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Rachael Jones & K. D. M. Snell

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ANGELS IN ENGLISH AND WELSH CHURCHYARD AND CEMETERY MEMORIALS, 1660–2020

BY RACHAEL JONES AND K. D. M. SNELL

Churchyard and cemetery memorials are increasingly important to historians for themes such as family and community history, demography, artistic styles, and changing attitudes to mortality. In this article, via analysis of 250 Anglican, Nonconformist and cemetery burial sites in England and Wales, the authors investigate the use of angels and cherubs as gravestone features and look closely at the chronology of such representations. Building on historical, ecclesiastical and literary scholarship, they shed light on the phenomenon of these ‘winged beings’ as grave markers, and evaluate well over 1,000 memorials to reveal distinctive trends affecting gender, changing styles, and survivals. The authors consider denominational and Welsh-English cultural differences, and highlight an extraordinary array of angelic/cherub representation in gendered child and adult gravestones from the early modern period into the twenty-first century. Memorialisation via angels long survived the Reformation and is flourishing today - the article discusses why.

KEYWORDS: *angels, cherubs, churchyards and cemeteries, memorialisation, folk art, stonemasonry.*

Introduction

Churchyards and cemeteries are important historical venues and sources. They shed light on changing worldviews, tastes, sentiments, theologies, popular culture, folk art, familial attitudes, ‘community’ history, ideas of belonging and identity and related issues.¹ Thomas Cocke, in *The Churchyards Handbook*, wrote that ‘They embody the social history of a community and form a tangible expression of its roots. Most important, they express the purpose of the churchyard, as a place where the mortal remains of past generations of Christian people are reverently laid and their earthly lives recorded’.² Their memorials have many evidential advantages, not least their suitability to explore precisely dated and regionally located themes, popular culture and sculptural history at a widespread and relatively low or middling socio-economic level.

This article analyses 250 such burial sites, viewing them as an extraordinarily rich source for changing usage of angels in English and Welsh memorialisation. There has been virtually no scholarly literature specifically on this. We consider winged creatures – angels and cherubs – whether as divine messengers and/or as vehicles or symbols of the immortal soul, represented as styles or elements of memorials. The discussion builds upon historical, ecclesiastical and literary scholarship to shed light on the phenomenon and chronology of angel representations on sepulchral monuments.³ Our method has been to analyse burial sites largely in midland England and mid Wales, and to tabulate the numbers and dates of angel representations, their types (cherubs, angels or angel statues), and the age categories (infant, child, adult) and gender of those thus commemorated. Following a necessarily brief introduction (given the large literature) to the cherub/angel memorial genre and its styles, it will be argued that there are very distinctive, symptomatic and hitherto undisclosed trends apparent from 1660 to 2020, affecting child and gendered adult memorialisation via cherubs, angels and angel statues; that there is extraordinary co-movement over time in gendered memorialisation via angels; that England and Wales do not vary much in cherub/angel presence despite their denominational and cultural differences; that angels have been remarkably enduring as images in British sepulchral culture over this extended post-Reformation period; and that this popularity continues in abundant and diverse ways both within the changing terms of memorialisation and expansively into broader popular and often more secularised culture.

The paramount questions are these. When were angels popular, and how long did they endure after the Reformation? Diarmaid MacCulloch wrote that ‘the Reformation brought challenging times for angels ... [and] Protestants needed to do a great deal of furious rethinking about them’, even though they were conspicuous in the Bible.⁴ Were there notable fluctuations in their graveyard use? How did their application to deceased infants, children and gendered adults vary over time? Was their popularity affected by the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century, and by shifts in memorialisation from symbols of mortality to those of immortality? How did early nineteenth-century industrialisation and its utilitarian ethos affect their use? Have they survived periods of intensified secularisation? How popular are they today, and are they becoming secularised? We also ask how the periodicity of angels and cherubs relates to other stylistic developments in memorialisation, which we have discussed elsewhere, notably Gothic and modernist ‘Art Deco’ styles.⁵

Grave memorials embody *both* a sense of presence and belonging – ‘of this parish’, of a named place, and the milieu of relatives and community – *and* (increasingly from the mid eighteenth century) a sense of transcendence: of the arisen soul, of an afterlife elsewhere, a feeling of leaving and departure. That is evident in texts, epitaphs and shifting motifs. We have previously covered some elements of belonging and community from Anglican churchyards, and Nonconformist and

Catholic burial grounds.⁶ The figurative and symbolic element of memorials that most captures senses of arisen transcendence is that of the winged creature: the cherub or angel – our focus here.

The angel as winged messenger was an intermediary between God and humans. Angels are described in the Bible and Judeo-Christian doctrine as male creatures within the celestial hierarchy of angelic orders.⁷ Some were named: Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Uriel, sometimes with appropriate memorial symbols in our period, such as Gabriel blowing the trumpet.⁸ Very early Christian depictions of angels show them as men, some with beards. In the fifth century such winged creatures coincided with a consistent youthful appearance.⁹ In c. 1284 Bartholomew the Englishman wrote *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (*On the Properties of Things*) in which he described how angels were manifest in art: ‘And they bene peynted berdeless, for to take consideration and hede that they passe never the stage of youth... Truly they bene peynted fethered and winged, for that they ben alylene and clene from al’ erthly cogitacion’.¹⁰ In medieval times the angel widely featured in iconography and art, in church stone and wood carving, in angel-roofs, in medieval literature and memorialisation.¹¹ Throughout the Renaissance angelic or winged images were abundant. Their iconography and interpretation in such contexts evidently cannot concern us here, nor is there space to address the extensive scholarship on sepulchral art and imagery. Yet as messengers and symbols of an immortal soul, angels were well established into our period. While British meanings were subject to change and adaptation – as, for example during the Great Awakening from the 1740s, in the First World War, or in more recent popular culture – most of the cultural and Christian denotations of cherubs and angels show continuity from the early modern period into our periodisation.

Examples of angels in memorials

In the eighteenth century and beyond, angel and cherub memorialisation took many forms. There were regional styles, often emanating from particular lineages or families of stonemasons, apprenticeship training, regional traditions and affected by local stone availability. Some of these are best characterised as types of folk art, given their often simple, somewhat crude or bucolic forms. Angels were common in other forms of folk art,¹² and they extend widely to memorials. A huge variety of dress, or lack of dress, and hair styling, exists in surviving angel memorialisation. They are sometimes shown with musical instruments. Calligraphic types of design featuring swirling angel forms, sometimes in a simplified style, are often found. Cherubs also abound, whether in isolation or in groups of up to four or five, notably in the eighteenth century. Some of these designs were influenced by cherub representations in oil painting.¹³ They were caricatured by Samuel Richardson in *Clarissa* (1747–8), when he referred to ‘a chubby fat little varlet... with wings not much bigger than those of a butterfly’.¹⁴ Then there



Figure 1. Cherubs on the memorial to John Bates, died 1750 aged 35, at Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire.

were the indigenous or imported styles of angel statuary of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which are so frequent in churchyards and especially cemeteries up to the present day. Styles of cherub and angel presentation have, if anything, diversified and increased over the last half century, as any visit to modern cemeteries will show. Angel ‘add-ons’ to memorials are also common now, along with toys, flowers, sporting items, pets and so on, although we discount such ‘add-on’ angels in our analysis of designed angel memorials. The genre is by no mean a past historic one, and modern secularisation, however judged or explained, paradoxically seems not to have witnessed any significant departure of cherubs and angels from memorisation.

Some ‘folk art’ cherubs and angels replicate elements of popular culture. These were sometimes rudely cut, accompanying basic types of calligraphy, where folk poetry or rudimentary spelling were common.¹⁵ These are often unique representations, not copied from any pattern book, notably from the eighteenth century before the greater formalisation of angel visualisation in nineteenth-century memorials. They are frequent on the slate stones of the English east Midlands. An example of mid eighteenth-century cherubs from Kibworth Harcourt (Leicestershire) is in Figure 1.

Many angel memorials of the eighteenth century display rococo features of curving, naturalistic lines and stylised acanthus leaves. The rococo style’s influence upon British memorials owed much to Henry Copland’s *New Book of Ornaments* (1746), and it was very widespread on memorials by the 1760s.¹⁶ Contrary to some arguments about rococo style, such memorials usually have religious connotations, and not only via the angel’s presence. Both Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Chippendale incorporated rococo designs and angels in their products,



Figure 2. One of two angels on the memorial to John Foxton and his wife Sarah, died 1767 and 1768, aged 82 and 80, at Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire.

and a Chippendale design from about 1760 included a cherub playing a trumpet.¹⁷

Another angel is in Figure 2, again from Kibworth Harcourt (Leicestershire), showing how different local craftsmen working with the exceptionally enduring Groby and Swithland slate adapted the theme. In such images from the eighteenth century cherubs and angels (perhaps performing as heralds) were often musically noisy. By comparison, the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries kept them much quieter, more in keeping with genteel burial grounds, and normally took away their instruments.

Showing public taste that became unacceptable into the nineteenth century, is the 1783 angel of Figure 3. This was perhaps justified as a relief of psyche (the Greek term for spirit or soul). The memorial's inscription cites *Job* 19: 25 and 27, with no obvious link to the image: 'For I know that my redeemer liveth and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, & not another though my reins be consumed within me'. It survived unscathed through the nineteenth century, bearing witness to an eighteenth-century style of angel presentation. It is by no means unique in the eighteenth century, as much other such imagery exists from that period on gravestones.¹⁸ This is an example of changing representation of angels, for it is hard to imagine clergy or cemetery authorities giving permission for such imagery after the early nineteenth century. Their subsequent exclusion was almost coeval with the diminution of musical angels in churchyards, and indeed with constraints of the floral range on memorials.¹⁹ This was part of the suppression of eighteenth-century popular culture, perhaps an aspect of what Norbert Elias termed 'the civilising process'.²⁰ In many ways, regarding this topic, we are now morally

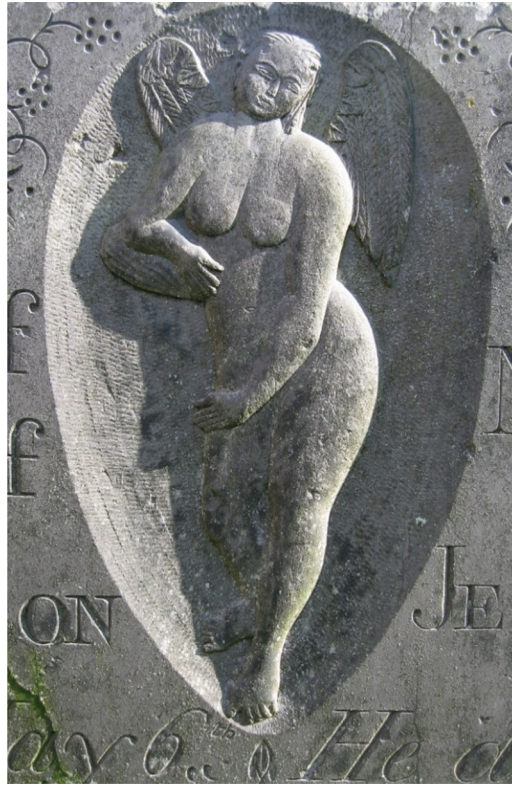


Figure 3. Memorial of Ann Jackson, died 1783 aged 49, the wife of Jerem Jackson [sic], died 1789 aged 70, Kibworth Harcourt, Leicestershire.

and aesthetically closer to the mid-nineteenth century, than the mid-nineteenth century was to the later eighteenth century.

