The Family de Pakenham of Norfolk and Suffolk from the reign of King Edward I to the 16th century¹

In serious genealogical circles, there exists the concept of "gateway" ancestors. This refers to an individual who is a bridge between the earliest American ancestry (usually in Virginia or New England) and their aristocratic ancestry in England or the continent. Ideally, when one has traced their ancestry to this "gateway" ancestor, others have already tied this individual to the aristocratic or royal families in the old country. Most all of us descend from royalty, the novelty is that via this bridge, the linkage can be documented.

One of the "gateway" ancestors that many Americans claim genealogical descent from is Francis Dade of 17^{th} century Virginia. Research done on this man's family at the end of the 19^{th} century led back to a John Dade who married a "Pakenham of Shropham". Facts about this John Dade have been detailed elsewhere. His death in 1506 left a widow Margaret, last of a direct line of Pakenhams which extends back nearly two hundred and fifty years to the time of King Edward I.

The author has initiated a search of available sources in an attempt to illuminate this Pakenham side of the Dade family tree. While it does, no doubt, contain errors, it is hoped that the present work adds to the knowledge base and contributes to further worthwhile research on this family.

The early history of the Pakenham family is somewhat uncertain. While recent efforts to document the lineage earlier than 1300AD have been made³ the documentation is scanty and researchers have arrived at differing conclusions. Blomefield in his history of Norfolk states that there were two John de Pakenhams affiliated with the church in Norfolk and the last was father of William de Pakenham. Another version has it that a certain Walter initiated the church of Pakenham in 1100 and that family members resided in the area for some time thereafter. That Keats-Rohan's work⁴ has not verified the existence of this Walter, presumed-to-be progenitor, combined with the drastic disparity between the Blomefield version and that displayed on the church wall would appear to leave room to doubt the accuracy of both interpretations.

The earliest generation upon which the disparate sources⁵ do agree is William de Pakenham who may have been born some time around 1235 and who died sometime between 1302 and 1305⁶. He is stated⁷ to have

¹ The author would like to express his gratitude to both Michael Andrews-Reading and Chris Phillips with this and related research. Both have helped with source identification and translation of difficult-to-read Latin texts. It is, of course, unnecessary to state that any errors which remain are solely those of the author.

² Pedigree found near the end (page 42) of the *Genealogical Memoranda* Relating to the Family of Dade of Suffolk (accessible from

http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/FH5&CISOPTR=59889&REC=1 or http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/search.php with a search "Dade of Suffolk"); See also Visitations of Norfolk, 1563 and 1613 and Visitation of Suffolk 1612.

³ Pakenham -Village of Two Mills by N.R. Whitwell with permission kindly given by S. Whitwell to publish on the Pakenham -Village web site refers to a pedigree in the Parish Church of St. Mary in Pakenham, Norfolk created by another Whitwell. The author has recently seen portions of this beautiful pedigree and suspects that this is probably the source for Burkes' version of the lineage as the earliest generations correspond exactly; See also Francis Blomefield's *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of Norfolk* Vol. I pp 256-7 and Vol. VIII page 403, Pakenham pedigree.

⁴ Domesday People, Dr Katherine Keats-Rohan, Boydell Press, 1999.

⁵ Another source, *The Pakenham Cartulary for the Manor of Ixworth Thorpe, Suffolk, c.1250-c.1320* edited by S.D. Church is a fantastic effort at using original sources to construct an accurate pedigree. The present work proves the cartulary is lacking an additional son of William de Pakenham - John de Pakenham - despite evidence for his existence in the cartulary collection, but is grateful for Church's collection and research, and no effort is here made to duplicate it.

been in the employ of Edward I and he obviously acquired a significant amount of land. The number of grants and papers assembled in the cartulary gives us a healthy understanding of his concern for his sons' inheritance⁸, even if it does not really enlighten us much as to his life or times. Unfortunately, even our understanding of the precise nature, initiation, and duration of his service to the crown are hindered by lack of sufficient documentation. Secondary sources differ in interpretation of primary source material on immediate family members, also.

There are records in 1252 to "Pakehams" in Cambridgeshire and in 1281⁹ which introduce additional de Pakeham names that we are currently unable to attach to a family tree. Indeed, we are unable to ascertain whether they belong on the de Pakeham tree at all, perhaps they merely lived in the village of Pakeham like many other men. The cartulary and the Pakeham Village source offer additional de Pakeham names which may or may not be ancestral (or even directly related) to this family. The Cambridgeshire reference seems to be a powerful piece of evidence when considered with later Cambridge references in the same area to William de Pakeham's son Edmund both just before William's presumed death and extending to a 1346 record which may be Edmund the grandson of William de Pakeham.¹⁰

If these earlier generations of Pakenhams cannot be mapped, now, with exact clarity, what is known with certainty is that a tract called Garboldisham in southern Norfolkshire in England was obviously part of

⁶ Mentioned as "tenet et Garbotesham" *Inquisitions and Assessments related to Feudal Aids* Vol. III page 441 in 1302, and NOT mentioned in 1305 Calendar of the Close Rolls entry (page 329, membrane 15d) transferring certain properties. Church cites evidence for a death date earlier than November 7th, 1304.

⁷ SC 8/202/10057; see also Turner's 1878 Calendar of Charters and Rolls pg 204.

⁸ Again, the cartulary does not include Garboldisham references and misleads one on the number of sons William had, therefore. Interestingly a John de Pakenham DOES feature as a witness in numerous cartulary articles, the majority of which are too early to be a son of William. But one reference in November 1304 from Norton is probably William's son, (grant 5) and there is a reference to John son of William in relation to land in Bardwell in grant 155. Significantly, the grant refers to property bordering Bardwell and the only William referred to in the grant is William de Pakenham. There are additional references to a "John of Berdewell" in grants 135, 136, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 153, 156, 158, among others in the period 1309-1311 witnessing grants or confirmations between Ixworth Thorpe and Bardwell.

⁹ 1252 reference to William and John sons of Robert de Pakeham. *Pedes Fines Cambridge* page 32. This may relate to a Pakenham Village reference to a William fil. Robert in its version of the family tree. It is important to note that Cambridge is the county immediately adjoining Suffolk and Norfolk on their West. Also, Kirtling (the property referenced in Cambridge) is listed in Genuki, an online source thus: "KIRTLING is a parish and village 5½ miles south-east from Newmarket which is the nearest railway station, in the hundred of Cheveley, union, petty sessional division arid county court district of Newmarket, rural deanery of Cheveley and archdeaconry and diocese of Ely." This and the above evidence would seem to date William de Pakenham's birth at circa 1230 and would have made him a pretty old fellow when he died. See also "Pakenham. (Suff.) Appointment of Roger Loveday and Robert de Ludham to take the assise of novel disseisin arraigned by Henry de Pakenham against William son of John de Pakenham touching common of pasture in." From Calendar of Patent Rolls 9 Edw I in *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* published in London 1906, by Great Britain Public Record Office. Page 177. m 26d. (61). Interestingly, this item does not appear in the CPR content hosted at http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/patentrolls/.

¹⁰ Inquisitions and Assessments relating to the Feudal Aids, 1284-1431, Vol. I, published 1899, pages 142, 154, 158-9. This record covered Cambridge county, and each of the three references (1303, 1316, 1346, respectively) relates to Chevele properties. Edmund son of William de Pakenham died, according to the Cartulary, before late January 1332 (his son Edmund died in March 1352). Note also that this same source makes reference to Roger Loveday. Combined with the 1252 record, the author believes it supports a birth of circa 1230 for William (to allow him to be of age to conduct the business in 1252 and allow for the death date we expect, if just) and that this William's father was named Robert. Note that this is in conformity to the Cartulary lineage but not with Blomefield's work. Note also that this would appear to further support the Burkes version of the lineage. For what it is worth, the author is inclined to support this Cambridge connection until conflicting evidence is discovered.

William de Pakenham's extensive holdings¹¹ at the end of the 13th century, although there was an apparent dispute with members of the Cantilupe family regarding the property. Blomefield reports that a Cantilupe sold it to William de Pakenham, but it appears as if this was later contested. The disagreement seems to have lasted several years based on subsequent records.

Despite these legal challenges, William's wife Joanna (Joan) in 1313¹² still retained some say with regard to the property as she turned ownership over to son Edmund. Garboldisham was focused on in Blomefield's work as proof of a son John de Pakenham's existence. 13 We continue the search for additional direct evidence for a connection to William and find that the appearance of three Pakenham men (likely brothers) in a 1315 record¹⁴ offers proof that they were peers in status, and location. The facts appear to fit chronologically for them to be brothers. Noteworthy is John de Pakenham's ownership of "Berdwel", a property later owned by Edmund's descendants, but previously owned by William de Pakenham.

A careful reading of several of the items in Church's work lends the additional support we seek for a direct connection (i.e. descent) of John de Pakenham from William de Pakenham. In the November 7th, 1304 grant¹⁵ from Edmund de Pakenham to his brother Thomas, a "Johanne de Pakynham" is witness. Significantly this originated at Norton, where a John de Pakenham was Lord of the Manor in 1315. It seems clear that John de Pakenham had acquired this land from his father William de Pakenham, whom Church informs us was owner of land in Norton and Bardwell in 1283, and that the various references to "John son of William", "John of Berdewell", and the November 1304 reference to a contemporary "John de Pakynham" may well all refer to the same man, John de Pakenham, son of William, brother of Edmund, Thomas, and William de Pakenham. 16 That later generations of his brother Thomas's descendants held Bardwell likely indicates that John held it for his lifetime with reversion to Thomas or his heirs.

On June 15th, 1324, we find evidence¹⁷ that a John de Pakenham has died and left a widow. She was relinquishing control over a plot of land called "Wrocton" to a man from Fouldon. There was a Fouldon/Fuldon immediately east of Northwold in Norfolk, England and Wrocton appears to be Wretton to the West of Northwold. Definitive connection of this land to our family has not been established, but it is

¹¹Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records published in London 1906, by Great Britain Public Record Office. Pg 177; see also A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Page 127, among others.

¹² A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk part II by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Pg 235. Any discussion of the owner of Garboldisham being a different William de Pakenham from the man featured in the cartulary or who was the servant of Edward I would seem to be dispelled by this FoF pinpointing the transfer.

