

## SCOTTISH TRAVELLERS ABROAD, 1660–1688

Diplomatic, political, educational and military connections existed between Scots, Scotland and the rest of Europe. This paper concentrates on the connections fostered between Scots and the European continent by travel. A great number of young gentlemen travellers left the British isles to travel abroad during the reigns of Charles II and James II. Young British gentlemen travelled for many and varied reasons. Many travelled for their education, often in company with a tutor. Rarely did a Briton travel in an area totally lacking in support networks of friends and social contacts; continental Europe was awash with members of Britain's ruling elite who travelled together or formed enclaves in almost every major town and city throughout western Europe. Much has been written on the subject of the British tourist abroad. By 'British' most scholars have meant 'English'. Where discussions of Scots have occurred these have usually been as an adjunct to, or an extension of, constructs associated with the English travel experience. Similarly, so great an emphasis has been placed upon the 'Grand Tour' of the eighteenth century that the travelling networks and experiences of the late seventeenth century have often been treated as a mere preamble to the better established routes of the following century.

The disposition and personality of Scottish travellers in this period ranged from the strongly anti-English, pro-French Walter Scot, Earl of Tarras, to the anglophile James Douglas Hamilton, Earl of Arran. Scottish travellers were exclusively male, though many Scottish women lived abroad on a permanent basis.<sup>1</sup> Whatever their proclivities it was the duty and pleasure of all young noblemen to travel.<sup>2</sup> The appeal of travel was further increased by the fact that Scots, all over the European continent, had little trouble finding co-religionists and other Britons of comparable social status wherever they travelled. Strong British expatriate communities existed in France and the Low Countries from the late sixteenth century onwards.<sup>3</sup> Even Scots who travelled to far less accessible regions of Europe often had little

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<sup>1</sup> Details of female travellers from A. Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. U. Phillips (London, 1995), pp. 129 and 140–144 and S. Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995), p. 202. A good account of a woman's journey abroad in Richard Lassels' edition of 'The Voyage of the Lady Catherine Whetenhall, from Brussels into Italy in the Holy Yeere with the chief accidents that happened therein written in Padua a little before her ladyship fell sick, by one of her trayne, 1650', British Library, Add. MS. (Birch) 4217. A number of Scottish ladies resided in France and the Netherlands throughout the seventeenth century. A good example of a Scottish lady in foreign residence is Elizabeth Hamilton, countess of Grammont, 29 September 1670 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [hereafter NLS], Adv. MS. 34.6.3, fol. 1). A. Hamilton, *The Memoirs of Count Grammont* (Sonnenschein: London, n.d.), pp. 122 and 140.

<sup>2</sup> The pleasure of travel is discussed in C. Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London, 1987), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The British community in the Netherlands is partly described in John Childs, *James II, The Army and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1986), chs. 5 and 6. Other prominent references to the early history of the Brigade can be found in J. Bernardi, *A Short History of the Life of Major John Bernardi* (London, 1729) and *An Historical Account of the British Regiments Employed since the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James I in the Formation and Defence of the Dutch Republic* (London, 1794). Scots living in the Netherlands before the second half of the seventeenth century are recorded in M.R. Glozier, 'Scots in the Dutch Army, 1681–1691', chapter in S. Murdoch (ed.) *The Scottish Military Experience, 1600–2000* (forthcoming), I.J. MacLean, *De Huwelijksintekeningen van Schotse Militairen in Nederland, 1574–*

trouble finding not only fellow Britons, but also fellow Scots, who sometimes turned out to be their own distant relations.<sup>4</sup> Although Roman Catholicism and cultural 'foreignness' posed a threat to travelling Scottish protestants the continent continued to be both an attractive and enriching sphere of habitation for a large number of Scots. France, like Italy, also possessed the advantage of having easily accessible, if elderly, printed tourist guides; Estienne's *La Guide des chemins de France de 1553* and Gaspar Ens' *Deliciae Italiae* (1609) were perhaps the most widely distributed examples of the travel book genre.<sup>5</sup>

A large number of young, well-born Scots travelled to the European continent in the second half of the seventeenth century. Like their English counterparts they went primarily for education.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the English, more went for formal university instruction which had a long tradition for Scots. The older type of Scottish traveller was the post-graduate student intending to study at one of the centres of Scottish educational influence, such as the Scots College at Douai, in Flanders, or the Scots Abbey at Würzburg, in Lower Franconia.<sup>7</sup> Many now also undertook undergraduate education there.<sup>8</sup> Students of laws, arts or medicine were common. They usually studied at the universities of Paris, Bologna or other established centres of learning, such as Saumur, in France. In most cases there were strong connections between these centres of Scottish settlement. Learned individuals were often sent from Scottish communities in France to Germany, or vice-versa.<sup>9</sup> Most of the well born Scottish travellers of the second half of the seventeenth century belong here.

