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Published in:
Renaissance Studies

Publication date:
2022

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Citation for published version (APA):

Worthington, D. (2022). The multilingual minister: languages and code-switching in the life-writing of Scottish Highland scholar and traveller, Rev. James Fraser (1634-1709). *Renaissance Studies*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12812>

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Journal:	<i>Renaissance Studies</i>
Manuscript ID	RS-22-OA-007.R1
Wiley - Manuscript type:	Original Article
Keywords:	languages, history, multilingualism
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Abstract

This article widens the focus of the debate around multilingualism in early modern Europe. Using the life-writing of a scholar, traveller and Protestant minister from the Scottish Highlands, Rev. James Fraser (1634-1709), it provides a North Sea perspective on the theme. The article sheds light on how Fraser, and his locale (the ‘firthlands’ of northern mainland Scotland) produced a dynamic scholarly contribution in local, regional, national and transnational terms, one that was defined by a culture of code-switching and polyglossia. Employing, in particular, his history of the Fraser family to 1674 and his three-volume memoir of his travels in Europe, it finds a common thread in Fraser’s presentation of his life in its multilingual nature. Focusing first on the spoken word, and, subsequently, on reading and writing, the article shows how Fraser’s evidence from the seventeenth-century Scottish Highlands provides a vital insight into how the English language rose in the Highlands and across the Atlantic archipelago, and, conversely, how early modern northern Europeans, speakers of minority languages in particular, experienced and sustained multilingual cultures.

Introduction

To be multilingual was not unusual in the ‘firthlands’ of northern mainland Scotland from where Rev. James Fraser (1634-1709) came. As shall be shown, it was a location where three languages - Scots Gaelic, Scots and, increasingly, English - had everyday functions.¹ The early modern firthlands also evidenced a degree of national and international mobility, for military, socio-economic or cultural reasons. The North Sea on which it looked was, for some, a transnational space characterised by ‘extensive oral semi-communication’ between speakers of the various Germanic languages, one where scholars also continued to read each other’s works, and sometimes write to each other, in Latin and other tongues.² As a whole, it surely compares with what Eric Dursteler has recognised, in his work on the Mediterranean, as ‘a more linguistically ambiguous and complex reality’ than usually considered, a multilingual mosaic that has been ‘obscured by the anachronistic imposition of “modern monolingualism” onto the past’.³ While Dursteler brings in French, Dutch or Danish examples to compare with his Mediterranean core, and John Gallagher has opened historians up to new perspectives on England and the English, northern Scottish linguistic evidence from the period has yet to be encompassed in the debate about the North Sea, regarding which Thomas Brochard’s work is a vital addition.⁴ Its three major tongues aside, Fraser’s home locale was a setting in which some were accustomed to a relatively high level of education in Latin and, to a lesser extent,

also in Greek and Hebrew. Additionally, it was a place with a strong linguistic connection to the Norse world, one in which, during the seventeenth century, for a few, French, Dutch and Low German becoming fashionable and of considerable practical benefit. Hence, there was a Scottish Highland involvement in a 'Babel of Tongues' linking to the North Sea region, to Europe and, indeed, to empire.⁵ This article will show the firthlands' remarkable interplay in both speech and writing and, through the example of Fraser, open historians to new lines of enquiry regarding the use of languages around North Sea-facing littorals during the period.⁶

To assume Scottish Highland scholarship, linguistic or otherwise, in the century before the Battle of Culloden in 1746 to be disengaged would be simplistic and, ultimately, misguided. A more appropriate approach would contrast the Highlands being treated by authorities in Edinburgh and London as 'uncivil', liable to 'savagery' and 'barbarism' with, paradoxically, the agency of its scholars, in terms of how they engaged with, and became entangled in, worlds beyond. Indeed, we would be wrong to assume that Gaelic, Scots and English (and ancient languages, for those who went to grammar school and university) were the limit for the Lovat Fraser household to which Fraser belonged, the clan fitting the broader points made already about the firthlands. The possibility of a significant exposure to other tongues is suggested, for example, in the case of Colonel Hugh Fraser (d.1649), a veteran of the Thirty Years' War, who, reputedly, reverted, not to his native Gaelic or Scots, but to 'High Dutch or Slavonick', when nearing the end of his life back in the Lovat Fraser heartland, by the Beaulieu Firth, presumably drawing on military experiences in Germany, as well as in Poland or Bohemia.⁷ Taking this into account, this article will employ James Fraser's two lengthiest surviving texts, the 'Wardlaw Manuscript', his history of the Frasers to 1674, and the 'Triennial Travels', his memoir of his tour of Europe from 1657-60, both of which were intended for a wider, albeit undefined audience. Using these examples of his life-writing, it will reveal considerable code-switching (the 'ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages') and polyglossia (the 'coexistence of two or more languages, or distinct varieties of the same language, within a speech community').⁸ Fraser's multilingualism had its origins at home, but was also influenced significantly by what he experienced on his journey through continental Europe.⁹ The first part of the article will consider everyday spoken language and orality in his accounts, and the second part the languages he wrote and read in. Both will reveal multilingualism as a defining feature, although show how this took on different shades, depending on the setting.¹⁰

The spoken word

Although advances have been made in the 'social history of language', Peter Burke's 1993 assertion that scholars remained a long way from establishing an historical 'ethnography of speaking', continues to be pertinent.¹¹ James Fraser probably uttered his first words in Scots Gaelic, this followed by him acquiring a speaking knowledge of the Scots and then English languages. In addition, he had to communicate in Latin, as well as, for religious purposes, read some Greek and some Hebrew, as an adolescent pupil and student, while his travel memoirs record his determination, as a young adult, to attain verbal dexterity in French, Spanish, Italian, German, 'Slavonick', Hungarian, 'Bohemian' and Dutch. Certainly, one can gain a sense of him inhabiting a complex oral environment in the way he records language, whether at home in his parish of Kirkhill, at grammar school in nearby Inverness, university in Aberdeen, or on his travels.¹²

