Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society **121** (2003), 233–241

The Probate Inventory of Phillip Greene, a Restoration Brickmaker in Gloucester, 1685

By JAN BROADWAY

In the mid 17th century brickmaking was a comparatively new and unusual occupation in England. Although there was a tradition of small-scale brickmaking in the Severn Vale, the first brickmaker found in the registers of the freemen of Gloucester is Phillip Greene, who was admitted to the freedom in November 1659.[1] Greene continued to make bricks in the city until his death twenty-five years later, and was succeeded in the business by his eldest son, also Phillip. The survival of the probate inventory of this first brickmaker, bred (though significantly not born) in Gloucester, provides an important insight into the early development of brickmaking in the city. The inventory is particularly valuable, because brickmaking was a seasonal occupation and Greene's death occurred when his business was most active.[2]

Brick had been little used for building in England before the 15th century, when the new fortunes and continental tastes acquired by those who had fought with Henry V led them to import craftsmen in the new material. It was extensively used in Henry V's palace at Sheen, and in the century that followed it remained a prestigious building material, used in high-status buildings such as Eton College, Hampton Court, Richmond and Lambeth Palace. In the reigns of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts it increasingly replaced wood in the construction of gentry houses, particularly in areas where building stone was scarce. William Harrison described how the 'ancient manors and houses of our gentlemen are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber ... Howbeit such as be lately built are commonly either of brick or hard stone'.[3] Yet the use of brick was largely restricted to eastern and south-eastern England and the environs of London. In the Midlands and South-West the gentry generally preferred to use the local stone, although a few houses, such as Charlecote and Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, were built of brick. These houses served as expressions of their owners' social status through the use of this still comparatively innovative material. However, since the bricks were made on site by itinerant craftsmen, such unusual building projects did little to encourage the growth of a local brickmaking industry.

The earliest uses of brick in England were associated with imported craftsmen. A lack of local expertise in the making and laying of bricks on a large scale hindered the spread of their use down the social scale or into the towns. The scarcity of brick as a building material in Jacobean Gloucestershire is confirmed by both the surviving architectural evidence and the dearth of brickmakers and bricklayers among the men recorded in the military roll of 1608. There is only one reference to a bricklayer in the first volume of the Gloucester registers of apprentices, containing entries for 1595–1646, and none to brickmakers.[4] Before the Civil War public buildings in Gloucester were constructed predominantly of stone, while domestic houses and shops were of timber. It was only in 1646 that we see the origins of a brickmaking industry in the city. The date is significant, for it was in October 1646 that the citizens of Gloucester submitted a claim for £28,720 compensation for losses sustained during the siege of 1643, when 241 houses in the city had been destroyed.[5] The need to replace so many houses, combined with shortages of building

timber and of horses to carry stone, doubtless encouraged the corporation to consider the possibilities of making bricks from the river clay found close to the heart of the city. As in London after 1666 and in other towns such as Warwick and Blandford that suffered devastating fires, the practical benefits of rebuilding in less flammable materials may also have been an important consideration.

Brick production was a highly seasonal occupation, with the various stages of the process spread over the whole year. The clay was dug and weathered during the autumn or early winter and then spread out in an open field to be broken up by moisture and frost. In the spring it was watered and trampled underfoot and any pebbles, liable to cause the clay to split during firing, were removed. The clay was then cut to size using wooden moulds and left to dry in stacks for around a month. The bricks were subsequently fired in permanent kilns or temporary clamps. Once all the bricks had been fired, it would be time to begin digging the clay for the next year's production. The skills of the brickmaker were needed for fairly short periods at the crucial stages of the operation, when the clay was selected and when the bricks were moulded and subsequently fired. The remainder of the work could be left to unskilled labour. The brickmaker was consequently required to exercise his craft only during the spring and the autumn, and he needed another occupation during the rest of the year.[6] Phillip Greene's probate inventory is a particularly significant document, because he died during one of these periods of high activity. His will was written on 14 April 1685 and his death must have occurred shortly thereafter as the inventory was compiled on 22 May.[7] The inventory consequently reflects the state of a brickmaker's business, when he had bricks at all stages of production from unformed clay to fully burnt. The amount of detail in the inventory also assists us to gain an insight into the nature and geographical location of Greene's business.[8]

