

The Landscape of Barnet Battlefield

INTRODUCTION

The battle of Barnet took place on 14th April 1471 to the north of Chipping Barnet. The exact location of the battlefield is uncertain. The monument to the battle lies approximately 1.5 kilometres north of the town of Chipping Barnet in South Mimms parish (Fig.1).¹ To assist in determining where the battle might have taken place it is necessary to reconstruct the landscape to that at the time of the battle. Reconstructing medieval landscapes is challenging due to the often paucity of sources, and to several centuries of landscape evolution that has masked or obliterated earlier features.

¹ Measured from the parish church.

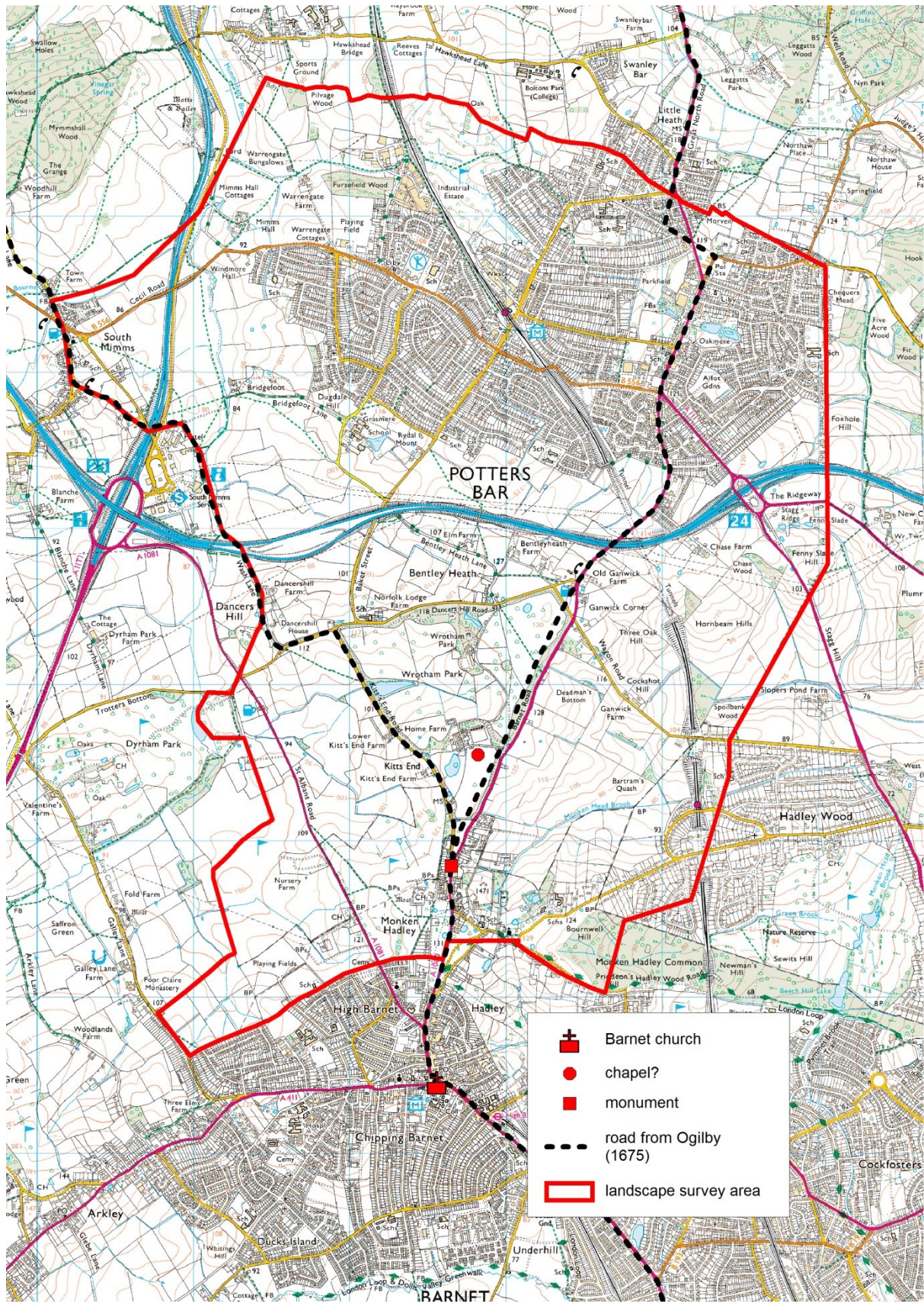


Figure 1: The modern landscape of Barnet battlefield.

The key features sought when reconstructing the landscape of a battlefield are those that affect the logistics - the long distance movement of men and materials - and the more

immediate tactics of warfare, and are principally: roads; rivers with the position and nature of crossing points, whether ford, bridge or embankment; marsh or boggy land; wood and woodland; the extent and nature of unenclosed land, whether arable open field or common pasture; enclosed land; and settlement whether nucleated or dispersed. Administrative boundaries are also significant as parishes, townships, forests and chases may well have been ring-fenced thus creating a physical boundary in the landscape.

All these features can assist or hinder in the movement of an army, the deployment of troops, and the engagement and action of the battle. But the landscape is not static and all these features have been altered, to a greater or lesser extent, over time. Roads might be realigned, upgraded to turnpikes and later major modern thoroughfares, or downgraded or even deserted entirely. Similarly rivers can be straightened, scoured or diverted, but will also meander and create new channels by natural process. Marshes can be drained, woods grubbed up and evidence of early agricultural practices such as ridge and furrow destroyed by modern agricultural practices or development. Landscape evolution can result in many early features being obscured or obliterated and the earlier the landscape we seek to understand the more complex and challenging is the task. The earlier character of the landscape and the chronology and mechanism of its change, as well as the nature of land tenure, the production of records of it, and survival of archives can all lead to very different potential for reconstructing terrain at the time of a battle.

All data have been mapped to georeferenced copies of the OS 1:10560 scale mapping c.1880. This background is favoured for digital reconstruction of the historic landscape for several reasons: it provides the first systematic, accurate large-scale mapping for the whole country thereby allowing continuity of reconstruction regardless of estate, parish or county; they are easily georeferenced allowing accurate mapping to the most modern OS dataset; they are no longer subject to copyright; and finally many of the features shown on the historic maps from which the base data is produced often still survived in the 1880s, thus enabling accurate location of features, while for others some remnant features are identifiable, again assisting accuracy and interpretation. At Barnet battlefield and South Mimms parish in general this last point proved to be less applicable than hoped. The enclosure of Enfield Chase and imparking at Wrotham and Kicks End has radically changed the landscape, and the dearth of estate maps for the key area has made it extremely difficult to accurately regress the landscape to its state in the second half of the fifteenth century.²

The reconstruction of Barnet battlefield landscape has been greatly assisted by earlier works by Helen Baker and Brian Warren. Baker's study of Wrotham Park and Kicks End, and Warren's 'Reappraisal of the Battle' have been invaluable to this survey.³ Warren's study covers a wider area than that of Baker giving consideration to the land to the south of Kicks End and to Enfield Chase on the east. With the aid of numerous maps of Enfield Chase, and particularly the enclosure maps showing the allotment to South Mimms as well as South Mimms Common, along with the documentary research by Baker and Warren it has been

² The history of Enfield Chase is given in 'A History of Enfield' <https://ia601601.us.archive.org/12/items/historyofenfield00forduoft/historyofenfield00forduoft.pdf> and in 'The Environs of London: Volume 2, County of Middlesex. Enfield' <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-environs/vol2/pp278-334>

³ Baker H.M. 1970 'Wrotham Park and Kitts End' Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin, No. 16.; Warren B. 2009 'Reappraisal of the Battle of Barnet 1471' Potters Bar and District Historical Society.

possible to reconstruct the broad state of the landscape in the late fifteenth century (Fig 2).⁴ The detail included on the enclosure map of South Mimms Common is significant as these maps functioned as legal documents and as such were highly accurate. It has therefore been possible to position the line of the Gannick Bank and other landscape features to modern Ordnance Survey (OS) data with a high degree of accuracy.

⁴ MR 1/30; MPC 1/50/1; CPM Supp 47; Cal Close Rolls, Edward IV. Membrane 12d. f.55. See below for a discussion of these documents.

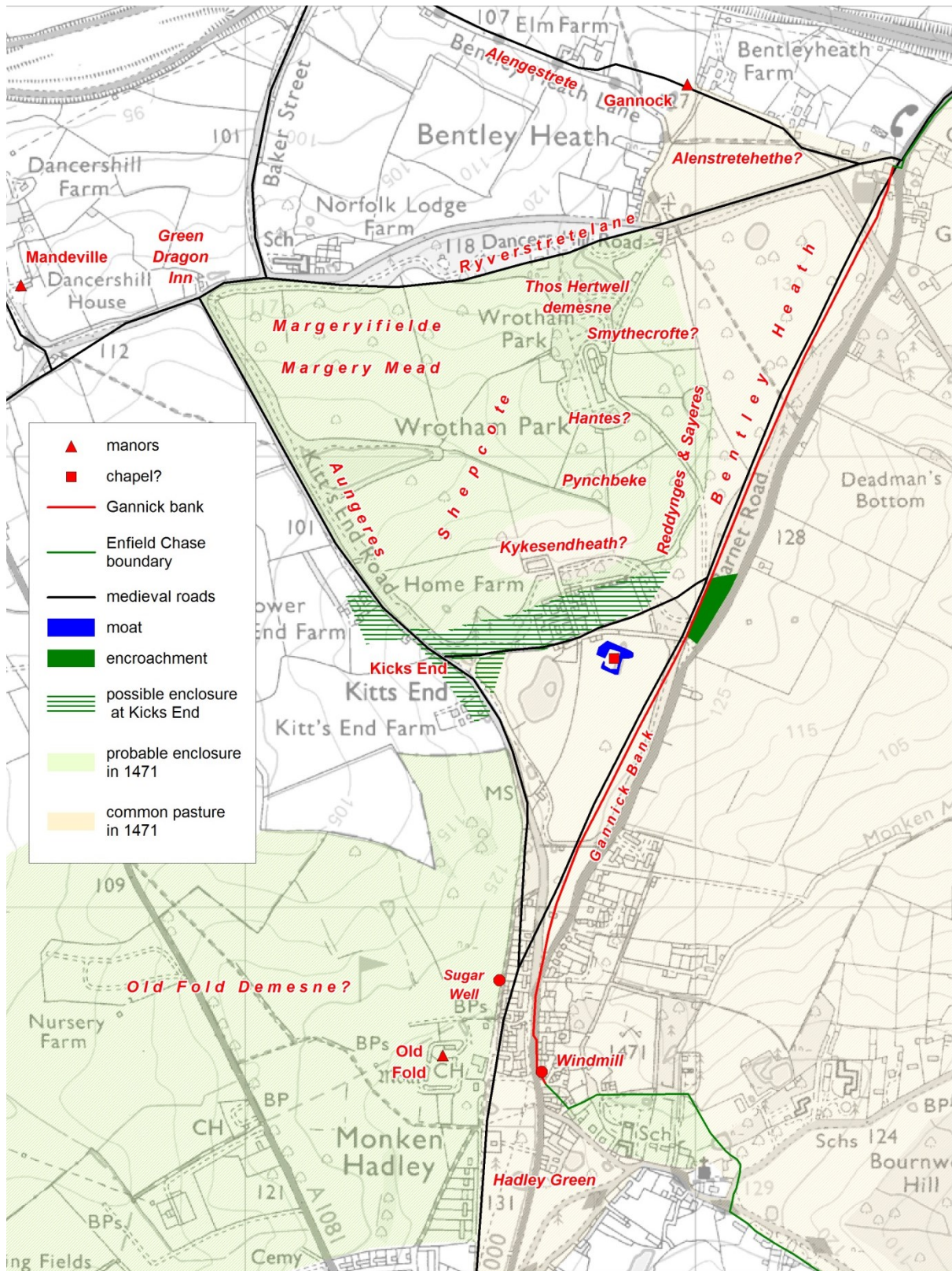


Figure 2: Historic landscape names and features against the modern OS Explorer mapping. The named parcels within Wrotham Park are taken from the 1479 quitclaim. The full extent of enclosure is uncertain, but the extent of common pasture is the minimum of what it would have been in the later fifteenth century.

Woodland, Commons, and Heaths

It is apparent from Figure 2 that there were substantial areas of unenclosed land around Kicks End and Bentley Heath. And it is crucial to note that while open land, of any type, could be divided and enclosed, the reverse did not happen i.e. enclosed land was not thrown open and made commonable again. Thus, the extent of unenclosed land shown in Figure 2, identified from historic map and other documentary sources, is the very minimum of what would have been unenclosed land in the fifteenth century. The whole area between the enclosures around and to the north of Kicks End and the Gannick Bank was comprised of heaths. Bentley Heath, Alenstrehethe and Kicks End Heath are named on a close roll dated 1479. Bentley is marked on various maps and shown as stretching from Gannick Corner to Kicks End Heath which lay around Kicks End hamlet. But it is probable that the northern section of Bentley heath was once named Alenstrehethe, because Bentley Heath Lane has been identified by the VCH as originally called Alengestrete. Kicks End Heath may have lain to the north of the hamlet as it was in the eighteenth century, as its extent prior to this is unknown. The open land to the south of the hamlet may also have been part of Kicks End Heath as no other name has been identified. Both Baker and Warren call it Kicks End Green but it is unclear from where this name derives. In addition there was a funnel of unenclosed pasture linking the heaths around Kicks End to Hadley Green to the south (Fig.2).