Angels or winged creatures came in varying association with other symbols and imagery of mortality or immortality. They were often shown alongside images of hearts (with connotations of abiding love), or sometimes of doves (denoting the Holy Spirit). They were common and obviously compatible in the presence of flowers in memorial design: roses or forget-me-nots symbolising eternal love; ivy for clinging affection, lily of the valley as a ladder to heaven, and the like. They came with suitable epitaphs, with references to afterlife, sleep, 'resting', heaven, journeys, the dead being with Christ, their accompanying the cross and so on. They seem infrequently associated with a blunt language of 'died', or with the pre-c. 1760 language of remnant bones. Yet winged creatures were not limited to the era when images of immortality became more prominent, that is, in England after the mid-eighteenth century, or in New England a few decades later. These changing symbolic associations of cherubs and angels, let alone their globally comparative aspects, open up fresh areas of analysis that go beyond our remit here. Angels or cherubs were and are not static



Figure 4. Slate headstone of Eliz Chittle, died 1721, Granby churchyard, Leicestershire.

concepts. Rather, they are symbols and artifacts that are disposed to shifting meanings and a complex inter-symbolic connectivity over time.

One of the famous 'Belvoir angels' is in Figure 4, with the characteristic 'header' wing-spreading angel.²¹ These are sometimes referred to as 'winged heads', symbolising the soul of the deceased.²² This design is especially distinctive to the English east midlands, notably to the Leicestershire-Nottinghamshire border. In some parishes, such as Hickling, Nether Broughton or Granby, the prevalence of these angel or 'spiritus' forms is very striking indeed. Adam Heinrich invokes this type of image in his discussion of New England grave styles,²³ and notes some carvers' attention to details such as the style of wig worn by the winged creature, facilitated by slate's adaptability to engraving. Very similar images can be found in some book title pages.²⁴ Some stones elsewhere are similar to the Belvoir angel memorials, as far away as Shropshire, as, for example at Lydbury North Church. 'Belvoir angels' clearly had similar antecedents.

The headstone of Dolly Billings (Figure 5), from a famous Unitarian meeting house in Leicester, shows the detailed pictorial possibilities of late eighteenth-century slate commemoration and the potential of this material for inscriptions, enabling Biblical and other texts to be inscribed. The words of Christ, from the Book of Revelation, and a crown, 'Be thee faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life', are being delivered to a woman by an angel. As is clear here, and seen more widely in memorialisation and theology, Protestant Nonconformity



Figure 5. Headstone of Dolly Billings, died 1784, Unitarian Great Meeting House burial ground, Leicester.

readily absorbed belief in angels and angel iconography on its memorial headstones. Indeed, many angel-carving stonemasons were Nonconformists. The trans-denominational frequency and comparison of this related iconography deserves further research.

In many such cases, the wording refers to hopes of resurrection, which is surely the interpretative key. Phrases accompanying angels such as ‘Kind Angels watch this sleeping dust til Christ shall come to raise the just’,²⁵ or passages from the New Testament such as ‘He shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet’,²⁶ identify the source of horn-bearing angel and contextualise the angel imagery.

In the twentieth century, wide varieties of stylised angel memorials exist, often influenced by modern artistic and sculptural trends such as Art Nouveau, expressionism or Art Deco. Some of this modern angel memorialisation comprises very large public memorials. The design range and applicability of such modern angels is too great to illustrate here, but a modest example is shown in [Figure 6](#), from Oakham Cemetery in Rutland.

Memorials were often large angel figures or statues, made from white or other marble. Italian marble monuments, many of them angels, were brought in by the 1870s by import companies, appearing in their catalogues. They coincided with the increasing popularity of figure sculpture, notable from about 1880 onwards. The white Carrara and other marbles from Italy were costly and very hard weathering.²⁷ Many cemeteries feature them, such as Church Cemetery, Nottingham or Welford Road, Leicester or the great London cemeteries.²⁸ One of the most striking examples of Carrara, Lasa and Pentelic marble angel carving is the Victoria Memorial in London (commissioned 1901, unveiled 1911, finally completed in 1924), facing away from Buckingham Palace and down the Mall towards



Figure 6. Memorial to Beryl Rowlatt, died 2007, Oakham Cemetery, Rutland.

Trafalgar Square, which features an angel of Truth and an angel of Justice. As such an elite monument suggests, the popularity of angel-statue memorials continued well into the twentieth century. They are less common in churchyards than in cemeteries. As Chris Brooks writes, ‘There was, however, an evangelical and Low Church reaction against this influx of overseas angels, often expressing itself through the alternative memorial form of a female figure standing against or clinging to a cross: ironically, these were often carved in Italy as well’.²⁹ In some cases, the British-located angel statues are almost identical to their Italian-situated equivalents, coming from the same firms, in places like Genoa.

Such an angel statue is in Figure 7, a Welsh memorial to Charles Woosnam who died in 1910 aged 21. He was the son of the Aberhafesp rector, and was a second lieutenant in the eighth Hussars, hence the soldier’s accoutrements on the tomb.³⁰ The appearance of a monument sometimes needed to be different from others to create a boundary between it and the rest, thus serving as an expression of distinct identity.³¹ This can be difficult to achieve in a cemetery, replete with monuments or statues, but is perhaps easier in a churchyard.

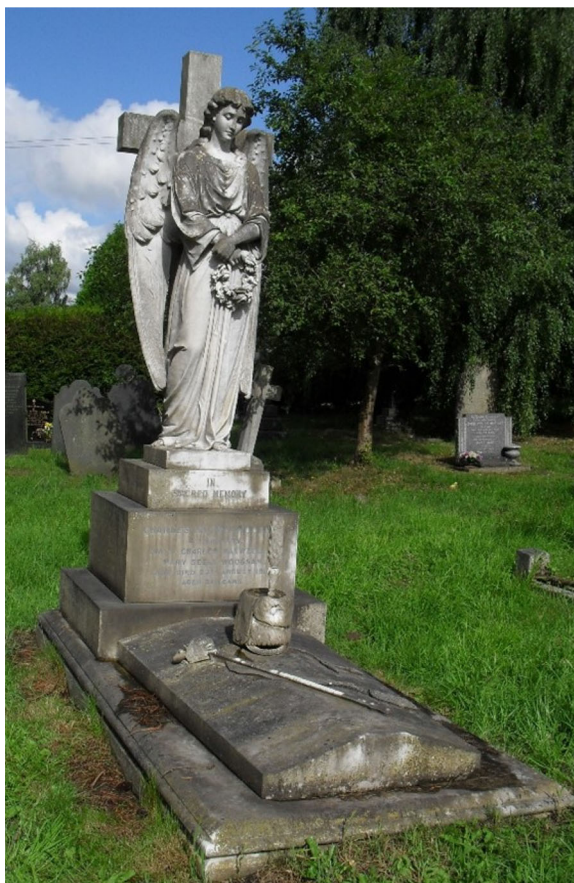


Figure 7. Marble angel statue memorial to Charles Woosnam, died 1910, Aberhafesp churchyard, Montgomeryshire, Wales.

Angels on children's graves were ever more apparent from about 1900, with greater proliferation of small angel memorials to children, which persists today. Texts invoking an image of the deceased child being an angel increased. Gravestone wording could take a form such as: 'Always remembered our little angel'; or (in Newtown and Llanllwchaiarn cemetery, Powys) 'Gained her wings, 5 April 2011'; or in Llanllwchaiarn churchyard, the stone of an infant who died in 2010 reads, 'In loving memory of our angel'. Correspondingly small, these winged beings are frequently on the reduced-sized plots of infants and babies. Tony Walker highlights the Renaissance and Baroque fashions for depicting supernatural winged beings as cherubs and contends that modern infant grave markers are a continuation of that style. He notes that while angelic representations of deceased older generations are generally in active poses, offspring depictions are passive.³² An example from a major Leicester cemetery is in Figure 8, part of a much larger memorial, in which the angelic baby is in a uterus-like enclosure of



Figure 8. Detail of memorial to Anna Jeans, died 2000, Welford Road Cemetery, Leicester. Inscribed: 'We will always love and remember our little angel'.

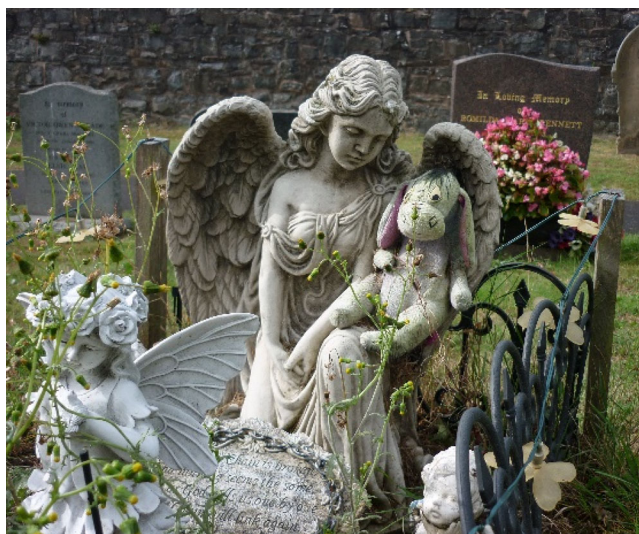


Figure 9. Detail of angel 'add-ons' from a memorial in Newtown and Llanllwchaiarn cemetery, Powys. (Deceased: a woman, no name, c. 1992).

feathered wings. Evidently, an angel may appear on the tombstone of the departed, or the departed may appear as an angel, or the deceased may be placed in angelic winged surrounds.

