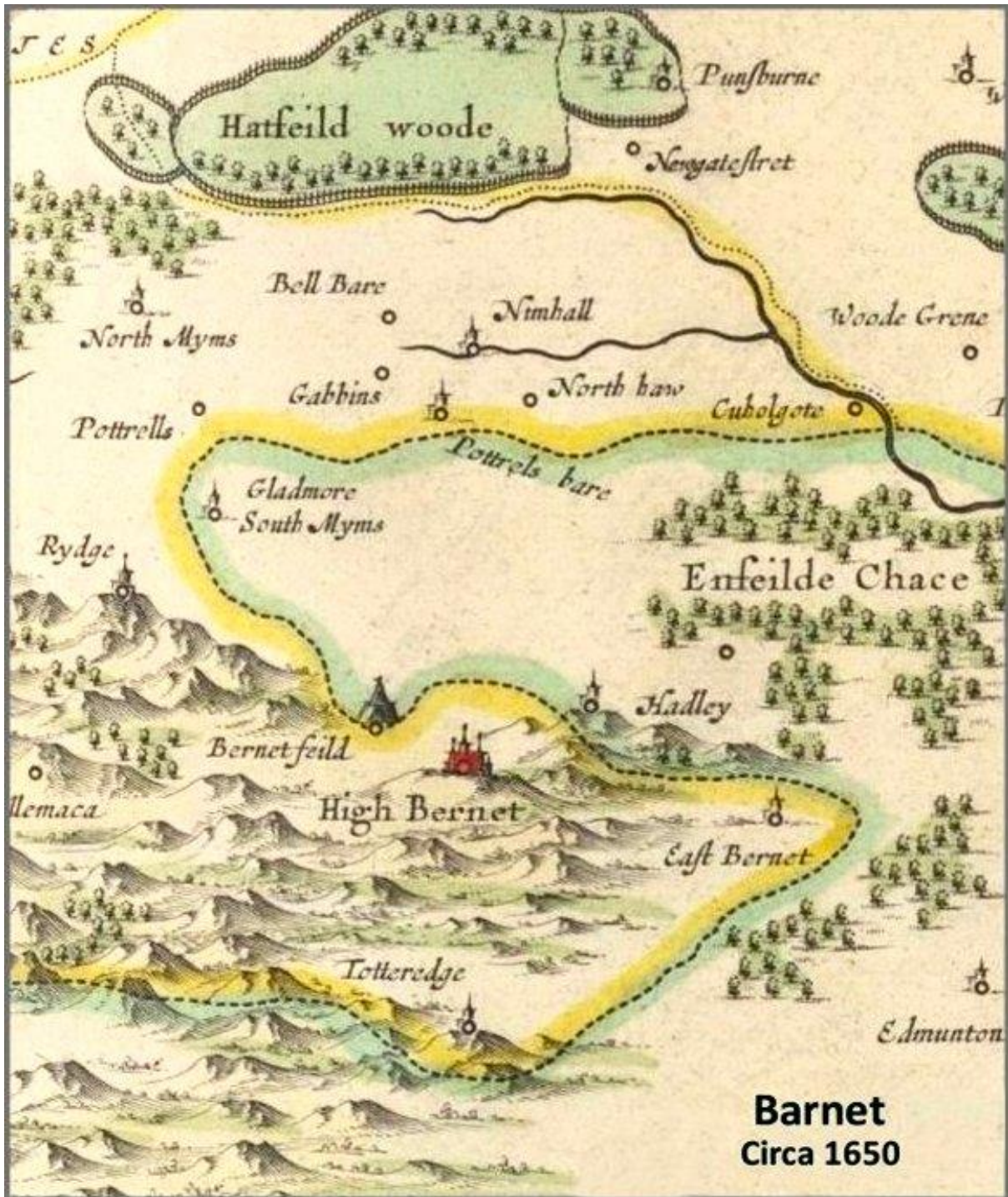


Barnet at the time of the English Civil War 1642-1660

By Yasmine Webb 2023



Foreword

Historians continue to debate the causes of the English Civil War, which include:

- the struggle for power between the King (Charles I) and his favourites on one side and Parliament on the other;
- Charles' methods of raising money for foreign ventures;
- the King's marriage to Henrietta Maria of France; and
- a perceived drift towards Catholicism.

An examination of the records looks at how Barnet lived through this period of upheaval, as well as the impact and effect it had on its residents.

The town was strategically important for the movement of soldiers of both King Charles and Parliament and its population was affected in other ways, directly and indirectly. Records reveal issues the parish had to deal with and diverse opinion among residents in this period. When researching the effect of the Civil War on Barnet, the lack of records presented a challenge, but information from a range of archival material has enabled the completion of this study.

Barnet and its people in the mid-17th Century

In the 1600s, residents of Chipping Barnet would have looked down at an expanse of land dotted with woodland and small villages devoted mainly to agriculture, with London in the far distance. The town sat at the apex of two main roads, which were the High Street and Wood Street, leading north to St. Albans and Hatfield. In 1660 it is likely there were less than 150¹ houses and an estimated 650 inhabitants in Chipping Barnet². The town was small, mainly populating the two main roads branching from St. John the Baptist church on the top of the hill.

The town was thriving with many inns accommodating travellers on a strategically positioned road from London to the North. These inns provided ancillary support, including blacksmiths, wheelwrights, farriers, wagon repairers, stabling, food and suppliers of other commodities. The townspeople also benefited from the large expanse of common land, which they used for the collection of fire-wood and free grazing for an allotted number of cattle. Additionally, visitors came for the annual horse and cattle market – giving the town the prefix ‘Chepyng’. A boys’ grammar school was established by Charter in 1573 during Queen Elizabeth’s reign and enhanced the status of Barnet within the County – a part of this building still remains in Wood Street. The decision to establish a fee-paying school was a good choice for its position on an important highway and its proximity to London, and had the added benefit of clean air.

“Tavernes in ten shires” by John Taylor³ 1636, reports that ‘Barnet is a good market towne for sheep and beasts... Barnet hath these tavernes: John Brisco at the Antelope, Henry Owen at the Red Lyon, Thomas Brisco at the Rose; the Crown’.



The original Red Lyon stood on the site of 72-74 High Street, later known as the Assembly Rooms. It was also famous for being the Inn that Samuel Pepys had noted in his diary when he visited it and The Well in 1664 and 1667. A little further down was The Rose and Crown, adjacent to The Mitre⁴.

