

# ◆ The Nelond family, Lewes Priory and East Grinstead

By M. J. Leppard and Christopher Whittick

*The magnificent brass of Thomas Nelond, prior of Lewes 1414–32, in Cowfold church in Sussex is widely known (Fig. 1). This article places him in the context of his family, first encountered in 1296 at a typical Wealden farm in East Grinstead in the north of the county but rising to considerable wealth and local status through some 150 years. His work as prior is not treated, apart from one recent discovery of evidence of it in that parish. The article also cites some earlier dates for the name than given by the English Place-Name Society, interprets the road passing the eponymous farmstead as an ancient droveway from Hamsey to the Surrey border that became the highway from Lewes to East Grinstead and London, and advances an explanation of the presence of the brass at Cowfold.*

Neyland Farm, in the ancient parish of East Grinstead and the modern civil parish of Forest Row (NGRTQ380341), lies east of the road from East Grinstead to Horsted Keynes via Saint Hill and Tyes Cross and south of the course the river Medway took until its submersion in Weir Wood reservoir (Fig. 2). Its name is first encountered in 1296 when Geoffrey atte Nelonde is listed in a subsidy roll.<sup>1</sup> The low-lying site, partly surrounded by streams, accounts for the name: [at an] *eg land*, ‘island’.<sup>2</sup>

The road passing it is one of those long, straight drove roads that run northwards from a Downland manor to its Wealden outpost. It stands out on modern maps, though the spread of East Grinstead town has turned the first mile or so into short, linked thoroughfares of varying kind and status. Figure 3 shows its route from that outpost, Hackenden, Hacca’s *denn* [swine-pasture], first recorded in 1283 when William de Haghindenne is named in a conveyance of land later known as Fowls Mead.<sup>3</sup> Beginning as what is now a footpath alongside allotments, it becomes a stretch of Moat Road, goes over a footbridge, across a car-park, up the main shopping portion of London Road, and disappears through an opening (Judges Close) that marks the original western end of the mediaeval borough. When further burgage plots extended the borough westwards, a compensatory mini-bypass came into existence, today’s Ship Street, which at its foot joins an equally ancient, but steeper, route from Hackenden. The continuation of the line, being motor-roads, does not require spelling out in any detail.<sup>4</sup>

The narrow side-road branching off westwards from Saint Hill Green towards Felbridge seems, to judge by maps alone, to be of no great age or historical significance, but in fact it runs on the crest of high ground throughout, across the grain of the terrain, its goal the fourth-oldest of the Sussex bridge-names studied in the English Place-Names Society’s volumes, first noted c. 1135–54.<sup>5</sup> The stretch of this road between Tilkhurst and Felbridge was interpreted by I. D. Margary as part of a prehistoric track from Tandridge in Surrey towards Selsfield, Ardingly and the South Downs.<sup>6</sup> He did not consider the length from Saint Hill to the Tilkhurst turning, or the routes from Hackenden.

Geoffrey atte Nelonde’s appearance in the 1296 subsidy roll is as a juror in the Hundred of Rushmonden. In the same roll William atte Nelonde is listed under the *villata* of Greenhurst in the Hundred of Loxfield, between William de Hakyndenne and Peter de Hakyndenne.<sup>7</sup> In the next subsidy roll, compiled in 1327, Thomas atte Nelonde is in the *villata* of Horsted Keynes in the Hundred of Rushmonden.<sup>8</sup> This, at first sight bewildering, range of locations may not readily seem to fit together or even, perhaps, to relate to Neyland Farm in East Grinstead at all.

That they do so, however, is accounted for by the continuous, if not unbroken, line of holdings of the manor of Horsted Keynes Broadhurst that ran alongside the road past Neyland: Hackenden, Placeland (by Moat Pond), Saint Hill (first noted in 1274 as La Sandhelde;<sup>9</sup> in 1294 William de Sandhelle granted land adjoining the highway

