

THE RADNORSHIRE SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS 2020
MAN ON A GOAT

The Happy Union Inn Sign, Abbey Cwm Hir.
- an image of the Nationhood of Wales (Goatlandshire)

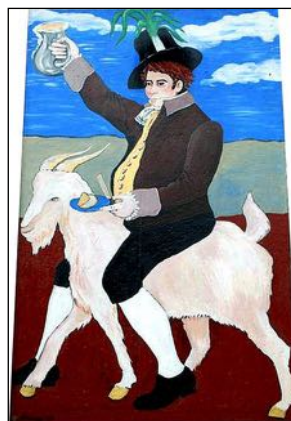
Roger Coward

What could be better than there being in the centre of a Radnorshire village, a community pub whose name evokes happiness and unity with a jewel¹ of a sign symbolising the depths of Welshness and Good Cheer?

This is no ordinary hanging Inn sign but a large board measuring one metre ten cms x one metre eight cms attached directly to the wall. It hasn't always looked like this. This version of the sign was painted in 2003 by Mary Strong of Broad Oak, Abbey Cwm Hir. Compared with the other paintings we have records of, it is probably the best version ever. You might even be able to recognise the facial features of the present publican John Jones.



It was not the first time it has been repainted in living memory. Stephen Dexter of Lower and Upper Cwmdru re-painted it² in the 1980s replacing the version photographed in 1953.³ Before there was a similar sign in an early photograph of uncertain date and in an amateur painting of 1894.⁴ So we know it was definitely there in 1894. Could it be



the original? John Jones, the current publican, says it used to have the date of 1858 on it. William Price was first recorded in the 1861 census as the publican

but he could have been there three years earlier in 1858 when the first sign was

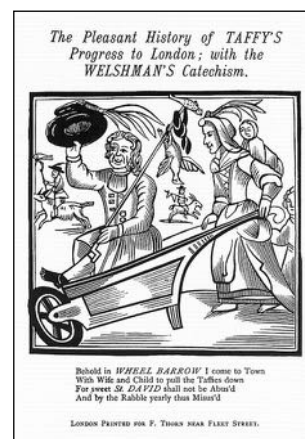
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probably put up. William Price went on to live in Abbey Cwm Hir, after his son took over as publican, and is buried in St Mary's graveyard. He'd been publican for nearly fifty years and just the type to have a novel sign board painted. Who originally conceived and painted the sign? Who was the original artist? Major Francis Philips (Squire 1886–1932), claimed in the Estate Sale Brochure of 1919 that it was painted by George Morland, but the famous Morland died in 1804 so either the date (of 1858) or the identity of the painter are wrong, even though the kind of subject animals, pub scenes, country folk, are the sort of subject he would have painted. Morland was a very successful and popular painter on canvas so it is a bit unlikely he would have painted a pub sign on wood. But he was also much copied and so it could have been a painter pretending to be him. If there had been a Morland painting in Abbey Cwm Hir it would certainly have been mentioned by Thomas Wilson (here between 1824 and 1837) who commissioned several paintings of Abbey Cwm Hir, some exhibited at the Royal Academy. He was a significant art collector, which included Rembrandt Etchings, and would have known of the late Morland and so would have certainly mentioned a painting or inn sign by him, in his published lists of his own collection.⁵ Morland lived and worked in South London and there are no records of him going to Wales.

In a world of no photography, television or films, a picture like this in the middle of the village would be a sensation. The only other place you would see images was in a church. But why would a publican want a sign like this and why would a painter choose to put these elements together?