¹ Widdicombe, “Chat about Barnet”, pg. 45 population in 1683.

² Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War, Alfred Kingston, London 1894, pg. 100, and 1801 Census population 1,258, L. Munby Hertfordshire population statistics 1563-1801. pg. 32.

³ Middlesex & Hertfordshire Notes & Queries (vol 1V, pg. 138).

⁴ Rose and Crowne and The Mitre. Deed 1667. 74936, Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies and Will of John Hayes 9/1661, Barnet Museum.

Later the two amalgamated⁵. John Briscoe, Henry Owen, Thomas Sutton, Peter Blackwell, Captain Randolph Holmes and both Daniel Nicoll and John Rotheram held an inn at some point; all were innkeepers represented in both Court rolls of the Manor and Churchwarden's accounts.

It is of interest to note that inns and other businesses in Barnet issued tokens that could be used in lieu of coin. A regal coinage was agreed in 1643 but the Civil War and the rule of the Commonwealth deferred the scheme for a considerable time⁶. Due to the lack of small denominations of money in circulation, brass or copper trade tokens were issued from 1648 -1672. The tokens identified the name, occupation, value, town or village, date and had other identifiable marks. In Hendon and Finchley only two were issued, whereas fifteen different tokens have been recorded in Barnet. The Antelope, The Mermaid, The Hoop and The Fleur-de-Lys inns issued tokens from 1651 onwards, as did other trades. For example, John Rotheram, a tallow chandler in Barnet, issued trade tokens in 1653 with a stick of five candles with loops, and others in 1655 for the value of $\frac{1}{4}d$ ⁷.

The records provide some insights into the life of such tradesmen. Rotheram attended many vestry meetings from 1640 to 1662. He did not agree with his fellow parishioners regarding the repair of the church, as recorded in the parish minutes, and gave nothing towards it. He was a man of some financial means as he was elected a governor of Queen Elizabeth's school from July 1651 till 1665. In the Court Rolls he is elected as constable in 1629, 1640 and again in 1659. This was signed in View of Court in 1639-41 and in 1659 he acquired premises next to the 'Red Lyon' Inn and a number of other inns in the interim, including 'The Long Entry' 39 and 41 High Street, which he held in 1640. He left in his Will to his daughters Mary and Sarah the Blockhouse and to his son John £15 per annum when at sea. He had accepted a child 'did consent and agree to clothe Thomas Gandy's boy to put him forth an apprentice'. He still appears in Court Roll paying Homage in 1666. He died in April 1672, and his son Thomas was admitted to Long Entry.

John Briscoe in Court Rolls pays homage (parishioners sworn to the Lord dealing with administrative issues) in April 1629-1652 and was appointed to take surrenders of tenants in extremis. He is listed as an Innkeeper in the same year and thereafter in 1639-1651, and as afore mentioned in "Tavernes in ten shires". In 1634 he surrendered to will a message occupied by Philip Briscoe gent, his father. In the same year he was noted to be financially associated in supporting Queen Elizabeth's school. In December 1651 John Briscoe surrenders to Sir Thomas Allen Knight of the Grammar School Barnet for the maintenance of the schoolmaster. This was, for the time being 'The Brewhouse', next to the School's Tudor

⁵ Will of John Hayes of Hadley 1661 'to son William the inn called Rose and Crown and Mitre in Barnet', Wills 1537-1790, H.W.F.Godley etc. transcripts pg. 97-9.

⁶ The History of Trade Tokens, pg. 11-13 article Barnet Museum LO/10.

⁷ 17th Century Trademen's Tokens issued at Barnet in the County of Herts, Harold A Roberts, p6, Barnet Museum LO/10.

Hall in Wood Street 'where he dwelt'⁸. By 1661 his son was a Justice of the Peace. The Brisco/es were in the victualing trade for over a hundred years.

James Burges issued a trade token with The Drapers' Arms in Barnet valued at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. He was listed in St. John's churchwarden's accounts and as churchwarden in 1665. He acted as an auditor of the parish accounts in 1659 and 1663, an overseer in 1658, a churchwarden in 1665 and was evidently an active man in parish affairs. He held 78 High Street next to the old "Red Lyon". 'Near the Grammar School were numbers 15-19 Wood St., which occupied the site of the Brewhouse wherein he dwelt in April 1636.'

Peter Blackwell issued in 1666 and 1668 trade tokens of $\frac{1}{2}$ d showing a chained antelope for The Antelope Inn in Barnet. This site today is the Red Lion pub at 31 High St., opposite the original Red Lyon. During his tenure at the Antelope, which he acquired after the beheading of King Charles 1 in 1649, he petitioned for the restoration of his appointment as Barnet's postmaster in 1660. He was an overseer of the poor in 1653, a constable in 1659, paid by the churchwarden £11 (possibly to hire the inn for their monthly meetings as they were wont to do). He was also sworn at Court on behalf of the Lord of the manor in 1660, a churchwarden in 1681 and he gave £2 towards the repair of the church in 1683. He refused to be sworn as juror and was amerced 2/- at an earlier date in 1651. He had accepted an apprentice for seven years in 1658 and died in 1685 at his home at 78 High St., which his son James inherited.



John Draper was commissioned to 'keep The Well in the Common and receive the moneys that shall be given to the poor and himself for watching, repair and closing The Well' from 1655-1659. In July 1658 he was further given 'the privilege to sell beere, strong water and tobacco at The Well'. It is mentioned in William Camden's "Britannica" that 'Upon the south-border of this County is *Barnet*, where was discover'd a medicinal spring,

suppos'd by the taste to run through veins of Alom'⁹.

Pepys visited The Well twice in 1664 and 1667 and then went to the original Red Lyon inn. In its time, it attracted many people to taste the waters as a cure for minor ailments. It was as popular as many spa water sites were in this period. Apart from the Battle of Barnet of 1471, The Well played a part in placing Barnet on the map.

Further detail of the lives of the citizens can be gained from Manorial Records. A group of parishioners was elected to conduct the affairs for the Lord of the Manor, some undertaking

⁸ "Properties and sites Wood St. High St Barnet and others" Barnet Museum L0/050, vol 1, pg. 211-2.

