wrought greatly in me in this former respect, utterly to be of no effect or operation. And when you examine yourself, what doth avail a mass of gold to be continually imprisoned in your bags, and never to be employed to your use? I do not doubt even so you think of your studies and delightful muses. What do they avail, if you do not participate them to others? Wherefore we have this Latin proverb, *Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*. What doth avail the tree, unless it yield fruit unto another? What doth avail the vine, unless another delighteth in the grape? What doth avail the rose, unless another took pleasure in the smell? Why should this tree be accounted better than that tree, but for the goodness of his fruit? Why should this vine be better than that vine, unless it brought forth a better grape than the other? Why should this rose be better esteemed than that rose, unless in pleasantness of smell it far surpassed the other rose? And so is it in all other things, as well as in man. Why should this man be more esteemed than that man but for his virtue, through which every man desireth to be accounted of? Then you, amongst men, I do not doubt but will aspire to follow that virtuous path, to illustre yourself with the ornaments of virtue. And in mine opinion, as it beautifieth a fair woman to be decked with pearls and precious stones, so much more it ornifieth a gentleman to be furnished in mind with glittering virtues. Wherefore, considering the small harm I do to you, the great good I do to others, I

prefer mine own intention to discover your volume before your request to secret the same. Wherein I may seem to you to play the part of the cunning and expert mediciner or physician who, although his patient in the extremity of his burning fever is desirous of cold liquor or drink to qualify his sore thirst (or rather kill his languishing body), yet for the danger he doth evidently know by his science to ensue, denieth him the same; so you being sick of too much doubt in your own proceedings, through which infirmity you are desirous to bury and enseel your works in the grave of oblivion, yet I, knowing the discommodities that shall redound to yourself thereby (and, which is more, unto your countrymen), as one that is willing to salve so great an inconvenience, am nothing dainty to deny your request. Again we see, if our friends be dead, we cannot show or declare our affection more than by erecting them of tombs whereby, when they be dead indeed, yet make we them live, as it were, again through their monument. But with me, behold, it happeneth far better, for in your lifetime I shall erect you such a monument that, as I say, your lifetime you shall see how noble a shadow of your virtuous life shall hereafter remain when you are dead and gone. And in your lifetime, again I say, I shall give you that monument and remembrance of your life whereby I may declare my goodwill (though with your ill will, as yet) that I do bear you in your life. Thus earnestly desiring you, in this one request of mine (as I would yield to you in a great many), not to repugn the setting forth of your own proper studies, I bid you farewell.

From my new country muses at Wivenhoe, wishing you, as you have begun, to proceed in these virtuous actions, for when all things shall else forsake us, virtue yet will ever abide with us, and when our bodies falls into the bowels of the earth, yet that shall mount with our minds into the highest heavens.

By your loving and assured friend. E. Oxenford.

[=01] BL Lansdowne 6/25, f. 79: Oxford to Burghley, 19 August 1563

Monsieur treshonorable

Monsieur i'ay receu voz lettres, plaines d'humanite et courtoysie, & fort ressemblantes a vostre grand'amour et singuliere affection enuers moy. comme vrais enfans dueument procreez d'une telle mere. pour la quelle ie me trouue de iour en iour plus tenu a v. h. voz bons admonestemens pour l'obseruation du bon ordre selon voz appointemens, ie me delibere (dieu aidant) de garder en toute diligence comme chose que ie cognois et considere tendre especialement a mon propre bien et profit, vsant en cela l'aduis et autorite de ceux qui sont aupres de moy. la discretion desquels i'estime si grande (s'il me conuient parler quelque chose a leur aduange) [sic] qui non seulement ilz se porteront selon qu'un tel temps le requiert, ains que plus est seront tant que ie me gouerne selon que vous aues ordonne et commande. Quant a l'ordre de mon estude pour ce que il requiert vn long discours a l'expliquer par le menu, et le temps est court a ceste heure, ie vous prie affectueusement m'en excuser pour le present. vous assurant que par le premier passant ie le vous ferai scauoir bien au long. Cependant ie prie a dieu vous donner sante.

Edward Oxinford

My very honorable Sir

Sir, I have received your letters, full of humanity and courtesy, and strongly resembling your great love and singular affection towards me, like true children duly procreated of such a mother, for whom I find myself from day to day more bound to your honor. Your good admonishments for the observance of good order according to your appointed rules, I am resolved (God aiding) to keep with all diligence, as a thing that I may know and consider to tend especially to my own good and profit, using therein the advice and authority of those who are near me, whose discretion I esteem so great (if it is convenient to me to say something to their advantage) that not only will they comport themselves according as a given time requires it, but will as well do what is more, as long as I govern myself as you have ordered and commanded. As to the order of my study, because it requires a long discourse to explain it in detail, and the time is short at this hour, I pray you affectionately to excuse me therefrom for the present, assuring you that by the first passer-by I shall make it known to you at full length. In the meantime, I pray to God to give you health. Edward Oxinford.

[=02] BL Lansdowne 11/53, ff. 121-2: Oxford to Burghley, 24 November 1569

Sir. Although my hap hath been so hard that it hath visited me of late with sickness, yet thanks be to God, through the looking to which I have had by your care had over me, I find my health restored and myself double beholding unto you, both for that and many good turns which I have received before of your part; for the which, although I have found you to not account of late of me as in time tofore, yet notwithstanding that strangeness, you shall see at last in me that I will acknowledge and not be ungrateful unto you for them, and not to deserve so ill a thought in you that they were ill bestowed in me, but at this present desiring you, if I have done anything amiss that I have merited your offence, impute to my young years and lack of experience to know my friends. And at this time I am bold to desire your favour and friendship, that you will suffer me to be employed by your means and help in this service that now is in hand, whereby I shall think myself the most bound unto you of any man in this court, and hereafter ye shall command me as any of your own. Having no other means whereby to speak with you myself, I am bold to impart my mind in paper, earnestly desiring your Lordship that, at this instant, as heretofore you have given me your good word to have me see the wars and services in strange and foreign places, sith you could not then obtain me licence of the Queen's Majesty, now you will do me so much honour as that, by your purchase of my licence, I may be called to the service of my prince and country, as at this present troublous time a number are. Thus leaving to importunate you with my earnest suit, I commit you to the hands of the Almighty.

By your assured friend this 24th of November.
Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his singular good friend Sir William Cecil, Secretary and Master of the Wards.

[=03] BL Harley 6991/5, ff. 9-10: Oxford to Burghley, September 1572

My Lord, I have understood by your Lordship's letters that Robert Christmas, according to my appointment, hath repaired to your good Lordship about my causes, and as your Lordship thinks good therein, as touching a new survey, so do I determine shall be done; for both as your Lordship perceives, and also myself, I have been greatly abused in the former by such as I put in trust tofore; but for that is past, now I have no other remedy but to look better to amend the fault in the rest of my dealings hereafter, and as for my timber at Colne park, therein I had no other meaning save only to make, as it were, a yearly rent, so as I may without sparking the ground. But now for the surveyor which your Lordship hath named, I must get him by your Lordship's means and for your Lordship's sake, for I am utterly unacquainted with him.

And as for those large leases which your Lordship hath been advertised of to be granted by me, I do assure your Lordship, without dissembling my faults to you to whom I perceive myself so much to be bound unto for your singular care over my well-doing, I must confess my negligence and too little care, with the too too much trust I have put to some over mine own doings; it may be I am greatly abused, but as yet, till I search into those things now, upon your Lordship's most gracious admonitions, I do not know, but it is likelier to be as your Lordship doth guess than otherwise and, if it be not so, it is more by good hap than of my providence.

The device of making free my copyholders, my Lord, I never thought of otherwise than a motion made to me by Robert Christmas wherein, among the other things, I bade him tell it your Lordship, at whose liking or disliking I was to be ruled in anything, knowing if it were a thing fit or unfit for me I should, by your Lordship's good advice, quickly understand, and so I left it to be not done, or taken in hand. And thus, sir, for these matters, both in this as in all other things, I am to be governed and commanded at your Lordship's good devotion.

I would to God your Lordship would let me understand some of your news (which here doth ring doubtfully in the ears of every man) of the murder of the Admiral of France and a number of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, and such as greatly have in their lifetimes honoured the Queen's Majesty our mistress, on whose tragedies we have a number of French Aeneases in this city that tells of their own overthrows with tears falling from their eyes, a piteous thing to hear, but a cruel and far more grievous thing we must deem it then to see. All rumours here are but confused of those troops that are escaped from Paris and Rouen, where Monsieur hath also been and, like a *vesper Sicilianus*, as they say, that cruelty spreads over all France, whereof your Lordship is better advertised than we are here. And sith the world is so full of treasons and vile instruments daily to attempt new and unlooked for things, good my Lord, I shall affectiously and heartily desire your Lordship to be careful both of yourself and of her Majesty, that your friends may long enjoy you, and you them. I speak because I am not ignorant what practices have been made against your person

lately by Mather and later, as I understand, by foreign practices, if it be true. And think, if the Admiral in France was an eyesore or beam in the eyes of the papists, that the Lord Treasurer of England is a block and a cross-bar in their way, whose remove they will never stick to attempt, seeing they have prevailed so well in others'.

This estate hath depended on you a great while, as all the world doth judge; and now all men's eyes, not being occupied any more on these lost lords are, as it were, on a sudden bent and fixed on you, as a singular hope and pillar whereto the religion hath to lean. And blame me not, though I am bolder with your Lordship at this present than my custom is, for I am one that count myself a follower of yours now in all fortunes, and what shall hap to you, I count it hap to myself or, at the least, I will make myself a voluntary partaker of it.

Thus, my Lord, I humbly desire your Lordship to pardon my youth, but to take in good part my zeal and affection towards your Lordship, as on whom I have builded my foundation either to stand or fall. And good my Lord, think I do not this presumptuously, as to advise you that am but to take advice of your Lordship, but to admonish you as one with whom I would spend my blood and life, so much you have made me yours. And I do protest, there is nothing more desired of me than so to be taken and accounted of you. Thus, with my hearty commendations and your daughter's, we leave you to the custody of Almighty God. Your Lordship's affectioned son-in-law.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=04] BL Lansdowne 14/84, ff. 185-6: Oxford to Burghley, 22 September 1572

My Lord, I received your letters when I rather looked to have seen yourself here than to have heard from you, but sith it is so that your Lordship is otherwise affaired with the business of the commonwealth than to be disposed to recreate yourself and repose ye among your own, yet we do hope after this, you having had so great a care of the Queen's Majesty's service, you will begin to have some respect of your own health, and take a pleasure to dwell where you have taken pain to build. My wife (whom I thought should have taken her leave of you, if your Lordship had come, till you would have otherwise commanded) is departed unto the country this day. Myself, as fast as I can get me out of town, do follow. Where [] I be any way employed, I am content and desirous [] service whereby I may show myself dutiful to her. Otherwise, if it were [] that respect, I think there is more trouble than credit to be gotten in such governments. If there were any service to be done abroad, I had rather serve there than at home, where yet some honour were to be got; if there be any setting forth to sea, to which service I bear most affection, I shall desire your Lordship to give me and get me that favour and credit that I might make one. Which, if [] there be no such intention, then I shall be most willing to be employed on the sea-coasts, to be in a readiness with my countryman against any invasion. Thus recommending myself to your good Lordship, I commit you to God. From London, this 22nd of September, by your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To [] singular good Lord, the Lord Burghley, and Lord Treasurer of England, give these at the court.

[=05] BL Lansdowne 14/85, ff. 186-7: Oxford to Burghley, 31 October 1572

My Lord, your last letters, which be the first I have received of your Lordship's good opinion conceived towards me (which God grant so long to continue as I would be both desirous and diligent to seek the same), have not a little, after so many storms passed of your heavy grace towards me, lightened and disbur[de]ned my careful mind. And, sith I have been so little beholding to sinister reports, I hope now, with your Lordship's indifferent judgement, to be more plausible unto you than heretofore, through my careful deeds to please you which, hardly, either through my youth, or rather misfortune, hitherto I have done. But yet, lest those (I cannot tell how to term them but as backfriends unto me) shall take place again to undo your Lordship's beginnings of well conceiving of me, I shall most earnestly desire your Lordship to forbear to believe too fast lest I, growing so slowly into your good opinion, may be undeservedly of my part rooted out of your favour, the which thing to always obtain, if your Lordship do but equally consider of me, may see by all the means possible in me I do aspire, though perhaps, by reason of my youth, your graver and severer years will not judge the same. Thus therefore, hoping the best in your Lordship and fearing the worst in myself, I take my leave lest my letters may become loathsome and tedious unto you to whom I wish to be most grateful. Written this 31st day of October by your loving son-in-law from Wivenhoe.

Edward Oxenford

This bearer hath some need of your Lordship's favour which, when he shall speak with your Lordship, I pray you, for my sake he may find you the more his furtherer and helper in his cause.

*To the right honourable my singular good Lord, the Lord Treasurer, give these. At court.

[=06] Cecil Papers, 8/24: Oxford to Burghley, 17-18 March 1575

My Lord, your letters have made me a glad man, for these last have put me in assurance of that good fortune which your former mentioned doubtfully. I thank God therefore, with your Lordship, that it hath pleased Him to make me a father where your Lordship is a grandfather and, if it be a boy, I shall likewise be the partaker with you in a greater contentation. But thereby to take an occasion to return, I am far off from that opinion, for now it hath pleased God to give me a son of my own (as I hope it is), methinks I have the better occasion to travel sith, whatsoever becometh of me, I leave behind me one to supply my duty and service either to my prince or else my country.

I thank your Lordship, I have received farther bills of credit and letters of great courtesy from Mr Benedict Spinola. I am also beholding here unto Mr Raymondo, that hath helped me greatly with a number of favours, whom I shall desire your Lordship, when you have leisure and occasion, to give him thanks, for I know the greatest part of his friendship towards me hath been in respect of your Lordship.

For fear of the Inquisition I dare not pass by Milan, the bishop whereof exerciseth such tyranny; wherefore I take the way of Germany where I mean to acquaint myself with Sturmius, with whom, after I have passed my journey which now I have in hand, I mean to pass some time.

I have found here this courtesy, the King hath given me his letters of recommendation to his ambassador in the Turk's court; likewise, the Venetian ambassador that is here, knowing my desire to see those parties, hath given me his letters to the Duke and divers of his kinsmen in Venice, to procure me their furtherances to my journey, which I am not yet assured to hold, for if the Turks come, as they be looked for, upon the coast of Italy or elsewhere, if I may, I will see the service; if he cometh not, then perhaps I will bestow two or three months to see Constantinople and some part of Greece.

The English ambassador here greatly complaineth of the dearness of this country, and earnestly hath desired me to crave your Lordship's favour to consider the difference of his time from theirs which were before him. He saith the charges are greater, his ability less; the court removes long and oft; the causes of expense augmented, his allowance not being increased. But, as concerning these matters, now I have satisfied his desire, I refer them to your Lordship's discretion, that is better experienced than I perhaps informed him in [] negotiations of ambassadors.

My Lord, whereas I perceive by your Lordship's letters how hardly money is to be gotten, and that my man writeth that he would fain pay unto my creditors some part of that money which I have appointed to be made over unto me, good my Lord, let rather my creditors bear with me awhile and take their days assigned according to that order I left, than I to want in a strange country, unknowing yet what need I may have

of money myself. My revenue I appointed with the profits of my lands to pay them as I may and, if I cannot yet pay them as I would, yet as I can I will, but preferring mine own necessity before theirs. And if at the end of my travel I shall have something left of my provision, they shall have it among them, but before, I will not disfurnish myself. Good my Lord, have an eye unto my men that I have put in trust. Thus making my commendations to your Lordship and my Lady, I commit you to God and, wheresoever I am, I rest at your Lordship's commandment. Written the 18th of March, from Paris.

Edward Oxenford

My Lord, this gentleman, Mr Corbek, hath given me great cause to like of him, both for his courtesies that he hath shown me in letting me understand the difficulties as well as the safeties of my travel, as also I find him affected both to me and your Lordship. I pray your Lordship that those who are my friends may seem yours, as yours I esteem mine, and given your Lordship's good countenance, and, in short, I rest yours.

*To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, my Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=07] Cecil Papers 160/74: Oxford to Burghley, 24 September [1575]

My good Lord, having looked for your Lordship's letters a great while, at length, when I grew to despair of them, I received two from your Lordship. Three packets which at sundry times I had sent this summer towards England returned back again by reason, the plague being in the passages, none were suffered to pass, but as they came were returned back, which I came not to the knowledge of till my return now to Venice, where I have been grieved with a fever. Yet, with the help of God, now I have recovered the same and am past the danger thereof, though brought very weak thereby and hindered from a great deal of travel, which grieves me most, fearing my time not sufficient for my desire, for although I have seen so much as sufficeth me, yet would I have time to profit thereby. Your Lordship seems desirous to know how I like Italy, what is mine intention in travel, and when I mean to return. For my liking of Italy, my Lord, I am glad I have seen it, and I care not ever to see it any more unless it be to serve my prince or country. For mine intention to travel, I am desirous to see more of Germany, wherefore I shall desire your Lordship, with my Lord of Leicester, to procure me the next summer to continue my licence, at the end of which I mean undoubtedly to return. I thought to have seen Spain, but by Italy I guess the worse. I have sent one of my servants into England with some new disposition of my things there, wherefore I will not trouble your Lordship in these letters with the same. If this sickness had not happened unto me, which hath taken away this chiefest time of travel, at this present I would not have written for further leave, but to supply the which I doubt not her Majesty will not deny me so small a favour. By reason of my great charges of travel and sickness, I have taken up of Mr Baptisto Nigroni 500 crowns, which I shall desire your Lordship to see there repaid, hoping by this time my money which is made of the sale of my land is all come in. Likewise I shall desire your Lordship that, whereas I had one Luke Atslowe that served, who now is become a lewd subject to her Majesty and an evil member to his country, which had certain leases of me, I do think, according to law, he leese them all to the Queen sith he is become one of the Romish church, and there hath performed all such ceremonies as might reconcile himself to that church, having used lewd speeches against the Queen's Majesty's supremacy, legitimation, government and particular life, and is here, as it were, a practiser upon our nation. Then this is my desire, that your Lordship, if it be so as I do take it, would procure those leases into my hands again, whereas I have understood by my Lord of Bedford they have hardly dealt with my tenants. Thus thanking your Lordship for your good news of my wife's delivery, I recommend myself unto your favour and, although I write for a few months more, yet, though I have them, so it may fall out I will shorten them myself. Written this 24th of September by your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable his singular good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=08] Cecil Papers 8/76: Oxford to Burghley, 27 November [1575]

My Lord, having th' opportunity to write by this bearer who departeth from us here in Padua this night, although I cannot make so large a write as I would gladly desire, yet I thought it not fit to let so short a time slip, wherefore, remembering my commendations to your good Lordship, these shall be to desire you to pardon the shortness of my letters, and to impute it at this present to the haste of this messenger's departure. And, as concerning mine own matters, I shall desire your Lordship to make no stay of the sales of my land, but that all things (according to my determination before I came away, with those that I appointed last by my servant William Booth) might go forward according to mine order taken, without any other alteration. Thus recommending myself unto your Lordship again, and to my Lady your wife, with mine, I leave further to trouble your Lordship. From Padua, the 27th of November.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, my Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=09] Cecil Papers 8/12: Oxford to Burghley, 3 January [1576]

My Lord, I am sorry to hear how hard my fortune is in England, as I perceive by your Lordship's letters. But knowing how vain a thing it is to linger a necessary mischief, to know the worst of myself & to let your Lordship understand wherein I would use your honourable friendship, in short, I have thus determined that, whereas I understand the greatness of my debt and greediness of my creditors grows so dishonourable to me and troublesome unto your Lordship that that land of mine which in Cornwall I have appointed to be sold (according to that first order for mine expenses in this travel) be gone through withal, and to stop my creditors' exclamations (or rather defamations I may call them), I shall desire your Lordship, by the virtue of this letter (which doth not err, as I take it, from any former purpose, which was that always upon my letter to authorize your Lordship to sell any portion of my land), that you will sell one hundred pound a year more of my land where your Lordship shall think fittest, to disburden me of my debts to her Majesty, my sister, or elsewhere I am exclaimed upon. Likewise, most earnestly I shall desire your Lordship to look into the lands of my father's will which, my sister being paid and the time expired, I take is to come into my hands. And if your Lordship will, for not troubling of yourself too much with my causes, command Lewen, Kelton and mine auditor to make a view into the same, I think it will be the sooner dispatched. As for Hulbert, I pray your Lordship to displace him of his office, which I restored unto him before mine auditor on condition he should render it up at all times that I should command. My reason is why I do the same, for that he bargained with me in Colne and, trusting him, therein he hath taken more than I meant and, as his own letter which I have sent to my servant Kelton doth show, more than himself did mean (a fit excuse for so cozening a part). And yet though it was more than he meant, whereas it is conditioned that all times he should surrender the same when his money should be offered to him again in compass of certain years, yet, in mine absence, he hath refused the same, as I understand, whereupon methinketh he deserveth very evil at my hands. And he that in so small a matter doth misuse the trust I have reposed in him, I am to doubt his service in greater causes, wherefore I do again desire your Lordship to discharge him from all dealings of mine, upon his accounts to the rest of my forenamed servants.

In doing these things, your Lordship shall greatly pleasure me; in not doing them, you shall as much hinder me, for although to depart with land, your Lordship hath advised the contrary, and that your Lordship, for the good affection you bear unto me, could wish it otherwise, yet you see I have none other remedy. I have no help but of mine own, and mine is made (to serve me and myself) not mine. Whereupon till all such encumbrances be passed over, and till I can better settle myself at home, I have determined to continue my travel, the which thing in no wise I desire your Lordship to hinder unless you would have it thus, *Ut nulla sit inter nos amicitia*, for having made an end of all hope to help myself by her Majesty's service, considering that my youth is objected unto me, and for every step of mine a block is found to be laid in my way, I see it is but vain *calcitrare contra li buoi* and, the worst of things being

known, they are the more easier to be provided for, to bear and support them with patience. Wherefore, for things passed amiss, to repent them, it is too late to help them (which I cannot), but ease them, that I am determined; to hope for anything, I do not, but if anything do happen *preter spem*, I think before that time I must be so old as my sons, who shall enjoy them, must give the thanks, and I am to content myself according to this English proverb, that it is my hap to starve like the horse whilst the grass doth grow.

Thus, my good Lord, I do boldly write, that you should not be ignorant of anything that I do, for if I have reason, I make you the judge, and lay myself more open unto you than perhaps if I write fewer lines, or penned less store of words, otherwise I could do. But for that it is not so easy a matter at all times to convey letters from these parties into England, I am therefore the more desirous to use largely this opportunity, and to supply in writing the want of speaking, which the long distance between us hath taken away. Thus I leave your Lordship to the protection of Almighty God, whom I beseech to send you long and happy life, and better fortune to define your felicity in these your aged years than it hath pleased Him to grant in my youth, but of a hard beginning we may hope a good and easy ending. Your Lordship's to command during life. The 3rd of January, from Siena.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, my Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, give this.

[=10] Cecil Papers 9/1: Oxford to Burghley, 27 April [1576]

My Lord, although I have forborne, in some respect which I hold private to myself, either to write or come unto your Lordship, yet had I determined, as opportunity should have served me, to have accomplished the same in compass of a few days.

But now, urged thereunto by your letters to satisfy you the sooner, I must let your Lordship understand thus much.

That is, until I can better satisfy or advertise myself of some mislikes, I am not determined, as touching my wife, to accompany her. What they are, because some are not to be spoken of or written upon as imperfections, I will not deal withal. Some, that otherways discontent me, I will not blaze or publish until it please me. And, last of all, I mean not to weary my life any more with such troubles and molestations as I have endured; nor will I, to please your Lordship only, discontent myself. Wherefore, as your Lordship very well writeth unto me that you mean, if it standeth with my liking, to receive her into your house, these are likewise to let your Lordship understand that it doth very well content me; for there, as your daughter or her mother's, more than my wife, you may take comfort of her, and I, rid of the cumber thereby, shall remain well eased of many griefs. I do not doubt but she hath sufficient proportion for her being to live upon and to maintain herself. This might have been done through private conference before, and had not needed to have been the fable of the world if you would have had the patience to have understood me, but I do not know by what or whose advice it was to run that course, so contrary to my will or meaning, which made her disgraced to the world, raised suspicions openly, that with private conference might have been more silently handled, and hath given me more greater cause to mislike. Wherefore I desire your Lordship in these causes (now you shall understand me) not to urge me any farther; and so I write unto your Lordship, as you have done unto me, this Friday, the 27th of April.

Your Lordship's to be used in all things reasonable.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good lord, the Lord Burghley, Treasurer of England, give these.