Figure 3: Extract from Rocque's map of Middlesex 1754. Heaths and greens with numerous dew ponds can be seen to stretch from the northern edge of Chipping Barnet town, past Monken Hadley and Kitts (Kicks) End to Gannick Corner.

Enfield Chase was separated from these areas by the Gannick Bank which may have still been a substantial structure in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Gannick Bank formed the western boundary of Enfield Chase. Forest and chase boundaries were designed to keep deer in and poachers out, and as such were substantial structures. Typically they comprised a large bank and ditch topped by a pale. The 'pale' was either a live or dead hedge. The earliest known survey of the Enfield Chase in 1572 describes the course of the boundary from Hadley windmill to Gannick Corner 'and so crossing the Highway unto Summer Pole And from

thence north by the hedge leading to Gannorow [Gannick] Corner'.⁵ A later survey from 1675 adds more detail 'by ye Highway to Summer Pool, als Sugar Well, from thence along a great bank to Gannick Corner.'⁶ The location of Sugar Well has been identified from the Gunten & Rolfe map of 1658 and lies on the road just to the north of Old Fold Manor.⁷ Of note is that in 1675 the bank is still described as 'great'. Just ten years later another survey states 'all the fence to the said Chace, from Hadley Windmill to Potters Bar, all the way by the outside of the said Chace, being nine hundred and twenty poles, is quite down, and hath been so many years, and, by reason of the Bank being down, South Mimms make an inroad into the said Chace, and desert the old road there, and make a road in the said Chace, to the great damage of His Majesty's deer, and to the loss of His Majesty's tenants of many hundreds of acres of common'.⁸ In 1693 there is a specific reference to at least part of the pale 'against Bentley Heath has been pulled down at the Battle between Edward IV and Henry IV, so that the armies might better join battle'.⁹ It is likely that this refers to local legend rather than known fact, particularly as Enfield Chase suffered a great deal of neglect and abuse during the Interregnum and much of the damage may have been caused during this period.¹⁰

The line of the Gannick Bank is shown on several maps, but noticeable absent from the seventeenth century maps (see Appendix). The most accurate of these is the 1781 map showing the enclosure and division of the allotment made to South Mimms parish upon the enclosure of Enfield Chase in 1776.¹¹ It is clear from these maps and other documentary sources that the bank had crossed South Mimms Common (as named from the enclosure map) to the west of the road. Also apparent are the encroachments made onto the open land between the bank and the road and the movement of the road to the east and inside the chase.

Also of note is that the land within the Chase immediately to the east of the Gannick Bank is shown in 1701 to be largely unwooded.¹² This is the only map that depicts woods and wood pasture within the Chase. This area, some 1500m wide from the Gannick Bank to the edge of the coppices, is that called 'South Mimms Common' on the 1776 enclosure map and on the 1658 map by Gunten and Rolfe.¹³ Moreover, the seventeenth century map and the eighteenth century copies of other seventeenth century maps also mark and delineate 'Hadley Common', 'Edmonton Common', and 'Enfield Common'. These commons are all adjacent to the respective parishes, and all are the areas of allotment made at enclosure. It is possible that these areas of named commons are enclosure creations situated next to their parishes for convenience. However, it was the usual practice for parishes that held common rights within forests and chases to have specific areas designated to their use.¹⁴ Enfield common appears to

⁵ Brian Warren, 'Reappraisal of the Battle of Barnet 1471', in Potters Bar and District Historical Society (ed.), (3: Potters Bar and District Historical Society, 2009) p.20

⁶ A Book of Surveys of Enfield

https://archive.org/stream/historyofenfield00forduoft/historyofenfield00forduoft_djvu.txt pp.34-37

⁷ MPC 1/50/1

⁸ F.C. Cass, *The Parish of South Mimms*, Westminster, (1877) p.2

⁹ Warren. p.26

¹⁰ A Book of Surveys of Enfield

https://archive.org/stream/historyofenfield00forduoft/historyofenfield00forduoft_djvu.txt pp.34-37

¹¹ CPM Supp47.

¹² MPC 1/50/2

¹³ MR 1/30; MPC 1/50/1

¹⁴ Glenn Foard et al., *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape*, Northampton, (2009); T Partida, 'Drawing the Lines: A GIS Study of Enclosure in Northamptonshire', PhD, Huddersfield (2014)

have been like that of South Mimms, largely unwooded with names suggesting woodland pasture e.g. ‘plain’.

It seems probable then that this area commonable to South Mimms was a large plain of woodland pasture and although it would have contained some trees it did not contain the heavily wooded and highly managed coppices seen further to the east in the Chase. This may have had some significance to the location of the battle as, with the exception of the Gannick Bank, Enfield Chase may have posed less of a constraint than may have been supposed. Two mid-seventeenth century maps mark ‘Deadman’s Bottom’ within South Mimms Common on the Chase.¹⁵ The name is still shown on the modern OS Explorer map, though all three maps give slightly different locations.

Outside of the Chase there would seem to have been very little woodland in the south of the parish. However, there had been some woods in Old Fold manor in 1439 when directions in the will of Thomas Frowke refer to ‘large timber’ in the ‘old wood situated in the western part of the manor ... [and] in the wood called Heron Grove’,¹⁶ which lay within Dyrhams park. These woods, and others, may have been there at the time of the battle, as no pre-tithe map has been identified for this area and it is unclear when they were lost.

The Treswell map of 1594 shows several woods to the north of the project area around the manors of Wyllyotts and Darkes (close to the modern Potters Bar station), but these had gone by the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁷ Deeds of sale for land around Kicks End from the early eighteenth century give detailed descriptions of the lands in question but do not include woods. They do include the proviso ‘... Together with all and singular houses, outhouses, barns, edifices, buildings, courts, yards, orchards, backsides, wood, underwoods, trees, hedges, ditches, mounds, fences, ways, paths, passages, ponds, water, watercourses, commons, ...’.¹⁸ But this is a generalised description typically included in sales (and enclosure acts and awards), designed as a catch-all of all unspecified lands rather than evidence that each type of land existed.

Enclosure and Settlement

The extent of enclosure in the latter half of the fifteenth century is more problematic to define. It might be expected to find closes associated with settlement, but they might also be found in consolidated demesne or in early enclosures for pasture, particularly sheepwalks. However, we can be reasonably confident that roughly two thirds of the extent of the modern Wrotham Park was enclosed at this time, as indicated by the names on Figure 2 taken from the 1479 quitclaim. What is unclear is the size of the separate land parcels in the fifteenth century, none are described with acreage until the survey of 1712, or whether they were comprised of single or multiple closes (see ‘manors estates and settlements’ below for a full description). Of particular importance in the 1479 document is the property of ‘Pynchebek’, (called Pinchbank on later documents). It was first recorded in 1310 when it and its abutments were 80 acres.¹⁹ This property can be traced through sale documents through the sixteenth century up to 1750 when purchased by Admiral Byng. The house can be identified on Warburton’s map of 1721 and Roque in 1754. It is from the location of this house that we

¹⁵ MPC 1/146; MPC 1/50/1

¹⁶ F.C. Cass, (1877) p.85

¹⁷ CLC/L/BF/H/001; Roque Map of Middlesex 1754

¹⁸ MDR 1750/3/690

¹⁹ VCH Vol. 5 pp. 285-290.

have been able to identify the other parcels of land named in 1479 and so reconstruct some of the medieval landscape.²⁰ Pinchbank holds further significance as Stow's Chronicle of 1580 records the wounded Earl Exeter being carried from the battle to a house called 'Ruthland'. In 1479 William Rutlond was the tenant at Pinchbank.

There were numerous hamlets, manors and smaller estates within South Mimms parish which would have had associated closes. Moreover, their lands may have been farmed in severalty and been enclosed against the lands of others. A detailed discussion of individual settlements is given below, but in the medieval period settlement was small and scattered. Several manors and small estates existed along with a few houses at Kicks End, around Bentley Heath at Gannick Corner, and at Dancers Hill. The most significant of these settlements in its effects on the location of the battle was the hamlet of Kicks End.²¹

The exact location and extent of Kicks End hamlet in the medieval period is unclear. The Victoria County History (VCH) states that 'houses lay scattered along the road to St. Albans (Kitts End Road), whence they spread eastward towards the Chase', but does not specify a date for this.²² Certainly by the eighteenth century there are numerous records of cottages and inns at Kicks End, for which Baker provides a comprehensive discussion.²³ But even at this date the precise location of most of them is unknown.

There are two seventeenth century maps of Enfield Chase which show some features on the periphery of the chase but in a vague manner.²⁴ Detail from the 1656 map is shown in Figure 4. The only feature of note is the single building on open ground to the south of Kicks End, because although not plotted with any accuracy it may represent the site of the chapel. A chapel built to commemorate the dead from the battle was first recorded in the London Chronicle in 1512. Stow also records the battle chapel as 'now a dwelling'. The site of this building has been identified by both Baker and Warren as lying on the common land to the south of Kicks End.²⁵ It is shown as on the enclosure map of South Mimms Common as a building (almost certainly not the original), within a moated site.²⁶ One arm of the moat still survives but no trace of the building.

²⁰ See 'Pinchbank' below for references and a description of how the reconstruction was made.

²¹ The modern name is 'Kitts End' but for consistency with historic documents it is referred to in this study as Kicks End.

²² <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5/pp271-282>

²³ Helen Baker, 'Wrotham Park and Kitts End', *Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin*, 16, (1970)

²⁴ MPC 1/146; MPC 1/50/1

²⁵ Baker, (1970); Warren. pp. 26-28.

²⁶ CPM Supp47



Figure 4: Extract from the 1656 map of Enfield Chase.²⁷ Monken Hadley church and windmill are drawn in elevation (as are all churches and mills on the map), but other settlement is indicated only by a general scatter of buildings. Of note is the single building on open ground to the south of Kicks End, though not plotted with any accuracy it may represent the site of the chapel.

²⁷ MPC 1/146



Figure 5: Extract from the 1776 enclosure map of Enfield Chase.²⁸

²⁸ MR 1/30

The 1776 enclosure map of the chase has particularly fine detail of features within it and along its boundary, as might be expected from an enclosure map, but little detail of adjacent land (Fig.5).²⁹ Within the chase closes, allotments, hedges, buildings and boundaries are recorded and accurately plotted, but there is no detail of the settlement at Kicks End and any features shown are sketched rather than plotted. The ‘chapel’ is still shown but now within an enclosure, and directly to the west of that is a larger enclosure.



Figure 6: Extract from Rocque's map of Middlesex showing detail of Kitts End.

²⁹ MR 1/30

Rocque's map of Middlesex from 1754 provides the earliest detail of the hamlet of Kicks End (Fig.6). There are buildings along the St Albans road as well as a series of closes and buildings from that road eastwards to the Hatfield road, and the chapel sits within a moat. Wrotham Park (the name of the house) begun in 1752 by Admiral Byng is depicted as is Pinchbank to the south-west of it. One of the buildings on the Hatfield road has been identified as the Maypole Inn. But it is far from certain that the extent of settlement shown by Rocque represents that of the fifteenth century. Indeed the earliest document relating to lands within this area, a quitclaim dated 1479, specifically does not refer to the hamlet but to 'Kykesendheath'. It is also not possible to be precise about the location or size of the named plots from the quitclaim; meaning that the original hamlet may have been no more than a few buildings confined to the edge of the St Albans road and that any settlement towards the Hatfield road was the result of later expansion and encroachment onto commons.

Establishing the original location and extent of the hamlet has been further complicated by re-planning and rebuilding in the second half of the eighteenth century and again in the nineteenth.³⁰ In the 1760s Thomas Nuthall built a house called New Lodge at Kicks End and began a programme of purchasing other properties and enclosing common land to add to his estate. The large close shown on Figure 5 marked 'Kicks End', though inaccurately drawn, represents the thirteen acre paddock he created to the south of his house. He also moved the road through the hamlet at the eastern end. In 1779 the estate was sold to Francis Barreneau who continued the process of consolidation purchasing other properties at and after enclosure and closing the road through the hamlet. The results of this can be seen on the 1842 tithe map (Fig.8). In 1859 New Lodge estate was purchased by the Byng family who promptly demolished the house and added the grounds to their park. Most of the other buildings in the hamlet were gradually demolished and Home Farm and lodges erected (Fig.9). The enclosure map of South Mimms common of 1781 shows that seven allotments were made on the land to the south of New Lodge, but it is unlikely that any boundaries between them were ever made, as Barreneau gradually acquired all the plots incorporating them into New Lodge estate. And later when part of Wrotham Park it was not sub-divided. We can also be reasonably confident that other than the chapel there were no buildings on the common to the south of the hamlet either before or after enclosure.