⁹ Wm. Camden, published in Latin "Britannia" 1586.

the same or various positions over many years. They selected others in turn to officiate compulsorily for one year. These roles included Overseers of the Poor, Constables and Headboroughs for policing the community, leather-sealers, who were responsible for the repair and maintenance of utilities for a huge horse trade, Surveyor of highways, and Ale-conners who ensured the quality and measures of ale and beer. The latter role was particularly important, as shown by the court rolls. Several individuals were accused of victualing without licences. The representation of innkeepers in court rolls reflects their predominance and interest in administering parish affairs. Another aspect of responsibility was enforcing legal administration over defaults, such as maintaining fences, diverting water courses and managing the Common. For all infringements, fines were accrued to the Lord.

As is the case today, Barnet was a popular place to move to. Court rolls identify a healthy commerce in the leasing and purchasing of both land and property by outsiders. This was a move to acquire a second home for Londoners wanting rural retreats away from a crowded environment. Some were made as investments, due to the proximity of the city.

We can also learn something of life in Barnet at that time from Churchwardens' Accounts. The Churchwardens conducted the ministrations of the Vestry in parish affairs, meeting once yearly and taking on a number of tasks, such as the collection of money through rateable assessments and the management of charitable gifts. Donors included Henry Smith, Richard Silverlocke, Valentine Poole, Symon Owen, Thomas Pratt and John Marsh for the use of the school. Income from parish properties, including the physic well, contributed to disbursements to the poor. Tithes and resources were used for the upkeep and services of the Church. Various payments were given for the support of widows, people in need, the sick, lame and infirm by way of clothing, coal, and doles or more regular sums, as well as putting children out as apprentices and the burials of paupers. Vagrancy was discouraged by fining parishioners. In 1629, according to records, 'A pain of 20/- is laid on (six named men) that they remove the inmates whom they have taken into their houses' and on-going disbursement were given to vagrants to move along to the next parish. In 1655 Court entries were made that 'Elizabeth Cripps has entertained an inmate for 10 months against the statute' and again three men fined who 'entertained inmates for the month past'.

For the purpose of this article, I will include the southern area of South Mimms and Monken Hadley. We can account for many residents who participated in local affairs, sitting on the parish councils, and were listed for payment of rates and recorded in Wills and other functions. The majority of active named people were mostly gentry, parishioners in services and shops, and from the middle economic tier. References to working people in the community were mostly in terms of crime, disputes and financial disbursement for the poor.

People of standing such as Judith Silverlocke of Barnet, in a Will proved in 1650, left to Tournor the Minister and the poore of Chipping Barnet 40/s each,¹⁰ as did her husband

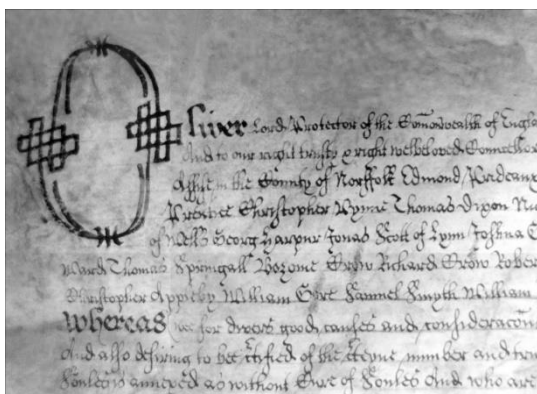
¹⁰ Wills 1537-1790, H.W.F.Godley M.Y.O. 9/1958 transcripts, Barnet Museum.

Richard Silverlocke Esq. in 1641. Richard was named in Court Rolls, undertaking various parish functions, such as churchwarden in 1586 and Headborough for South Myms in 1629. He was appointed to take surrenders of tenants in extremis the same year. He was sworn in View and Court, held in 1630 and 1640. In 1649 Thomas Saunders, a Chipping Barnet butcher left... 'to the Poor of Chipping Barnet a sum of 20/sh. John Rotheram Tallow Chandler left 30/-shillings and Daniel Nicoll Yeoman 40/-shillings to the same. John Hayes of Hadley in 1661 left £5 each to the Poor of Barnet and Hadley. Leaving money for good causes was a standard means of support for the parish.

Daniel Nicoll was active for a considerable time in Barnet parish affairs, sworn in Barnet Court Roll and paying Homage with several others to the Lord of the Manor, and was a Churchwarden at St John the Baptist Church from 1639–1662. Parishioners benefited from the establishment of independent Almshouses in the 17th century that remain as attractive local buildings today. Together with disbursements by the Overseers, they took care of the parish needy.

Those acting as churchwardens were mostly gentry – the well-endowed holding properties and assets – and tradesmen. No payments were made for their work, though possibly a use of their trades may have been beneficial. In 1635 Nicoll bought the rights to the Queens Arms Inn in Barnet High Street, which he surrendered to William Marsh in 1648. In a report in 1646 by the Barnet Overseers of The Poor, an account of a gift is noted as being given by Sir Henry Henn and also how it was disposed by Daniel Nicoll and Thomas Sutton Churchwardens.¹¹ In 1654 he, John Rotheram, Peter Blackwell and others paid money for clothing lame and blind people and in 1658 accepted the son of Edward Hughes as an apprentice for seven years. In his will proved in 1680 he requests 'To be buried in the church of Barnet and to the poore of Chipping Barnet 40 shillings'. After various disbursements he left the rest to his son Daniel Nicoll of Chipping Barnet, the executor. His eldest son was named Thomas. Daniel is still listed paying Homage in the Court Roll for April 1662.

Barnet's allegiances in the Civil War



Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England

The conflict between King and Parliament started in 1642 when Charles I left London for Nottingham, later establishing his headquarters at Oxford. Here, in the West, Midlands and North, Charles could rely on

¹¹ Barnet Churchwardens Accounts, transcripts at Barnet Museum.

support, including raising troops for his armies. London, Hertfordshire, the East and South of England tended to favour the parliamentary cause.

Roundhead Oliver Cromwell, appointed MP for Huntingdon in 1628, was the most notable military leader of this period. He was appointed Colonel under Lord William Grey of Warke of the Fellow Association in which Hertfordshire troops served for the Parliamentary cause. During a previous appointment as Lieutenant-General and overall cavalry commander under the Earl of Manchester, many of his troops wintered in Hertfordshire during 1643-44. Hertfordshire also provided men and supplies for three county regiments of Volunteer and Militia, as well as for the regional and national armies of the Earls of Essex and Manchester. The Earl of Manchester had a house at Totteridge. It is probable that Barnet men joined the Voluntary forces that were rallied throughout Hertfordshire, initially in the first ten years.



