Bois y cobs[i]: The place of autochthonous horses in rural Welsh cultural identity

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The following paper is based on twelve years' participant observation spent living as a member of a traditional farming community in rural Ceredigion, West Wales, UK. This period of fieldwork has been supplemented with in-depth interviews with several informants who are not only Welsh but more importantly, "Cardi Bois"[ii], for whom the breeding of Welsh cobs (an autochthonous breed of horse endemic to this part of Wales) is central to their sense of self. *Bois y cobs* is the title of a painting by local artist Aneurin Jones[iii]. Aneurin was renowned for his ability to capture the essence of the traditional way of life in rural Ceredigion. As one informant explained;

> "Well, he's very Welsh. He portrays the local country way of life very, very well. The way people talk and stand and socialise – especially the way they socialise around the Welsh cob".

The Welsh ponies (Sections A and B) and cobs (Sections C, D and E) originated in Ceredigion (Hoyles 2002, 5; Wynne-Davies 2001), and the area remains a stronghold for the breed, with the Welsh Pony and Cob Society (WPCS) and over 100 studs dedicated to the different sections and Welsh part-breds located in the county[iv]. Consequently, there exists a synonymy between Welsh (or local rural) identity and Welsh ponies and cobs for many of my informants (cf. Gray 2002). This raises an important issue in terms of existing studies of Welsh culture. Indeed, of the anthropologists who have conducted research in Wales, for example Bowie (1993 and 1997), Carter and Williams (1978), Davies (2003, 17), Diedrich (1993, 84), Emmett (1982), Hutson (2003, 138), Jones (2003, 34), Khleif (1978, 1980 and 1984), Masson (2006), Philpin (2003, 121), Rees (1975), Thomas & Williams (1978), Trossett (1986, 1988, 1993 and 2002) and Williams (2003, 152) all cite Welsh language as *the* defining characteristic of "Welshness". Indeed, language is still heralded as the lynch pin of Welsh identity by Welsh nationalists (Brooks, 2006, and see also Trosset, 1993: 40), historians (Chapman, 2006, x; Charette, 2006) and social commentators alike (Carter & Williams 1978; Ioan 2004; Jones 1974: 55; Khleif 1976 and 1980). For example, *Y Ffwrwm* a locally based research group which concentrates on the needs of Welsh speaking communities goes so far as to refer to "Welsh culture" as "Welsh language culture" (Ioan, 2004, np), demonstrating the cultural importance, for many, of speaking Welsh in areas such as rural Ceredigion.

In the introduction to her edited volume *Discovering Welshness* (1992) anthropologist Fiona Bowie acknowledges that Welshness amounts to "more than possession of language" she goes on to assert that Welshness is "a sense of community, identity, a world of culture, poetry and proximity to the past all of which draw upon the language, even in those areas where welsh is no longer spoken" (1992, ***). This sentiment is supported by Trosset who notes that to be *Cymro glân*, or "true Welsh", in the eyes of her informants, necessitated fluency in the Welsh language, because the language constituted the "heart of the nation" (1993, 32).

Individuals who have been born in Wales, of Welsh parentage but who can't speak Welsh are deemed, according to this body of research, *Cymru-diGymraeg* (Wales without Welsh) or as Bowie and Trossett respectively suggest "not quite Welsh" (Bowie 1992, 177) or "Anglo-Welsh" (Trossett 2002, 245). However, while Bowie and Trossett recognise there are factors other than language when it comes to determining a person's degree of Welshness, they still present these in very general and essentialist terms, concluding that language is a primary differentiator between being Welsh and being "not quite Welsh".

