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**Sir Edward Greville III, of Milcote**

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# Sir Edward Greville III, of Milcote

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PERHAPS some apology is needed for presenting an article on the last Sir Edward Greville of Milcote, Warwickshire, in these *Transactions*, for he belonged as much to London and Warwickshire as to Gloucestershire, and he was born at Ingatestone in Essex whence his mother came. However, he was directly descended from the great wool merchant, William Greville of Campden (*d.* 1401), whose house still stands in Campden High Street, and whose magnificent brasses are still preserved in Campden church; that and his possession of large estates in the county will it is hoped be considered sufficient justification.

Edward Greville III (knighted in 1597) was the grandson of Margaret Willington, one of the six daughters of William Willington of Barcheston, near Shipston-on-Stour, a rich merchant of the Staple, and Sir Edward Greville II of Milcote (*d.* 1560). His father was Lodowick Greville, a notorious scoundrel, typical of the more lawless gentry of his time<sup>1</sup>, and his mother was Thomasina Petre, the catholic daughter of Sir William Petre of Ingatestone Hall, Essex, an upright virtuous careerist, secretary to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup>

After their marriage in 1560, at St Botolph's Aldersgate<sup>3</sup>, Lodowick and Thomasina Greville chose to live at Ingatestone, a clause in their marriage contract specifically permitting this. Lodowick had entered the Middle Temple in 1557,<sup>4</sup> and this may have been the reason or the excuse, though there is no further record of him there. At Ingatestone no less than eight children were born to them<sup>5</sup> among whom was the second son, Edward, baptized in January 1565. At

<sup>1</sup> Lodowick Greville, even in his early years, was eccentric, passionate and wrong headed. In 1576 there were complaints of him from the tenants at Welford, which reached the Privy Council. In 1578 he felled Sir John Conway of Ragley in the street in London with intent to kill him and was sent to the Marshalsea. Thence he was released probably through the influence of Sir William Petre, and went to Ingatestone. The year after he was summoned by the Privy Council for fraud. And in 1589 he was indicted for the murder of a rich tenant of Drayton, Oxon, and to preserve his estates he stood mute in court. He was pressed to death for contempt of court. Thomasina his wife lived on till after 1611, like her mother a devoted Catholic. See Dugdale, II, p. 711.

<sup>2</sup> F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*. 1961.

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Howard & H. F. Burke. *Genealogical Collections illustrating the History of Roman Catholic Families*, privately printed. 1887. pt. II, pp. 49-50.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Hopwood, *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple*. 1904.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3. William 1563. Edward 1565. Anne 1566. John 1567. Margaret 1569. Charles 1572. Peter 1574. Valentine 1577.

his christening the Petre's friend, Lady Catherine Grey stood god-mother<sup>1</sup> to him, sister of the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey, and heiress to the throne under Henry VIII's will if Queen Elizabeth did not marry and have children.

In 1572 his maternal grandfather Sir William Petre died, and left him two manors in Dorset.<sup>2</sup> That he did not mention Edward's elder brother, William in his will suggests that the story told by Dugdale<sup>3</sup> may be true, and that William's death by accident occurred in his youth, before 1572. Edward Greville, the heir to large but impoverished estates was brought up till he was about twelve years old in the calm of Ingestone, his father, one imagines, often absent in London or at Milcote.

About 1577 the family appears to have moved to Warwickshire, presumably to Milcote, a castellated mansion which the vainglorious Lodowick had obtained permission from the Queen to build. It was unfinished when he died and had contributed substantially to his financial ruin. It stood just in Warwickshire and was a quarter of a mile from the old manor house which was within the then borders of Gloucestershire; both were only about two miles from Stratford-on-Avon.

There we lose sight of Edward Greville till 1581, when Lodowick settled the greater part of his estates on himself, with remainder to Edward and his heirs, the trustees being Sir Thomas Bromley of Holt, near Worcester, the Lord Chancellor, his son Henry Bromley, and one Thomas Owen, esq. This settlement was made in prospect of Edward's marriage to Sir Thomas Bromley's daughter Joan, which took place in 1583,<sup>4</sup> when Edward was still a youth of eighteen. In the course of this marriage Edward had seven daughters and one son John, who died unmarried in his father's lifetime.<sup>5</sup> In 1589 he inherited large but debt-ridden estates from his homicidal father, and he spent much of his life trying to recover his fortunes, only to plunge deeper into debt at each attempt.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, page 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Tudor Secretary*, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, ed. William Thomas 1730, II, p. 711. He is said to have been killed by an arrow shot upright into the air by his brother Edward; the arrow fell on William's head. At which Lodowick laughed and said it was the best shot Edward had ever made, for he was now the heir.

<sup>4</sup> Marriage licence issued 20 May 1583 (Vicar General Licences) in London. The place of the marriage has not been discovered. On the same day Joan's sister Anne was granted a licence to marry Richard Corbet of Salop, probably a ward of Sir William Petre's.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Edmondson, *An Account of the Greville Family*, 1766. Margaret-Edward Pennel. Joyce-Arthur Whitacre. Mary-Sir Arthur Ingram. Catherine-Sir William Ingram. Jane. Elizabeth. Constance. John o.s.p. in his father's lifetime.

