THE PRECEPTORY OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST LAZARUS AT LOCKO

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Documentary evidence

The existence of a preceptory of the Knights of St. Lazarus at Locko is a well established fact. It is mentioned in most of the antiquarian histories of Derbyshire from Lysons to the *Victoria County History* and it survives in the oral tradition today with eerie tales of the 'leper window' in Spondon church.[1] Various attempts have been made to locate the site but these have been unsuccessful, and the Derbyshire Archaeological Unit has no record of any features in the area that might fit the bill. Despite the survival of substantial moats and enclosures at other Lazarite houses such as Burton Lazars, Tilton and Harehope, searches based on the contemporary landscape around Locko have yielded nothing, a disappointment similar to that which greeted Colvin in 1939 when he set out to discover landscape evidence of the Dale Abbey granges.[2] His conclusion was that most of the Medieval remains were probably covered by eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings, and it would be tempting to put forward a similar explanation for the vanished preceptory of Locko. An obvious theory would be that the site of the hospital is covered by Locko Park, a superficially compelling notion when we recall the continuity between redundant monastic buildings and later secular mansions at sites such as Newstead and Welbeck. The purpose of this paper is to enquire further into the history of the Locko preceptory both before and after the Dissolution and see if this provides any clues as to its possible location.

The Knights of St. Lazarus were a crusading order established in the Holy Land in about 1120, similar in many ways to the Knights of St John.[3] Their special purpose was the relief of leprosy, and a network of preceptories was established in Western Europe, mostly in France, to provide funds for the main hospital of the Order at Jerusalem, Acre and finally Boigny, near Paris. In about 1150 the first English preceptory was founded at Burton Lazars, near Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, by the crusading knight Roger de Mowbray, and thereafter Burton Lazars maintained a superiority over other Lazarite houses in England, none of which ever matched the mother house in power, wealth or prestige.[4] At its largest extent, in about 1300, Burton Lazars controlled nine daughter houses at places as far afield as Harehope (Northumberland), Choseley (Norfolk) and St. Giles, Holborn (London).[5] Locko was one of these. It represented the only holding of the Knights in Derbyshire and was, indeed, their westernmost possession.

The *Cartulary* of Burton Lazars Hospital, drawn up in 1404, states that the church of Spondon was granted to the Order of St. Lazarus by William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, at an unspecified date in the twelfth century.[6] Like the Mowbrays the de Ferrars had strong crusading connections and also, interestingly, landed estates in Leicestershire. The document that notes the grant of Spondon church is a confirmation by King John made in 1200, and though both Cox and the *Victoria County History*, amongst other sources, claim an earlier confirmation by Henry II no such entry exists in the *Cartulary*.[7] We must therefore assume a date between 1150 and 1200 for the grant. The living of Spondon was one of the earliest and most valuable gifts made to the Order and it carried with it certain responsibilities and obligations. One was a duty to maintain the outlying chapelries of Stanley and Chaddesden.[8] Another was a commitment to pay pensions to the church of Dovebridge and the chapel of St. Peter in Tutbury Castle, the main seat of the de Ferrars: this last obligation provoked a law suit as late as 1532.[9]

In 1286 the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield issued a licence for the appropriation of the

Rectory to the hospital of Burton Lazars, and thereafter the brethren appear to have collected or leased the greater tithes of the parish and installed a Vicar to serve the cure. By the sixteenth century the tithes of Chaddesden were certainly in lease, indentures having survived for 1528 and 1540 stipulating a rent of £16 per annum.[10] In 1291 the value of the appropriated Rectory was £23. 6s. 8d. and the Vicarage £6. 13s. 4d.[11] Cox provides a list of incumbents nominated by the hospital beginning in 1327 and ending in 1534: it is possible that some of these were members of the Order of St. Lazarus, though no reference has been found to any of them in another context.[12]

The most dramatic happening in the parochical life of Medieval Spondon was the disastrous fire that occurred in 1340, destroying the church and part of the town also.[13] This must have put the Order under severe financial pressure to help repair the damage. Despite its extensive nineteenth century alterations, Spondon is basically a fourteenth century church which appears to have incorporated some fine embellishments, so the rebuilding does not appear to have been skimped.[14] One of the features that is generally commented upon is the 'low side window' in the South wall of the chancel. Many theories have been put forward as to the function of these windows, but Cox, while recognising the difficulties, felt confident that 'it served for enabling the lepers at certain times to communicate direct with the parish priest'.[15] This may be so, but it should also be remembered that the lepers would in all probability have had access to their own chapel at Locko, and anyway the disease was in sharp decline at the time the window was built: there may well have been no lepers in the parish.[16] The 'leper window' must remain a matter of conjecture. When the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was drawn up in 1535 the Rectory was valued at £30 and the Vicarage at £6. 14s. 5d., surprisingly little different to the 1291 figure.[17]

The landed interest of the Order in the parish probably also commenced at an early date with the de Ferrars family as major patrons, though it is interesting to note that no Derbyshire charters are enrolled on the Burton Lazars *Cartulary*: in this Spondon is similar to the Lazarite cells of Harehope and Choseley, but unlike the Lincolnshire hospital of Carlton-le-Moorland for which charters are enrolled.[18] Certainly by the time of Edward I the Order held fairly extensive estates in the parish. In 1274 the Hundred Rolls noted that the Lazarites had £10 of land in Spondon, £5 in Borrowash and forty acres in Locko, all acquired from various donors in or before the reign of Henry III.[19] There was also property in Chaddesden, all of which was confirmed to the Order in 1296: in 1302 the brethren paid a feudal aid of 26s. 8d. on their Spondon property, a levy which was repeated in 1346.[20]

