



A History of Enfield Chase



Martin Paine



A History of Enfield Chase, from its Origins to the Present Day

Cover images, clockwise from top left (refer to page numbers in italics for further information):

Map showing Enfield Chase, Old Park, and the grounds of Elsyng Palace (from John Norden's Map of Middlesex in his Speculum Britanniae or 'Mirror of Britain', 1593) *Page 9*; Depiction of hunting with hounds from the Noble art of Venerie, a popular Elizabethan hunting manual of 1575. *Page 22*; Extract from a map of 1602 depicting the Yorkist and Lancastrian forces on Enfield Chase in the battle of Barnet in 1471 *Page 21*; Secret listeners eavesdropping on German generals in the M Room at Trent Park, 1942 *Page 48*; Queen Elizabeth I enjoying a picnic after a hunt (1575 edition of The Noble Art of Venerie) *Page 25*; A depiction from c.1320 of peasants knocking acorns from the trees to feed their pigs, a practice known as 'pannage'. Hog Hill at Enfield Chase is named after the practice (extract from the Queen Mary Psalter, British Library) *Page 15*

About The Enfield Society

The object of the Society is the conservation and enhancement of the civic and natural environments of the London Borough of Enfield and its immediate surrounding area for the public benefit. To further this object the Society seeks to:

- Conserve and enhance buildings and groups of buildings of architectural quality or historic interest;
- Defend the integrity of the Green Belt;
- Protect and improve open spaces and views;
- Ensure that new developments are environmentally sound, well designed and take account of the relevant interests of all sections of the community;
- Publish papers, books, reports and literature;
- Make surveys and prepare maps and plans and collect information in relation to any place or building of historic or architectural interest;
- Assist in the preservation and maintenance of footpaths, commons and rights of way.



The Society is a registered charity in England and Wales (276451). <https://enfieldsociety.org.uk>

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Version 4, 21 February 2023

*This book is dedicated to
Richard Gough (1735-1809),
Enfield resident, antiquarian,
Father of British Topography
and guiding spirit of research into
Enfield Chase*



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Friends of Enfield Chase

The Objectives of the Friends of Enfield Chase are to preserve and improve the newly restored woodland and supporting amenities within Enfield Chase for the benefit of the whole community, and to work with the Council to deliver the following aims:

1. Help maintain and improve Enfield Chase to meet the needs of existing and potential users and enhance biodiversity;
2. To help protect Enfield Chase from inappropriate development and help to determine its future development;
3. Be guardians of the vision and ethos of Enfield Chase and to encourage and support the implementation of new elements within Enfield Chase;
4. Positively promote Enfield Chase and the benefits of volunteering and pursuing outdoor activities; encouraging others to do likewise;
5. Perform practical conservation in line with the Habitat Management Plan;
6. Raise funds as might be necessary to help finance the Friends' work;
7. Work with other persons, groups and bodies who share these Aims as required.



The group meets on a regular basis to do practical conservation including repairing broken stakes and guards, or surveying the health of the trees and surrounding vegetation. For more information, including details of events, please visit www.friendsofenfieldchase.org.uk or see the Facebook page.



As the name implies, a 'Chase' was a type of royal hunting forest. Although there were other royal hunting forests near London such as Waltham Forest, Enfield is unique in having the only Chase in London and the south east.

I have researched and written about the history of England's forests and chases for over

thirty years. Further information about forests and chases is available on my website¹.

In April 2011 I participated in a symposium in Enfield entitled '*Enfield Chase: From Hunters to Commuters*'. Hosted by the University of Middlesex and the London Parks & Gardens Trust, the day consisted of a morning study group followed by a tour of places associated with Enfield Chase in the afternoon².

Papers presented at the symposium covered topics ranging, chronologically speaking, from my own paper relating to the medieval history of Enfield Chase through to a paper entitled "*Gardening on the Laing South Lodge Estate*". The breadth of topics indicates the enduring historic legacy of the Chase, and it is pleasing to see that breadth reflected in this excellent new short history by the Enfield Society.

The Cat Hill campus of Middlesex University, where the 2011 symposium took place, was located near the site of the medieval 'de Bohun' gate to Enfield Chase. Sadly, the campus was subsequently closed and the site redeveloped for housing.

Happily, as this new book makes clear, many places connected with Enfield Chase remain to be visited, and it is to be hoped that these will be preserved for the benefit of generations to come.

Dr John Langton
Fellow Emeritus, St John's College, Oxford

¹ <http://info.sjc.ox.ac.uk/forests>

² The proceedings, including my paper and those of others, are online at <https://londongardenstrust.org/conservation/publications/enfield-chase/>

Introduction



With distant origins in Anglo-Saxon times, Enfield Chase reached prominence during the Tudor and Stuart periods. Within a day's ride of the royal palaces at Whitehall, Hampton Court and Placentia (Greenwich), the Chase was a principal centre for sport and recreation for Queen Elizabeth

I and King James I.

Enfield Chase was important not only for entertaining the powerful; feudal rights of common on the Chase made it a lifeline for the poor. But as this booklet shows, the history of the Chase was not always a happy one.

Clues to this rich past are scattered throughout the area, in local places names, landscapes, listed buildings and scheduled monuments, and (of course!) certain public houses. The Chase encompassed the open spaces now known as Trent Park, Monken Hadley Common, Forty Hall, and Whitewebbs, and many other important historic landscapes that are now accessible by public rights of way and permissive paths.

Interest in the Chase appears to be on the rise. Volunteers have been working with *Thames 21* on the recent 'Enfield Chase restoration project' at Salmons Brook, and information boards have been erected. A similar project, dubbed 'Potters Chase', has recently been undertaken north of the M25 near Potters Bar. This year the Enfield Archaeological Society published a major new history of Elsyng Palace.

Despite twentieth century development and the construction of the M25 through the northern part, enough high quality open countryside remains for Enfield Chase to retain a coherent identity.

Since its foundation in 1936, the Enfield Society has sought to preserve and enhance the borough's heritage and open spaces for the benefit of all, creating and maintaining footpaths and extending access to the countryside.

Building on David Pam's *Story of Enfield Chase*, first published in 1986, and which the Society republished in digital format last year, this new history brings the story up to the present day and adds a great deal of new visual material. We hope it will help people to see their local area in a new light.

Dave Cockle
Chairman, The Enfield Society



Badger from '*The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*', 1611 edition.
See pages 20-22

Prologue: 'A Solitary Desert'

For nearly 700 hundred years, Enfield Chase had no inhabitants or habitations, except for the residents of the three hunting lodges. John Evelyn's diary entry for 2nd June 1676 describes his visit to South Lodge as follows:

"I went with my Lord Chamberlain to see a garden, at Enfield town; thence, to Mr. Secretary Coventry's lodge in the Chase. It is a very pretty place, the house commodious, the gardens handsome, and our entertainment very free, there being none but my Lord and myself. That which I most wondered at was, that, in the compass of twenty-five miles, yet within fourteen of London, there is not a house, barn, church, or building, besides three lodges. To this Lodge are three great ponds, and some few inclosures, the rest a solitary desert, yet stored with no less than 3,000 deer. These are pretty retreats for gentlemen, especially for those who are studious and lovers of privacy."

For many years after the division of the Chase in 1777, the area remained a lost world, away from roads and major settlements. The isolated hamlet of Botany Bay, which first appeared in the latter years of the eighteenth century, was half-jokingly named after the antipodean place where Captain Cook landed in 1770. 'World's End' was the name given to the area around a tuberculosis isolation hospital for infectious diseases (the Northern Isolation Hospital) and a fever convalescent hospital (South Lodge Hospital) which subsequently merged to become Highlands Hospital, redeveloped for housing in the 1990s.

Surrey County Council



The above map, from John Norden's 'Speculum Britanniae' ('Mirror of Britain'): the First Parte: an Historicall, & Chorographically Description of Middlesex' (1593) indicates the remoteness of the Chase, a void in northern Middlesex. The map shows the relationship between Enfield Old Park (enclosed by a pale) and the wider Chase. The other enclosure represents the grounds of Elsyng Palace. The church is St Andrews, Enfield town, and the pectoral cross represents the site of the Battle of Barnet.

Where is Enfield Chase?

Internet searches return Enfield Chase railway station. A moment's consideration suggests that this is not the answer we are looking for. But finding the answer takes more than a moment's consideration.

In 1627 ([Map 3](#)), the answer was "*within Edmonton Hundred in the remote rural area of northern Middlesex about 12 miles north of London*". The Hundred was an administrative area that persisted until the nineteenth century, and covered not only the current area of Edmonton but most of north-east Middlesex.

Today, a better description of the location of the former hunting grounds of Enfield Chase might be "*mainly in the northern and western parts of the London Borough of Enfield, including parts of southern Hertfordshire at South Mimms and Potters Bar, and a small part of the London Borough of Barnet*"

For most of its history, the main settlements and transport arteries in the area were located to the east in the fertile Lee Valley, following the commercial routes of the River Lee and the Roman Road of Ermine Street ([Map 2](#)).

Enfield Chase covered the upland areas of Edmonton Hundred, where the land was infertile (comprising heavy clay soils) and was left largely forested and uncultivated until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Chase was empty of settlements, although a few hamlets and small villages were dotted around the perimeter. Before 1777, the only road through the Chase was the Enfield Road (then called Merryhills Lane).

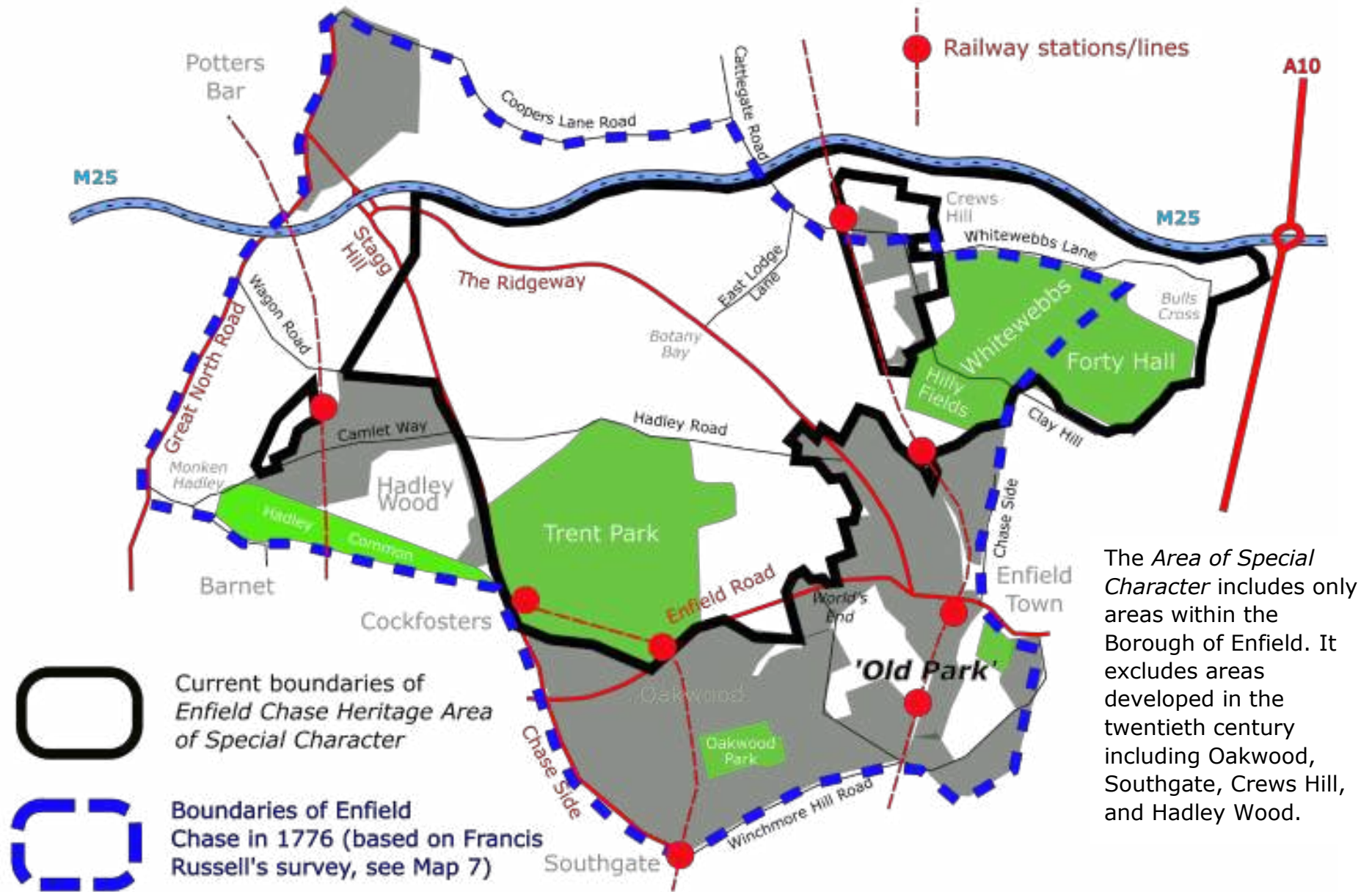
The lane was a notorious quagmire in winter and the bridge over Salmons Brook (in Tudor times known as Stebbyngs Brook) was quite unsafe. The area is still known as Frog's Bottom. Other roads, such as Whitewebbs Lane, stopped at the gates to the Chase.

An historic survey ([Map 7](#)) shows the boundaries of Enfield Chase in 1776, and this makes it possible to accurately determine the location of the Chase in relation to modern features such as roads, railways, and settlements, as shown below. The map shows that in 1776 the Chase extended from the South Gate (modern Southgate Circus) to Potters Bar, and from Monken Hadley Church to the King and Tinker.

The '**Enfield Chase Heritage Area of Special Character**' ([Map 1](#)) was designated by Enfield Council in its 1994 Unitary Development Plan following recommendations by the Countryside Commission, English Nature, English Heritage and the London Ecology Unit based on its combined landscape, historical and nature conservation interests.

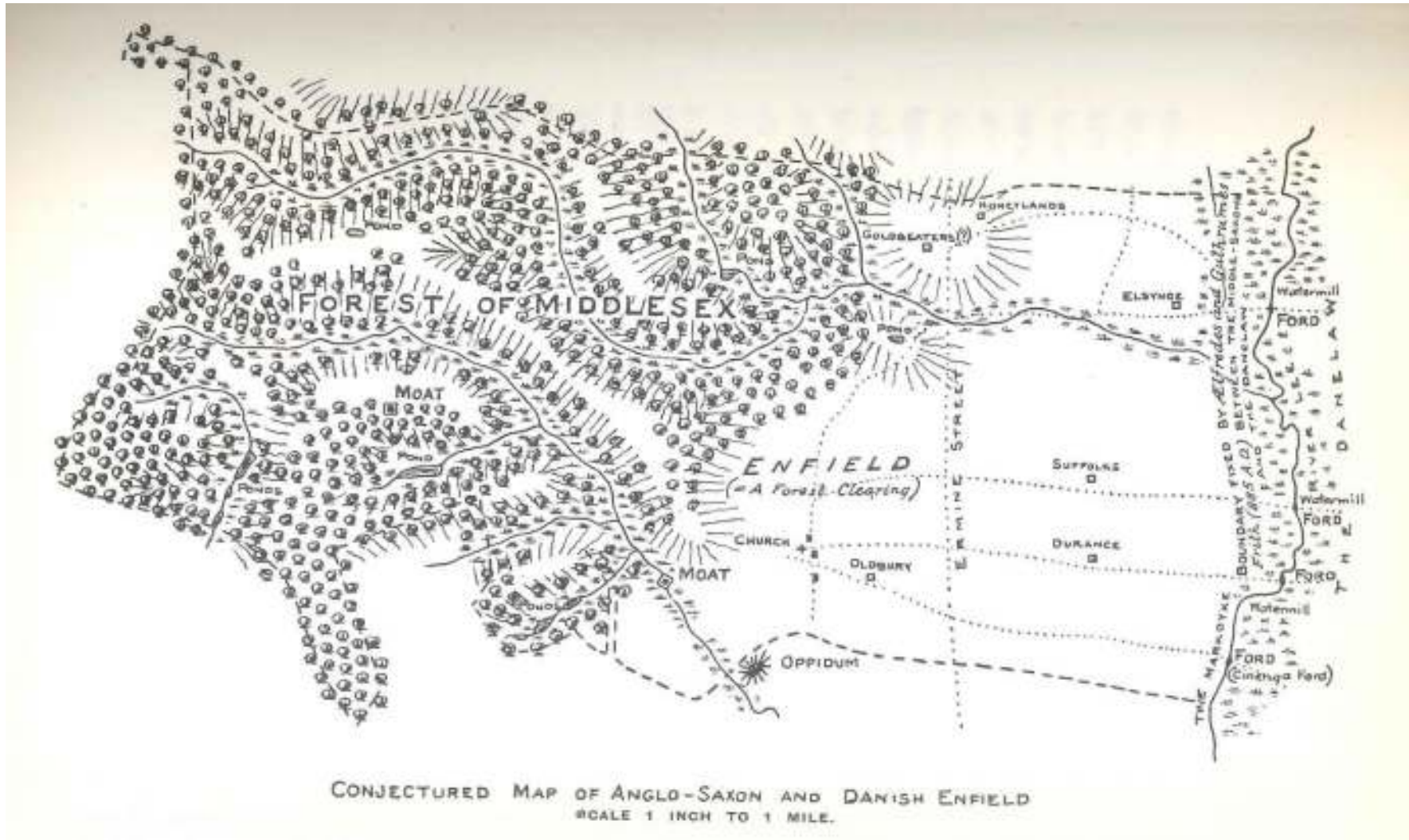
The Area of Special Character includes the whole of the Forty Hill Conservation Area, which although beyond the former Chase, is intimately connected with it. King James I's hunting dogs were kennelled at the Pied Bull pub in Bulls Cross, and Henry VIII bought Elsyng Palace for its access to the hunting grounds of the Chase. The area also includes land north of Whitewebbs Lane, which was part of 337 acres taken out of Enfield Chase in 1611 by King James I to extend his recently acquired estate at Theobalds.

Map 1: Boundaries of Enfield Chase



Map 2: Anglo-Saxon and Danish Enfield (from Cuthbert Whitaker's *History of Enfield*, 1911).

The map illustrates the divide between the fertile, low-lying Lee Valley in the east and the infertile wooded uplands in the west. In the 12th century, William Fitz Stephen described the woods as 'A great forest with wooded glades and lairs of wild beasts, deer both red and fallow, wild boars and bulls'. For reference the map shows the later moats at Camlet and Old Park. Salmons Brook and Turkey Brook are accurately shown. The location of Elsyng Palace, which remained to be rediscovered in 1911, is somewhat inaccurate. Oldbury (now a supermarket and associated car park) is the site of the first manor of Enfield. The Oppidum is the 'Ancient Hill Fort' at the former Old Park Lodge (see [Map 4](#)).



History of Enfield (1911), page 27

Map 3: Middlesex in 1627

From John Speed's 1627 atlas *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, this map augments John Norden's map of 1593 (page 9 above) with the administrative divisions known as Hundreds*. Edmonton Hundred, Enfield Chase, Elsyng and Old Park (see p16-17) are shown near the top edge.

Edmonton Hundred comprised most of what is now the London Borough of Enfield, but also included Potters Bar, Monken Hadley, Tottenham, Wood Green and, importantly for our purposes, the entirety of Enfield Chase

At this time (and indeed until the nineteenth century) most of Middlesex was open countryside dotted with small villages and London was a small settlement close to the Thames, surrounded by Ossulstone Hundred.

Hay meadows covered much of the rural area, providing fuel for the many horses in London until the advent of the motor car.

Barnet formed part of Hertfordshire in what was known as the 'Barnet salient', penetrating the mass of Middlesex.



**Hundreds*: administrative divisions of the shires that dated back to Anglo-Saxon times, roughly enough land for 100 households. The Middlesex Hundreds were: Edmonton, Spelthorne, Elthorne, Goare, Isleworth, and Ossulstone (named after Oswald's Stone, which according to the Victoria County History (Volume 6) disappeared in 1869). There were also two Liberties, named Finsbury and Wenlaxbarn.

Forests and Chases

A Chase was a type of royal hunting forest. Both 'Chase' and 'Forest' have specific legal definitions, the origins of which date back to the middle ages. Both were in the protection of the monarch, for hunting of venison (deer and, in medieval times, wild boar) and vert (the natural vegetation on which venison fed, sheltered and bred).

The Charter of the Forest of 1217 established some common rights to usage of royal forests and Chases for grazing, pannage (see next page), wood for fuel and building, and so on. Many of these rights became an essential basis of the medieval subsistence economy. John Norden wrote in 1593 "*the chace in the west, profitable neighbors not onely vnto Enfield, but to many other poore inhabitants neere.*" Some historians have argued that the Charter of the Forest was even more important than the better-known Magna Carta of 1215, by which King John, like most medieval monarchs a keen huntsman, (right) conceded rights to his nobles.

Forests and chases were granted a number of offices, such as those of Ranger, Woodward, Surveyor, Keeper, Forester, and Verderer, each with their defined roles and responsibilities. The first known superintendent of Enfield Chase, Richard Pounz (1330), is recorded as having only one assistant, but over time the number of offices fluctuated, and sometimes multiple offices were held by one individual. The Ranger was one of the most important offices.

Alongside manorial law, common law governed matters related specifically to the Chase.

Some Chases had peripatetic open-air 'Chase Courts'. The cases of Kympton and Waller in the 1580s (see p 36) heard the testimony of '*certaine ancient men*' that the Court of Roundhedges, a Chase Court, had existed "*time out of mynde*". Roundhedge Hill, shown on modern Ordnance Survey maps, indicates the possible location. A modern street name nearby reflects this history.

