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978-1-107-03638-3 - The Diary of Robert Woodford, 1637-1641: Camden Fifth

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Edited by John Fielding

Excerpt

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## INTRODUCTION

### The life of Robert Woodford, 1606–1654

A biographical sketch of Robert Woodford is just that. Lacking a powerful patron or connections he was an obscure provincial who left a faint trail in official sources, no private correspondence, and no will. The only significant primary materials from which to construct his life (bar the diary) are the autobiographical essays produced by his son, the religious poet Dr Samuel Woodford FRS (1636–1700).<sup>1</sup> The diarist was born at 11 a.m. on Thursday 3 April 1606 at Old, a village eight miles north of Northampton, and was baptized the following Sunday, the only child of Robert (1562–1636) and Jane Woodford (*fl.* 1583–1641).<sup>2</sup> His father, a modest farmer, had made a socially beneficial marriage to Jane Dexter, the daughter of Thomas Dexter, lord of Knightley's Manor, and his wife Ann (*née* Kinsman). Robert and Jane had been married at neighbouring Draughton on 2 May 1603.<sup>3</sup> It is tempting to attach religious significance to this decision to marry outside the parish: the rector of Old was the obscure Alexander Ibbs, while the rector of Draughton was Thomas Baxter, a man with contacts in the defunct Kettering *classis* who was presented to the Church courts a year after the wedding accused of refusing to wear the

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Woodford left three autobiographical fragments. The first covers the period until 1662 and is printed in L.A. Ferrell, 'An imperfect diary of a life: the 1662 diary of Samuel Woodforde', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 63 (1989), pp. 137–144. Woodford began to write up the remaining two (NCA 9537 and 9494) on 5 September 1678 and they cover the periods until 1690 and 1700. The latter is a copy of the second edition of his *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* (1678). The manuscript autobiographical notes appear in unpaginated sections at the front and the back: F.W. Steer, *The Archives of New College, Oxford: a catalogue compiled by Francis W. Steer* (Oxford, 1974), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>NCA 9494, section at front; baptismal register for Old. Woodford's grandfather, Edward Woodford (1518–1604), had married Margery Ragdale (d. 1616), and their children included the diarist's father Robert, Henry (1568–1645), who married Joan and had a son William, and Margaret (d. before 1638), whose married name was Wale.

<sup>3</sup>PDR, Archdeaconry of Northampton wills, second series, C168 (will of the diarist's father); *VCH Northamptonshire*, IV (London, 1937), pp. 202–203; D.H. Woodforde (ed.), *Woodforde Papers and Diaries* (London, 1932), loose pedigree at the end; baptismal register for Old (PDR, 246P/1, 6 April 1606); marriage registers for Old and Draughton (PDR, 246P/1, 1603; 107P/1, 2 May 1603); Metcalfe, *Visitation of Northamptonshire 1618*, p. 103.

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surplice. However, the evidence for the couple's sacrament-gadding is inconclusive.<sup>4</sup>

Woodford's earliest years were spent at Old, where his playfellow was William Chapman, the son of a local gentleman. Samuel Woodford described his father's education as ordinary. His parents elected to send him to the grammar school at Brixworth, three miles from Old, despite the fact that their village possessed one of its own. Nothing is known about Brixworth school's endowment and little about its pupils. Robert Skinner, a future bishop of Bristol, had attended until about 1605. Woodford mentions only one of his own contemporaries, Robert Yorke, a later attorney. The identity of its staff is similarly obscure. Assuming that Woodford entered at age seven in 1613 and spent several years there, he would have been taught by Mr Elborough, whose identity is uncertain.<sup>5</sup>

When it comes to his level of educational attainment there is more to go on. Woodford developed a facility with the English language; the diary contains several purple passages, usually inspired by Scripture, and the language is at times poetic. He was competent in Latin, using only a small amount of legal Latin but three times quoting passages from classical authors, once from Virgil's *Aeneid* and the same passage twice from Horace's *Epistles*. He was also familiar with Horace's moral odes and even made his own translations.<sup>6</sup> It therefore seems likely that the diarist was the same Robert Woodford who was the friend of Richard Allestree, the almanac publisher based at Derby and Coventry, and who contributed two Latin dedications that were included in the almanacs between 1629 and 1641. Woodford had links with both these towns, and Samuel Woodford stated: 'A Poet I was born, for my father was so before me'. His interest in the ancient world extended to Greece: there is no evidence for his knowledge of the language but he owned a copy of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* in English.