[=11] Cecil Papers 9/15: Oxford to Burghley, [13 July 1576]

My very good Lord. Yesterday, at your Lordship's earnest request, I had some conference with you about your daughter wherein, for that her Majesty had so often moved me, and for that you dealt so earnestly with me, to content as much as I could, I did agree that you might bring her to the court, with condition that she should not come when I was present nor at any time to have speech with me, and further that your Lordship should not urge farther in her cause. But now I understand that your Lordship means this day to bring her to the court, and that you mean afterward to prosecute the cause with further hope. Now if your Lordship shall do so, then shall you take more in hand than I have or can promise you. For always I have, and will still, prefer mine own content before others' and, observing that wherein I may temper or moderate for your sake, I will do most willingly. Wherefore I shall desire your Lordship not to take advantage of my promise till you have given me some honourable assurance, by letter or word, of your performance of the condition which, being observed, I could yield, as it is my duty, to her Majesty's request, and bear with your fatherly desire towards her; otherwise, all that is done can stand to none effect. From my lodging at Charing Cross, this morning. Your Lordship's to employ.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=12] TNA SP12/149/42(15), f. 108v: Oxford to commissioners for voyage to *Meta Incognita*, 21 May 1578

To my very loving friends William Pelham & Thomas Randolph, Esquires, Mr Young, Mr Lok, Mr Hogan, Mr Field, & others the Commissioners for the voyage to *Meta incognita*.

After my very hearty commendations, understanding of the wise proceeding & orderly dealing for the continuing of the voyage for the discovery of Cathay by the north-west which this bearer, my friend Mr Frobisher, hath already very honourably attempted, and is now eftsoons to be employed for the better achieving thereof, and the rather induced as well for the great liking her Majesty hath to have the same passage discovered as also for the special good favour I bear to Mr Frobisher, to offer unto you to be an adventurer therein for the sum of one thousand pounds or more, if you like to admit thereof, which sum or sums, upon your certificate of admittance, I will enter into bond shall be paid for that use unto you upon Michaelmas Day next coming. Requesting your answers therein, I bid you heartily farewell from the court, the 21 of May, 1578.

Your loving friend,
Edward Oxenford

[=13] BL Lansdowne 33/6, ff. 12-13: Oxford to Burghley, [13? July 1581]

My Lord, Robin Christmas did yesterday tell me how honourably you had dealt with her Majesty as touching my liberty, and that as this day she had made promise to your Lordship that it should be. Unless your Lordship shall make some to put her Majesty in mind thereof, I fear, in these other causes of the two Lords, she will forget me, for she is nothing of her own disposition, as I find, so ready to deliver as speedy to commit, and every little trifle gives her matter for a long delay. I willed E. Hammond to report unto your Lordship her Majesty's message unto me by Mr Secretary Walsingham, which was to this effect: first, that she would have heard the matter again touching Henry Howard, Southwell and Arundel; then, that she understood I meant to cut down all my woods, especially about my house, which she did not so well like of as if I should sell some land else elsewhere; and last, that she heard that I had been hardly used by some of my servants during this time of my commit, wherein she promised her aid, so far as she could with justice, to redress the loss I had sustained thereby, to which I made answer as I willed Hammond to relate unto your Lordship. Further, my Lord, whereof I am desirous something to write, I have understood of certain of my men have resorted unto your Lordship and sought, by false reports of other of their fellows, both to abuse your Lordship and me. But for that this bearer seems most herein to be touched, I have sent him unto your Lordship, as is his earnest desire, that your Lordship might so know him as your evil opinion, being conceived amiss by these lewd fellows, may be removed. And truly, my Lord, I hear of those things wherewith he is charged and, I can assure you, wrongfully and slanderously, but the world is so cunning as of a shadow they can make a substance, and of a likelihood a truth. And these fellows, if they be those which I suppose, I do not doubt but so to decipher them to the world as easily your Lordship shall look into their lewdness and unfaithfulness, which, till my liberty, I mean to defer, as more mindful of that importing me most at this time than yet seeking to revenge myself of such perverse and impudent dealing of servants, which I know have not wanted encouragement and setting on. But letting these things pass for a while, I must not forget to give your Lordship those thanks which are due to you for this, your honourable dealing to her Majesty in my behalf, which I hope shall not be without effect, the which attending from the court, I will take my leave of your Lordship, and rest at your commandment, at my house this morning.

Your Lordship's assured.

Edward Oxenford

*For my Lord Treasurer.

[=14] BL Lansdowne 38/62, ff. 158-9: Oxford to Burghley, [?20 June 1583]

I have been an earnest suitor unto your Lordship for my Lord Lumley, that it would please you for my sake to stand his good Lord and friend which, as I perceive, your Lordship hath already very honourably [], for the which I am in a number of things more than I can reckon bound unto your Lordship, so am I in this likewise especially. For he hath matched with a near kinswoman of mine to whose father I always was beholding unto for his assured and kind disposition unto me. Further, among all the rest of my blood, this only remains in account either of me or else of them, as your Lordship doth know very well, the rest having embraced further alliances to leave their nearer consanguinity. And as I hope your Lordship doth account me now one whom you have so much bound as I am to be yours before any else in the world, both through match, whereby I count my greatest stay, and by your Lordship's friendly usage and sticking by me in this time wherein I am hedged in with so many enemies, so likewise I hope your Lordship will take all them for your followers and most at command which are inclined and affected to me. Wherefore I shall once again be thus bold with your Lordship to be [] importunate in this matter for your Lordship's favour in [] my Lord Lumley's payment to her Majesty, wherein we [] all give your Lordship thanks and you shall do me as great an honour herein as a profit if it had been to myself, in that through your Lordship's favour I shall be able to pleasure my friend and stand needless of others that have forsaken me. Thus, for that your Lordship is troubled with many matters where you are, I crave pardon for troubling you.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, my Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=15] BL Lansdowne 42/39, ff. 97-8: Oxford to Burghley, [30 October 1584]

It is not unknown to your Lordship that I have entered into a great number of bonds to such as have purchased lands of me, to discharge them of all encumbrances. And because I stand indebted unto her Majesty (as your Lordship knoweth), many of the said purchasers do greatly fear some trouble likely to fall upon them by reason of her Majesty's said debt, & especially if the lands of the Lord Darcy and Sir William Waldegrave should be extended for the same, who have two several statutes of great sums for their discharge. Whereupon many of the said purchasers have been suitors unto me to procure the discharging of her Majesty's said debt, and do seem very willing to bear the burden thereof if, by my means, the same might be stalled payable at some convenient days. I have therefore thought good to acquaint your Lordship with this their suit, requiring most earnestly your Lordship's furtherance in this behalf, whereby I shall be unburdened of a great care which I have for the saving of my honour and shall, by this means, also unburden my wife's jointure of that charge which might happen hereafter to be imposed upon the same if God should call your Lordship and me away before her.

Your Lordship's

Edward Oxenford

My Lord, this other day your man Stainer told me that you sent for Amys, my man and, if he were absent, that Lyly should come unto you. I sent Amys, for he was in the way. And I think very strange that your Lordship should enter into that course toward me whereby I must learn that I knew not before, both of your opinion and goodwill towards me. But I pray, my Lord, leave that course, for I mean not to be your ward nor your child. I serve her Majesty, and I am that I am, and by alliance near to your Lordship, but free, and scorn to be offered that injury to think I am so weak of government as to be ruled by servants, or not able to govern myself. If your Lordship take and follow this course, you deceive yourself and make me take another course than yet I have not thought of. Wherefore these shall be to desire your Lordship, if that I may make account of your friendship, that you will leave that course, as hurtful to us both.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=16] BL Lansdowne 50/22, ff. 49-50: Oxford to Burghley, [25 June 1586]

My very good Lord. As I have been beholding unto you divers times, and of late by my brother R. Cecil, whereby I have been the better able to follow my suit wherein I have some comfort at this time from Mr Secretary Walsingham, so am I now bold to crave your Lordship's help at this present for, being now almost at a point to taste that good which her Majesty shall determine, yet am I one that hath long besieged a fort and, not able to compass the end or reap the fruit of his travail, being forced to levy his siege for want of munition. Being therefore thus disfurnished and unprovided to follow her Majesty, as I perceive she will look for, I most earnestly desire your Lordship that you will lend me 200 pounds till her Majesty performeth her promise, out of which I shall make my payment, if it please you, with the rest that your Lordship hath at sundry times, to my great furtherance and help in my causes, sent me by your servant and steward Billet. I would be loath to have troubled your Lordship with so much if I were not kept here back with this tedious suit from London, where I would have found means to have taken up so much to have served my turn till her Majesty had dispatched me, but for that I dare not (having been here so long and the matter growing to some conclusion) be absent. I pray your Lordship bear with me, that at this time wherein I am to set myself in order I do become so troublesome. From the court this morning.

Your Lordship's ever bounden,

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord, my Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=17] BL Lansdowne 63/71, ff. 181-2: Oxford to Burghley, 5 August [1590]

My very good Lord, where I mortgaged my lease of Aveley to Mr Herdson, and not as yet redeemed, and now, as well for the supply of my present wants, as also to have some three hundred pounds of ready money to redeem certain leases at Hedingham which were gotten from me very unreasonably, for divers years yet enduring, and are of as good clear yearly value as my said lease of Aveley is, I therefore most earnestly desire your Lordship to signify your liking to me in writing to dispose of the said lease at my pleasure; otherwise, there is not any will deal with me for the same nor for any part thereof, wherein I shall be greatly beholding to your Lordship, as I am in all the rest of my whole estate. The 5th of August.

Your Lordship's to command,

Edward Oxenford

The lease dependeth upon divers casualties, which lease I hold chiefly by your Lordship's favour, and the casualties & defects are as follow.

First, the lease is made by the name of *The Master and Chaplains called the Hospital of the Savoy*, where the corporation is *The Master & the Chaplains of the Hospital of the Savoy*, & not called *the Savoy*, & therefore the lease supposed void.

Secondly, Mr Payne's claim, and pretending interest to the said lease, doth cost me one hundred pound by the year to defend.

Thirdly, any creditor of mine to whom I am indebted may, by writ of elegit, or fieri facias or levari facias, extend, and sell the said lease for a trifle, and utterly defeat me thereof. And I intend for £300 in money to redeem leases of mine own land of a greater yearly value.

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=18] BL Lansdowne 63/76, ff. 191-2: Oxford to Burghley, 8 September [1590]

I would have been with your Lordship before this, but that I have not had my health; nevertheless, Hampton being returned from the country, I have sent him to your Lordship, that he may advertise you of his proceedings there. At Oatlands, I think your Lordship remembers a complaint of [] Bellingham's son, of his mother's putting forth of the castle, which was before anything done, whereupon your Lordship directed a letter unto [] sheriff, [] whereof, as it seems, Thomas Hampton had dealt with more favour towards her than the letters unto the sheriff imported. Notwithstanding, I understand Bellingham is gone to the court, encouraged I know not by what friends, to complain, as he did report here in town, not to your Lordship, but to her Majesty's self. My Lord, it was ever meant that he should have consideration as reason and conscience might afford him. But sithence he taketh a violent course and refuseth reasonable offers, I have sent Hampton to inform your Lordship the state of the man, who hath received heretofore a pardon for three burglaries and stands bound to the good behaviour, which behaviour, for sundry and manifest breaches thereof, which I can prove, he hath lost the benefit of his pardon whereby, as lord of the manor by escheat, I am to deal with him as he hath given me occasion, and herein I hope her Majesty will have consideration, sith the same case hath been seen once in Henry the Seventh's time and one example in this, her Majesty's. For those things which falls to me by escheat, I do not doubt that her Majesty will, against her law, give any ear, or hearken to such wrongful complaint.

Skinner hath been often with me for a composition, upon what point of law Hampton is to inform your Lordship, referring myself wholly to your Lordship who, in all my causes, I find mine honourable good Lord, and to deal more fatherly than friendly with me, for the which I do acknowledge, and ever will, myself in most especial wise bound. And whereas there is a lease in Arthur Milles' hand of the manor and lands of Lavenham, I desire your Lordship to cause him to make over his trust unto my servant Mynne, to whom the other lease is made. If there be complaints made unto your Lordship (as I doubt not but that there will) against the proceedings of mine officers, I most earnestly desire that there may be some reasonable time appointed for the answering of them because my counsel is not in town, but shall be before, or at the beginning of, the term to satisfice your Lordship and answer their particular complaints. London, this 8th of September,

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England, give these at the court.

[=19] BL Lansdowne 68/6, ff. 12-13: Oxford to Burghley, 18 May [1591]

My Lord, I do thank your Lordship for the punishment of Hampton, whose evil dealings towards me, being put in trust with my causes in law, I hope your Lordship will think them sufficient to deserve your disgrace, especially knowing his corruptions which, for the more assured knowledge of your Lordship, I have sent unto the parties themselves from whom he hath drawn money to his own behoof, whose confirmations, so soon as they can be brought out of the country, they shall be delivered to your Lordship. In the mean season, I shall most heartily pray your Lordship to persevere in your good favour towards me, whereby I may procure redress against this which Amys hath passed under the Great Seal by the practice of Hampton's fraudulent device, as shall appear (if I may have leisure to manifest the same) every day more and more. The changing of the name of my servant without my privity, and putting in another in trust for himself (as bad, as I understand, as himself), if your Lordship will, may give your Lordship certain knowledge of the deceit; the cozening of so many tenants of their money, and the forfeiting of my lease of Skinner's land, do witness enough his corruption. I know if your Lordship will stand mine honourable good Lord and friend herein by handling this Hampton roughly, and this Amys so that he be but put in fear, that you may bring them to that order which is reason, that I may enjoy mine own lands, as from the beginning was meant by her Majesty. And as for this letter of Amys' which I have returned to your Lordship, both concerning my messages to him and the dealing of my servant, as he reports is most false, wherefore I will refer all to your Lordship, who knows the intent of her Majesty's first meaning to me was far otherwise in the beginning when, with this suit of mine, she thought to recompense me in some sort for forbearing my suit for the forest, and can judge how unfaithfully I am dealt withal by these parties. Which favour if your Lordship shall do for me, then would I gladly break unto your Lordship another matter which I would have done ere this had I not been intercepted by these unlooked for troubles. And this it is.

Whereas I have heard her Majesty meant to sell unto one Middleton, a merchant, and one Carmarden the demesnes of Denbigh which, as I am informed, is £230 by yearly rent now as it is, I would be an humble suitor to her Majesty that I might have had this bargain, paying the £8000 as they should have done, accepting for £5000 thereof the pension which she hath given me in the Exchequer, and the other £3000 the next term, or upon such reasonable days as her Majesty would grant me by her favour. And, further, if her Majesty would not accept the pension for £5000, that then she would yet take unto it, to make it up that value, the title of the forest which, by all counsel of law, and conscience, is as good right unto me as any other land in England. And I think her Majesty makes no evil bargain, and I would be glad to be sure of something that were mine own and that I might possess. If her Majesty thinketh it should offend the tenants, and for that she hath granted them a lease, if they complain or be against it I will cease my suit, but if I can get their goodwills, and that they shall let their lease fall which her Majesty hath granted (whereupon I dare presume to your Lordship), then that her Majesty will let me have it on those former conditions. This

is a thing that I have been desirous to impart unto your Lordship, but that I have either found you troubled with other business or I myself have been encumbered with these treacheries of Hampton.

The effect hereof is, I would be glad to have an equal care with your Lordship over my children, and if I may obtain this reasonable suit of her Majesty, granting me nothing but what she hath done to others, and mean persons, and nothing but that I shall pay for it, then those lands which are in Essex, as Hedingham, Bretts and the rest whatsoever, which will come to some 5 or £600 by year, upon your Lordship's friendly help towards my purchases in Denbigh shall be presently delivered in possession to you for their use. And so much I am sure to make of these demesnes for myself.

So shall my children be provided for, myself at length settled in quiet and, I hope, your Lordship contented, remaining no cause for you to think me an evil father, nor any doubt in me but that I may enjoy that friendship from your Lordship that so near a match, and not fruitless, may lawfully expect. Good my Lord, think of this, and let me have both your furtherance and counsel in this cause for, to tell truth, I am weary of an unsettled life, which is the very pestilence that happens unto courtiers that propound to themselves no end of their time therein bestowed. Thus committing your Lordship to Almighty God, with my most hearty thanks and commendations, I take my leave this 18th of May.

Your Lordship's ever to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=20] BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 23, 28: Oxford to Burghley, [30 June 1591]

My very good Lord, I do understand by Mr. Fortescue your Lordship's good disposition and willingness to pleasure me in this my cause wherein, being deceived by Hampton, whom I did put in trust to follow the matter forsomuch as he was the deviser of the suit, I sought remedy to her Majesty that I might have a new lease to perform the first intention of her grant. In this I did not doubt but to have had your Lordship's favour for that I was borne in hand by Hampton that I should have a better lease, but I do find his report was untrue, and your Lordship not advertised of mine estate. Now therefore I have sent unto your Lordship a remembrance whereby your Lordship may understand how I have been dealt with. And I hope there is no occasion given, but that your Lordship may both favour and further my matter as you have ever done, being rightly informed which, being once ended (as I doubt not by your Lordship's good means and her Majesty's disposition to succour me at this time), as I desired of your Lordship by my letters when first this trouble began to break out whilst her Majesty was at Theobalds, so I remain in every point to satisfice your Lordship to your content and my quiet, which I hope by these few lines you will conceive. And I have included herein these notes as briefly as I may, which also I have sent unto her Majesty for the better understanding how to give me remedy. Thus desiring your Lordship to favour me at this present, as you have done in this suit and in others heretofore, I will take my leave, remaining your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England, give these.

[=21] BL Harley 6996/22, ff. 42-3: Oxford to Burghley, 25 October 1593

My very good Lord, I hope it is not out of your remembrance how long sithence I have been a suitor to her Majesty that she would give me leave to try my title to the forest at the law, but I found that so displeasing unto her that, in place of receiving that ordinary favour which is of course granted to the meanest subject, I was browbeaten and had many bitter speeches given me; nevertheless, at length, by means of some of the Lords of the Council, among which your Lordship especially, her Majesty was persuaded to give me ear. At that time, which was at Somerset House (if your Lordship please to call to mind), her Majesty would needs have it committed unto arbiters, pretending therein to do me especial favour in cutting off the long circumstances of the law and charges pertaining thereto. But after I had consented thereunto, for me could be no other arbiter permitted than the Lord Chancellor, whom she had chosen for herself; this I am assured your Lordship hath good cause to remember by her Majesty's exception against you, in that she thought you partial to your son-in-law. But these things I call only to mind for your Lordship's better remembrance which, through so many affairs, otherwise, in so long a time, it is no marvel if perhaps you have easily forgotten. Therefore I will to purpose only further call to remembrance the success of this arbitrament, which was thus. After much ado, and a good year spent by delays from her Majesty, my Lord Chancellor, then Sir Christopher Hatton, being earnestly called upon, appointed a time of hearing, both for her Majesty's learned counsel at the law and mine, whereupon what he conceived thereby of my title, he was ready to have made his report unto her Majesty. But such was my misfortune (I do not think her mind to do me any wrong), that she flatly refused therein to hear my Lord Chancellor, and for a final answer commanded me no more to follow the suit for, whether it was hers or mine, she was resolved to dispose thereof at her pleasure. A strange sentence, methought, which, being justly considered, I may say she had done me more favour if she had suffered me to try my title at law, than this arbitrament under pretence of expedition and grace; the extremity had been far more safe than the remedy which I was persuaded to accept. But after I had made some complaint of this hard determination, yet in so desperate a state, she promised this relief to my cause that, in some other matter, that should be as commodious as that unto me, she would recompense me in the meanwhile. Hence riseth the cause, my Lord, wherefore I have preferred many suits to her Majesty, but have found in them all the same delays and difficulties that I did in the other before. But now the ground whereon I lay my suit being so just and reasonable that either I should expect some satisfaction by way of recompense, or restoration of mine own (as I am yet persuaded till law hath convinced me), these are most earnestly to desire a continuance of your Lordship's favour and furtherance in my suit which I made at Greenwich to her Majesty, at her last being there, about three commodities, to wit, the oils, wools and fruits, in giving therefore as then my proffer was. I do the rather now renew the same for that I do not hear as yet they are disposed otherwise, and that the time is fittest, as well as for her Majesty's commodity as his that shall take it, and considering (if her Majesty will have a just consideration of the premises) I am to challenge and expect somewhat. Your Lordship knows the whole process of the

matter, and can better judge than any other (as to whom my estate is best known, & how hardly I may forbear so great an interest without any recompense) and, therefore, as to the meetest (for that my state and cause, both in right and conscience, is best understood) to conceive of the just desire I make of this suit, I do address myself to your Lordship, most earnestly to crave both your opinion and counsel, your favour and furtherance, whether I were best to follow this suit which I have commenced or, it standing so that there is no good or hope to be done or conceived therein, to seek again her Majesty's favour that I might proceed in law to try my title to the forest. And thus desiring your Lordship to hold me excused for that I am so long in a matter that concerneth me so much, I will make an end, this 25 of October, 1593.

And always rest your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=22] BL Lansdowne 76/74, ff. 168-9: Oxford to Burghley, 7 July 1594

My very good Lord, if it please you to remember that about half a year or thereabout past I was a suitor to your Lordship for your favour that, whereas I found sundry abuses whereby both her Majesty & myself were, in mine office, greatly hindered, that it would please your Lordship that I might find such favour from you that I might have the same redressed. At which time I found so good forwardness in your Lordship that I thought myself greatly beholding for the same; yet, by reason at that time mine attorney was departed the town, I could not then send him to attend upon your Lordship according to your appointment. But hoping that the same disposition still remaineth towards the justness of my cause, and that your Lordship, to whom my estate is so well known, & how much it standeth me on not to neglect as heretofore such occasions as to amend the same may arise from mine office, I most heartily desire your Lordship that it will please you to give ear to the state of my cause and, at your best leisure, admit either mine attorney or other of my counsel in law to inform your Lordship that, the same being perfectly laid open to your Lordship, I may enjoy the favour from you which I most earnestly desire. In which doing, I shall think myself singularly beholding in this, as I have been in other, respects. This 7th of July, 1594.

Your Lordship's ever to command,

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=23] Cecil Papers 31/106: Oxford to Cecil, 24 April 1595

Sir Robert Cecil. Whereas I have dealt with the Earl of Derby about my daughter's allowance, and that he hath promised me to assure her to that intent a thousand pound a year, forsomuch as I now understand, upon some discontentment that he hath not attained to that honour which it seemeth he did at this time expect, he determines tomorrow to depart into Lancashire, and that he hath neither in his house or for herself set down any stay whereby either in her own lodging or, if she shall follow her attendance upon her Majesty, she is provided as his wife. I do therefore most heartily desire you as her uncle and good friend to deal earnestly with my Lord Treasurer, unto whom I have also written, that he would send unto him or else speak with him, to the end that either he should fulfil his promise or, until such time as he shall, to take that order which is fit for her place wherein she serves her Majesty, and for his wife. I do understand by my daughter how good an uncle she finds you, and how ready to friend her, wherein I also take myself beholding unto you. Of what fancies his humours are compounded you know well enough, and therefore I pray you to be earnest with my Lord that he may deal effectually upon so good a ground as his word and honour which he hath given. Also I understand that my Lady Russell, for some offence conceived of my daughter, hath lately written to my Lord Treasurer to discourage and dissuade him to urge the Earl of Derby but, for that she was herself the first that moved this allowance, and hath sithence altered her mind upon some conceit, I hope my Lord will not be carried away upon such unconstant balance. Yet if you find any such hindrance, I pray you, nevertheless stick to your niece and further her in what you can, sith her desire is just in that it is his promise, & reasonable in that she is his wife. Thus what you shall do for her, esteeming it mine own bond, I refer her whole cause to your kindness. Your assured friend.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & his very good friend Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Council, give these.

[=24] Cecil Papers 35/84: Oxford to Cecil, 20 October 1595

Good Sir Robert Cecil. I have often received from you many words of courtesies & favours when I should have occasion to use ye, all which I have believed, & do still, imagining those promises to proceed of a free & liberal disposition. Wherefore, having at this time an especial opportunity to try my friends in a cause which I do not doubt but just, I make thus far bold with you that, whereas a few years sithence I was a suitor to her Majesty for her favour thus far, that my right (which I did not doubt) to the forest of Waltham & park of Havering, concerning the keeping thereof, might have trial at law, which is a common course to every subject, & that then, under pretence to do me a favour, her Majesty, to avoid charge and delay of the law, greatly to mine ease and for better expedition, her pleasure was that the matter should be referred to arbitrament, which was so done as, her Majesty taking exception to my arbitrer, had her own, Sir Christopher Hatton, then Lord Chancellor, appointed as indifferent for us both, as she did measure it. He, having heard the matter, and her Majesty's counsel with mine, was resolved, and hereupon wished me to urge her Majesty to call for his report, which accordingly I did, and the Lord Chancellor present. In short, she refused to hear him. She flatly said whether it were mine or hers she would bestow it at her pleasure and so, under pretence of keeping the same from spoil till the matter were decided between her Majesty and myself, she put it into the hands of Sir Thomas Heneage and this, after a year's travail, I had for my short expedition. Now my Lord your father is a full witness of all these things, being present when the matter was committed, and the intentions and all are sufficiently known to him, with all the course observed. I have written also to him and also to her Majesty. I only desire my friends that may speak their minds to her Majesty, & have opportunity, that they will be means that either she will let me enjoy that which my right doth cast upon me (and the law) with her favour, or that she will protect me with her law as her subject and that, if it be none of mine, she will rather take it away by order than oppression.