One sees an example of an everyday Scots Gaelic and Scots 'plurilingual' interchange in Kirkhill in the example of a story Fraser relates about a brother-in-law of his, an individual whose Gaelic name he denotes in partially-anglicised form as 'John Mackeanire' (John, son of John?) possibly Mac Iain Uidhir.¹³ In the early 1670s, there occurred an argument between 'Mackeanire' and two other parishioners, a 'John Mackeanvore' (John, son of Big John) and a 'Donald Mackwilliam Chui' (Donald, son of Black William). The latter, a household servant, was stabbed to his death, and his body dumped by the nearby Beaully Firth, but the ebbing tide did not wash it away and the Kirkhill community soon found it and identified him. The community suspected 'Mackeanire' to be the murderer and rumour spread that he had fled inland and southeast, several parishes beyond, to Strathspey. Two years on, Fraser, having travelled eastwards from Kirkhill to attend the synod of Moray of which his parish and presbytery were a part, described the suspect's circumstances and appearance to fellow synod member, Sir James Strachan of Thornton. The latter revealed that he knew 'Mackeanire', claiming him to be living under separate pseudonyms as 'Donald Gailach' or 'Highland Donald' and, in these guises, to be serving a William Fraser of 'Couper hill, near the bridge of Keith'.¹⁴ Consequent to Rev. Fraser revealing this back in Kirkhill, Lord Lovat, his clan chief, 'sent away a country boy that had both languages to Keith, with a line to Couper hill, who presented Hiland Donald openly to his view.' Lovat then travelled to Keith himself with six or seven men to lay a trap for the suspect. On being taken back to Inverness, 'Mackeanire' confessed, and was imprisoned. According to Fraser, the fate of both he and 'Mackeanvore' was to be executed and the right arms of each displayed on poles below the church at Kirkhill.¹⁵

Gaelic

Turning to Gaelic first, my own limitations as a learner of the language must be acknowledged. However, as is suggested from the naming practises above, this was a majority Gaelic-speaking community, a parish that sat in the Inverness presbytery and on the western edge of the sprawling, heterogeneous diocese of Moray. Fraser did not, as minister after 1661, subscribe to the government policy, supported by some local dynasties, of subduing the language.¹⁶ However, it is vital to ask what type of Gaelic he used and encouraged there. There are two forms to consider: Classical ‘Common’ Gaelic, once a language of writing and recital common to Scottish and Irish Gaeldom but in retreat by Fraser’s lifetime, and vernacular Scots Gaelic. The debate has tended to focus on their written forms, as will be covered in part two of this article.¹⁷ Moreover, confusingly for modern readers, Fraser followed the contemporary norms of Scots and English writing by referring to both Irish and Scots Gaelic as ‘Irish’.

John Fraser, an early twentieth century Scots Gaelic scholar, commented on the ‘considerable number of Gaelic words and phrases, proverbs, fragments of verse, and more’ written in a ‘phonetic spelling’ in Fraser’s ‘Wardlaw Manuscript’, considering it to provide ‘some of the earliest, if not the very earliest, dated evidence for the pronunciation of Gaelic in the Northern Highlands’, a point disputed convincingly recently by Martin MacGregor.¹⁸ James Fraser does suggest frequently, in his surviving writing, that he took a particular interest in communicating in the local forms of the tongue. He also provides us with compelling evidence that it was an everyday language, but not the sole one, in the Lovat Fraser lands.¹⁹ Fraser records that the death of an earlier Lord Lovat, in 1576, had moved the chief’s foster brother to proclaim his mourning ‘in his own vernacular language’.²⁰ Not only that, but he details how Lowland, Scots-speaking women marrying into this world could experience life differently if they did not possess the ability to speak the majority tongue. On one hand, in 1633, Lord Hugh Fraser, the 7th Lord Lovat’s ‘good lady [Isobel Wemyss] was much in fancy with that country [Stratherrick], and, though she wanted the language, yet gained the love and respect of all that knew her there and elsewhere’.²¹ On the other hand, when in Sutherland, ‘Dame Katharin Ross, Lady Moynes’, widow of Simon, 6th Lord Lovat (d.1633?) met a Donald Glasshach [Donald of Strathglass] ‘a common servant about the house, who accosted Lady Kathrin, checking her severely for her willfulness, speaking in Irish to her (haveing no other language) *Cathrin, hā tu tōishach, yow are unwise*’.²² This warning was issued in relation to her proposed marital partner, and involved Donald pleading with Katharin that she marry someone else instead. One assumes she was either fluent enough to pick up the gist of his

Gaelic admonition or had it translated to her, albeit the lack of a common language appears to have caused tensions.²³

Fraser's recounting of placenames is equally suggestive of the preponderance of a north Highland form of Gaelic, revealing more toponymy in that form than exists today. In the 'Wardlaw Manuscript', he provides these in a Scots or English orthography and yet in a vernacular version, sometimes favouring this over other linguistic forms that might have been more accessible to a wider English-or Scots-reading audience. He opts to cite the hilltop spot, 'the watch hill' to which 'Wardlaw' in his home parish refers, in the Latin form, 'Mons Mariæ' ('Mary's Hill'), this corresponding also with its Gaelic version, 'Cnoc Mhuire', a reference to the medieval church there devoted to Mary.²⁴ Other Scots Gaelic toponyms he references, without translating, are recognisable to those today without the language.²⁵

Scots

Fraser clearly communicated in Scots Gaelic, and, indeed, its local versions, and was reliant on it when presenting his immediate physical and natural surroundings to his readers.²⁶ However, the dark anecdote above about 'Mackeanire' and 'Mackeanvore' reveals also the deliberate mixing of Scots-language naming practices with Gaelic ones, the creation of pseudonyms, 'tricksterism' and identity concealment across the diocese of Moray that Kirkhill belonged to. The story highlighted how the Moravian religious, therefore social and administrative, world in which Fraser worked was a place where neither all Scots Gaelic speakers knew Scots, nor all Scots speakers knew Scots Gaelic, but where frontiers of speech could be negotiated or even manipulated, and where bilinguals or multilinguals had a key role.