³⁰ Discussed in detail in 'Manors, Estates, and Settlement' below.

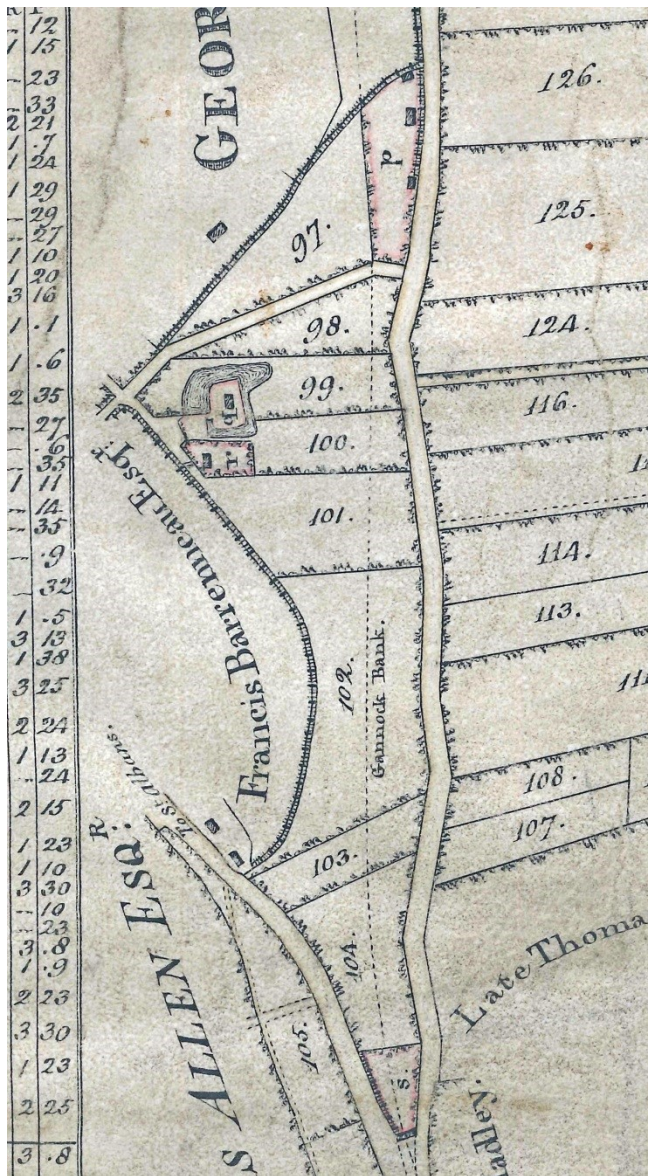


Figure 7: Extract from the enclosure map of South Mimms Common. The moat around a cottage that may have been the battle chapel is clearly marked. And the Gannock Bank, which represents the western boundary of Enfield Chase can be seen running north-south. The building within the plot marked 'p' is the Maypole Inn. The numbered plots are allotments made at enclosure but those numbered 98-104 were consolidated as a single close.



Figure 8: Extract from South Mimms tithe map dated 1842, which shows a few remaining buildings along the St Albans road but most buildings are associated with New Lodge (the large building between the two ponds) and further to the east farm buildings belonging to Wrotham.³¹

³¹ IR 30/21/41

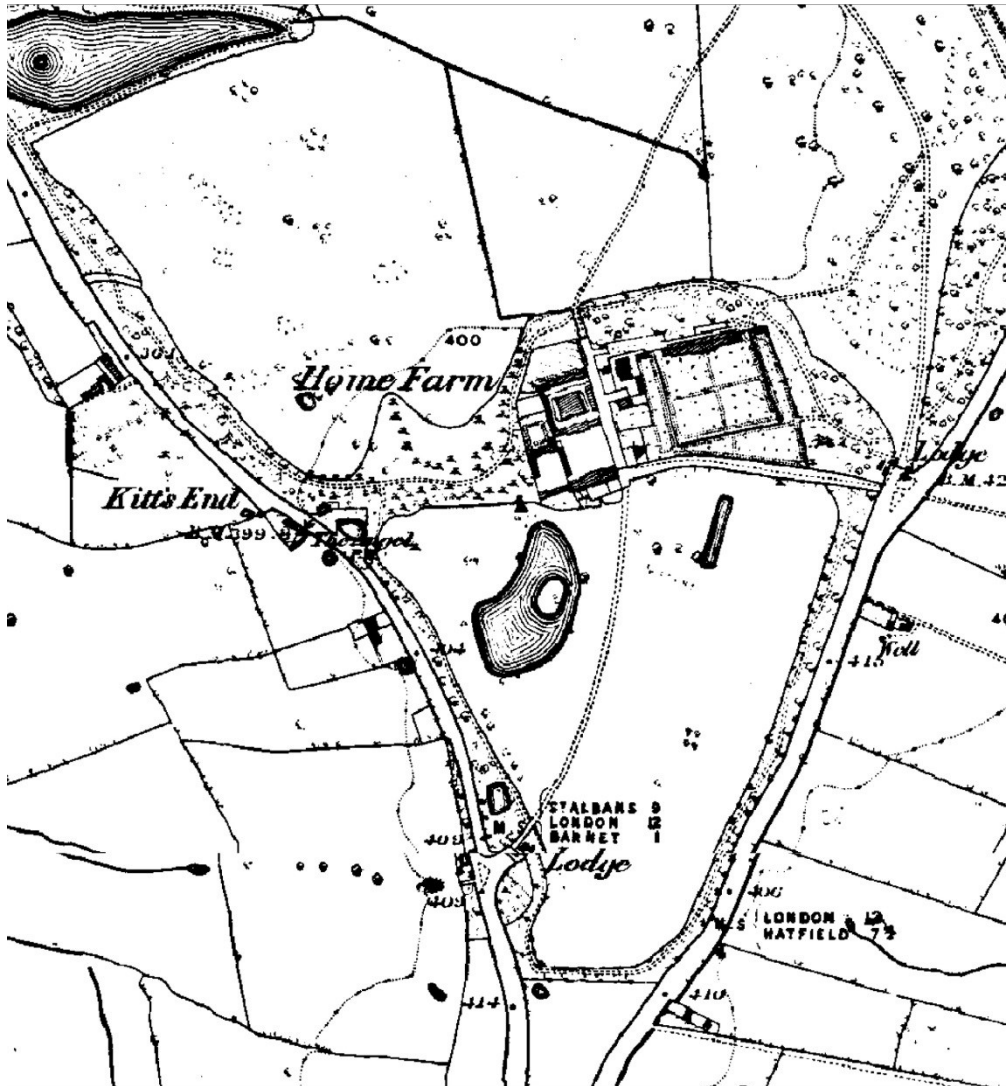


Figure 9: Kicks End in the 1880s. There is little change to the buildings on the west of the St Albans road from 1842, but the layout east of that is wholly new.

To the south-west of Kicks End lay Old Fold Manor. It is uncertain if these lands were enclosed in 1471, but it survived as a discrete estate when mapped in 1726.³² No enclosure documents have been identified for this part of South Mimms parish so it is likely that such enclosure as occurred was piecemeal and by agreement, but of unknown date and process. It is also possible that Old Fold demesne land was held and farmed separately from the remaining township lands even before enclosure, in which case it would almost certainly have been ring-fenced. The nature of the landscape immediately to the north of Old Fold and west of the St Albans road in the 1470s is unknown. This is particularly problematic when attempting to identify the exact location of the battle, as either open or enclosed land would have had a significant effect both on the way in which the battle was fought and in the initial deployment of troops. No map has been identified for this area prior to the tithe map of 1842 and field names from the accompanying apportionment are particularly unenlightening; typically 'ten acres', five acres' or simply 'meadow'.³³ The VCH states that '... most of the area south of Dancers Hill Road was also originally common land, with two large gravel pits

³² LMA: Acc 351/1139

³³ NA: IR 30/21/41; IR 29/21/41

which later became fishponds.³⁴ The fishponds are almost certainly those within Dyrham Park. Baker's study of Dancers Hill includes some of this land as two separate copyholds (presumably enclosed) each of 16 acres.³⁵ However, this small area can only be securely identified to the seventeenth century, and possibly to the late sixteenth century, and it lay near Knightsland, some 350 metres west of Wrotham Park.

Roads

The road network was complex with major medieval roads either side of Wrotham Park, to St Albans on the west and the Great North Road on the east, and a web of smaller, winding, lesser roads. In addition to linking the scattered farms and settlements many of these roads led to the Great North Road and across it into Enfield Chase. This is unsurprising as commoners from South Mimms held rights within the chase and would have driven stock to and from their pastures along these routes. A small road or lane ran parallel to Ryverstretelane (Green Dragon Lane), through Kicks End linking the two major roads, but this was closed in 1786.³⁶ The 1745 map of Wyllyotts gives a remarkable insight into the state of the roads as it maps them with all their intricacies of varying widths, encroachments, ponds and washes, and enclosed sections with gates.³⁷ It is clear that by the mid-eighteenth century many of these very wide roads were being managed for stock. The substantial width of the roads would suggest early enclosure as wide drove-ways often became fossilised in the surrounding enclosures.

Two major roads crossed the area of the battlefield in the medieval period. The original line of the Great North Road ran from London to Barnet and on to Potters Bar, Hatfield and the far north. At the point where the battlefield monument is now located a second significant route separated from the main road; this was the main road from London to St Albans. This latter road skirted to the west of Kicks End before dog-legging at Dancers Hill and continuing north to South Mimms and onwards. These two roads ran either side of what is now Wrotham Park. A third road called Ryverstretelane in 1479 formed the third arm of a triangle linking the two major roads across the northern boundary of the park.³⁸

The exact route that two of the roads took in the late fifteenth century can be reasonably deduced from contemporary and later documents. Both the St Albans road and 'Ryverstretelane' are mentioned in the 1479 document and both are shown on the 1745 map of Wyllyotts manor. The St Albans road is also delineated in Ogilby's *Britannia* of 1675 and can be seen to follow the same route as the modern road.³⁹ In 1745 it was still an important road and is marked as 'the road from London to St Albans'. At this date Ryverstretelane had been renamed as 'Green Dragon Lane' and was later realigned slightly further north when Wrotham Park was created. The exact route of the old Great North Road between the junction with St Albans road and Gannick Corner is more problematic. By 1685 the bank of Enfield Chase from Hadley windmill to Potters Bar is said to have been 'quite down' for so many years that the people of South Mimms 'desert the old road there and make a road in the said Chace'. This clearly indicates that the original line of the road ran to the west of the Gannick

³⁴ <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5/pp271-282>

³⁵ H.M. Baker, 1973 'Dancers Hill and the Manor of Mandeville'. Barnet and District Local History Society No.17

³⁶ Baker, (1970)

³⁷ CLC/L/BF/H/002

³⁸ Cal Close Rolls, Edward IV. Membrane 12d. f.55

³⁹ John Ogilby, *Britannia*, London, (1675)

Bank and outside of the Chase. Having been able to locate the line of the Gannick Bank it is possible to determine that the early road ran at least 50m to the west of the modern road. Rocque's map of 1754 shows parallel roads either side of the parish boundary, which ran along the Gannick Bank at this date prior to enclosure (Fig.3)

A minor road ran east to west through the hamlet of Kicks End linking the Great North and St Albans Roads. The exact line of this is difficult to establish due to repeated redesigning of the landscape and a lack of early map sources. The earliest map is the title award plan of 1842 by which time almost the entire hamlet had been removed or incorporated into the grounds of 'New Lodge' and the road through the hamlet closed.⁴⁰ We can be certain however that at its eastern end it joined the Great North Road further north than the current access road into Wrotham Park. Documentary sources refer to the road being moved from north to south of the Maypole Inn in 1766. The Maypole is identified on a 1769 map of the 'western bounds of Enfield Chase', which also shows the stubs of two roads, to Hatfield and Kicks End, crossing the Gannick Bank north of the Maypole close.⁴¹

The wider network of local roads was complex. Particularly so to the north of Wrotham Park where numerous small roads and lanes led to South Mimms village, other isolated settlement and into Enfield Chase. There is evidence of the nature of the roads on the 1745 map of Wyllyotts manor. They are seen to be wide, often 30 metres or more, irregular, encroached by small closes, and contained numerous ponds within the roadway. The tortuous nature and poor state of repair of the roads with frequent flooding was well known from the medieval period onwards. In 1727 there were seven people recorded in South Mimms as having 'died upon the road' one of whom had drowned.⁴²

Landscape potential: The archive at Hatfield was not searched during the project as resources did not allow, and the various county and parish histories provided ample evidence for much of the landscape. However, it is clear from secondary works that there is a vast archive of manorial records including early court rolls and terriers that could be further investigated to establish the extent of South Mimms manorial estate, particularly with regard to the land to the west of Kicks End and the St Albans road. Further research into the exact nature and management of the commons within Enfield Chase could be undertaken. This would hopefully establish if the hypothesis that South Mimms common was largely unwooded was correct, which would have significant implications for the location of the battlefield.