¹³ See note 2. Blomefield certainly did some good work on the family and properties involved, but it is apparent that there were errors, as well. An example would appear to be linkage of Peter de Pakenham with this family. No sources the author has found would lend credence to this Peter being inserted into a family tree. The Patent Rolls and other sources consistently refer to Peter as living in or based from London. While Peter de Pakenham may very well have been from this family, he may just as well have not. ¹⁴ March 5th, 1315 returns of Lords of Manors in Suffolk, England showed John, Thomas, and Edmund de Pakenham as owners of Thorpe, Ixworthe, Walsham, Berdwel, and Norton, the last two John's. The Breviary of Suffolk by Robert Reyce, 1618, pp 120-1.

¹⁵ See note 7.

¹⁶ See note 7; also see *Cartulary*, page 1. It is important to note that HD 1538/2 Vol 2/fol.15 from January 17th, 1313 refers to a John of Bardwell with a son Thomas old enough to receive "1d. annual rent which William le Hunte was accustomed to pay to Richard Hayl of Berdewell for land (½a,) lying in field of Berdewell called le Estfeld, as more fully contained in charter of feoffment which Thomas son of John de Berdewell has in respect thereof. Given at Berdewell, 16 Kal. Feb. 6 Edw. II." Our John de Pakenham's son Thomas would probably have been too young, and so this John de Berdwelle cannot have been ours. Why the 1315 Lord of Bardwell was Johes de Pakenham yet is referred to in earlier grants as John de Berdewell is also unclear.

¹⁷ Grant: Margaret formerly wife of John de Pakenham to Ralph de Holdich of Fuldon. Land in Wrocton. Friday after St. Barnabas 17 Ed II, NRO Hare 5022 218 x 3.

noteworthy that this Margaret matches the name of John de Pakenham's wife provided by Burkes 107th edition.¹⁸ It would seem probable that this is the widow of our John de Pakenham, although whether or not she was mother to his children cannot be ascertained at this time. If this assumption is correct, the land would likely relate to Margaret's ancestral lands.

In 1330, John le Monk died seized (possessing/owning) of property in Garboldisham. John de Pakenham is referenced as having died previously and having passed his lands to his son Richard. ¹⁹ This is a critical piece of evidence because it confirms that there was a John de Pakenham early in possession of Garboldisham. The next generation, in fact after Joan de Pakenham had assigned it to her son Edmund. What we seem to be missing now is the transfer from William to his younger son John (John was the fourth son if Blomefield is correct). Perhaps the 1305 record²⁰ may have set the stage for the hitherto non-extant later negotiations between the brothers, instead?

To recap, the facts currently on hand prove that William de Pakenham and his wife held Norton and Bardwell in 1283. After his death we have cartulary records of a John de Pakenham, John filio William, and John of Berdewell who may well be the same man who held both Bardwell and Norton in 1315. William and his wife additionally held the Garboldisham property from at least as early as 1281 and continued to hold it in 1313 when it was given to Edmund de Pakenham, their son. John de Pakenham had, by 1330 acquired, held and since transferred the property to his own son Richard and had died. The 1324 record of Margaret de Pakenham as widow of a deceased John fits this timeline and may narrow John's death (and transfer to son Richard) to between 1315 and 1324. It is quite possible since Bardwell was later in the hands of Edmund's descendants²¹ that Garboldisham was traded to John in exchange for reversion of Berdwell sometime after the 1315 record. Today, Garboldisham is not far (less than a kilometer) from a place called Blo Norton and it is possible that the two closer properties were expected to be easier to manage. No record of this hypothesized trade has yet been identified. In sum, though, there can be little doubt now that Blomefield was correct and John de Pakenham was a son of William.

But there is another piece of information which needs to be presented. In 1283²² we find an "Association of Richard of Boyland in taking the attaint brought by the prior of Binham against William of Pakenham". Also "Richard of Boyland is to be associated with John des Vaux in place of Robert Baynard for the taking

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¹⁸ Burke's Peerage, 107th revised edition, Longford / Pakenham lineage The Boydell Press pp 2389-90. The cartulary points out that another John de Pakenham might have lived (although the possibility that the compiler of that work confused the Johns cannot be discounted when considered in conjunction with a detailed analysis of the timeline of the descendants of William de Pakenham's supposed brother John) and this Margaret might be HIS widow.

¹⁹ Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Edward III Vol VII pp 190-1.

²⁰ See note 5. See also Walter Copinger *Manors of Suffolk* Vol. VI, page 309, wherein it states, "We find from the Abbreviation of Pleas in 1306 that Edmund de Pakenham, son and heir of Sir William de Pakenham, renounced to Lord Henry de Staunton, the clerk, all lands in Pakenham, Thurston, Stowlangtoft, Ixworth, Barton, and Forton (?) which belonged to John son of William, son of John de Pakenham and Matilda, mother of the said John, son of William, and amongst the Bodleian Charters will be found an agreement in 1308 between the abbey of St. Edmunds and Sir Edmund de Pakenham as to the rents of lands in Pakenham, Barton, and Rougham." Copinger cites: "Abbrev of Pleas 34-35 Edw I, Mich, 62" and "Bodl. Suff; Ch 96."

²¹ Blomefield vol.VIII page 403, Pakenham pedigree. See also, Copinger's *Manors of Suffolk*, Vol. I Page 349 which states, "In 1316 John de Pakenham held [Norton Manor]. [Augustine?] Page says the Pakenhams acquired it from Agnes de Norton, but as he quotes no authority we are unable to verify or disprove the statement. We do, however find that in 1329-30 a release by John son and heir of Sir Thomas de Warbleton to Sir Edmund son of Sir William de Pakenham of his right in this manor within the liberty of St. Edmunds and in £20 of yearly rent issuing from the manor." Copinger cites: "Close Rolls 3 Edw III, 17d." Copinger notes some confusion between the John de Pakenham and early references to a John de Bardwell, also in Vol I. page 262. Note Copinger follows Blomefield on William de Pakenham's ancestry.

²² The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England CD-ROM - after Michaelmas in the 11th year of Edward I, C49 File 2.

of the attaint which the prior of Binham has brought against William of Pakenham." It may be relevant that in 1348 a later Pakenham will appear against a son of this Boyland involving Garboldisham.²³ While the area in question might appear to be to the very North of Norfolk, the subsequent relation to Garboldisham is important.

It is important for the researcher to remember that there was at least one (and possibly two) additional John de Pakenham noted in the records who appears to be unrelated to the immediate family under discussion.²⁴ Geographic separation can be flimsy evidence in an age with much movement by aristocracy, but there does not appear to be any evidence tying this/these men to Norfolk.

In the 1340s now, two men appear on the scene tied to Garboldisham, Albred (Albricus) and Henry de Pakenham.²⁵ It is only when we compare the data that the interpretation given in the 107th revised edition of Burke's Peerage takes shape.²⁶ We have record that John de Pakenham transferred Garboldisham to his son Richard, but we now need to understand Richard's relationship to these other two men in the 1346 records. Burke makes them fellow sons of John de Pakenham. Certainly the timelines fit. By this time, of course, the reversion of Bardwell to Thomas's line has occurred due to John de Pakenham's death.

In 1342, Henry de Pakenham held the incumbency of someplace called Hopton, or Hopetuna, and he exchanged it with Hugh de Saxham for that of Cley, in Norfolk.²⁷ Later Inquisition Post Mortem (I.P.M.) references to Saxham amongst descendants of Edmund de Pakenham probably indicates that this is Hervey de Pakenham rather than the Henry of later years who was, at this time, too young and who had no known familial ties to either Saxham or Cley.

In 1348, there is evidence²⁸ that obligations which were incurred in the 1280s have descended (along with the Garboldisham property) to Albreda de Pakenham. Blomefield states that Albreda was holding the property for Henry de Pakenham, then under age, but cites no source for this.

It is always fascinating to look at the personal and financial facts that we can glean from available records. One of history's greatest tragedies is the black death that came to Europe (and England) during this time.

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²³ In the 20-1st year of Edward III (1348) #746 - Robt de Bokenham and Kath, his wife v. *Albreda de Pakenham and Wm. fil Rich. de Boylound, of the manor of Garboldesham and land in Garboldesham. A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk part II by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Pg 318. ²⁴ "In 1326 Tonbridge Castle [in southern Kent County] was given to John de Pakenham during the king's pleasure, with a yearly stipend of £10 for his services, Henry de Cobham is commanded to deliver up to him the castle together with the armor and victuals therein, and Pakenham is commanded to permit the Prior and Convent of Tonbridge to have pannage for 120 hogs, and two sumpter horses daily to carry dead wood for the use of the Convent." - Footnote ads "together with one buck to be taken annually by the Lord's Foresters, and delivered up at the castle gate". Archaeologia Cantiana Vol 16, 1886 pp 35-6. Additionally, a report of the Knights of the Shire in the Parliaments of Edward II by Gaillard Lapsley in The English Historical Review, Vol. 34, No. 133 (Jan., 1919), pp. 30, and 40-2 presents evidence of a John de Pakenham from Bedfordshire in the early 1320s. It is uncertain that the Tonbridge reference is to this man. ²⁵ "Albricus de Pakenham tenet et Garbotesham di. f. m. de comite Warrennie, et comes de rege, quod Willelmus de Pakenham tenuit XX.8." Inquisitions and Assessments related to Feudal Aids V. III page 530; see also "Dominus Grey [de] Ryffyn et Willelmus Beauchamp, chivaler, tenent in Garboldesham f. m. de rege, quod Henricus Pakenham tenet de illis." In same source, page 648. This latter seems to offer proof for

statements by Blomefield in Vol. I pp 256-7.

Notably, the 1881 version of Burke's Peerage (43rd edition) has no entries for period of "our" Pakenhams and earliest generations of Pakenhams (for Lord Longford) it DOES have are slightly different from 107th edition generations.

²⁷ A supplement to The Suffolk Traveller [of J. Kirby] or Topographical and Genealogical Collections concerning that County, Compiled by Augustine Page Published in London, 1844, Page 782. ²⁸ "Robt de Bokenham and Kath. his wife v. *Albreda de Pakenham and Wm. fil Rich. de Boylound, of the manor of Garboldesham and land in Garboldesham." A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk part II by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Page 318 number 746.

One would expect, many times in error, to find records which indicated what the impact of this massive purging of humanity had on individual families. No records addressing this have been found for our Pakenham family and one wonders what impact it left and what loved ones were taken.

On November 25th, 1355 we have some proof²⁹ that there was a Thomas, son of John de Pakenham. And that he has married an Agnes. These facts will be critical to an argument that Burke uses to establish their Pakenham lineage. Blomefield³⁰ gives a 1355 reference for Albreda de Pakenham as well, confirming the fact that Albreda, Thomas, and Henry all seem to be roughly contemporary.