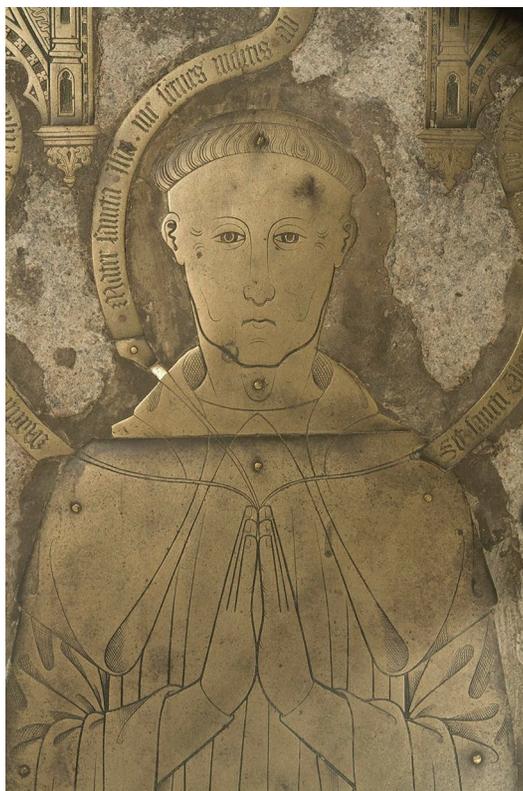


Fig. 1. Thomas Nelond's brass in Cowfold church (Sussex Archaeological Society)

from Lewes to Imberhorne),<sup>10</sup> Stone (Farm), Whillet's (earlier Willards) Bridge, Neyland and beyond. Another line ran along the alternative route from Hackenden, up Blackwell Hollow (a 'chine' through sandstone rocks), past Estcots and Fowls Mead, diagonally across the churchyard, down another 'chine', Hermitage Lane, and joined the first at Coneyclappers, at the top of Dunnings Road. From 1573 this northern area of Horsted Keynes Broadhurst was known as the manor of Hackenden and Stonerocks,<sup>11</sup> 'manor' in the sense of freehold, without any courts or services. Neyland had been similarly styled to denote the same area in a document of 1549.<sup>12</sup> In Domesday Book the lord of Horsted Keynes also held Warlege/Warley, west of Imberhorne. These places are well documented and have been to some extent discussed in the pages of the *Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society*.<sup>13</sup>

Colin Brent assumed that in the Middle Ages the main route between Lewes, East Grinstead

and London was the one motorists take today, the A272 and A22, crossing the Medway at Forest Row.<sup>14</sup> Whenever the highway from East Grinstead to Lewes is mentioned in mediaeval documents, however, it is the one that passes Neyland. In 1469 Thomas Nycol granted to Richard Homwoode a 'field' called Donnynghesfeld whose eastern and southern bounds were 'the highway from East Grinstead to Lewes'.<sup>15</sup> This 'field' has been shown to correspond closely to the later Dunnings Farm, as mapped in 1776, bordered east and south by the road uphill from Dunnings Mill to Saint Hill Green.<sup>16</sup> William de Sandhelde's grant of land in 1294 mentioned in the previous paragraph clearly relates to this road or the branch from Saint Hill Green. Other early references to the London–Grinstead–Lewes highway are less precise but not incompatible with the route advocated here. Its practical merits or demerits for the purpose vis-à-vis the Forest Row route have been discussed elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

Dr Brent recognised, in his mapping,<sup>18</sup> that the road past Neyland was the most direct route from Lewes Priory to the demesnes of its manor of Imberhorne but did not show how equally appropriately its line via Dunnings led right up to East Grinstead parish church, given to the priory by 1106 and whose rectorial tithes the priory appropriated to itself in 1360.<sup>19</sup> His map also shows, without labelling them, how the priory's other properties in the area were located beside or less than a mile from this direct road (which suggests that they were not so much random offerings from their donors as negotiated for by pre-determined policy). Neyland was not one of those holdings, but the family to which it gave its name would have been familiar with the monks, their employees and those with whom they did business regularly passing the farmyard gate, in addition to frequent contacts with them in church life. It is not surprising therefore that one of them, Thomas Nelond, became a monk at Lewes.

In 1296 the earliest known members, already mentioned as recorded in the subsidy rolls, rank fairly low in wealth, among those paying a shilling or a little more. In 1327, however, Thomas atte Nelonde, assessed at 3s. 1¾d., is seventh out of the 29 entered under the *villata* of Horsted Keynes. In 1388 William Nelond was of sufficient substance to serve as one of the borough of East Grinstead's two Members of Parliament.<sup>20</sup> In 1385 he had sold two messuages in East Grinstead to John Sleghtere

