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‘All our dear countrymen’? British and Irish expatriates east of the Rhine as recorded in the *Triennial Travels* of James Fraser of Kirkhill (1634-1709)

David Worthington¹

Introduction

This article focuses on a short section of a travel memoir written by James Fraser (1634-1709), minister of the Scottish Highland parish of Kirkhill, just to the west of Inverness. It considers the author’s account of a body of expatriates from the ‘Three Kingdoms’ - Scotland, England (and Wales) and Ireland - a group he identified collectively as his ‘countrymen’. The circle within which Fraser operated at that point in his itinerary was relatively inclusive, being confessionally diverse and based on a loose affiliation with the cause of the then-exiled Stuart monarchy. Three cities that are commented on in depth in the account have been selected – Regensburg, Vienna and Prague – and Fraser’s remarks in relation to his network in each of them analysed in an effort to develop wider conclusions on the nature and development of early forms of ‘Britishness’ and the crucial and often neglected role of language in helping to forge a less prescriptive identity that linked people from throughout the Stuart kingdoms.

A growing body of work on the life of expatriates from the ‘British Isles’ is identifying sub-national, supranational and transnational influences on those English, Scottish, Irish and

¹ The author would like to express his thanks to Dr Iain MacInnes for his assistance in transcribing part of the relevant section of the memoir in 2009-10. This comprised the starting point for an ongoing project involving transcription and further analysis of the source in question, which is being undertaken currently at the Centre for History, University of the Highlands and Islands.

Welsh histories that have been separated, distinguished and contrasted in most previous scholarship in the field. Focusing on the British and Irish mix in early modern Europe, these analyses are beginning to challenge prevailing orthodoxies.² It is unsurprising that most writers concerned with the European angle have asserted the ‘complex symbiosis’ between the Irish and Scottish movements of population to be the most obvious traditions for comparative analysis, given the disproportionately large numbers of people from those two locations that were involved.³ Indeed, Allan MacInnes has argued that an Irish-Scottish perspective in terms of explaining the outflow eastwards from the archipelago in early modern times may be as far as the comparative and supranational approach will ever develop. Although the ‘New British and Irish History’ has expanded to include England and Wales, he has argued that it is too frequently characterised by a limited focus which tends to ‘disregard or discount separate Scottish and Irish links – confessional, mercantile and military – to the continent’.⁴ Evidently, a concern remains among some scholars of these European ties that ‘the cloven hoof of anglocentricity’ has made a disproportionately large imprint on studies in the field.⁵ Nevertheless, although in many senses persuasive, this argument surely underestimates the scholarly value of the type of approach which was first outlined by Pocock in the 1970s, and which has been reworked and refined ever since. This is a methodology which seeks to outline a history that, while ‘British’, accounts for a ‘broad pattern of interaction’ between the peoples of the archipelago, and does so without apportioning responsibilities for this exclusively between scholars concerned with the respective national histories in question. It thus takes a comparative, ‘four nations’ approach

² David Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Leiden, 2009); Thomas O’Connor, Sølvi Sogner, and Lex Heerma van Voss, ‘Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks’, in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, (Leiden, 2005), pp. 375-93.

³ O’Connor, Sogner and Voss, ‘Scottish Communities Abroad’, p. 378. See also Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan, ‘Rethinking the Trajectory of Modern British History: an Ireland-Scotland approach’ in Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan, eds., *These Fissured Isles: Ireland and Scotland and British History, 1798-1848* (Edinburgh, 2005) pp. 1-42.

⁴ Allan I. MacInnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 2.

⁵ Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-42* (Oxford, 1991) p. vii.

to the theme, one which has been most apparent in works on the British Imperial world. Such an approach aims to account for overlaps linking these groups when overseas as well as moving towards focusing as much on family allegiances and regional identities as on mutual isolation or antagonism at the level of the nation-state. This is surely an historiographical position from which a significant critique can still be made of the assumption that concentric national and British imperial spheres defined entirely the political and cultural identities of those people from the later Tudor and Stuart kingdoms who travelled extensively and, in many cases, settled, in other parts of Christendom, particularly prior to the eighteenth century.⁶

Of key importance to the argument offered in this article is language, an under-explored theme in works of this type. As Peter Burke has indicated, scholars of early modern Europe remain a long way from establishing an ‘ethnography of speaking’.⁷ Nonetheless, Nicholas Canny has claimed that, by the mid-seventeenth century, English was understood by ‘the ruling elite in all jurisdictions of the British Crown’. Evidence relating to the network that will be outlined from Fraser’s account indicates that a range of the participants conveyed an ability and willingness to read, write and converse not only in Latin, but using versions of their respective mother tongues. Their discourse was thus by no means exclusively English and so within obvious limits, there may be scope in positing Fraser’s and some other British and Irish networks in early modern Europe as precursors to the idea of the ‘English-speaking

⁶ Steven G. Ellis, ‘The concept of British history’ in Stephen G. Ellis and Sarah Barber, eds. *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (Harlow, 1995), pp. 2-3; Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard, ‘Introduction: Identifying Regions’ in Green and Pollard, *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300-2000* (London, 2007), pp. 1-26. Eric Richards, *Britannia’s Children: emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London, 2004); Alexander Murdoch, *British Emigration, 1603-1914* (Basingstoke, 2004). For the Atlantic World, starting points could be found with Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2002). Also relevant here, if covering a later period only, are the various sections relating to British and Irish arrival and settlement in James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000* (London, 2001).

