

CHAPTER I

EARLIER RESEARCH

In terms of its antiquarian research Nottinghamshire has been something of an experimental county. Its famous early historian, Robert Thoroton (1623–78), was one of the earliest writers of a county's history when he published in 1677, only some twenty years after William Dugdale had produced the first of its type on Warwickshire in 1656 (Henstock and Train 1977). Nottinghamshire was also the county which, in 1912, J. C. Cox chose for an early volume in George Allen's pioneering series intended as a comprehensive account of all parish churches in England. In 1932, Professor J. D. Chambers' *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century* used a range of innovative demographic techniques and sources to lay the foundations for modern social and economic history, whilst six years later Dr and Mrs Orwin produced their revolutionary study of Laxton, combining experimental archaeology with documentary history and leading to a debate about medieval open fields which continues to this day (Orwin and Orwin 1938). Arguably the single most important work on local history in the second half of the twentieth century, *The Parish Chest*, was written by a Nottinghamshire schoolmaster, W. E. Tate, based on Workers Educational Association classes he had run within the county (Tate 1946). Famously, too, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner used the county in the late summer of 1948 to pioneer, painfully, his fieldwork methodology for the great *Buildings of England* series and it became in 1951 one of the first three 'experimental' volumes published, alongside Cornwall and Middlesex (Cherry 1998, 10; Harries 2011, 410–14).

Unfortunately, however, this experimentalism in the field of local history, architecture and archaeology was never translated into pioneering or significant studies of the county's early sculpture. Neither did it result in an assiduous collection or protection of such sculpture. Indeed, there have been notable losses in the twentieth century, most significantly the two stones representing two pre-Conquest covers from Coates (Coates 1 and 2, pp. 96, 99) and the inscription from Rolleston (no. 1) — the only early inscription in the

county — which was lost to the progressive effects of rising damp rather than, as might first appear, wilful vandalism (p. 138). Similarly, the section of what was possibly a mid-Kesteven grave-cover from the Rectory garden wall at Cotgrave has probably been lost in very recent times (p. 210). At least in the case of the ten stones discovered when the central tower and other parts of Southwell Minster were underpinned before 1853, drawings can be identified that settle speculation about their date and character, though the stones themselves were dumped and are lost (Appendix C, p. 216). Furthermore, we propose that a stone from Granby reported by the local antiquarian Andrew Esdaile as Roman might alternatively have been Anglo-Saxon, but that has not been seen since 1851 (Appendix C, p. 212).

The major work of the mid eighteenth century on Nottinghamshire history, Charles Deering's pioneering monograph on the city of Nottingham (1751) reveals no items of early sculpture, but its production shows that the tradition of historical enquiry established by Thoroton continued. The county's notable antiquarian at this time was Major Hayman Rooke, who was fascinated by the remains of the Roman past and contributed ten articles to *Archaeologia* between 1788 and 1790 (Butler 1954; Speight 2003). Rooke, however, had little to say about the Anglo-Saxon period. In this respect he resembled Robert Thoroton, who, whilst noting odd snippets of Anglo-Saxon history that emerge from historical sources accessible to him, was not writing about early sculpture, and there is nothing much of help to us in original editions of his great work. A century after its original publication, however, Thoroton's work was taken up by John Throsby (1740–1803) and republished in three volumes between 1790 and 1796 (Barley and Train 1972). At his county scale, Throsby was following the influential example of Richard Gough, whose enlargement of the fundamental work of all English antiquarianism, Camden's *Britannia*, appeared first in 1789. It was, no doubt, the development of

science and Enlightenment thinking in the century which separates Thoroton and Throsby that ensured Throsby's additions to Thoroton *do* pay attention to the physical remains of the past, and they often record the appearance of churches and houses. Amongst these occur the earliest descriptions of the few fragments of early sculpture that were easily understood, for example at Hawksworth and, critically, at Stapleford (pp. 111, 188).

Significant though Throsby was for the development of county history, both in Nottinghamshire and more generally (Henstock 1994), much more important for the study of early sculpture are the researches of his near-contemporary William Stretton. Stretton (1755–1828) is described by his biographer, J. T. Godfrey, as an 'architect and builder' in Nottingham in succession to his father Samuel, who *inter alia* had worked with John Carr of York at Colwick Hall (Robertson 1910, v–xiii; Pevsner and Williamson 1979, 251–2). The family building business prospered sufficiently to permit William leisure to build a substantial villa on the site of Lenton Priory, two miles west of Nottingham, and to pursue his interests as an antiquary, including his own excavations of that site. His collections of coins, tiles and other artefacts at Lenton were open to the public on application, and amongst them was some early sculpture, notably the magnificent Lenton font (Zarnecki 1998). This object was excavated by him from the Priory site (although there is some dispute about its find site), and formed the centre-piece of his garden, until it was presented to the new church of St Mary Lenton after his death. It was Stretton's considerable collection of papers intended to inform a *History and Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, however, that is important for the county's early sculpture, though there is no sign that his work progressed beyond the collecting stage. On his death, the *Nottingham Journal* reported that 'in him antiquarians have lost a fund of general and useful knowledge', but his papers were scattered, and by 1910 those which had been traced were in the hands of two collectors: J. T. Godfrey himself and Mr J. Potter Briscoe, the Nottingham City Librarian and editor of the valuable journal-like series of volumes called *Old Nottinghamshire* (Briscoe 1884). They were collected together, edited, and published in a beautifully produced, privately printed, edition by G. C. Robertson of Widmerpool, including many reproductions of Stretton's own sketches (Robertson 1910). Stretton's notes inform a number of the catalogue entries in this volume, not just because he describes the churches within which virtually all the monuments were discovered before their restoration