However, in the last thirty years or so, anthropologists, and especially those working in the UK (e.g. Cassidy 2002a; Cohen 1982 and 1985; Okely 1986; Parman 1990; Rapport 2002), have challenged notions of essentialism (Carrier 1998; Cohen 1982 and 2002; Diedrich 1993: 74; Jackson 1987: 11; Rapport 2002) through revealing the heterogeneity of cultures. Therefore in anthropological terms it is no longer sufficient to refer to "Welsh culture" as some all-encompassing category to which every Welsh person subscribes on the same terms (cf. Trosset 1993). Indeed, although scholars of nationalism, for example Ernest Gellner

(1983, 6 - 7) note that there are certain unifying beliefs, practices and traditions which are commonly held by members of a particular nation, enabling them to construct their identity in relation to non-members, not all Welsh people speak Welsh, or define themselves in diametric opposition to the English (e.g. Brooks 2006; Khleif 1978; Trosset 1993), although admittedly many do.

To speak of "Welsh culture" and certainly to refer to it as "Welsh language culture" therefore is something of a misnomer, or at least a gross over simplification, as it disregards all those who have Welsh parentage and heritage, but lack language, as well as those who prioritise other elements of their culture which are not rooted in language. Indeed, Welsh culture and, correspondingly "Welshness" means different things to different people, and even within a small geographical area, such as the county of Ceredigion where I conducted my fieldwork, "Welsh culture" is passionately upheld, but just what element of Welsh culture is most central to people's sense of Welshness is a source of much contestation (cf. the contributions in Davies 2003). While linguistic proficiency is important, there are other equally significant markers of cultural identity. In my own fieldwork situation for example, the ability to converse in Welsh, albeit not fluently, certainly facilitated many people's acceptance of me (cf. Hutson 2003 and Philpin 2003, 121),[iv] yet it certainly wasn't key to negotiating access. My ability to handle, ride and 'talk' horses, however, was (Cassidy 2002a, 20).

For my human research participants and interlocuters, horses (cobs) were prioritised, because this aspect of local Welsh culture had either been a family tradition, or was synonymous with their particular lifestyles and livelihoods. As one informant explained;

> "Rugby, Welsh cakes, Snowdonia, Corgis for example are all things that make up the fabric of being Welsh, and for me personally, Welsh cobs are part of my Welshness. They're a truly Welsh thing."

So some people may speak Welsh. Others wear clothing emblazoned with the Welsh dragon. Some will make an annual pilgrimage to the National Eisteddfod. Others breed Welsh black cattle, Corgis or Welsh cobs. All of these activities are recognised as markers of Welshness, but are neither mutually exclusive nor compulsory – as Arwel, the previously cited interlocuter, noted, they are all threads in the fabric of Welsh culture, and for some people certain threads are stronger than others (Trosset, 1993, 4). For many local people therefore, Welsh cobs are integral to their sense of identity. Of course there were some cob owners and breeders who, like myself, were not indigenous to the area. However, it is worth while noting at this juncture that it is possible, as I discovered myself, to become 'honorary Welsh' without being born on Welsh soil or of Welsh parentage, and without linguistic fluency. Indeed, as Gellner notes of nationalism in general;

> "Nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) become a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members" (Gellner 1983, 6 - 7)

In minority or peripheral communities such as those nations (like Wales), on the so-called Celtic Fringe (e.g. Delamont 1995; MacDonald 1997, 16; McKechnie 1997, 122; Williams 1978, 1), or participants in a traditional yet minority interest activity, an important duty of members is to ensure the survival of their shared culture (George 1999; Isaacson 2001; Page 2000; Wicker 1997). This becomes particularly salient in the face of threats posed by the policy decisions of the 'colonial powers' (Khalief 1978) and the devaluation of local culture by, for example, English incomers (cf. Rapport 1992 and 1993; Emmet 1982; Jones 1974). Indeed, it is widely thought (and my interviews with many incomers supported this assumption) that outsiders are lured to rural areas such as Ceredigion because of cheap property rather than an interest in a rural way of life per se (see also Rapport 1992 and 1993). An interest in Welsh culture would not be a significant motivator either. In such contexts therefore it stands to reason that support of local agrarian traditions will be deemed important (Cohen 1982) when it comes to the acceptance of incomers by local residents. In this particular area this includes farming, and the activities which accompany it such as breeding, exhibiting and selling Welsh cobs. Therefore the backgrounds of incomers

who are seen to support these activities can be overlooked, even if they are "fuckin' *Saes* [English]" or, worse, a "*Llundain wraig*" ['London wife' or 'Londoner'] such as myself!