In addition to the seasonality of the work there were other problems which tended to limit the number of artisans willing to risk brickmaking as their main source of income. Although the raw material was readily available, a substantial area of land was required for the weathering process and for the building of the kilns or clamps for firing. Weather conditions throughout the year were of crucial importance. Too much rain or wind could seriously delay one stage in the process or affect the quality of the results. Persistent rain during the time when the bricks were drying would lengthen the process and reduce the number of bricks it was possible to make in a year. When clamps were used for the burning, a wind blowing steadily from a single direction could lead to uneven results, with some bricks being fired too much and others left almost raw. Problems in firing could also occur if the burning qualities of the fuel used were inconsistent. The problem of smoke from the firing process was presumably unimportant when bricks were made on the site of a country house and those inconvenienced were the workers. In towns, however, the inhabitants were less sanguine about the inconvenience, particularly when the firing continued into the height of the summer. In 1632 two brickmakers forfeited a bond of £500 for burning brick in Marylebone 'to the annoyance of the king's subjects' after the end of August and a brickmaker working near St. Margaret's, Westminster, forfeited a similar bond for the same offence.[9] If bricks were made at a distance from the building site, the cheapness of the raw material was offset by the cost of transporting the heavy finished product.

Despite the difficulties and inconveniences of brickmaking the importance of brick as a fashionable and high-status building material made it increasingly in demand for use in providing new fronts and chimneys to the houses of wealthy townsmen throughout the country as the 17th century progressed. This increase in demand led to permanent kilns being established in provincial towns. As we have seen, there were practical considerations in Gloucester encouraging the use of brick in the reconstruction of the city after the siege of 1643. In 1646, as the first Civil War drew to a close, the corporation minute book records that the sheriff and two others were 'appointed

to view what places are fitt for the makinge of Bricks & to appoint such as they shall think fitt for the makinge thereof'. Alluvium suitable for brickmaking was to be found by the River Severn in areas subject to periodic flooding as in the vicinity of Gloucester. There was, however, no history of brickmaking in the town and a new industry could not be established overnight. The suitability of the clay had to be established, sufficient land for the processing set aside and someone found with the necessary expertise to undertake the operation. It was not until February 1649 that the corporation loaned William Swayne the elder and William Swayne the younger £10 to proceed with the establishment of a brickworks. The Swaynes and one William Nicholls were to have liberty to make bricks from the clay in the ditches of the Town or Common Ham on Alney Island and the finished bricks were to be sold to the freemen and burgesses of the city at 7*s.* a thousand.[10]

When establishing a new trade or industry in a town, it was usual to introduce outside expertise, and this is what appears to have happened at Gloucester. On 2 August 1647 the younger William Swayne was admitted to the freedom of the city by fine, indicating that he was not a native of the city and had not served his apprenticeship there. It was to Swayne that Phillip Greene was apprenticed in the same month. Greene, the son of a husbandman, was from Great Malvern, Worcestershire, as was a second apprentice taken by Swayne in 1658. Hence, it seems likely that Swayne was brought from Worcestershire to initiate the making of bricks in Gloucester.[11] The impression of Swayne as an entrepreneur recruited to set up and establish brickmaking is strengthened by the evidence that he left the town once his apprentice was able to take over the business. Swayne and his father continued to make bricks in Gloucester throughout the 1650s, but at the end of the decade they appear to have handed over the business to Greene. On 14 November 1659, Phillip Greene was admitted as a freeman, having served his apprenticeship to 'William Swayne the younger, lantern-maker and brickmaker, late of Gloucester'. At the same time Greene acquired from the corporation the right to make 40,000 bricks in Gloucester. For the rest of the 17th century brickmaking in Gloucester was to be dominated by Greene, who died in 1685, and his son Phillip, who was admitted as a freeman in 1681.[12]

William Swayne the younger is described as a lantern-maker in the freemen's register in 1647 and the apprentice register in 1647 and 1658. It is only at the entry of Phillip Greene to the freedom that he is described as both a lantern-maker and brickmaker. It is possible that the expertise in brickmaking initially resided in William Swayne the elder, who is described as a brickmaker when taking an apprentice in 1657, and that the younger William and his apprentice provided his father with their labour as required.[13] Whether he learnt his trade from the father or the son, however, it was as a brickmaker that Phillip Greene was to be identified. The seasonal and episodic nature of brickmaking made it imperative for the successful brickmaker to have a secondary occupation to ensure continuity of employment. In the inventory of Greene's goods at his death 'Lanthorne weares' worth £1 10*s.* 0*d.* suggest that he continued to practise as a lantern-maker throughout his life. May, when the inventory was compiled, was the busiest time of the year for the brickmaker and the time when Greene's stock of material for his secondary trade might be expected to be at its lowest, but the comparatively low value of the stock may not fully reflect the importance of this second potential source of income to his business. Moreover, the contents of the Northgate Street house occupied by Greene in addition to his own dwelling suggest that he was also involved in brewing and selling beer.