Fraser knew Scots. It is a language which is, like English, but unlike Gaelic, a Germanic tongue, brought by Angles, Saxons and Jutes, which was an established, literary lingua franca at state-level in later medieval Scotland. With the Regal Union between England, Scotland and Ireland of 1603, the pressures on it began to increase, although, for example, the Scottish Privy Council continued to function in Scots throughout Fraser's lifetime. Moreover, as a spoken language, it continued to be used throughout most of the Scottish Lowlands, including in the burghs of Forres and Elgin, places which Fraser frequented via his attendance at the synod of Moray.²⁷ While, in his two most substantial works, Fraser writes in something akin to a 'Scottish English', the approach he takes when translating from Scots is notable. In the 'Wardlaw Manuscript', Fraser provides proverbs in a form of Scots that would have been easily intelligible to an anglophone. One example he quotes is 'to tirr the kirk to thack the cure' (to strip the church to thatch the cleric'), another being 'one divil is fittest to ding out another'

(‘one Devil is fittest to knock out another’).²⁸ Fraser may have picked these phrases up orally, as a child. His referencing of them suggests that, although his mother tongue was Gaelic, Scots influenced his speech throughout his life, as do local church records and those of his nearest royal burgh.²⁹

English

Another key element in Fraser’s versatility with spoken languages is his use of them for secrecy, exclusivity and disguise.³⁰ English was, arguably, of greater relevance to him than Gaelic or Scots in this regard. While, as a child, Fraser encountered the language daily as a written language through The Bible and other printed texts at school, it is quite possible that he did not learn to speak it until his later teens.³¹ It has been argued that the garrison established by Oliver Cromwell in the 1650s assisted in spoken English growing from the seventeenth century into it becoming the dominant linguistic culture in Inverness.³² William Mackay offered a different judgement, in 1905, in concluding that the reason for the relative clarity of Invernessian English was that ‘the language was acquired by a Gaelic-speaking people whose native tongue was remarkably free from brogue or accent’.³³ Indubitably, during Fraser’s lifetime, English grew in significance as a language for speech in the firthlands, with Nicholas Canny claiming that, by the mid-century point, ‘the ruling elite in all jurisdictions of the British Crown’ understood it. While Fraser’s ‘Britishness’ was negotiated and partial, it would be too simplistic to argue that it was only ‘socially privileged, politically conservative and generally establishment-minded circles’ who spoke English outside England in the seventeenth century.³⁴

Continental languages

Fraser’s versatility in spoken Gaelic, Scots and English remained evident while on his travels. In June 1657, he set off on an adventure of a remarkable type for a Highlander in the early modern period. According to his own account, his travels between then and early 1660 took him, by horseback, boat, and mostly foot, across swathes of southern, central and western Europe. Fraser’s initial route would introduce him to London, carry him across the English Channel to Dieppe and, now assuming the guise of a Catholic pilgrim, on to Marseilles. Diverted by pirates to north-east Spain, he would head east via Corsica and then Genoa, choosing to extend his stay in Italy by spending nearly a year in Rome, besides taking in many of the peninsula’s other major cities. From Venice, Fraser would venture through Alpine passes, heading eastwards through Bavaria, Austria and north-western Hungary, before making

an abrupt turn to commence a westward route into Bohemia, Germany and the Low Countries, on to northern France, London and, eventually, back home to the Highlands of Scotland.³⁵

On a handful of occasions in the 'Triennial Travels', he makes the claim that, as a Highland Gael, he could - even having never met an Irish speaker from Ireland before - communicate verbally with those he met from that background in a mutually intelligible Gaelic.³⁶ One sees this claim of verbal engagement with Irish emigrants in a case from a monastery in Lyons where 'we met w^t one father Martin an Irishman, a most discreet man and finding that I could speake Irish he doubled his kindness'.³⁷ Even more striking is an incident towards the end of his itinerary, in the Spanish Netherlands, where Fraser had his clothing, bags and papers taken and checked by a body of local officials. Struggling to understand their Spanish speech and guessing at the Irish identity of one man within the group, Fraser asserts that he greeted him in a form of Gaelic. The Irishman responded to Fraser, astonishing 'all the rest to see him and me so intimat & speak a language qh none of them could understand' and employing a phrase he translates as: 'Dear Brother Scot, by my Baptism yow shall have your breeches back'.³⁸

The English language would be key to Fraser's travels beyond Scotland too. One assumes he experienced few problems in adapting to the startling range of accents and dialects that he must have heard for the first time in Inverness with the arrival of the Cromwellian soldiers. Indeed, his broader linguistic aptitude may have helped him ingratiate himself enough with the community there to receive his passport in 1657. Use of the language would be paramount also in terms of his communication while moving through England and, especially, London, as his social circle began to extend, for the first time, to 'countrymen' from across all three Stuart kingdoms. The continent might have been expected to provide fewer opportunities to use it. Across continental Europe and Scandinavia English was, as Gallagher has shown, the 'little-known and little-regarded language of a small island out on the edge of Europe', this requiring all those who relied on it at home to become language-learners whenever they headed across the North Sea.³⁹ Certainly, the Dutch could be one exception to the continental indifference, though. In the case of one 'George Rater' in Padua, Fraser noted that he spoke 'good English' on becoming 'well watered' with him after sampling 'several sorts of wines'.⁴⁰ But English could provide access to the majority of a Stuart émigré and exile community in continental Europe of many tens of thousands also.⁴¹ Among that body from the Stuart kingdoms who by then knew it as a first- or second-language, it became, once on the continent, a mode of speech allowing for community as well as confidentiality.⁴²

Fraser did not always rely on any of Gaelic, Scots or English while on his travels. On the contrary, at every juncture while on the continent, he sought to learn other tongues, his written

record of which, while partly derivative of Welsh royalist, James Howell, far outweighs that of the typical grand tourist from the Stuart kingdoms.⁴³ In 1678, Jean Gailhard published the first two volumes of his aforementioned work, *The Compleat Gentleman*, in which he asserted that language learning should be key.⁴⁴ Twenty years earlier, James Fraser was already taking this pragmatic approach. After boarding the *Roe of Rye* which took him to Dieppe he was impressed by the skipper having ‘good French & drank the Kings good health *vive lay Roy D’Anglitter*: Happy may the King of England live’.⁴⁵ Not only that, but, on disembarking in Dieppe harbour, Fraser made clear his wish to ‘learn a litle of (the) french language to fit us for our journey.’⁴⁶ Indeed, in Dieppe he found ‘little difference save in the language’.⁴⁷ To an extent that exceeds even that of lowland Scottish adventurers of the time like William Lithgow, Patrick Gordon or Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Fraser emphasised how linguistic aptitude was key for the traveller.⁴⁸ Language learning ensured success in France since:

As to your converse you are received but coldly in France without their language which when you begin to express and distribute freely among them you insinuate yourself mightily thereby and by degrees conciliat their favour and in time attain to some kind of confidence, and they grow very communicable and informe you readily of their customes nay they incurrage you so that if you can but call for any thing in intelligible learned they commend your language highly with a *vous parlez bon Francais* you speak good French.⁴⁹