Cromwell Gate, House of Commons

Daniel Nicoll, mentioned above, may have been typical in his allegiance. He, with 28 others representing Hertfordshire County, was appointed to the Volunteer Committee for the Parliamentary cause. This had the power to assess the Inhabitants for the maintenance of the force by subscription of men, arms, horses and money. He was on Hertfordshire Committees 1643-1660¹². A letter from the Commissioners to the Protector (Cromwell) in March 1655, signed by 27 names including Daniel Nicoll, supported the selection of 'Lord Fleetwood (Deputy of Ireland) as Major General of the County'¹³. This document shows many of the most active Hertfordshire Parliamentarians that had remained consistent supporters of what they called the 'good old cause'. However, some of them differed over the execution of the King¹⁴. He also signed the payment of receipts for the county Militia Committee and other claims throughout this period. It is clear from these records that Nicoll was a leading Barnet activist in the Civil War.

Randall Nicoll was also assigned to Hertfordshire Militia Committee with Daniel Nicoll and signed various payments for goods and service. He pays Homage in the Barnet Court Rolls,

¹² Pg. 118 note 369 'Impact of the First Civil War on Hertfordshire', A Thomson.

¹³ Ibid Pg. 117 note 368 Charles Fleetwood became Cromwell's son-in-law.

¹⁴ Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War, Alfred Kingston pg. 202. The Protector is Oliver Cromwell, Charles Fleetwood his son-in-law.

1629-1643. Interestingly he lived in Totteridge and was a churchwarden there; his signature appears in Queen Elizabeth's school minute books prior to his burial in Totteridge in 1648. There is no evidence to prove the family connection to Daniel Nicoll, who were both from Barnet fighting for the parliamentarians in the Civil War.

Ironically, we know more about those who stayed loyal to the King as this was recorded. One such resident was Michael Grigg, who bought The Manor and Lordship of Monken Hadley in 1627 from widow Jane Emerson of Hadley¹⁵. In 1632 he sold The White Bear Inn, later called the Boundaryhouse (standing on the site of Boots the chemist today), in the High Street for £930. Grigg of Hadley was assessed £1500 in 1643 and £1000 in 1645 under the Committee for the advancement of Money. Comparing assessments by this same Committee for Justinian Pagett of Hadley, J.P. and lawyer, as £200 and £250, whereas for Grigg, a royalist sympathiser, the sum was excessive. 'September 1644 his house to be searched for plate and money and if any be found, it is to be seized'. In October 1645 he was "ordered that he be committed to the new prison in Maiden Lane (London) and remain there till further order". In February 1646 there was the 'Order for his discharged from prison on giving security' and in March 1646 the 'Order freeing from sequestration and imprisonment'¹⁶.

Thomas Coningsby of North Mimms was hot-headed and zealous for the King. His father Ralph was a Justice of the Peace for the Barnet area and a Governor of Queen Elizabeth's School, Barnet. Charles I appointed Thomas as High Sheriff of St Albans in 1642. He had difficulty collecting Ship Money in the late 1630s-1640. This was at one time collected at coastal towns before being extended throughout the country and was an unpopular tax assessment. He was living in East Barnet before inheriting the Manor of North Mimms in 1625. In an indenture of 1637, a purchase of land was granted to Michael Grigg by Thomas Coningsby Esq. of Hadley, except for Old Fold Manor, Galley Lane, South Mimms, with the Mill and ground which Thomas Allen purchased from Thomas Conyngsby.

James Ravenscroft, a lawyer, built the Jesus Hospital Almshouses in Wood Street, Barnet in 1672. He had an elaborate monument erected in 1632 to his father Thomas at St. John the Baptist's church, Barnet. Thomas had requested in his will to be buried at St. John's Church if he should die at Fold Park. Thomas had signed an agreement with Thomas Coningsby in 1623/4, acquiring Fold Park and over 100 acres of land in South Mymes where they lived, though their main residence was Fetter Lane in London. The family had used Fold Park in Galley Lane, for a considerable time. An estate was placed in trust for the upkeep of the tombs and for the fabric of the church. James died in Fold Park in 1680. He and his wife were also buried in Barnet Church. James was a Catholic though he was agile in playing sides during the Civil War. It is difficult to assess how James fared during this period. In 1666 he

¹⁵ National Archives PRO Close Rolls C54/2687(15) & C54/2980(3).

¹⁶ Leftwich B.R., MSS vol 2 pg. 94, Barnet Museum.

was in favour of King Charles II who wrote to the Doge of Venice on behalf of his son George and was himself engaged in trading. Another reference to the family is Charles I November 1625 'True Bill against Elizabeth Ravenscroft, late of South Mimes, spinster, for not going to church etc. during six months commencing the said day – Gaol Delivery Roll 24/5/1626'¹⁷. James's sister Elizabeth died in 1630 aged 28.

Thomas the father was elected governor of Queen Elizabeth's school in 1610 and financial support was given by James. These and other functions were subsequently undertaken by several Barnet residents – Richard Silverlocke Esq., Thomas Coningsby Esq., Justinian Pagitt Esq., Michael Grigg Esq., Phillip, Ralph and John Brisco Gents, John Rotheram, John Goodwin minister, Daniel and Randall Nicoll.

Justinian Pagitt of Monken Hadley, lawyer of the Middle Temple and Justice of the Peace in Barnet, bequeathed in 1678 six almshouses for poor couples near St. John the Baptist church, Barnet. In June 1644 Recognizances taken before Justice Pagitt, Esquire, J.P...'and of Richard Mason of... in the sum of £10'. For the said Richard Mason's appearance at the next Session of the Peace for Middlesex to answer for 'speaking very opprobrious words against the Right Honourable His Excellency the Earl of Essex.'¹⁸ In 1656 it is noted that for 12 years Pagitt was still a Hadley J.P. and signed the churchwarden's accounts for the Church of St. John the Baptist. This same year he purchased the vicarage which was later converted to almshouses. In 1643 Pagitt paid £200 and £250 to the Committee for the Advancement of Money (Parliamentary) for monthly assessments¹⁹. He played safe by not taking sides during the Civil War. Both he and his wife Antonina are buried in Hadley church.

The impact of the Civil War on Barnet

Oxford served as the Royalist capital, the King's Parliament, its military headquarters and principal garrison for nearly four years. It is noted in January 1643 it supported an army of nearly 4,000, its accommodation, horses, food, army equipment, medicine, doctors, clothing and wages. People were glad to have the King in their midst but had little knowledge of the expense incurred. Promissory notes were issued as payment (but not always paid at a later date). Hertfordshire parishes provided the same in support of Parliamentary activities. This meant that an arc of land from Oxford to Cambridge, including St. Albans, saw frequent action.

