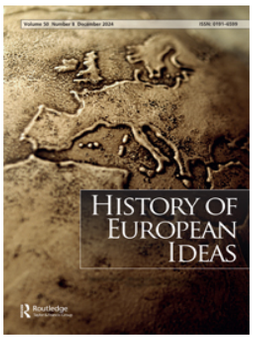

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Radical translation at the 'Break of Day': Thomas Paine in a Celtic language

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the first detailed analysis of the ways in which border-crossing author and balladeer John Jones (pseudonym 'Jac Glan-y-Gors') remodelled a range of Thomas Paine's writings into Welsh republican pamphlets by translating key passages, interpolating culturally relevant indigenous material, and consolidating Paine's anti-monarchical core vocabulary. In doing so, the article provides a blueprint for examining the operation of intellectual networks who transferred ideas and cultural artefacts to smaller or non-hegemonic cultures and the process of embedding them. Jones's work is analysed against the history of an early modern Welsh 'translation culture' that enabled a substantial expansion of radical translation activity, in tandem with the democratisation of the English press in the wake of the French Revolution of 1789, transferring Enlightenment and revolutionary artefacts, formats and ideas to Wales and the Welsh language. Using publishing networks that linked metropolitan London to rural Wales, an indigenous Welsh intelligentsia combined English models with indigenous cultural forms to produce a radical print culture in their own language. Jones's republican pamphlets, the only substantial reception of Paine's writings in Welsh, are read in the context of these processes.

KEYWORDS

Thomas Paine; French Revolution; translation; Welsh political writing; Celtic languages; ideas transfer

1. Introduction

In 1928, the author of the first volume on the French Revolution in Wales judged that two-thirds of John Jones's (pseudonym 'Jac Glan-y-Gors') republican pamphlet *Seren tan Gwmmwl* (A Star under a Cloud) was 'nothing more than a summary of the English book' *Rights of Man*.[1] In this, he followed a long line of tradition which dismissed translation as second class. Such indigenous dismissal delayed the research on Welsh political writing that would have allowed non-Welsh reading scholars access to the political texts at the centre of this essay. Interdisciplinary approaches taking note of the value of translation and the importance of multilingual cultural entrepreneurs for the cross-border dissemination of ideas to Wales led to short re-assessments, such as that by Damian Walford Davies, who judged that, though parts of Jones's pamphlet *Seren tan Gwmmwl* were 'straight translations', it was nevertheless a 'racy Welsh Paineite tract'.[2] It does not surprise that as late as 1995, the only reference made to Welsh texts in eight volumes of political pamphlets of the 1790s was a footnote rehearsing the rumour 'that the Rights of Man was being distributed for free in a Welsh translation, though no copy of this seems to have survived'.[3] By the early

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2010s, some attention was paid to non-standard-English radical texts, two volumes in the *Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution* series presenting English dialect, Gaelic, Irish and Welsh radical voices.[4] The possibility of a radical literature in Gaelic was explored, a published Gaelic *Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens* discovered, and the circulation of English copies of *Rights of Man* 'as far north as Stornoway' acknowledged, though a Gaelic *Rights of Man* remains to be found.[5] The use of Irish 'in counter-revolutionary propaganda', rather than by the revolutionary United Irishmen, acknowledged at least the power of political publishing in an indigenous non-hegemonic language.[6] Around the same time, the pioneering work of the *Wales and the French Revolution* project at the Aberystwyth Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies made some Welsh political writing available in English, and began to analyse the role of translation and adaptation for the dissemination of political thought in Wales.[7] Still, the recent historiography appears to have returned to a focus on core English responses to the French Revolution, and even volumes dedicated to peripheral regions have remarked that '"Welsh Enlightenment" does not trip off the lips' easily, the country useful only as an isolated haven for the 'temporary exile' of radicals, such as John Thelwall.[8] The historiography on the French Revolutionary appears re-focused on Enlightenment thought and practice in standard English.[9] This essay will intervene by charting the development of Welsh political translation, explore Welsh responses to Thomas Paine in general, and analyse the reception of his work in John Jones's pamphlets *Seren tan Gwmmwl* and *Toriad y Dydd* (The Break of Day) in particular. By so doing it enriches our general understanding of the transfer of ideas and texts to and within less well-known European languages and cultures.

2. Translation in Wales from 1534 to the French Revolution

The emergence of a complex translation culture in early modern Wales may be dated to 1534, when Henry VIII established a Protestant state church for England and for Wales and 1563, when Elizabeth I passed 'An Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue', decreeing that the scriptures 'should be translated into the British or Welsh tongue'.[10] The resultant Welsh Bible of 1588 and its revised 1620 edition established a modern written standard that became the basis of a vigorous literary and publishing culture.[11] Despite the declaration of English as the language of administration and law in the 1536 first Act of Union, laws, proclamations and regulations were translated in Welsh until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[12]

More importantly, the Anglican state church, Welsh Catholics, Dissenters and private authors alike used the networks that linked them with the English metropole and with likeminded Europeans to transfer cultural artefacts and ideas to Wales and into Welsh. Protestant tracts underwent chain translation from German to English and Welsh, Welsh versions of English catechisms and sermons condemned the Jacobite Wars, celebrated the 'glorious revolution' of 1688 as a simple 'change of government' (cyfnewidiad llywodraeth), and supported the American revolutionaries.[13] Novels like *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in more than one translation,[14] so that the first historian of modern Welsh literature was correct in stating that between 1650 and 1800 the 'majority of Welsh books' were adaptations from English.[15] Radical material, however, was carefully hidden. Even in 1782, a Welsh translation of Williams Jones's reformist pamphlet *The Principles of Government in a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Peasant* was inserted in the middle of a native folk play – an *anterliwt* or interlude – penned by 'An Unknown Bard from Gwynedd', i.e. 'Bardd Anadnabyddus o Wynedd', who claimed only to have 'translated word for word'.[16] It was still an outlier, the translator not wishing to share the author's and publisher's fate of standing trial for libel.[17]

By the 1790s, the situation had changed. In the wake of the French Revolution of 1789, English publishing democratised as a wider circle of authors published a new, cheap political literature for working class audiences.[18] In Wales this was echoed by translation processes in the widest sense of the word. The concept of the radical periodical was adopted, even discussions about titles indicating the English models of the three radical Welsh periodicals that appeared between 1793 and 1796.[19] Up to fifty per cent of their content were translations of parliamentary speeches and of descriptions

of north America, as well as adaptations of material from English periodicals, such as the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, the *Sheffield Iris* and *Politics for the People*. The burgeoning new genre of the Welsh political pamphlet similarly utilised English sources, though it is more difficult to ascertain percentages, because the process of adaptation and embedding was complicated, as will be seen below.[20]

Adapting material from different cultures and languages remains an important tool for transferring the new, embedding it, and disseminating it through new vocabularies. At the threshold of modernity, the Welsh political poetry and prose of the 1790s devised terminologies for concepts like 'democracy', 'republic' and 'revolution' on the basis of their usage in subversive English literature, publicised them by adapting significant cultural artefacts like 'La Marseillaise' and the pamphlets of Thomas Paine, and codified them in dictionaries penned by radical lexicographers.[21] The following analysis of the intimate relationship between the works of international revolutionary Thomas Paine and John Jones's republican pamphlets *Seren tan Gwmmwl* and *Toriad y Dydd* exemplifies some of these processes.