Moving south, Fraser claims that his brief foray onto the Iberian Peninsula was an unintended consequence of his ship from Marseille to Genoa being attacked by pirates, a setback which saw him disembark temporarily in Roses (Rosas) in Catalonia. Once again, though, he was drawn to collect key phrases and comment on the languages he heard. His remarks were no longer reserved to national languages, furthermore, but display an openness to regional tongues and dialects too:

As to the Spanish speech or language it varies more than the tongue of any country that which is common to them all. The vulgar Castilian Spanish which by reason of its affinity and consonancy with the Latin, the Spaniards calle their language Romanie. In Granada and Andalusia the Arabick and Moorish language is much in use still. In Catalonya, Valentia and Portugall it hath a great mixture of the French because of their trade and negotiation. The high countries bordering on the Pyrenees and Cantabrian Ocean have still retained much of the language of the old Spaniard and Goths.⁵⁰

In what would become a typical fashion, Spain gave him an opportunity to draw on his experience as a native speaker of what we would call today a minority language since, although Fraser did not visit Biscay, and his stay in Spain was fleeting, he was fascinated by Basque ('Biscaian') believing it to be 'much like our Brittish and Welsh language'.⁵¹

Moving eastwards, conversation with a vomiting skipper while heading across a rough sea towards Genoa proved invaluable, this individual being something akin to the 'linguister' accounted for by Gallagher, in switching to a 'verie faire plaine smoothe stile of Latin' to ease their interactions, while a growing knowledge of Italian helped Fraser immediately following that.⁵² Further east, the potential obstacles of Hungarian and 'Slavonick' fascinated him more than they troubled him, and the challenges they posed may have been again eased by his conversational Latin, still a language that was relatively common parlance in that part of Europe.⁵³ Certainly, in the section of the memoir on Hungary, his detail is remarkable, comparing favourably with that provided by other English-speaking contemporary visitors to east-central Europe like Moryson, Howell, and also Lewkenor, Ricaut or Brown. Fraser spends a paragraph noting key phrases in Hungarian before commenting on 'the high Dutch being generally spoken in the frontier townes, also among the schollars, souldiers and merchants'.⁵⁴ He picks up also on more subtle points, such as that there were many Slavic speakers within the Magyar realms and towards the Ottoman frontier, concluding that 'there remains a dialect of the Scythian speech among them still, but among y^e better sort and men of sense the Sclavonian language is generally spoken written and printed as in Transilvania, Moledavia and Poleland but keep the Roman character'.⁵⁵ On the Ottoman Empire, again, language was to the fore in his claim that 'their Divinity and Law is taught in Sclavonick... ..but the vulgar speak Tartarian which is the common Turkish language'. Fraser did not actually enter the Ottoman lands, turning north instead through north-eastern Hungary (what is now Slovakia) where he concluded that the everyday language was 'a dialect of the Scythian' but amongst 'the better sort' the 'Sclavonian language is generally spoken written and printed'.

Fraser's return route westwards began at this point.⁵⁶ In Prague, he took an interest in this bilingual 'Sclavonic' and German character, the city giving him a chance to switch between numerous 'speech domains' on visiting, in his estimation, the upwards of fifty fathers then present in the city's Irish Franciscan College. Certainly, it appears from his account that the Irish friars were fluent in Czech, evident when he heard a 'Father Brian' preach 'in the Sclavonian tongue with as great volability as the natives and had the applause of all his hearers'.⁵⁷ Fraser's effusive description of his communication with the Irish friars, and his admiration for their linguistic skills, is striking and, once again suggests a connection with his

Gaelic background. His route eventually led Fraser towards the United Provinces. The local language became slightly more familiar to him again there, with Fraser showing some knowledge of Dutch in Rina [Rhenen?] before Utrecht, where he encountered a woman ‘at her *eyn nakt ofen* for so the Dutch call a baking oven’.⁵⁸ Once in Utrecht, the reader encounters further evidence of Fraser’s enthusiasm for languages in his encounter with Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-78), often claimed to be the first female university student in Europe.⁵⁹ On seeing her worshipping in the English Church there, he commented that she:

is now at length come to that proficiency and perfection in all the Orientall Originall languages. That she is exactly mistress of y^e Hebrew, Chaldaick, Syriack, Greek, Latin, Arabick, high Dutch and Slavonick besids the Common Speaker of Spanish, Italian, French, English, Danish and Swedish tongues every one admires her.⁶⁰

Indicating that it had not taken foreign travel to inspire his interest in Schurman’s linguistic prowess, Fraser adds that ‘her fame had spread as farr as the north of Scotland when I was student in the Kings College of Aberdeen’ when a ‘Mr Andrew Cant’ had dedicated his thesis to her.⁶¹

In the Spanish Netherlands, Fraser experienced a final revealing, multilingual spoken encounter on the ‘Sandy Rode’ just before Mons. He came across two men on horseback who asked, in French, what his nationality was, then which part of Scotland he was from, and, eventually, which parish he came from and what his surname was. This eventually produced an emotive response, presumably in Gaelic or Scots, from the interrogator, who turned out to be a John McKenzie of ‘Littlefindons [Little Findon]’, on the Black Isle, less than ten miles away from Fraser’s home. McKenzie informed him that he had been a ‘souldier in Tangiers’ but was now a lieutenant in the ‘Spanish army going for Brussels’. McKenzie gave him money and arranged for him to meet a ‘Ms Lesley’, a Scottish nun in the city, presumably a Scots speaker from the Catholic, North-East branch of that family.⁶²

From Mons, Fraser headed on into France, with little further comment on language, to London, Gravesend and finally, by sea again, to Scotland, and the firthlands. While his travels had opened him up to new languages, his curiosity to comprehend the voices he heard, and his ability to code-switch, were in no way new. As has been shown, he displayed a remarkable openness to speaking in a multiplicity of languages throughout his life, whether these were the everyday Scots Gaelic or Scots of his local parish, presbytery and synod, or the ever more

complex linguistic encounters to be experienced at grammar school and university, or while travelling.