or rebuilding, but also because he seems to have been particularly interested in early sculpture. Many of his sketches were of grave-covers and similar details and he provided the first notices of monuments such as Hickling 1 (p. 115). By contrast with Stretton, the contemporary work of William Rastall Dickinson writing on Newark (1805) and Southwell (1819), and Shilton's books on Southwell and district (1818) and Newark (1820), had little to say about early sculpture. Nevertheless, they do indicate how very active was local and antiquarian research in Nottinghamshire in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

In the mid nineteenth century, there was some falling away from the high standard set by William Stretton and his contemporaries, and the colossal four-volume county history called *The Annals of Nottinghamshire* (Bailey 1853–5) makes no reference to early sculpture at all. Some were nevertheless interested; Andrew Esdaile, watchmaker of Bingham, was a dedicated antiquary and acute first-hand observer of sites and finds locally, if in a small way and with more limited ambitions. But, a Scot and a tradesman, he was not a member of Nottingham society like Stretton, and within a generation his modest publications on Bingham and parishes thereabouts had to be brought to the attention of even local scholars and their virtues recommended (Esdaile 1845; 1851; Blagg, T. M. 1897a; 1897b). He evidently collected bits and pieces, including sculptured stone and notably what we suggest here was the important, lost, stone at Granby (Appendix C, p. 212). But since that object seems soon to have passed from his hands, he was perhaps no collector in the conventional gentlemanly mould. Perhaps surprisingly, when his investigations concerned the Vale of Belvoir parishes either side of the county boundary, he seems not to have secured the patronage or ear of the Duke of Rutland. In line with this, we have found nothing of importance to our study of early Nottinghamshire sculpture in the collections at Belvoir Castle, where the accessible early sculpture all comes from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire.

Nottinghamshire waited long for an antiquarian society of its own, but from early in its history (it was founded about 1844 — Leach 1992, 19), the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural and Archaeological Society was not shy of crossing the county boundary to visit Nottinghamshire churches and to publish papers on Nottinghamshire topics. That interest in Nottinghamshire was greatly increased during the period when the Lincoln society was dominated by its energetic serial office-holder, Edward Trollope. It was he who convened their annual general meeting at

Southwell on 2–3 June 1869 to hear a succession of papers on Southwell itself and other Nottinghamshire topics ((—) 1869–70), whilst the following twenty years saw a succession of Nottinghamshire papers published by the Lincoln Diocesan Society, with substantial accounts of the county's churches in 1873–4, 1877–8, 1879–80 and 1891–2. Throughout this period, the county's churches were being restored, with numbers of items of early sculpture being discovered during this process and sometimes noted in the 'Reports' sections of the Society's journal. The most notable of these was perhaps Kneesall 1 (p. 125), where a brass plaque was attached to the stone recording its discovery (Ill. 58). It cannot be a coincidence, either, that this was the period when the Church of England was moving to create new dioceses in the expanding industrial areas of the country and that Edward Trollope was greatly interested in those developments. The archdeaconry of Nottinghamshire, which more or less coincided with the boundaries of the county, had been united with Lincoln diocese in 1836 'for ecclesiastical purposes', but it was Henry Mackenzie, rather than Trollope, who became the first suffragan bishop of Nottingham, under Lincoln, in 1870. It is hard not to see Trollope's promotion of the 1869 meeting as part of his own campaign to become that new suffragan. But if he was disappointed in 1870 he merely redoubled his efforts to impress

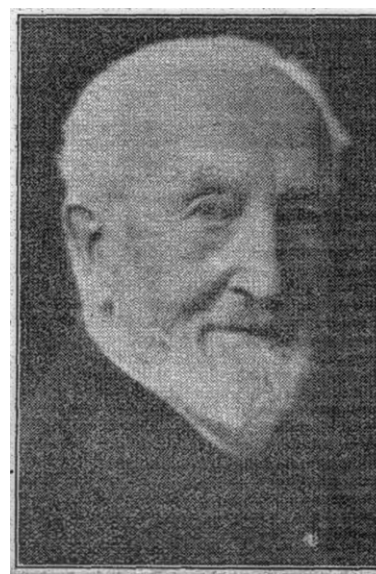
Nottinghamshire society with his academic suitability for the role through his writing about the county: a campaign that ensured that Nottinghamshire remained prominent in the activities of the Lincoln Diocesan Society, long after Trollope's elevation as second suffragan bishop of Nottingham in 1877 (Leach 1992, 14–15). Trollope's ambition, however, was to establish an independent diocese in Nottinghamshire; but when it was finally founded in 1884, and despite all the hard work he had invested in the project, Trollope was passed over for a younger man (Beckett 2003b). Trollope had nevertheless ensured that, throughout his period of engagement with Nottinghamshire from the mid 1860s until shortly before his death in 1893, the Lincoln Diocesan Society had offered a good home to Nottinghamshire antiquarianism. Indeed from 1885 the society changed its name to the *Lincoln and Nottingham Architectural and Archaeological Society*. The new Southwell diocese's independent identity developed rapidly, however, to the point that its own antiquarian society was brought into formal existence in 1897 — the *Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* (Hoskins 1997). The Lincoln society quietly dropped 'Nottingham' from its name in 1901. During the period when the Lincoln society played a role in Nottinghamshire, its journal noted a number of the more prominent of the county's early sculptures, as reflected in relevant catalogue entries below.