⁴⁰ Baker, (1970)

⁴¹ MPC 1/115

⁴² F.C. Cass, (1877) p.6

Manors, Estates and Settlement

MANORS

Unless indicated the information regarding manors and estates has been taken from the VCH,⁴³ except for Wrotham Park where key evidence has been taken from primary sources.

Old Fold

‘The manor of Old Fold emerged from the capital manor. It was bought from Ernulf de Mandeville by the Frowyks, who were prosperous London merchants, shortly after 1271’. At the end of the thirteenth century the manor contained 132.5 acres but it is not known where the lands lay. It is uncertain how large the estate was in 1471, but Henry Frowyke granted parcels of manorial property on his daughter’s marriage in 1479 that lay outside of the 1726 estate bounds (see discussion of Wrotham Park below). The Allen family had purchased the manor in 1639 and a map made for Thomas Allen in 1726, ‘An Exact Mapp of the Manor of Old Fold and the lands belonging ...’ shows a consolidated property of some 425 acres.⁴⁴ The manor house was a moated site that lay on the extreme east of the estate.

Dyrhams

‘The manor of Derehams or Durhams was also a derivative of the capital manor. It derives its name from John Durham, who in 1340 acquired half a house and 324 a. in South Mimms ... Thoma’s daughter married Thomas, son of Henry Frowyk of Old Fold, and after Durham’s death in 1368 the manor descended with Old Fold’. In 1485 Sir Thomas Frowke’s will refers to ‘his lands and tenements called Derhams in the parish of South Mimms ... and the parish of Ridge [Hertfordshire]’.⁴⁵ The estate remained in the Frowke family until sometime in the sixteenth century. ‘In 1506 the manor, which extended into Hertfordshire, included a house and 350 a.’ It is uncertain where the 350 acres lay, if in a consolidated block or scattered throughout the parish, or whether open or enclosed in 1471. It is of note that there is no reference to a park in the medieval, the first reference being Rocque’s depiction of a formally laid out landscape park in 1754. By c1880 Dyrham Park was approximately 215 acres including some 35 acres in Hertfordshire. It has been suggested that the moated site adjacent to Fold Farm, to the south of the current Dyrhams Park, was the original location of Dereham’s manor house,⁴⁶ or another site with earthwork and enclosure farther east. However, the Frowyke family owned both Old Fold and Dereham and the manors descended together until 1473, which may explain the name of ‘Old Fold’ farm. The fact that it was moated may not be indicative of manorial status as both Blanches and Darkes farms were also moated (see below). But wherever the original manor house was located it is likely that the manorial lands lay further to the west than the area of interest for the battle.

Wyllyotts

Wyllyotts was not called a manor in 1349 but Roger Lewknor was styled lord of the manor of South Mimms and Wyllyotts in 1504. In 1479 the manor comprised some 172 acres of arable, pasture and woods. The lands lay too far north of the study area to have had any significance at the time of the battle, as illustrated by the 1594 map of the manor.⁴⁷ However, a map of the manor in 1745 shows the estate to have expanded significantly and to include property

⁴³ VCH Vol. 5 pp. 282-290

⁴⁴ Acc 351/1139

⁴⁵ F.C. Cass, (1877) p.30

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.35

⁴⁷ CLC/L/BF/H/002

around Bentley Heath, along Green Dragon Lane and near to Kicks End. Examined with other documents this map greatly assisted in our understating of the fifteenth century landscape.

South Mimms

South Mimms was the principal manor of the parish. The full descent is given in the VCH including a discussion of the castle and original manor house sites. No indication of the size of the estate is given though it is said to have remained largely intact within the Cecil family.

Mandeville

It is uncertain if Mandeville was ever an independent manorial estate or part of South Mimms manor. The complicated history is given by Helen Baker which forms the basis of discussion by the VCH.⁴⁸ The estate lands are concentrated around Dancers Hill and included lands to the north of Margerey Bottom between Knightsland and Kicks End road. These lands may be of particular interest to the study of the battlefield.

OTHER ESTATES

There were numerous non-manorial estates in South Mimms parish, but only those that held lands within the area of study or that help to illustrate the character of the landscape are discussed below.

Gannock

Gannock estate was another property of the Frowke family held since 1387 and bequeathed in 1448 by Thomas Frowke to sustain his chantry chapel in South Mimms church. It is not known how extensive the lands were in 1448 but by 1547 it comprised 120 acres at Bentley Heath as well as other lands in the parish. The capital messuage was 'situated without doubt ... near the present Gannick Corner, and a short distance to the north of the chapel recently erected by the Earl of Strafford'.⁴⁹ The VCH notes Gannock as being one of the country houses built for wealthy London merchants in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The house and lands lay along the edge of and to the north of Bentley Heath. According to Cass in 1626 the capital messuage called Gannox was held by Sir Edmund Bowyer. In Lysons' time [1795] it was a farm and had since passed to Byngs. In 1877 the house is described as demolished 'in living memory' and remains of stews or fishponds still visible.⁵⁰ The modern name 'Gannick Corner' is derived from this estate.

Darkes

The estate called Darkes lay in the north of the parish and was first recorded at its sale in 1490. In 1553 it comprised 150 acres. A map of 1594 depicts a moated house complete with gatehouse within a paled enclosure and marks all the estate lands. The lands shown are further north than the study area but greatly assist our understanding of the wider landscape of South Mimms. This area was wholly enclosed with several woods.

⁴⁸ H.M. Baker, 1973 'Dancers Hill and the Manor of Mandeville'. Barnet and District Local History Society No.17

⁴⁹ F.C. Cass, (1877) p.22

⁵⁰ Ibid. pp. 22-23

Blanches

Blanches estate lay on the western side of the parish and belonged to John Durham in the later 14th century. The timberframed house dating in part from the early 15th century was moated.

Knightsland

'Knightsland, sometimes called 'Nicelands', situated to the east of Dyrham Park, was in the possession of Richard Gardiner in the earlier 16th century. In 1618 the estate, consisting of 120 a., was owned by William Crowley'.

Wrotham Park

This section refers to land in the modern Wrotham Park. It overlaps with land in Kicks End as the earliest references to particular parcels of land are difficult to locate accurately. Kicks End also has a separate section below.

1479

Various lands are named in a quitclaim dated 1479 (Close Rolls, Edward IV. Membrane 12d. f.55) some of these have been roughly located, others are uncertain. See transcription below.

'Sayeres' – unlocated but presumably near Reddings.

'Reddynges,' – roughly located

'Hantes' - roughly located

'Smythecrofte' – unlocated but a close called Smithfield is adjacent to the capital messuage – Pinchbank – sold in 1712.

'Alenstretethe,' – uncertain location but 'Alengestrete' now called Bently Heath Lane (VCH).

Bentleyheth - located

'*the Broke*' of the Heth - unlocated

'Pynchbeke' - roughly located

demesne land of Thomas Hertwell - roughly located – is this later Stonard?

'*Shepcote*' - roughly located

'*Pynchebek*' - roughly located based on county maps and description in 1479

'*Aungeres*'- roughly located

Kykesendheath - roughly located

Ryverstretelane - located

Margeryifelde – located based on description in 1479 and name of landowner 'Grant' on 1745 map

1712

Thomas Reynolds buys a messuage (farm?) called Drapers (possibly called Aungers in 1479) and 15 acres meadow and pasture. Also capital messuage (presumably Pinchbank, Baker identifies it as such but name not given in deed) with 18 acres of pasture and meadow called Smithfield Close and Crowfield Close more or less adjoining to the said capital messuage. **33 acres total.** MDR 1713/3/128

Same date purchases Chequers Inn with 15 acres adjoining, and farm with four fields called Margery Mead (no acreage given but 10 acres in 1750), ten acres, eight acres and home field (no acreage given but sale of exactly the same lands in 1750 has 'pightle 2 acres' which was

probably home field). Uncertain location of Chequers, Baker's location used but unclear what it's based on. Margery mead and other closes located by 1479 quitclaim and 1745 map showing owners' names. **+33 acres total**
MDR 1713/3/129

1713

Thomas Reynolds buys four closes of meadow or pasture of **21 acres** collectively called Sheepcotes.

1723

Thomas Reynolds buys back his confiscated estate from the trustees for the sale of the South Sea Directors Estates. At that date the description of property was essentially the same as that given in 1712 and 1750 except for the descriptions of messuages, cottages and lands. Named properties are: Grove field with three acres; Williams farm, Gamms farm, Greenings farm, Greenings house and Spakemans house, together with forty-seven acres. No location is given but these are presumably in the hamlet of Kicks End.

1750

Byng buys various lands from Francis Reynolds. Pinchbanks 3 acres, four closes Smithfield, meadow or homestead, hill or barn field and one unnamed which abuts the waste on the east, 17 acres. Also Margery Mead 10 acres, close called eight acres and close called ten acres and close called pightle two acres (probably 'home field' from 1712). Also Chequer Inn now called Angel with four close and two pightles estimated 18 acres. Also two other pightles of three acres (no location given but summed with the previous description so presumably somewhere adjacent to the Angel). Also a messuage with fifteen acres (not named but presumably Drapers as Reynolds is selling the whole estate and in 1713 one of the parcels with a messuage and 15 acres was Drapers). Also Sheepcotes meadow or pasture grounds 21 acres, adjoins Stonards to the east as it did in 1712. Also five messuages, cottages and closes with at least fourteen acres of land. None are named but one is described as 'new built', and another as lying near the 'Crow Inn and nearly over against the White Lyon Inn'. These are presumably some of the cottages and farms purchased by Reynolds in 1723. Notably excepted from the sale was the Green Man Inn with two acres of land.

Pinchbank

Pinchbank and its abutments (80 a.) were first recorded in 1310 when it and its abutments were 80 acres.⁵¹ In 1479 Pinchbank is referred to in a quitclaim of land from Henry Frowyke to John Goodere as part of a marriage settlement. According to the VCH Pinchbank was part of the lands granted from Frowyke to Goodere at this date. But in the Calendar of Close Rolls examined here Pinchbank is already owned by Goodere and occupied by his tenant William Rutlond.⁵² It is described as 'lands ... called 'Pynchebek''. No mention of a house is made at this date, but the name was being used to describe the bounds of Sheepcotes so 'lands' was perhaps sufficient. The property passes from the Goodere family to the Stamford's who in 1574 sold it to William Kympton at which date it contained fourteen acres. In 1712 a 'Capital Messuage' with appurtenances and three closes of eighteen acres 'by estimation', were purchased by Thomas Reynolds. One of the closes was named 'Smithfield'. This land can be equated with Pinchbank, as in 1750 Byng purchased from Reynolds (amongst other lands) the 'capital messuage or tenement called Pinchbanks' along with various

⁵¹ VCH Vol. 5 pp. 285-290.

⁵² <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/libaccess.hud.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw4/1476-85/pp157-167>.

appurtenances with four closes containing 'seventeen acres or thereabouts'. One of these was named Smithfield Close. Warburton, Bland and Smyth's map of Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Essex surveyed in 1721⁵³ identifies Reynolds house at Kicks End.⁵⁴ It is unnamed but clearly it is Pinchbank as that is the capital messuage and where he resided. It is from this location that other lands can be positioned.

Sheepcotes

First mentioned 1479 when it is described as a 'toft', which abutted Pinchbank to the east; the king's highway from Barnet to St. Albans, and demesne land called Aungeres on the west; Kykesendheath on the south, and Ryverstretelane and land of John Graunte called 'Margeryifelde' on the north; no acreage recorded.

In 1713 it is recorded as abutting Stonard's farm in the east (marked on 1745 Wylllyotts map); to the west 'farm' in the occupation of William Halsey; to the south to a field in the occupation of John Gamon; to the north Green Dragon Lane. It has also been subdivided and is described as '*four several closes pieces or parcels of meadow or pasture ground commonly called the Sheepcotes*'. 21 acres.

In 1750 it is recorded as abutting Stonard's farm [heretofore] in the east; to the west a house pulled down previously occupied by William Halsey plus 11 acres; to the south to a field heretofore in the occupation of John Gamon; to the north Green Dragon Lane. 21 acres.

Aungeres / Drapers

Aungeres recorded in 1479 as demesne land lying to the west of Sheepcotes and adjacent to the Barnet to St Albans road; no acreage is given. In 1712 Reynolds buys a messuage (farm?) called Drapers and 15 acres meadow and pasture. The 1745 map of Wylllyotts manor marks an area within Wrotham Park adjacent to the St Albans road as belonging to Reynolds; it does not give boundaries. This is the same area identified as Aungeres in 1479.

Margery

Margeryifelde is recorded in 1479 as belonging to John Graunte and lying to the north of Sheepcotes. The 1745 Wylllyotts map shows three closes adjacent to the south side of Green Dragon Lane in the area to the north of where Sheepcotes lay, which belonged to a Mr Grant. It is possible that the land stayed within the Grant family for 265 years thus identifying this area as Margery Field. Margery Mead is not mentioned at this date, but a sixteenth century deed lists both names.⁵⁵ In 1712 Thomas Reynolds purchases (along with other lands) Margery Mead as one of four fields together making thirty acres of pasture or meadow. The acreage of Margery Mead is not given or the exact location. Margery Field is not mentioned. It is possible that the piece of land known only as Margeryifelde in 1479 has been divided by 1712 and the closes separately named. These same lands are sold again in 1750 to John Byng and at this date Margery Mead is said to be 10 acres. The 1745 Wylllotts manor map marks Margery Mead alongside a footpath on the west side of the St Albans road, in the same way that a stream would be marked. It is an unusual manner in which to label a footpath and it is possible that it refers to a close. Mr Grant owns closes either side of the St Albans road but not immediately adjacent to the footpath. On the opposite side of the St Albans road lay a

⁵³ <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/a/00700000000019u00011000.html>.