<sup>4</sup>Baxter may not have been a diehard nonconformist and possibly compromised with the ecclesiastical authorities: he certainly continued in post until his death in 1607: Sheils, *Puritans*, p. 54; PDR, CB38, fo. 114r; Longden, *Clergy*.

<sup>5</sup>For Chapman, see Diary, p. 123 and n. 131. The schoolmaster could have been Thomas Elborough (d. 1615) or else John or William. The family were closely connected to the William Greenhills, senior and junior, successive vicars of the parish: D.K. Shearing, 'A study of the educational developments in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1561-1700' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Nottingham, 1982), biographical appendix; Longden, *Clergy*; V. Larminie, 'Skinner, Robert (1591-1670)', in *ODNB*; *VCH Northamptonshire*, IV, p. 219.

<sup>6</sup>Alexander Brome included a translation of Horace's moral ode (Book II, number 14), purportedly the work of Samuel Woodford, in his *The Poems of Horace [...] Rendred in English Verse by Several Persons* (1666). However, when Samuel reprinted the ode in his own work, *Paraphrase upon the Canticles* (1679), he explained the deception on p. 161, saying that it was the work of his father: H.F. Brooks, 'Contributors to Brome's Horace', *Notes and Queries*, 174 (1938), pp. 200-201. I am grateful to Christina Batey for this reference.

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He was well versed in the Bible, and owned a modern devotional aid: the popular catechism written by the famous puritan divine William Ames.<sup>7</sup> He evinced interest in modern European politics, owning histories of France and an unidentified ‘imp[er]ial’ history (p. 314).<sup>8</sup> He also acquired a popular manual for attorneys written by Sir Edward Coke, and Allestree’s almanacs would have been useful in his professional life, but his literary tastes ranged beyond the narrowly vocational. He owned and read books and exchanged them with other literate individuals such as Anthony, an attorney whose surname is not supplied. Given his lack of higher education it is not surprising that he was not up to date with the latest discoveries in cosmology, marvelling to God how ‘that glorious lampe of thine the sunne runne dayly about the earth goe forward & turne back againe to light us’ (p. 336). However, he was interested in natural phenomena. He did not manifest the Englishman’s obsession with everyday weather but recorded what he regarded as unseasonal conditions, meteorite activity, and, on 22 May 1639, an otherwise unrecorded solar eclipse.<sup>9</sup>

Woodford underwent a spiritual conversion in his ‘infancy’ (p. 396), that is, before the age of seven. The nature of this experience will be discussed below; it is enough to note that he does not attribute it to the influence of any individual. His parents may have been of crucial importance but their opinions do not emerge from the sources. He rarely mentions his father. Robert senior died before the start of the diary, and when Woodford uses the term he is generally referring to his father-in-law. His mother, Jane, on the other hand, was one of the mainstays of his social circle.

To social obscurity we must add professional. As a provincial attorney he was part of the ‘lower branch’ of the legal profession, where career paths could be vague and informal. Attorneys did not generally undergo the academic education provided by the universities and inns of court, instead relying on vocational training by binding themselves to a senior legal practitioner. Woodford bound himself to John Reading, an Inner Temple barrister with puritan contacts who was to be his only regular patron.<sup>10</sup> Reading lived in the parish

<sup>7</sup>I am grateful to Bernard Capp for knowledge of Allestree: B. Capp, ‘Allestree, Richard (b. before 1582, d. c.1643)’, in *ODNB*; NCA 9494, front section (quotation); *Diary*, pp. 143, 314.

<sup>8</sup>All page references in the text refer to the diary as reproduced in this volume.

<sup>9</sup>For meteorological observations, see, for example, *Diary*, pp. 98, 153, 154, 165, 171, 217, 249, 250, 260, 276, 277, 297, 348, 349, 370; for the meteorite, see *ibid.*, p. 351. See also J.F.W. Schröter, *Spezieller Kanon der zentralen Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse, welche innerhalb des Zeitraums von 600 bis 1800 n. Chr. in Europa sichtbar waren* (Kristiania, 1923).