Barnet's strategic position on the Great North Road meant that the war was never far away. When the Parliamentary army headed for the first time from London to Nottingham to confront the King's soldiers in September 1642, the beacons were lit up in many towns,

¹⁷ Middlesex County Records, Parishes of Finchley, Friern Barnet... pg. 44.

¹⁸ Ibid. pg. 47. The Earl of Essex was leader of the main Parliamentary army.

¹⁹ Leftwich B. R., MSS, vol 2 pg. 94 Barnet Museum.

rousing the whole county as war was imminent. It is possible the beacon on St. Mary's, Hadley was lit as part of this chain of communication.

A few documents give insights into the movement of troops and the concerns of their leaders. For example, Major General Browne marched from London to Hertford with three regiments of the City Trained Bands... On the 24th of June 1644 he sent a despatch, 'I am now at Barnet with the White and Red auxiliaries and six pieces of ordnances... I cannot imagine what we shall do to secure ourselves, having no horses... I desire more strength may be speedily sent to us. The enemy, number 10,000 and as many horse as foot...' ²⁰

The Mitre in Barnet is cited as being the Inn where General Monk stayed overnight on second of February 1660, having marched in late 1659 from Edinburgh, where he was tasked for governing Scotland by Oliver Cromwell. Two Parliamentary Commissioners or 'spies' named Thomas Scott and Robinson accompanied Monk and stayed at a nearby hostelry. On being informed of trouble in London that night, Scott ran to Monk, still in his night clothes, to urge him to leave straightway to defend the army, but Monk stated that the morning gave him adequate time ²¹. Monk would not be pressed into action in what was to be a significant achievement in the course of history by enabling the return of Charles II as King.

There is evidence of small-scale action in the vicinity. For example, an event took place in 1648 during the short lived second Civil War. 'Another skirmish with some Royalists occurred in the neighbourhood of Barnet and Mimms. The Royalists were, as at Elstree, beaten and some of their number taken prisoners and their pistols and horses distributed among the Hertfordshire men'. ²²

The records also show that local disagreements sometimes led to brawling between people of opposing views. On 24 July 1644 local skirmishes are noted as being recognizances taken before Justinian Pagitt, Esq.... and of Thomas Fellow of Monken Hadley, yeoman, in the sum of £20; 'For the appearance of the said Thomas Fellow at the next Sessions of the Peace for Middlesex, to be held at Hicks Hall, to answer for causing his sonne John Fellow to beate Henry Hoare, and for calling the said Henry Hoare 'roundhead rogue', and at the same tyme for saying to by-standers 'I would the roundheads would rise, we should find as many partakers as they shall; I will spend the dearest blood I have got against the roundheads' ²³. 30 Mar 1645 True bill that at South Mimms, on the said day, Mark Istleberry, late of the said

²⁰ Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War, Alfred Kingston F.R.S.H., printed Stephen Austin & Sons 1894 pg. 51.

²¹ Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War Alfred Kingston, pg.p99.

²² Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War. Alfred Kingston, pg. 82.

²³ Middlesex County Records, Parishes of Finchley... pg. 47 extracted from Session of the Peace Roll's 3 sept 1645 Charles I.

parish, ...intending and designing to bring the Parliament into hatred and contempt, uttered these scandalous words, in the presence and hearing of very many of the King's lieges and subjects, to wit, 'That the Parliament doe maintaine non but a company of rogues...'

At the session when this indictment was found, Mark Istleberry was remanded to the next Sessions; and afterwards at the Goal Delivery on 8th Apr 1646, he was found 'Not Guilty' but was reprimanded till he could produce good sureties for his good behaviour. Gaol Delivery Roll, 1645 Record of indictment of Mark Istleberry of South Mimms, 'for speaking scandalous words against the Parliament, and of his committal to the custody of Thomas Taylor of Barnet, barbour surgeon, and Richard Timberlake of Hadley, victualler the said Mark Istlburie being bound in the sum of £15, and his said mainpernours being bound in the sum of £20 each, for his appearance at the next Goal Delivery, and for his good conduct.'²⁴ The former prosecutions indicate support is divided between Parliament and King, though overall the support in Hertfordshire was for Parliament.

These few instances of action did not mean that the war had little impact on Barnet's people. There was the financial impact and loss of assets with some sequestration from royalist sympathisers. It is evident there was an economic cost in terms of the supply of food, requisitioning of horses that was essential for local farming and transport, the taking of money and plate, quartering of soldiers in and around Barnet, seizure of livestock as army provisions, acquisition of household and farming implements, depletion of land of trees and fire-wood and the difficulty of maintaining agricultural land with the loss of men out at war. The benefits were for tradesmen such as blacksmiths, the provision of stabling and medical care and certainly inns, which gained significantly from the increased traffic that came through Barnet. As a market town it continued to serve the parish and provide reasonable commerce to those passing through.

Various national committees were set up to raise money to fight the war on parliament's behalf, which firstly raised funds by seeking voluntary subscriptions and then loans of horses, money and silver plate. The County Defence Committee had to raise money for the main parliament's army under the Earl of Essex²⁵. Money was raised by various taxes but newly introduced was the money gained by sequestration. This was imposed by Parliament starting in 1643, where large fines of money based on land holdings, land, cattle and plate were taken. The larger fines were nearly always impressed on royalist sympathisers and so-called delinquents. The collection of funds for the war by both Parliament and the King was placed heavily on parishioners.

In 1644, at the time Major General Browne was in Barnet, the parishioners of East Barnet were forced to give food and money to men pretending to be soldiers. '....Also during the time of quartering souldiers amongst us, diverse sheepe, swine and poultry have been taken

²⁴ Middlesex County Records, Parishes of Finchley... pg. 4.

²⁵ Civil War Committees in Hertfordshire, Alan Thompson. Hertfordshire Past 37 Autumn 1994, pg.1.

away²⁶. It is clear from the East Barnet account that it was almost impossible to recover goods once they had been commandeered or stolen, and it was equally difficult in some cases to decide who were real or feigned soldiers. This account also revealed the difficulties there were in gathering rent when so many men were away fighting and few tenants could be found. Clearly the depredation of the soldiers, many from outside the county, was an unfortunate side effect of the war and one which provoked local hostility as was the case at East Barnet. Here, as elsewhere, there is evidence that the harvest and agriculture in general was disrupted by the lack of available manpower and by the commandeering of horses. From East Barnet parish records, '8 Bedds, 6 Boulsters and 15 blanketts were sent out of the said Towne to the Towne of St. Albans for the Earl of Essex Soldiers then there'.... 'Freeman Nicholls it is also averred before us by aforesaid that he had two carts taken away.... it also appeareth dailie and it is notorious amongst us that diverse pretending to bee soldierscome to the inhabitants houses in a bold and terrifying way, craving reliefe both in meat and money'. Money was later paid for the free quartering of soldiers in East Barnet £154 and Chipping Barnet £115 for the same period. In relation to payments made to other villages around this area, the sum indicates a large army garrison was quartered here for a number of days²⁷.