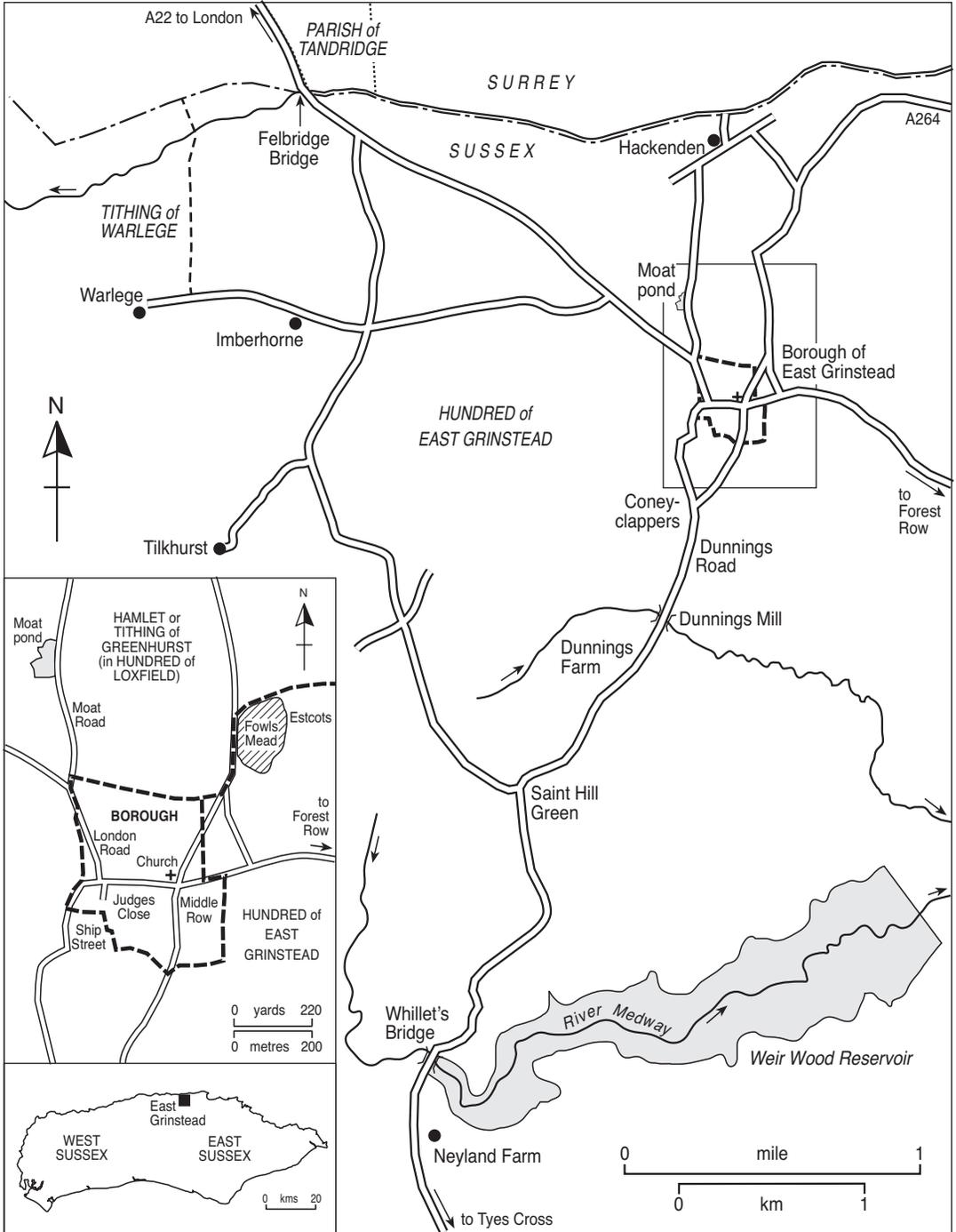


Fig. 2. Map of the area showing places mentioned in the text

and his wife Alice, and in 1386–87, as William *atte* Nelonde, he bought two messuages and 3½ acres in East Grinstead from Richard Loggesford and his wife Alice and Richard Baker of London, spurrier, and his wife Katherine.<sup>21</sup> John Sleghtre/Sloghtre had been one of East Grinstead's MPs in 1381 and 1383.<sup>22</sup> (If the messuages were in the borough, they might have been acquired to secure eligibility to represent the town.) In 1404 William Nelond and his wife Joan and John Nelond claimed to have been wrongfully dispossessed of a house and 160 acres in Horsted Keynes,<sup>23</sup> almost certainly Neyland Farm. In 1425 William Neyland paid 2d. rent for 'a plot of land 16 feet long and 12 feet broad to build a shop' in the borough of East Grinstead,<sup>24</sup> as likely to be a workshop as a retail outlet and probably in Middle Row. To judge by the few similar surviving records, this was to create an opportunity to profit from the healthy commercial life of a town where the applicant was already a burgage-holder.<sup>25</sup>