A



B



C

FIGURE 2

Some Nottinghamshire antiquarians: a) William Stevenson (the elder, 1832–1922),
b) John Thomas Godfrey (1857–1911), c) Arthur du Boulay Hill (1850–1937)

Whilst giving the whole topic of ecclesiology a considerable boost, the foundation of the *Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* capitalized on the framework laid by its predecessor and brought together a large group of more local individuals who counted early sculpture amongst their enthusiasms. The generation active in the final decades of the nineteenth century and through to the outbreak of the First World War was much the most productive in this field to date, and after 1897 they had their own society and journal in which to debate their discoveries and ideas. As was typical of the period, some were Church of England clergymen; but the man to whom all deferred, William Stevenson the elder (1832–1922; see Fig. 2a), was actually a carpenter by trade, who during his apprenticeship had carved the pew ends at All Saints Bingham. He subsequently became a major timber-merchant in Hull. Remembered today for his Nottinghamshire volume in the ‘*Bygone ...*’ county series (1893) and for his account of the county’s earthworks for the *Victoria County History* (1906), he seems to have been a fount of information on all aspects of the county’s history in his generation, especially after he retired to live at Alfreton in 1906 (Blagg, T. M. 1922). He was evidently a close friend of Nottingham’s leading contemporary architect, T. C. Hine ((—) 1887–8), to whom *Bygone Nottinghamshire* was dedicated. Spurred by encountering Anglo-Saxon stones at Rolleston in 1897 shortly after their discovery in church restorations there, he corresponded with J. Romilly Allen (Allen 1902–3, 88; BL, Add. MS 37552, ff. 195–8; Add. MS 37604, 380–9), and with his encouragement set about following up other instances of this type of material — at Hawksworth, Shelford, East Bridgford and Thoroton (pp. 106, 111, 152, 208) — as it seems often with Alfred Stapleton (below) as his amanuensis. He possessed, in addition to energy and self-confidence, the social connections necessary in late Victorian and Edwardian times to gain access for his own and his son’s antiquarian researches. Hine was also an antiquarian of some distinction but, unlike his contemporary Charles Kirk in Sleaford, there is no record of him being interested in early sculpture (Everson and Stocker 1999, 2; Brand n.d., 20–2).

Though Stevenson later complained of never hearing from him (Beckett 2009), he always had the standing of his eldest son, William H. Stevenson (1858–1924), the distinguished professional historian, editor of the *Close Rolls*, and early contributor to the *English Historical Review*, to invoke when dealing with scholars of national standing — like Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson — and was apt to do so (BL, Add.

MS 37552, ff. 195–200; Add. MS 37604, ff. 386–7). William H. was an important pioneer both of studies in the Anglo-Saxon legal system and in place-names, but his best-known work probably remains his critical edition of Asser’s *Life of King Alfred* (Stevenson, W. H. 1904; www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk). Before he moved to Oxbridge in 1895, however, William H. Stevenson spent a period as editor of Nottingham’s records (Raine and Stevenson 1882–9; Mills, J. 2009, 55) and was as influential as his father amongst historically-minded writers working on the county. His article on the early history of Nottingham, published in 1887, is strikingly modern in its approach (Stevenson, W. H. 1887–8). Although neither *Bygone Nottinghamshire* nor the *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* have anything coherent to say about early sculpture, contributions on Eakring, Hawksworth, East Bridgford and a number of other sites by both father and son are recorded in the catalogue (pp. 106, 111, 211). In the decades before 1914, indeed, it is not always clear which of the two scholars is being referenced by contemporaries. William H.’s output was prodigious but he ceased to write about Nottinghamshire after the 1890s. Even so, the opinions of both father and son on all matters Anglo-Saxon are often cited by the busy group of antiquaries who were at work in the county, even though William the elder’s direct publication was largely confined to contributions to newspapers and magazines.

Foremost amongst those who deferred to the Stevensons was probably Cornelius Brown (1852–1907), a journalist by profession and author of a wide range of publications on Nottinghamshire history, including the magnificent and still definitive two-volume work, *A History of Newark* (1904–7), which contains some brief information about nearby early sculpture sites (such as Rolleston 1 and 2, pp. 138, 145). The introduction to the first volume of this work reveals Brown at the centre of a network of prominent antiquaries of the day who included Canon Greenwell of Durham, Alfred Gibbons of Lincoln and John Bilson of Hull. His *History of Nottinghamshire* (1896) was written with a general audience in mind, providing an historical account of the notable towns and villages in the county, the great county families and the English Civil War in Nottinghamshire. But it, too, contains some valuable remarks about the better-known early sculptures; particularly Stapleford 1 (p. 188). Brown’s account of Stapleford has been the most influential of the many that monument has attracted, but it consists largely of a long quotation reporting the views of Bishop G. F. Browne first published