⁷ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 4, 7

peoples’ as recently outlined by Peter Clarke in this journal.⁸ By this approach, the term’s association overwhelmingly with Churchill is questioned, and a concept which although ‘primarily an appeal in emotional rather than material terms’ is shown to have been ‘deeper than simply a linguistic category’. In this manner, the use of a lingua franca amongst numerous cultural groups across the isles is shown to have been by no means confined historically to the mid-twentieth century or entirely to ‘socially privileged, politically conservative and generally establishment-minded circles’.⁹

One specific continental location, where, in relation to the early modern period and to Europe, scholarly understanding could be enhanced by means of a ‘four nations’ approach focusing on this linguistic dimension is that region east of the River Rhine comprising Bavaria as well as the Habsburg monarchy’s patrimonial lands of Austria, Bohemia and Royal Hungary.¹⁰ A recent exploration of the relevant primary and secondary sources relating

⁸ Peter Clarke, ‘The English-Speaking Peoples Before Churchill’, *Britain and the World*, 4 (2011), pp. 201, 213, 224

⁹ I am grateful to Dr Joanna Kopaczyk of Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, for her comments in this regard. See Burke, *Languages and Communities*, pp. 4, 7; Nicholas Canny, ‘Irish, Scottish and Welsh responses to centralisation, c.1530-1640: a comparative perspective’ in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer eds., *Uniting the kingdom? The making of British history* (London, 1995), p. 157; J. Derrick McClure, ‘English in Scotland’ in Robert Burchfield, ed., *Cambridge History of the English Language*, (Cambridge, 1994), V, pp. 23-38; Clarke, ‘The English-Speaking Peoples’; Peter McLaren, ‘White terror and oppositional agency: towards a critical multiculturalism’ in D.T. Goldberg, ed., *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader* (Oxford, 1994) pp. 45-74; C. W. Dilke, *Greater Britain: A records of travels in English Speaking countries during 1866 and 1867*, 2 vols., (London 1868), For evidence regarding language use by Irish Catholics abroad, see Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001) p. 146; Gráinne Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders 1586-1621* (Dublin, 1992) p. 85; Proinsias Mac Cana, *Collège des Irlandais, Paris and Irish Studies* (Dublin, 2001), p. 20. See, for language use amongst the Scots in Europe, Steve Murdoch, *Network North. Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 368-73; Steve Murdoch, ‘Children of the diaspora: the ‘homecoming’ of the second-generation Scot in the seventeenth century’ in Marjory Harper, ed., *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005) p. 58. For other works on the use of English abroad in the same period, see Peter Burke, ‘*Heu domine, adsunt Turcae*: A Sketch for a Social History of Post-Medieval Latin’ in Peter Burke and Roy Porter eds., *Language, Self and Society: A Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1991) pp. 23-51; David Worthington, ‘Introduction’, in Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Emigrants*, pp. 18-21.

¹⁰ It comprises an area that, until 1806, lay around the southern- and easternmost frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire, the expansive polity that was then dominant over much of the German-speaking world. The Empire stretched northwards to the shores of the Baltic, southwards to the Adriatic, westwards as far as modern-day France.

to that geographical space and to ‘central Europe’ more widely in those times has illuminated a multi-ethnic British and Irish circle oriented around the residences of the scions of a Scottish family, the Leslies.¹¹ Nevertheless, the first fifty-four folios of the third volume of James Fraser’s aforementioned travel account are an under-utilised source which, perhaps more than any other, indicates the potential benefits of further analysis of this network as a case study of British and Irish identities in the seventeenth century.¹² This section of narrative provides not only colourful recollections of a two-month period spent in the region in 1659, but also allows a chance for scholars to assess perceptions of a unique and diverse group of British and Irish expatriates. Fraser was fluent in Scots Gaelic, Scots, English and Latin and had a basic knowledge of French, Hebrew, Greek, German, Italian and Hungarian. He was also prolific, compiling a Gaelic dictionary as well as around fifty volumes devoted to history, theology, music, poetry and weather lore, although unfortunately only a handful of these survive.¹³

Initial analysis of the *Triennial Travels*,¹⁴ reveals that, despite his moving within a largely non-English milieu at home (excepting his strong contacts with Inverness’s Cromwellian

¹¹ David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c.1560–1688* (Aldershot, 2012).

¹² He referred to himself as ‘Pastor Montis Mariae’ or ‘Minister of Mary’s Hill’ evoking Kirkhill’s Gaelic name, Cnoc Mhoire. See William Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers: the Wardlaw manuscript entitled “Polichronicon seu policratica temporum” or “The true genealogy of the Frasers”, 916–1674* (Edinburgh, 1905), p. xx.

¹³ National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], MS. 3568, summarised within Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*. See also his *Divina Providentia in Rebus Humanis* from 1678 and some additional letters in: NLS, Adv.MS.32.4.7; NLS, ADV.MS.33.5.19, pp.48-51, 62, 352; ‘Part of a Letter Wrote by Mr. James Fraser, Minister of Kirkhil, near Invernes, to Ja. Wallace at Edinburgh, Concerning the Lake Ness, etc.’, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 21, (1699), pp. 230-232; 18 Dec. 1699, ?, Edward Lhuyd to Fraser, in Michael Hunter, *The occult laboratory: magic, science and second-sight in late seventeenth-century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 205-6. At least two other manuscripts of Fraser’s survive: University of Aberdeen Special Libraries and Archives, MS 630, ‘Homilies and exercises theological and moral, 1661-88’; Highland Council Archives, 103/2, ‘Bill of Mortality – containing all yt died Natives and Strangers in 48 years’, Old Parish Register Inverness, 52 (the original is held in the National Records of Scotland).

¹⁴ The *Polichronicon seu policratica temporum* referred to in footnote 10, formed the basis for an edited publication by the Scottish History Society in 1905. However, the lengthiest of the manuscripts (one which was only used in bare outline for the Scottish History Society volume), is the *Triennial Travels, containing a succinct and briefe narration of the journey and voyage of Master James Fraser through Scotland, England, all France, part of Spain, and over the Savoyan Alps to Italy [also in the Tyrol, Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia,*

garrison during the 1650s) he chose to write the bulk of the manuscript in a language that would have been accessible to both an English and Scots-speaking audience. Fraser was curious about the world beyond Scotland, but wanted to ensure that what he saw abroad could be used to widen the perspective of a broad range of potential readers at home. Indeed, he asserts that, following schooling at Inverness Grammar and King's College in Aberdeen, he had gained the impression that Scotland could never give him access to 'all the world'; to him, Great Britain comprised 'an Island ... divided from parts of the world' and so as islanders, its people were 'lost and oft in need of forrein travels'. Thus, at the age of 23 he had acquired both a passport and a testimonial from the Inverness magistrates and the acting colonel and secretary of the town's garrison so he could set out 'to view this universe', that world which lay beyond his home country.