British Library



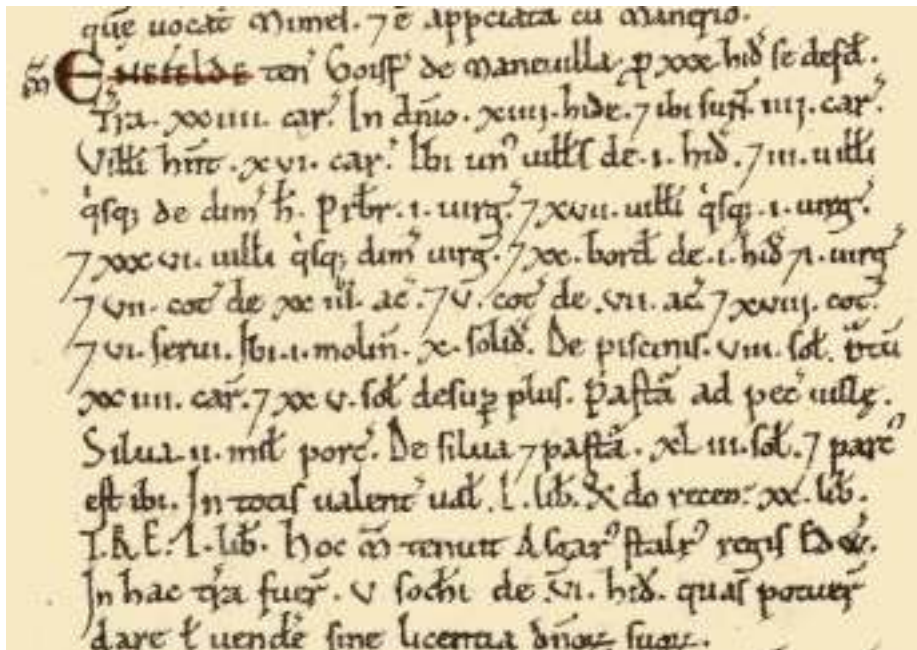
A 14th century depiction of pannage The area shown on Ordnance Survey maps as Hog Hill in the Merryhills Brook valley represents an important part of the social history of Enfield Chase, being an identified site for pannage, or the fattening of pigs on acorns and beech mast. The representation of pannage from the Queen Mary Psalter in the British Library, produced around 1320-30, depicts peasants using clubs to knock acorns from the trees for their pigs to feed on. The right to pannage was specifically protected under Article 9 of the Charter of the Forest of 1217. An order in Duffield and Needwood Forests in 1415 forbade the knocking down of acorns (*'they shall pole no mast'*), with swingeing fines for transgressors.

British Library



Old Park and the Origins of the Chase

The Domesday Book (1086) entry for Enfield is unusual in that it contains one of very few references to a park (in the Latin original below, *'parc est ibi'*). This was not a park in the modern sense, but rather an enclosure for keeping game. Referred to as 'le Frith' in 1324, it later became known as 'Old Park'. The Domesday Book entry (below³) states that before Geoffrey de Mandeville held the manor it had been held by Ansgar the Staller, a senior official at the court of King Edward the Confessor.



British Library

The Park was too small for the horse-back hunting favoured later, but was used as a kind of larder for visiting lords and their retinues.

After the Norman Conquest, land including the Park was given to Geoffrey de Mandeville, and later passed to his grandson of the same name. The Norman penchant for hunting led to the establishment of the Chase in 1140-4, whereupon the Old Park became the Interior Park (*'parcus intrinsecus'*) and the Chase became the Exterior Park (*'parcus extrinsecus'*). At this point Old Park became a nursery for young deer, which upon maturity were released into the adjacent Chase, ready for the hunt.

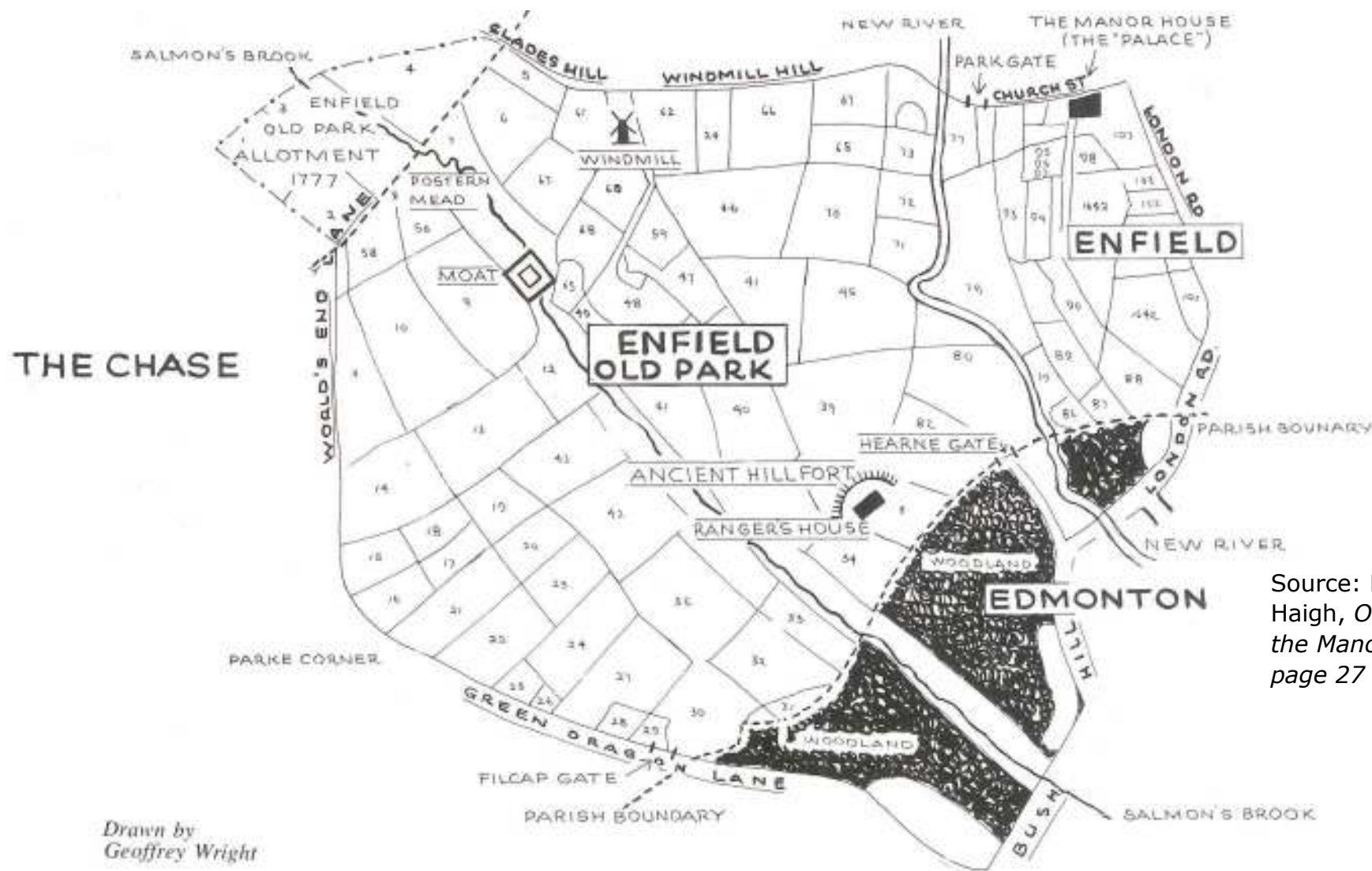
Important vestiges of Old Park remain today. Whilst some of the Park area was built over during the twentieth century, Enfield Town Park, Bush Hill Park Golf Course and Enfield Golf Course all remain undeveloped. Located adjacent to Salmon's Brook in Enfield Golf Course are the remains of a fourteenth century fortified house, thought to have been the Keeper's lodgings.

The Norman de Bohun family were lords of the manor of Enfield in the 1300s. In 1421, following the death of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Enfield Manor and Chase came to Henry Bolingbroke, later King Henry IV, through marriage to the de Bohun heiress, Mary. Passing to King Henry V, whose titles included Duke of Lancaster, the Chase became part of the Royal Duchy of Lancaster, which possessed more than sixty Chases and Forests, mostly in Lancashire and northern/central England.

³ See *References and Further Reading* for a full translation.

Map 4: Old Park ('le Frith').

A modern composite map showing a) modern boundary roads, b) field divisions in 1750 and c) allotment to Old Park in 1776 (see [Map Z](#)). The moat (now within Enfield Golf Course) surrounded what is believed to be a keeper's house, dating back to the fourteenth century. It was later moved to drier ground. The Ranger's House dates back to 1705, when it was known as Old Park Lodge (now Bush Hill Golf Course club house). Chase Side House was located where the library green is now. Its grounds became Town Park.



Source: Douglas Haigh, *Old Park in the Manor of Enfield*, page 27

The Bailey Lodges

The earliest known administrative centre within the Chase was a fortified house at **Camlet Lodge** (the remains of which are still visible within Trent Park), and records trace this back to the first Keeper, Richard Pounz, who appears in connection with it in the Court Rolls of 1326. It is recorded that many of the stones were taken to rebuild Hertford Castle in 1429.

In 1419 it was decided that a single administrative centre was insufficient, and the chase was divided into three 'walks', each containing a 'bailey (derived from 'bailiwick') lodge' which functioned as estate offices and residences for the officers of the chase. Camlet Lodge fell into disuse as the new lodges were established.

West Lodge, now a hotel, is located on Hadley Road, one of the new roads required by the Act for the Division of Enfield Chase in 1777. It was occupied by Sir Henry Coventry at the time of John Evelyn's visit in 1667 (see introduction, above). West Lodge was the main residence of the Chief Ranger from the 15th century onwards.

East Lodge, occasionally used by King Charles I as a hunting seat, is today a small business park on East Lodge Lane. The original lodge buildings are long gone but the site is identifiable from afar by the presence of two majestic Cedars of Lebanon.

South Lodge and its estate were developed for housing by Laing in 1935-40 but there are a number of intriguing clues to its history. Boxer's Lake is a former medieval fish pond, and the pond at Lakeside boasts a monkey puzzle tree and somewhat forlorn cedar of Lebanon that hint at

formal landscaping. In 1747 the lease to South Lodge was inherited by William Pitt the Elder, First Earl of Chatham and effectively prime minister, noted for his role in the Seven Years' War with France to seize control of the French empire. Pittsburgh, USA was named in his honour.

In his day Pitt was perhaps equally well known in some quarters as a leading landscape designer, and he spent considerable sums of money landscaping the south lodge estate with a number of 'picturesque' features including a well-regarded Temple of Pan. It is reputed that Pitt disliked the lingering damp in the house and moved out in 1756 after finding a frog in the library.



Historic England

Above: South Lodge in 1928 when it was in use as a school, prior to demolition in 1935.

Camlet Moat: fact and fiction

Camden's *Britannia*, first published in Latin in 1610 and translated into English in 1695, describes "Enfield, a Royal seat...Near which is a place cloath'd with green trees, and famous for Deer-hunting, Enfield-chace; ... And almost in the middle of this Chace, there are still the ruins and rubbish of an ancient house, which the common people from tradition affirm to have belong'd to the Magnavils Earls of Essex." This may be the source of stories that the ghost of Geoffrey de Mandeville haunts the site. Dr Stukeley, an 18th century antiquarian, claimed that Mandeville was Robin Hood's grandfather.

Nesta Webster (née Bevan) in her autobiography includes a chapter on 'Happy Days at Trent Park' in which she describes how, when she was ten years old, 'Camlet Castle' in the 'Rough Lot' was excavated in the 1880s:

"My mother, who loved archaeology, looked up its history in various chronicles, and found that during the Wars of the Roses the Castle had been attacked, and to save it from falling into the hands of their enemies the de Mandevilles had taken their chest of treasure and dropped it to the bottom of the well, afterwards burning down the Castle... A whole dungeon, with a chain attached to the wall, was dug out, also some of the oak of the drawbridge, now turned black as ebony, sunk in the slime of the moat; in course of time no doubt the portcullis might have been found. A quantity of small finds were also made – glazed tiles adorned with knights on horseback, silver coins of Edward IV, a lady's thimble, quite unlike the modern variety and covering only the top of the finger, and so on. But the chest of treasure was never found."

author photograph



Unfortunately the finds have not been located. The well appears in various stories. There is indeed a steep crater at the north-east corner of the moat thought to be the remains of a well. The 21st February 1903 issue of *Country Life* tells a story of 'The last owner of Enfield Chase' who, having been accused of treason, sneaked out of his hiding place in a hollow tree but fell down the well and 'perished miserably'. In some versions of the story this is Geoffrey de Mandeville. As local historian Alan Mitellas relates, another ghost at the moat is known as the 'White Lady' by pagan and New Age groups, who hold the site to be sacred. There is also an old legend regarding the gates of the moat house. It is said that when the gates were pulled shut, the noise they made could be heard as far away as Winchmore Hill – three miles away.

The origins of the name 'Camlet' are unclear. On some old maps, including one from 1658, the site is labelled 'Camelot'. The name may derive from the Arthurian romance as rendered by the poet Malory in the 'Morte D'Arthur' in 1485, and it has recently been claimed (with little evidence) that this site is indeed the Camelot of Arthurian legend.

It seems more probable that either the site was named by someone with a knowledge of the legend, or as Alan Mitellas has pointed out, it may derive from a different word altogether. In medieval English a camlet meant "*A luxurious material from the East, light in weight and used for cloaks; possibly of mohair (angora wool) among other materials. From the Arabic Kamlat = the nap or pile of velvet.*"

Camlet Moat provides the backdrop to a duel in Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), one of the highly popular Waverley novels. Chapter XXXVI begins:

"The sun was high upon the glades of Enfield Chase, and the deer, with which it then abounded, were seen sporting in picturesque groups among the ancient oaks of the forest, when a cavalier and a lady, on foot, although in riding apparel, sauntered slowly up one of the long alleys which were cut through the park for the convenience of the hunters."

This provides an interesting example of how fact and fiction intermingle, as the Scott's depiction possibly drew on Hugh Westlake's map of 1700 ([Map 6](#), page 39 below).

Another dig took place in 1923 under Sir Philip Sassoon. After the moat was drained, a number of items were found, including one-foot square oak beams from the drawbridge; and a large stone wall of stone and flint, some forty feet long and five and a half feet thick in places.

In 1997, Historic England came to a management agreement with Enfield Council to restore Camlet Moat after years of neglect. Whilst desilting work was carried in the Moat, a surviving fragment of the drawbridge was discovered; the remains of a pegged tenon joint which has been dated to around 1357.

The official Historic England description of the site sets it rather prosaically within the context of 6,000 other medieval moated sites. In light of the documentary evidence linking the site with Richard Pounz and the origins of Enfield Chase, which are not referenced in the description of the scheduled monument, the official account seems to somewhat underplay the importance of the site.

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and Surrey Archaeological Society



Above: illustration of possible layout of Camlet Lodge, from on-site information board.

The Battle of Barnet

One of the great battles of the Wars of the Roses took place in swirling fog on Easter day 1471 on the western edge of Enfield Chase. The Battle of Barnet secured the throne for Yorkist Edward IV, who had seized the crown from the Lancastrian King Henry VI in 1461. Henry fled to France, but later gathered enough support to launch a bid to regain the throne.

At Barnet, Edward's army saw off a challenge from the Lancastrians under the Earl of Warwick, who died in the ensuing rout. The broad location is reflected in local place names, most evocatively at Deadman's Bottom, where the valley of the Monken Mead Brook was supposedly littered with the corpses of defeated Lancastrians.

Some accounts of the battle suggest that the pale (bank) of Enfield Chase, which ran along the edge of the Great North Road, had some bearing on the outcome of the battle as it may have been used for defensive purposes.

The Hadley Highstone, erected by Sir Jeremy Sambroke in 1740 and located at the junction of the Great North Road and Kitts End Road, is a fitting monument to one of the great battles of the middle ages. The Duke of York public house to the north of the battle site on the Barnet Road was named after the winner.

The precise location of the battle has remained a mystery to this day. A detailed survey in 2015-2018 at Old Fold found no conclusive evidence.

The Norden map of 1593 (page 9 above) indicates the broad location with a cross. A map of Hertfordshire dated 1602 below (probably engraved by William Kip for the mapseller Hans Woutneel) places the Yorkist and Lancastrian troops facing each other on opposite sides of the Great North Road. The dotted line shows the Middlesex county boundary and the 'Barnet salient' curving round to the south.

Alamy Stock Photo



The Noble art of Venerie

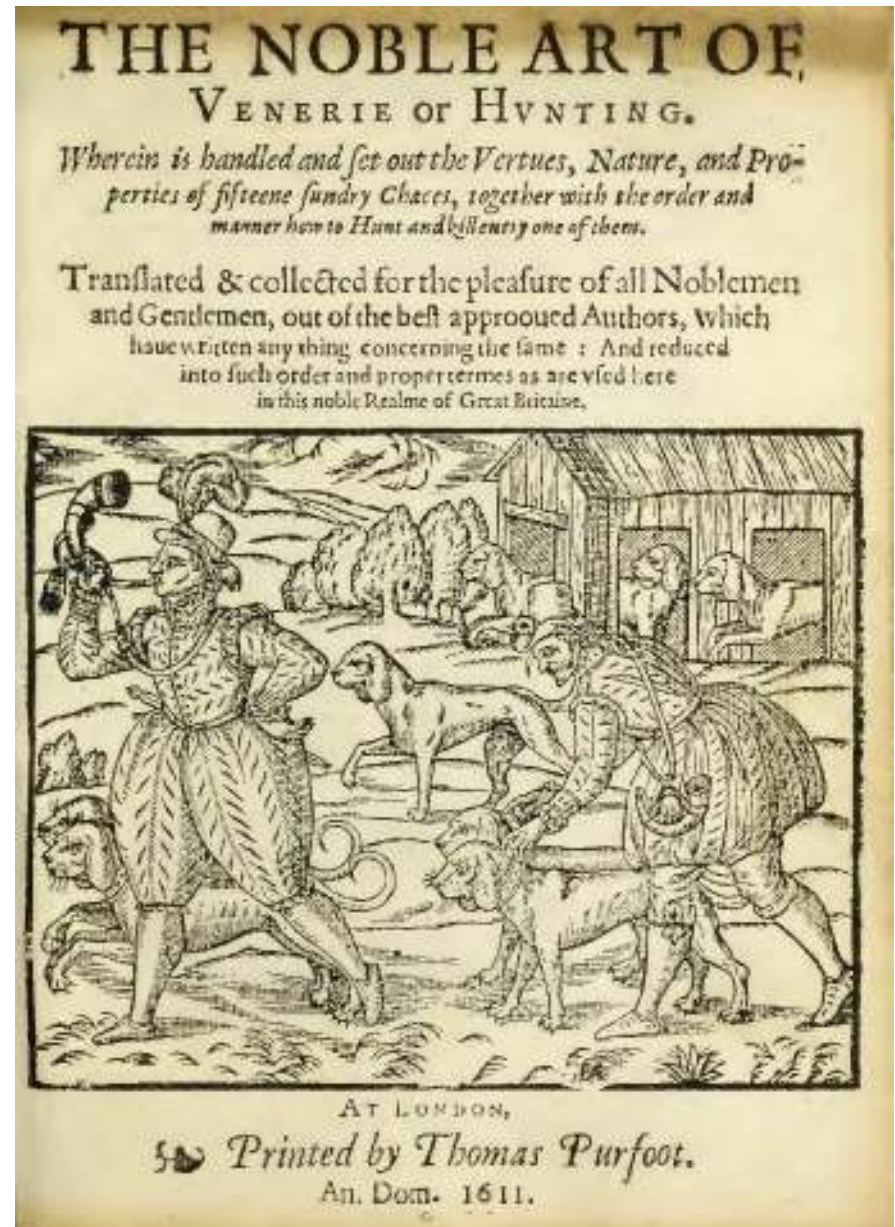
One of the best-known manuals of hunting, closely connected with Enfield Chase, was produced by George Gascoigne in 1575 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, and later reissued in 1611 during the reign of King James I (see cover, right).

The book contains detailed descriptions of a number of prey, including deer, otters, badgers, 'ye bore' (hunted to extinction in England by the seventeenth century), wolves (extinct by the reign of Henry VII, 1485 to 1509) and bears (extinct in Britain over 500 years before the book was published). The book explains how to look after the 'houndes' (hare coursing with greyhounds was favoured by Elizabeth), and provides hunting tunes for the horn.

There are some noteworthy differences between the 1575 and 1611 editions of the book. James was perhaps understandably resentful of Elizabeth's signing the death warrant of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots. The image on page 95 (next page) illustrating Elizabeth and a huntsman was removed from the 1611 version, and other images of the Queen were replaced with those of King James.

Also of note, the Elizabethan version of 1575 refers on the cover to '*this noble Realme of England*', whereas the Jacobean 1611 edition refers to '*this noble Realme of Great Britaine*', reflecting the Scottish King James' (VI of Scotland and I of England) self-proclaimed status as the first 'King of Great Britain' and his determination to unify England and Scotland, overcome old enmities, and secure his place on the throne. The King ordered the creation of a new flag of Great Britain, which became known as the 'Union Jack' after his Latin name, Jacobus.