He was well connected both on his own account and by his marriage, but he seems to have been unable to benefit by his connections even in those days of influence through kindred. He did not go to Oxford or any of the Inns of Court, and one feels that he may have possessed some inbred weakness which fated him to fail to meet the challenges of his life. Among his connections, many of them notable recusants, were the Sheldons of Beoley and Broadway (including the famous Anne Daston (Sheldon) of Broadway), the Holts of Aston, the Middlemores of Edgbaston, the Throckmortons of Coughton, the Catesbys of Lapworth, and the Littletons of Hagley. His sister-in-law married the recusant John Talbot of Grafton, a near neighbour when he was not in prison for recusancy, and one of Sir William Petre's wards.<sup>1</sup> Sir Adrian Fortescue and Sir John Fortescue were his wife's uncles, and Sir Oliver Cromwell was his brother-in-law. Henry Bromley of Holt Castle, his wife's brother, was later closely associated with him. He was also a cousin of Sir Fulke Greville of Beauchamps Court near Alcester, the poet and friend of Sir Philip Sidney, and of Edward Greville of Harolds Park, Nazeing, Essex, the third son of Sir Fulke Greville the elder of Beauchamps Court.<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward's knighthood by James I at Theobalds in 1603<sup>3</sup> has often been taken for that of his kinsman of Milcote. He was related to the Verneys of Compton Verney, and Conways of Ragley, and his sister Margaret married Thomas Bushell of Long Marston, son of Thomas Bushell 'the richest recusant in Gloucestershire', and a near neighbour.<sup>4</sup> He was also a cousin of the Earl of Essex.<sup>5</sup>

The Inq. p.m. on Lodowick Greville was taken at Warwick on 3 December 1589,<sup>6</sup> with one Thomas Shakespeare on the jury, and Sir Fulke Greville and Sir Thomas Lucy as Commissioners. He was seized of the manors of Milcote-on-Avon and Milcote-on-Stour and lands adjacent to Milcote; the manors of Welford, Abbots Welford, Weston-on-Avon and Weston Mawdite, Sezincote, Meon, and Charingworth, all in Gloucestershire; and the manor of Goldicote in Worcestershire, together with five thousand acres of land (arable) two hundred acres of woodland, five thousand acres of pasture, three hundred acres of meadow, and sundry other lands and properties. The manor of Sezincote in Gloucestershire had been settled on Thomasina, Lodowick's widow, for life. Lodowick also held the manors

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, page 82.

<sup>2</sup> F. Chancellor, *The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*, privately printed, 1890, pp. 331-2.

<sup>3</sup> Wm. Arthur Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 1906.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire*, 1961, p. 94 (quoted subsequently as 'Eccles').

<sup>5</sup> H.M.C., *Hatfield MSS*, VII, Dec. 1597. Letter from Essex to the Queen.

<sup>6</sup> C. 142. Series II, vol. 272, 192.

of Alveston, Tiddington, and Bridgetown, near Stratford by rent. Such was the estate that Edward Greville inherited in 1589.

Soon after his father's death Edward Greville, descended from a family that had produced Sheriffs of Gloucestershire and the Marches of Wales, Justices of the Peace and of Gaol Delivery, knights and Knights of the Bath, and commissioners of many kinds, took his natural place in the county. He conducted the musters, acted as a Justice, became a Member of Parliament, and lived in a grand style, with many servants dressed in livery with a hare coloured cloak with velvet and silver lace, made by William Smart of Stratford.<sup>1</sup> He was an important man in the neighbourhood, and in 1590 he capped this by buying the lordship of the manor of Stratford-on-Avon, which had reverted to the Crown on the death of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. It had been sold by the Crown to Henry Best and John Wells, and they assigned their interest to him.<sup>2</sup> It carried with it rents of £10 a year, fees from the Court Leet, other rents of £51 a year, and the right to present to the Vicarage of Stratford, and to approve the appointment of the town's Bailiff, schoolmaster, town crier, etc. More than this it gave him authority in the town, and he was not slow to assert his rights to the uttermost. When the town elected Richard Quyny as Bailiff in 1592 he refused to accept him; and only by the Corporation's appealing to Sir Fulke Greville the elder of Beauchamp's Court, who was Recorder of Stratford, and persuading him to write to Edward Greville was the ban on Richard Quyny raised.<sup>3</sup>

At this time Edward Greville was called on to represent his county in Parliament, where he sat with Sir Fulke the younger, and William Combe I of Warwick.<sup>4</sup> It was probably at about this time too, that he had his residence in London in Bread Street, where he was recorded in a list of 'Gentlemen of account living in London' made in November 1595.<sup>5</sup> He and his wife probably spent a good deal of their time in London in these years, living the ostentatious life of people of means, and mixing with many of the gentry about the Court.

There may have been a link with Shakespeare as of a master and servant, either in London or Stratford, one does not know. But at this time John Lane of Bridgetown was bailiff of the manor of Stratford for him,<sup>6</sup> and he had married Frances, daughter of Thomas Nash, the father of Shakespeare's legatees, Anthony and John Nash.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. I. Fripp, *Shakespeare's Stratford*, 1928, p. 19.      <sup>2</sup> *Eccles*, pp. 77-9.

<sup>3</sup> E. I. Fripp, *Master Richard Quyny*, 1924, p. 83 (quoted subsequently as 'Quyny').

<sup>4</sup> *Return of Members of Parliament*, 1878, pt. I.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p. 77.      <sup>6</sup> *Eccles*, p. 62.      <sup>7</sup> *ibid*, p. 61.

His daughter Margaret was later the wife of John Greene,<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare's cousin. One may perhaps assume an acquaintance. He was certainly much involved in the life of the poet's native town.

In 1594-5 Edward Greville was Sheriff of Warwickshire,<sup>2</sup> and no doubt he performed his duties with pleasure and zeal, attending the judges at Warwick assizes with his servants in livery, carrying out the execution of writs, and of the sentences of death, with all their gruesome formalities, preparing panels of juries for the assizes, and drawing the douceurs that in those days went with the office. In 1594 he presented a buck to the Stratford Corporation, and they gave a fee to the keeper;<sup>3</sup> they also gave a 'banket' at the Bear in his honour,<sup>4</sup> and when he returned from Scotland, where Prince Henry was christened in that year (a surprising journey one would think) he was given 'pears and walnutes' by the Corporation.<sup>5</sup>

By 1595 his kinsman Richard Mytton was evidently living with him, for it was he who stood surety for the First Fruits of Sezincote when Richard Lampet was presented by Edward Greville.<sup>6</sup> Mytton was a cousin, the grandson of Sir Edward II, and came from Shrewsbury to act as his 'servant', and we find him frequently mentioned in connection with Greville's affairs, together with Peter Roswell of Welcombe.