'So very many Scotch, English and Irish': James Fraser's account of the summer of 1659

Fraser and his 'countrymen'

Although Fraser was rare as a Scottish Highland traveller east of the Rhine, other 'grand tourists' had traversed this part of Europe and with a pan-archipelagic retinue, even before the Anglo-Scottish regal union of 1603. In 1573, Philip Sidney had ventured southwards through the Habsburg lands for Italy with a small entourage including his Welsh servant, Griffin Madox. In Prague, Arthur Throckmorton and his group had fallen into the company not only of George Ware, an 'Englishman moderater and reader' at the city's Jesuit university, but also 'Anna Strada, a Scotswoman married to a Spaniard'.¹⁵ Another, John

Germany, Holland, Picardy etc. and back to France, England and Scotland]. It comprises an exceptionally detailed work of several hundred thousand words length. For its early history, see Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*. At the turn of the twentieth century, the *Triennial Travels* remained in the ownership of Hilda H. Paterson of Birkwood, Banchory (fl. c.1900-42). It was only in the 1960s that it came into the possession of the University of Aberdeen's Special Libraries and Archives, as MS 2538.

¹⁵ Cited in Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions*, p. 34.

Smith, had met in Graz ‘an English man and an Irish Jesuite who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie...’¹⁶ During a period in military service in Hungary, he had also encountered a number of his ‘owne country-men’, a group that included at least one Scot and a band of English soldiers. Smith’s use of the term ‘countrymen’ is worthy of exploration here as it is suggestive of a definition applying to people from any of the three Stuart kingdoms. Indeed, this term, as applied in a supranational context, was in wider use at this time. William Bruce, from Caithness in northern Scotland, when envoy to the Polish court, referred to all those of ‘his Majesties subjectes my countrey-men’ who were united by ‘our Soverign’ James VI and I.¹⁷ Fraser also used the term in the *Triennial Travels*, most strikingly perhaps when leaving the Royal Hungarian capital of Pressburg (Bratislava) for the Bohemian crownlands, when he commented that: ‘our business now at departure was to take a particular farewell of all our dear countrymen, Scottish, English and Irish’.¹⁸ An exploration of his accounts of interactions with such a body of ‘countrymen’ in three other locations - Regensburg, Vienna and Prague - will help to explain both his motivations in employing the term in this way and also the power of language in creating this identity.

Towards central Europe

Fraser’s encounters with his wider ‘countrymen’ were in no way confined to the summer of 1659. He had made observations on the other nationalities of the Stuart monarchy, albeit inconsistent in nature, from the outset of his journey. In particular, a Highland world view based on *duthchas* (heritable trusteeship) and clanship positioned him not only within a ‘loose collaborative nexus’ of scholars that included the likes of Martin Martin (d. 1718) and Robert Kirk (1644-92), but also provided him with a cultural background that led him to

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ 8 Sept. 1609, Gedani [?], William Bruce to Robert Cecil, in C.H. Talbot, ed., *Res Polonicae Iacobo I Angliae Regnante conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londiniarum*, Elementa ad Fontium Editiones, VI (Rome, 1962), p. 62. I am grateful to Dr Anna Kalinowska for alerting me to this reference.

¹⁸ *Triennial Travels*, III, f. 44.

assume the hospitality of his hosts and companions, whatever their background.¹⁹ Although subject to a great deal of influence from outside during this time, this was a period in which the Highlands retained a degree of cultural separateness from the rest of Scotland in this regard as in others, a difference which is apparent at times in the memoir. For example, before crossing the border into England two years earlier, he had found accommodation north of Berwick at the house of a ‘Mr Bolton’, who ‘knoweing me to be a Scots man, and come from Inverness, inquired for some of his acquaintance there especially Doncan Forbes Marchant, and quhat an oblidging generous Gentleman he wes’.²⁰ Once on the south side of the Tweed, and lodging with a post-master, ‘Mr Lenning’, a similarly friendly encounter took place.²¹ At Alnwick, his exchanges with ‘Mr Farmers the Postmaster, married to a Scots woman, Anna Knox’ were less positive: despite ‘the Mistress of the house knowing me to be a Scotsman and a schollar’ and being ‘the more careful of us attending us at brakefast [and] intertaining us kindly’ her husband, ‘ane English bastardly fellow’ threatened to have Fraser ‘kickt down staires’, in response to which the memoirist contemplated giving him a ‘box in the eares’.²² The Channel crossing to Dieppe in December 1657 offered an improved experience since he happened upon an international gathering of supporters of the Stuarts, there being ‘about ten pasingers of us aboard of the ship called *The Roe of Rye*’. The skipper ‘having good French ... drank the Kings good health *vive lay Roy D’Anglitter*: Happy may the King of England live ... and we were all Kings men aboard of the Roe’.²³ On arrival in Dieppe, a Thomas Lithgow and his wife, also a Scot Beatrix Narden, hosted Fraser and some of the other passengers, offering them ‘good Claret wine, brunt and spiced’ which ‘settled our stomacks a bit’. Fraser asserted that the whole experience in Dieppe cost him nothing since

¹⁹ Martin MacGregor, ‘The genealogical histories of Gaelic Scotland’, in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf eds., *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, (Manchester, 2002) pp. 196-239.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, f. 12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, f. 13.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, f. 46.

his English colleagues paid for it all.²⁴ He left there for Rouen, and subsequently Marseilles, sharing much of this French leg of the journey with another Englishman, Henry Jordan.²⁵ From there, he boarded a ship for Spain, then trekked onwards to Minorca, Corsica and Genoa, falling in with a William Wait, who travelled with him to Pisa, Leghorn and Rome. At Rome in 1658, and despite occasional expressions of unease regarding aspects of Catholicism, he decided to serve in the papal guard, this perhaps reflecting his positive experiences amongst Catholics while in Spain and other parts of Italy. In any case, while in Rome he met the Englishman, Godfrey Hartley, with whom he would claim to share the rest of his continental adventures.²⁶ Furthermore, when Fraser and Hartley left the city, they signed off to ‘our kind Cammerads and Compatriots James Burnet, Will Stuart, Robert Mundy, Jasper Tuit and John Creath, two Irishes yet as dear and intimate to my heart as my [Fraser’s] young brother’. They then traversed - via Florence, Modena, Ferrara and Padua - to Venice, where they lodged for three nights, crossing paths there too, according to his account, with so many friendly Scots, English and Irish travellers that he ‘could have free bed and board whole three months from them for nothing’.²⁷ Apart from narrating the path of his journey through several of Europe’s main cities, the description above demonstrates how this Scot perceived and engaged with a rather extensive expatriate community of people from across the Stuart kingdoms. It was an expatriate identity which drew specifically on his Highland and Gaelic-speaking background while also having strong national and supranational elements. Crucially, in the Bavarian, Austrian and Bohemian capitals, his ability to reformulate these Highland and Scottish identities, depending on social circumstance, would become even more apparent. Regarding the supranational, Fraser switches dramatically in this section of the account from describing, in Regensburg, a

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. xii.