Oliver Cromwell, Parliamentary Military Commander and later Lord Protector, was recruiting cavalry in West Hertfordshire when he arrested the Royalist Sheriff Thomas Coningsby in January 1643 at St Albans, who was taken to the Tower of London where he remained and died by October 1652²⁸. He was sequestered in 1645 with a fine of £1000 to Parliament, but was not released from prison, possibly for non-payment. Mrs Coningsby, effected by the free quartering of soldiers, lost '4 fat weathers, 1 ewe, 31 pistoll, breade geese, 10 duckes, 12 hens, 10 ackers cut downe and carried away total £11²⁹. Mrs Coningsby informed the North Mymms sequestrations when her land was taken away that its value was £800 and £500. Harry Coningsby the translator, recovered his father's estate but sold most of it in 1658, retiring to Wold Hall, Shenley. Harry Coningsby signed the Chipping Barnet Parish accounts as a Justice of the Peace in 1659-1660. They had connections with the Barnet area for a number of years.

The Court Rolls through the 1650s show that a very large number of people were 'amerced for default of suit of Court' at 12d each, varying from 69 people in April 1651, 152 in 1652, 86 in 1655, 99 in 1657, 84 in 1658 and 89 in 1659³⁰. This includes Hugh Lord Colheraine,

²⁶ Impact of the First Civil War on Hertfordshire, A Thomson, pg. 117-119, and Civil War Committees in Hertfordshire, pg. 4.

²⁷ State Papers SP/28/154 Payments to Parishes in the 1650s for free quartering taken by soldier quartering in the Hundreds of Cashio and Dacorum in the 1640s, and pg. 133 in 'Impact of the First Civil War on Hertfordshire', A Thomson.

²⁸ Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War, Alfred Kingston, London 1894, pg.116.

²⁹ State Papers SP28/155 in Impact of the First Civil War on Hertfordshire', A Thomson, pg. 121-2.

³⁰ Court Rolls 1573-1795 AD/01 Vol. 2. Barnet Museum.

Richard Franklyn Esq. and James Silverlock Esq. on most occasions. Some of the named residents appear in the Court Rolls and St. John the Baptist Churchwarden's accounts, making decisions in the parish council, some were elected for functions, such as Constable and Headboroughs, Aleconner etc., others for property transactions, fined for defaults and various issues. In 1658, after the run of names, the Court Roll states they 'are resiant (resident) and suitors and owe suit and service to this court and have made default; and therefore every one of them is amerced as appears upon their heads'. The raising of such sums of money was enforced soon after the beheading of King Charles I and stopped soon after Cromwell's death in September 1658. There is no indication as to why they were 'amerced', which had not happened before this date or after it. In 1629, 17 parishioners were amerced at 2d each, which is a reasonable sum. It was a way of collecting more money for the maintenance of soldiers as sequestration, fines and taxes were not adequate for such a large expense.

The parish church during the civil war

Barnet Churches also felt the impact of the civil war as puritans introduced changes to the church fabric and services. In June 1641 Local Militia forcibly removed altar rails from parish churches, and there were disputes with some parishes over the choice of ministers or preachers. Clerical purges started circa March 1642 and sequestrations around 1643. There was a purge of superstitious images and ministers who were suspected of popery. This was done in order to secure godly ministers in their place. There was also a surge of sequestrations when ministers were removed from their curacy. As time progressed Church interiors became simpler. Church monuments and fittings considered papist were pulled down, stained glass was smashed and small altars torn down. Little further damage was done during the civil war. In due course, religious celebrations such as Palm Sunday, Easter, Christmas and Whitson, were gone.

However, the war did bring significant changes to the clergy. In London 'Out of 15 parishes of this classis nine were reported in October 1648 to be without a Minister because of the poverty of these benefices'. In only a few of the nine parishes was the ministry ever settled on a firm or perpetual basis during the period of the Interregnum. The London Provincial Assembly in Aug 1646 and the Court of Common Council were informed that 'divers parishes within the citie and liberties have noe ministers and that of late some godley ministers have left the City and gone into the Countre and that others also intend to goe away likewise'³¹. It was evident that parishes in Barnet similarly underwent an ejection of church ministers. They saw a complete overhaul of practice and administration where a more simplified way of prayer, church fittings and the removal of papist and catholic ministers was introduced.

³¹ The London Provincial Assembly by Tai Lui in *The English Civil Wars Local aspects*, pg. 54, ed R. Richardson, Sutton 1997.

The clergy of Barnet seem to have shared the dislike of recent changes and some may have held catholic sympathies. Even under Charles I, such priests were subject to sequestration of property, constituting a fine for their non-compliance. The civil war saw increased sequestration, driven by Act of Parliament on 14 and 15 October 1642. During these proceedings, both Houses agreed that 'the Estates of Actors in the Commission of Array', bishops, deans, chapters, and 'notorious delinquents' who had taken up arms against Parliament were to have their estates sequestered. This was part of the policy and if no action was to be taken to amend the situation 'the city, the common council was warned will be destitute of godley and faithful ministers to instruct the people'³². They saw a complete overhaul of practice and administration where a more simplified way of prayer, church fittings and the removal of papist and catholic ministers were all introduced.

In St. John the Baptist's churchwardens accounts of April 1657 and April 1658 money was paid for ringers when my Lord Protector was proclaimed and ringing the bell cost £2 (Cromwell becomes Lord Protector Dec 1653, Parliamentary Protectorate 1656, 1657 and 1658). They were clearly playing safe and paying due administratively.