Ceffyl oedd pobeth/The horse was everything:

As many of my human interlocuters explained to me, farming is, and always has been, the main industry in the area. Because of the local landscape and environmental conditions (isolated farmsteads scattered over mountainous and boggy topography), horse ownership was essential before the rise of motorised transportation and farm machinery. These animals had not only to be hardy, but also sufficiently versatile to carry out any job that was required of them. Some of the larger farms would keep a Shire or similar draft horse to do the heavy agricultural labour, and use a cob for the lighter work such as shepherding and pulling the trap. But not all could afford to keep more than one horse, so the cob had to multi-task. As one elderly farmer explained; "S'dim swn pertach 'na swn ceffyl wedi pedoli yn cerdded atoch! Ceffyl oedd pobeth cyn y tractor!"[v] or "There isn't a prettier sound than the sound of a shod horse walking on the road" because "before the tractor, the horse was everything."[vi]

Indeed, during informal discussions with older informants, talk would frequently turn to the historical role of Welsh cobs in the area. Cobs are held in such high regard now because it was these animals who were indispensable for centuries on working farms, and within the living memory of many locals, literally making agriculture possible for small family holdings. As one of my interlocuters stated;

> "They had a purpose, and still do. In the past they were used in agriculture, but they also meant that people who were isolated could get about, you know. Cobs were able to pull a plough, cart, or trap to market and chapel, and have the agility to carry a rider up the mountain to check the grazing stock, or across the bog to get supplies or visit family and friends. Before tractors they were a necessity. I remember riding the work horses to sell at Llanybydder mart as a child – no-one had tractors back then so the money we'd get for a work horse was more than a year's wages for a labourer you know. The farms just couldn't function without them"

However, it is not just in the last century where we see the dependence of locals on the Welsh cob. It is widely accepted in the area that horses have lived on local soil since time immemorial. The presence in Ceredigion of horses of 'cob type' – in other words, animals who exhibit the characteristics of the breed as it stands today – date back to at least the 10th century and the laws of legendary monarch Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good) (Wynne-Davies 1998). What is particularly significant here however is the fact that these laws demonstrate the reverence with which Hywel and his subjects regarded their horses. For example, it was stipulated that compensation of eight pence was to be paid to the owner should the skin of a borrowed horse be broken in any way, with the lesser sum of four pence due should "the hair on its back [be] fretted" (Wynne-Davies 1998, 1). It was also forbidden by the law giver for any horse to be put behind the plough (Rees 1975, 57) and this law stood for over 600 years until poverty, necessity and the dissolution of the Anglophonic gentry estates forced Welsh farmers to till their land with the aid of horse power.

Indeed, the literature and poetry from, and following, the Medieval period in Wales enables us to chart the prominence of indigenous horses and their 'consubstantial relation' with individuals, families, farms and the landscape in general (Gray 2002, 41; Wynne Davies 1998, 4). Although the horses, like the people, were subjected to foreign influences over the years, they remained true to form, their characteristics altering very little over the centuries. One notable exception was the legendary release of an Arab stallion onto the Cambrian Mountains following an edict by Henry VII that all horses under 15hh be exterminated (Williams 2001, 9). According to legend, the horse's owner couldn't bear the thought of such a beautiful animal succumbing to the cull, and so gave him the chance to fend for himself with the wild Welsh ponies and cobs of Ceredigion. He survived for many years and left his mark on the breed, - the dished facial profile across the four sections of the stud book, and the dominance of the grey coat colour in the Mountain ponies in particular is attributed to this impromptu encroachment into the indigenous gene pool (ibid).