Poor Taffy

Peter Lord, the Welsh Art Historian, in his seminal work *Words with Pictures: Welsh Images and Images of Wales in the Popular Press, 1640-1860*⁶ drew our attention to the fact that weekly and bi-weekly news-sheets with or without pictures had been published in the main cities since the seventeenth century. As well as ballad sheets and pamphlets in which there would be occasional articles about the Welsh. In Tudor times Welshmen had risen to the highest offices in the land but since the two Acts of Union, in the sixteenth century, threat from Wales had gone and it was seen as England's first colony. Hostility to the Welsh as England's oldest enemy was replaced by contempt as the threat of rebellion was replaced by the more obvious presence of a stream of poverty stricken peasants looking for work. Many of them walked all the way to London, some barefoot, to find work. This continued even up until the middle of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. They lived in squalid ghettos in London and were



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much despised, especially on St David's Day. Inside *Taffy's Progress to London* we can read:

The much renowned Taffy William Morgan having received a letter - sent by word of mouth from London, which gave him an account of how despicable the poor Welshman alias Britain's were made in England on Saint Taffy's Day, by the rabble hanging out a bundle of rags in representation of a Welshman mounted on a red herring with a leek in his hat. Truly poor Morgan's blood was up. He fretted and fumed till he foamed at mouth again, and being exasperated ... he in a great passion Swore by the Glory and Renown of his Ancestors - famous in the Books of Rates for their being ever chargeable to the Parish - that he would be revenged on those that thus presumed to affront Goatlandshire ...

Taffy's Progress offered an almost complete resumé of the conventional characteristics of the Welsh person. *The Welsh were at once poverty stricken and contrarily proud. The Welsh were stubborn and when not being stubborn were hot tempered and irrational. The persistence of such early stereotypes was remarkable, as indeed was the fondness of Welsh people, especially when in England, for re-enforcing them* (Thomas Matthews *The Biography of John Gibson* 1911 p190)⁷.

The idea of Poor Taffy was in circulation, at least in England, about one hundred years before the 'Happy Union' sign was painted. The fact that when they came to London the Welsh could not always speak English which led to much teasing and the merging of both languages in Wenglish, e.g. 'Shentleman'. The text surrounding the woodcut is highly satirical of the Welsh but the image itself is rather dignified if not magnificent!



popular, as the worn wood blocks, apparently show.

Not even a

Welshman can ride a goat, so the whole idea of the picture re-enforces the traditional notion that the stature of the Welsh is short, so could ride goats! Goats were used to pull carts and be raced with children in them, they also pulled carts carrying hay bales and even sledges in Canada. Typically, Taffy wears and carries a leek, a round cheese (caws pobi – Welsh Rabbit or Cheese on Toast) by his knee and

often some cured and dried red herrings, which were a major part of the Welsh diet



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and were exported from Wales a great deal. *Poor Taffy*, riding to London on his goat, was a familiar motif and is probably an influence behind the Happy Union sign.

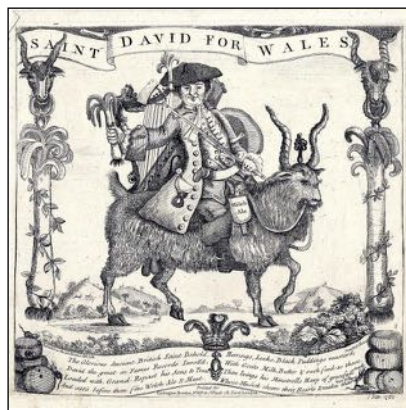
Winnifred, as a Welsh woman's name was chosen by the English because they had heard of Saint Winefride, the Catholic Martyr of Holywell. But Mrs Jones is looking dignified with her son behind her. The satirical text around her picture is mainly about her shopping list which includes the usual items, cheese, herrings, leeks etc.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, increasing numbers of individual prints, print series and multi-image prints brought together stereotypes of the Nationalities of Britain reflecting a new self-confidence in a unified Britain under English domination.

Even the Prince of Wales, who was not Welsh, was subject to satire. *Taffy and Hur Wife, Shentleman of Wales* (1786), shows the then Prince of Wales, the future King George IV, with his mistress Mrs Fitzherbert, riding a goat.