- 1665, (Zutphen, 1976), D. F. Kuiken, 'Van gene zijde van Het kanaat. Huwelijken van Schotten, Engelsen en Ieren in de stad Groningen, 1595–1672', *Nederlandsche Leeuw* (1994) vol. 111, pp. 154–182 and I.J. Maclean, 'Huwelijken van militairen behorende tot ... de Schotse Brigade ... 1674–1713', *De Brabantse Leeuw*, 17 (1968), pp. 97–24; 20 (1971), pp. 140–59; 21 (1972), pp. 90–113. Maczak makes the point that communities of travelling expatriate Scots, English, Poles and others could be found all over western Europe: see Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, p. 120.
- 4 See *Passages from the Diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* (The Spalding Club, 1859) and Rev. A. Mackay, 'General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries: a Soldier of Fortune', *Trans. Buchan Field Club*, vol. xi (1913–1917).
- 5 C. Estiennes, *Le Guide des chemins de France de 1553* par Charles ..., ed. J. Bonneret, 2 vols Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Sciences Historiques et Philologiques (Paris, 1936). Gaspar Ens, *Deliciae Italiae et index viatoribus ab Urbe Roma ad omnes in Italia ... civitates et oppida ...* (Coloniae, 1609). Newer works also appeared to supplement these older guides. See Payen's *Table of the itinerary and means of transport which may be employed in order to see the cities of Europe* (1667). The same author also left a travelogue entitled *Les Voyages de Monsieur Payen ...*, 2 vols (Paris, 1667). An overview of travel guides can be found in H.G. Fordham, *Les Routes de France. Etude bibliographique sur les cartes routières et les itinéraires et guides routiers, 1552–1850* (Paris, 1929).
- 6 M.F. Moore, 'The education of a Scottish nobleman's son in the seventeenth century: I Study in Holland', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 30 (1952): pp. 1–15 and M.F. Moore, 'The education of a Scottish nobleman's son in the seventeenth century: II Study in France', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 31 (1952): pp. 101–15.
- 7 A Scottish Catholic seminary was founded in Paris in 1576. This was later moved to Douai, where it remained a centre for Scottish Catholic activity until the late eighteenth century. Scottish continental abbeys in general, and the Scots Abbey at Würzburg in particular, are examined in M. Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia; A Century of Monastic Life* (Edinburgh, 1974) and R. J. W. Evans, 'Learned Societies in Germany in the 17th Century', *European Studies Review*, 7 (1977), pp. 129–51. Histories of the Scottish religious houses in France can be found in A. Mirot, *Souvenirs du Collège des Ecosais* (Paris, 1962), J.-L. Carr, *Le Collège des Ecosais à Paris 1662–1962* (Paris, 1962) and J.F. McMullin, 'The Innes Brothers and the Scots College, Paris', in E. Cruikshanks and E. Corp, *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London, 1995).
- 8 J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community; Scotland 1470–1625* (London, 1981), p. 71.
- 9 Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia*, pp. 56–59.

The obvious explanation for the attractiveness of France as a venue for the education of young Scots was the ongoing relationship of the 'auld' alliance.<sup>10</sup> Established connections with France allowed a level of security to Roman Catholic Scots who had long preferred to pursue study in a supportive environment. The 'auld' alliance also helps explain the ongoing attraction of France to non-Catholic Scots. This was certainly the reason why the Protestant William Keith, sixth Earl Marischall, went to finish his education at the French intellectual centres of Paris, Orléans, Tours and Saumur in 1601.<sup>11</sup> Sir Robert Arbuthnott of Arbuthnott chose France 'for the better traneing up of himself in all good and verteous exercise as becometh one of his qualitie' in 1611.<sup>12</sup> Members of Scotland's nobility, however, had to acquire permission to depart Scotland before they could go anywhere at all. Religion was the primary cause of the restriction; in 1579 a law was specifically passed by the Scottish Privy Council against travel abroad due to the dangers of religious corruption in Roman Catholic countries.<sup>13</sup>

Sir Robert Arbuthnott's case is instructive. As a Protestant, from an officially Protestant country, Arbuthnott had to guarantee that he would do nothing while in France to prejudice the True Revealed Religion. France was the suspect element in many people's minds; it was popularly held that travel in other Catholic countries, such as Italy and Spain, never affected the religion of Scottish nobles.<sup>14</sup> Suspicion of religious motivations can be seen in the accusation against Francis Hay, ninth Earl of Erroll, of sending his son to France in the company of a Roman Catholic tutor, one Patrick Con, the younger of Auchrie, on 28 March 1620.<sup>15</sup> Many Protestant Scots, however, appreciated the educational value of Roman Catholic, French institutions. In 1603 John Drummond, second Earl of Perth, went to France 'on a verie meane allowance' to study at the Universities of Bordeaux and Toulouse for three years.<sup>16</sup> The Roman Catholic Alexander Seton, first Viscount Kingston, spent two years at the Jesuit College of La Flèche from 1636, before travelling through Spain, Italy, and France, returning to Scotland in 1640.<sup>17</sup>