British Library

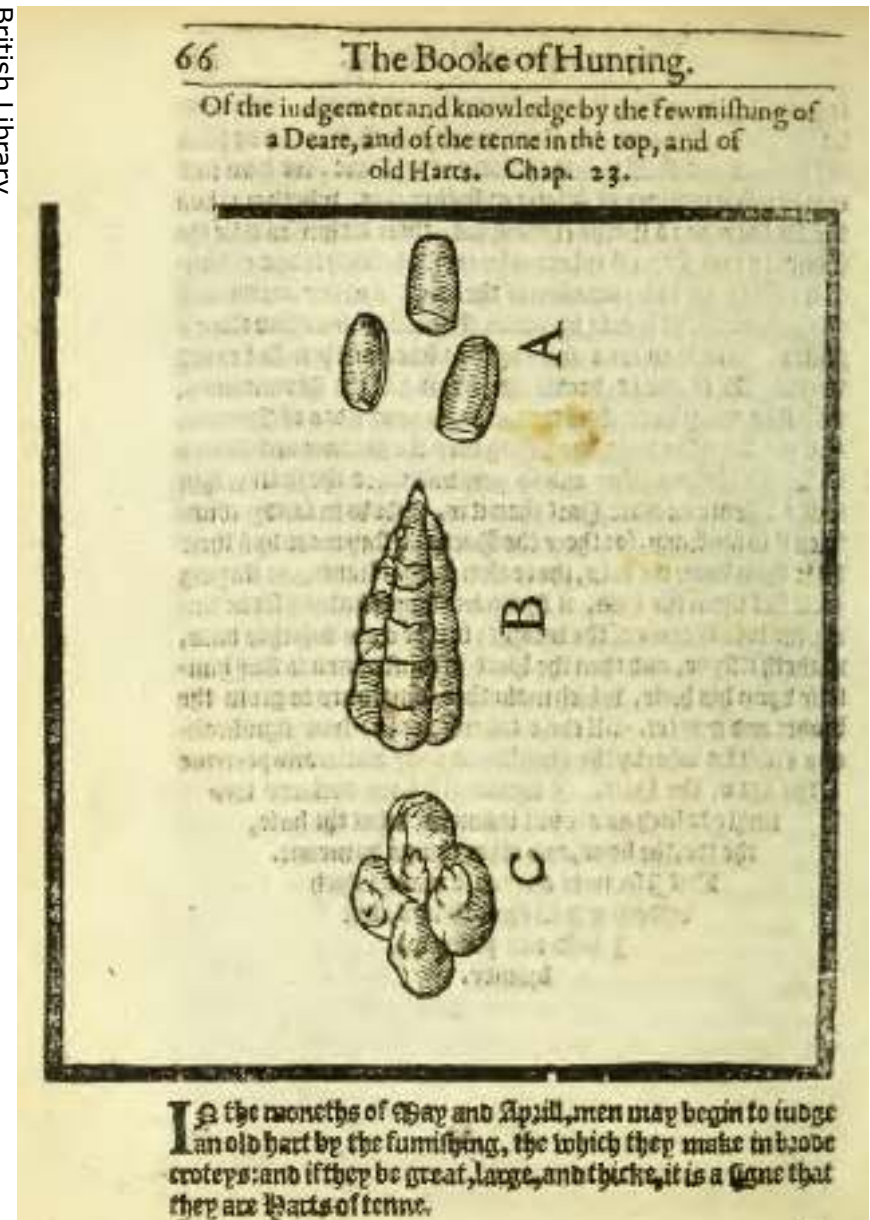


The huntsman (a self portrait by Gascoigne?) reports that a deer has been sighted. He brings droppings or 'fewmishings' to the Queen to inspect (below left). The droppings are 'great, large and thicke' (page 66, below right), from which a 'Hart of tenne' (ten months old) is identified. The Queen holds a broken branch, a tableau item indicating the passage of a deer.

British Library



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The editions of *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* of 1575 (left) and 1611 (right) include the same image but with Elizabeth replaced with the image of the new monarch, King James I. The similarity between the image and the description of Elizabeth's escort from Hatfield House on the next page situates the picture within Enfield Chase.

Alamy Stock Photo



British Library



Picnics and Pageantry

"In April [1557] she [the Queen] was escorted from Hatfield to Enfield-chase, by a retinue of twelve ladies, clothed in white satin on ambling palfreys, and twenty yeoman in green, all on horseback, that her Grace might hunt the hart. At entering the Chase, or forest, she was met by fifty archers in scarlet boots and yellow hats, armed with gilded bows; one of whom presented her a silver-headed arrow, winged with peacock's feathers. Sir Thomas Pope had the devising of this show. By way of the closing of this sport, or rather ceremony, the Princess was gratified with the privilege of cutting the throat of a buck."

This memorable description from John Nichol's *Progresses and Processions of Elizabeth I* (1823) resembles the woodblock print on the previous page, situating the image within Enfield Chase.

The Chase held attractions for the Virgin Queen, being a place where she could escape the stuffy formality of the court and indulge her love of display. A common way of doing this was to hold elaborate picnics, as depicted in the image (right), also from *The Noble Art of Venerie*. This includes a kneeling man, who also appears in the image on the previous page, and may be either Sir Thomas Pope as referred to in the passage cited in the *Progresses*, or possibly a self-portrait of Gascoigne.



Enfield Manor

Located a day's ride from the royal palaces at Whitehall, Hampton Court and Greenwich, Tudor and Stuart monarchs sought local hunting lodges during trips to the Chase.

The first reference to a manor house at Enfield dates from 1347, and by 1437 there was a substantial building on a seven acre site where the Palace Gardens shopping precinct now stands. In 1551 the manor of Enfield was granted by Edward VI to his half-sister Elizabeth. This is the source of the local nickname 'palace', although in reality it was never more than a manor house.



After her accession as Queen in 1558, Elizabeth preferred to stay at the larger Elsyng rather than Enfield Manor.

The manor house was demolished in 1927 and Pearsons department store now occupies the site. Sections of wooden panelling, ceilings, and stone fireplaces were salvaged by the Leggatt brothers and moved to nearby Little Park Gardens, where it remains today.

The photo below, taken in 1905 from the tower of St Andrew's church, shows the north entrance to the manor house from Church Street, with modern shops on either side. To the rear of the palace is a giant Cedar of Lebanon, planted by headmaster, botanist and classical scholar Dr Uvedale after 1664, and cut down in 1927. Another magnificent cedar, possibly planted by Dr Uvedale, still stands at Forty Hall.



By the late seventeenth century the palace housed a boarding school. Grammar School buildings from the late sixteenth century still stand at Church Walk nearby.

Elsyng Palace

In the late fifteenth century the manor of Worcesters, owned by Sir John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was acquired by Sir Thomas Lovell. Lovell had a grand brick house built which he called Elsyng after an earlier landowner. Lovell was a member of the inner circle of Henry VII and later Henry VIII, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer and holder of numerous offices including that of Master Forester of Enfield Chase from 1501.

Henry VIII visited Elsyng eight times in fifteen years, probably reflecting his regard for Lovell, but also to hunt in Enfield Chase. Elsyng had a suite of six rooms reserved specifically for hosting the king. Henry acquired Elsyng from Lovell in 1539, and the king's children (and future monarchs) Edward, Mary and Elizabeth all stayed there as children. It is thought that this is where Edward learnt of his father's death and his succession to the throne.

As queen, Elizabeth I continued to visit but by the late sixteenth century the palace had fallen out of royal favour and was in decline. Elsyng became redundant as a royal palace in 1607 when King James I acquired nearby Theobalds, but it was retained perhaps for favoured courtiers or as a private retreat, until it was demolished around 1656-7. Fish ponds next to Turkey Brook in the grounds of the Tudor palace can still be seen, probably medieval in origin and converted to fashionable lakes in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Otherwise only the footings and foundations of the palace remain, buried under the grass. Forty Hall was built in 1629-32 on land to the south of Elsyng Palace. It became the home of Sir Nicholas Rainton, later Lord Mayor of London.



Among the servants of the household in 1523 was Lambert Simnel. In 1487, as a ten year old boy of humble origins but handsome and tutored in courtly manners, Simnel was 'crowned' as 'King Edward VI', a puppet pretender used as a figurehead for a Yorkist rebellion. It had appeared that the Wars of the Roses were about to break out all over again, but the rebellion collapsed and Henry VII, pardoning him on account of his age, gave young Lambert a job as scullery boy (spit-turner) in the kitchens, eventually being sent to work for Sir Thomas at Elsyng.

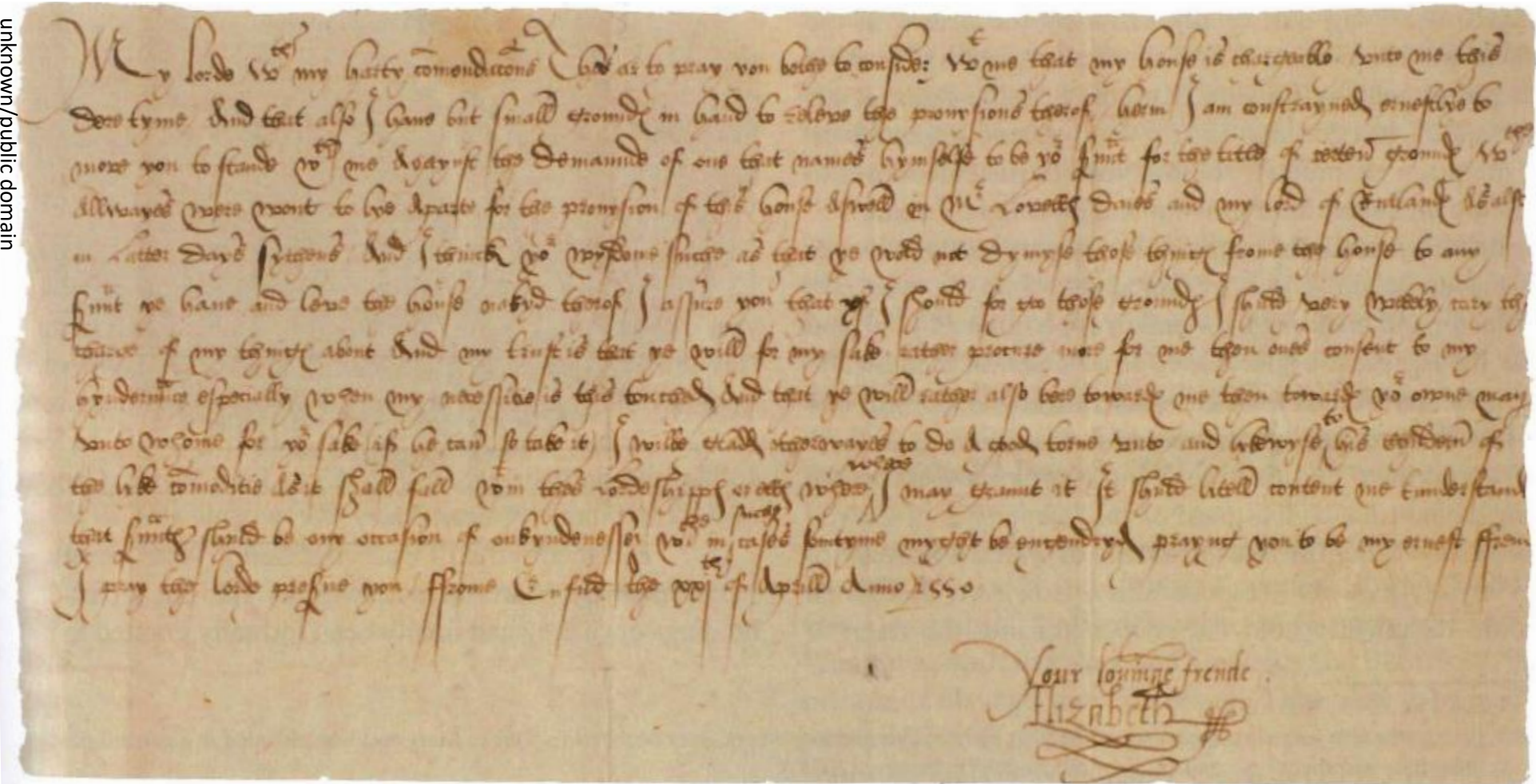
Folklore has it that **Maiden's Bridge**, which crosses Turkey Brook on the route between the palaces of Elsyng and Theobalds, is the spot where **Sir Walter Raleigh** (explorer, courtier, and state-sanctioned pirate, beheaded in 1618) theatrically lay down his cloak for Queen Elizabeth I (the Virgin - i.e. Maiden - Queen) so that she didn't have to get her feet wet. Sadly there is no evidence to substantiate the tale. The present Maiden's Bridge dates to 1800. 'Raleigh's Cottage' once stood at the junction of Gordon Road and Chase Side, but was demolished in 1886. Raleigh Road, built as part of the 'New Town' in the 1860s, references the connection.

A letter from sixteen year old princess Elizabeth (later Queen Elizabeth I) to Lord Paget, written from Elsyng Palace.

The letter is written in scribal hand, and Elizabeth's signature is in her own hand. It reads as follows: "My lord with my hearty commendations... These are to pray you both to consider with me that my house is chargeable unto me this dear time, and that also I have but small grounds in hand to relieve the provisions thereof. Herein I am constrained earnestly to move you to stand with me against the demand of one that names himself to be your servant... It should little content me to understand that servants should be any occasion of unkindness which in such cases sometimes might be engendered. Praying you to be my earnest friend. I pray the Lord preserve you. From Enfield 21st April 1550. Your loving friend, Elizabeth P."

See References and Further Reading below for a full transcription.

unknown/public domain



Theobalds Palace

Within the grounds of Cedars Park in Cheshunt lie the remains of what was once a great 'prodigy house', known as Theobalds Palace. Completed in 1585, Theobalds was the residence of Elizabeth I's principal minister, Sir Robert Cecil, who used the house as a platform to demonstrate his power, taste and knowledge, lavishing money on its building and decoration. It was unrivalled for its number of loggias, long galleries and rooftop walks*.



Cecil played a leading role in ensuring the smooth transition from the Tudor to the Stuart dynasty. Knowing the value of the house to the new King, a fanatical huntsman, Cecil gifted it to him in 1607. In exchange James gave Cecil Hatfield Old Palace together with a further seventeen manors to finance the building of Hatfield House.

Sir Robert knew that Theobalds not only provided splendour appropriate to a king, but also prime access to London and the hunting grounds of Enfield Chase and Waltham Forest.

* A spectacular animated fly-past is on Youtube <https://youtu.be/-YiSKQCB3ak>

James spent up to six months a year at Theobalds, his court duties punctuated by frequent hunting trips. James was received there on his way to London in 1603 on his journey south from Scotland to his coronation, and died at Theobalds in 1625. His son Charles I was proclaimed king at the palace gates. Theobalds palace was destroyed under Parliamentary orders shortly after 1650, during the Commonwealth interregnum.

In early 1605, Sir Robert Cecil sent his servants to Enfield Chase to collect firewood for the King's imminent visit to Theobalds. As master of the game and keeper of Elsyng he was entitled to collect brushwood from the Chase.

After a confrontation with a large gathering of angry women, the servants returned empty handed. The women proclaimed that they were there to prevent wood from the Chase being taken anywhere except the King's House at Elsyng (a major employer). Cecil sent **Sir Robert Wroth** and Sir Vincent Skynner to Cattle Gate where they confronted the women, demanding to know why they had assembled and why they had denied Sir Robert's servants.

It transpired that Wroth, a powerful local magnate whose father lost his Enfield Chase offices to the Cecils back in 1560, had secretly encouraged the women in their obduracy, perhaps out of a sense of grievance against Cecil. Wroth managed to extricate himself from a delicate situation by bribing the women and telling them (falsely) that the King intended to remain at Theobalds for only eight to ten days.

Whitwebbs and the Gunpowder Plot

On 4 November 1606, Guy Fawkes was apprehended in a basement of the Houses of Parliament, surrounded by barrels of gunpowder ready to blow up King James I and political leaders at the state opening of Parliament.

12 miles away, in a secluded spot at Whitwebbs House near the back gate of Enfield Chase, (on the north side of Whitwebbs Lane, not to be confused with the current house south of the Lane built in the nineteenth century), lay one of the principal meeting places of the plotters.

Enfield Chase was an ideal location for Catholic recusants trying to keep a low profile, where comings and goings could escape unnoticed, sufficiently remote yet close enough to London to form an advance base for reconnaissance.



Father Garnet, a Catholic priest who lodged at the house, heard of the plans in advance when taking Confession from Robert Catesby.

However, because of the sacred nature of Confession within Roman Catholic doctrine, Garnet was unable to reveal the plot to the authorities under pain of excommunication. He later sought to justify his actions in a pamphlet which espoused the 'doctrine of equivocation'.

Garnet's interrogators at the trial accused him of an inappropriate relationship with Anne Vaux, the Catholic woman who shielded him at Whitwebbs House.

Father Garnet, like the captured conspirators, was sentenced to a traitor's death by hanging, drawing and quartering. But his dignified bearing on the scaffold won him admirers and before the executioner could cut him down alive, the crowd pulled his legs down and as a result he did not suffer the remainder of his grim sentence.

Legend has it that while staying at Whitwebbs, Guy Fawkes drank at the inn on the opposite side of Whitwebbs Lane, then known as The Bull. The inn was later renamed 'The King and Tinker' after an old ballad.

The *Ballad of King James and the Tinker* tells of an occasion when James I is separated from his courtiers while out hunting. The King takes refuge in an alehouse, where he sets to drinking with John of the Vale, a mender of kettles. John is unaware of his companion's exalted identity until James reveals himself and (for no good reason) makes the tinker a knight. The veracity of the story is doubtful, but it forms part of the rich history of popular English ballads.

The Ballad of King James and the Tinker

*And now to be brief let's pass o'er the rest,
Who seldom or never was given to jest,
And come to King James the First on the throne,
A pleasanter Monarch sure never was known.*

*As he was a-chasing his fair fallow deer,
He dropt all his nobles and of them got clear;
In search of new pleasures away he did ride,
Till he came to an Alehouse hard by a Wood side.*

*And there with a Tinker he happened to meet,
And him in this sort he did lovingly greet.
He said, "Honest fellow, what hast thou in thy jug,
Which under thy arm thou so blithely doth hug?"*

*"In truth," said the Tinker, "'tis nappy brown ale,
And to drink unto thee, good faith I'll not fail;
What though thy jacket looks gallant and fine,
I hope that my two pence as good is as thine."*

*"Nay, by my soul, man, the truth thou hast spoke,"
Then straight with the Tinker he sat down to joke.
He called for his pitcher, the Tinker another,
And so they fell to it like brother and brother.*

*Whilst drinking, the King was pleased to say,
"What news, honest fellow? come tell me, I pray."
There's nothing of news, the which I do hear,
But the King is a-hunting his fair fallow deer.*

*And truly trust I so happy may be
That whilst he's a-hunting the King I may see;
For though I have travelled the land many ways,
I ne'er saw the King, sir, in all my whole days."*

The King with a hearty brisk laughter replied,

*"I tell thee, good fellow, if thou canst but ride,
Thou shalt get up behind me, and thee I will bring
Into the Royal presence of James, our King."*

*"Perhaps," said the Tinker, "I his Lords will be drest
So fine that I shall not know him from the rest."
"I tell thee, good fellow, when thou dost come there,
The King will be covered. The Nobles be bare."*

*Then up got the Tinker, and likewise his sack,
His budget of leather and tools on his back;
And when they came to the merry green wood
The Nobles came round them and bareheaded stood,*

*The Tinker then seeing so many appear
Immediately whispered the King in the ear:
"Since they are all clothed so gallant and gay,
Now which is the King, Sir, come tell me I pray."*

*The King to the Tinker then made this reply,
"By my soul, man, I think it must be you or I -
The rest are uncovered, you see all around."
This said, with his budget he fell to the ground*

*Like one that was frightened quite out of his wits,
Then upon his knees he instantly gets,
Beseeching for mercy. The King to him said,
"Thou art a good fellow, so be not afraid.*

*Come tell me thy name." "It is John of the Vale,
A Mender of Kettles and a lover of good ale."
"Then rise up, Sir John, I will honour thee here,
And make thee a Knight of five hundred a year."*

*This was a good thing for the Tinker indeed,
Then on to the Court he was sent for with speed;
Where great store of pleasure and pastime was seen,
In the Royal presence of both King and Queen.*

Poly-Olbion

In 1612, during the reign of James I, the poet Michael Drayton published *Poly-Olbion*, a long topographical poem in 30 'Songs', describing the discovery of England, the beauty of its countryside, its history, legends, and life. Song 16 includes a description of Enfield Chase as follows:

*When first the mighty Brute, that City did begin.
And that he is the Hill, next Enfield which hath place,
A Forrest for her pride, though titled but a Chase.
Her Purlewes, and her Parks, her circuit full as large,
As some (perhaps) whose state requires a greater charge*



Images: public domain

The Songs of *Poly-Olbion* were accompanied by maps engraved by William Hole and richly decorated with allegorical figures reflecting the poem's anthropomorphizing of the land. The map accompanying Song 16 (below left, west at the top) shows the rivers including the Thames (left), Lea (bottom) and Enfield Chase. An enlargement from Hole's map for Song 16 below shows Enfield Chase represented as a woman (probably Diana, the huntress) carrying a bow and a quiver of arrows.