Interestingly this injection of 'foreign blood' does not detract from the Welshness of the subsequent offspring. Indeed, the Arab horse is recognised as being an ancient breed in its own right (Cassidy 2002b) – as one interlocuter conceded, "well, all horses are descended from Arabs aren't they?" Further, because this one particular stallion was able to survive, and 'go native', to integrate into the local population, he, like myself (and the non-endemic or 'alien big cats' which are reputed to live in rural Ceredigion – see Hurn 2009 and 2016) was deemed 'honorary welsh'. This may seem like an inconsequential digression, but in reality this observation proved critical in my attempt to understand why some English incomers were accepted, and others were not. As another interlocuter explained when I asked him if he regarded me as a "white settler" (the derogatory term used to refer to English incomers); "nah, you're not like them, you try to fit in and don't make out like you're better than us. You're honorary Welsh. You've gone native!" (cf. Okely 1983, 42).

It was due to their remote and inaccessible habitat that the Welsh ponies and cobs of the 15th Century were able to survive the aforementioned equine genocide at the hands of English oppressors and continue to flourish (Williams 2001, 9), and this gives us the first indication of the parallel history of the 'Welsh' as a people in this area, and the Welsh breeds. Both have survived the attack to their culture, identity and very existence from the discriminatory action of English hegemony.[iv] As the former President of the Welsh Pony and Cob society Mary Edwards explains in the introduction to Davies' history of the Welsh breeds; "R wyf bob amser yn rhyfeddu fod rhywbeth a chymaint o egni, harddwch a dewrder wedi ffynni o amgylchfyd garw a hanes anodd. Ond dyma I chi y Cobyn Cymreig a dyma I chi Gymru hefyd" (Wynne-Davies, 1998) which translates as "It never ceases to amaze me that from a harsh environment and a difficult history has developed something of such power, beauty and courage. But that is the Welsh cob and that is Wales."

According to Wynne-Davies, descriptions of the literary animals of the Medieval period onwards reveal that they possessed and exhibited the characteristics of the breed as set out by the Welsh Pony and Cobs Society when it was established in 1901, and which are still applicable today;

> "As its very name implies, a Welsh cob must be a short-legged animal of Herculean strength. In build it is distinctly the dual-purpose ride and drive type, combining quality activity, and a spirited yet kindly temperament with a subtle 'personality' entirely its own… Viewed from the front, a Cob should display some width of chest and from behind the thighs must be extremely powerful and full – a split up, stilty cob is an abomination. It must walk quickly and collectedly and its trotting paces must be very forceful, free and fast, with every joint in use. It must get away in front with full play of the shoulders, knees well up, then forelegs straightened out and feet brought lightly to the ground, without the slightest tendency to drop upon the heels. The hocks must be flexed vigorously and the hind legs switched electrically beneath the body in order to support the weight, give propper balance, and provide propulsive power. The action should be straight and true all round."
> (description of the welsh cob by the then secretary of the WPCS in 1928 in Wynne-Davies 1998, 27)

Indeed, horses in rural Ceredigion had adapted over the centuries to cope with their surroundings (Williams 2001). The terrain is mountainous and boggy, a landscape windswept and exposed, with minimal shelter and only very coarse, nutrient-poor grazing to be had (Special 1889, 9). Consequently the Welsh breeds are exceptionally hardy, but they have also developed the way of going described above which is highly suited to the rough, uneven, steep and water-logged ground. It was this powerfully elevated and ground covering trot which saw certain animals, but stallions in particular, come to prominence in the mid to late 19th century in a recreational as opposed to a utilitarian context. Locals would pit their horses against each other in trotting races, and in pursuit of competitive success, Anglophilic "social climbers" allegedly interbred the native Welsh ponies and cobs with Hackney ponies and Norfolk Roadsters – breeds also recognised for their trotting abilities and speed, but lacking in the other characteristics so admired in the welsh cob; strength, hardiness and kindly nature and as a result, by the early 20th century the breed was, to quote a commentator at the time "practically obliterated" (in Wynne-Davies 1998, 29. See also Special 1889, 166).

