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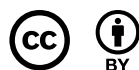
## Keeping it in the family: Interdisciplinary kinship and association studies of the Stanley family within the corporation oligarchy in seventeenth century Canterbury

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**Abstract:** Genealogies are essential to inform historical narratives and the activities of communities. For much of the early modern period, civic corporations in English provincial cities were oligarchies composed of wealthy citizens. Corporations have been well-studied as entities, but the interrelationships between the individuals of which they were composed are often neglected in historical research and remain unelaborated. Canterbury in Kent was a nationally important and prosperous town in the seventeenth century, not least as England's primary ecclesiastical centre and an historic pilgrimage site. A case study is presented here, focused on the wealthy Stanley family of brewers that originated from Ripple, Kent, which provided three generations of Canterbury mayors. The family's extended consanguinal and connubial members occupied important civic positions, including one-quarter of all mayors within a 60-year period between 1626 and 1686, during a turbulent period of political and social change that spanned the civil war. The kinship and association network here outlines how the seventeenth century Canterbury corporation was highly interrelated, and provides a personal context within which urban politics can be examined. The study exemplifies the relevance of kinship webs and association ties in interdisciplinary approaches involving communities, local government, social history and politics.

### Introduction

Seventeenth century England experienced huge political, social, religious and economic changes that included civil war and the restoration of the monarchy, and religious turbulence. Canterbury had been an important city since the middle ages, not least as an important pilgrimage destination to the shrine of Thomas Becket and as the seat of the Church of England and the ecclesiastical courts. It was the largest town in Kent and after London, Norwich, Bristol and York, was among the top 20 largest national urban centres<sup>1</sup>. The city was also wealthy, due to a disproportionate number of gentry, professional men and clergymen and was the most important commercial centre in East Kent<sup>2</sup>. Its population increased from c.3,500 in 1540, to about 6,500 in 1640<sup>3</sup>, mainly due to an influx of French Huguenot refugees. The city corporation regulated who could trade and made statutes and decrees "for the public good and common profit of the city"<sup>4</sup> and enforced them by imprisonment or fines. Canterbury is a county as well as a city and received its first charter in 1448<sup>5</sup>, which was renewed in the seventeenth century by James I in 1608 and Charles II in 1684. A few prominent and interrelated families dominated urban government in English cities, especially in the sixteenth century, to form a tight social elite and corporations were oligarchic, due to limited or no freeholder democracy. Several studies have highlighted the role of seventeenth century dynastic families in urban life, such as the Stokes family in Dover<sup>6</sup> or the Goldney family in Bristol<sup>7</sup> and the social structure of the merchant class in Norwich<sup>8</sup> and Exeter<sup>9</sup>. Canterbury is a rich location for similar study, due to the abundant archival material for genealogical research, including published rolls of freemen, marriage licences and the 1641 poll tax, in addition to parish and testamentary records. Seventeenth century kinship was extremely important in arranging marriages to consolidate wealth, power or social status, and especially for religious protection<sup>10</sup>, but also underlied a complex set of expectations that included patronage, financial and professional support. Kinship studies have recognised the importance of the extended family<sup>11</sup> and involve



lateral and collateral genealogical research to establish connubial and consanguinal connections. Association studies attempt to identify a network of interrelationships that underlie social structures. Because civic oligarchies relied on connections and patronage for their perpetuation, this makes them an appropriate focus of interdisciplinary approaches to understand their composition.

Standard genealogical methodology has been used to create a pedigree of the Stanley family including connubial interrelationships, to reveal ties not otherwise apparent from surnames alone. The case study illustrates the increase in social status of one branch of the family from the rural yeomanry to the city gentry. The civic importance of the Stanley family in Canterbury neatly spanned the seventeenth century, from when John Stanley became a freeman in 1603 to family bankruptcy in 1702 and the Stanley family was firmly embedded within a social elite and extended family members provided one-quarter of all mayors between 1626 and 1686.

We can posit the hypothesis that kinship knowledge concerning the genealogical relationships among the civic elite, coupled with association clusters of individuals, can inform an historical understanding of civic politics and the social fabric of urban life. The study also sheds light on the bidirectional social mobility of a family from yeomen to civic dignitaries and subsequent anonymity. The interrelatedness of the Canterbury city corporation in the seventeenth century is used to illustrate how allegiances were important in corporation politics, using the civil war, social unrest and religious and political factionalism as exemplary scenarios.

### Stanley family origins

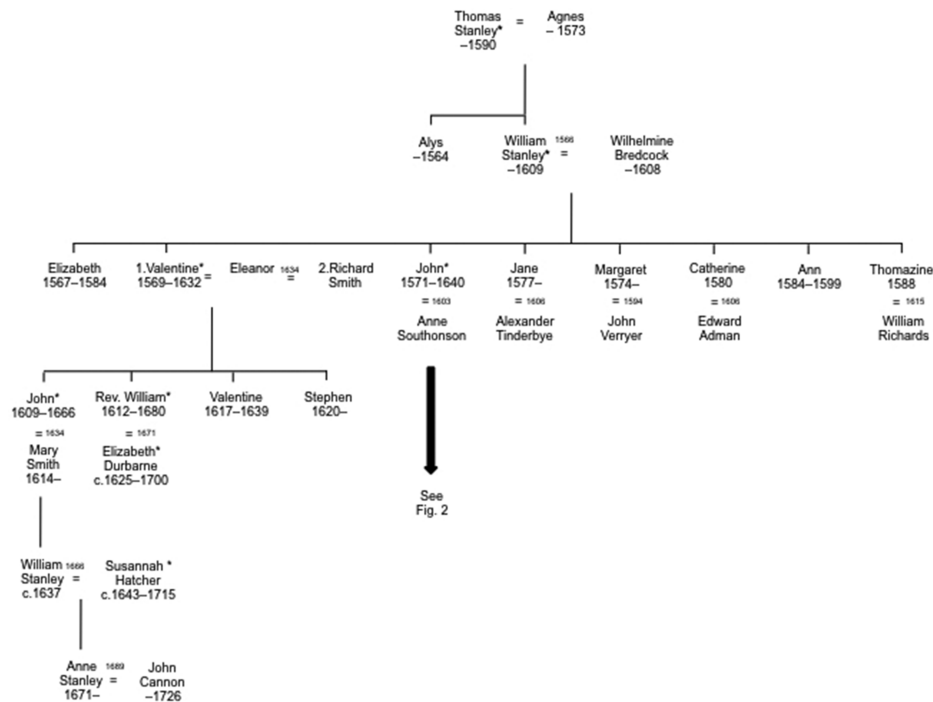
The first Stanley family mayor in Canterbury was John Stanley (1571–1643). His family's fortunes for approximately 100 years reflect success as brewers and can be traced in detail until the family disappears from prominence at the start of the eighteenth century. The Canterbury Stanleys originated from Ripple in East Kent (Fig. 1), the earliest traceable forebear of which was Thomas Stanley who died in 1590<sup>12</sup>. His son William married Wilhelmine Bredcock in 1566<sup>13</sup>. Thomas bequeathed a house to Wilhelmine and his house to William, together with land in Ripple, Sutton and elsewhere<sup>14</sup>. William Stanley and Wilhelmine had eight children baptized in Ripple (Fig. 1). Wilhelmine died in 1608<sup>15</sup> and William in 1609<sup>16</sup> and his inventory (in 1612)<sup>17</sup> lists his goods and chattels minus debts, at about 14 pounds.

Valentine, William's elder son (1569<sup>18</sup>–1632<sup>19</sup>) had four children<sup>20–23</sup> with his wife Eleanor, who after Valentine's death, married Richard Smith in 1634<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 1). The fortunes of the family increased from those of Thomas and William, and Valentine's inventory totalled 292 pounds<sup>25</sup>. He left most of his estate, including property and land in Ripple and Sutton, probably the same estates mentioned in Thomas' will in 1589, to his eldest son John<sup>26</sup>. Kent yeomen were traditionally the wealthiest in the country and the value of Valentine's estate was above average for a Kent yeoman of the period<sup>27</sup>. Valentine's son William attended Cambridge university, where he graduated with an MA in 1634, before becoming rector of Ripple (1648–1680)<sup>28</sup> and vicar of Walmer (1648–1680). He was mentioned in Samuel Pepys' diary for 6 May 1660, for praying for King Charles to a ship's crew before they sailed to Breda<sup>29</sup>. John, Valentine's oldest son, married Mary Smith in 1634<sup>30</sup> and his will of 1666<sup>31</sup> reveals that he was comfortably off and left a house and garden to each of his sons John and Stephen and his mansion house and land to his eldest son William and over 100 pounds between the rest of his five daughters and other relatives. The Ripple Stanleys were therefore successful yeomen and Anne, the daughter of William Stanley (b.1637) (Fig. 1), who married Susannah Hatcher<sup>32</sup> (d.c.1715<sup>33</sup>), married John Cannon<sup>34</sup>, who became mayor of Dover in 1716<sup>35</sup>.