This 20th of October 1595

Your assured friend,

Edward Oxenford

As I was folding up this letter I received a very honourable answer from my Lord Treasurer. My whole trust in this cause is in you two, my Lord for that he is privy to the whole cause and handling thereof from time to time, and in you, for that I assure myself in so just a matter you will not abandon me.

He seemeth to doubt yet of his death, & wisheth me to make means to the Earl of Essex that he would forbear to deal for it, a thing I cannot do in honour sith I have already received divers injuries and wrongs from him which bar me of all such base courses. If her Majesty's affections be forfeits of men's estates, we must endure it.

*To the right honourable & his very good friend & brother Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Council.

[=25] Cecil Papers 172/81: Oxford to Cecil, 21 October 1595

There are times wherein the use of friends are so necessary that, although we be loath to be cumbersome, yet are we compelled to thrust into their hands the trust of our troublesome causes. Such is my state at this present, who in mine own conceit have no mistrust of your good disposition towards me, yet am I forced (by what unlooked for occasion I cannot tell) at this time to turn my thought upon you as the only friend with whom, I think, I may be boldest.

Wherefore, for that I understood the great danger of life wherein Mr. Vice-Chamberlain lay, considering the veins and humours of this world I do not mistrust but many things hereby falling into her Majesty's hands to bestow, that there would be many suitors. And for that to the keeping of the forest of Waltham & the park of Havering mine evidences show me a certain right to the same (from which I cannot be persuaded till I know better to the contrary), I have most humbly written to her Majesty that, after so many bestowings of it upon others void of any pretence, she will now at length give ear to the justness of my cause &, as she hath often disposed it upon others upon favour, that now, not only upon justice but also upon grace she will deign it to the rightful keeper.

And this I do not notice to you as if I thought it in your power to do more than it shall please to come of her Majesty's own disposition, but for that you are the only person that I dare rely upon in the court and at this present to implore as an instrument to make my desire known unto her Majesty.

And thus having opened to you my cause, what I have written in effect to her Majesty and what I crave of your courtesy, I commit you to God. This 21 of October, 1595.

Your loving and assured friend and brother.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & his very well beloved friend & brother-in-law Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Council.

[=26] Cecil Papers 44/63: Oxford to Cecil, 6 September 1596

The writing which I have is in the country, for I had such care thereof as I carried it with me in a little desk; tomorrow or the next day I am to go thither and, so soon as I come home, by the grace of God, I will send it you. The Earl of Derby should have set his hand and seal to this copy as he had done to yours but, his promises being but delays and shifts, in the mean season I caused his officer Ireland and another to set their hands unto it to witness that it was a true copy. I named to you in haste in my last letter, Mr Hicks, but I had forgot myself; it was Mr Bernardeau whom my Lord employed in that cause, and therefore I think him able to satisfice all such doubts as my Lord may cast. I do not doubt but if my Lord had then any care thereof, or Mr Bernardeau, but that this assurance is as firm as the law can make it; there was employed in it the Master of the Rolls, then and now Lord Keeper, and others of my Lord's learned counsel in law who, I hope, are sufficient to pass greater matters than it.

Thus taking my leave from Cannon Row, this 6 of September, 1596,

I remain your loving friend.

Edward Oxenford

*To his very well beloved and honourable friend, Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majesty, and one of her Highness' Privy Council, give these.

[=27] Cecil Papers 44/101: Oxford to Cecil, 17 September 1596

I have sent you by this bearer the copy which was in my hands but, perusing the same, it seemeth to be not as I took it, but rather a counterpane of her jointure than of her pension. How my daughter's occasions are to use the same I am ignorant, being made rather acquainted therewith by common report than from herself or any of her friends. But I doubt not but that my Lord and you did so well look to the same when it was to be performed that what assurance was to be made was done with good advice. I know that Bernardeau was the man who was employed, and that the intent was for a pension of one thousand pounds by years to be assured her so long as my Lord of Derby lived, and to that end a lease to her use was to be made over unto you and myself. How it was followed, if this be not it, I know not. Wherefore I pray you, good Sir Robert Cecil, peruse this, and if it be not as I take it, yet have that care of your niece that if it be in the hands of Bernardeau it may be sought out. Also I am most earnestly to desire you that, as you are her uncle and nearest to her next myself, that you will friendly assist her with your good advice. You know her youth and the place wherein she lives, and how much to both our houses it imports that she carry herself according to her honour. Enemies are apt to make the worst of everything, flatterers will do evil offices, and true and faithful advice will seem harsh to tender ears. But sith my fortune hath set me so far off as I cannot be at hand in this her troublesome occasions, I hope you will do the good office of an uncle and I commit unto you the authority of a parent in mine absence. Thus confounded with the small understanding of her estate, and the care of her well-doing, I leave to trouble you any farther, most earnestly desiring you, as you can get leisure, to advertise me how her causes stand and upon what terms, whereof, I assure you, I cannot yet tell what to think. This 17 of September 1596.

Your assured friend.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very well beloved friend Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary to her Majesty, give these.

[=28] Cecil Papers 37/66(b): Oxford to Cecil, 11 January 1597. Accompanies =49

Good Sir Robert Cecil. Whereas my wife hath showed me a supplication exhibited to the Lords of the Council against her, I have longed both to yield you thanks for your courtesy to her and myself in making her acquainted therewith, and also to advertise you how lewdly therein he behaves himself, for as for my wife he chargeth with a matter whereto she was never acknowledging (as if you consider the date of his supplication which signifieth a five years ago, at what time I think she never knew the man, and much less had any dealings with him, as he cannot deny, and if I then were married unto her it was all). Whereas he pretendeth I made over to her my pension with a condition to pay all former warrants granted by me, it is merely false, neither hath he any ground to say it, wherefore how presumptuously he doth abuse her you may easily judge, as that dares to make so impudently his complaint of her, being as she is, and to such personages of quality and state as are the Privy Council. I do not doubt therefore, but as you have begun with so honourable a proceeding, but you will let him have his deserts according to his presumption. And in the mean season, for that a long letter may be troublesome unto you, which have matters in hand of more importance, I thought it fit thus shortly to show the wrong done to her, and to refer the very ground and colour of his complaint unto another schedule which I shall send you.

Wherein if he hath had any cause to have complained, it should then have been against myself, as the same will explain. But his shifts and knaveries are so gross and palpable that, doubting to bring his parts and jugglings to light, he doth address his petition against her that is utterly ignorant of the cause. Thus desiring you to conceive how thankfully I take this honourable dealing with my wife and friendly care to me, I will the less set forth in words what I the more desire in deeds to show, if I were so happy as to find opportunity. This 11th of January, 1597.

Your assured friend and brother-in-law.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good friend Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Council, and Principal Secretary.

[=29] TNA SP12/264/111, ff. 151-1A: Oxford to Burghley, 8 September 1597

My very good Lord, I have perused these letters which, according to your Lordship's desire, I have returned. I do perceive how both my Lord and Lady do persevere, which doth greatly content me for Bridget's sake, whom always I have wished a good husband such as your Lordship and myself may take comfort by. And as for the articles which I perceive have been moved between your Lordship and them, referring all to your Lordship's wisdom and good liking I will freely set down mine opinion, according to your Lordship's desire.

My Lord of Pembroke is a man sickly, and therefore it is to be gathered he desireth in his lifetime to see his son bestowed to his liking, to compass which methinks he offers very honourable, his desires very reasonable; again, being a thing agreeable to your Lordship's fatherly care and love to my daughter, a thing which, for the honour, friendship and liking I have to the match, very agreeable to me, so that all parties desire but the same thing. I know no reason to delay it but, according to their desires, to accomplish it with convenient speed. And I do not doubt but your Lordship and myself shall receive great comfort thereby, for the young gentleman, as I understand, hath been well brought up, fair conditioned, and hath many good parts in him. Thus, to satisfice your Lordship I have, as shortly as I can, set down my opinion to my Lord's desires; notwithstanding, I refer theirs, and mine own, which is all one with theirs, to your Lordship's wisdom. I am sorry that I have not an able body which might have served to attend on her Majesty in the place where she is, being especially there whither, without any other occasion than to see your Lordship, I would always willingly go. September 8th, 1597.

Your Lordship's most assured.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable, my very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=30] Cecil Papers 251/28: Oxford to Cecil, [July 1600]

Although my bad success in former suits to her Majesty have given me cause to bury my hopes in the deep abyss and bottom of despair, rather than now to attempt, after so many trials made in vain & so many opportunities escaped, the effects of fair words or fruits of golden promises, yet for that I cannot believe but that there hath been always a true correspondency of word and intention in her Majesty, I do conjecture that, with a little help, that which of itself hath brought forth so fair blossoms will also yield fruit. Wherefore, having moved her Majesty lately about the office of the Isle, which by the death of Sir Anthony Paulet stands now in her Majesty's disposition to bestow where it shall best please her, I do at this present most heartily desire your friendship and furtherance; first, for that I know her Majesty doth give you good ear; then, for that our houses are knit in alliance; last of all, the matter itself is such as nothing chargeth her Majesty, sith it is a thing she must bestow upon someone or other. I know her Majesty hath suitors already for it, yet such as, for many respects her Majesty may call to remembrance, ought in equal balance to weigh lighter than myself. And I know not by what better means, or when, her Majesty may have an easier opportunity to discharge the debt of so many hopes as her promises have given me cause to embrace than by this, which give she must, & so give as nothing extraordinarily doth part from her. If she shall not deign me this in an opportunity of time so fitting, what time shall I attend (which is uncertain to all men) unless in the graves of men there were a time to receive benefits and good turns from princes? Well, I will not use more words, for they may rather argue mistrust than confidence. I will assure myself and not doubt of your good office, both in this but in any honourable friendship I shall have cause to use you. Hackney.

Your loving and assured friend and brother.

Edward Oxenford

[=31] Cecil Papers 76/34: Oxford to Cecil, 2 February [1601]

At this time I am to try my friends among which, considering our old acquaintance, familiarity heretofore, & alliance of houses (than which can be no straiter) as of my brother, I presume especially. Wherefore at this time, whereas some good fortune (if it be backed by friends) doth in a manner present itself, I most earnestly crave your furtherance so far as the place and favour you hold may admit. And that is, as I conceive, that if her Majesty be willing to confer the Presidency of Wales to me, that I may assure myself of your voice in Council, rather than a stranger. Not that I desire you should be a mover, but a furtherer; for, as the time is, it were not reason. But if it shall please her Majesty in regard of my youth, time & fortune spent in her court, adding thereto her Majesty's favours & promises which drew me on without any mistrust the more to presume in mine own expenses, to confer so good a turn to me, that then with your good word and brotherly friendship you will encourage her forward and further it as you may, for I know her Majesty is of that princely disposition that they shall not be deceived which put their trust in her. Which good office in you I will never forget, and always to my power acknowledge in love & kindness, hoping that, as we be knit near in alliance, so hereafter more nearer by good and friendly offices. Thus most earnestly desiring you to have me in friendly remembrance when time serveth, I take my leave this 2nd of February.

Your assured and loving brother.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and my very good brother, Sir Robert Cecil, of her Majesty's Privy Council, Principal Secretary & Master of the Wards.

[=32] Cecil Papers 181/80: Oxford to Cecil, [May 1601?]

My very good brother, I have received by Henry Lok your most kind message, which I so effectually embrace that, what for the old love I have borne you which, I assure you, was very great; what for the alliance which is between us, which is tied so fast by my children of your own sister; what for mine own disposition to yourself, which hath been rooted by long and many familiarities of a more youthful time, there could have been nothing so dearly welcome unto me. Wherefore not as a stranger, but in the old style, I do assure you that you shall have no faster friend & well-wisher unto you than myself, either in kindness, which I find beyond mine expectation in you, or in kindred, whereby none is nearer allied than myself sith, of your sisters, of my wife only you have received nieces, a sister, I say, not by any venter, but born of the same father and the same mother of yourself. I will say no more, for words in faithful minds are tedious, only this I protest: you shall do me wrong, and yourself greater if, either through fables, which are mischievous, or conceit, which is dangerous, you think otherwise of me than humanity and consanguinity requireth. I desired Henry Lok to speak unto you for that I cannot so well urge mine own business to her Majesty, that you would do me the favour, when these troublesome times give opportunity to her Majesty to think of the disposition of the President of Wales, that I may understand it by you lest, neglecting through ignorance the time, by mishap I may leese the suit; for, as I have understood, and by good reason conceived, I am not to use any friend to move it, so myself having moved it and received good hopes, I fear nothing but through ignorance when to prosecute it, lest I should leese the benefit of her good disposition on which I only depend.

Your most assured & loving brother, as ever in mine own affection, in all kindness and kindred.

Edward Oxenford

*To my very good brother & honourable Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Council & Principal Secretary.

[=33] Cecil Papers 182/23: Oxford to Cecil, 11 May 1601

I received this morning your message by H. Lok whereby I see you have not forgotten me to her Majesty, and so as it is much to my contentment (I protest to God not so much in that somewhat her Majesty doth satisfice my desire, but that I find that assuredness in your kindness to me with whom, as we are straitly allied, there is no reason but I should make especial account of before all others), so am I glad moreover to find an especial friend, constant and assured in your word, which thing I vow to God to acknowledge to you in all faith, kindness, and love and in whatsoever I may stand you in stead which according to mine estate now is little, but in goodwill very great, I will with all alacrity and well-wishing perform, and this I both speak and write unto you from my heart. Wherefore as you have begun, so I most earnestly desire you to stick to me in this cause, for it is a thing whereof I make great account, and it is a friendship which you have done me above thanks, which I will freely impart to you at my coming to the court, which I think shall be tomorrow by the grace of God, till which time, as a hater of ceremonies, I will refer all other thanks and observations, which in me are as far from ordinary accomplishments as my thankful acceptance of this your friendly and brotherly office is near my heart simple and unfeigned. I sent my man, as H. Lok informed me, unto you that he might open somewhat more plainer the cause; the more you shall countenance him, the more boldly and freely he will certify you. I will only now end, wholly recommending my cause to your friendship, assuring you that there is nothing in the world that I esteem more or accept more kindly than your brotherly and friendly office which you at this present undertake in my behalf. Tomorrow I hope to see you myself at the court where I will more frankly and freely declare myself. For today, although I thought to have come to you, yet considering your manifold causes, I think it best to forbear. In the mean season I rest your most thankful brother and assured friend.

Edward Oxenford

To my very well beloved friend and brother Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majesty.

[=34] Cecil Papers 88/101: Oxford to Cecil, 7 October 1601

My very good brother, if my health had been to my mind I would have been before this at the court, as well to have given you thanks for your presence at the hearing of my cause debated, as to have moved her Majesty for her resolution. As for the matter, how much I am beholding to you I need not repeat, but in all thankfulness acknowledge, for you have been the mover & only follower thereof for me, & by your only means I have hitherto passed the pikes of so many adversaries. Now my desire is, sith themselves who have opposed to her Majesty's right seem satisficed, that you will make the end answerable to the rest of your most friendly proceeding, for I am advised that I may pass my book from her Majesty if a warrant may be procured to my cousin Bacon and Sergeant Harris to perfect it, which, being done, I know to whom formally to thank, but really they shall be, and are, from me and mine to be sealed up in an eternal remembrance to yourself. And thus wishing all happiness to you, and some fortunate means to me whereby I might recognize so deep merits, I take my leave this 7th of October from my house at Hackney, 1601.

Your most assured and loving brother.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & my very good brother Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Council, and Principal Secretary, give these at the court.

[=35] Cecil Papers 89/124: Oxford to Cecil, 22 November 1601

My good brother, in that I have not sent an answer to your last letter as you might expect, I shall desire you to hold me for excused sith, ever sithence the receipt thereof, by reason of my sickness, I have not been able to write. And whereas you do conceive that I have been carried too much by the conceits of Cawley, I do assure you there is no such thing. I have used him, and so do still, as a follower of my business, wherein I do not find any cause to blame, but rather, recommend his diligence. For counsel, I have such lawyers, and the best that I can get as are to be had in London, who have advised me, for my best course, to desire that her Majesty would grant me her warrant signed for the drawing of a book mentioning what her pleasure is to grant me concerning the escheat of Sir Charles Danvers (*de bene esse, quantum in regina est*), whereby shall ensue no prejudice unto any of the pretenders which suggest to be interested in any of the said lands in regard that, if the Queen have no title, there passeth nothing to me. It is a common course, notwithstanding any office found against the Queen, that her Majesty granteth concealed lands in this course, whereof there are many yearly precedents, so that her Majesty, granting this to me, granteth but her own interest which, in effect, had been nothing, considering how this cause hath been carried, and so likely to have been obscured forever if it had not been my hap to have stirred therein.

For the rest of your letter, whatsoever you have written, although it be some discouragement unto me, yet I cannot alter the opinion which I have conceived of your virtue and constancy, neither can I suffer it to enter my thought that a vain fable can brandle the clearness of your guiltless conscience, sith all the world doth know that the crimes of Sir Charles Danvers were so bifold that justice could not dispense any farther. Wherefore I cannot leave that hope and trust which I have had in your promises but, as I have done, still I do wholly rely myself on your only friendship, and thus desiring you to bear with the weakness of my lame hand I take my leave from Hackney, this 22th of November, 1601.

Your loving and assured brother, to his power.

Edward Oxenford

*To my very well beloved brother Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majesty.

[=36] Cecil Papers 89/148: Oxford to Cecil, 4 December 1601

I cannot conceive, in so short a time & in so small an absence, how so great a change is happened in you, for in the beginning of my suit to her Majesty I was doubtful to enter thereinto, both for the want I had of friends and the doubt of the Careys, but I was encouraged by you, who did not only assure me to be an assured friend unto me, but further did undertake to move it to her, which you so well performed that, after some dispute, her Majesty was contented. In that good beginning, I was promised favour, that I should have assistance of her Majesty's counsel in law, that I should have expedition. But for favour, the other party hitherto hath found much more and, as for assistance of her Majesty's counsel (who hath been more, nay only, against me), the expedition hath been such that what might have been done in one month is now almost a year deferred. At my departure from Greenwich, what good words you gave me and what assurance of your constancy to me, if you have forgotten, it is in vain for me to remember. Now, besides the alteration which I find in the style of your letters, Cawley hath told me that you are exempted and that Carey complains, as it were, of your partiality. When I took my leave of her Majesty, she used me very graciously &, moreover, gave me these words, that she doubted not, for all that was said to the contrary, but that the escheat of Sir Charles Danvers would fall out well, and that with all her heart she wished it and meant it to me. I was glad to hear her, and thought myself greatly beholding to you, for I myself had never yet speech with her, wherefore I did, and do still, impute this, her good mind, to your friendly and honourable dealing towards me. Now the cause falling out to be good and, by course of law, her Majesty's, it is justice that her Majesty may bestow the same at her pleasure, and if she be willing to give it me I do not see, in reason, how partiality should, or can, be imputed to you &, the matter lying thus in the balance of justice, I do not see but, both for your promise's sake (even from the beginning) and for the alliance which is between you and me, without any just imputation of partiality you may as well, and with as great honour, end as begin it. And whereas you assure me the Lord Treasurer is now very willing to further me, I am very glad if it so prove, for I have need of as many good friends as I can get and, if I could, I would seek all the adversaries I have in this cause to make them my friends (whereof I stand in so much need) and yet, when I had done all, I would especially think myself beholding to yourself on whom, for all these discouragements past, I do only rely. I have written to her Majesty, and received a most gracious answer to do me good in all that she can, and that she will speak with you about it. Now, therefore, it is in your power alone, I know it, that if you will deal for me, as I have cause to believe, that it may have an end according to mine expectation, for which I will esteem and acknowledge only to proceed from you. The attorney hath had a device, indeed (as you know if you list), by referring it to judges to delay the cause whereby, wearying me with an unreasonable time, he might procure an agreement (whereto I will never agree) or else an extenuation or utter overthrow of her Majesty's liberality towards me. But my counsel doth fully advise me that, if it be her Majesty's pleasure to have a short end thereof, then to grant it me *de bene esse quantum in nos est* wherein, if at any time it shall please you to hear them, I do not doubt but they are able to satisfice you. In the

mean season I recommend myself and the whole cause to you, as on him upon whom I rely, with this most earnest desire that, howsoever, there might be an end. For as it hath hitherto been handled, if it were to begin again, I would never enter into it and, if I cannot obtain it, yet an end, as it is fallen out, is somewhat. This 4th of December, 1601.

Your most loving and assured brother-in-law.

Edward Oxenford

*To my very well beloved brother Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majesty.

[=37] Cecil Papers 181/99: Oxford to Cecil, [January 1602]

It is now almost a year sithence, by the promises of your help and assistance, when the escheat of Danvers was found nothing for her Majesty (26 shillings excepted), that I did undertake to recover it. Now, brother, I do not by these letters make challenge of your words for, if you list to forget them, my putting in remembrance will be bitter, and to small purpose. Only this now is mine intention, not to tell any new thing, but that which is already known unto you. The matter, after it had received many crosses, many inventions of delay, yet at length hath been heard before all the judges (judges, I say, both unlawful and lawful, for so may I affirm sith Walmsley, who had matched in the house of Danvers, besides some other, were admitted to the deciding of the cause, notwithstanding long sithence I did except against him, and it was then thought reasonable), but now time and truth have unmasked all difficulties and I do understand the judges are, if they will be indifferent, to make a good report to her Majesty. Yet (I know not by what unfortunate star), there are so many disposed to withstand it as the truth, much oppressed by the friends of the contrary part, is likely, if not wholly to be defaced, yet so extenuated as the virtue thereof will be of little effect. Now forsomuch as I understand it is meant to delay the report, to the end to get a composition of her Majesty and so to bring all my hope in her Majesty's gracious words to smoke, I am earnestly to solicit her to call for the report, which I should not have needed to do if gospel had been in the mouths of the Lord Chief Justice and the Attorney, who did assure me that, at the next hearing, which then was appointed the second day of this term, it should have a full end. Now the matter depending in this sort, I find my state weak and destitute of friends for, having only relied always on her Majesty, I have neglected to seek others, and this trust of mine, many things considered, I fear may deceive me. Another confidence I had in yourself, in whom (without offence let me speak it) I am to cast some doubt by reason as, in your last letters I found a wavering style much differing from your former assurances, I fear now to be left *in medio rerum omnium certamine et discrimine* which, if it so fall out, I shall bear it, by the grace of God, with an equal mind sith time and experience have given me sufficient understanding of worldly frailty. But I hope better (though I cast the worst), howsoever, for *finis coronat opus*, and then everything will be laid open, every doubt resolved into a plain sense. In the mean season, I now, at the last (for now is the time), crave this brotherly friendship that, as you began it for me with all kindness, so that you will continue in the same affection to end it. And so I will end, these things only desiring you to remember, that you may know I do not forget how honourably you dealt with her Majesty at what time you first moved her, showing how, out of nothing to her (for so in manner it was found), if by mine industry I could of this nothing make something, she should yet give a prop and stay to my house. Again I know and well perceive how that this escheat of Danvers shall be made a great matter, to cross my good hap and to obscure the rest of the lands which descend from the mother on Latimer side to her Majesty, which is as clear her Majesty's as this. Last of all, I shall desire you to remember that I craved of this escheat only what I could recover in Wiltshire and Gloucester shires, leaving to her Majesty the lands of Oxford, Leicester, Northampton and Yorkshire,

which is of much more value. In the beginning the whole was thought desperate, and yet you shall see now the law to be clear of the Queen's side, notwithstanding it hath endured all the crosses that can be possible; yea, moreover, I will say to you that I must inform, this case hath opened her right to a far greater matter than this of Danvers, if her Majesty's right and interest be not cunningly suppressed, and therefore I hope her Majesty, after so many gracious words which she gave me at Greenwich upon her departure, exceeding this which I expect, will not now draw in the beams of her princely grace to my discouragement and her own detriment. Neither will I conceive otherwise of your virtue and affection towards me now, at the end, than I apprehended all good hope and kindness from you in the beginning. Thus with a lame hand to write I take my leave, but with a mind well disposed to hope the best of my friends till otherwise I find them, which I fear nothing at all, assuring myself your words and deeds dwell not asunder.

Your loving brother-in-law.

Edward Oxenford

*To my very well beloved brother-in-law Sir Robert Cecil, of her Majesty's Privy Council, and Principal Secretary.