They secretly got married at her house in Park Street, Mayfair but legally the union was void and he was forced to marry his cousin Princess Caroline of Brunswick. However in 1796 the two were formally separated after the birth of their only child, Princess Charlotte and remained separated thereafter. The Prince remained attached to Maria Fitzherbert for the rest of his life, despite several periods of estrangement. A 'Happy Union' of a kind! But there is also a long list of George's continuing mistresses – mainly Countess's and Marchionesses, all married to aristocrats. Satirical cartoons began to appear like *St David for Wales*, riding a goat (1781).



A complex of Welsh symbols based on Poor Taffy with even some Welsh Ale as a precursor of the tankard in the Happy Union sign. A Welsh harp was also added because this instrument had attracted the attention of the English intelligentsia in the 1750s who expected to (and consequently did) find a blind harpist in many inns when visiting Wales, which was beginning to be a tourist attraction in the eighteenth century.

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Other Materials - Ceramics: prior to the wood engraving, the only precedent for an image of this kind seems to be a Meissen porcelain piece *Count Bruhl's Taylor* riding a goat. Count Heinrich von Brühl (1700-1763) was Minister of the Interior of Saxony for Frederick the Great. He was appointed Director of the Meissen factory in 1733, and was renowned for his lavish banquets. According to tradition the Count's ambitious tailor requested an invitation to dine at a forthcoming banquet. In response and to put him in his place, the Count ordered a ceramic figure of the tailor riding a goat to be made and put on the dining table, rather than inviting the tailor in person to the Banquet. The Goat after all can be a symbol of humility, the poor shall inherit the earth ... Blessed are the humble - etc! Although how that got into Anglo-Welsh imagery, if indeed it is the source, is unknown. Presumably it is just a co-incidence that early in the twentieth century a tailor worked from The Happy Union Inn at Abbey Cwm Hir and today the holiday let adjoining, is called Taylor's Cottage.

Derby porcelain circa 1770-75 also explored the theme of Welsh people riding goats. A figure entitled 'Welsh Tailor and his Wife',⁹ and a soft paste porcelain figure of a woman with three children riding a nanny-goat with kid, was also made circa 1770.¹⁰

The Name 'The Happy Union'

There is a story¹¹ that an artist came to stay at the great house over the way and he, like many others, was struck with the curious name of the inn, and so endeavoured to express *The Happy Union* in the inn sign which he painted.

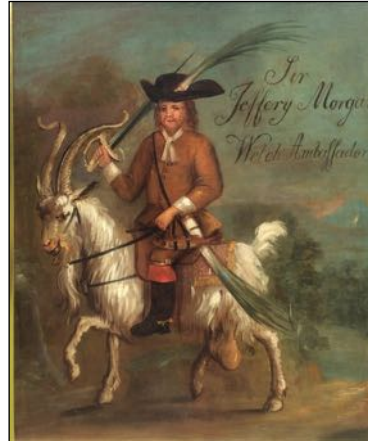
Pub names which include the name *The Union* usually commemorate one of the Acts of Union with England. Wales was the first in 1536 and again in 1542, Scotland in 1707 and Ireland in 1801. As the first Welsh Act abolished Welsh Law codified by Hywel Dda (the Good) and the Welsh Language in official documents it is unlikely this would be commemorated. The fact that Abbey Cwm Hir was in the front line of the wars between the King of England, the Marcher Lords and the Welsh Princes might make the idea of a 'happy union' very welcome and our inn's name may well resonate with that wish. One thing that is certain is that it was the *Unity of Wales* that the two Llywelyns, Llywelyn Fawr and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd worked towards. Ap Gruffudd was supposedly buried at Abbey Cwm Hir. The county of Radnorshire was often considered to be the most anglicised of Welsh counties so a truly Welsh sign like this would be a reminder that we are in Wales.