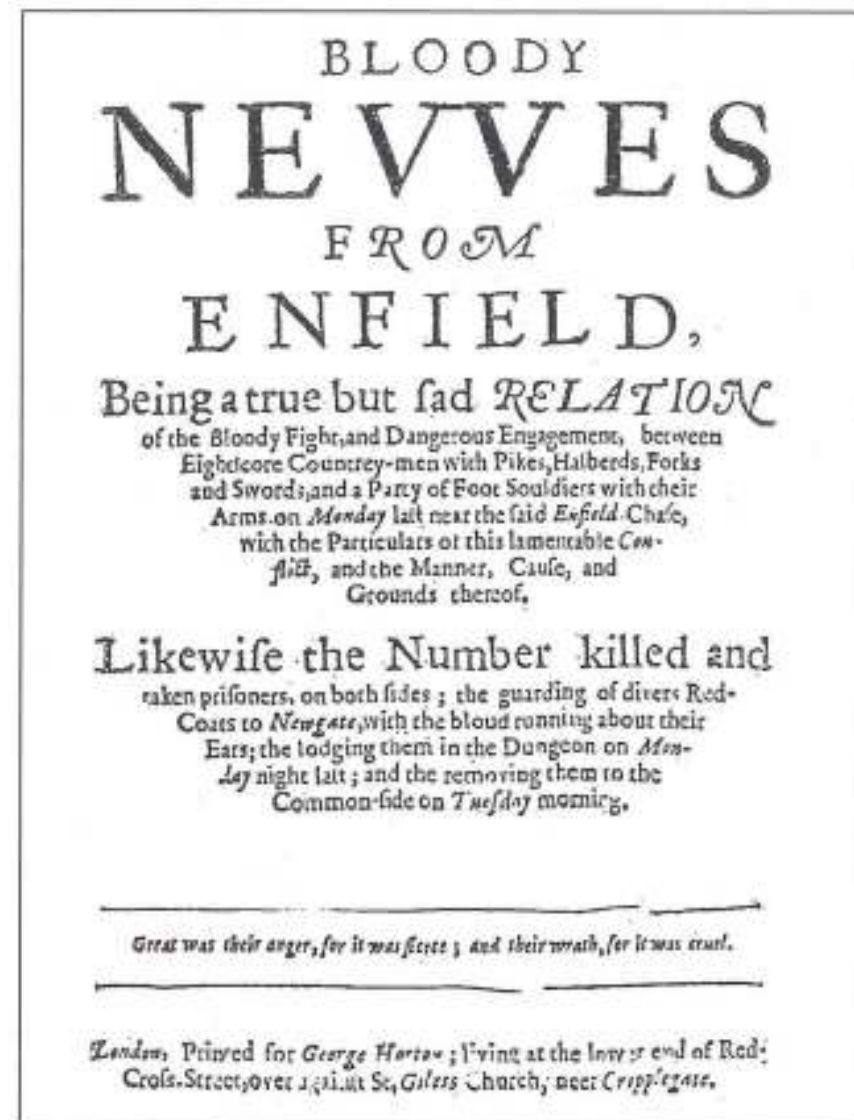
Bloody News: the Troubles of 1659

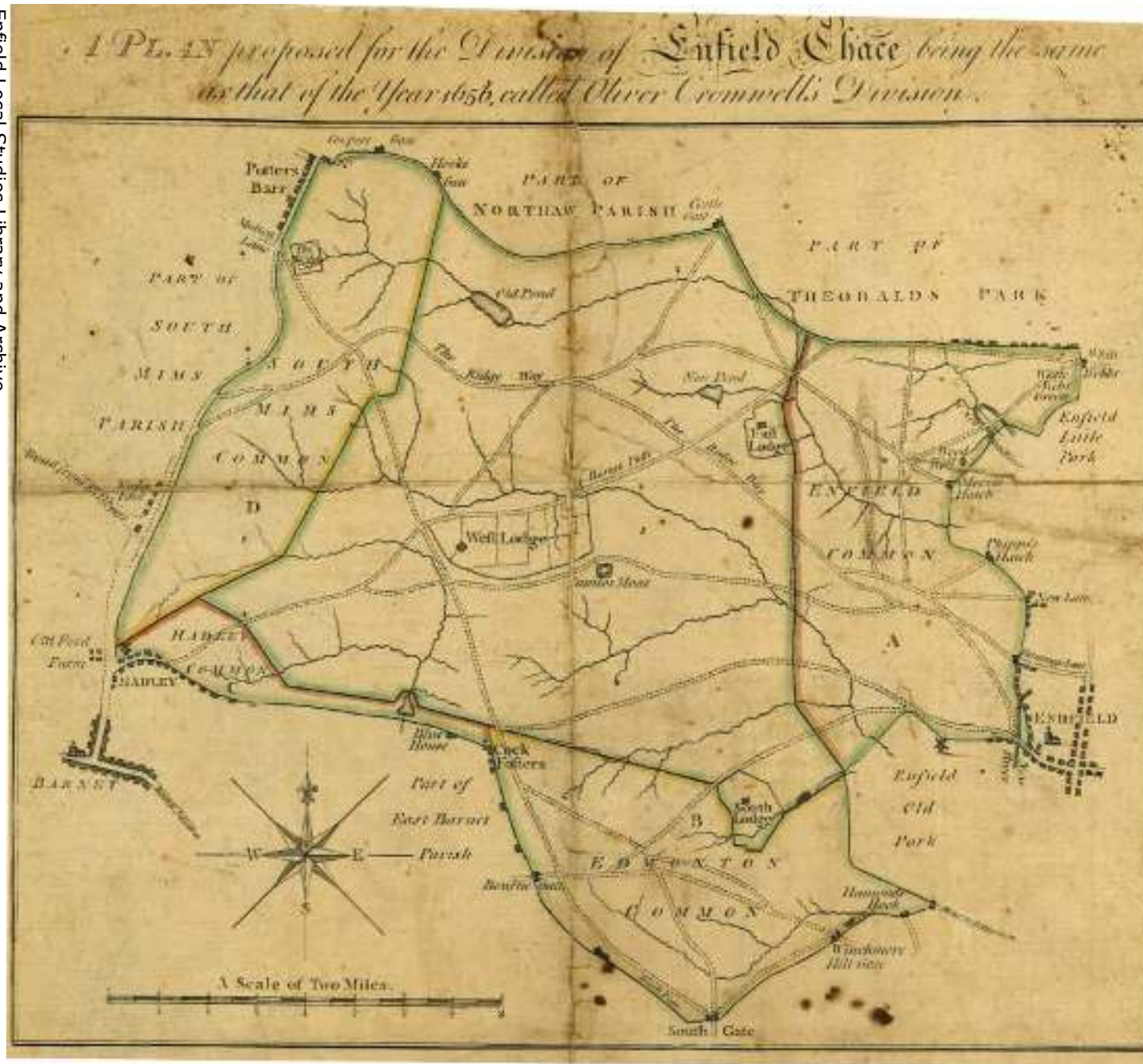
Parliamentary commissioners were appointed to divide up the Royal Chase after the execution of King Charles I in 1649. The first surveys (see [Map 5](#)) provided a basis for enclosure and ownership by parliamentary supporters including soldiers, many of whom were given land in lieu of pay.

Local people, who depended on their feudal common rights to graze animals and take firewood from the Chase, were pushed deeper into poverty. The ensuing fracas was described in pamphlets such as that opposite, describing the tensions between the 'Inhabitants' and the 'Intruders'. A brief account of the troubles appeared in the government news organ, *Mercurius Politicus* (7-14 July 1659).

Parliamentary soldiers sent to deal with low-level tensions greatly inflamed the situation by shooting grazing sheep and then, facing enraged inhabitants, shot at them too. The inhabitants were so incensed they beat up the soldiers and carted them off to Newgate prison.

The enclosure struggle reproduced in miniature the conflicts between moneyed men attached to the new capitalism and men whose wealth consisted mainly of 'feudal' rights and properties, a conflict which underlay the Puritan Revolution. The episode encapsulated a major transition in the economy from pre-modern to modern, and also inspired novel ideas as to how to sustain and employ the poor during this time of upheaval.





Map 5: Oliver Cromwell's Division

After the execution of Charles I, the Commonwealth rapidly converted the former Royal Chase to agricultural uses and set about extracting vast quantities of timber.

This map, held in the Enfield local studies library, dates from 1730, is a faithful copy of a faded map produced in 1656 known as 'Oliver Cromwell's Division'. It shows commons created for the adjoining Parishes of Edmonton, South Mimms, Hadley and Enfield.

A 1658 copy of the map was marked up with plots allocated to named Parliamentary captains and other senior military commanders who were promised land as a reward for distinguished service. Sales of land also facilitated the clearance of arrears in army pay after the Civil War.

A more detailed map of Edmonton Common (now the Oakwood and Southgate areas) is on page 45 below.

William Covell and the New Jerusalem

The Interregnum, the period between the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, saw a flowering of radical ideas in religion and social organisation. In Enfield these emerged from the troubles of 1659, just as the agrarian struggles of the Diggers helped to provoke the communistic writings of Gerard Winstanley.

The writer in this case was William Covell, who lived in a substantial house in Bulls Cross on the eastern edge of Enfield Chase, on land which had formerly been part of the Chase but which had been taken into Theobalds Park by James I. He described himself as a preacher, but had been a captain in the army under Cromwell until 1650.

Covell's ideas for social reform were embodied in a pamphlet called *A Declaration unto the Parliament* in 1659. He blamed the poverty, so evident in his parish, on the buying and selling of goods and labour. The ruling classes, he held, combined to maintain oppression. Covell did not then conclude, as the Marxists were later to do, that the poor should unite to overthrow the system: he advocated a commonwealth imposed from above by the army and Parliament. Workers' co-operatives were to be financed by wealthy benefactors to use the resources of the Chase not for profit but to raise the living standards of the community.

There would be religious toleration and equality before the law. There would be no state religion, and tithes would be for the care of the poor and the defence of the country. Covell later refused to pay tithes, perhaps showing an attempt to put his beliefs into practice. He was followed by many others in the parish.

Covell proposed to initiate his scheme for the transformation of England in Enfield, where 500 acres of the 1500 which had recently been granted to the commoners following the division and sale of the Chase, would be employed for the foundation of the first model co-operative. He demanded the abolition of privileges and monopolies, and freedom for the poor to cultivate the waste land. Private property would be allowed, but all trade would be by barter.

However unrealistic, Covell's proposals were offered as a solution to a very real problem. Immediately after the Restoration a scheme was put forward by Nicholas Rainton of Forty Hall and other hard-headed 'tenants and inhabitants' of Enfield. Their petition asked for permission to enclose the common fields of the parish which, it was claimed, would greatly improve the petitioners' holdings. They would be prepared to tax every acre enclosed to pay for stock, to put the poor to work, and to create a fund to finance the emigration of those who were willing to go to Ireland or any other overseas colony.

Not to be silenced by the Restoration, within a short time Covell published another pamphlet entitled *A True Copy of A Letter to his Most Excellent Majesty* in which he addressed Charles II with unusual familiarity: "*King, thou hast taken upon thee to rule part of the King of King's great household*". He went on to plead for the "*poor oppressed people of God*", enjoining the monarch to open the prison doors for debtors, warning Charles to "*Take heeds of all thy officers, for if that they, through corruptions, shall anyway abuse the people, it will reflect on thee, and make thee little.*"

Tragedy of the Commons

With the Restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II in 1660, the Chase at a stroke reverted to a royal hunting ground. But restoration could not rectify long-standing problems that only got worse over time.

Access to the resources of the Chase was shared by residents of all the manors which lay upon its border, which could produce tense relations, even conflicts, between neighbouring communities. Duchy court records include details of numerous disputes between the parishes and manors of Hadley, Enfield, Edmonton and South Mimms.

A variety of institutions and by-laws existed to prevent the over-exploitation of rights of common such as grazing and collection of wood on the Chase by imposing limits on use.

Certain wealthy landlords in Enfield claimed to be free from those by-laws. Two offenders in this regard were Ralph Waller, a Middlesex Magistrate and lord of the manor of Oldford, and William Kympton, lord of Hadley. During the 1580s, both men were accused of overstocking the Chase, and both sought to exploit the uncertainty of the law. They claimed dubious legal precedent in the Chase Court (the Court of Roundhedges) which 'ancient men' brought in by them testified had existed 'time out of mynde'.

John Banks of Silver Street, deputy bailiff and woodward of Enfield Chase in the 1590s, gained notoriety for corruption. He makes an appearance as 'Old Banks' in Thomas Dekker's play *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621). As **Map 5** shows, part of the Chase lay adjacent to Edmonton Parish. In the play, Banks beats Mother Sawyer for collecting twigs to keep warm in winter.

Arthur Young, who farmed at North Mimms, wrote in 1770: *"so large a tract of waste land, so near to the capital, within reach of London as a market and as a dung-hill, [it] is a real nuisance to the public. If this tract of useless land was enclosed, with farm houses and proper offices built, it would let at once at 15s an acre."*

Corruption, endless disputes over grazing and woodland rights, lawlessness, a new prevailing ideology of landownership, the end of the royal fashion for hunting, and a low regard for the needs of the poor, laid the seed bed for the enclosures that ended the Chase.

The situation in Enfield Chase, which entailed severe over-exploitation of common resources, closely resembled the 'tragedy of the commons'*. But the tragedy was experienced by the poor, rather than well to do farmers such as Arthur Young.

As David Pam wrote in 1984, *"for thousands of years the resources of the forest had protected each generation from the extremes of poverty, provided them with fuel to cook and keep warm, timber to repair their cottages, allowed them land to keep a goose and a pig, enabled them to feed perhaps a lean cow to provide milk for the children. Now there remained only the workhouse or parish relief and charity as a last defence against destitution."*

A workhouse was first set up at Chase Side in 1719, and a successor constructed in 1823 formed part of St Michael's hospital until it was demolished following a fire in 1995.

**The term 'tragedy of the commons' is the title of a famous essay by Garrett Hardin published in 1968, and the concept is still applied in microeconomics today – see References and Further Reading.*

Footpads and Highwaymen

On 27 October 1773, Richard Gough, who lived at nearby Gough Park (at the junction of Clay Hill and Forty Hill) wrote *"We have had our road and neighbourhood much infested by Highwaymen. One has distinguished himself about Edmonton and Southgate..."* The west side of the Chase was particularly vulnerable as it lay open along the Great North Road for nearly two miles.

The ways through the woods of Enfield Chase were lonely and fraught with peril, and far from help, travellers were vulnerable to both highwaymen and footpads. A footpad, or robber on foot, was considered a low criminal, as opposed to the mounted highwayman who in certain cases might gain fame as well as notoriety.

Local historian David Pam recounts a number of episodes of murder and robbery on the Chase in the 13th century, for which the perpetrators were variously hanged, branded, outlawed, or found not guilty and released. A highwayman named William Shelton who frequently robbed people crossing Maidens Bridge, was hung in 1732.

A statute of 1285 recognised the danger posed by woodlands and required that all underwood be destroyed within two hundred feet of any highway to reduce the risk of ambush.

In medieval times, robbers who evaded either hanging or branding could seek sanctuary in the church. In the 18th century highwaymen would often be hung in a gibbet close to where they were caught.

Dick Turpin and the Rose and Crown, Clay Hill

Perhaps the most famous highwayman was Dick Turpin, a butcher by trade, who began by stealing meat on the hoof. Turpin was one of the "Essex Gang" who initially operated in the Forest of Waltham, just over the county border. In June 1733 the gang carried out a major deer-stealing raid in Enfield Chase, in which the house of Turpin Mason, under-keeper of West Bailey Walk, was attacked. The gang attempted to shoot Mason's 17-year old son, shot his dogs, and gratuitously beat up a labourer who was working in the area. This was just one of a large number of violent robberies and murders in which Dick Turpin was involved. He was one of the last of the gang to face justice, after a reward was offered for information leading to his arrest.

It was reputed that Dick Turpin evaded justice by hiding at Camlet moat, and rode on 'Black Bess' (pictured) to the Rose and Crown inn at Clay



Public domain

Hill, where the landlord, his grandfather, gave him shelter. Justice eventually caught up with Dick Turpin in York, where he was hanged in 1739. Modern historians suggest that the popular conception of highwaymen as 'knights of the highway' belies the vicious reality, and owes more to the Gothic novel than to historical events.

The 'Great Predators'

Historian E P Thompson observed that above the 'petty predators' of Enfield Chase were the 'great predators', eager for office, perquisites, and the enclosure of crown or public land. At the level of affrays between poachers and keepers there was some equality in the contest. But at the point at which the petty seriously inconvenienced the great, then the apparatus of power and law could be brought to the side of the latter.

Sir Basil Firebrace, a man who became rich through dubious business practices (for which he spent some time in the Tower of London) acquired the offices of Enfield Chase in 1694. A commission set up in 1697 to inquire as to the health of the Chase found that Sir Basil had systematically plundered it of timber, game and deer. Sir Basil petitioned the King, claiming that because he had paid such a high price for his offices, he should also have the right to recover his outlay through exploitation of those offices. Firebrace ordered the Duchy Surveyor, Hugh Westlake, to undertake a new survey ([Map 6](#)), creating 'ridings' to justify removal of huge numbers of trees from the Chase.

According Thompson, Major General John Pepper, who bought the offices from Sir Basil in 1716, '*lived a prosecuting, persecuted sort of life*'. His prosecutions were carried out in a military style. In 1720 he sent a keeper to ride around all the farms and houses bordering on the Chase to report any wood found stacked in their yards. The wood was assumed to be stolen, and 34 men were prosecuted. Three men were sentenced to monthly public whippings for cutting boughs on the Chase for a bonfire in Enfield market place on Guy Fawkes Day 1721.

John Pepper, in his role as a Justice of the peace, was one of those who passed sentence. He convicted others for similar crimes and sentenced them to the pillory in Enfield market place. By his own account, Pepper was an admirable public servant, riding ceaselessly around the Chase, guarding the King's interest against deer stealers and poachers.

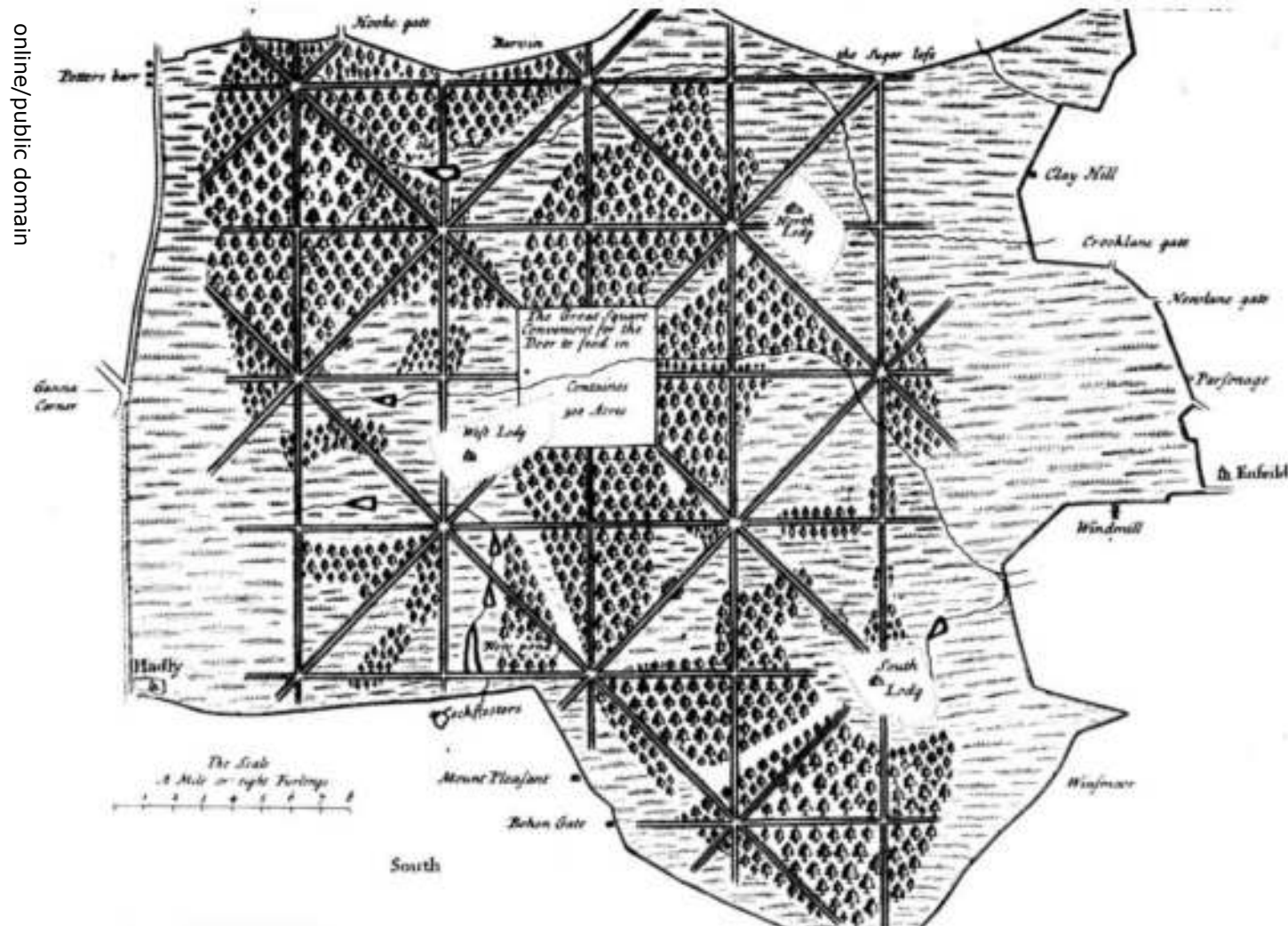
But in 1724 Pepper found himself arraigned in the Duchy court, accused of dismissing the woodwards and appointing other Pepper family members in their stead, and in the space of two years reducing the stock of deer from 1,000 to 300.

James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, wanted the Chase for himself, and seeing Pepper in court suited him very well. Brydges was one of the wealthiest men in the country, beside whom Pepper was, according to Thompson, '*an innocent in the more serious butchery of civil politics*'. Pepper had crossed Chandos by outbidding him for the Rangership. By 1724, Pepper was ill and his character held in 'universal odium'. He was 'very desirous to part with his term', dying 'unlamented' on his way to France the following year. Chandos bought the Rangership for £4,000 and offered it to Sir Robert Walpole, a keen huntsman, for £16,000. Walpole declined and instead purchased Richmond Park.

The 'Black Act' of Parliament in 1723 enabled prosecution of '*wicked and evil-disposed men going in disguise*', who were conducting a running battle against the forest officers. The Black Act put unprecedented power in the hands of men who had a direct and personal interest in the conviction of men who were a nuisance to them.