elsewhere (Browne 1884–8, lxxii; 1885, 257–8). The widespread popularity of Cornelius Brown's *History* was instrumental in Bishop Browne's interpretation of the Stapleford shaft becoming the accepted one. Brown's book grew out of a series of articles he wrote for the *Nottinghamshire Daily Guardian* between 1888 and 1890, and, although popular in style, it was informed by the work of leading contemporary historians, including Edward Trollope and John Raine, the noted historian of York who also wrote a substantial history of Blyth Priory (Raine 1860), as well as W. H. Stevenson and his friend J. T. Godfrey. In 1874 Brown was appointed editor of the *Newark Advertiser* and shortly afterwards became its part-owner (Blatherwick 1932). From this position he was able to deploy *The Advertiser's* resources to explore and publicize aspects of the history of the town itself and of the area of the county round about, including the work of Alfred Stapleton discussed below.

Interest in antiquarianism also spread to the weekly magazine *The Mansfield Reporter*, which in 1906–7 published a series of detailed accounts of thirteen churches in the Mansfield Deanery, written by Harry Walkerdine and Alfred Sorby Buxton (1867–1932). These were also subsequently republished in book form along with the original illustrations drawn by Buxton (Walkerdine and Buxton 1907). Walkerdine was a professional journalist who seems not to have engaged with the Thoroton Society, but Buxton — a distinguished local painter, photographer and sometime head of the Mansfield School of Art — was an active member and became one of the local antiquaries who led field trips and wrote up reports for the *Transactions*. Walkerdine and Buxton's book reports early sculpture where it is found and includes the first published reference to several of Nottinghamshire's twelfth- and thirteenth-century grave-covers (including some in Appendix F), and to the reused grave-marker at Church Warsop (p. 95), though in that case they potentially had the contemporary presidential lecture to the British Archaeological Association by C. E. Keyser and its publication to draw on (Keyser 1907, 140). This tradition amongst Nottinghamshire journalists of being interested in antiquarian matters goes some way to explain why Arthur Mee's Nottinghamshire volume (1938) contains careful accounts of several early Nottinghamshire monuments. Mee was not only born and brought up in the shadow of the Stapleford Cross, in a cottage at the opposite end of the churchyard path between 1875 and 1889, but his first job was as a journalist on various Nottingham newspapers (Taylor, R. 1983, 46; Elias 1993, 1–10).

Cornelius Brown's friend John Thomas Godfrey (1857–1911; Fig. 2b) was another member of this hard-working group of Nottinghamshire historians, and his work is exceptionally useful to those working on the county's ecclesiology today. He lived most of his life at Radcliffe-on-Trent, and a varied career saw him spend a period in the estate office of the Duke of Newcastle, serve as secretary and 'acting manager' of the Nottingham Theatre Royal, and edit the *Nottingham Red Books* (<http://www.lentontimes.co.uk/images/gallery/godfreys_history/godfreys_listener_31.htm> [consulted June 2013]). He wrote an important early history of Lenton, where he was brought up (Godfrey 1884), but for Anglo-Saxon sculptural studies his pair of volumes describing both the history and archaeology of the parishes of the south of the county (on the hundred of Rushcliffe in 1887 and on the hundred of Bingham in 1907) are indispensable. His accounts of the early sculpture in these churches were much the fullest up to these dates. Disappointingly, his unpublished collections towards volumes on the two further hundreds of Bassetlaw and Broxtowe are not similarly useful (Nottinghamshire Archives Office, DD/TS/6/4/20 and /21). Contrariwise, the unpublished 'Notes on churches visited' in four volumes by Arthur Barratt of Lambley, though not so well informed and not limited to Nottinghamshire, do contain information of value, notably about the early existence of a base with the shaft at Stapleford before its removal from the churchyard in the eighteenth century (Nottinghamshire Archives Office, DD/TS/6/4/7 and /14/32/1–3; see p. 189). Spanning a long period from the mid 1880s well into the twentieth century, they are products of the era's enthusiasm to visit, enquire and note, even with no thought of publication in view. Godfrey made much of his research available to his colleagues prior to publication, so several articles on churches in the south of the county that appear in the first fourteen editions of the *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* are based on his work, including the first important contribution on Shelford 1 for example (p. 152).

Another prolific contributor to these early editions of the *Transactions* was Harry Gill (1858–1925), an architect working in Nottingham who evidently spent much of his time researching Nottinghamshire's ecclesiology. Although he made a less original contribution to early sculpture studies than some of his contemporaries, nevertheless his popular general book on church architecture *The Village Church in Olden Times* (first edition 1901, second, 1903) was illustrated throughout with examples and photographs drawn from Nottinghamshire, which permitted Stapleford 1

to be introduced to a national audience as *the* example of an Anglo-Saxon cross (Gill 1901, 14; 1903, 20; see p. 188). If Thoroton Society excursions were not being led by Gill or Buxton, the role was often taken by the Rev. Atwell M. Y. Baylay (d. 1921), the vicar of Thurgarton for 47 years, whose well-informed commentaries tend both to mention early sculpture and to provide useful information about its context (Baylay 1903; 1913). Another minor contributor to the *Transactions* was local politician Robert Mellors, whose huge, gossipy and influential history of the county was published in 1908. Its didactic introduction attempts to outline the role of local history within the educational curriculum, whilst the enormous list of acknowledgements to contacts both scholarly and political shows that local history was an important matter in Edwardian Nottinghamshire. Mellors had a special connection with Stapleford and not only wrote a pamphlet on the village for the benefit of the local school, with a substantial section on the cross (Mellors 1906), but inserted a section about the cross in his 1908 book and devoted one of the 36 photographs to it (1908, 318–19 and plate).