3. Thomas Paine in Wales

As in England, Thomas Paine was feared and hated by the establishment in Wales, a rural country without an urban centre of more than 10,000 inhabitants and dominated by large estates, whose owners exerted an iron grip on Welsh tenant farmers. The Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property, founded in 1792 by John Reeves in response to *Rights of Man*, found a swift echo here. Gentry, Anglican priesthood and new bourgeoisie created Welsh branches and organised ritualised public burnings of Paine's works and image, chronicling them in newspapers and corporation records.[22] John Jones himself, in his first pamphlet *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, referenced 'the people who were burning Thomas Paine's effigy for a salary'.[23] The Cardiff Corporation paid for the making of an 'efegi of Tom Pain', their stinginess, however, lampooned in a rare English poem:

> The Corporation said they fain
> Would pay the bill when due –
> It came to nearly two pounds ten –
> They thought one half would do;
> They hanged and burnt poor Tommy Paine
> In seventeen-ninety-two.[24]

Paine's works were condemned in Loyalist poetry, broadsides and pamphlets, though references and footnotes in the latter indicate that Paine had been studied closely.[25] An essay on *Rhyddid* (Liberty) by Walter Davies (pseudonym 'Gwallter Mechain') condemned Paine alongside Joseph Priestly and Richard Price.[26] Richard Watson, Lord Bishop of Llandaff, drew on an island shipwreck scenario reminiscent of Paine's 'sequestered place' (remodelled in *Toriad y Dydd* as an 'uninhabited island' as discussed below) in a *Charge* to the clergy of his diocese in 1798.[27] Private letters and diary entries were rife with fear. Iron master Richard Crawshay worried that the 'Damnable Doctrines of Dr Priestley and Payne' were disseminated by the landlord of the local King's Head pub.[28] Government spies searched the shop of radical stonemason Edward Williams (pseudonym 'Iolo Morganwg') in nearby Cowbridge for copies of *Rights of Man*.[29] In north Wales, letters alleging that Methodist preachers and 'Presbyterian tradesmen' preached the *Rights of Man* reached the Home Office from Anglesey copper mines and the Bersham ironworks.[30] A dread of translation that would allow the Welsh working classes access to such ideas was part of the general unease.[31] In 1794, Loyalist author Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi ascribed rioting near Wrexham to the fact that 'the parts of Tom Payne's Book most easy to comprehend, have been translated into Welch, and are supposed to do no small Mischief among the low People hereabouts'.[32] Her almost hysterical accounts of the Denbigh riots of 1795 stressed that the leader John Jones 'echoed the sentiments of Payne and his Jacobin Crew' in Welsh, speaking 'the true Language of Democracy'.[33]

Welsh radicals and rioters were, indeed, in touch with their English counterparts. Jones's fellow radicals Thomas Evans (pseudonym 'Tomos Glyn Cothi') and Edward Williams were suspected of running branches of the London Corresponding Society and disseminating radical ideas in south Wales.[34] When John Thelwall was arrested in London, he had on him a letter from a 'Jones, of Merioneth, north Wales', who demanded that works 'of Paine' should be translated into Welsh, because the Welsh had 'too much spirit to be trampled upon by R – l rogues'.[35] The radical London publisher Joseph Johnson catered as much to the 'embattled regional minority, the Welsh' as he did to other marginalised groups.[36] In close personal touch with London Welsh associational culture, he cooperated with Welsh publishers and booksellers on radical projects, from distributing the pro-Priestley pamphlets of David Jones (pseudonym 'Welsh Freeholder') published by Ross in west Wales,[37] to acting as the principal seller of Edwards Williams's subversive *Poems Lyric and Pastoral*.[38] There is ample evidence that radical English publications reached secret libraries at isolated Welsh farmsteads as well as the new industrial centres, circulated clandestinely using long-standing bardic networks.[39] Creative adaptations of them became the basis of the Welsh literature, the terror of Paine always present in the background.[40] When Dafydd Rhisiart cast Paine as a possible instrument of God, 'to break the iron yoke as brutal *Jehu* did before' in a millenarian poem playing on the *Old Testament* in the annual almanac *Vox Stellarum et Planetarum*, he did so defending himself against accusations of being a Paineite, stressing that Paine would be 'called to account if his heart is not righteous before God'.[41]

This close association of a politics of fear with religion and translation also dominated the acrimonious review discussion of Jones's first pamphlet *Seren tan Gwmmwl* in the radical periodical *Y Geirgrawn* (*The Journal*) which, incidentally, documented Welsh Loyalist familiarity with Paine's work, too. The opening shot by 'Peris' (Peter Bailey Williams) accused Jones of being a 'Translator' (Cyfieithydd) who rejected faith and Godliness, like 'Tom Paine … in his book, which is called *Age of Reason*'.[42] Co-accuser 'Antagonist' (Edward Charles) followed up by calling the pamphlet a 'cripple, almost entirely dragging himself, by the strength of other men's crutches', before condemning Jones's misuse of the Old Testament.[43] The defence followed a similar strategy. The anonymous 'Carwr Rheswm' (A Lover of Reason) elevated Paine over the Apostle Peter 'who swore and cursed a lie', whilst Paine was 'willing to suffer death for LIBERTY AND THE JUSTICE OF MAN'.[44] He closed with assurances that Jones 'never followed Thomas Paine, and that the run of the phrases in the book is not similar to a *translation*'.[45] This extended public debate, the first book review in the history of Welsh literature, indicates the significance of Jones's adaptation as the only substantial reception of Thomas Paine's writings and republican contribution to the Welsh revolutionary debate.

The author of the works discussed in the *Geirgrawn* – balladeer, poet, satirist and suspected atheist John Jones – had been born on Glan-y-Gors farm near the hamlet of Cerrig-y-Drudion in Denbighshire in 1767. As was common in Wales, he adopted his birthplace as part of the regular bardic pseudonym Jac Glan-y-Gors under which he is known to this day. Having migrated to London to work at a haberdasher's, the early 1790s saw him travelling between north Wales and London, at times voluntarily, at others rumoured to be fleeing military press gangs. By 1793, he was the landlord of the Canterbury Arms in Southwark (coinciding with John Thelwall's residence and lecturing there), later moving on to the Kings Head in Ludgate Street, which he kept until his death in 1821.[46] He was an integral part of London Welsh associational culture, elected to the expatriate Gwyneddigion Society (the process impressing him so much that it became part of his expositions on fair elections in *Seren tan Gwmmwl*), as well as to the more radical Caradogion and Cymreigyddion societies.[47] Connecting all societies was an adherence to their native language and music, social drinking and smoking, discussing the politics of the day, forging friendships with the likeminded and gaining patronage for the publication of their work. Jones appears to have used his travels to carry radical literature from one place to the other. He not only took copies of the *Geirgrawn* to London,[48] but advertised it in a Gwyneddigion meeting as a 'Treasury of knowledge in Welsh', asserting that:

> … there is no better way to enlighten our countrymen than to send a book of as low a price as four pence into their midst once a Month … Friends, let us awaken here in *London* to be upholders of the old Mother tongue by offering the *Geirgrawn* to all Welshmen who love the Customs and language of their country.[49]

He published and self-translated anti-establishment poetry in the *Chester Chronicle*, added satirical verse to the cartoon frontispiece of fellow London Welshman and friend Thomas Roberts's anti-colonial pamphlet,[50] and penned ballads, of which that on Dic Siôn Dafydd, who dismissed his mother along with his mother tongue, invented the longest-lived Welsh satirical character to date.[51]

Jones's anti-establishment poetry and republican prose must, then, be understood in the context of radical English literature and the London Welsh associational culture as much as rooted in the indigenous literary culture of north-east Wales.[52] By the time he composed his pamphlets, he was keenly aware of the persecution of political radicals. *Seren tan Gwmmwl* mentions those sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay;[53] the sequel *Toriad y Dydd* alludes to men 'walking from one house to another in order to burn' his first pamphlet,[54] and pleads with them not 'to threaten to ruin the livelihoods of booksellers because they desire to sell that which is true'.[55] Like other radicals of his generation, he appears to have been silenced politically around 1800. He died at the King's Head in Ludgate Street in on 21 May 1821 aged only 53, judged to be 'by far the best writer of comic and satirical songs that Wales ever produced'.[56] The fact that he penned two republican pamphlets was not mentioned.

4. Reading Paine at 'The Break of Day'

Thomas Paine himself appears to have found translation problematic. In *Age of Reason* he contemplated that:

> Scarcely any two nations speak the same language, or understand each other; and as to translations, every man who knows any thing of languages, knows that it is impossible to translate from one language into another, not only without losing a great part of the original, but frequently of mistaking the sense.[57]

Jones may well have read this passage but for cultural entrepreneurs outside elevated Anglo-French Enlightenment circles, translation was indispensable in transferring ideas across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Living and working in London from about 1790, one can safely assume that the works of English radicals were easily available to Jones, even though Paine's own calculations of the enormous distribution figures of his works (which include claims that he sent thousands of copies to Chester, then the centre of Welsh print culture in north-east Wales), and assertions that the London Corresponding Society circulated *Rights of Man* free of charge to 'every parish in England' are, in the opinion of most scholars, exaggerated.[58] The raw material for *Seren tan Gwmmwl* and *Toriad y Dydd* were *Common Sense*, *Rights of Man*, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, and *Letter Addressed to the Addressers on the Late Proclamation*. Jones deconstructed these texts by Paine, discarded the for him unusable and re-assembled what would speak to his intended readership to a new pattern in their language and his style, bolstering the whole with indigenous material, like the patchwork quilts made by Welsh women.