In 1362 and 1369, we have two references³¹ to Thomas and Richard de Pakenham as brothers. It seems to imply that Thomas is away from home fighting (or at least defending the realm) for the king. These data seem to match both the earlier information that John de Pakenham gave Garboldisham to his son Richard, and that Thomas was a son of John de Pakenham.

Again to recap what we believe we know, John de Pakenham acquired Garboldisham from his brother Edmund (who inherited it from his mother in 1313) sometime between 1315 and his death in 1324. He had given it to his son Richard before his death. Richard had a brother Thomas. At the same time there was record of a Henry de Pakenham and Albreda de Pakenham, the latter old enough (and invested enough) to receive a grant for additions to Garboldisham. In short, we have found nothing to disprove Blomefield's assertion that Albreda was holding the land in trust for Henry or to find fault with Burkes' version of the lineage in the generation immediately succeeding William. We have added a fourth son to Church's tree.

We do, however, have some problems we must resolve. First, it would seem, is the fact that John de Pakenham gave his land to his eldest son Richard. How then, did it get to Albreda and Thomas? Certainly this Richard was to live for quite a few years yet. Or did it at all? Perhaps the brothers merely lived on the land, as was common for younger brothers. Perhaps, Richard's land was sold in order to acquire funds for his travels? Our next issue is that if Burke is right, and Thomas is father of Henry, why is his presumed uncle Abreda making provision for Henry, as Blomefield states? Is it possible that Blomefield misread the scattered sources and that he was merely looking out for family interests without specifically intending Henry to benefit from the additional grants? Or perhaps Albreda was looking after the boy while Thomas was travelling or fighting. If we postulate a birth date for Thomas of circa 1315 (before his father John had died, yet old enough to have a son by 1339) then 1355 would place Thomas squarely within eligible travel

²⁹ 449/2/528 Title Deed Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch: Hengrave [449/2 - 449/9] Physical characteristics: Seal: round, red wax; Paschal lamb; ECCE. ANGNUS. DEI. "[Wednesday after the feast of St. Edmund, king and martyr, 28 Edward III] At Risby - (i) Thomas, son of John de Pakenham of Garboldisham to (ii) John, son of Robert de Heth of Little Saxham. Grant of all lands and tenements of (i) in Risby, Lackford, West Stow and Flempton. To hold to (ii) and his heirs, of (i) and his heirs, for the term of the life of Agnes, wife of (i), rendering to (i) forty shillings at Easter and Michaelmas in the first year of the said term, six marks annually in the next two years and seven marks annually thereafter, and rendering to the chief lords the services due, for (i). Warranty clause. Witnesses: John le Straunge; Robert Mariot; Henry de Heth; John Jouce; John atte Crouch; John Clere; Simon Bullok."

http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/s/t/e/Thomas-E-Stevenson/FILE/0003page.html states "A quit-claim is dated at Timworth co. Suffolk 25 April 1362 by which Richard Pakenham of Garboldisham, Thomas Pakenham of the same, his brother, Nicholas Druri of Thurston and Roger Druri of the same, his brother, release to John le Strange of Timworth all their right to land there with the advowson of the church of Timworth. There are attached to the deed the seals of the four grantors. That of Roger Druri is a fine one with elaborate ornamentation surrounding the device of the lamb and flag. The Roger Drury concerned was presented by the Crown chaplain to the church of Little Reyne in co. Essex in the diocese of London 15 July 1362." Additionally, "Nicholas Drury, with Thomas Pakenham, had letters of protection 4 February 1369/70 on going to Ireland with William de Wyndsore to stay there on the King's service, and again on 20 September 1373." Cited source: The History of the Family of DRURY in the Counties of Suffolk and Norfolk From the Conquest, Arthur Campling, London, 1937 CHAPTER III. Several entries in Copinger's works seem to indicate the Drury family shared land near the Pakenhams.

and fighting age. With brother Richard also of the same disposition or duty, perhaps Albreda was left to ensure stability in Garboldisham.

This question of exactly how many brothers there were and what the arrangements between them might have been is exacerbated when the inheritance of Henry of his mother's property is next examined. For now, we must perhaps be content that the land dealings of this generation of brothers (and guardianship over Henry in his minority) is confusing and one hopes more information can be found to sort the relations better

In 1366, Henry de Pakenham was living in Garboldisham³². He has attained his majority but we do not know his marriage status. In 1368, Henry de Breton died possessed of land.³³ The land was to go to a sister and a nephew, Henry de Pakenham. The records of this form the crux of the connection between the Pakenham generations we've been reviewing and those that succeed. Of course this is true in a lineal sense, but more importantly, the land which features in the subsequent family Inquisitions Post Mortem or grants or quit-claims centers around this land from Henry de Breton rather than Garboldisham (though still held) or Norton or Bardwell (which appear to have reverted back to the first Thomas' heirs as previously mentioned). Also, the record dates Henry de Pakenham's birth and would seem to support Blomefield's assertion that Henry was under age in 1355. He would have been 16 years old. If this is true, however, and we know Thomas was still alive in 1369 ("...Thomas Pakenham, had letters of protection 4 February 1369/70 on going to Ireland..."³⁴) why was Thomas not given custody of the lands of his brother-in-law? Why do we have no identification of this Thomas with his son Henry at all?

It may be appropriate here to diverge here, for a moment. We have hinted around the edges of one of the more problematic aspects of this lineage as here recorded, namely, the Garboldisham inheritance. Who received it and when? One record³⁵ has Agnes' husband (Henry de Pakenham's father) as Henry de Pakenham. Blomefield, as previously stated, implies a Peter and Albreda de Pakenham should be considered. The John le Monk I.P.M. states that John de Pakenham held Garboldisham and transferred it to his eldest son Richard (who, we can believe, had a brother Thomas). Burke states that Albreda, Thomas, and Richard were all brothers. The present author cannot find information to disprove this assertion.

But the question remains. Other than Thomas's 1355 marriage to a woman named Agnes, there is no definitive proof that Henry de Pakenham who inherited the Breton lands is son of Thomas. It is conceivable that one of the others might just as well have had a wife named Agnes; the name was common, after all. We have sources which might point to Richard, Albreda, or an unrecorded Henry, as well.

³² F(M) Charter/1815. Feast of the Annunciation [25 Mar] 40 Edw III [1366]. "GRANT by Roger de Felbrigge and Robert de Causton, Knts. and John Berthelmew of Watlyngton to William de Bokenham, of Garboldesham of a messuage with croft and two acres one rood of land in Garboldesham, which John Barker lately held in villeinage from Cecily de Bokenham as of her dower from the manor of Garboldesham called Bokenhamhalle, whereby the messuage and one acre of land and a half lie on the north side of the messuage and croft of Robert Ryngebelle, three roods at Wykyncrofteshende, one ½ acre to the north of the land of All Saints' Church, Garboldesham, etc. Witn. Hugh Houel; Henry de Pakenham; John Michel; etc. One sm.seal."

³³ Henry de Breton's 1368 I.P.M. indicates he died Sunday September 10th, 1368. This conforms to a CPR entry of May 1367 where he paid part of a 4 mark fine. Some sources state this Henry died in 1367. A Writ was ordered 22 October, and was taken 7 Nov (Tuesday after Wednesday 1 November, 1368). The document states that sister Agnes' son Henry was born before 1339. Since the land went to her son, this would seem to indicate that she herself is now deceased, sometime between the earlier 1355 record and the 1368 death of Henry de Breton, if the Agnes in each be the same. A writ to deliver inheritance was produced on 20 November and is reflected in the Calendar of Fine Rolls for that day. It assigns 30 acres to Henry de Pakenham that were formerly the possession of Henry de Breton.

³⁴ See note 29.

³⁵ The Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England, Vol. IV by T.C. Banks, c 1837, pp 159-160. Bank's information on the name of Agnes de Breton's husband is not sourced, merely that her brother's lands were divided at his death.

On the basis of what we currently have on hand, the author is inclined to tentatively agree with Burke that Thomas is Henry's father while remaining acutely aware of the dearth of authoritative primary source material on the matter. We take small consolation in the fact that even if this generation is not as well documented as we would prefer, it is no longer debatable that Henry is directly descended from John and his father William de Pakenham.

Now, perhaps, it is appropriate to investigate the ancestry of Henry that does appear to be set on more solid ground, namely that of his mother's de Breton side.

A good start toward understanding the first generations is had by looking at a record from 1337.³⁶ A June 1368 record may refer to Henry de Breton. ³⁷Additionally, the Shropham ³⁸ and Hockham ³⁹ records extant at the Norfolk Records Office allow the researcher to trace the Breton land (and familial relations) for Agnes' parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. Unfortunately, though Blomefield discusses Shropham⁴⁰ he does not add appreciably to our knowledge of the early days. Although little else has been found that illuminates this family, by careful reconstruction we can put a framework together in the hopes that future sources will add flesh to the bones.

To return to Henry de Pakenham, son of Thomas de Pakenham and Agnes de Breton, who was born about 1338, we find that he received confirmations related to his recent inheritance. 41 He is recorded in several Feets of Fine for the period after his inheritance as well.⁴²

³⁶ Calendar of Patent Rolls, March 12th, 1337. From Westminster: "By letters patent of 8 July, 6 Edward III, the king granted licence Stephen Breton of Shropham to enfeoff John son of Robert, chaplain, and Henry son of William de Illyngton of twenty of twenty-five messuages, 340 acres of land and 55s. 5d. of rent, in Snyterton, Shropham, Willeby, Hargham, Lyrlyng, Brethenham, Illyngton, Rokelund and Stowbydoun, held in chief, and for him to re-grant these to Stephen, Henry, his son, and the heirs of Stephen; and now Stephen and Henry have made petition to him setting forth that Peter Breton acquired an estate in fee in these from John la Veille, who acquired the same from Robert de Tateshale, and both the said John and Peter, and Stephen, as brother and heir of the latter, entered upon the tenements without licence, and held them long before the said 8 July and praying that he would secure them against any future impeachment of their title to the tenements by reason of the previous acquisitions and entries without licence. He in consideration of his said grant to them and the estate which they now have in the tenements with his licence, has pardoned the trespasses herein, and granted that they may retain these according to the tenor of his letters patents."

³⁷ WEW/21 (former reference: Box M102/12) 2 June 1368 "Grant from Henry Breton of Great Shropham to William Sely, chaplain of West Wretham, of Smythes messuage and 30 acres of land in West Wretham. A small black seal is attached." Item is in Latin and is referenced at

http://janus.lib.cam.ac.uk/db/node.xsp?id=EAD%2FGBR%2F0272%2FKC%2FKCAR%2FWEW%2F21 ³⁸ NRO items Phi/324 577 x 6 through Phi/338 577 x 6.