²⁶ This and all subsequent dates are given in the ‘old style’ of the Julian calendar. See *Triennial Travels*, II, f. 189; Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 177.

²⁷ Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. xii.

‘Britishness’ that was strongly anti-Irish to one that appears, by the time he had left Prague, to have been much more inclusive of all those with origins in the Stuart kingdoms.

Regensburg

The fairly warm tone that Fraser expressed towards all of his ‘countrymen’ in Venice became more restricted as he began to move into the German-speaking world. Although his and Hartley’s first encounter with the Holy Roman Empire was with the Tyrol, where they stopped off in Innsbruck, they quickly moved on from there through Munich, Freising and Landshut, reaching Regensburg in early June 1659. Regensburg was a city which, despite the recent carnage of the Thirty Years’ War, remained ‘situated in a spacious pleasant plain, the paradise of Bavaria’.²⁸ Regarding his time there though, Fraser’s account, although retaining its anglophilia, became, temporarily, anti-Irish due to his being caught up in the vexatious contemporary debate over the history and current occupancy of the Benedictine *Schottenklöster*, those numerous abbeys established by ‘Scotic’ monks east of the Rhine from the eleventh century.²⁹ His impressions were influenced upon reaching the gates to Regensburg abbey where ‘a French gentleman walking about the walls, enquiring of our names and country told the guard we had better right to be in than some of them’.³⁰ The meaning of this statement soon became apparent. Evidently, the ethnic tensions which Fraser reported and became embroiled in did not extend significantly to English visitors, or at least to those with Scottish connections like Hartley, who was allowed entry too on the memoirist supplying the prior with a letter of recommendation for them written by his Scottish father

²⁸ *Triennial Travels*, III, ff. 4-9.

²⁹ Their original, Gaelic-speaking occupants had lost possession of these entirely in recent centuries. However, Scottish Catholics had more recently succeeded, following numerous representations and publications, in being ‘restored’ to three of the monasteries: in Würzburg, Erfurt and crucially the ‘mother-house’ in Regensburg. See, for one perspective, Mark Dilworth, O.S.B., *The Scots in Franconia: A Century of Monastic Life* (Edinburgh, 1974).

³⁰ *Triennial Travels*, III, ff. 8-10.

and acquaintance of theirs from the Italian section of their journey, William Leslie. An anti-Irish feeling, however, was apparent, the abbey's prior claiming that:

...the Irish crowd up and down the country and they never admit any of these in any of the Scottish convents for as he [the prior] insisted and told us what the Irish most cunningly and knaughtilie asserted, claiming themselves *Scotia Maiores*. And they galled and cheated the Scotishmen out of many monasteries in Germany which now they possess... and this hath brought jarr and animosity betwixt the two nations all this country over so that of ten convents which the Scottes had within this kingdom they enjoy now but 3 of them, viz. Ratisbon [Regensburg], Erfurt and Wirzburg, the Irish possess all the other 7...³¹

While Benedictines from the mainland of Ireland had provided the vast majority, and perhaps all of the staff and students at these institutions originally, they had taken back none of them. Certainly, one assumes that no Irish monks were present on the return of the Scottish abbot at Regensburg, Thomas Chambers, who joined Fraser and Hartley in drinking to 'the King of Britain's health'. Fraser was then persuaded by the abbot as to why 'the false and fraudulent dealings of the Irish about the monasteries did grate him highly' as 'a true, hearted Scotsman'.³² This issue preoccupied him in his summaries of the days that followed, in which Fraser provides a pro-Scottish history of the abbey as well as a list (with brief biographical details) of the staff and students present, and in which its abundance and wealth is almost certainly exaggerated.³³ Not only that, but he records a collection of observations on Luther, including a gushing tribute to the beauty of the church music favoured by those in the area who continued to follow his religious path, as well as some asides on local eating and

³¹ Ibid.

³² He named the abbot as William Chalmers. Ibid., ff. 8-9.

³³ I am grateful to Dr Tom McNally for his comments and insights as regards this point.

drinking habits, an account of the ‘amazing panick’ caused to the residents by an electrical storm, a summary of the civil government, geography and history of the city and its environs, and, at great length, the recounting of how Hartley, although initially ‘indisposed and in no good health after his tedious journey’ had fallen for a local woman. Moreover, the early friendliness and hospitality established between Fraser and his hosts appears to have continued, with the abbot providing him with ‘a choice bed’ as well as shoes, shorts, socks and some money in return for Fraser taking on the position of ‘gardener’ there, a job description which extended to washing windows and ‘brushing away Mouswebs [cobwebs]’ in the abbey itself.³⁴

Vienna

After something less than a month spent amongst their Scottish Catholic hosts in Regensburg, Fraser and Hartley moved eastwards down the Danube and, on 9 July, following brief stopovers in Passau and Linz, they turned up in Vienna, ‘a place much longed for and well-worth seeing’.³⁵ Fraser’s account of the Imperial capital reveals discomfort with the punishing summer heat which forced the city’s inhabitants to ‘live and drink in low caves and cellars underground’, his astonishment at the sight near the east gate of an elephant (sent as a diplomatic offering by György Rákóczi II (r.1648-60) of Transylvania), his fascination with the local Jewish community and his further observations regarding the diversity of the area’s industries. Such was the richness of these impressions that, after taking lodgings in the city’s St Lawrence’s Hospital, he began ‘to fancy that I am at this time in the very Centre of the Empire and to prepare myself to relish the splendour of the Austrian Court and the terror of Turkey’.³⁶ Indeed, this last comment signals a physical as well as psychological move away from the city towards the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier and, from there, the beginning of a

³⁴ Ibid., f. 13.