The resulting texts feature the translated segments that drew the attention of contemporary critics, creative reworkings of material, and passages of original writing. The whole succeeds in condensing Paine's central condemnation of hereditary monarchy and primogeniture based on the scripture and on history, his critique of contemporary government and monarchy in the British Isles, and his explanations of the development and working of representative democracy.[59] Utilising less than 10% of the source publications, Jones compressed Paine's anti-monarchical core message of well over 120,000 words to two texts of no more than 12,500 words. If Paine was master of 'the pamphlet, a free-standing essay … in which the author had space to unpack his arguments for a literary audience', then Jones was master of creating short texts that may even have been read out aloud during long evenings of carding wool and knitting in isolated mountain villages.[60] Published by 'W. Baynes, Number 54, Paternoster-Row' – whose repertoire ranged from satire to religious

history, women's poetry and *Ossian* – Jones's pamphlets were designed and priced for a Welsh audience.[61]

Seren tan Gwmmwl or *A Star under a Cloud* opens with a historical outline of the cruelty of kings, 'from the time of Nimrod to the time of Louis XVI. of France, who had his head cut off on the 21 of January 1793', chronicling the misdeeds of 'the kings and princes of our own land', i.e. Great Britain, and especially the core indigenous example of king Vortigern.[62] It returns to the 'crowned heads of England', starting with 'child murderer' Richard, before moving to Jones's second core passage on the deceitful idiocy of hereditary monarchy embodied by the 'Crown', for which Jones retains Paine's central metaphor and vocabulary, but moves the action to his own culture.[63] Following Paine, this is followed by discussions of the failure of 1688 and demonstrations of the oppressive nature of the current British political and tax systems. Jones concludes the pamphlet with a reference to the democratic secret ballot used by the Gwyneddigion Society, pulling back slightly by advising petitioning rather than rioting to achieve political goals.[64]

Toriad y Dydd is the shorter of the two pamphlets.[65] Jones explains this with the high price of paper, but having endured public condemnation and rumoured private persecution following the publication of his first pamphlet and considering the by then frightening inventory of oppressive legislation, he may well have considered it wise to be concise.[66] He opens with an extended passage on 'natural rights' and on clearing out 'all old customs and manufactured myths', providing three clear principles derived from oft-repeated points in Paine's writings: that no man or group may make any law or constitute a government 'without first having the say of the people', that every generation has 'as much right or authority as another to improve or to change the government as they see fit', and that referencing the age of any 'government or a law' did not make it just, whilst laws 'made justly today … deserved as much respect as if … made a thousand years ago'.[67] The core of this pamphlet is Jones's version of Paine's 'sequestered part of the earth' passage from *Common Sense*, which will be analysed below. The remainder of the text uses material from *Rights of Man. Part the Second* to reiterate the 'bloody history of English kings', beginning with the 'bastard rascal' William the conqueror, who introduced primogeniture and oppressive curfews.[68] The concluding passage on the chimera of the tripartite system, which associates Henry VIII's beheading of Ann Boleyn with parliament and William Pitt, was his own:

> [He] insisted on cutting off the head of his second wife, Anne Bullen, without any cause other than that the *anointed of the lord* had tired of her … they said that she was committing adultery with her servants, and also with her own brother even though there was not even a shadow of proof to sustain the accusation, parliament sentenced her to death, without thinking to ask whether the complaint was true: all parliament wanted to know of the case was that the king wanted to be rid of her … Parliament was as ready to obey Henry's order in that age as they are to obey Pitt's order in this age.[69]

5. Subverting the faith

It has been argued that 'scriptural teaching' was central to Paine's argument in content and style, especially, of *Common Sense*.[70] Jones was accused of Deism just as much as Paine was condemned for his Atheism, but both knew their target audience. *Seren tan Gwmmwl* opens with a somewhat ironic comment on Welsh religiosity that nevertheless turns Bible study to subversive purposes, playing on Paine's remark that 'all anti-monarchical parts of scripture have been very smoothly glossed over in monarchical governments':[71]

> I could swell this book to a great size if I were to consider half the slaughter that was done by kings according to scriptural history; but as my compatriots so like to read the Bible, I would desire them to pay attention when they see the history of kings, and in almost every place where there is mention of kings, they may see some terrible horror, either killing, or burning, or robbing, or whoring; sometimes the king's officers counselling him to hang and dismember innocent people, in order to keep their own positions and those of their loved ones.[72]

Drawing on *Common Sense*, where this follows some ten pages of theoretical exposition, Jones adapts Paine's account of how 'Government by Kings was first introduced by Heathens' closely.

He uses Paine's example of God's condemnation of Samuel, but updates Paine's criticism of Old Testament kings by linking it to the failed 1794 Treason Trials of Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke and John Thelwall, after which King George III failed to punish those who arrested the innocent men.[73] As in Paine's works, Jesus died 'for speaking out against the king and the government', and doubts are raised on whether 'kings ever had a religion which deserved to be called so; and if the word religion means good for mankind in general'.[74] Paine's remarks on religious denominations in *Rights of Man* are incorporated in Jones's (short) praise for America, where 'every man is free to worship as he pleases, and pay towards whatever religion he sees fit; or not to pay to any religion in the world'.[75]

Different to Paine, the judgments of God and the Redeemer Jesus open and close important parts of Jones's argument, the godlessness of Welsh and English kings is evidence against hereditary power, and anti-Catholic references play to his mostly Dissenting audiences. Jones's central indigenous example of post-Roman king Vortigern adds the murder of Bishop Vodinus in a 'furious rage' to the sin of hiring pagan Saxon mercenaries and the debauchery of taking pagan Rowena as his mistress.[76] The concluding sentence of this central indigenous interpolated passage relates the republican message on a king who 'hurt his People to this day' back to Christianity by wondering whether the Welsh would not have faired better 'if they had taken the counsel of the Lord and kept away from a curse like a king'.[77] The second core passage of *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, on the ludicrousness of hereditary succession, 'because it is impossible to make wisdom hereditary' in the words of Paine, equally references the scriptures.[78] The 'anointing', considered the most sacred part of the coronation procedure, is graphically likened to the contemporary treatment of an abscess by 'oiling', and his Bible-wise audience is reminded of the heathen origin of this ritual in the time of Samuel and Saul.[79] This long anti-monarchical passage (analysed below) ends in another praise of God, who 'to show his justice, and his equity, gives to the man poorest in worldly things some talents and exceptional sense'.[80]

In some passages, Paine's indirect religious references are converted to direct Biblical citations by Jones. 'Monarchy and Hereditary Succession' in *Common Sense*, for instance, condemns the establishment of monarchies using the new vocabulary of science:

> Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinctions of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world so exalted above the rest, and distinguished like some new species, is worth enquiring into.[81]

For the Welsh audience, a less abstract register adopts Paine's repeated dismissal of William the Conqueror, yet ends in a direct citation from Genesis 1: 27:

> As William was the captain of those looters, they took possession of the kingdom in his name, and called everything his property … and his *people*, just as other animals, as if the author of the world had created some part of mankind to be slaves to the others; or that there were two degrees of men in the world, and that the one man should be owner of the other, in the same way that a man is owner of an animal; but that is not how mankind was created: not as king and subject, not as oppressor and slave, not as poor and rich, not for one man to call myriads of his fellow creatures his people or his property. These above distinctions are only devices and human accidents; the only distinction seen in creation is 'male and female created he them'.[82]

In addition, Jones's narrative is peppered with remarks on queens who burnt the people who would 'worship against their will', kings who murdered close family, and with jibes against 'supernatural and papist tales'.[83] For his mainly rural Dissenting or Methodist audience, the religious tenor of Paine references had to be heightened.

6. Patchworking

Summing up the main thrust of *Rights of Man* and *Rights of Man. Part the Second* in his *Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, Paine wrote that he aimed:

> to expose the fraud and imposition of monarchy – to lessen the oppression of taxes – to propose plans for the education of helpless infancy, and the comfortable support of the aged and distressed … to extirpate the horrid practice of war … and to raise degraded man to his proper rank.[84]

Jones succeeds in focusing on these main themes by not following the structure of Paine's work, rarely translating material wholesale and radically reducing the text. Instead, he emulates the core tenor by patchworking, condensing and interpolating (as well as deploying scripture and the Christian faith, as we have seen above). Both authors present a succession of examples illustrating the wickedness of kings, and both offer general explanations on the 'natural' origins and advantages of representative democracy. Jones adopts and enhances what he considers most relevant, interpolates indigenous material where necessary, employs vocabulary from the same semantic fields as Paine to associate hereditary power with the world of children, insanity and make-belief, and cuts or abbreviates for him unimportant chapters and passages. A significant result of his drastic reduction of text is the rebalancing of criticism and constructive suggestion. By removing 90% of Paine's text yet retaining the passage on the development of representative government and suggesting the secret ballot practised by the Gwyneddigion Society, the more constructive part of Paine's work is emphasised.