³⁹ NRO items Phi/174 577 x 2 and Phi/175 577 x 2.

⁴⁰ See Blomefield Vol. I pp 456-7.

⁴¹ NRO item PHI 337, 577X6. June 16th, 1369 "Confirmation by John de Carlton and William Cusshoun to Henry de Pakenham and John son of William de Wyverston of all their property in Shropham and Hockham with the homage and service of Sarah Wylkynes, Thomas de Babbynglee and 25 others (named; rents and, in two cases, autumn works are specified)." NRO item PHI 337, 577X6. ⁴² Four follow:

A) 47-8 Edward III (1374/5) #1548 "Thomas Caus of Houkham and Henry de Pakenham v. Katherine widow of John de Caston, Knight, of the manor of Rokeloundtoftes called Kirkehalle." A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk Part II by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Page 365.

B) 49 Edward III (1376), #19 "Thomas Caus of Hokham and Elizabeth his wife, Henry de Pakenham, and Adam Galyon v. Katherine who was wife of John de Gaston, knight, of the manor of Bucklesham and Resshmere juxta Ipswich." A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1900. Page 245.

We do not know who this Henry's wife was. A 1398 marriage record ⁴³ might reveal her name, but the fact that there were two Henry de Pakenhams eligible for marriage at the time, seemingly father and son ⁴⁴ means that we cannot conclusively tie her to either of them, let alone identify her as the mother of either of their children. Based on the available facts, the research seems to imply that it was not Henry born in 1338 who was referenced in the 1398 marriage record, but his son Henry, of age in 1409, and perhaps a few years prior. ⁴⁵ In 1393 even, we find evidence that there existed two separate Henry de Pakenhams each involved in separate land dealings, one referred to as "Henry de Pakenham junior". ⁴⁶

Certainly the records would seem to indicate that after Margaret Mounteneye Pakenham's death, the preexisting connections (of which more below) to the Mortimer family led to the marriage of Henry the younger and Elizabeth, widow of Ralph Bigot after the latter's death in either 1415 or 1416.

In 1372, Henry was appointed⁴⁷ to enquire into the lands and marriage (and heir) status of a dead knight. We know the knight's first name, Thomas, and the date, November 10th, 1372. Henry was assigned this task along with two other men, John Cavendyssh, and Thomas Caus. Of Cavendyssh, we know little. Of Thomas Caus, we know that he was escheator for the county of Norfolk which meant it was his duty to ascertain whether lands or goods were to revert back to the crown for want of heirs. This Thomas was tied

C) 1376 "Thos Chaunteclere, Henry de Pakenham, Robt de Welholm, James de Wrotham, Andrew Grene, Thos Asty, and Henry de Wrotham, v. *Peter de Bekehalle, of the manor of Bekehalle." *A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk Part II* by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Page 366.

- D) 7th Richard II (1384) #102. "Thomas Caus of Hokham and Elizabeth his wife, Henry de Pakenham, and John de Burwell, clericus, v. *Robert de Asshfeld and John de Pyshale, clericus, of the manors of Elynghamhall and Mitfordhall, in Hengham, Harthyngham, Reymerston, Woderisyng, Southbergh, Parva Elyngham, Sculton, Craneworth, Lyndeford, Honyngham, Hakford, and Bernham juxta Theford. A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk Part II by Walter Rye, Norwich, 1886. Page 375."
- ⁴³ * (see pedigree) His wife is unknown, but there is a possibility that it is Margaret Mountney (1398 marriage) as related in *The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Great Britain Public Record Office, London, 1889, page 25. The discovery that Henry de Pakenham who died in 1409 was married to a Margaret who was probably a second or third wife adds validity to this possibility. See also note 59.
- ⁴⁴ *1 (see pedigree) Feb 1373 CPR entry tying Thomas Caus and Thomas Mounteney would indicate they were probably in elder Henry's generation, thus Henry was too old to marry to Margaret who received dispensation in 1398. Thomas may have been possible relation [father?] to Margaret Mountney. Additionally, Blomefield (I, page 257) notes that Henry (d. 1445) identified a Phillipa Mownteney as his "sister". It may have been an unknown sister, married into the Mounteney family, but perhaps it refers to a sister-in-law? Additional evidence that Thomas Mounteney was probably of elder Henry's generation is the 1370 lending of 30 pounds to the King in Folios cclxi -cclxx Dec 1370. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=33517. This is surely the same Thomas who was reflected in similar social circles as Thomas Caus, above.
- ⁴⁵ *1 (see pedigree) This Henry de Pakenham is known to have married Elizabeth Mortimer, the widow of Sir Ralph Bigot from Blomefield Vol. I page 481, but *Baronia Anglica Concentrata, Or, A Concentrated Account of All the Baronies* Vol. I, 1844 by Thomas Christopher Banks, page 339 states that she had children with only her other two husbands. Blomefield informs us in Vol. VIII page 42 that Ralph Bigot's will was made in 1415 and proved in September 1416, placing Elizabeth Mortimer Bigot's marriage to Henry after this time. It may be that this Henry had another son, Henry, not confirmed beyond Blomefield Vol. II page 365, where, under Threxton property it states that "In 1401, Henry Pakenham held the third part of a fee of Richard Fitz-Simon. In 1453, Tho. Gernon of Threxton, cousin and heir of John Gernon of Merton, infeoffed Henry Pakenham, &c. in lands in Merton, Threxton, etc." This may be the same Henry that Blomefield mentions in Vol. II page 315 under Curson's Manor: "in 1453, Henry, son of Henry Pakenham, Esq. had it, and after diverse purchases, it was sold by Thomas Sharp...." If this land came from Mounteney marriage, as 1373 CPR entry hints at, then this fits.

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⁴⁶ A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk Part II by Walter Rye, Ipswich, 1886. page 384.

⁴⁷ Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Vol. XIII, Edward III, 1954, page 115.

to Henry de Breton in a 1364 Calendar of Patent Rolls record. ⁴⁸ On February 7th, 1373, Thomas Caus "late escheator in the county of Norfolk" is listed with Thomas Mounteneye, "Citizen of London" in a license for the latter to improve his land. ⁴⁹ We have already shown Thomas Caus in other, later, records with Henry de Pakenham⁵⁰ and one is tempted to wonder whether this Henry's association with Thomas Caus might have been the vehicle through which his son found his wife. One wonders also at the relationship of this man who had worked with his uncle and benefactor Henry de Breton. Eventually, Thomas Caus even quitclaimed to Henry, possibly indicating a familial tie as well.⁵¹

"1338" Henry appears in the 1379 Norfolk Poll Tax Record. 52 He is examining and recording for the Hundred of Gyldecros. Also, in Shropham, "Henricus de Pakenam" owes 40d in 1379. No mention of Pakenham in Garboldisham, although Garboldisham was in Guiltcross Hundred. "Henr' Pakenham" is collecting for Tommeston in 1379⁵³. Note a Johanna de Pakenham is listed as well, paying 4d.⁵⁴ She is possibly the wife of Richard de Pakenham referred to elsewhere, who, though not dead at this time, is not listed in the tax lists. It is unclear from this source exactly where she lives other than Shropham Hundred, although other sources have additional information on Richard and Joan de Pakenham. There is no additional record of known Pakenham family members so a reference to a Robert de Pakenham as bailiff within Norfolk in 1377 cannot, at this time, be reconciled with known kin. 55

Henry de Pakenham continued to collect taxes⁵⁶ and the men around him continued to interact with their community.⁵⁷ Henry went about his life as well, transacting business and leaving records for later generations to find and analyze.⁵⁸

In the first half of 1397 several records appear with Henry de Pakenham and highlite his growing association with a new crowd of people.⁵⁹ It is this association which seems to refute the idea that the

⁴⁸ CPR Edw III Vol. XIII, Page 70, membrane 25*d*.

⁴⁹ CPR Edw III Vol. XV, Page 252, membrane 31.

⁵⁰ See note 41.

⁵¹ "Ouitclaim by Thomas Caus to Henry de Pakenham of right in all lands in Shropham and Hockham that Henry Breton formerly held of William de Bokynham." December 5th, 1384. NRO item PHI 327/3, 577X6. ⁵² The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381 Part 2: Lincolnshire-Westmorland Edited by Carolyn C. Fenwick Oxford University Press, June, 2001, Page 110, and page 129. 40d was required of: 1) "each squire not owning lands, rents, or castles, who is in service or arms", 2) "Pardoners and summoners who are married according to their estate", 3) "All hostlers who do not belong to the estate of merchants, each according to his estate", 4) "All other brothers of the order [of the Hospital of St John in England]", 5) "Foreign merchant of whatever condition...", 6) "Farmers of manors and parsonages and great merchants dealing in stock and other lesser trade, according to their estate", 7) "Each Sergeant and franklin of the country according to his estate." Likely it was one of these last two into which Henry fit. - Pages xv-xvi. ⁵³ Ibid, page 178.

⁵⁴ Ibid, page 131.

⁵⁵ Norfolk Archaeology, Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1852, Page 184. Frustratingly, this may well be another son of Henry the elder if later 1412 seal evidence can be taken at face value.

⁵⁶ CFR 8 Ric II (1384) membrane 18 page 73, and 1385 membrane 19, page 118.

⁵⁷ Richard II Vol. III Page 232 CPR (November 8th, 1386) entry apparently tying Shropham, Snyterton, Hokham, Lyrling (known Pakenham lands) to Tommeston (mentioned in 1379 poll tax returns). Membrane 17. The significance is to again demonstrate the tight community ties of the area.

⁵⁸ 10 Ric II CPR (October 15th, 1386) associating Henry with some individuals and lands which may indicate additional family ties, Membrane 23, page 223; See also April 25th, 1388 CPR entry from Westminster: "Thomas Smyth of Lowystoft, for not appearing to answer Henry de Pakenham touching a trespass. Norfolk." Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office - 11 Richard II 1385-1389- published in London 1900, by Great Britain Public Record Office. Page 419; See also Blomefield Vol. I Page 449.

⁵⁹ January 15th, 1397 "Conveyance by George de Felbrigg, knight, and Henry de Pakenham to Constantine Mortymer and issue of Barnham manor and advowson, and of Bickerston advowson NRO item KIM 2A/14; March 13, 1397 Will (in form of indenture) of "To feoffees Sir Roger Drury, kt, Robert de Tudenham,

Henry who married Margaret Mounteneye was Henry the younger, after all. One theory might hold that "1338 Henry" was most likely married at the time of his March 20th, 1409 death to Elizabeth Mortimer. Blomefield seems to support this when he tells us that she married, after the death of her first husband in 1406⁶⁰ to one Henry de Pakenham. However, this date is changed in a subsequent volume⁶¹ to 1415 or 1416, which would certainly prove that Henry junior must have married the Mortimer woman. More to the point, the latter date is supported by a will being written and proved.