The custom of gavelkind was practised in Kent<sup>36</sup>, whereby estates were distributed equally among male children after their father's death, in contrast to primogeniture. It is unknown whether William Stanley (d.1609) practised gavelkind, as only his inventory survives, but his son John in his will (1643)<sup>37</sup>, left a messuage, lands and appurtenances and tithes in Ripple, which he purchased himself, thus, potentially, Valentine inherited land, whereas his younger sibling John was forced to earn a living in trade. This betterment migration from rural yeomanry to urban life initiated a successful dynastic trajectory for the following hundred years.

### The Stanley family of Canterbury – civic dignitaries

In 1622, John Stanley (1571–1643) deposed that he was a beer brewer aged 49 who had lived in Canterbury for 15 years<sup>38</sup> – an underestimate, as he became a freeman in 1603<sup>39</sup>, concomitant with his marriage to Anne Southonsonne in 1603<sup>40</sup>. A pedigree of the Canterbury Stanley family from John has been compiled for four generations from parish records and wills (Fig. 2). Of John and Anne's six children, four survived to adulthood: Ann (1604<sup>41</sup>–1649<sup>42</sup>), married Thomas Elwyn (1600<sup>43</sup>–1649<sup>44</sup>), the son of Henry Elwyn of Stalisfield in 1628<sup>45</sup>, a London lawyer<sup>46</sup>. Thomas Elwyn (b.1629<sup>47</sup>), the son of Thomas and Anne, married Anne Aldey<sup>48</sup>, the daughter of the Rev. Edward Aldey (1596–1673)<sup>49</sup>. William Stanley (b.1605<sup>50</sup>) married Marion Berry in 1626<sup>51</sup> and had two children, John (1628)<sup>52</sup>, who was dead by 1674<sup>53</sup> and Katherine (1629<sup>54</sup>–1689<sup>55</sup>), who married John Cheever<sup>56</sup>. Following Marion's death, William married the widow Ann Tomer (possibly Turner, as the bondsman was Robert Turner jr.) in 1634<sup>57</sup> and had four further children: George (1637<sup>58</sup>–1676<sup>59</sup>), Paul (1644<sup>60</sup>–1672<sup>61</sup>), Edward, (1648)<sup>62</sup> and Margaret (1649)<sup>63</sup>. Edward spent some time in Virginia, America<sup>64</sup> and returned to England after his father's death in 1675, and died in prison in



**Figure 1. Pedigree of the Stanley family of Ripple, Kent. An asterisk shows that a will or inventory exists.**

Canterbury in 1680<sup>65</sup>. John and Anne's second son John Stanley (1609<sup>66</sup>–1657<sup>67</sup>) did not marry and entered the ministry; their third son Thomas (1613<sup>68</sup>–1640<sup>69</sup>) married Mary Knott<sup>70</sup>, daughter of George Knott, a brewer, and Mary Kenne<sup>71</sup>, and their sixth child, Elizabeth (bap.1617<sup>72</sup>), died in 1633<sup>73</sup> (Fig. 2).

It is unknown when John became a common councilman or alderman, as the Burghmote minute books for 1602–1630 no longer exist, but John was churchwarden of St. Mildred in 1616<sup>74</sup>, so clearly had begun to occupy positions of respectability and was mayor in 1626 and 1639 (Table 1). He also bought property outside Canterbury, acquiring a house and garden in Folkestone in 1625<sup>75</sup>. Commercial brewing formed an important part of Canterbury's economy, especially by the late seventeenth century<sup>76</sup>. Hasted, writing in 1800, states that between two and three thousand acres of hop ground were in the Canterbury area and the hops were of a very fine rich quality<sup>77</sup>.

When John died, he left Anne his wife twenty pounds, an annuity of eighteen pounds and his brewing and malting utensils<sup>78</sup>. He bequeathed property and land in Ripple bought from Mr. Constance, and tithes and the parsonage belonging to Ripple Court lodge that he purchased from the lord of the manor, Richard Gookin, to his son John, as well as houses and gardens that he had given to his deceased son Thomas. He also left fifty pounds and a house in St. Andrew's parish to his daughter Katherine and fifty pounds to his grandson Thomas Elwyn. John lists six manservants and unnamed maidservants, so clearly kept a large household. We cannot know the personal qualities that promoted John's civic career, but clearly his business standing in the town and churchwarden duties provided him with wealth and respect.

John listed no brewhouses in his will, but the family was firmly established in commercial brewing by the 1640s and the scale and the success of the business can be judged by his son Thomas' inventory in 1640<sup>79</sup>, which totalled just over 1,626 pounds, including the large sum of 700 pounds for his portion of the stock in the brew-house and malt-house and 600 pounds due upon mortgages and annuity. The brewery was probably the same one located in Stour Street in St. Mildred parish, which the family worked until 1702 (Fig. 3A and B). According to Flint<sup>80</sup>, William founded a brewery in Stour Street about 45 years prior to 1708, i.e. in c.1663, but was conceivably the same as that in his father's time. William inhabited Erroll House in Stour Street, which was surrounded by the brewery complex and still exists today. The house was occupied firstly by William and then by his son George by 1676<sup>81</sup> and was presumably the house listed with seven hearths in the hearth tax assessment in 1664 for William Stanley, mayor. At this point, George lived elsewhere and had nine hearths<sup>82</sup>. The opulence of the Stour St. house can be imagined from George's inventory in 1677<sup>83</sup>, which lists the worth of goods and furniture and hangings in the best chamber as 60 pounds 3 shillings and 6 pence, as well as 38 pounds, and 5 shillings for the goods and

hangings in the great chamber and hangings elsewhere, 30 pounds 3 shillings of pewter and brass, 10 pounds and 2 shillings' worth of furniture in the parlour and in the hall chamber, 10 pounds, 13 pounds of goods "in the redd chamber and the closset" and 10 pounds, 2 shillings and sixpence in another chamber, 50 pounds of linen and 30 pounds 10 shillings and 6 pence of plate and books. An idea of the extent of the family holdings can be obtained when William conveyed the brewery and other property to his son George in May 1675<sup>84</sup>, which consisted of tenements, gardens, backsides and appurtenances in Stour Street in the parish of St. Mildred and the following inns, each with the tenements, backsides, gardens and sometimes orchards and stables: the 'Two Bells' in the parish of St George the Martyr, the 'Bull's Head' Inn in St Mary Magdalen, the 'Beer Cart' Inn in the parish of St. Margaret, the 'King's Head' in the parish of Thanington, a malthouse with garden and in St Mildred parish, near to the 'Cardinal's Cap and five tenements in St. Mildred's parish near the river. Later in the same month, George leased all these back to William for 61 years, in addition to eight parcels of marshland (27 acres) in the parish of Burmarsh, within Romney Marsh, Kent<sup>85</sup>.

William Stanley became a common councilman in 1646 and alderman in 1650<sup>86</sup> and was mayor in 1653 and 1663 (Table. 1). Before he died, he petitioned to be buried in the Attwood chapel of St. Mildred's church his parents<sup>87</sup>. On his death, William bequeathed the Malthouse and gardens in St. Mildred and five tenements to his son Edward, and then to his grandchildren John and William after Edward's death and also the Nagg's Head in St. George the Martyr and St. Andrew's parishes. He left an annuity of thirty pounds to his daughter-in-law Susanna. George continued to hold all the inns he already possessed and the brewery<sup>88</sup> and leased hop gardens in St. Mildred parish, adjacent to the River Stour<sup>89</sup> and Colton land from the corporation in 1654<sup>90</sup>. George Stanley's inventory in 1677<sup>91</sup> totalled 996 pounds 11 shillings and illustrates the large scale of the brewing operations, which included 120 pounds worth of barley and malt, 110 pounds of hops and hop poles belonging to several hop grounds, 68 pounds of butts, hogsheads, barrels, kilderkins and firkins, 44 pounds for horses wagons, beer carts and harnesses and 141 pounds 2 shillings and 6 pence for all the materials in the brewhouses. The lease of a single pub the 'Blue Bear' was worth 12 pounds. The high quality and large market for accommodation and hostelries in Canterbury of the time, meant that the Stanley's brewing and presumably lodging businesses in their inns were extremely lucrative.