Many graves now feature a bewildering array of 'add-on' memorial items, some of which are angels and cherubs. If they are not incorporated into the original gravestone design, these have not been included in our quantitative analyses. Even so, they are abundant and angels or cherubs are recurrent in these assemblages. A Welsh example of such grave detail is in [Figure 9](#).

Towards the end of Queen Victoria's reign, a more widespread interest in winged supernatural beings was seen, including fairies. This was an extension of Romanticism and proponents included Charles Rennie Mackintosh, who was influenced by mysticism.³³ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the winged goddess of victory, also known as Nike, was often incorporated into remembrance structures. The Victoria memorial unveiled in 1911 in front of Buckingham Palace shows this. So does the Royal Artillery's memorial to the Boer War in St James's Park, London, the Wellington Arch on Hyde Park corner, and the 1908 war memorial in Newcastle upon Tyne.³⁴ The 'monumentalized Nike' may have reflected the services of women at that time, extolled in post-war reconstruction, as well as the 'emotionalization' of war memorials.³⁵ In some war memorials an angel places a victor's wreath atop the cross. This continued interest in winged forms as statues is evident in grave architecture, with (as we shall see) angel statues peaking in popularity during the 1920s.

It has been argued that over the past half century deceased persons have been increasingly portrayed figuratively and accurately as angels in memorials.³⁶ The wide occurrence of female angels on male graves rather discounts this earlier. There is a trend towards enamelled photographs of the deceased being incorporated in memorials. It is possible that female likenesses were used in some angel representations, and a near example was a large non-angelic memorial crafted about 1938 from a photograph of a deceased woman in Loughborough Cemetery.³⁷ There are also examples of angelic memorials in Highgate cemetery (e.g. that of Evelyn Dray, died 1926 aged 37), which may be an attempted representation of the deceased.

Methodology and chronologies of change

These varieties of angel and cherub memorials lead us to changes over time. For our analysis, 250 burial sites were studied, notably in the English Midlands and in Wales. These are listed in the Appendix. The counties of Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland and the very large county of Powys especially feature here. For wider confirmation we went further as well, to include sites in the Welsh counties of Ceredigion, Glamorgan and Gwent and in Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Shropshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire. The sites were chosen randomly, and apart from quite local genres, such as 'Belvoir angels', or angel styles produced by certain families of stonemasons,³⁸ we were not struck by general regional variation in usage or chronologies during the research. The researched sites comprise mainly Anglican churchyards, modern rural and urban cemeteries and a few Nonconformist burial grounds. Of these burial grounds, 40 are in Wales.

Wherever possible, evidence from intra-church monuments was also included, although these are of a relatively very small number within our overall total. The

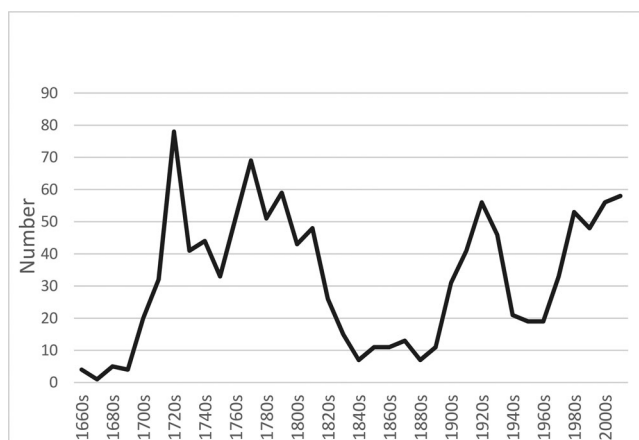


Figure 10. *Distribution of all cherub and angel memorials combined.*

analysis delivered a total of 1,165 angel or cherub memorials. (505 were for female burials, 660 were for male; that is, a sex ratio of 131). There were 331 cherub memorials, 706 angel memorials and 128 angel statues.³⁹ The dates of surviving stones showing these types of winged figures were recorded, alongside the kind of winged figure from the three above options, gender of the deceased (or first deceased where a memorial commemorated more than one person), and whether infant (under age 1), child (aged 1–15 inclusive) or adult. In many cases, notably in the Jurassic limestone belt east of Leicestershire, memorials that featured residual angels/cherubs were not adequately legible and had to be omitted. Slate headstones from the Leicestershire and Welsh slate quarries almost invariably retain all the relevant information. For the purposes of this analysis, headstones were classified as ‘angel’ or ‘cherub’ (child *putto* or *amorino* forms with wings), following conventional definitions in church-memorial historiography, as for example by Herbert Batsford, Frederick Burgess or Harold Mytum,⁴⁰ or as angel ‘statue’. By the latter, we mean a free-standing full-figure depiction that was clearly designed as a salient part of the original memorial, rather than being added later, as though it were some kind of garden ornament. We have not included wingless female weepers as angels, nor ‘Hope and her anchor’ images, nor Charity (usually feeding her baby), nor Egyptian caryatids when not winged – our key criterion being the presence of wings.⁴¹ Father Time images have been excluded.⁴² Nor have we included stained glass memorials that depict angels.⁴³ There is occasionally some ambiguity or scope for definitional argument between ‘cherub’ and ‘angel’, in masonic carving or in customary labelling, but usually the situation and definition is clear.

The large majority of such burial sites (212/250 or 85%) feature angel or cherub iconography, and that figure should be slightly higher to allow for locked or inaccessible church or chapel interiors. For Wales alone that percentage is 78%; for England alone it is 86%. On this quite crude measure and with this

limited data, the strongly Protestant Nonconformist modern culture of Wales (notably Calvinistic Methodist, Presbyterian, the Baptist denominations and Wesleyan Methodist)⁴⁴ does not appear to produce a statistically significant lower receptivity to angel/cherub memorialisation than does England. Indeed large Welsh burial sites and cemeteries show an abundance of angels and cherubs, including in regions where Welsh Nonconformity and the Welsh language were historically very strong or even hegemonic. There is little sign of any real English or Welsh cultural proscription against angel/cherub presences, which might for example be comparable to the rarity of pre-1829 (the Roman Catholic Relief Act) cross memorial forms (i.e. 'intending cross' or cruciform memorials) in British non-Catholic burial grounds. One can thus see the widespread attraction of such angel/cherub memorial iconographies in post-Reformation English and Welsh cultures, and the failure of the Reformation and its resulting longer-term Protestant cultures to exclude them.

The distribution over time by decades of all winged memorials, whether angels, cherubs or angel statues, is shown in [Figure 10](#). The data are given as decadal numbers of winged figures, to indicate when their survivals are most common or infrequent. There appears to be a marked increase in surviving use at the start of the eighteenth century. This could be because of the simpler and usually smaller form of earlier and often wooden memorials, burial boards and the like, and the non-survival of many early memorials, indeed from an era in which many fewer people erected them as durable stone monuments. The graph thereafter shows a continual yet variable interest in angel memorialisation, with very considerable prominence in cherubs and angels from c. 1710 to c. 1810 – a remarkable upsurge that supports ideas of the vitality of such eighteenth-century belief.⁴⁵ There is then a dramatic and surprising fall in the early nineteenth century. That decline and subsequent low period of angel preference are hard to interpret. It probably owes much to the influence of evangelicalism (which was strong by the 1820s),⁴⁶ the crises of the unreformed Anglican Church, the hold of utilitarianism on public discourse and culture, and then the prominence of the Gothic revival which supplied very fashionable and alternative motifs for memorialisation. A minimal level of angel memorialisation persisted through much of that century (despite the growing numbers of surviving stones). This was followed by an equally distinct resurgence from about 1890, which takes one through the First World War and into the 1930s. The mid-twentieth century saw another decline in angels, followed by a significant rise in their popularity from the 1960s onwards, which persists today. Such a chronology tends to under-estimate the eighteenth-century use of angels, for reasons of gradual monument decay and removal, and highlights relatively more recent decades for the opposite reason. But the basic trends are clearly not explainable by any growing likelihood of monument survival.⁴⁷

This research documents the gravestone-leaving classes, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries normally comprising the skilled working classes upwards, most notably the middling or middle classes.⁴⁸ There is an unavoidable social bias

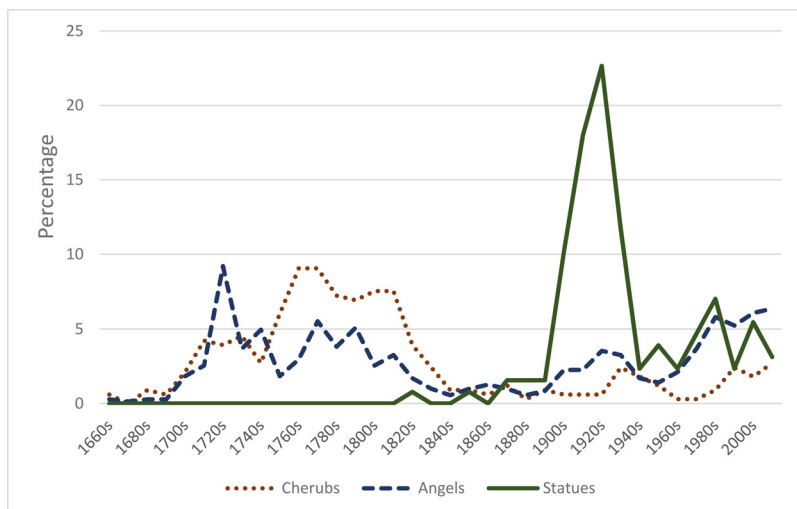


Figure 11. Distribution of surviving memorial types, expressed as decadal percentages of each memorial type.

here, even though that bias takes us socially downwards compared to most academic discussion of such iconography. And there has been an expansion over these centuries of interred people leaving surviving memorials: from about 3% to 10%, to over 50%.⁴⁹ This is tantamount to a democratisation of commemoration, or wider social inclusivity in memorialisation. It is sometimes assumed that this societal change finds its peak in the conspicuous metropolitan cemeteries erected from the early nineteenth century onwards. Yet in truth it was far more widespread, across countless smaller churchyards and cemeteries (like ours), in which parishioners often had a *right* to burial, and which are much less studied than memorially extravagant sites such as Kensal Green or Highgate. This expansion of memorialisation (of the kind analysed here) has in turn been compromised numerically by the post-Second World War rise in cremation, to over three-quarters of all deaths now, which depletes possible angel memorialisation over the past 70 or so years.⁵⁰ Otherwise, there is little reason to suppose that the broad trends shown are significantly misleading for our regions. Indeed, the eighteenth-century changes, or that affecting angel statues (Figure 11), run wholly counter to the increasing numbers of surviving memorials over the period as a whole. This imparts confidence in the general trends displayed.

