'Here in Britain': William Fleetwood, his Welsh translators and Anglo-Welsh Networks before 1721

The following article explores the circumstances and content of the first privately financed political translations from English into Welsh, both renderings of a thanksgiving sermon preached by William Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, in 1716. It understands itself as a contribution to explaining the beginnings of a process which confirmed Wales's separate linguistic and cultural identity while binding it politically into a British nation demarcated by the Anglican Church rather than by ethnic identities, and to explore a hitherto relatively uncharted Welsh-language dimension to eighteenth-century British pamphleteering. Linda Colley's work has explored the process of British nation building in the long eighteenth century with reference to the importance of religion, of war, and most recently of political 'texts that were easily replicated',[1] but extra-parliamentary Anglo-Welsh cross-border interactions and Welsh-language texts have remained underexplored, especially for the earlier eighteenth century.[2] Historians have tended to stay on either side of geographical and linguistic borders instead of exploring the cross-border workings of the bilingual translation networks which underscored Wales's separate cultural and religious identity, while embedding the Welsh in the British political nation.[3] This is different to the long nineteenth

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[1] Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (London, 1994); Eadem, 'Britishness and Ortherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies* 31/4 (1992): 309-29; Eadem, 'Empires of Writing: Britain, America and Constitutions, 1776–1848', *Law and History Review* 32/2 (May 2014): 237–66 at 247.

[2] See Sarah Prescott, '"What Foes more dang'rous than too strong Allies?" Anglo-Welsh Relations in Eighteenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69/4 (2006): 535–54 at 535 for reasons of this neglect.

[3] Colley, does however, cite Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Society and Religion in Wales, 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), in her 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', 318. For the period under review, Peter D. G. Thomas, *Politics and Eighteenth-Century Wales* (Cardiff, 1998), focuses on great families and parliamentary politics.

century, for which a relatively rich corpus of work charts the interplay of language and politics during a 'golden age' of Welsh-language publishing and radical Nonconformity.[4] This case study seeks to transcend these borders by examining the religious and political background to the 1716 and 1717 Welsh translations of Fleetwood's sermon, by interpreting the terminology of the resulting Welsh texts in the context of the public discourse on the British nation, and by outlining the role of provincial publishing centre Shrewsbury and cultural entrepreneurs like Sion Rhydderch in bilingual communication networks. An interlude will engage with a metropolitan cross-genre translation of Fleetwood's sermon and relate it to the Welsh texts.

One Nation: Two Languages

Wales was incorporated into England with the so-called Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543 so that its inhabitants would 'enjoy and inherit all and singular Freedoms Liberties Rights Privileges and Laws within this his Realm, and other the King's Dominions, as other the King's Subjects naturally born within the same have, enjoy and inherit'.[5] However, Welsh enfranchisement did not come without conditions. The very first section of the 1536 act drew attention to Welsh as 'a speech, nothing like, nor consonant to the natural Mother Tongue

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[4] Helen Braithwaite, 'From the See of St David's 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, 2007), 43–64; Cathryn A. Charnell-White, 'Networking the Nation: the Bardic and Correspondence Networks of Wales and London in the 1790s', in *'Footsteps of Liberty and Revolt': Essays on Wales and the French Revolution*, ed. Mary-Ann Constantine and Dafydd Johnston (Cardiff, 2013), 147–67; Marion Löffler, *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution: Press and Public Discourse 1789–1802* (Cardiff, 2012); Philip Henry Jones, 'Printing and Publishing in the Welsh Language 1800–1914', in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801–1911*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff, 2000), 317–47; Ieuan Gwyndedd Jones, 'The Welsh Language and Politics 1800–1880', in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains*, ed. Jenkins, 505–33.

[5] '27 Henry 8, c. 26 An Act for Laws and Justice to be Ministered in Wales in like Form as it is in this Realm', in *The Statutes of Wales Collected, Edited and Arranged by Ivor Bowen Barrister-At-Law, of the South Wales Circuit*, ed. Ivor Bowen (London–Leipsic, 1908), 76.

used within this realm', i.e. English, and linguistic differences were among those held

responsible for any previous 'Discord Variance Debate Division Murmur and Sedition'.[6]

Section twenty of the 1536 act sought to hasten the disappearance of this 'variance' by

legislating:

> that from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language,
>
> shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales,
>
> or other the King's Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees,
>
> unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language.[7]

This legislation does not appear to have been enforced rigorously, and apart from a small

social layer of aristocracy and gentry, the population of Wales remained largely monolingual

Welsh-speaking until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[8] Along the border and

stretching into the English border counties Hereford, Shropshire and Cheshire a bilingual

zone existed of which remnants were still detectable in 1878, when the first survey on the

geographical distribution of the Welsh language was attempted.[9]

Until the nineteenth century, then, the persistence of the Welsh language necessitated a

certain amount of official translation from English and the toleration of the use of Welsh for

legal purposes in the Principality to ensure the governance of this part of the kingdom.[10] Less

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[6] Ibid., 75.

[7] Ibid., 87.

[8] Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Eryn M. White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales', in *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff, 1997), 45–122 at 45–6.

[9] E. G. Ravenstein, 'On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles. A Statistical Survey', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 42 (1878): 579–636.

[10] Richard Suggett, 'The Welsh Language and the Court of Great Sessions', in *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Jenkins, 153–80; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Welsh Language in Local Government: Justices of the Peace and the Courts of Quarter Sessions *c*.1536–1800, in *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Jenkins, 181–205.

formally, a modicum of political knowledge, ideas and rumors are said to have been
disseminated from London to Wales by 'bilingual brokers' as early as the turbulent
seventeenth century.[11] By the early eighteenth century, Welsh migration to London and other
large English cities had strengthened cross-border connections, and a basic Welsh-language
religious education was preparing a reading audience for Welsh political texts.[12] The period
between 1660 and 1730 witnessed an exponential rise in Welsh-language publications at 545
volumes, compared to the 108 Welsh books which had been published between 1546 and
1660.[13] Many of those were translations published in the Anglo-Welsh border country,
among them the two political translations of 1716 and 1717 with which this analysis will
engage.

The London Welsh and George I, 1714

The late Stuart and early Georgian 'propaganda wars' and the role of political sermons and
pamphlets have been analysed in some detail. The period from the accession of Charles II to
the throne in 1660 to the death of Queen Ann Stuart in 1714 was rife with rumours, regicidal
plots, pamphlet wars, and riots against Dissenters and Catholics, all connected with and
fuelled by the emergence of Whig and Tory party politics. The 1701 Act of Settlement may
have settled the succession argument in favor of the Protestant House of Hanover, but
uncertainty and politico-religious power-wrangling prevailed. Bishops and deans, vicars and
ministers, thundered from church pulpits and pleaded in chapels, their published sermons and

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[11] Lloyd Bowen, 'Information, Political Culture and Language in Early Modern Wales', *Past and Present* 228
(2015): 125–58 at 127.

[12] Emrys Jones, 'The Welsh in London in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Welsh History Review*
10/4 (1981): 461–79; Eryn M. White, 'Popular Schooling and the Welsh Language 1660–1800', in *Welsh
Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Jenkins, 317–41.

[13] Geraint H. Jenkins, 'Llenyddiaeth, Crefydd a'r Gymdeithas yng Nghymru, 1660–1730', in *Y Meddwl Cymreig*
ed. William J. Rees (Caerdydd, 1995), 122–141 at 123.

pamphlets reaching at times astonishingly high circulation figures, suffering public burning, and evoking responses as drastic as riots.[14] George of Hanover's ascent to the throne in 1714 did not immediately end this political and religious uncertainty, but it was celebrated in the customary manner with the ringing of bells and illuminations, and with celebratory thanksgiving services which united British subjects in religious ritual on appointed days and times, in town and country.[15] The London Welsh expressed their gratitude for George's ascent by dedicating their annual St David's days celebration to King George I and his family, and by establishing the first London-Welsh society, the *Society of Antient Britons.*[16] This 'London showcase for Welsh Hanoverian and Whiggish loyalty' partly aimed at demonstrating that Welsh ethnic 'variance' did not diminish loyalty to the House of Hanover.[17] The newly-installed annual St David's day sermons, preached on 1 March, focused heavily on loyalty and obedience. The first sermon, *Ufudd-dod i Lywodraeth a Chariadoldeb … Loyalty and Love* utilized Peter I: 15 and Romans 13:1–9 to highlight the

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[14] Geoffrey Holmes. *The Making of a Great Power. Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain 1660–1722* (London & New York, 1993); Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Religion and Royal Succession – The Rage of Party', in *Britain in the First Age of Party 1680–1750. Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. Clyve Jones (London, 1987), 27–39; J. A. Downie, 'The Development of the Political Press', in *Britain in the First Age of Party 1680–1750*, ed. Jones, 111–128 at 125–8; Ruth Paley, 'Politics, Religion and Propaganda: The Prosecution of Seditious Libel in the Last years of Anne', in *Religion, Loyalty and Succession: The Hanoverian Succession of 1714*, ed. William Gibson (Cardiff, 2016), 14–31 at 18; James J. Caudle, 'The Origins of Political Broadcasting: The Sermon in the Hanoverian Revolution, 1714–1716', in *Religion, Loyalty and Succession*, ed. Gibson, 42–63. For Wales, see Geraint H. Jenkins, 'Works of Controversy. V. The Popish Threat', in idem, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730* (Cardiff, 1978), 189–97.