Elizabeth Bigod was obviously not his first wife either. The same sources continue on that she married Thos. Manning (presumably after the younger Henry's death in 1445) and left her assets to him. While this Henry's I.P.M. does not refer to any Mortimer wife or connection⁶², a grant between his sons does add an interesting twist to their inheritance.⁶³ None of this, of course, precludes the 1398 marriage to the older Henry, but later dealings of her step-son would seem to offer more proof of the younger man being the 1398 groom.

At the beginning of the 15th century, several records were generated which may refer to either Henry the father or Henry the son.⁶⁴ The reference to his widow's probable Threxton property would seem to lean toward the younger, but, frustratingly, does not conclusively rule out the elder Henry.

Henry de Pakenham, Richard Caus and Thomas Abethorp, all lands, tenements, rents and services which were Robert de Berdewelle's, Sir William de Berdewelle, kt's father, in Berdewell, Ixworthethorp [Ixworth Thorpe], Bernyngham [Barningham], Walsham and Langham; in case of death of W.B., feoffees to enfeoff Dame Margaret his wife for her lifetime, with remainder to son John and heirs of body lawfully begotten; in default of issue, property to be sold and proceeds distributed as appears in bill sealed by W.B. Given at Berdewell, Tuesday after feast of St Gregory, 20 Ric. II." Suffolk Record Office item HD 1538/122/1; Tuesday aft Friday of SS Peter and Paul [3 July] 21 Ric II [1397] "GRANT by William Mundessone, of Conueston to Robert Edward, of Garboldisham, of an acre of arable land in the fields of Garboldisham, viz: at Osselles Welle between the free land of All Saints' Church and the land of Henry Pakenham, at Balkesmere, abutting on Leuartreweye; etc." Northamptonshire Record Office item F(M) Charter/1816. ⁶⁰ Blomefield Vol. I page 511. For proof of "1338" Henry's death not long before May 6th, 1409, see CFR 10 Hen IV, membrane 9 page 147, although the death occurred before the CFR edict of March 28th, 1409. CFR 10 Hen IV membrane 24, page 123. The Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem vol. XIX entry #528 (page 192) - Henry de Pakenham states: "Writ 28 March 1409. Norfolk. Inquisition. Hockam. 10 April. He held in his demesne as of fee: Snetterton, 15a., annual value 15d., and 46s.8d. rent from free and customary tenenants in Shropham, Snetterton, Wilby, Hargham, Larling, Brettenham, Illington, Ruckland and Stow Bedon, payable by equal parts at Michaelmas and Midsummer, of the king in chief as a two-hundredth part of the barony of Tattershall. Garboldisham, a manor, of William Berdewell, knight, service unknown, annual value 50s.; and 20a., of Margaret Howard of her manor of Garboldisham, service unknown, annual value 20d. Shropham, 100a., of the master of the hospital [or college] of Thompson of his manor of Shropham, service unknown, annual value 40d. Hockam, 30 a., of William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny, of his manor of Hockam, and of Richard Sayene(?), services unknown, annual value 2s.6d. He died on 20 March. Henry his son and heir is aged 30 years and more." Note that this conflicts with Blomefield's "1421" date (unsourced) for this Henry's death.

⁶¹ See note 44.

⁶² Henry de Pakenham's Inquisition Post Mortem translated and transcribed by Chris Phillips. National Archives reference C 139/121/11 Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Henry VI Pakenham, Henry, esq: Norf, Suff 24 Hen VI. Translated and transcribed by Chris Phillips.

⁶³ "Grant between Robert Pakenham, son and heir of Henry Pakenham, Esq., and William his brother, according to deathbed request of said Henry and by his last will, that Elizabeth, Henry's wife, should enjoy for life 30a. land and 7 marks rent in Snetterton, Shropham, Wilby, Hargham, Larling, Brettenham, Illington, Rockland and Stow Bedon, held in chief, and that then William and his heirs were to have 4 marks rent and Robert and his heirs the residue." June 7th, 1446 Norfolk Record Office item *PHI 357*, 577X7.

⁶⁴ Both records from 1401-2. "Henricus Pakenham tenet in Threxton terciam partem j. f. m. de honore de Clare, et idem de rege etc. (*as before*) In "Hundreda De Waylond et Grymeshowe". *Inquisitions and*

It seems, though, that Henry senior was feeling his age and began to look toward the care for his soul that such age was wont to do in the 15th century. The last record we may have of Henry de Pakenham senior refers to the founding of a religious institution. 65 It is evident that some property or connection to Garboldisham is still held. And that more mundane issues remained for the younger Henry. 66 Blomefield reports⁶⁷ in a footnote to the "Breton's or Pakenham's Manor" in Shropham that in 1410 a church bell was purchased by Henry Pakenham & others. One suspects this was in a further effort to ensure his father's immortal rest.

Henry de Pakenham's various legal actions have left posterity an interesting item for analysis: a small "red, indistinct, 1 1/16 inch shield of arms: Quarterly in the first quarter an eagle displayed, in the second, an annulet for difference. Within a carved gothic panel."68 Traditional cadency rules would dictate that this Henry would be a 5th son by the usage of an annulet, although the adherence to these rules was not consistently or too-rigidly applied.⁶⁹ Currently we know of only Henry the younger as a son of "1338" Henry. Although there were other Pakenhams in the records, the majority can be traced to the cousins of Henry. Often, a man would inherit the arms of his father and it is remotely possible that it was the elder Henry who was the original bearer of this seal's arms. At this point, we cannot say definitively what this means or adds to the pedigree, but it offers tantalizing clues to the data which may still remain to be found and filled in on this family.

In the decade immediately after his father's death, Henry de Pakenham continued his life. He witnessed conveyances⁷⁰, received lands⁷¹, and participated in lawsuits to protect his interests.⁷² The connection he

Assessments related to Feudal Aids Vol. III page 587 (also in appendix on page 653 for some reason) -Confirms Blomefield Vol. II page 365. Also "Henricus Pakenham tenet in eadem quartam partam j. f. m. de domino duce Lancastrie de manerio de Snetesham, et idem de rege, et predictum manerium est in manu regis virtute hereditatis sue Lancastrie" In "Hundreda De Southgrenhowe" in appendix from same source on page 636; See also "John Brunham and others, burgesses of King's Lynn to John Gamayn, Richard Ryslee, and Henry de Pakenham: Grant of messuages, lands, etc., late of John atte Woode, deceased, in Ashill, Houghton, Great Cressingham, [Holme] Hale, and South Pickenham." Date range: 1402 - 1403. Exchequer King's Remembrancer: Ancient Deeds, Series D E 210/4286. The Catalogue of The National Archives of England.

65 1406 record C 143/437/7 held by the National Archives in Kew: "Henry Pakenham the elder, and Simon, parson of the church of Scoulton, to found a chantry in the parish church of Attleborough, and to endow it with a messuage and land in Attleborough, the advowson of the church of Great Ellingham (which may be appropriated), and the reversion of messuages, land, and rent in the said townships now held for life by Richard Resele, Henry Pakenham the younger, William Brigge, and John Fauconer, clerk, retaining land in Garboldisham and South Pickenham.": See also an indication his son may have been assisting in these duties: 6 Henry IV (1405) #58 Henry Pakenham, Junior, Simon parson of the church of Skulton, and John, parson of the church of Parva Cressyngham, v. *John Greve of Magna Elyngham and Katherine his wife, in Attylburgh, and Magna Elyngham." A Short Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk part II by Walter Rye, Ipswich, 1886. Pg 393; See also CPR 7 Hen IV (June 25th, 1406) from Westminster, membrane 22 page 193 ehich conveys permission (and fee) but does not mention Garboldisham.. ⁶⁶ February 3rd, 1407 *CPR* entry including Henry "Pekenham" of Shropham concerning 24*l* debt.

Reinforces previous ties to Aysshefeld again. Membrane 33, page 254; See also the 1411 Feoffment by Henry de Pakenham and others. A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office, Great Britain Public Record Office, Vol. IV, London, 1902. Page 351.

⁶⁸ Seal description from Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, Walter de Gray Birch, Vol. III, c. 1894, page 337.

⁶⁹ Internet Soc-Gen Medieval Newsgroup postings for October, 2007 discuss the non-advisability of overly strict interpretation of the cadency rules without additional data.

70 November 29th, 1415. Henry Pakenham witnessing Parva Elyngham (Little Ellingham) conveyance -

John Fitzrauf is also a witness. Derbyshire Record Office item D231M/T421.

⁶⁷ Blomefield Vol. I page 455.

has established with the Mortimer family continues⁷³ and one might believe that by the 1420s he has married Elizabeth, though we have no definitive proof for the date.

In 1428, we find proof that Henry retained an interest in Garboldisham⁷⁴ and what appears to be a fourth part of another plot in South Greenhoe.⁷⁵ On May 19th, 1430 the parliament in Westminster voted to allow King Henry VI to have a significant sum of money. We find Henry listed amongst those paying and see that, similar to the 1379 taxes of his father, he is at the middle to lower end of the spectrum. He owes 66s 8*d* but some of the fees from Norfolk reach over 3 times his payment (10*l*) for individuals and 172*l* for the group hardest hit. He is not alone in this "bracket", many others are paying a similar amount, with 100*s* being the next highest price.

The last we hear from Henry before his death is in 1434⁷⁶

"Feoffment by Henry de Pakenham, William Gaylon, Roger Russhebrok, John Cokett, and John Hamchirche to Thomas Hickis of Saham, of a messuage with buildings, called 'Fridayes,' and 1/2a. land lying in the croft of the same messuage, in the town of Tomeston at Damdyche, next land of William Burdeley, &c. which *inter alia* they had by the gift and feoffment of Lawrence Hickis of Tomeston."

As with several other records, the lands and people this refers to do not seem to fit into the available paradigm we've built for Henry. Future research will possibly link these holdings and individuals in a more comprehensive web.