Only one-fifth of *Common Sense* – the first part 'On the Origin and Design of Government in General with Concise Remarks on the English Constitution' – makes it into Jones's pamphlets, for instance. The larger part on American politics is left untouched. Paine's references to Price and other philosophers as well as his extended replies to Edmund Burke, all accounts chronicling events in America and France leading up to and during the French Revolution in *Rights of Man*, and most of chapters four and five in *Rights of Man. Part the Second* are absent from the Welsh pamphlets. Jones focuses on nuggets and vocabulary that would have chimed with his intended target audience, which he reinforces with indigenous material. Unlike Paine, his focus remains firmly on Great Britain.

Among the retained nuggets are Paine's references to 'rotten boroughs', those to lords attending to the king's 'privy chamber' as 'groom of the stool', and those describing the common people as beasts of burden, 'governed like animals, for the pleasure of their riders'.[85] Of Paine's elaborate explanations and mathematical equations relating to the injustice of contemporary tax systems fuelled by royal wars, Jones picks out only the 'beer tax' mentioned in passing by Paine and expands it:

> Many taxes fall on the common people alone. One of those taxes is the tax on beer, or malted drink. The great men pay next to nothing of this tax; because they brew their own beer, and malt it themselves; so it is easy for them to drink and get drunk on their own liquor, in their own houses, giving neither tax, nor tithe, nor accounting to anyone for the deed. The common people must buy their drink little by little, and that drink having been taxed three or four times before a man may have the pleasure of paying the tax for a candle to see whether or not it is clear. The tax revenue on beer is more per year than the tax revenue of that which is called land tax. A thirsty, dusky old blacksmith, who wins his bread through the strength of his arm and hammer, pays more of the above tax than any lord in the kingdom.[86]

In a country where tenant farmers worked 80% of the land (a sharp difference to the prevalence of yeomen in England), references to the power of the landlord were pertinent. Paine's repeated comments on taxes disproportionately affecting the young, the old, and the poor, are worked into the conclusion of *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, where they 'drive the old to the workhouse, or on the parish, and drive the young to steal'.[87] A gender dimension in Paine's short remark on 'youths' and 'boys' 'undone' in London is expanded to describe the fate of urban pregnant girls and of widows, perhaps influenced by Jones's experience as a publican in Southwark at a time of war.[88] For him, George III is directly responsible for the 'many fallen girls who walk the streets of London', because 'the officers of the king have taken her husband, against his will as if they were taking a bullock to the slaughter, and left the wife and children to starve'.[89] This is contrasted with rural Wales, where an unmarried girl is supported by her kin 'when the apron strings become too short'.[90]

Few sections are reproduced closely in Welsh, the most extensive of them opening *Toriad y Dydd*. Having embedded Paine's critique of hereditary monarchy in Welsh culture in his first pamphlet (see below), Jones felt that his audience was ready to be acquainted with the principles

of representative democracy directly. The pamphlet therefore opens with Paine's 'sequestered part of the earth' passage from the beginning of *Common Sense*, which charts man's path from 'natural liberty' to 'society' and representative government. In *Common Sense* this is done relatively theoretically with recourse to a Latinate vocabulary, the use of words like 'obliged', 'urge', 'necessity' and 'unavoidably' making it an almost automatic process. Since man was:

> so unfitted for perpetual solitude … necessity, like a gravitating power, would soon form our newly arrived emigrants into society … it will unavoidably happen, that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and … will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue.[91]

Jones sets his scene on an 'uninhabited island' or 'ynys anghyfanedd'. He closely follows Paine's general argument, yet highlights the 'natural rights of man', uses a less theoretical vocabulary and expands the passages to explain the difference between executive and judiciary:

> … To see clearly the beginning and aims of government, and also the NATURAL RIGHTS of man, let us suppose that some number of people had been thrown onto some uninhabited island … for the benefit and safety of every one of them, they would unite with each other … Here we may see from the beginning how necessary and brotherly it is for mankind to be in unity and fellowship with one another, for the general benefit and well-being of the whole, and not in order for one to plunder and live off the labour of the other. After they had been on the island for a little time, they would think of building some kind of houses, and to cultivate some little patches of land, in order to get food more conveniently; that is where there would be a great necessity for them to … make a government, or law, to be as a deterrent and a rebuke to those who had slipped from good customs and morals, and dared to behave unjustly to their neighbours, and desired idleness to meditate on some chance or opportunity to oppress, and usurp the fruits of their fellow creature's labour. In this case it would be necessary to call every one of them together to establish a sort of government, and law, to … be lawful and just for every one of them to enjoy their NATURAL RIGHTS to vote, or give their opinions in relation to the constitution of government, because everyone expects to enjoy his rights, and his Liberty, and his safety to live off his own labour … [92]

On the main British island, this original 'unity, and love, and brotherhood … for the benefit and happiness of everyone in general' ended with the arrival of 'bastard rascal' William the Conqueror and the establishment of primogeniture.[93]

7. Indigenous interpolation

Central to Jones's argument against hereditary monarchy, however, is historical evidence from Wales itself, presented in the form of the well-known tale of fifth-century Welsh king Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn), who, having murdered king Constans II, in AD 449, invited Saxon mercenaries in defence against his enemies.[94] According to tradition, their chiefs Hengist and Horsa used Vortigern's lust for Hengist's daughter Rowena (as well as her seductive powers) as bait to convene a feast at which 300 Welsh nobles were slaughtered. Remembered to this day as 'Brad y Cyllyll Hirion' – 'The Treachery of the Long Knives', this foundational betrayal seared itself into the Welsh psyche.[95] The tale was a 'subject of great interest in literary circles in the late 1790s', so Jones would have been familiar with old indigenous and new romantic receptions of the myth.[96] Relying on his audience's recall of the story, he presents a summary, its importance nevertheless indicated by the central position in *Seren tan Gwmmwl* as well as by the insertion of a poem highlighting Rowena's and Vortigern's depravity.[97] The passage ends with a paean to America, the republican utopia across the Atlantic that had become a Welsh emigration destination as well as the locus of Welsh radical imagination. The Welsh had suffered since AD 449:

> … because of the drunkenness, foolishness, silliness and whoring of their king … But O! It is a pity that our forefathers in that age had not been without a king (as the People of America are in this age), or without any man who can take it into his own hands to damage his compatriots. Here's a king who had hurt his People to this day. Who knows, perhaps the Welsh would still be in possession of the whole Isle of Britain, if they had taken the counsel of the Lord and kept away from a curse like a king.[98]

8. For the 'understanding of every Welshman'

The interpolation of the Vortigern myth connected the sins of Biblical kings with those of the English monarchs, a 'race still enjoy getting drunk and whoring and running into debt' down to George III, but as an indigenous example it also served Jones's overarching strategy of achieving maximum relevance for his republican message.[99] Easy intelligibility was another aspect of this strategy. His pamphlets were not written for Welsh intellectuals, whose criticism of his 'bastardised words' he fully expected, but as he states in his prefaces 'so that the monolingual Welshman understands'.[100] This meant retaining core messages, but changing vocabulary, style and metaphors, converting abstract or general messages to visually stirring, not always pleasant, scenes, and even employing dialect vocabulary to heighten the already drastic. Paine's explanations of the evil of primogeniture reference solicitors who channel aristocratic inheritances from 'B' to 'C' via 'A'.[101] Jones translates them to examples involving the 'smallholders' with whom the Welsh could identify.[102] That the 'anointing' of a king is graphically likened to treating a pimple or abscess has already been mentioned.[103]

Most important, however, is Jones's amplification of Paine's repeated associations of monarchy with theatrical trickery as a 'fraud, effigy and shew', a 'bubble, 'a mere court artifice to procure money', the 'master-fraud' by which the people are 'hoodwinked, and held in superstitious ignorance'.[104] Paine encapsulates this theme in the metaphor of the 'Crown' in the 'Miscellaneous Chapter' concluding *Rights of Man*, where he rebukes Burke's discourse on 'an hereditary crown, as if it were some production of Nature; or as if it were a thing of a subject universally consented to' by asserting that it 'has none of those properties, but is … a thing in imagination'.[105] His structured counter-argument is followed by a series of rhetorical questions on this 'fraud'. Rhetorical questions were frequently employed by Paine, often in pairs, but only the longer sequences relate to the core condemnation of hereditary succession as deceit. Four questions, for instance, are asked about aristocratic titles, which, 'like circles drawn by the magician's wand … contract the sphere of man's felicity'.[106] No fewer than ten rhetorical questions are employed to indicate the importance of the 'Crown' in tricking and swindling the population. They lead the reader or listener to the make-belief world of pantomime.[107] Used for political purposes by the late eighteenth century, Harlequin's sword had more power than just that of 'changing copper into gold'.[108] Playing on this, Paine asked:

> But, after all, what is this metaphor called a crown, or rather what is monarchy? Is it a thing or is it a name or is it a fraud? Is it 'a contrivance of human wisdom', or of human craft to obtain money from a nation under specious pretences? Is it a thing necessary to a nation? If it is, in what does that necessity consist, what services does it perform, what is its business, and what are its merits? Doth the virtue consist in the metaphor, or in the man? Doth the goldsmith that makes the crown, make the virtue also? Doth it operate like Fortunatus's wishing-cap, or Harlequin's wooden sword? Doth it make a man a conjuror? In fine what is it?[109]

Paine delivers a short answer only, that the crown was 'something going much out of fashion' in America and France.