The word union has another meaning of course. There is a Union Inn in Staffordshire whose sign shows a man and a woman of medieval times being married, a union of hearts and minds. Unfortunately attempts to identify an important marriage in the local community, Hall or nation, at this time has fallen on fallow ground.

One of the best sources for the history of Abbey Cwm Hir in the early nineteenth century is the report by Layton Cooke provided for Thomas Wilson. It is currently available for viewing in the Archives of the Radnorshire Society's Library, in Rhayader. One can tell from the amount of detail, analysis and practical advice in it that he was someone who knew what he was talking about.

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Soon after publication the Poor Taffy popular image became serious art, a reverse of the usual process. There are four eighteenth-century painted versions of the image, which seem likely to be all based on the wood engraving of c.1747 (Shon ap Morgan). They are not signed and spent their lives in London where they may have been hung on the wall for St David's Day Celebrations. They have the usual features, a leek in the hat, a red herring in the pannier and a man on a goat. There are two paintings, almost identical, oil on canvas, in the NLW Peniarth Collection.



Another is held by The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, also oil on canvas from about 1770. Until recently it was in the possession of St David's School, Ashford, the origins of which lie with the Welsh Charity School founded in London in 1716 and subsequently supported by the Cymmrodorion Society and other Welsh societies. This version was in a bad condition by the middle of the nineteenth century and was repainted in 1846. Peter Lord, the Welsh art historian suggests that the leek was painted more as a phallic symbol for the benefit of girls in the Welsh School! After all, the leek has been a sexual symbol since the tenth century.⁸

Another version is of interest because it is painted on a panel, and has much of the appearance and size of an inn sign, except that it is too well preserved to have been outside since 1747. It has been in an American collection for some time, but has now returned home, beneath the man riding a goat is a milestone, saying ninety seven miles to London so it could have been an inn sign in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire or Shropshire along a route frequented by travellers from Wales to London perhaps a drovers route that also passed through Abbey Cwm Hir, along which there was a tradition of this form of inn sign. Could the 'Happy Union' sign go back to the eighteenth century?



The earliest known portrait of a Welshman holding a leek is of Philip Proger of Gwerndu, Brecknockshire, who served at the Court of James I, to whom he was equerry and later groom of the Privy Chamber. His long flowing hair and pointed beard are typical of Royalist fashion. At the Tudor and Stuart courts, the Sovereign and courtiers wore leeks on St David's Day. James I commented that ...

the wearing of leeks by Welshmen was a good and commendable fashion

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He was very much in touch with his times in which the population of the UK sextupled from five to thirty million. There was food shortage, the Corn Laws kept prices high and the Napoleonic Wars prevented imports from France. Agriculture needed reform and Layton Cooke was ahead of the game, Wilson was lucky to have his advice. In his report published in 1822 he refers to the local public house in the village as *The Public*. It had been illegally built as an encroachment on common land by the tenant of Abbey Farm (later Home Farm), a Mr Lewis.¹²

It was part of two tenements or dwellings used by two families built back to back with the wall between the two tenements probably in the valley between the two roofs, you can see the internal division still today in the public bar.

By 1833 it had been rebuilt as one building with a front and back garden and a small piece of land, according to a handwritten note by Thomas Wilson of the work he had done and recorded in his copy of the 'Layton Cooke Report'¹³.

In his copy of the sales document for the Estate sale in 1837¹⁴ Wilson wrote a note referring to it as *The Happy Union*.

*The Advowson of the Chapel adjoining the Abbey Hall, as also
The Public House ("The Happy Union") are part of the Property*

This is the first documented mention of the name. An Advowson has the right to nominate somebody to a post – normally to a church benefice but in this case also the Publican - but not to have the final decision. No copies of the Sales document have been found in this country but he obviously took a copy with him to Australia.



His copy, with his note, is to be found in the National Library of South Australia.

It looks as if the *Happy Union* is at the simple practical level of the union of the two tenements into one building. Roof unification actually happened long after Thomas Wilson, probably well into the twentieth century. It is now a grade II listed building.