[15] James J. Caudle, 'The Defence of Georgian Britain, in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford, 2012), 245–260; Warren Johnston, 'Preaching National Salvation, Victories, and Thanksgivings: 1689–1800', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 261–274 at 262.

[16] R. T. Jenkins and Helen M. Ramage, *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddigion and Cymreigyddion Societies (1751–1951)* (London, 1951), 11–15.

[17] Prescott, '"What Foes more dang'rous than too strong Allies?"', 537.

duty of 'a just Reverence and Regard towards the Person of our Governor, and his Administration' ('yn rhoddi dyledus *Barch ac Anrhydedd i'n PENLLYWYDD ac i'w Wladwriaeth*').[18] Added to the published version was a firm message that the Welsh or 'British' language, and especially its scriptures, were tools in furthering this obedience by enabling the particular kind of Protestantism that united Great Britain in the 'Church of England'. It announced that:

> the Re-printing of the British BIBLE and Common-Prayer-Book in 8° for the Use of private Families ... is *an Opportunity* we have, to *shew our religious Dispositions*, and at the same Time to *oblige our Country*. This will be the *best Indication of our being Protestants*, and the *best Test of our being true Sons of the Church of England*.[19]

In this, as in later St David's Day sermons, English and Welsh versions appeared on facing pages, thus announcing that both languages were bound into the very fabric of this Protestant kingdom, while enabling easy perusal for non-Welsh speaking patrons and perhaps a comparison of content by those of a suspicious mind.[20] Their texts similarly focused on obedience, on Protestantism, and on a Welsh ethnic identity that fed into the new kingdom of Great Britain. The 'rousing' St David's day sermon of 1717 went as far as maintaining that

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[18] [P. Phillipps], *Ufudd-dod i Lywodraeth a Chariadoldeb wedi eu Gosod allan mewn Pregeth a Adroddwyd yn Eglwys St. Pawl yng Ngardd y Myneich, ar Ddydd-gŵyl Ddewi, sef y Dydd cyntaf o Fawrth, 1715 o flaen Anrhydeddus Lywodraethwyr y Gymdeithas (ac eraill) o Hen Frytaniaid, a Sefydlwyd er mwyn Cynnal Parch a Braint Ddydd Genedigaeth ein Brenhinol Oruchel Dywysoges, ac i Dywysogaeth Cymru Gan P. Phillipps, A.M. Ficar Dyfynnog, a Pherson Llanffwyst. Loyalty and Love, Recommended in a Sermon Preach'd at St. Paul's Covent-Garden, in the British Language, on St. David's Day, Viz. the First of March, 1715. Before the Honourable Stewards, and Others of the Society of Ancient Britons, Established in Honour of Her Royal Highness's Birthday, and the Principality of Wales by D. Philipps, A.M. Chaplain to the Said Society, and also to the Right Honourable James Earl of Berkeley* (London, 1716), 7.

[19] Phillips, *Ufudd-dod i Lywodraeth a Chariadoldeb ... Loyalty and Love*, 19–20.

[20] The sermons were published in London, and official Crown translators would have been able to compare versions. References to non-Welsh speaking patrons are made in several sermons.

because George I was of Tudor and thus Welsh descent, he 'could be relied upon to bring strong government and greater security to the Protestant cause'.[21] In the aftermath of the first Jacobite insurrection, the 'ancient British' and the 'political British' appeared as one in King George.

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that Welsh patriots in metropolitan London should have been eager and able to demonstrate allegiance to their monarch publicly. More unusual appears the publication in Shrewsbury, deep in provincial England and hard on the Welsh border, of two privately financed political translations into Welsh. Both were versions of a Whiggish thanksgiving sermon delivered by William Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, Cambridgeshire, on occasion of the defeat of James Stuart. Fleetwood's sermon and its first translation were more radical than any of the London-Welsh sermons, and many of the thanksgiving sermons preached in 1716.[22] The second translation of 1717, perhaps in an attempt at ameliorating the impact of this incendiary text on the Welsh, dampened the radical tone. All three, however, were focused sharply on the modern British nation. The translation and publication process – from commissioning an author in rural west Wales to translate a sermon preached in east England to the nature of the resulting texts, and the location of their publisher – reveals a new process of disseminating cultural and political ideas into Wales through Welsh texts published in the Anglo-Welsh border country. To examine this process we shall consider Bishop William Fleetwood's association with Wales and the nature of his sermon, discuss Iaco ab Dewi's first translation and the significance of the anonymous second translation, and close by charting the importance of a Shrewsbury printing press as a nodal point in this cross-border discourse.

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[21] Ibid., 151.

[22] This comparison relies on the analysis in Susannah Abbott, 'Clerical Responses to the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715', *Historical Research* 76 (August 2003): 332–46.

Now forgotten, the Victorians considered William Fleetwood (1656–1723) the 'most gifted preacher of his age'.[23] Educated at Eton and King's College Cambridge, he first came to prominence as a Whig preacher in 1689 when he delivered a sermon before the whole university. He was appointed Chaplain to King William III and Mary II soon after, a position he held until William's death. Having been nominated a canon of Windsor by the king before he died, he was confirmed by Queen Anne and installed in 1702 and took part in the public defence of the 'revolution principles', especially during the last years of Queen Anne's reign (as will be seen below). But Fleetwood was also an eager antiquary and economist, and the author of the still valuable *Chronicon preciosum*, a detailed account of six hundred years of money and prices in the British Isles.[24] In 1707, he retreated to the Rectory of Wexham, Buckinghamshire, to complete this magnum opus, but was appointed to the Bishopric of St Asaph in 1708, embarking on a first visitation the same year. His new diocese covered most of north-east Wales into English Cheshire, and south to Newtown in mid Wales. A Whig, and a Latitudinarian who believed in and advised preaching in a simple style intelligible to all, Fleetwood was horrified to find himself in an area where a high church clergy did not even speak the same language as their parishioners,[25] and where the population flocked to St Winifred's Well, as they had done since the twelfth century. His *Charge to the Clergy of St Asaph*, published in 1710, sought to remedy this dangerous neglect in various ways. He condemned absenteeism and multiple holdings and insisted that a sermon be delivered every

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[23] Charles J. Abbey, *The English Church and its Bishops 1700–1800*, vol. 1 (London, 1887), 120.

[24] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [hereafter ODNB], s.v. 'Fleetwood, William (1656–1723)', by Stuart Handley, last modified 19 May 2011 doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9691.

[25] Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730*, 10–16. Fleetwood countered the pilgrimages to St. Winifried's Well with [W. Fleetwood], *The Life and Miracles of St Wenefrede, Together with Her Litanies, with Some Historical Observations Made Thereon* (London, 1713).

Sunday. More unusually, and uniquely for an English-born bishop in Wales at the time, he advised the public use of the Welsh language in religious services:

> In some Places I understand there is now and then an English sermon preached, for the Sake of one or two of the best Families in the Parish, although the rest of the Parish understand little or nothing of English, and those few Families understand the British perfectly well, as being their native Tongue: I cannot possibly approve of the Respect and Complaisance to *a few*, that makes the Minister so useless to the rest, and much the greatest Number of the People. I should be very glad (for my own Sake) that there were but one Language common to us all, and that one were English; but till that Wish can be accomplished I heartily desire the Language of the Minister may be always such as will best instruct and edify his People most.[26]

Fleetwood clearly did not champion the Welsh language, but until all had acquired English, he considered Welsh a necessary instrument in the promotion and defence of the national church which held the kingdom together.[27] In addition, he insisted on the presence of a Welsh and an English Bible in places of worship 'of every the said Dioceses where that Tongue is commonly spoken or used', as had been decreed by Elizabeth I in her 'Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue' of 1563.[28]

An active participant in the pamphlet wars of the early 1800s, Fleetwood was equally aware of the political leanings of the oligarchy in his new diocese, dominated as it was by staunch Tories. This was highlighted by his first biographer, who noted that:

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[26] [William Fleetwood], *The Bishop of St Asaph's Charge to the Clergy of that Diocese in 1710, and now made Publick by his Lordship's Permission* (London, 1712), 11–12.

[27] Ibid, 10–11.