In spite of the solid work by all these friends and contemporaries, it is another clergyman, the Rev. Arthur du Boulay Hill (1850–1937; Fig. 2c), who has entered specialist bibliographies as the principal early expert on Nottinghamshire's pre-Norman sculpture. The reputation rests largely on his article in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1916, which reports 17 stones at 12 sites (Hill 1916a). This publication, or more strictly its citation by Kendrick in his 'textbook' (1949, 78 n.2) plus the fact that it is a focused piece of work contrasting with the scattergun localism of others, and that it was published accessibly to scholars with national rather than parochial interests, has given Hill a prominence in the field that is perhaps somewhat surprising when his engagement with the topic is compared with figures like the Stevensons, Brown or Godfrey. He was an old-style, learned clergyman-antiquary, educated at Winchester and Oxford, and principally eminent for his knowledge and life-long enthusiasm for bells and bellringing (Eisel 2000; Jackson 2001). But he investigated and published on the early church at Breamore, Hampshire, during his early career as master and then chaplain at Winchester (Hill 1897; 1898), and having been incumbent at Downton, Wiltshire, wrote on the Anglo-Saxon bounds of that parish (Hill 1909–10). It was therefore natural that he should interest himself in the evidence for an early church and in the two pre-Conquest fragments at East Bridgford that emerged

during the extended restorations there (1901–13), where he was rector from 1898 (Hill 1903; 1915; see p. 106 below). There is little sign that he pursued the subject through active fieldwork, however; he relied, rather, on his contacts around the county to bring items of pre-Norman sculpture to his attention. No doubt this was facilitated by his full engagement with Nottinghamshire studies, as editor of the Thoroton Society's *Transactions* from 1918 to 1925 and frequent guide on excursions and author of resultant notes (Hill 1903; 1905a; 1905b; 1906a; 1906b; 1907a; 1908; 1914; 1915; 1916b; 1917; 1923a). Arguably his major contribution to Nottinghamshire history was not on the pre-Norman period, however, but rather on the one hand his work at Beauvale Priory undertaken jointly with Harry Gill (Hill 1907b; Hill and Gill 1908; Hill 1909) and on the other his exemplary local history of his own parish (Hill 1932a). He also had a specialist interest in church music, that was perhaps more sustained than his interest in pre-Norman sculpture (Hill 1932b; London, Royal College of Music, GB 1249 MS 6007). A comparison with the Rev. D. S. Davies over the county boundary in Lincolnshire is interesting (Everson and Stocker 1999, 2–3). Hill would have been only slightly older than his Lincolnshire equivalent, but had none of Davies's flair for seeking out early monuments, nor indeed did he write about them with the same critical intelligence. It is symptomatic that Davies came to Sir Alfred Clapham's attention, and only published his seminal article in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1926 at the great man's urging. Hill, by contrast, needed no such patronage but spread his contributions across a wide range of fields and was fully engaged with antiquarian activity both locally and nationally. Yet his devotion to pre-Conquest material was genuine enough. Not only did he ensure the preservation of the two stones at East Bridgford (p. 106), but he used the interlace designs he discovered on them and other Nottinghamshire stones that he catalogued to decorate his wife's grave-marker in the churchyard of the church at East Bridgford (see half-title page, Plate 1), and he himself was buried there too, despite the fact that in retirement he had moved away to Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, where he died (*The Times*, Thursday 20 October 1938, 1; Nottinghamshire Archive Office, PR 6603/38–51; Hill 1935).

Locally, then, Hill was neither unique nor outstanding amongst his contemporaries in the search for pre-Norman sculpture in the 'heroic age' of Nottinghamshire antiquarianism before the First World War. Rather the work of Nottinghamshire's most active antiquarians in this field was brought together,

appropriately perhaps, by another journalist on the *Newark Advertiser*: Alfred Stapleton. Stapleton must have been a protégé of Cornelius Brown, as he followed him at the *Nottinghamshire Guardian*. There he met the elder William Stevenson (for whom he played the role of ‘junior’ editor of *Some Account of the Religious Institutions of Old Nottingham*, which was published by the *Guardian* — Stevenson and Stapleton 1895) before becoming an employee of the *Newark Advertiser*, where Brown was editor. He also had material published by the *Mansfield and North Notts. Advertiser* and the *Nottingham Daily Express*. Like the scholars we have already mentioned, he was a busy member of the Thoroton Society, where he built up close connections with Brown, Godfrey, Gill, Baylay and Hill. Stapleton was no great scholar himself, but he was industrious and passionate about collecting examples of Nottinghamshire crosses, including pre-Norman fragments which were all routinely considered to be parts of crosses at this date, sometimes — as at Coates — in the face of the evidence of the stones themselves (p. 96). The early results of his researches appeared as notes in *The Antiquary* between 1887 and 1889, and were brought together in two pamphlets published in 1891 and 1893 (Stapleton 1903, ii). His ‘journalistic’ approach to scholarship — focusing as it does on the dissemination of information, rather than in consistent cataloguing — has resulted in a very complex bibliography for Stapleton’s writings about the early sculpture of Nottinghamshire. More widely disseminated than his 1891 and 1893 works was his booklet on the topic published by the *Newark Advertiser* in 1903, although even before publication this work had acquired a substantial ‘Addendum’, adding a further nine accounts (including a rewriting of East Bridgford, based on Hill’s researches). In 1911, however, the *Newark Advertiser* published a new set of accounts, including of some new sites, in pamphlet form under the title *New Notes on Notts. Crosses* (Stapleton 1911). The following year, yet another list appeared from notes serialized in the *Mansfield and North Notts. Advertiser* (Stapleton 1912). Stapleton was not solely interested in early sculpture, of course. His concern was crosses of all dates, including quite a number of post-medieval and nineteenth-century examples; but his lists, taken together, do represent the most complete referencing of fragments of pre-Conquest sculpture at the time of the outbreak of the First World War (19 stones at 15 sites), and they frequently, explicitly or implicitly, recount the views of William Stevenson.