Jones combines Paine's earlier passages and the questions into a passage that unites him with his audience through his use of 'we' and 'us'. Like them, he cannot understand how what he dismissively calls a 'bauble' or a 'toy', combined with a rather disgusting ceremony of heathen origin, may make a man ruler over a whole nation in eternity.[110] Rather than asking, he explains that:

> The crown is nothing but some bauble that it is thought to be on the king's head; and we put this bauble on the head of a man who is intended to be made a king. So when the bauble is put on a man's head, and the bishops have made a speech by his head, and made him swear a few oaths; (and I think that some will also swear curses on the occasion,) through some strange quality, which is opaque to us, which is in this bauble called a crown, and in the speech the bishops have made, a man becomes a king. There are many other things pertaining to this serious matter: anointing the body of the man with oil, or greasing him like greasing a boil, even though oiling a healthy man's body is quite unnecessary; but if some thing is painful, then every mad act is looked upon as vital, and beneficial in order to put a cover over the eyes of the common people; in that way the bishops make a king, and the king makes bishops, to have a position to lurk in authority, one in the shadow of the other; and the people watch in amazement and pay for their action.[111]

Continuing to answer Paine's rhetorical questions, Jones then moves to a sustained attack on the injustice of primogeniture and the impossibility of inheriting character traits, talents or wisdom. Monarchy is linked to trickery; primogeniture is associated with an absence of the rational thinking of considered adulthood. In Paine's texts, inherited aristocratic titles are 'but nick-names' and 'childish embarrassments'.[112] A king is but 'a rogue or a fool', 'any child or ideot [*sic*] can' be king, and 'kings succeed each other, not as rationals, but as animals'.[113] It may require 'some talents to be a common mechanic', but kingship only asks for 'the animal figure of man – a sort of breathing automation'.[114] Jones packs these associations into a passage of text that was, perhaps, inspired by Paine's rather amused comment in *Letter Addressed to the Addressers*:

> A man derives no more excellence from the change of a name, or calling him King, or calling him Lord, than I should do by changing my name from Thomas to George, or from Paine to Guelph. I should not be a whit the more able to write a book, because my name was altered; neither would any man, now called a King or a Lord, have a whit the more sense than he now has, were he to call himself Thomas Paine.[115]

Significantly, Jones moves the theme of 'changing names' to the world of theatre alluded to by Paine with 'Fortunatus's wishing-cap', 'Harlequin's wooden sword' and the 'pantomimical contrivance', and 'change of scene and character' at court,[116] and to rural Wales. Here, an *anterliwt*, a rough folk play performed in the open air or in taverns and familiar for Welsh audiences, is underway.[117] Jones himself had appeared in an *anterliwt* penned by fellow radical Thomas Edwards (pseudonym 'Twm o'r Nant') and staged by the Gwyneddigion society in a London pub in 1791.[118] By 1795, a republican *anterliwt*, *Marwolaeth Brenin a Brenhines Ffrainc* (The Death of the King and Queen of France) was performed in north Wales, and Jones's audience experience may have sparked his decision to replace Fortunatus and Harlequin with the native 'fool', their 'wishing cap' and 'wooden sword' with a 'motley jerkin' and a 'funny cap'.[119] Paine's message of deceit and the impossibility of inheriting talent was translated to an indigenous theatrical scene, which gave the common people a measure of agency:

> The changing of people's names, when they are made kings, or bishops, is the same as the *Interlude* players who change themselves in Wales. When the crowd sees the players coming to the appointed place for them to act the play, you can hear them say, 'Here come the men'; or 'Here is a man who is going to act'; but when that man puts on a motley jerkin, and some funny cap on his head, he is no longer called a man; all the children will begin to call to each other, and to say, 'Come, come to hear, there is the fool on the stage'. Although there is no way of putting either learning, or talent, or knowledge in the bauble that is called a crown, any more than drollery and humour can be put in a *fool's* cap, yet the men who wear them receive distinct names, and we expect of the men who wear them, for the one to be wise and learned, and for the other to be droll and funny; and whoever happens to wear the above baubles, the same talents are expected from them. From that it may be thought that the sense, and the humour, are in the cap, and the crown. Perhaps it is so; but on the other hand, if anyone thinks that the above men possess as much sense and humour, the one without the crown, and the other without his cap, what are the cap and the crown for? To stun common people, and to enchant them into parting with their money? But there is more reason to expect mirth from the man with the cap than there is to expect sense from the man of the crown, for it is because of his own disposition that a man becomes an interlude player; ten to one that his father never thought of doing such a thing, nor that his son were ever to think of singing or playing after him; but the crown descends from father to son, whether they are sensible or not; and everyone knows that sense and talents do not pass from father to son. … The almighty, to show his justice, and his equity, gives to the man poorest in worldly things some talents and exceptional sense.[120]

Answering Paine's questions for his audience using their shared cultural experience and the audience's religiosity, Jones unmasks kings as rough actors on the back of a waggon, out to deceive honest people, and primogeniture as not only unnatural, but also ungodly. Even as the French revolutionary experiment was foundering, Jones ends his work with an almost Biblical message of hope and glory that we do not find in Paine:

> It is delightful to think, in the midst of all the violence and oppression, and the darkness which covers our land, that liberty, reason, and justice have risen on their golden wings, and fly on the zephyr of truth, to visit all the inhabitants of the earth! We think that the day is beginning to dawn among my genial compatriots in Wales, and in a little while, the Sun of Justice will shine upon them, and the meanest beggar will get to warm

> his starved heart in its brilliant, glorious warmth! and every man will acknowledge his duty, to do his best, for the unity and happiness of his fellow creatures.[121]

Paine likened liberty to a 'fire' and 'a beam of light over the world'.[122] Jones's central metaphor moves from star light emerging from 'under a cloud' to a dawn that announces a hope of justice for his compatriots, even in 1797.

9. Conclusion

The paratext to the first Welsh adaptation of 'La Marseillaise' introduced the song as supporting the 'invincible forces of the French Republic', relating, as at the close of *Toriad y Dydd*, that it had 'reached Britain as if on the wings of the wind'.[123] The French Republic, Italy and the Welsh British Isles appeared associated naturally; radical ideas and cultural artefacts disseminated by the same force that, following the American revolution of 1776, had revealed the light of the star of liberty by dispersing the clouds of ignorance. That wind, however, needed publishing networks, authors and translators, radicals who were able and willing to transcend cultural and linguistic borders to disseminate new concepts, ideas and cultural artefacts. Until recently, their work has been neglected, particularly for cultures perceived as beyond even the peripheries of Enlightenment. Discussions of British responses to the French Revolution in general and of Thomas Paine's work in particular have focused almost entirely on his reception in anglophone (and to a lesser extent hegemonic European) cultures. Yet, dense networks linked London publishers with Welsh authors, poets and translators, who moved between their own country and this gateway to radical ideas as much as between their native Welsh and English.

Their grounding in an early modern Welsh-language 'translation culture' enabled them to utilise the democratised English print culture as a source of Enlightenment, radical and republican material, which they translated to an intensely rural Christian culture, at times enhancing radical messages by free adaptation.[124] The creative re-working of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, *Rights of Man* and *Rights of Man. Part the Second* into the short republican pamphlets *Seren tan Gwmmwl* and *Toriad y Dydd* by John Jones constitutes the most extensive example of such processes.

His patchwork technique of translating Paine's core republican messages closely, reducing long chapters to relevant short passages and interpolating indigenous material adapted Paine's foundational works of modern democracy for the rural audience of his own culture. The murderous history of Welsh king Vortigern was added to Paine's corrupt Biblical and British monarchs; Paine's comparisons of hereditary monarchy with insanity, childishness and the make-belief world of Harlequin and Fortunatus were transported to the Welsh world of rough folk plays. Jones's abridgement of the source texts to no more than 15% of their original length, the conversion of abstract concepts into native examples and of rhetorical questions into answers amplified and simplified Paine's message. These adaptation strategies and techniques, used to render Paine's works relevant for audiences of a very different culture, are significant beyond the study of Welsh or Celtic reverberations of the French Revolution. Their analysis provides blueprints for the exploration of the dissemination of ideas across cultural and linguistic borders to smaller 'peripheral' cultures in and beyond Europe.