<sup>10</sup>C.W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: the ‘lower branch’ of the legal profession in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 152–156; *Diary*, p. 96, n 2.

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of St Peter in the western quarter of the town of Northampton, and possessed another house in the Blackfriars area of London. If Woodford's traineeship was typical, it would have begun around the age of fourteen in 1620 and lasted for six to seven years; he would have lived in his master's houses for its duration. Around 1623 Woodford began to suffer from the financial problems that would dog him for the rest of his life. On 17 October 1638 he noted 'I have bene in this debt & want about 15. yeares' (p. 249). It is likely that the origin of the debt was the fees that he and his parents had paid to Reading. The level of these costs, which has been estimated at between £30 and £80 in 1600, may have risen in the interim.

As Reading's career progressed, so did Woodford's training. Reading held the post of associate clerk of the summer assize on the Midland circuit from 1618 to 1632; he served as undersheriff of the county in 1623, and in 1626 he was called to the bar. He also served as the steward of Northampton, probably from 1632 until 1635.<sup>11</sup> Woodford's time spent with Reading clearly involved an enormous broadening of the horizons of the provincial trainee as he was introduced to the society and culture of other Midland towns and developed his own networks of contacts. In 1637 he encountered Adrian Garner, an apothecary at whose house in Nottingham they had lodged 'in the Circuite' (p. 103). He would also have experienced London itself for the first time as he shuttled back and forth pursuing his master's cases in the royal courts and visiting the Temple; by 1637 he was spending nearly one quarter of his life in the capital.<sup>12</sup> Around 1626 Woodford's period of training with Reading would have been complete but the details of his life before 1635 are few, though he certainly remained in Reading's orbit. Despite disagreements, they remained on good terms, and Woodford continued to rely on Reading (whom he still called master) for employment.

The years 1635 and 1636 were pivotal. On 22 January 1635, at the church of All Hallows, London Wall, he married Hannah Haunch (1617–1699), the daughter of Robert Haunch, weaver and citizen of London, and his wife, Susanna, née Heighes. The minister of the

<sup>11</sup>Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers*, p. 233; J.S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes 1558–1714* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 315; TNA, STAC8/139/6; Longden, *Visitation of Northamptonshire 1681*, p. 135; Markham and Cox, *Northampton*, II, p. 570.

<sup>12</sup>For the Readings' house at Blackfriars, see Diary, pp. 131, 175; London was one day's hard ride from Northampton, but Woodford generally made an overnight stop, either at Mr Walker's White Hart at Dunstable (Bedfordshire) or another Mr Walker's Red Lion at St Albans (Hertfordshire). The White Hart dated from at least the sixteenth century: *VCH Bedfordshire*, III (London, 1912), p. 355. Exceptionally, on 19 June 1639, he completed the trip in one day – starting at 5 a.m. and arriving at 8 p.m.

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parish was Andrew Janeway.<sup>13</sup> Robert's relationship with Hannah was close, providing mutual support throughout the tergiversations of life and producing fourteen children.<sup>14</sup> The union also brought with it considerable material advantages: Samuel Woodford claimed that 'my Mother brought a considerable Portion to my Father'.<sup>15</sup> It has not been possible to establish the amount of Hannah's dowry but it is clear that Robert Haunch paid it over a long period. He and Woodford normally enjoyed friendly relations. However, during an argument over what Woodford regarded as Haunch's parsimonious accountancy on 18 October 1638, Woodford claimed that there was 'interest due to me from the time that I was married till now for much of the porcon' (p. 250). The Haunches' house, the Two Wrestlers, standing adjacent to Carpenters' Hall, provided Woodford with a base for his frequent stays in the capital, a second home.<sup>16</sup> The Woodfords' first child was born there on 15 April 1636, baptized at the parish church, and named Samuel after his maternal uncle, Samuel Haunch.