[28] '5 Elizabeth, c. 28. An Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue', in *Statutes of Wales*, ed. Bowen, 149–51 at 150.

he had a very difficult Part to act, coming into this Diocese but just before that Spirit of Rage and Madness broke out in 1710, which continued to the end of the Queen's Reign, when Party rage ran higher, and the spirit of Jacobitism was more insolent and barefaced, than in any former time, since the Revolution; and more in that Part of the Kingdom than in most others.[29]

'That Part of the Kingdom' was ruled by the unofficial 'Prince of Wales' Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, 3rd baronet (1693–1749), whose lands 'straddled at least five Welsh counties' from north to mid Wales, and into Shropshire.[30] Sir Watkin, Tory MP for Denbighshire, was a Jacobite. On 10 June 1710, the birthday of 'James III', he demonstrated his adherence to the Stuart cause by establishing the Cycle of the White Rose.[31] In the same year, and to Fleetwood's great concern, Tory and fellow-Jacobite Dr Henry Sacheverell was welcomed into his diocese after the sensational show trial against him for his seditious sermon *The Perils of False Brethren in Church and State* had resulted in a token sentence.[32] He had been presented with the valuable living of Selattyn (worth £200) near Oswestry by Sir Robert Lloyd of the neighbouring Aston Hall, a fellow Tory, who thus honored his former

[29] [William Powell], 'Preface', *A Compleat Collection of the Sermons, Tracts, and Pieces of all Kinds, that were Written by the Right Reverend Dr. William Fleetwood, Late Lord Bishop of Ely* (London, 1737), iv.

[30] Peter D. G. Thomas, '"The Prince of Wales": Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (1693–1749)', in idem, *Politics in Eighteenth-century Wales*, 150–77 at 150; ODNB, s.v. 'Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams, 3rd baronet (1693?–1749', by Peter D. G. Thomas last modified 24 May 2008 doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30155.

[31] Thomas, 'Jacobitism in Wales', in *Politics in Eighteenth-century Wales*, 133–49 at 137.

[32] For Fleetwood's unease and the more general reaction, see J. P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles. The Politics of Party 1689–1720* (Cambridge, 1977), 128–45 at 130. For the most recent detailed account and collection of documents of the Sacheverell trial, see *Parliamentary History* 31/1 (2012): *Special Issue. Series 6. The State Trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell*, ed. Brian Cowan. William Fleetwood is mentioned as consistently voting with the 'guilty' party. See also, William Gibson, 'Loyalty and Disloyalty: Dr Sacheverell and Seals', in *Religion, Loyalty and Sedition*, ed. Gibson, 32–42.

teacher.[33] The whole area appeared to approve of their politics. Shrewsbury had apparently 'erupted into a spontaneous outburst of joy and relief' on Sacheverell's journey to his new living, while a mob in Wrexham, north-east Wales, celebrated his arrival by marching through the streets and vandalising Dissenting places of worship. At Welshpool in mid Wales, the Fleetwood-nominated vicar of the town was bullied into standing down by the County Sheriff. In his place Sacheverell fan 'Mr Cornwall' delivered a truly Tory Assize sermon, a performance he repeated at Shrewsbury and Wrexham without any repercussions. Once Sacheverell had reached his new rectory, the corporation of Oswestry threw him a 'Thanksgiving Supper'.[34] Mid- and northeast Wales as well as neighbouring Shropshire were as Tory as they were Jacobite, and deeply enmeshed in the troubled politics of the remainder of the country.[35] It is no coincidence that Fleetwood's 1710 contribution to the post-Sacheverell war of words, *The Thirteenth Chapter Vindicated from the Abusive Senses Put upon it*, was published under the pseudonym 'A Curate from Salop' and patently 'directed to the Clergy of that County and the Neighbouring Ones of North-Wales' on the title page.[36] Fleetwood warned the clergy of St Asaph that Romans 13:1 urged 'every Soul be Subject unto the higher Powers', but that it did not specify who these powers were. This specification

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[33] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London, 1973), 239.

[34] D. R. Thomas, *Esgobaeth Llanelwy. The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, vol. 1 (Oswestry, 1908), 140–4; Holmes, *Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 235–9, 244.

[35] Both Parliamentary seats for Shropshire were held by Tories, one of them by Sir Robert Lloyd. See 'Lloyd, Robert II (c. 1688–1734), of Aston Hall, nr. Oswestry, Salop', by D. W. Hayton, in The History of Parliament http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/lloyd-robert-ii-1688-1734.

[36] [William Fleetwood], *The Thirteenth Chapter Vindicated from the Abusive Senses Put upon it by A Curate from Salop and Directed to the Clergy of that County and the Neighbouring Ones of North-Wales; to Whom the Author Wisheth Patience, Moderation, and a Good Understanding, for Half an Hour* (London, 1710).

was to be found only in the country's '*Laws* of the *Constitution*'.[37] This meant that Queen Ann:

> Possesses the Throne as well by *the Act of Settlement*, as by *an Hereditary Right*, as being the Daughter of *King James*; the Title and the Hopes of the *Pretender* (be they what they will) having been extinguished by *an Act of Parliament*; … I shew them moreover, that to preserve the *Protestant Religion* (which would be utterly subverted, should any *Papist* come to Reign over us) an *Act of Parliament* has quite cut off the *Hereditary Right* of more than *Twenty* several People, (all of them Papists) to settle the Crown upon the House of Hanover.[38]

Obedience to the 'higher powers' therefore meant 'such Obedience, and no other, as the Laws of the Country have obliged them'.[39] In March 1712, Fleetwood reiterated his defence of the Hanoverian succession by republishing four sermons originally delivered on the death of Queen Mary, of the Duke of Gloucester, of King William, and on the accession to the throne of Queen Anne.[40] The new preface meant to do:

> what Honour I could to the Memory of two excellent Princes, and who have very highly deserved at the hand of all the People of these Dominions, who have any true Value for the Protestant Religion, and the Constitution of the English Government, of which they were the great Deliverers, and Defenders. I have lived to see their illustrious names very rudely handled, and the great Benefits they did the Nation,

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[37] Ibid., 6.

[38] Ibid., 13.

[39] Ibid., 22.

[40] William Fleetwood, *Four Sermons, I On the Death of Queen Mary, 1694; II On the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, 1700; III On the Death of King William, 1701; IV On the Queen's Accession to the Throne, 1703 By William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph* (London, 1712). On their context, see Kenyon, *Revolution Principles*, 161–2.

treated slightly and contemptuously. I have lived to see our Deliverance from

Arbitrary Power and Popery, traduced and vilified by some who formerly thought it

was their greatest Merit, and made it Part of their Boast and Glory, to have had a little

Hand and Share in bringing it about.[41]

The anthology apparently sold 14,000 copies, but on 10 June 1712, Parliament sentenced it to

be burnt by the common hangman,[42] because it appeared to 'create discord and sedition'.[43]

Fleetwood had written that there was no evidence that:

> either Christ, St Peter or St Paul, or any other holy Writer had, by any Doctrine
>
> delivered by them, subverted the Laws and Constitutions of the Country, in which
>
> they lived; or put them in a worse Condition, with respect to their civil Liberties than
>
> they would have been had they not been Christians. I ever thought it a most impious
>
> Blasphemy against that Holy Religion to father any thing upon it that might
>
> encourage Tyranny, Oppression, or Injustice, in a Prince; or that easily tended to
>
> make a free and easy People Slaves, and miserable'.[44]

William Fleetwood's thanksgiving sermon, 1716

At his ascent to the throne in 1714 King George I translated this staunch Whig defender of

the Hanoverian succession to the Bishopric of Ely much closer to the court, where he

remained until his death in 1723. It is here, in his own, intimate Chapel at Ely-house, that

Fleetwood delivered a sermon based on the not unusual Psalm 107 Verse 2, 'Let them give

Thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed and delivered from the hand of the Enemy', on 7 June

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[41] Fleetwood, *Four Sermons*, iv.

[42] Powell, 'Preface', iv–vi. For other prosecutions in the last years of Queen Anne's reign, see Paley, 'Politics, Religion and Propaganda', in *Religion, Loyalty and Succession*, ed. Gibson, 20–29.

[43] Cited in Kenyon, *Revolution Principles*, 162.

[44] Fleetwood, *Four Sermons*, iv.

1716, the day of thanksgiving proclaimed for the successful suppression of the first Jacobite insurrection. Fleetwood's choice of Psalms and his general 'rhetorical strategies' confirm some of Caudle's and Abbot's characterizations of anti-Jacobite sermons preached in 1715 (and 1745).[45] The possible consequences of a Jacobite victory were outlined in stark terms as 'murther' of the king and his family with the consequence 'that no Protestant Prince must ever have ruled this Nation again'.[46] The 'Laws and Boasted Liberties' of the nation would have been destroyed by 'a Succession of Popish Princes', even the best of whom were not fit to rule. Lacking in rational thought their 'sanguinary Zeal [was] too strong for their good nature and humanity, too strong for Reason, and even an Over-match for their apparent Interest'.[47]

However, thanksgiving sermons, while meant 'to focus the kingdom and to emphasize unity',[48] left room for interpretation, and Fleetwood certainly took possession of the available political space. Of the thanksgiving sermons published on occasion of King George I's victory, mostly in southern England, his was one of the more radical.[49] Perhaps this is the reason why it was not preached in Ely Cathedral, but in Fleetwood's chapel at Ely-house.