Notes

1. John James Evans, *Dylanwad y Chwyldro Ffrengig ar Lenyddiaeth Cymru* (Lerpwl: Hugh Evans, 1928), 149: 'nad yw deuparth y *Seren Tan Gwmmwl* yn ddim amgen na chrynodeb o'r llyfr Saesneg'. Previously untranslated Welsh texts appear in the English translation with the original in the respective footnote, those which have appeared in English are cited in translation only, with the source of the translation and a reference to the original text in the respective footnote. I am grateful to the anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions.
2. Damian Walford Davies, *Presences that Disturb: Models of Romantic Identity in the Literature and Culture of the 1790s* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press [hereafter UWP], 2000), 76. For an overview, see Helena

Miguélez-Carballeira, Angharad Price, and Judith Kaufmann, 'Translation in Wales: History, Theory and Approaches', *Translation Studies*. Special Issue 9, no. 2 (2016). For a recent study on vocabulary, see Bethan M. Jenkins, 'Translation: You must give them names in Welsh', in *Between Wales and England. Anglophone Welsh Writing of the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff: UWP, 2017), 173–98.

3. Gregory Claeys, ed., *Political Writings of the 1790s. Volume 1: Radicalism and Reform: Responses to Burke 1790–1791* (London: William Pickering, 1995), 'General Introduction', lv, footnote.
4. See for instance, R. Stephen Dornan, 'Radical Politics and Dialect in the British Archipelago', in *United Islands? The Languages of Resistance*, ed. John Kirk, Andrew Noble, and Michael Brown (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 167–80; Katrina Navickas, '"Theaw Kon Ekspect No Mooar Eawt ov a Pig thin a Grunt": Searching for the Radical Dialect Voice in Industrial Lancashire and the West Riding, 1798–1819', in ibid., 181–94; Ffion Mair Jones, '"English Men Went Head to Head with their Own Brethren": The Welsh Ballad Singers and the War of American Independence', in *Cultures of Radicalism in Britain and Ireland*, ed. John Kirk, Michael Brown, and Andrew Noble (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 25–48; E. Wyn James, '"Blessèd Jubil!": Slavery, Mission and the Millennial Dawn in the Work of William Williams of Pantycelyn', in ibid., 95–112; Marion Löffler, 'Serial Literature and Radical Poetry in Wales at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in ibid., 113–28.
5. Peter Mackay, 'Lost Manuscripts and Reactionary Rustling: Was there a Radical Scottish Gaelic Poetry between 1770 and 1820?' in *United Islands?* ed. Kirk, Noble, and Brown, 133–4 [125–40].
6. Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Popular Song, Readers and the Language: Printed Anthologies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, 1780–1820', in *Cultures of Radicalism*, ed. Kirk, Brown, and Noble, 131 [129–44].
7. For instance, Dafydd Johnston, 'Radical adaptation: Translations of medieval Welsh poetry in the 1790s', in *'Footsteps of Liberty and Revolt': Essays on Wales and the French Revolution*, ed. Mary-Ann Constantine and Dafydd Johnston (Cardiff: UWP), 167–88; Heather Williams, 'Cymru, y Chwyldro Ffrengig a Gwyn Alf Williams: Ailasesu'r dystiolaeth', *Llên Cymru* 35 (2012): 181–5. For an overview of the series, see UWP, https://www.uwp.co.uk/series/category/wales-and-the-french-revolution/ (accessed February 20, 2024).
8. Pascal Dupuy, '13. British Radicals and Revolutionary France: Historiography, History and Images', in *The Routledge Companion to the French Revolution in World History*, ed. Alan I. Forrest and Matthias Middel (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 241–59; Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies, and Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, eds., *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), 11, 276. However, Welsh efforts are admitted on half a page, based on R.J.W. Evans, 'Was There a Welsh Enlightenment?' in *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths*, ed. R.R. Davies and Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 142–59.
9. For instance, Stephen Small, *Political Thought in Ireland, 1776–1798: Republicanism, Patriotism, and Radicalism* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 10–11; Máire Kennedy, 'Reading the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, no. 3 (2012): 358 [355–78]; Anna Plassart, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), 126–7.
10. Glanmor Williams, 'Unity of Religion or Unity of Language? Protestants, Catholics and the Welsh Language 1536–1660', in *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: UWP, 1997), 213–4.
11. Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation. Wales c. 1415–1642* (Oxford: OUP, 1987), 239; Eryn M. White, 'Spreading the Word, 1588–c. 1640', in *The Welsh Bible* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), 40.
12. Richard Suggett, 'The Welsh Language and the Court of Great Sessions', in *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Jenkins, 123–52; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Welsh Language and Local Government: Justices of the Peace and the Courts of Quarter Sessions c. 1536–1800', in ibid., 181–200.
13. For instance, Elena Parina, ed., 'A Spiritual and most preciouse perle / Perl mewn adfyd (1595)', in 'Welsh translations from English (16th to 19th century): a digital parallel edition' https://www.online.uni-marburg.de/welshtranslations/ (accessed February 10, 2024); Marion Löffler, '"Here in Britain": William Fleetwood, His Welsh Translators and Anglo-Welsh Networks before 1721', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (2021): 825–52; Jones, '"English Men Went Head to Head with their Own Brethren"', in *Cultures of Radicalism*, 27–30.
14. Dewi Huw Owen, 'Footprints in the sand: the Welsh translations of Robinson Crusoe, 1795–1983', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 36 (2016): 147–93.
15. Charles Ashton, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig o 1650 O.C. hyd 1850* (Lerpwl: Hugh Evans, 1893), 18: 'y mwyafrif o'r llyfrau Cymraeg'.
16. Emyr Wyn Jones, ed., *Yr Anterliwt Goll: Barn ar Egwyddorion y Llywodraeth* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1984), 24: 'wedi chyfieuthu air am air'. The original dialogue, published in 1782 by the Society for Constitutional Information, appeared as *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Peasant. Written by a Member of the Society for Constitutional Information*. The translation was based on the revised edition of 1784, *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer*.
17. Anthony Page, 'The Dean of St Asaph's Trial: Libel and Politics in the 1780s', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 1 (2009): 21–35; A. Cynfael Lake, 'Rhai Ystyriaethau Pellach ynghylch Awduraeth "Yr Anterliwt

Goll"', *National Library of Wales Journal* 27, no. 3 (1992): 336–52; Caryl Davies, 'Sir William Jones's "The Principles of Government" (1782) in its relation to Wales', *Enlightenment and Dissent* 14 (1995): 25–51.