In the next generation John Nelond, presumably William's elder son, is well documented as a man of considerable wealth and status and a member of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>26</sup> In 1400 he bought from Henry Tuttebury and his wife 3 messuages, 286 acres of land, 16 of meadow, 25 of wood and 10 shillings' rent and pasture for 200 sheep in West Grinstead, Ashurst, Wiston, Steyning and Shipley. With Richard F... and Robert *atte* Helde he bought from William Ponte of Willingdon and his wife a messuage, 20 acres of land, pasture for 6 oxen, 3 cows, 3 calves and 75 sheep in Portslade including the reversion of a further 3 acres of land there in 1403. The following year he bought from Nicholas Leby and his wife 52 acres of land, 1 of meadow, 10 of wood, 5 shillings rent and one-third of a messuage in East Grinstead. With Master Stephen Overton he bought from Richard the son of William Depelake and his wife a messuage, 22 acres of land, 2 of meadow and 20 pence rent in Ringmer in 1412,<sup>27</sup> and in 1416 he bought the manor of Bevendean in Falmer.<sup>28</sup> Where exactly most of these properties lay is unclear, nor who the other parties were, nor in what capacity John Nelond was buying them. In some cases he is likely to have been acting in a professional capacity as a trustee, as he was in 1421 when he and a co-feoffee granted unspecified land in Eastbourne to Richard Profot.<sup>29</sup> To equate the land in East Grinstead with Neyland would be foolhardy; the earliest surviving record of its area is in the tithe award, over four hundred years later, during which

time portions could more than once have been added or subtracted. Moreover, some of the other land in the parish could have been inherited, some possibly acquired by marriage. Such information might be discovered by researching the various parties named, but the attempt would distract from the main concern of this article.

It is clear that John Nelond was a man of more than parochial significance. In 1400 he acted as attorney for Henry FitzJohn, a citizen of London, at East Grinstead assizes.<sup>30</sup> In 1416 he was an executor of the will of Thomas St Clere of Brambletye, esquire, MP for Sussex in 1414, whose widow Margaret he went on to marry.<sup>31</sup> In 1408 St Clere, in partnership with three others, had bought a messuage, 100 acres of land, and 20 of wood in East Grinstead. He left 8 marks for celebrating mass in the chapel of St Mary, where he wished to be buried, in East Grinstead parish church, and 40 shillings to repairing and paving that chapel.<sup>32</sup> It is clear that John Nelond acted in a legal capacity for Lewes Priory: a group of charters illustrates his involvement with land at Heacham in Norfolk in 1410 and 1411.<sup>33</sup> Between 1420 and 1433 he was commissioned as a justice of both oyer and terminer and of sewers, and in 1422 was named as a justice of the peace.<sup>34</sup>

The most comprehensive picture of John Nelond's wealth, status, and family and other relationships is given by his will, made on 6 April 1437, and his wishes, recorded 23 days later.<sup>35</sup>

The only living relative mentioned is his wife Margaret, to whom he bequeaths his clothing at Clerkenwell and East Grinstead for disposal among his servants.<sup>36</sup> Some of the other people to benefit may be members of his extended family, some current or former servants. One is his godson, John the son of John Parker of Lewes, who sat as the borough's MP in 1417 and in 1430 acted as Nelond's feoffee for the estates at East Grinstead and Lingfield which he held in the right of his wife Margaret, the widow of Thomas St Clere.<sup>37</sup> The others include some with surnames met in other local sources and of comparable rank. Isabel Profott was probably the widow of Richard Profit, who purchased 320 acres in East Grinstead in 1421, and on whose behalf Nelond acted over property in Eastbourne in the same year.<sup>38</sup> Margaret Bamme is unidentifiable, but possibly a relative of Nelond's wife: Margaret, the widow of her father, the London grocer Sir John Philipot (1384), went on to marry the wealthy Londoner Adam Bamme (d. 1397).<sup>39</sup> John Coke, the parish

clerk, who received 3s. 4d., was to serve as deputy bailiff of the borough in 1439–40<sup>40</sup> and, with one Thomas May, to buy a messuage and garden in East Grinstead in 1443.<sup>41</sup>

Gifts in kind include the best ox from his plough team to the vicar as a mortuary, two quarters of oat malt to Juliana Baker of East Grinstead, a heifer to Nicholas Idell's wife (most likely all from Neyland Farm), his scarlet robe with marten fur to his wife for the wedding of Ida Cokeyn, and his hauberk and basnet to Richard Gaynesford. The most valuable of such gifts were goblets with a little cover of silver and gilt to the overseer of his will, Robert Frampton, and one of his executors, John Gaynesford. Like Nelond, both men were members of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>42</sup> Frampton served as a baron of the Exchequer between 1429 and 1445 and in 1447 was of Clerkenwell, and Nelond's bequest of clothing there may imply that he had lodged with him. Gaynesford, of Crowhurst in Surrey, was a member of a prominent local family on both sides of the Surrey-Sussex border and acted as steward for both Battle Abbey and the Duke of Buckingham. In 1409 he and two others had jointly purchased 24 acres in East Grinstead and Lingfield.<sup>43</sup> The other executors were William Worth, bailiff of the borough in 1439–40,<sup>44</sup> and John Otewey. John Nelond's wife, and the prior of Lewes, to whom he bequeathed an ewer of silver and gilt, were the other overseers.