³⁵ Ibid., ff. 23-27.

³⁶ Ibid., ff. 29, 33.

discourse on the ‘Christians of the western world, grown luxurious’ in the face of an apparently encroaching Muslim world.³⁷ It may have been this shift which encouraged an emphasis at the time on what united the British and Irish peoples as representatives of Christendom.

Certainly, returning to the expatriates from the Stuart kingdoms, what is equally striking at this point is the refocusing of the account on less scoto-centric aspects, and instead some renewed and restrengthened statements in support of his Irish ‘countrymen’. In addition to the growing perception of being near the frontier between Christendom and the Ottoman Empire mentioned above, this may be due to his encountering a wider social range of fellow expatriates at this point in his journey. On one hand, a fellow Scot, ‘Father Brown’, took on the role of ‘harbinger and host’ and also ‘Historian and Antiquary’ in Vienna, securing him and Hartley lodgings within two days.³⁸ Moreover, Fraser is keen to point out that here in the capital of the Empire too, the Scots, according to his definition, had once had a monastery, claiming, erroneously again, that the Irish Benedictines ‘possess it now and as it is affirmed taken away from us [the Scots].’ On the other hand though, he becomes increasingly reproachful of his Scottish Catholic predecessors, being ‘much of the mind that those Religious houses failed us because we could not furnish them with scholars.’³⁹ In addition, Fraser notes the presence of ‘strangers from all parts of the Europe at the court’ including ‘so very many’ Scots and numerous Englishmen and Irishmen.

...Prince Rupert, the Palgrave’s brother and our King’s cousin German is here at the time. Alexander Lesley, called Count Lesley and Generall of Carniola and Croatia, is expected dayly. His brothers sone, one James Lesley, already termed

³⁷ Ibid., f. 29. He returns to this theme in both the *Divina Providentia* and the *Polichronicon*. See NLS, Adv.MS.32.4.,7 f.151; NLS, MS. 3568, ff. 305-6.

³⁸ Ibid., ff. 29-33.

³⁹ Ibid., ff. 33-4.

young Count, is upon the place Hee is Tullos Leslie... ..Here were all the Lairds of Pitmedden and Delgatty whom I saw at Ratisbon, Father Brown in the Benedictines, a whole Irish cloister of friars. Captain More, Mr Gray and Mr Taylor, Englishmen, with Prince Rupert and many souldiers of whom I may have occasion to talk and mention afterwards.⁴⁰

From Vienna, the two travellers moved on via Hainburg to Pressburg, taking the opportunity while pausing there to comment on the emperor's character and physical appearance, the fecundity of the scenery and, more widely, the religious complexity, language and customs of the Hungarian people, who he considered in many respects to be 'like our wild Highland Irish', that is, the Gaelic-speaking people of the Scottish Gàidhealtachd.⁴¹ This was the easternmost point of Fraser's journey, although no less a source of his fascination and perplexity. Turning northwards and eventually westwards from there on the rough roads and tracks that led to Moravia, he and Hartley slept out in the open air one night, having been troubled by an encounter when 'an aged woman sitting on a step by her door gave us a dish of good milk and brown bread and offerd an outer lodging full of hay to sleep in'. Fraser and Hartley had thanked her, presumably in the German language, but declined the offer since 'we spied no good in the grim faces of the fellowes about the place and thought they might have sinistrous designes upon poor travellers'.⁴²

Prague

Stopping off in towns such as Kuttentberg (Kutná Hora) and Böhmisches Brod (Český Brod) on their way through eastern Bohemia, Fraser and Hartley reached Prague in late July. Evidently, the Bohemian capital, perhaps even more than Vienna, beguiled him. Especially

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., ff. 33-43.

⁴² Ibid., f. 45.

intriguing to him was its bilingual ‘Sclavonic’ and German character, although he also took time to comment on its inspiring architecture and landscapes, its commerce, the ‘robustness’ of its people, the relative freedom that its Jewish population, in particular, appeared to enjoy (even more so than in Vienna), as well as the sensation, propagated by a range of its inhabitants, that it lay at the ‘very naval [navel] centre of Europe’.⁴³ Furthermore, the period in Prague marked what would appear to have been a total rapprochement with the expatriate Irish Catholic community. It is difficult to confirm whether, as a speaker of a specifically north Highland version of his native tongue but also a scholar of linguistics more widely, he relied on a mutually intelligible form of Gaelic in order to strengthen this bond. Fraser’s ability to switch between Latin and other languages and ‘speech domains’ while abroad is certainly suggested again when recording his sense of honour on visiting, in his estimation, the upwards of fifty fathers then present in the city’s Irish Franciscan College.⁴⁴ It appears from his account that the friars were fluent not only in Irish, English and Latin, but also in Czech.⁴⁵

Father Brian [?] being prior of the Convent invited us every day to dine where we got great entertainment. It is incredible what good faere and plenty of provision is spent in these walls, and how cheerful they treat strangers. They have their vast Garden which furnish them all manner of root, fruits, their fish ponds for carp,

⁴³ Ibid., ff. 48-52.

⁴⁴ One early-twentieth century Gaelic scholar commented on the ‘considerable number of Gaelic words and phrases, proverbs, fragments of verse, and the like written in a “phonetic” spelling’, in the Wardlaw Manuscript, this providing ‘some of the earliest, if not the very earliest, dated evidence for the pronunciation of Gaelic in the Northern Highlands’. See John Fraser, ‘Notes on Inverness-Shire Gaelic in the Seventeenth Century’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. II, Part I, (1927) p. 92. See also Aonghas MacCoinnich, ‘Where and how was Gaelic written in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland? Orthographic Practices and Cultural Identities’, in Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy R. McGuire eds., *Caindel Alban. Fèill-Sgrìobhainn do Dhòmhnall E. Meek*, *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 24 (2008) pp. 309-356.