In January 1595 the Privy Council appointed Edward Greville a Commissioner for Musters, with Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Fulke Greville, Sir John Harington and Sir Humphrey Ferrers.<sup>7</sup> And the Earl of Essex, his cousin, wrote to him to aid Sir Christopher Blount in levying soldiers for the Cadiz expedition<sup>8</sup> in 1596.

In January 1596 he completed the purchase of the manor of Mickleton from Nicholas Porter, a manor which he sold soon afterwards to Edward Fisher.<sup>9</sup> This was one of several such transactions that he entered into for the sake of immediate profit of which he stood always in need. In November he and Sir Thomas Lucy were welcomed at Stratford by Abraham Sturley, Shakespeare's friend, when they went there to hold the musters,<sup>10</sup> by which time Sir John Conway of Ragley, his kinsman, had been added to the number of the commissioners as being 'a man of great experience in marshall affairs'.<sup>11</sup> And in the same month he was concerned in a dispute as to the

<sup>1</sup> Eccles, p. 130.    <sup>2</sup> Dugdale II, p. 1152.    <sup>3</sup> Eccles, p. 77.    <sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p. 77.    <sup>6</sup> Hockaday Abstracts, Glos. Public Library.

<sup>7</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxv.    <sup>8</sup> Eccles, p. 77.    <sup>9</sup> *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1596.

<sup>10</sup> *Quyny*, p. 109.    <sup>11</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxvi, July 1596.

efficiency of one Ralph Gibbes, a captain of trained bands, who had been discharged, and he and Sir Thomas Lucy were sharply told by the Privy Council to reinstate the man.<sup>1</sup>

Edward Greville did not go on the Cadiz expedition in 1596 though he guaranteed, with Sir John Scudamore, £1,620 worth of provisions for it. The guarantee was evidently too late and was repeated in 1597<sup>2</sup> for Essex's Azores voyage, and on this he apparently did go as a gentleman volunteer, and there he won his knighthood, with the Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Egerton and Sir Thomas Vavasour. The Earl of Southampton, it is related, after parting company with Essex and capturing three Spanish ships, rejoined him, and they landed with some men of the island of St Michael's. They found the island too strongly held, and soon after re-embarked their men and,

Most of the English soldiers had gone aboard, leaving only the Earls of Essex, Southampton and a few others ashore wherupon the enemy came with their utmost power upon them, but were well received with so hot an encounter that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword and the rest ran away. And in this skirmish no man had the advantage of safety, for the numbers on our part were so few that every man had his hands in employment and here the Earle of Southampton ere he could dry the sweat from his brows or put his sword in the scabbard, received from the noble Robert Earle of Essex the honour of knighthood.<sup>3</sup>

Here it may be supposed Edward Greville received his accolade. The record states that 'Sir Lodowick Grevil'<sup>4</sup> was knighted at the Azores; Edward was often described as 'the son and heir of Lodowick Grevil', no doubt in order to distinguish him from his cousin Edward Greville of Harolds Park. Probably the scribe, in the heat and discomfort of the voyage intending to write 'Sir (Edward son and heir of) Lodowick Greville', had failed to make his record clear. Confirmation of his knighthood in this year comes from the fact that Abraham Sturley referred to him in a letter of 4 November 1597, to Richard Quyny as Sir Edward.<sup>5</sup>

Sir Edward was back at Milcote in late October, no doubt proud of his knighthood and his adventures, to find living with his family Sir William Catesby of Lapworth, a noted recusant and his cousin. Catesby had accumulated debts of some £12,000 but Sir Edward could do nothing to help him financially though he could and did

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, Nov. 1596.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P. dom.*, 1595-1597, 8 June 1596. *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxvii, June 1597.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Tennyson, *Elizabethan England*, 1933 *et seq.*, x, p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> Wm. Arthur Shaw, *The Knights of England*. <sup>5</sup> *Quyny*, p. 117.

give him hospitality and some protection from the fines and disabilities caused by his recusancy. One had to be careful with a recusant mother and so many recusant kinsmen. Sir Edward Greville 'his good friend and near kinsman'<sup>1</sup> was later to buy his manor of Lapworth from his son Robert, the Gunpowder Plot conspirator.

He was also concerned at this time with his rights as lord of the manor of Stratford; and he was still trusted in money matters, for Daniel Baker wrote to Richard Quyny on 26 October 1597,

I tooke order with Sr Edward Greville for the payment of certaine money beefore going to London & synce I did write unto him to desir him to pay £10 for mee which standeth mee greatly upon to have paid & XXII more mr Peeter Rowsell tooke order for his master to pay for mee . . . I pray you delivre these inclosed letters And Comend mee to mr Rychard mytton whoe I knowe will ffriend me for payment for this monie. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Subsequent letters in November show that Sir Edward, a powerful neighbour, to whom the tradesmen of Stratford looked up, paid the money, some £40 in all.

We have little or no information as to Sir Edward's London activities or social life. No letters survive till much later, and we must content ourselves with such information as may be obtained from the Stratford and other records. On 3 November Sir Edward was visited by Abraham Sturley and others at Milcote whose hope and intention was to obtain his approval of the proposed enlargement of the Stratford charter. He approved the proposals, with the proviso that his rights should be preserved—which turned out to be impossible, for his view of his rights was different from that of the Corporation. At first, however, all went well. Richard Quyny was named by the Corporation to attend him on the matter and it was decided that he should take counsel of their friends, the barrister William Combe I of Warwick, with whom Sir Edward had sat in Parliament in 1590, and one Master Atkinson. Sturley wrote,

Sir Edward a little stood upon the toll of beastes and sheep, saying it was his; but Master Barber said for the corn it was ours clearly already, for the other neither his nor ours, and therefore with which answer he seemed contented.<sup>3</sup>

There seems to have been a hope of buying from Sir Edward some of his manorial rights. Sturley continues,

Now Sir I pray you to consider if in regard of his kindness at all times heretofore, and for his love in effecting this, so that to avoid all occasions of jealousy and

<sup>1</sup> Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare*, 1937, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Eccles, p. 96.    <sup>3</sup> *Quyny*, p. 118.