Amongst the scholars with a national profile, we

might have expected J. Charles Cox, in particular, to have played a leading role in this exciting period of Nottinghamshire antiquarianism before the First World War, given that he lived in adjacent Derbyshire. He had been publishing the definitive account of Derbyshire churches (1873–9) and had been ‘making notes’ on Nottinghamshire since the 1870s (1912a, vii). In 1912 his volume on Nottinghamshire churches was published as one of the early volumes in the George Allen *County Churches* series. This was the first complete account of the churches outside the hundreds of Rushcliffe and Bingham but, following the format of the series in which it appeared, it was dry and compressed, consisting too often of uncritical architectural description. Nevertheless, Cox was assiduous in reporting finds of early sculpture, and to that end he wrote twice to Romilly Allen from visits to Nottinghamshire in 1904 (BL, Add MS 37552, ff. 172–4, 219–20). His publication drew attention to some important Nottinghamshire stones, such as those at Shelton (p. 165), effectively for the first time. To some extent, also, the book was a commercial spin-off from Cox’s work on the ‘Ecclesiastical History’ section of the second volume of the Victoria County History for Nottinghamshire (Cox 1910a), which, however, says nothing about early sculpture. In the preface to his 1912 volume, Cox offers thanks to Harry Gill, Tom Blagg (Stevenson’s biographer and a dedicated genealogist) and Everard Guilford, another member of the small group of antiquarians running the Thoroton Society, who finally became its Secretary in 1920 and Editor from 1925. Guilford, a history lecturer at University College Nottingham, himself occurs in many of the entries below, as he was the author of the Nottinghamshire *Little Guide* (1910; 1927), and he reciprocated with an effusive acknowledgement to Cox in respect of his information about the county’s churches, though he was also indebted to Gill, Godfrey and Blagg. Guilford’s interest in early sculpture was limited, however, and his notices of Nottinghamshire items are partial and derivative.

Amongst the national specialists in early sculpture of the period, Bishop G. F. Browne was considered a natural authority from whom to seek a view on the Coates finds, for example, and he responded with interest (p. 96). His extended comments on Stapleford 1 confirm that interest in the county (p. 188), but his principal publications deal with Derbyshire material (Browne 1886; 1888; 1891–2; Moreland 2003). J. Romilly Allen was another to whom (especially experienced) antiquaries readily referred discoveries. In addition to Cox, his correspondents about Notting-

hamshire included J. A. Penny of Wispington in Lincolnshire and E. H. Goddard of Wootton Bassett in Wiltshire, both notable antiquarian clergymen, and when A. E. Frost, a member of the Monumental Brass Society, moved to Averham and began to survey the county for brasses, he also sent neat drawings of Anglo-Saxon items he encountered — at Kneesall, Rolleston and Screveton — to Allen. Stevenson's early notice of the important discoveries at Rolleston, too, initially directed to Joseph Anderson in Edinburgh, was also smartly re-directed to Allen and resulted in publication in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, which he edited ([Allen] 1897). An efficient correspondent, in all he systematically collected notes and illustrations about the sculptures at East Bridgford, Coates, Costock, Hawksworth, Hickling, Kneesall, Rolleston, Screveton, Shelford, Shelton and Stapleford (BL, Add MS 37552, ff. 167–249), as well as about the county's early Romanesque tympana (BL, Add MS 37604, ff. 373–415; Add MS 37605, 9–18) before his death in 1907. He listed only one item — Stapleford — in his published list of stones with interlaced ornament of 1885, drawn up in conjunction with Bishop Browne (Allen and Browne 1885, 356), but several important finds arose from church restorations postdating that and — in contrast to the wordy, list-making local tradition represented by Stapleton — he promoted drawn or photographic recording by actively seeking to secure an image in every case (Ills. 179–80, 193; for his data-gathering methodology, see Henderson 1993, especially 18–22). By contrast, the county lay on the edge of W. G. Collingwood's collecting area. Although he was evidently aware of a number of critical Nottinghamshire pieces, none of his trademark drawings exists for any of the county's stones, and in his monumental summary of the subject — *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* — only the monument at Hickling is mentioned by name (Collingwood 1927, 129). Similarly, amongst the Nottinghamshire monuments, G. Baldwin Brown's account mentions only Stapleford (Brown 1937, 273) and the inscription of Rolleston 1 (*ibid.*, 215). Unlike Edwardian and inter-war Lincolnshire next door, Nottinghamshire was well supplied with amateur antiquarians busy researching the early sculpture of their county, often in conjunction with larger projects, and this might go some way to explain the limited interest of these national figures.