Nonetheless, even then it was still accepted that when faced with the local terrain, the only suitable mounts for the job would have Welsh blood coursing through their veins;

> "The ground over which hounds are followed would be impassable to men and horses unaccustomed to it. The compact Welsh cobs used could travel the hills far better than larger horses; usually of Welsh stock and mountain bred, they are stout and hardy creatures which, from their upbringing on the rough hill-sides, are as sure-footed as cats: able to make their way down steeps and over rough places where the big hunter would assuredly come to grief could he be brought to attempt them." (Apperley 1925, 37)

The tenant farmers and small scale freeholders who had to negotiate this landscape on a daily basis were only too aware that their livelihoods depended on the maintenance of the cob in its traditional form. Consequently, as Wynne Davies notes (1998, 19) "there were sufficient diehard breeders in Wales who stuck to the old 'Welsh' type'" and who were not lured by the traits of the cobs' English cousins and so the breed characteristics which had been present for centuries were maintained in small pockets in west Wales – and Ceredigion in particular (ibid. See also Hurn 2008a and b). In an effort to preserve the distinctiveness of the Welsh breeds, the Welsh Pony and Cob Society was established in 1901 by these same farmers (Wynne-Davies 1998) and an official stud book, documenting the pedigrees of registered animals was published in 1902 (http://www.wpcs.uk.com/). In recognition of this, and to encourage locals to breed more Welsh cobs (Wynne-Davies 1998, 29) the then Prince of Wales donated a trophy, henceforth known as the Prince of Wales Cup, to be awarded to the champion Welsh cob of "the 'old welsh stamp'" (Wynne-Davies 1998, 29) at the annual Royal Welsh Agricultural Society Show. What's more, only animals registered with the breed society, whose pure and unadulterated Welsh heritage could be traced to the Society's foundation stock, were eligible to compete (ibid.). For a while at least, Welsh cob numbers rose. The fickle Anglophiles were attracted back to the cobs in pursuit of this coveted award which marked the pinnacle of any breeder's career and rekindled a patriotic urge to produce animals who, like the people who bred them, were 'Cardis' (the term used to denote residence in Cardiganshire, the former Anglicised name given to the county of Ceredigion) through and through – tenacious and resilient in the face of foreign encroachment into the Principality, versatile and hard working with a demonstrable Welsh heritage (see Hurn 2008b).

From the 1950s onwards however, the breed once again went into decline (Wynne-Davies, 1998). Some of my older informants recalled that during their childhood in the 1920s and 30s, every farm had a horse, but by the 1950s most of these were aged and retired from work, usurped by the tractors (e.g. the *Fergi fach* or 'little Massey Ferguson', an 'affordable tractor'), farm machinery and cars that could do their jobs quicker and more cost-effectively. The hard working Cardi ethos (Special 1889) therefore found comfort in the mechanisation of the post-war years and this paradigm shift had been further facilitated by the conscription of large numbers of Welsh cobs into the war effort, to the obvious detriment of the breed in the area. Although their relationship with the animals who had made agriculture possible for generations waned, productivity and profitability boomed, and by 1960 there was only a handful of farms left in Ceredigion where Welsh cobs were bred, the 'diehards' referred to by Wynne Davies (1998), which included amongst others, Frongoy, home of the Fronarth Stud and its long line of influential stallions, including Mathrafal, Cahn Dafydd, Brenin Dafydd (himself a Prince of Wales winner), Ceredigion Twysog, and Gwelfro Twysog (see http://www.welshcobs.info/).