The records suggest that some lay people were reluctant to be involved in church management. Amongst the parishioners, particularly those in various trades in Barnet, there appears to be a predominance of innkeepers that were participating in administration. Many functions were enforced on residents. In most parishes, the rule was for qualified men to serve the parochial offices in some sort of regular rotation and they are likely to have been chosen at random. These included James Austin Esq of East Barnet, who showed why he should not be compelled to serve as churchwarden³³, and ...'who came in last part of summer to East Barnet for their healths sake or their pleasure to take the air.... That he is a person of great estate, quality and condition and ought not to have been put upon such an office ... June 1675Certified that James Austin Esq was chosen by the Churchwarden of the Parish of East Barnet ...The minister would not be at the choice because the last two churchwardens, which he did choose, refused to serve and were excommunicated by Dr. Franck, Archdeacon'. It may be assumed that one could avoid these functions by making a payment.

We have some insights into the clergy of Barnet churches and how the war affected them earlier in the 17th Century. Parliament re-assembled in 1640 after eleven years of Charles I's personal rule. It had set out to purify churches of 'popish' practices even before the civil war and felt that papal influence was spreading in the social and economic strata. The need to deprive the clergy of political power and the cleansing of corrupt parishes led to a number of actions by parliament. Archbishop Laud was the principal advisor to the king and was

³² The London Provincial Assembly by Tai Lui in *The English Civil Wars Local aspects* ed R. Richardson, Sutton 1997.

³³ Typescript notes by H R Wilton-Hall on the history of Chipping Barnet from records of the old archdeaconry of St Albans DP/15/29/24 Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies.

widely viewed as encouraging him to rule without parliament. He was disliked for the vigour of his commands in religion and insistence on the importance of ritual and ceremonialism. He was imprisoned in spring 1641, charged with treason and executed in 1645.

Subsequently Bishops were expelled from the houses of parliament in 1642. From 1643 onwards large numbers of clergy found themselves condemned as malignants and were deprived of their living for failing to conform to reforms due to their royalist sympathies or whether ministers had shown signs of scandalous behaviour that would make them unfit to be a godly preaching minister. This could be moral laxity as well as holding 'scandalous opinions'. The Book of Common Prayers, established since 1559 in the reign of Elizabeth I, was replaced with the Directory for Public Worship in 1645, which recognised personal choice in the freedom of worship. In 1646 the authority of Bishops, archdeacons, deans and canons were abolished. Therefore, they were no longer involved in the oversight of parochial duties of ministers, churchwardens and their associates. The neglect in duties and a loss of authority by episcopalians ensued.

With the large number of sequestration of parishes, Parliament needed to document the extent of church holdings. In 1650 returns were made by parish juries investigating a *Survey of Church Livings* in England and Wales. The parishes of Barnet, Hadley and South Mimms all had ministers sequestered in the 1640s.

The *Survey of Church Living* states that for Monken Hadley; 'We present that we have one donative presentative; and that Aston Esquire, hath the presentation thereof, but no incumbent or proprietor. We conceive the tithes and profits of our said donative to be worth about £30 per annum which stands sequestered in the hands of Mr Francis Harrison, Mr Thomas Potter, Mr Thomas Archer and Robert Peck, '(by virtue of an order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers) have the disposal of all the said rent towards satisfying such ministers as they can hire for the supply of the cure³⁴, except the fifth part thereof allowed to the two daughters of Elie Turner (Tournor), from whom the same was sequestered'. The loss of ministers due to papist dispositions were ousted and parishes were left to enlist a number of new ministers.

In 1619, Ely Tournor was appointed the curate of St. Mary the Virgin of Monken Hadley. He started the vestry book c.1625 and a register for births, deaths and marriages in 1624, an early introduction to its documentation. He had them given by the Lord of the Manor Thomas Emerson, together with a number of benefactions for the improvement of the church. It is recorded that Emerson beautified and provided wainscoting for the chancel, pews and ceiling and was buried in the chapel of St. Anne, Hadley in 1624. His widow Jane and son Thomas Emerson Esq. of Monken Hadley set up a charity in 1626 in honour of his

³⁴ Article by former Bishop of Stepney, *The Home Counties Magazine*, pg. 317-318 ed W.J. Hardy FSA, vol 1. 1899 Barnet Museum... Extract from *Survey of Church livings in Middlesex at the time of the Commonwealth 1649*. Lambeth Palace Library and The National Archives.

father. Tournor is cited in this document 'in consideration of £40, sell to Ely Tournor of Hadley clerk and minister of God's word' with others'a messuage and garden... in trust... for the common good, benefit and advantage of the inhabitants of the parish'³⁵. However, in 1643, the Reverend Ely Tournor was removed from office at the instigation of Parliamentary sympathisers and church land and property was sequestered. The church does not appear to have suffered any damage during the Civil War. Tournor continued to live locally and carried out some religious duties at South Mimms³⁶ and was buried at Hadley in June 1654. He was the curate of St Mary the Virgin for near twenty-four years and was likely to have been held with some respect.

Similarly in South Mimms, 'We present that we have one parsonage and one vicarage, and that the impropriation doth belong to the Right Honourable William Earl of Salisbury;164[5?], And we conceive the yearly value of the said parsonage... to be worth £160 per annum... and that Thomas Marsh Esq is patron of the said vicarage... And one George Peirce (formerly a sequestered minister), who hath been with us near upon three years without the consent of the well affected of the parish. And that the said parish by reason of the smallness of the means hath been long destitute of a pious preacher'. Pierce, a royalist sympathizer, was vicar in 1646. The former minister William Tutty M.A., who was vicar in 1642 before the Commonwealth was established, had soon disappeared in the church records by 1645. He may have been ejected as a 'malignant' and then re-appeared in June 1646, holding the curacy of Totteridge till 1661³⁷. He was ejected at the time of the Restoration as a Presbyterian under the Bartholomew Act of 1662.

The Survey continues '...that East Barnet was a rectory, valued at £54 per annum that Chipping Barnet was a chapel of ease to it. But had its own officers for church and poor; that the glebe was 32 acres; that John Goodwin had been sequestered from both churches...'³⁸ In a list of the deprived Royalist Clergy, John Goodwin the Rector of East Barnet and Chipping Barnet was deprived in 1643 and gave so much trouble that three others followed in the space of two years. He was back in 1650 and died in 1681. He has recorded in his own handwriting in a note in the Parish Registers: 'After which time several ministers took the sequester, about the year 1650 Dr. Sclater was sworn Registrar of East Barnet and Chipping Barnet and until the king's return all was neglected - christenings, marryages, and buryalls. I have collected what I could'³⁹. Matthew Hassard was officiating at Chipping Barnet in 1644, followed by Mr Edward Bulstrode 1646, John Philipps 1654 and Samuel Shaw in 1658, who was also ejected from Barnet by the Bartholomew Act. The continuous change of rectors indicates the uncertainty of these times for the clergy. There is no mention of any structural

³⁵ Donated 3 cups between 1610-19. Emerson Charity, Notes & Documents Vol 1 Hadley 942.1875 Had. Barnet Museum.