Real estate mentioned is Cotewyk in East Grinstead, to Joan Gerveys, 'my servant' and her heirs 'for her good service to me and my wife', and Blokesfeld, Sharyndene and Colynescroftes in Lingfield and East Grinstead, to be sold by the executors. Cotewyk is Gotwick, just south of the A264, Blokesfeld is Blockfield (now called Old Surrey Hall), almost opposite and in Surrey. *Sharyndene* cannot be located, but Colynescroftes were probably part of a patchwork of place-names whose first element is Collin, to the south-east of East Grinstead on the southern side of the A22.<sup>45</sup>

There are also monetary bequests to each of the priests, deacons, subdeacons, children, exorcists and novices of Lewes Priory, to the hospitals of St James and of Westout in Lewes, to the Friars Minor within Newgate, to one man and one woman of good character of the almsfolk of East Grinstead, Lingfield, Hartfield, Horsted Keynes and West Hoathly, and for repairing the way below the park of Hedgecourt (in modern Felbridge). Torches are to be given to the local parishes already named and

those of Falmer (where lay his manor of Bevendean) and *Wodelond* in Kent.

The grandest benefaction, however, is 10 marks to the subprior of Lewes for making the new choir in East Grinstead parish church, 'newly being built', 100 shillings for building a new south porch, two leaden vessels for roofing it, 200 squared stones 'within my stonemason's yard', and 100 shillings for stalls and desks in the chapel of St Mary in the church 'on the advice and by the work of Richard Brid' carpenter'. The full form of the latter's name is not obvious, perhaps Bridger or Bird, already established in Sussex.<sup>46</sup> He is otherwise unknown, as is the location of the mason's yard, presumably in or conveniently near East Grinstead. The finished work stood until 1785, when the collapse of the tower necessitated complete rebuilding, four years after it had been painted by James Lambert (Fig. 3).

The impression gained from all this deliberately detailed assemblage of information about the Nelond family is of rising prosperity culminating in a socially well-connected, successful and devout lawyer with business interests, lacking heirs of his body or near kinsfolk but with a wife already wealthy from her late husband's property. He was therefore in a position to dispose of all his possessions philanthropically. His first injunction in his will was burial at Lewes Priory near the tomb of his brother Thomas, the prior depicted on the brass at Cowfold.

Although he died first, Thomas was probably the younger brother; conventionally 'going into the church' while the elder carried on the family line. The superiors of religious houses normally came from prosperous, wealthy and influential families, as best prepared thereby for responsibility, authority and respect. Unsurprisingly therefore, Thomas Nelond, prior of Lewes from 1414 until his death in 1432, matched his brother's vigour with a programme of investment and building on its decaying manors,<sup>47</sup> almost certainly including two big projects in his native parish.

John's will implies that rebuilding the parish church was already under way, in which case it must have been Thomas who initiated it. The discovery in the 1990s by Mr Jeremy Clarke of the Wealden Buildings Study Group that nos 1–3 Imberhorne Farm Cottages, outwardly seeming Victorian (Fig. 4), contain the remains of the older manor house, including an arch-braced false hammer-beam roof, dendro-dated to 1428, assigns that building also to



Fig. 3. East Grinstead parish church by James Lambert, 1781, the mediaeval building before destruction in 1785 (Lambert collection, courtesy Sussex Archaeological Society)



Fig. 4. Imberhore Farm Cottages in 1926, photograph by local professional photographer Harold Connold, issued by him as a postcard (author's collection). The state of the building here explains why, even with its tile-hanging stripped away, it was not obvious that there were remains of a high-status mediaeval building within.