Map 6: Hugh Westlake's survey of Enfield Chase, 1700

In 1685 Sir Henry Coventry was given permission to cut 'ridings' through the Chase. Sir Basil Firebrace took the idea to a new level, not only increasing the number and width of ridings but also creating a 'Great Square' of 300 acres 'convenient of the deer to feed in.' (see below).



online/public domain

Produced by Hugh Westlake, and commissioned by Sir Basil Firebrace, this map attempted to justify extraction of huge volumes of timber from the Chase. Originally conceived as providing easy access for royal hunting parties, over time the Ridings became a way for the 'great predators' to make a lot of money.

Rangers such as Firebrace, Pepper and Chandos saw this kind of activity as a legitimate return on the money they paid for their Chase offices.

Others didn't see it in quite the same way.

William Crew of Crews Hill

Over the centuries householders had progressively encroached on the boundaries of the Chase on all sides. One such person, William Crew, a former under-keeper of the Chase, became something of a folk hero, and gave his name to Crews Hill on the eastern part of Enfield Chase.

The affair began when Crew shot a particularly vicious member of a gang of deer stealers in 1729. Crew took advantage of the reputation (and reward money) to build a house and barn in four acres enclosed out of the Chase on the south side of Cattlegate Road, opposite where Crews Hill station now stands.

In 1764 Crew and other similar defendants were tried before the Duchy Court and ordered to pull down the offending properties.

Refusing to do so, at the age of 77, William Crew was sentenced to prison. But on his release, he refused to comply with the instructions to demolish his property. The Duchy officers were finding some difficulty in securing the old man, for he went constantly armed and declared that he would murder the first man who came to arrest him. A search of his house was impeded by Mrs Crew, who had taken down a large carving knife and threatened to cut them to pieces unless they immediately cleared out of her house.

Finally, the officers entered his house at six in the morning in May 1765. Upstairs, the old man, woken by their entry, was sitting up in bed holding a loaded gun which he turned upon the intruders as they came into the room.

The foremost assistant grabbed the muzzle and turned it aside as he fired. The bullet went through the mantelpiece over the fireplace. Crew was arrested and again imprisoned in Newgate, during which time his house was pulled down.

Soon after his discharge from prison in December 1765 he took over the Fallow Buck Inn at Clay Hill (see photograph below) where he presided as landlord for nearly ten years.

In his old age he was treated generously by the parish, being granted £10 a year from one of the Enfield charities. When he died on 20 February 1785 he was aged 104, and already the hill whereon his house had stood was known by the name of Crews Hill.

Author photograph



The Gordon Riots

Gordon Hill is named after Gordon House, which once stood to the west of Chase Side near the top of the hill. The house was demolished in c.1858 when roads to service new residential areas began to be laid out.

Gordon House was once occupied by Lord George Gordon (1751-1793), who lent his name to the anti-Catholic 'Gordon Riots' (also known as the 'No Popery' riots) in 1780. An eccentric character descended from Scottish nobility, Gordon was a Member of Parliament between 1774 and 1780, becoming head of the Protestant Association in 1779.

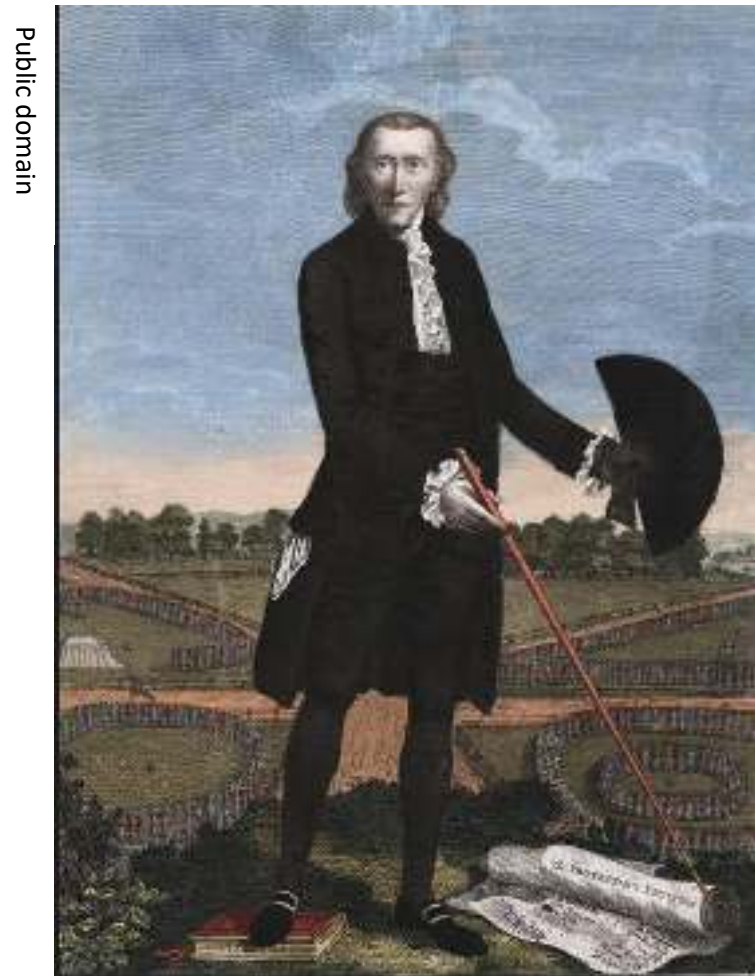
On 2 June 1780 Gordon headed a march of around 50,000 people from St George's Fields just south of London to the Houses of Parliament in order to present a huge petition against (partial) Catholic Emancipation.

After the crowd reached Westminster the riots began. Initially, the mob dispersed after threatening to force their way into the House of Commons, but reassembled soon afterwards and, over several days, destroyed several Roman Catholic chapels, pillaged the private dwellings of Catholics, set fire to Newgate Prison, broke open all the other prisons, and attacked the Bank of England and several other public buildings.

There appeared painted on the wall of Newgate prison a proclamation that the inmates had been freed by the authority of "His Majesty, King Mob". The term "King Mob" afterwards came to denote an unruly and fearsome proletariat. Charles Dickens' novel *Barnaby Rudge: A Tale of the Riots of 'Eighty* (1841) tells the story.

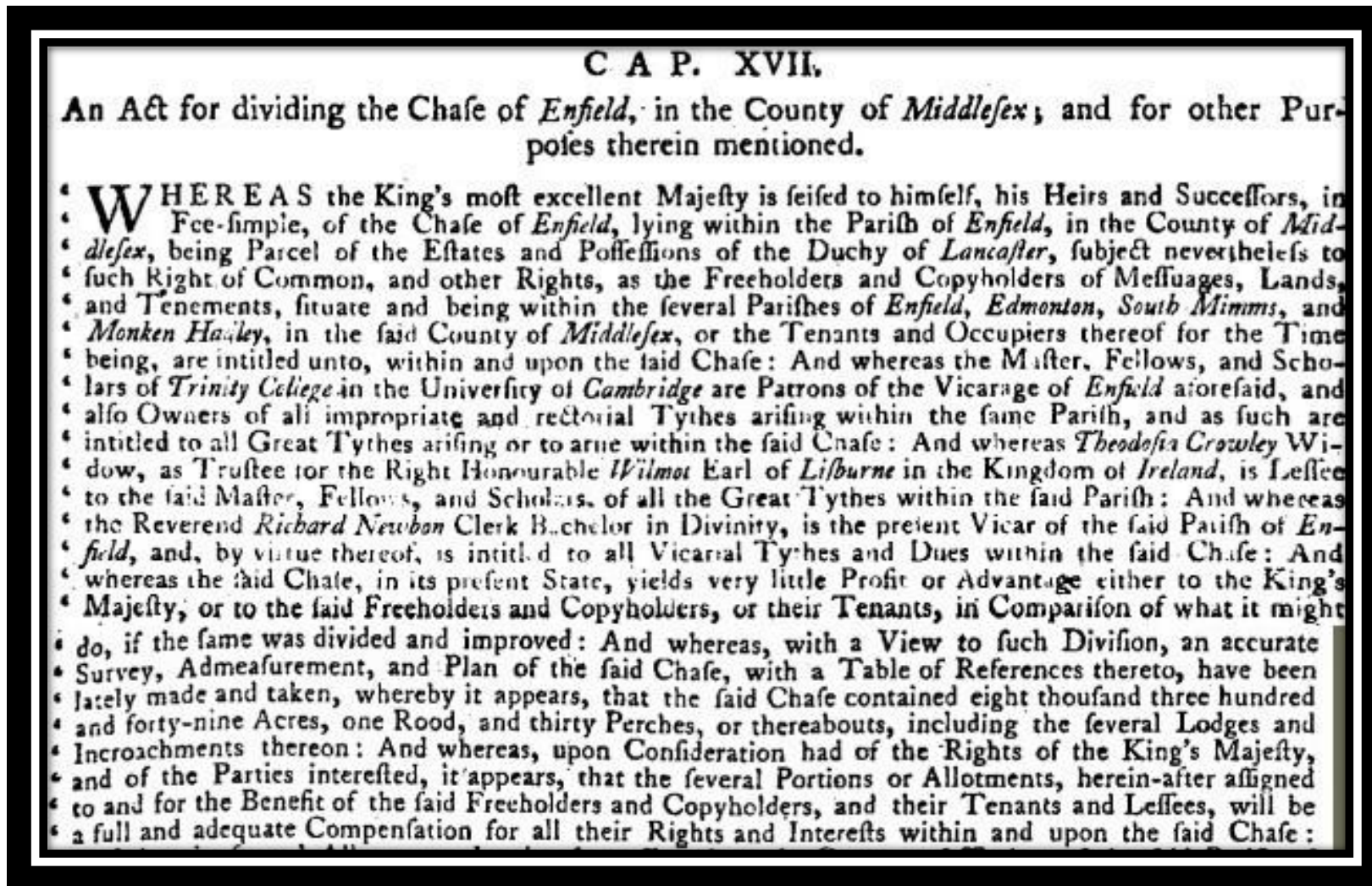
The army was finally brought in to quell the unrest and killed or wounded around 450 people before they finally restored order. Edmund Burke later described the riots as a dangerous foretaste of the 1789 French Revolution.

Gordon himself converted to Judaism in 1786 (calling himself Yisrael bar Avraham Gordon) and died in Newgate prison in 1793, aged 41.



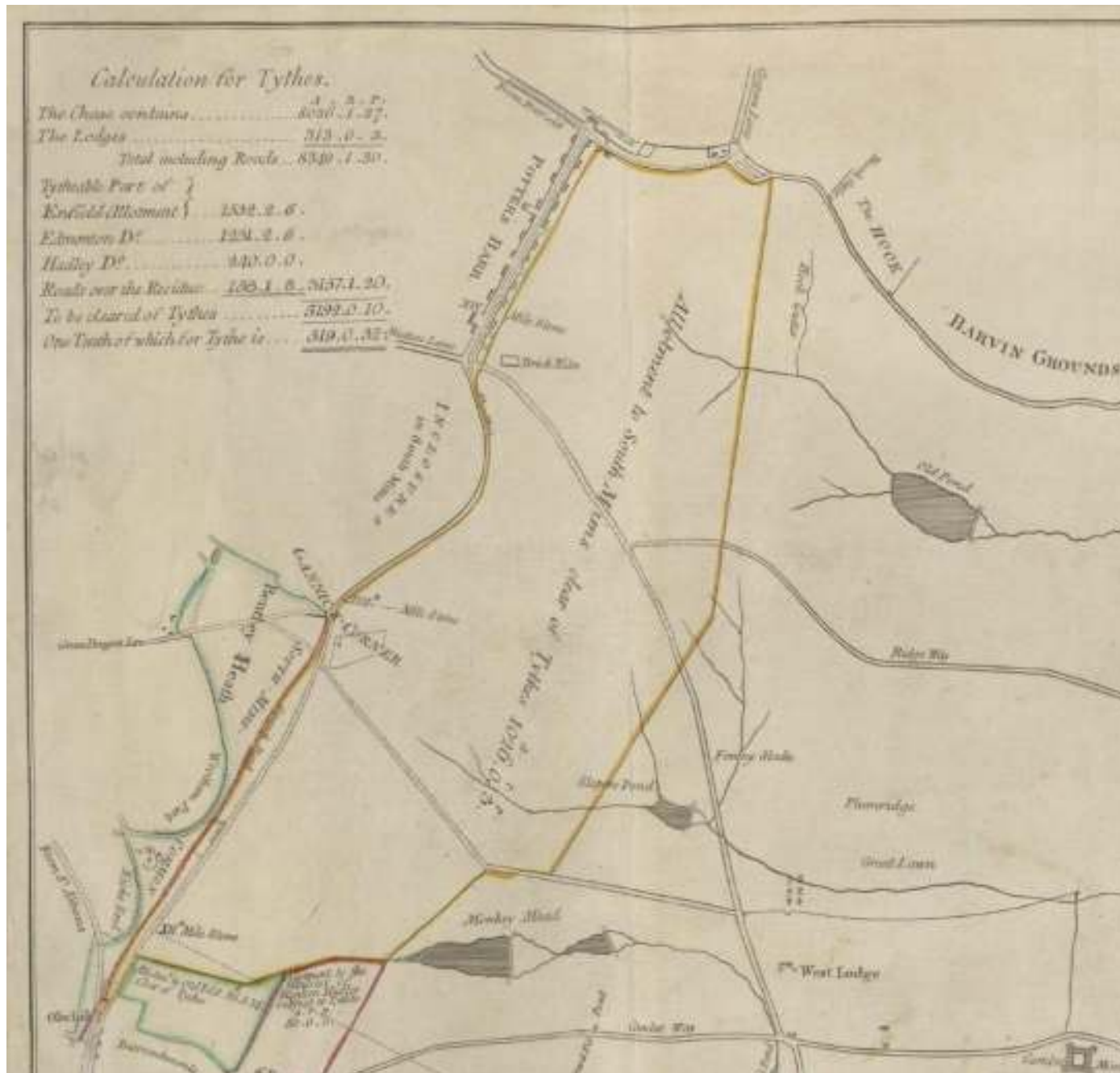
The Act for the Division of Enfield Chase

The end of the Chase was signalled by an Act of Parliament in 1777, which states (below) "*The Chase, in its present state, yields very little profit either to the King's Majesty, or to the freeholders or copyholders, or their tenants, in comparison with what it might do if it was divided and improved...*" The Act was accompanied by Francis Russell's 'accurate survey' ([Map 7](#)), which provided the basis upon which the 8,349 acres of the Chase was divided.



The first page provided that the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College Cambridge, Patrons of the Vicar of Enfield, may charge 'Tythes' for use of the Chase land. Land allotted to the Vicar, 'glebe land', is today known as Vicarage Farm.

'Compensation' referred to did not apply to the poor, who lost their feudal rights without any recompense.



This extract from the 1776 survey shows a number of features in greater detail.

The total land area of the Chase is given as 8,349 acres (i.e. 34 square kilometres)

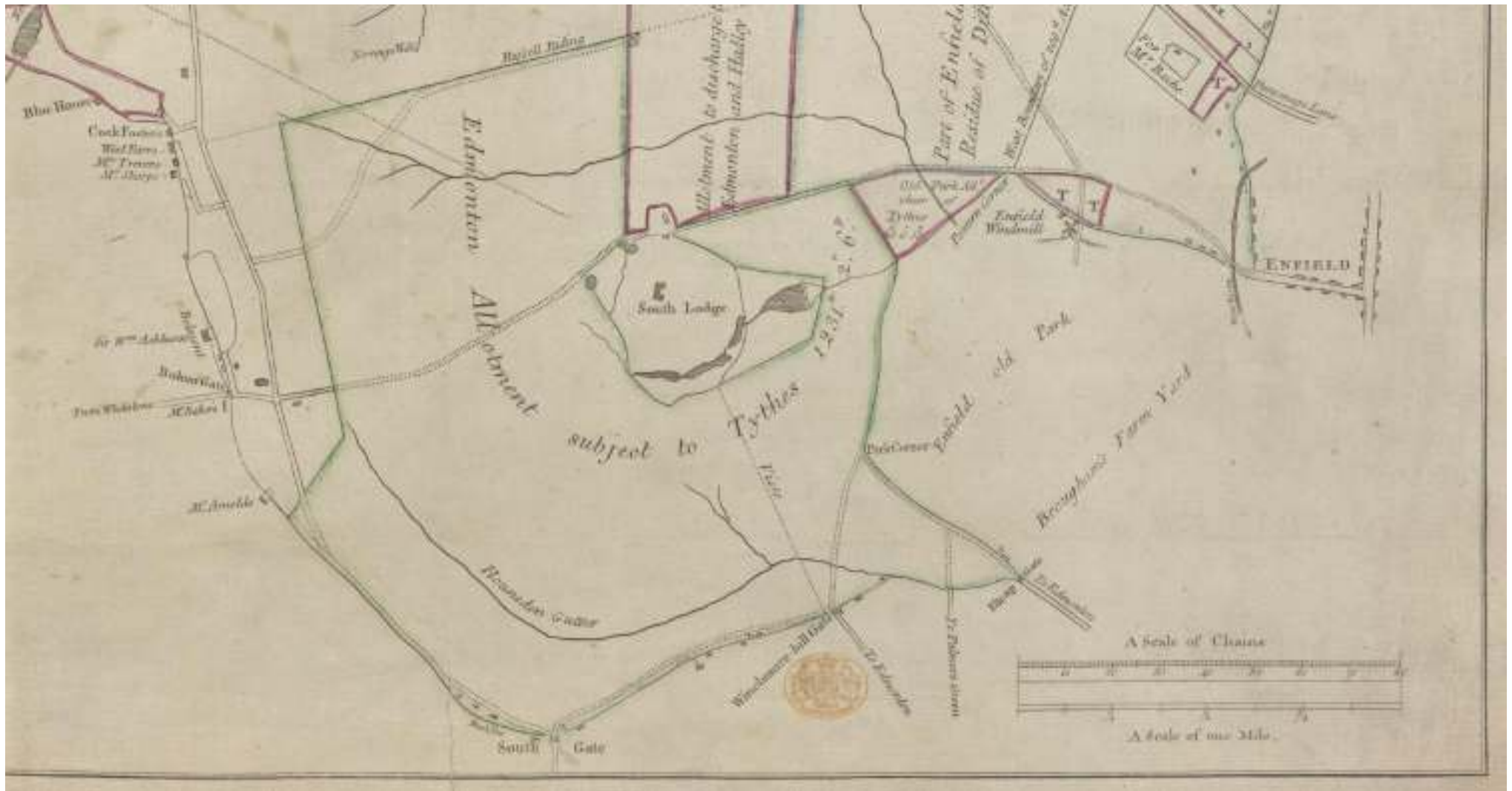
The map details the "allotments" of land to Edmonton (1231 acres), Enfield (1532 acres), and to South Mimms (1026 acres), to the King (3,213 acres – part of which later became Trent Park).

The extract shows the South Mimms allotment (edged in colour) and a number of interesting features, including 'inclosures' and now vanished ponds at Monkey Mead and Slopers. Only the Old Pond (in Fir and Pond Wood) remains today.

The map shows the 'Great Lawn' at Plumridge near West Lodge, which corresponds with the 'Great Square' shown by Westlake.

Alamy Stock Photo

This extract below shows the southern section of the 1776 survey in more detail. Edmonton Parish bordered the Chase and therefore the Parish was allotted a substantial portion of Chase lands, including South Lodge. Edmonton Common, together with Enfield Common, and South Mimms Common survived only until 1803 when another Enclosure Act finally removed common rights. The 'visto' (Italian for vista, meaning prospect or view) from South Lodge is shown as a dotted line. The Old Park is shown, and the Windmill (demolished in 1904) that gave its name to Windmill Hill.