The main changes of all three types of angel memorials are shown in Figure 11. These are now expressed for each type as percentages of the total number for that type, which allows us to see their relative long-term periodicity. Looking first at cherubs, the Figure shows their distribution. The heyday of cherubs was clearly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They did not preclude the popularity of angels then, but coincided with angel presence. The Figure indicates the coterminous expansion of angels and cherubs during the eighteenth century, with their

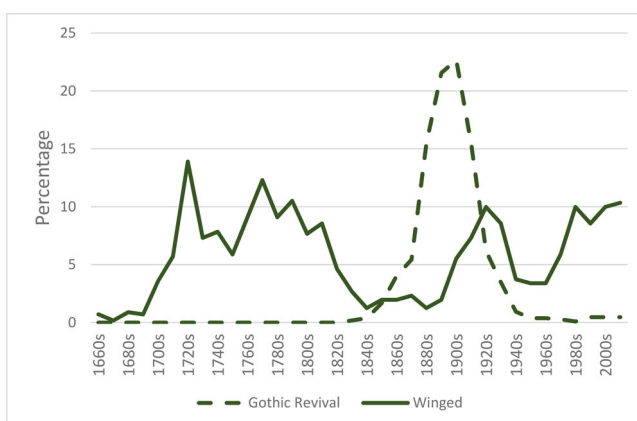


Figure 12. Comparison of winged creatures and Gothic memorials, percentage distribution of each type, by decade.

respective peaks in the 1720s and the 1760s – 1810s. Further, and very prominent here, one sees the remarkable and growing popularity of angel statues from the late nineteenth century into the 1930s, and the gradual resurgence of all winged-presence memorials from the early twentieth century. That continues into the 2010s and probably the 2020s.

Angel statue popularity continued ‘well into the 1920s’, wrote Chris Brooks in his excellent book,⁵¹ but we should add, and certainly into the 1930s as well. For it was only in the 1940s that their popularity fell dramatically nearly to pre-1890s levels. The August–September 1914 ‘Angel of Mons’ and subsequent publicity of the First World War must have augmented the popularity of angel imagery, also evident in such naming as the ‘Angels of Mercy’: the frontline nursing sisterhoods of that war. The Second World War by comparison saw much less angel imagery and designation. However even after that, there were periods such as the 1980s when one sees continuing appeal of angel statues, even though they were often smaller in size then, given cost issues and some later burial ground regulations. It is worth stressing how periodically distinctive this appeal of angel statues was, for it was markedly focused in our data between 1900 and 1940. This periodicity of statues is a little later than the hints in some literature lead one to expect, which may point to inadequate hitherto chronologies, or may indicate some slight lag of our most dominant regions of study (the English Midlands and mid Wales) behind metropolitan centres of monumentary and memorial fashion.

We considered the incidence of angel-type symbolism alongside the occurrence of Gothic memorials, for there are some historical and iconographic reasons to suppose that the Gothic Revival and angelology could be inter-linked. The Gothic data are from our earlier article on churchyard memorials, rustication, Gothic and Art Deco, and cover broadly similar Welsh and English regions from a large number of sites.⁵² Figure 12 shows surviving examples of Gothic as commencing from

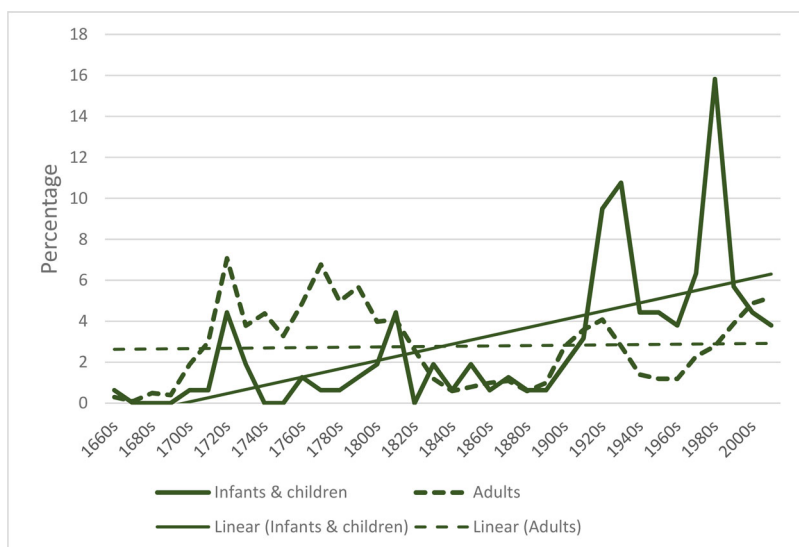


Figure 13. Adult and infant/child (under 16 years) trend line for the memorial presence of cherubs/angels.

the early 1830s, and it is notable that the fashion for Gothic for some decades eclipsed angel forms, notably in the 1850s to 1900s. It may be that the Gothic Revival memorial precluded the angel memorial, and may even have sprung partly from the prior decline of the latter. The decline of Gothic – which we date from c. 1910 and markedly with the onset of modernist Art Deco from the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris from April to October 1925 – coincided with an upsurge of angels again, as if reverting to their earlier popularity in the eighteenth century. Angels are present in Art Nouveau, usually as elaborations on female form,⁵³ but are rarer in the closely sequential Art Deco.⁵⁴ It is possible that revived angels fulfilled a spiritual need not usually met by the self-consciously ‘modern’ Art Deco. Even so, one can find memorials that feature both angel iconology and the Gothic, for Gothic certainly allowed for the angelic, as did medieval revivalism, as historically and theologically one would expect. Such overlap also occurred widely in architecture, as in the Houses of Parliament, which included angel figures.⁵⁵ In memorialisation, perhaps the most famous concurrence of the Gothic with angelology was the 1871 memorial to Prince Albert in Kensington Gardens.⁵⁶

A further trend is illustrated in Figure 13, which considers the angel memorialisation of infants/children (under 16-year old) compared to adults (aged 16 or over). The main periods of infants/children having winged beings present on their gravestones are clearly during the twentieth century. The children’s trend line is noticeably more inclined upwards than that for adults. In the eighteenth century, angel memorialisation for adults exceeds that for children. There is no difference during the nineteenth century. And then angel memorialisation for children

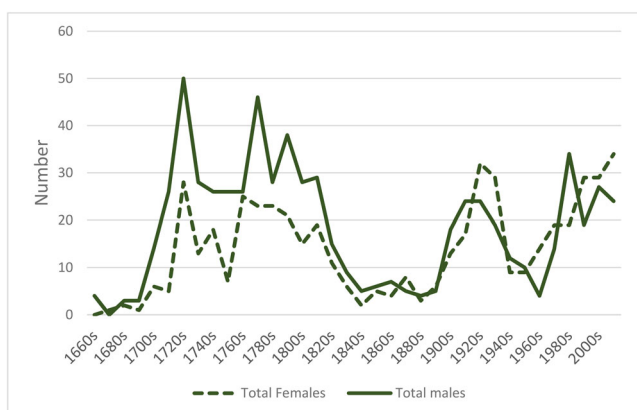


Figure 14. Gendered presence of cherubs/angels on memorials, total numbers.

exceeds that for adults from the 1920s. This is open to a number of complex interpretations, which also implicate various theories of secularisation. It seems to suggest a tendency towards greater memorial ‘angelisation’ of children over time, and relative to adults. This *might* suggest some ‘juvenile-isation’ of the relevant theology, which would be consistent with some views of secularisation as involving an age-specific abandoning of hitherto doctrine and its reservation to (or belief in by) the young. That is also consistent with the passing on of cultural knowledge or religious belief via youthful education, which can be (and probably increasingly was) discarded in adulthood. Tenuously connected to that is a second consideration. The trends are also affected by a growing propensity to memorialise children at all, into the post c. 1860 periods of declining fertility and infant and child mortality and the lowering incidence of large families. In other words, children assume greater ‘rarity’ value, which comes to be reflected in ‘angelisation’, which is also an emotional response to the distress of now unexpected early death.⁵⁷ If these socio-demographic considerations had effect here, it is also worth noticing that they really did so from after the first decade of the twentieth century. In other words, one might hypothesise, it took a while for the realisation of what was happening demographically to leak through into cultural styles of memorialisation.

Finally, Figure 14 shows the analysis of cherub/angel presence on memorials by gender. One might have expected such a chart to show females as more associated than males with ‘angels’ in certain historical periods, for example in accord with middle-class Victorian ideas of femininity and ‘angels in the home’ ideologies. Further, one might anticipate a long-term shift over time towards increasing memorialisation of females, as earlier gender norms or patriarchy became challenged by modern feminism, especially from the late nineteenth century. Given stresses in the historiography,⁵⁸ such patriarchy might have most affected the gravestone-leaving classes in society. It is true that during the eighteenth century, angels on male memorials slightly predominate numerically over females.⁵⁹ Yet

the overall picture here is of extraordinary co-movement in the gendered numbers, of relative gender equality in angel appearance, and of strong mutual reinforcement in the data when it is divided by gender in this way. The gender patterns over time (1660–2020) are extremely highly correlated, and the data is remarkably neutral or unaffected with regard to gender. There is no case here for differential memorial neglect of females, to re-coin a demographic phrase. In other words, the influences behind cherub or angel presence – whether theological, moral, personally representational, artistic or instructional – applied fairly equally to females and males. Certainly, gender is a major handle and variable in gravestone or memorial analysis, one that is rich in further multi-faceted potential. Yet this remarkable finding, in [Figure 14](#), does call to mind historical analyses that stress the *relative* equality of the sexes in British cultures over time compared to those of many other parts of the world.⁶⁰

Discussion and conclusion

We have noticed the later twentieth and twenty-first century upturn of angel iconography in memorials in our charts, affecting both children and adults. Today, the symbolism of angels is exceptionally widespread. Long after Shakespeare, Donne, Marlowe or Milton,⁶¹ or indeed William Blake or Thomas Hardy, in modern literature angels appear in James Joyce, T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, Ernest Hemingway, Graham Greene, Jack Kerouac, Salman Rushdie and many others. Leonard Cohen wrote of how ‘I forget to pray for the angels, and then the angels forget to pray for us’.⁶² In modern art one thinks of Marc Chagall or Stanley Spencer’s angels.⁶³ To Ronald Blythe, angels are ‘winged instruction, winged care’, the voice of Christ quietly to us: ‘We hear his angel while we are washing up or mowing the lawn or parking the car’.⁶⁴ For the Nature-observant Roger Deakin, the roof angels of Blythburgh or March churches watch over us, as our guardians, ‘like the trees themselves’ – ‘perhaps all trees have an angel in their branches’.⁶⁵ Countless twentieth-century war memorials employ angels. In modernist memorials and sculpture angels were common, as, for example those by Jacob Epstein or Eric Gill.⁶⁶