The written word

As has been shown, Fraser conveyed on his tour an unusual level of fascination in national and regional tongues that went beyond that of most 'grand tourists'. But this openness cannot be explained simply on the basis of him having an 'ear for languages'.⁶³ Almost certainly, he benefitted also from the use of a 'conversation manual', what Gallagher has defined as a 'bi- or multilingual text which usually included some material on pronunciation, orthography, vocabulary, and grammar, and which had at its heart material that mimicked speech and could be employed in conversation by the reader'.⁶⁴ Often these manuals were pocket-sized, and, in the case of one of the classics of the type, the *Thesaurus polyglottus* (1603), provided coverage of all of the languages Fraser cited in his travel memoirs.⁶⁵ Gailhard too had recommended that, when it came to languages, the engagement of a traveller should be a scholarly one, so that he could be 'capable of improving himself out of all Books written in several Tongues' as well as being able to speak them.⁶⁶ Evidently, by the time of his return home, Fraser had collected and written down phrases, and probably also tackled some texts, in French, Italian, German, 'Slavonick', Hungarian, Czech and Dutch, this foregrounding an adeptness with reading and writing in languages which went back to his childhood.

Bible study, schooling in Inverness, and university days in Aberdeen, had given Fraser a reading as much as a spoken knowledge of Latin, some Greek and possibly some Hebrew, his enthusiasm for the latter exemplified later in his stated admiration for a certain Ogilvy, a 'great poet' in London who 'hath set out an English Hebrew grammar, followeing an easier method of learning that language than any yet hath done, a rode which none have ever yet trod'.⁶⁷ For much of his career, however, the evidence suggests that Latin was the only ancient language he used, and that the bulk of Fraser's reading and writing was in a combination of Gaelic and English. Embedded within his 'Wardlaw Manuscript' is a 'Catollogue of Manuscripts being bookes bound written & Hilled Be Master James Fraser Pastor Montis Mariæ. In divers volumns *ab anno 1660*'. Compiled towards the end of his life, it lists fifty-three titles, volumes Fraser owned, comprising many of his own works along with copies of pieces written by others and shows the interconnected nature of his reading and writing in, and translation between, those three key languages.

One sees on the list 'An Irish Dictionary, in 4^o' and 'Hibernilogia a volum of Irish verse'.

In these two mentions, we have illuminating evidence that Fraser's interests in Gaelic went beyond the oral aspects, covered earlier in the chapter, to the linguistic and literary. Wider evidence supporting the continued relevance in Scotland of Classical Gaelic, intellectually, is seen in the Book of Clanranald and several other texts.⁶⁸ John Carswell's translation, at the behest of the Synod of Argyll, of the Book of Common Order, had occasioned the appearance of the language's first printed publication in 1567, which had been followed, in Fraser's lifetime, by the printing in Edinburgh of a version of Calvin's *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis*.⁶⁹ Moreover, the profile of Classical Gaelic was influenced further by Robert Kirk (1644-1692) episcopalian minister of Balquhiddy, Perthshire, who, in 1684, published the first full metrical psalter in the language, while 1690 saw the publication of the Gaelic text of the Old and New Testament, using, for the first time, Roman characters. Nevertheless, Aonghas MacCoinnich has accounted for the simultaneous rise of a vernacular Gaelic in Scotland. The Book of the Dean of Lismore (c.1542) and the Fernaig Manuscript (c.1689), for example, what was becoming a move towards a literary Scots Gaelic, a shift which, gradually, led, as did its growing dominance in speech, to the extinguishing of the common form.⁷⁰ In terms of reading and writing, Fraser knew both forms of Gaelic and negotiated between them, with MacCoinnich arguing that, although Fraser was 'well aware of traditional Gaelic orthographic practices' he was 'much more comfortable' with the Scots form, this including Scots spelling practices, showing a general reliance on the twenty-six letter Scots and English orthography rather than the Gaelic eighteen-letter form.⁷¹

For example, Fraser's interests in Classical Gaelic are evident in a gift of his to the Inverness Presbyterian Library, the first burgh library in the north of mainland Scotland, founded in 1706: his copy of the Church of Ireland Bishop William Bedel's first translation of the Old Testament. This work had been completed originally in c. 1635-6, and published, following financial assistance from Robert Boyle, Earl of Cork, in 1685.⁷² Fraser's copy of Bedel's Classical Gaelic Bible was one of many sent to Scotland in the years before 1700, and a text which remained unintelligible to most Scottish Gaels due to its Irish font.⁷³ Yet, as has been suggested, Fraser was also interested in vernacular Scots Gaelic, not just for speech, but in a scholarly sense too. The extent of his knowledge becomes abundantly clear in the fragments of an exchange from 1699, a letter sent to him by renowned Welsh scholar, Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709). While it has not proven possible to ascertain how Lhuyd had come to know of Fraser, the letter, addressed to 'Revd. Mr James Fraser minister of Kirkhill in the Aird near Inverness', shows how Fraser could rival his Gaelic-speaking contemporary, Martin Martin (d.1718), in the scholarly circles of Edinburgh and London as an informant on 'Ersh [Gaelic]'. Lhuyd's

desire for knowledge from his contact in Kirkhill extended to ‘the old Scottish Language & customes, the comparing of which with the Welsh, Cornish, & Armorican is one part of my design’. On the list of Lhuyd’s requests to him were:

1. An interpretation of the Nouns in Mr Ray’s *Dictionariolum Trilingue*; with the Addition of the Verbs & Adjectives in the vulgar *Nomenclatura* into the Northern Ersh would be very acceptable. 2. A catalogue of the towns, castles, villages, mountains, vales, Lochs & Rivers, within ten (or twenty) miles; with an interpretation of such of these names as are indubitably intelligible; and Queries or conjectures about some of the others...⁷⁴

Lhuyd went on to ask Fraser to provide:

7. A catalogue of the Highland Poets of note, and of all the other writers on what subject soever in the Ersh or [–Irish] Scottish Irish. When they flourish’d: what they writ: How large their works; with the three or four initial & final words; and where their works may be seen at present. 8. A catalogue of the Christian names purely Ersh; with a mark of distinction to those still in use.⁷⁵

The focus on Ray’s 1675 dictionary in English, Latin and Greek, and, from there, on both Classical and Scots Gaelic grammar, toponymy, onomastics and poetry indicates the assumed breadth of Fraser’s knowledge. Lhuyd gave him several months to work on his research and, evidently, expected his Highland informant would collaborate with other local experts in collating it.