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mislike hereafter between him, his and us, and our successors, we did yield and offer unto him and his £20 by year for the fee farm of his Leet, perquisites of the Court, chief rents, and such other rights of his. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The Corporation thought it 'exceeding well if these things may be obtained for £20 by year or more'<sup>2</sup> and earnestly requested Sturley to join Richard Quyny in the business. As a postscript to his letter Sturley adds,

On Henry Strelly on Manday next, Deo optimo maximo volente, entereth upon the [Grammar] School with Master Aspinall, domino Edwardo Greville milite annuente astipulante: cui propter singularem gratiam et favorem multum debeo, et tu magis multo<sup>3</sup>

Henry Sturley had not left Oxford but was dispensed residence that he might teach. In 1604 he became master at Campden Grammar school, and then in 1610 vicar of Broadway<sup>4</sup> where he was a near neighbour of Anne Daston, who was a great aunt of Thomas Coombe II the friend and legatee of Shakespeare, and a cousin of Sir Edward's. As we have seen Sir Edward Greville, besides the right to approve the appointment of the schoolmaster and his assistant, but also the right to present to the vicarage of Stratford. In 1597 he presented Richard Byfield, who was rewarded with fees for sermons, a quart of sack, and the lease of the churchyard, in addition to his small stipend.<sup>5</sup>

From time to time great men stayed at Milcote, causing a stir in Stratford; as, for example, the Earl of Berkeley. John Smyth, the Earl's steward, tells us in his *Lives of the Berkeleys* that the Earl lived at Callowden near Coventry, and that on his visits to Berkeley Castle he 'used in July to come to Berkeley, lodging in his journeys at the houses of gentlemen his friends and acquaintances, as at *Milcote*, Clifford and Saintbury'.

The matter of enlarging the Stratford charter seems to have been allowed to drop after several more attempts in 1598, and the Corporation's high hopes of Sir Edward were dashed. A new Charter was not achieved till 1609 when he was on the point of selling his lordship of the town, but he was kept busy with Stratford affairs. In January 1598 there were corn and malt riots, and the rioters assembled and went to Milcote on the 18th, to Charlecote on the 20th, and to Ragley and Beauchamp's Court on the 22nd, to complain of the shortage of corn and of the engrossment of it for making malt.<sup>6</sup> Sturley pressed for Sir Edward Greville 'to make some means for the

<sup>1</sup> *Quyny*, p. 118.    <sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 119.    <sup>3</sup> *ibid.* pp. 120-131.

<sup>4</sup> Broadway Parish Registers.    <sup>5</sup> *Eccles*, p. 52.    <sup>6</sup> *Quyny*, p. 126.

knights of Parliament to get an ease and discharge of such taxes and subsidies wherewith our town is like to be charged', and adds 'Sir Edward Greville is gone to Bristowe, and from thence to London, as I hear; who very well knoweth our estates and will be willing to do us any good'.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Edward Greville was on the move and we hear no more about him till October. Lady Greville, however, of whom we have heard so little was given wine and cakes, 'when she came to see our sport',<sup>2</sup> at Stratford. In the autumn we find Sir Edward still being pressed by Sturley and Richard Quyny to help them get the amended charter through.

Here we must mention the well-known letter to Shakespeare written by Richard Quyny in October 1598,<sup>3</sup> begging a loan of £30, and offering Master Bushell, himself, or Master Mytton as security, and mentioning Master Roswell. It links Sir Edward's kinsmen with Shakespeare in no uncertain manner, for Master Bushell was almost certainly Thomas Bushell senior, father-in-law of Margaret Greville, Sir Edward's sister, and father of (Sir) Edward Bushell, Shakespeare's friend and Essex's follower. Master Mytton was as we know Sir Edward's cousin, and Master Roswell of Welford his friend and regular 'servant' in his affairs. When we consider this, and the fact that Eleanor Bushell later married Adrian Quyny of Stratford,<sup>4</sup> and that the Quynys were closely allied in friendship to the Shakespeare's, a connection ending in the marriage of Thomas Quyny to Judith Shakespeare in February 1616,<sup>5</sup> we must conclude that Sir Edward's and Shakespeare's paths often crossed, but it would be unwise to go further.

Evidently shortage of ready money was pressing on Sir Edward, as it would on one with heavily mortgaged property who lived on a grand scale, for in December 1598 he sold the advowson of Clifford Chambers to John Woodward of London,<sup>6</sup> who eventually conveyed it to Sir Henry Rainsford of that place, the friend of Michael Drayton and Gloucestershire neighbour of Sir Elward. He also sold the lordship of the manor of Evesham, which he had bought from Sir Edward Hoby, to John Woodward, whose son sold it to Sir William Curteyne.<sup>7</sup> Earlier in the year Sturley had written, 'My Lady Greville is run in arrearages with my sister for malt, as it seemeth, which hindereth and troubleth her not a little'.<sup>8</sup> Adrian Quyny wrote on

<sup>1</sup> *Quyny*, p. 126.    <sup>2</sup> *Eccles*, p. 78.    <sup>3</sup> *Quyny*, pp. 137-8.