There is Antony Gormley’s ‘Angel of the North’, and all it stands for, as conspicuous as is possible. Angel symbolism appears on Christmas cards, greeting cards or Royal Mail postage stamps (Christmas 2019 issue, 2nd class – a less effective delivery; indeed their equivalent stamp in 1998 had an angel praying). They occur on Archive Service cards and pronouncements,⁶⁷ on Christmas trees, in war remembrance, in angelic fancy dress and imagery, in comic books, in children’s toy and clothing symbolism, in advertisements (e.g. for suspect female deodorants: ‘even angels will fall’), and more widely (despite modern feminism) in some women’s iconography linked to dress and deportment. ‘Healing Angels’ abound on the internet. ‘Cleaning Angels’ advertise their services. The American crime drama television series ‘Charlie’s Angels’ feature ‘three beautiful women, who end up in a variety of difficult situations’.⁶⁸ Some of these examples are

tantamount to a modern secularisation of the 'angel'. Angels have sometimes become sexualised in modern media, although that was apparent long before on eighteenth-century church memorials. They appear in modern tattooing culture, for example as idealising forms of particular people or as protective angels. They appear on jewellery. Many countries have their versions or 'chapters' of the Hells' Angels (founded in 1948), with related iconography. Angels appear frequently in popular song. Jimi Hendrix, The Doors, Fleetwood Mac, Abba, Madonna, Sarah McLachlan, Eurythmics, Rod Stewart, Robbie Williams, U2, Morrissey, Massive Attack, Simply Red and countless others have sung about angels.⁶⁹ New Age religions and spiritualist movements have adopted them.⁷⁰ In cathedral shops one sees 'Angel faithstone figurines', angel statues, stone angels, 'Heavenly wood angels', postcards of angels, prayer cards of angels, angels on CDs of church music, books on the poetry of angels and the like, to take some current examples from Leicester Cathedral Shop. Their presence in Catholic centres of pilgrimage or worship is ubiquitous. Angels are clearly highly adaptable to modern capitalism and many forms of popular culture.

Angels persist in their influence upon popular naming practices: Michael, Angela, Angele, Angelina, Angelo, Angelica, Angie and so on. We are told that 'If you are looking for a unique and beautiful name, these angel baby names are powerful and ethereal. Why not match the angel name with an attribute you hope your child exemplifies?' – and so the list proceeds to Afriel: Angel of youth; Ariel: Angel of nature; Cassiel: Angel of temperance; Charmeine: Angel of harmony; Dina: Angel of learning; Gavreel: Angel of peace; Michael: Angel of loyalty; Gabriel: Angelic messenger; Raphael: Angel of healing; and eighteen further options.⁷¹ Such naming practices provide further evidence that modern society has not lost a gendered and personally known concept of angels.

Twenty-first century memorials incorporating angels, and inspired by their prominence in popular culture, can be found away from gravesites. For example a tattoo on a forearm (see [Figure 15](#)) signifies the deep loss felt for a son who died around the time when the anthem 'Angels', co-written and sung by Robbie Williams, was released in 1997. The song includes the lines:

'I sit and wait
Does an angel contemplate my fate
And do they know
The places where we go
When we're grey and old
'Cause I have been told
That salvation lets their wings unfold
So when I'm lying in my bed
Thoughts running through my head



Figure 15. *Tattoo memorising a lost son, died c. 1997. Source: Justin Bailey, Newtown (Powys), 2020.*

And I feel the love is dead

I'm loving angels instead'.

An angel memorial to those affected by knife crime has been created by crafts people and is known as the national monument against violence and aggression (Figure 16). It is formed of blade articles that have been handed in as part of a knife amnesty, and then worked into the body and wings of a massive angel, with the approval of the Home Office. Bereaved families are able to engrave a message onto individual blades, which are then incorporated into the sculpture. It is clear from such examples that the development of angel memorialisation continues apace.

Given such presence of angels in modern culture, and their changing or purposed symbolism, it is perhaps hardly surprising that our data show a growing trend of their memorial presence, affecting all ages of those buried. This development is a cultural perpetuation from earlier more widespread religious beliefs, and it suggests a modern wish for transcendence and spirit-beings, indeed for the lottery-like miracles hitherto associated with angels and saints. Such beliefs have persisted in English and Welsh cultures.⁷² These views of angels also accompany modern attitudes to children, both by association of angels or cherubs *as* children, and via the older Lutheran idea that angels care for children. The idea of (dead) children or infants as angels has a long lineage, and is widely international too. One thinks, for example of the 'angel babies' of Latin American countries such as Brazil or Argentina: the transitioning there to angel status; dead babies dressed up as angels to go to heaven; or even dead babies being leased out for local fiestas.⁷³ There, as in the West, one sees another example of symbolic immortality, and an



Figure 16. 'Knife Angel' commemorating those affected by violent crime, created in 2018 by the British Ironworks Centre in Oswestry (Shropshire).

attempted denial of death.⁷⁴ Further, in much of modern Europe we experience very low fertility, which affects attitudes to children in historically disputed ways, although arguably inclining towards child-angelisation in death or even life. The dead becoming visualised in a life-like manner as angels is a phenomenon noted by Walker who states that this could be a new twist in the cultural history of the afterlife, an emerging phenomenon.⁷⁵ Yet if relevant historic photography could be located, this trend might be seen as more long standing. Death and memorialization occasion the last bastions of spiritual beliefs and the hope for immortality, with the perpetuation thereafter of child and adult individuality via an immortal soul. Yet, beyond its religious mainstays, this is certainly an historical continuity or development resourcefully augmented by modern capitalism and perhaps sub-feminist modes of gender and child presentation. As our analysis demonstrates, it shows no sign of being in decline in modern England and Wales.

This discussion, at some chronological remove, supports views of sustained belief in angels after the Reformation. Angels proved to be entirely compatible with Protestant cultures, a survival of earlier pieties, despite their association with saints and the dangers of superstition, idolatry and Catholic evangelism.⁷⁶ As invisible guardians and helpers they probably took over roles of Catholic saints. Protestant writers and popular cultures remained deeply interested in earlier ideas of angels and intercession with God. Angels were an unquestionable presence in the Bible. The distinction between angels and the continuing popular belief in

ghosts – which needs fuller appraisal by historians – was also hard to clarify and maintain. One historian has noted ‘relatively rare intrusions [of angels] into the historical record’.⁷⁷ Yet the subsequent angelic memorial evidence is exceptionally abundant – without even including stained glass imagery – and this encompasses intra-church memorialisation as well as that in churchyards and cemeteries. Belief in angels may also have helped to assuage elite and clerical fears of infidelity and secularisation, serving a cultural purpose analogous to measures such as the many Church Building Acts of 1818–1856. Over our long period (1660–2020), clergy, churchwardens, Nonconformist ministers and later burial boards and cemetery authorities showed little sign of attempting to suppress cherubs or angels⁷⁸ – even weighty angels from Catholic Italy – nor did monumental masons and carvers shy away from such imagery, as we have seen in our abundant churchyard and cemetery evidence.

Cemeteries today are akin to repositories for angels, uplifting in their airborne propensities, overflowing with the idea of a soared spirit, hopefully presuming an afterlife. Many are imported to each burial plot as memorial ‘add-ons’, like garden ornaments – some graves are replete with these angelic or cherubic items. (If we added such memorial ‘add-ons’ to our data, the upward trend of the last half century would be even more pronounced). Often these angel memorials or angelic ‘add-ons’ carry with them the theme of childhood or youth revisited or revived. ‘You are with the angels’, ‘In the arms of the angels’, ‘May God’s angels watch over you’, ‘My little angel’, ‘An angel only lent’ and alike expressions abound, both in Britain and the United States. In such phrases, angels can denote a variety of meanings: an incarnation of the dead; carriers of emotional regard and description; as well as being external agents and helpers (to the dead and the alive) in death and mourning. They help both the dead and the living. They communicate an evaluation of the dead. They express qualities of the living and of families by association. And angelic language and symbolism evoke an intensity of emotional devotedness. This all shows continuity from the past.

However, many features and venues of angel-linked memorialisation are relatively new. We have already noticed examples of secularisation of angels, from Hell’s Angels to ‘Charlie’s Angels’, although ‘women as angels’ typecasting has a longer history, dating back well before the ‘Angels of Mercy’ of the First World War. Further, there is now the innovative world of digital remembrance and consolation. In that context, expressions about angels overflow to Facebook memorial pages, as a form of direct communication from the mourner to the deceased, as although talking in a reassuring way to a buried person in a graveyard.⁷⁹ Facebook memorial pages are growing at the rate of about three million new pages a year, yet such ‘digital graveyards’ incorporate many idioms and angelic themes of past churchyards and cemeteries, whether in Europe, the Americas or beyond. Aerial creatures now inhabit an indeterminate state of digital limbo, stored in the clouds. They also enhance or supposedly create new senses of ‘community’, well beyond more traditional ones, although ones that incorporate

angels, and the assessment and state of such ideas of ‘community’ are subject to much debate.⁸⁰ The popular theology of angels today is perhaps little developed, showing scant awareness of their hierarchic orders, intermediary functions, symbolism and interpretation in past centuries. For most people such theology is residual culturally rather than a matter of real discussion.⁸¹ A ‘substantial minority’ of people in modern Britain believe in an afterlife, although such beliefs are often vague and varied.⁸² As Peter Stanford argues, a significant minority (over 20%) believe in angels, and about a third believe in guardian angels. This helps to relieve anxieties about living and the inevitability of death.⁸³ Angels now serve less as messengers of God than as symbols of the perpetuated soul, of resurrection and afterlife, sometimes still linked to certain other persisting symbols of immortality that became increasingly popular from the mid-eighteenth century. Modern angels perform differing functions, sometimes as heralds (perhaps announcing the arrival of a soul in heaven), as healers, or are invoked to claim a kind of immortality, relating in various ways to the person being memorialised. Angels appear in their multitudes, and their presence in material or digital forms is as a ritualistic presence and cultural symbol from the past, one that is being transformed and that many people are keen not to lose. They carry the presumption of salvation in a context in which Hell has ceased to have much popular adherence, and they clearly impart hope and reassurance to the living. They are also profitably and multifariously embedded in modern ecclesiastical capitalism and its overflows into popular culture – but then, whether for Catholicism or Protestantism, there is nothing new in that. It is therefore no surprise that they have so successfully, and for so long, survived the Reformation.

