

Barnet: the ongoing archaeological search for Greater London's only medieval battlefield

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Introduction

The Wars of Roses, the great dynastic 15th-century conflict between the houses of Lancaster and York, was marked by a series of bloody battles, one of which took place on the boundary of the London Borough of Barnet and Hertfordshire on the morning of the 14th April 1471, between half a mile to a mile (0.8–1.6km) to the north of the town of Chipping or High Barnet. The Lancastrian forces led by Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick, 'the Kingmaker' were blocking the northward advance of the Yorkist army led by Edward IV, who had marched out of London on the 13th April. Warwick's forces had arrived first and were deployed in the open countryside to the north of the town. During the 15th century the main road from London to St Albans ran northwards through the town and then, in the

Hadley Green area, it forked left along Kitt's End Road. The right fork, the Great North Road (now the A1000), was apparently just a drove road or trackway and did not become the main route way until the post-medieval period (Fig. 1).¹ The solid geology of this area consists of Eocene London Clay, capped by superficial deposits of Pleistocene Stanmore gravels. The local topography consists of a broad ridge or watershed, which slopes gently upwards from south to north. The western slope of this watershed drains westwards into the River Colne, while the eastern incline drains into the catchment of the River Lea. Until 1777 this eastern incline was part of Enfield Chase (Figs 1 & 2). The earliest survey of the Chase in 1572 stated that its boundary in the Monken Hadley area was a hedge.² In 1693 the Chase boundary was delineated here by a bank and parallel ditch.³ This area in

the 15th century is believed to have been heathland or pasture, but by 1754 most of it (apart from the commons and the Chase) consisted of fields delineated by hedges.⁴

The Battle of Barnet

During the afternoon of the 13th April Edward IV's advance guard engaged some of Warwick's troops in High Barnet and drove them out of the town northwards until, behind a hedge-line, they encountered the main body of Warwick's army. As night was falling Edward deployed his army to the north of the town close to Warwick's troops. During the night Warwick's artillery bombarded what they believed were the positions of Edward's troops, but they overshot due to the unexpected nearness of their enemy. As Edward had ordered his army to remain silent and his gunners not to return fire Warwick's gunners never realised their error. How close the two armies were encamped is not certain, but as they could hear each other they may have only been 500m apart.⁵

It is generally assumed that the two armies were drawn up in two parallel blocks on an east-west alignment in the usual formation of three 'battles' or divisions. It is uncertain who commanded the three divisions of the Lancastrian army, but it is generally accepted that John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, commanded the western division, John Neville 1st Marquess of Montagu the centre and the Earl of Warwick and/or Henry Holland, 3rd Duke of Exeter the eastern division.⁶ On the Yorkist side, Lord William Hastings commanded the western division, Edward IV the centre and Richard Duke of Gloucester (aged only 18), later Richard III, led the eastern division. It is believed that the Lancastrian army consisted of about 15,000 to 20,000

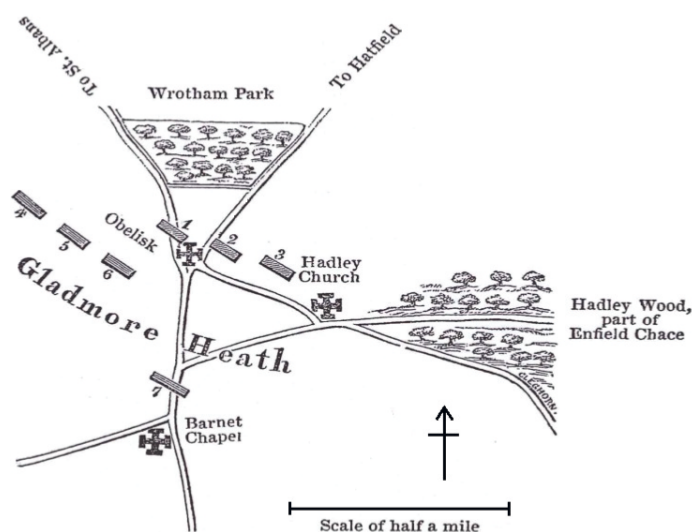


Fig. 1: Kempe's 1844 plan of the initial deployment of the armies at the battle of Barnet. **KEY:** 1–3 are the divisions of Warwick's army: No 1 was commanded by the Earl of Oxford; 2 by Duke Somerset (or more likely the Marquess of Montagu) and 3 by Warwick himself. Nos 4–7 are the divisions of Edward IV's army: No 4 was commanded by the Duke of Gloucester; 5 by Edward; 6 by Lord Hastings and 7 consisted of reserves.

men and the Yorkist army only about 9,000 to 12,000 men.⁷ It has been claimed that as Edward had deployed his army in darkness and there was dense fog the next morning, he never realised that the Lancastrian forces were deployed further west than the bulk of his army (Fig 2).⁸

The following morning the fighting started at about 5 am, when Edward IV launched a dawn attack with little initial success. Meanwhile the Earl of Oxford's troops advanced south either accidentally or intentionally seeking to out-flank Edward's army; they routed some of Hasting's troops and successfully advanced into High Barnet. Oxford must then have realised that he was now ideally positioned to strike at the rear of the Yorkist army and destroy them, so he redeployed his men northward. Due to the dense fog it appears this threat to Edward's army did not cause the expected panic. Then to compound matters due to the fog Oxford's men managed to advance north either around or through the Yorkist lines perhaps by simply following the main road, and accidentally confronted the central portion of the Lancastrian army instead, who having confused in the mist the insignia of 'a star with streams' worn by Oxford's men with that of Edward's livery of the 'sun with streams' opened fire on their own side.⁹ In the ensuing confusion Oxford's force disintegrated as treachery was feared. This fear was not unreasonable as until 1470 Warwick and his followers had been fighting with the Yorkists.¹⁰ Edward, taking advantage of this confusion, now ordered a general advance and routed the Lancastrians, inflicting heavy casualties on their forces (Fig. 3). Before 10 am the battle was over. The total number of dead is reckoned to be over 1,000, while some accounts cite a figure of 3,000, of which the great majority were Lancastrians. Much of the slaughter is reputed to have taken place in 'Dead Man's Bottom'.¹¹