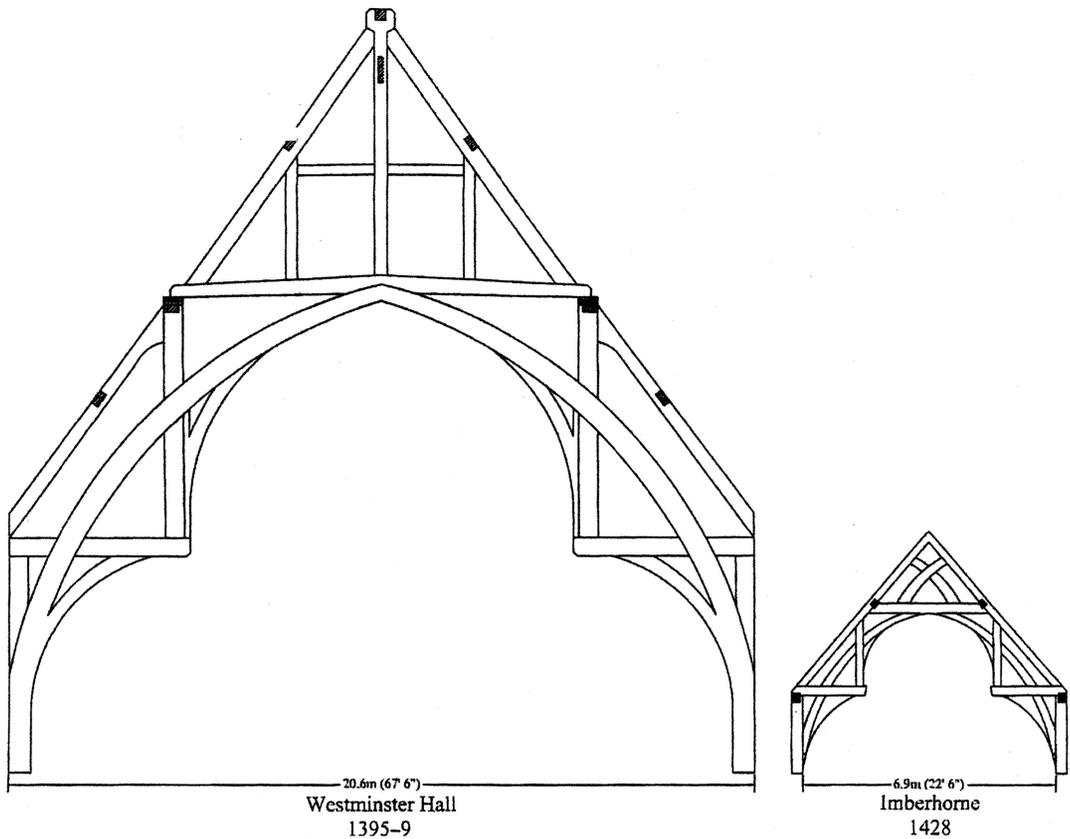


Fig. 5. Westminster Hall and Imberhorne at the same scale (drawn by and © Jeremy Clarke)

Thomas Nelond's rule. Compared to other surviving examples of the technique, it shows the strongest similarities to Westminster Hall, constructed by Hugh Harland in 1395-99, though lacking its elaborate moulding and structure (Fig. 5).<sup>48</sup>

Right from its donation to the priory in c. 1100, Imberhorne's location half-way between Lewes and London, just off the main route linking them and a day's ride to either, had made it ideal for the prior, his staff and those who had business with them to break their journeys to the capital and their properties in Southwark and to entertain the priory's guests. To live up to his role as an 'establishment' figure in church and state, the prior's accommodation had to be impressive. He was probably familiar with Westminster Hall, as his architect must have been also, perhaps even acquainted with Harland and his successors. The new building could even have been the work of Richard Brid', the carpenter (at that

date equivalent to architect and builder) who was to supervise the woodwork in the church funded by John Nelond.

It must surely have been John who commissioned and paid for Thomas's magnificent memorial brass, 10ft 2in. by 4ft 3in, the largest and most elaborate in Sussex, with Thomas at 5ft 10in. life-size or over. It has been fully described and interpreted by Mrs Davidson-Houston, and although she did not attribute it to any particular workshop it is undoubtedly of London work.<sup>49</sup> Its depiction of St Pancras, the priory's patron, was faithfully copied by Harry Grylls in 1934 for a stained-glass window in East Grinstead parish church, to commemorate its ownership by the priory for four and a half centuries.<sup>50</sup> Rather ironically, in the same year prior Thomas's hitherto unknown local origins were published for the first time.<sup>51</sup> How, why and when the brass arrived in Cowfold church, however,

remains unknown, but a tentative hypothesis can be advanced. The advowson of Cowfold was held by the prebendary of Henfield until it was annexed to the see of Chichester, probably in 1519. At the same time the prebend of Bury was created, and although the bishop was the patron of Cowfold, it is possible that the prebendary of Bury had some rights there. In July 1538 that office was granted to Robert Peterson, the last prior of Lewes, who it has been suggested may have salvaged from the chapter house the funerary monument of Richard Fitzalan (II), third Earl of Arundel, and his wife Eleanor—Philip Larkin's 'Arundel Tomb'.<sup>52</sup>