Notes

¹ Among an expansive historiography, see F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (1963, London, 1979); P. Burgess, “Churchyards,” in *Change and Decay: the Future of our Churches*, ed. M. Binney and P. Burman (London, 1977); K. Esdaile, *English Monumental Sculpture since the Renaissance* (London, 1927); J. S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Newton Abbot, 1972); J. Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: the Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York, 1977); P. Aries, *Western Attitudes to Death from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London, 1974); N. Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c. 1500–1800* (London, 1991); S. Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: an Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford, 1999); H. Mytum, *Recording and Analysing Graveyards* (York, 2000); K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge, 2006), chap. 8.

² T. Cocke, *The Churchyards Handbook* (London, 2001), 23. For examples of how historical information from churchyards has been used, see S. Kotlinainen, “Rural People’s Literacy Skills in the Remembrance of the Departed: The Writing of Personal Names on Sepulchral Monuments at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” *Mortality* 18, no. 2 (2013): 173–94; E. Reimers, “Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals as Cultural Communication,” *Mortality* 4, no. 2 (1999): 147–66.

³ There is an enormous, chronologically diverse, and cross-cultural literature on angels, involving especially theology, philosophy, history, art history, literature, and musicology. Clearly this article cannot tackle such breadth of coverage, but see S. G. F. Brandon, “Angels: The History of an Idea,” *History Today*, 13 (Oct. 1963); G. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels: Including the Fallen Angels* (New York, 1967); D. Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1998); B. Gordon, “Malevolent Ghosts and Ministering Angels: Apparitions and Pastoral Care in the Swiss Reformation,” in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance*

- in *Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. B. Gordon and P. Marshall (Cambridge, 2000); R. Guiley, *The Encyclopaedia of Angels* (New York, 2004); P. Marshall and A. Walsham (eds), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006); F. G. Mohamed, *In the Anteroom of Divinity: the Reformation of the Angels from Colet to Milton* (Toronto, 2008); A. Walsham, "Invisible Helpers: Angelic Intervention in Post-Reformation England," *Past and Present* 208 (2010); D. A. Jones, *Angels: A History* (Oxford, 2010); P. Marshall, "The Guardian Angel in Protestant England," in *Conversations with Angels: Essays Towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100-1700*, ed. J. Raymond (Basingstoke, 2011); A. Walsham, "Catholic Reformation and the Cult of Angels in Post-Reformation England," in *Conversations with Angels*, ed. Raymond; F. Young, *God's Presence: a Contemporary Recapitulation of Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 2013); P. Stanford, *Angels: a Visible and Invisible History* (London, 2019).
- ⁴ D. MacCulloch, "Recent Studies on Angels in the Reformation," *Reformation* 14, no. 1 (2009): 183. There are over 250 mentions of angels in the Bible.
- ⁵ K. D. M. Snell and R. Jones, "Churchyard Memorials, 'Dispensing with God Gradually': Rustication, Decline of the Gothic and the Emergence of Art Deco in the British Isles," *Rural History* 29, no. 1 (2018).
- ⁶ Themes of personal belonging manifest on memorials are explored in K. D. M. Snell, "Gravestones, Belonging and Local Attachment in England, 1700-2000," *Past and Present* 179 (2003): 97-134; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, chap. 8; while source-related issues of 'community' are broached in K. D. M. Snell, "Churchyard Closures, Rural Cemeteries and the Village Community in Leicestershire and Rutland, 1800-2010," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, no. 4 (2012): 721-57.
- ⁷ On the angelic orders, see S. Chase, *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Way of Angels* (Mahwah, NJ, 2002); M. Barker, *An Extraordinary Gathering of Angels* (London, 2004); Stanford, *Angels*; The National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies, *Inside Churches: Guide to Furnishings* (London, 1993), 18; S. Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (Stroud, 1996), 12, 102-3.
- ⁸ P. Burgess, *Churchyards* (London, 1980), 36.
- ⁹ T. Martin, "The Development of Winged Angels in Early Christian Art," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 14 (2001): 1-14.
- ¹⁰ Bartholmaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, trans. by J. Trevisa in c. 1398 and reproduced in G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain* (Oxford, 2005), 479-80.
- ¹¹ R. Haslam, *The Buildings of Wales: Powys* (1979, New Haven, 1992), 141; M. Rimmer, *The Angel Roofs of East Anglia: Unseen Masterpieces of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015); L. T. Courtenay, "The Westminster Hall Roof and its 14th Century Sources," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43, no. 4 (1984): 295-309; P. Burton and H. Walshaw, *The English Angel* (Witney, 2000); Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*; H. Birkin, *Suffolk Medieval Church Roof Carvings* (Ipswich, 1999); R. Strong, *A Little History of the English Country Church* (London, 2007), 42; E. Smith, G. Hutton, and O. Cook, *English Parish Churches* (1976, London, 1989), 149-50 (illus. 117-18); N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), 207-37; D. C. Baker, "The 'Angel' of Renaissance English literature," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959): 85-90. C. Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill, 2001), 4; "Angels in Art," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angels_in_art (accessed November 17, 2020).
- ¹² For example, J. Ayres, *British Folk Art* (London, 1977), 6: 'Christ arising from the tomb', a silk-work picture, showing an angel with trumpet. Another example, *ibid*, shows an angel with a scroll or written slate.
- ¹³ For example, the influential circular arrangement of five cherubs in Sir Joshua Reynolds, "A Child's Portrait in Different Views: Angels' Heads" (1786-7), reproduced in R. Pearsall, *Painting Course* (London, 1991), 330; <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/reynolds-a-childs-portrait-in-different-views-angels-heads-no0182> (accessed February 24, 2020).
- ¹⁴ Cited in R. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (1998, Oxford, 2000), 357.
- ¹⁵ For examples of folk art idioms in angel representations, see Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, 173-5; B. Willsher, *Epitaphs and Images from Scottish Graveyards* (Edinburgh, 1996).
- ¹⁶ V. Charles, *Rococo* (New York, 2010); S. D. Coffin, *Rococo: The Continuing Curve, 1730-2008* (New York, 2008); R. Neuman, *Baroque and Rococo Art and Architecture* (Boston, 2012); Heinrich, "Cherubs or Putti?" 43-5.
- ¹⁷ Design for an overmantel surmounted by winged putto (c. 1760), Victoria and Albert Museum, ref. D745-1900.
- ¹⁸ For example, at Flintham, Scarrington, or Screveton, all in Nottinghamshire, Woodhouse and Quorn (Leicestershire), St Mary de Castro, Leicester, or All Saints, Leicester (the memorial to Elizabeth Bracebridge, died 1774 aged 43).

- ¹⁹ In briefest summary, ivy, forget-me-nots and lilies tended to replace the cornucopias and arrays of earlier flowers.
- ²⁰ R. W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1973); N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (1939, Oxford, 2000).
- ²¹ On this genre, see M. W. Barley, "Slate Headstones in Nottinghamshire," *Thoroton Society Transactions*, 52 (1948), 69–86; B. Heathcote and P. Heathcote, *Vale of Belvoir Angels: A Survey of a Group of Early Slate Headstones with Characteristic Features which are to be Found in the Churchyards of the Vale and Some Surrounding Parishes of Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire* (Lowdham, Notts., 2008). Many further Belvoir angel illustrations are at: <https://www.hicklingnottlocalhistory.com/belvoir-angels/> (accessed November 18, 2020).
- ²² For example, Burgess, *Churchyards*, 36.
- ²³ A. R. Heinrich, "Cherubs or Putti? Gravemarkers Demonstrating Conspicuous Consumption and the Rococo Fashion in the Eighteenth Century," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (2014): 37–64. For other similar styles to Belvoir angels, see Willsher, *Epitaphs and Images from Scottish Graveyards*, 12, 23, 36, 46, 48, 104; H. Lees, *English Churchyard Memorials* (Stroud, 2000), 43, 53, 109, 114.
- ²⁴ For example, J. Primrose, *Popular Errors; or, The Errors of the People in Matter of Physick* (London, 1651), reproduced in Walsham, "Invisible Helpers," 98.
- ²⁵ Isaiah, 26: 19.
- ²⁶ St. Matthew's Gospel, 24: 31.
- ²⁷ H. Boynton, *Geology of Gravestones in Welford Road Cemetery, Leicester* (Leicester, 2007), 10; Mytum, *Recording and Analysing Graveyards*, 18–19; F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Sculpture* (n.d., n.p.), 2.
- ²⁸ For examples of angel statues from Highgate Cemetery, see F. Barker and J. Gay, *Highgate Cemetery: Victorian Valhalla* (London 1984), 18, 23, 37, 38, 40, 56, for cherubs, 61, and for an Art Nouveau angel, 48. The question of how the nineteenth-century introduction of cemeteries may have influenced design of gravestones – e.g. towards variety or homogeneity, or more competitive memorialisation – has not been addressed.
- ²⁹ C. Brooks, *Mortal Remains: the History and Present State of the Victorian and Edwardian Cemetery* (Exeter, 1989), 69, see also 70–2, 156–7. The meaning of such female figures in terms of evangelical faith warrants investigation.
- ³⁰ Many modern angel statues, of Art Nouveau or other design, are shown in online collections. For example, <https://www.pinterest.co.kr/pin/295759900519351633/> (February 25, 2020).
- ³¹ E. Reimers, "Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals as Cultural Communication," *Mortality* 4, no. 2 (1999), 152.
- ³² T. Walker, "The Dead Who Become Angels: Bereavement and Vernacular Religion," *Journal of Death and Dying* 71, no. 1 (2016), 8.
- ³³ See J. Martineau (ed.), *Victorian Fairy Painting* (London, 1997); C. G. Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples* (Oxford, 1999); R. Halliday, *Famous Scots and the Supernatural: How the Supernatural Changed History* (Edinburgh, 2012), chap. 6; P. Kelbie, "Did Images of the Occult Inspire Mackintosh's Masterpieces?," *Independent*, May 17, 2003; see also Mackintosh's painting 'Fairies' (1898) for example on the artarchive.com web site (February 25, 2020); A. Owen, "Borderless Forms': Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Albion's Daughters and the Politics of the Cottingley Fairies," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 48–85.
- ³⁴ S. Brindle, "Buckingham Palace and the Victoria memorial, 1901–14," *The Court Historian* 11, no. 1 (2006): 53–4.
- ³⁵ A. Carden-Coyle, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (Oxford, 2009), 145–7.
- ³⁶ Walker, "Dead Who Become Angels."
- ³⁷ The striking gravestone of Dorothy Bennett, died 1938, near the entrance to Loughborough Cemetery, Leicestershire.
- ³⁸ There are many such angel styles. For examples, see Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*; B. Silvester and L. Pitman, "Eighteenth-Century Stonemasons in the Black Mountains," *Church Archaeology*, 2 (1998); L. Pitman, "Gilded Angels: The Eighteenth-Century Funeral Monuments of the Brute Family of Llanbedr," *Brycheiniog* 32 (January 2000).
- ³⁹ Angel and cherub forms almost never co-exist on the same churchyard or cemetery memorial.
- ⁴⁰ H. Batsford, *English Mural Monuments and Tombstones* (London, 1916); F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*; Mytum, *Recording and Analysing Graveyards*.