Whatever the original reason for calling the inn 'The Happy Union' the possible meanings are many. Looking at the details of the picture reveals information of historical interest and may give further clues as to its over-all meaning. Starting with the more peripheral is the pewter tankard. Poor Taffy in the prints and paintings

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was carrying a whip or sword not a tankard so the tankard's good cheer is unique to Abbey Cwm Hir (and St David). Although it is not just saying 'Cheers' but held high to signify that we sell our ale in pewter jugs as the law prescribes, for right measure.

There was a time when pewter had too much lead in it and proved poisonous to the drinker, especially of cider, so ceramic mugs were used but with a pewter lid. The trouble was the ceramic mugs came in different sizes and so you didn't know how much ale you were getting for your money. One of the advantages of pewter was that you could make them an exact size and stamp the volume on the outside. This mark signifies that the measure has been inspected by an official Weights and Measures Inspector and found to be of the correct capacity. It became a country-wide legal requirement to stamp all measures with a verification mark in 1835, though some areas such as the cities of London and Westminster, had been doing so before this. Until about 1878 each town generally had its own style of mark.



Another item in the image is bread and cheese politely presented in this painting on a blue plate but standing in for *caws pobi* – Welsh Rabbit or cheese on toast reminding us of the joke about the Welsh leaving heaven. St Peter became cross when he heard the Welsh chattering loudly in their own language in heaven and so looked for a way of stopping them. The devil came up with the idea of providing *caws pobi* outside the gates of heaven and when the Welsh were informed of it they all rushed out of the gates to get the Welsh Rarebit. St Peter locked the gates and the Welsh problem was solved.

Many people think that because the man riding the goat is wearing a top hat it must be for a special occasion. Top hats were worn everyday by all classes in the mid-nineteenth century, including rat catchers, gardeners and fishermen. Jack Black, Queen Victoria's rat catcher, was illustrated wearing a top hat.

The Leek

One of the key elements defining Poor Taffy is that he wears a leek in his hat. Even in the Welsh Regiment's St David's Day parades today, all soldiers must wear a real leek in their hats and the youngest soldier is required to eat a raw leek and then wash it down with a pint of beer.



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According to Peter Conradi in his book about Radnorshire *At the Bright Helm of God*, it was said that the hiring of workers took place at the Knighton May Fair where the plant you wore in your hat signified your preferred work.¹⁵ Perhaps they hired people with leeks in their hats to join the army?

But the tradition goes back even further. Shakespeare refers to the custom of wearing a leek as an 'ancient tradition' even at the time when he wrote *Henry V* which was between 1598 and 1599.

Note Shakespeare's *Wenglish* in Act 4 Scene 7, Fluellen (Llewellyn) says to the King, *I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's Day?*' King Henry replies, *I wear it for memorable honour: for I am Welsh, you know, good countryman.*' Fluellen replies, *All the water in Wye cannot wash your majesty's Welsh plod out of your body, I can tell you that; God pleases it and preserve it, as long as it pleases his grace, and his majesty too!*

In another part of the play Fluellen makes an unwilling Pistol eat a leek. Although the leek has been recognised as the emblem of Wales since the sixteenth century, *The Red Book of Hergest* at the end of the thirteenth century states that leeks are good for healing wounds if mixed with salt and even for healing fractured bones. Perhaps that's why it is considered protection against wounds and therefore to symbolise victory. Its smell was regarded as similar to the smell of striking lightning.¹⁶ Not surprising its association with the military. The Welsh Guards to this day have a golden leek as their cap badge.



Both the sixth-century poet Taliesin and the thirteenth-century *Red Book of Hergest* extol the virtues of the leek, which, if eaten, encouraged good health and happiness. Small wonder, therefore, that a national respect grew around this plant, which was worn by the Welsh at the Battle of Crecy, and by 1536, when Henry VIII gave a leek to his daughter on first of March, it was already associated with St David's Day. It is possible that the green and white family colours adopted by the Tudors were taken from their liking for the leek. The Welsh Guards still have a leek plume for their Busbies.