<sup>4</sup> *The Parish Registers of Stratford-on-Avon*, ed. Richard Savage, 1898.    <sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Trans. BGAS*, xiv, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Habington, *A Survey of Worcestershire*, 1895, II, p. 76.    <sup>8</sup> *Quyny*, p. 129.

29 October to his son, 'Yesterday your wife was with my Lady Greville but can have no money'.<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless it was in order to prevent this situation from worsening that Sir Edward Greville had caused himself to be named with his brother-in-law Sir Henry Bromley on Thomas Felton's commission to search out recusants' lands and goods in August 1597. In a letter dated 30 June 1599 Henry Garnett the Jesuit wrote to Giulio Pinoli in Venice, 'Felton has a new large commission for finding all recusants' lands and goods, and with him are now Sir Edward Greville, whose father was pressed to death, and Sir Henry Bromley the (late) Chancellor's son'<sup>2</sup>. It was reported that the associates worked with vigour often by proxy and found the prosecution of Catholics a lucrative occupation.

In September 1599 the Corporation chose one William Parsons as their new bailiff, but Sir Edward, being asked for his approval, decided to exercise his power of veto; consequently another candidate more agreeable to him was found in John Sadler, kinsman of Shakespeare's legatee Hamnet Sadler, who was sworn on 5 October.<sup>3</sup> This was a sign of Sir Edward's stiffening resistance to the Corporation indicating a determination to stand on his rights, and it brought home to the Corporation the knowledge that his former professions of goodwill were insincere, and made them more set on resistance, as we shall see.

It was in 1599 that an event happened that further linked Sir Edward with Shakespeare. Thomas Russell, esq., who became chief overseer of Shakespeare's will was the Throckmortons' tenant of the manor of Alderminster, where he was to live with his second wife Anne Digges, widow of the mathematician. When he courted Anne Digges in London Russell promised to settle £800 on her daughter Margaret on her marriage. Either through a London acquaintance or because the manor of Goldicote adjoined to that of Alderminster Thomas Russell chose none other than Sir Edward Greville as his surety.<sup>4</sup> Interesting possibilities arise through this; Anne Digges was sister-in-law of William Digges who married Elizabeth Cranfield,<sup>5</sup> the sister of Lionel Cranfield, later Earl of Middlesex, and Lionel Cranfield, an important financier and dealer in rectories, advowsons,

<sup>1</sup> *Quyny*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P. dom.*, 1598-1601, 30 June 1599.

<sup>3</sup> *Quyny*, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare*, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> *H.M.C., Sackville Papers*, I, 1940. These papers give a fairly complete account of Sir Edward's financial dealings with Cranfield.

and bankrupt estates, was the man who largely contributed to the eventual ruin of Sir Edward Greville, by means of loans, foreclosures, more loans, speculations that occasioned still more loans, which were followed by more foreclosures.<sup>1</sup> Whether Sir Edward had already begun to borrow from Cranfield, who was very well known in London as a lender of money to impoverished gentlemen, or whether at this stage he had only met him is a matter for conjecture. All we know is that there was this link between him, Sir Edward, and Thomas Russell, Shakespeare's friend.

Sir Edward is not known to have been a patron of literature, but in 1599 he had dedicated to him, together with Sir John Scott, Sir Henry Bromley and Master William Fortescue,

A dictionary of Spanish and English first published unto the English tongue by Ric. Percivale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified with many thousand words . . . by John Minsheu Professor of Languages in London . . . Imprinted at London by Edm Bolifant 1599. (B.M. 627.1.16.)

This was the precursor of Minsheu's famous *Guide into Tongues* of 1617. That Sir Edward should have joined his brother-in-law at this time in permitting the book to be dedicated to him shows not only that he was on occasion of a generous disposition, but that he was a man of more culture than has been supposed.<sup>2</sup>

In 1600 Sir Thomas Holt of Aston near Birmingham was High Sheriff of Warwickshire.<sup>3</sup> He was a cousin of Sir Edward's through his grandmother, and the relationship must have been an intimate one; later Sir Edward was stated to have borrowed £500 from him. In February, presumably in London, Sir Edward received a letter from the Privy Council which must have shaken him as he followed his pleasures,

Wee have received letters from you in a strange style whereby you seem to make great difficultye how service for Her Majesty which wee required of you by our late letters may be performed. At the same time wee received another letter also from Sir Thomas Lucye and the High Sherrif . . . wrytten in different tearmes from yours, showing their care and indeavours for the accomplishment and good effecting of that service and as he informed us might have been more speedily executed yf you had bin presente in the countrie to attend the service, and your manner of wryghting that are absente from thence. . . .<sup>4</sup>

This was perhaps a sign that Sir Edward was 'slipping' as we should say now of such a man.

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C., *Sackville Papers*, I, 1940. These papers give a fairly complete account of Sir Edward's financial dealings with Cranfield.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, VII, p. lvii.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale, II, p. 1152.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxx, 3 Feb. 1599.

In April 1600 his London home was in St. Giles in the Fields as a letter to Cecil, begging the wardship of the son of one John Springe shows.<sup>1</sup> But by June he was back at Milcote, again asserting his claims as lord of the manor against the Corporation. He claimed the right to appoint the Town Crier, and it was Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, father of the Sir Thomas who had been knighted with him, who awarded this right to the Corporation.<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward also claimed the right to appoint the collector of the toll corn, and finally he claimed the toll corn itself.