The determination of these traditionalists to preserve the Welsh ponies and cobs was integral to the breeds' long term survival and it is testament to their hard work that there are now over a hundred registered studs breeding Welsh cobs in Ceredigion, with hundreds more who breed cobs as a hobby (i.e. who don't have their own stud name). For example, at the 2006 Royal Welsh Show (2006) the total number of entries in the Welsh breeds' sections was 2072 and 835 of those were Welsh cobs. So what has brought about this latest resurgence in the popularity of Welsh cobs? My informants were unanimous in their responses – local people, farmers, the Bois who breed cobs are more affluent now, they have more leisure time and the resources to invest in the animals they love. But why cobs in particular? "It's in the blood and has been passed down through the Welsh generations" said one; "Because this is where they're from, and this is where I'm from… They're Cardi's through and through".

Conclusion: The Welsh cob is a 'Cardi'ganshire cob:

As I have argued elsewhere (Hurn 2007; 2008a and b), Welsh cobs certainly appear to embody the five hegemonic cultural values of 'Welshness' identified by Trosset (1993) during her research in Gwynedd, and later in Ceredigion (2002); egalitarianism, martyrdom, emotionalism, performance and *hiraeth*.[vi] However, and perhaps more importantly as highlighted by the last comment of the preceding section, they also epitomise 'exclusive' characteristics of Cardis, characteristics recognized by an English commentator writing in 1889 and still seen as separating the residents of Ceredigion as a cultural group from not only the English, but also other Welsh nationals. Again, the intersubjectivity (Cassidy 2002a; Hurn 2012) or 'consubstantial relationship' (Gray 2002) between local people and the animals with whom they identify so strongly (Edwards 1998) is clear – the 'cultural traits' of the Cardi and the cultural traits of the Welsh cob have remained consistent over the passing of more than a century (cf. Wynne-Davies 1998, 27). In an increasingly fragmented and threatened 'nation' such as Wales, this local identification has become of paramount importance;

> "Among their neighbours … the Cardiganshire folk enjoy an almost unenviable reputation for shrewdness. Most Welshmen are born dealers and excessively keen at a bargain, and the Cardiganshire men can do something more than hold their own with any of their brethren… No man launches his sons into the world more prudently than the Cardiganshire farmer" (Special 1889, 162)

Further "A closer inquiry into the lives of the small farmers of Cardiganshire shows that among them thrift, such as is almost unknown in England, is habitual." (ibid, 164). The contemporary relevance of these observations became apparent to me when an informant made the following flippant, yet highly revealing comment about his Welsh cob stallion; "This cob is the Morris Minor of the horse world – looks tidy, but he's functional and cheap to run. He practically lives on air and always puts on a good show. Perfect for a tight-fisted Cardi bastard like me, eh?!"

Of great import here is the signified meaning of 'Cardi', the term used to denote residence in Cardiganshire or Ceredigion as it is now known. What is particularly interesting is that given its English root, Cardi could be perceived as a derogatory term of reference, especially when we consider that the associated characteristics of a Cardi are, as shown above, frugality verging on miserliness. However, its popular usage indicates that the adoption of this anglicised form with its allusions to parsimony is also subversive, as in all sub-cultural resistance (Hebdidge 1979). Only a Welshman born and bred in Ceredigion can be a *true* Cardi, and therefore cobs, who also embody the Cardi ethos, are symbolic markers of identity *par excellence* (e.g. Cassidy 2002a; Gray 2002; Knight 2000; Marvin 1988). Indeed, one interlocuter commented to me one day on his (English) wife's keen eye for a bargain; "I've married a right one haven't I? She comes here and thinks she can beat us Cardis at our own game!" These comments also reveal the immense cultural value placed on thrift (Special 1889: 164. See also Miller 1998), which is further demonstrated in the following narrative relating to the death of one of the 'Big Men' of the cob world.