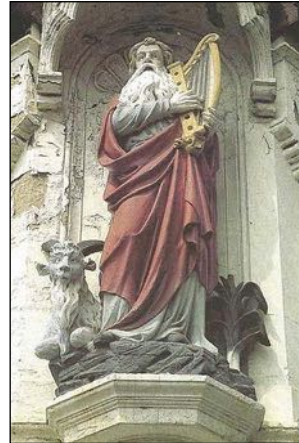
As far back as 633 AD, when, at the battle of Heathfield, a monk apparently suggested the Welsh soldiers wore leeks in their caps to distinguish them from their Saxon opponents, and they won the battle. There are many tales about the leek:

*The leek became a symbol of purity and immortality, a means of foretelling the future and protection against lightning. It was thought that rubbing the body with the plant protected soldiers in battle, that the growing of the leek in gardens brought luck and that wearing it kept away evil spirits. There was formerly a custom for young girls on Halloween to place a leek under their pillow in the belief that they would see the apparition of their future husbands.*¹⁷

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The association to Wales seems to go back even further to Dewi Sant, Saint David, or Taffy, (d.589 AD) who it was said lived on bread, water, leeks and watercress. He lived to an old age and his last sermon contained the words, *Be joyful and keep your faith and creed. Do the little things that you have seen me do and heard about* ¹⁸ which presumably implied a recommendation to 'Eat Leeks'?

In recent years the leek features on Welsh pound coins (1985) and Welsh stamps (1999). In the nineteenth century when the Bards and Eisteddfodau were being re-invented, Merlin became associated with the harp as well as the leek and the Goat.



The Goat

There are many Goat Inns in Wales but no other 'Happy Union' inn with an image of a man riding a goat. There was a Goat Inn in Bala in the nineteenth century which is now the Goat Hotel. There are several others in that area such as at Maerdy and Llanfyllin. In fact there are Goat Inns and Hotels all over Wales.

The goat has been a mascot of many Welsh regiments for several centuries up to the present day. It was recently that Shenkin the Goat Mascot of the Third Fusiliers died on 27 September 2017.



In 1857, the year before the sign was probably first painted, Queen Victoria made the Goat the mascot of what became the Royal Regiment of Wales as a result of incidents during the Crimean War (1854-56). The soldiers in the Crimea killed and ate the goats they saw roaming about for fresh meat. But one evening, outside Sebastopol, a goat entered the trenches and, as it was very cold, a soldier, probably a Welsh farmer's son familiar with wild and herded goats, took the animal and put it inside his coat to keep warm. Troubled turns on sentry duty in exposed forward positions are commonplace, and this was to be the lot of the soldier concerned who, having placed the kid inside his greatcoat to provide extra warmth, found himself positioned well forward of the advanced trenches and close to the Russian position. Unable to move about much during his long vigil, he was drifting into a state of hypothermia, when a bleat from the goat alerted him to the Russian advance and he was able to warn the troops behind and so saved the day, and the Russians were defeated. After this he protected the goat and even took it on parade with him, from which he was not

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discouraged by his superiors. The soldiers refused to kill or eat this goat.

When they returned to England and paraded this brown goat before Queen Victoria she designated it the regimental Mascot and offered a white Cashmir goat from the Royal Parks to replace the brown goat when it died. The soldier in charge of the mascot is styled the 'Goat Major' but is a corporal in rank. All this was recent history and a likely influence at the time the 'Happy Union' sign was first painted.