At John Nelond's death the line died out, with no-one to bring further prosperity and honour to the family name, but he and Thomas ensured that high-quality physical evidence of its lustre would endure, the almost complete brass and the remains of the great hall. Five hundred years after Thomas's death an indirect memorial was unwittingly created in his home church, a detail from his brass copied in a window.

#### Acknowledgement

We are grateful to Mr A.G. Dyson for obtaining a photocopy of John Nelond's will and discussing its translation and interpretation and Sue Rowland for producing the map in Figure 2.

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> W. Hudson, *The three earliest subsidies for the county of Sussex*, Sussex Record Society (hereafter SRS) **10** (1909), 34.
- <sup>2</sup> A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton with J.E.B. Gover, *The place-names of Sussex* **2** (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1930), 330.
- <sup>3</sup> L.F. Salzman, *The chartulary of the priory of St. Pancras of Lewes, part 1*, SRS **38** (1932), 87.
- <sup>4</sup> This identification and justifications of the assertions in the this paragraph have been summarised in M. J. Leppard, 'Pigs and dennis in East Grinstead and their parents', *Bulletin of the East Grinstead Society* (hereafter BEGS) **118** (Spring 2017), 5–9 from specified notes and articles in earlier numbers discussing particular aspects in detail, all with full source-references and many with maps.
- <sup>5</sup> Mawer and Stenton, 332.
- <sup>6</sup> I. D. Margary, 'The early development of tracks and roads in and near East Grinstead', *Sussex Notes and Queries* **11** (1946–7), 77–81; subsequent researches would modify some of the other conclusions.
- <sup>7</sup> Hudson, 40; William doubtless held of one of the free tenants listed under the Borough of Greenhurst (which extended into East Grinstead) in the archbishop's custumal of 1285: SRS **57** (1958), 60, discussed by M. J. Leppard at BEGS **75** (Winter 2001), 7.
- <sup>8</sup> Hudson, 196.
- <sup>9</sup> Mawer and Stenton, 333, did not recognise that Sandhill and Saint Hill are the same place: see M. J. Leppard, 'The place-name Saint Hill', BEGS **70** (Spring 2000), 7.
- <sup>10</sup> The National Archives (hereafter TNA), C 146/2123 (*Catalogue of ancient deeds* **2** (1895), C 2123).
- <sup>11</sup> BEGS **118** (Spring 2017), 5–9.
- <sup>12</sup> E. H. W. Dunkin, *Sussex manors, advowsons, etc., recorded in the feet of fines ... 1509–1833, vol.1*, SRS **19** (1914), 191.
- <sup>13</sup> Particulars of grants of chantry properties, TNA, E318/1904, printed in M. J. Leppard, 'The chantry commission of 1547 ... and East Grinstead', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **109** (1972), 24–36, at p.32.

- <sup>14</sup> Colin Brent, *Pre-Georgian Lewes, c.890–1714* (Lewes: author, 2004), 121, 130, 131.
- <sup>15</sup> East Sussex Record Office, SAS/D 17; the charter's *campum* is to be understood as an uncultivated but roughly defined area of land.
- <sup>16</sup> M. J. Leppard, 'The early history of Dunnings', BEGS **107** (Autumn 2012), 4–5.
- <sup>17</sup> M. J. Leppard, 'The highway from Grinstead to Lewes', BEGS **108** (Winter 2012–13), 4.
- <sup>18</sup> Brent, 130.
- <sup>19</sup> M. J. Leppard, 'Church origins at East Grinstead', SAC **142** (2004), 148–9 (including argument that the current site is the original one).
- <sup>20</sup> A. H. Stenning, 'A return of the Members of Parliament for ... Sussex', SAC **31** (1881), 107; J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds), *The House of Commons 1386–1421* **3** (1992), 818.
- <sup>21</sup> L. F. Salzman, *An abstract of feet of fines relating to ... Sussex from 1 Edward II to 24 Henry VII*, SRS **23** (1916), nos 2553, 2562.
- <sup>22</sup> Stenning, 101, 103.
- <sup>23</sup> F. Stenton Eardley, *Horsted Keynes, Sussex* (1939), 52, citing TNA, JUST 1/1512 mm 52d, 65d; they appointed John Nelond as their attorney.
- <sup>24</sup> TNA, DL 29/442/7117.
- <sup>25</sup> P. Wood and P. Gray, 'East Grinstead: a borough and its buildings' in J. Warren (ed.), *Wealden buildings* (1990), 176–7 and 186 (from which the preceding reference is taken); interpretation developed in M. J. Leppard, 'Cottages in the borough of East Grinstead', BEGS **56** (Spring 1995), 8–10.
- <sup>26</sup> J. H. Baker, *The men of court 1440 to 1550*, Selden Society, supplementary series **18** (2012), 1747–8.
- <sup>27</sup> Salzman (1916), 2698, 2750, 2759, 2819.
- <sup>28</sup> Brent, 164.
- <sup>29</sup> ESRO, R/L 40/2/252, negative taken by the Revd Walter Budgen of a charter then at Compton Place; Nelond's seal is impressed with a stylised shield surmounted by a cross.
- <sup>30</sup> *Calendar of patent rolls* (hereafter CPR), Henry IV, 1401–05, 52, cf. Salzman (1916), 2861, 2697, 2725, 2882.