The members of the Corporation were furious. At a meeting on 26 September it was agreed that the whole company of Aldermen and Burgesses should wait upon Sir Edward at Milcote, and the deputation went on 21 October.<sup>3</sup> The Corporation was almost unanimously against him and they resolved on the 21st that,

It was agreed that Sir Edward Greville his answer concerning matters in controversy between him and us should be as followeth; First that we desire his love and favour by all means we may (our oaths reserved), and to this we crave his grant. Secondly we desire our reference to two judges, and have for us named the Lord Chief Justice of England . . . and to desire him [Sir E. G.] to nominate another and by their judgements if it [the toll corn] be granted his we will yield, And if he will further strive we say we will labour by all the friends we can make to acquaint our cause, our offers and desires, and so to an end by all loving means or device we can. In the meantime we all agree that if Sir Edward do not grant herunto we hold our own possession and so seek our best help by law.<sup>4</sup>

In January 1601 Sir Edward Greville took the struggle against the Corporation a step further: he enclosed the Bancroft, a common meadow in Stratford on the right bank of the Avon, in defiance of all precedent or right. The Corporation reacted at once and several members armed with mattocks and shovels threw down the hedges he had planted, let in horses, oxen and cattle, and carted off loads of wood to the value of six pounds. Next day they carried off the toll corn as well. Sir Edward had them arrested for riot, and they were sent to London to be imprisoned in the Marshalsea—and were immediately released on bail.<sup>5</sup> News of these events undoubtedly reached Shakespeare in London through his cousin Thomas Greene, the Town Clerk.

At the suggestion of Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester, the case was left to arbitration,<sup>6</sup> and the bishop visited Stratford in the summer of 1601. He and Sir Edward were given a supper at

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. *Cecil*, x, 10 April 1600.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Quyny*, pp. 165-6.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 167.

Thomas Smythe's tavern, next door to Richard Quyny's, as a gesture of reconciliation. It was agreed that both sides should be judged by certain judges agreeable to them, and would accept their verdict. Lady Greville was offered £20 to make peace between the town and her husband.<sup>1</sup> She thought she might succeed, but Sir Edward told her that they 'should wyne it by the sworde'. John Shakespeare the poet's father,<sup>2</sup> was among those called on to testify as to the rights of the Corporation.

In October 1601 Sir Edward was called upon to supply,

A good horse or gelding with morroco saddle of buffe or some sorte of other good leather and a good furniture, a sufficient man to serve furnished with a good curasse and a caske, a northern staffe, a good long pistole, a good sword and dagger, and a horseman's coat of good clothe.<sup>3</sup>

for service in Ireland, to be embarked at Bristol for the Irish wars, following Essex's disastrous campaign. He had just returned from Dorset where, as we have noted, he had two manors left him by his grandfather Sir William Petre. He was not apparently involved in the Essex rising, though his kinsman and neighbour (Sir) Edward Bushell was.

At the end of the year Alderman John Smythe, the host at the supper given to Sir Edward and Bishop Babington by the Corporation died. He had been the only supporter of Sir Edward in his disputes with the Corporation and he not only fell out with them but took away the mace and the key of the cupboard where the Book of Orders was kept when he was dismissed from office in August. He made Sir Edward overseer of his will, together with 'my lovinge friend Peter Roswell' and his brother Peter Greville.<sup>4</sup> Roswell also joined at this time with Peter Greville, in obtaining the grant of Crown Property that had belonged to the College at Stratford, which he assigned to Sir Edward.<sup>5</sup>

The Corporation gave sack and claret in 1602 to Sir Edward,<sup>6</sup> presumably in a further effort to make him more amenable to their convictions as to the rights of the lord of the manor. In 1603 he sold the manor of Alveston to Richard Lane whose father had been his steward.<sup>7</sup> He also seems to have borrowed £2,000 from him as Lane's will of 1613 records. He bought the manor of Lapworth from Sir Robert Catesby and sold it to his cousin Sir Thomas Holt<sup>8</sup>—thereby

<sup>1</sup> Eccles, p. 98.      <sup>2</sup> *Quyny*, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxxii, Oct. 1601.

<sup>4</sup> *Quyny*, pp. 180-1.      <sup>5</sup> Eccles, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* p. 109.      <sup>7</sup> Dugdale, II, p. 675.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p. 790.

no doubt gaining some profit. In 1603 he again sat for Parliament together with his cousin Richard Verney.<sup>1</sup> And it is interesting to note, Francis Collins, Shakespeare's solicitor, witnessed a deed for him,<sup>2</sup> and must have been acting for him. He was at this time acting as steward of the manor of Warwick in which town Francis Collins then lived.<sup>3</sup>

In June 1605 Sir Edward presented one John Rogers formerly vicar of St. Nicholas Warwick to the vicarage of Stratford,<sup>4</sup> and in September he signed a certificate of the names of the trained soldiers within the hundred of Barlichway and Warwick, taken at Alcester by himself, his cousin Sir Fulke, and Thomas Spencer.<sup>5</sup> In November he was at Milcote, for the bailiff of Stratford, who searched Clopton House (which had been let to some of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot) discovered chalices, crucifixes, vestments, and books, which he delivered to him there.<sup>6</sup> His brother-in-law and co-persecutor of catholics, Sir Henry Bromley, then Sheriff of Worcestershire, was the magistrate appointed to search Hindlip House,<sup>7</sup> and there he took Fathers Oldcorne and Garnet and held them at Holt Castle, to gather strength before their journey to London, during which time he became the friend and personal admirer of Garnet.

In November 1605 there is a record of an indenture<sup>8</sup> whereby Arthur Ingram at the request of John Eldred and Martin Freeman sold the rectory and advowson of Clifford Chambers to Sir Henry Rainsford, the owner of the manor. This was the rectory and advowson that Sir Edward had sold to John Woodward in 1598. Woodward had presumably assigned his rights to John Eldred and Freeman. Sir Arthur Ingram (as he became in 1613) was the frequent partner and collaborator of Lionel Cranfield in many transactions, and he was to be involved in Sir Edward Greville's later life and financial downfall. He was also to marry Greville's daughter Mary in 1615, and to take over his estates and keep him as a pensioner, making him earn his pension by managing the estate at Milcote—where he and his wife continued to live.