- ⁴¹ So-called 'angel-weepers' with wings have a long history, found in the late fourteenth century for example. See the discussion in F. H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments, A.D. 1150-1550* (London, 1921), 6, 129-32, 138-45. Despite his frequent term, we would not class most of his illustrated examples of angels as 'weepers' in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, when disconsolate 'weepers' very rarely have wings. Presumably, they would not be disconsolate if they did. The main chronology of female 'weepers' (in our centuries) seems to be between the 1770s and the 1860s, notably in the 1820s and 1830s, but they are found after that too. In other words, they emerge most noticeably towards the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century peak of angel popularity. They would appear to be expressions of middle-class sensibilities about female deportment during those decades. They usually, but not invariably, weep at departed men of mature years.
- ⁴² There are very few of these. The memorial figure of a winged Father Time (e.g. fine memorials in Kimcote, or St Mary de Castro, Leicestershire), resting from his scythe-using handiwork in culling humanity, drew on classical prototypes like Chronos. Father Time imagery extends to other areas of culture; for example the Father Time figure and scythe on an undertaker's card (c. 1725) in J. Litten, "The English Funeral, 1700-1850," in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England, 1700-1850*, ed. M. Cox (York, 1998), 5.
- ⁴³ Related issues are raised by many stained-glass window memorials, not included here. Their technologies, cost and patronage entail particular chronologies. Yet the topic, coupled with angel memorials in the church or churchyard, suggest the possibility that angel memorials may sometimes connect to church patron saints, and demonstrate linkages in local understanding, or clerical inclination and advice, that go beyond the memorial.
- ⁴⁴ See K. D. M. Snell and P. S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalem: the Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000).
- ⁴⁵ Our data confirms the views of historians such as J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832* (Cambridge, 1985), W. M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), and J. Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), who query a decline of religious belief in eighteenth-century England and Wales. Their views are entirely compatible with this analysis of angel memorials, notably for the eighteenth century.
- ⁴⁶ B. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (Oxford, 1988); D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: a History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989).
- ⁴⁷ Increasing memorial survival, shared by cherub/angel memorials, would have little effect on the dominant fluctuations shown, and indeed underplays them. For example, the eighteenth-century figures would be even higher if one could take account of such survival chances; the main nineteenth-century data is very low despite its greater likelihood of survival and the larger numbers and demographic proportions of memorials then; and the large dip in the mid twentieth century occurs despite greater survival chances and larger numbers of memorials being used.
- ⁴⁸ While the class orientation is obvious, it would be incorrect to see this source as wholly middle- or upper-class, even in the pre-1850 period. For example, very many servants and artisans left gravestones, and many working-class occupations are documented on them. See for example the 692 cases of memorialised servants in A. J. Munby, *Faithful Servants: Being Epitaphs and Obituaries Recording their Names and Services* (London, 1891), (which also included 311 servant epitaphs earlier published by J. W. Streeten in 1826), or the many stonemason memorials in a churchyard such as Ketton in Rutland or St George's Church on the Isle of Portland. The working-class extension of the source from the mid-nineteenth century and especially over the past century is well known, even if little studied.
- ⁴⁹ These percentages derive from many MA student graveyard dissertations and projects, comparing memorial survivals with burial registers, by students in the Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester.
- ⁵⁰ Cremation became legal from 1884, and spread through the example of Bonar Law, Henry Irving, Holman Hunt and others. It was advocated as more hygienic and environmentally safer than burial, and this argument and the building of crematoria ensured its rapid rise after 1945. The cremation rate reached 36 percent in 1961 and 50 percent in 1967. This is now the most common method, covering 77.1 of deaths in the UK in 2017. It is more prevalent in urban than rural areas, for reasons of culture and burial space. See Sir H. Thompson, *Modern Cremation: its History and Practice* (London, 1889); D. J. Davies, *Cremation Today and Tomorrow* (Nottingham, 1991); P. C. Jupp and G. Howarth (eds), *The Changing Face of Death: Historical Accounts of Death and Disposal* (Basingstoke, 1997); P. C. Jupp, *From Dust to Ashes: Cremation and the British Way of Death* (Basingstoke, 2006); E. Davidson, "The Evolution and Secularisation of the Funeral in Leicester and Leicestershire, 1830-2010" (MA diss., Dept. of English Local History, University of Leicester, 2010), chap. 3 (on Leicestershire, where the main rise was 1940-70); P. C. Jupp and T. Walter, "The Healthy Society: 1918-98," in

- Death in England*, ed. P. C. Jupp and C. Gittings (Manchester, 1999), 265; Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, 57; P. C. Jupp, "Cremation or Burial? Contemporary Choice in City and Village," in *The Sociology of Death*, ed. D. Clark (Oxford, 1993), 174–7; Cocke (ed.), *The Churchyards Handbook*, 56.
- ⁵¹ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, 69.
- ⁵² Snell and Jones, "Churchyard Memorials, 'Dispensing with God Gradually': Rustication, Decline of the Gothic and the Emergence of Art Deco," 45–80. See the Appendix there for analysed burial sites with regard to Gothic memorials, which often do not coincide with those studied here for angels, and see *ibid* Figure 14 for Art Deco periodisation, which displaces and comes after the fashions for Gothic, and then rustication, memorials.
- ⁵³ For example, the memorial to Maria Maude Drinan, died 1915, in Kensal Green Cemetery, London. Similar large memorials are found in the midlands, e.g. in Loughborough Cemetery.
- ⁵⁴ An outstanding exception is the memorial to Martha 'Mattie' Bianchi, died 1936, in Hampstead Cemetery. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/9412/martha-ellen-bianchi> (accessed February 25, 2020).
- ⁵⁵ L. Fisher, "Fallen Angel Causes Alarm at Crumbling Westminster," quoted in Gillen, "Parliament that Science Built," 189.
- ⁵⁶ E. J. Timms, "The Head of a Royal Angel: The Albert Memorial," <https://royalcentral.co.uk/about> (January 27, 2020).
- ⁵⁷ No data exists on the age-specific incidence of rising stone memorialisation of the interred dead over time.
- ⁵⁸ For example, R. Hamilton, *The Liberation of Women: A Study of Patriarchy and Capitalism* (London, 1978); S. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840–1914* (Manchester, 2000); M. Danahay, *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity* (Aldershot, 2005); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 1987); J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London, 1999).
- ⁵⁹ That statement is of course subject to there usually being slightly more male than female memorials. The respective proportions of angels or cherubs within the full total of male and female memorials are not known. That would involve much extended research involving every single memorial (to give total gender numbers) in a large number of sites.
- ⁶⁰ See for example the anthropologically well informed discussions in A. Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: the Family, Property and Social Transition* (Oxford, 1991); his *The Culture of Capitalism* (Oxford, 1989), and his *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300–1840* (Oxford, 1986), where such an emphasis is placed.
- ⁶¹ R. Joad, *Milton's Angels: the Early-Modern Imagination* (Oxford, 2010).
- ⁶² Leonard Cohen, "So Long, Marianne" (1967).
- ⁶³ For example, "The Angel, Cookham Churchyard" (1933), in the Royal Academy of Arts London, *Stanley Spencer* (London, 1980), 124–5, or his "Parents resurrecting" (1933), *ibid.*, and his "Angels of the Apocalypse" (1949), *ibid.*, 207. Spencer had a personal view that eschewed angels as bringers of retribution, *ibid.*, 207–8, and he wanted angels to assist God in creation, fertilising the earth with seeds.
- ⁶⁴ R. Blythe, *Talking to the Neighbours: Conversations from a Country Church* (Norwich, 2002), "The Angels Keep their Ancient Places," 186–90.
- ⁶⁵ R. Deakin, *Notes from Walnut Tree Farm* (2008, London, 2009), 285.
- ⁶⁶ Jacob Epstein, "Jacob and the Angel" (1940–1), in Tate Britain, and see Eric Gill's public sculpture: for example his bas-relief of Ariel and two angels on Broadcasting House in London, or in his bookplates. His angels were often named; for example the Angel Gabriel on the Priest's House, Chipping Campden (1937). See also R. Cribb and J. Cribb, *Eric Gill* (London, 2011), 71, 96, 109, or the back cover of that book.
- ⁶⁷ Herefordshire Archive Service, E69/404, reproducing a New Year's card of 1873 from the papers of the Radcliffe-Cooke family, as a 2019 card.
- ⁶⁸ <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0073972/> (accessed March 9, 2020); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charlie%27s_Angels (accessed March 9, 2020).
- ⁶⁹ <https://spinditty.com/playlists/Songs-with-Angels-from-the-PopRock-Genres> (February 4, 2020).
- ⁷⁰ D. A. Jones, *Angels: A History* (Oxford, 2010); J. Coghlán, "Angels: Are They Physical Beings or Metaphors for Human Conscience?" *Diffusion* 5, no. 1 (June, 2012). <https://www.uclan.ac.uk/courses/assets/rcs-coghlán.pdf> (accessed February 4, 2020).
- ⁷¹ "Angelic Baby Names for Your Perfect Little Angel," <https://www.sheknows.com/parenting/articles/848661/angelic-baby-names> (accessed February 4, 2020).