Henry de Pakenham made his will November 22nd, 1445 and it was proved January 25, 1446.⁷⁷

On August 5th, 1460 we have perhaps the last reference to Henry de Pakenham, which may point to a flurry of 1434 land transactions:

"John Clyfton, John Fastolf, John Radclyeff, Robert Herlyng, Robert Clyfton, and Henry Inglose, knights, John Fitz Rauff, John Fastolff and Henry Pakenham, esquires, and John Gyllyng, clerk, (all) deceased, by grant of said Robert Berdewell, dated 8 Sept. 1434, who had it from John Cokayn, John Wade, Thomas Derham and Richard Alfred on 20 July

⁷¹ November 11th, 1416 4 Hen V CFR record assigning lands from first cousin once removed Henry Heryng to Henry de Pakenham. Membrane 13, page 175. This re-united original lands split on the death of Henry de Breton.

⁷² This suit involving Henry Pakenham and unrecognized properties from Grimshoe Hundred immediately to the West of Shropham is from the *Pedigrees of the Plea Rolls* membrane 136, page 293. Neither the names nor the brief lineage fits other facts at this time.

⁷³ March 26th, 1421 "Conveyance by Thomas Erpyngham, Simon Felbrigge and Edward Berry, Kts., Oliver Groos, Henry Pakenham, Esqs., John Mannyng and Nicholas Bokkyngg to Robert, son of Constantine de Mortuo Mar', of the manor of Barnham." Norfolk Record Office item *KIM* 20/14. It may be this very item which caused Blomefield to assign a 1421 date for "1338" Henry's death.

⁷⁴ "Henricus Pakenham tenet inmediate de heredibus comitis Warennie certa terras et tenementa in Garboldisham per servicium di. f. m." *Inquisitions and Assessments related to Feudal Aids* Vol. III page 5. "Henricus Pakenham tenet in eadem quartem partem j. f. m. quondem Johannis Burhille inmediate de Roberto (de) Monte Alto. in Hundredum De Suth Grenehogh." *Inquisitions and Assessments related to Feudal Aids* Vol. III page 596.

Sunday after midsummer, 12 Hen VI. Two seals." A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office Vol. 5, published in London 1906, by Great Britain Public Record Office. Page 58.
 In the second major weakness of this paper, the author has not seen a copy of this will. The data comes from Colin Richmond's The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings, 235-6. The work points out many of the ties amongst Henry de Pakenham's Mortimer relations and his small role in the political and marital deliberations of them.

1404. To grantees for life, remainder to William son of William Berdewell and Elizabeth Wychyngham."⁷⁸

Robert de Pakenham, son of Henry, as previously pointed out, may not have immediately received his inheritance from his father's death, despite a Fine Roll entry commanding the Norfolk escheator to deliver it to him. Since this agreement is dated nearly a week after the escheator has gotten his orders, it would appear that Robert and his brother would have to wait. For an unknown reason, his wife Elizabeth retained rights to his lands with reversion to Robert upon her death. This would indicate that he and his brother William (and additional brother Henry, if other records hold) would wait until Elizabeth Mortimer's 1463 death to gain access to their patrimony! This was certainly not unheard of and was frequently the cause of financial ruin for heirs. It may have been a requirement for Henry to have been able to afford the marriage to Elizabeth Mortimer in the first place.

We do not know much of this Robert or his marital relations. We do not know how he survived after the death of his father. Based on the Winter, 1443 date of his son Henry's birth, and the circumstances surrounding his baptism (his father's hawk flying into the church would seem to indicate they were not exactly impoverished), he may have lived on his father's lands at the time. We do not know whether he may have received his lands early or whether he received them after her death. Likely, he lived on them or on land his wife may have brought to the marriage, either way. That he did pass them on to his son is significant, but if he received after his step-mother's death, he had them only a short time. He died the year after she did, in 1464.

We do not know much about his son Henry Pakenham, either. It would seem that he married an Anne Leedes⁸², though whether she was mother to eldest daughter Margaret (or indeed, any of the daughters) is unclear. Two entries from the Rolls, (the first CPR, the second CCR) comprise most of what we know:

To the Escheator in Norfolk: order to give livery to Henry, son and heir of Robert Pakenham, of his father's lands, since he has proved his age before John Pelly, knight, late escheator, and for half a mark paid in the hamper the King has respited his homage until Easter next.⁸³

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⁷⁸ Norfolk Record Office item NAS 1/1/11/40.

⁷⁹ See note 63; See also February 1st, 1446 CFR writ of diem clausit extremum due to death of Henry de Pakenham. Membrane 26 page 2; see also June 2nd 1446 CFR giving land to Robert de Pakenham. Membrane 13 page 24; For other arrangements see also note 62.

⁸⁰ *2 (see pedigree) Blomefield Vol. I page 257 mentions a wife Margaret for this Robert de Pakenham but no proof exists that she is mother of his children. This matches a 1465 I.P.M. which is difficult to read. NRO item C 140/12/1 Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Edward IV Pakenham, Robert, esq Norfolk 4 Edw IV transcribed and translated by Chris Phillips; See also Blomefield vol 1 pg 457 mentions that this Robert Pakenham had William Monteney of Threxton as one of his executors, possibly an uncle or cousin? If so, this would lend weight to his mother's descent from the Mounteney clan and provide further proof in support of the above Threxton land connections.

proof in support of the above Threxton land connections.

81 One of the more personal facts uncovered in this research relates to some of the incidents which were responsible for the witnesses in Robert's son Henry de Pakenham's proof of age. Norfolk Record Office item C 140/30/71, Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Edward IV, Pakenham, Henry. Proof of age Norfolk. 8 Edw IV. One was able to remember that a hawk flew into the church and attacked another bird within. The writer is unsure what omen this would represent to a medieval audience.

⁸² "12 February in the 20th year of the reign" [1480/1]. Norfolk Records Office item C 140/81/61 Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Edward IV Pakenham, Henry. Norfolk, Suffolk 21 Edw IV. It would seem that Garboldisham is not listed in this I.P.M. Note the author retains a nagging uncertainty towards this marriage as the wording would almost seem to support a sister named Anne Leedes, as well, who died shortly after her brother. In no place are the words wife, sister, or mother used, so the exact relationship of this Anne Leedes may not be conclusively identified yet.

⁸³ Calendar of Close Rolls, May 14th, 1474.

Licence for 33s 4d paid in the hamper for Henry Pakenham, son and heir of Robert Pakenham late of Shropham, Esquire, who is seized in his demesne as of fee 30 acres of land and 7 marks rent in Sniterton, Shropham, Wilby, Hargham, Lirlyng, Brethenham, Hillyngton, Rokelond, Stowebydon, Hokham and Brykels in the County of Norfolk, held in chief, to grant the said rent and 29 acres of the said land to Nicholas Bryan, vicar of Shropham, and Robert Knyght of Attilburgh, and for these to grant the same to the said Henry and Anne Leedes, and the heirs male of their bodies, with successive remainder to the heirs of the body of the said Henry, to William brother of the said Robert and the heirs of his body, and to the right heirs of the said Henry.

As previously stated, Blomefield discussed the owners and history of Garboldisham in his first volume. While he admitted to uncertainty regarding the number of daughters left by Henry Pakenham (and confused the date of the later proof of age inquisitions with that of Henry's death date) he stated at the end of this that Anne Pakenham had a child after her marriage. Since the records state that she died on June 10th, 1493, at approximately 11 years old⁸⁵, it is doubtful that Blomefield is correct that she married and had children with John Dobbes.

Both Margaret⁸⁶ and Elizabeth⁸⁷ were required to prove their age in order to gain access to their inheritance. Both shared the same format and state each was baptized in Shropham church. But the dates given seem to conflict with each other and do not specify which Henry (if there were more than one living in Norfolk in the lateter half of he 15th century as Blomefield indicated) was their father. Final proof that Margaret was daughter of Henry de Pakenham son of Robert came from the I.P.M. of their youngest sister Anne who died June 10th, 1493, and who's inquisition was held November 4th, 1497.

Henry Pakenham's death must have been on February 6th, 1481 for Margaret to have been 7 at his death (which the other sister's ages at his death seem to agree with) and for him to have had an I.P.M. in the reigns of both Edward IV and Richard III. Ages of sisters at time of Anne's inquisition are off a couple of years as well, and it seems the ages are verbatim from the 1483 IPM written a couple years after the death of Henry. Wednesday, February 6th, 1481 fits available facts the best for his death.

Since there is no mention of Henry's wife in the below I.P.M. entries, it is possible she died shortly after childbirth with Anne. The statement that Anne was alive in Henry's 1481⁸⁸ inquisition but was not stated to be alive in 1483⁸⁹ fits and this evidence would seem to state that Anne did not long survive her husband.

Garboldisham was disposed of to some favorites of the King. 90 Garboldisham, which has been key to reconnecting this family with it's progenitor Sir William de Pakenham ceased its connection with the

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⁸⁴ Calendar of Patent Rolls, November 18th, 1477.

⁸⁵ November 4th, 1497 I.P.M. confusingly takes large slices verbatim from Henry de Pakenham's 1483 I.P.M. confusing later researchers with dates that do not exactly fit until this is realized and accounted for. ⁸⁶ Margaret's Proof of Age inquisition seems to date to June 20th, 1495 and October 28th, 1495, and states that she was born in October 1475 and is married to John Dade by the time of the inquisition. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous Documents*, Henry VII. Vol. 1 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1898, page 508.

⁸⁷ Elizabeth's Proof of Age inquisition states she was born December 4th, 1481, and has exactly the same format and pronouncements. One testator is the same as her elder sister had. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous Documents*, Henry VII. Vol. 1 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1898, Pp 37-8.

⁸⁸ See note 81.

⁸⁹ "21 October 1 Richard III [1483]". Inquisition Post Mortem item C 141/3/34 Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Richard III Pakenham, Henry Counties: Norfolk 1 Ric III.

⁹⁰ "Garboldesham" was eventually given by King Richard III to Sir Robert Percy in Jan-Apr 1484, as included in Extract from British Harleian MS 443, ff. 43b & 58; transcript printed in R. Horrox and P.W.

family just as the family began to integrate with the Dade family. From here out, the Dade family would refer to the Breton lands in their inheritance and would branch out to other lands as well.