Indeed, the estate was still expanding in the early years of the fourteenth century. In 1312 the Master of Burton Lazars paid a fine of £10 for a licence to hold five plots of land in Locko and Spondon granted after the Statute of Mortmain.[21] These grants bear many similarities to the sort enrolled on the Burton Lazars *Cartulary*. The areas of land are comparatively small, and the donors appear to be of middling social status: the explanation might be that they are connected with the issue of indulgences or with hospital placements.[22] There is no evidence of any new grants of land in Spondon after 1312. At the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the landed interest of the Order in the parish — independent of the church — was estimated at £26. 14s. 11d., the largest share of that coming from Spondon, followed by Locko, Borrowash and Chaddesden.[23] This was a moderate estate which was consistent over the years, and it did not constitute a real economic dominance of the parish or any part of it: in the early eighteenth century Woolley commented that in Spondon 'there is a great many good freeholders', and this was equally true for the Middle Ages.[24] Even in Locko there were estates owned by the Birds, Plumptons, Chaddesdens, Pilkingtons, and Grenes, quite independent of the hospital — not to mention the Duchy of Lancaster and Darley Abbey.[25]

What evidence is there of a hospital or preceptory connected with the Spondon estate of the Order of St. Lazarus? The first clue we have is the place name Locko, or Lockhay, which does not occur in documentary sources before 1250. Definition is slightly more problematic. Lysons,

in the Derbyshire section of his *Magna Britannia* states emphatically that 'A lock was formerly used as synonymous with a Lazar-house: hence the name of Lock-hospital in London, and an old hospital at Kingsland, near London, called 'Le Lokes'. The derivation is from the obsolete French word Loques, signifying rags'.[26] Although this explanation has been followed by the majority of subsequent authors, Professor Cameron is more sceptical and says that the exact meaning is uncertain — 'perhaps it was an enclosure with some device for keeping it locked'.[27] In fact, these two authorities are not so much in disagreement as might appear, particularly in view of the fact that the placename occurs *after* the propertied interest of the Lazarites in the parish: a locked enclosure and a leper hospital are not that far removed! There is little else in terms of local topography or fieldnames that may suggest the presence of a hospital: Lousy Graves Lane, which begins in Spondon and pursues an uncertain course in the approximate direction of Locko, may preserve a folk memory of diseased interments, but lane and hospital cannot be connected with any certainty.[28]

The first firm reference to the hospital occurs in an Inquisition Post Mortem of 1296, though it refers back to the situation on the confiscation of the de Ferrers estate in 1266. In that year there existed at Locko a preceptory and hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.[29] In all probability it had already been in existence for some time, and probably emerged in the twelfth century soon after the granting of property by the de Ferrers; indeed, the two were doubtless interlinked. Leprosy was a serious social problem in the twelfth century and it would be difficult to understand de Ferrers' considerable generosity to the Order without some local provision for the alleviation of suffering. The Locko preceptory would have had two functions. Firstly, to provide a base for the administration of the Lazarite estates in Derbyshire and send an annual 'apport', or contribution, to the mother house in the Holy Land or France.[30] Secondly — and this is no more than a possibility — to maintain individuals afflicted with leprosy: these were probably provided for in return for payments or grants of land, so they would have come exclusively from the propertied class of the locality. It is unlikely that the numbers involved were ever very great. No information at all has survived for Locko, but at Carlton-le-Moorland — in some ways comparable — the number of lepers sustained was supposed to be four.[31] We know little or nothing about the nature of the buildings except to say that the dedication of St. Mary Magdalen implies the existence of a chapel which would probably have had a burial ground attached under the terms of the Canon *de Leprosis* promulgated by Alexander III in the twelfth century.[32] The preceptory at Locko must have been a small scale operation in both of its spheres of activity, and it is likely that it was subjected to fairly rigorous direct control by its English mother house at Burton Lazars, as the following incidents imply.

In 1283 a dispute broke out with the Abbot of Dale about the possession of a mill at Burgh by Spondon.[33] The Abbot 'with a multitude of armed men' burned down the mill and took away a quantity of goods belonging to the Master. By any standard the riot was a serious one, and on the complaint of the Master of Burton Lazars a writ was directed to Thomas de Bray and the Sheriff of Derby to conduct an investigation.[34] Three Lazarite brethren are mentioned in this litigation, Robert de Dalby, William le Rous and Ralph de Ingwardeby along with 'other of the household of the master of St. Lazarus at Burton'. The fact that the local Lazarites are described as members of the Master's household indicates direct subservience to him and diminishes the status of the Locko preceptory as a house in its own right. None of them, moreover, bear local names, in sharp contrast to the Abbot of Dale's following which appears to have been drawn from nearby villages such as Ilkeston, Stanley and Stapleford.[35] Of the brethren concerned in this affray, Robert de Dalby occurs as Master of Burton Lazars between 1284 and 1289, and Ralph de Ingwardeby is named in an Inquisition of 1298.[36] The incident clearly did them no permanent harm. Violence flared again in 1332/33 when John Parys of the Locko preceptory was threatened and robbed of 60s. by Eustace and Laurence de Folville. However, once more the victim was described as 'brother of Burton St. Lazarus', confirming the precedent set in the earlier case.[37]

The preceptory only once figures in national records. In June 1347 brother Hugh Michel, Preceptor of 'La Maudelyn', Locko, was summoned before the Council to answer various unspecified charges, chiefly, it seems, the question of the annual payment due to the mother house of the Order at Boigny in France.[38] In the circumstances of the war with France such payments could be regarded at best as unpatriotic and at worst as treasonable. The upshot was that in November the Preceptor was ordered to pay £20 *per annum*, the sum previously sent to France, to the Warden and Scholars of King's Hall, Cambridge, who were in the process of erecting new buildings.[39] The order was to remain in force so long as the temporalities of alien religious houses remained in the hands of the King, and it was certainly renewed in 1351.[40] The incident casts further doubt on the effective independence of Locko, because it is clear that Hugh Michel was Preceptor of 'La Maudelyn', and Master of Burton Lazars at one and the same time:[41] 'direct rule' from Burton Lazars certainly existed in 1347, if not earlier.