[=38] Cecil Papers 85/103: Oxford to Cecil, 22 March [1602]

It is now a year sithence, by your only means, her Majesty granted her interest in Danvers' escheat. I had only then her word from your mouth. I find by this waste of time that lands will not be carried without deeds. I have twice therefore moved her Majesty that it would please her to grant me that ordinary course *de bene esse quantum in nobis est* whereof there are more than an hundred examples; mine answer is that I should receive her pleasure from you, but I understand by Cawley that she hath never spoken thereof. The matter hath been heard, according to the order, with much ado twice before the judges, and many also standers-by did hear the same; there, in open apparence, her Majesty's title was questionless. The Lord Chief Justice, upon this (as in form I was made believe), was to have taken the opinion of the rest of the judges and, conferring it with his own, to have made up a report to her Majesty. As for the judges' report, they were never called unto it, and the principal points to confirm her Majesty's title never opened or moved but, contrary, kept back, so that under their hands the Lord Chief Justice hath made no report. Yet something he hath done out of his own breast that is secret and I cannot learn; if he have reported nothing to escheat to her Majesty, then is my suit as it was the first day, that is, where her Majesty thought she had nothing, that she would grant me her interest. This suit I obtained by your especial means, and this she promised me, wherefore []. Hereupon I challenge that something might be done whereby I may upon ground seek and try her Majesty's right, which cannot be done without this deed afore spoken of. The course (which seldom or never hath been used before) in this cause, to refer it to the judges, how prejudicial a precedent I know not to her Majesty hath been observed, and the effect hath showed that, whereas it was pretended to be shortest, it hath been the furthest way about and, as the beginning was but some opinion, the end is but confusion. Now therefore, the matter having been directed by this course for a whole year's space and come to no better terms, my desire is to know her Majesty's pleasure touching her patent *de bene esse*, whether she will perform it or no. If not, then have I been mocked; if yea, that I might have answer, whereby I may upon reason quiet myself, and not upon weariness. Howsoever, an answer shall be most welcome unto me, now being the best expectation of my tedious suit, thinking therein my time lost more precious than the suit itself. Thus taking my leave from Hackney this 22nd of March, I remain,

Your assured friend and brother-in-law.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable my very good brother Sir Robert Cecil, her Majesty's Principal Secretary.

[=39] Cecil Papers 99/150: Oxford to Cecil, 25, 27 April 1603

Sir Robert Cecil: I have always found myself beholding to you for many kindnesses and courtesies, wherefore I am bold at this present, which giveth occasion of many considerations, to desire you as my very good friend and kind brother-in-law to impart to me what course is devised by you of the Council & the rest of the Lords concerning our duties to the King's Majesty, whether you do expect any messenger before his coming to let us understand his pleasure, or else his personal arrival to be presently or very shortly. And, if it be so, what order is resolved on amongst you, either for the attending or meeting of his Majesty for, by reason of mine infirmity, I cannot come among you so often as I wish, and by reason my house is not so near that at every occasion I can be present, as were fit, either I do not hear at all from you or, at least, with the latest, as this other day it happened to me, receiving a letter at nine of the clock not to fail at eight of the same morning to be at Whitehall, which, being impossible, yet I hasted so much as I came to follow you into Ludgate, though through press of people and horses I could not reach your company as I desired, but followed as I might.

I cannot but find a great grief in myself to remember the mistress which we have lost, under whom both you and myself from our greenest years have been in a manner brought up and, although it hath pleased God after an earthly kingdom to take her up into a more permanent and heavenly state wherein I do not doubt but she is crowned with glory, and to give us a prince wise, learned and enriched with all virtues, yet the long time which we spent in her service we cannot look for so much left of our days as to bestow upon another, neither the long acquaintance and kind familiarities wherewith she did use us we are not ever to expect from another prince, as denied by the infirmity of age and common course of reason. In this common shipwreck, mine is above all the rest who, least regarded though often comforted of all her followers, she hath left to try my fortune among the alterations of time and chance, either without sail whereby to take the advantage of any prosperous gale or with anchor to ride till the storm be overpassed. There is nothing therefore left to my comfort but the excellent virtues and deep wisdom wherewith God hath endued our new master and sovereign Lord, who doth not come amongst us as a stranger but as a natural prince, succeeding by right of blood and inheritance, not as a conqueror but as the true shepherd of Christ's flock to cherish and comfort them.

Wherefore I most earnestly desire you of this favour, as I have written before, that I may be informed from you concerning these points and thus, recommending myself unto you, I take my leave.

Your assured friend and unfortunate brother-in-law,

E. Oxenford

*To the right honourable my very good brother-in-law Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary.

[=40] Cecil Papers 99/161: Oxford to Cecil, 7 May [1603]

My very good Lord, I understand by Mr Attorney that he hath reported the state of my title to the keepership of Waltham Forest and of the house and park of Havering, whereby it appears to his Majesty what right and equity is therein. Till the 12th of Henry the 8th mine ancestors have possessed the same, almost sithence the time of William Conqueror, and at that time (which was the 12th year of Henry the 8th) the King took it for term of his life from my grandfather, sithence which time, what by the alterations of princes and wardships, I have been kept from my rightful possession. Yet from time to time (both my father and myself) we have, as opportunities fell out, not neglected our claim; twice in my time it had passage by law, and judgement was to have passed on my side, whereof her Majesty the late Queen being advertised, with assured promises and words of a prince to restore it herself unto me, caused me to let fall the suit. But so it was she was not so ready to perform her word as I was too ready to believe it. Whereupon, pressing my title farther, it was by her Majesty's pleasure put to arbitrament and, although it was an unequal course yet, not to contradict her will, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, was sole arbitrator who, after all the delays devised by Sir Thomas Heneage and the Queen's counsel in law then being, having heard the cause, was ready to make his report for me, but her Majesty refused the same and by no means would hear it, so that by this and the former means I have been thus long dispossessed. But I hope truth is subject to no prescription, for truth is truth though never so old, and time cannot make that false which was once true, and though this threescore years both my father and myself have been dispossessed thereof, yet hath there been claims made thereto many times within those threescore years, which I take sufficient by law to avoid prescription in this case. Now therefore, his Majesty having heard the report, I hope he will in his justice and favour do me that right which is to be expected from so gracious and virtuous a sovereign. But for that I know, among so many matters of importance, unless his Majesty be put in remembrance, he may forget a private cause, therefore I shall most earnestly desire your friendship in this, that you will join with my Lord Admiral, my very good Lord and friend, to help me to his Majesty's resolution. My Lord Admiral is Lord Chief Justice of Oyer and Determiner and to whose office, indeed, as I understand, it appertains to have heard my cause, but I know not why or with what advice it was referred to Mr Attorney and his Majesty's counsel in law. But now, howsoever, his Majesty hath the report made unto him, which, if it be forgotten, shall little prevail me, but I hope in his justice and in your two Lordships' friendships which, the cause being so just and honourable, I do fully rely upon. His Majesty departeth with nothing but a keepership, and a keeper he must have, wherefore it is much more princely for him to restore it to me, his lawful keeper, than, contrary, to bestow it upon an intruder. Nothing adorns a King more than justice, nor in anything doth a King more resemble God than in justice, which is the head of all virtue, and he that is endued therewith hath all the rest. So long as it was in the custody of mine ancestors, the woods were preserved, the game cherished, and the forest maintained in her full state but, sithence it was otherwise disposed, all these things have impaired, as experience doth manifest. Thus therefore most

earnestly craving your Lordships' friendly and honourable furtherances, I most heartily recommend myself unto your good Lordships from Hackney this 7th of May.

Your Lordship's most assured friend and brother-in-law to command.

E. Oxenford

*To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord of Essenden, one of his Majesty's Privy Council.

[=41] Cecil Papers 100/93: Oxford to Cecil, 12 June 1603

My very good Lord, I know that you are so charged with public affairs that you can have little leisure, or none at all, to undertake a private cause, especially concerning another. This therefore which you do for me, I do conceive it in your particular favour, and so I take it, and you shall find me therefore ever thankful. These shall be therefore to desire your Lordship that with my very good Lord and friend my Lord Admiral, that you will procure me a full end of this suit wherein I have spent so long a time, and passed the greatest part of mine age. The cause is right, the king just, and I do not doubt but your Lordships both mine honourable friends, according to your words I shall find you in deeds. Therefore in a full confidence of your Lordship's most friendly favours, I will leave to hinder your more serious businesses. This 12 of June.

Your Lordship's most assured friend and brother-in-law.

Edward Oxenford

[=42] Cecil Papers 100/99: Oxford to Cecil, 16 June 1603

My very good Lord, his Majesty hath heard his Attorney-General's report as touching mine interest to the keeping of the Forest and the park of Havering, and I receiving from your Lordship and mine Lord Admiral his resolution, according to my Lord Admiral's direction I have sent to Mr Attorney to set his hand to my particular. But as I am answered by his letter that he cannot do the same unless he be warranted by six of the Council's hands, according to a late decree of his Majesty which he doth require, I most earnestly therefore desire your Lordship, as to the like purpose I have written to my Lord Admiral, that you will procure me such a warrant, sith it is agreeable to his Majesty's mind, as from yourselves I have been ascertained. And this in effect is my request which, not to be troublesome to your Lordship, I end with my hearty commendations. This 16 of June. Your Lordship's assured friend and brother-in-law,

Edward Oxenford

[=43] Cecil Papers 100/108: Oxford to Cecil, 19 June 1603

My Lord, I understand how honourably you do persevere in your promised favour to me which I, taking in most kind manner, can at this time acknowledge it but by simple yet hearty thanks, hoping in God to offer me at some time or other the opportunity whereby I may in more effectual manner express my grateful mind. I further also understand that this day Mr Attorney is like to be at the court, wherefore I most earnestly desire your Lordship to procure an end of this my suit, in seeking whereof I am grown old and spent the chiefest time of mine age. The case, as I understand by your Lordship, Sir E. Coke, his Majesty's Attorney, hath reported; the justice thereof I do not doubt, but doth appear there remaineth only a warrant according to the King's late order to be signed by the six Lords in Commission, whereby Mr Attorney-General may proceed according to the course usual.

The King, I hear, doth remove tomorrow towards Windsor whereby, if by your Lordship's especial favour, you do not procure me a full end this day, or tomorrow, I cannot look for anything more than a long delay. I do well perceive how your Lordship doth travail for me in this cause of an especial grace and favour, notwithstanding the burden of more importunate and general affairs than this of my particular, wherefore how much the expedition of this matter concerns me I leave to your wisdom, that in your own apprehension can read more than I have written. To conclude, I wholly rely upon your Lordship's honourable friendship, for which I do vow a most thankful and grateful mind. This 19 of June.

Your most loving assured friend and brother-in-law,

E. Oxenford

*To the right honourable, my very good Lord, the Lord Cecil of Essenden.

[=44] Essex Record Office MS D/DMh C1: Oxford to King James, 30 January 1604

Seeing that it hath pleased your Majesty of your most gracious inclination to justice & right to restore me to be keeper of your game as well in your forest of Waltham as also in Havering park, I can do no less in duty and love to your Majesty but employ myself in the execution thereof. And to the end you might the better know in what sort both the forest & the park have been abused, and yet continued, as well in destroying of the deer as in spoiling of your demesne wood by such as have patents & had licences heretofore for felling of timber in the Queen's time lately deceased, presuming thereby that they may do what they list, I was bold to send unto your Majesty a man skilful, learned & experienced in forest causes, who being a dweller and eye-witness thereof might inform you of the truth. And because your Majesty upon a bare information could not be so well satisfied of every particular as by lawful testimony & examination of credible witness upon oath, according to your Majesty's appointment by commission a course hath been taken in which your Majesty shall be fully satisfied of truth. This commission, together with the depositions of the witness, I do send to your Majesty by this bearer, who briefly can inform you of the whole contence. So that now, having lawfully proved unto your Majesty that Sir John Gray hath killed and destroyed your deer in Havering park without any warrant for the same, his patent is void in law, & therefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty to make him an example for all others that shall in like sort abuse their places, & to restore me to the possession thereof, in both which your Majesty shall do but justice and right to the one & other. This 30 of January 1603. Your Majesty's most humble subject and servant, E. Oxenford.

*For his most excellent Majesty.

[=45] TNA SP12/151/42, ff. 96-6v: [January 1581]

Item, to be demanded of Charles Arundel and Henry Howard:

What combination, for that is their term, was made at certain suppers, one in Fish Street, as I take it, another at my Lord of Northumberland's, for they have often spoken hereof and glanced in their speeches.

Further, for Henry Howard:

If he never spake or heard these speeches spoken, that the King of Scots began now to put on spurs on his heels, and so soon as the matter of Monsieur were assured to be at an end, that then within six months we should see the Queen's Majesty to be the most troubled and discontented person living.

Further, the same:

Hath said the Duke of Guise, who was a rare and gallant gentleman, should be the man to come into Scotland, who would breech her Majesty for all her wantonness, and it were good to let her take her humour for a while, for she had not long to play.

Item, to Charles Arundel:

A little before Christmas at my lodging in Westminster, Swift being present, and George Gifford, talking of the order of living by money and difference between that and revenue by land, he said at the last if George Gifford could make three thousand pound he would set him into a course where he need not care for all England, and there he should live more to his content and with more reputation than ever he did or might hope for in England and they would make all the court here wonder to hear of them, with divers other brave and glorious speeches, whereat George Gifford replied, God's blood, Charles, where is this? He answered, if you have three thousand pound or can make it he could tell, the other saying, as he thought, he could find the means to make three thousand pound. That speech finished with the coming in of supper.

Item:

Whether Charles Arundel did not steal over into Ireland within these five years without leave of her Majesty, and whether that year he was not reconciled or not to the church likewise, or how long after.

Item:

When he was in Cornwall at Sir John Arundel's, what Jesuits or Jesuits he met there, and what company he carried with him of gentlemen.

Item:

Not long before this said Christmas, entering into the speech of Monsieur, he passed into great terms against him, insomuch he said there was neither personage, religion, wit or constancy, and that for his part he had long since given over that course and taken another way, which was to Spain. For he never had opinion thereof since my Lord Chamberlain played the coxcomb (so he termed my Lord at that time) as, when he had his enemy so low as he might have trodden him quite underfoot, that then he would of his own obstinacy, following no man's advice but his own (which he said was his fault), bring all things to an equality, wherein he was greatly abused, in his own conceit, and so discouraged Simier as never after he had mind to Spain any longer, reputed the whole cause then to be overthrown. And, further, for Monsieur, a man now well enough known unto him, and he would be no more abused in him, and it was for nothing that Simier saved himself, for he knew his unconstancy, and Bussy d' Ambois had been a sufficient warning unto him, whom Monsieur's treachery had caused to be slain and would by practice bring Simier into the slander thereof that his villainy might not be found, but it was plain enough. And he had made an end and quite done with the cause, and liked of it no more, and so with a great praising of the King of Spain's greatness, piety, wealth, and how God prospered him therefore in all his actions, not doubting but to see him monarch of all the world, and all should come to one faith, he made an end, and thus much considering his practice with Jerningham. And the other articles wherewith he is charged import a further knowledge, and gives some light to his dealings with these persons of religion and Irish causes wherein the King of Spain seems underhand to deal.

[=46] TNA SP15/28/2, f. 3, 18 January [1581]

Item, to my Lord Henry:

How he came to the intelligence that there should come ambassadors of France, Spain and others which should assist the King of Scots' ambassador in the demand of his mother, and this should be determined among them on the other side, as he said, and shall shortly come to pass.

Likewise, both Charles and Henry:

Likewise, they have been great searchers in her Majesty's wealth, having intelligence out of all her receipts from her Majesty's courts in law, customs (as well of them that go out as are brought in); what subsidies, privy seals, and fifteens she hath made since her coming to the crown; what helps, as they say, by the gatherings, as for the building of Paul's steeple, the lotteries, and other devises from the clergy; and what forfeits by attainder or otherwise, and what pensions, what other out of bishops' livings to some of her counsellors; what gifts she hath bestowed; what charges she was at in her household reparations of her houses and castles, fees and a number of things which now I cannot call to remembrance whereof they ordinarily would speak; and of her navy, the charge she was at; what the wars of Leith, Newhaven, and other petty journeys into Ireland and Scotland and in the time of the rebellion, which are too long; as well what she received as what she spended in all offices, places, etc.

Likewise, to the said Charles:

To what use he employed his servant Pike to La Mothe, who sent into Spain, and another.

Item, for what cause he sent Pike to La Mothe, and who he was went into Spain, and whether Pike went or no, but he assuredly remained the other's return who carried letters from La Mothe and brought back again letters from the King and recompense, whereupon Pike returned with answer to Charles Arundel, who helped the man, as I heard, to a marriage. And whether the fellow brought his master some assurance and reward from the King, his master, I know not, but ever since he lives of himself and gives no more attendance, to colour, as I conjecture, the cause better; and the course, as I guess and have great reason to conjecture, put into some other's hands, a thing which, if it be well looked into, cannot be void of great and some notable practice, if it will please her Majesty but to look into the zealous mind which the said Charles hath since carried more than covertly to the Mass. Likewise, both Charles Arundel and Henry Howard are privy, as oftentimes they have declared by their speeches these last years past for 4 or 5.

What increase hath been made of souls to their church in every shire throughout the realm.

Who be of theirs and who be not, who be assured and who be inclined, for this difference they make between them that are reconciled and such as are affected to their opinion and are to be brought in, and in every shire throughout the realm where they be strong and where they be weak. And this is known by certain secret gatherings for the relief of them beyond the seas, wherein there be notes of very households.

[=47] BL Lansdowne 68/11, f. 22: accompanies [=20]

It may please your Lordship to remember, at what time the Lord Chancellor was to give up his opinion to her Majesty concerning my claim to Waltham forest and Havering park, by her commandment I did let fall my suit with promise of some consideration whereupon, seeking for some fit suit, I craved this of Skinner's, which for three causes her Majesty granted: first, in consideration of her promise; then, for the forbearing of Skinner's felony (which was proved by witnesses examined, confessed by his fellow Catcher, and yet resting in the hands of her Majesty's attorney); last of all, to disburden me of the £20,000 bonds and statute which the same Skinner had caused me to forfeit by procuring his own land to be extended for the £400 which he did agree with the rest of the purchasers to pay for his portion into the Court of Wards, minding to benefit himself by the same.

Now, that it may appear to your Lordship that her Majesty's meaning was to grant me leases during the forfeiture of a £11000 which myself had forfeited to the Court of Wards, as appeareth of record (part of them for the rate of my land while I was under-age, and part of them for the fine of my marriage and suing of my livery, as they appear by 12 several obligations), your Lordship must understand that I had no other means to save myself against the £20,000 but by her Majesty's grant [] feoffs of trust to my use to levy that £11,000 bands upon Skinner's lands, and so to hold it in lease till it were expired. And to show that her pleasure was that my Lord Chancellor and none of the other purchasers should be troubled but those that were nominated, the names of such as should have their lands extended were set down, of which number Skinner was the first, and so gave order to your Lordship to make me such leases as you might do by the virtue of your office, her Majesty's particular favour and meaning being declared unto you.

Now, my Lord, at the first taking of this land in lease, Thomas Hampton, being put in trust to follow the cause after her Majesty's grant obtained, having an intention both to gain by me and Skinner, took my lease out of the Court of Wards for £400 (whereas he should have taken it for a 11000) and kept the lease from the lessee, bearing me in hand that it was a perfect lease during the sum of the £11000. At length, when it should come to the reading in open court, his falsehood appearing, he made excuse that your Lordship would make no better till you saw how this was used. Now, finding that he was not likely to make further commodity by these extents, having taken money of all those with whom he dealt, and knowing that the lease was to be ended when £400 were paid, went unto Skinner and offered him (for the moiety of his extents and 13 hangings) to help him to his land again.

Now your Lordship may perceive how this £11000 comes to be levied on his land which I desire to have in lease, which I hope your Lordship will further, considering her Majesty's willingness which she hath upon my motion signified unto your Lordship.

[=48] BL Lansdowne 108/14, ff. 25-6: July 1592

My desire is to have licence from her Majesty for the bringing into the realm of these commodities following, and I will give her Majesty a yearly increase, as appeareth, over and above her usual custom, viz. for

Oils	£200 per annum
Fruits	£1
Wools	£200

Notwithstanding there are five years in D. Actor's grant yet to come.

So that I do give her a yearly increase of £401.

The reasons of this suit.

Whereas after long suit for the title which I lay to the forest it was committed to the arbitrament of the Lord Chancellor who, having heard the cause, was ready to have made his report to her Majesty, it pleased her I should let fall the suit, determining to dispose thereof at her pleasure. In the mean season she promised to do something for me in some other matter, whereupon I preferred to her Majesty the suit I had against Skinner, whereto she did grant and, to that purpose, I had divers books drawn, but her Majesty did reject them all, putting me over to my Lord Treasurer who, though he did so much as in him lay in my favour, yet it succeeded not, whereby I lost all my charge and am to pay arrearages to her Majesty for the time that Skinner's land was in mine hands, so that the consideration which her Majesty promised remains yet to be performed.

There is no suit wherein I may less charge her Majesty than in this, where I increase her Majesty's sum £450.

Thus I most humbly beseech her Majesty to have a favourable consideration also of my attendance here upon her Majesty, which I am not able to continue if by this means my charges (both for the time passed in following that matter of Skinner's which succeeded contrary to mine expectation, and other crosses of fortune) be not helped, sith I have been so unhappy that her Majesty likes not that I should seek the forest which, by all counsel in law that I can get, I am made to believe I have good interest unto, and I am put by the same by her pleasure and not by course of law. Whereupon I hope her Majesty will think this suit as fit for me as any other and also for these considerations bestow the same on me, whereby I may ease mine debts and charges I have been at as is aforesaid.

*My suit unto her Majesty.

[=49] Cecil Papers 37/66(a): 11 January 1597; accompanies =28

The ground whereon Thomas Gurley, plaintiff to the Council, maketh his petition.

In Flushing and in the Low Countries thereabout were certain poor men which had a long time served her Majesty in place of gunners which, being behindhand for want of their pay and not able to sustain the long delay which then happened at that time (upon what occasion I know not), and for want of friends despairing to recover the same, to supply their poor estate in time sold their interest to this Thomas Gurley who, to compass the commodity of this bargain, came unto me offering £300 if I could get my Lord Treasurer's allowance thereof and his letter to Sir Thomas Shirley, Under-Treasurer then for the Low Countries. Upon this offer I became suitor to my Lord and, pretending that this Gurley owed me £300, I could not by reason of his bare estate hope otherwise how to come by this money. After some process of time my Lord, examining the testimonials of this debt, found it due, and therefore in favour of me (after he had often spoken with Gurley, who did also acknowledge his debt to me) did not only give allowance thereto but also wrote his letter to Sir Thomas Shirley for to see it paid.

But for that Sir Thomas Shirley was yet unfurnished (sith he was to attend my Lord Treasurer's dispatches in those matters), there grew an interim wherein, for that I had occasion at this time to use money, Gurley offered me, if I would make him my receiver of the annuity in the Exchequer, he would find the means to take up so much money as should serve my turn till the other money should be paid by Sir Thomas. To this I consented, and he brought me £200 which he was to pay of the £300 (as he said), and at the quarter's end he hoped to bring in the other £100. But at this quarter's end Sir Thomas Shirley was not yet dispatched by my Lord Treasurer wherefore I, sending to the Exchequer, could there receive no more than £50 for that Gurley had received thereof beforehand (by virtue of my warrant) £200.

So here it may appear plainly enough that the money which Gurley pretendeth to be parcel of the £300 was only but mine own, and that acquitted to the receivers at the quarter's end, so that this so allowed (as it was), he was still behindhand with me for the £300. But for that time he satisfied me with excuse that yet Sir Thomas Shirley could not help him to his money, and therefore he would take up again aforehand £200 for the mean season, and by the next quarter he doubted not but to have his money to my full satisfaction. This quarter being run out as the other, as I did before I received from the Exchequer but £50 by the former reason, so (the £200 also being there discharged) now Gurley yet was to bring in his three hundred pounds.

In this quarter he had received his money, but came not at me (as he wont to do but seldomer), and then put me off from day to day till, at the last, being assured he was paid by Sir Thomas Shirley, I pressed him for his money.

With a notorious impudency he denied his promise and said he had only promised to lend me so much, which he had already performed, and a hundred pound more for which I was

in his debt, and for this he alleged the £400 which he had at two several times paid unto me, at every time £200.

And as for my Lord Treasurer, he denied that ever he received any other favour than that which he was to do him by justice: for me, he had but my good word which, the long delays considered ere he did effect his suit, it stood him in little stead.

Thus he replied I should have first set down upon my position for that I had objected unto him, how he had made me both speak and write oftentimes earnestly to my Lord, and the principal colour I had was for that his estate was so bare as I could not else tell how to come by £300 which he owed me, as himself also, under that shadow, had often come to the speech of my Lord and had acknowledged it to him.

Here is the very state of the cause plainly set down, and the very ground of his pretended debt by me to him, which for that he knows I can remember, and that my wife is not acquainted with the cause, it seemeth he frameth his petition the boldlier against her.

