

THE BOUNDS OF STOKE AND THE HAMLETS OF IPSWICH

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THIS ARTICLE LOCATES the landmarks named in the Anglo-Saxon boundaries of Stoke, the suburb of Ipswich on the south west bank of the River Orwell beyond Stoke Bridge. It places them in the modern landscape and relates them to later records of the boundaries of Ipswich. It goes on to place the suburb of Stoke as defined in this way in the context of the geography of Ipswich as described in Domesday Book in 1086. This investigation was prompted by reading again the relevant pages of Norman Scarfe's *The Suffolk Landscape* which provided a vital starting point.

THE TENTH-CENTURY BOUNDS OF STOKE

The records of the abbey of St Etheldreda (St Audrey) at Ely preserve an early account of the boundaries of their liberty in Stoke (Blake 1962, 111–13) which includes a number of significant landmarks. The document was written in 970 when King Edgar agreed at the request of his wife, Alfreth, to sell ten hides in Stoke near Ipswich to Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester (later St Ethelwold), who was apparently restoring to the church various properties it had lost during the period of Danish (Viking) government of East Anglia. This task seems to have been started by Theodred, Bishop of London 942–51, and Ethelwold continued the work by transferring to Ely this holding in Stoke and at about the same time the whole of the Wicklaw, which was the 5½ hundreds of the Liberty of St Audrey in East Suffolk. The sale of Stoke, for 100 gold pieces, included two mills *'that are sited in the southern part'*, which were probably both on the Belstead Brook, one near Bourne Bridge (one is shown there on Hodkinson's map of 1783) and the other at the western end of the Stoke bounds where later records of the Ipswich Borough bounds refer to a millpond (probably at the far corner of the playing field off Ellenbrook Road). There is a considerable flow of water in the river and there was at one time a mill even further upstream at Copdock.

The full text of 970 (translated from Latin and Anglo-Saxon), reads:

A certain lady who was called Alfreth requested King Edgar to sell to the blessed Ethelwold 10 hides at Stoke [Stoche] which is near Ipswich [Gippeswic] and two mills that are sited in the southern part. Her prayers prevailed with him, for the bishop gave the king for that land and the mills 100 gold pieces (*aureos*) and afterwards transferred the same land and the same mills to saint Etheldreda [Ætheldrethe].

The aforesaid land is bounded this way and that by these limits : 'These are the boundaries (landgemaera) of the 10 hides at Stoke. The first of these is a hythe and along the midstream at Ashman's yre and so forth into the middle of the stream it comes to brunna and so forth to Theofford and from there to Haligwille to Healdenesho and so to Pottaford to Hagenefordabrycge from Hagenefordabricge to Horsewade to [into] a merscmylne from merscmylne to the bridge In the year of the Lord's incarnation the nine hundred and seventieth was this charter written.

This is the 10 hides of granted land (landboc) at Stoke which King Edgar gave to God and St Etheldreda in Ely [Elig] in perpetual inheritance for the redemption of his soul just as Ælfthryth long ago gave it to his bedmate [? his wife gebedda].

STOKE BOUNDS

- A. Close of St. Leonard's Hospital
- B. Bourne Bridge
- C. Theofford, Thetford Bridge
- D. Gusford Hall
- E. Mill Pond
- F. Holy Well, Fir Tree Farm
- G. Crossroads
- H. Bridling Oak, Healdensho
- I. Holdessie Valley
- J. Boss Hall, Pottafor
- K. Handford Bridge
- L. Friars Bridge, Horsewade
- M. Marsh Mill
- N. Stoke Bridge
- P. St. Augustine's Parish
- R. Stoke Hill Wood
- S. Fieffe of Prior of St. Peter
- T. Sprites Lane

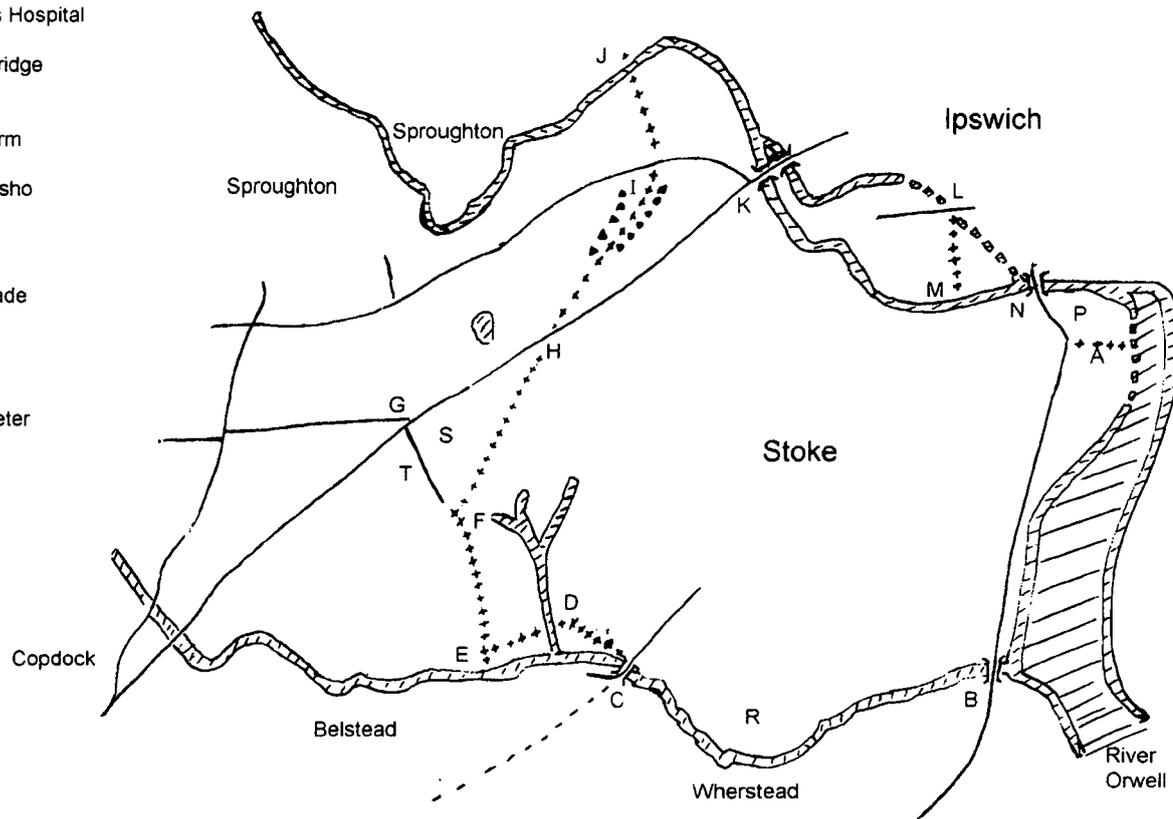


FIG. 57 - Stoke bounds.