Sadly, Fraser’s intellectual considerations as regards the Scots language are harder to detect, and overshadowed by his intellectual engagement with English and Latin if we go by the ‘Catalogue of Manuscripts’. The earliest known writings in the Scots language, as with its use in speech, can be dated back to many centuries earlier: a charter from 1312 exists while, in 1375, John Barbour’s narrative poem, *The Brus*, an account of the Scottish Wars of Independence, had appeared. In 1532, John Bellenden converted Hector Boece’s *Scotorum Historia* (1527) into Scots for a wider audience, showing the demand that there was for scholarly history in the vernacular, a feature that continued into the seventeenth century.⁷⁶ In the firthlands too, one sees an educated, written Scots in, for example, the sixteenth and seventeenth century burgh records. Indeed, given Fraser’s connections to Elgin and east Moray, the relative lack of Scots words in his own extant writing is perhaps the most striking of all the linguistic puzzles he has left us. Fraser’s surviving work, while it is ripe for harvesting in terms

of its references to languages, is in a Scots-influenced English, which, we can conclude, reflects his reading background in the latter language and his wish to reach a wider readership. The lack of material in the broad Scots that he knew from early childhood, and which, in the eastern parts of the diocese of Moray, remained the lingua franca and a major language of writing, remains to be explained.⁷⁷

Conclusion

As Eric Dursteler has argued, modern historians tend to project nineteenth century and subsequent ideas of linguistic nationalism on to early modern practices. This has always been more challenging for historians of Scotland, where the debate, equally fraught though it is, tends to assume Scotland's major medieval languages to have been Gaelic and Scots, with English emerging, gradually, into the mainstream, from the Reformation onwards, towards the dominance it has today. Nevertheless, Dursteler's points are valid for north-eastern parts of Scotland, and for the North Sea, more broadly. As he puts it, instead of 'demarcating stark boundaries between speech communities' historians should view language as 'existing in linguistically mixed zones' where code-switching was rather a normal and valuable skill.⁷⁸ Put in Scottish terms, and assuming a firm 'Highland' and 'Lowland' divide - with the former considered to be a monolingual Gaelic and the latter a monolingual Scots - is a mistake. A mosaic of languages was a feature in parts of the Highlands as it was in other rural, coastal areas of early modern Europe. There is much that appears fleeting in James Fraser's biography. But its multilingual nature does not. It was an aspect of his life before, during and after his travels, to a greater extent than it was for most from the Stuart kingdoms. Through him and its other polyglot scholars, the firthlands added its own blend of ingredients to the North Sea's linguistic melting pot.

¹ Scotland is, generally, 'cut up by arms of the sea'. In the northeastern part of the mainland, the foremost of these 'limbs' is the Moray Firth, which can, somewhat contentiously, be defined to comprise the widest of the country's saltwater inlets, linking Fraserburgh in the south-east, Beauly in its south-west, Wick to its north, and, it might be argued, all points in-between. This makes for a roughly indented triangle of sea and coast, one that provides a vital backdrop to the history of the far north in many instances and periods. In its inner part, geology, the tide and human engineering have interacted to bequeath a topographically unique section of channels and peninsulas linking east Sutherland to coastal Moray. Specifically, this 'firthlands' space involves one tidal inlet, Loch Fleet, and three other bodies of seawater - the Dornoch Firth, the Cromarty Firth and the Inner Moray Firth (incorporating the Inverness, Kessock and Beauly Firths) - each compressed and crinkled almost together. For a 'Moray Firth' historiography, see James Miller, *The gathering stream: the story of the Moray Firth* (Edinburgh:

Birlinn, 2012); David Worthington, 'The settlements of the Beaulieu-Wick coast and the historiography of the Moray Firth', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 95(2), (2016), 139-163; Worthington, 'Ferries in the firthlands: communications, society and culture along a northern Scottish rural coast (c.1600-1809)', *Rural History*, 27(2), (2016), 129-148; John R. Baldwin, (ed.), *Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1991).

² Marco Mostert, 'Linguistics of contact in the northern seas', in Rolf Strootman, Floris van den Eijnde, and Roy van Wijk eds., *Empires of the sea: maritime power networks in world history*, (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 187-8. 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: Brill, 2006), 368-73. For early modern North Sea histories, see, Hanno Brand and Leos Müller, eds., *The dynamics of economic culture in the North Sea- and Baltic region in the late Middle Ages and early modern period* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Hanno Brand ed., *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange: Continuity and change in the North Sea area and the Baltic, c. 1350-1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005); David J. Starkey and Morten Hahn-Pedersen eds., *Bridging troubled waters: Conflict and co-operation in the North Sea region since 1550* (Esbjerg: Fiskeri-Sofartmuseet, 2005); Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss eds., *The North Sea and culture (1550-1800)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996).

³ Eric Dursteler, 'Speaking in tongues: language and communication in the early modern Mediterranean', *Past & Present*, 217, (2012), 50-51.

⁴ For the cultural pluralism of the north Highlands of the time, see, Thomas Brochard, 'The integration of the elite and wider communities of the northern Highlands, 1500-1700: evidence from visual culture', *Northern Scotland*, 6(1), (2015), 1-23; 'Intellectual and practical education and its patronage in the northern Highlands in the century after the Reformation', *Northern Scotland*, 12(2), (2021), 174-195.

⁵ See, Alan MacQuarrie's current work on the Gaelic and Latin writing of Roderick MacLean of Iona (d.1553), discussed here: <http://cscs.academicblogs.co.uk/roderick-maclean-of-iona-d-1553-a-renaissance-humanist-from-the-western-isles/> (accessed 20 April 2022). His polyglot successors in the Highlands included George Buchanan (1506-82), Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty (1611-60), and Sir Robert Gordon (1580-1656). One wonders also about knowledge of Danish, Norwegian or Frisian among them. See, also, Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 4, 51.

⁶ John Gallagher, *Learning languages in early modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Stephen Ahern, 'Prose fiction: excluding Romance', in Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins eds., *The Oxford history of literary translation in English, volume III: 1660-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 328-9. See also the 2015 special issue of this journal, 'Translation and print culture in early modern Europe', especially, Brenda M. Hosington, 'Translation and print culture in early modern Europe', *Renaissance Studies*, 29(1), (2015), 5-18.

⁷ 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: Scottish History Society, 1905), 347. For Dutch-speaking MacKenzie entrepreneurs, whose knowledge of the language connected with military service, see, Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and civility in the North Atlantic world: the case of the northern Hebrides, 1570-1639* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 265-8, 270, 282. See, also, Thomas Brochard, 'Scots and the Netherlands as seen through Alba Amicorum, 1540s-1720s', *Dutch Crossing*, 46 (2022), 3-26.

⁸ B.E. Bullock and A.J. Toribio, eds., *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1; 'polyglossia, n.', *OED Online*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/266247?redirectedFrom=polyglossia> (accessed February 2022).