⁵⁴ The house is identified as belonging to Reynolds by a number which correlates to the name and coat of arms in the border of the map.

⁵⁵ Baker, (1970) p.3

very boggy area that was later excavated to create the lake in Wrotham Park. This area is on the periphery of the map and there is very little detail. There are no buildings shown on the 1745 map, or on the 1842 tithe map, to the north of the almshouses on the west of the road. However, given the lack of detail on the 1745 map it is possible that there were buildings that have been omitted, which may in turn have been removed by 1842, so this evidence is inconclusive. Baker writing about the Mandeville manor at Dancers Hill identifies plots of land adjacent to the north of the 1745 Margery Mead location as being part of the Dancers Hill / Mandeville estate until purchased by Byng in 1768.⁵⁶ So Margery Mead and the accompanying farm and thirty acres must have laid to the south of these. This is plausible as the Byng family owned this land by 1842, but the Byng estate was continually added to and it is unclear when they acquired these lands. But perhaps most persuasive of all is that none of the land to the west of the road is identified on the 1745 map as belonging to Reynolds, which it would have been had he purchased it in 1712, and as the land to the east of the road is identified. It seems more likely that the name Margery Mead applied to low lying wet ground surrounding the stream on either side of the road.

Sayers, Reddings, Hantes, Smithcroft

In 1479 Sayers, Reddings, Hantes, and Smithcroft are described as crofts, (Sayers and Reddynges are attached to a cottage). They lie close to or adjacent to each other in the area of Pinchbank and Bentley Heath. Smithcroft was said to lie between 'Sayers' and 'Alenstretethe'. If Alenstretethe can be equated with the northern part of Bentley Heath around Gannick Corner, because Bentley Heath Lane has been equated with Alengestrete, then Smithcroft can be roughly located (Figure 2). The location of Reddings in 1479 is more specific '*Reddynges lies between Bentleyheth in the east, 'the Broke' of the Hethe on the south, 'Pynchbeke' on the west and demesne land of Thomas Hertwell on the north*'. Reddings Corner is identified in the 1678 will of John Howkins as a piece of waste lying in front of and used as a passageway to his house Pinchbank.⁵⁷ This helps to identify the location of the other less well detailed parcels of land. The only name to survive in 1712 is 'Smith'. Smithfield Close can probably be equated with Smithcroft due to the description of its location. The name appears again in 1723 and 1750. But at the later dates it is described as 'Smithfield Close and Crowfield Close 18 acres', and 'Smithfield, meadow or homemead, hill or barn field and one unnamed which abuts the waste on the east, 17 acres'. It is unclear if Smithcroft was as big as 18 acres in 1471.

SETTLEMENT

The VCH notes that 'Despite the growth of villages and hamlets much of the parish was still open in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.'⁵⁸ However, this is disputed by evidence seen as part of this study.

Kicks End

VCH South Mimms Intro⁵⁹

By 1658 a large hamlet was spreading along the old St. Albans road at Kitts End. Cottages lay scattered around the area later occupied by Home farm. The Bull's Head inn was first

⁵⁶ Helen Baker, 'Dancers Hill and the Manor of Mandeville', *Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin*, 17, (1973) p.8

⁵⁷ Baker, (1970)

⁵⁸ VCH South Mimms: Introduction Pages 271-282

⁵⁹ <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5/pp271-282>

recorded in 1523 (fn. 136) and six alms-houses, built by James Hickson on the slope descending to Dancers Hill, stood there from 1687 to 1856. In the southern part of the parish, at Barnet, shops and cottages had been erected by 1553. (fn. 137) Several inns catered for the many travellers using the Great North Road: the Robin Hood, held of the manor of Barnet, was recorded in 1659, (fn. 138) although its location is uncertain, and the Blue Bell in 1668. (fn. 139) The Hart's Horns, next to the Bell and seemingly on the corner of the later Union Street, was mentioned in 1553 (fn. 140) and stood west of the Great North Road; (fn. 141) it was converted into shops in 1929. (fn. 142)

Despite the growth of villages and hamlets much of the parish was still open in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. (fn. 143) Two highwaymen were buried in South Mimms churchyard (fn. 144) and the two major roads also brought vagrants and other unwanted fugitives (fn. 145) from plague-stricken London. In 1665 'above one hundred and more, which died of the plague in the same year' were buried at South Mimms. (fn. 146)

In 1754 (fn. 147) most inhabitants were still living along the Great North Road and the road to St. Albans, mainly in South Mimms village and at Kitts End. South Mimms village seems to have spread along Blackhorse Lane, although spaces remained between the houses. South of the church buildings lined the western edge of the road but few had been erected on the other side. Several brick cottages, some of which later became shops, had been built at the southern end of the village in Blanche Lane and Greyhound Lane. At Kitts End houses lay scattered along the road to St. Albans (Kitts End Road), whence they spread eastward towards the Chase. Most of them were small cottages, often divided into two or more tenements. In 1728 eight such cottages, together with 11 a. of land, were sold by William Pratt to Thomas Reynolds, the owner of Pinchbank, (fn. 148) and c. 1750 at least ten copyhold cottages at Kitts End were held by Admiral Byng. (fn. 149) The hamlet was said to have eight inns in 1756, (fn. 150) although two, the Windmill and the Two Brewers, were in Enfield Chase, adjoining Monken Hadley. (fn. 151) The largest inn was the White Lion which had beds for twelve men and stabling for forty-three horses. It stood near the Hermitage and probably close to the Two Sawyers and the Angel (formerly known as the Chequers). South of the old road through Kitts End stood the Crown, which in 1767 took the name of the Angel after the older inn had been pulled down. (fn. 152) Farther south was the weatherboarded Bull's Head, (fn. 153) which for a short time was called the Three Compasses, (fn. 154) and between Gannick Bank and the Great North Road stood the Maypole. (fn. 155) A group near the White Lion included two wash-houses to the inn (fn. 156) and beyond was a house which was probably that licensed in 1732 as the Bunch of Grapes. (fn. 157) North of the hamlet stood Pinchbank, at one time known as Strangeways. Houses were dotted along both sides of Dancers Hill Road, which contained Stonard's [*this much further east along Green Dragon Lane*] house and copyhold land called Angels, (fn. 158) the rent-charge on which supported Howkins's alms-houses. At the junction of Wash Lane and Dancer Hill Road, known as Cuckold Corner, there were various tenements in the late 17th century. (fn. 159) By 1712 they included a cottage, a shop, and other buildings, (fn. 160) one of which was licensed as the White Lion in 1726. (fn. 161) Another small cottage and a smithy had been added by 1732. (fn. 162) East of Cuckold Corner and opposite the end of Kitts End Road stood an inn called Mandeville, recorded in 1623 and renamed the Green Dragon by 1635; (fn. 163) it was sold to George Byng in 1768 (fn. 164) and by 1842 had moved to a new site on Telford's road. (fn. 165) East of Wash and Water lanes were groups of buildings belonging to two farms. (fn. 166) In 1712 George Howes, the occupier of the copyhold farm which lay south of Aldwick, had pulled down part of a mansion in Water Lane. (fn. 167)

COUNTY MAP

John Norden: Speculum Britanniae, Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire 1598.

Includes a small-scale map that has limited detail of the landscape. However, it does include rather splendid detail of the battle. Two groups of armed men, representations of the two armies, are shown fighting across the road to Hatfield just north of where it separates from the road to St Albans near Kicks End, though the settlement is neither depicted nor named. ‘Gladmore heath field’ is marked in the far north of the parish along the border with North Mimms and into Enfield Chase. But it is more likely that it is the scale of the map that determines the placing of some names rather than surveyed accuracy, so this placement is intended as an important naming of the action depicted rather than the exact location of the heath.

William Smith: Map of Hertfordshire 1602

This is very like Norden in the depiction of armed men facing each other across the Hatfield road (see above). He also places Gladmore Heath to the far north of the parish on the border with North Mimms though not stretching into Enfield Chase, and he names the area within the Chase and to the south of the men as ‘Barnett field’ i.e. ‘battlefield’.

John Speed: Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain, Maps of Hertfordshire and Middlesex 1611

The Hertfordshire map depicts and names a few features outside of the county boundary. The name ‘Gladmore’ is marked to the north of South Mimms village on the border with North Mimms parish, and in the south-west corner of South Mimms parish there is the depiction of a tent (indicating a battle encampment), marked ‘Bernet field’. South Mymys and Hadley are the only settlement indicated.⁶⁰

The map of Middlesex names various settlements in South Mimms parish, ‘Potters Barr, Southmyns, Durhams, Dancershill, Kickesend, The Folde’, but omits all reference to a battle.⁶¹

John Warburton, Joseph Bland and Payler Smyth: Map of Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire 1724.⁶²

This map shows: hundredal boundaries; watercourses with rivers named; principal roads indicating which are open or enclosed; Roman roads are stylistically different and some named; towns and cities have a rough plan form; villages depicted by church; significant buildings including windmills in elevation, some are named; parks shown paled and named; woods are poorly indicated, some named but only depicted by a few of trees; hills in elevation; battles indicated by a single sword.

At Barnett the battle is not named but the site indicated by a sword directly to the north-east of Hadley windmill. The road bifurcates north of the windmill, the eastern route to Potters Bar and on to Hatfield is shown unenclosed, that on the west to South Mimms and St Albans is

⁶⁰ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-ATLAS-00002-00061-00001/32>

⁶¹ <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-ATLAS-00002-00061-00001/41>

⁶² BL: Maps C.29.f.6. This map is catalogued as dated 1712 but 1724 is a more accurate date – see discussion in Appendix.

enclosed. Pinchbank house is shown in elevation and to its south the smaller building, also in elevation, identified by Warren as the battle chapel.⁶³

John Rocque: Map of Middlesex 1754

Features include roads but does not distinguish whether open or enclosed, though turnpikes are identified by milestones; watercourses and ponds; settlement in very simple plan, some individual buildings are named though none are shown in elevation, even in London; parish boundaries; woods; height roughly indicated by hachuring; open and enclosed land with some open features named. However, while the extents of open land are considered to be accurate the boundaries within the enclosed parcels are certainly not.⁶⁴ Rocque's technique of showing field boundaries was unusual in this period as most county mapmakers did not. But the boundaries were not individually surveyed and are indicators of closes rather than accurate depictions. This particular method and illustration can perhaps be seen as a precursor to the Ordnance Surveyors Drawings from the first decade of the nineteenth century which are remarkably similar. Of note is the misnaming of Dancers Hill as 'Daniels' Hill. The site of the battle is not marked.⁶⁵

Richard Seale: Map of Middlesex 1770

This map is similar to that of Warburton et al (see above), but is of note for particular features. It marks most of the same features but omits Wrotham Park, both the park and the house; changes the spelling of 'Kicks End to 'Kixend'; labels the western part of Enfield Chase, known from earlier documents as South Mimms Common (MPC 1/50/1), as 'Gladmore Heath Battle, 14 Apr. 1471'.⁶⁶

COUNTY HISTORY

South Mimms

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol15/>

⁶³ Warren, *Ibid.*, pp.26-28

⁶⁴ Catherine Delano-Smith & Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History*, London, (1999) p.88

⁶⁵ Copy of 1754 edition of Rocques map of Middlesex at Barnet Museum; online copy of 1757 edition at the British Library <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/craxe/a/zoomify88777.html>

⁶⁶ FO 925 4121

APPENDIX

UKFOC

#38

UKFOC Features

- 1: Memorial Stone
- 2: Burial
- 3: Burial
- 4: Burial
- 5: Burial
- 6: Monument - modern.

HER

Hertfordshire HER no online database - The records for monuments and buildings are now available online at www.heritagegateway.org.uk.

Sources: Secondary

WARREN

Warren, B. 2009 'Reappraisal of the Battle of Barnet 1471'. Potters Bar and District Historical Society

BAKER

Baker H.M. 1970 'Wrotham Park and Kitts End'. Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin, No. 16.

CASS

F.C. Cass. 1877 'South Mimms' Westminster : Nichols & Sons

FORD

Edward Ford. 1873 'A History of Enfield in the County of Middlesex'.

<https://ia800202.us.archive.org/19/items/historyofenfield00forduoft/historyofenfield00forduoft.pdf>

Provides an excellent description of the Chase boundary within Edmonton and Hadley parishes in 1635 and 1685. The text does not make it clear which survey is being described but given the description of the bank as 'quite down' in 1685 (see Cass, p.2 above) it seems likely to be that of 1635. From Hadley windmill the boundary ran 'by ye Highway to Summer Pool, als Sugar Well, from thence along a great bank to Gannick Corner.' The location Summer Pool has been identified on the 1658 Gunten & Rolfe map. Warren records the name from the 1572 survey as 'Summer Pole'.