The actual boundary starts from a *hythe*. This must be a landing place on the south bank of the River Orwell downstream from Stoke Bridge and the most likely location is at the end of Felaw Street (A in Fig. 57). The riverbank here has been completely changed by the creation of the Wet Dock in the 19th century. However the wealthy merchant family, the Harneys, had a property beside the river at this point as the Ipswich Recognizance Rolls record that in 1312 Alice, widow of Philip Harneys, left it to her nephew John Harneys the younger, describing it as 'in the parish of St Augustine in Ipswich, namely between the St Augustine's church and the way called Losgateway on the one hand and the salt water on the other' (Martin 1973, 49). The Ipswich Borough bounds from 1522 onwards use as a marker at this point the close of the Hospital of St Leonard which almost certainly stood in the area of the later Felaw Street and Tyler Street. This shows that the small parish of St Augustine (later incorporated into St Peter's) was excluded from the Liberty of Ely which held the parish of St Mary Stoke. In fact this area between the river and Wherstead Road became part of St Peter's parish after the closure of St Augustine's church. It is worth exploring the possibility that when the Hospital of St Leonard was created it took over the redundant church of St Augustine after St Augustine's parish had been merged with St Peter's. Medieval hospitals were as much religious as medical institutions so it would be possible to convert a church nave into the hospital ward for patients confined to bed, enabling them to be present at services conducted in the chancel if that was retained as the hospital chapel.

The bounds then run *along the midstream at Ashman's yre* and Hart (1992) suggests *yre* is an error for *yfer* meaning a bank and presumably referring to a mudbank in the Orwell. This could be the feature once known as Hog Island, so marked on the first one inch map of the Ordnance Survey in 1805 and indicated as 'Hog Island Reach' on John Bransby's map of the Liberties of Ipswich in 1812.¹ Clarke (1830, 368) gives an ancient tradition about the origin of the naming of this feature when it was definitely an island (the bank at this point later became known as 'Hog Highland'). The bounds continue in the middle of the stream to *brunna* which must be The Bourne as the alternative name for the Belstead Brook at Bourne Bridge (B in Fig. 57). It then follows the Belstead Brook, where the Borough bounds from 1351 onwards also refer to Stoke Hill Wood (described as belonging to the Prior of Ely so presumably on the Stoke side of the Brook), as far as *Theofford* which Norman Scarfe (1972, 129) takes to be derived from Thetford, the ford of the people or tribe; but Hart prefers thief's ford and Sylvia Laverton (2001, 100 and personal comment) supports this as she finds Thetford frequently as a surname in 13th-century Wherstead, but only one Thetford.² In either case it is *Thetford Bridge* in the 1351 Bounds of Ipswich and is almost certainly the crossing later known as Belstead Bridge where Belstead Road leaving Ipswich crossed the river (TM143419) which marks the corner junction of the parishes of Wherstead and Belstead with Ipswich Borough (C in fig. 57).

The later Perambulations of the Borough Bounds from 1351 onwards give complicated directions after *Thetford Bridge*, apparently taking the boundary a short distance north of, but roughly parallel to, the Belstead Brook. The first point is *the yard of old Reinold Bourne* in 1351, Reynold Gowars then Christopher Dugillys in 1522 and Robert Pretyman in 1812 and seems most likely to be Belstead Brook Hotel now. Next is *the gate of old Rob. Andrew* in 1351, *sumtyme old Robert Andrewes and now Sir Andrewe Wyndesores Knt.* in 1522 and *Gusford Hall (Jonathan Waspes's)* in 1812 (D in Fig. 57). After this are references to crosses and to a mill pond (*millpond Bruffex* in 1812) and to *Curtey's Street (nowe decayed)* in 1522). The millpond was presumably on the Belstead Brook: the modern boundary of the Borough at the western end of the playing field off Ellenbrook Road (TM135419) coincides with a ditch that appears to have been of some size although now silted up and that could be an ancient boundary ditch (E in Fig. 57). At this point the Belstead Brook runs in a deep clay-sided channel that might easily have been dammed to create a millpond (the name Bruffex

does not seem to be known otherwise but it may be relevant that Ekwall (1960, 70) gives Brue as a British river name meaning 'brisk, vigorous', and Exe and Esk as British river names meaning 'water', and if the combination is admissible it seems appropriate to the rapid flow at this point). It seems surprising that the 970 bounds appear to ignore this important change of direction and we might just wonder whether this could have been the original *Theofford*. The ditch runs northward at right angles to the Brook directly up the slope until obscured by the garden boundaries of modern houses. Somewhere here must have been Curtey's Street, that is on the spur rising from Belstead Brook towards Hawthorn Drive west of the valley now marked by Bridgewater Road.

The next point in 970 is *Haligwille*, meaning a Holy Well; Norman Scarfe (1972, 129) suggests Fir Tree Farm (TM136427) which is now lost under Chantry Estate near the top of Holcombe Crescent, and this seems the most likely location (F in Fig. 57). Given the ancient tradition of making ritual deposits close to sacred wells or springs it may be significant that this was the find spot of the pre-Roman Ipswich gold torcs on the slope of the hill 'overlooking a tributary of the Belstead Brook' (TM13684273).³ A source of this tributary, which might have been the holy well, appears to have been close to Fir Tree Farm.

The perambulation of 1522 gives a point which seems near to Fir Tree Farm and may be the equivalent of *Haligwille* close to Sprite's Lane (named in 1812) as marking 'the fief that is holden of the Prior of Seynt Peters in Ipswich' and goes on to define the Liberty of Ely as extending from the close of the Hospital of St Leonard to this fief of St Peter's. This seems to exclude from Ely's holding the triangle of St Augustine's parish near Stoke Bridge between Vernon Street and the river, and a triangle held by St Peter's Priory defined by Sprite's Lane and the London Road (A12).