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[45] Caudle, 'The Defence of Georgian Britain', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 254–5; Abbott, 'Clerical Responses to the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715', 336–8.

[46] [William Fleetwood], *A Sermon Preach'd at Ely-House Chapel in Holbourn, On Thursday June 7, 1716. Being the Day of Publick Thanksgiving, For the Blessing of God upon His Majesty's Counsels and Arms in Suppressing the late Unnatural Rebellion. By the Right Reverend Father in God William, Lord Bishop of Ely. The Sixth Edition* (London, 1716), 6. [Hereafter *Sermon*].

[47] *Sermon*, 6, 16.

[48] Johnston, 'Preaching National Salvation', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 262; James Caudle, 'The Origins of British Political Broadcasting', in *Religion, Loyalty and Succession*, ed. Gibson, 42–62 at 43.

[49] Caudle, 'The Defence of Georgian Britain', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 247; Abbott, 'Clerical Responses to the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, passim.

Side by side with the expected anti-Catholicism, the text was shot through with an unusually forgiving tenor, as Fleetwood praised God for ending the Jacobite rising so swiftly, thus saving lives on all sides:

> The Rebels … might have killed many thousands of the King's faithful Subjects, both in the Field and out of it, and have undone many thousands more in their Goods and Fortune … Nor would the Enemies of the Kings have had less course to mourn than We, for certainly his Armies would have made as dreadful a Havock of the Rebels and their Favourers and Abetters. … All these Evils are also prevented, by the so speedy Suppression of this Rebellion: And therefore here is Matter of Thanksgiving even for the greatest Enemies the King has; whether Openly or Secretly such.[50]

Fleetwood may have thanked God for saving the lives of friend and foe alike, but his allegiances were clear. They lay with the Protestantism who were enacting God's will, be they King George I and his armies, whose success had clearly indicated God's intent of maintaining and strengthening this Protestant kingdom,[51] or the more lowly members of his 'Protestant nation' who by the grace of God were not only exempt from the unquestioning subordination to worldly authority demanded in other sermons. They appeared enabled by God himself,[52] since:

> whatever God is said, in all these Passages, to do, with so much Majesty and Might, with so great Power and Wonder, is done by human Means, and human Instruments,

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[50] *Sermon*, 10.

[51] *Sermon*, 9.

[52] For observations on obedience in the Welsh context, see J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Duwioldeb ac Ufudd-dod Dinesig: Agweddau ar Fywyd Crefyddol Cymru ar Drothwy'r Diwygiad Methodistaidd', in idem, *Crefydd a Chymdeithas. Astudiaethau ar Hanes y Ffydd Brotestannaidd yng Nghymru c. 1559–1750* (Caerdydd, 2007), 332–61; Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730*, passim; Prescott, '"What Foes mor dang'rous than too strong Allies?"', 537–45.

and in an ordinary and natural Course, by human Strength and cunning, by Vigilance, Activity, by finding and by taking hold of Opportunities …[53]

Human agency as God's 'arm and sword' may have been commonplace in the mid-seventeenth century, but by 1715, it was more the radical exception than the norm, even among leading Whigs.[54] The central four pages of Fleetwood's text centred on the actions of 'all the nation' that had enabled the rule of 'Protestant princes', most importantly George I, whose ascent to the throne was utterly unprecedented:

There is something so particular in this King's coming to the Throne, that it will deserve to be remember'd and consider'd by every one of you; for no King ever yet came in the like manner. He came not in by the Sword, or any Pretence of Conquest as *William* the First did, nor by briguing with the Bishops and Great Men as King *Stephen* did, nor was he called to it by the Nobility and Commonalty of the Realm, to correct and reform the abuses of the State, and supply the Place of such as were depos'd for Mal-administration, or had left the Kingdom, as were *Edward* III. *Henry* IV. *Henry* VII. and the late King *William* of ever Honoured Memory, nor did he come by what they call *Hereditary Right*, as *Henry* II. *Edward* IV. And King *James* I. did. But the Nation of its own accord, neither moved by any fear of present Danger, nor by Gratitude for any Benefits or Service past; awed by no Army, either near or distant; bribed by no Favours, promised or bestowed; but free, at ease, and in a Time of Peace, the Nation, I say, in these Circumstances, did of its own accord, most voluntary offer to, and settle, the Crown upon the House of *Hanover* ... In this manner, and without his seeking, was he call'd to the Throne, by all the Nation, *King* and Parliament; and

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[53] *Sermon*, 4.

[54] See Kenyon, *Revolution Principles*, 173–5.

also afterwards by Queen and Parliament, if that will please some People better. ... It is the Gift of a whole Nation to him.[55]

George I was exceptional, because he had received the throne as a gift from 'all the Nation' who had judged that 'a Popish Prince [was] inconsistent with the Happiness and Safety of a Protestant People'.[56] The second part of the core passage accorded the nation even more power. Casting a look back to 1688 and 1701, Fleetwood recalled how joint action had overcome Catholic threats in the past:

This Nation had been frequently and strongly Allarmed with the Fears of Popery in the Reign of *King* Charles II. who liv'd a secret and dy'd a profess'd Papist. It saw it enter like an armed Man in the Reign of King *James* II. and being first frighten'd as it were out of its Wits, and then into its Wits again, it join'd the Prince of *Orange*, made a *Revolution*, declared the People's Rights, and placed the Crown upon the Prince and Princess's Heads, with certain Limitations; and in the Session following, disabled any Papist for the future, from being King or Queen of these Kingdoms for ever after.[57]

Fleetwood was not alone in interpreting the new king as protector of his people's liberties,[58] and the constitutional change effected by George's ascent to the throne as a 'revolution' in the 'Glorious' tradition.[59] But his thanksgiving sermon was unusually radical in that it accorded the 'whole nation' the power to join monarchs almost as equals, to change the course of history, to declare 'people's rights' and to determine future monarchs' limits of

[55] *Sermon*, 12–13.

[56] *Sermon*, 17.

[57] *Sermon*, 14.

[58] Caudle, 'The Origins of British Political Broadcasting', in *Religion, Loyalty and Succession*, ed. Gibson, 48–9.

[59] Ibid., 44–5.

authority.[60] Far from being urged to obey worldly authority unquestioningly, the people were legitimized to assist in shaping it. Fleetwood was clearly among the 'small coterie of radical Whig intellectuals' who carried radical thought from seventeenth- into eighteenth-century England, but he also introduced it to Wales.[61]

The first Welsh translation, 1716

At first glance it appears unlikely that this radical Whig sermon preached in the east of England should have been translated into Welsh twice within a year of its appearance. However, Fleetwood's familiarity with north-east Wales and his attitude towards Welsh, however, explain why the interlocking wheels of literary and religious patronage which increasingly connected London and the home counties with the Anglo-Welsh border country and Welsh Wales almost immediately ground into action.

The succession of George I had not changed the political the situation in Fleetwood's old Bishopric for the better, on the contrary. In summer 1715, craftsmen, laborers and local colliers were roaming the streets of Wrexham once more, chanting Jacobite slogans and ransacking Dissenting meeting houses. Pleas for protection made to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn went unheard.[62] On 1 August 1715, the first anniversary of the Hanoverian succession, no bells were rung in Wrexham nor bonfires were lit, and only Dissenters closed their shops in reverence to King George I. Conversely, on the birthday of 'James III' in 1716, the town

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[60] This was less usual in the new political press and in the political sermons of seasoned pamphleteers. See Kenyon, *Revolution Principles*, 105–27.

[61] H. T. Dickinson, 'The Precursors of Political Radicalism in Augustan Britain', in *Britain in the First Age of Party 1680–1750*, ed. Jones, 63–84 at 64.

[62] Thomas, 'Jacobitism in Wales', 138. Sir Watkin remained a Jacobite to the end of his life. See his behaviour at the accession of George II in 1727, in The Right Hon. Lord Mostyn, D.L., F.S.A. and T. A. Glenn, *History of the Family of Mostyn of Mostyn* (London, 1925), 160–2; Thomas, 'Jacobitism in Wales', 140–7.

bells rang incessantly here from eight until dusk.[63] In the same year, the other great magnate

of north Wales, Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn and Gloddaeth (1673–1734), 'a Tory and no

doubt a Jacobite',[64] MP for Flint from 1705 until 1734, resigned from George I's government

in protest of the treatment of the Jacobite rebels.[65] Something had to be done.