One of the many dead was the Earl of Warwick; the supposed site of his death was formerly marked by 'Warwick's Oak', an ancient tree which stood on Monken Hadley Common (Fig. 4).¹² In Shakespeare's *Henry VI (3rd Part)* (Act V, Scene II), there is a conversation between the victorious

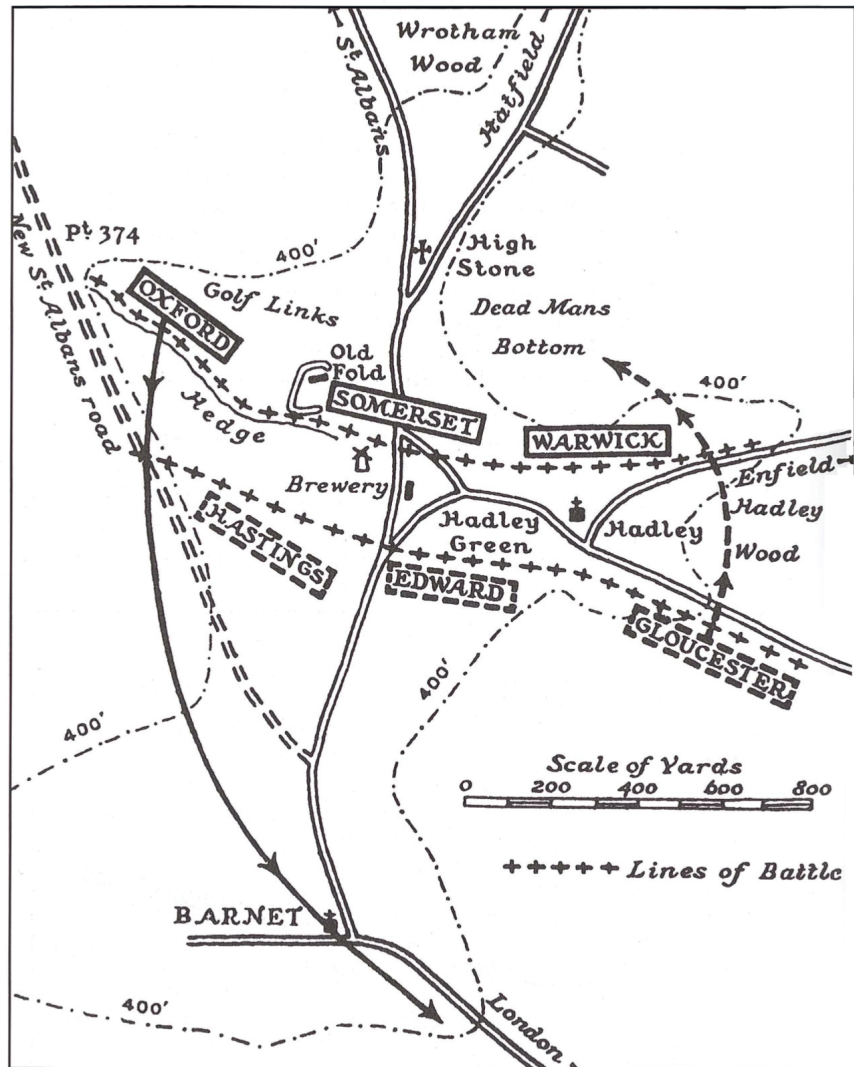


Fig. 2: Burne's 1950 plan of the initial deployment of the armies at the battle of Barnet.

Edward IV and the mortally wounded Warwick. Some of the fallen aristocrats and gentry were buried in the London monastic houses of Austin Friars, Greyfriars and at Westminster Abbey.¹³ Sir Humphrey Bourchier, first cousin of Edward IV and one of his officers, was buried in St Edmund's chapel Westminster Abbey, where his tomb can still be seen (Fig. 5).¹⁴ Several thousand 'common soldiers' were apparently buried nearby in a mass grave at Kitt's End, the site of which was later marked by St Blaise's chantry or memorial chapel.¹⁵ The location of a mass grave at Kitt's End suggests that the later stages of the fighting took place nearby.¹⁶

After the battle the victorious Edward IV had little time to rest, because on the same day as the battle of Barnet, Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI's queen, had landed on the south coast with another Lancastrian army.

Edward decisively defeated Queen Margaret's army at the battle of Tewkesbury on 4th May 1471.¹⁷ Together the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury utterly destroyed the Lancastrian leadership and secured the throne for the Yorkist dynasty until the Battle of Bosworth.

Where is the Battlefield?