On 20 July 1635 Woodford achieved the office of steward of Northampton, which would be the mainstay of his career.<sup>17</sup> Reading admitted neglecting his stewardship owing to the pressure of business: he had in 1635 become the escheator of Northamptonshire and in 1636 chamberlain for the incorporation of the London suburbs.<sup>18</sup> He nominated Woodford as his successor, whereupon the mayor and aldermen elected him by a majority. In his manuscript history of the town, Tobias Coldwell shed more light on the competition for the office: 'A great difference amongst the aldermen about the Steward's place. Mr Pilkington and Mr Woodford, but Mr Woodford

<sup>13</sup>NCA 9494, front section; Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, MS 5083; R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 2 vols (1708-1710), I, pp. 256-257.

<sup>14</sup>Only three - Samuel (1636-1700), John (1637-1694), and Susanna (1639-1672) - achieved parenthood and Samuel alone outlived his mother: N.H. Keeble, 'Woodford, Samuel (1636-1700)', in *ODNB*; NCA 9494, 9537.

<sup>15</sup>NCA 9494, front section.

<sup>16</sup>B.W.E. Alford and T.C. Barker, *A History of the Carpenters' Company* (London, 1968), map opposite p. 40; J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), II, map at back. The Two Wrestlers survived the Great Fire and was let out as tenements by 1678: NCA 9494.

<sup>17</sup>There is a problem over the dating of Woodford's election. The entry made by the town clerk, Tobias Coldwell, in the borough records is dated 20 July 1636 but Thomas Martin's mayoralty (he is described in the entry as mayor) covered the period 29 September 1634 to the same date in 1635. The true date was probably 20 July 1635, to coincide with his term of office: Book of Orders, unpaginated entry at start of volume; Northampton Central Library, 198-10-2797, p. 44.

<sup>18</sup>NRO, D(F) 123; N.G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (1935), pp. 230, 236-237, 284.

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carried the place'.<sup>19</sup> Woodford was admitted to the office on condition that he paid William Brooke, the steward before Reading, a pension, though these payments go unrecorded. His defeated rival, Thomas Pilkington, mounted a legal challenge to Woodford's incumbency. Woodford succeeded in seeing this off, and won a much sought-after, and therefore presumably lucrative, office with life tenure. He was now a more established practitioner and took on his own clerk: Hatton Farmer of Towcester served him throughout the period covered by the diary and went on to greater heights than his master, becoming town clerk in 1658 and town attorney by 1660.<sup>20</sup>

In May 1636 Woodford's father died, having already conveyed to his son the house and land he owned at Old, which constituted, in the eyes of Samuel Woodford, 'a meane Fortune if yet of a Fortune it may discerne the name'.<sup>21</sup> The widowed Jane departed to live at nearby Wilby, but Woodford did not settle in the family property, letting it out to tenants instead. In early 1638 Joseph Easton and a Mr Fuller brought New Year's gifts of a brace of capons to their landlord: Easton seems to have paid Woodford £6 10s yearly for his tenancy and to have supplied him with a biannual load of coal. Fuller, whom Woodford describes as an 'ill tennant' (p. 241), is not mentioned again. Woodford's inheritance proved to be the source of great stress as he worried constantly that his creditors would seize it to recover his debts, which by 25 November 1637 ran at a substantial £192. He survived financially only because of a skein of long- and short-term credit, but was frequently behindhand in payments of church dues, tradesmen's bills, and rent.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, he was a substantial householder with the rank of gentleman, owing to his office, and possessed high-status objects – a sword, a cane, a watch, a horse.<sup>23</sup> His landholding was enough to qualify him for the shire electorate in 1640, and his assessed share (15s) of the £100 levy ordered by the vestry to pay for a new ring of bells constituted 0.75 per cent of the total. His main creditor was Thomas Watts of Easton Maudit, who held Woodford's fate in his hands. His fear of repossession surfaced when Watts found out about the death of his father, but Watts 'pr[o]mised me not to bringe me in or trouble me for the land' (p. 122). His debts continued at a

<sup>19</sup>Book of Orders, unpaginated entry dated 20 July 1636; Northampton Central Library, 198-10-2797, p. 44 (quotation).

<sup>20</sup>Diary, pp. 97 n. 8, 160, 281, 324.

<sup>21</sup>NCA 9494, front section; in his will, proved by his wife, Jane, Robert senior bequeathed to his son a 'garner' and chest. He described himself as a husbandman: his inventory was valued at £36 12s 6d: PDR, Archdeaconry of Northampton Wills, second series, C168.