Sources: Primary

CALENDAR OF CLOSE ROLLS EDWARD IV. MEMBRANE 12D. F.55

Online copy

[http://www.british-history.ac.uk.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw4/1476-85/pp157-167](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/libaccess.hud.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw4/1476-85/pp157-167).

Henry Frowicke esquire, of Southmymmes co. Middlesex, to John Goodere the elder, gentleman, of Hadleight, John Goodere his son, Bartholomew Holbeck alias Burton and Thomas Hore, their heirs and assigns. Release and quitclaim with warranty of all his rights in a cottage with two crofts called 'Sayeres' and 'Reddynges,' parcels of the manor of Oldeffold co. Middlesex, with a croft adjacent called 'Hantes' situated within the parish of Southmymmes; and another croft called 'Smythecrofte' between 'Sayers' and 'Alenstreteheth,' And Reddynges lies between Bentleyheth in the east, 'the Broke' of the Heth on the south, 'Pynchbeke' on the west and demesne land of Thomas Hertwell on the north. Dated 10 May, 19 Edward IV.

The same, to the same etc. Quitclaim with warranty of a toft called 'Shepcote' in Southmymmes between lands of William Rutlond, of John Goodere of Monken Hadley called 'Pynchebek' on the east, the king's highway from Barnet to St. Albans, and demesne land called 'Aungeres' on the west, Kykesendheath on the south and Ryverstretelane and land of John Graunte called 'Margeryifelde' on the north. Dated 20 June, 19 Edward IV.

ENCLOSURE ACT

Online copy from Monken Hadley Common website

<http://www.monkenhadleycommon.net/17GeoIIICap17.html>

pp.134-138 describes the enclosure of Bentley Heath 'or by some other name or names' in addition to the South Mimms allotment from the Chase. 1,026 acres & 3 perches of Chase and 87 acres 'more or less' of said heath, making 1,113 acres & 3 perches total allotment to SM. It does not describe the bounds – possibly the Award does. 87 acres does not cover all of Bentley Heath and the open ground at Kicks End – but latter encroached upon so would have been greater in 1471.

pp.143-145 encroachments made before 29/9/1776 to not be included in allotments but considered in the ownership 'of the respective persons who now enjoy the same'. But any rents payable to the parish in lieu of lost common rights to be continued to be paid.

pp.145-165 detail of allotments on SM commons (not Chase) including roads

p.162 allotments around Wrotham Park, Maypole, Gannock Corner, Green Dragon Lane etc.

p.163 several roads and footpaths across Byng's allotment to be closed and he to make a new road 'from the Great North Road leading from Barnet to Hatfield to the road leading from Gannock Corner to Green Dragon Lane, and make a good and substantial footpath at or near the present carriage-road over the heath'

BARNET MUSEUM

AD/01/boxes 1-5

Terrier with map Chipping and East Barnet manor 1817 *probably the same as Herts RO Map 80912. Unseen.*

HERTFORDSHIRE ARCHIVES

D/EMW P1

Map of small estate in Monken Hadley abutting Hadley Common 1806 – *nowhere near search area, next to Folly Farm on OS 1st Ed.*

Acc/2414

Plan by John Raine of Freehold Estate in South Mimms 1793 - *Small plots around Gannick's Corner bounding Wrotham Park.*

Map 80912

Map Chipping and East Barnet manor 1817 - *Includes block in south of South Mimms parish below Old Fold manor.*

VII.C/4B

Nicholas King's lands called King's Fields (Bray's land) 1713 *very small area not relevant*

QS/E13

Barnet Inclosure Map and Award 1818
Chipping Barnet common and a few closes in South Mimms parish.

PC677

East and Chipping Barnet tithe map
Not relevant to area of survey.

LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

MDR 1713/3/128-130

Four indentures or sale agreements re land at Pinchbanks, Sheepcotes and various other plots in Kicks End. *Very good and used with other sources, Wyllyotts 1745 map, Baker and tithe map and schedule, to locate various lands. Transcription with pertinent text highlighted in bold:*

128

An Indenture ... 11th February 1712 ... made between William Howkins of the parish of South Mimms ... of the first part, Paul Harris of London ... of the second part, Thomas Reynolds of London ... of the third part and John Fowler of the parish of Saint Martins in the fields ... and Benjamin Dewberry ... of the fourth part. Purporting to be an assignment from the said William Howkins and Paul Harris unto the said John Fowler and Benjamin Dewberry

of the remainder of a term of five hundred years of and in that messuage called **Drapers** with all Barns, Stables and out-houses thereunto belonging together with all orchards, gardens, yards **and fifteen acres of meadow and pasture** with all appurtenances thereunto belonging situate, lying and being in Southmimms aforesaid with all the trees of oak, ash and elm, growing ... upon the premises ... and all that **Capital Messuage [Pinchbank?]** with all the out houses, buildings, barns, stables, yards, orchards, gardens with their appurtenances situate ... within the parish of Southmimms aforesaid together with **three closes of meadow and pasture** containing by estimation **eighteen acres** be the same **more or less adjoining** to the said capital messuage and known by the names of **Smithfield Close** and **Crowfield Close** In Trust nevertheless to the said Thomas Reynolds and to attend and wait upon R? and inheritance of the premises within the indenture tripartite of bargain and sale ... and made between the said William Howkins of the first part, Thomas Pratt ... and Alexander Bottom ... of the second part and the said Thomas Reynolds of the third part... are ... conveyed or intended to be conveyed to the said Thomas Reynolds ... [legalese, inrollment in Chancery etc.]

129

An Indenture ... 11th February 1712 ... made between William Howkins of the parish of Southmimms ... of the first part, Elizabeth Garneys widow and Henry Raworth ... executors of ... Robert Raworth .. of the second part. Thomas Reynolds ... of the third part and John Fowler ... and Benjamin Dewberry ... of the fourth part purporting to be an assignment from the said William Hawkins ... also from the said Elizabeth Garneys, Henry Raworth ... unto the said John Fowler and Benjamin Dewberry ... of all the rest and residue then to come and unexpired of the terms of one thousand years and five hundred years in all that the messuage tenement or **inn** called the **Chequers** with all barns, stables, orchards and gardens thereto belonging and all those **four closes of pasture or meadow** ground and **two little pightells** to the said ? mentioned messuage adjoining containing in all by estimation **fifteen acres** be the same more or less whithsaid premises then or then late were in the occupation of William Wood ... and all that **messuage or tenement and farm** and the **four fields of meadow or pasture** land called by the ? & several names of **Margery Mead, ten acres, eight acres and home field** then late in the occupation of William Pratt and all whith said premises are situate at or near **Kirksend [Kitksend?]** in the parish of Southmimms ... in trust nevertheless for the said Thomas Reynolds ... [legalese]

130

An indenture of seven parts ... 26th November 1713 ... made between James Close of ?? Gent of the first part, John Shipman ... of the second part, Henry Raworth ... of the third part, William Hawkins of Southmimms ... of the fourth part, Thomas Reynolds ... of the fifth part, Thomas Doggett and Robert ?Preston ... of the sixth part and Dame Mary Coltand, Dame Margaret Gosthing ... of the seventh part purporting to be a bargain and sale from the said James Close, John Shipman, Henry Raworth and William Hawkins unto the said Thomas Reynolds of all those **four several closes** pieces or parcels of **meadow or pasture ground** commonly called the **Sheepcotes** lying and being in the parish of Southmimms ... and containing together by ? estimation one and twenty acres be the same more or less or by what other name soever the same be called or known within said closes pieces or parcels of **meadow or pasture** ground were heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Henry Martin and now are or late were in the tenure or occupation of William Halsey ... [or his tenants] **and are adjoining towards the north to Green Dragon Lane, towards the east to a farme of Samuel Stonard, towards the south to a field in the occupation of John Gamon and**

towards the west to a certain copyhold messuage, lands and premises in the occupation of the said William Halsey, together with all ways, passages, waters, watercourses, easements, liberties, common, privileges, profits, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said closes, pieces or parcels of meadow or pasture ground belonging or in any wise appertaining to hold to the said Thomas Reynolds his heirs and assigns to the intent to make him or them tenant or tenants to a ? in order to a common recovery intended to be forthwith suffered of the premises in which recovery of the said Thomas Doggett and Robert Weston or the survivor of them are to be demandant [?] or demandants [?] the said Thomas Reynolds tenant and the said William Hawkins ...[legalese]

MDR 1750/3/690

Indenture of sale from Thomas Reynolds to John Byng of various lands including Pinchbanks and Sheepcotes. Includes a description of the estate at that date plus a description as it was in 1723 when Reynolds bought it back from the Trustees of the South Sea Directors Estates.

Very good for comparison with earlier deed and other sources – see above.

Transcription with pertinent text highlighted in bold:

An indenture 22nd February 1750 made between Francis Reynolds ... son and heir of Thomas Reynolds late of the parish of South Mimms ... of the one part and ... John Byng ... of the other part purporting to be a lease or bargain and sale for a year to vest the possession of and conveyancing All that capital messuage or tenement called **Pinchbanks** with the courtyards, gardens, orchards and appurtenances thereunto belonging situate in the parish of South Mimms ... containing **three acres** or thereabouts and also All those **four closes being meadow or pasture land lying contiguous together three whereof are called Smithfield Close the meadow or homestead, hill field or Barn field and the fourth field or close abuts eastwards towards the wast[e]** formerly in the occupation of the said Thomas Reynolds ... containing together in the whole **seventeen acres** or thereabouts two of which said closes vizt homestead and hill field are in the tenure of Simon Pegg Esquire and the other two closes or fields are in the tenure of Edward Cozier and also **All that other messuage** and tenement with the garden, orchard and appurtenances and All that close called **Margery mead** containing by estimation **ten acres** and All that close called **eight acres** containing eight acres and also All that close called **the ten acres** containing by estimation ten acres and also All that field or close call the **pightle** containing **two acres** or thereabouts. All which last mentioned premises were heretofore in the occupation of William Pratt and now in the occupation of William Jordain containing in **the whole thirty acres [sum of previous]** or thereabouts and also All that **messuage and tenement** with the barns, stables, outhouses, yards, gardens and appurtenances heretofore called the **Chequer Inn** and now called or known by the name or sign of the **Angel** with its appurtenances and also All those **four closes of meadow and pasture ground** and **two pightles** containing by estimation **eighteen acres** and also All those two other pightles of pasture or meadow ground containing **three acres** or thereabouts making together in the whole **twenty one acres [sum of previous]** or thereabouts formerly in the tenure or occupation of John Smith ... and now in the tenure or occupation of John Waters or of Daniel Dowell as his undertenant and also All that **messuage or tenement and All those fifteen acres of meadow and pasture** ... let with the same heretofore in the possession of ... [various tenants Woodward, Bickerstaff, then Blarf] and also All those **several closes** pieces or parcels of **meadow or pasture grounds** commonly called the **Sheepcotes** lying and being in the said parish of South Mimms and containing together by estimations **twenty one acres** be the same more or less or by whatsoever other name the same be called or known which said closes pieces or parcels of meadow or pasture ground were heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Henry Martin ...