Locating medieval archaeological sites like farmsteads where there was prolonged activity is normally straightforward, but with battlefields it is more complicated as normally there was only a brief period of intense activity. Importantly, little material evidence was left behind on the battlefield as almost all objects of either size or value were recovered immediately afterwards.¹⁸ However, occasionally large artifacts are recovered from contemporary battlefields. For instance, in the 1960s



Fig. 3: the battle of Barnet as depicted in the Ghent University Manuscript of the *Arrivall of Edward IV* (*Histoire de la rentrée victorieuse du roi Edouard IV en son royaume d'Angleterre*, 1471) page 2, manuscript collection: BHSL.HS.0236. Online version http://adore.urgent.be/view?q=_id:archive.ugent.be:8805E428-B056-11DF-9EF8-933E79F64438 (accessed 2014). The rocky cliffs confirm that the battle has been depicted in a fictional landscape, but it is generally assumed that the castle in the background was intended to represent Old Fold moated manor, Edward IV is the crowned figure on horseback.

a complete bowman's sword with a 71 cm long blade was recovered from a drainage ditch on the site of the battle of Wakefield (1460).¹⁹ Also, these battles took place across a geographical area as the opposing armies shifted their positions, so the locality concerned may cover a number of square kilometres, not just a few fields. Only one contemporary account hints at how much the battle lines at Barnet moved during the course of the fighting.²⁰

Claims as to where the battle of Barnet took place have varied considerably over time. An early map of Hertfordshire (c. 1602) located the

battle immediately north of the St Alban's fork in the Great North Road.²¹ In 1740 Sir Jeremy Sambroke erected a Portland stone obelisk as a monument to the battle at this road junction, which he presumably believed was the centre of the fighting (Figs 1 & 6).²² This obelisk is approximately a mile north of High Barnet's medieval parish church. Kempe in 1844 argued that Warwick's army was deployed here and that Edward IV's army was deployed west of the Yorkists, hence the ease with which Oxford's troops advanced south into High Barnet.²³ In 1882 Fredrick Charles Cass, the Rector of Monken Hadley,

argued that the two armies were deployed on an east–west alignment and that the battle took place in the Hadley Green and Old Fold Manor area (Fig. 2).²⁴ Then in 1892 Sir James Ramsey argued for a north–south aligned deployment of the two armies along the eastern side of the Great North Road adjoining Enfield Chase (Fig. 7).²⁵ The obvious flaws in this hypothesis are that this was apparently not the course of the main road until later (discussed earlier) and that if Warwick was attempting to block Edward's progress northward then an east–west deployment across the ridge would have seemed the better option.

Ramsey's hypothesis stood unchallenged until 1950 when Lt-Colonel Alfred Burne, a local resident and retired soldier, argued from 'inherent military probability' that an experienced commander like Warwick would have occupied the high ground along the ridge to block the main road and northward movement of Edward IV's army. Burne also linked the comment about Warwick's forces being deployed close to a hedge to one of the surviving ancient hedge-lines on Old Manor Fold golf course (Fig. 2).²⁶ So Cass's Hadley Green hypothesis for the location for the site of the battle was reinstated. Burne's hypothesis has been reiterated in numerous accounts of the battle and was used by English Heritage as the basis for their 1995 designation of the site in their Battlefield Register (Fig. 8).²⁷ However, it is often overlooked that if the eastern-most division of Edward's army was deployed a considerable distance eastwards of Monken Hadley Church as Burne has suggested, then they would have been advancing downhill across the wooded slope of Enfield Chase, when it would have been much easier for them to have advanced across the higher ground outside the limits of the chase.²⁸

However, there are some other problems with the Hadley Green hypothesis which need to be considered. First, it would have meant that Warwick had deployed some 15,000 or more men on a frontage of less than a kilometre. Fitting this number of men into the Hadley Green position means much of Warwick's army would have had the slope of Dead



Fig. 4: a dramatic Victorian engraving depicting the death of the Earl of Warwick from James Doyle's *Chronicle of England* (1864).

Man's Bottom to its rear. Second, the Lancastrian line appears to have passed through or very near the moated manor of Old Fold and Monken Hadley Church, neither of which is mentioned in any contemporary accounts of the



Fig. 5 the top of the Purbeck Marble altar tomb of Sir Humphrey Bourchier in Westminster Abbey, the brass figure is missing but the inscription and heraldic shields are intact (copyright: Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey).

battle.²⁹ Third, in 2002 for episode four of BBC2's *Two Men in a Trench*, an archaeological investigation of part of the potential site of the battle was undertaken in the vicinity of the Old Fold Manor. This included a geophysical survey and a detailed topographical survey of the north-west portion of Hadley Green Common. Geophysics revealed an east-west aligned anomaly parallel with a historic hedge-line, which was evaluated by Trench 6, it proved to be an in-filled pond probably of post-medieval date (Fig. 8).³⁰ A systematic metal detector survey undertaken on part of the Old Fold golf course and at various locations across Hadley Green Common revealed a copper-alloy or brass finger ring, probably of 15th century date, part of the copper-alloy reinforcing band from a knife handle probably of medieval date, and a copper-alloy rumbler bell. A number of heavily corroded tiny iron balls about the size of a pea, possibly shot discharged from 15th-century hand guns, were also recovered. The acidity of the soils in the locality 'rendered modern coins scarcely recognisable', so

it is possible that some of the material evidence of the battle has already been lost to corrosion.³¹ The artifactual evidence recovered during this fieldwork was inconclusive in terms of confirming whether or not this area was part of the battlefield. One recent evaluation and a watching brief in the vicinity of Hadley Green have revealed no evidence of the battle.³²

In 2005 The Battlefields Trust started working with members of the Hendon and District Archaeological Society (HADAS) to investigate the battlefield. The above data were sufficient for Battlefields Trust's Project Officer Glenn Foard, Reader in Battlefield Archaeology at the University of Huddersfield, to propose an alternative location for the initial deployment of the armies further north at Kitt's End (Fig. 8, 2004 armies).³³ In 2006 small-scale metal detecting here adjacent to the site of St Blaise's chantry chapel produced 'no battle related finds'.³⁴ In 2012 a discussion of the battle site produced a revised location of the two armies quite closely resembling Ramsey's plan (Fig. 7).³⁵ This latest scenario positions the two armies on a north-south alignment in the Bentley Heath area separated by the boundary of Enfield Chase (Fig. 8, 2012 armies). Interestingly, in 1693 it was recorded that there was a local tradition that the boundary fence or 'pale' encircling the Chase in the Bentley Heath area had



Fig. 6: the obelisk at the road junction.