Despite the dominance of the Leicestershire house, local men did come to have a measure of influence over the affairs of the Order in the fourteenth century, a factor that may reflect resentment over the subordinate position of the Locko preceptory. The Chaddesdens were a well established local family with strong clerical connections, a William de Chaddesden being Vicar of Spondon in 1327.[42] However, it was the next two generations that were destined for real greatness in the church.[43] Henry de Chaddesden was a prebendary of Lincoln, Lichfield and St. Pauls, and between 1339 and 1354 enjoyed the Archdeaconries of Stow and Leicester: when he died in 1354 he was buried at St. Pauls and left a will establishing a new chantry chapel at Chaddesden.[44] Geoffrey and Nicholas, his newphews, were named as his executors, and over the next few years were much preoccupied with the problems of the new chapel and particularly its endowment.[45] Nicholas de Chaddesden in particular, followed his uncle's example by carving out a successful career in the church. He held numerous livings and prebendaries, and eventually became Dean of the Arches, Vicar General and Chancellor of the Archbishop of Canterbury and a member of the Roman Curia: he died in Rome in 1390.[46] Geoffrey, who must have lived in his brother's shadow, was an ordained priest too and sought his career in the Order of St. Lazarus: he became Rector of Longwitton in Northumberland, but was not as successful a collector of preferments as either his uncle or his brother.[47]

Geoffrey de Chaddesden became deeply involved in the internal politics of the Lazarite Order during this period, especially a bitter dispute over the Mastership of Burton Lazars Hospital. In 1354 Chaddesden was apparently the undisputed Master of the hospital and Proctor General of the Order in England.[48] However, by 1364 one Nicholas de Dover was claiming to be Master, even though Chaddesden was still very much alive and had not given up his claims. There was litigation before the Pope, and in documents of 1365 Chaddesden's arrest was ordered and he was described as a 'vagabond' and merely 'brother of Burton Lazars':[49] the order presumably had some effect, because in 1369 Chaddesden complained that he had been imprisoned by 'evil doers' at Burton Lazars and 'detained in such straight keeping as to endanger his life and took him thence to places unknown whereby he could not be found'.[50] Chaddesden was not an isolated crank. He had sound documentary evidence to back his claim and a powerful faction of lay supporters, mostly from Derbyshire, backing his case: these included Sir Robert de Twiford, Godfrey Foljambe the Younger and John Curzon of Kedleston.[51] Doubtless his lawyer brother, Nicholas, provided useful advice on how to proceed.

The case probably had many ramifications which cannot now be penetrated, but one was perhaps a feeling of frustration on the part of individuals connected with the Locko preceptory about the continued dominance of a Leicestershire faction in the affairs of the Order: this could well have become entangled with the conflict at a higher level between notions of obedience to the King and to the Papacy at a time when the war with France was making such points of principle less straightforward than they had been. It is perhaps significant that the Locko preceptory was ordered to cease payments to the French mother house in 1347 but that there is

no comparable order in the case of Burton Lazars. Was Locko the centre of traditionalist thinking in the form of loyalty to the Papacy and the Grand Master of the Order at Boigny? Was Geoffrey de Chaddesden the champion and mouthpiece of this position? It is unlikely that we will ever be sure. What we do know is that the dispute over the Mastership ended in a compromise in 1372 when Chaddesden agreed to give up his claims in return for a pension of forty marks *per annum*.[52]

One wonders if he went to live in retirement at Spondon, because it is at about this time that the Locko preceptory disappears from the records. This may be linked with Chaddesden's part in the dispute over the Mastership, but it is equally likely to be connected with more general social and economic developments. The Black Death had caused a dramatic fall in the population, with the result that certain settlements were becoming depopulated and landlords were finding it increasingly difficult to find tenants for their lands; moreover, leprosy was beginning to fade out as a killer disease and was being replaced by the related and less acute complaint of tuberculosis.[53] In these circumstances small outposts, like the Locko preceptory, were not as viable as they had been in the thirteenth century, and many appear to have been closed down as working units: certainly the Lazarite cells of Tilton, Carlton-le-Moorland and Harehope all appear to cease functioning at about this period, attention being focused on the largest and most viable units at Burton Lazars and St. Giles, Holborn. We must assume that the lands of the Order in Spondon were let out to various tenants and that the presence of the brethren in the parish lapsed. When the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was drawn up in 1535 some of the Spondon land was rented to the King for 18s.6d. and a member of the Pilkington family was paid 6s.8d. 'for aiding matters at Locko'. One wonders what he did, because the Order already paid 6s.8d. to William Faunt as 'bailiff of Spondon' and a further 53s.4d. to John Borrowe as 'bailiff of Derby and certain land in St. Giles'.[54] This was a form of absentee management which had probably prevailed for close on two hundred years.

Maps and the landscape

In attempting to locate the site of the Lazarite preceptory on the ground the history of the various Locko estates after the Dissolution is clearly of critical importance, and this is a task of some complexity because of the large number of freeholders already alluded to. However, a fundamental distinction should be drawn between the estate of Nether Locko, which covered the Southern portion of the lordship nearest to Spondon, and Upper or Over Locko which covered the North. Woolley described Locko as 'a fine lordship, well wooded and good land'.[55] By the mid-eighteenth century both portions of this desirable property had come into the hands of the Lowes, subsequently the Drury-Lowes, but their previous history had been very different.