⁴⁵ Fraser asserted that he had become ‘...intimately acquaint with most of the Irish Friars in that numerous Franciscan Convent in the new town’, the friars being ‘of gentle extract and parentage, so also gentile, generous and discreet men of great learning yet humble and mollified tempers of singular cheere in the place among all ranks.’ It is an account remarkable also for its claims that some of the friars were, like the monks in Regensburg, recovering quickly from the nightmare of the latter part of the Thirty Years’ War.

tench and trout in abundance and salmon from the Elbe. These fathers were so communicative that there could be nothing fit for a traveler to know but they informed us of by word and write and had complaisure in being asked of all manner of questions concerning city, country, government and temper of the people, nay more, they would take occasion to walk with us through and about the City and give us a particular description and account of everything worthy of observation. We had access to their library, to read their manuscripts, diarie, notes, nay all that could be imparted to transient travelers with wonderful freshness, affability and discretion. I heard Father Brian preach in the Sclavonian tongue with as great volability as the natives and had the applause of all his hearers and the emulation of the Dominus's hands that could not [?] him and which I have said all I am still within bounds. This Monastery is singular amongst any that I saw abroad of strangers, as to their number, harmony, order and good government, the Irish convent in Paris is great, that of Lyons, Rome and Vienna considerable, but all some short of Prague.⁴⁶

Whether or not this was based on use of a spoken form of the Classical Common Gaelic that was still known and used by some throughout the Irish and Scots Gaelic worlds, Fraser's effusive description of his communication with the Irish friars is certainly in marked contrast to his comments on the state of relations between those Scottish, English and Irish expatriates referred to in the Regensburg section of the account. This shows once again the episodically strong, if fluctuating and inconsistent, nature of his representations of people from the other Stuart kingdoms. It suggests again a growing affinity with his Irish 'countrymen' and an identification with the Stuart kingdoms as a whole, which was not especially religious in its

⁴⁶ Ibid., f. 50; Jan Pařez and Hedvika Kuchařová, Hedvika, *Hyberni v Praze - Éireannaigh i Prág: Dějiny františkánské koleje Neposkvrněného početí Panny Marie v Praze (1629–1786)* (Prague, 2001); Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences*, pp. 173-4.

basis. Furthermore, on departing westwards, Fraser recorded that ‘good Father Brian and some other of the Irish Friars convoyed us out of the city for their own divertisement’. Nevertheless, their route eventually led Fraser and Hartley ‘out of the woods and out of Bohemia withal’ into the Upper Palatinate, and, from there, through the western sections of the Empire, the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces, France, London, Gravesend and finally, by sea, to Inverness.⁴⁷

‘...deere Camerades of the Brittish Nation’? ‘Britishness’ and the world of expatriate Protestants and Catholics

This evidence regarding his ‘countrymen’ aside, the account provided so far in no way implies a straightforward link between Fraser and a self-conscious and precocious ‘Britishness’.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly, Britain took on significance for him in a geo-political sense when reflecting on the royalist campaigns in Scotland of 1644-5, regarding which he elsewhere remarked that ‘all Brittain is now in a confusion’ due to ‘intestin, civil, uncivil broiles,’ it being, moreover, ‘not a condition but sanction of nature *parce civium sanguinis* to spare the blood of citizens, connatural, colateral, conational with our selves’. Moreover, in 1657, ‘Brittain’ was ‘now hushed in a deep silence or rather a sleep or lethargy’ and, in 1670, it was ‘at peace with all the world; our sea safe for navigation, free of pirates’.⁴⁹ However, in

⁴⁷ On crossing from Calais to ‘our native soil’, Fraser and his fellow crew members ‘kissed the very earth in gratitude to our good God’. He then met up with various earlier acquaintances in London, and also ‘by a happy Providence’ his three fellow-travellers from different stages of the continental journey, Henry Jordan, William Wait and Godfrey Hartley, before catching a ship to Inverness from Gravesend. He would soon learn that, after almost three years absence, he was returning to a Kirkhill in which his father was dead. Within two years, he would be minister there. See Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, pp. xiii-xiv, 429.

⁴⁸ Fraser wrote this section of his memoirs during the Restoration period (with some additions made in the years following the ‘Glorious Revolution’) this being an age during which, in MacInnes’s view, there occurred an increasing ‘anglocentric appropriation of Britain for England’ and thus one less infused with the more complex Britannic notions prevalent either during the latter part of the Jacobean epoch between 1603-25 or those posited, most obviously, by Linda Colley for the post-1707 period. See Allan I. MacInnes, *Union and Empire: the making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 80-81.

⁴⁹ Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, pp. 306, 485; *Triennial Travels*, I, f. 1. During his travels too,

the central European section of his memoirs at least, the adjective ‘British’ is notable by its absence. This is despite the simultaneous existence of another, almost exclusively Protestant circle in the same region, the members of which were explicit in their identification of themselves in this way and the emergence of which had been fostered by the continuing growth of the printing press and a corresponding focus on publication in the vernacular.⁵⁰ It was a development that had a strong Scottish and Stewart/Stuart flavour, as the circle gathered an audience abroad through Jacobean propaganda following the birth of a potential successor to the then James VI of Scotland, Prince Henry (1594-1612). This would strengthen as a result of the Anglo-Scottish regal union of 1603, especially in support of the cause of Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), James’s Scottish-born daughter, who would achieve international renown as ‘winter queen’ of Bohemia from 1619-20. The promotion of this pro-Stuart Britishness, combined with the growing influence internationally of publications such as the English scholar William Camden’s anglocentric *Britannia* (1586) - available from 1610 in English, and of which Fraser had a copy - may account for some of those seventeenth-century cases where scholars from the islands, when matriculating at continental universities, denoted themselves not only as ‘*Scoto-Britannus*’, but as, for example, ‘*Cambro-Britannus*’ or ‘*Anglo-Britannus*’.⁵¹ Certainly, these descriptions did not end with the termination of the Jacobean period in 1625, the Protestant, British element being sometimes encouraged thereafter by a millenarian strain, regarding which, in the Austrian Habsburg lands, specific internal factors need also to be considered.⁵² Indeed, a fascination regarding prophetic Britishness within Calvinist and wider circles of scholars at the Imperial court and on the rural estates of a handful of Bohemian noble families (as well as amongst

Fraser had expressed an ‘aversion to the present state of Britain under a rebellious usurpation’ and remarked more generally on ‘the whole island of Britain’ being ‘divided into several Clans and Nations’. *Ibid.*, f. 3.