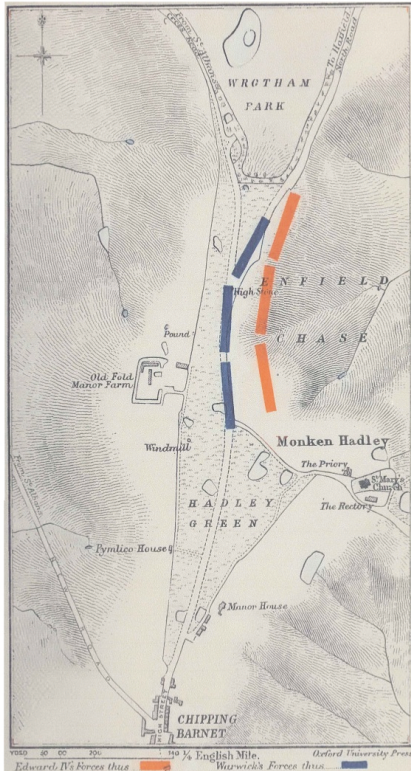


Fig. 7: Ramsey's 1892 plan of the initial deployment of the armies at the battle of Barnet. KEY: red Edward IV's army; blue Warwick's army.

been torn down during the battle to allow the movement of the armies.³⁶

Exploring the Battlefield

Today quite large areas of the potential battlefield of Barnet can be explored on foot. Old Fold golf course is criss-crossed by footpaths, while the commons of Hadley Green and Monken Hadley are both public open spaces. The obelisk can also be visited. There is a useful illustrated guide to the site in *Barnet – 1471: death of the kingmaker*.³⁷ In Barnet Museum at 31 Wood Street there is a display on the battle.

The Landscape of the Battlefield

The most detailed contemporary description of the site of the battle of Barnet is provided by a letter written by a Hanseatic merchant living in London. He described the Earl of Warwick's camp 'as a mile beyond' High Barnet 'right beside the St Albans high road, on a broad green. King Edward's followers, not knowing exactly in the darkness where their opponents were, rode on the same place in the night and pitched their camp on the other side of the

forementioned high road in a hollow on marshy ground, right opposite Warwick'.³⁸ This account suggests that Warwick's army was either deployed across or very close to the St Alban's Road. If this interpretation is accepted then it seems probable that Edward's army camped further south, close to Monken Hadley (Fig. 8). If Edward's forces had camped here, then situated between the two armies would have been the marshy hollow occupied by Monken Mead Brook, which flows down the eastern side of the watershed (mentioned earlier). Both Hadley Green and Monken Hadley Commons today possess a number of ponds and Hadley Green is a mixture of acidic grassland

and wetland. Apparently the undulating landscape of the Monken Hadley area is partly the result of quarrying associated with the construction of the Great Northern Railway in c. 1848.³⁹

Contemporary accounts all agree that the battle took place in the open country north of High Barnet, but beyond that the location of the battle is not described and no landmarks are mentioned. It is sometimes forgotten that of these accounts all stress the degree of confusion caused by the fog: 'this battle duryd, fightyng and skrimishing, some tyme in one place and some tyme in an other, ryght dowtfully, because of the myste, by the space of thre howrs'.⁴⁰ This