Although Phillip Greene apparently had other interests, it is clear from the inventory that brickmaking was his principal business and that this business was substantial. In May 1685 brickmaking was in full flow at two sites, where there were permanent coal-fuelled kilns. On the Town Ham there were apparently three kilns in use, each of which would take at least 25,000 bricks. A mile or two downstream at Hempsted there was a smaller kiln with a capacity of at least

12,000 bricks. Although the brickmaking industry in Gloucester was still immature and supported only one brickmaker of sufficient status to be admitted as a freeman, it should not be assumed that the industry was primitive. The evidence of probate inventories from other parts of the country and a recent study of Norfolk brickmaking suggest that the existence of permanent kilns rather than clamps and the use of coal in preference to wood as fuel indicate the comparative maturity of brickmaking in Gloucester. The use of coal, which required a lower volume of fuel and produced a more reliable temperature, did not become well-established in Norfolk until a century or more after Greene's death. The availability of coal at Gloucester through the Severn trade undoubtedly encouraged its early adoption there.[14]

The time of Greene's death meant that his probate inventory captured a snapshot of the brickmaking process in the middle of its most active period. At Hempsted there was one load of bricks in the kiln and over 80 per cent of the remaining prepared clay had been formed into brick for a second firing. On the Town Ham one load of bricks had been fully burnt, two more were in the kilns and a batch of clay was in the process of being formed into bricks. The total production of bricks for the year from the two sites would, therefore, have been 124,000 bricks. The different values placed on the bricks in their various stages of production indicate the importance of the role of the brickmaker in increasing the value of the raw material. Sufficient prepared clay to produce 1,000 bricks was valued at only 5*d.*, while the same material formed into bricks and stacked into a wall to await firing was valued at 2*s.* Once fired their value increased dramatically to 6*s.* The values assigned to goods in probate inventories must be regarded with caution as a guide to market prices, since particular circumstances influencing the appraisers were not recorded. However, the value of the burnt bricks is in line with the prices mentioned in the borough records.[15] The values placed on the bricks are somewhat lower than those given in the inventories of Greene's contemporaries at Slough and Lincoln. The difference may have resulted from the porosity of bricks made from Severn alluvium, which limited their potential uses, and from the ready availability of local stone for building. A significant feature of Greene's inventory is the comparatively low value placed on the raw brick in the kiln on the Ham, where 50,000 bricks were valued at less than 9*d.* per thousand. At Hempsted similar bricks were valued at 2*s.* 4*d.*, a price that corresponds with their production being more advanced from the slightly lower valued bricks in the wall. It seems that the unfired bricks in the kiln on the Ham were not expected to be produced as successfully as the previous loads there or those at Hempsted. This may have been either due to the delay in production caused by Greene's death or uncertainty about his son being able to control the burning of the larger kilns as skillfully as his father would have done.

In addition to the two sites where bricks were being made, Phillip Greene held leases on land at Maisemore, close to the Town Ham, and at Wainlode Hill some four miles upstream. He kept coal at a site at the Westgate Bridge and had the house in Northgate Street with its furnace and stores of grain. He had 8,000 bricks at Wainlode Hill, which were valued at 5*s.* per thousand and another 1,000 similarly valued north of the city at Tween Dyke.[16] These were perhaps lower quality bricks produced the previous year or bricks made on the Town Ham site, where Greene had permission to make brick for sale to the citizens of Gloucester at an agreed price. The value of 9*s.* for 600 bricks and 8*s.* for 550 tiles at the Northgate Street house and the presence there of building timber suggest that Greene was in the process of rebuilding or renovating this property and that the bricks were of good quality. Assuming that his previous year's production had been of a similar scale to that of 1685, Greene had apparently succeeded in selling over 90 per cent of his produce. A comparison of the total value of Greene's inventory with those of other Gloucester tradesmen in the 1680s suggests that he was of average wealth.[17] Greene's figure was clearly affected by the seasonality of his trade and the time of his death. Moreover, the absence of freehold property from probate inventories make them a defective source for the assessment of real wealth.