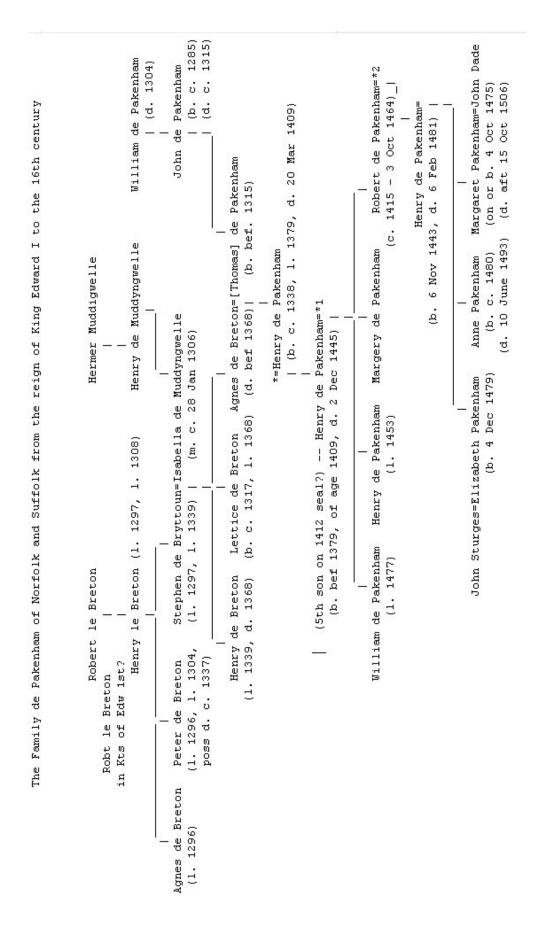
Margaret Pakenham seems to have survived her husband John Dade's 150691 death as she is mentioned in his will. When she died is unknown. That the 30 acres of Shropham lands remained, intact, in her eldest son Richard Dade's hands in 1517⁹² shows she was successful in retaining her ancestral inheritance and directly ties the Dade family to a Pakenham progenitor over 200 years before.

Hammond, eds., British Library Harleian Manuscript 443, Vol. III (Richard III Society, 1980), pp. 134 & 169.

⁹¹ Norfolk record Office item PD 125/25. Note the item is a later transcription of the actual will. Despite 1530 reference at the end of this transcription NRO indexed as 1506, which matches evidence within will and Blomefield's reference in Vol I. page 459.

2 The Inquisition of 1517. Inclosures and Evictions. Edited from the Lansdowne MS. I. 153. Part II

I. S. Leadam. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 7, (1893), page 197.



Appendix A

C 139/121/11

Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Henry VI

Pakenham, Henry, esq: Norf, Suff

24 Hen VI

Writ

Henry [VI] to the escheator of Norfolk and Suffolk. Henry Pakenham, esquire, held of us in chief. Westminster 1 February in the 24th year of our reign [1445/6].

Inquisition

Delivered into court 28th.

Inquisition taken at Shroph[am] in the county of Norfolk, Tuesday next before the feast of St Dunstan the bishop in the 24th year of the reign of King Henry VI after the conquest [Tuesday 17 May 1446], before William Harleston', escheator of the lord king in the aforesaid county, by virtue of a certain writ directed to the same escheator and stitched to this inquisition, by the oath of Henry Walman, Adam Benye, John Sokkere, John Thederyk', John Martyn', Thomas Pekke, Robert Roper', Robert Salter', William Reynald', Thomas Gall', Thomas Payn' and Hugh Grubbe, jurors, who say on their oath that Henry Pakenham, esquire, specified in the writ stitched to this inquisition, died seised in his demesne as of fee of 30 acres of land with their appurtenances in Snyterton' and 7 marks of fixed rent (redditus assisus), issuing from demesne lands and tenements in the vills of Snyterton', Hargham, Wylhgby, Shropham, Lyrlyng', Brethenham, Illyngton', Rokelond' and Stowebydon', payable at the feasts of Easter and St Michael the Archangel by equal portions. And they say that the aforesaid 30 acres of land in Snyterton' are worth each year beyond reprises 10 shillings, - of which each acre 4 pence - and they say also that the same Henry held on the day on which he died of the said lord king in chief the aforesaid 30 acres of land and 7 marks of fixed rent with their appurtenances as parcel of the barony of Tateshale by the service of a hundredth part of one barony, namely of the barony of Tateshale aforesaid. And furthermore the jurors say that the aforesaid Henry named in the said writ died on the Thursday next after the feast of St Andrew the apostle in the abovesaid year [Thursday 2 December 1445], and that Robert Pakenham is his son and next heir and is of the age of 30 years and more, and that the aforesaid Henry specified in the said writ held no other lands or tenements of the lord king or of any other in demesne or in service in the aforesaid county on the said day that he died. In testimony of which the aforesaid jurors have put their seals to this inquisition.

Given the place, day and year abovesaid.

Appendix B

C 140/12/1

Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Edward IV

Pakenham, Robert, esq Norf

4 Edw IV

Writ

Mutilated. The only information on the surviving fragment is the Christian name of the deceased, Robert.

Inquisition

[Badly stained and practically illegible on the left-hand side. The UV lamp doesn't help.

The remainder is badly faded, but some of the text can be made out with the help of the UV lamp.]

[Delivered into] court 16 February, 4 Edward IV [1464/5].

... Norfolk ... Monday next before the feast of the conversion of St Paul the apostle, 4 Edward IV [Monday 21

January 1464/5].

[Some jurors' names are legible.]

[?]Robert Pakenham of [?]Shropham ... held in chief 30 acres of land and 7 marks of rent in [?]Sny[terton and ...] L[yr]lyng, Brethenham, Illyngton', Rokelond' and Stowbydon' in the county of Norfolk ... [valuation not legible] ... of the lord king as of the manor of Snetesham, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, the manor of Unle[..] ...

- ... [1..oncotes?] and Estb[r]adenham ...
- ... Robert died Wednesday next before the feast of St Faith the virgin

[year not legible. The feast of St Faith was 6 October, so if he died in 4 Edward IV the date of his death would be Wednesday 3 October 1464] ...

- ... [and?] nine years and more [must relate to the age of the heir] ...
- ... manor in [?]Garboldesham called Pakenhameshalle ...
- ... of the gift and grant of Thomas [To...ham?], Robert [Conyouke??] ...
- ... vicar of Shropham to the said Robert Pakenham and [?]Margaret ...
- ... [if] Margaret survived the same Robert ...

Appendix C

C 140/30/71

Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Edward IV

Pakenham, Henry. Proof of age Norf

8 Edw IV

Writ

Edward [IV] to the escheator in Norfolk.

Henry Pakenham, son and heir of Robert Pakenham, deceased, who held in chief of us on the day he died, says that he is of full estate and seeks from us the lands and tenements, which are of his inheritance and in the custody of Thomas Mongomery [sic], knight, and Nicholas Parker.

We well that Henry, who was born at Shropham in the aforesaid county, and baptised in the church of the same vill, should prove his age before you.

Westminster, 10 July in the 8th year of our reign [1468].

Proof of age

[NB This is quite worn and faded, but mostly legible with the help of the UV lamp.]

[Delivered into court] 10 November 8 [1468].

Henry Pakenham, son and heir of Robert Pakenham. Taken at Shropham in the county of Norfolk, 20 October 8

Edward IV [1468].

Before [?]John [..]lby, esquire, escheator in the [aforesaid] county.

(1) Stephen Galle, aged 50 years and more, says on his oath that Henry Pakenham was born at Shropham in the feast of St Leonard the abbot in the 22nd year of [Henry VI] [6 November 1443] and was baptised in the parish church of the same vill, and is of the age of 23 years and more.

On which day Stephen carried [... ...] from the house of Robert, the father of Henry, to the church when Henry was taken to be baptised.

[Each subsequent juror repeats the same information about Henry's birth, baptism and age]

(2) John [?] Woderove, aged 46 years and more ...

On which day John carried a basin with a silver ewer full of water from the house of Robert Pakenham, the father of Henry Pakenham, to the church when Henry was taken to be baptised.

(3) John Lyncoln', aged 48 years and more ...

On which day John held the salt by the font at the baptism of Henry.

(4) Thomas Hervy, aged 43 years and more ...

On which day Thomas was beaten by various unknown wrongdoers.

(5) William Caldewell', aged 58 years and more ...

On which day a great [...] oak tree next to the cemetery of the church of Shropham was blown down and broke and destroyed a great part of the wall of the cemetery.

(6) John Beaufo, aged 69 years and more ...

On which day Thomas Beaufo, the father of the same John Beaufo, died.

(7) Hugh Grubbe, aged 47 years and more ...

On which day Hugh led in marriage Joan, the daughter of Thomas Hervy.

(8) Thomas Est, aged 49 years and more ...

On which day Alice, his wife, was delivered of two sons.

(9) John Wylkyns, aged 53 years and more ...

On which day a hawk of Robert Pakenham was present and a partridge entered the door of the church of Shropham and [?]while Henry was being baptised the hawk took the partridge in the middle of the church.

(10) John Rous, aged 45 years and more ...

On which day Joan, his mother, died.

(11) William at Mere, aged 54 years and more ...

On which day his bakery by misfortune was burned by a fire.

(12) Henry Sekkar', aged 75 years and more ...

On which day [John Raven?] and Thomas Rowe [?]quarrelled so that John [...] the left fore-arm of Thomas.

Appendix D

C 140/81/61

Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Edward IV

Pakenham, Henry Norf, Suff

21 Edw IV

Writ

To the escheator in Norfolk and Suffolk. Henry Pakenham. Westminster, 12 February in the 20th year of the reign [1480/1].

Inquisition

[very worn and faded in places. UV lamp required.]

Delivered 18 November.

At Thetforthe in the county of Norfolk, the Saturday next after the feast of the 11 thousand virgins, 21 Edward IV

[Saturday 27 October 1481].

Before Thomas Rokewode, escheator.

By the oath of Robert [...]day, Geoffrey Kempe, Robert Beton, Thomas Barett, John Payne, William Amy, William Chyncheball', Richard Barbo[r], William Clerke, Thomas Twyle, Robert [Bruey?], Thomas Julyan, John [?]Kellyngworth and John Russell.