In 1607 Sir Edward Greville made what must have been a last desperate effort to recover his fortunes by becoming one of the partners

<sup>1</sup> *Return of Members of Parliament*, pt. I.    <sup>2</sup> *Eccles*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Visitation of Warwickshire*, 1619 (Harl. MSS 1167) 1887, facing p. 413.    <sup>4</sup> *Eccles*, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P. dom*, 23 Sept. 1605.

<sup>6</sup> Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare*, p. 194.    <sup>7</sup> Habington, I, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Trans. BGAS*, xiv, p. 78. A further connection between Sir Edward Greville and Sir Baptist Hicks was in 1618, when they were joined in a covenant with the Stratford Corporation, under which the Corporation undertook to keep the footbridge over the Avon perpetually in repair. (Wheler Papers).

with Lionel Cranfield in the Starch Farm.<sup>1</sup> It would have seemed a brilliant idea to him when Cranfield asked him to introduce a bill in Parliament in March, together with Richard Martin, the well known wit, to prohibit the manufacture of starch from wheat, and to control the import of it. He already had large debts to the Crown and to his friends and kinsmen, including one to Sir Thomas Bennett for £10,000, and the promise of a share of the profits from the manufacture of starch from bran no doubt seemed a heaven-sent opportunity to save himself.

The bill failed to get acceptance, and the Government, egged on by Cranfield and his supporters, decided on a proclamation. In August the proclamation was issued and commissioners were appointed to carry out its objects; starch must be made from bran and not from wheat, and a duty of 10s. per cwt. was imposed on imported starch, and 5s. on home made. Places were appointed for its manufacture, and Sir Arthur Ingram got himself appointed collector of the duty. A charter of incorporation of the Company of Starchmakers was granted in October. Sir Edward Greville persuaded by Cranfield that there was money in the project, borrowed from Cranfield and became a large shareholder. The upshot of Greville's participation was that the moneys he had borrowed plus the interest amounted to £1,280 by 1608, and all he had to show for his debt was a parcel of 60 barrels of useless starch. Cranfield insisted on repayment of his loan which was not forthcoming, so he foreclosed on his security, and rectories and parsonages fell into his possession. Sir Arthur Ingram had played his part in the transaction with Sir Edward, and he wrote to Cranfield, 'I have at your request spent my time up and down in it and I protest unto you I would I had given £50 I had never dealt in it.' No doubt he found Sir Edward difficult. Failure brought requests for more loans both from Cranfield and Ingram, and Sir Edward parted with more bits of his unpledged property.

This was in accordance with Ingram's and Cranfield's plans. Ingram's brother Sir William, a canon of York Minster, had married Catherine Greville, Sir Edward's daughter, and the friendship between the two families must have been considerable, despite Ingram's complaints of Sir Edward. On the strength of this Arthur Ingram embarked on his plan and acquired debts owing by Greville and such odd bits of his remaining property as were available. He also bought from the Contractors for Crown Lands, with whom he worked

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C., *Sackville Papers*, 1, pp. 154-5. A. F. Upton. *Sir Arthur Ingram*, 1961. R. H. Tawney, *Business and Politics under James I*. These volumes give a fuller account of this aspect of Sir Edward's life. References to these volumes are omitted here.

closely, the lordship of the manor of Stratford, which Sir Edward had been forced to surrender to the Crown in part settlement of his debts to it.<sup>1</sup> The Contractors agreed to let him have it in October 1609, and it was conveyed to him some time in between that date and October 1610. Between these dates, however, the Corporation, with the aid of Thomas Greene, Shakespeare's cousin, was consulting Sir Edward about the new Charter, and they even sent Lady Greville a keg of sturgeon as a bribe for her good offices.<sup>2</sup> They were obviously ignorant, and were kept in ignorance, of Sir Edward's surrender of the lordship of the manor. On Shakespeare's retirement to Stratford in 1610, Sir Edward was a spent force in the town.

In January 1611 in correspondence concerning a lawsuit between Lionel Cranfield and Sir Baptist Hicks, the new owner of the manor of Chipping Campden, John Price the notary, who lived in Greville House, suggested to Cranfield, for whom he was acting, together with George Bonner, Mary Combe's brother-in-law, that Sir Edward should mediate between the two parties.

I would wishe you to resorte unto my Mr Sir Edward Greville and in treatre him to be a meane to make an ende between you, for he dothe wishe you bothe well. . . . He is gone upp to London. He was mett with Mr Overbury. [Nicholas Overbury, father of Sir Thomas, M.P. for Gloucester and a well known lawyer of the Middle Temple.] He comenly lyethe at the Swanne with Two Necks at the nether ende of Milke Streete.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Edward Greville, who now stayed at an inn in London and had not a residence there, had no financial interest in this dispute, but it appears that he knew Sir Baptist Hicks, and that he was willing to act as mediator between the two disputants. In what sense he was John Price's 'master' does not appear for the Greville lands in Campden had long been sold.

In July 1611 Sir Edward did a strange thing; he obtained the grant of the benefits of recusancy of his mother Thomasina Greville<sup>4</sup> who was an old lady of nearly 70 living at Sezincote, which had been settled on her for life by Lodowick Greville. Was Sir Edward's action taken for the purpose of robbing his mother, or of protecting her? We shall never know that he did not intend to feather his decaying nest from the purchase.

Sir Edward seems still to have been in a position to speculate, no doubt on borrowed money at a high rate of interest. A letter from a fellow attendant at Milcote to Richard Mytton in London prays,

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Upton, *Sir Arthur Ingram*, 1961, and correspondence.    <sup>2</sup> Eccles, p. 134.  
<sup>3</sup> *Trans. BGAS*, 1962, p. 111.    <sup>4</sup> *C.S.P. dom.*, 1611-1618, 17 June 1611.

'Good Mr Mytton' to buy him 'Milan fustian'; and hopes 'that God will send my Ladye her health, and my Master good news of his shippe'.<sup>1</sup> A ship in whose cargo no doubt Sir Edward had taken a share, still in the delusive hope of gain.