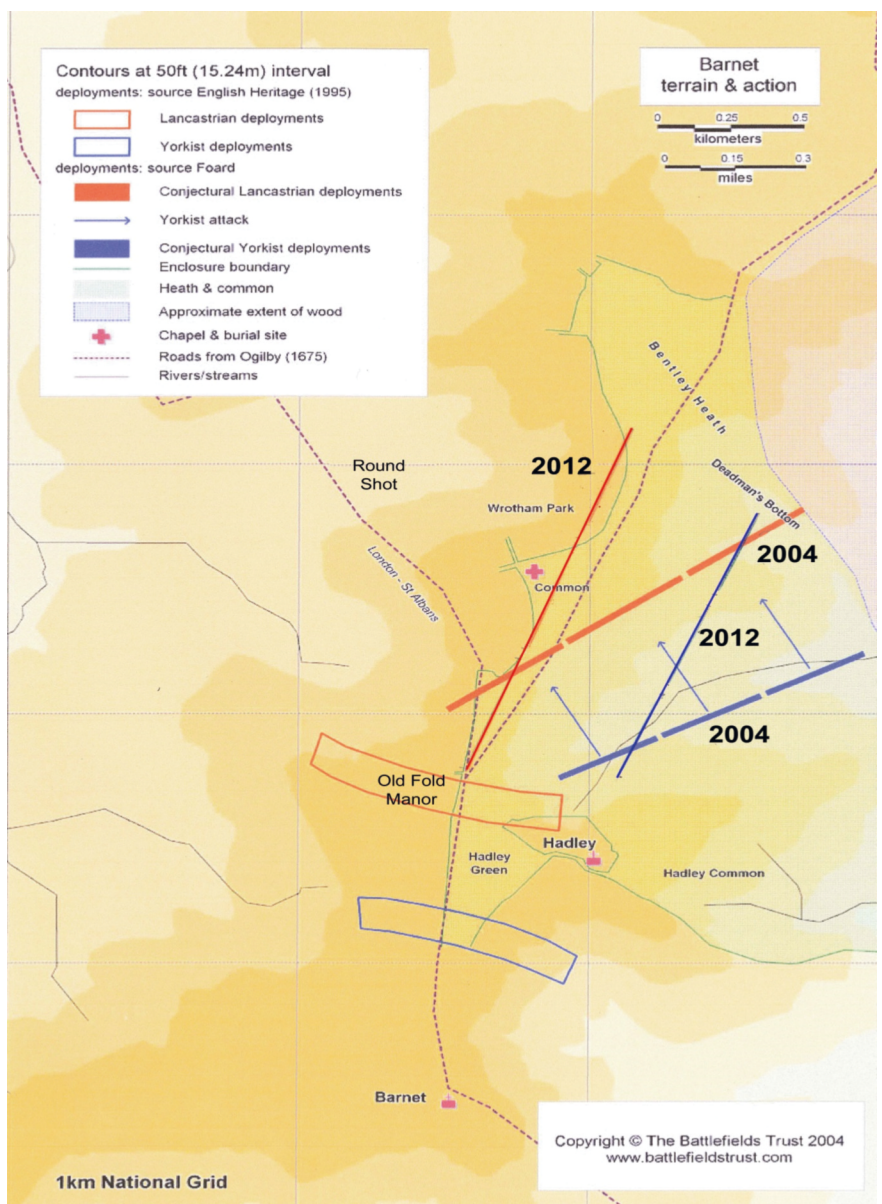


Fig. 8: a revised version the Battlefields Trust's 2004 plan of the initial deployment of the armies at the battle of Barnet, also showing 2012 locations of the armies and the find-spot of the two round shot in Wrotham Park. The 2002 fieldwork took place around Old Fold Manor.

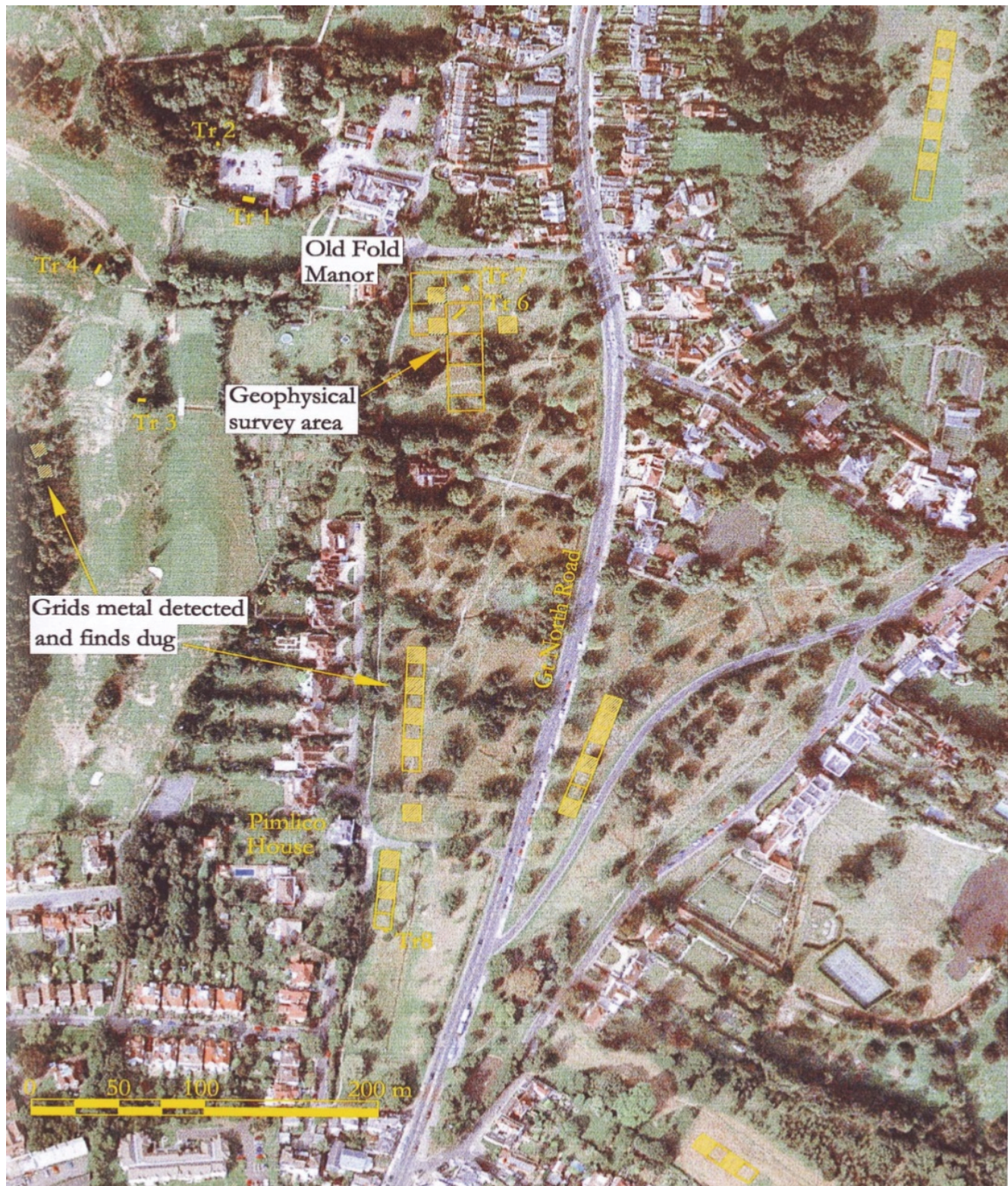


Fig. 9: aerial photograph showing the 2002 fieldwork on the golf course and Hadley Green (reproduced from *Two Men in a Trench* p105, copyright: Penguin Books)

statement would imply that the fighting was confused and took place across a large area.