Defi John 'Frongoy' of the Fronarth Stud died in February 2006. Defi John was a man widely regarded as one of the most influential players in maintaining and championing the Welsh cob in his lifetime, and he was a Cardi through and through. The closing story at his funeral, told by one of my informants Arwel Jones, proprietor of the Ceredigion Stud, illustrates rather charmingly the contempt for English hegemony and the financial ethos inherent in being a Cardi;

> "Defi John, Isaac [his brother], a family friend & myself [Arwel] went on our first visit to the Royal Show in Stoneleigh [Warwickshire, England]... We arrived and as we walked to the entrance gate Defi John & myself we were some ten yards ahead, and Defi John shouted [back to Isaac] in Welsh,' I will pay for Arwel you pay for that gentleman'
> "The steward [on the gate] looked at us & said [asked] "Foreign visitors?" Defi John quick as a flash nodded - no words were spoken - and in we walked [free of charge]. He enjoyed that; first as a Cardi his wallet remained in his pocket, but more importantly as a Welshman, that he had spoken the truth." [As Welsh men they were 'foreigners' in England].

My research in this area has demonstrated the interdependent histories of local 'Cardi Bois' and cobs in rural Ceredigion or 'Welsh cob country'[xi]. While Cardis are certainly aware, and proud, of their Celtic

heritage, and many are passionate supporters of the Welsh language, there are other markers of identity which are equally, if not more important, and certainly of central significance in this area are the autochthonous Welsh ponies and cobs. Like the Cardi *bois* who have bred and championed these native equines, cobs are products of the local landscape, history and culture and consequently are not mere symbolic markers of contemporary Welsh identity, but can also be regarded as part of the country's natural, social, political, economic, literary and artistic history and heritage.

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[i] 'Bois y cobs' translates as 'boys and cobs' – however, despite the association of boys with youth in English usage 'bois' is a term most typically used by older men to address their contemporaries, frequently in the form 'bois bach' meaning 'little boys' where bach is a term of endearment. However, it can also be used to refer to a collective which may include women. A cob is a type of horse.

[ii] As will be discussed later, Cardis are local residents of the county of Ceredigion.

[iii] Aneurin passed away on 25th September 2017. However, because he was alive when the interviews and fieldwork on which this paper is based were conducted, and because Aneurin himself commented on an earlier draft, quotes will refer to him as if he were alive. See the website which showcases his work http://www.aneurinjones.co.uk

[iv] For information on the characteristics of the different breeds see the breed society website: http://wpcs.uk.com/breed_info/

[v] As will be discussed later, Cardis are local residents of the county of Ceredigion.

[vi] This was quoted verbatum from an interview transcript. It is not "correct" Welsh, which in itself is interesting but beyond the scope of the current endeavour. The majority of the farmers with whom I spoke and for whom Welsh was their first language, used a colloquial version of the language and would laugh at my "proper" use of grammar arising from learning the language formally in the University where I worked. It should be noted here that some of the words of interlocuters are given in English, and some in Welsh with English translation according to how they were given by informants.

[vii] Author's translation.

[viii] Aneurin passed away on 25th September 2017. However, because he was alive when the interviews and fieldwork on which this paper is based were conducted, and because Aneurin himself commented on an earlier draft, quotes will refer to him as if he were alive. See the website which showcases his work http://www.aneurinjones.co.uk

[ix] Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of the thesis to document the series of atrocities committed by the English against the Welsh, and this tumultuous relationship is well documented elsewhere.

[x] Nb. "Trosset does not argue that any of these views is uniquely Welsh, or that every Welsh person supports these views of personhood. Her claim is (1) that each is considered by many Welsh people to be intimately related to notions of Welshness, and (2) that each sufficiently dominates the cultural ethos that everyone, even those who do not share them, must confront them in everyday life and conduct discourses about Welshness in a way that acknowledges the dominance of these assumptions and values." (Trosset and Caulkins 2002, 241).

[xi] The wording accompanying a statue of a Wesh cob in the seaside town of Aberaeron, right in the centre of Ceredigion, informs the visitor "You are now entering Welsh Cob country!"