<sup>22</sup>Diary, pp. 141, 160, 162, 188, 192, 241, 245, 259, 293, 310.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 130, 132, 198, 220, 328.

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high level: £214 on 8 December 1638, and £200 by 15 October 1639. When in May 1639 he was instrumental in conveying one man's land to another owing to debt, he was thankful 'that I still keepe my fathers inheritance' because 'if any Creditors should call I should be forced to doe the like, but Lord helpe me to pay my debts without the sale of it if it be thy will that the name of my deare father that bred me thus may not suffer' (p. 303).

By the time of the diary, Woodford had moved from Reading's home to his own dwelling in the parish of All Saints, the central and most populous quarter of Northampton. Here he lived in rented accommodation near the water supply, or Great Conduit, in the south-east corner of the Market Square.<sup>24</sup> The Woodfords' landlords were the interconnected Crick and Spicer families, haberdashers and woollen drapers. The house had originally belonged to George Crick (d. 1633) but Woodford paid rent to his son, Samuel, and his wife, Mary, and to William Spicer, who had married George's widow, Ann.<sup>25</sup> Woodford paid an annual rent of £5, in addition to which he paid Richard Chapman 18s per annum for stabling.<sup>26</sup> He was vigilant for opportunities to improve this estate, wanting to move from tenant to owner-occupier, but was forced by lack of funds to turn down Spicer's offer in 1637 to sell him the house. On Watts's advice, he considered selling his patrimony and buying land at Duston near Northampton which Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, proposed to sell. He made two trips to Duston, on 4 December 1637 and 14 March 1638, and even commenced preliminary negotiations with Warwick's solicitor, but lost out to another attorney, Francis Cook.<sup>27</sup>

The outbreak of bubonic plague at Northampton in 1638 severely disrupted family life. The Woodfords opted for flight, a policy made possible by the presence of Hannah's family in plague-free London. They instructed their servants, led by Susan ('Sue') Tue, to smuggle the babies (Samuel and John) out of Northampton in wicker baskets borne on horseback. Tue set out on 10 April 1638 and the parents followed on 24 April, leaving their servant Temperance in charge of the house.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196; Markham and Cox, *Northampton*, II, pp. 171–172, 196, 252. The Cricks owned a house, which may have been Woodford's, abutting the Guildhall at the junction of Wood Hill and Abington Street: Book of Orders, p. 18, and unpaginated entry after p. 611 dated 14 November 1653.

<sup>25</sup> George and Ann had lived adjacent to the Guildhall at the south-east corner of the square: Book of Orders, p. 18, and unpaginated section at the back, deed of sale dated 14 November 1653; Markham and Cox, *Northampton*, II, p. 172. By marrying a freeman's widow, Spicer obtained freedom of the borough: Book of Orders, 23 October 1637; TNA, PROB/11/263.

<sup>26</sup> For rent, see Diary, pp. 141, 162, 165, 245, 267. For stabling, see *ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 186–187; Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, II, p. 500.

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Hannah remained in London with the children while Robert operated peripatetically, oscillating between the Haunches in London and the house of his friend Thomas Pentlow, at Wilby. Woodford returned to the family home at Northampton alone on 25 October 1638 but the family did not rejoin him there until 15 February 1639. Even then, Samuel remained in London with his grandparents, and the new baby, Sarah, in Edmonton with her nurse. By 1641 both were living with the Haunches: Sarah, who died young, they buried in an aisle of their church. After 1643, Woodford placed Samuel with them for adoption.

Woodford now entered Clement's Inn, the parent institution of which was John Reading's Inner Temple.<sup>28</sup> On 26 November 1638 (following a trial run on 14 June) he decided to rent a chamber at this inn of chancery located near Chancery Lane. Records do not survive but it is clear that Woodford followed the usual practice of leasing jointly with a chamber-fellow, probably Stephen Harvey, a fellow Northamptonshire attorney.<sup>29</sup> Woodford does not seem to have received any formal instruction at the Inn, but certainly benefited from Harvey's knowledge, of whom he wrote that he had been 'a great helpe to me in my affayres' (p. 314). The members were mainly natives of the West Midlands but the East Midlands were well represented: indeed the principal, Godfrey Maydwell, was a native of Northamptonshire.<sup>30</sup> There were plenty of colleagues from Woodford's own area with whom to mix and compare notes: these included Theodore Greene and his junior, Andrew Broughton, who later enjoyed notoriety as the clerk of the High Court of Justice that tried King Charles I. Woodford used his chamber both as an office and as a place to lodge. By 14 February 1639 he had succeeded in obtaining another position, that of almoner for Northamptonshire, again by the good offices of Reading.