Unfortunately, Greene's will provides no information about such property, which would have descended to his son and heir, Phillip, who was also his executor. Yet the existence of a coal-fired kiln at Hempsted argues strongly that Greene held freehold land there, since no lease is mentioned and he would be unlikely to erect a kiln on land to which he had no title. Building a kiln was only worthwhile if the brickmaker could be certain that he would be able to make sufficient bricks to repay the outlay. The kilns on the Ham appears to have been on land where Greene had the agreement of the corporation for the making of bricks, but no such arrangement is known in relation to Hempsted.

When we consider the domestic items listed in Greene's probate inventory, it is clear that his household was equipped with many of the conveniences that are characteristic of the growth of luxury and consumerism in post-Restoration England.[18] They included numerous pewter, brass and copper items in his kitchen, as well as several silver utensils kept in the kitchen chamber. The silver items, kept in a private chamber rather than on conspicuous display, were not necessarily an indicator of wealth,[19] but there are further indications from the inventory that Greene and his family enjoyed a comparatively affluent lifestyle. The possession of a separate parlour with a fire indicates a level of accommodation above the utilitarian; the household was sufficiently prosperous to set aside a room, however small, that could be devoted to social intercourse. Furthermore, the chambers in which members of the household slept were well-furnished, two had the luxury of a fire, and bedding was plentiful. Other details such as the possession of three looking-glasses in the house and of a black mare for Greene to ride reinforce the impression of comparative wealth and comfort. Greene's will was written only shortly before his death and, hence, may be assumed to reflect accurately his financial position — or at least his perception of his wealth. The bulk of the estate passed to his eldest son, who continued the brickmaking business. The will does not, therefore, inform us about Greene's business interests. Nevertheless, it does show that he was in a position to provide legacies of £30 each to his second wife and five of his six younger children in addition to their continued maintenance in the family home.[20]

The use of brick in the reconstruction of Gloucester after the Civil War and its continued fashionable status as a building material did not create a significant industry in Gloucester, but it did allow one incomer from Worcestershire to establish a successful family business in the city. The younger Phillip Greene, who was admitted as a freeman of the city on 14 February 1681, continued to practice the trade until his own death in 1718. Unfortunately, his will is uninformative and there is no probate inventory to enable us to compare his business with that of his father.[21]

INVENTORY

A true and perfect Inventory of all and Singular the goods Cattles and Chattles rights and Creditts of Phillip Greene late of the City of Gloucester Brickmaker deceased taken and Apprized the Two and Twentieth day of May in the first yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James the Second by the Grace of God king of England &c. Annoq domini 1685 By us whose names are hereunto subscribed as followeth vidilicet

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Inprimis his Weareing apparrell and money in his purse	20	00	00
In the Kitching			
Three larg dishes of pewter Thirteene porringers Five plates one bason and one pewter cheese plate	01	14	04
Fifteene dishes of pewter one cheese plate two dishes and three plates	01	04	06
Six Flaggons two pewter guns three measuring potts Six pewter Candlesticks two pewter Tankards two Salts fouer pewter bowles one Cupp one halfe pint Three Sawsers two Chamberpotts	01	10	10
In Tinn weare	00	03	00
One Iron pott	00	03	00
Five kettles fouer boylers fouer skilletts	02	11	06
Three brasse potts one posnett and one Copper Cann	01	01	04
Two brasse Candlesticks one brass Sconce two brasse Ladles two warning pans two brasse skumers	00	14	06
One Iron Jack and lines five Spitts two pott hooks two flesh forks two Gred Irons one locke Steele and three other Steeles one Choping knife one paire of Iron doggs one fire barr and Cheeks two fire shoules one pair of tongues one fender one Iron Crane[22] Eight hooks one frying pan one Chafeing dish	01	18	00
One hand Gun	00	05	00
One settle one round table and freame Three matt chayers one old Chayer two lowe Joynt Stooles	00	11	00
In the Parlor			
One paire of Iron doggs one Iron barr and Cheeks two tongues and fire Shovles one brand Iron	00	09	00
Three old Waynscott[23] Chayers fouer Joynt Stooles	00	06	06
One brasse Sconce	00	06	00
In the Seller			
One old Safe & one old Cubboard	00	02	00
In the Kitching Chamber			
One Silver Cann one Silver bowle one Silver Spoone one Silver drame dish	09	07	00
Two feather beds two feather boulsters two pillowes two blanketts one Coverled & Curtaines	03	02	00
	45	09	06
One large press one large Chest one Coffer one trunke one Little Coffer fouer boxes one lowe Joynt Stoole	01	05	04
One Little fire barr and Cheekes	00	02	00
One purple Counterpane one purple Carpett One greene Counterpane one greene heading for a bedsted one Sett of Curtains & vallians	02	00	00
Three paire of Flaxen Shetts Twelve paire of hempen Sheets two tableclothes one hempen pillowebeere one dozen halfe of Flaxen napkins one holland pillowebere three Towells two flaxen tableclothes to lookeing glasses	05	16	00
Tenn flitches of Bacon	04	00	00