But sithence that time, by those former warrants, how he hath prevented me by taking up aforehand divers sums through the friendship of Taylor who, notwithstanding I (upon this aforesaid dealing) called for my warrants in again (as none knows better than yourself what the patent is and how it runs), yet would aver them to be good and flatly wrote unto me he had my hand and warrant which was sufficient for his discharge in law.

But after he had paid this Gurley divers sums in this manner, and that he better had looked into my patent (besides hearing I meant to call him before my Lord Treasurer), then he submitted himself by a letter, sent in my warrants, and surceased his further payments to Gurley who, now claiming of a £140 from my wife as bound by condition to see those his warrants discharged, shows that all which he acknowledgeth to be paid already, so much he hath robbed me of by this means, which is a £260, for he says of the £300 he lent me yet is due to him a £140 by my wife, and that 400 which he brought me (as the premises show) was all mine own money, discharged and allowed unto Taylor and the officer then in the Exchequer.

Many pranks besides he hath played me which at this time I forbear till it shall be my hap to speak with you at one time or other, for that in such a trifle methinks I have been already too long, yet I could not choose, to make it plain unto you.

[=50] Cecil Papers 146/19, ff. 146/19: circa 1601-02

First, that he abused the commission, it is proved, whereas he should have used the same for the benefit of her Majesty, he made it an instrument to defraud and exclude her from all Sir Charles Danvers' lands.

Secondly, whereas there were sufficient commissioners, he wrought so that they did not appear, and so made a tales gathered out of a number of his own servants and tenants, which was an extreme injury and abuse offered to her Majesty.

Thirdly, he caused and countenanced a lawyer, whose name I take to be Hyde, to plead against her Majesty, notwithstanding that the sheriff opposed against it, her Majesty having none there to plead for her.

Fourthly, he procured the Lord Treasurer's letters to this effect, that all favour should be showed to Sir Edmund Carey, and that his witnesses should be accepted.

All which approve her Majesty to be greatly abused, with many proofs more, as in their place shall be declared.

The second point.

That Cawley was put in danger, and how he was evil dealt withal, I leave it to Cawley, who can make proof thereof.

The third point.

That there were three of Sir E. C.'s men which have continually watched Cawley, and that he narrowly escaped them three times, and that they vaunted they would take me at my heels, it is proved by him to whom they spake, who acknowledged their vaunts to him before the Recorder of London and offered his oath thereon, if it had pleased the Recorder to have taken it.

The fourth point.

That he termed me a promoter, Arthur Milles mine author.

The fifth point.

That there were of the guard in the tumultuous assault at Cawley's lodging, it is true, but for want of time their names yet cannot be so soon learned, yet thus much is known, that he is a keeper (I know not whether in Waltham forest, or where else), but it is very true, as shall be upon straiter inquire and more respite of time found out.

The sixth point, that he hath done it upon malice to Cawley for following her Majesty's service, thus I prove it:

An outlawry was made on Michael Cawley in a foreign county. The law is it should be at the church-door of his own parish and in the county where he was born and dwelleth, but when men would steal it privately out, without the knowledge of the party, they take such unjust courses whereof this is one, and if any judge had been in town it had been a matter but of 40s to have reversed it, but no judge being in town they have taken thereby advantage.

The outlawry did not appertain to Sir E. C.; if he came by it, it was that he bought it, or else, to countenance it, useth his own name, which is plain champerty.

Besides, I do not think that any private man, upon his own authority, without the Council's or other sufficient warrant, can in so tumultuous a sort break into the house or lodging of any man, all which of these things Sir E. C. hath done.

Seventhly.

Whereas he told her Majesty that he arrested Cawley for railing of him, and boldly avouched the same, I answer:

First, that he did not arrest him for railing on him (which suggestion he is yet to prove), but for this action of outlawry, wherein he abused her Majesty's ears with a great falsehood.

And if he did it for that Cawley had railed at him, this quarrel, if it were true as he suggesteth, why did he not then arrest him beforetime, but now, whilst he was busied in her Majesty's service? Whereby it appeareth plain that it was not Cawley's railing at him (which he will hardly prove), but upon very malice for doing his dutiful service in her Majesty's behalf.

So that there is nothing written in my letter but I justify with authority and proof, whereby it appeareth that Sir E. Carey carrieth a malicious and spiteful tongue in his head and hath notably abused her Majesty in defacing her title and interest to the traitor's lands, Sir Charles Danvers. And thus much to justify what I have written in my letter to her Majesty, which is much less than he hath either deceitfully done towards her Majesty, or slanderously calumniated myself.

A contradictory in his own speech.

First, as Arthur Milles reported to me, these were his words, that I followed it now with fire and sword.

That I was of a strange and vild nature, that would pursue a cause in this sort as a promoter against another, and yet reaping no benefit to myself, sith her Majesty had given me nothing.

Yet he yesternight averred to her Majesty that he arrested Cawley for his railing at him, and saying that the tenants should return to my Lord of Oxford and not to the Queen.

Here, to Arthur Milles, he said I had no benefit thereby.

Here, to her Majesty, he avouched the tenants should return to me and not the Queen.

Names known of some of the parties in the apprehension of Cawley:

The Marshal's man, and his man.

The Lord Scrope's footman.

[=51] Cecil Papers 170/126: Oxford to Burghley, 20 March 1595

My very good Lord, upon your message unto me by your servant Hicks, I received no small comfort that, God putting into your heart to favour and assist me in my suits to her Majesty, after a long travail and doubtful labour I might obtain some end to my contentment. Wherefore I most earnestly and heartily desire your Lordship to have a feeling of mine infortunate estate which, although it be far unfit to endure delays, yet have consumed four or five years in a flattering hope of idle words. But now, having received this comfortable message of furtherance & favour from your Lordship, although her Majesty be forgetful of herself, yet by such a good mean I do not doubt, if you list, but that I may receive some fruit of all my travail.

This last year past I have been a suitor to her Majesty that I might farm her tins, giving £3000 a year more than she had made. If I had not done this, there were which thought to have had it for a thousand marks a year. I persevered, and if I would have given it over to such, I might have been recompensed to my content. But for that I did not, a show hath been made to her Majesty of 10 thousand pounds of year, only determining thereby to stop her Majesty from hearkening to my suit, and so to wear me out thereof. Which, being compassed, to bring it to their first point (or, at the least, to an easier rent), they demanded 30 or 40 thousand pounds to be lent them for one year, which they thought her Majesty would absolutely refuse. And so having colour to break off all, and myself forgotten, it might be (and as they thought, most likely), her Majesty would yield and be brought to be contentend [sic?] with a small sum or, at the most, with so much as I had offered. Thus I was to have beaten the bush whilst other, holding the net, had taken the bird.

But, as I perceive, a rude copy of mine, altogether undigested, came to her Majesty's hands, whereby she is not so discouraged as they have made their account. This copy, as I perceive, your Lordship hath seen. Yet I am sure, although you may discern some lights of reasonable matter, it is so ill appearing as it will rather encumber you than comfort you of any possibility.

Yet understanding thus much by your servant Hicks, I framed one other plot which, for that the other stood all upon likelihoods & probabilities, might upon a more assured ground be built, if her Majesty any kind away [sic?] can be persuaded to disburse forth her money. For whereas that for which was demanded 40 or 30 thousand pounds stood altogether upon conjectures, this did only rely upon that which was certain & what was by her Majesty's informations of the year past certified in her rates, how it might be made with a far smaller sum of money laid out. And so what difference is between doubt and certainty, between a great cost and lesser charge, that differency is apparent between that unperfect note and that I last sent your Lordship.

But if it be so that her Majesty likes a way whereby she shall lay forth no money, & can be contented to have those revenues which already are made to be lifted up and increased to ten thousand pound by year, then I have discovered such an one as, if your Lordship

like thereof, I will be glad to do her Majesty service therein, & so to proceed as I shall be encouraged by you.

And this it is. Those merchants which first set me on work will give her Majesty four thousand pound a year advancement of rent in her custom if she will grant me the farm thereof, and to me a fifth part. They are to lay out in stock 20 thousand pound. I, only bearing but the name of the suit, lay out never a penny but have, as is said, a fifth part. This fifth part is assured me to be £2000 which, indeed, although I seem to receive at their hands, yet it shall run into her Majesty's coffers. So that here is £6000 for her Majesty without laying forth one penny &, I dare undertake, presently to be performed. So that this £6000, added to the £3283, wanteth but little of 10 thousand, to make up which, if it shall please her Majesty to grant my suit for the licence of transportation, I am to give her £500 more, and will, what I can, strain myself to make it up full 10 thousand, which is some 200 or £300 more.

Also, for your Lordship's furtherance of my suit concerning the licence for the transportation of tin and lead, according to the statute which defendeth none to be carried out of the realm without licence unless it be to Calais, etc., I will assure your Lordship towards the help of my daughter's marriage, or otherwise as it shall please your Lordship to assign, to pay yearly, where and to whom you shall appoint, £500.

And if her Majesty sees that the other ways are all intricate and troublesome, then she may be assured of this last way to be presently performed, & it is without trouble to her Majesty or laying out any money to take this course last set down. And although the merchant is to be thought thereby to gain, yet it is to be considered the sum of money which he must lay out, the hazard of the times, of war, of peace whereto he must stand, and doubt whether the mines will continue their proportion or no. And what he doth gain, her Majesty shall always be able to look into by my fifth whereof, though I bear the name, yet it is hers. Thus desiring pardon for my earnest and long writing, I commit your Lordship to the Almighty, this 20th of March. Your Lordship's always to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=52] Cecil Papers 25/106: Oxford to Burghley, 23 March 1595

My very good Lord, I know you are not to be troubled at this present with any long letter, wherefore I will only answer to the matter proposed.

First, to that point where it is said that the tanners shall have their money lent them at £8 in the 100, whereas they have it at £10 in the 100. This is but a mask, for they have it already at 5 or £6 the 100. And also the matter is of small importance, sithence the whole sum so commonly lent unto them from divers engrossers of their tin is not, among them all, above £3000.

For that the country hath left at randall unto an uncertain price as heretofore. This is likely to return the country to the former discontentment before it was yielded unto, to their own asking, that they should have £24 certainty (*communibus annis*) for every 1000 lb. weight of tin.

Whereas it is said that that which is sold in the realm shall be at the accustomed price, this doth but make a noise, and is to no purpose. For in mine accounts your Lordship shall perceive, in comparing them, that there is no other profit raised but on that which is transported.

Last of all, for the £30000 which her Majesty is to lay out, and the £10000 my Lord is to disburse.

This so great a sum, proportioned to the quantity of tin, doth direct to that whereof I have all this while motioned, & that is that the rates of the tin are undervalued to her Majesty, and to be thought the quantity which is taken from the mines is far more than is thought, whereof even this day some discovery is made unto me.

For if the tin were no more than it is rated, sith [sic?] as your Lordship shall find by mine account, then 17000 and some odd pounds buyeth the whole year's tin, of which money the one half is to be employed for the first coinage, where is tin for so much money as he sets down.

Thus it appears that £8000 or thereabouts buys up the first coinage which, being turned over, yields itself back again with the increase, and so doth satisfice the whole year. Then all the rest of the money the merchants and my Lord have this whole year in their own hands, except £3000 thereof more which they lend the country, as it is said, for £8 in the 100.

Now let these offers be considered. My Lord asketh £30000 to be lent him, and I only wish her Majesty, by her own officers, to lay out £8000. My Lord, if she will lay out nothing, desires that her Majesty should receive no further profit than her ordinary revenue for the first year, whereby she leaseth £7000.

I offer her the first year's gain, as well as ever after, and her Majesty to lay out never a penny.

My Lord leaves the tinnors to their former uncertainty.

I satisfice them with £24 for every 1000 lb. weight, which is their own demand and agreement.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=53] Cecil Papers 31/45: Oxford to Burghley, 25 March 1595

My very good Lord, to set down that which should be fit for your satisfaction would require a long writing which should be too cumbersome at this present, and moreover I would gladly deliver my knowledge of the quantity of tin by mouth for that I think it not convenient by letter wherefore, when your Lordship shall have best time and leisure, if I may know it I will attend your Lordship as well as a lame man may at your house.

Those articles of my Lord of Buckhurst's offer I have already answered in my last letter, yet for more assurance I have sent mine answer again unto every point.

And whereas it hath been said (as I understand) that he was the first that moved this suit, I confess that he was the first that dealt in it to cozen her Majesty but not to profit her, as at my coming to your Lordship I will fully satisfice you.

For the 40 hundred thousand lb. weight of tin, if he had put in 60 hundred and 70 hundred thousand, yet I was the first (as I can prove by good testimony) that gave her Majesty warning to look well thereto before she made any grant, and gave inkling of those sums. And at what times he made his offer of 10 thousand pounds custom, and now the 40 hundred thousand lb. weight, when I shall have speech with your Lordship, you will judge thereof a great deal better.

Wherefore, lest I trouble your Lordship, I most heartily thank you for your most honourable dealing towards me, and earnestly crave that your Lordship will not suffer this matter so swiftly and hastily to pass till I have fully advertised your Lordship of my knowledge of the 40 hundred thousand pound weight and what other means I know necessary for her Majesty to compass her intent, and without which being known it will be overthrown and prove nothing to that which her Majesty expects and I do wish.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=54] Cecil Papers 31/52: Oxford to Burghley, 28 March 1595

My very good Lord. I do fully perceive how much I am bound unto your Lordship, wherefore I am sorry that the shortness of the time this day which I had with your Lordship, and the presence of the alderman, made me to forbear some things of importance in this matter of the tins. It is true that I have found the Lord of Buckhurst to have dealt with me very strangely, and otherwise than (till this experience had of his disposition) I would have believed, or otherwise suspected. But in effect I should have assured your Lordship that I have not ignorantly or rashly entered into this suit for a licence of transportation, but upon the solicitation of Mr Carmarden, and the conference of such as have had long experience in tin matters. He, I say, is the only man that set me in hand with this suit, & by whom I had the first light of the great quantity of tins whereof her Majesty is yearly deceived in her custom. Wherefore accordingly I have of long time (so well as I could by writing and sending) made all the means I could to her Majesty that by that ways I might both do her Majesty service and myself pleasure, which thing Carmarden would have done himself if the fears of some counsellors (whereof one I have named) did not discourage him. Wherefore what he durst not enter into himself, that hath he from time to time encouraged me, showing me the small matter which is yearly answered to her Majesty, as your Lordship may perceive in my notes (which is agreeable with that of his the last year, for mine were taken out of his). And assure your Lordship, if her Majesty will but give me leisure to agree with them that have set me on, and to make my bargains with them, I do not doubt but to bring very shortly good assurance to your Lordship for her Majesty to perform so much as I have promised. I have already agreed with some, and I only stay but to finish with the rest that what they shall pay to me to turn their bonds to your Lordship for her Majesty's assurance, granting me the suit.

It is true that my gains shall be very little, or nothing, yet sith my Lord of Buckhurst hath so hardly dealt with me (as I will inform your Lordship whensoever I shall have opportunity therefore), I rather will content myself with nothing and make up the sum I have promised than he should effect his cross and overthwart towards me.

But I did always take that he would have given £7 thousand more than her Majesty yet had, and that made me offer the more which, by God's grace, I mean to perform. But considering he is fallen £3000 of that account, if I may be therefore spared, my gain will be something, and whereas he brings it to £7000, if I may have it for £8000, which is a thousand £ more, then I shall not be so much afeard of the decay of the mines nor of the self-will of the people (and such fears as are not forecast in vain).

Yet if her Majesty will have the uttermost rather than be thus put out, I do not doubt but to answer in all respects my promise, so that I may be assured none shall have it from me and that I have some small time given me to make an end of those agreements, whereof some I have already finished. Thus to inform your Lordship that which I forgot today. I fear I am too long.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & my very good Lord, my Lord Treasurer of England.

[=55] Cecil Papers 31/54: Oxford to Mr. Hicks, 28 March 1595

Good Mr Hicks. Whereas I was determined to have visited my Lord at his house, I do now understand that his Lordship is removed to the court, and for that I am not able nor fit to look into that place (being yet no better recovered), if it shall please his Lordship at his best leisure to take so much pains as to look into my daughter Derby's house or mine, I hope so to satisfice his Lordship as touching this matter of the tins that he shall think it for her Majesty's contentment. For whereas I perceive my Lord doubteth that I shall not be able to find out the 16 hundred thousand, I am now very well assured that there is every year brought from the mines 4050 blocks, according to the last paper I sent him, and those contain 18 hundred thousand lb. weight. As for the 40 hundred thousand, thereof what to think, I will refer it to his Lordship's conceit when I have showed him such intelligences as I here have sent you to show his Lordship, and I do not doubt but to perform this 18 hundred thousand pound weight fully to her Majesty in the meanwhile and to make up her custom, which is now about £300 [sic?], to the full sum of 10 thousand, without that she shall have cause to lay out one farthing. Thus desiring you to remember my Lord for me, and to show him this paper which I have sent you, I bid you heartily farewell. From Bishopsgate this present morning.

Your assured friend.

Edward Oxenford

*To his very well beloved friend Mr Hicks, give these at my Lord Treasurer's lodging at the court.

[=56] Cecil Papers 31/68: Oxford to Burghley, 1 April 1595

My very good Lord. As I promised your Lordship to send a resolute answer, so now being fully furnished for the same I beseech your Lordship that you will persevere in your favour towards me and, for the matter, thus I do advertise your Lordship, that I will make up the custom which already her Majesty hath (that is, as I perceive, 3000 and odd pounds), 10 thousand, &, for her assurance to put in such merchants as (among these here named, and some others which I shall hereafter nominate) your Lordship shall choose and think most sufficient. Thus most earnestly desiring your Lordship's favour, I do crave her Majesty's resolution for that I (knowing the same) may haste the assurance the sooner, for some of these I must send for which are in the country, but ready, whensoever I shall give them word, to be here within 9 or 10 days.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

The names of the parties.

Roberts
Taylor
Soames
Smith of Exeter
Stapers
Catcher
Moody

Glover, and all those which are the usual merchants for the tin and that are customers to the tanners, whereby there needeth no loss of coinage by clearing the same, for these be the same that have already paid for their tin & to whom the tanners are indebted, wherefore the sooner I may know her Majesty's good pleasure by your Lordship's favour, the sooner I shall be able to give assurance, which is necessary lest her Majesty leese this coinage which is next to come, the best in all the year.

*To the right honourable & his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=57] Cecil Papers 31/79: Oxford to Burghley, 9 April 1595

My very good Lord. I have laboured so much as I could possibly to advance her Majesty's customs of tin, and had performed it if mine undertakers had kept promise with me on Monday last to have set to their names with their own hands to the bargain, but through the cunning dealing of some they are dissuaded and I cannot bring them back again to their former purpose. Wherefore if your Lordship think my Lord of Buckhurst have undertakers, I think it best for her Majesty to take that course which is best for her service. But I doubt our merchants were all one, & that he will find them as backward now to him, for I see (and I believe your Lordship shall find it true) that the Turkey Company have so packed that her Majesty's intention will find no issue. Nevertheless, when your Lordship hath made trial of all, if it shall please her Majesty to employ my service, I will use all diligence to further her profit.

And if it so happen that my Lord of Buckhurst be able to bring forth undertakers (which I do not believe), yet whereas I was the first that offered £3000 to her Majesty whenas there was but a 1000 marks proffered by others, and thereby was an occasion to cause her Majesty to stay until she was better advertised, I desire your Lordship yet to further my suit for the transportation, whereby I shall advance her Majesty a £1000 by year more than she hath.

The great matter I have followed ever with a mind to bring all the profit thereof to her Majesty, and brought it on so far as the undertakers, as I have said, were ready to set down their hands, yet so dissuaded by certain persons which they have named unto me that they have, like merchants, gone from their word and promise.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=58] Cecil Papers 31/83: Oxford to Burghley, 13 April 1595

My very good Lord. I do not know how my Lord of Buckhurst doth proceed with her Majesty for that which she expects to be made of her tin, but it may be that it falleth out as I have thought, that he would as hardly bring in his undertakers as myself, which if it be so, & her Majesty and your Lordship will like of this which I do here write, I will neglect no diligence that may do her Majesty service.

The undertakers are to be either those which have already the trade in their hands, or such strangers as upon good consideration will be soon willing to farm so good a commodity.

When they which are now the present engrossers did verily think that her Majesty would have nominated me to the farm of this commodity then, lest I should agree with other strangers, I found determined to agree with me, saying they rather would command than be commanded. But when they found that her Majesty stood in suspense and that my Lord of Buckhurst was to have it at a lower rate than myself, then they hung off from both for they said, if we agree with any of them before it be granted they must accept conditions such as we shall give them; if we stand out till it be granted, then for that they must pay so great a rent to her Majesty they must of necessity seek us, whereby we shall be able to make our bargain as we list.

Another occasion which is an especial let to her Majesty's purpose is that there is a suit which hath been of long time motioned for the Pewterers, that they might have a second melting and casting of the tin into bars. This suit (by reason so many rivers run out of it) hath many friends, and all these are enemies to the great matter for, say they, it swallows this up.

But this suit, if her Majesty doth grant, it is called a little suit, but so little it is that whosoever shall undertake the great leaseth 3 or 4 thousand pounds a year thereby. Then how is it possible that they can give so much to her Majesty as she looks for?

First, seeing they must lay out £40 thousand stock and then pay to her Majesty four thousand pound moreover than her custom; further, to him who shall obtain the farm, some 2 or 3 thousand. This they cannot perform if her Majesty shall pass before, or accept hereafter, the suit of the Pewterers.

But if it will please her Majesty to nominate me for the pre-emption and transportation, and be content to give me time to make my bargain (that they shall not see that I am constrained by necessity to depend upon them and to make a hasty bargain), I do not doubt only to get her Majesty the 4 thousand pound which is offered but to get for myself 2 or 3 thousand pound more which to compass in her Majesty's name I find by no means they will be brought (and, as it seems, they allege great reason therefore), and if they give me assurance, afterward when the same shall be turned over to her Majesty, they (being already bound) cannot refuse it.

And further it is to be thought if in the little suit of bars they can provide for themselves so well, they may be as good husbands to her Majesty in the great.

Also, sith the merchants have dealt so frowardly to cross her Majesty, if it shall please her upon the grant to me to deal somewhat roughly with them in the matter of transportation (for that they cannot and oft not to transport but to Calais), and now in this month and next when they have laded their tin to make a stay, as a thing forfeited, it will make them the more greedy to come to composition. This 13th of April, 1595.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=59] Cecil Papers 31/93: Oxford to Burghley, 17 April 1595

My very good Lord, I have asked Mr Alderman Catcher whether he delivered any such speech or no to my Lord of Buckhurst as that I should show him a letter from your Lordship wherein I was promised this suit of the tin before him. He protests the contrary, & I do believe him, for that I assure your Lordship I neither showed him, or any other, any letter of yours. Nevertheless the Lord of Buckhurst he doth fear to become his heavy Lord, for that he hath charged him how he should be the man that gave me information first of this suit, whereby (as he takes it) that he hath been greatly hindered.

But as for Carmarden, I do find that he hath not a little doubled with me by divers actions of his & manifest dealings, for whereas I sent him to your Lordship to confirm that which I had undertaken, which was true, yet as I perceive he performed not what he promised. Also, whereas he told your Lordship, as I perceived by your letter, that he had talked with me and the alderman concerning the quantity, both the alderman and myself can assure your Lordship he spake not one word to us thereof. But, excusing himself that he had not dealt so liberally with your Lordship as he was determined, after his departure from me he persuaded the alderman to move me to join with my Lord of Buckhurst, and divers other speeches which tended to his mislike that the customers & officers of her Majesty should be looked into, and, for his part, if it should go forward, it was out of his way a hundred pounds a year, wherefore he would wish it rather to stand as it did than to proceed. By these dealings and many other I do find that he hath been no small hinderer.

Thus much I thought necessary to inform your Lordship, both in the alderman's behalf and mine own, for your satisfaction. As concerning the suit, that which I did was not my suit, but to further her Majesty's service wherein, if I failed, was not my fault of diligence but the merchants', who first gave their promise and then brake it. And whereas I desired that the suit should pass in my name was not thereby to have gained, but to have raised the rent the more to her Majesty. All which things, sith they have not succeeded, hath not been any want of goodwill in me, but want of credit from her Majesty.

Wherefore, as in the beginning I had your Lordship's promise to further me in my suit concerning the transportation of tin & lead, imposing thereon a crown or noble the hundred or fother, so still do I desire your Lordship to persevere, if it may stand with your liking, & that my Lord of Buckhurst dealeth no farther, as he giveth out himself. This 17th of April, *anno* 1595.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=60] TNA SP12/252/57, ff. 108-9: Oxford to Burghley, 7 June 1595

My very good Lord, if I had not had already sufficient knowledge of Carmarden's honesty, I would have the more wondered at this impudent part of his, to avow before her Majesty so manifest & intolerable untruths. But when I remember how earnest he was against my Lord of Buckhurst's proceedings in this matter, how he was the man which set me on to move her Majesty and your Lordship for the imposition of the crown upon the hundred, how he was the first that assured me that at the least, in his knowledge, the quantity of tin came to xv hundred thousand, how he promised me to inform your Lordship faithfully and assure you thereof, & that sithence that time he hath run a double course with her Majesty, with your Lordship and myself, I do the less regard his treachery and the more trust unto the truth of mine actions, which I will answer to her Majesty and your Lordship.