Nether Locko was in the hands of the Birds in the fifteenth century, and during the reign of Elizabeth was sold off to one William Gilbert.[56] The Gilberts came to reside at Locko and were a family of some local importance, Thomas Gilbert being made Reeve and Bailiff of Spondon and Chaddesden by James I in 1605.[57] Their house was an imposing structure and forms the basis of the present Locko Park. Henry Gilbert built a new chapel there in 1673, and in the early eighteenth century Woolley described it as 'a very good stone house': about the same time as this a legal document stated that 'the house contains about 10 acres and orchards and gardens being well planted'.[58] An impression of this house, a fairly typical Elizabethan or Jacobean mansion, is given on the map of Henry Gilbert's Locko estate drawn up in 1716.[59] It is clear that given the succession of tenure described above, neither house nor estate can have any connection with the Order of St. Lazarus: the 1716 map is valuable negative evidence, because it clearly delineates areas which should *not* be looked at in a search for the preceptory.

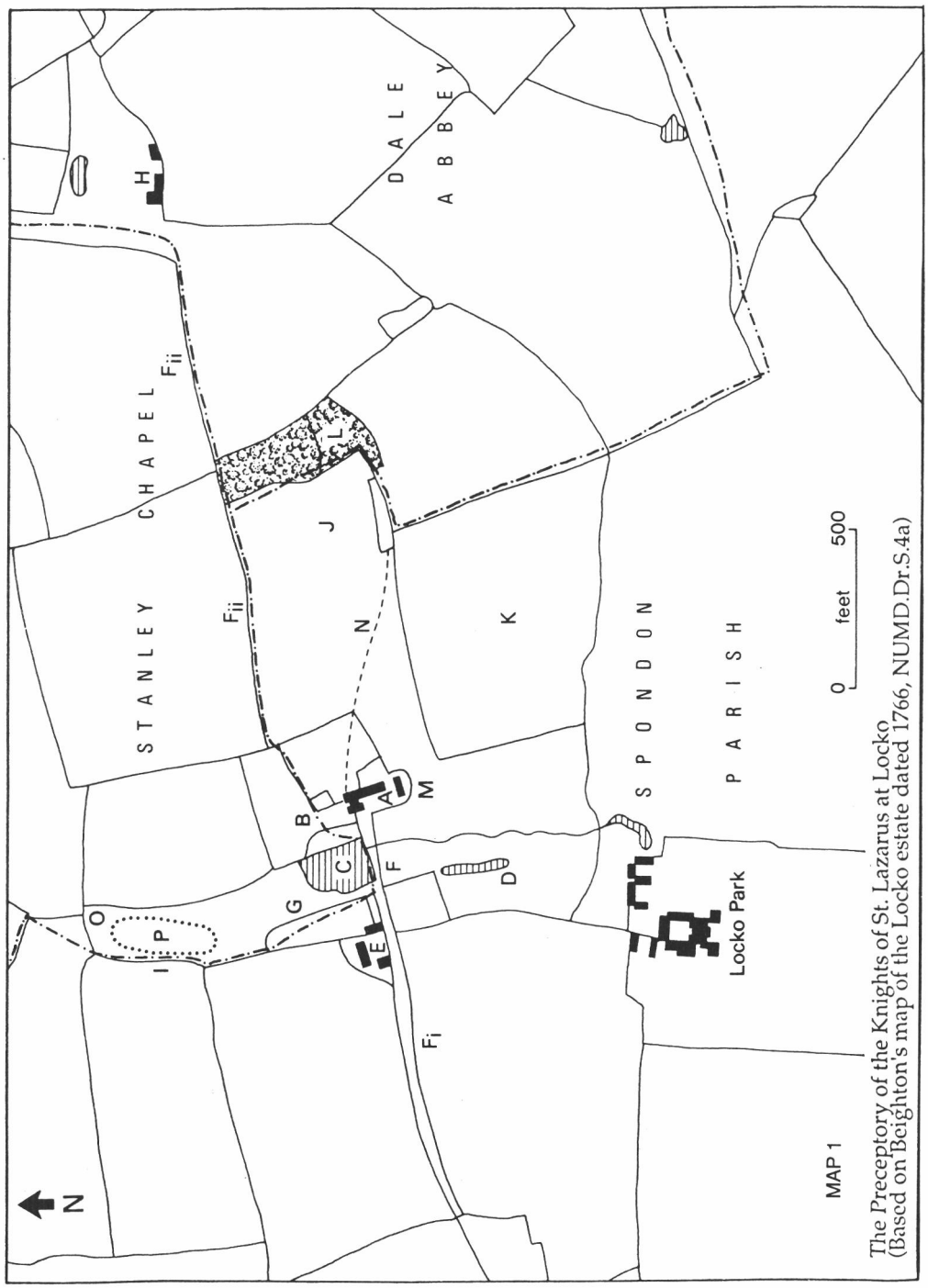
It is up to Upper or Over Locko that we must turn for vestiges of the Medieval Lazarites, and here the succession of landownership is more complicated. In 1544, following the dissolution of Burton Lazars Hospital, the entire property of the house was granted by the Crown to Sir John

Dudley, the Great Admiral, who was currently enjoying royal favour because of his success before Boulogne — this grant included the Rectory of Spondon, and lands in Spondon, Borrowash, Chaddesden and Locko.[60] Two years later, for reasons which are not clear, Dudley and his wife granted this Derbyshire property back to the Crown, and it remained in royal hands for the next six years.[61] However, in 1552, for services rendered to Henry VIII, Edward VI made a grant to the Duke of Suffolk of various lands, including the manor of Over Locko, and in the following year Queen Mary granted licence to Suffolk to alienate the Locko property to one George Swillington Esq., of Lyddington, Rutland.[62] From the Swillington's this property passed to the Fielding's, from the Fielding's to the Belgrave's and Botham's, and then through various hands until it came into the possession of John Harpur Esq., of Littleover in about 1700.[63] At that time Woolley said there was an old house there with an estate worth about £100 *per annum* — moreover, he goes on to make a very significant point. 'There is on the backside of the house a curious well of springing water called St. Ann's well which is walled and paved with stone: it feeds the fishponds, runs down by Nether Locko through the gardens [i.e. of the Gilbert house], and turns a mill in Chaddesden liberty about a mile below the fountain'.[64] The full significance of this statement will become apparent later, but clearly there is a direct tenurial link between the Over Locko estate, Harpur's 'old house' and the property taken from Burton Lazars Hospital at the Dissolution.