The next point after *Haligwille* in the 970 bounds is *Healdenesho* which is almost certainly the top of Crane Hill (H in Fig. 57); the boundary of Ely's liberty probably went directly there, while the boundary of the Borough included the holding of St Peter's referred to above, so that it went along Sprites Lane to the London Road which it then followed back towards Ipswich to a point variously named as Breedling-buss, Bridling Oak or Briton's Oak. This seems to have been near the top of Crane Hill (TM140438) and is probably Healdenesho. This could be a Danish name referring to the famous Haldane killed in 870, suggesting that he was associated with this hill but not necessarily as his burial place, but Sam Newton (*pers. comm.*) suggests it could be much older, as 'Healfdene' (Haldane or Halfdane) appears in *Beowulf* as grandson of Scyld Scefing and grandfather of Hrothmund who may be an ancestor of the Wuffing kings of East Anglia.⁴ If so, the association with a hill or spur looking down over Ipswich and with the large Hadleigh Road (or 'Handford') Anglo-Saxon cemetery dating from the 6th to the early 7th centuries (Plunkett 1994) at its foot is interesting. Scarfe (1972, 129) identifies as a valley below this hill 'Holdessie valley' in the Ipswich bounds of 1352. This is most likely to be the valley north west of the slope of Crane Hill (I in Fig. 57) which, starting in Chantry Park below the Mansion and crossing Hadleigh Road, widens into the Gipping Valley in the area now occupied by Hadleigh Road Industrial Estate.

The 970 bounds go from Healdenesho *and so to Pottaford*. For this Hart (1992) suggests a ford where pots were made or ancient pottery was found and the later Perambulations of the borough bounds place the river crossing at *Bordshaw Hall*. The Perambulation of 1812 refers to *river near where was Bordshaw Bridge*. In the 16th century the Borough challenged Edmund Withipoll's right to fish in the river between Handford Bridge and Bradeshawe Bridge, as one of his several claims to have acquired all the rights of the Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity (Christchurch) when he bought its site after the suppression of the monasteries.⁵ It was probably in rejection of Withipoll's claim that the Assembly determined in 1565 that 'Mr Bailiffs shall fish the river from Handford Bridge to

Bordshaw Bridge as hath been formerly used'.⁶ This river crossing therefore appears to be near Boss Hall (J in Fig. 57) in Sproughton Road, close to the point where the East Suffolk branch of the railway now crosses the River Gipping. It seems very possible that Pottafoord got its name from erosion of the river bank exposing either urns from an extension of the Boss Hall Anglo-Saxon cemetery or a settlement related to it.⁷ This cemetery is of similar date to the Hadleigh Road one and is interesting as it appears to be in an extension of Bramford associated with a chapel of St Albright, dedicated to Ethelbert, king of East Anglia who died in 794. Bramford was a royal manor in Domesday so may be an original royal property of the East Anglian kings (Newman 1993). In the Domesday Book (Rumble 1986, 1,119) Sproughton is also called Bramford, but in Samford Hundred, and had been held by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, so that all the properties around here seem to have an interesting history. We might also note that Boss Hall is the point on the river closest to the Castle Hill, Whitton Roman Villa and the logical point for a quay and crossing point linked to the villa. In fact if a ridge of slightly higher, and therefore dry, land underlies the present line of the East Suffolk branch railway line towards Westerfield as it runs from Hadleigh Road to the river, this would provide a direct route for a Roman road from the top of Crane Hill across the river at Boss Hall and on the edge of high ground east of the Gipping to Castle Hill. It may be that the Stoke Bounds followed this road line from Healdenesho to Pottafoord.

The next point on the 970 bounds is *Hagenefordabrycge*, which is certainly Handford Bridge (K in Fig. 57) bringing us very close to the Hadleigh Road Anglo-Saxon cemetery on the south bank and a possible significant Roman site beside Handford Road on the north bank. Hagen could be a Viking Age personal name, but we should probably follow Hart in linking it to OE *hagen*, an enclosure. We do not know the nature of this enclosure but we might note that Bishop Theodred in his will of 951 (Whitelock 1979, 552) refers to a property he had bought in Ipswich as a *haga*. The precise nature of the crossing point is not clear as at some date unknown, perhaps even as early as Roman times, the river was divided into two streams by the Horseshoe Weir, creating an artificial mill leat, later sometimes called the River Gipping as opposed to the tidal natural stream of the River Orwell. Certainly the artificial channel seems to exist in 970 as the bounds continue *from Hagenefordabrycge to Horsewade*. Hart is almost certainly right to place Horsewade as Friars Bridge (L in Fig. 57), which presumably provided access for horses to the grazing area on Portman Meadow, and it is worth noting that it cannot have been called 'Friars Bridge' before the foundation of the Franciscan Greyfriars. This was the site of a mill which medieval records show as different from, but contemporary with, Handford Mill which was further up the same artificial channel. The channel now disappears at the end of 'The Canal' at the site of Handford Mill but formerly ran under Friars Bridge and joined the Orwell at Stoke Bridge.⁸ A charter in the Cartulary of the Priory of St Peter and St Paul (S.R.O.I., HD 226/1, p.14) defines property by reference to the mill of Horsewade to the east and the mill of Hagneford to the west, which confirms their relative positions.

Following the possible Scandinavian origins of the names of Healdenesho and Hageneford it is notable that Portman Meadow is named in early documents as the meadow called Odenholme. Geoffrey Martin (2000, xx) says that it was granted under this name to the portmen in 1200, and this spelling is confirmed by The Domesday of Ipswich (S.R.O.I., C/4/1/6, p.164) and by W.H. Richardson (1884, 71) in a note to his edition of Bacon's *Annals* where he also gives a spelling of *Hodynholm* in the 15th-century translation (B.L. Add. MS 25,011) although elsewhere Richardson gives Bacon's spelling as *Oldenholme*. A 16th-century terrier of the Manor of Stoke, in a translation handwritten by Claude Morley (S.R.O.I., S Ipsw 333.32, p.14) refers to 10 acres 'from old time called Odenholme and lately called portmen's medowe'. This name suggests a link with the Scandinavian god Odin who is equated with the Anglo-Saxon Woden.