⁵⁰ Alastair Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 31, 69, 79, 91, 92.

⁵¹ Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. xliii.

⁵² Arthur H. Williamson, *Apocalypse Then: Prophecy and the Making of the Modern World* (Westport, 2008).

some Polish-Lithuanian magnates) remained, particularly during periods of conflict with the Ottoman Empire, when it took on value as a propagandic device to highlight the British role in uniting the region as an *antemurale christianitatis*, a ‘bulwark of Christendom’. The idea that the British people had a special part to play in the re-uniting of Christendom following the Reformation was a tool used not only by the later Tudors and Stewarts/Stuarts then, but also by their central European dynastic counterparts. It also played an important role in influencing the opinions of British and Irish scholars, diplomats, soldiers and merchants in Europe more widely, even at the mid-seventeenth century point.⁵³

The maverick scholar John Dee (1527–1609) had sought to develop a particularly Welsh-focused ‘British’ history at several points in his life, although he seems to have spent comparatively little time promoting this project while resident in landlocked and coast-less Bohemia during the 1580s.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, a Scoto-British version of this, in combination with some equally concerted if less successful attempts to seek patronage in central Europe, comes in the person of a little-known Scottish writer, James Maxwell (*b.* 1581?, *d.* in or after 1635). Maxwell sought, in a rash of publications following the regal union, to persuade his potential hosts, the Austrian Habsburgs, that the responsibility would shortly fall to them to give their backing to a Briton, Prince Charles, the future Charles II (r.1660-85). After obtaining assistance from within the Rhineland area, he imagined that Charles would, in the manner associated with the Albanian lord, George Kastrioti Skanderbeg (1405-1468), repel

⁵³ Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences*.

⁵⁴ He was under the particular influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gerald of Wales in doing so. See György E. Szönyi, ‘Scientific and Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II’ in Eliška Fučíková et. al., eds, *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City* (London, 1997), p. 227; A. Halliwell, ed., *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (London, 1892), pp. 24-27. His focus had earlier roots amongst the scholarly in central Europe. Indeed, Leonard Cox (*b.* c.1495, *d.* in or after 1549), a correspondent of Erasmus, had matriculated from the University of Cracow in 1518 as ‘*Leonardus Coxus Britannus*’. See Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences*, p. 130.

the Ottomans in the Balkans, retake Constantinople and thereby lead the mass conversion of the Jewish people to Christianity prior to a wider apocalyptic struggle with Islam.⁵⁵

More generally though, there remains less evidence of any effort to implant a theologically-inspired expatriate Britishness in either Bavaria or the Austrian Habsburg lands than can be detected in locations around the North Sea and Baltic or in early British North America.⁵⁶ Indeed, although the Stuarts' diplomatic representatives at the courts of religiously tolerant Holy Roman Emperors took an approach that was sometimes coloured by a Protestant perspective too, the impact of this variety of Britishness was felt to its greatest extent in the region only with the arrival of anti-Imperial powers during the Thirty Years' War. This was a conflict which led to the short-term presence of large numbers of Scots and English soldiers there who sometimes declared their religious affiliations in tandem with their Britishness and in a manner antipathetic to the Imperial cause.⁵⁷ Strong religious convictions combined with political, dynastic, as well as professional and economic motivations are evident in the writings of another from the eastern Highlands, Robert Monro (c.1590-1680),

⁵⁵ James Maxwell, *The laudable life and deplorable Death of ... Prince Henry, briefly represented. Together with some other Poems in honor both of ... King James his auspicious entrie to this Crowne, and also of his ... children Prince Charles and Princesse Elizabeths happy entrie into this world* (London, 1612), p. 10; Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh, 1979); MacInnes, *British Revolution*, pp. 8-39; Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences*, p. 24.

⁵⁶ The publication in 1611 of what would become known later throughout the English-speaking world as the 'King James Bible', may have been influential here too. See Kathrin Zickermann, '“Briteannia ist mein patria”: Scotsmen and the 'British' Community in Hamburg' in Grosjean and Murdoch, eds, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, p. 256 and the same author's 'English and Scottish Exiles in Northwest Germany c. 1683-1709', *Études écossaises*, 13 (2010), pp. 41-58; Murdoch, *Network North*, pp. 53, 63-73. A similar intellectual and theological background influenced the situation further eastwards and south-eastwards into Poland-Lithuania. See, for a Lithuanian example, Rimantas Žirgulis, 'The Scottish Community in Kėdainiai', c.1630-1750' in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad*, pp. 225-45; Linas Eriksonas, 'The lost colony of Scots: unravelling overseas connections in a Lithuanian town' in Allan I. MacInnes, Thomas Riis and Frederik Pedersen, eds, *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c.1350-1700* (East Linton, 2000), p. 22; *A Representation of the distressed Case of the British Protestants of Kieydan in Lithuania* (London, 1731).

⁵⁷ David Trim, 'English Military Emigres and the Protestant Cause in Europe, 1603-c.1640' in Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Emigrants*, pp. 237-59; Steve Murdoch, 'James VI and the formation of a British Military Identity' in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop, eds., *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experiences, 1550-1900* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 12, 15, 19, 20.

as William Brockington and Steve Murdoch have shown.⁵⁸ During the late 1620s and 1630s, Monro commanded recruits from the Stuart kingdoms and elsewhere on behalf of Lutheran, anti-Habsburg powers, soldiers who served throughout large parts of the Empire. He described them, on one occasion, as ‘deere Camerades, *Britaines, Dutch and Swedens*, (companions, not of wants, but of valour)’ and, on another, as ‘*Britaines ... deere Camerades of the Brittish Nation*’, statements which he would, it must be assumed, echo upon his serving the Scottish covenanting cause in Ireland in the 1640s.⁵⁹ One English commentator on the anti-Habsburg armies east of the Rhine employed the same sorts of descriptions, emphasising the multinational body of volunteers who had come there from the Stuart monarchy to serve the Protestant Elizabeth, the ‘winter queen’. In Prague shortly after the outbreak of the revolt that commenced the hostilities in 1618, the poet John Taylor (1580-1653) had encountered ‘*Brittaine souldiers ... all which did most courteously entertaine me*’ claiming also that ‘*euery Brittaine souldier doth retaine more good spirit, then three enemies of what nation soeuer*’.⁶⁰

As Murdoch has shown, these included injured members of an Anglo-Scottish force led by Sir Andrew Gray.⁶¹ Gray was unusual if not exceptional as a Catholic from the Stuart kingdoms in serving or leading an anti-Habsburg regiment in the Empire. More generally though, the creation of an Established Church in the Tudor monarchy as well as the establishment of a Protestant settlement in Scotland from 1560, had left followers of the old

⁵⁸ Ibid.; William S. Brockington, ‘Robert Monro: Professional Soldier, Military Historian and Scotsman’, in Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 220-21.