and now in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Bridges and are adjoining **towards the north on Green Dragon Lane, towards the east to a farm heretofore of Samuel Stonard [house named on 1745 Wyllyotts map], towards the south to a field** heretofore in the occupation of John Gam and **towards the west to a certain copyhold messuage** some time since pulled down and formerly in the occupation of the said William Halsey and also All those **two other closes and a pigtle containing together eleven acres** or thereabouts **lying contiguous to the last mentioned lands** and making in the whole **thirty two acres [sum of previous]** or thereabouts heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Nichollas Corral and now or late in the tenure or occupation of the said Thomas Bridges and also All that **new erected messuage or tenement and a close of meadow containing three acres and a half** or thereabouts heretofore in the tenure or occupation of James ? and now of Mrs Catherine Leycester [spelled Leicester later] spinster [Mrs & spinster?] and All that **messuage or tenement** and barn and all those **several closes of pasture and meadow land containing ten acres and a half** or thereabouts ... and All that **tenement or cottage and piece of ground** now or late in the tenure of Edward Dalby[?] and All that other **small tenement or cottage with the appurtenances** lying near the ?**Crow Inn** and nearly over against the **White Lyon Inn** and late in the tenure of Sarah ? and All that other **small tenement with its appurtenances** now or late in the tenure of Benjamin Nicholls and **All other the messuage, lands, tenements,** and hereditaments which the said Francis Reynolds doth hold for any estate of freehold or of inheritance situate lying and being or to be had received used or enjoyed within the said parish of South Mimms ... (except and always reserved of it of this present bargain and sale all that **messuage tenement or Inn** called or known by the name or sign of the **green man** and All that **pigtle** held therewith and now used as garden ground with the yards, courts, coach houses, stables, offices, outbuildings and appurtenances thereto belonging containing **two acres** or thereabouts) Together with all and singular houses, outhouses, barns, edifices, buildings, courts, yards, orchards, backsides, wood, underwoods, trees, hedges, ditches, mounds, fences, ways, paths, passages, ponds, water, watercourses, commons, common of pasture, assignment of wood and right of **commange in the waste of the manor of South Mimms** and on Enfield Chase wastes, marshes, heaths, profits, perquisites, jurisdictions, priviledges, advantages, commodities, inolments [?] hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever ... [legalese revisions remainders etc. etc.] thereby bargained and sold and every part and parcel of them All which before mentioned ... were heretofore purchased by the said Thomas Reynolds ... of and from ... trustees for the sale of the South Sea Directors Estates ... £6,365 ... 1st October **1723** ... by the following names and descriptions that is to say All that capital **messuage or tenement called pinchbanks** with the appurtenances situate in the parish of South Mimms aforesaid and All that **piece or parcel of ground called the house stables** lying before the said messuage containing about **five acres** and also All those **three meadows and pastures called the house mead, Smithfield Close and Hill field close** adjoining to the said messuage containing about **eighteen acres** and also All that other **messuage** or tenement late in the **possession of Pratt with the appurtenances** and All that other **close called Margery mead containing by estimation ten acres** and also All that **close called eight acres containing by estimation eight acres** and also All that close called the **ten acres containing by estimation ten acres** and also All that **field or close called the pigtle containing two acres** and also All that **other messuage or tenement called the Chequers Inn with the appurtenances** and also All those **four closes of pasture and two pigtles containing eighteen acres** and also All that **messuage** or tenement heretofore in the possession of William Pratt together **with fifteen acres of meadow and pasture** let with the same and also All that other messuage and tenement and also a **close of pasture called Grove field containing about three acres** late in the possession of Richard Hurlock[?] and William Halsey or one of them ... and also All those **four several closes** pieces or parcels of

meadow or pasture grounds commonly called the **Sheepcotes** lying and being in the said parish of South Mimms and containing together by estimation **twenty one acres** be the same more or less or by what other name soever the same are called or known the said closes pieces or parcels of meadow or pasture ground were heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Henry Martin and were afterwards in the tenure or occupation of William Halsey ... or undertenants and **are adjoining towards the north to green Dragon Lane, towards the east a farm now or late of Samuel Stonard, towards the south to a field** now or late in the occupation of John Gamm and **towards the west to a certain copyhold messuage lands and premises** late in the occupation of the said William Halsey and also All those **messuages or tenements with the appurtenances** late in the possession of William Howkins senior or of William Howkins the younger situate in the parish of South Mimms aforesaid together with **forty seven acres** of land or thereabouts known by the several names of **Williams farm, Gamms farm, Greenings farm, Greenings house and pightle, Spakemans house and pightle** situate lying and being in the parish of South Mimms aforesaid ... and all the ways, paths, watercourses, commons, common of pasture, mines, quarries, privileges, commodities, advantages, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said several messuages, lands, tenements and premises ... [legalese]

ACC/0809/Mp/9

Seale Middlesex 1758

Have copy from NA (see below).

CLC/L/BF/H/002

Plan of the manor of Wyllyotts in the parish of South Mimms. [Thought to be the survey made by Edward Vickers in 1745]. Plan deposited by the Brewers Company.

Reference Code: SC/GL/PR/LA/V/SOU/1/k1272746/B. Re-catalogued new ref:

CLC/L/BF/H/002

Damaged. Removed from original backing, dissected, and remounted, redrawn 1956. Baker, Helen M. coloured. 9 sheets, mounted on linen and paper ; each 635x699mm.

Most of the map covers the land to the north and north-west of Green dragon Lane but also includes some detail of the road from Kicks End to Dancers Hill. Map includes some of the lands covered by the Treswell map of Wyllyotts (CLC/L/BF/H/001). Very detailed in the features it shows, but typically of an estate map ignores extraneous land. A block of six terraced buildings marked 'the Companies almshouses' is shown on the St Albans road just above Kicks End. These have walled yards to the rear and what appear to be narrow garden plots to the north within the road. Map shows simple truncated black lines indicating close boundaries at intervals along the road, though some enclosures are fully drawn. Both are marked with the owners' names. Gates and trackways into the closes are drawn in colour. There were closes all along the eastern side of the St Albans road in what is later Wrotham Park. Houses/dwellings are drawn in red and barns and uninhabitable buildings in black – this was the usual convention followed by mapmakers. Roads are particularly well drawn (except at the edges of the map). Most are very wide but not uniform in width along their length. Many small encroachments from adjacent closes are indicated, as are numerous small ponds within the roadways. Mutton Lane which runs east / west below Mimms Hall is shown to be gated in part. The map shows later use with some closes and lines of new roads, including 'Mr Byngs new road' that replaced Green Dragon Lane, added in pencil. Detail at the edges of the map is less accurately drawn, particularly around Gannick Corner. Bentley Heath is marked in the triangle of open land between Gannick Corner, Green Dragon Lane and enclosures on the western side.

CLC/L/BF/H/17-18

Reconstruction of above Wyllyotts manor, remains the copyright of Ms Baker
Reconstruction invaluable – multiple sheets and poor quality of original makes it very hard to work with. This was used for guidance but data mapped from original. The reconstruction has simplified roads, which doesn't affect the plan form, but their drove / green-like characteristic is lost. This indicates the importance of referring to the original whenever possible Very useful for identifying which plots belonged to Wyllyotts.

ACC/0351/1139

An exact Mapp of the Manor of Old Fold and the lands Belonging Surveyed in 1726 by John Johnson from collection: Allen-Cooper family. In the Parishes of South Mimms; Hadley and Edmonton in the County of Middlesex. Part of the Estate of Thomas Allen, Esquire.

Surveyed in 1726 by John Johnson

Lovely. Small estate lying to the south-west of Kicks End. Probably outside study area but map is a joy. All enclosed, each close numbered and named, trees depicted in hedges some artistic licence but many numbered to indicate species. Workers shown gathering hay from stooks onto wagon in 'five and twenty acres foot path field' which also has two people walking on footpath. Horses in one field, cattle or deer (horns / antlers?) in another. Five closes called 'heart' corruption of Hart? possibly early park? though very regular in shape. House in elevation with moat.

CLC/L/BF/H/001

'Plan of the Wyllyotts Manor in the parish of South Mimms, Midx., with its lands & woods' redrawn to a reduced scale from the original plan made by Ralph Treswell in 1594 ...,
The original map is untitled and contains as list of lands sold, mostly woods and mostly to Thomas Marshes of Darkes. Most of the lands shown are owned by the Darkes estate. The map may, therefore, have been made at or soon after a sale to clarify landholding. If that is so it may not be representative of the whole manor of Wyllyotts. This issue could be resolved by tracing the manorial history but such research is beyond the remit of this study. Wyllyotts manor house is seen to a substantial building but not moated, though it was said in 1966 that traces of 'a filled-in moat' could still be seen'. Darkes, less than 1km to the north, is a moated site complete with gatehouse within a paled enclosure.

SC/GL/PR/V/SOU/1/k1272752

Reproduced by ... Helen M. Baker, 1978. Reconstruction of above remains the copyright of Ms Baker – *uncertain if this ref is still valid or if both reconstruction and original are under the above ref? Reconstruction invaluable as original is very faded – also fully referenced where she has used supplementary documents to interpret difficult text on the map.*

DRO/005/H/01/001

Enclosure award for South Mimms dividing Enfield Chase, 1777 [1781]. *enrolled copy.*

ACC/1573/001

Survey of Enfield Chase showing the boundaries and the various land holdings. Made by order of the Duchy of Lancaster in pursuance of an Act for Dividing the Chase of Enfield...., 17 GEO III. Includes table of references. Ink and watercolor on parchment Surveyors: France *Same as [NA] MR 1/30 but with slightly less embellishment, clearer and easier to work with. Includes table of reference to encroachments of which there were many, lists them by parochial allotment so they are easy to locate e.g. 'incroachments on South Mimms waste' notably Gannock [sic] Bank, one of these was 'lands inclosed for fattening his Majesty's deer in winter'. Names the unenclosed land around Kicks End and Wrotham Park as 'South Mimms common,' and that around Gannick Corner as 'Bentley Heath'. Nice cartouche, landscape with hunter hiding behind boulders and shooting (with gun) deer.*

CLC/L/BF/H/006

Plan of an enclosure in Enfield Chase, Enfield, Middlesex allotted to the Worshipful Company of Brewers; Enfield is now in the London borough of Enfield.
Catalogue No: k1270581 re-catalogued new ref: CLC/L/BF/H/006 – *tiny area not relevant*

DRO/005/B/03/002

St Giles South Mimms List of maps, books and deeds in the parish chest. *Enclosure map only (Chase allotment) and award, rest deeds.*

MDR 1723/2/401

Deed re redemption of estate in 1723. *Referenced in Baker (Baker, 1970, p.2) but no mention of property descriptions. Unseen.*

SB 1215/45

Road through Kicks End moved 1766 (Baker, 1970, p.4). *Unseen.*

MDR 1784/3/220

Hermitage sold to Francis Barreneau became part of New Lodge estate. *Unseen.*

MDR 1726/6/416

White Lion inn described as near the 'mote' – exact location uncertain. *Unseen.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IR 30/21/41

Tithe map of South Mimms (parish) 1842

Marks the boundary between the ancient enclosures and the land enclosed in 1781 as 'Boundary of Enfield Chase'. This is an error as the boundary of the chase was the Gannick Bank.

IR 29/21/41

Tithe apportionment South Mimms
Apportionment photographed from microfiche screen

MR 1/706

One of four original field sheets for the survey of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, taken by Richard Richardson, surveyor. Shows allotments to the parish of South Mimms 1776
This is actually from Gannick Corner to Potters Bar presumably incorrect ref or description part of same draft map as MR 1/708 below.

MR 1/708

One of four original field sheets for the survey of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, taken by Richard Richardson, surveyor. Shows allotments to the parish of Monkton Hadley (Hertfordshire) 1776
This and MR 1/706 are two damaged parts of the same map. Appears to be a draft as it is covered with calculations, scribbles and construction lines. Very good detail of Hadley allotments and encroachments, Gannick Bank. Possibly draft for MR 1/30

MR 1/30

Plan of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, showing boundaries, proposed allotments to neighbouring parishes, proposed public roads. Also shows names of proprietors, field names, and acreage. Tables show divisions and tithe calculation. Floral cartouche in a rural setting. Two scale bars, one decorated and with adjacent dividers; 1 inch to 8 chains. Decorative compass star. Drawn by F Russell, Duchy of Lancaster surveyor, and Richard Richardson, land surveyor, August and September 1776

Shows parish allotments and very good detail of encroachments within the Chase, watercourses and ponds, closes around the periphery, and Gannick Bank. Completely open south from Gannick corner to the enclosures at Monken Hadley and the plot on the waste above the obelisk. South Mimms Common marked to the west of the Gannick Bank around Wrotham Park and Kicks End. Bentley Heath marked around Gannick Corner. Road from Gannick Corner to the first buildings at Potters Bar is unenclosed on the eastern side. This road was turnpiked in 1720. Road network within the Chase not the same as on maps based on 'Oliver Cromwell's Division' (MPC 1/216, 218, 227). Drafts for this MR 1/706 & MR 1/708.

MPC 1/115

Map showing western bounds of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, from Hadley Gate to the Maypole on the Hatfield Road; showing encroachments, names of proprietors, acreage. Reference table. Scale: 1 inch to 8 poles. Compass indicator. Surveyed by Richard Norris, March 1769.

Large scale map of encroachments at Monken Hadley up as far as the lodge at Wrotham Park. Better detail than above maps. Marks the 'waste where the windmill formerly stood'.

MPC 1/146

Plan of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, showing field names, paths, churches, windmills.

Reference table shows allotments to neighbouring parishes 1656

Shows C17 Chase with proposed divisions that weren't made. Lovely map with very good detail of roads, watercourses and names. Don't have name of Surveyor. Compare to Gunten & Rolfe (MPC 1/50/1), which has boundaries to features whereas this just has names. Most of the names on Gunten & Rolfe, including 'Deadman's Bottom', are also on this map but often in a slightly different location. There are gates shown, and named, all the way around the perimeter of the chase at road access points except on the western side where there are gaps shown in the boundary but not gates.

MPC 1/145

Plan of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, showing field names, paths, churches, windmills.