George was apprenticed for 8 years when he was about 14 in 1651, to George Cole in London in the company of mercers<sup>92</sup> and became common councilman and alderman in 1674<sup>93</sup> and mayor in 1676 (Table. 1) and died whilst in office. George and his wife Susan had nine children, three of whom reached adulthood: John married Sybilla Mills in 1689<sup>94</sup>; William married Susannah and Elizabeth married William Tilden in 1684<sup>95</sup>. John and Sibilla had two sons<sup>96</sup>, and after John's death in 1693<sup>97</sup>, Sibilla married John Clarke, "doctor of physic"<sup>98</sup>, and had three more children<sup>99-101</sup> (Fig. 2). In his will, George wanted his son John to go to one of the universities "if he have any inclination or affection thereunto", and if he would continue his study to be a minister, he would receive 30 pounds per annum until the age of 23. If not, George desired that he and his other son William be apprenticed to some suitable profession. After bequests to his sister Katherine Cheever and 50 pounds to each of the two sons of his brother John, he made his son John the sole heir after the death of his wife. On 1 August 1689, Susannah Stanley conveyed the portfolio of properties that her husband George had received from his father, to her son John, 10 days before his marriage to Sibilla Milles, including the 'Two Bells', the 'Bull', the malthouse and garden in St. Mildred parish, opposite or near the 'Cardinal's Cap' and the five tenements near the river<sup>102</sup>.

John Stanley's inventory made by Susanna in 1696<sup>103</sup> lists debts to fifteen people for a total of over 229 pounds, with the residue of his inventory being just over 97 pounds. The hangings of the rooms were now valued at 3 pounds, and although there was still 21 pounds worth of silver plate and a "mohaire bed lined with silke" worth 30 pounds, the business was clearly no longer doing so well.

On 27 March 1694, John's brother William and his wife Sibilla took over the 'Two Bells', the 'Bull', the malthouse and garden near the the 'Cardinal's Cap' and the five small tenements near the river<sup>104</sup>.

On 11 April 1694, Susanna, William and John Cheever and Anthony Belke conveyed the brewhouse, malthouse, barn, stables, outhouses; the small messuage adjoining the brewhouse, the tenement, court yards, gardens, sign of the 'Beer Cart' in the parishes of St Mildred and St. Margaret's to Jeremy Cheever<sup>105</sup>. On 21 July 1700, Susanna, William and John Cheever mortgaged premises<sup>106</sup> and again in 1701, to Dame Elizabeth Monins<sup>107</sup>. On 19 January 1702, the conveyance and final accord took place to the commissioners of bankruptcy against William Stanley, brewer, Susanna, his wife to William Tilden, gent, Elizabeth, his wife, Jeremiah Cheever, scrivener, Thomas Blunden, builder<sup>108</sup>. This included the whole property: the 'King's Head' in Thanington, the brewhouse, malthouse, stables, yards in St Mildred's parish, three tenements, adjoining the Brewhouse, the 'Beer Cart', the 'Two Bells', the 'Bull's Head', malthouse, four small messuages and four gardens in St Mildred's parish.

The reasons for bankruptcy are unclear, but in 1696, a petition was submitted to parliament by Henry Waddell, mayor of Canterbury, William Stanley and others on behalf of the brewers of Canterbury and environs and Faversham, to protest at excise duties, especially on

wine, “which are so grievous, that, if continued, the Petitioners cannot exercise their trade”<sup>109</sup>, which might have contributed to the decline of the Stanley business. From this time onwards, the family rapidly lost social and political prominence and the family disappears from the records.

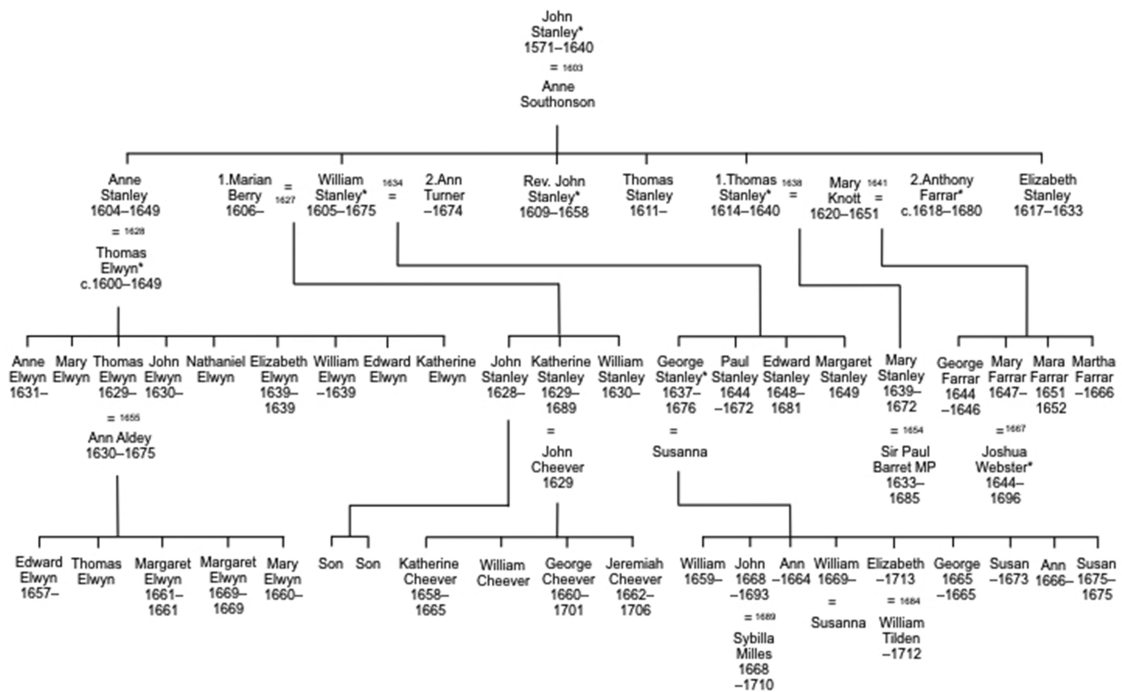


Figure 2. Pedigree of the Stanley family of Canterbury descended from John Stanley of Ripple. An asterisk shows that a will or inventory exists.

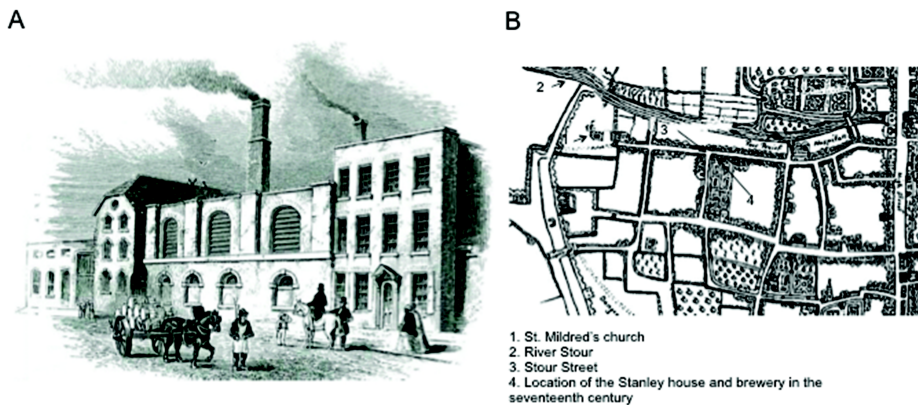


Figure 3. A) View of the Stour Street brewery, Canterbury ca.1830, which the Stanley family owned in the seventeenth century. The house on the right is Erroll house, where William Stanley (1605–1675) and then George Stanley (1637–1676) resided. Image reproduced with kind permission from Tina Machado: <http://www.machadoink.com/Stour%20Street.htm> B) Excerpt from a map of Canterbury from 1640 (Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, map 123) showing a part of St. Mildred's parish, with the river Stour (top) and gardens, possibly hop gardens behind the houses in Stour Street. Image reproduced with kind permission from Stephen Bax. <http://canterburybuildings.co.uk/maps/1640/1640.htm>.