Both of these Locko estates came into the hands of John Lowe in the mid-eighteenth century, and subsequently passed to his heir, William Drury-Lowe, in 1785. The Lowes were a family of vigorous improvers who generated a number of maps in their efforts to update estate management and their house at Locko Park. These activities have been both a curse and a blessing for the historian, a curse because of the irreparable damage to the ancient landscape wrought by the improvements, but a blessing because of the good documentary sources which large estates tend to generate.[65] Three maps of eighteenth century date are particularly helpful, because they show us the situation in Locko *after* the two portions or the lordship had fallen into single ownership, but *before* the far reaching landscape alterations of the late eighteenth century.[66] They are thus critical in the identification of the site of the Lazarite preceptory.

What exactly are we looking for? The documentary evidence implies that the Locko preceptory was a fairly small unit and did not have a particularly long life, probably no more than two hundred years from foundation to closure: however, it is likely to have survived longer than this in a truncated form, with the buildings reused as a house or farmstead, perhaps. The difficulties should not be underestimated, because the preceptory had ceased to function as a working estate four hundred years before the Lowe maps were drawn up in the eighteenth century: any traces, therefore, are likely to be slight. Lessons learned from other Lazarite houses, especially Burton Lazars, help us to augment the somewhat sparse findings from Locko. The preceptory would be fairly self sufficient, for example, with evidence of fishponds, orchards, gardens and even industrial activity: it would also be associated with some early network of communications to facilitate the movement of supplies and personnel.[67]

Lazarite houses were often located on or near parish boundaries: this was probably because they were fairly late colonisers and tended to become pushed into the more marginal lands, and also because of leprosy taboos which made isolation from the local community desirable.[68] Hilltop sites were also favoured because of the efficacious effects of the circulation of 'clean air', a preoccupation of most medieval medical writers. In addition, the houses might often be located close to a spring: clearly any institution needed a ready supply of water, but in the case of the Lazarites this was particularly important since the curative powers of certain waters were considered especially efficacious in the context of leprosy. Burton Lazars Hospital grew up where it did probably because of a sulphurous spring, and the statutes of Sherburn Hospital, near Durham, continually emphasise the importance of washing and bodily hygiene in the treatment of leprosy.[69]



MAP 1

The Preceptory of the Knights of St. Lazarus at Locko
(Based on Beighton's map of the Locko estate dated 1766, NUMD.Dr.S.4a)

Mr Harpur's 'old house' at Upper Locko, (see Map 1)(A) the location of which is shown on all three maps, incorporates many of these characteristics and must be part of the site of the Lazarite preceptory. St. Ann's well is compelling evidence, and Woolley's statement is confirmed in Beighton's map of 1766 which shows the house — then occupied by John Hornbuckle — adjacent to a piece of land described as 'Well Croft'.(B) [70] The large scale preliminary sketches for this map have also survived in fragments, and on the relevant portion the site of the well can clearly be seen, on the line of a footpath, with a watercourse leading to a large rectangular piece of water, probably a fishpond.(C) A little further South, in 'Petty Croft', there is another area of water, longer and narrower than the first and lined with trees, which may be another fishpond or the flooded remnant of a moat.(D) The flow of water continues South past Locko Park just as Woolley describes it.[71]

Hornbuckle occupied in all just over 139 acres with an annual value of £90.1s.0d., and his house was joined to another farmstead,(E) only a short distance away, by the obvious remnant of an ancient roadway which skirts the Southern tip of the large fish pond.(F) This second farmstead was smaller, comprising just over 69 acres, and was occupied by Robert Hambleton: it was probably not so ancient as Hornbuckle's holding, which seems to incorporate most of the features of interest, though it is impossible to say with certainty whether only one or both of these settlements was originally included in the confines of the preceptory.[72] However, using the evidence of other maps, the track of this ancient road can be traced towards Morley in the West(Fi) and Dale and the Portway in the East:(Fii) indeed, close to the large fishpond it appears to be joined by another ancient trackway going North in the direction of Stanley,(G) so the preceptory stood at a junction and was a site of obvious importance in the context of local communications.[73] Travelling East on the Morley road from the Locko preceptory one would soon have passed what is now Locko Grange, but which was in the eighteenth century and before South House Grange.(H) On purely physical evidence it could be taken to be a hospital site, but the documentation does not bear that interpretation. In fact, it is the missing grange of Dale Abbey which Mr. Colvin failed to identify in 1939, so these two medieval sites were on a direct line of communication and one which had been already long redundant in the eighteenth century.[74]