Responding to this Jacobite threat was a consortium who chose to identify as 'Ewyllyswyr da

i'r llywodraeth bresenol', i.e. 'Well-wishers to the present government' on the title page of

the first translation of Fleetwood's thanksgiving sermon, which appeared not half a year after

the original.[66] The locus of their effort, the Anglo-Welsh border country, and their

identification with the 'present government' on the title page, add to Caudle's observation

that between 1714 and 1716, provincial 'dignitaries, congregations or local gentry' chose to

publish thanksgiving sermons to express their loyalty and advertise the new king to the wider

nation.[67] The circle of those who may be considered members of this patriotic consortium

might have included Fleetwood himself, who had patronized religious publications before,

but more likely were Dissenting congregations in Wales, and the London Welsh, who

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[63] Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642–1780* (Oxford, 1987), 150; Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Jacobitism in Wales', *The Welsh History Review* I (1962): 279–300 at 288.

[64] Lord Mostyn and Glenn, *History of the Family of Mostyn of Mostyn*, 158–9.

[65] Ibid., 159.

[66] [Iaco ab Dewi], *Pregeth a Bregethwyd yng Nghapel Ty-Ely yn Holbourn yn Llundein ar Ddydd Merchur ym Mehefin y 7, 1716. Sef Dydd y Diolchgarwch Cyhoeddus Am Fendith Duw ar Gynghorion ac Arfeu ei Fawrhydi yn Llonyddu y Gwrthryfel Annaturiol diweddar. Gan y gwir Barchedig Dâd yn Nuw Gwilim Arglwydd Esgob Ely. Yn Gymraegedig i'r Cymro un-jeith o'r chweched Printiad Saisoneg gan Jaco ab Dewi* (Y Mwythig … tros Ewyllyswyr da i'r llywodraeth bresennol, 1716). [Hereafter *Pregeth* 1716]. Note that the translation of single words and short phrases in Welsh is given in the main text, while longer Welsh passages are provided in the footnotes so that the flow of the text is not unnecessarily interrupted.

[67] Caudle, 'The Origins of British Political Broadcasting, *Religion, Loyalty and Succession*, ed. Gibson, 46; See also idem, 'The Defence of Georgian Britain', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 249.

patronized the religious education of their brethren back home regularly.[68] The squirearchy and much of the clergy of south-west Wales, supportive of the work of the Welsh Trust and the S.P.C.K., certainly viewed translating and distributing Protestant literature favorably.[69] In Carmarthenshire, John Vaughan 'suggested English books worthy of translation, bore the costs of publishing some of them, took local authors under his wing, and industriously disseminated their literature among the deserving poor', while Captain John Lewis, High Sheriff of Cardiganshire, had 'commanded' Moses Williams to translate Vicker's *Companion to the Altar* and financed the venture.[70] Men like Harri Llwyd, Christmas Samuel and William Davies in the same area had already sponsored religious translations by Iaco ab Dewi, the man who was commissioned to produce a Welsh version of Fleetwood's sermon.[71]

Iaco ab Dewi (or James Davies, 1647/8–1722),[72] is one of the first professional translators in modern Wales known by name,[73] as is evidenced by the record of his death in Pant-teg Church on 24 September 1722, that 'Iago ap Dewi ye famous Translator died after 18 weeks sickness, and buried at Llanllawddog'.[74] A quiet man much interested in astrology and herbal lore, ab Dewi lived a simple life near Carmarthen, except for seven years around 1700 which

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[68] R. Tudur Jones, *Grym y Gair a Fflam y Ffydd. Ysgrifau ar Hanes Crefydd yng Nghymru*, ed. D. Densil Morgan (Abertawe, 1998), 130–1.

[69] Mary Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes of the S. P. C. K. Relating to Wales, 1699–1740* (Cardiff, 1952), 5, 6, 7, 78, 82, 141.

[70] J. Ifano Jones, *A History of Printing and Printers in Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1925), 36; [Moses Williams], *Cydymmaith i'r Allor* (s.l., 1715); Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730*, 269.

[71] Jones, *Grym y Gair*, 135.

[72] James Davies is the English rendering of Iaco ab Dewi. Here, the name he most commonly utilised is used.

[73] Government ordinances and laws were usually translated anonymously, while religious tracts often named the translator.

[74] Garfield H. Hughes, *Iaco ab Dewi 1648–1722* (Caerdydd, 1953), 16; ODNB, 'Iaco ab Dewi (James Davies), by Brinley F. Roberts, last modified 23 September 2004, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14346.

he spent in north-east Wales. At the time this caused rumours that he had been snatched by the *tylwyth teg*, the 'fair folk', but more importantly here, it explains his literary associations with the north-east. Ab Dewi was renowned as an experienced and critical scribe and antiquary, well-known as a minor poet, and respected as a translator. Apart from possibly being one of the four anonymous translators of *Pilgrim's Progress* into Welsh from 1688, eight translations by him appeared between 1714 and 1730, one of which was published by the S.P.C.K. in London, and four in Shrewsbury by Siôn Rhydderch, who also considered him his bardic teacher.[75]

Almanacker, poet, author and publisher Siôn Rhydderch, born in Montgomeryshire, was an organiser of native Welsh poetic contests known as eisteddfodau and maintained 'a rich network of connections with literary men in every corner of the country', among them Welsh antiquaries and poets, but also rising preachers and scholars like Moses Williams, who was well-enmeshed in London-Welsh and S.P.C.K. circles.[76] Ab Dewi's own regional node of writers, poets and translators in the Teifi valley formed the western part of a dense network of bilingual 'non-elite interlocutors',[77] whose links with the remainder of Wales and London enabled the preservation and development of the indigenous bardic tradition, but also the dissemination of Welsh religious literature of a more unifying British character.

Ab Dewi was one of the few Dissenters in a network mainly populated by Anglicans, some of whom may have harbored nascent Methodist inclinations, but who would not have been inclined to import Fleetwood's racy political ideas into Welsh Wales. Ab Dewi, however, translating Fleetwood closely, and with recourse to a Welsh vocabulary whose origin in the Bible imbued it with positive religious connotations, delivered into his compatriots' hand and

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[75] A. Cynfael Lake, 'Sion Rhydderch a'r Beirdd', *Llên Cymru* 34 (2011): 88–108 at 106–7.

[76] Ibid., 89.

[77] Bowen, 'Information, political culture and language in Early Modern Wales', 128.

heads a modern political terminology which would aid political discussion in their own language. His Welsh version of Fleetwood's central passages, for instance, featured the first Welsh terms for the concept of political 'revolution' ('adymchweliad') and a verb to render 'made a revolution' ('ad-ddychwelodd'), both based on the British conceptual development of the term in the wake of the 'Glorious Revolution'.[78] Welsh readers of his translation would not have received it as a text by a Dissenter, but a sermon authored by the major dignitary of the Anglican Church printed on the title page: 'y Gwir Barchedig Dad yn Nuw GWILYM Arglwydd Esgob Ely', i.e 'the Right Venerable Father in God William, Bishop of Ely'. It would have been a sermon to be consulted, listened to, treasured and taken as a guide to life. Fleetwood's core message, that the Protestant British nation was possessed of the political power to install monarchs and regulate their powers, was clarified by ab Dewi to very obviously include the Welsh.[79]

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[78] For examples illustrating conceptual changes, and for English equivalents of all Welsh terms mentioned in this essay, see Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru. The Welsh Language Dictionary http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html. The rise of the modern political concept of 'revolution', differences in conceptualisation between the British Isles and continental Europe, and their expressions in Welsh are not the focus of this article, but see Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755) A Digital Edition of the 1755 Classic by Samuel Johnson. Edited by Brandi Besalke. Last modified: December 6, 2012. http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com; Neithart Bulst, 'Mittelalter', in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland. Band 5 Pro—Soz*, ed. Otto Brunner †, Werner Conze, Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart, 1994), 670–89; John Dunn, 'Revolution', in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, ed. Terence Ball, James Farr, Russell L. Hanson (Cambridge, 1989, 1995), 333–56 at 338; Reinhart Koselleck, 'Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution', in idem, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time. Translated and with an Introduction by Keith Tribe* (New York, 1979; 2004), 43–57; Reinhart Koselleck, 'Revolution als Begriff und Metapher. Zur Semantik eines einst emphatischen Wortes', in idem, *Begriffsgeschichten. Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Spache* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 219–239; Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution. Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 202–03.