18. See, for instance, Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1760–1860* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); Timothy Morton and Nigel Smith, *Radicalism in British Literary Culture, 1650–1830. From Revolution to Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002); Stuart Andrews, *The British Periodical Press and the French Revolution, 1789–99* (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2000). However, Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-century England* (Oxford: OUP, 1998) includes Welsh distributions in her analysis.
19. Marion Löffler, *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution. Press and Public Discourse, 1789–1802* (Cardiff: UWP, 2012), 26–35.
20. Around 60 official, radical and Loyalist published translations were published between 1789 and 1810. Marion Löffler, 'Political Translations Longlist 1. Unpublished MS'.
21. Marion Löffler, 'Translation as conceptual reverberation: "Revolution" in Wales 1688–1937', in *Reverberations of Revolution: Transnational Perspectives (1770–1850)*, ed. Elizabeth Amman and Michael Boyd (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 56–76; Marion Löffler, 'Challenging the State: Subversive Welsh Translators in Britain in the 1790s', in *Translation and Global Spaces of Power. Multilingual Matters*, ed. S. Baumgarten and J. Cornella-Detrell (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2018), 75–88; Marion Löffler, 'The "Marseillaise" in Wales', in *'Footsteps of Liberty and Revolt'*, 93–114.
22. Hywel M. Davies, 'Loyalism in Wales, 1792–1793', *Welsh History Review* 20, no. 4 (2001): 687–716; Frank O'Gorman, 'The Paine Burnings of 1792–1793', *Past & Present* 193 (2006): 111–55; Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 16, 138, 173.
23. Marion Löffler (with Bethan Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets and Sermons from Wales, 1790–1806* (Cardiff: UWP, 2014), 149 [original 127].
24. Evans, *Dylanwad y Chwyldro Ffrengig*, 115.
25. 'Cân Twm Paen – Tom Paine's Song', in Cathryn A. Charnell-White, ed., *Welsh Poetry of the French Revolution, 1789–1805* (Cardiff, 2012), 252–62; Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 13, 26, 52–5.
26. Walter Davies, *Rhyddid: Traethawd a ennillodd ariandlws Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion ar ei Thestun i Eisteddfod Llanelwy, B. A. M,DCC,XC. Gan Walter Davies* (Llundain: Argraphwyd yn Llundain gan T. Rickaby: Ac ar werth gan E. a T. Williams, Strand; I. Daniel, Caerfyrddin; T. Sandford, Amwythig; Ac Ereill o Lyfrwerthwyr Cymru, 1791), 46, 77, 94, 97, 102, 129. See also Löffler (with Jenkins), Political Pamphlets, 10, 49–51.
27. Ibid., 14.
28. G.G.L. Hayes and Chris Evans, eds., *The Letterbook of Richard Crawshay 1788–1797* (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1990), 132. In July 1791, Crawshay had still boasted that 'Horne Tooke will not carry any point in this Kingdom', in ibid., 111.
29. Ibid., 160; Geraint H. Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty. The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: UWP, 2012), 130–1.
30. Evans, *Dylanwad y Chwyldro Ffrengig*, 114, 307.
31. Ibid., 11–5; Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 23–4, 50–1; Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 52–4; Charnell-White, *Welsh Poetry*, 14–9.
32. Katharine C. Balderston, ed., *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776–1809* (2nd edn., 2 vols, Oxford, 1951), II, 897–8. For a recent biography, see Michael John Franklin, *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi* (Cardiff: UWP, 2020).
33. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom, eds., *The Piozzi Letters: Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi, 1784–1821 (formerly Mrs. Thrale)*, vol. 2, *1792–1798* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), 256; W. Lloyd Davies, 'The Riot at Denbigh in 1795', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 4 (1927): 62–3.
34. Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty*, 130–1; Marion Löffler, '"Generation 1789": Welsh Dissenters and Radicals lost in Translation', in *Memory and Modern British Politics: Commemoration, Tradition, Legacy*, ed. Matthew Roberts (London: Bloomsbury, 2024), 37–8, 39–40 [35–65].
35. *Hereford Journal*, 10 December 1794; 'The Trial of John Thelwall ([1794])', in *Trials for Treason and Sedition, 1792–1794*, vol. 8, ed. John Barrell and Jon Mee (London: Routledge, 2009), VIII, 32. Thelwall recovered some letters after his acquittal and this may have been among them, since the letter is not in the evidence file for that day. See also Kenneth R. Johnston, 'Usual and Unusual Suspects: John Thelwall, William Godwin and Pitt's Reign of Terror', in *John Thelwall. Radical Romantic and Acquitted Felon*, ed. Steve Pool (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 19. Thelwall lived in south Wales from 1797 until 1800, his influence held partly responsible for the sustained industrial rioting that shook the area in 1800–1801. See Walford Davies, *Presences that Disturb*, 81–5; Johnston, 'Usual and Unusual Suspects', 37; Penelope J. Corfield, 'Rhetoric, Radical Politics and Rainfall: John Thelwall in Breconshire, 1797–1800', *Brycheiniog* XL (2009): 24–5, 33.
36. Helen Braithwaite, 'From the See of St Davids to St Paul's Churchyard: Joseph Johnson's Cross-border Connections', in *Wales and the Romantic Imagination*, ed. Damian Walford Davies and Linda Pratt (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), 45 [43–64].
37. Ibid., 52–3, 55; Löffler, 'Samuel Horsley versus the Welsh Freeholder', in *Political Pamphlets*, 19–25.

38. Mary-Ann Constantine, '"This Wildernessed Business of Publication": The Making of Poems, Lyric and Pastoral', in *'A Rattleskull Genius'. The Many Faces of Iolo Morgannwg*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), 123–45.
39. Geraint H. Jenkins, Ffion Mair Jones, and David Ceri Jones, eds., *The Correspondence of Iolo Morganwg. Volume I. 1770–1796* (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), 787–90 & 810–11; Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty*, 127–8; Löffler, *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution*, 1, and ibid., 'External Influence: English Radical Publications', 46–9; Catherine Charnell-White, 'Networking the Nation: The Bardic and Correspondence Networks of Wales and London in the 1790s', in *'Footsteps of Liberty and Revolt'*, 143–68.
40. Hywel M. Davies, 'Morgan John Rhys and James Bicheno: Anti-Christ and the French Revolution in England and Wales', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XXIX, no. 1 (1980): 111–27.
41. *Vox Stellarum et Planetarum … Am y Flwyddyn … 1796 … gan John Harris, Dysgawdwr Rhifyddiaeth yng Nghydweli*, 8–10, in Löffler, Welsh Responses, 80–3 [original and translation].
42. Peris, 'Y Golygwr', *Y Geirgrawn: Neu Drysorfa Gwybodaeth* V (1796): 144: '*Tom Paine* … yn ei lyfr, a elwir *Age of Reason* neu Oes Rheswm'.
43. Antagonist, 'Golwg Byr ar y Llyfr a elwir *Seren Tan Gwmmwl* a gyhoeddwyd yn *Llundain* yn y flwyddyn, 1795', *Y Geirgrawn* I (1796): 16, in Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 255 [original 261].
44. Carwr Rheswm, 'Golwg ar Ymddyffiniad Peris o Frenhinoedd, Esgobion, &c. At Gyhoeddwr y Geirgrawn', *Y Geirgrawn* VIII (1796): 236, in Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 51 [original and translation].
45. Carwr Rheswm, 'Golwg ar Ymddiffiniad *Peris* o Frenhinoedd', 51 [original and translation]. See also Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 55–61.
46. R.T. Jenkins and Helen M. Ramage, *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddigion and Cymmrodorion Societies (1751–1951)* (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1951), 99, 108–9; See also Rhys Kaminski-Jones, '"Where Cymry United, Delighted Appear": The Society of Ancient Britons and the Celebration of St David's Day in London, 1715–1815', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, New Series* 23 (2017): 56–68.
47. See below, p. 6.
48. Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 33.
49. Ibid., 286 [original 285].
50. Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 1–2, 8, 35–8; text and translation, 191–234.
51. Marion Löffler, 'Cerddi newydd gan John Jones, "Jac Glan-y-Gors"', *Llên Cymru* 33 (2010): 143–50; Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 12–3, 21; Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 1–2, 38 fig. 3; John Jones, 'Cerdd Dic Siôn Dafydd', in *Cerddi Jac Glan-y-gors*, ed. E.G. Millward (Llandybïe: Barddas, 2003), 26–31. Dic Siôn Dafydd has become part of Welsh popular culture. The phrase 'Er gwaetha pob Dic Siôn Dafydd' (Despite every Dic Siôn Dafydd) features in the 1984 protest song 'Yma o Hyd' (Still Here Today) by Dafydd ap Iwan that was adopted by the Welsh national football team for the 2022 world cup. See Marion Löffler, 'Why Did the Welsh Team Choose "Yma O Hyd" for their World Cup Song?' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uJ84jjvpN3k (accessed February 10, 2024).
52. For the background, see Emrys Jones, 'The Age of Societies', in *The Welsh in London 1500–2000* (Cardiff, 2001), 54–109.
53. John Jones, *SEREN TAN GWMMWL, NEU YCHYDIG SYLW AR FRENHINOEDD, ESCOBION, ARGLWYDDI &c. A LLYWODRAETH LLOEGR YN GYFFREDIN. Wedi ei ysgrifennu er mwyn y Cymru uniaith* (Lundain: Vaughan Griffiths, 1795); translated as: A Star under a Cloud, Or a Few Observations on Kings, Bishops, Lords &c. and the Government of England in General. Written for the benefit of the monolingual Welsh (London: Printed, and sold, by Vaughan Griffiths Number 169, Strand, [1795]), in Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 146 [original 124].
54. John Jones, *TORIAD Y DYDD; NEU SYLW BYR AR HEN GYFREITHIAU AC ARFERION LLYWODRAETHOL: YNGHYD A CHRYBWYLLIAD AM FREINTIAU DYN, &c. WEDI EI YSGRIFENNU ER MWYN Y CYMRY UNIAITH* (Llundain: Argraphwyd ac ar werth gan yr Awdur a chan W. Barnes, Rhif 54, Paternoster-Row, 1797); translated as, The Break of Day; Or a Brief Observation on Old Laws and Governmental Customs: Along with a Note on the Rights of Man, &c. Written for the benefit of the monolingual Welsh (London: Printed and sold by the Author, and by W. Baynes, Number 54, Paternoster-Row, 1797), in Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 184 [original 169].
55. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 175 [original 160].
56. *The Cambrian*, 26 May 1821. For a detailed life, see Middleton Pennant Jones, 'John Jones of Glan-y-Gors', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1911): 60–94.
57. Thomas Paine, 'The Age of Reason. Being an Investigation into True and Fabulous Theology', in *Thomas Paine Rights of Man, Common Sense and Other Political Writings*, ed. Mark Philp (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 64–5.
58. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second & Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, ed. Philp, *Thomas Paine*, 205, 348, 354; The astonishing circulation figures of Paine's works have been mentioned in most discussions of the British 'pamphlet wars', most recently in Elias Buchetman, 'Paine's *Rights of Man* in Germany', *The Historical Journal*, doi:10.1017/S0018246X23000468 (accessed September 20, 2023), 1–2; J.C.D. Clark, *Thomas*