⁹ Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven and Sarah Goldsmith eds., *Beyond the Grand Tour: northern metropolises and early modern travel behaviour* (London: Routledge, 2017); Alan Stewart, *The Oxford history of life-writing, volume 2: early modern*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-20; Mark R.F. Williams, 'The inner lives of early modern travel', *The Historical Journal*, 62(2), (2019), 349-373; Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Writing the travelling self: travel and life-writing in Peter Mundy's (1597-1667) *Itinerarium Mundii*', *Renaissance Studies*, 31(4), (2017), 608-625.

¹⁰ Dursteler, 'Speaking in tongues', 50.

¹¹ Peter Burke, *The art of conversation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 7; Gallagher, *Learning languages*, 2.

¹² Hew Scott (ed.), *Fasti ecclesiae scoticae; the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the reformation* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1926), VI, 472-4; Sara Pons-Sanz and Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'The languages of Scotland', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *The international companion to Scottish literature, 1400-1650* (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2018), 19-37.

¹³ Mackay (ed.), *Chronicles*, 516-21. Thank you also to Iain MacIlleChiar for his assistance.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 521.

- ¹⁶ William Fraser (ed.), *The Sutherland book*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1892), II, 359.
- ¹⁷ Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Where and how was Gaelic written in late medieval and early modern Scotland? Orthographic practices and cultural identities', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 24, (2008), 309-356.
- ¹⁸ John Fraser, 'Notes on Inverness-shire Gaelic in the seventeenth century', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 2(1), (1927), 92. See also, 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: Manchester University Press, 2002), 196-239; 'Writing the history of Gaelic Scotland: a provisional checklist of "Gaelic" genealogical histories', in Nancy R. McGuire, Donald E. Meek and Colm Ó Baoill eds., *Caindel Alban: Feillsgrìobhainn do Dhòmhnall E. Meek*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 2008).
- ¹⁹ Jane Dawson, *Scotland re-formed, 1488-1587*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 229.
- ²⁰ Mackay (ed.), *Chronicles*, 175.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 268.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 284.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Michael Newton, *Warriors of the word: the world of the Scottish Highlanders*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009), 298.
- ²⁵ Ronald I.M. Black, 'Scottish fairs and fair-names', *Scottish Studies*, 33, (1999), 12.
- ²⁶ Fraser, 'Notes on Inverness-shire Gaelic', 92.
- ²⁷ William Cramond (ed.), *The records of Elgin, 1234-1800*, (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1903).
- ²⁸ Elsewhere, Fraser draws on the phrase '*Non ubi nascor sed ubi pascor*' ('That place be your mother, not which bred you, but which fed you'). See, Mackay (ed.), *Chronicles*, 9, 67, 241.
- ²⁹ Roderick D. Cannon, 'Who got a kiss of the King's hand? The growth of a tradition' in James Porter (ed.), *Defining strains: the musical life of Scots in the seventeenth century*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 197-226.
- ³⁰ Further research has revolved around whether Fraser may have been employed as a Cromwellian spy. For context here, see, Timothy Raylor, 'Exiles, expatriates and travellers: towards a cultural and intellectual history of the English abroad, 1640-1660', in Philip Major (ed.), *Literatures of exile in the English Revolution and its aftermath, 1640-1690* (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 15-43.
- ³¹ *Report by Thomas Tucker upon the settlement of the revenues of excise and customs in Scotland [1655-56]*, (Edinburgh, 1824), 36; Allan Kennedy, 'Civility, order and the highlands in Cromwellian Britain', *The Innes Review*, (2018), 69(1), 49-69; Allan Kennedy, 'Cromwell's Highland stronghold: the scone of Inverness', *Scottish Local History*, 106, (2020), 3-7; 'Military rule, protectoral government and the Scottish Highlands, c.1654-1660', *Scottish Archives*, 23, (2017-9), 80-102. For employment of tutors in English, from England, in some burghs in post-Reformation Scotland, see, Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'The languages of Scotland'.
- ³² Samuel Johnson, *Journey to the Hebrides: a journey to the Western Islands of Scotland & the journal of a tour to the Hebrides*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2010), 22. Thomas Kirk, an Englishman who visited Inverness in the Restoration period, wrote: 'All in the town of Inverness do generally use that language' apart from 'some few of the better sort, that can speak Scottish'. See Peter Hume Browne (ed.), *Tours in Scotland, 1677 & 1681*, (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1892), 28.
- ³³ Mackay (ed.), *Chronicles*, xxvii.
- ³⁴ 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: Routledge, 1995), 157; J. Derrick McClure, 'English in Scotland' in Robert Burchfield, (ed.), *Cambridge history of the English language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), V, 23-38; Peter Clarke, 'The English-speaking peoples before Churchill', *Britain and the World*, 4, (2011), 201, 213, 224; Peter McLaren, 'White terror and oppositional agency: towards a critical multiculturalism' in D.T. Goldberg, (ed.), *Multiculturalism: a critical reader*, (Oxford: Wiley, 1994), 45-74. For other works on the use of (or lack of use of) English in continental Europe in the same period, see Gallagher, *Learning languages*; 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: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 23-51; David Worthington, 'Introduction', in David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603-88*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 18-21.
- ³⁵ See the 2019 special issue of this journal, 'Renaissance and early modern travel: practice and experience, 1500-1700', especially the introduction by Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Introduction: Renaissance and early modern travel – practice and experience, 1500–1700', *Renaissance Studies*, 33(4), 515-23. For more on Fraser and religion, and his passing as a Catholic for most of his travels, see, David Worthington, "'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)', *Britain and the World*, 6(1) (2013), 48-63.

³⁶ I am unaware of other contemporary references to such verbal communication between Irish and Scottish Gaels from the period. However, for code-switching amongst contemporary English travellers in Europe, see Gallagher, *Learning languages*, 3-5.

³⁷ James Fraser, *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, Germany, Holland, Picardy etc. and back to France, England and Scotland]*, 3 vols., University of Aberdeen, Special Libraries and Archives, MS 2538, I, fol. 116r.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, fol. 133r.

³⁹ Gallagher, *Learning languages*, 1.

⁴⁰ *Triennial travels*, II, fol. 204.