[79] *Pregeth* 1716, 14–16. Ab Dewi's rendering of Fleetwood's core passages reads: 'y mae rhyw beth mor neilltuol yn nyfodiad y Brenin yma i'r Deyrn-gadeir, ac yr haedda ef ei gofio a'i ystyried gan bob un ohonoch; Canys ni ddaeth efe i mewn trwy'r Cleddyf, nac un lliw o Fuddugoliaeth ... na thrwy ymgais â'r gwŷr mawrion,

Fleetwood's idea of the power of 'the nation' ('y genedl') was not only reiterated in ab Dewi's translation, but the Welsh were given additional clarification that they were full members of this 'nation'. Clustered in the core passages on the cooperation of 'all the nation, King and Parliament', Fleetwood had used phrases like 'the nation', 'this nation', or 'all the nation' thirteen times in a text of twenty-seven pages.[80] Ab Dewi chose to closely translate 'this nation' as 'y genedl hon', 'the nation' generally as 'y genedl', and 'the whole nation' as 'yr holl genedl', without any qualifying adjectives that would suggest ethnic affiliations. This 'nation' or 'cenedl' was neither Welsh nor 'ancient British', or English, but defined by the Anglican faith.[81] At times, the translator took this concept even further than Fleetwood. The latter had mentioned 'England' seven times in his sermon, in phrases like 'England and Scotland', 'the Church of England', 'the people of England' and 'here in England'.[82] For Fleetwood, 'England' including Wales (as it would explicitly after the Wales and Berwick Act of 1746) meant the Great Britain created in 1707.[83] Ab Dewi clarified this for his Welsh

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... ni alwyd efe iddi hi gan Foneddigion a chyffredin y Deyrnas i wella ac adffurfio camarferion y Deyrnas, ... Ond y genedl ohoni ei hun, heb ei hannog gan un ofn Perygl presennol, na chan un Diolchgarwch am Ddajoni na gwasanaeth o'r blaen; heb ei harswydo gan un llu yn agos nac ymhell chwaith, ac yn Amser Heddwch, y genedl, meddaf, ... o fodd a rhodd yn dra ewyllysgar, a gynnigiodd ac a sicrhaodd y goron i Dŷ Hanofer ... Yn y modd yma, a heb iddo ef ofyn hynny, y galwyd efe i'r deyrn gadeir, gan yr holl genedl, Brenin, a Pharliament ... Rhôdd holl genedl iddo ef heb ei ofyn na'i cheisio oedd hi … Y genedl yma a ddychrynwyd yn fynych ac yn fawr gan ofn Pabyddiaeth yn Nheyrnasiad Charles II. Yr hwn oedd yn ei Fywyd yn Bapist dirgel ac yn ei Farwolaeth yn Bapist cyfaddedig. Hi a welodd Pabyddiaeth yn dyfod i mewn fel gŵr arfog yn Nheyrnasiad y brenin Jaco yr II. Ac wedi ei hofni'n gyntaf megis o'i Phwyll ac yna iw phwyll drachefn, hi ynghyd a Thywysog Orange a *Ad ddychwelodd*, ac a arddangosodd gyfiawnder y bobl; ac a osododd y goron ar benneu'r Tywysog a'r Dywsoges, dan ryw Derfynneu; ac yn yr Eisteddiad ar ol hynny, fe ddarfu iddynt ddi alluogi pob Papist o hynny allan i fod yn Frenin nag yn Frenhines i'r Teyrnasoedd hyn byth wedi hynny.

[80] *Sermon*, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22.

[81] *Pregeth* 1716, 3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25.

[82] *Sermon*, 6, 17.

[83] '20 George 2, c. 42, s 3. Wales to be included in England', in *Statutes of Wales*, ed. Bowen, 206.

audience by translating 'here in England' as 'yma ym Mhrydain', i.e. 'here in Britain'.[84]

'Prydain', i.e. 'Britain', was familiar to Welsh audiences from medieval vaticinations and early modern histories as the locus of an ancient and desired Welsh 'national' identity which encompassed the whole of mainland Britain.[85] Here, it became the denominator of a British identity whose development, according to Linda Colley,[86] had only just begun. Iaco ab Dewi was the first to publicly imagine, in the Welsh language, a political British nation built on the Anglican Church and inclusive of the Welsh.

This identity subtly shone through in other details of the translation, too. Where Fleetwood had referred to 'every National Church throughout the world',[87] ab Dewi wrote 'pôb Eglwys cenedl *arall* trwy'r Byd', i.e. 'the Church of every *other* nation in this world', thus implying that the existence of one nation centred on the national church, and othering the remainder.[88] Ab Dewi's compatriots were no 'ancient Britons' their nationhood based on linguistic and ethnic characteristics, as in some of the London-Welsh St David's sermons and poetry or Theophilus Evans's history,[89] but a 'civil and polite people' ('Bobl Foesol a llywodraethedig') defined by the religious and civil rights and liberties whose guarantors were the Protestant Hanoverians.[90] Both Fleetwood and ab Dewi closed their texts with the earnest prayer common to many of these sermons, and designed to be remembered by listener or reader, that King George I, after a long reign may be succeeded:

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[84] *Pregeth* 1716, 19.

[85] Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales 1642–1780*, 246–8; Gwyn Thomas, 'Two Prose Writers: Ellis Wynne and Theophilus Evans', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature, c. 1700–1800*, ed. Branwen Jarvis (Cardiff, 2000), 45 – 63 at 54–62.

[86] Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, 10–30.

[87] *Sermon*, 23.

[88] *Pregeth* 1716, 25. My italics.

[89] Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales 1642–1780*, 246–8.

[90] *Pregeth* 1716, 8, 9, 19, 20, 21, 23.

By a Race of Virtuous and Religious Protestant Princes, as long as We shall be a

Kingdom of Protestants, that is, I hope, For Ever.[91]

Gan Hiliogaeth o Dywysogion Protestanneidd Rhinweddol a Chrefyddol, cyhyd ac y

byddom ni yn Deyrnas Brotestanneidd, hynny yw, ydwyf yn ei obeithio, dros byth.[92]

An English Verse Translation, 1716

It is more than worth mentioning that the sixth edition of Fleetwood's 1716 thanksgiving

sermon which was the source of ab Dewi's radical first translation for the distant Welsh,

much closer to home became the basis for a translation into English verse.[93] Published in the

same year as the first Welsh translation, this *Thanksgiving Sermon ... Done into Verse*

succinctly highlighted the diseased irrationality of Catholicism which called for the rule of

Protestant kings, while celebrating the happy Enlightened understanding between King and

people in Britain in the wake of 1688 and 1714 and stressing the legality of the Hanoverian

claim:

Because we once despotick Pow'r disowned, / A happy glorious Revolution own'd, /

And arbitrary Government dethron'd; / So the Conspirators, whose mad Disease / And

giddy Brains no Med'cines can appease, / Believ'd the same Thing might be done with

equal Ease.[94]

But of its own accord the Nation did / The Crown establish on his Royal Head / So if for

Kingdom it can lawful be / To save Religion, Rights and Property / Excluding Papists

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91 *Sermon*, 27.

92 *Pregeth* 1716, 28.

93 [Anonymous], *The Bishop of Ely's Thanksgiving-Sermon Preach'd on the Seventh of June 1716 Done into Verse* (London, 1716).

94 Ibid., 12.

and their Laws insured / Settling the Crown where 'twill be most secur'd / There can't be laid a better claim to King / A nation's gift, unasked, unfought by him.

And likewise pray, there'll sit upon the Throne, / A Race of Princes, pious, wise and good, / As great in Virtues as in noble Blood, / The Guardians of our Church and ever be / A Race of Protestants in all Eternity.[95]

Ab Dewi's version had been commissioned and published to further and secure the Hanoverian succession in the Welsh-speaking province; this anonymous versifier's translation into poetry sought to influence those not literate enough in English to receive Fleetwood's prose by transforming it into a medium which lent itself to public performance, to reading out aloud, and to easy recall of rhyming key phrases. Within six months of its first delivery, Fleetwood's message had adapted twice in a bid to transcend social as well as geographical and linguistic borders.

The Second Welsh Translation, 1717

A year after the first two translations appeared, the political situation had changed. At a time of crisis, the political assistance of the Dissenters as fellow-Protestants had been welcome, but when the Catholic and Jacobite threat had receded, most members of government and Church clergy shied from furthering ideas which, by strengthening the position of Dissenters, could weaken the 'national church' at the core of the kingdom. This helps explain the existence of a toned-down second Welsh translation as much as it does the delay in the full

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[95] Ibid., 18, 21, 37.

relief of Dissenters from the punitive acts passed in Queen Ann's reign, and the long

postponement of the full enfranchisement of Dissenters in Great Britain.[96]

In 1717, a second Welsh translation of the sixth edition of Fleetwood's thanksgiving sermon

appeared, whose very existence remained long unrecognized, since it was taken to be a

second edition of the 1716 translation. The reasons for this lie in a historiography which

either ignored Wales and Welsh publications or overemphasized their independence. With

few exceptions, non-Welsh historians of the politics and wars of word in the early

Hanoverian era have tended to ignore publications in the Welsh language, even the very

existence of different (print) languages in the British Isles.[97] Welsh historians, on the other

hand, have been reluctant to recognize the fact that over two-thirds of eighteenth-century

religious and political Welsh prose publications were translations from English, preferring to

treat them as the original compositions as which they would have been received by their

intended reader- and listenership. The two entries noted for 1716 and 1717 in *Cofrestr yr holl

Lyfrau Printjedig* (A List of all Published Books), a register of Welsh publications assembled

by Moses Williams in 1717, and much later included in the standard work on Welsh

publications before 1820, *Libri Walliae*, were assumed to be two editions of the same work,

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[96] David L. Wykes, 'Religious Dissent, the Church and the Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1714–19', in *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660–1832. Essays in Honour of James E. Bradley*, ed. Robert D. Cornwall and William Gibson (Farnham, 2010), 165–83 at 176–7, 179.