³⁶ Mrs Wallis, St. Mary the Virgin CH/02 Barnet Museum.

³⁷ South Mimms, Frederick C. Cass M.A. pg.44, pub. 187.7

³⁸ Parish of East Barnet, Frederick Cass, Pg. 222.

³⁹ A chat about Barnet, H.S Widdicombe, pg. 7, pub 1912.

difficulties had by the church, but a lack of churchwarden's and vestry records for the 1640s creates a considerable gap in documentation.

Dr. William Sclater was an inhabitant of Barnet and had a very chequered career. He was first a Royalist soldier, and after the King's execution was arrested and barely escaped execution. Afterwards he, as did Mr Tutty of Totteridge, became one of the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to choose the minister to take the place of the sequestered clergy. Next we find him as master of the Barnet Grammar School, and finally, after the Restoration, he took holy orders and became Rector of Hadley in 1662⁴⁰. This same minister was attacked by two parishioners who were fined £10 and a third, Richard Marshall £20 'to answer for molesting of Mr William Slaughter (Sclater) minister of the parish church of Hadley on March 1661 in the time of divine service'⁴¹. Between 1659 and 1660 three distressed ministers were given paltry sums of parish money to see them on their way.

The Restoration

From the documents consulted, there is little that indicates what the general feeling was in the Parish of Chipping Barnet. There is no direct evidence of mustering of soldiers for the parliamentarians or royalist army. The loss of administrative records and absence of diaries, memoirs, correspondence and newsletters give little insight, particularly any conflicting views there may have been over the execution of the King.

At the end of the Commonwealth, with the creation of Cromwell's Protectorate and restoration of Charles II, records indicate that life carried on much as before with few incidents and public exchanges. There was a loss of assets with some sequestration of royalist sympathisers. It is evident there was an economic cost in terms of the supply of food, requisitioning of horses that were essential for farming and transport, the taking of money and plate, quartering of soldiers in and around Barnet, seizure of livestock as army provisions, acquisition of household and farming implements, depletion of land of trees and fire-wood and the difficulty of maintaining agricultural land with the loss of men out at the war. The benefits were for tradesmen such as blacksmiths and the provision of stabling and medical care. Certainly, inns gained significantly with the increase in traffic through Barnet. As a market town it continued to serve the parish and provide reasonable commerce to those passing through. Some of the changes affecting Barnet at the restoration were a reduction in the collection of taxes and decrease in the enlistment of unwilling conscripts for military service.

⁴⁰ A chat about Barnet, H.S Widdicombe pg. 7-8.

⁴¹ Middlesex County Records, Parishes of Finchley, Friern Barnet, Hadley & South Mimms 1552-1751, pg. 57, C Tripp, AD/14, Barnet Museum. This same Wm. Slaughter is Dr. Sclater above, both cited as Rector of Hadley 1661.

Time passed as the power of the Commonwealth rescinded, so did affections for 'The Good Old Cause' which was slowly fading and 'there was in those virgin days such a mutual, strict, and lovely harmony and agreement... between the parliament and honest and unbiased people of the nation⁴²...', as having consisted in parliament's control over the armed forces and freedom from a monarchical veto'.

There was some normalcy in the choice of clergy in Barnet, church services such as Communion, the offering of bread and wine, visiting the Archdeacon at St Albans and the restoration of church belongings such as silver chalices, pewter and flagon. For the first time an ecclesiastic representative is mentioned when in 1660 a book was sent by Mr Goodwin 'our parson' and he as Rector, audited the Churchwarden's account in 1663. In 1662 'one large surplus and Book of Common Prayer' (re-introduced) was now remaining in the church. Also paid for were the 'King's Majesty's Arms in the Church' and his coronation on April 1661, £8 on each occasion.

During this time allegiances were in doubt, as often happens in fractious times when people change sides and decisions.

As an after-thought, 'the cause had reached its zenith..., but since then public interest had yealded to private, the old spirit of the gentry brought in play again', 'and the profane pomp and vanity of the court revived ...and the army was purged to serve the usurpers. All was running back into the channels of King, Lords, and Commons, and the root cause was the present powers'.⁴³

This period in history brought challenging political and social change in England during which time some interesting methods of government were introduced to which there were conflicting views. But nearly twenty years of change would have made a difference in the administration of governing, even at a local level within the parishes and people. One can only see the effect on the community gleaned from existing records⁴⁴, and though it may not seem considerable, it was inconvenient and discrete. One can only deduce that further change was gradual and took force in succeeding years.

⁴² "The Good Old Cause Dressed in its Primitive Lustre and set forth to the view of all men: being a ... narrative of the great revolutions of affairs in these later times." By R. Fitz-Brian, pub id Feb (1659).

⁴³ Britain in Revolution A. Woolrych, pg. 716.

⁴⁴ Court Rolls 1573-1795, transcripts H.J. Judson & H.W.F. Godley 1954, and St John the Baptist Churchwarden's Accounts, 1646 – 1760, transcripts H WF Godley.

Note: At the Restoration of the King, all titles and honours were reinstated. Thomas Munday Esq. had officiated in Court Rolls since 1658. In view of Frankpledge and Court Baron of Thomas Munday, Armiger, Lord of the said Manor held in April 1661 in the reign of Charles II by the Grace of God, King of England, in the 13th year in the presence of Edward Peck, Armiger, steward of the same. Signorial title Armiger and King Charles II's full regnal years are now declared.

Celebrations on the return of Charles II and on his proclamation in 1661. There were bonfires, fireworks, drinking sack, dancing around the may-pole, beacons lit, bells rung and universal merry-making throughout Hertfordshire.

Illustrations:

Front cover. A portion of the Coloured map of Hertfordshire (Hertfordia comitatvs vernacule Hertfordshire) from Joan Blaeu's landmark atlas of the world, "Atlas Novus". It was first published in 1645 and re-issued without any alterations in 1662, as the fifth volume instead of the fourth. Released into the public domain by the British Library.

Partial photo of document from National Archive Oliver Lord Protector
Oliver Cromwell Statue at the Houses of Parliament 2022
Rose & Crown/The Mitre, ask Barnet Museum
The Well, Well Approach photo 11/2022

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