Alamy Stock Photo

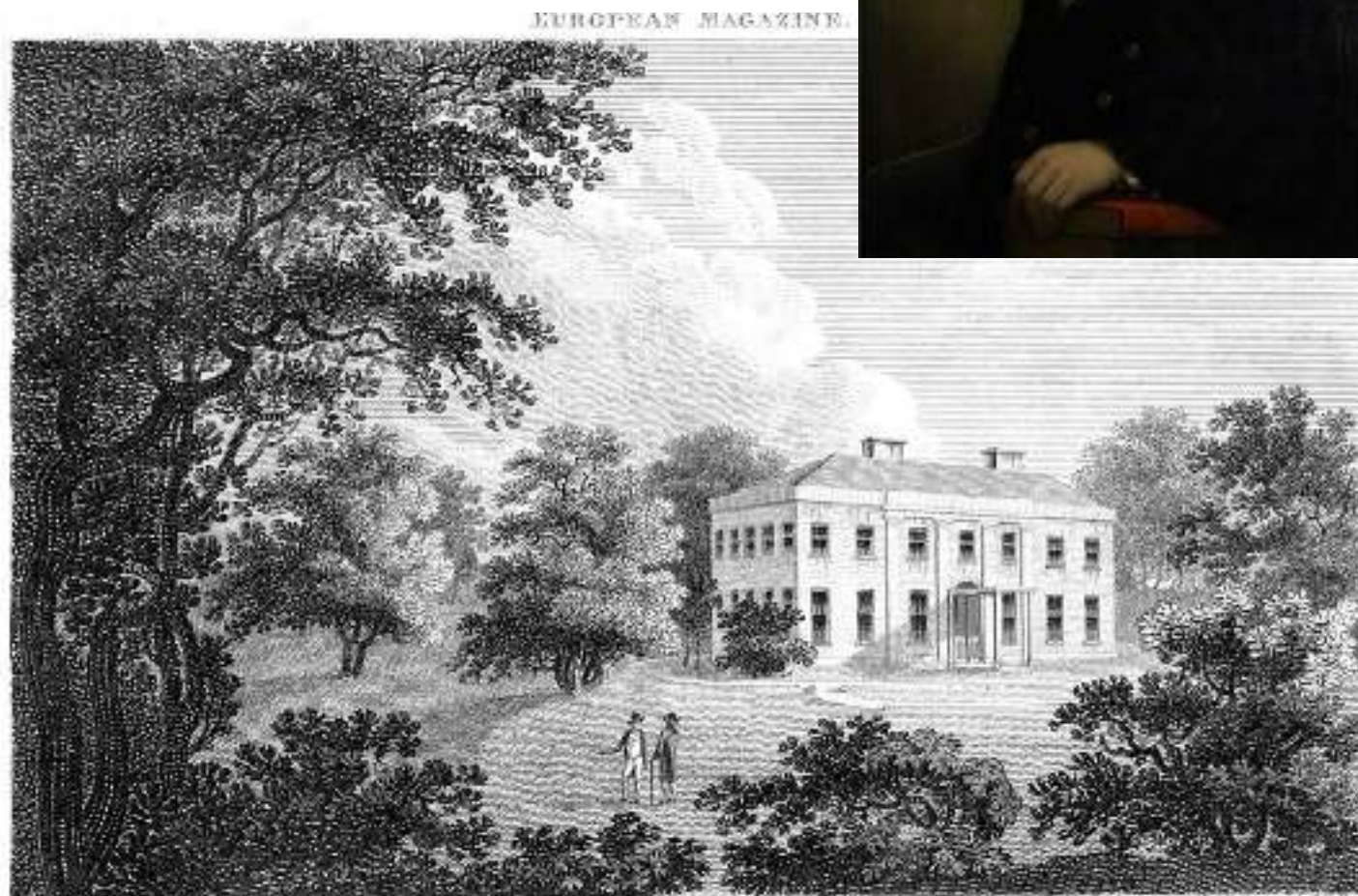
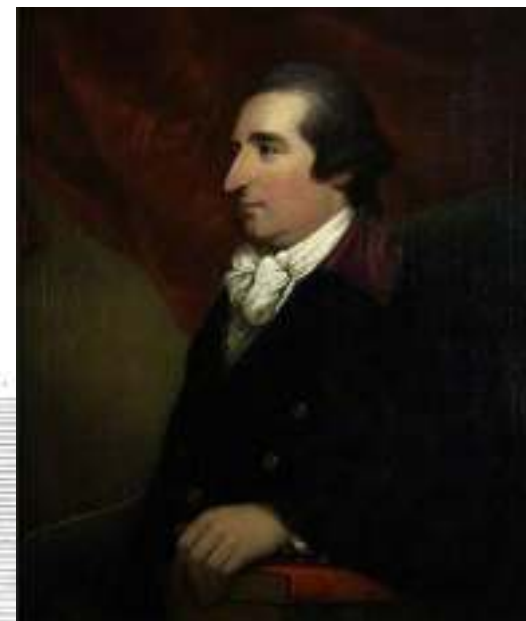
Francis Russell and Hadley Wood

A solicitor by training, in 1762 Francis Russell (1740 – 1795) was hired by the Duchy of Lancaster to do legal work to put the Duchy's records in order. Russell (see picture, right) later became "*His Majesty's Surveyor for the South part of the Duchy*" at the time that the Act for the Division for Enfield Chase was being drawn up.

In return for his good service to the Duchy in producing such an accurate survey, Russell was allowed to buy the freehold of 152 acres of land within the former Chase. On this land he built a house for himself, which he modestly called "Russell Mansion". The house later became known as Beech Hill Park, and is now used as the club house for Hadley Wood Golf Club. Russell had intended to farm the land but soon found that the heavy clay soil was too difficult to work and abandoned the enterprise.

After several ownership changes the estate was acquired by Charles Jack, a local farmer, in 1854. In the 1880s Jack negotiated the establishment of a railway station (which introduced the name "Hadley Wood") with Great Northern Railway, and arranged for

the Duchy of Lancaster to convert the leases around that into building leases. Charles Jack died in 1896 but the development continued and by 1901 over 60 dwellings had been constructed.



Beech Hill, on Enfield Chase, the Seat of the late Francis Russell Esq.

Richard Gough, 'Father of British Topography'

Eminent antiquarian Richard Gough (1735-1809) lived at Gough Park, at the corner of Forty Hill and Clay Hill (photo below) from 1774. His study at Gough Park was an Aladdin's cave of books, manuscripts, and maps. Over 20 years Gough visited all the places described in his books *British Topography*, *Sepulchral Monuments*, and his edition of *Camden's Britannia*.

Perhaps the most famous item in the Gough collection is the Gough Map, the earliest recognisable map of Britain, dating from c. 1400. The Gough Collection was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, to which the majority of the items were relocated from Gough Park after Gough's death.



David Pam, *A History of Enfield*, Volume 1, p 160

Gough had a particular interest in Enfield Chase, and his Enfield notes formed the basis of William Robinson's later *History of Enfield* of 1823. According to a later comment in the manuscript, Robinson took the text '*without any acknowledgement whatever...with the result that Gough's almost illegible abbreviations led to many ludicrous mistakes.*'

A distinctive feature of Gough's collections was the number of specially commissioned paintings, such as that below, of Enfield Manor and St Andrew's Church from Windmill Hill in the 1790s.



Gough Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

Respected antiquarian John Nichols (see page 25) was Gough's friend, collaborator and later executor of his will. In a long tribute after his death, Nichols described Gough as '*The Father of British Topography*'.

Charles and Mary Lamb at Chase Side

Essayist Charles Lamb (1775-1834) was a key figure in the English Romantic literary movement, who worked for the East India Company and co-authored the popular *'Tales from Shakespeare'* (1807) with his sister Mary. In Holborn the pair presided over a literary circle that included Wordsworth, Coleridge and Keats (who also had an Enfield connection*), until tragedy brought them to Enfield Chase in later life.

Charles and Mary's mother Elizabeth suffered from debilitating pain and Mary became her full-time carer. In 1796, Mary, who suffered from poor mental health, tragically stabbed Elizabeth to death during a mental breakdown. Mary sadly spent much of the remainder of her life in mental asylums, and on her release was cared for by her brother.

Thinking that the fresh air of Enfield Chase would be good for his sister, Charles arranged for them to spend summer holidays at Clarendon Cottage, Gentleman's Row (then Mrs Leishman's Boarding House). Following Charles' retirement in 1827, they lived at Westwood Cottage and then Poplar Cottage, both at Chase Side (and like Clarendon cottage, still standing today).

Charles missed the sounds, entertainment and shops of London. In 1830 he advised Mary Shelley (the author of *Frankenstein*) "*don't run to a country village, which has been a market town but is no longer*" [where] "*clowns stand about what was the market place and spit minutely to relieve ennui*" (boredom). Enfield was without a regular market between about 1800 and 1870.

In 1833 the Lambs moved from Chase Side to Edmonton, where Mary became the sole patient at Mr and Mrs Walden's private asylum at the 17th/18th century timber framed Bay Cottage (now known as Lamb's Cottage, still standing today) in Church Street. Mary, 11 years older than her brother, outlived him by 13 years, dying in 1847.

National Portrait Gallery



* As a child the Romantic poet John Keats attended John Cowden Clarke's experimental Academy school, the site of which is now occupied by Enfield Town station. Keats' poem *'Ode to a Nightingale'* was inspired by the countryside of his childhood, and references in the poem to *'forests dim'* and *'verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways'* probably drew on Keats' imagination of nearby Enfield Chase.

The Origins of Trent Park

Centrally located within the former Chase (and like Beech Hill Park, a result of patronage), land known today known as Trent Park derives its name from the town of Trento in the Italian Tyrol, north of Lake Garda.

King George III, famous for his bouts of madness, had a brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who had succumbed to his own form of mental illness (although it is been claimed that the Duke's ailment was psychosomatic). The physician to the royal household, Dr Richard Jebb, visited the Duke at Trento, where he was convalescing.

Jebb was *'tactless to the point of insanity, urging remedies as drastic as they were hazardous'*, but despite his ranting hit-and-miss methods, the Duke recovered and Jebb was rewarded by the King with a lease on part of the Chase, reserved in the Act of 1777 for a miniature deer park. Jebb had a small hunting lodge constructed on the land and styled himself *'Sir Richard Jebb of Trent Place'*.

After the death of Sir Richard the estate passed through a

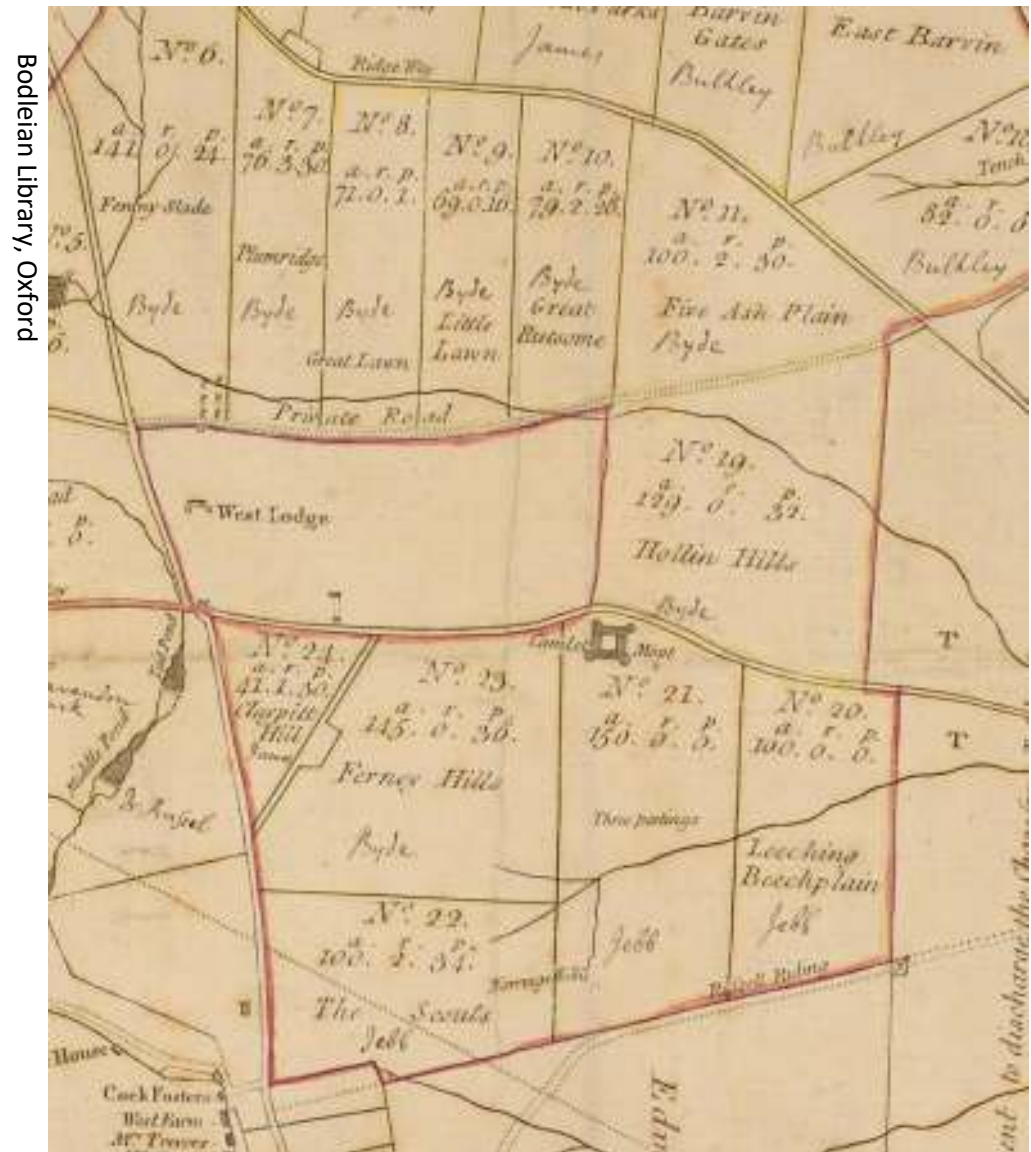
number of owners and in 1833 was acquired by the Bevan family, Quakers who made their money in banking. According to a family anecdote, David Bevan accidentally bought Trent Park while nodding in his sleep at auction.



Lord Cholmondeley

Above: Trent Park house prior to remodelling by Sir Philip Sassoon.

Below: The survey of 1776 (extract) from the Gough collection at the Bodleian library, marked with the Division into lots including, at lots 20, 21, and 22, to 'Jebb'.



Bodleian Library, Oxford

Sir Philip Sassoon

In 1923 the Trent Park estate passed to Sir Philip Sassoon, the fabulously wealthy scion of the great Rothschild banking dynasty and Baghdadi Jewish merchants, and second cousin to the poet Siegfried Sassoon. Son of a Member of Parliament and in time himself becoming an MP and government Aviation Minister, Sir Philip nevertheless remained conscious of his foreign ancestry, and sought to cultivate the lifestyle of an English gentleman. This was exemplified in his commissioning of the Daffodil Lawn at Trent Park.

Under Sir Philip Trent Park was transformed, to include an orangery, golf course, riding stables, walled garden, terrace, outdoor pool, and a landing strip for his aeroplanes. The gardens were landscaped to include a Wisteria Walk, a Long Walk, a Lime Tree Walk, and a Japanese water garden. Many of the garden statues at Trent Park were brought from Stowe and Milton Abbey. The large obelisk was brought from Wrest Park in 1934 in order to impress the Duke and Duchess of Kent, who were honeymooning on the estate.

Philip was a confidant of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII), to whom Trent Park provided a refuge from public scrutiny during the abdication crisis of 1936, and also to Winston Churchill during his wilderness years of the 1930s. King George VI and Queen Mary also visited with the young princesses, Elizabeth and Margaret, (pictured top, opposite) sitting on the stone bench at the end of Wisteria Walk. The bench was moved to Houghton Hall after the war.

Lord Cholmondeley



Notwithstanding the Englishness of Trent Park, Sir Philip also enjoyed the exotic. The lake was populated by rare and expensive waterfowl, including flamingos, pelicans, white and black swans, cranes, teals, ibises, spoonbills, Siberian red-breasted geese, ducks of every species and even a pair of king penguins which Sir Philip would personally feed each morning and evening. Specialised food was ordered in from London Zoo.



Lord Cholmondeley

Robert Boothby, a Conservative MP, was a frequent visitor to the parties at Trent Park and provided the following account:

'His [Sir Philip's] hospitality was on an oriental scale. The summer weekend parties at Trent were unique, and in the highest degree enjoyable, but theatrical rather than intimate. He frankly loved success, and you could be sure of finding one or two of the reigning stars of the literary, film or sporting worlds, in addition to a fair sprinkling of politicians and, on occasion, royalty.... I remember one weekend when the guests, who included the present King and Queen, were entertained with an exhibition of 'stunt' shots at golf by Joe Kirkwood [Australian golfer] after lunch, with flights over the grounds in our host's private aeroplane after tea, with a firework display over the lake after dinner, with songs from Richard Tauber [Austrian tenor], which we listened to on the terrace by moonlight before going to bed'

Boothby's account, supplemented by observations of other visitors, details of the visitor books, records in *Country Life* magazine and other sources, provided the basis for Damian Collins' evocation of parties at Trent Park (see next page).

Below, Left to right: Hannah Gubbay (cousin), Charlie Chaplin, Sybil Marchioness of Cholmondeley (sister), Philip Sassoon. Bottom, painting by Rex Whistler of Sir Philip and his sister on the north terrace.



Lord Cholmondeley



Lord Cholmondeley



Lord Cholmondeley

Above: Sir Philip (left) with the Prince of Wales (later briefly King Edward VIII prior to his abdication) and Winston Churchill prior to a game of polo in Roehampton.

"At dawn, long before the guests arrive, a cavalcade of horse-drawn carts makes the 14 mile journey from the flower market at Covent Garden, to the edge of north London and the gates of the Trent Park estate. Legions of gardeners are waiting to receive its colourful potted cargo ready for immediate planting, while the staff collect enough azaleas, roses and lilies to fill every room in the house. By noon there is a new procession, of Rolls-Royces arriving and departing in rapid succession. Everywhere along the approach there are signs with arrows guiding the drivers 'To Trent'. Children and their parents line the route, hoping to catch a glimpse of a royal prince or a Hollywood star. The house and gardens have been profiled by Country Life, and the society columns regularly highlight the comings and goings of weekend guests. The Trent Park garden parties each summer are considered the last word in elegance and luxurious informality [...]

Trent Park nestles in the ancient royal hunting ground of Enfield Chase [...] The guests gather on the terrace, which is at the heart of the party, and from where you can see right across the estate. People come and go as they please and white-coated footmen wearing red cummerbunds serve endless courses created by the resident French chefs. There is a restless atmosphere of constant activity. Winston Churchill is at the centre of the conversation, arguing with George Bernard Shaw about socialism, discussing art with Kenneth Clark, and painting with Rex Whistler.

Flamingoes and peacocks have been released from cages and move effortlessly between the gardens, terrace and house, mingling with guests while Noel Coward plays the piano. And the host, the millionaire government minister and aesthete Sir Philip Sassoon, is in the midst of it all [...] Queen Mary and Philip's sister Sybil, the Marchioness of Cholmondeley, lead the party in the formal gardens adjacent to the swimming pool and the orangery.

Wide borders, laid out to the last square inch by the fashionable garden designer Norah Lindsey, lie in pairs on a gentle slope with broad grass paths on either side so that the eye can rove easily up this glade of brilliance [...]

The Prince of Wales arrives by aeroplane, lands at the Trent airstrip, and heads to the terrace where the American golf champion Walter Hagen is waiting to play a round with him on Sir Philip's private course. The Duke of York and Anthony Eden, dressed for tennis, stride off with the professional to Trent's courts. There is an air display by pilots from the RAF's 601 squadron, swooping and flying low over the estate. In the late afternoon, after the Queen has departed, the airmen join guests at the blue swimming pool, cavorting in the walled gardens that surround it [...]e overnight guests withdraw to change for dinner, finding cocktails and buttonhole flowers waiting on their dressing tables as they put on their black tie. Philip Sassoon invites them to dine on the terrace, where Richard Tauber sings later by moonlight, and at the end of the evening there is a display of fireworks over the lake.

For guests reminiscing in the years to come, Philip's lavish hospitality would seem like a dream of a lost world, the like of which would never be seen again. Yet on this 1930s summer evening, amid the elegance and luxury of Trent Park, there is a concern for the future. Among the politicians there is hard talk about Mussolini, Baldwin's government, Germany's threat and British rearmament. And this was not unusual. Almost every major decision taken in Britain between the wars was debated by those at the heart of the action while they were guests of Philip Sassoon.

From "Charmed Life: The Phenomenal World of Philip Sassoon". Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © Damian Collins (2016)

Secret Listeners

Trent Park entered a new phase in its history after the death of Sir Philip Sassoon from an illness in 1939. On the outbreak of war, Trent Park was requisitioned by the army and played a central role in what Dr Helen Fry has called "*the greatest intelligence operation of World War II*".

From August 1942, high ranking German prisoners were treated as guests at Trent Park, given cigars, wine and dined, and encouraged to talk among themselves. Little did they guess that microphones in the walls, light fittings, pot plants and even the trees in the garden were picking up every word.



Secrets inadvertently revealed by the prisoners included details of the Nazi rocket programme at Peenemunde, developments in radar, the X-Gerät secret weapon, new types of mines and U-Boat technology, battle plans, and early details of the Holocaust.



These words were transcribed by fluent German speakers working in the basement, known as the M Room (M stood for 'miked' or microphoned). Many of these 'secret listeners' were Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

Spymaster Thomas Kendrick oversaw operations and compiled top secret reports, including some sent directly to Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Kendrick was a Colonel in MI6 (the Secret Intelligence Service or SIS). Whilst working as a British agent in Vienna in 1938 Kendrick survived arrest and interrogation by the Gestapo.

In December 1939 prisoners from a German U-Boat were moved from the Tower of London to Trent Park, considered better for this type of covert work. Trent Park was fitted out in autumn 1939 by a team from the Post Office Research Department at Dollis Hill, and all installation staff were required to sign the Official Secrets Act.

Later Trent Park came to host the most important prisoners including General von Arnim, who surrendered with 350,000 men of the Afrika Korps in May 1943. Lower-ranked prisoners were detained at Latimer House and Wilton Park in Buckinghamshire. Together these centres formed the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC).

Various devices were used to encourage prisoners to let their guard down. 'Stool pigeons' or fake prisoners, and senior intelligence personnel (including Kendrick) 'befriended' key targets. At Trent Park a fake aristocrat, 'Lord Aberfeldy' (actually Captain Ian Munro, a senior intelligence officer), proved effective in eliciting intelligence secrets.

From its inception Trent Park was never referred to as a prisoner-of-war camp but as 'Cockfosters Camp' or 'Camp 11'. Like Bletchley Park, the fact that its existence remained unknown for decades was a testament to its success. Having signed the Official Secrets Act, most of the military personnel at Trent Park took their secrets to the grave. It was only on declassification of documents between 1999 and 2004 that the story of the secret listeners became known.

Trent Park house will host a new museum of the secret listeners, currently scheduled to open in 2025. Further information is on the museum website at www.trentparkhouse.org.uk



Mary Churchill & the guns of Hog Hill

The gun emplacement, officially known as 469 Heavy (Mixed) Anti-Aircraft (HAA) Battery at the end of Camp Road, off Enfield Road, assisted in the defence of the industrial-military facilities in the Lee Valley and the capital city from attacks by Luftwaffe strategic bombers.

The picture on the right shows one of the heavy 4.5 inch guns at the Enfield site. The report from the guns was said to be so loud that when they were in action the main doors of nearby Chase Farm hospital were blasted open.