[97] Exceptions are mainly found in research on religious literature, which, however, has paid little attention to possible political implications. See Stephen K. Roberts, 'The Sermon in Early Modern Wales: Context and Content', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford, 2012), OXFORD HANDBOOKS ONLINE www.oxfordhandbooks.com; John Morgan-Guy, 'Sermons in Wales in the Established Church', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and, 183–198; D. Densil Morgan, 'Preaching in the Vernacular: The Welsh Sermon, 1689–1901', in ibid., 199–214; Hannah Smith, 'The Idea of a Protestant Monarchy in Britain, 1714–1760', *Past & Present* 185 (2004), 91–118 at 100, has an astonished reference to panegyrics to Frederic II '(even in Welsh)'.

despite slight variations in title and subtitle.[98] Only a close comparison led to the discovery that the second text was a new translation undertaken by an anonymous second author, whose style and choice of vocabulary revealed the changed social and political realities and aims of 1717.

Multiple translations of English works into Welsh, for reasons of economic competition and of changing taste, were not uncommon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as recent research on works like *Robinson Crusoe* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has demonstrated.[99] However, the 1717 translation of Fleetwood's sermon appears to have been politically motivated. Ab Dewi's close translation of 1716 had highlighted rather than hidden Fleetwood's radical Whiggism by emphasizing the role of the 'whole nation' in establishing this Protestant kingdom. The 1717 text eliminated these, more radical political aspects of both original sermon and first translation, while preserving their anti-Catholic and pro-Hanoverian message. This was done at haste, as the relatively high number of misprints and mistakes indicate. On the title page, the second translator appeared only as '*un o ffyddlon Ddeiliaid Brenhin GEORGE*', i.e. 'one of the faithful subjects of King GEORGE'.[100]

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[98] Moses Williams, *Cofrestr o'r Holl Lyfrau Printjedig gan Mwyaf a Gyfansoddwyd yn yr Jaith Gymraeg neu a Gyfjeithwyd iddi hyd 1717* (Llundain, 1717), 4; Eiluned Rees, *Libri Walliae. A Catalogue of Welsh Books and Books Printed in Wales 1546–1820*, vol. 1 (Aberystwyth, 1987), 251.

[99] Dewi Huw Owen, 'Footprints in the Sand: The Welsh Translations of Robinson Crusoe, 1795–1983', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* XXXVI (2016): 147–193; Daniel G. Williams, 'Uncle Tom and Ewythr Robert: Anti-Slavery and Ethnic Reconstruction in Victorian Wales', *Slavery and Abolition* 33 (June 2012): 275–286.

[100] [Anonymous], *Pregeth a Bregethwyd yng Nghapel Ty-Ely yn Holbourn, ar Ddydd Iau Mehefyn 7, 1716. Sef y Dydd o Gyhoedd Ddiolchgarwch am Râd a bendith Dduw ar Gynghorion ac Arfau'r Brenhin, yn Gostegu'r Diweddar Wrthryfel Annaturiol. Gan y Gwir Barchedig Dâd yn Nuw William Arglwydd Escob Ely. A gyfjeithwyd or Chweched Argraphiad yn Saesonaeg gan un o Ffyddlon Ddeiliaid Brenhin George* (Y Mwythig, 1717. [Hereafter *Pregeth* 1717]. As far as the author is aware, the National Library of Wales holds the only surviving copy (W.s.163–168, a volume of six bilingual and Welsh sermons published between 1714 and 1722). An additional aim of this translation may have been to impart knowledge about the new king to an ignorant

Remaining anonymous, he removed any ambiguity over the identity (of 'his Majesty' or 'ei Fawrhydi' in the 1716 versions) by printing the new king's name in capital letters.[101] In the body of the translated sermon, all references to the agency of 'the nation' in fulfilment of God's intent were carefully erased. Where Fleetwood had written 'the nation' or 'this nation', which ab Dewi had rendered literally as 'y genedl' or 'y genedl hon', the second translator used the Welsh terms for 'realm', 'kingdom' and 'country', i.e. 'y deyrnas' and 'y wlad'.[102] Instead of imagining the 'whole nation' as an agent of change, in this Welsh version it was an on-looker, informed of events which had unfolded in the 'realm' without their input The only exception, significantly, was the translation of the general reference to 'a Protestant Nation' as 'Cenhedl o Brotestanniaid', i.e. 'a nation of Protestants'.[103]

Similarly, the radical reordering of the kingdom in the central passage of Fleetwood's sermon by a 'nation' making 'revolution', and ab Dewi's close translation of it, was muted into a rather quieter process of 'change'. In the 1717 text the 'y wlad ... a ymgysylltodd a Thywysog *Orange*, a *newidiodd*, *y Llywodraeth*', i.e. 'country … co-joined the Prince of *Orange*, and *changed the Government*'.[104] Where Fleetwood and ab Dewi had used terms associated with radical innovation, such as 'to make a revolution' ('ad-ddychwelaf'), and 'Revolution' ('Adymchweliad'), the 1717 author chose 'newid', i.e. 'to change', and 'cyfnewidiad', i.e. 'a change' or an 'exchange'. Rather neutral and commonplace, they were then beginning to be

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Welsh public, some of whose leaders were less than diligent in making public royal proclamations. Even the proclamation of George II's ascent to the throne in 1727, for instance, appears to have been sabotaged as far as possible by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. See Lord Mostyn and Glenn, *History of the Family of Mostyn of Mostyn*, 160–2.

[101] The translator is referred to as male, because no published translations by women are known for the period under review.

[102] *Pregeth* 1717, 3, 8, 9, 11, 15, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 28.

[103] *Sermon*, 17; *Pregeth* 1717, 20.

[104] *Sermon*, 14; *Pregeth* 1717, 17.

associated with the internal changes brought about by religious awakening, a meaning acquired through their use in translations like that of *Pilgrim's Progress* as *Taith neu Siwrnai y Pererin*. William III's and George I's coming to the throne and the thanksgiving for George's victory were thus disconnected from radical Whig politics, but allowed to retain their positive religious connotations.[105] The second translator, while happy to borrow 'the Pretender' into Welsh as 'Yr [sic] Pretender',[106] did not dare even reference the English word 'revolution' by using a loan based on it, unlike Dissenting translators of religious material later in the century.[107] The resulting Welsh text was less literary, i.e. easier to comprehend, less radical, and less active, and less urgent in tone.

As in all the others versions of this sermon, the 1717 text closed with the expression of hope that 'we shall be a Kingdom of Protestants, that is, I hope, For Ever',[108] translated closely as 'tra bo'm ni'n Deyrnys [sic] o Protestanniaid [sic]; o hynny, 'rwy'n gobeithio, a fydd tros byth'.[109] Appended, however, was a further pledge to loyalty extracted from William Fleetwood's *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely* at his primary visitation in

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[105] *Pregeth* 1717, 9: 'O herwydd darfod newid y Llywodraeth cyn hawsed er mwyn Crefydd y *Protestaniaid*, ac er mwyn Cyfreithiau a rhydd-freintiau'r Deyrnas, am hynny tybiodd Penaethiaid penboethion anfeddylgar y cydfradwyr y byddai mor hawdd gwneuthur *Cyfnewidiad* arall, os medrent gynhyrfu'r bobl i anfodlondeb ac anghariad ir Llywodraeth.'

[106] *Pregeth* 1717, 11, 14, 28. Iaco ab Dewi had coined the rather negative 'Y Ffuantwr' to translate 'the Pretender'. See *Pregeth* 1716, 27.

[107] See, for instance, the borrowing 'Refolusion', in [Anonymous], *Catecism yr Ymneillduwyr Protestanaidd (*Caerfyrddin, 1775), 18. This was a translation of S. Palmer, *The Protestant Dissenters' Catechism containing 1. A brief History of the Nonconformists; 2. The Reasons of the Dissent from the National Church* (Belfast, 1775), 19.

[108] *Sermon*, 27.

[109] *Pregeth* 1717, 29.