⁵⁹ Robert Monro, *Monro his expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment (called Mac-Keyes Regiment)* (London, 1637), pp. 38, 61, 73, 93; William S. Brockington jr., ed., *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keys* (London, 1999).

⁶⁰ Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences*, p. 36; MacInnes, *British Revolution*, p. 51; Taylor *his trauels: from the citty of London in England, to the citty of Prague in Bohemia The manner of his abode there three weekes, his obseruations there, and his returne from thence: how he past 600 miles downe the riuer of Elue, through Bohemia, Saxony, Anhalt, the bishoprick of Madeberge, Brandenberge, Hamburg, and so to England. With many relations worthy of note* (London, 1620).

⁶¹ Steve Murdoch, ‘Introduction’ in Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, p. 17.

faith as an embattled minority in all three countries, while in Ireland, on the other hand, even the Plantation of Ulster did not alter the fact that the country retained a Roman Catholic majority under sustained pressure to conform to Anglican forms of worship.⁶² In general, Irish, Scottish and English Catholics continued to be distinguished from each other by observers from elsewhere in Christendom, only rarely identifying themselves as ‘British’, a complexity reflected also in their experiences while abroad, whether in central Europe or elsewhere. Indeed, according to Peter Davidson, the Society of Jesus, in particular, recognised a ‘diverse Britain and Ireland, made up of a diversity of peoples and languages’, regarding which, even amongst the exiled Catholics, aims and objectives could sometimes be at odds. As has been shown above, due to their contentious claims regarding history, hagiography and, consequently, property rights, as well as disagreements over the methods by which the rights and privileges of Catholic communities in the Stuart monarchy might be restored, those Scottish members of the Benedictine order living east of the Rhine were frequently at loggerheads with their Irish counterparts in the same region.⁶³

Conclusion

Recent perspectives on the early modern traditions of population movement linking the kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland with the outside world have indicated the insights that might ensue from a less nationally-focused approach. It will clearly be important in driving any future research agenda forward that scholars commit to furthering such transnational and supranational approaches and thereby heightening our understanding of the role of language in creating the particular forms of ‘Britishness’ that developed overseas and,

⁶² Michael A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (Basingstoke, 1998). Tom McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575-1799* (Leiden, 2011).

⁶³ See Peter Davidson, ‘Perceptions of the British Isles and Ireland among the Catholic Exiles: The Case of Robert Corbington SJ’ in Worthington, ed., *British and Irish Emigrants*, p. 317; Christopher Highley, “‘The lost British lamb’: English Catholic exiles and the problem of Britain’ in David J. Baker and Willy Maley, eds, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 2002) pp. 37-50.

indeed, in central Europe, during the pre-1707 period. As regards James Fraser, such an understanding and recognition of his evident linguistic prowess and flexibility, allows us to account for the kind of expatriate community of ‘countrymen’ with which this article indicates he should be associated during his travels east of the Rhine.⁶⁴ As an episcopalian writer looking back on Cromwellian times from the perspective of the Restoration period, the circle in central Europe within which he was keen to emphasise that he had moved was diverse and pluralistic. Comprising both Protestants and Catholics, it was based on a loose support for the restoration of stability and unity throughout an imagined Christendom in which Fraser chiefs, Stuart monarchs and Habsburg emperors, irrespective of which side of the religious divide they were on, were assumed to have a right to temporal authority in their respective societies. Fraser’s social and cultural outlook had a basis in the Highland conception of heritable trusteeship (*duthchas*). Yet, it was a perspective that was often also anglophile, a supranational identification which even stretched, frequently if less consistently, to his relations with the exiled Irish Catholic community.⁶⁵ Fraser used the term ‘Britain’ occasionally, and in a way which would have made some from the Stuart kingdoms uncomfortable. However, and despite his numerous references to an international body of ‘countrymen’ from throughout the Stuart kingdoms, research from the central European section of the account has failed to show evidence of him using the adjectival form ‘British’ when describing his own or anyone else’s nationality. In this way, this section of the *Triennial Travels* highlights some of the dangers of projecting anachronistic notions based on the development of later diasporic and other expatriate traditions in the English-speaking

⁶⁴ Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson, *The Lost City: Old Aberdeen* (Edinburgh, 2008) p. 111. This is less obvious in Mackay, ed., *Chronicles of the Frasers*; Charles Gair, ‘James Fraser: Seventeenth Century Highland Country Minister’, in W.H. Harrison, ed., *A History of the Parish of Kirkhill*, 2 vols. (?, 2008), I, pp. 279-84; Joad Raymond, ‘A Scotsman in Cromwellian London: the Diary of James Fraser of Phopachy’, *History Today*, 47 (7) (1997) pp. 35-41; Rev. C.D. Bentinck, ‘Wardlaw Church and Clergy -1’ in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 25, (1901-3) pp. 274-97.

⁶⁵ Fraser’s account should also be analysed in the context of other Scottish travel accounts and memoirs of the period, for instance, that of Patrek Gordon of Auchleuchries, which shows a similar focus on family. See Dmitry Fedosov, ed., *Diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, Volume 1: 1635–1659* (Aberdeen, 2009).

world, even if the advantages of a comparative approach remain clear. It appears that it was neither a strongly-Protestant 'British' backdrop nor even the more confessionally-diverse tapestry of Stuart royalism, but the linguistic patchwork of the archipelago, which provided the strongest threads from which Fraser's network in central Europe was sown.