- <sup>31</sup> *House of Commons 1386–1421* **4**, 277–8, which includes details of their subsequent possession of parts of St Clere's estate.
- <sup>32</sup> *Register of Henry Chichele*, Canterbury and York Society **103** (1937), 97; Salzmann (1916), 2782.
- <sup>33</sup> J. H. Bullock, *The Norfolk portion of the chartulary of the priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, Norfolk Record Society **12** (1939), 222; TNA, C 143/441/4, E 40/3144, 5547.
- <sup>34</sup> *CPR 1416–1422*, 272 (last-named commissioner of oyer and terminer, 17 Feb. 1420); 329 (commissioner to investigate impounded wines, 19 Feb. 1421); 388 (Lewes Levels, with his brother Thomas Nelond and others, 19 Feb. 1422); 389 (Bulverhythe Levels, 20 Feb. 1422); 460 (peace, 12 Feb. 1422); *CPR 1422–1429*, 124 (oyer and terminer to investigate hunting in the archbishop's parks, 14 July 1423); *CPR 1429–1436*, 348 (Lewes Levels, 28 Nov. 1433).
- <sup>35</sup> TNA, PROB 11/3/416.
- <sup>36</sup> W. H. Godfrey (ed.), *Transcripts of Sussex wills ... by ... R. Garraway Rice*, SRS **42** (1937), 225; Rice translated the will's *indumenta* as 'household goods', presumably having misread it as *impedimenta*.
- <sup>37</sup> *House of Commons 1386–1421* **4**, 11–2; young John was to represent Lewes in the parliament of 1453.
- <sup>38</sup> Salzmann (1916), no.2887; ESRO, R/L 40/2/252.
- <sup>39</sup> Stenning 120; *House of Commons 1386–1421* can find no trace of John Hamme, MP for East Grinstead in 1419, and perhaps his name was mis-copied onto the return; see the entries for Adam Bamme (**2**, 109–12) and Thomas St Clere (**4**, 277–8).
- <sup>40</sup> Ministers' accounts for the borough of East Grinstead, 1443–4 (TNA, DL 29/441/7117).
- <sup>41</sup> Salzmann (1916), no.3058.
- <sup>42</sup> Baker *Men of court*, 707–8 (Frampton), 739 (Gaynesford).
- <sup>43</sup> Salzmann (1916), no.2798.
- <sup>44</sup> TNA, DL 29/441/7117.
- <sup>45</sup> M. J. Leppard, 'Brockhurst revisited', *BEGS* **106** (Summer 2012), 4–19; specifically 5, 16–7.
- <sup>46</sup> R. McKinley, *The surnames of Sussex* (1988), 155–6.
- <sup>47</sup> *Victoria county history of Sussex*, **7** (1940), 68–9.
- <sup>48</sup> J. Clarke, 'An early hammer-beam structure: Imberhorne Farm Cottages in East Grinstead', *Vernacular architecture* **36** (2005), 32–40.
- <sup>49</sup> C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses, part II', *SAC* **77** (1936), 149–52; we are grateful to Stephen Freeth for his opinion that the brass was made in London.
- <sup>50</sup> G. Golding-Bird, *East Grinstead and its parish church*, 4th ed. (East Grinstead, 1938), 32.
- <sup>51</sup> L. F. Salzman, *The chartulary of the priory of St Pancras in Lewes, part 2*, SRS **40** (1934), xviii.
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