Alongside the gun emplacement at Hog Hill, there was a large military camp at nearby Slades Hill, where around 300 military personnel were stationed. The camp was closely guarded by 24-hour sentries.

Around half the personnel from summer 1941 were women, hence the name 'Mixed' HAA. Female recruits joined the Auxiliary Terrestrial Service (ATS), colloquially known as 'Ack-Ack girls' after the sound of the guns.

In mixed-sex batteries women were not allowed to operate the guns but they worked closely with the male gunners in three main roles, as Spotters, Readers, and Predictors (see next page).

Although scoring a direct hit on an enemy aircraft was a rare occurrence, causing a German pilot to change course could save lives. The guns also provided a boost to civilian morale, reminding people that they weren't alone and that somebody was fighting back.

Prime Minister Winston Churchill's daughter Mary was stationed at the Hog Hill battery from 18 December 1941 to 6 October 1942. During her time in Enfield she rose from the rank of Private to that of Sergeant.

© AP Archive, British Movietone



The military camp remained in use as a military records office until 1963, when it was closed. However, some of the camp building materials were used to create the 19th Enfield Scout hut nearby. The gun emplacements were buried by construction waste in the 1960s but still remain underneath, potentially awaiting rediscovery. A large number of brick and concrete structures remain, mostly overgrown. A few are still visible from the Merryhills Way.

The Diary of Mary Churchill

The diary of Mary Churchill (later Lady Soames), edited by her niece Emma Soames and published in 2021, provides an entertaining and unique perspective on life at the Hog Hill 469 battery in Enfield in 1941 and 1942.

The diary records that having joined the Auxiliary Territorial service (ATS) in October 1941 and completed basic training at Aldermarston, Mary and her cousin Judy were posted to the battery on 18 December 1941.

Life at the battery clearly had a profound effect on young Mary (then aged only 20), giving her a strong sense of purpose and ultimately putting her in a position of responsibility for her team (see photograph below).

The diary depicts the mundane nature of many of the camp tasks, but shows the exhilaration Mary felt during live action in the gun teams.

Mary enjoyed dances at the camp and records a trip to the Enfield Lido (where the cinema is now) on a very hot day in June 1942. She also enjoyed trips into London on the Tube but was mortified at gossip (and an embarrassing cartoon) in a US newspaper alleging antics with an American GI.

Left: Mary (front, lying down) with her team at 469 HAA, Enfield in 1942 (photo: Mr Jack Brown)



Stills from newsreel footage at the Hog Hill gunsite on 12 April 1942 show the women at work.



'Spotters' used the latest Bar and Stroud binoculars to identify enemy aircraft.




A height and range finder was used to calculate the distance a shell would have to travel to reach the target, and a 'Reader' would read out the result.



The reading would be entered into a machine called the 'Sperry Predictor' to calculate the length of fuse necessary to reach the target. This would be given to the (male) gunners.

Above: Newsreel stills recording a visit to the Hog Hill gun emplacement by Winston Churchill on 12 April 1942

The 469 Enfield site is unusual in being recorded not only in the diary of such a well-known figure but also newsreel footage of a visit by Winston Churchill. The Movietone archive* records the date as 12 April 1942, and Mary's diary for the following day says 'went to see new film of Papa coming to battery. Very good programme'.

An ATS girl hands a bouquet of flowers to Mrs Churchill. The ridge behind is now Chase Ridings. 



Prime Minister Winston Churchill with his wife Clementine and daughter Mary. 



Mary's diary entry for 19 July records that her father visited the gunsite for a second time, this time accompanied by US President Roosevelt's Special Envoy Harry Hopkins.

* The 1942 news reel of the Churchill visit to 469 HAA battery is at www.aparchive.com – The British Movietone Archive. Clip reference BM42143 (silent cuts at BM42143/2)

© AP Archive, British Movietone



Railways, Villas and Suburbs

The opening of Enfield station on the Great Northern Line in 1871 (renamed Enfield Chase in 1924 to avoid confusion with Enfield Town station) resulted in the first period of sustained housebuilding on former Chase lands. This began with 'artisan's cottages' built along Chase Side in the 1880s and accelerated after the opening of new stations at Gordon Hill and Crews Hill in 1910.

Two fine mansions, Chase Lodge (formerly home to Mr Holt White, nephew of the naturalist Gilbert White) and Chase Park on Windmill Hill were both demolished to clear the way for the railway extension.

Upper-middle class housing was built along the Ridgeway and on the site of another mansion and grounds known as Bycullah Park. It was completed in 1897. The curious name derives from a suburb of Bombay, from which the Park owner's wife (an Indian princess) originated. Described at the time as 'villas of character' on large plots no less than a quarter of an acre, most of these villas have long since been demolished and replaced by modern houses and apartment blocks.

Right: Ten Bycullah Road before its demolition, an example of a villa on the Bycullah Estate



The Enfield Society

Although by today's standards these were grand houses, not everybody appreciated them. Nesta Webster in her book 'Spacious Days' (1950) envisaged a time when "...Trent Park, cut up into building lots, has been swallowed up in outer London, and its ancient beech trees cleared away to make room for the spreading sea of villadom."

Hitherto far too remote to attract housebuilding for working people, the extension of the Piccadilly Line station to Oakwood and Cockfosters in 1933 finally lead to interest from developers. In 1935 Enfield Urban District Council authorised the construction of 624 houses on South Lodge Estate Oakwood, which was originally known as Southgate North. Many existing features, including green open spaces, trees and lakes were retained and were initially maintained by builders Laing and Son Ltd. There were also planted verges between the pavements and roads.

The estate, described by Laing as "*the most beautiful estate in north London*" was constructed between 1935 and 1939. Over 30 different variations of architect-designed upper middle class three and four bedroom semi-detached and detached houses were available to be built at prices between £845 and £1200 freehold, using mortgages which became more widely available at this time. Deposits of £50 were required ensuring that the estate attracted the more stable purchaser, such as civil servants and employees in local government, banks and railways, school teachers and those with secure pensionable employment.

Enfield and the Octopus

In 1929 Clough Williams-Ellis, architect of the fantasy Italianate seaside village of Portmeirion in north Wales, published '*England and the Octopus*' (see cover, right), an anti-sprawl polemic. The octopus in the title represents 1920s' London, expanding with significant development along the tentacle-like main arterial roads, swallowing up what Williams-Ellis saw as the essence of the English countryside.

Without statutory control to aid his campaign Williams-Ellis sought to rally all those who care, in amenity societies or local groups, to come together to champion what in their view was beautiful.

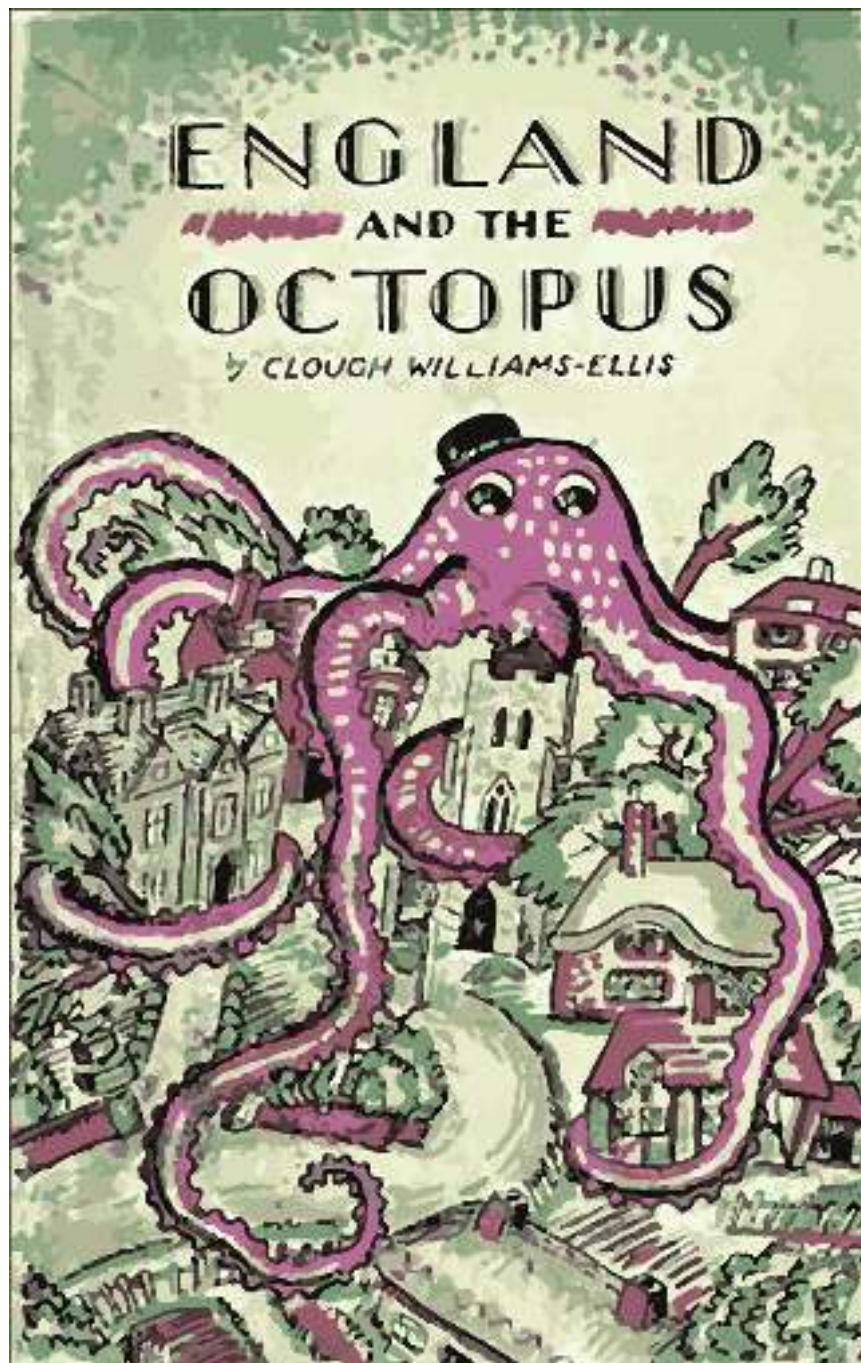
Clough Williams-Ellis' voice resonated with many people at the time and was influential in the establishment of the *Campaign for the Protection of Rural England* (CPRE), founded in 1926, and many local civic societies.

The **Enfield Preservation Society** was established in 1936 with four founding 'objects':

- to preserve and improve the amenities of Enfield
- to protect any local place or building of beauty and historic interest
- to protect from injury views of and from Enfield
- to preserve footpaths in and around Enfield

Renamed The Enfield Society in 2007, the Society continues to flourish today. The 'objects' have since been modified to include protection of the Green Belt and securing good quality design in new developments.

CPRE



Below: Enfield Urban District Council's 1961 plans to alleviate traffic congestion and parking problems by putting a ring road through St Andrew's Churchyard and Holly Walk. The proposals also included redevelopment of everything within the thinner black line, which would have obliterated most of the present Conservation Area. A number of houses had already been demolished to make way for the road before the scheme was abandoned at the last minute due to local opposition.

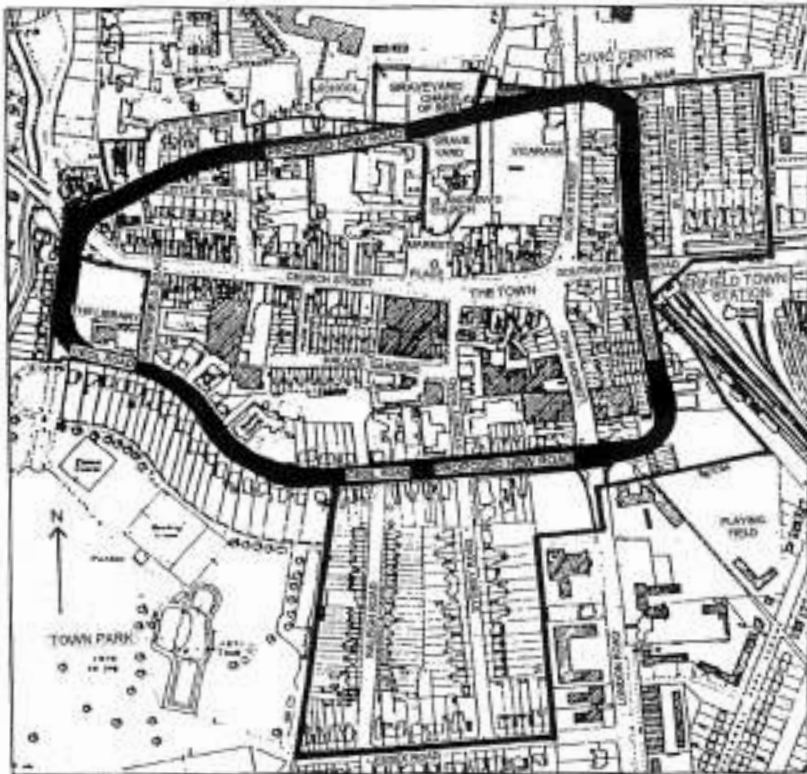
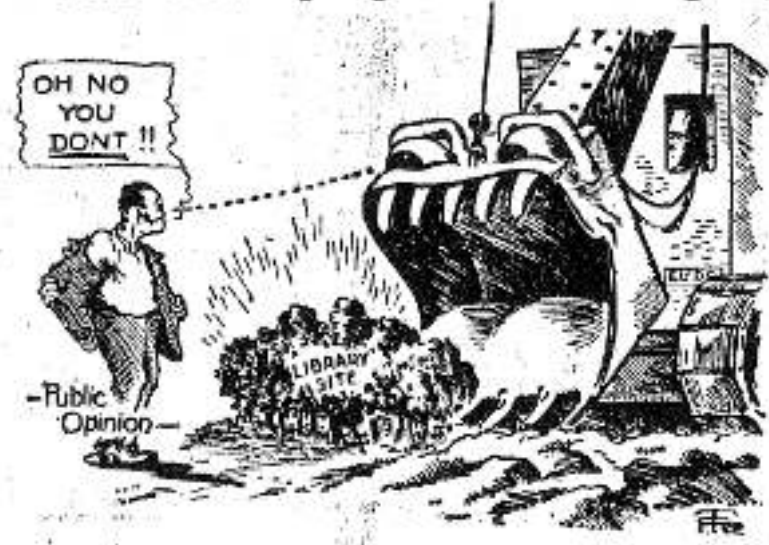


Image: Valerie Carter: Fighting for the Future, A History of the Enfield Preservation Society 1936-1996 (1997), page 34. A copy of the December 1960 report to the Works and Town Planning Committee by Borough Engineer and Surveyor H. D Peake can be viewed in the Enfield Local Studies Library and Archive.

The Townspeople v. The Ogre



Above:
Cartoon from the Enfield Gazette, 20 August 1937.

In 1937 Enfield Council published plans to sell Library Green for commercial development. The proposal met with strong opposition from the Enfield Preservation Society and was finally abandoned.

Image: David Pam, a History of Enfield, Volume Three, A Desirable Neighbourhood, 1914-1939 (1994), page 167.

Parks, Green Belt and the M25

"The landscape of the former Enfield Chase can be seen as the outcome of almost two hundred years of public debate, government reports and legislation about the importance of open spaces in modern life. These include the 1833 Report by the Select Committee on Public Walks, the formation of the Open Spaces Society in 1865, the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association in 1877, the 1919 Housing Act, the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, and more recent concerns about biodiversity. The quality suburbs and the numerous public parks and open spaces on the former Chase are the result of numerous initiatives aimed at controlling living densities and resisting the suburbs' encroachment into the countryside."[†]

Open spaces were bought by the Council to halt the sprawl. In 1909 Enfield Urban District Council purchased 62 acres to create Hilly Fields park, in the hope of limiting the expansion of small house building ever further northward. Whitewebbs was purchased by Middlesex County Council in 1930 from Sir Frederick Orr Lewis, and the Forty Hall estate in 1951.

The 'North Middlesex Regional Planning Scheme' (1928) proposed a strategic approach to 'zoning' of the whole area, including restricting industry to the Lee Valley, creating a 'semi-rural zone', and 'for the preservation of amenity' a 'ring of open space..., a green girdle' from Ruislip to Epping Forest, including the lands around Trent Park, Crews Hill Golf Course, Whitewebbs and Forty Hall, to prevent the further sprawl of London.

[†]Elizabeth Lebas cited in Michael Ann Mullen – References

In 1936-7, Middlesex County Council purchased around 4,000 acres for inclusion in the Green Belt. After the abolition of the County Council in 1965, the majority of the land (including Trent Park, which was opened to the public as a Country Park in 1973) passed to the Greater London Council (GLC), and 300 acres was passed to Hertfordshire County Council. Both sides became known as the 'Enfield Chase Estates'. After abolition of the GLC in 1986, the freehold passed to the London Borough of Enfield.

At a national level, in reaction to sprawling suburbanisation the *Green Belt (London and Home Counties) Act 1938* was passed, and the Greater London Plan of 1944 reflected the established Green Belt boundaries. Sprawl was to be constrained to the 1939 urban fringe and access to the countryside was to be promoted. Minister of Town and Country Planning Lewis Silkin directed in 1947 that '*Planning Authorities should not permit any development on land shown for retention as green belt or green wedges, unless they have proved to the satisfaction of the Minister that there is an unanswerable case for reconsideration of the boundaries*'. Thus the actions of the public authorities brought an abrupt halt to sprawl, too late for much of rural Middlesex but just in time to save the majority of Enfield Chase.

The 1944 Greater London Plan also proposed five 'arterial ring roads' around the capital. Construction of a ring road from Potters Bar to Enfield, which followed the Greater London Plan route through Enfield Chase, started in autumn 1977 and was completed in July 1981. It became known as the M25.

Visiting Enfield Chase Today

Map 8 below indicates the location of areas of interest associated with Enfield Chase. Good viewpoints (blue) from public rights of way (green dashes); permissive paths (yellow dots); and the two Enfield Chase restoration areas (pink areas) are also indicated.

Monken Hadley **(1)** is the only location where a gate marks the edge of the Chase. The cresset tower on the top of the church was lit to guide travellers out of the Chase. The common is the only remaining area of genuine 'common land' within Enfield Chase. The Hadley Highstone **(2)** commemorates the Battle of Barnet. Jack's Lake **(3)** on Hadley Common is shown on Russell's map of 1776.

In Potters Bar, Oakmere Park **(4)** contains landscapes, lakes and ornamental trees. Pond Wood **(5)** is a superb nature reserve with many fine trees and a medieval fish pond shown on all the old maps. The adjacent 'Potters Chase' project is turning disused farmland over to nature.

West Lodge **(6)** hotel is the site of the original West Bailey Lodge and has a fine arboretum. It is not open to general visitors but may be visited for lunch/dinner or for afternoon tea. Roundhedge Hill **(7)**, as shown on Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 maps, is the conjectured site of the open-air Chase Court, and can be seen from the London LOOP path the recent Enfield Chase restoration project. Camlet Moat **(8)** and the Trent Park mansion **(9)** Also part of the Enfield Chase restoration project is the area known as King's Oak Plain **(10)**, which is reputed to have once hosted a favourite tree of King James I.

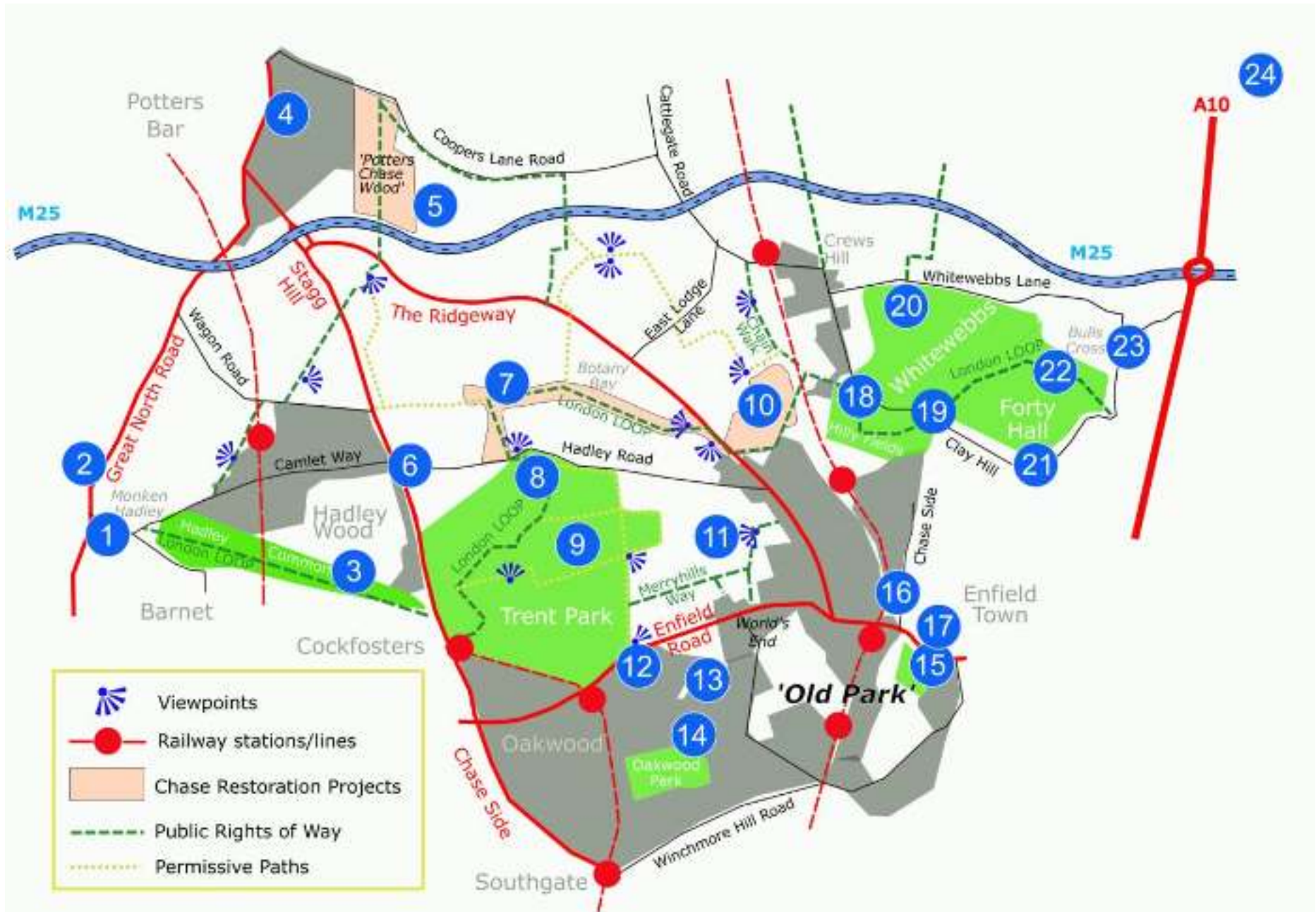
From the permissive path from Tingey Tops Pond/Chain Walk nearby **(10)** there are good views towards the impressive Cedars of Lebanon that mark the site of the former East Lodge.