It is said that 10,000 arrows lay on the field at the end of the day, and it seems very unlikely that all the iron arrowheads from the broken shafts were recovered.⁴¹ It is documented that both

sides possessed 'guns', which means gunpowder weapons, which may have ranged in calibre from hand guns to heavy cannon such as 'bastard' culverins firing 3kg stone balls. It is also documented that Edward's army included 'hand-gunners', using 'hand-cannon' were fired from the waist (Fig.

10).⁴² However, these weapons were then being superseded by the arquebus, which was fired from the shoulder, so both types of hand gun might have been used at Barnet.⁴³ Experiments using replica guns from this period show that 60 mm round shot may have had a final range of up to 1.2km.⁴⁴



Fig. 10: 15th-century hand-gunners in action, German woodcut from the 'Rudicum Novitorium' (1475).

As Warwick's cannon bombarded Edward's forces during the night, some iron, lead or stone round shot should survive.⁴⁵ Finds from the potential site of the battlefield include nine iron shot of uncertain date, but some of them may be munitions lost by the Victorian militia while training on Hadley Green and Monken Hadley Commons.⁴⁶ Another find appears to be a Napoleonic period round shot, presumably a memento. A large circular stone projectile (circumference 285 mm) of uncertain date has also been recorded.⁴⁷ Metal-detecting close to the lake in Wrotham Park has revealed five medieval horse shoes and two golf-ball-sized solid lead round shot of 15th-century date.⁴⁸ These two round shot were discovered close to a Burgundian jetton and a medieval purse bar (Fig. 8).⁴⁹ It is recorded that 'relics of the fight' were found during the excavation of this ornamental lake.⁵⁰ Apparently a total of three solid lead shot with diameters ranging from 40.3 mm to 46.7 mm of 15th-century date are known from the area of the battlefield.⁵¹ Finds on display in Barnet Museum include three iron round shot of uncertain date and unknown provenance plus another spherical iron object found on Hadley Green in 2001, which is clearly of recent date.⁵² However, other museum finds include a tennis-ball-sized round shot and three smaller 'muskatoon' shot, all of which appear to be either iron or lead but, due to painting or galvanizing, it is difficult to be certain. These four projectiles,

which might be contemporary with the battle, were apparently found on Hadley Green close to Dury Road.

The most impressive surviving contemporary monument on the potential battlefield is the Old Fold medieval moated manor house (Fig. 7). Today three sides of the moat are still visible and the centre of the site is now occupied by the Georgian Manor House, which is used by the Old Fold golf club (established 1910) as their club house. The moated enclosure was evaluated in 1991 and further work in 2002 outside the enclosure close to the golf club car park revealed under the remains of a Victorian farm building a mortar floor of uncertain date.⁵³ The parochial chapel of St Mary the Virgin and St James the Great at Monken Hadley was first documented in c. 1175, but the earliest fabric of the present church is its west tower of 1494.⁵⁴

Finding archaeological evidence of contemporary battlefields to confirm their location is possible. For instance, the precise location of the battle of Bosworth had been long debated, with at least four locations being considered. Then a long-term intensive archaeological survey during 2005–10, which included a vast amount of systematic metal-detecting across 675 ha of farmland, finally settled the matter. What is quite surprising is the relative scarcity of metal finds discovered at Bosworth; only 3,366 Roman to modern finds were discovered, of which 13% were medieval and only 1% of these finds probably date to the 15th century, the most common objects being dress accessories and buckles. The key factor in locating the site of Bosworth was eventual discovery of 33 or possibly 34 lead or lead composite projectiles, the first of which was only found after four years of survey.⁵⁵ The site of Bosworth today is predominantly arable farmland, which is easy to seasonally metal-detect. The potential site of Barnet covers about 600 ha comprising: farmland at Kitt's End, Old Fold Manor golf course, Hadley Green and Monken Hadley Commons, roads, suburban housing, woodland, and Wrotham Park. Therefore, systematic metal-detecting of large areas of this potential battlefield would be more difficult than it was at

Bosworth but, as it is believed that the large areas of the potential site are still intact, survey would be worthwhile.⁵⁶ Currently Glenn Foard, the Battlefields Trust, and Barnet Museum are exploring options concerning the investigation, interpretation and conservation of the site of the battle.⁵⁷