1716.[110] Entitled 'Gwir Glod Ein grasusaf Frenhin George',[111] i.e. 'True Praise for our Most Gracious King GEORGE', two pages of praise translated Fleetwood's eulogy 'that we have hardly ever had a Prince upon the Throne, that came better inclined, or better qualified, to make us a happy People, than He who now Reigns over us'.[112] It concluded with a translation of his stern advice of the clergy's duty to disseminate messages of loyalty and obedience to the king. The significant adjustment made by the translator in this closing passage was to replace '*good Englishmen*' by 'yn bur i'n Gwlad', i.e. 'true to our Country' in order to clearly include the Welsh:

> By letting our People know (as there is need) that they must be as we our Selves are, good *Englishmen*, good *Protestants*, and faithfull Subjects to the KING, according to the Laws of God, and of the Land, and the most solemn Obligations of their Oaths.[113]

> Gadewch i ni ynteu ddwyn ar ddeall (megys y mae'n angenrhaid) in Pobl, y dylent hwy fod a ninnau hefyd, yn bur i'n Gwlad, yn wir Brotestanniaid, ac yn ffyddlon Ddeiliaid ir Brenhin, yn ol Cyfreithiau Duw ar Deyrnas, a pharchusaf rwymedigaeth y llwon a gymmerasant, neu y maent oll yn rhwymedig iw Cymmeryd.[114]

Publishing Welsh Translations in an English Town

Both translations appeared in Shrewsbury, which, as much as Chester and more so than Hereford and Bristol, functioned as a Welsh urban centre and an important node in the

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[110] William Fleetwood, *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely, at Cambridge, Aug. the VIIth. MDCCXVI at his Primary Visitation by William L^d. B^p. Of Ely* (Cambridge, London, 1716), 21–4.

[111] [Anonymous], 'Gwir Glod Ein Grasusaf Frenhin George, a Gyfieithwyd Allan o Orchymyn Awdurdodawl neu Siars y Gwir Barchedig Dâd yng Nghrist William Arglwydd Escob Ely o flaen Eglwyswyr yr Esgobaeth honno (dal. 21, 22)', in *Pregeth* 1717, 30–32.

[112] Fleetwood, *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely*, 21; [Anonymous], 'Gwir Glod Ein Grasusaf Frenhin George', 30.

[113] Fleetwood, *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely*, 25.

[114] [Anonymous], 'Gwir Glod Ein Grasusaf Frenhin George', 32.

networks that linked Welsh Wales with the English metropolis. In 1715 Daniel Defoe sang its praises as 'a beautiful, large, pleasant, populous and rich, Town; full of Gentry and yet full of Trade too', highlighting its bilingualism by remarking that 'they speak all *English* in the town, but on a Market-Day you would think you were in *Wales*'.[115] Perhaps Shrewsbury was not only the most probable, but perhaps the only possible location for two such translations to be accomplished and published so swiftly.

In 1695, Montgomeryshire born Thomas Jones (1648–1713), the first Welsh 'almanacker',[116] had set up shop here when he returned from London in what has been called the first 'overspill' of journeymen to the provinces,[117] and until the 1760s, most cheap Welsh publications were printed in this centre of a 'vibrant provincial culture',[118] some nine miles from the Welsh border.[119] In 1715, Siôn Rhydderch had taken over Thomas Jones's printing press, which he was to run until 1728.[120] Like his predecessor, who had maintained an abiding and public abhorrence of the 'Jesuit bloodsuckers',[121] Rhydderch's religious and political stance was anti-Catholic, and therefore pro-Hanoverian. Among his first publications

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[115] [Daniel Defoe], *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of Whatever is Curious and Worth Observation ... Vol. II. By a Gentleman* (London, 1725), 114.

[116] Geraint H. Jenkins, '"The Sweating Astrologer": Thomas Jones the Almanacer', in *Welsh Society and Nationhood. Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams*, ed. R. R. Davies, Ralph A. Griffiths, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and Kenneth O. Morgan (Cardiff, 1984), 161–77.

[117] Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy. Pre-industrial Britain 1722–1783* (London and New York, 1993), 198.

[118] Caudle, 'The Defence of Georgian Britain', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 248.

[119] Jones, *History of Printing and Printers*, 9–10.

[120] The English rendering of his name is John Roderick. Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales*, 216; Bob Owen, 'Sion Rhydderch yr Almanaciwr, 1673–1735', *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* 3 (1930): 275–90.

[121] Jenkins, '"The Sweating Astrologer"', 168–70.

was the anti-Jacobite sermon *The Ways that Lead to Rebellion*, preached near Oswestry by the 'Chaplan to the Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Ely' William Fleetwood in January 1715.[122] William Powell, who had delivered the sermon, was Fleetwood's nephew. Rhydderch was clearly geographically and socially at the centre of a network of local, regional and national Welsh and English patrons, authors, bards and translators on either side of the border, all eager to further the Hanoverian cause which secured the Protestantism to which they adhered. This enabled the swift commissioning and publication of two translations of Fleetwood's thanksgiving sermon of 1716. The fact that both translations were financed and published here also more generally underscores Caudle's assertion of the 'emergence of new centres of discussion outside the metropolis' and adds to the about fifty per cent of known anti-Jacobin sermons published in the 'provinces' after 1715.[123] Welsh-language material was as much part of a new national political discourse as English sermons preached 'in remote pulpits'.[124]

It is difficult to assess the impact of the two translations, since publishing figures for Welsh-language material beyond the recurrent Bible editions are difficult to ascertain before the nineteenth century. However, the very fact that the translation of a Whig sermon was financed privately to be printed so swiftly, and that when a first translation raised fears of supporting religious and political dissent, a second version was published and distributed just as quickly, speaks to an efficient system of commissioning and production, but also to

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[122] W. Powell, *The Ways that Lead to Rebellion, Laid Open In a Sermon Preached at Llanymynech in Shropshire, on the 30th of January, 1715-16. By W. Powell, M.A., Chaplan to the Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Ely* (Shrewsbury and London, 1715); Rhydderch's name does not appear on the imprint, but Jones, *A History of Printing and Printers in Wales and Monmouthshire*, 10–12, is convinced that it was published by him.

[123] Caudle, 'The Defence of Georgian Britain', in *Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. Francis and Gibson, 248.

[124] Caudle, 'The Origins of British Political Broadcasting', 45.

expectations that the texts would assist in alleviating the emergency situation in north-east Wales. Considering that Welsh almanacks, and later in the century magazines and newspapers in both languages, were treasured, read to neighbors and copied into a manuscript culture which survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century,[125] it is reasonable to assume that the 1716 and 1717 Welsh translations of William Fleetwood's *A Sermon Preach'd at Ely-House Chapel in Holbourn* may have enjoyed a longer life span than comparable works in England.

Conclusion

While the history of translating official documents into the Welsh language by state commission extends back at least to the second half of the seventeenth century, the 1716 and 1717 translations of the sixth edition of Fleetwood's thanksgiving sermon announced the arrival of privately financed translations for political purposes arising from and aiming at influencing wider circles of Welsh society. Iaco ab Dewi's 1716 translation constitutes the first radical political publication in the Welsh language, and remained so until the adaptation of Sir William Jones's 1782 *Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer*, which appeared hidden in a traditional Welsh folk play in 1783.[126] It was part of a radical British discourse which superseded linguistic and geographical boundaries to accord the Protestant nation considerable agency in ensuring the safeguarding of their 'liberties'. The anonymous 'translation' of Fleetwood's sermon into verse in the same year demonstrates that crossing genre boundaries within the English language was also part of the inventory of Whig

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[125] Löffler, *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution*, 1–3.

[126] [Sir William Jones], *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Peasant. Written by a Member of the Society for Constitutional Information* (Printed and Distributed Gratis by the Society for Constitutional Information, 1782); Anthony Page, 'The Dean of St Asaph's Trial: Libel and Politics in the 1780s', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32/1 (2009): 21–35; Emyr Wyn Jones, *Yr Anterliwt Goll: Barn ar Egwyddorion y Llywodraeth ... gan Fardd Anadnabyddus o Wynedd* (Aberystwyth, 1984).

pamphleteering, addressing audiences who were socially so distant from pamphlet authors that they could not be expected to read their prose. The choices made by the second, anonymous translator of Fleetwood's sermon into Welsh places his 1717 text at the beginning of a tradition which attempted to shield Welsh speakers from unwanted political and religious ideas, a tradition which reached its apogee in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.[127] This was achieved by deleting and neutralising radical terms. All three translations, however, took pains to advertise a national identity for Great Britain which was based on the idea of the Protestant British nation centred on a national church, of which they were a part, whatever their language, ethnicity or social class. The fact that these translations into Welsh appeared in Shrewsbury highlight the importance of developing provincial centres of printing for the dissemination of metropolitan political ideas, but also as the locus of regional platforms of political expression – in English as well as in Welsh.

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[127] Jones, *Printing and Publishing*, 323–5, 344–7.