**Connections to other corporation members**

In addition to providing three generations of Canterbury mayors, the Stanley family forged connubial alliances within the elite social stratum of the city, several of whom were also relatives or descendants of mayors or occupied other corporation positions (Table 1 and Fig. 4). William Stanley's first wife, Marion Berry was the granddaughter of Mark Berry, mayor in 1591, 1605 and 1616 (Table 1). Marion's sister, Mildred Berry married George Milles<sup>110</sup>, linendraper, who was mayor in 1661 and Thomas Stanley's (1628–1640) father-in-law, George Knott (d.1654<sup>111</sup>), was elected mayor in 1643, but the election was declared void by parliament<sup>112</sup>. Thomas Elwyn (b.1629) was mayor in 1670 (Table 1) and Ann Aldey, his wife, was a descendant of Henry Aldey, mayor in 1560 (Table 1). Several descendants of Thomas Elwyn (b.1629) held corporation offices in the eighteenth century (Table 1), and Berry acknowledges them to be descendants of

Thomas Elwyn (b.1629) and descendants of the Aldays of Chequers<sup>113</sup>. Mary Knott married her second husband Anthony Farrar<sup>114</sup>, whose mother, Martha (née Pysing) married John Furser in 1633<sup>115</sup>, who became mayor in 1640 (Table 1). Anthony Farrar's sister Hester married Henry Twyman<sup>116</sup>, mayor in 1655 and 1662, whose two daughters, Martha and Hester, married Thomas Knowler<sup>117</sup>, mayor in 1673 and 1686, and Thomas Fidge<sup>118</sup>, son of Thomas Fidge, mercer, mayor in 1671, respectively. Thomas Knowler's grandson, George, was also mayor in 1759 and 1773 (Table 1).

The extended Stanley family included 17 mayors and 29 mayoralities in total, from Henry Aldey in 1560 (Fig. 4 and Table 1, including George Knott) to Thomas Elwyn in 1779 and within a 60-year period from 1626 to 1686, mayors occupying 15 mayoralities – one-quarter of the total – were interrelated. The family was so embedded within the civic elite, that the two children of John and Sibilla Stanley could claim a grandfather, two great grandfathers, a great great grandfather, a 3x great grandfather and a step-4x great grandfather who had been mayors. Furthermore, Richard May was Sheriff in 1652 and John Cheever in 1661 (Table 1). William Milles, the son of George Milles, Richard May jnr. and George Cheever were all common councilmen and Anthony Farrar was an alderman. Thomas Stanley's daughter, Mary (1629–1672) was the first wife<sup>119</sup> of Paul Barrett (1633–1685). Paul Barret studied at Oxford, became a barrister-at-law in Gray's Inn in 1659, a bencher 1679, recorder of Canterbury, M.P. Romney 1678/9–1681, serjeant-at-law 1648, and was knighted in 1683<sup>120</sup>. Paul Barrett's grandson Thomas Barrett (1743–1803) was MP for Dover and owned Lee Priory at Ickham, Kent<sup>121</sup> and was also a friend of Horace Walpole, the Earl of Oxford<sup>122</sup>. Thus, the kinship network elaborated here reveals an extraordinarily high interrelatedness among the civic elite that was potentially even unique for contemporary cities.

**Table 1. Civic offices held by individuals in Figures 2 and 4.**

Name	Corporation offices held			
	Common Councillor	Alderman	Sheriff	Mayor
Henry Aldey				1560
James Nethersole				1567, 1572, 1579
Gilbert Penny		1580		1586
Adrian Nicholls				1588
Edward Nethersole		1587		1590, 1604
Mark Berry		1590	1587	1592, 1605, 1616
William Berry		1583		
John Stanley				1626, 1639
John Furser				1627
George Knott		1640		1643 <sup>a</sup> ,
William Stanley	1646	1650		1653, 1663
William Stanley	1698			
Henry Twyman				1655, 1662
Richard May	1651	1653	1652	1656
Richard May jnr.	1684	1685		
Anthony Farrar	1650	1653		
George Milles		1643*		1661
George Milles jnr.	1660			
William Milles	1666			
Thomas Elwyn	1662	1664		1670
Thomas Fidge* <sup>2</sup>	1659	1662		1671
Thomas Knowler	1662	1669		1673, 1686
Thomas Fidge jnr.	1677			
George Stanley	1674	1674		1676
John Cheever	1660		1661	
George Cheever	1691			
Paul Barrett	1668			
George Knowler				1759, 1763
Thomas Elwyn			1773	1779
Richard Elwyn			1783	
George Elwyn			1808	

**Notes**

A question mark denotes that the person was an alderman but the date is not known.

\*<sup>1</sup>removed in 1643, restored in 1660.

\*<sup>2</sup>removed in 1687, restored in 1688.

<sup>a</sup>election declared void by parliament.

Data from Canterbury cathedral archives<sup>123</sup>, and Wikipedia<sup>124</sup>.

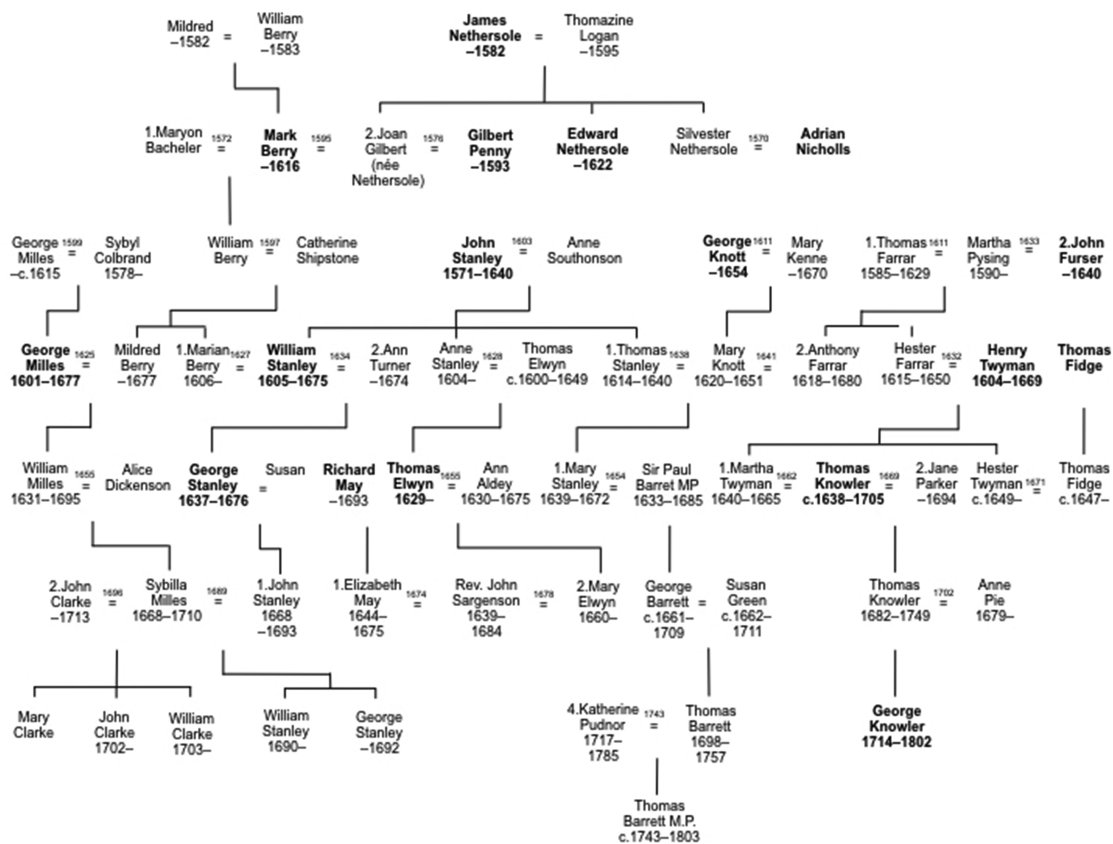


Figure 4. A simplified pedigree showing the extended connubial relationships of the Stanley family, including mayors (marked in bold).

### Trajectories of mayorship

It is unsurprising given the limited pool of aldermen, that many were returned as mayor frequently. In addition to John and William Stanley, ten Canterbury individuals held two mayoralties in the seventeenth century and two individuals were mayor three times (Table 1). In the early modern period, several familial successions to the mayoralty occurred: James Nethersole was mayor in 1567, 1572, 1579, as was his son Edward in 1590 and 1604<sup>125</sup>. The son of William Whiting (mayor 1625), also William, became mayor in 1651 and married Susanna, the daughter of thrice mayor Avery Sabine<sup>126</sup> and Squier Beverton, the son of Squier Beverton (mayor, 1659), was mayor in 1683 and 1697 and married Frances Reeve, 1662, daughter of William Reeve, mayor in 1649 and his wife, Elizabeth<sup>127</sup>. However, the Stanley family was unique in providing three successive generations of seventeenth century mayors.