The boundary between Spondon and the ancient chapelry of Stanley follows the line of these roads, and in doing so bisects the proposed preceptory site: it follows the Morley road from Locko Grange to the large fishpond, and then swings North along the line of the road to Stanley.(I) [75] Finally, adjacent to Hornbuckle's house to the East are two fields referred to in the 1765 survey of Locko as 'Near Thistley Field',(J) and 'Far Thistley Field':(K) these may well have derived their names from the preponderance of thistles and nettles normally associated with the footings of old buildings, and are obvious candidates for more careful investigation.[76] As early as the eighteenth century 'Near Thistley Field' was bounded on the East by a piece of wooded land in the shape of an inverted 'L' — Locko Rookery, as it is called on more recent maps.(L) Taken in the context of a smaller, similarly shaped feature adjacent to Hornbuckle's house(M) — especially evident on Dr.P.85 — it would be tempting to speculate that these were the Southern corners of some prominent enclosure.[77] By the early nineteenth century, when a new series of estate maps and surveys was drawn up, virtually all trace of these ancient features had been swept away, the field pattern changed, and even the shape of the areas of water altered by the landscaping of Locko Park in the 1790s.[78]

An examination of a modern high level aerial photograph provides little clue to the existence of a Medieval site: there is an area of ridge and furrow evident between the position of Hornbuckle's house and Locko Grange, but the supposed area of the preceptory looks flat and uninteresting and some of it is now quite heavily wooded along the line of the water.[79] In order to test the conclusions drawn from the eighteenth century maps a series of visits was made to the site, and with the co-operation of Capt. Drury-Lowe it was thoroughly investigated. Most of the

roads still survive as holloways, though the 'fish pond' feature in 'Petty Croft'(D) has vanished except for an ancient oak which may be one of the trees shown flanking it on the eighteenth century maps. It is possible that this 'fish pond' was filled in when the main ponds — which of course still survive — were dug out and extended at a later date. The source of the water which feeds these ponds is not immediately evident, but in the middle of what was 'Well Croft'(B) there is a remarkable pear shaped pit with slight evidence of associated stonework at the sides. This is almost certainly the site of St. Ann's well. The course of the spring has now been altered and diverted by culverting, but the general opinion seems to be that it must rise somewhere in the vicinity of the pit. It has never been known to dry up. Some time ago a large trough and a quantity of worked stone — some of it decorated — was removed from 'Well Croft' and stacked up near Locko Park. This is probably the remains of the stone walls and paving alluded to by Woolley: some of it may be of considerable antiquity, though the decorated examples look to be of seventeenth or eighteenth century date.

Probably the most remarkable feature of the site, not fully appreciated from the maps, is the long 'S' shaped ditch and bank running from the edge of the largest pond into Locko Rookery. There is now no evidence of Hornbuckle's house, but there are several large pieces of masonry built into the embankment facing this ditch. Some of it is finely worked — echoing the better pieces of the 'well house' — but the majority takes the form of massive chiselled blocks worked with a 'herring bone' pattern, a style evident in the remains of the 'well house' as well as in walls near Spondon church. The style is notoriously difficult to date. Archaeological opinion suggests that it could be as early as the twelfth century or perhaps as late as the seventeenth. In any event it seems likely that this stone probably came from Hornbuckle's house and some of it may have had its origins in the preceptory. The ditch and bank first appears on a map of c. 1790 when the old house was still standing,[80] so it is clear that it was merely consolidated with the recovered stone and not built anew following the demolition. In terms of shape and size it has all of the characteristics of a Medieval boundary and would seem to confirm the theory that here we are looking at the southern confine of the preceptory site.

To the North of the ditch the ground rises sharply into a gentle mound which from its summit — along the line of the road to Dale (Fii) — has a commanding view of the surrounding countryside. At this point one is about 400ft above sea level, about 50ft higher than Locko Park. At its Eastern extremity the mound shows extensive evidence of ridge and furrow on both sides of the Dale road. At the West — in what was once 'Well Croft' and the 'backside' of Hornbuckle's house (B) — there are some random bumps and hollows which could be evidence of ancient settlement. Here, adjacent to St. Ann's Well and the Morley/Dale road we are probably looking at part of the settled site of the preceptory, the ridge and furrow area to the West probably being enclosures associated with it. The Northern boundary of the preceptory site is more problematical than the splendid demarcation which survives to the South. There is a 'natural' dividing line formed by a dip between two areas of rising ground,(O) and although this would have sealed off the hilltop as a self-contained unit there is little evidence on the ground — or indeed on the eighteenth century maps — to suggest an ancient boundary. The ditches on that part of the site are long and straight, related to modern drainage, and there is no evidence that the modern area of scrub land was so in the eighteenth century when simple field boundaries appear on the maps.

This was the state of our knowledge in March 1988 when I lectured to the Derbyshire Archaeological Society about the Locko preceptory. At that meeting I suggested various ways in which the research could be pushed forward and one of these was by the provision of low level aerial photographs which would supplement the Clyde Surveys photograph already used with limited success. In response a local pilot, Mike Larimore, soon provided four photographs from an appropriate altitude, and these confirmed all of the features already referred to. However, they also revealed an important feature not included on the maps and barely evident from the first

aerial photograph or the landscape — a fairly extensive moated enclosure lying at the Northern extremity of the present ornamental pond complex.(P) When this feature was later examined on the ground it was found to take the form of a very shallow indenture measuring approximately 125 x 36 yards and merging into the present watercourse at its Southern extremity. The parish boundary followed the Western edge of the moat, thus placing the enclosure in Stanley rather than Spondon. Inside the moat there was no visible evidence of building, but a preliminary survey with dowsing rods indicated a substantial series of features approximately 25 feet wide and 100 feet long at the longest point. This was an exciting and important discovery, and clearly more research remains to be done.