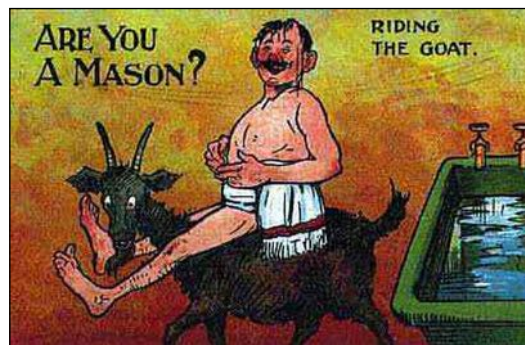
A goat had also served with the Royal Welch Fusiliers during the American War of Independence since 1775.

Official documents state:

*The Royal Regiment of Welch Fuzileers has a privilegeous honor of passing in review preceded by a Goat with gilded horns, and adorned with ringlets of flowers and the corps values itself much on the ancientness of the custom.*¹⁹

The two regiments with goat-mascots combined at the Royal Welsh in 2006.

The Masons have a ritual involving a goat. 'Our first experience upon entering the Lodge as apprentices is to be warned about the Goat. Even before we are informed of *in whom we should put our trust*, we are given knowing looks followed by such comments as *he's going to get the goat* or *you are going to ride the goat* or even *look out for the goat*'. It is a good thing that we are informed that we place our trust in God, since some poor unfortunate apprentice could understandably be forgiven for replying, '*in the Goat*'²⁰.



The Masonic Bulletin published a long poem about this ritual in 2006 , a few verses go:

The doctor's been here seven times
 Since father rode the goat.
 He joined the lodge a week ago —
 Got in at 4 a.m.

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There must have been a lively time
 When father rode the goat.
 He's resting on the couch to-day!
 And practising his signs —

But, somehow, when we mention it,
 He wears a look so grim
 We wonder if he rode the goat
 Or of the goat rode him

Edited by James Pettibone, 1902 & Roger Coward 2014.

Perhaps the explanation of the name is in the painting of the sign? A Welshman riding a goat is in happy union? At one level it could be that goats were a familiar and traditional means of transport and a source of food and milk very much to be in union with - especially with a tankard of beer in hand!

Or, the eating and drinking man dressed in everyday clothes is happy if he is in control of and in union with his goat's nature. The Goat Gods, Pan and Dionysius in Greek mythology represent unbridled nature; lust in the case of Pan and drinking and fertility in the case of Dionysius. Hence we have the term for a lecherous older man, 'you old Goat'.²¹

Pan is represented as being half human, half goat with horns, and would later be used in medieval times to represent the devil based on St Matthew's distinction between the good sheep and the bad goats who go to hell (Matt. XXV:32). So goats can represent vitality, nimbleness and fecundity as well as destructiveness.

In modern terms, a person is in union with themselves if they know and can live comfortably with all sides of their character - including their goat - rather than making a condemned devil out of it or playing the giddy goat. This might be their eating-to-destruction side, or their obstinacy or their sexuality.

The goat is also associated with the custom of wassailing, sometimes referred to as 'going Yule Goat' in Scandinavia. The original bringer of gifts at Christmas time was the Yule Goat, in the 1840s however, an elf in Nordic folklore called 'Tomte' or 'Nisse' started to deliver the Christmas presents in Denmark. The Tomte was portrayed as a short, bearded man dressed in grey clothes and a red hat. This new version of the age-old folkloric creature was obviously inspired by Santa Claus traditions that were now spreading



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with Welsh King Arthur. A man is too big to ride on a goat therefore any depiction of him doing so is not meant to be realistic. One of the earliest representations of King Arthur is in a mosaic in Otranto Cathedral, Italy, where the whole floor of the nave is covered in mosaic figures. Near the Sanctuary *Artus Rex* is depicted riding a goat. The mosaic was created in 1165 by Archbishop Jonathon of Otranto, thirty years after Geoffrey of Monmouth's History.

In his *Itinerarium*²² Giraldus Cambrensis gives a portrait of Arthur as a noble dwarf king of a moderately bright subterranean land, riding on a goat in his role as King of the Lower Hemisphere.