And for that I go about now to lay open his evil and corrupt service, I will not for mine own particular hereafter move your Lordship's furtherance, but if I shall deserve anything in this action I will leave the whole consideration thereof to her Majesty. But as a principal counsellor of hers and as one holding the place of her Treasurer of England, who doth especially look into her profit, I shall desire your Lordship that those matters which I allege and bring forth to be judged by you, that they be so pondered that reason be not oppressed with a vain confidence in a light person, nor truth smothered up rather by false apparence than assisted by indifferent hearing, nor that her Majesty's former trusts be now made the very instruments of her infinite loss.

It is true, I confess, that Carmarden avows in part, that is, there be some slabs of tin (for in that he calls them blocks, therein he speaketh ignorantly) which are but 50 lb., 100 lb., 150 lb., 200 lb. weight.

But whereas he saith her Majesty is not paid in respect of their small quantity, he should have said, for that she hath nothing at all for such slabs.

And herein is the deceit that, under the colour of some to have a slab of tin for their household provision or to send into France for wine for their houses, and suchlike colours, that they may not forfeit them, they have the lion stamped on them, and such slabs, although they mount to the number of a 100 or 200 thousand weight, are not put into the Customers' books, whereby the quantity of tin cannot truly appear.

And whereas it seems your Lordship heard him avow this the reason that her Majesty is not paid, your Lordship, I know, can easily see that he doth err by the part to account the whole, & this is a foul abuse.

But for the blocks, which I affirm in Cornwall to be 13 hundred thousand, that they be commonly 300, 400 and sometime 500 lb. weight and odd, adding that her Majesty's weights are more than the merchants', whereby I may well account one with another 700

lb. weight, I appeal and fly to your Lordship's justice and care of her Majesty's revenue, that she be not abused by the cunning of such a merchant, who doth abuse her trust.

And therefore, as well for her Majesty as for my discharge, I do crave and exhort your Lordship that you will be content and procure her Majesty to appoint some whom she knows will prefer her profit before any respect either to me or the other side, to survey the blocks of tin which are to be seen now in town, as well in Alderman Soame's warehouse as in other places, and at this present a shipful newly come in, laden with blocks of Alderman Taylor's, and then if your Lordship shall find more blocks of 300 lb. weight and upward than of slabs, I pray you hereafter in her Majesty's behalf that the rest of mine informations be the better heard.

For the sending down of Middleton alone, a man wholly disposed to that party against which I inform, I do not think myself indifferently dealt withal, and though not for me but for her Majesty's better and more certain information, it should not be amiss and not against equity that another whom I would have named might have been sent with him, that this device might have had no suspect of corruption.

But I shall desire your Lordship for her Majesty's better service that, whereas by delaying of time her Majesty may chance to leese this coinage and so, in conclusion, the benefit of the whole year, that your Lordship would procure a letter to be sent down wherein order may be given that no tin be sold or bought till July, which is the first coinage.

And this is agreeable with their old custom that no tin should be bought or sold till all the merchants were come together, and by the breach of this custom many abuses creep in which are neither profitable to the realm nor to her Majesty in especial.

And for that I would proceed to the proof of the exact number of tin, I shall desire your Lordship that I may appoint the messenger, and that he may have from her Majesty equal authority with Middleton in his service, which shall take away all ambiguity which may grow through suspect of partial and unjust dealing, hoping that her Majesty will have an equal regard, in her countenancing the cause, as well to them that study her profit as they which covet nothing more than their own. This vii of June, 1595.

Your Lordship's to command, Edward Oxenford.

[=61] TNA SP12/252/69, ff. 133-4: Oxford to Burghley, 13 June 1595

My good Lord, although I doubt that Middleton will be ready to return before any other can now arrive to the place where he is, yet sith I have engaged myself so far in her Majesty's service to bring the truth to light (although some cause I have had to discourage me to proceed further in this matter), yet I would be glad that Alderman Catcher might have warrant to join with Middleton for mine own satisfaction who, although some have reported him simple, yet I have found honest, and whither I direct him I know he will both speedily go and effectually and honestly perform what is to be expected & what I most earnestly in her Majesty's service desire. This 13 June, 1595.

Your Lordship's to command

Edward Oxenford.

*To the right honourable and his good Lord, my Lord Treasurer of England.

[=62] TNA SP12/252/70, ff. 135-6: Oxford to Burghley, 14 June 1595

My good Lord, although it is all one in mine opinion whether her Majesty send down or not to have anybody join with Middleton for that I am not acquainted with the points of his message (which, if they be but as I do hear, are little to the advancement of this service, but rather a deter and hindrance thereto), yet concerning the main point upon which I most force, that is, that her Majesty should not leese the benefit of this year, to that part of my desire I hear of no ear given. Wherefore, assuring myself that your Lordship will further her Majesty's profit and assist them that shall go about the same earnestly, I would gladly put your Lordship in remembrance that the chieftest part of my request was to have her Majesty's letter for the stay of tin, that none should be bought or sold till this month be past, or about St. James' tide, in which time she may have leisure to consider what course will be most for her benefit, and not to suffer a matter of such moment as this (which is too great for any subject) for a small trifle to herself, by too much haste to slip her hands.

The matter of time to busy about the quantity is but frivolous, and I know not to what purpose, sith it might be easilier known here than by examination of Sir Francis Godolphin's rolls, for the deceit there cannot be perceived, that will only stand upon affirming and denying without control.

The money which he yearly pays to the Queen declareth sufficiently, for if he pay to her Majesty £2400 rent, then is that after 40s the 1000 lb. weight, 1200 thousand pound weight, and if the remain which is to come to the account of the year following, if it be a hundred or two 100 thousand tin, that is but a 200 or £400 matter more of money, which is too small a trifle to stand upon at this present.

The deceit lies where the tin is transported and when the blocks be underrated as, where 4 blocks should be a thousand, it is commonly seen that three blocks attain to that quantity.

Wherefore, my Lord, I insist still to crave her Majesty's letter for the stay of the tin, that none be bought and sold till her Majesty be throughly satisficed what will be her pleasure. And in the mean season, that if her Majesty shall find how that, appointing of a couple of agents, it shall rise much more to her benefit than otherwise, then I am to advertise Roberts to draw in his money, whereof I know, at his last being in town, he left here a good sum. About this matter I must, and so he is determind, to send Alderman Catcher down, who I know will not be negligent in this behalf. And if her Majesty sees that he shall be ready with his moiety to perform the service, then there is no let but to appoint another to join with him for the other moiety, and if Alderman Houghton be ready to take such a charge upon him alone, then is it much more easier being joined with another. And sith he hath already deceived her Majesty of 40 thousand pound, as when he had for 12 or 14 year together the impost of wines under his master, why should he think much to recompense the same now in her Majesty's service, raising to her so great a commodity and to himself no small revenue?

If 40 thousand pound laid out yield some four or five and twenty thousand pound gain (as the return and the use of the money comes to no less), why shall it not be thought, if her Majesty hath half with them, and they five or six thousand pound a year, that it is the best way for her Majesty, and a reasonable commodity for them, whose proportions few noblemen in England attain to the like in their living? I do not doubt but Houghton may very well be satisficed with five or six thousand pound a year, a portion that may content any subject in the land.

Wherefore, my Lord, this is my request in short, that I may have her Majesty's letter to Sir Francis Godolphin for the stay of the tin, that none be bought or sold till her Majesty hath declared her pleasure. And whereas I am acquainted with the sending down of divers merchants of their men to buy up the tin beforehand, that expedition may be used of the same, and for that Alderman Catcher is now at this present to go down about this business between me and Roberts concerning the setting forward of this service, I would gladly obtain that he might carry down the letter, for I would be loath that her Majesty, being drawn on with frivolous devices, should leese some eight or ten thousand pound this year, and after be said that it was through my vain motions, when indeed it shall be their practice who would have her Majesty be content with a little that they may deceive her of much. And to prevent this disgrace, I crave both in mine own behalf, as well as in her Majesty's, your Lordship's true and honourable help. This 14 of June, 1595.

Your Lordship's to command, Edward Oxenford.

[=63] TNA SP12/252/76, ff. 144-5: Oxford to Burghley, 15 June 1595

My very good Lord, if your meaning be only that the alderman should go down to join with Middleton (whose journey, in mine opinion, is to small furtherance of her Majesty's service), then I think as your Lordship, that it is not so convenient for an alderman to be sent for if it be to inquire of the quantity of tin whereupon, as the matter is now, it is not to be so much stood upon sith her Majesty might have had, with less trouble, a more perfect intelligence and with less charge here at home by perusing the books of the Exchequer, the receipts of Sir Francis Godolphin's, and conferring them with the merchants' books which have used the trade, at what prices they bought and have sold this four or five years past.

But if the main and chiefest point is to be had in consideration, which is that her Majesty be not put by the benefit of this year, then I am wholly of the opinion that, in a matter of such importance, no man too good to serve her Majesty, and the more experienced & practised in the cause, the meeter to be employed.

And if your Lordship stand in doubt of the contentment in the country, then it is easy enough for your Lordship to be resolved sith the last year both the country and Company of Pewterers made an agreement and gave assent unto £24 the thousand.

And then they had reason, as the case stood with them, for tin within this 18 months was as good cheap as it was forty years ago by the means of five or six merchant engrossers, who kept it at a low rate for their gain a dozen years, yet now have put it up for the letting of good causes which should take effect.

Wherefore if her Majesty give them 20s more, which is £25 or £26, or 40 marks, which will content them, to be assured yearly, & may have two or three thousand pound at five or six in the hundred at the agents' hands, putting in good assurance (which money will cause the quantity to be great, by means they shall want no money to set their people on work), then there is no let but her Majesty may make her benefit this summer, so there be sent with speed someone to stay the sale till St. James' tide, in which time the agents and such others may go to accomplish the cause.

As for your Lordship's mistaking of the putting off the coinage to St. James' Day, it is no putting off, for it is the very day, by order of the Stannary, whereby her Majesty shall rather reform a late abuse brought in by the engrossers than seem to innovate.

Mine intent is no more but that there might be a couple of agers and such others this summer appointed to take in the tin for the Queen's use at the prices abovesaid, and they to sell it but as it is now worth in London, very near four pound a hundred, which is near £40 a thousand, and makes of every two thousand, three. The quantity of tin being worth near forty thousand pound, makes very near threescore thousand pound, which is £20 thousand gain.

Now, my Lord, I leave to your judgement whether ten thousand pound a year be better to the Queen than four, and yet such a bargain for the agents and others as few merchants can attain unto, who make greater adventures for less gain. This 15 June, 1595.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=64] TNA SP12/253/60, ff. 100-1: Oxford to Burghley, 7 August 1595

My very good Lord, I have received your letters touching Middleton's return, and also of the Lord of Buckhurst's renewing of his suit.

For Middleton's report, he hath not differed much from that I have already informed her Majesty, only this, I consider that this year is more plentiful for the tin than hath been this forty years before, & that it seems contrary to former objections that the mines rather increase than diminish their portion, & Middleton hath not yet informed (nor shall be able till the next coinage) the full quantity.

For my Lord of B., he doth not yet arrive to the proffer which I have made to her Majesty, which she shall better perceive by perusing my notes of information, sith by the agency dealing for the half, my undertakers are to pay five thousand pound yearly & certain. And if the Lord of Buckhurst with his agents will join for the other half, he nor they by my offer are excluded. So that the whole to her Majesty oft to be made ten thousand pounds by year, wherefore his offer is not so profitable for her Majesty as mine.

Besides, the Lord of B. persisteth still in a course whereby her Majesty is much hindered, that is he practiseth still mine agents by devices and by open benefits to cause them to give me over, wherein he draws them not from me but from her Majesty.

It is but since Tuesday at night last at [] of the clock he sent to speak with Alderman Catcher, who came unto him the next morning, where the Lord of Buckhurst told him that in his suit of the tin he had much crossed him, wishing he had given him a £1000 he had not dealt with me and, further, if he would draw away his friends, he was assured I could not but fail in undertakers, which thing if he would undertake, for recompense he offered him a £1000 worth of tin for £20 the thousand.

By this dealing I find that I have all this while mistaken the Lord of B., whom I thought that he had dealt only for her Majesty's profit, as before he sent me word by one Bullman encouraging me to proceed in this service, & he would the like, for his part, endeavour the same.

But this dealing conferred with the like when he practised Carmarden from me and, by one Hales, the rest of the undertakers whose names I sent your Lordship, the contrary doth appear.

Also, so long as it shall be holden a firm opinion that the Lord of B. shall have the suit upon easier conditions than myself, it is hard for me to make it so commodious as indeed otherways I may, for who in reason will give ten when they know her Majesty will be satisfied with a much inferior sum?

There is a great difference between mine offer & the Lord of B.'s, both in certainty and uncertainty, for in the certainty mine is ten thousand pound a year, and in uncertainty, as the quantity of tin riseth (as it doth this year) and as the merchants shall find it prosperous to themselves, so her Majesty parting half with them of their gains to increase her proportion (which as my notes plainly set down may happen to be 20 thousand pound some year), from which good hap, besides the surplus in the 10 thousand pound by year, her Majesty doth bar herself by granting it absolutely to the Lord of B. for seven thousand six hundred pound a year.

Mine absence from the City takes away the commodity which else I might have in more speedy answering of your Lordship, but I do not doubt, if I may have her Majesty's indifferent countenance in the matter, but to make all good that I have informed her, although by such dealings as I have afore set down and others which I reserve to a fitter time, I say not I, but her Majesty, hath been greatly hindered.

I beseech your Lordship that in this, her Majesty's service, wherein I have laboured so long, that you will stand indifferent between the Lord of B. and me, and so much the rather to yield me your favour by how much you shall see it is more for her Majesty's profit.

I most heartily thank your Lordship for your desire to know of my health, which is not so good yet as I wish it. I find comfort in this air, but no fortune at the court.

I hope your Lordship hath your health, and I shall be glad to hear thereof, and this one thing I have to inform your Lordship before I make an end, and that is, at my coming hither from Cannon Row, the Earl of Derby was very earnest that he might assure a thousand pound a year for my daughter's [] finding, adding farther that he marvelled that Sr Robert Cecil, her uncle, & I, her father, were so slack to call upon it. Wherefore I shall desire your Lordship, as you shall choose best time, that something may be done therein; my daughter hath put her trust in me both to remember your Lordship and her husband, wherefore I would be glad that some certainty were effected to her mind. Byfleet, this 7 of August, 1595.

Your Lordship's ever to command,

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=65] Cecil Papers 31/11: Oxford to Burghley, 14 March 1596.

My very good Lord, whereas in my late notes I sent unto you concerning the pre-emption of tin I understand that there are some points whereof you would be satisficed, and for that I am ignorant what they be, I know not how to do the same unless it would please your Lordship by some means, as you shall think best, to notify them unto me.

And whereas I received a most favourable message from your Lordship by your servant Hicks, these shall be to desire the continuance of so good an intention to further my suit unto her Majesty who, although I find of herself to have oftentimes sundry good motions and dispositions to do me good, yet (for want of such a friend as your Lordship that may settle her inclination to a full effect), I perceive all my hopes but fucate and my haps to wither in the herb. But now, settling an assured confidence in your Lordship's proffered help (and of me most earnestly at this time desired), hereafter I will expect a more fruitful harvest of my long labour, putting my trust wholly in your Lordship, whose honourable intention towards me I pray God to continue, and to give me hereafter means to acknowledge, according to your merit and my desire. This present the 14 of March, 1595.

Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable & his very good Lord, the Lord Treasurer of England.

[=66] Cecil Papers 71/23: Oxford to Cecil, June 1599 (a Saturday)

I am not at this present to use any superfluous circumstances, wherefore I hope you will conceive never the worse, and bear with the haste of my matter.

Her Majesty hath of late by Sir John Fortescue and my Lord Chief Justice employed my service for the getting her of money wherewith to supply a stock to buy the tin yearly in Cornwall and Devonshire.

I found out sufficient and of the most able merchants, willing and ready with their money to lend it to supply her Majesty without any penny of interest, to pay her this present year ten thousand pound, every half year, to wit, five thousand pound.

I advertised the Lord Chief Justice.

Sithence I have heard nothing till Thursday last, when overnight I received from Sir John Fortescue a letter that at three of the clock in the afternoon next day they were appointed by her Majesty to be with me about this matter of the tin; at noon-time, I had a messenger from Sir John Fortescue that he had not found himself that morning well, and therefore he would next day be at the same hour with me, which was Friday, that is, yesterday. I attended till six, expecting their coming. I saw they came not, I marvelled, and sent a man both to Sir John Fortescue to know how he did, and to my Lord Chief Justice that, if it were any matter concerning her Majesty's service, if there were any let that they could not come, that they would signify the matter by letter. Sir John was sick, and this day sent me word he takes physic.

My Lord Chief Justice, for that he was joined to come with Sir John Fortescue, will know her Majesty's pleasure further tomorrow at the court.

In the mean season, I find they have reported nothing of the matter as they resolved to do when they were with me; they have not advertised her Majesty that the money was to be had but, contrary rather (if it be true that I do hear), that her Majesty hath no money in her coffers for this purpose. To what end is that, when she hath it ready-prepared by her merchants? Why should it be told her what she wanted in her coffers, and not what her Majesty might have, without any interest, and the gain of seven thousand pound, from her merchants, and hereafter a matter of fifteen thousand pound a year, proved as clear as the sun doth shine? For the quantity of tin being supposed ten hundred thousand pound, and that her Majesty shall buy it for four marks the hundred (that is, £26 and a mark the thousand), who doth not see that, selling the same for £4 4s a hundred (that is, two and forty pound a thousand weight of tin), that her Majesty gains fifteen thousand pound a year, and thus the merchants to buy it of the Queen have agreed with me.

Now it moves me not a little that I should be thus set a-work for her Majesty's service and, when with my great labour I have effected it, to be thus mocked. If they meant it at the first to overthwart it, why should they abuse me in her Majesty's name to deal with

the merchants and, when I have done it, neither to let her Majesty understand it (putting them in trust and sending them of purpose to assist me), but contrary, by their silence, to neglect the time and, with impertinent matters of her Majesty's want of money in her coffers, to hide from her the readiness of the merchants to furnish this service?

I have wrote to her Majesty, hoping she will not suffer me, employing myself in her service, to be rewarded for my labour with a mock, nor herself to be thus abused to have a matter of seven thousand pound this year, with a more assured profit in the years following, by negligence, dullness, or abuse (for one of these it must be) to be overseen and lost, especially putting her Majesty to no further cost or travail than to the telling it into her Exchequer.

My desire therefore unto you is this, that you will be acknown to her Majesty that I have made you privy that I have written unto her and, for that I fear in time enough my letter should not be read & that my hand is too troublesome for her Majesty, that I had desired you to move her Majesty for answer thereof, whereby it may be she will make you read the letter and then she shall not be ignorant how her service is conveyed.

And forsomuch as I find so many that her Majesty hath put in trust in this cause, yet when it comes to the point they give her the slip, I would most earnestly desire you for our old acquaintance, friendship and affinity's sake to join with me in this service and to offer your help to me in this matter to her Majesty, for I do assure you that it will have an acceptable end to her Majesty, and that counsellor shall have no small advantage over the other which have (I cannot tell what to term it) so slowly and dully or corruptly abused, from time to time, her Majesty's intentions touching this matter.

And thus much I assure you, to encourage you the more, that let her Majesty call back this countermand which stoppeth the pre-emption, and let it be declared as it was of her Majesty's resolution, to take it into her hands, and the money shall be presently supplied by the merchants, and her Majesty shall have cause to give you thanks and I shall be glad my travail shall not be so lost. Thus, with my earnest desire to you to consider the cause according to the haste and not [] according to the disordered disposition of my letter, I will end and take my leave for, if her Majesty doth not presently countermand this last resolution procured from her by concealing the merchants' readiness to furnish her with money, she is like to leese the benefit of this year and, hereafter, the whole cause.

One thing I also am to remember, that is, where I have named Alderman Bayning to her Majesty, who hath been very prompt and forward to bring on the rest of his companions to this service, for some cause to desire her Majesty not to let his name to be seen or known, for some respects, in her Majesty's service. I wrote of him only that her Majesty might both know his diligence and that, for my dealing with the merchants, he might witness hereafter how far everything was proceeded in before this unlooked for countermand.

Your assured friend and loving brother.

Edward Oxenford

*To the right honourable and his very well beloved friend Sir Robert Cecil, her Majesty's Principal Secretary, and Master of her Wards.

[=67] Cecil Papers 71/26: Oxford to Elizabeth, June 1599

I beseech your Majesty to pardon mine importunity at this present, and once again in this cause to trouble you with my letters. Also, for my short writing, sith I rather am now in so short a time to possess you with the matter than with the circumstance.

There were with me a few days past, sent from your Majesty, Sir John Fortescue & my Lord Chief Justice about the matter of tin, who declared to me that your Majesty was resolved to take into your hands the pre-emption of tin, and that it was your pleasure I should proceed in that which I had advertised your Majesty, to get you the money with which the tin might be bought of the country.

I declared to them that I had in readiness merchants very sufficient which were willing and ready to lend their money, but for that I had not of long heard from your Majesty I feared lest you had forgotten it or, at the least, not determined to proceed any further by some persuasion, wherefore I had neglected this time to entertain the merchants in the same humour. I therefore desired a day or two again to refresh it again with them, whereto they agreed.

I did so. I found the merchants steadfast in their mind, willing, and with great alacrity, forward to do your Majesty's service in this. Alderman Bayning was the messenger between them and me. He did their message, I received, we parted; then after (for that I could not travel up and down myself), I made Alderman Bayning once again to reiterate their resolution as repeated from me, to know whether I mistook any word or speech. They all sent me word back again that I rightly conceived them, and I mistook them in no one point or word.

Hereupon I advertised my Lord Chief Justice, in which advertisement I sent their requests and conditions, concerning which I referred some to his opinion, and required to hear from him.

These conditions and such matters at this time, for brevity's sake, I am to refer to a fitter time hereafter to inform your Majesty; only this I am here to let you understand, that the merchants were willing and in readiness with their money to have lent you the money which should be a stock for the whole commodity. Your Majesty should not lay out one penny, you shall pay no interest, every six months they [] would have paid you five thousand pound, which is ten thousand pound a year. They would take no years but, when they had done your Majesty this service and that you had proof of the same, and that they had restored the ancient price in Turkey of this commodity, then to accepted such conditions as your Majesty should think most profitable for yourself.

These things I advertised, time ran on, the merchants were moved, I wondered. And, to make me more wonder, my wife, coming from the court, told me that your Majesty said to her you heard not that there was any money gotten.

On Wednesday last, the merchants were resolved to meet together for the collection of the money and to portion every man's part with great willingness and forwardness, but then (strange to me to hear it) a commandment delivered from the Lord Mayor that they should no further think of that matter for her Majesty had no money and therefore was determined this year to let it alone, and they might buy as they had done before.

How your Majesty is persuaded I am not privy but, by your Majesty's favour, I muse what eloquence should move you to leave seven thousand, gained so easily that you are put to no further cost than telling it in your Exchequer.

Again, I think myself very evil recompensed for my service, to be employed and, when I have performed it with all the faith and diligence I can, then it and myself upon no reason, with so great a loss to your Majesty, to be rejected and neglected.

I dare not say how much your Majesty is abused but I find myself much grieved to be set on to compass this money and, having compassed it, to be turned out with such a mockery. I beseech your Majesty, in whose service I have faithfully employed myself, I will not entreat that you suffer it yourself thus to be abused but that you will not suffer me thus to be flouted, scorned & mocked.

I fear I am too long, and that my hand is too troublesome to read; further, the letter too long, wherefore I will end, adding this only, that to inform your Majesty that you were to lay out any one penny is a foul abuse, and this, on my credit and duty, I do affirm to your Majesty, in whomsoever the fault is so far to abuse themselves. How can it be said you have no money when, behold, so sufficient merchants are ready, without any interest, to lend you the money?

Perhaps they have told you that they have heard none named, or know of any. How can Sir John Fortescue say so, how can my Lord Chief Justice say it, when I did assure them I had gotten merchants and the money to be ready whensoever they should give me warning to bring forth these merchants with their money?

They may say they had none named to them. They know that I told them the merchants desired not to be seen in it till your Majesty had taken the pre-emption. They mislike it not; they told me that that order for the pre-emption should be done within two or three days. I never heard sithence from them. I prepared the merchants to be ready, till now this new alteration hath confounded all.

Wherefore, if your Majesty will have it done, I am to advertise you it will be done. Money is to be had that shall stand you in never a penny. And therefore, if it stand with your pleasure, it behoveth your Majesty to make a stay again of this new deceit and to suffer the former order of pre-emption to go forward which, in a year or two, will be fifteen thousand pound a year.