In the Inner Garret	£	*s.*	*d.*
Two halfe headed bedsteds matts & cords	00	06	00
One Feather bed and boulster one greene Rugg	01	10	00
One Flocke bed and boulster one Coverled & one blankett	00	10	00
In Lanthorne weares	01	10	00
In the Outer Garrett			
One halfe headed bedstead matt & cord	00	02	06
One Flocke bed and boulster & overugg	00	10	00
In the Upper forestreet Chamber			
One Featherbed and two feather boulsters two feather pillowes & a pillowebere	03	14	00
One old flocke bed	00	05	00
One Greene Rugg	00	10	00
One Sett of Greene Curtaines and vallianes	01	00	00
One trundle bedsteed matt & cord	00	04	00
One feather and flocke bed two pillowes one blankett one Coverled	01	10	00
Six feather Chayers	00	06	00
Fouer Joynt Stooles	00	04	00
One Carpett	00	02	00
One Lookeing glasse	00	02	06
In the Lower forestreet Chamber			
One feather bed one flocke bed two boulsters and one pillowe	01	16	00
One blankett one Coverled & one Sett of Curtains & vallians	01	02	00
One Side Cubbord and one little table	00	02	06
One Cubbord Cloth one Carpett two Cushions	00	02	06
One Close Stoole & pan	00	05	00
One fire barr and Cheeks one fire Shovle and tongues	00	08	00
In Lumber about the house	00	10	00
In workeing tooles	01	00	00
Eight Thowsand of Bricke at Waineloads hill	02	00	00
One Thousand of Bricke at Tweenedick	00	05	00
One lease of one Acre of meadowe in Maysemores meade granted for Twenty yeares whereof one is Expired worth	09	00	00
One other lease of one & Twenty yeares of certaine lands at Waineloads hill worth	14	00	00
	55	19	04
In the Ham			
Clay digged 15000	01	04	10
Rawe Bricke in the wall 10000	01	00	00
Rawe Bricke in the Kilne 50000	01	15	00
Burnt Bricke in the Kilne 2500[24]	07	10	00
In Cole Eight wey[25] at & in the Kilne	03	04	00
In Cole at the West bridge 10 wey	04	00	00

In the Stable & Court	£	*s.*	*d.*
One Blacke Mare at	02	04	10
Two Naggs one Blacke & one daple gray	05	00	00
One Tunn & halfe of hey & some Strawe	01	17	00
Two tubbs two skeles and a drinking vessell	00	12	00
Three Piggs	00	15	00
Att the house in Northgatstreete			
One table board one side Cubboard Two Bedsteeds one presse one Chest & one Little table	01	17	06
One other bedsteed Two Coffers one Safe a workeing frame & board Six dozen and a halfe of glasse bottles	00	18	09
One Furnace & one Cestone	01	12	06
In Lumber	00	06	00
One high bedsteed one Trundle bedsteed matts & Cords one Cubboard & one forme one Crane one Stone morter	01	03	06
One doore and doorecase two hogsheads and building timber	02	06	06
In tyle 550	00	08	00
In Bricke 600C	00	09	00
One Stoole table one horse for beere one hogshead & two barrells halfe a hundred of Whitton poles[26]	00	05	04
Fouer bushells of Wheate at	00	16	00
Six bushells of Wheate at	00	12	00
Sixteene bushells of beanes at	05	04	00
Att Hempsted			
Of digged Clay 2000	00	03	04
Bricke in the wall 10000	01	00	00
In the Kilne 12000	01	08	00
Fouer Wey of Cole	01	12	00
	47	05	01
Tot Summ Inventry	148	13	11