Several seventeenth century mayors belonged to the landed gentry and sat in parliament: Henry Lee (mayor 1687) was also MP for Canterbury variously between 1685 and 1715<sup>128</sup> and Sir William Honeywood, baronet (Mayor 1685) was MP between 1685 and 1695<sup>129</sup>; and Sir Peter Manwood (mayor 1605) sat in the commons variously between 1589 and 1621<sup>130</sup>. The thrice-mayor (1609, 1622, and 1632) George Clagett was an armigerous<sup>131</sup>, as was William Turner<sup>132</sup> (mayor in 1660). Walter Southwell (mayor in 1634) was a surgeon and apothecary<sup>133</sup>. Several mayors were tradesmen, such as woollendrapers Robert Wynne<sup>134</sup>, Thomas Tresser<sup>135</sup>, Henry Twyman (mayor 1655)<sup>136</sup> and William Whiting<sup>137</sup> and his son<sup>138</sup> (mayor) and Daniel Masterson was a grocer<sup>139</sup> (mayor 1640).

The biographies of several Canterbury mayors are well known, e.g., Robert Wynne and William Watmer<sup>140</sup> and Joseph Colfe<sup>141</sup>, who entered a pedigree in the 1619 Visitation of Kent<sup>142</sup> but there was no stereotypical route to mayorship. Freeman status could be obtained by birth, marriage, apprenticeship or purchase, or be conferred by the corporation<sup>143</sup>. John Stanley purchased his freedom<sup>144</sup> (set at 20 pounds in the reign of Elizabeth<sup>145</sup>). Some evidence that he might have married into an influential family is that his wife Anne Southonson might have been Anne Southouse baptised in Selling in 1573<sup>146</sup>. Members of this family often used Southonson as an onomastic variant and William was bondsman for the marriage of Thomas Southouse of Selling in 1634<sup>147</sup>. The Southouse family were entered into the Visitation of 1663<sup>148</sup>.

After John Stanley became a common councilman or alderman, only patience was required to be created alderman. The mayorial stipend of 100 pounds set in 1638<sup>149</sup> (20 pounds under Henry VIII) was intended to contribute to expenses of office and as an incentive to give up a year

of business. Civic posts were obviously prestigious and incurred serious financial penalties when rejected and thus, did not necessarily involve political ambition: from 1685, the fines for refusing the post of mayor, alderman and common councilman were 100 pounds, 30 pounds and 20 pounds, respectively<sup>150</sup>.

The best way to become mayor given business success, was to know the right people, especially as many common councilmen as possible or to have social status and wealth. To ascend the civic hierarchy, moral integrity, respectability, diplomacy and the ability to promote the best interests of city locally and nationally were key attributes. A headstart might have been to serve an apprenticeship under an alderman or mayor, to obtain his subsequent patronage and support.

### Association analysis

In addition to kinship studies, association analysis can powerfully depict social groups connected by diverse affinal ties. These included friends and acquaintances, neighbours, apprentices, servants, godchildren, godparents or professional ties via guild associations. These were important social alliances, support networks and patronage that were essential for success in business, politics and social manoeuvring. Religious and political allegiances were particularly important prior to and during the civil war. An association network for the three generations of the Stanley family in Fig. 5 reveals links from servants to the aristocracy.

John (d.1640) and his son John (d.1657) were friends of the antiquarian scholar William Somner (1598–1669)<sup>151</sup>, who acted as overseer and witness and as executor of their respective wills. Somner authored the first dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon language and was registrar and friend of archbishop of Canterbury William Laud, executed in 1645<sup>152</sup>. Somner was a royalist and after parliamentary troops attacked Canterbury Cathedral in 1642, he was there to literally pick up the pieces. He protected ancient Cathedral documents and collected the remains of the demolished font, keeping them hidden at home until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660<sup>153</sup>.

John Stanley (1608–1657) obtained a BA from Cambridge in 1626/7<sup>154</sup> and MA at Oxford 1629<sup>155</sup>, before becoming chaplain of Magdalen College Oxford 1630–1647. Concurrently, he was preacher at Horspath, Oxfordshire 1631–1633, Hullavington Wilts 1636, Rector of Kirky Overblow, Yorks 1646–1648, and rector of Spofforth, Yorks<sup>156</sup>. In 1647 he was ejected from his position at Magdalen by the Parliamentary visitation<sup>157</sup>, for refusing to submit to the authority of Parliament, revealing his royalist tendencies. John was probably the school teacher of Spofforth who was also ejected<sup>158</sup> and then returned to Canterbury. His tomb (Fig. 6A) states that he was chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland, a post he took up in 1647<sup>159</sup>. John was wealthy and a generous benefactor to the poor; when he died, he left 210 pounds divided among the poor of the parishes of Hullavington Wilts, Herne, and St. Pauls, Northgate, St. George and St. Mildred in Canterbury. He set aside 100 pounds for his funeral, and left 84 pounds to the Jesus hospital in Canterbury, 70 pounds to the Eastbridge hospital and 70 pounds to the Maynard hospital in St. Mildred's parish<sup>160</sup>. His highly itemised financial bequests links him with clerics across the county and country. He bequeathed 500 pounds to 24 different clergymen (Fig. 5), including fellow clergy from Canterbury and environs and many he had known in Oxford or during his preferments in Wiltshire or Yorkshire. Many had suffered by being royalists and had lost their preferments at the start of the civil war. For example, Dr. Bruno Ryves (1596–1677) was chaplain to Charles I in 1640 but was deprived of his benefice of Stanwell in 1642. In 1646 he was created dean of Chichester, but remained dependent on charity until after 1649<sup>161</sup>. Anthony Farrington (Farndon) (1598–1658), a "royalist divine" lost his preferments due to the civil war<sup>162</sup>. Dr. George Wild and Dr. Gillingham were preachers at the church of St Gregory by St. Paul, London in 1658<sup>163</sup>, where symptomatic of the dangerous period for royalists, Dr. John Hewett (1614–1658) from the same church was executed for treason in 1658<sup>164</sup>. Dr. John Doughtie (1598–1672) also lost his living and was prevented from preaching but on the restoration, petitioned the king for a vacant prebend in Westminster Abbey<sup>165</sup>. Dr. John Meredith was also deprived of his living by the House of Lords in 1643<sup>166</sup>. Dr. David Stokes lost his preferments due to the civil war and went to Oxford, where he was created Dr. of Divinity in 1645 and his preferments were reinstated after the restoration<sup>167</sup>.

John also left 20 pounds for Mr. Thurcross to dispose of as he saw fit, to a poor minister or their widow in need of relief, presumably one without income after losing their preferments. The 500 pounds for all the legacies was to come from the money owed to John by Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowle (1613–1684), whom he made one of his overseers. Thomas Peyton, baronet, was a royalist, whose estates were sequestered by parliament in 1643 and was subsequently a member of The Action Party, dedicated to bringing down the Protectorate government<sup>168</sup>. The Stanley family was apparently used to lending large sums of money to royalists, as John's will states that he lent 300 pounds to Sir William Brockman of Newington-next-Hithe (1595–1654). John's father (d.1643) also left him an annuity deriving from Thomas, John's brother (d.1640), in consideration of 300 pounds lent to Brockman by Thomas. Brockman was a royalist, who was arrested and imprisoned in London in 1642 for his support of Charles I. He was removed to Kent in 1644 but remained in custody and led a group of 800 men as part of the battle of Maidstone in 1648. In 1651 he was declared a delinquent and was fined 500 pounds, but avoided sequestration of his estates<sup>169</sup>. It is intriguing to speculate whether the 300 pounds he received from John Stanley enabled him to pay his fines and keep his estates: this was clearly in John's interest, to continue to receive the annuities.

John's identification with well-known royalists contrasts with his association in 1647 with the tenth Earl of Northumberland, who became the highest-ranking member of Charles I's government to side with the Parliamentarians. However, he was a conciliator and mediator and became the leader of a party favouring peace by 1643 and in 1645, Parliament made him guardian of Charles' two children and he supported Charles I when Parliament wanted to try him in 1649. There was even talk that he might be made king if negotiations with Charles failed<sup>170</sup>.

Another association tie was via godchildren: John Stanley's (d.1643) godson was Richard Alleyn<sup>171</sup> (b.1610), the son of Richard Alleyn DD (1572–1651), rector of St. Mildred from 1601–1637 and himself rector of St. Mildred from 1637 to 1654<sup>172</sup>. The ties with important citizens in Fig. 6 reflect social life within St. Mildred's parish and the city, and in the case of John Stanley (d.1658), link him with a national network of royalist preachers and confirm the probable royalist affiliation of the family during the 1640s and 1650s, even at the highest levels, including Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir William Brockman and the Earl of Northumberland.