Hog Hill, once used for pannage or feeding of pigs, and the former gun emplacement at which Mary Churchill was stationed in 1941-2 **(11)** is on private land, but remains of the associated camp buildings and offices can still be seen from the Merryhills Way public right of way, which crosses Camp Road, and there is a view across Hog Hill from where the Way exits the trees at Fairview Road/Farmlands.

Lakeside **(12)** and Boxer's Lake **(13)** have a long history, first as medieval fish ponds and later in the eighteenth century as ornamental lakes within the grounds of South Lodge. A plaque commemorating William Pitt and South Lodge is attached to the wall of 44 Merryhills Drive (corner of Greystoke Gardens). The less manicured parts of Oakwood Park **(14)** give a good impression of the Chase.

Town Park **(15)** is the main publicly accessible part of what remains of Old Park, the forerunner of the Chase. Nearby Chase Green **(16)** was the last part of the Chase to be enclosed, in 1803. It adjoins Gentlemen's Row and Chase Side, a picturesque area where Charles and Mary Lamb lived. Within Enfield Town **(17)**, Enfield Grammar School was founded in 1558 and the Grade II*listed building on Church Walk was built in the 1590s. St. Andrew's Church contains memorials to a number of figures associated with Enfield Chase in some way.

Map 8: Places to visit



William Crew was once landlord at the Fallow Buck at Clay Hill **(18)**, now a private house. Also at Clay Hill, the Rose and Crown **(19)** dates to the seventeenth century or earlier, and the landlord was grandfather of the highwayman Dick Turpin. The King and Tinker **(20)** once marked the far end of Whitewebbs Lane (it did not connect into what is now Crews Hill), from where access into the Chase was provided by a gate. Whitewebbs House, linked with the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, was located on the north side of the lane, adjacent to an early 17th century barn that still stands (private).

The fine wrought-iron gates of Gough Park, home of the 'Father of British Topography', can be seen at the corner of Clay Hill and Forty Hill **(21)**. The remains of Elsyng Palace **(22)** are revealed during the summer excavations of the Enfield Archaeological Society. The magnificent Cedar of Lebanon may have been planted by botanist Dr Uvedale, headmaster of Enfield Grammar school, in the 1660s. The London LOOP is very pleasant as it follows Turkey Brook and the fish ponds associated with the former Palace.

The left section of the Pied Bull at Bull's Cross **(23)** served as kennels for the Enfield Chase hunt. Further afield, the remains of Theobald's Palace at Cedars Park, Cheshunt **(24)**, are well worth a visit.

Walks

A) From Enfield Chase station, catch the train to Crews Hill, then take the Chain Walk and the London Loop via Trent Park to Monken Hadley. Catch the 377 (Brimsdown) bus back. **B)** From the Ridgeway, walk to Trent Park via the Merryhills Way, returning by the Enfield Chase Restoration project/London Loop. **C)** Also from the Ridgeway, walk to

Kings Oak Plain (10) and then permissive paths past the model flying club to Fir and Pond Wood and back via permissive paths and the London LOOP. **D)** Combine B and C, starting from Trent Park, Fir and Pond Wood or Monken Hadley. Good views throughout. **E)** From Forty Hall the London LOOP provides good access to attractive walks, passing both the Rose and Crown and the Fallow Buck, before reaching Strayfield Road and Crews Hill.

The Enfield Society publishes a popular footpaths map including the location of permissive paths not shown on ordnance survey maps. The Society website hosts a number of downloadable leaflets suggesting good walks. <https://enfieldsociety.org.uk/walking-in-enfield/>

Place Names

Many of the place names in the area are in some way connected with Enfield Chase. See how many you can identify. More information on street names in Enfield is available on the Enfield Society website:

<https://enfieldsociety.org.uk/street-names/>

Join the Enfield Society

Annual Membership is available for a small fee. Your membership supports our work within the Borough and allows us to represent your concerns when we meet the Council or other interested parties within the Borough. You will also receive our quarterly newsletter and, if you wish, receive our monthly e-mails. Members can join our walks and can attend our talks.

<https://enfieldsociety.org.uk/join/>

Epilogue: The Beast of Enfield Chase

The continued centrality of Enfield Chase and its rich natural heritage to the identity of modern Enfield is symbolised by the ubiquitous 'enfield beast', which according to local folklore once stalked the Chase. Today it provides a logo not only for the Borough but also for many local groups and societies.

The enfield is an heraldic figure* comprising the head of a fox, the chest of a hound, the talons of an eagle, the body of a lion, and the hindquarters and tail of a wolf, recalling the royal hunting traditions.

Enfield Council's recent *'Blue and Green Strategy'* states that "Over half of the borough is classified as green or blue, making us one of London's most treasured environments. Our parks, trees, open spaces, routes, woodlands and watercourses represent some of our best assets. These assets also symbolise the borough's identity (as expressed in the blue and green stripes on Enfield's official crest) and have left an indelible mark on the landscape".

The Borough coats of arms was adopted at the time of the creation of the London Borough of Enfield in 1966. It combines the arms of the three previous Urban District Councils: the stag of Southgate at the top, bearing a garland of Lancastrian red roses, the lion of Edmonton on the left, and the enfield on the right (from the previous coat of arms of the Urban District).

*One scholar has traced the origins of the heraldic enfield to the O'Kelly family in Ireland – see references and further reading.

The heraldic enfield is repeated as the unifying item on the central shield, symbolising amalgamation of the three previous urban districts into the new Borough.



Enfield Local Studies Library and Archive

Above: the coat of arms of the London Borough of Enfield

References and Further Reading

The following works all provide extensive information on the history of Enfield Chase:

- William Robinson (1823), *The history and antiquities of Enfield, in the county of Middlesex can be downloaded from the Wellcome Collection*
<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/wpyqpdm>
- John Tuff, *Historical, Topographical and Statistical Notices of Enfield* (1858). Can be downloaded from Google Books.
- Edward Ford and George Hodson (1873) *A history of Enfield in the County of Middlesex; including its royal and ancient manors, the chase, and the Duchy of Lancaster, with notices of its worthies, and its natural history, etc.* can be downloaded from the internet archive.
<https://archive.org/details/historyofenfield00forduoft>
- Cuthbert Whitaker (1911) *An Illustrated Historical, Historical & Topographical Account of the Urban District of Enfield*
- *The Victoria County History – Volume 5* (1976)
<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5> Pages 207-260 deal with Enfield, but information about Enfield Chase is also contained in the sections on South Mimms, Edmonton, and Monken Hadley.
- David Pam, *A History Of Enfield*, 3 Volumes, 1990, 1992, 1994 (Enfield Preservation Society)
- Graham Dalling, *Enfield Past* (Historical Publications, 1999)

A Solitary Desert:

- John Evelyn's diary entry may be read in full at Project Gutenberg: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/42081/42081-h/42081-h.htm> [accessed 1 June 2022]
- *Evelyn's reference to a 'solitary desert, stocked with 3,000 deer' comes from John Norden's description in his 1593 'Speculum Britanniae'* <https://www.surreycc.gov.uk/culture->

[and-leisure/history-centre/marvels/john-nordens-mirror-of-britain](#) [accessed 28 August 2022]

Where is Enfield Chase?

- The boundaries of the *Enfield Chase Heritage Area of Special Character* are taken from the Adopted Local Plan Policies Map (print date September 2019)

Forests and Chases

- John Langton, *The Origins and Development of English Forests and Chases, with some Particular Reference to Enfield* (2011)
<https://londongardenstrust.org/conservation/publications/enfield-chase/>
- *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. [etc.] preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*
<https://archive.org/details/calendarofmanusc01greauoft/page/n13/mode/2up> The references to the Court of Roundhedges are contained in volume XII (1602-1603), page 139
- The Victoria County History contains a section on Enfield Chase within Volume 2, Forests: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol2/pp223-251#h3-0002>
- Nicholas A Robinson, *The Charter of the Forest: Evolving Human Rights in Nature*, in *Magna Carta and the Rule of Law Daniel Barstow Magraw et al*; American Bar Association. Section of International Law (2014)
- The image of King John Hunting is from the British Library: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/portrait-of-king-john-hunting>

Old Park and the Origins of the Chase

- David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase* (1984)
- Douglas Haigh, *Old Park in the Manor of Enfield* (1977)

- The text of John Norden's *Speculum Britanniae* is on the Early English Texts online website here: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=eebo2;idno=A08306.0001.001>
- A translation of the Domesday Book entry for Enfield is in Volume 1 of the Victoria County History at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol1/pp119-129#h3-0021> (emphasis added):

"Geoffrey de Mandeville holds Enefelde [Enfield]. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 24 ploughs. In demesne there are 14 hides and there are 4 ploughs. The villeins have 16 ploughs. There is 1 villein on 1 hide, and 3 villeins each on ½ hide. [There is] a priest on 1 virgate, and 17 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 36 villeins each on ½ virgate, and 20 bordars on 1 hide and 1 virgate, and 7 cottars on 23 acres, and 5 cottars on 7 acres, and 18 cottars and 6 serfs. There is 1 mill [rendering] 10s. From **the fishponds (de piscinis) are rendered 8s.** [There is] meadow for 24 ploughs and 25s. are yielded from the surplus (se super plus). [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; **wood[land] for 2,000 pigs.** From the wood[land] and pasture are rendered 43s.; and **there is a park (parcus est ibi).** The whole is worth £50; when he received it [it was worth] £20; T.R.E. £50. Ansgar the Staller held this manor of King Edward. There were on this land 5 sokemen on 6 hides which they could give or sell without their lord's permission."

- Stephen Doree, *Domesday Book and the Origins of Edmonton Hundred* (1986) explains villeins, hides, sokemen and other terms used in the Domesday book.
- The Enfield Local Heritage List (May 2018) is at www.enfield.gov.uk/services/planning/listed-buildings -

entry no 172 explains the links between Old Park and Enfield Golf Course.

The Bailey Lodges

- Sally Williams, *Lodges and Estates of Enfield Chase* (2011) is available to download from the London Gardens Trust website here: <https://londongardenstrust.org/conservation/publications/enfield-chase/>
- Michael Symes: *William Pitt the Elder: The Gran Mago of Landscape Gardening. Garden History Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer, 1996)*. Available on JSTOR at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1587106>
- The incident of the frog in the library is cited in David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase*.
- Victoria County History: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5/pp229-232>

Camlet Moat: Fact and Fiction

- Alan Mitellas, *A Concise History of Trent Park* (2015)
- Camden's *Britannia* (1695 edition in English): <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/B18452.0001.001?view=toc> (pages 325-6)
- Dr William Stukeley's claim that Robin Hood was grandson to Geoffrey de Mandeville is cited on page 15 of Ford – see General histories above
- Nesta Webster, *Spacious Days: An Autobiography* (1950). <https://archive.org/details/SpaciousDays--AnAutobiographyNestaHelenWebster1950>
- Chris Street 'London's Camelot and the Secrets of the Grail' (Earthstar publishing, 2009)
- Sir Walter Scott's *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822) is available online at Project Gutenberg: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5950/5950-h/5950-h.htm>

The Battle of Barnet

- The 2015-2018 survey results are at <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/1003872/index.cfm>

The Noble Art of Venerie

- Selected pages of the 1575 edition in the British Library can be viewed at:
- <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-noble-art-of-venerie-or-hunting-by-george-turberville-1575>
- A scanned version of the full text of the 1611 edition can be viewed and downloaded from the Internet Archive at: <https://archive.org/details/nobleartofveneri00gasc>
- The text of the Noble Art of Venerie has been transcribed into Roman typeface at Early English Books online: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A14021.0001.001/1:8?rgn=div1;view=toc>
- Stephen Hamrick, "Set in portraiture: George Gascoigne, Queen Elizabeth, and Adapting the Royal Image," *Early Modern Literary Studies* (May 2005). <https://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/11-1/hamrgasc.htm#>

Picnics and Pageantry

- The description of Queen Elizabeth in Enfield Chase is reproduced from John Nichol, *the Progresses and Public Progressions of Queen Elizabeth I* (1823): <https://archive.org/details/progressespublic01nich/page/16/mode/2up>. (Volume 1, page 17). Footnote 3 references Vitellius Folio 5 within the Cotton Manuscript at the British Library. Nichol edited the *Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Society, 1848, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/w8keaavd>) but the event is not mentioned therein, nor is it contained in a modern scholarly edition of the diaries called *A London*

Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563, edited by Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>. The event may have been inspired by the woodcut by Gascoigne (page 22 above), and is consistent in terms of pageantry and the 'cult of the Virgin Queen' with flamboyance of the Queen's processions.

Whitewebbs and the Gunpowder Plot

- There are numerous extensive accounts of the Gunpowder plot and the episodes involving Whitewebbs House.
- The ballad of the King and Tinker is at the Oxford Broadside Ballads: <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/roud/8946>

Poly-Olbion

- The full text of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612) is at <https://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk/>. The references to Enfield Chase are in Book 16, page 251, lines 259-62.

Enfield Manor

- Stephen Gilbert, Enfield Society newsletter issue 186, Summer 2012 and appears on the [Enfield Society website](#).
- Ian Jones and Ivy Drayton, *The Royal Palaces of Enfield* (1984)

Elsyng Palace

- Martin J Dearne, *Monarchs, Courtiers and Technocrats; Elsyng Palace, Enfield: Place and People* (Enfield Archaeological Society, July 2022)
- The letter from Princess Elizabeth to Lord Paget is reproduced in Martin Dearne's *Monarchs, Courtiers and Technocrats* (page 97) and a transcription is provided in an appendix on an accompanying CD as follows:

My Lorde w[ith] my hartly comendat[i]ons These ar[e] to pray you bothe to consider w[ith] me that my house is chargeable unto me this Dere tyme And that also I have but small groundes in hand to releve the provysions therof herin I am constrayned earnestlye to move you to stande w[ith] me Against the Demaunde of one that names hymselfe to be yo[ur] S[er]v[an]t for the title of certen groundes w[hich] Allwayes were wont to lye aparte for the provysion of this house aswell in M[r] Lovelles Daies and my lord of Rutlandes as also in Latter Days sythens And I thinck yo[ur] wysdome suche as that ye wold not Dymyse those thinges frome the house to any s[er]v[an]t ye have and leve the house nakyd therof I assure you that yf I should for goo those groundes I shuld very wekely cary the charge of my thinges about And my trust is that ye will for my sake rather procure more for me than ones consent to my hynder[en]ce especially when my necessitie is this touched And that ye will rather also bere towards me than towards yo[ur] owne man unto whome for yo[ur] sake (if he can so take it) I will be gladd otherwayes to Do a good torne unto and lykewyse to his Childern of the lyke comoditie as it shall fall w[ith]in thes[e] Lordeshippes or elles where ^?wh[ere]^ I may graunt it It shuld litell content me tunderstand that s[er]v[an]tes shuld be any occasion of onkyndenessez w[hich] in suche cases somtyme myght be engendryd praying you to be my earnest frende I pray the lorde preserve you From Enfield the xxjth of Aprill Anno 1550. Your Lovinge frende Elizabeth P

Theobalds Palace

- Emily Cole, *Theobalds, Hertfordshire: The Plan and Interiors of an Elizabethan Country House* (Architectural History, Volume 60, 2017) – available on JSTOR.

- The incident of Wroth and the women at cattle gate is recounted in detail in Chapter 4 of David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase*

Bloody News: The Troubles of 1659

- Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Penguin, 2020, first edition 1971)

William Covell: Utopia comes to Enfield

- J M Patrick, *William Covell and the Troubles in Enfield in 1659* (1944)
- William Covell's pamphlet "A Declaration unto the Parliament" is available at Early English Books Online: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A34778.0001.001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=toc>
- David Pam, *A History of Enfield Volume I*, p 127-9.

Tragedy of the Commons

- Garrett Hardin's essay of the same title is on JSTOR: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1724745>
- E P Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters, the Origin of the Black Act* (1975)
- Matthew Clark, *The Gentry, the Commons, and the Politics of Common Right in Enfield, c. 1558- c. 1603* (the Historical Journal, 54.3 (2011).
- David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase*, Chapters 4 & 11

Footpads and Highwaymen

- Charles G Harper, *Half Hours with the Highwaymen: Picturesque Biographies and Traditions of the 'Knights of the Road'* Vol II, (1908) <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/53112/53112-h/53112-h.htm>
- James Sharpe, *Dick Turpin and the Myth of the English Highwayman* (Profile Books, 2004)
- Alan Mitellas, *A Concise History of Trent Park* (2015)

The Great Predators

- David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase*
- E P Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*, Chapter 8

William Crew of Crews Hill

- This account is taken from David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase*, Chapter 10

The Gordon Riots

- Victoria County History of Middlesex, volume 5 pp. 212-8
- Christopher Hibbert, *King Mob* (1958)
- Robert Watson, *Life of Lord George Gordon* (1795)
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100072883>

The Act for the Division of Enfield Chase

- David Pam, *The Story of Enfield Chase*, Chapter 11.
- The *Act for the Division of Enfield Chase*, 1777, resides in the library of the Law Society. A copy is available online at <http://www.monkenhadleycommon.net/history.html>
- Francis Russell's *Survey and Admeasurement* can be downloaded from the Bodleian Library Digital Map collection: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/> [search 'enfield']
- Nancy Clark, *Hadley Wood: its Background and Development* (1968)

Origins of Trent Park

- Alan Mitellas, *A Concise History of Trent Country Park* (2015) is available on the Friends of Trent Country Park website.
- The map showing lots 20, 21, and 22 is the edition of Russell's survey held by the Bodleian (above).

Richard Gough, "The Father of British Topography"

- Bernard Nurse, *London: Prints & Drawings before 1800* (Bodleian Library, London Topographical Society, 2017)

Escape to the Country: The Lambs at Chase Side

- Sarah Burton, *A Double Life: A biography of Charles and Mary Lamb* (Viking, 2003)
- Stephen Gilbert, *The Lambs in Enfield and Edmonton*
<https://enfieldsociety.org.uk/2020/02/11/charles-lamb/>

Sir Philip Sassoon

- There are a number of illustrated historical pieces at <https://www.trentparkhouse.org.uk>
- Damian Collins, *Charmed Life: The Phenomenal Word of Philip Sassoon* (William Collins, 2016).
- *Sassoon: The Worlds of Philip and Sybil* by Peter Stansky (Yale University Press, 2003),
- The quotation from Robert Boothby is reproduced in Alan Mitellas in his *Concise History of Trent Park*.

The Secret Listeners

- Helen Fry, *The Walls Have Ears: The Greatest Intelligence operation of World War II* (Yale, 2019)
- Helen Fry, *Spymaster, The Man Who Saved MI6* (Yale University Press, 2021)
-

Mary Churchill at Hog Hill

- *Mary Churchill's War: The Wartime Diaries of Churchill's Youngest Daughter*, ed. Emma Soames (Two Roads Publishing, 2021)
- Recollections by Jack Brown of Slades Hill in 1938 on the Western Enfield Residents Association website:
<http://westernenfieldresidentsassociation.com/OUR-STORIES>

Villas and suburbs

- David Pam: *A History of Enfield (Volume II): A Victorian Suburb* (1992) describes the development of large suburban houses and the Bycullah Estate (Volume III): *A Desirable Neighbourhood* (1994) describes the development of Oakwood and Southgate with the coming of the Piccadilly Line.
- Michael Ann Mullen, *Changing Land Use and Development in the Enfield Chase Area 1840-1940* and *Gardening on the Laing South Lodge Estate* (2011) are both available to download from the London Gardens Trust website here: <https://londongardenstrust.org/conservation/publications/enfield-chase/>
- Jon Clarke, 'South Lodge Estate, Oakwood, London Borough of Enfield', in *Rediscovered Utopias: Saving London's Suburbs*, ed. by Bridget Cherry and Anne Robey (Save Britain's Heritage, 2010), pp. 150-8.
- Stephen Gilbert, "Private Housing estates in the 1930s", The Enfield Society News, no 212, Winter 2018

Enfield and the Octopus

- Valerie Carter, *Fighting for the Future: The Story of the Enfield Preservation Society 1936-1996* (1997)
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Parks, Green Belt and the M25

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Epilogue: The Beast of Enfield Chase

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NOTES



With origins in Anglo-Saxon times, Enfield Chase reached prominence during the Tudor and Stuart periods. Within a day's ride of the royal palaces at Whitehall, Hampton Court and Placentia (Greenwich), the Chase was a principal centre for sport and recreation for Queen Elizabeth I and King James I. This new history presents a kaleidoscopic history of the Chase from its origins to the present day. It aims to promote a better understanding of the historic landscapes of the Chase and encourage people to explore these areas for themselves.