Thus in haste I crave your Majesty's pardon, for I thought it better for me to make a fault in my writing than that your Majesty should suffer any loss by so great abuse, and to

inform your Majesty how necessessary [sic] it it [sic] is (if your pleasure be not to leese a commodity made so ready to your hands) to countermand this last order, and to give commandment that the order of your pre-emption be not altered lest the merchants, having prepared this money and being provided to furnish your service, disposing it otherwise and upon some other employments, the like facility and opportunity to effect it be never had again.

Your Majesty's most humble subject and servant.

Edward Oxenford

*For her most excellent Majesty.

[=68] Huntington Library EL 2337: Oxford to Egerton, undated

My very good Lord, it is now two or three years since that her Majesty was sought unto for the farm of her tin by two sorts of suitors. The one sort were many, the other was only myself. They (having given a very slight estimation thereof, and devised many reasons to move her Majesty to pass it) had wrought it so far that, seeming to her Majesty that they had made a very hard bargain, gave her with much ado a thousand marks by year, and so her Majesty had yielded unto it. At which instant I, ignorant of their proceedings, chanced to light upon the same suit and earnestly solicited her Majesty therefore, desiring to be her farmer for three thousand pounds a year. These offers were so unequal as then her Majesty made a stay of her former deliberation, further told them she was offered by me so much, and showed, for more confirmation, my letter unto them. They seemed to answer that sure I mistook it in writing and, for haste, had missed the number of my ciphers, for I had written it 3000 and they thought I meant but 300. Whereupon her Majesty caused the Lord Treasurer to send unto me, and write whether I meant; I affirmed the 3000, whereupon the matter then was stayed, and put to further consideration. Thereupon I was fain to look more exactly into the nature of the suit, which I found of two natures. The one was a suit to her Majesty which ran under the name of Mr George Gifford in the behalf of the Company of Pewterers, and this suit was called the lesser suit which was, in effect, that there should be no tin carried out of the realm but that it should be cast into bars or lingots by the Pewterers, or else the merchant should pay one halfpenny to them for the pound. This suit was so blemished and painted out so small as it was to be passed for Mr Gifford at a very low rate, of little value, and fit for such a gentleman as he, that had run his fortune in her Majesty's court. But your Lordship knows better than I how the tin is her Majesty's commodity, and how she is to take custom thereof. This year wherein these occurrences of suit happened was transported fifteen hundred thousand pound weight of tin (so far I affirm to your Lordship, but by tomorrow at night, by that time I have had recourse to my notes and memories, I think I must affirm to your Lordship not pounds, but blocks). Blocks oft to be 250 lb. apiece, but now they cast few under 400 lb. apiece, & most 5, 6 and 700 lb. Now, my Lord, then you can well judge, if her Majesty grants this suit that seemed so small, what it comes unto, if so many pounds weight, so many halfpence, so many halfpence pound's worth. I am sure it cannot be less than £6000 a year, but when your Lordship shall consider of it, you will find it more. For this, her Majesty should have had nothing; great persons, great shares; a number of meaner persons, a hundred, two hundred, three hundred, fifty pounds and such sums, all passed, signed, sealed and assured by the Masters and Wardens of the Pewterers, seen by myself and able to be proved, and was so. Of great persons, a thousand and two thousand to one, and as much to another. Now, my Lord, how little this suit is may appear.

The other nature of the suit (which had been passed, as I said before, for a thousand marks), to write shortly to your Lordship at this time, was brought to twenty thousand pound a year rent to be given, but for that I could not follow it, and they that thought to get it among themselves being more in number, in place and authority, when all their objections were refelled and there was nothing to make but for her Majesty's profit, then

they quenched the heat thereof, said it was no time for her Majesty to lay new impositions on her subjects and that it was her Majesty's pleasure to hear no more thereof. Whereupon I have surceased ever since, till lately these persons themselves have revived the matter to her Majesty and, thinking me to be so discouraged that I thought no more thereof and that her Majesty had now forgotten all former contradictions, they have used all mine answers to their objections for reason to her Majesty to grant this suit unto the Company of Pewterers. These reasons, whilst they were mine, could be by no means in her Majesty's behalf accepted. But now, to serve their turn, they have used them for very reasonable & forcible, insomuch as, I being informed that her Majesty had passed this suit, I thought it good to know the truth & to put her Majesty in remembrance of what was past; hereupon I understand from her Majesty that it is true she hath signed the same, but now upon this remembrance from me she hath stayed the writing.

Now I thought, my good Lord, the case standing thus, that there was nothing so fit to be done as to acquaint your Lordship with the whole cause that you, being fully possessed therewith, by the knowledge of her Majesty's right in law, the examination of what number of tin is transported, may easily and perfectly discern what the weight or lightness of the matter imports. And forso much as they have wrought so cunningly that (before ever I could have knowledge thereof) they had gotten her Majesty's hand the sudden, cannot give me opportunity to gather up so many remembrances as is necessary to unfold a matter so full of objections, deceits and false apparences, but I hope (sith it hath pleased her Majesty to stay the writing) by tomorrow at night or next day to give you so good heads and general informations of these matters that, if you shall have cause to speak with her Majesty therein, that you will think reason that it is not fit that her Majesty should so suddenly, and without further advisement, pass it. Thus desiring your Lordship to pardon my long discourse urged by this matter, I leave to trouble your Lordship any farther this afternoon. Your Lordship's to command.

Edward Oxenford

[=69] BL Lansdowne 86/66, ff. 169-70: undated

First, when I offered to make it £10 thousand, my Lord of Buckhurst offered £7000. His other offer was, if her Majesty should lend £3000, then to yield her yearly, after the first year, £10,000.

He is fallen from £7000 to £4000.

The considerations.

First, for that the tin mines may fail and yield some years less tin than other.

Then, if the country people upon stubbornness should take a discontentment and refuse to work, having now other means to live upon tillage and fishing.

Further, that he must give the tanners for their tin as they have at this present, which is £29 or £30 the 1000 lb. weight.

Again, the Pewterers must have the same price they have still.

Last of all, the Genoese, Venetians, Florentines to have their liberty granted them by the statute.

For these reasons, if I take it not, he is to have it at £4000 more price than her Majesty's custom, which makes her custom £7000 yearly. Whether for these reasons also I may not abate £2000 which I offered before these exceptions, paying her Majesty £5000 (which is a £1000 more than is offered) and so to make it 8000, bearing the hazard and adventure of all these doubts.

[=70] Cecil Papers 25/76: ?9 March 1595

The tin which is spent in the realm is about 300 thousand lb. weight, & for this her Majesty hath 40s custom upon every 1000 lb. weight.

The tin which is transported out of the realm is esteemed to be about 700 thousand lb. weight, and for every 1000 lb. weight hereof her Majesty is to have £3 custom.

Upon every hundred lb. weight of tin which is transported there is 20d imposed.

So that her Majesty's custom of that which is spent within the realm is £600.

Of that which is transported £2100.

And the imposition £583.

Summum Totale

£3283 6s 8d.

The quantity of tin being no more, yet her Majesty may make thereof a greater gain if it shall please her to make the same her own commodity. For whereas by her rates it appeareth that there is 700 thousand lb. weight of tin yearly transported, if her Majesty at every coinage shall buy the tin into her own hand, paying the country after the rate of £25 the 1000 lb. weight, which is after 50s the 100 pound weight, then shall she sell at £35 the 1000 lb. weight, which is after the rate of £3 10s the hundred, & this is rated at the easiest, to make it clear of question.

And for that the whole sum of 700 thousand lb. weight of tin comes not in but at two coinages in the year, therefore her Majesty's stock needeth to be the less, wherefore presupposing her Majesty is to buy the half of 700 thousand lb. weight of tin at £25 the thousand, she is for this to lay out in stock £8750.

Her Majesty buying, then, at £25 and selling at £35 the 1000 lb. weight of tin gaineth £10 in every 1000 lb. weight.

So that for 350 thousand pound weight of tin, being bought & sold as is said before, her Majesty gaineth at every coinage £3500 sterling.

So that within 3 coinages, her Majesty hath gained £10500, and her stock wholly returned into her hands, and out of this gain a stock to proceed, and so yearly forever after to make at both coinages £7000 rent.

And herein her Majesty doth but that by her officer (whomsoever she shall appoint) which 3 or 4 engrossers do yearly, laying their stocks together, to the great hindrance of

her Majesty and the realm, for in monarchy the wealth of the prince is the riches of the commonwealth, and yet being drawn into some one or few men's hands savours of a monopoly, which her Majesty, by taking it into her own hands, doth prevent and remedy.

This way therefore doth make her Majesty's revenue of her tin mines to rise to the sum yearly by custom, imposition of the 20d, and the taking of the commodity into her own hands, £10,283 6s 8d.

The suit which I do most humbly crave of her Majesty and desire your Lordship's favour therein to further.

That whereas by the statute made *anno viii Henrici 7th caput xviii*, it was enacted that no tin nor lead should be transported out of this realm into any parts beyond the seas except only to the town of Calais, upon pain of forfeiture of the double value of the merchandise so carried or conveyed to any other place than to the staple of Calais;

Save only the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Florence, etc., to be shipped in the ships, galleys, carracks and other vessels, to bring the same into their countries in manner accustomed;

Saving also the burgesses of the town of Berwick;

And whereas a licence is granted to one Martin for transportations of tin, which being not diligently looked into, her Majesty loseth very near half the custom due to her for the same for want of entering the just weight, as will be proved by comparing the weight from the coinage with the weight entered to be transported;

May it therefore please her Majesty to grant unto me a licence solely and only to transport the said commodities of tin and lead, and to no other. I will not only yield to her Majesty £500 a year for a yearly rent, but will also take better care to see the just weight entered, whereof her Majesty's customs shall be better answered than hitherto they have been.

[=71] TNA SP12/252/49, ff. 96-7: 4 June 1595

My Lord of Buckhurst offers her Majesty £4600 for the pre-emption & transportation of the tin.

Carmarden's reasons why it is better for her Majesty to accept of my Lord of Buckhurst's offer than to take the imposition of a noble upon the hundred.

First.

1. If there be 15 hundred thousand pound weight, three hundred thousand lb. must be left for the realm, so there remains but 12 hundred thousand, which yields her Majesty but £4000, so that hereby she leeseeth £600.
2. If there be 12 hundred thousand lb. weight (three hundred thousand set apart for the realm), her Majesty shall have £3000, so that she leeseeth then 16 hundred pounds a year.
3. If the merchant stranger shall refuse to buy in respect of so great an imposition, then her Majesty shall have nothing, and so leese all.

His conclusion therefore is that it is better for her Majesty to accept my Lord of Buckhurst's offer.

Mine answers.

1. To the first I make two exceptions: first, to the supposition which he maketh doubtful, being certain; then, to the number which is spent within the realm, I affirm [] not to be half so much.

To the first.

For that he now *supposeth* if there be 15 hundred thousand, I say from himself he *knoweth* it to be 15 hundred thousand, & therefore he doth not well in this supposition. And first I prove it by his own assurance to me, and after by the report which he should have made, or hath made, to my Lord Treasurer, unless he hath dealt very dishonestly both with her Majesty and myself, & if he now goes from it then I will prove it by them that know it better than himself. And if there be 15 hundred thousand (as he supposeth and I shall prove), and that two hundred thousand be not spent within the realm, then is there to be thought 13 hundred thousand to be transported which, at a noble a hundred, comes to £4333 and one noble, so that here my Lord of Buckhurst is but £260 and thereabout over the reckoning, to answer which overplus the merchant stranger who pays double custom is not reckoned, which makes to her Majesty a bigger gain than the Lord of Buckhurst hath offered.

Besides, whereas his offer may be a great disquietness and a great indemnity to the two shires of Devonshire and Cornwall, as also to the English merchant who buys it, now the imposition doth not impeach none of the shires nor the merchants, but it is to be raised by strangers in foreign countries, who makes us pay greater taxations upon commodities of lesser value.

The second.

The second point differs only in number, not in reason, from the first, so that this answer above is for them both.

The third.

This reason is as much to say as, when cloth was at 14 pence, and now at a noble, there is more cloth sold now than before and so, in like case, in wines at 10 groats a tun & now at 4 mark, there is as much drunk as was then, besides a taxation of drawing of wines throughout the realm. Thus you may see what weak reasons may be given to weaken a good cause when men are not willing that good causes should take effect for her Majesty.

And here an end for this comparison of Carmarden's between the impost and my Lord of Buckhurst's offer.

But it is also necessary that, sith your Lordship would know the secret of this bargain of tin, whereas Carmarden hath set down but two ways for her Majesty to consider of, there is a third of more importance than them both to be advised on, which is the value of the tin, which may be worth Devonshire and Cornwall 40 thousand pound a year.

[That is bought at 50s the hundred, and sold for five pound the 100.]

Being bought at £25 a thousand, which is 40s in a thousand more than the merchants have given any time this 14 year, saving the last year that they put it up on purpose.

If her Majesty do appoint an agent, he buying at £25, he may sell it for £50 the thousand, which gives gain a thousand for a thousand; for 40 thousand, 80 thousand.

[Ye buy for £3 and sell at £4 10s the 100.]

Buying at £30 a 1000, and selling for £45 the thousand, he makes of his 40 thousand, 60 thousand pound, that is, 20 thousand pound gain.

[Ye buy for £3 and sell for £4 the 100.]

Buying for £30 a 1000, and selling for £40 a thousand, he gets 10 thousand.

It is at this price now, without any profit to the prince, but only for the singular gain of the buyer.

So it will bear the two first prices when her Majesty shall have her price out of it, with greater reason than now, the Queen having nothing.

Now her Majesty, seeing the gains to be 20 or 40 thousand pound a year, as the agent shall in discretion make it, I put it to your Lordship's consideration whether it were not convenient that her Majesty should have one in Cornwall, another for London, lest one of them should die, the gains rising to that value.

But now to the comparison of this to the impost and my Lord of Buckhurst's offer.

1. If my Lord of Buckhurst pay but £4600, then the ager by the first hath 35 thousand £400 gain; here what her Majesty may reasonably demand, I leave to your Lordship.
2. If he make 20 thousand pound gain, paying (which is as little as ever he will make), paying her Majesty but £4600, he gains 15 thousand £400 to himself, a great gain for a subject.
3. For the third is £5400 gain, her Majesty being paid her £4600, being sold as it is, when her Majesty hath no commodity at all.

Note that all customs and other duties are not impeached by these bargains, but every man pays his duty to her Majesty as though this had never been spoken of.

Finis.

I pray, my Lord, pardon my scribbled hand. I have been this day let blood, that I could not write so plain as else I would have done for your better ease, & forsomuch as this way seemeth most profitable for her Majesty, I shall crave that Roberts, by your Lordship's, may have the agentship for Cornwall, putting in for his 20 thousand pound (which is the half of the value) such sureties as are not to be misliked, for that two men's assurances is better than one, if her Majesty shall like to proceed.

[=72] Huntington Library EL2335: undated

The effect of the Pewterers' suit, with what loss & hindrance to her Majesty concerning her commodity which she may make of her tin mines.

The Suit

That her Majesty would bestow upon some person, to the benefit of 500 poor people which shall be thereby set a-work, a halfpenny upon every pound, which halfpenny is not raised of the subject but the stranger, and therefore her Majesty may the rather give it.

Another reason, that all the strangers of foreign parts have raised their commodities to us, & therefore good reason that her Majesty should raise her commodities also, and especially of this, which being one of the richest in her realm, yet hath none other price than it had forty years ago.

How these reasons make for her Majesty, and, in not advisedly granting the suit, how prejudicial.

It is well known that her Majesty's custom groweth by the commodities which are carried out of her land, and such as are brought in. Of the commodities which goeth out, there is not a more richer than this of tin, if it shall please her Majesty to look with good consideration and advice of faithful counsel therein. Which thing hath been amply and in sundry particularities set down to her Majesty, yet as it seems not so considered of and examined as were fit in a matter of such importance, for that those were the arbiters & judges that sought to themselves the commodity, and had authority so to confound it with counterfeit objections that her Majesty should not understand it, or so to suppress it that at their opportunity and best advantage, when her Majesty least thinks thereon or looks into it or hath forgotten the very substance thereof, they may carry it away which, at this time, in this suit of bars they have done, for having suppress [sic] it till they thought her Majesty had forgotten it and that there was none ready to put her in mind, now they have revived the same and urged it to her with all haste that may be. But now I will show how unfit it is that her Majesty should yield unto this matter.

First, that her Majesty should raise a halfpenny on the pound, the reasons are set down before (& very good), so that it be known what this halfpenny amounteth, what it induceth, & wherein it may prejudice.

If the memories be looked into what quantity of tin is yearly transported out of this land, at the least there appear ten hundred thousand blocks. A block by ancient custom oft to be 250 lb. weight (wherein also is to be remembered that the pound there is 20 oz. to the pound), but now by use there are few blocks cast under 300 and 400 lb. weight commonly, and so mounting to 500, 600, and 700 lb. weight. These blocks, being transported by the merchant, when he hath bought his blocks, howsoever the wind serves

or his provision of shipping requireth haste, yet must he stay the casting of these blocks into bars, for which also he must pay a halfpenny in the pound.

Now then, it is to be considered what her Majesty hath given (this suit cannot be less worth than ten thousand pound, by that time I have disclosed every particular), and to consider what it induceth.

This halfpenny thus raised to the benefit (as it appears, to the benefit) of the Company of Pewterers, sith her Majesty hath had so good a consideration of her poor subjects, it is reason also that she benefits herself, and therefore if she will (as she may without any reason to the contrary) raise the other halfpenny, then some one nobleman or other whom it shall please her Majesty to bestow it on may yield her some £300, £500, or perhaps a £1000 a year for the same, to have it in farm, which is very much for so small a matter, and it is better for her Majesty to have something than nothing.

This being thus obtained, if the other halfpenny among the Pewterers be worth ten thousand pound, then this halfpenny is as much more.

Now how he gains, and what, to whom her Majesty granteth the suit.

First, upon the first halfpenny.

The first halfpenny is but an inducement, in respect of the getter, to the second halfpenny, yet of this first halfpenny yields him no small profit, for the suit being gotten, he that hath it calls for the Masters and Wardens of the Company and tells them such a suit he hath gotten for their benefit, but yet he doth look also for some commodity to himself. Therefore it is agreed that five of them, or six, of the most substantial whom he pleaseth to nominate shall have this commodity unto them, paying to him quarterly £500 or a £1000 during the time of the grant, yea, besides, shares also they were bound to pay, as to Sir John Fortescue, my Lord of Buckhurst's son, Carmarden, Mr George Gifford, and many more, yearly payments of £100, £50, some £300 during the grant, by which appeareth the commodity, and if they can give thus much out, it is to be thought they have as much or more for themselves. And it is here again to be remembered how they buy tin 20 oz. to the pound and sell after 16 oz. the pound, whereby they raise their gain the easilier, as hereafter in more convenience shall be showed.

Now this commodity drawn from the first halfpenny whereof her Majesty knows not that he hath anything (or, at the least, made believe but some small consideration), then he seeks to bring the other halfpenny on, & carefully puts her Majesty in mind to consider herself and to raise it to another halfpenny, which is but a penny in the pound (which is nothing, sith tin is sold now as it was forty years ago etc.), and for this he will give her some such sum as hath been said before, which obtained, he hath then this halfpenny whole to himself, paying her Majesty a very small matter, and so good a share in the other as may be a good revenue for any baron in England.

To conclude, therefore, I am now come to show what prejudice this is to her Majesty. First, she gives away, under colour of this lesser part, the most part of the commodity which she should make of her munal [sic?] matter of tin (which is called the great suit), for these two halfpennies import not less, I am sure, than ten thousand pound a year, which being given away, how will those merchants, or whosoever should farm the commodity, be ready to undertake it when her Majesty beforehand hath clipped ten thousand pound thereof, yea, I believe twenty? They that take it must, at the least, lay out in stock 20 or 30 thousand pound, which they will never do when they shall pay out the custom of the penny. To them that shall farm it, also, it is a great hindrance to their traffic to be driven to stay casting it into bars. By this, in the end, may be seen, under the pretence of the little suit, they have gotten (if her Majesty suffer it to pass) the great, which service to bring only to her Majesty was it I desired to do her.

It is no marvel that they have put her Majesty out of conceit with the great, when under the pretence of this small they can carry it so cunningly that they will juggle it so clean out of her Majesty's fingers as she shall never have any sense or feeling thereof.

And further, which is to be advertised, how much is her Majesty abused in this, that she is made believe she relieves 500 poor people of her subjects, whereas indeed she benefits 5 or 6 of the richest sort and nothing at all the poor. And this is the reason: the workmen, they work under these Masters of the Company and have their day's hire, week's or month's accordingly. It is the Master that buys the tin, and after it is wrought into bars & ligots [sic] that makes his advantage thereof; the servant or his labourer hath no more than he had before, his day-wages and allowance.

So, too, a Warden of the Pewterers and a few Masters of the Company (whose faces her Majesty never saw, who never did her or the commonwealth service or are able) shall have the fortune to be infinitely benefited and enriched by her, & I, that only desire to make it known unto her what a ruin and manifest loss unto the great matter of tin it is, how she gives away to others that shall never thank her for it sith they have gotten it by their own cunning and industry, not by her intention or liberality, shall neither have thanks or acceptance. For if she knew it were the great matter (from which herself hath been discouraged by calling it an innovation and taxation to the subject), and that none would undertake to deal in it, it was so dangerous, now that she should sensibly perceive how themselves have gotten it from her, and make 20 thousand pound a year thereof, and no exclamation or any that grieve or complain, I am sure she will repent and dislike. But thus it is, and so must be, if she let her gift proceed.

Time will not give leave to set down every particularity, wherefore I will refer it to other remembrances if her Majesty shall dispose to hear them.

*Remembrances concerning the casting blocks of tin into bars or ligots [sic].

[=73] Huntington Library EL2336: undated

By her Majesty's having the pre-emption of tin or any other commodity in her realm.

By her tin she is to raise her commodity to herself.

By
Pre-emption
Imposition

Against her pre-emption (a thing not to be denied), there is no more to be said, only this to satisfice and clear the imposition in augmenting the five groats to ten.

A thing by them intended, very well known to myself, & would in time pass, as by experience your Lordship sees. For no doubt, the suit of the Pewterers once granted (as it had been now and many times heretofore had it not been opposed against), it induceth the raising of a halfpenny to her Majesty and after, consequently, the ten groats. For if your Lordship do well conceive my notes which I have sent you, you may observe that the merchant, by his allowance of twenty pound weight more to the hundred (which is six score pound weight), gains ten shillings and tenpence, sith tin is sold ordinarily in the realm & London for sixpence halfpenny, wherefore though they seem in show that hardly they would be brought to ten groats, yet indeed they both desire it and intend it, after this manner I have set down. And not without reason, sith by the gain they have of that ten shillings and tenpence it is easy for them to spare out of it the ten groats, & besides her Majesty's own commodity, by the number of so many impositions serves for an obscurement to the great (which by no means they would have known or that her Majesty should look into). But her Majesty taking the pre-emption, all these shifts are taken away, for her Majesty making the tin her own commodity, there is no such allowance in the weight, but it cometh clear unto herself, so that by the pre-emption only that is saved, and her Majesty gaineth thereby eight thousand five hundred pound more and above the custom of five groats. And in my notes I did not set it down as a thing done, but intended, informing her Majesty that, it and the other being given away by her Majesty, how thereby, when she would at any time hereafter look into her prerogative, it would be too late, and so may be a great hindrance.

The other, for imposition for twopence, the commodity being her Majesty's, she may raise the price and sell it as she shall think best. And sith the merchant, in transporting the tin out of the realm into Syria and Turkey, make two, three, and oft four shillings a pound of tin, there is reason for her Majesty, being a commodity yet unraised, to impose twopence, which in four shillings gain they may very well allow her, and this twopence toucheth no whit the subject sith it is paid by foreigners, for the merchant raiseth it there again.

If the merchants, upon an obstinate opinion, hoping to discourage her Majesty, should stand with her, she hath three bridles to retain them with.

First, their own necessity, for tin being one of their chiefest lades, they cannot spare it. Secondly, there is a statute (I take it, in Edward the III's time) that, for such a quantity of tin transported, the merchant oft to bring in such another quantity or proportion of gold bullion and deliver it into the Tower. It is so long ago that I did peruse that statute, thinking this matter had been no more to be revived, that till I look it over again I cannot certainly set it down, but (for that in that your Lordship knows better) I thought it not amiss to put your Lordship in remembrance thereof. They have no doubt incurred the danger of this statute and, although her Majesty perhaps will not take the advantage of the forfeiture, yet it is no small bridle to insolent and obstinate persons, to range them unto reason.

The third is, that it is not of necessity that her Majesty, having taken the pre-emption of tin, that she must sell it to them, but if they will seem, as it were, to contrast with her Majesty, she may sell it to the Genovese & Florentines, who will no doubt double, if she will, the custom, for the stranger in every commodity payeth double custom.