THE HAMLETS OF IPSWICH

- A. Town Centre
- B. Castle Hill
- C. Brooks Hall
- D. Holywells
- E. Pond Hall

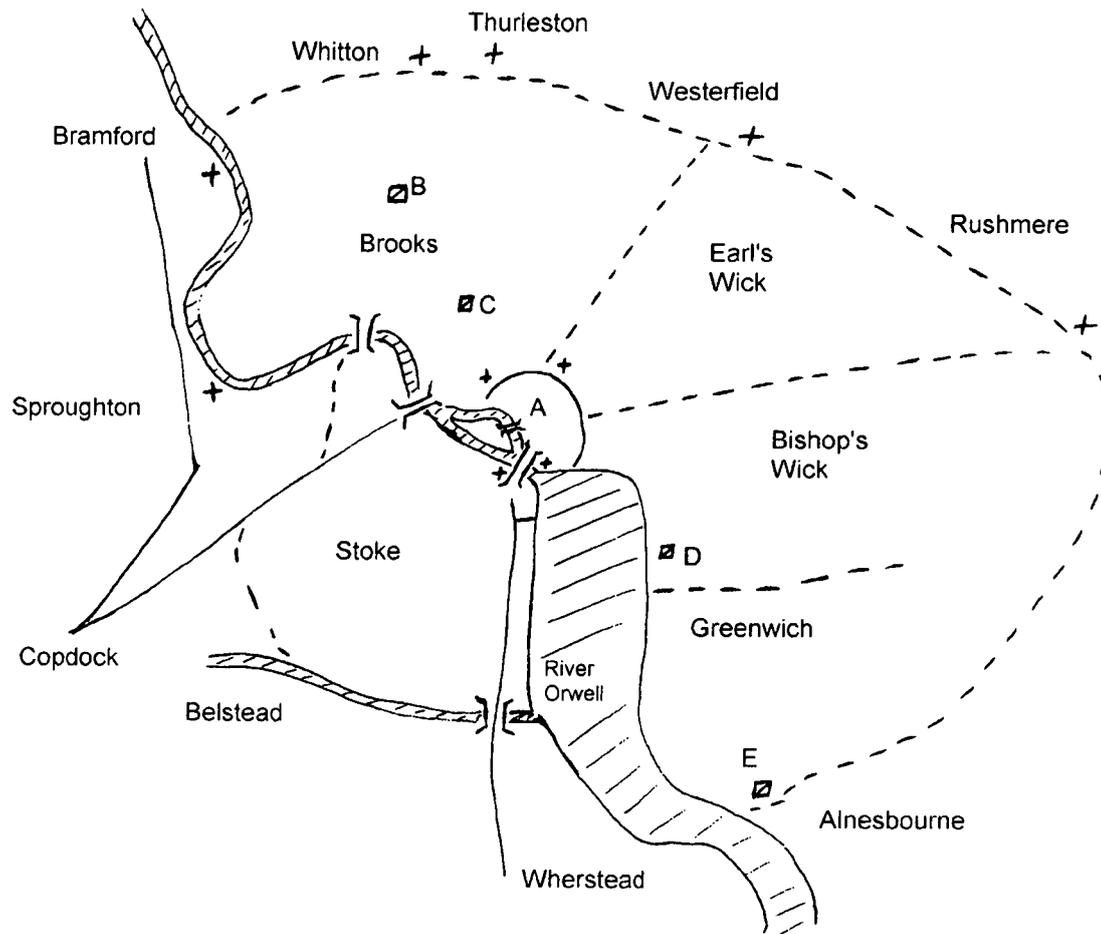


FIG. 58 - The hamlets of Ipswich.

The bounds continue to ['into'] a *merscmylne* ['marsh mill' or 'the mill in the fen'] which Hart considers to be Stoke Mill at Stoke Bridge, but this need not be true as later town records contain many references to various mills including Handford (Hagenford) and Horsewade Mills as well as Stoke mills and New mills. It is more likely that *merscmylne* marks a change of direction and it is notable that the later parish boundary between St Mary Stoke and St Peter divides Portman Meadow approximately in half as it cuts across the marshes from Handford Mill to meet the Orwell at right angles.⁹ This is the most likely site (M in Fig. 57) of *merscmylne* and perhaps as a marsh mill it was some sort of drainage device which might have been either a water-powered scoop mill or a donkey-powered machine. Presumably from *merscmylne* to the bridge is the short stretch along the Orwell from this point to Stoke Bridge (N in Fig. 57), or perhaps to the ford at the end of Great Whip Street.

The document concludes:

In the year of the Lord's incarnation the nine hundred and seventieth was this charter written.

This is the 10 hides of granted land (*landboc*) at Stoke which King Edgar (*Ædgar cyning*) gave (*gebocade*) to God and St Etheldreda in Ely (*Elig*) in perpetual inheritance for the redemption of his soul just as . . . *on ece yrfe his saule to alysednesse ealswa Ælfthryth hit geaern dode his gebedda* . . .

This is actually a sale by Alfreth, queen of King Edgar, with the King's approval.¹⁰ Alfreth was a notorious character according to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*) and Geoffrey Gaimar, the poet. She was the second wife of King Edgar, mother of Ethelred the Unready and so grandmother of Edward the Confessor. She was the daughter of an Ealdorman of Devon and was a famous beauty. Edgar sent Aethelwold, his Ealdorman of East Anglia, to Devon to inspect her but he married her himself telling the king she was plain. Edgar discovered the truth and slew Aethelwold c. 962. Alfreth founded a community of nuns in expiation of the killing. She had a disagreement with the Abbot of Ely (the one who obtained Withburga's remains from Dereham), who accused her of witchcraft¹¹ whereupon she had him killed with hot irons. Edgar probably married her about 968. Perhaps Bishop Ethelwold persuaded her to do something for Ely after her treatment of the abbot. She was involved later in the controversial death at Corfe of her stepson Edward the Martyr in 978.