Baldwin Brown's greater contribution, indeed, was through his studies of early architecture. It was he who ensured that the church at Carlton-in-Lindrick found a place in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon towers (Brown

1925, 400, 447–8; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 1, 149–52). But he was not the earliest to study this tower in depth; that honour should go to the Rev. J. Stayce (Stayce 1869–70). Compared with Lincolnshire, though, there has been relatively little reported church excavation in Nottinghamshire. Hill watched the re-creation of the early Norman tower base at Plumtree with anxiety during its restoration in 1905 and believed that he could identify a phase of construction earlier than the early Norman work there (Hill 1905). Unfortunately, there is no architectural (or other) sculpture from Plumtree. Hill was doing something similar during the course of restoration at his own church at East Bridgford between 1901 and 1913. Here, however, as incumbent he was free to make much fuller records of the excavation of the earliest stone church on the site, which he duly published (Hill 1903; 1916a; 1921; 1932a; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 1, 98–100). At Hucknall, too, evidence of what was understood to be a 'Saxon' church was observed below the floor in the 1920s (Barber, T. 1939). Of these places, the Taylors included only Carlton and East Bridgford in their national gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon churches. More recently, there have been modern excavations of early churches and burial grounds at Newark Castle (Marshall and Samuels 1997), at Cotgrave (Elliott and Gilbert 1999), and at Southwell (Rowe 2010). None of these excavation projects resulted in the discovery of clear-cut early sculpture (Appendix B, Southwell 3 and 4, p. 208; Appendix C, Newark Castle 1–6, p. 214). By contrast, the survey and consolidation work on the standing fabric at St Mary's, Colston Bassett in the late 1990s revealed an interesting, clearly pre-Conquest, shaft fragment (Hall and Atkins 2004; see p. 101 below).

Amongst scholars of the mid twentieth century studying early sculpture, T. D. Kendrick (1895–1979) stands out as being particularly interested in the handful of Nottinghamshire monuments that could play a part in national debates along style-critical lines; debates which came to dominate the subject in the second half of the twentieth century. Thus Kendrick wrote at some length about Stapleford, Hickling and Shelford and they formed an important part of his definition of a 'northern Mercian' style (1941, 10; 1949, 68–82). In this, Kendrick was the first to try and place the Nottinghamshire material in any sort of broader context, in a way that local antiquaries of the previous generation had scarcely considered. But Kendrick's expert consideration of the Hickling grave-cover, at least, would not have been undertaken without the preliminary analysis of this monument by

the great Danish scholar Johannes Brøndsted (1890–1965) (Brøndsted 1924, 207–9); and it is these three monuments only — Hickling, Shelford and Stapleford — that are picked up in general accounts of Anglo-Saxon sculpture throughout the second half of the twentieth century (Rice 1952, 88, 107, 142; Stone 1955; id. 1972), with Hickling in particular cast as the focus for a style-critical grouping in the tenth-century North Midlands (Plunkett 1984, 1, 106–10).

In its local studies, Nottinghamshire has continued to attract notable archaeologists and antiquarians. Keith Train (1905–1985) was a mainstay of the Thoroton Society and deeply interested in the county's churches (Train 1981), but on early sculpture merely recycled comments about Stapleford. The interests of Train's great friend Maurice Barley (1909–1991) were by comparison omnivorous (Barley 1993). As lecturer in, and subsequently professor of, archaeology at Nottingham University, Barley constantly promoted the interest of local pre-Conquest sculpture, seen as an element in broader discussions of the history of early Nottinghamshire; but his most significant single contribution was the identification and rescue of the important pre-Viking sculpture from the gravel pits at South Muskham (Barley 1983; see p. 178 below). Barley was no specialist in this field, however, and no contemporary scholar has taken that role in Nottinghamshire. The exception, perhaps, is the dogged work of Lawrence Butler. Butler's early career was founded upon fieldwork undertaken on a bicycle, touring the churches of eastern England to log examples of minor monumental sculpture for his doctoral thesis (Butler 1961). Resultant published work included the first notice of the mid-Kesteven cover at Girton (Butler 1963–4, 113; see p. 110 below) and of several of the grave-cover fragments that occur in the appendices below (Butler 1952; 1964). The most important work on Nottinghamshire sculpture in more recent times has undoubtedly been done by James Lang (1935–1997). Though the county was never at the centre of his interests, two of his enquiries brought him to Nottinghamshire. First, his life-long consideration of monuments of 'hogback' type (Lang 1984) caused him to consider the Hickling grave-cover (see p. 115), related but non-standard as it is of the monument type, and to bring to wider academic notice the two related monuments at Shelton (*ibid.*, 140, 162, 172; see pp. 165, 168 below). Secondly, Lang's interest in the Nunburnholme cross in the East Riding of Yorkshire — a monument which he placed at the centre of much of his best writing (1977; 1991, 189–93) — brought the cross-shaft at Shelford (p.