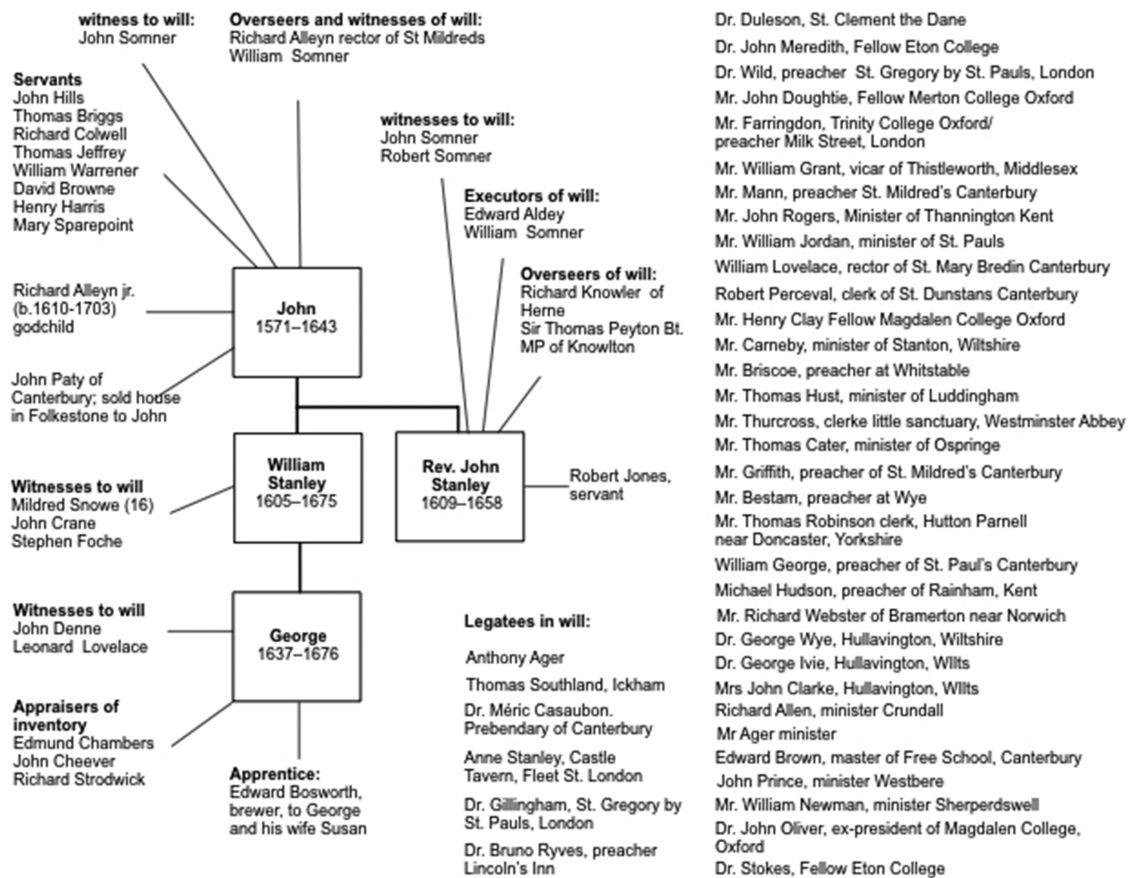


Figure 5. Association analysis for three generations of the Stanley family.

**Corporation Oligarchy and factionalism**

Once interrelationships and associations are established via kinship and association studies, it is possible to analyse how these might have functioned within the civic oligarchy in response to factionalism and political challenge. Interpretations of oligarchies include two main concepts: firstly, a neutral and benign concept of governance by the few, which in the case of the seventeenth century Canterbury corporation is indisputable; and secondly, the extent to which civic leaders corrupted their power by placing their own interests before those of the citizenry<sup>173</sup>. In its dominance over civic life, the corporation was also a hegemony, but one that was vulnerable to conflict, factionalism, religious challenge and political division. The Canterbury corporation consisted of 24 common councilmen, elected by the other common councilmen by majority from among the freemen. Similarly, twelve aldermen were also replenished by majority vote among themselves from the common councilmen. Mayors were elected annually by the common councilmen, citizens and freemen from one of two alderman candidates. Most positions, such as sheriff, were filled by cooptation from among the common councilmen. Other arcane positions such as blower of the burghmote horn, town crier and sword bearer were also chosen by the common councilmen<sup>174</sup>. Corporation nomination was potentially open to nepotism and abuse to privilege relatives, business partners and friends. Apart from the eligibility to vote for the mayor, freemen were excluded from the franchise. Furthermore, only about 7% of individuals in Canterbury between 1650–1699 were citizens,

equating to about 33% of households<sup>175</sup> and meaning that a low proportion of the population was enfranchised. A closed corporation led to many examples of abuse of power. One example in Canterbury was an attempt to manipulate oaths: in 1608, John Denne brought a suit against two former mayors Thomas Paramore (mayor 1607) and Richard Gaunt (mayor 1602), for altering the oath of admission for freemen of the city, to include a promise not to bring an action against other freemen from outside the city<sup>176, 177</sup>.

### **Factionalism and allegiance: the parliamentary election of 1626**

A further example of factionalism that challenged the corporation was the election of 1626 to return two MPs for Canterbury to parliament<sup>1178</sup>. Montgomery, the Lord Lieutenant of Kent favoured James Palmer, whom the corporation chose to support as a candidate: due to the financial weakness of the city, the corporation needed friends in high places and Montgomery's patronage and Palmer's contact with the king was beneficial. However, Palmer was resident in London and was ineligible to be a Canterbury freeman and the citizenry favoured Sir John Wilde, whom the corporation hypocritically refused to make a freeman. Following this perceived preferentialism, many turned to Thomas Scott, who was MP in 1624, for support; thus, Scott and Wilde formed an electoral alliance against the corporation's Palmer and Sir John Finch as a second candidate and triggered the mayor and alderman to systematically bully and intimidate the freemen into voting for Palmer and Finch, who were ultimately returned, as the sheriff refused to hold a poll and the outcome was decided on audible voting. Due to intimidation, most of Scott's supporters were too frightened to voice their support loudly and opted for an ineffectual 'softlie voice' to appease their consciences. An outraged Scott claimed that the city oligarchy (which included John Stanley), whom he scorned as being dominated by a "faction of Brewers and Alehouse keepers and Alehouse hunters, Papists, Atheists, Nonresident Priests and Dumbdogs such as rob the poore of their right, and oppresse the Commons", had corruptly returned Palmer, and demanded reform of the system and wrote his treatise "Canterburie cittizens for the parliament, presenting a true relation of...the injustice and disorders at the Canterbury elections". Scott had the support of several clergy, including Edward Aldey, who was determined to see that the Corporation made 'a free and legall and quiet choice' for its parliamentary candidates. Aldey also delivered a sermon in support of John Wilde<sup>179</sup>. Aldey's involvement frustrated the mayor and town clerk, who demanded to know why Aldey "meddle[d] in civil businesses? He did contrary to religion in it"<sup>180</sup> (Gruenfelder, 1981). Politically motivated clergy were influential in the political or religious ideology of Canterbury citizens. The 1626 elections occurred in the same year that John Stanley became mayor, and although we do not know his opinion or actions as an alderman during the election, his allegiances were clearly at odds with those of Edward Aldey. As part of their campaign of intimidation, the corporation threatened inn-keepers with the loss of their licences or beer supply or were instructed to deny customers credit. Because six of the aldermen were brewers, the potential loss of trade might have convinced them to ally with the corporation. It wasn't until 1655 that Edward Aldey's daughter married John Stanley's grandson, but this example of oligarchic rule at its most corrupt and self-serving epitomises factionalism and ever-present political posturing and show how community factionalism could cross diverse affinal and familial ties.

More than a century later in 1760, Thomas Roch, cabinet maker claimed that the Canterbury corporation was so badly run that nearly 40 people had paid fines to avoid office, leaving the city to be run by those who could not afford to do so, leading to "a conversion both of power and money, more to their own private advantage than the general good for which they were designed"<sup>181</sup>. It is unknown how exaggerated his grievances were, but Roch went to the expense of privately printing a book to publicise them.