It is possible that this land holding may have been given to Alfreth by Ealdorman Aethelwold when they married. Aethelwold the Ealdorman of East Anglia was son of Athelstan the 'half king' who was Ealdorman of East Anglia until about 956 and may have been related to the royal family descended from Alfred the Great. In relation to a royal connection here it may be worth recalling that north of Stoke along the river Bramford is a substantial royal manor in Domesday Book (Rumble 1986, 1.2) and Sproughton, as 'Bramford in Samford Hundred' had been held by Archbishop Stigand but came under the royal jurisdiction of East Bergholt (Rumble 1986, 1.119). King Edgar and Queen Alfreth about the same year of 970 gave Sudbourne manor, formerly held by the Danish earl Scule in the 930s and 940s (Blake 1962, 111), to Ethelwold (Bishop of Winchester and later Saint) in return for his translation of the Rule of St Benedict into English and, as with Stoke, Ethelwold handed it on to Ely. This gift of Sudbourne included control of the 5½ hundreds of the Wicklaw (Fig. 59).¹² Also Ethelwold at much the same time obtained Edgar's permission to move the remains of saints from places destroyed by the Danes to new monasteries, which included moving remains of St Botolph from Icanhoe which had been destroyed by the killers of St Edmund the King, distributing the head to Ely, the middle body to the royal collectors and the rest to Thorney. There were problems with the move and Canute finally

authorised removal of St Botolph's bones from Grundisburgh (perhaps from St Botolph's church, Burgh) to St Edmund's abbey at Bury newly founded by Canute in 1020 (Scarfe 1986, 48).

Cyril Hart (1992, 47) puts forward the very attractive idea that Ipswich may have been the *wic* from which the 5 or 5½ hundreds of Wicklaw took their name (as *wic* and *hlaewe* for 'the mound or tumulus belonging to the port'), in which case it may have had its meeting place at the Thingstead. The centre would change to Sudbourne when Edgar's charter, giving the Wicklaw to Ely, separated it from Ipswich. He develops the point (Hart 1992, 71) that Wicklaw is likely to have been an early administrative unit like that of the 8½ hundreds (later West Suffolk) administered from Thingoe at Bury St Edmunds. He suggests that these two units may be even older than their adoption by the Vikings who gave them both *things* (administrative meetings for local government), so may be East Anglian royal units of administration. This is an attractive idea as it would explain why the people of Ipswich were not meeting at Thingstead when they received their charter in 1200,¹³ and the fact that it is outside the town ditch. Perhaps the original unit of Wicklaw included Stoke – hence its grant (or return) to Ely at the same time as the Wicklaw – while only Ipswich itself with its burgesses was excluded from the territory granted to Ely and was retained in the king's hands until it received its borough charter in 1200: in Domesday Book Brown the reeve (*praepositus*) of Ipswich, presumably the King's official in the town, appears as a free tenant of Roger Bigot with lands in Baylham and Stonham (Rumble 1986, 7.63–65). This would include Sutton Hoo and Rendlesham in the territory originally linked to Ipswich. It may be relevant that Hart (1992, 77) makes a case based on the Domesday entries for Lothingland half hundred having been under the jurisdiction of Beccles until the king gave Beccles to Bury in 955/57. It may be that we can identify some of the most important administrative units in early Suffolk as Wicklaw based on Ipswich, Thingoe based on Bury St Edmunds, Blything based on Blythburgh, Waveney based on Beccles and the Bishop's hundred based on Hoxne, although this still leaves some parts of the county to be accounted for.

DOMESDAY BOOK AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF IPSWICH

In the Domesday Survey of 1086 Stoke was certainly part of the half hundred of Ipswich. In a scattered group of entries Domesday lists the holdings within the Half Hundred of Ipswich as being partly held of the king directly – that is the burgesses, who presumably lived within the limits of the bank and ditch of the town rampart which had probably been constructed originally under Danish administration in the early 10th century (Wade 1993, 148) and limited areas of 'suburbs' immediately outside the enclosure,¹⁴ four carucates which had been held by Queen Edith (wife of Edward the Confessor) and two carucates under Count Alan which had been held by Earl Gyrth. The other holdings were six carucates held by St Peter's Church in Ipswich under Richard FitzGilbert of Clare, and three carucates held by the Abbey of St Etheldreda at Ely (Rumble 1986, 1.122; 3.55; 25.52).

This gives us a total of fifteen carucates and so Ely's liberty in Stoke at three carucates represents one fifth. It is interesting that if the half hundred should have been reckoned as fifty hides (the hundred being a hundred hides) then the ten hides referred to in 970 would also represent one fifth under that system of reckoning. For reckoning the size of holdings in Suffolk there is apparently a change from the use of hides in the 10th century to carucates in the 11th. The hide was based on the amount of agricultural land needed to support a household, while the carucate was the land that could be worked by one plough team.

We can place Ely's liberty with certainty in Stoke, but the other holdings cannot be placed

so certainly, although the following allocation offers a likely solution (Fig. 58). If the two carucates that had been held by Earl Gyrth were traditionally regarded as the earl's holding, then it is most likely to have been restored in due course to become the Wicks Ufford of the later Ufford earls, which is identified on Pennington's map of 1778 as starting north west of Bishopshill in the direction now taken by Back Hamlet. The second edition of Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller* (Canning 1764, 50) places Westerfield church in Wicks Ufford so that may be its western limit. The area between Bishopshill and the river is later known as Bishop's Wick which was presumably centred on the large moated site of the bishop's residence overlooking the river from what is now Holywells Park. This was certainly held by the Bishops of Norwich from at least the time of Richard I until Henry VIII's reign, and it is possible that the tradition identifying it as Queen Edith's four carucates is correct, as the arguments below place St Peter's holding west of the town. However it seems that the Borough bounds did not then extend as far as they do now because the settlement listed in Domesday Book (Rumble 1986, 8.14) as Grenewic is almost certainly that known later as Greenwich Farm which is now incorporated in the tank farm of Cliff Quay. Grenewic is entered in Carlford Hundred, as is Alnesbourne (Rumble 1986, 8.13), so it seems that at some later date Alnesbourne was transferred to Colneis Hundred and Greenwich to Ipswich Borough. The location of Greenwich is confirmed by an inquest held in 1330 on Ida who was found dead in the hamlet of Wykes Episcopi as she was 'coming from a certain place called Granewych towards the town of Ipswich when she was caught and struck by a horrible tempest of lightning and thunder and so fell dead'.¹⁵ This change extended the Borough bounds to King John's Ness, which is identified as Kings Ness in the circuit of the Borough bounds recorded in 1351 (see Appendix 1), but before the change the Borough would only have extended as far as the limits of Bishop's Wick. These are possibly marked today by Cliff Lane or the straight footpath running almost parallel up the edge of Holywells Park. This footpath, striding directly up the hillside, is a good candidate for an early boundary if it is not a result of later park planning.