Apprized by us the day & yeare first herein written
the marke of Richard Symonds
the marke of Augustine Loggins
Jo: Guy[27]

Notes

1. *A Calendar of the Registers of Freemen of Gloucester 1641–1838*, ed. J. Juřica (B.G.A.S., Gloucestershire Rec. Series **4**, 1991), 17.
2. Gloucester Diocesan Records (GDR in Gloucestershire Record Office), Inventory 1685/147. This paper is a belated product of my work with Dr. Nancy Cox of the University of Wolverhampton, to whom I am indebted for teaching me the value of probate inventories.
3. W. Harrison, *The Manner of Building and Furniture of Our Houses* (1587), quoted in A. Hughes (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century England: A Changing Culture* (1980), 9.
4. L.F.J. Walrond and C. Powell, 'Medieval Smoke Vents and Low Room Walls in the Severn Plain', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **103** (1985), 163–73; j. Smyth, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608* (1902); J.W. Wyatt, 'Trades and Occupations in Gloucester, Tewkesbury and Cirencester in 1608', *Gloucestershire Historical Studies* **7** (1976), pp. 2–12; A.J. Tawney and R.H. Tawney, 'An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century', *Economic History Review* **5** (1934), 25–64; *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester 1595–1700*, ed. J. Barlow (B.G.A.S., Gloucestershire Rec. Series **14**, 2001).
5. J. Wroughton, *An Unhappy Civil War* (1999), 182.
6. M. Airs, *The Tudor & Jacobean County House* (1995), 114–17.
7. GDR, Will 1685/193. The only reference to Greene located in the Gloucester parish registers is his first marriage to Joan Peirson at St. Nicholas's church on 31 March 1665: Gloucestershire Record Office (GRO), P 154/15/IN 1/1.
8. Other published inventories of early modern brickmakers may be found in *Buckinghamshire Probate Inventories 1661–1714*, ed. M. Reed (Buckinghamshire Rec. Soc. **24**, 1988) 175–7; *All My Worldly Goods*, ed. L.M. Munby (Bricket Wood Soc. 1991); *Probate Inventories of Lincoln Citizens 1661–1714*, ed. J.A. Johnston (Lincoln Rec. Soc. **80**, 1989), pp. li, 52–3. Of these only the Buckinghamshire example compares with Greene's for detail.
9. Birmingham Reference Library 602756/145.
10. S. Davies, 'The Rebuilding of a House in Gloucester, 1701–2', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **98** (1980), 173.
11. Gloucester Borough Records (GBR in GRO), C 10/2, ff. 26, 232; *Registers of Apprentices*, 115.
12. *Registers of Freemen*, 17, 36. No other brickmaker was admitted to the freedom until 1713.
13. GBR, C 10/2, f. 215.
14. R. Lucas, 'Brickmaking in Norfolk Commons', *Norfolk Archaeol.* **43(3)** (2000), 457–68.
15. Davies, 'Rebuilding of a House in Gloucester', 175.
16. Tween Dyke was a silted-up part of an abandoned channel of the River Severn.
17. P. Ripley, 'The Economy of the City of Gloucester 1660–1740', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **98** (1980), 135–53.
18. See Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760* (1988).
19. A.J.H. Sale, 'Ownership and Use of Silver in Gloucestershire, 1660–1740', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* **113** (1995), 121–49.
20. Greene's son William is left only 1*s.* and is not mentioned among the children to be maintained by their elder brother. No explanation is given. William appears in the apprenticeship register in 1692 and was admitted as a freeman in 1700.
21. GDR, Will 1718/240.
22. A mechanism for suspending cooking vessels over the fire.
23. Oak.
24. From the value 25,000 must be meant.
25. A standard of dry-goods weight that varied with the commodity. The amount of coal available at the two kilns appears to be sufficient for a single firing of bricks.
26. Poles from either the water elder of the mountain ash.
27. Augustine Loggins was a mason and John Guy a maltster, both of whose expertise was relevant to aspects of Greene's business. The evidence of the register of freemen suggests that Richard Symonds was a glover; he may have been a friend or neighbour of Greene's.