Anglican and puritan factions in Canterbury were problematic between 1640–1680. John Durant, the revolutionary dissenting preacher of the independent church in Canterbury since 1646<sup>182</sup>, attracted huge congregations and in 1681, his followers were described by William Rooke, a Kent loyalist as "now the majority of the aldermen and common council, admitting none to be livery men or sheriffs but their own party, all juries and constables being of the same stamp"<sup>183</sup>. In 1675, Thomas Hardres, one of Canterbury's MPs and the recorder, refused to hold court sessions with the mayor Thomas Enfield, since he had not subscribed to the oaths of allegiancy and supremacy (to the King), required by the Corporation Act. His action 'had so ill effect, and made such impression on the common people, that they refused to obey the mayor or any of the officers of the city'. A group of the corporation dismissed the recorder and replaced him by Paul Barrett, which was within their right under the charter. However, Hardres complained to parliament that his removal was a breach of parliamentary privilege and the mayor and seven aldermen: Squire Beverton, Francis Maplesden, William Gillam, Thomas Fidge, William Stanley, Thomas Elwyn, George Stanley, and Paul Barrett, were summoned to parliament to account for their action. The fact that the latter five were all related (Fig. 4), was presumably one factor in their unified action. The mayor and aldermen were imprisoned for a week and were only released after paying a fine and apologising<sup>184</sup>. Hardres was then reinstated<sup>185</sup> and Paul Barrett only became recorder in 1681<sup>186</sup>. It is unclear why the group ousted Hardres, but possibly to avoid unrest, as there is no evidence that they were dissenters or followers of Durant, and in 1676, Thomas Enfield was dismissed as an alderman "for endeavouring to oppose the fanatical party and to suppress conventicles and punish unlawful assemblies"<sup>187</sup> But he took the corporation to court and won.

In addition to the Stanley family being royalists, so was mayor Richard May – "ever loyal and instrumental in promoting the late Kentish declaration for a full and free parliament", and he petitioned the King for an office at the restoration<sup>188</sup>. George Milles and his son were also

active royalists, as John Bissett deposed that “in the insurrection ag<sup>t</sup> the Parl<sup>t</sup> in this City (Canterbury), in the year 1648, he did see Mr George Milles, of Canterbury, with the insurrection on horseback, armed with pistols; and as this ex<sup>te</sup> best remembers, he did see the eldest son of the said Mr Milles also in arms, having one pistol”<sup>189</sup>.

### John Marston and county petitions

Another manifestation of political and religious factionalism that divided families and the Canterbury community is the case of John Marston, a royalist preacher who was ejected in 1642 from his living in Canterbury by parliament for spreading scandalous words against parliament<sup>190</sup>. Marston had been imprisoned by the ecclesiastical court for adultery for three months in 1640, as part of William Laud’s purge of debauchery among the clergy. In 1642, a petition against Marston was initiated, which included highly respected members of the community and shared strong family connections. The subscribers opposed Marston on moral grounds and for his anti-parliamentarianism, but the following month, a counter-petition in support of Marston was presented to parliament, claiming he had suffered sufficiently for his sexual misdemeanors and was a diligent preacher. Marston was imprisoned for a few months, before moving to Oxford. The response to Marston exemplifies an active and vociferous citizenry, extremely aware of national events, and illustrates how petitions politicised parishioners. Other county petitions galvanized popular support in the 1640s, such as Sir Edward Dering’s royalist petition of January 1641, which attracted about 2,500 mainly gentry signatures, and a counter petition in April by Thomas Blount in favour of parliament and its reforming policies, received 6,000 signatures, including the mayor of Canterbury and 11 out of the 12 aldermen.

### The Plum Pudding Riots and the second English civil war

The plum pudding or Christmas Day riots in 1647 signified revolt against parliament that presaged the second English civil war and marked Canterbury and Kent as an important trigger in national events<sup>191</sup>. In 1647, the puritan Parliament banned the celebration of Christmas and the churches were to be closed. Under the slogan “For God, King Charles, and Kent”, a large crowd gathered in Canterbury and riots ensued for several weeks until forced to surrender to troops in early January 1648<sup>192</sup>. In turn, Parliament tried to put down all royalist meetings and to muster troops in Kent, resulting in the 1648 royalist uprising, which was defeated in the battle of Maidstone in June 1648. Sir Thomas Peyton, of Knowlton, friend of John Stanley, was one of leaders of the 1648 petition and the royalist rising<sup>193</sup>.

The influence of Marston and Durant demonstrated the important role that clerics played in persuading parishioners to support king or parliament, by circulating political news and reading crown documents from the pulpit to inform the population. Edward Aldey, whose daughter Anne married into the Stanley family via Thomas Elwyn (Fig. 2), was considered “a soft man, of weak resolutions”<sup>194</sup>. However, his sermon in defence of worship on Christmas Day in 1647 is thought to have been influential in supporting Charles I in Kent during the second civil war in 1648. Aldey was described as a ‘puritan’ divine by Sir James Oxinden in December 1641<sup>195</sup>. He also supported Marston<sup>196</sup>. Edward Aldey’s grandson-in-law was the Rev. John Sarjenson, rector of St. Mildred’s from 1672–1684<sup>197</sup>. The Stanley family was thus connected to several clerics, who in the case of Edward Aldey, were politically active in sermonising and influencing popular opinion.

### Kinship

The concept of kinship was integral to the early modern ‘economy of obligation’<sup>198</sup>, which was based on credit and tied closely with kin to raise capital for commercial endeavours. The vocabulary of the nuclear family acknowledged the inclusivity of more distant relations, who were claimed as “cousins” and the marriage of a daughter created a new “son”, or “brother”. John Stanley conventionally referred in his will<sup>199</sup> to his nephew’s wife as his “niece”, but acknowledged his brother’s wife’s sister, Mildred Berry, as “sister”, and her husband George Milles, i.e., his sister-in-law’s brother-in-law, by the catch-all “kinsman”. The public recognition and acknowledgement of distant kinship ties, with the obligations and implications that this brought, was cohesive. John appointed the Rev. Edward Aldey, the father of his nephew’s wife, as one of his executors. Thomas Elwyn in his 1649<sup>200</sup> will refers to “my brother Stanley” (probably William). As well as financial support, kinship obligations included professional patronage, acting as bondsman, or political favours and included duties and mutual expectations that operated in all aspects of life<sup>201</sup> and even over large distances: English emigrées to the New World maintained contact with relatives in England that were important in invoking help where necessary<sup>202</sup>. The Canterbury Stanleys also maintained active links with the Ripple Stanleys: the bondsman to the marriage of William Stanley of Ripple to Elizabeth Durbarne in 1671<sup>203</sup>, was John Cheever, his first cousin’s son-in-law, and the bondsmen to the marriage of John Stanley of Ripple to Mary Smith in 1634<sup>204</sup> were his first cousins Thomas and William Stanley of Canterbury. George Stanley’s will was witnessed by his distant kinsman by marriage, Richard May, in 1676<sup>205</sup>, and John Cheever witnessed the will of his kinsman George Milles in 1675<sup>206</sup>. In communities even as large as Canterbury, awareness of kinship ties would have been important. Kinship responsibility was an important factor in “betterment migration” of family members who moved to the city<sup>207</sup>. Successful city dwellers were expected to help arrange the education and employment of these rural kinsmen. Family frequently arranged apprenticeships and although not a migrant, John Twyman the son of the mayor, Henry Twyman was apprenticed to his uncle Anthony Farrar and Thomas Knowler to Henry Twyman, his future father-in-law<sup>208</sup>.

### Family connections beyond Canterbury/Kent

Everitt suggests that Kent's geographical isolation led to greater immobility and inbreeding in the Early Modern period than in other counties, which strengthened the closeness of the gentry<sup>209</sup>. However, the notion that early modern communities in the provinces were insulated from national affairs or parochial in their outlook is simplistic. The extent of social networks is often considerably underestimated and can be easily revealed by kinship and association ties. Many of the extended Stanley family were foreigners to Canterbury or Kent. For example, James Cheever the grandfather of John Cheever who married Katherine Stanley, came from Mansfield, Nottinghamshire<sup>210</sup>. Furthermore, Cheever connections extended to the New World: John Cheever's cousin, Ezekiel Cheever the educator<sup>211</sup> was in New England and his son Ezekiel was immortalised in the Arthur Miller play *The Crucible* as the eponymous character Ezekiel Cheever<sup>212</sup>.

Thomas Elwyn was from Stalisfield, Kent, where his family resided from at least the fifteenth century<sup>213</sup>. Elwyn dynastic connections can also be traced forwards: Thomas Elwyn, the great grandson of Thomas Elwin (mayor 1671) was mayor in 1779 (Table 1) and his son, also Thomas (1775–1816), emigrated to America and married Elizabeth Langdon, the daughter of John Langdon, the first governor of New Hampshire<sup>214</sup>.

Mary Farrar married Joshua Webster of Middlesex, in 1667<sup>215</sup>, whose father, Peter Webster, came from Whittington, Derbyshire, where he bequeathed money in 1678 to establish a school<sup>216</sup>, which still exists. Joshua Webster was buried in St. Mary Bredin, Canterbury in 1696 and was a merchant in London, dealing with the Levant<sup>217</sup>. Edward Stanley spent time in Virginia in the new colonies, but returned at some point after his father's death in 1675<sup>218</sup>. John Stanley in his 1657 will mentions his cousin Elizabeth Whiting in London, probably Elizabeth Stanley who married Robert Whiting in 1648<sup>219</sup>.