This leaves the holding of St Peter's church unplaced. However a clue is offered by the composition of medieval coroners' juries which are detailed for 1330.¹⁶ In addition to twelve burgesses the jury had four representatives from each of four 'hamlets' – Wykes Episcopi (Bishop's Wick), Wykes Ufford, Brokes¹⁷ and Stoke. If these are the holdings in Domesday then only Brokes is left unaccounted for. It can be identified as the origin of the later Brooks Hall estate attached to a house near Norwich Road just beyond the junction with Anglesea Road.¹⁸ In support of placing the St Peter's manor on this side of Ipswich we might note that the Domesday entry (Rumble 1986, 25.52) states that part of the manor was disputed with the king's manor of Bramford and this is most likely to refer to property somewhere in the region of Boss Hall, where there is still an outlying section of Bramford parish on the 19th-century tithe map. St Peter's also held ninety-one acres in Thurleston in Claydon Hundred (Rumble 1986, 25.62), which could have adjoined part of Brokes. It is clear that in Domesday both Thurleston and Whitton were in Claydon Hundred, so the Borough bounds on this side may not have extended far beyond the later Castle Hill farm (in the Highfield Approach area, and site of the large Roman villa). It may be worth considering further if there is a link between Brooks and the parish of St Matthew and whether this holding might have originated as the core holding of the Roman estate of Castle Hill villa. John Newman (1999, 376) records observation at the junction of Norwich Road and Valley Road 'just to the south-east of the recorded site of Brook Hall' of 'evidence for a possible high-status site of 11th/12th- to 13th-century date. The recovery of various large fragments of Roman tegula and imbrex tiles in close association with a scatter of septaria rubble and medieval pottery sherds indicates re-use of the former material in a substantial structure.' Other evidence of Roman activity in this area includes the 'Firmins' site between Handford Road and the river (Boulter 1998, 234) and some

THE WICKLAW

1. Ipswich
2. Stoke
3. Bury St. Edmunds
4. Sudbourne
5. Blythburgh
6. Beccles
7. Hoxne



FIG. 59 - The Wicklaw.

material from Boss Hall and from the junction of Valley Road and Henley Road – there is more than just the ‘villa’.

Confirmation of this identification of St Peter’s holding with the later Brooks Hall estate comes from the information that King Edward the Confessor gave Brokes to Aluric de Clare (Copinger 1904, I, 313–17) and that Aluric paid a rent of £10 for Brokes (Copinger 1905, IV, 121). Domesday Book (Rumble 1986, 25.1 and 25.52) gives us Aelfric of Clare, son of Withgar and father of another Withgar, being predecessor of Richard, son of Count Gilbert as lord of Clare and of the holding of St Peter’s church in Ipswich; and Robert de Badele later held Brooks as tenant of the Earl of Clare by one knight’s fee. Clarke (1830, 183) calls him R. Bedile. He places Brokes Hall in St Matthew’s parish, and the hamlet so called takes in part of this and parts of the parishes of Bramford, Whitton, Thurleston and Westerfield. Copinger (1905, II, 238) tells us that in the time of Henry III (1216–72) Geoffrey de Badele was the lord of the manor of Badley under the Honour of Clare for a knight’s fee¹⁹ and that in 1272 the Close Roll (1 Edw.I, 9) has an order to the Escheator not to intermeddle with 4½ knights’ fees in Badley and Brokes unless Geoffrey held them of the King in chief, as the King learns from the Exchequer Rolls that he held them of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, of the Honour of Clare. In the following year the Close Roll (2 Edw.I, 8) gives a permit for Gilbert to hold it ‘until the King’s arrival’, as Richard de Clare, father of Gilbert, and Gilbert himself were in seisin of the homage of Geoffrey de Badele for the said fees until Geoffrey’s death. Copinger also notes that Geoffrey was succeeded by his son Robert de Badele and that the Badele family continued to hold Badley until 1424 (William de Badele); the arms of Badley were ‘Arg. a cross Sab.’ Copinger (1904)²⁰ also gives a release by Geoffrey de Badele kt to St Peter’s, Ipswich, of all rights in rent for land called sevenacres in exchange for a rent that Geoffrey de Fakedune uncle of Geoffrey paid for land he held of them in Burstall and Fakedune. Under Brokes and Turlestune he records a grant by Geoffrey de Badele, son of Robert de Badele to SS Peter and Paul, Ipswich of a gift that William de Badele his uncle made them of a rent on lands in Brokes called Scarboteswalleland, Risewikelond, Goredland, a messuage by the mill of Horsewade, pasture by Hagneford Mill and land before William Pikehorn’s gate.²¹

In 1205 we find Robert de Badel owing two palfreys in payment for an inquiry into whether the Archbishop of Canterbury had contravened Robert’s right when he appointed one Michael as prior of St Peter’s in Ipswich. Unfortunately we do not know the outcome of the inquiry but we might wonder if Robert was reluctant to pay because he lost the case.²² However it must be significant of the close links between the Badleys and St Peter’s that he could make such a claim at all. The Domesday of Ipswich²³ includes among the Forinsec (that is non-resident) Burgesses admitted in the 18th year of the reign of King Henry III (1234) Lord Geoffrey de Badele who gave 4d (four pence) and 2 bushels of grain (*ii bus. frumenti*) for himself and his villeins in Brok and elsewhere. Because Geoffrey was not resident within the town he had to pay as a non-resident so that he and his tenants could trade on equal terms with the resident burgesses. It is also notable that the Cartulary of the Priory of St Peter and St Paul²⁴ includes a number of references to properties in ‘Brookes’ or ‘Brokes’ which had been granted to the canons by the de Badele family, including an interest in Handford Mill.²⁵