From the conclusion of the diary until his death, infuriatingly little emerges from the sources to illuminate Woodford's public life. He does not appear in the records of the Northamptonshire County Committee, but continued as steward.<sup>31</sup> Before 1647 Thomas Pickering, a member of a gentry family from Isham, replaced Hatton

<sup>28</sup> Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers*, pp. 156–157, 164–172.

<sup>29</sup> Diary, p. 294, n. 670.

<sup>30</sup> Maydwell's family came from Geddington. His brother, Lawrence, owned land there and at Cranford, where in 1640 Godfrey presented the minister, John Fosbrooke, to the moiety of St Andrew: J.J. Howard (ed.), *The Visitation of London 1633–1635*, Publications of the Harleian Society XV and XVII, 2 vols (London, 1880, 1883), II, p. 91; Longden MS, 22 May 1640.

<sup>31</sup> Book of Orders, pp. 505, 577, 611; NRO, YZ 5270; Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, II, pp. 211–212. One John Woodford was listed as a Northampton Ejector in August 1654, but Woodford's second son was only seventeen years old at that time and apprenticed to his



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Farmer as his clerk. The peak of Woodford's career came on 3 December 1653, when Sheriff Peter Tryon appointed him undersheriff of the county. A separate indenture was issued on 11 February 1654, as, over the intervening period, the Cromwellian Protectorate had superseded the Commonwealth.<sup>32</sup>

Details of his private life are similarly scarce. His son Samuel obtained a place at St Paul's school in 1646 through the influence of Susanna Haunch, the boy's grandmother.<sup>33</sup> Samuel went on to Oxford University, supported by a bequest from his grandfather Haunch and an exhibition from the Mercers' Company. Having joined Trinity College in 1653 he soon transferred to Wadham, whose head was a magnet to the Northamptonshire godly. John Wilkins was a preacher praised by his father in 1638, and later a founder member of the Royal Society.<sup>34</sup> The Woodford family continued to benefit from the generosity of its more affluent relations.<sup>35</sup>

Robert Woodford died at Northampton 'of a consumption' on 15 November 1654 and was buried at All Saints' on 17 November, his clerk, Pickering, having died days before. Samuel had become estranged from his father but, after a religious conversion later in life,

grandmother, Susanna Haunch, in London: C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, 3 vols (London 1911), II, p. 973.

<sup>32</sup> *VCH Northamptonshire*, IV, p. 189; TNA, PROB/11/249: Pickering bequeathed 10s each to his master and mistress for mourning rings and 5s each to their children; NRO, Tryon (Bulwick) MSS, T(B) 259/2, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Venn, under Samuel Haunch; NCA 9494, front section; at St Paul's, Samuel was a contemporary of Pepys: M.F.J. McDonnell, *St Paul's School* (London, 1959), pp. 218, 247; C.W. Sutton, 'Cromleholme, Samuel (1618-1672)', rev. C.S. Knighton, in *ODNB*.

<sup>34</sup> NCA 9494, front section; J. Henry, 'Wilkins, John (1614-1672)' in *ODNB*; Keeble, 'Woodford, Samuel'. Woodford's friends Peter Whalley, John Bullivant, and John Parker, the Northampton lawyer, sent their sons Nathaniel (1655), Jeremiah (1656), and Samuel (1656) to Wadham: Isham, *Diary*, p. 200, n. 24, and p. 62, n. 15; Woodforde, *Woodforde Papers*, p. 5; J. Parkin, 'Parker, Samuel (1640-1688)', in *ODNB*.