The Rev. John Sargenson (1639–1684) was also an alien, being born in Coventry and studying at Cambridge. He was rector of St. Mildred from 1672–1684 and of the united churches of St. George and St. Mary Magdalen<sup>220</sup>, composed anthems and was assistant keeper of the Canterbury Cathedral Library from 1672<sup>221</sup>.

Attendance at university or the Inns of Court ensured that important family contacts were made over a large area, with potentially powerful and affluent people. For example Sir Paul Barrett's son and heir, George (c.1663–1709) attended Oxford and became a barrister in Gray's Inn in 1687 and a bencher in 1707<sup>222</sup>. George Stanley must also have made connections and friends in London from his apprenticeship and George Milles, the brother of Sybilla Milles was a mercer in London<sup>223</sup>. In 1649, Thomas Elwyn states in his will<sup>224</sup>, that his son Thomas (mayor 1670) "is gone to live a serving man's life without my consent in the North country and whether that be a live or not unknown to me". He did survive and returned to Kent at some point, but this high degree of national and international connectivity inevitably diffuses perceptions of seventeenth century Canterbury as provincial.

### Social status

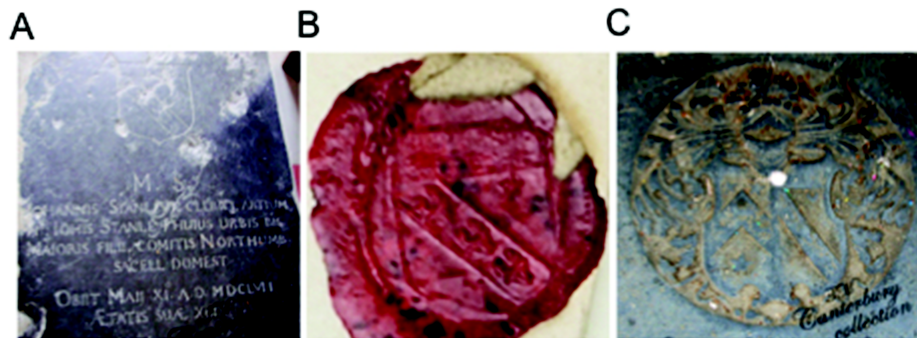
The pedigrees here (Figs. 2 and 4) contain a high proportion of gentlemen. The arms on John Stanley's tomb in St. Mildred's church<sup>225</sup> (Fig. 6A) are acknowledged by D'Elboux<sup>226</sup> to be "*argent, on a bend azure three stags heads cabossed or, a chief gules*", the same as those of the Stanley's of Wilmington, Kent, who descended from the Earls of Derby<sup>227</sup>. The tomb shows arms differenced by a mullet, which is the brisure of a third son, even though John was a second son. William Stanley also used the arms as a seal on his will (Fig. 6B) and they were impaled with those of Barrett (*Or, on a chevron, sable, three lions passant of the field, between three mullets, pierced of the second*)<sup>228</sup> on Sir Paul Barrett's tombstone in St. Mary Bredman church, Canterbury, due to his first marriage to Mary Stanley (Fig. 6C). George Stanley was described on his inventory (1677)<sup>229</sup> as an armiger and arms were also used by the Ripple Stanleys: in her will (1687)<sup>230</sup>, Elizabeth Stanley, the wife of Rev. William Stanley left her nephew Stephen Stanley a "seale ring of gold which hath the Stanley arms engraven on it". The only Stanley pedigree in the Kent visitations belongs to the Stanleys of Peckham/Wilmington<sup>231</sup> and it is unclear whether the Canterbury/Ripple Stanleys were legitimately entitled to bear arms. If not, William and George risked being disclaimed by the Herald's Visitation as happened to Thomas Fidge<sup>232</sup>. The post of mayor conferred the title Esquire, which was above that of a gentleman and below that of a knight.

Edward Aldey also possessed arms: *ermine, on a chief, sable, two griffins combatant, argent*<sup>233</sup>. Mary Stanley (b.1639) was the heiress of Thomas Stanley (d.1640) and clearly was able to move up the social hierarchy in marrying Paul Barrett, the Canterbury recorder who was knighted in 1683<sup>234</sup>. Thomas Knowler, mayor (Fig. 4) was born in Herne, Kent<sup>235</sup> into an armigerous family<sup>236</sup>.

Information concerning the wealth and status of the Canterbury populace can be obtained from the 1641 poll tax for Canterbury<sup>237</sup>. A conservative estimate of those styling themselves gentleman, esquire or knight, is 58 out of 1,324 legible entries, which represents a high proportion of 4.4% of heads of households.

To exemplify the wealth of some of the individuals in this study, we can draw from the many wills left by Canterbury gentry. Mark Berry (d.1616) possessed land in and around the city that was worth nearly 100 pounds per year and he left cash legacies of nearly 1,000 pounds to his children and grandchildren, including 300 pounds to each of his granddaughters Marion and Mildred, as well as 10 pounds yearly until they reached the age of 21<sup>238</sup>. Mark Berry also bought a gold chain of office for the mayor out of his own pocket when he became mayor for the third time (1616)<sup>239</sup>

George Stanley (d.1676)<sup>240</sup> left 500 pounds each to his daughter Elizabeth and son William. George Milles (mayor 1661), left 600 hundred pounds to his younger son Edward and an annuity of 50 pounds a year to his wife from the income from lands and property within Canterbury and Kent, which his son William inherited<sup>241</sup>. George Milles' son, also George (d.1700), left 500 pounds to buy an estate whose proceeds were for the sole use of his sister Sibella Clarke<sup>242</sup>. These wills exemplify that the Canterbury elite and corporation members were wealthy gentlemen.



**Figure 6.** Three different representations of the Stanley arms used by the Canterbury Stanley family: argent, on a bend azure three stags heads cabossed or, a chief gules. A) The tomb of Rev. John Stanley (1609–1657) in St. Mildred church, Canterbury. Image reproduced with kind permission from Tina Machado: <http://www.machadoink.com/St%20Mildreds%20Memorials.htm> B) Detail of seal on will of William Stanley (1674), arms differenced by a mullet. Reproduced with kind permission from Canterbury Cathedral Archives. C) Tombstone of Sir Paul Barrett (d.1685) Church of St. Mary Bredman, Canterbury, showing the arms of Mary Stanley differenced by a crescent, impaled with those of Barrett. Image reproduced with kind permission from Tina Machado: <http://www.machadoink.com/St%20Mary%20Bredman.htm>.

## Conclusions

The Stanley family dynasty in seventeenth century Canterbury was embedded within a larger kinship network whose individuals occupied many civic positions. With a population of about 6,000, the pool of potential spouses among social equals at the time was relatively small. The extraordinarily high degree of kinship among the corporation suggests that it remained largely closed and highly inbred. This contrasts with cities such as Norwich, where civic oligarchy became more open during the seventeenth century than in the preceding century, due to a decrease in kinship, apprenticeship and alliance ties<sup>243</sup>. Further comparative studies are required, but the higher proportion of gentry in seventeenth century Canterbury potentially maintained an inbred corporation for longer than in other English cities, until after the restoration. This is consistent with the acknowledgement that the gentry of Kent were “overwhelmed by a tidal wave of cousinage” in the period 1640–1660<sup>244</sup>.

The transformation from rural yeoman to urban businessman and civic dignitary is a common trope for the period, and in sixteenth century Canterbury, the overwhelming majority of the civic elite were foreigners to the city<sup>245</sup>, which demonstrates the relative ease with which outsiders such as John Stanley of Ripple could enter Canterbury’s social hierarchy. Indeed, the maligned political candidate Scott, opined that Canterbury was a city where ‘an upstart...is more esteemed and countenanced then hee (sic.) that is honorably descended and not degenerated’<sup>246</sup>. This was meant to be derogatory, but represents the perceived openness to penetration by outsiders, for whom Canterbury was a magnet within Kent. This case study demonstrates how a successful brewing family deriving from yeoman stock could rise rapidly within the urban social hierarchy and decline following the dissipation of wealth. It shows how John Stanley, the younger son of a Ripple yeoman had a granddaughter who married a gentleman who would be knighted. It also illustrates the relevance of interdisciplinary studies that combine genealogy with the broader creation of a kinship and association network, to understand the web of interrelationships that underlies corporations and local politics and to reveal the patronal and familial ties that guide the functions of communities. Kinship and association studies as demonstrated here, represent especially rich approaches for revealing how communities were interlinked at the county level and nationally, which is exemplified here by John Stanley’s nationwide links with royalist clergy, and for understanding dynamics within civic factionalism.

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