Paine. Britain, America, and France in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 233, 251; Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature. Print, Politics and the People, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 17, 20–1; Marilyn Butler, ed., *Burke, Paine, Godwin, and the Revolution Controversy* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 7–8, 108; Lisa Plummer Crafton, *The French Revolution Debate in English Literature and Culture* (Westport, CT & London: Greenwood Press, 1997), 36, 44–5; Philp, *Thomas Paine Rights of Man, Common Sense and Other Political Writings*, xxiii. However, Paine's reach into geographically peripheral non-English speaking areas has not been considered in detail.

59. Clark, *Thomas Paine. Britain, America, and France*, 149.
60. Ibid., 71.
61. Judging on the entries in Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, editions of Paine's *Rights of Man* and *Rights of Man. Part the Second* were priced at around three shillings. *Seren tan Gwmmwl* sold for one shilling and *Toriad y Dydd* for sixpence.
62. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 134, 138 [original 112, 116].
63. Ibid., 140 [original 118].
64. Ibid., 149 [original 127]. This echoes the final passages of *Cwyn yn erbyn Gorthrymder* (A Complaint against Oppression) by Thomas Roberts for which he had supplied the frontispiece verse. See Löffler (with Jenkins), *Political Pamphlets*, 37 [original 210–11; translation 231].
65. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 159–90 [original and translation].
66. 'Royal Proclamation against Seditious Writings, 21 May 1792'; 'Correspondence with Enemies Act' (33 Geo. III: c. 27) and 'Habeas Corpus Suspension Act' (34 Geo. III: c. 54); 'Seditious Meetings Act' (36 Geo. III: c. 8); 'Treasonable and Seditious Practices Act' (36 Geo. III: c. 7).
67. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 175–7 [original 160–1]; Paine, *Rights of Man*, 190; Thomas Paine, *Dissertation on the First Principles of Government*, 390.
68. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 181–5 [original 167–71]; Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 221.
69. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 185–6 [original 170–1].
70. Clark, *Thomas Paine. Britain, America, and France*, 149, 159.
71. Paine, *Common Sense*, 12.
72. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 135 [original 113].
73. Paine, *Common Sense*, 12; Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 135 [original 113]; 1 Samuel 10: 1.
74. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 140, 141 [original 118, 119], after Paine, *Rights of Man*, 186.
75. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 151 [original 129], after Paine, *Rights of Man*, 138.
76. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 139 [original 117].
77. Ibid., 140 [original 118].
78. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr Burke's Attack on the French Revolution I* (London, 1791), Philp, ed., Thomas Paine, 167. See also ibid., 190.
79. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 142 [original 121]. See Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru https://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html, s. v. 'pendduyn' (accessed February 10, 2024); Alan R. Thomas, *The Linguistic Geography of Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1973), 223, distribution map on 'pendd(ü)yn'. Jones follows up by further ironical references to 'the anointed' in italics.
80. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 143 [original 120–1].
81. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense Addressed to the Inhabitants of America*, Philp, ed., *Thomas Paine*, 11. For a similar passage, see ibid., 117–8.
82. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 181 [original 166]. Paine does, however, cite this Biblical passage in a different context. See Paine, *Rights of Man*, 118.
83. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 176 [original 118].
84. Thomas Paine, Letter Addressed to the Addressers on the late Proclamation, Philp, ed., Thomas Paine, 357.
85. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 92, 125, 289, 380; Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 280; Paine, *Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, 336, 370; Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 141, 177 [original 119, 168].
86. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 278; Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 307; Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 146–7 [original 124–5]. The taxes on windows, dogs, etc., were much criticised and satirised in Welsh as in English poetry and prose.
87. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 256, 277, 299, 303, 310; Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 152 [original 130–1].
88. Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 299, also 301.
89. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 153 [original 131].
90. Ibid., 153 [original 130].
91. Paine, *Common Sense*, 5–6.
92. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 177–80 [original 162–4].
93. Ibid., 181 [original 166].
94. For an overview of romantic uses of Vortigern, see Damian Walford Davies, 'Models of Betrayal and Flight: Vortigern', in *Presences that Disturb*, 55–94.

95. Ibid., 59–60; Prys Morgan, 'From Long Knives to Blue Books', in *Welsh Society and Nationhood. Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams*, ed. R.R. Davies et al. (Cardiff, 1984), 199–215.
96. Walford Davies, *Presences that Disturb*, 69.
97. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 138–9 [original 116]. The passage takes up the central pages 138–40 [original 116–8].
98. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 139–40 [original 117–8].
99. Ibid., 139 [original 117].
100. Ibid., 133–4 [original 111]; Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 174–5 [original 159].
101. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 133–4, 175.
102. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 182–3 [original 167–8].
103. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 142 [original 121]. Jones follows up by further ironical references to 'the anointed' in italics.
104. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 192, Paine, *Rights of Man Part the Second*, 226, 235, 257. See also Paine, *Rights of Man*, 121; Paine, *Rights of Man Part the Second*, 282, 317; *Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, 352, 357.
105. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 173.
106. Ibid., 132. For other series of rhetorical questions, see Paine, *Rights of Man*, 165; *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 234, 235.
107. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 173, 175; David Mayer, 'Pantomime British', in *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Theatre and Performance*, vol. 2, ed. Dennis Kennedy (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 995–6; Andrew Halliday, *Comical Fellows. The History and Mystery of the Pantomime: With some Curiosities and Droll Anecdotes Concerning Clown and Pantaloon, Harlequin and Columbine* (London: J. J. Thompson, 1863), 9.
108. Halliday, *Comical Fellows*, 29.
109. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 175.
110. For Paine, the crown is a 'thing'. Jones calls it a 'tegan', i.e. 'bauble or 'toy', seven times in this extended passage, moving it further from the realm of rational adulthood. See *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, https://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html, s. v. 'tegan' (accessed February 10, 2024).
111. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 142 [original 119–20].
112. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 131; Paine, *Rights of Man Part the Second*, 255.
113. Paine, *Common Sense*, 15; Paine, *Rights of Man*, 131, 167, 226, 190; Paine, *Rights of Man. Part the Second*, 224, 225, 232, 234. Jones converts 'animals' to the more drastic 'creaduriaid direswm', i.e. 'brute beasts', Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 135 [original 113].
114. Paine, *Rights of Man Part the Second*, 226, 229 (for two rhetorical questions); See also Paine, *Rights of Man*, 167.
115. Paine, *Letter Addressed to the Addressers*, 351.
116. Paine, *Rights of Man Part the Second*, 192; See also, Paine, *Rights of Man*, 127.
117. Dafydd Glyn Jones, 'The Interludes', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1700–1800*, ed. Branwen Jarvis (Cardiff: UWP, 2009), 210–55.
118. Jenkins and Ramage, *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 117.
119. Ffion M. Jones, ed., *Y Chwyldro Ffrengig a'r Anterliwt. Bywyd a Marwolaeth Brenin a Brenhines Ffrainc gan Hugh Jones, Glanconwy* (Cardiff: UWP, 2014), 3, 5; Eadem, '"Brave Republicans": Representing the Revolution in a Welsh interlude', in *'Footsteps of Liberty and Revolt'*, 191–212; The tale of Fortunatus first appeared in German in Augsburg in 1509, and in English in *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus* by Thomas Dekker in 1599.
120. Jones, *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, 142–3 [original 120–1].
121. Jones, *Toriad y Dydd*, 188 [original 173].
122. Paine, *Rights of Man*, 169.
123. Gwilym, 'Dinesydd. Cân Rhyddid', in Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 277 [original 275].
124. Note that receiving French Enlightenment, revolutionary (and counterrevolutionary) material via a larger, possibly hegemonic culture and language, was not unique to Wales. Many of the Danish radical translations, for instance, appear to have been made from French via German.

Disclosure statement

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