- ⁷² Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England*; R. Brilliant, *Death: from Dust to Destiny* (London, 2017).
- ⁷³ On “angel-babies,” see N. Scheper-Hughes, “Death without weeping,” in *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*, ed. A. C. G. M. Robben (2004, Oxford, 2006), 182–6; E. da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands* (1904, Chicago, 1944).
- ⁷⁴ On the concept of symbolic immortality, evident in all our discussion, see R. J. Lifton and E. Olson, “Symbolic immortality,” in Robben, *Death, Mourning, and Burial*, 34.
- ⁷⁵ Walker, “Dead who become angels,” 5.
- ⁷⁶ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 – c. 1580* (London, 1992); Walsham, “Invisible helpers.”
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.
- ⁷⁸ No such advice exists in the manuals for clergy and churchwardens: see S. Degge, *The Parson’s Counsellor* (London, 1703); C. G. Prideaux and F. C. Mackarness, *Prideaux’s Practical Guide to the Duties of Churchwardens in the Execution of their Office* (1701, London, 1895); K. MacMorran, *Handbook for Churchwardens and Parochial Church Councillors* (London, 1921); Central Council for the Care of Churches, *The Care of Churchyards: Report of the Central Council for the Care of Churches* (London, 1932); Central Council for the Care of Churches, *The Churchyards Handbook: Advice on Care and Maintenance of Churchyards* (London, 1962); though by the later nineteenth century there was a reaction against excessive monuments of any sort: for example, B. Holmes, *The London Burial Grounds* (London, 1896). Between 1603 and the Parochial Church Councils Measure of 1921, churchyards were largely the responsibility of churchwardens.
- ⁷⁹ D. C. Sloane, *Is the Cemetery Dead?* (Chicago and London, 2018), 126–7. This excellent book covers a host of modern memorial developments.
- ⁸⁰ On these ‘community’ issues, see Snell, “Churchyard Closures, Rural Cemeteries and the Village Community”; K. D. M. Snell, *Spirits of Community: Belonging and Loss in England, 1750–2000* (London, 2016). In general, see G. Delanty, *Community* (London, 2003); Z. Baumann, *Community: Seeking Safety in an Insecure World* (Cambridge, 2001).
- ⁸¹ Even so, a large popular angel-theology literature of belief exists today. For example, H. Price, *Angels: True Stories of How They Touch our Lives* (1993, London, 1994).
- ⁸² Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, 383; P. C. Almond, *Afterlife: a History of Life after Death* (London, 2015).
- ⁸³ Stanford, *Angels*, “Prelude.”

Biographical Notes

Dr Rachael Jones is a Research Fellow in the School of History, Politics and International Relations, University of Leicester, Leicester, UK, and a tutor for the Advanced Diploma in Local History at the Department for Continuing Education, Oxford University. Email: rj176@le.ac.uk

K. D. M. Snell is Emeritus Professor of Rural and Cultural History in the School of History, Politics and International Relations, University of Leicester, Leicester, UK. Email: kdm@le.ac.uk

*Appendix**THE 250 BURIAL SITES ANALYSED – ANGELS, CHERUBS*

All sites are Anglican or Church in Wales unless otherwise stated.

(* = site searched, but no legible angel or cherub imagery was found).

Aberhafesp (Powys)
 Aldeburgh (Suff)
 Aldringham (Suff)
 Aldsworth (Glos)
 Arnesby (Leics)
 Arthingworth (N'Hants)
 Ashton Keynes (Wilts)
 Ashwell (Rut)
 Barrow-on-Soar (Leics)
 Bassingthorpe (Lincs)
 Belgrave (Leics)
 Belton (Rut)
 Bempton (E. Yorks)
 Bettws Cedewain (Powys)
 Beverley Minster (E. Yorks)
 Beverley, St Marys (E. Yorks)
 Billesdon (Leics)
 Billesdon, cemetery (Leics)
 Bisbrooke (Rut)
 Bishops Castle (Shrop)
 Bitchfield (Lincs)
 Blaby (Leics)
 Blaston (Leics) *
 Boothby Pagnell (Lincs)
 Brampton Ash (N'Hants)
 Braybrook (N'Hants) *
 Brinklow (Warcs) *
 Brinkworth (Wilts)
 Broadway (Worcs)
 Bruntingthorpe (Leics)
 Buckminster (Leics)
 Burton Overy (Leics)
 Burton-le-Coggles (Lincs)
 Burwell (Cambs)
 Bury St Edmunds, cathedral (Suff)
 Bwlch y Cibau (Powys)
 Calne (Som)

Cambridge, St Peters (Cambs)
Car Colston (Notts) *
Carlton Curlieu (Leics) *
Chirbury (Powys)
Church Langton (Leics)
Churchstoke (Shrop)
Cleeve (Som)
Colsterworth (Lincs)
Colsterworth cemetery (Lincs)
Compton Verney House (Warcs)
Copt Oak (Leics) *
Cosby (Leics) *
Cottesbrooke (N'Hants)
Cottesmore (Rut)
Cowbridge St Hilary (Glam)
Cranoe (Leics)
Cwmcarvan (Gwent)
Denton (Lincs)
Desborough, St Giles (N'Hants)
Dolfor (Powys) *
Dorrington (Shrop)
Draughton (N'Hants)
East Halton (Lincs)
East Norton (Leics)
Easton on the Hill (Lincs)
Eastwell (Leics)
Edmondthorpe (Leics)
Eggleton (Rut)
Eglwys Fach (Ceredigion)
Elton on the Hill (Notts)
Empingham (Rut)
Enderby (Leics) *
Exton (Rut)
Fairford, St Mary (Glos)
Felindre (Powys)
Felton (Som)
Fincham (Norf)
Flintham (Notts)
Gaddesby (Leics)
Gaulby (Leics)
Gilmorton (Leics)
Glooston (Leics)
Goadby (Leics)
Goginan (Ceredigion)

Granby (Notts)
Great Bowden (Leics)
Great Dalby (Leics)
Great Easton (Leics)
Great Glen (Leics)
Great Witley (Worcs)
Greetham (Rut)
Guilsfield (Powys)
Gunby (Lincs)
Hallaton (Leics)
Hanwood (Shrop) *
Harrington (N'Hants)
Haselbech (N'Hants)
Hodley (Powys) *
Horninghold (Leics)
Hoton (Leics)
Houghton on the Hill (Leics)
Husbands Bosworth (Leics)
Ilston on the Hill (Leics)
Kelmarsh (N'Hants)
Kerry (Powys)
Kibworth Harcourt (Leics)
Kings Norton (Leics) *
Kingston-on-Soar (Notts)
Knighton (Leics) *
Knodishall (Suff)
Lamport (N'Hants)
Laxfield (Suff)
Leicester cathedral (Leics)
Leicester, All Saints (Leics)
Leicester, Saffron Hill cemetery (Leics)
Leicester, St Margaret (Leics)
Leicester, St Mary de Castro (Leics)
Leicester, St Nicholas (Leics)
Leicester, Unitarian Great Meeting House (Leics)
Leicester, Welford Road cemetery (Leics)
Leiston (Suff)
Lindridge (Worcs) *
Llanbadarn (Ceredigion)
Llanbadarn cemetery (Ceredigion)
Llanfair Caereinion (Powys) *
Llanfechain (Powys)
Llanidloes (Powys)
Llanidloes cemetery (Powys)

Llanllugan, St Mary's (Powys) *
Llanllwchaiarn (Powys)
Llanmihangel (Glam)
Llansantffraid ym Mechain (Powys)
Llanwnnog (Powys)
Llanymewig (Powys) *
Loughborough cemetery (Leics)
Lower Swell (Glos)
Lubenham (Leics)
Lydbury North (Shrop)
Lyddington (Rut)
Lydham (Shrop)
Lyndon (Rut)
Machynlleth cemetery (Powys)
Maidwell (N'Hants)
Manton (Rut)
Market Harborough cemetery (Leics)
Marston Trussell (N'Hants)
Medbourne (Leics)
Minsterley (Shrop)
Mochdre (Powys)
Monks Kirby (Warcs)
Monks Kirby cemetery (Warcs)
Montgomery (Powys) *
More (Shrop) *
Moreton in Marsh (Glos)
Mowsley (Leics) *
Naseby (N'Hants)
Nether Broughton (Leics)
Newbridge on Wye (Powys)
Newton Linford (Leics)
Newtown and Llanllwchaiarn cemetery (Powys)
Norbury (Shrop) *
Normanton-on-Soar (Notts)
North Thoresby (Lincs)
North Witham (Lincs)
Northleach (Glos)
Nottingham, Carlton cemetery (Notts)
Nottingham, Church cemetery (Notts)
Nottingham, General cemetery (Notts)
Oadby (Leics)
Oakham cemetery (Rut)
Offchurch (Warcs)
Old Dalby (Leics)

Outwell (Cambs)
Peasedown (Som)
Peatling Parva (Leics)
Penrith, St Andrews (Cumb)
Pensford, St Thomas à Becket (Som)
Peterston super Ely (Glam)
Plungar (Leics)
Pontesbury (Shrop) *
Preston (Rut)
Quorn (Leics)
Ratcliffe-on-Soar (Notts)
Saddington (Leics)
Sarn (Powys)
Scarrington (Notts)
Screveton (Notts)
Seamer (N. Yorks)
Seaton (Rut)
Shenton (Leics)*
Shirenewton (Gwent)
Sibbertoft (Leics)
Sibthorpe (N'Hants) *
Sileby (Leics)
Skeffington (Leics) *
Skidbrooke (Lincs) *
Slawston (Leics) *
Smethcote (Shrop) *
Somerby (Leics)
South Witham (Lincs)
Southwold, St Edmund (Suff)
Stainby (Lincs)
Stamford, St George's (Lincs)
Stamford, St Martin's (Lincs)
Stamford, St Paul's (Lincs)
Stanton-on-Soar (Notts)
Stapleford (Leics)
Stapleton (Shrop) *
Stathern (Leics)
Stockerston (Leics)
Stoke Dry (Rut)
Stokesay (Shrop)
Stow-on-the-Wold (Glos)
Stretton in Dunsmore (Warcs) *
Swinstead (Lincs)
Talgarth (Powys) *

Theddingworth (Leics) *
Theddlethorpe (Lincs)
Thornton-le-Dale (N. Yorks) *
Tilton on the Hill (Leics)
Tredington (Warcs)
Trefeglwys (Powys) *
Trefeglwys cemetery (Powys)
Tregynon (Powys)
Trelleck (Gwent) *
Tugby (Leics)
Tur Langton (Leics) *
Twyford (Leics)
Upper Broughton (Notts)
Uppingham (Rut)
Usk, St Mary (Gwent)
Waithe (Lincs) *
Waltham on the Wolds (Leics)
Wellow (Som)
Wellow and Shoscombe cemetery (Som)
Welshpool, Christ Church (Powys)
Welshpool, Maesgwastad cemetery (Powys)
Welshpool, St Marys (Powys)
Westbury on Severn (Glos)
Whatton in the Vale (Notts)
Whetstone (Leics)
Whitby, St Mary (N. Yorks)
Wigston (Leics)
Wigston cemetery (Leics)
Willoughby Waterless (Leics)
Winford with Regil (Som)
Wing (Rut)
Wolston (Warcs)
Wolston cemetery (Warcs)
Wolston, Baptist chapel (Warcs) *
Woodhouse (Leics)
Wymeswold (Leics)
Wysall (Leics)