Arthur's talent as a King depended on him being able to enter the supernatural world to obtain foresight and wisdom. By meditating on and adopting the form of a pygmy riding a goat, like another ancient Welsh king, Herla, he was able to enter through the very small entrance of a cave to a heavenly celestial palace to gain wisdom. In this way he brought together the upper and lower worlds, from top hat to cloven hooves.

The image of a man riding a goat strikes many chords and resonates very deeply with Welsh nationhood and character. Whenever the Happy Union sign was painted, whoever created it and whatever influences came to bear, it is undoubtedly a jewel at the centre of the Community of Abbeycwmhir.

The Happy Union Inn sign is a unique sign for the community pub in this Radnorshire village. There may be several reasons for calling the pub 'The Happy Union' but the tankard, leek and the goat featured on the sign all have a history of signage relevant in Wales. This is a pub sign that the Radnorshire village of Abbey Cwm Hir displays with pride.

Notes

This paper was read at the Abbey Cwmhir Heritage Trust on 19 April 2018 and is developed from a chapter by Roger Coward in *Abbeycwmhir, History, Homes & People* published by the Abbeycwmhir Community Council in 2014.

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Abbreviations

- ¹ NLW – National Library of Wales Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru;
- ² AHHP – Abbeycwmhir History Homes & People – Edited by Roger Coward (Abbeycwmhir Community Council 2014).
- ³ TRS Transactions of the Radnorshire Society.
- ⁴ The National Library of Wales has a Web programme called *Gathering the Jewels* concerned with Welsh cultural history.
- ⁵ Page 89-90 AHHP
- ⁶ Photo: Geoff Charles, Radnor Times 31.01.53 (NLW)
- ⁷ Collection of Ian & Angela Lewis, Cwmffwrn Farm, Abbeycwmhir.
- ⁸ Two Rembrandts (F.4.75; F.7.79;) and 5 other makers prints that he donated were in the British Museum collection in 2014 but in the Appendix (p 291) of his Biography *The Bridge over the Ocean* by Shirley Cameron & Borrow Wilson 65 are listed. Wilson published a *Catalogue Raisonné* of his private collection in 1828 and *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Prints of Rembrandt in 1836*. Peter Lord *Words with Pictures – Welsh Images and Images of Wales in the Popular Press 1640 – 860* (Planet 1995).
- ⁹ Ibid page 34
- ¹⁰ Page 122 Peter Lord *Riding back to Goatlandshire* in *Wired to the Dynamo* edited by Matthew Jarvis (Cinnamon Press 2018).
- ¹¹ Model no. 62, Chelsea / Derby by William Duesbury and Co, Derby, England.
- ¹² An article in the Western Mail 1935 by John Kyrle Fletcher recorded *The story of the inn sign, as told me by the innkeeper, was that about eighty years ago... (aprox. 1858 Ed.)* in *Radnorshire Inns* by Rev. D Stedman Davies MA. TRS 1941 p7.
- ¹³ Cooke , Layton *Report on the Abbeycwmhir Estate 1822* (TRS 1981) p 52
- ¹⁴ Ibid p 52-53
- ¹⁵ Estate Sales Document 1837, Shirley Cameron Wilson Bequest, State Library of South Australia SLSA/ PRG 1399/75.
- ¹⁶ Conradi, Peter J *'At the Bright Hem of God'* (Seren 2009)
- ¹⁷ Hughes, Arthur *The Welsh National Emblem: Leek or Daffodil?* - Y Cymroder 1916 p 147.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Plawiuk, Eugene W. - Master Mason - *Liber Capricornus, The Symbolism of the Goat*. Presented to Norwood Lodge No.90 A.F.& A.M. G.R.A. September 3 1991.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Giraldus Cambrensis 'Itinerarium'. (Ed. MR James (Oxford 1914) P13; (Tupper & Ogle London 1924) pp15-18, 233.