Conclusions

The location of the battlefield can only be determined 'by a systematic archaeological survey to seek a wider distribution of lead round shot and other artefacts. The key issue is that this is the only intact 15th-century battlefield site in England where early hand guns are known to have been used in large numbers'.⁵⁸ It is likely that parts of the potential site of the battle of Barnet will in the foreseeable future be developed, and all these threatened sites must be archaeologically investigated as it is clear that material evidence for the battle does survive.⁵⁹ Also it is vital that these future investigations include extensive and systematic metal-detecting to try to recover projectiles and other small objects.⁶⁰ It is apparent that despite the work of the Battlefields Trust and HADAS to collate evidence of previous finds from the area, many of the discoveries of possible projectiles and other medieval artifacts lack a precise provenance, and some have not been properly studied or dated. It is therefore impossible at the moment to produce an accurate and comprehensive map of the archaeological finds likely to be connected with the battle. Unregulated metal-detecting could destroy much of the evidence for this conflict; therefore all future finds need to be systematically plotted and studied to try to pin down the location of this elusive battle.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Brian Warren and other members of HADAS for sharing their research into the Battle of Barnet with me. Thanks to the following organisations for generously allowing me to reproduce these images: Fig. 3, the University of Ghent; Fig. 5, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey; Fig. 8, the Battlefields Trust; Fig. 9, Penguin Books. *Bruce Watson is editor of Trans London & Middlesex Archaeol Soc and is*

researching diverse aspects of the archaeology of Plantagenet England

including religious sculpture, bridge chapels, the burial of Anne Mowbray

and the media coverage of the discovery and reburial of Richard III.