⁴¹ Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction' in Steve Murdoch (ed.) *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 19-20; Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch eds., *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Murdoch, *Network North*; Steve Murdoch and Esther Mijers, 'Migrant destinations, 1500-1700' in T.M. Devine and J. Wormald eds., *Oxford handbook of Scottish history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 320-327; Thomas Brochard, 'The socio-economic relations between Scotland's northern territories and Scandinavia and the Baltic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 26(2), (2014), 210-34. For Ireland, see, Louis M. Cullen, 'The Irish diaspora of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Nicholas Canny, (ed.), *Europeans on the move: studies in European migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Thomas O'Connor, 'Ireland and Europe, 1580-1815: some historiographical remarks' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001); Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons eds., *Irish communities in early modern Europe*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006); William O'Reilly 'Ireland in the Atlantic world: migration and cultural transfer', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland, Volume II: 1550-1730*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). See, also, Gwyn A. Williams, *The search for Beulah land: the Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish emigrants and exiles*; Alison Games, *Migration and the origins of the English Atlantic world*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 38-40.

⁴² Tobias B. Hug, *Impostures in early modern England: representations and perceptions of fraudulent identities*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Natalie Zemon Davis. *Trickster travels: a sixteenth-century Muslim between worlds*, (New York: Faber, 2006); Thomas Kidd, 'Passing as a pastor: clerical imposture in the colonial Atlantic world', *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 14(2), (2004), 149-174.

⁴³ James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-eliae familiar letters domestic and forren divided into sundry sections, partly historicall, politicall, philosophicall, vpon emergent occasions*, (London, 1650). Howell's work has, itself, been subject to some scrutiny on account of his heavy borrowing from other texts. See, Michael Nutkiewicz, 'A rapporteur of the English civil war: the courtly politics of James Howell (1594?-1666)', *Canadian Journal of History*, 25, (1990), 21-40.

⁴⁴ Jean Gailhard, *The compleat gentleman, or, Directions for the education of youth as to their breeding at home and travelling abroad in two treatises* (London, 1678).

⁴⁵ *Triennial travels*, I, fols. 46r, 49r.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 46v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 49r.

⁴⁸ For Lithgow's experiences with Italian, 'Cretan' and 'Slavonian', see, William Lithgow, *The total discourse, of the rare adventures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares trauals, from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe* (London, 1632), 42, 80, 483. For Gordon's reliance on Latin while in Poland initially, not knowing any 'Dutch' ie. German, see, Dmitry Fedosov, (ed.), *Diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, 6 vols., (Aberdeen, 2009-2016), I, 10, 12. For language use among Scots in mid-seventeenth-century continental Europe, see Murdoch, *Network North*, 367-73. See, also, Donald Crawford (ed.), *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1900).

⁴⁹ *Triennial travels*, I, fol. 49v; Gallagher, *Learning languages*, 59, 202.

⁵⁰ *Triennial travels*, I, fols. 150v-150r; John Gallagher, 'Language-learning, orality, and multilingualism in early modern anglophone narratives of Mediterranean captivity', *Renaissance Studies*, 33(4), (2019), 639-61.

⁵¹ *Triennial travels*, I, fol. 138.

⁵² Gallagher, 'Language-learning', 639.

⁵³ David Worthington, *British and Irish experiences and impressions of central Europe* (Aldershot, 2012), chapter one.

⁵⁴ *Triennial travels*, II, fol. 42r.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, fol. 43r; Worthington, "'All our dear countrymen". Meanwhile, Lithgow claims that 'their language [Hungarian] hath no affinity with any other kind of speech'. See, Lithgow, *The total discourse*, 415.

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- ⁵⁶ *Triennial travels*, III, fol. 48r.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 50; Worthington, *British and Irish experiences and impressions*, 173-4. For use of Czech among the Irish Franciscans in Prague, see, Ken Ó Donnchú, 'A Prague poem on purgation? Five languages in a seventeenth century Irish manuscript', *Studia Celto-Slavica* 12, (2021), 43-62.
- ⁵⁸ *Triennial travels*, III, fol. 87.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, fols. 87v, 89v.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, III, fols. 89v-90r. For the 'English Church' in Utrecht, see, Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch puritanism: a history of English and Scottish churches of the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 212.
- ⁶¹ *Triennial travels*, III, fol. 90r.
- ⁶² *Triennial travels*, III, fols. 133r-134r.
- ⁶³ Burke, *Languages and communities*, 4, 113; Salvatore Cipriano, "'Students who have the Irish tongue": the Gaidhealtachd, education, and state formation in Covenanted Scotland, 1638-1651', *Journal of British Studies*, 60(1), (2021), 66-87.
- ⁶⁴ Gallagher, *Learning languages*, 5-6, 12, 56, 57-9, 55-6, 60-76, 103, 135-6, 249.
- ⁶⁵ Hieronymus Megiser, *Thesaurus polyglottus, vel dictionarium multilingue*, (Frankfurt, 1603).
- ⁶⁶ Gailhard, *The compleat gentleman*, 7.
- ⁶⁷ Mackay (ed.), *Chronicles*, 427. Presumably, this was the translator, John Ogilby (1600-1676), for whom, see Charles Withers, 'Ogilby, John (1600-1676), publisher and geographer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20583> (accessed November 2021).
- ⁶⁸ MacCoinnich, 'Where and how was Gaelic written', 317.
- ⁶⁹ Dawson, *Scotland re-formed*, 228-9.
- ⁷⁰ MacCoinnich, 'Where and how was Gaelic written', 316.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 326, 329.
- ⁷² Kelly, 'The Society in Scotland', 44, 47, 54.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 42-3.
- ⁷⁴ 18 December 1699, Falkirk, Edward Lhuyd to James Fraser, cited in Michael Hunter, *The occult laboratory: magic, science and second-sight in late seventeenth-century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 205-6.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.* For Lhuyd and the Highlands, see, Danielle Kathryn Fatzinger, 'Eoghan MacGilleoin, Mr Lachlann Campbell, and Col. Cailean Campbell: manuscript production in Kintyre c. 1690-1698', PhD thesis, (University of Glasgow, 2021). On Lhuyd and languages, see, John Considine, *Small dictionaries and curiosity: lexicography and fieldwork in post-medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- ⁷⁶ Hector Boece, *The history and chronicles of Scotland* (trans. John Bellenden), 2 vols., (Edinburgh, 1821).
- ⁷⁷ John R. Barrett (ed.), *Mr James Allan: the journey of a lifetime* (Kinloss: Librario, 2004).
- ⁷⁸ Dursteler, 'Speaking in tongues', 50.