The news of his increasing insolvency must have been getting about in Stratford by 1613, for in that year Richard Lane the son of his former steward at Stratford, who had inherited and made money, records the debt of £2,000 to which reference has already been made, and instructs his executors to sue for it, and to charge the costs against his estate. If, as seems unlikely, it was ever obtained part of the sum was to go to Francis and Henry Rainsford the sons of Sir Henry Rainsford of Clifford Chambers, to William Greene the son of Thomas Greene (named after William Barnes, Sir Henry's step-father) and others.<sup>2</sup>

In 1614 Sir Edward was nearly through, and Sir Arthur Ingram, who had been knighted in the previous year, had his way. Sir Edward owed him at least £4,000 and still owed £10,000 to Sir Thomas Bennet, and £500 to Sir Thomas Holt, together with many other debts. (We must multiply by 30 even to guess at to-day's value.) Sir Arthur Ingram had had two wives already and he now did a deal that was not uncommon in his day; he offered to acquire Sir Edward's estate, together with all its encumbrances, and his daughter Mary as well. For £21,000 he bought the estate on these conditions, and saw to it that he kept his future father-in-law under control by buying up his other debts as they became available, and making him earn his annuity of £900 a year (£500 to his widow if he should die first), by making him draw it only in so far as it could be taken from the profits of the estate at Milcote. Sir Edward and Lady Greville continued to live at Milcote. In 1615 Sir Arthur Ingram married Mary Greville, and took her to live in Yorkshire, and in 1622-24 Ingram exchanged his Milcote estate with Cranfield for lands in Yorkshire that Cranfield had acquired. Greville remained at Milcote as Cranfield's manager.

In 1614 there was a great fire in Stratford that burnt 54 houses, barns and stables to the value of £8,000, and Sir Edward Greville was called on as a justice to certify the extent of the damage, with Sir Fulke Greville and William Combe II, brother of Shakespeare's legatee Thomas Combe II, nephew of George Bonner of Campden.<sup>3</sup> This was at the time of the enclosure disputes between William Combe II and others and the Corporation, and Sir Edward Greville, despite his having sold the lordship of the manor, and being on the

<sup>1</sup> Eccles, p. 109.<sup>2</sup> P.C.C., Capel, 103.<sup>3</sup> Eccles, p. 135.

point of selling his estate, played a part on the fringes of the dispute, acting as a sort of go between with some influence. He is recorded by Thomas Greene in July 1615 as having been sent a fat wether by William Combe,

commyng from Glou[cester] P. Roswell nere Marston told mee that Wm Combe hadd sent to Sr E. Grevell a fatt wether & ment to use Sr Edward Grevells favour to Sr Arthur Ingram for the better furtherynge his enclosure.<sup>1</sup>

In 1616 Anthony Nash, Shakespeare's legatee, sued Sir Edward in the Court of Requests, and as Sir Edward chose to absent himself from the Court after his first appearance, and not to answer the Bill of Complaint as ordered, a Writ of Attachment was issued for him to the Sheriff of Warwickshire, William Combe II, and the Warden of the Fleet prison, in February<sup>2</sup>,

for apprehending of the body of him the said Sir Edward Greville for his contempt, which attachment notwithstanding yet he doth still continue and persist in his obstinate and rebellious behaviour to the great and manifest contempt of his Highness saide Counsell and Commandments. . . . Wherefore our saide Sovereign Lorde taketh and reputeth him as his rebell and disabedient Subject, and therefore willeth and straitly chargeth and Commands all and Every His Highness faithfull and loving Subjects soe to accept, repute, and take him Etc.

William Combe was not able to find him in his shire, and somehow he seems to have escaped capture. The Bill of Complaint and the Depositions are missing from the file, so one does not know what Anthony Nash was suing him for. Anthony Nash with Ralph Huband had sold part of Sir John Huband's lease of the Stratford tithes to him in 1599, and Sir Edward had subsequently sold it. Could it have been that part of the purchase price was so long overdue? It would not have been uncharacteristic of Sir Edward to have evaded payment to the seller while having secured payment from the purchaser. The incident serves to show how Sir Edward had fallen in status *vis-à-vis* his Stratford neighbours.

In 1617 Cranfield sold the house now known as Greville House in Campden, which he had bought in 1609 from John Price, the notary. He sold it to Sir Baptist Hicks, and Sir Edward guaranteed the covenant, more we must suppose from his knowledge of the history of the house than from his family's interest in the property, which had been sold by the Grevilles to Price's ancestors in 1541.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know much more of Sir Edward, except through

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Ingleby, *Shakespeare and the Common Fields of Welcombe*, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Court of Requests, 2/393/88.

<sup>3</sup> Percy Rushen, *A History of Chipping Campden*, 1898, p. 29, and *Sackville Papers*, I, p. 145.

some correspondence he had with his son-in-law in later years. Space forbids its inclusion here, but it indicates that he was on friendly terms with Sir Arthur, and that his daughter Mary was happy in her married life.<sup>1</sup> By 1627 he was reduced to being a mere bailiff on his former estates and a poor one at that, for his income was only about £100 a year—the £900 had proved illusory. We do not know when or where he died. The last we hear of him is when, aged 62, he administered his brother Peter's estate<sup>2</sup> when Peter died at Lemington, near Moreton-in-Marsh. By 1636 his widow, still living at Milcote, was forced to pawn her household effects in her last days, and did not leave enough for a decent funeral. So ended the Greville family of Milcote, once so wealthy, powerful and respected in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire. The vainglorious Lodowick's castellated mansion was burnt down in the Civil War, in 1644. *Sic transit gloria.*

<sup>1</sup> Leeds Public Library, Temple Newsam Correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> P.C.C. Fo. 26, Admin. of 19 May 1628.