1. B. Warren *The Medieval Period in the Local Area Potters Bar & District Historical Special Booklet* (2009) 5. In the 1777 Act for the Enclosure of Enfield Chase it was described as the 'Great North Road' for the first time.
2. B. Warren *Reappraisal of The Battle of Barnet 1471* Potters Bar & District Historical Soc Special Booklet (2009) 20.
3. D. Pam *The Story of Enfield Chase* Enfield Preservation Society (1984) 23.
4. Shown on John Rocque's *Map of Middlesex* (1754).
5. J. Bruce (ed) *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Final Recovery of his Kingdomes from Henry VI AD* (written c. 1471) Camden Society 1 (1838) 18–21; D. Clark *Barnet- 1471: death of a kingmaker* (2007) 13–18 & 43–56; John Warkworth's *Chronicle (First 13 years of the Reign of Edward IV)* written c. 1478–83, published in *The Chronicles of the White Rose* (ed) J.C. Giles (1843) 123–5; P.W. Hammond *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (1990) 66–73; and *op cit* fn 2.
6. Some accounts incorrectly claim that the Lancastrian centre was commanded by Edmund Beaufort, 4th Duke of Somerset, and the eastern division by the Earl of Warwick, or that Warwick commanded the reserves. Instead it appears that Somerset was hurrying to link up with Queen Margaret's newly landed army; he certainly was a Lancastrian commander at the Battle of Tewkesbury and he was executed afterwards by Edward IV for 'treason', see Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 94, 99–100.
7. Clark *op cit* fn 5, 47–8; Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 74. Contemporary estimates of the size of the two armies vary considerably.
8. Bruce *op cit* fn 5, 19 and Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 74.
9. This incident is described in Warkworth's *Chronicle* see Giles *op cit* fn 5, 124–5. Members of an aristocratic household troop would have worn surcoats bearing their lord's insignia. This confusion over badges implies that Oxford's and Edward's IV's household troops must have worn similarly coloured surcoats, which in the case of Edward IV's troops would have been murrey (a dark purplish-red) and blue, see G. Wheeler 'The Battle of Barnet – Heraldic complication and complexities', *Ricardian Bulletin* (Dec. 2000) 43–8.
10. Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 34–65. In 1470 Edward IV had been deposed and forced into exile by a rebellion coordinated by the Earl of Warwick. On 12th March 1471 Edward landed in Norfolk with a small army to start a campaign to regain his throne.
11. Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 72–8. Sir John Paston, a combatant writing four days after the battle. estimated the total casualties to be over 1000. This place-name is shown on the 1658 map of Enfield Chase see *op cit* fn 3, 71.
12. 'Warwick's Oak' is depicted on various early 20th-century photographs (sometimes it is mistakenly called 'King Edward IV's oak'); it stood close to Hadley Rectory until the 1940s when it was removed, see Clark *op cit* fn 5, 79. It is sometimes confused with 'Latimer's elm', another ancient tree on the common which was felled in c. 1935. According to folklore Henry VIII first heard Bishop Latimer preach under this tree.
13. J. Stow *Survey of London 1603* (ed) C.L. Kingsford (1908) available at www.british-history.ac.uk/london lists buried at Greyfriars: Thomas a Par and John Wiltwater both esquires to the Duke of Gloucester as 'slain at Barnet' and at Austin Friars 'the Lorde Barons slain at Barnet Field', presumably a communal memorial but as no names were listed by Stow it is unclear who was being commemorated.
14. Sir Humphrey's brass effigy is missing from his Purbeck marble chest tomb; a translation of his Latin epitaph reads: 'Behold lying here the warrior at Barnet for fierce fights; he fights like Eacides [Achilles]; the knight is wounded on all sides; he falls smitten; Mars brings him a wound; his armour spattered in many place with blood grows red. Lo, the tearful grief of the hour. He falls, indeed from the light, whither Christ rose from the dead. Humphrey Bourghier, sprung from the glorious line of King Edward, called the Third, the son and heir of John, Lord Berners. And lo, Edward the Fourth has the triumph in the battle, in which Humphrey dies a true servant of the king. He was an attendant at the table of the king's wife Elizabeth; so his virtue grows with honour; once his man was distinguished in arms and dear to Britons, ask in your prayers that he may live in heaven.'
15. B. Warren 'The chapel for the dead of the Battle of Barnet', *J Potters Bar & District Hist Soc* 11 (2002) 1–8. J. Stow in his *Annales or General Chronicle of England* (1603, revised by E. Howes 1631, 423) states that 4,000 men were buried here on the 'plaine', where the fighting had taken place 'halfe a mile from Barnet' and that the chapel had now been converted into a 'dwelling house'.
16. <>
17. Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 81–102; and S. Goodchild *Tewkesbury: eclipse of the House of Lancaster – 1471* (2005).
18. In the Bayeux Tapestry (c. 1070–80) below the scene depicting the death of King Harold, corpses are being stripped of their chain mail and someone is collecting discarded swords.
19. 'A very rare English Bowman's sword c. 1450', sold at Christie's on 17/12/13 for £37,500, sale 9776/lot 66.
20. Described in a letter by Edward IV's sister Margaret of York, the third wife of Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy to her mother-in-law, the dowager Duchess of Burgundy, quoted in J.H. Ramsey *Lancaster and York: a century of history 1399-1485* vol 2 (1892) 372.
21. Illustrated in Clark *op cit* fn 5, 55.
22. The obelisk was originally situated in the centre of the adjoining Y road junction according to Rocque's map of 1754, as it also served as a sign post, but it was relocated a 32 yards (29m) northwards onto the green in 1842, information from Brian Warren 3/3/14.
23. A.J. Kempe 'Notes on Battlefields and Military Works: No 1 Barnet Field', *Gentleman's Magazine* 114 (i) (1844) 249–55.
24. F.C. Cass 'The Battle of Barnet' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 6 (pt 1) (1882, published 1890) 1–52.
25. *Op cit* fn 20, 370.
26. A. Burne *The Battlefields of England* (1950) 109–10. On and adjoining the golf course are several overgrown hedge-lines, marked by rows of mature trees and infilled ditches.
27. *English Heritage Battlefield Report: Barnet 1471* (1995). While Barnet is the only designated medieval battlefield within Greater London, there were other conflicts: Southwark and London in 1066, London Bridge and Southwark in 1450 and Blackheath in 1497.
28. Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 76.
29. F. Baldwin *The Battle of Barnet*, the Battlefield Trust 2005, www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/warsoftheroses (accessed 2013).
30. Rocque's *Map of Middlesex* (1754) shows a number of ponds within this area of heathland.
31. T. Pollard and N. Oliver *Two Men in a Trench: battlefield archaeology the key to unlocking the past*, (2002) 98–115. The battle of Barnet episode was broadcast on BBC2, 24th Sept. 2002. The finger ring is on display in Barnet Museum.
32. London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) online catalogue site codes: GNR97 and HDY07. This means that no contemporary sub-surface features were recorded rather than negative evidence from systematic metal-detecting for unstratified objects, which is the most likely form of archaeological evidence for the battle.
33. *Op cit* fn 29.
34. G. Foard and A. Curry *Bosworth 1485: a battlefield rediscovered* (2013) 107.
35. G. Foard and R. Morris *The Archaeology of English Battlefields: Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Landscape*, CBA Res Rep 168 (2012) 84–5.
36. *Op cit* fn 3, 23.
37. Clark *op cit* fn 5, 75–90.
38. J. Adair 'The Newsletter of Gerhard Von Wesel, 17 April 1471', *J Army Hist Res* 46 (1968) 65–9.
39. Information from Brian Warren 3/3/14.
40. Bruce *op cit* fn 5, 20.
41. Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 78. No arrowheads have been recovered to date from Barnet, but examples have been recovered during an archaeological survey of Towton battlefield (1461) see *op cit* fn 35, 63, 86–8.
42. Clark *op cit* fn 5, 101.
43. *Op cit* fn 35, 65.
44. *Op cit* fn 34, 173.
45. Bruce *op cit* fn 5, 18 and Hammond *op cit* fn 5, 74. For a discussion of types contemporary artillery and shot see fn 34, 135–73.
46. High Barnet militia barracks was built in c. 1855 to house the Royal 2nd Middlesex Militia. The local volunteer force, which was incorporated into this unit had previously used a rifle range behind Hadley Manor.
47. Information from Andrew Coulson of HADAS 2/2/14.
48. Information from Andrew Coulson of HADAS 2/2/14. The two lead shot from Wrotham Park are displayed in Barnet Museum.
49. *Op cit* fn 35, 85. Edward IV's army included Burgundian mercenaries.
50. *Op cit* fn 24, 46. Wrotham Park was built in 1745 for Admiral Byng and its grounds were landscaped in 1765 by Samuel Lapridge with advice from Capability Brown.
51. *Op cit* fn 35, 67.
52. It is probably a large bearing or a shot put.
53. LAARC site code: GOF91; *op cit* fn 31, 106–08.
54. *VCH Middlesex* 5 (1976) Monken Hadley Church 267–9 www.british-history.ac.uk/report (accessed 2013). Thanks to Brian Warren for the information concerning the medieval dedication of this chapel.
55. *Op cit* fn 34, xv–xviii & 111–39.
56. *Op cit* fn 35, 72 & 85.
57. In 2014 an application to the HLF for the funding of a programme of survey and excavation to locate the site of the battle was rejected, see *The Barnet Society* website 6/3/14: 'Battle of Barnet dig will Boris intervene?'
58. *Op cit* fn 36, 85.
59. Old Fold Manor Golf Club is considering using part of its course as a landfill site, 'Rubbish plan for Roses battle site' *Times* 19/10/13, p 18.
60. The methodology is discussed in *op cit* fn 35, 24–6.