152) into his discussions. Although the significance of this monument had originally been recognized by Kendrick, it has been Lang's work that has maintained it at the forefront of students' minds.

Most recently, Nottinghamshire sculpture has been drawn into wider historical or archaeological debates. On the one hand, Phil Sidebottom has suggested the existence of two groups of monuments in the county; one belonging to a group he defines as the 'Lincoln Vikings' and another to the 'Mercian Vikings' (1994; 1999; 2000). This approach is based largely on political and military activity in the East Midlands in the early tenth century, as documented in a handful of chronicle references, but lacks a detailed study of the monuments themselves. His thesis predated the identifications of tenth- and eleventh-century monument types in the East Midlands, and their respective dating sequences, that were established in Everson and Stocker 1999, and on which we have continued to build in this volume. On the other hand, Dawn Hadley, though hampered in Nottinghamshire by the lack of any systematic collection of material since Hill's 1916 paper, has made much more effective use of stone sculpture as evidence for wider debates in history and archaeology, deploying it alongside other interdisciplinary resources to shed light on the Danelaw (Hadley 2000a). Her approach generates important material on both the early estate structure of the district and, particularly, on the early church organization, which we have found especially relevant in Chapter III (pp. 32, 34, 35).

More prosaically, the Southwell and Nottingham Church History Project (<http://www.southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/>), edited by John Beckett and Chris Brooke, aspires to mention any Anglo-Saxon sculpture within a church building; but, like the county Historic Environment Record, it will probably draw more from the present study than either has contributed to it.

THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT SURVEY

For many years Nottinghamshire was no more than an extension of Lincolnshire to the two authors of the current work. In fieldwork for the Lincolnshire volume in this series (Everson and Stocker 1999), undertaken between 1984 and 1991, we were interested in the distribution of monuments produced at Lincolnshire quarries, and in monuments that we had defined as 'Lincolnshire' types in peripheral counties. We therefore undertook visits to all documented and

accessible monuments in East and South Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk as well as to Nottinghamshire during these seven years, in search of relevant material. The Lincolnshire monument groups that we defined and documented in Nottinghamshire during this process were published both in the Lincolnshire Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture volume (Everson and Stocker 1999, 35–46) and also within several papers derived from the same work (Stocker 2000; Stocker and Everson 2001). These ‘Lincolnshire’ monuments are described and discussed in the chapters that follow. At the end of the millennium, David Stocker also led a small project of systematic research into tenth- and eleventh-century Southwell in advance of the visit by the Thirteenth Viking Congress, held at Nottingham and researching the Danelaw, in 1997. That publication not only established a detailed argument for the micro-archaeology of the famous lintel there (Southwell 15, p. 231) but also explored its physical and stylistic context (Dixon, Owen and Stocker 2001).

Only in 2005, following the completion of a second volume that arose out of our Lincolnshire Corpus work (Stocker and Everson 2006), did we begin site visits and associated research dedicated to Nottinghamshire. We adopted the same practice that we had deployed successfully in Lincolnshire; visiting each of the known medieval church sites of the county and inspecting church fabrics closely to identify any unreported items. One result of this approach is that we can have some confidence in the validity of the distributions of monument types that we discuss here. We have certainly not noted all the fragments of pre-Conquest monuments that exist in Nottinghamshire, but our collection policy should ensure that our distributions are sufficiently robust to sustain debate. The Nottinghamshire fieldwork took the best part of three years, from 2005 to 2008. It resulted in a number of discoveries, as well as fundamental re-assessments, with the consequence that this volume deals with something like 137 stones at 56 sites (excluding

Appendices E and F). New items at South Leverton (pp. 170, 174) seemed sufficiently significant in their own right, and with sufficient importance for the wider study of the Trent valley in the Anglo-Saxon period, to justify a separate paper, with a more rounded archaeological approach and broader objectives than a Corpus volume conventionally allows (Everson and Stocker 2007).

As in Lincolnshire, we have excluded ‘overlap’ architectural sculpture from detailed cataloguing, merely listing it in Appendix E with a summary description (p. 220). There is quite a small quantity in Nottinghamshire, from six sites; this excludes the architectural sculpture at Southwell Minster (no. 15) and Hoveringham (no. 1), which are stylistically distinct and are discussed as members of the ‘Continuing Tradition’ in Appendix G (pp. 226, 231). This volume is not the appropriate place to deal with this ‘overlap’ architectural material, which we believe dates entirely from the period immediately following the Norman conquest and is Romanesque in its stylistic character (see the detailed argumentation in Stocker and Everson 2006, where Nottinghamshire material is also referenced). We have also followed our Lincolnshire practice in not describing in any detail the 23 examples of grave-covers and markers carrying a ‘cross pattée’, with the exception of the monument at Hucknall, which is also discussed in Appendix G. They are listed in Appendix F as a starting point for future scholars; though the listing does not aspire to being exhaustive (p. 223).

The Stone Type entries in the main catalogue are the work of Dr Graham Lott, and basically follow the same pattern as in the Lincolnshire Corpus volume. Entries for Stone Type in the Appendices, however, are sometimes supplied by the volume authors and distinguished both by square brackets [] and by their simpler form. In some cases, the volume authors’ confidence in identifying a distinctive type, checked against the experience of shared fieldwork with Dr Lott, has resulted in a specific summary identification though without the detailed petrographic description.