The discovery of the moated area made the Locko preceptory a more complex and substantial site than had at first been envisaged. Putting the various elements together there was ridge and furrow: part of a boundary ditch: roadways: house platforms: fishponds: a holy well and a moated enclosure. The problem is, given our present knowledge, it is impossible to date these features accurately or to explain how they integrated together to make up a single working unit in the Middle Ages. Much has been lost over the years as a result of natural decay, landscaping, and the open cast mining recently carried out in the fields near the moat, but even if more had survived the fieldwalker would require the assistance of the archaeologist — and possibly better contemporary primary sources — to come up with convincing answers. However, it does seem that the Locko site — fragmentary though it may be — is a site which warrants further attention. Unlike Burton Lazars, which defies interpretation because of its complex overlays of occupation stretching from the Saxon period to the early eighteenth century, Locko's comparatively short and uncomplicated history may yet provide some positive answers if the appropriate techniques can be applied. The research will contine with these objectives in view. It is at least a useful starting point that the site has been finally located and various features identified. One wonders how many more abandoned Medieval institutions await discovery through an interpretation of clues visible from maps and the landscape: certainly such quests should be an important priority for the local historian.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

This paper was written as part of a Research Project on Burton Lazars Hospital and the Order of St Lazarus in England undertaken under the auspices of the University of Nottingham Centre for Local History, part of the Department of Adult Education. I am grateful to the research team for their constant advice, criticism and encouragement which has helped in the framing of some of the ideas explored in this paper. Special thanks are due to Wendy Skill for the part she played in the interpretation of the landscape, and to Anne Tarver of Loughborough University for providing the map.

1 D. & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol 5 (*Derbyshire*), 1817, p. 259, *Victoria County History, Derbyshire*, Vol II, reprinted 1970, pp. 77-78.

2 H.M. Colvin, 'Dale Abbey: granges, mills and other buildings', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1939, pp. 142-155.

3 General histories of the Order are scarce, but see P.B. de la Grassiere, *L'Ordre Militaire et Hospitalier de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem*, 1960.

4 As yet there is no history of Burton Lazars Hospital or the English Lazarites. Something of the general history of the house is noted in J.G. Nichols, *History of Antiquities of Leicestershire*, Vol 2, pp. 272-76 and *Victoria County History, Leicestershire*, Vol 2, pp. 36-39.

5 The nine daughter houses of Burton Lazars were at Carlton-le-Moorland and Threkingham (Lincolnshire), Choseley and Wymondham (Norfolk), Pontefract (Yorkshire), Harehope (Northumberland), St. Giles, Holborn (Middlesex), Tilton (Leicestershire), and Locko (Derbyshire).

6 B.L. Cotton Mss. Nero C. 12 f. 205. There is a microfilm of the Cartulary in the Leicestershire Record Office, Microfilm Series IV. For a published calendar of the charters see T. Bourne and D. Marcombe, *The Burton Lazars Cartulary: a Medieval Leicestershire estate*, 1987.

7 These sources refer to f. 172 for the mythical confirmation by Henry II — indeed, Cox goes so far as

to state that 'we have gone through these pages with some care'. In fact, f. 172 refers to land in Billesdon, Leicestershire. J.C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol 3, p. 293, *V.C.H., Derbyshire*, Vol 2, p. 77.

8 For something of the general history of Spondon church and its chapelries, see Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-312.

9 O. Mosley, *History of Tutbury*, pp.235-39.

10 I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters*, 1906, No. 2175, p. 275, Nos. 613-4 p. 275.

11 Cox, *op. cit*, p. 295.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 296.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 297. Cox also quotes the apocryphal story of the supposed burning of Burton Lazars Hospital. See T. Bourne and J. Smithers, 'The Burning of Burton Lazars Hospital: the pitfalls of antiquarianism', *Bulletin of Local History East Midlands Region*, Vol 19, 1984, pp. 60-1.

14 Cox describes Spondon as 'the most melancholy instance in Derbyshire of a good church spoilt'. *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid*, p. 298.

16 This does not necessarily invalidate the idea of a 'leper window': indeed, given the tendancy to look back to the past and romanticise it, it might just make the idea more likely!

17 Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

18 It is difficult to explain this anomaly: in general outlying properties are not included, and Carlton might be considered to be the exception to the rule.

19 *V.C.H., Derbyshire*, Vol 2., p. 78.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1307-13*, p. 513.

22 The grantees are John de Sutherne of Locko (19 acres in Spondon); Thomas le Fevre of Locko (17 acres, 3 roods in Spondon); Thomas Poer (messuage, 86 acres and $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow in Spondon); Alice de Lockhagh (a toft in Locko); and Robert de Sallowe (messuage, 34 acres, 3 acres of meadow and 9s. of rent in Spondon). See Bourne and Marcombe, *op. cit.* pp. 13/14.

23 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol 4, pp. 152/3. The values are Spondon £14.9s.4d., Locko £7.5s.0d., Borrowash £3.9s.4d., and Chaddesden 11s.3d.

24 W. Woolley, *History of Derbyshire*, Derbyshire Record Society, Vol 6, 1981, p. 82.

25 *Ibid.*, Lysons, *op. cit.*, p.25, J.T., *The Old Halls, Manors and Families of Derbyshire*, Vol 2, 1893, pp.166-67, *Darley Cartulary*, ed. Darlington, Vol 1, 1945, pp. 385-86, *Index to Feudal Aids*, Vol 6, p. 593.

26 Lysons, *op. cit.*, p. 259. This definition is repeated by several subsequent authors e.g. J.T., *op. cit.*, p. 168, and T.G. Barber, *How the Church came to Spondon and her Chapelries Stanley and Chaddesden*, 1950, p. 36.

27 K. Cameron, *The Place-names of Derbyshire*, 1959, Part III, p. 606.

28 Lowsie Greave/Lousey Greave first occurs in 1614. There is also a Dedmangreve/Dedemansgreve in Stanley, but as this has a thirteenth century origin it is unlikely to be associated with the Hospital. Cameron *op. cit.* pp. 607/8. I am grateful to Mr. John Millar of Derby for pointing out to me the course of Lousy Graves Lane.