<sup>35</sup> Woodford was overseer of Haunch's will: he and Hannah were to receive the rents of The Two Wrestlers for the duration of their lives. Robert Haunch (1649), uncle Christopher Haunch (1647), and Susanna (1658), also made bequests to the Woodfords. Susanna bequeathed her apprentice John Woodford's services (he completed his apprenticeship in 1658), and the use of her shop, to her brother, Edmund Heighes, haberdasher. By 1678 John was married with children: he continued to reside in the parish of All Hallows, London Wall. Samuel went on to inherit the estate of his great-uncle Edmund Heighes at Binsted in Hampshire. This side of the family demonstrated their eternal gratitude by their frequent use of the name Heighes. Woodford's daughter Susanna married Daniel Gifford, who, following problems with debts, emigrated to the East Indies, whereupon Samuel Woodford brought his sister to live with him at Binsted, where he claimed she died of grief (and consumption) on 26 September 1672, her son, Samuel, being adopted by her mother and stepfather, Hannah and Robert Guy: TNA, PROB/11/209 (Robert Haunch), PROB/11/253 (Susanna Haunch); PDR, Archdeaconry of Northampton Wills, third series, B, fo. 131 (Christopher Haunch); Keeble, 'Woodford, Samuel'; NCA 9494, front section; NCA 9537, unpaginated, under 23 December 1670.

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he set the record straight, acknowledging that he had lost the ‘best friend I had in the world’, and crediting his father above all with encouraging him in his education. Robert Woodford died landless, as he had feared: Samuel told how his father had bequeathed neither land nor cash, only diaries, ‘leaving me & the rest of his children that portion in a Treasury of Holy Prayers & blessings, wch he could never manage to provide for us in Lands & Monys’ and ‘on wch wee to this day live plentifully’. Samuel confirmed that his father had continued to exercise a godly influence over him, describing how, after his death, he had descended into ungodly company at Oxford.<sup>36</sup> Woodford left no will; in March 1655 Hannah obtained control of the administration of his goods. In 1662 she remarried: Robert Guy, the lord of Holdenby Manor in the village of Isham, was another lawyer but a more successful one, having served as clerk of the peace of Northamptonshire during the Interregnum. She died in early March 1699, outliving Guy and all her children except Samuel, and was buried at Isham. To later generations of Woodfords she was known as ‘Mother Guy’.<sup>37</sup>

### ‘To worke out my salvacon wth feare’

Succeeding generations did nothing to counteract the impression of Woodford’s historical insignificance: the first of a dynasty of diary-keepers, he seems to have been regarded merely as the precursor of his famous descendant, Parson James Woodforde. Scant interest was shown in the content of his diary, although the Historical Manuscripts

<sup>36</sup>NCA 9494, front section (quotations); NRO, 223P/1, 17 November 1654; Ferrell, ‘Imperfect diary’, pp. 140–141.

<sup>37</sup>TNA, PROB/6/31, fo. 59. Guy was an assiduous justice of the peace during the Civil War and Interregnum periods, serving on county committees and as clerk of the peace from 1651 until 1660. His first wife had been the daughter of Francis Sawyer of Kettering: their daughter Mary married Nathaniel ‘Bunyan’ Ponder. Guy’s second marriage – to Hannah – took place in London in August 1662 but his main residence was at Isham to the north of Northampton. In 1672, as part of Charles II’s Declaration of Indulgence, the house at Isham was licensed as a congregational meeting house. In the same year, the couple adopted Samuel Gifford, Hannah’s grandson. Guy’s will was prefixed by a godly preamble: TNA, PROB/11/362. He made generous provision for Hannah, for Samuel Gifford, and for Samuel and John Woodford. He made bequests to twenty ministers, or their widows, whose names were to be supplied by Hannah, and enjoined his heir, Francis, to allow his stepmother to live with him until he married: P.R. Brindle, ‘Politics and society in Northamptonshire, 1649–1714’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1983), pp. 134–135; Isham, *Diary*, p. 60, n. 6; G.E. Cokayne and E.A. Fry (eds), *Calendar of Marriage Licences Issued by the Faculty Office 1632–1714*, Index Library 33 (London, 1905), p. 21; B. Lynch, ‘Ponder, Nathaniel (1640–1699)’, in *ODNB*; NCA 9494, end section; Woodforde, *Woodforde Papers*, index (quotation).