Reference table shows allotments to neighbouring parishes 1656

Have copy of 146 but not 145 though assume they are the same

MPC 1/50/1

Map of Enfield Chase, showing field names, acreage, roads. No scale shown. Decorative cartouche. Drawn by Nicholas Gunten and Edmund [Rolfe] [1658]

Lots of detail on this that pre-dates enclosure. Allotments to the various parishes are marked e.g. 'South Mimms Common', and presumably indicate which areas of the Chase were commonable to individual parishes prior to enclosure. Various 'plains' are marked, as is 'Deadman's Bottom'. There are also has crude boundaries within the various commons of the Chase. Uncertain if these were physical boundaries – as some around coppices may have been – or intended. Shows Hadley windmill on the common opposite Old Fold manor and to the north of Old Fold names 'Sugar Well'. Compare with MPC 1.146

MPC 1/50/2

Map of Enfield Chase, showing field names, old and new 'ridings'. Scale: about 1 inch to 300 yards. Decorative cartouche borne by cherubs. Compass star, with eight-petalled flower at the centre. Drawn by Joel Gascoin. 1701. *Marks new ridings, which may never have been cut, but more interestingly depicts 'wood' and 'woodland'.*

MPC 1/143

Middlesex: Enfield Chase. Map of boundary from Gannick Corner to Potter's Bar, showing London Road, boundary posts, proprietors and acreage. With reference tables. Scale: about 1 inch to 33 yards. Compass indicator. Drawn by Richard Norris, junior. 1769 – *Unseen as there were so many maps and this area shown in detail on draft and finished maps by Richardson (MR 1/706, MR 1/30). Presumably the same format as MPC 1/115 which is southern half of western side of Chase by Norris.*

MPC 1/249

1 item extracted from DL 41/1221 (formerly DL 41/96/26). 'A survey and Admeasurement of Enfield Chase in the County of Middlesex'. Plan of Enfield Chase and its boundaries, showing the sizes of the different divisions, proposed public road, and the areas and quantities of allotments assigned to various parishes and estates in lieu of their respective rights 1777

Shows allotments to the various parishes as on MR 1/30, but also individual allotments within the central area which was the king's allotment. South Mimms Common marked to the west of the Gannick Bank around Wrotham Park and Kicks End. Bentley Heath marked around Gannick Corner.

MPC 1/227

Middlesex: Enfield Chase. 'A Plan proposed for the Division of Enfield Chase, being the same as that of the year 1656 called Oliver Cromwell's Division'. c1776

Same as MPC 1/218 & 1/216 below, but in colour very poor copy – damaged. Includes text re enclosure which is interesting because it describes part of the process and conditions. Not as detailed as MPC 1/146

MPC 1/218

Middlesex: Enfield Chase. 'A Plan proposed for the Division of Enfield Chase, being the same as that of the year 1656, called Oliver Cromwell's Division' c1776

Same outline as 1/216 & 1/227.

MPC 1/216

'A Plan proposed for the Division of Enfield Chase', Middlesex. Proof copy with MS amendments c1776 – *this is of interest because of the amendments which shows the process of enclosure and map making but doesn't add to our survey. Bentley Heath marks alongside Kicks End and Wrotham Park.*

MPC 1/264

items extracted from DL 41/1190 (formerly DL 41/90). 7 maps and plans, and 1 diagram, of Enfield Chase, Middlesex. (1)-(6) Plans showing acreage of different sections of the chase. MS, coloured. Compass stars. (7) Diagram of 10 proposed lodges: in a border grouped around explanation. MS, coloured. (1) and (2) dateable to about 1730. (8) Plan of the chase referred to by affidavit of William Nixon, 27 April 1777. 1730-1777

Each map covers small individual allotments all post enclosure, not relevant.

MPC 1/206

1 item extracted from DL 44/1261. Plan of West Lodge and adjacent land, Enfield Chase, Middlesex; showing enclosures, acreage, roads, gates. Scale: 1 inch to 16 perches. Compass star. Drawn by Thomas Cleer. 1702. *Unseen West Lodge not near search area and included on other maps.*

MPC 1/220

'A Survey and Admeasurement of Enfield Chase', Middlesex. Plans shows field-names, acreage, public roads, allotments. Reference table and calculation for tithes ?1777
Same as MPC 1/249? Unseen

MR 1/707

One of four original field sheets for the survey of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, taken by Richard Richardson, surveyor. Shows allotments to the parish of Enfield 1776. *Unseen.*

MPC 1/219

'A Plan proposed for the Division of Enfield Chase', Middlesex ?c1780. *Unseen*

MPC 1/83

Map of Enfield Chase, Middlesex, showing outlines of twenty-seven falls [timbered areas] in West Baily Walk. Scale: 1 inch to 120 feet and 1 inch to 180 feet. Drawn by John George Schmiten, engineer. 1730. *Unseen*

MPC 1/84

Map of West Baily Walk, Enfield Chase, Middlesex, showing field names, acreage 1730.
Unseen

IR 30/21/22

Tithe map of Hadley or Monken Hadley (parish), Middlesex (titheable parts only 1851) *map is Hadley Common only.*

IR 29/21/22

Tithe Apportionment Monken Hadley. *Unseen*

IR 30/15/17

Tithe map of East Barnet cum Chipping Barnet (parish) 1840 – *copy of part only, town.*

IR 29/15/17

Tithe apportionment East & Chipping Barnet. *Unseen*

MR 1/1461

Rocque Middlesex 1754 - *have copy from Barnet Museum*

MR 1/678

Map of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex. Reference table. Scale: 1 inch to 1.5 miles. Compass star. Surveyed by John Warburton et al 1746 – *have copy from BL*

FO 925 4121

Middlesex by R.W. Seale 1770.
For description see 'County Map' above.

DL 43/7/5

Survey of Enfield manor and chase 1572. *Unseen.*

DL 42/125

Survey of Enfield honour and chase, Middx 1635. *Unseen but described by Ford (see above).*

DL 43/7/10

Survey of the manor and chase 1686. *Unseen, but Cass describes part of the survey relating to the boundary between the Chase and South Mimms and Hadley parishes (see above).*

BRITISH LIBRARY

Maps C.29.f.6.

A new and correct Mapp of Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire, with the Roads, Rivers, Sea Coast, &c., actually surveyed by John Warburton, Joseph Bland and Payler Smyth ... Engraven by S. Parker. [With the arms of over 700 families resident in those counties] 1712 *Uncertain where this date comes from as the map is undated and there are several 'proposals' for this map that are dated 1721. An online copy of this map in a single sheet (this edition is multiple sheets in book format), is dated by BL as 1724. They appear to be identical. This was used by the project as it is the earliest version of the map by Warburton and according to Delano-Smith and Kain was based on original surveys.⁶⁷ It is essentially the same as the 1749 map of London and Middlesex (below) referenced by Baker and Warren. For a description of the map see 'County Map' above.*

Maps CC.1.a.10

London and Middlesex illustrated by a true ... account of the Names, Residence, Genealogy and Coat Armour of the Nobility, Principal Merchants and other eminent Families trading within the precincts of this City and County. 1749 *Assume this is the map Warren refers to, but he doesn't give a reference. He states this only map to show hermitage / chapel. Baker also refers to the 1749 map by Warburton which is presumably this but does not give a reference. See above.*

Add MS 74215

1767 ROAD MAPS. 'Plans of different roads from London to Luton Park 1767' via (amongst other places) Highgate, South Mimms, and St Albans (sections 1 - 4); via Chipping Barnet, Hatfield, and Wheathampstead (sections 5 - 7); and, via Bushey and Watford, St Albans, based on printed maps by John Rocque: 1767. *Stylised version of Rocque – adds no further detail.*

⁶⁷ Delano-Smith & Kain, (1999) p.87.

Maps 186.h.2.(58.)

A manuscript map of Enfield Chase and of the adjacent country, including Islington and Acton in the south and Hertingfordbury and Sandridge in the north. c.1604

Map covers a very wide area and the only detail given is unsurprisingly around Hatfield. Enfield Chase is marked and the crude outline of the triangle between Kicks End, Dancers Hill and Gannick corner is shown, though none named and very superficial detail. Very complicated network of roads north of our area – probably in our area too but just not shown.

Add MS 40167

Vol. I, ff. iii + 263. St. Alban's Abbey; Hertfordshire: Court-books of manor bel. to: 1246-1691.: Lat. and Engl. John Mote, Cellarer of St. Alban's Abbey: Books of extracts from court-rolls made for: 14th cent. Barnet, Hertfordshire

ff. i, iii Barnet, Hertfordshire: Map of the manor: early 18th cent.(?). *This is Barnet Common in Chipping Barnet. Very little detail and outside study area.*

Add MS 68934

'A plan of the out-lines, cross-roads and waste of the manor or lordship of East Barnet & Chipping Barnet in the counties of Middlesex & Hertford. Maps and Plans: Manor of Barnet; Hertfordshire: Isaac Messeder, surveyor: William Clark, surveyor: Map of Manor of Barnet by Isaac Messeder, with later additions by William Clark: 1758, 1778

Nice map but almost all outside of the study area – includes a block of closes in the southern end of South Mimms parish that were within the manor of East and Chipping Barnet. Land lies directly south of that shown as Old Fold Manor in 1726 (London Met ACC/0351/1139).

Egerton Ch 3734.

South Mimms, Middlesex: Deeds rel. to: 1409-1665. *Unseen*

Add Ch 76402.

Lease by Rev. Anthony Webster to John Byng of land at South Mimms, co. Midd.; 1751. English. South Mimms, Middlesex: Lease of land: 1751. *Unseen*

Stowe MS 847-848.

COURT-BOOKS Of several manors in Hertfordshire Essex, Surrey and Middlesex; 1689-1704 inc. South Mimms *Unseen*

Stowe MS 848. Vol. II. 1701-1704. ff.72.

Samuel Percivall: Court-books of manors kept by, as steward: 1689-1704. ff. 14 b-66 b passim South Mimms, Middlesex: Court-books of the manor of: 1689-1704. *Unseen*

Stowe MS 847. Vol. I. 1689 and 1701. ff. 273.

Samuel Percivall: Court-books of manors kept by, as steward: 1689-1704. ff. 21 b-273 South Mimms, Middlesex: Court-books of the manor of: 1689-1704. *Unseen*

Add Ch 66706.

Deed rel. to: 1485. Monken Hadley. *Unseen*

Add Ch 76958

1647 COPY OF COURT ROLL relating to land in the manor of Chipping Barnet and East Barnet, co. Hertf.; 20 April 1647. Latin. *Unseen*

Add MS 40168 Vol. II, ff. I + 385.

Barnet 1246-1691

Sir John Weld: Court-book of his manor of Barnet: 17th cent.

St. Alban's Abbey; Hertfordshire: Court-books of manor bel. to: 1246-1691.: Lat. and Engl.

Thomas Munday: Court-book of his manor of Barnet: 17th cent.

Thomas Marriott: Court-book of his manor at Barnet: 1687-1691.

John Latton: Court-book of his manor of Barnet: 17th cent.

Richard Haley: Court-book of his manor at Barnet: 1687-1691.

Anthony Butler: Court-book of his manor of Barnet: 16th cent.

Barnet, Hertfordshire: Court-books of the manors of Chipping and East Barnet in: 1246-1538, 1554-1691.: Lat. and Engl. *Unseen*

Vol. i. (ff. 217). Abbot's Langley-Bushev. ff. 1-21

Maps and Plans: Co. Herts: 16th-19th cent. – *this MAY have some relevance, but no more detail is given online. Unseen*

HATFIELD HOUSE ARCHIVE

The archive at Hatfield was not searched during the project and all references below are from secondary sources that identify significant place names. There are many other documents held at Hatfield House.

CPM Supp 47

Enclosure plan South Mimms Parish Allotment of Enfield Chase 1781.

Shows the numerous small allotments made to various owners within the block of Enfield Chase referred to as 'South Mimms Common' on the 1658 Gunten & Rolfe map (MPC 1/50/1). More importantly it also shows the allotments made on the remaining open land at Bentley Heath and Kicks End, the encroachments within both, the line of Gannick Bank, and the still fully moated 'hermitage/chapel' referred to here as a cottage.

SM/Hat 28/10

C16 Deed Margery Mead and Margery Fields listed (Baker, 1970, p.3).

SM 3/108

Margery Mead and Margery Fields mentioned in Rental of Quit Rents 1771 (Baker, 1970, p.3)

SM/Hat Gen. 66/15

Mention of waste called Reddings Corner c.1678 (Baker, 1970, p.3)

SM Gen. 66/7

Survey South Mimms manor with reference to chapel for the dead from Barnet battle. Both Warren and Baker quote this source but with different dates: Warren gives c.1589 (p.28) and Baker 'about 1606' (p.5).

SM/Hat Deeds 280/10 p.5

Hermitage lease C16 (Baker, 1970, p.6)

SM/Hat Deeds 74/11, SM/Hat Deeds 162/21, SM/Hat Deeds 87/5

Hermitage leases from 1613, 1649, 1651 (Baker, 1970, p.6)

- Baker, Helen, 'Wrotham Park and Kitts End', *Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin*, 16, (1970).
- Baker, Helen, 'Dancers Hill and the Manor of Mandeville', *Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin*, 17, (1973).
- Delano-Smith, Catherine & Kain, Roger J. P., *English Maps: A History*, (II), (London, 1999).
- F.C. Cass. *The Parish of South Mimms*, (Westminster, 1877).
- Foard, Glenn, Hall, David, and Partida, Tracey. *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape*, (Northampton, 2009).
- Ogilby, John. *Britannia*, (London, 1675).
- Partida, T. (2014), 'Drawing the Lines: A GIS Study of Enclosure in Northamptonshire', PhD, (Huddersfield).
- Warren, Brian (2009), 'Reappraisal of the Battle of Barnet 1471', in Potters Bar and District Historical Society (ed.), (3: Potters Bar and District Historical Society).