It is worth noting that at some date at or after the founding of Holy Trinity Priory in the early 12th century a large block of land north of the town centre became the property of the priory, and this included at least all the land between Westerfield Road and Tuddenham Road. In Domesday Book Holy Trinity church had twenty-six acres which is not a particularly large holding, so that one has to wonder whether additional land was taken from the original St Peter’s holding, as both were Augustinian houses and seem to have enjoyed equal status, perhaps because there had been some agreement to divide the church lands and the town centre parishes between them. It may be relevant that both

seem to have had a share of Handford Mill, recorded for Holy Trinity in an *Inspeximus* of King John in 1204 as given with land in Brokes by Robert son of Geoffrey and Geoffrey his son, who is likely to be the same as Galfridus (Latin for Geoffrey) son of Robert de Badele who features in the Cartulary of St Peter and St Paul²⁶ as giving that priory a share in the Handford mill and in lands in Brokes. Some early documents, particularly a charter of Henry I issued in about 1133 but quoted in a confirmation by Edward III in 1337 (C.P.R. 1334–8), refer only to ‘the king’s canons in Ipswich’ without separating the two houses, which has made it impossible so far to establish whether one was founded before the other. Clarke (1830, 183) tells us that Brokes was held in 1282 by the de Bois family and Copinger (1905, IV, 121) gives the first of the family to hold Brokes as Robert de Bosco or de Boys; and we may note that in 1283 (11 Edward I) John de Bosco de Whynton (Whitton presumably) was admitted as a ‘foreign’ burgess of Ipswich,²⁷ no doubt on succeeding to this holding for which the de Badleys had been foreign burgesses.

This accounts for the four holdings outside the town centre listed in Domesday, although it seems impossible to identify the precise boundaries between them, and suggests that the Borough was less extensive than in the later Middle Ages. However even in Domesday the Borough did have links with some holdings in Claydon Hundred, as among the king’s burgesses in Ipswich (Rumble 1986, I.122e) Godric held the church of St Botolf in Thurleston in Claydon Hundred with one acre, and in addition to the ninety-one acres belonging to St Peter’s church Richard FitzGilbert of Clare also had eighteen free men with sixty-four acres in Thurleston (25.60). Also in Thurleston in Claydon Hundred Aelfric, a burgess of Ipswich, held twelve acres along with St Julian’s church in the Borough of Ipswich (74. 8 and 9). Such complications suggest that it may have been difficult to maintain strict boundaries, and they prefigure later extensions of the Borough bounds. Indeed the Inquisition of the Ninths of 14 Edward III (1341), which incidentally places ‘Halwetr’ (Hallowtree for Alnesbourne) in Carlford Hundred, includes as part of ‘Gippewyc’ the ‘hamelette de Brookes, de Stoke, de Wykes Epi et de Wykes Ufford’ and says that ‘its burgesses also have property in Thurliston, Wytyngdon [presumably Whitton], Cleydon, Akenton, Westfeld, Tundenham, Playford, Rosshende [possibly Rushmere], Halwetre, Werstede, Spronton, Braunford, Coppidok, Burstall, Belstede and Blakenham’.

This account has brought together all the evidence the author can find at present to identify the boundaries of Stoke and the other hamlets of Ipswich and to explain some of the changes that affected them during the Middle Ages. Further research in the archives of the Borough and repeated walking of the relevant locations may identify further clues that will enable us to confirm or modify the conclusions expressed in this article.

APPENDIX I

THE CIRCUIT OF THE BOUNDARIES OF IPSWICH AS RIDDEN IN 1351

The circuit including the fower hamlets of the said towne, that is to say: Stoke with all the appurtenances; Brooks Hall with the church of St Buttolfs in Whitton; Wicks Ufford and Wicks Bp.; with all their appurtenances . . . From the Bull stake unto the mid bridge of Bourn bridge, a good mile; and from the bridge under Stoke hill wood that longeth to the prior of Ely by the water side, unto Thetford bridge, and through the yard of old Reinold Bourn; and forth by the Gate of old Rob: Andrew, and in a lane unto the Cross that longeth unto the Prior of St Peter’s in Ipswich, and then into a little lane into the highway from Ipswich to Hadly, and to the Crosse that parteth Stoke Neyland way and Hadly way, and turne againe to Ipswich ward unto Breedling Buss, and in a fare mere unto

Bordshow wood, and leave the same wood on the right hand, and into Holdessie vally, and into the meadows and over the River under Bordshow Hall into the high way from Ipswich to Sprawton. And in a little lane between Joh: of Western tenement of Ipswich, Sporier; and in the lane that goeth from Ipswich to the high way to Bramford, and from that high way to Wetman How, and from Witman How on a faire mere unto Lovetoft Hall, and have in all Leyhams Closes, and in a little lane to the Cross in Whitton in Whitton streete, and in a lane to Whitton Church that is holden of St Buttolfs, and from the Churche on a faire mere unto old John Omersons of Thurlston, and in a little lane that goeth to Ponton marche, and through Ponton marche into a lane that goeth to Westerfield wood; and into Westerfield wood, and on a faire way that goeth to the Crosse that stand by the high way that goeth from Ipswich unto Tuddenham; and from the Crosse on a faire greene way, and in the same way to Rushmere; and forth by the Hall gate, and in the same way to a Crosse that stands in the high way betwene Ipswich and Rushmore, and in the same way forthe by Rogers [*blank*] gate, and forth to a Close of the aforesaid Rogers to the high way that goeth from Ipswiche to Woodbridge: and from that way on a faire greene that goeth to Bixly marshes end, into the high way that goeth from Ipswich to Colniss; and unto Merediche, and as Merediche goeth into a way that goeth from Ipswich to Nacton, and from the way unto a Close that is Mr John Paxter's, by Daniells hill, on a greene way through old Walter Pond's close, and in a lane fast by the Dayry of Alis Borne, unto Kings Ness, and from Kings Ness unto Donham bridge; and from Donham bridge by the water side unto Ipswich.

(From the version in Bacon's *Annalls* (Richardson 1884, 1–2.) The texts of the perambulations of the boundaries of the Borough of Ipswich of 1351, 1522 and 1812 are included in a pamphlet by John Bransby in 1815 (S.R.O.I., C/1/5/4). A certified description of the 1812 perambulation is S.R.O.I., C/1/5/2 and the map of the Liberties of Ipswich by John Bransby in 1812 is S.R.O.I., C/1/5/3.

APPENDIX II

A POSSIBLE HISTORY OF THE HAMLET OF BROOKS

It is possible that Edward the Confessor granted Brokes to Aelfric of Clare, perhaps with a condition that out of it he supported the minster church of St Peter's in Ipswich. William the Conqueror included the property of Aelfric in the Honour of Clare under Richard FitzGilbert.