But what, they will make a number of objections which have all been fully answered over and over again, and so long as her Majesty will give ear, and give them credit in it that hope to share it among themselves, she shall never find an end.

But most of their objections, if they be observed, will be found in the particulars aforenamed which all, by her Majesty's pre-emption, are put to silence. What her Majesty thinks of the imposition of twopence I know not, but this I am sure, the same reasons which moved her to grant the Pewterers their suit have in them much more force for herself.

But as the grant goes, it is far greater than ever I thought they durst have presumed. for by having it to them and their successors, and so the sharers with them from them again to them and their heirs, hereby her Majesty's prerogative for that commodity, methink, is given away from the Crown.

Where all the tin they find not brought to the coinage is given them absolutely, and the merchant put by, have they not herein done the same for themselves which I would exhort her Majesty to do for herself? The coinage lasteth for certain days and times of the year only during the weighing and stamping but the tin is digged out of the mine in the time of vacation, where these Pewterers, now riding down with their stock, will buy up and agree with the tin masters at the mines, and thus being bought up, will by virtue of their grant bring it to the stamp, so that whereas I desire that her Majesty should turn out the merchant, so she doth, but in that I crave she should do it for herself, she hath given it to the Pewterers. A halfpenny indeed, which to the uttermost (according to the rate by which I make the account) comes to two thousand five hundred pound, but by this large manner of grant it is a *nemo sit*, and it is apparent that they have obscurely included in their grant the very pre-emption.

As for the *caveat* in the end, I will say little, but by it a starting-hole is left for a good excuse if ever hereafter the absurdity in yielding to so great a guile should come in question.

[=74] Huntington Library EL2338: undated

The tin which is yearly transported come to twelve hundred thousand pound weight and some threescore thousand over as, being cast into blocks, doth plainly show, for every block being three hundred and fifty pound weight, and three thousand six hundred blocks, it comes to the same number of pound weight which is transported.

The tin which is spent in the realm comes to a fourth part, at the least, which is three hundred thousand pound weight.

So that the whole quantity of tin is fifteen hundred thousand pound weight.

This tin is bought up by the merchant (as shall appear to your Majesty by the yearly memorials of the coinages which I have sent you in a schedule by itself) most commonly at twenty, two and twenty, and three and twenty pounds in money for a thousand pound weight of tin.

And in those years wherein you shall see higher prices, then was it raised by the merchants themselves, either to take occasion, by buying dearer at home, to raise the price more commodious to themselves abroad unto strangers or, when they feared that your Majesty, considering the richness of this commodity, by your prerogative was like to take the pre-emption to yourself and so make it your own as, for example, in this remembrance of years it appears in three coinages (which was at that time when first I enterprised to reveal this commodity unto you, the year 1595, and the first coinage in midsummer, *anno* 1596) they raised the prices to thirty-one pound ten shillings the thousand. These years they sold tin in Turkey at eight pound the hundred, and so they do continually every year, except some years they carry so great a quantity as they make a glut, as they term it, whereby they are fain to abate their prices and sell it for seven pound ten shillings, and seven pound, but then they recompense this abatement with the prices to us of such commodities as they return. But so soon as they found that your Majesty did not go forward at the very next coinage in the same year (*anno* 1596), at the Michaelmas coinage they brought it down to twenty-four pound ten shillings. The next year (some fear conceived again of your Majesty's proceedings), they raised it to twenty-six pound but, since delivered of that doubt, they have diminished at every coinage the price so that this year (if the doubt again be not renewed), I know they are determined to set the price at two and twenty pound the thousand pound weight, agreeable to the most common prices of former years.

I will therefore account to your Majesty the commodity, what it comes unto and what benefit it will be to you, after the rate of fifteen hundred thousand of tin, containing the whole sum both of that twelve hundred thousand pound weight which is transported, as of that three hundred thousand pound weight which is spent at home.

And for the price, I will take that whereto the merchants of tin and the country have agreed and, by contract, giving counterbonds one to the other, have already gladly

consented. This was done when the Company of Pewterers first commenced their suit for the halfpenny in the pound for casting the tin into bars.

And the reason wherefore this was done was to have easier passage in their suit, knowing that when they could show the consent of the country and the agreement of the Turkey merchants the suit would seem more reasonable, as a thing profitable for the whole realm, setting many poor people of your Majesty's a-work to the number of three thousand persons.

But where the serpent lay hid in the herb they never thought should be perceived for, whereas they pretend it should nourish three thousand poor people which hereby should be set a-work, I can assure your Majesty it is but the work of threescore persons which the Company useth in several places, as in some, twenty, in other ten, and fifteen, and as the conveniency of places requireth. And for the general benefit to your realm, it is contrary, for the whole commodity runs to five or six which are the Master and Wardens of the Company and, as for the detriment which it importeth to your Majesty, concerns your whole profit which is to redound unto you by this commodity.

For in granting them a halfpenny a pound for casting into bars all such tin as shall be transported, your Majesty gives them eight and twenty hundred pounds of year which your Majesty with great facility may put into your own coffers.

In granting to them, their heirs and successors, that they shall have the authority of setting the prices and that none shall buy before them without their leave, in this you grant away for that commodity your pre-emption which by prerogative, without contradiction, is your own, whereby hereafter, when your Majesty may be certainly informed how great a commodity you may make it unto you, then it will be too late, having barred and excluded yourself by this, your grant to the Pewterers, to make any profit thereof if so you should be disposed.

In granting them their desire in buying to continue the usual price which is now, by this they shall pull from your Majesty four thousand pound a year, so that the very suit of the Pewterers harm your Majesty and hinder you six thousand and three hundred pound a year.

And now I have given your Majesty the knowledge thereof, I will by account, as plainly as I can, and briefly, set down what commodity this matter of tin may be raised unto, to the intent when you see it plainly proved and set down, that it cannot be contradicted, then your Majesty may proceed according to your pleasure.

If your Majesty take the pre-emption of this commodity, then (as the very Merchants, Pewterers themselves, and all such as have obscured from your Majesty this matter have confessed and must acknowledge again upon the truth) that your Majesty, buying at four mark the hundred, and selling at four pound, you gain in every hundred pound weight four nobles.

In every block of three hundred and fifty pound weight, four pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence.

In every hundred blocks, four hundred threescore six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence.

In a thousand blocks, four thousand six hundred threescore six pounds and thirteen shillings, fourpence.

In three thousand blocks, fourteen thousand and one pound.

The six hundred blocks, moreover, are two thousand, eight hundred pounds.

The three hundred thousand pound weight which is spent in the realm is four thousand pound.

The whole sum, then, is twenty thousand, eight hundred pound.

But I see no reason why your Majesty should buy at four marks the hundred sith the tinner, to have four and twenty pound certain every year for one thousand pound weight of tin, have gladly and willingly consented to the merchants and Pewterers, thinking it a great happiness to have a certainty, being above the ordinary price. If to the merchants, then, they have so willingly assented, how much more willinger doth duty and love bind them to accept it from your Majesty?

To buy, then, as hath been set down afore, for four marks the hundred, is after six and twenty pound and a noble the thousand.

To buy after forty-eight shillings the hundred weight is twenty-four pound the thousand pound.

Then your Majesty selling at four pound the hundred, as you did before, it is forty pound the thousand.

In which forty pound is gained sixteen pound *de claro*.

The country hereby hath his twenty-four pound for the thousand pound weight.

And to the merchant, whether her Majesty pays four marks or eight and forty shillings, it is all one, for he, howsoever, is to pay after four in the hundred, buying it of her Majesty, being now made her own commodity, which is a rate that they themselves have allowed and offered to be administer in if the suit of Pewterers might go forward.

But if it may be so easily borne upon such a condition, it may be as well without it, for it is not fit a society of Pewterers should be partners or sharers with the prince.

So that, by this way, in every hundred is gotten thirty-two shillings.

In every thousand, sixteen pound *de claro*.

Then the pre-emption of fifteen hundred thousand pound weight yields clearly to your Majesty's coffers four and twenty thousand pound in money.

And this is upon the tin as well spent within the realm as that which is transported, wherefore twopence imposed more upon that which is transported, which is twelve hundred thousand pound weight of tin, comes to ten thousand five hundred pound of money more.

The whole sum, then, which your Majesty may make of this commodity is four and thirty thousand five hundred pound a year more than your Majesty hath had hitherto.

Reasons for the imposition of the halfpenny.

First, this commodity hath never been raised, but as it was in the time of Henry the Seventh, so stands it at the same price, and it is to be considered that two shillings then was as much as fourteen shillings now and so, proportionably, twopence to fourteen pence.

Secondly, by the example of other commodities, as cloth was at fourteen pence a cloth, custom outwards, and it was put up to the subject a noble, to the stranger a mark (this was a commodity wrought, and tin is unwrought, yet carried out of the realm, paying but five groats custom); wine was at twopence a quart, and now is at eightpence; sugar at a groat a pound forty years ago, and now it is at twenty pence, yet cloth, wine and sugar as easily sold and as fast bought at this present as then.

Thirdly, the twopence is not raised on the subject but the stranger who, if he may have our tin at these rates, and our lead, he hath it better cheap than we have the wines, if we should pay but a groat a quart, and the sugar at twelve pence a pound.

Fourthly, in consideration of the great gain the merchant maketh of this commodity, sith in Turkey he selleth it for eight pound the hundred, wherefore her Majesty may well impose this twopence (which cometh but to sixteen shillings and eightpence the hundred, where he gaineth eight pound) and he, being raised here may, at his pleasure, raise it there again upon the Turks, whereby her Majesty hath gain, the merchant no loss, nor the subject cause to be grieved.

Fifthly, by comparison, if cloth being at fourteen pence a cloth was put up to the subject at a noble, and to the stranger at a mark, being a commodity wrought, then tin, being a commodity unwrought, may well be put up a groat to the subject, and this twopence more may be imposed upon the merchant which transports it, and the groat is not full so much, for in thirty-two shillings which is gained in the hundred, it wanteth sixteen pence of a groat in a pound. So that the tin which is now bought at sixpence farthing

unwrought, and eightpence wrought, may well be raised to ninepence or tenpence after the examples afore laid down, and all other commodities consequently.

This being therefore known unto your Majesty, if you have any intent to benefit yourself, then have you the choice of two ways whereby to effect the same, & that is either by pre-emption or imposition.

Pre-emption requireth a stock, which either must be made out of your own coffers, or be taken up in allowing ten in the hundred for the same.

The first draws in with it a charge by reason of the carriages, porters, keepers of books and such other difficulties as are appurtenant.

The second hath these difficulties also, besides the interest money which must be allowed.

The last way, therefore, I take to be best for your Majesty, which is the imposition, for that it is the easiest, readiest, and most gainful.

And sith the end of either way is all one, that way which doth best effect that end I take to be preferred.

By pre-emption, therefore, if you buy it at four and twenty pound the thousand, which is eight and forty shillings the hundred, your Majesty gains in every hundred, as hath been said, two and thirty shillings, in every thousand, sixteen pound.

The same you gain by imposing two and thirty shillings upon the hundred, and so it is all one, and comes to one effect, but the first way is less profitable by the deductions. This way comes clear without any diminution of the sum of four and thirty thousand and five hundred pound, as before set down, and it maketh not tin full a groat dearer than it is, but may be very well sold and bought for ninepence or tenpence a pound, according to tract of other commodities which have been raised. And the merchant that transporteth may very well pay his twopence upon every hundred weight, which is but sixteen shillings and eightpence in every hundred weight, which they sell for eight pound to the stranger, and if it be raised to them here at home, they can raise it so much more to them abroad.

[=75] Huntington Library EL2344: "this tyme of Easter"

Her Majesty's tin which is yearly transported out of the realm by the most favourable rate is xii hundred thousand pound weight, after which is this account made.

Her Majesty allows at the beam to the merchant twenty ounces to the pound, which is six score pound to the hundred. Through all England beside, tin is sold for sixpence a pound, and sixpence halfpenny.

Upon every hundred weight the merchant pays five groats custom, so that by the twenty pound overplus to the hundred of five score, he pays her Majesty her custom of five groats, and gains, in every hundred, eight shillings and fourpence.

Her Majesty taking the commodity wholly into her own hand gains this eight shillings and fourpence (for she buying up the commodity for herself, there is no reason for the merchant to have that allowance), and her Majesty selling to him after sixteen ounces to the pound gains yearly hereby five thousand six hundred pound more and above her custom that she hath.

The merchant buying his tin here for sixpence the pound sells beyond the seas for two, three, and four shillings the pound, as in France, Italy and Turkey; the nearer to us they carry it, the cheaper they sell it, the farther off, the dearer.

If, then, thus taking the commodity into her own hand, her Majesty please to impose twopence on every hundred, and make it eightpence a pound, it yields her ten thousand pound.

The whole year's profit of tin, after this rate, is bought up for thirty thousand pound. But, for that there is four coinages in every year, her Majesty is not to use for stock more than a fourth part, so that seven thousand or nine thousand pound may suffice for the stock if every coinage fell out proportionably, that is, three hundred thousand pound of tin at a coinage. But for that it is at some coinage more plentiful and at some other more scant, though at the year end it fills up the complete number of xii hundred thousand, to prevent and be provided for such uncertainty, ten or twelve thousand pound may serve for stock.

The necessity of the stock is this. The masters of the mine tins are constrained to keep a multitude at work upon the mines, for which cause they are forced, and have used, to borrow money of the merchants beforehand, paying sometime eight for the hundred, and ten on the hundred, sometime more or less, as they can get it of the merchant.

Whereby the merchant makes a great commodity, for he is not paid back his interest in money but in tin, and at such price as he list to set down at the coinage whereby, through this necessity of money to furnish the charge of the pioneers which work in their tin mines, the merchant holds the master of the tin-work (which is always in his debt by this

occasion) in such bondage that at times of the coinage they rate low or high the price of tin as it pleaseth them.

This mischief the masters of the tins mines shall be delivered of (if it please her Majesty) for her stock employed to that use shall furnish the tin master to keep his men at work, ever beforehand having his necessity served by her Majesty's stock, giving her five pound in the hundred and paying it in tin, as he did the merchant.

And whereas these tin masters some three years sithence accorded gladly with the merchant for four and twenty pound price the thousand of tin, to have it forever certain, her Majesty shall give them five and twenty pound for every thousand pound of tin, so the country, sith to the merchant they consented for a less certainty, to her Majesty, in reason & duty, they are not to contrast for a greater certainty.

The merchant have wonderfully abused her Majesty by this usurped and encroached authority they have gotten into their hands, for when her Majesty would look into this commodity, & to see what stock were sufficient to employ that the whole commodity might redound to herself, then the merchant, to blind such as she employeth in such causes, straight at their pleasure raise the price of tin to such unreasonable rate that her Majesty is thereby discouraged, & by this and suchlike means they keep the great commodity of the tin unknown of purpose to benefit themselves. But these deceits and others which I could explain to her Majesty are of no importance to hinder her if she list to take it to her own hands and, turning out the merchant, make it her own commodity and then, only by this way which I have set down, by the eight shillings and fourpence gained, as I have said before, which is £5600 a year; by the twopence imposed, which is ten thousand pound a year; for the interest of her stock, which is, if it please her, twelve thousand or ten, six hundred or five hundred pound a year, she advanceth her custom, more and over that she hath, sixteen thousand two hundred pound or sixteen thousand one hundred pound a year, as it shall please her to make her stock either ten or twelve thousand pound.

To conclude.

If, then, her Majesty suffer this suit of the Pewterers to pass, she may evidently see she overthrowes this great commodity, for which she hath the same reasons to encourage her that they which friend the Pewterers' cause alleage, as your Lordship and her Majesty can better conceive than I need to express farther.

And as it is much against her Majesty's profit to let the Company of Pewterers, under such colourable shows, to go away with this gain picked, as it were, out of her purse, so is it the rather to be rejected sith it encourageth and draweth on other of the like nature, all prejudicial to her Majesty. Thus now your Lordship hath (in a rude hand and with a rough account, as short as I could devise to contract a matter so intricate) the state of her Majesty's tin, what commodity is in her power to make it, what means to raise it, and with what small stock she may accomplish it. The reasons to exhort need to be none

other than is made by them that persuade her in the behalf of the Pewterers, for if they be strong for them, they are more forcible for her Majesty.

If your Lordship confer this advertisement with that which I sent you this morning, and that report of Mr Middleton's, your Lordship may inform yourself perfectly.

That which I sent this morning did err in the halfpenny, for there I did set down for every halfpenny, five thousand, where I should have set down but two thousand five hundred, so that both halfpennies come but to five thousand pound.

I am very glad your Lordship looks into it, and it is a great encouragement to me for that I know you will not be carried either with partiality or affection, but that which shall be most serviceable for her Majesty, you will favour and further (and so far I desire your Lordship to stand my friend in this as you shall see I do rightfully and truly inform her Majesty), and suffer it not by cunning, authority, or subtle means to be suppressed, that others in time, under devised pretences, may steal away her Majesty's profit. And for that I am to send to her Majesty the like of this certificate tomorrow, & that I know she will have speech with your Lordship, I shall desire your Lordship to help her rightly to conceive it, for I know her opinion of this great commodity hath been mightily discouraged, and so long as she will be altered with every trifling objection, so long she shall never have it as she desires, but if she will resolve and presently give order that no tin be sold to any merchant at this coinage, but to herself or assigns (if the coinage be not already past, for about this time of Easter is one of the chiefest coinage; or if it be, against midsummer or Michaelmas coinage to take the order), she shall see how easy a thing it is and profitable for her Majesty, for, as I remember, Easter and Michaelmas be the greatest coinages.

*The whole effect of the tin cause.

[If it be favour to rate it lower than it is to deceive.]

[£5600
2500

8100

The halfpenny makes it £8100.]

[Which is but one halfpenny more than the Pewterers' suit imports, for one halfpenny they have, & other they would have her Majesty take, & tin is sold for sixpence halfpenny, so that her Majesty imposeth but one halfpenny more in raising it to twopence.]

[Her Majesty hath been informed still that there must be forty thousand £ stock.]

[But furnishing one quarterage satisficeth the whole, being presently filled up again with the sale of the tin, & so, quarterly, it follows.]

[By the demand of 40 thousand, her Majesty may perceiue the rate of tin is greater than this here set down.]

[=76] Huntington Library EL2345: undated

A brief note concerning her Majesty's commodity of tin.

There is transported out of the realm, one year with another, twelve hundred thousand pound weight of tin.

The merchant that buys at the beam is allowed twenty ounces to the pound. He sells after sixteen ounces to the pound. He pays custom five groats upon every hundred. So that in every pound he gains four ounces, which gain dischargeth his custom. The rest he hath liberty to make his own profit.

To make this her own commodity, as her Majesty may, it would be a great increase, and not less than ten thousand pound a year to her coffers which, being neglected, is gotten from her by mean persons which greatly enrich themselves.

But forsomuch as this great matter is condemned to obscurity sith there hath been too much revealed already, there is a device to draw the same, under titles and mean shows, into the hands of other private persons which, seeing the gain these merchants make, mean either to share with them or to translate it from them to themselves, both, notwithstanding, concurring in this, to discourage her Majesty from looking into it & (rather than her Majesty should, by knowing the true profit thereof and the right way to raise it) share it among them. To bring which to pass, it hath been cunningly plotted to distinguish the whole suit into three branches, making every branch seem another suit and of another nature, although tending to one purpose, to distribute among themselves the commodity which of right is due and fittest to her Majesty. These branches, then, are only to be set afoot masked and visored, so that they in no wise seem children of the first whereof I have spoken.

The first branch is, and thought fittest to begin withal, is this suit now moved in the behalf of the Pewterers, which is this, that it will please her Majesty, to the benefit of that Company, to restrain that no tin should be carried away out of the land but that it should first by the Pewterers be cast into bars and lingots and, for that, to be allowed a halfpenny in every pound.

Now then, this suit, made so little, is to be considered if it be so or no. Twelve hundred thousand pound weight carried out of the land pays twelve hundred thousand halfpennies to the Pewterers. This comes to five thousand pound a year.

Then is induced the second branch that, sith her Majesty hath been so beneficial to her subjects for their relief, she hath reason also to remember herself, & therefore, if it shall please her to take the other halfpenny, and impose a penny on the pound, which is not gathered from her subjects but from strangers & foreigners, a small thing, then he that moves it (or for himself, or friend) will give her Majesty for the same some three or four hundred pound, which is something to her coffers. She hath nothing of the other

halfpenny. This small suit is in equal proportion with the former, and importeth also other five thousand pound, by the same reckoning.

This induceth another of the consort to his part and branch, and that must be thus, that whereas her Majesty hath raised her customs upon every other commodity through the realm except this of tin and lead, sith it is one of the greatest commodities that she hath, and that tin bears but the same price now which it did forty years ago, she may with great reason, whereas she is paid but five groats custom for every hundred pound weight of tin, raise it to ten groats, and he will be, if it please her, her farmer for it, giving her as it shall please him to offer (more for his own commodity than her Majesty's), as they before in the other two branches, fellows to this. And this is two thousand and one hundred pound.

The reasons why her Majesty should pass these three branches, I confess, are to be allowed, but yet not in that manner, for by this her Majesty is brought to give that she knows not, to enrich others and defraud herself. Now, therefore, I do affirm it that this suit, thus branched (being every one allowable by themselves) to the commodity of private persons, retired to the first suit again which hath been laid asleep, it were much more reasonable for her Majesty to wake it herself and to take the whole commodity of tin into her own hands having now, by these small suits, discovered how to raise the great, for it is no more but, as they divided the great into parts to shadow the profit, so for her to gather the parts into the whole and, by their means, to raise it to the full and entire commodity of herself.

So if her Majesty imposeth the ten groats upon the hundred pound weight, the penny on every pound, she sees how then he had reason that proffered ten thousand pound a year. And if these, her subjects, may so reasonably do it, why should it be made so difficult and obscure for her Majesty? And this which they disjointed into parts is no more than the whole commodity of the tin which, by these blinders, they would rob it from her Majesty, for her assigns (whosoever she shall please to appoint) must have authority to impose the ten groats on every hundred, and the penny on every pound weight of tin that shall be transported. So th' effect is all one, but not the manner & purpose, for their intent is to profit themselves, and this which I do is to advance it to her Majesty, without any respect (but if any, by reward, not deceit). And therefore in duty I do inform her Majesty, that she may see how she doth utterly maim the great matter to herself (if ever she shall hereafter have intention to make it her own commodity) by giving passage unto these inferior suits.

*A brief information concerning the matter of tin.

[=77] Huntington Library EL2349: undated

[By this it appeareth that, for 23 years, most ordinarily tin was sold at twenty-three pound the thousand, one year with another.]

Now at three coinages it is brought to thirty-one pound ten shillings, and it is thought that at the next coinage it will be thirty-three pound a thousand of tin.

They have no reason to do this but only to cross her Majesty and that three or four engrossers might keep this secret gain still in their hands, of which engrossers Taylor the alderman is one, the father-in-law to Middleton, whom her Majesty hath employed in this service to be the better informed.

Wherein is to be noted that Roberts, Alderman Catcher's son-in-law, for that reason was in a manner objected against, although it cannot be denied that he is both a sufficient and honest man and, which is chiefly to be respected, all his motions were for her Majesty's profit.

The tin this year proves to be in greater quantity than it hath been this forty year, whereby her Majesty may see by these delays which are procured (after the rate of forty thousand pound laid out, as I set it plainly down), what she hath lost, & at this time, as the year falls out, it is not forty thousand pound that will buy up the tin.

Sith then the quantity of tin is so much, which shows they did not well to discourage her Majesty that made it so scarce & that there is no need why this commodity which this 23 years hath stood at a reasonable price, now, when her Majesty offered three pound more in certainty than ever yet they had of ordinary, to be raised.

Her Majesty, as well as they which are the engrossers, that raise it up to ten pound the thousand, which is twenty shillings the hundred, for their advantage, for her own profit may raise it to half thereof, which is five pound the thousand & ten shillings the hundred.

If her Majesty shall impose ten shillings on the hundred, that is, five pound the thousand, my suit is that her Majesty will let me be her farmer [] paying five thousand pound a year to her for the same.

If her Majesty shall set, both upon tin and lead, ten shillings on the hundred of tin and forty shillings on every fother of lead, I desire to farm them at six thousand pound a year.

And upon this imposition (whereby her Majesty may cross them justly that have hindered her), the price of the tin falling again, I will give over my patent, finding her agents of good value & sufficiency, such as she shall not refuse, to perform that office of agency in all sorts as I have informed her Majesty heretofore. So that, although her Majesty be crossed for this year of that commodity which otherwise (considering the great quantity of tins the mines do yield) she might have had, yet by this means she

may this year have six thousand pound thereof, and if the bargain of agency shall be more profitable, the tin by this means brought down, my patent shall cease and I will have in a readiness agents sufficient, and not to be excepted against, which shall effect that which her Majesty is to look for.