They say (the following are stated to hold as tenants of the Henry Pakenham named in the writ):

A certain Thomas Maist[ir?] and Joan, his wife, held as in right of Joan, 68 acres of land

in the vill of Shroppham in the aforesaid county, by the service of 5 shillings and 4 pence of rent a year; a certain John [?]Junes held 6 acres of land in the same vill, by the service of 6 pence of rent a year; a certain John Wylkyns held 16 acres of land in the vill of Snetyrton by the service of 12 pence of rent a year;

a certain Maud (Matilda) Jowell held 4 acres of land in Shroppham by the service of 3 pence of rent a year; a certain John Rows held 6 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 4 pence of rent a year; a certain Margaret Mason held half an acre of land in the same vill by the service of a halfpenny of rent a year;

a certain Henry Lassher [Lussher?] held 11 acres and 3 roods of land with a messuage in Shroppham and Snyt[er]ton by the service of [?]30 pence of rent a year;

a certain Thomas Beney the younger held 7 acres of land in Shroppham by the service of 3 pence and a halfpenny of rent a year;

a certain Robert Wylkyns held 2 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 3 pence of rent a year; a certain Henry Seccar [Soccar?] held 16 acres of land in Shroppham and Snetirton by the service of 14 pence of rent a year;

a certain Thomas Seccar held 6 acres of land with part of 1 messuage in Snet[er]ton by the service of 7 pence of rent a year;

a certain Henry Todryk' held 10 acres of land in Shroppham by the service of 8 pence of rent a year; a certain Thomas Marton held 2 acres of land in Snetyrton by the service of 2 pence of rent a year; a certain John Boknh[a]m, esquire, held 10 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 2 shillings and a halfpenny of rent a year;

a certain John Seccar held half an acre of land in Shroppham by the service of 1 penny of rent a year; a certain Thomas Dor[aunt?] held 3 acres and a half of land in the same vill by the service of 7 pence of rent a year;

a certain Peter Baker held 1 messuage with 5 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 15 pence of rent a year;

a certain Thomas Nele held 7 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 2 shillings and 6 pence of rent a year;

a certain John Cole held 3 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 6 pence of rent a year; a certain William Cod[ar?] held 10 acres of land in Snet[er]ton by the service of 10 pence of rent a year;

a certain Robert Jamys held 24 acres of land with 1 messuage in Shropph[a]m and Snyt[er]ton by the service of 4 shillings of rent a year;

a certain Robert Newman, clerk, [rector of the church?] of Snet[er]ton held 4 acres of land in Snyt[er]ton by the service of 2 pence of rent a year;

a certain Agnes Baxster, widow, held 1 acre of land in the same vill by the service of 1 penny of rent a year;

a certain Richard Punder held 1 messuage with 26 acres of land in Snyt[er]ton and Shropph[a]m by the service of 19 pence and a halfpenny of rent a year;

a certain Thomas Balle held [3?] messuages with 29 acres of land in Shroppham and Snet[er]ton by the service of 33 pence of rent a year;

a certain Richard Bowres held 30 acres and 3 roods of land in Snyt[er]ton by the service of 2 shillings and 4 pence of rent a year;

a certain Robert Jamys held 1 cottage and 2 acres of land in Shropph[a]m by the service of 4 pence of rent a year;

a certain William [G?]alle held 15 acres and a half of land in Snyt[er]ton by the service of 13 pence of rent a year;

a certain Margaret Galle held 1 messuage and 18 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 18 pence of rent a year;

a certain Thomas Hervy held 1 messuage and 10 acres of land in the same vill by the service of 3 shillings and 4 pence of rent a year;

the same Thomas held 10 acres of land lately purchased of Mar[...] Lyncoln' in the vill of Snyt[er]ton by the service of 2 shillings and 6 pence of rent a year;

a certain Richard Lost held 3 roods of land in the same vill by the service of 2 pence of rent a year; a certain Richard Padwell held 2 acres of land and 1 rood in the same vill by the service of 4 pence of rent a

a certain Stephen Galle held 12 acres and a half of land in the same vill by the service of 2 shillings and 1 penny of rent a year;

a certain Joan, late the wife of Thomas Deram, held 1 messuage and 10 acres of land in Snyt[er]ton by the service of 2 shillings of rent a year;

the prioress of the nuns of Brosierd' held 40 acres of land and pasture in Harngh[a]m by the service of 3 shillings and 4 pence of rent a year;

a certain Roger Nele held 1 cottage [...] and 3 roods of land in Shroppham by the service of 6 pence of rent a year;

a certain Stephen Galle held 8 acres of land in Snet[er]ton by the service of 14 pence of rent a year; a certain John Martyn held 1 acre of land in Shroppham by the service of 2 pence of rent a year; [stopped here, on line 22; the list of tenants continues until line 39]

Which rent extends in total to the sum of 7 marks, of which Henry was seised in his demesne as of fee. And [they say also] that Henry was seised of 30 acres of land in Snyt[er]ton, [inserted: Shroppham,] Wilby, Harngham, L[w?]lyng, Brethenham, Hillyngton, Rokeland', Stowebydon', Hockh[a]m and Brykles in the aforesaid county in his demesne as of fee.

And that Henry held the 30 acres of land and 7 marks of rent of the lord king in chief by military service, namely a 200th part of 1 knight's fee.

And again that Henry, seised of the 30 acres of land and 7 marks of rent by the name of Henry Pakenham, son and heir of Robert Pakenham, late of Shropph[a]m, esquire, obtained licence of the lord king concerning 29 acres of land, parcel of the 30 acres, and 7 marks of rent, by letters patent dated at Westminster 18 November in the 17th year of the reign [1477], shown to the jurors, and after the licence was thus obtained, by his charter, also shown, dated at Shropph[a]m the Monday the last day of the month of March in the 18th year [1478*], granted to Nicholas Brian, the vicar of the church of Shropph'm and Robert Knyght of Attilburgh' the 30 acres of land and 7 marks of rent, to have and hold to NB and RK, their heirs and assigns, of the chief lords of the fee, by which NB and RK were seised in their demesne as of fee, and Thomas Maist[er] and Joan, his wife, as in the right of Joan and each of the other tenants attorned; and thus seised Nicholas and Robert obtained the licence of the lord king by letter patent, shown to the jurors, and by their charter, also shown, dated 1 June in the 18th year [1478] conveyed to Henry Pakenham, by the name of Henry Pakenham, son and heir of Robert Pakenham, late of Shroppham, esquire, and Anne L[e?]dye, 29 acres of land, parcel of the 30 acres of land, and 7 marks of rent, to have and to hold

to Henry and Anne and the male heirs of the bodies of Henry and Anne, and if it happened that Henry and Anne died without male heirs of their bodies, then the 29 acres of land and 7 marks of rent should remain to the lawfully begotten heirs of Henry [sic] for ever.

In default of such heirs, successive remainders (1) to William Pakenham, [?]brother of the aforesaid Robert, and the heirs of the body of William, and (2) to the right heirs of the aforesaid Henry, to hold of the chief lords; by virtue of which TM and J, his wife, as in the right of J, and each of the other tenants attorned; Henry and Anne were seised of both the 29 acres of land and the 7 marks of rent in their demesne as of fee, and Henry died thus seised, and Anne survived him, and still survives seised thereof.

And [they say] that NB and RW at the time of the death of Henry Pakenham were seised of the 1 acre of land, the remainder of the 30 acres of land, in their demesne as of fee, and that the 30 acres of land and 7 marks of rent are held of the lord king in chief by military service and that the 29 acres of land are worth each year beyond reprises 13 shillings and 4 pence, and that the 1 acre of land, the remainder of the 30, is worth each year 8 pence. Henry held no other lands or tenements of the lord king or any other in his demesne in the aforesaid county on the day he died.

They say that Henry Pakenham died 8 February in the 20th year [1480/1] and that Margaret Pakenham, Elizabeth and Anne are the daughters and next heirs of Henry, and that Margaret is of the age of 5 years and more, Elizabeth is of the age of 2 years and more and Anne is of the age of 1 year and more.

Dated in the aforesaid feast of the 11 thousand virgins at Thetforth in the 21st year of the reign.

[*31 March 1478 was a Tuesday; perhaps this should read the Monday before the last day of March?]

Appendix E

C 141/3/34

Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series I, Richard III

Pakenham, Henry Counties: Norf

1 Ric III

Writ

Richard [III] to the escheator in the county of Norfolk. Henry Pakenham, deceased. Westminster, 23 August in the first year of the reign [1483].

Inquisition

[Generally legible, but with a small faded and stained section on the right.]

[Delivered into court] 21 October 1 Richard III [1483] by the hands of William Corbryge.

Norfolk.

At Hengh'm, 4 October 1 Richard III [1483].

Before Thomas Brampton', escheator in the aforesaid county, by the oath of Andrew Retherhithe,

Alexander Ocley, Edmund Cowper', William Daine, Thomas Vincent, [....]

William Whipp', John Lichefeld', William Skyrbek', John Cok', Thomas Rypford', John Auger, John Dykeman and John Ledes.

They say that Henry Pakenh'm named in the writ was seised of 1 acre of land in Snyterton' in his demesne as of fee and that Richard [?H.... held] of the same Henry 2 acres of land in Wilby by fealty, service and rent of 1 penny a year and John Lost held of the same Henry 7 acres of land in Snyter[ton ...] and rent of 10 pence and 1 farthing a year and Thomas Hervy held of the same Henry 3 acres of land in the same [sic] by fealty, service and rent [of ...]

which acre of land, rents and services Henry held of the lord Edward IV, late king, brother of the now lord king [...]

200th part of 1 knight's fee and that Henry was seised of the acre of land, rents and services at the time of his death.

The 1 acre of land is worth each year beyond reprises 4 pence.

And they say that John Bokenh'm had and received the issues and profits of the acre and rents and services [from the time] of the death of the said Henry up to the time of the taking of this inquisition, by what right or title the jurors do not know.

And furthermore they say that Nicholas Parker of Ho[n]yng in the county of Norfolk, esquire, John Jermy the younger, Thomas Jermy, brother of the same John, esquire, Thomas Banyard', gentleman, Thomas Toppesfeld', esquire, Thomas [Lam?]pette, esquire, and Master John Stanton', clerk, were seised of a certain manor and lands and tenements in Honyng, formerly of John Baxt[er], and also of those lands and tenements called Lombes, Wales and Drakes in the same vill, and of all the other lands and tenements which Nicholas purchased or in any other way ought to have in the vill of Honyng, Northwalsh[a]m, Worsted, Crosthwayte and Witton' in the aforesaid county, and being thus seised by a certain deed, shown to the jurors, granted to Henry Pakenh[a]m, son and heir of Robert Pakenh[a]m, esquire, deceased, an annual rent of 10 pounds, to have [and receive] to Henry and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, annually at the feasts of Easter, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, St Michael and the Nativity of the lord by equal portions.

Henry was to have the right to distrain in the manor and tenements if the payment was in arrears by a month

By virtue of which Henry was seised of the rent in his demesne as of fee, and Henry had issue Margaret, Elizabeth and Anne and died 6 February 20 Edward IV [1480/1], after whose death the rent descended to Margaret, Elizabeth and Anne as daughters and heirs of Henry. And they say that Margaret is of the age of 7 years and more, Elizabeth of 3 years and more and Anne is of the age of 2 years and more, and also that Margery, formerly the wife of the aforesaid Robert Pakenh'm received and had the said rent of 10 pounds from the time of the death of Henry to the time of the taking of this inquisition, by what right or title the jurors do not know.

Appendix F Pakenham Church pedigree