Richard of Clare granted (when?) Brokes to Robert de Badele (or his ancestor) and his heirs on condition that: (a) he provided Clare with the service of one knight – as Geoffrey is referred to as *miles* or knight he might have provided this service in person, but he apparently owed other knight service as lord of the manor of Badley itself which was also part of Honour of Clare (Domesday 25.53); and (b) he granted to the priory of St Peter and St Paul (or originally the minster of St Peter) a share in the mill of Hagenford and the rents of certain lands in Brokes (he also made a grant to Holy Trinity Priory before 1204). Because he was not resident in the Borough of Ipswich he also paid a fee (after 1216) to the Borough for admission as forinsec burgess so that he and his villeins could trade on equal terms with the resident burgesses. By 1282 Brokes was transferred from de Badele to de Bois.

In 1517 Brooks Hall was the home of Sir Anthony Wingfield when Catherine of Aragon visited him on her pilgrimage to the chapel of Our Lady of Grace (Redstone 1948, 115). She went on to spend the night at Curson House. In the 1840s when part of the estate nearest to the town centre was developed for housing, the Broke Hall estate was owned by

John Orford who gave his name to Orford Street. According to the tithe record he had 170 acres in St Matthew's parish. White's Directory of 1855 names John Orford as lord of the manor of Whitton.

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NOTES

- 1 A printed map of the Liberties of Ipswich 'as ascertained by a perambulation performed by the Bailiffs and other members of the Corporation, September 17th 1812' at a scale of 2½ furlongs to 1 inch by John Bransby (S.R.O.I., C/1/5/3). A version of this map is reproduced in Redstone 1948, plate 39.
- 2 Reymes papers, S.R.O.I., HD210.
- 3 See Owles 1969, 208 – note that the reference here to the east flank of the hill is corrected to the west flank in *Antiquity* XLV (1971), 294.
- 4 See Sam Newton in Carver, 1992, chapter 5.
- 5 H.M.C. 1883, 252.
- 6 Richardson 1884, 269 (quoting Page 1844,27) notes that one Edward de Bordshaw resided at Sproughton in the reign of Henry III ; and in a note on p.279 he emphasises the distinction between the use of Boss Hall for Bordshaw Hall in Sproughton and Boss Hall for de Bois Hall in St Matthew's parish, Ipswich which presumably originated with the de Bois family who held the manor of Brokes in 1283.
- 7 John Newman in Bulletin 8 of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee 1993 also refers to some Romano-British pottery in this vicinity.
- 8 After the channel was blocked at the site of Handford Mill the bed of the watercourse was used as the line for a main sewer pipe.
- 9 This is shown clearly on John Bransby's 1820 plan of the Corporation Marshes, S.R.O.I., C/3/10/8/2/9.
- 10 An interpretation that is confirmed by Tom Plunkett and Sam Newton in personal comments.
- 11 This included the accusation that she turned herself into a mare in order to mate with a stallion.
- 12 For Sudbourne see John Newman in 'Archaeology in Suffolk', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, xxxvii (1992), 378. Also C.R. Hart (1992, 41) notes that King Edmund (later Saint) was consecrated king at a royal estate at 'Burna' by Bishop Humberht in 855 or 856, which is corrected in the East Anglian Chronicle to 'Buran' for Bures; Hart however thinks this unlikely and suggests that 'Burna' might be Stoke by Ipswich, derived from the River Bourne; but perhaps it was Sudbourne which is 'Sutburna' in Domesday.
- 13 A description of the meetings held in St Mary Tower churchyard is given by G. Martin in Allen 2000, xx.
- 14 The Little Domesday of Ipswich in the reign of Edward II (H.M.C.1883, 240) defines the four leets into which the burgess area was divided and includes the suburban areas of Thingstead (presumably St Margaret's Green), Caldwell Street (St Helen's Street), the suburb outside the Westgate (St Matthew's Street), the suburb beyond the bridge (presumably St Augustine's parish) and the suburb beyond the Kay in Clementstreet (presumably Fore Street).
- 15 S.R.O.I., C/2/7/1/1, record of an inquest held in 3 Edward III (H.M.C.1883, 226).
- 16 In the surviving rolls of 3 Edward III (S.R.O.I., C/2/7/1/1) (H.M.C.1883, 226).
- 17 Brokes is also spelt variously as Brookes and Brooks.
- 18 The large scale Ordnance Survey map of 1884 shows remains of a substantial moated site approximately 400ft by 200ft at this point.
- 19 Quoting 'Testa de Nevill' 1807 p.296.
- 20 Quoting 'Ancient Deeds in Exchequer and Treasury of the Receipt in PRO A3309'.
- 21 Quoting 'Ancient Deeds in Exchequer and Treasury of the Receipt in PRO A3284'.
- 22 Pipe Roll, 7 John: 'Robertus de Badel debet ii palefridos pro habenda inquisitione utrum H. quondam archiepiscopus Cant.' fecit Micaelem fieri priorem Sancti Petri de Gipeswiz contra ius ipsius Roberti necne.'

- 23 S.R.O.I., C/4/1/6 p.174.
 24 S.R.O.I., HD226/1.
 25 The Cartulary says (p.9) Galfridus [Geoffrey] son of Robert (? and his wife) ... give to the canons ... the tith of the mill of Hageneford ... 8 shillings annually ... and all ... the township of Brokes ...; and (p.10) Galfridus son of Robert de Badele gives two acres (? of rye) in Brokes which lie in the field which is called Stanthorn which abuts St Winnesmedue Roger de Badele refers to all his portion in the mill of Hageneford; and (p.14) William de Badele son of Galfridus de Badele ... to render per year in the townships of Brokes and Thurleston ... in township of Brokes ... the land which is called ScarboresWallelond and all the land which is called RiseWikelond and all the land which is called Goredland and two acres which about on the meadow of Belioch ... Hereskelle (?) and a messuage which ... Pikehorn held ... from the mill of Horsewade to the east ... grazing land at the house of Will. Pikehorn ... to the mill of Hagneford to the west.; (p.15) Galfridus de Badele, knight ... in Brokes in the field called Aldegate ... also in Brokes ... sevenacres. For one document (p.13) Bartholomew de Glanvil is quoted as witness.
 26 S.R.O.I., HD226/1 p.9 ff.
 27 S.R.O.I., C/4/1/6 p.190.

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Abbreviations

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| C.P.R. | Calendar of Patent Rolls. |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office. |
| S.R.O.I. | Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich. |