29 *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, Vol. 2, p. 78. For the circumstances of the confiscation of the de Ferrers estate, see F.M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 1966, pp. 524-26.

30 In this they were very similar to the preceptories of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

31 B.L., Cotton Mss. Nero C.12 f. 246.

32 This canon provided for the isolation of lepers and stated that they should have their own chapels, burial grounds and priests on the condition that this did not injure the rights of the mother church of the parish. In a place like Spondon, where the brethren also possessed the Rectory, the problem of erecting a chapel would have been minimal: even at Burton Lazars the rights of the local church had to be safeguarded.

33 *D.A.J.*, 1939, pp. 153/4. The Abbot of Dale was evidently attempting to expand his milling interests at this period and in 1276 there was a dispute with the Burgesses of Derby over alleged blockage of the Derwent.

34 *Inquisitions (Miscellaneous)*, Vol. I. 1219-1307, p. 378, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 93. There are 94 named men on the Patent Roll entry in support of the Abbot of Dale and two monks.

35 *Ibid.*

36 P.R.O., Just 1/462 m. 15 (Assize Roll, Leics., 1284), Farnham, Vol. 2, p. 51.
37 *H.M.C., Middleton Mss.*, P. 278.
38 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1346-49*, p. 295.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 338.
40 *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, Vol. 2, p. 78.
41 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1346-49*, p. 382. The Master, along with other ecclesiastics, was being invited to lend the King money.
42 Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
43 Cox, p. 304 provides some genealogical details of doubtful accuracy. Henry (the Archdeacon) was uncle of Nicholas and Geoffrey and therefore cannot be son of Richard. It seems more likely that he is Henry, the elder son of Gilbert de Chaddesden.
44 J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541*, 1, *Lincoln Diocese*, 1961, pp. 12, 18; V, *St Pauls, London*, 1963, p. 70; X, *Coventry and Lichfield Diocese*, 1964, p. 53. He is described as 'Magister' and therefore was a University graduate. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
45 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1369-74*, p. 550.
46 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 1957, Vol 1, pp. 380/81.
47 Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
48 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1354-58*, p. 43.
49 *Ibid., 1364-67*, p. 206.
50 *Ibid., 1367-70*, p. 259.
51 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1369-74*, pp. 432-33, 437-33.
52 *Ibid.*
53 The research of Dr. Keith Manchester of the University of Bradford has been critical in the reassessment of Medieval leprosy: his unpublished paper 'Leprosy: an enigma in palaeopathology' was delivered at the Centre for Local History Seminar, University of Nottingham, on November 3, 1984.
54 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol 4, p. 153. The King's rent was noted as 'released' i.e. waived.
55 Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
56 *Ibid*, Lysons, *op. cit.*, p. 259, Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 301, N(ottingham) U(niversity) M(anuscripts) D(epartment), Dr. D. 33/4.
57 *Ibid.*, Dr. D. 58.
58 Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 83, N.U.M.D., Dr. E 1/2.
59 *Ibid.*, Dr. p. 69.
60 *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol XIX, pt. 1, (1544) p. 371.
61 *Ibid*, Vol XXI, pt 1, (1546), p. 561.
62 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1550-53*, p. 241, 1553-54, p. 350, N.U.M.D., Dr. D. 33.
63 *Ibid.*, Dr. D. 33/1, 33/2, 33/3, *Calendar of Patent Rolls. 1569-72*, p. 137, Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
64 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
65 The Drury-Lowe papers were deposited in the University of Nottingham Department of Manuscripts by Capt. P.J.B. Drury-Lowe in 1961.
66 N.U.M.D., Dr. S. 4a, Dr. P.68, 85. Dr. P. 68 appears to be a series of large scale sketches for Dr. S. 4a which is accompanied by a survey book dated 1765 (Dr. S. 4): Dr. P. 85 is undated, but later than the above, probably c. 1790.
67 All of these features are evident at Burton Lazars.
68 Of the houses already studied Burton Lazars, Carlton-le-Moorland and Tilton are on or near parish boundaries.
69 J.R. Boyle, *The County of Durham*, p. 471.
70 N.U.M.D., Dr. S. 4/4a. St. Ann dedications, the most famous of which is probably at Buxton, are an interesting feature and may well connect with the Romano-Celtic deity Arnemetis rather than the Christian tradition which gives St. Ann only a tenuous connection with water.
71 *Ibid.*, Dr. P. 68.
72 *Ibid.*, Dr. S. 4/4a, P. 68. Woolley (p. 82) observes 'there is only three or four houses' in Locko; these must be those of Gilbert, Hornbuckle and Hambleton. South House Grange (see below) is probably the fourth.

73 *Ibid.*, Dr. P. 85, 86, 82, 5, 87, S. 4a. The Stanley road may have continued South to Spondon, thus placing the Locko preceptory at a crossroads, but this is more sceptical.
74 South House Grange is an interesting site in its own right which seems to have incorporated fishponds to the North: it is shown on most of the maps cited above for Locko, especially Dr. P.5 (dated 1711). See also (for the association with Dale Abbey) N.U.M.D., Dr. D. 38/2, 39/4.
75 *Ibid.*, Dr. P. 86, 87.
76 *Ibid.*, Dr. S. 4.
77 *Ibid.*, Dr. P. 85, 87, O.S. (1st edition c. 1850).
78 See, for example, Dr. P. 81, 82, 86, S. 5.
79 Clyde Surveys Ltd., Derbyshire County Survey, 1:10,000.6". 23/10/1971, 10 649/7145.
80 N.U.M.D., Dr. P. 85.