The influx of non-Catholic Scots into France grew after 1660. In the openly pro-French atmosphere of Charles II's court France once more became an attractive destination for instructive travel. This was not in any way hampered by the fact that thousands of Scottish, English and Irish soldiers served in the French army from the early 1660s until 1678. The French service was described as a 'nursery for men of honour', and proved as vital an educational and social training as civilian travel.<sup>18</sup> The vast majority of gently-born Scottish travellers remained civilians, however. Thus David Ogilvie, third Earl of Airlie, was sent to France in 1665, under the tutorship of his kinsman, John Ogilvie. The quality of the young Scottish gentlemen sent to France is reflected in Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall's statement

<sup>10</sup> See E.A. Bonner, *The First Phase of the Politique of Henri II in Scotland, its Genesis and the Nature of the 'Auld Alliance', 1547–1554*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Sydney, 1992 (partially published as E.A. Bonner, 'The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, vol. 6, June 1998; 'The Politique of Henry II: De Facto French Rule in Scotland, 1550–1554' *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, vol. 7, June 1999); 'French Naturalisation of Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 40, no. 4 (December 1997) and 'Scotland's Auld Alliance with France, 1295–1560', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, vol. 84, no. 273 (January 1999).

<sup>11</sup> Sir J. Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1904–1911), vol. iv, p. 54, vi, 588.

<sup>12</sup> *RPCS*, vol. IX, section.1, p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, p. 171.

<sup>14</sup> Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, p. 171.

<sup>15</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 3, p. 575.

<sup>16</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 5, p. 195.

<sup>18</sup> Petition to Charles II, from George, earl of Dumbarton, 24 May 1679, printed in *HMC, House of Lords MSS.* (London, 1887), pp. 131–32.

regarding this Earl of Airlie, that 'I know not what a man he'll prove, but I have heard him speak very fat nonsense whiles'.<sup>19</sup> Another contemporary member of the Scottish nobility, James Drummond, fourth Earl of Perth, completed his university education in France, after attending the university of St. Andrew's.<sup>20</sup> James Graham, second Marquis of Montrose, similarly received a royal license to finish his education in France on March 8, 1676.<sup>21</sup>

While some older Scots travelled for the sake of their health, some younger sons undertook educational travel before finding military careers in foreign service.<sup>22</sup> By far the most important reason for travel was the acquisition of the veneer of sophistication; accomplishments in fencing, languages and dressage were immediate indications of social status, which eclipsed even the most substantial intellectual achievements as the key reason for travel abroad among Scotland's nobility. The investment of money made in journeys abroad was therefore rationalised as an investment in a young man's future social prospects, rather than as vocational training for necessary employment abroad. While contemporary commentators associated rusticity and parochialism with the untravelled Englishman, no Scot travelled to free himself from this particular English failing.<sup>23</sup> Scottish parents who sent their sons abroad agreed with the French writer, Jean Gailhard, that education at home led to ignorance and rude manners.<sup>24</sup> Gentlemen were expected to travel abroad in order to be fit companions for their peers.

Only the wealthiest of Scottish parents could afford to ignore the practical benefits which travel provided. Education abroad provided a necessary foundation for eldest sons and might lead to career opportunities for younger sons. One of the many young Scots who followed this course was Francis Henderson, the brother of Sir John Henderson of Fordell. In 1664 he departed for a grand tour of Europe. He wrote to his brother, Fordell, saying:

I hope you will impute the reason of my not writting since wee begane our voyage to the want of opportunity, not to any forgetfulness in me of my duty, wee have seen the greater part of Italie and Sicilie, and when wee shal have seen Malta wee intend to returne stright to my brother James, to send me money, former experience makes me not doubt bot that ye will cause me receive quicklie, being straightened with tyme I shall only intreat you to present my respects to your lady and the rest of my freinds.<sup>25</sup>

For Francis Henderson a knowledge of France, and of the French language, was an invaluable aid to his acquiring an officer's commission in Lord George Douglas' Scottish regiment in French service in or about 1668.<sup>26</sup>

Travel was not therefore always undertaken in the expectation of return. It was also a prerequisite of finding military employment abroad. When in Padua, the earl of Tarras met a

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, p. 126.

<sup>20</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, p. 52.

<sup>21</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 6, p. 259.

<sup>22</sup> One Mr. Maitland wrote to Sir John Clerk of Pennicuik, saying: 'I am thinking of going to France for my health'; R. Maitland to Sir John Clerk of Pennicuik, 24 May 1677 (National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh [hereafter NAS], GD 18/5633).

<sup>23</sup> Obadiah Walker particularly encouraged young English gentlemen to travel for this reason: see O. Walker, *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673), p. 192. One writer said of the Englishman that 'Certainly, upon his dunghill, the English Gentleman is somewhat stubborn and churlish: Travell will sweeten him very much, and imbreed in him Courtesy, Affibility, Respect and Reservation': W. Higford, *Instructions and Advice to His Grandson* (London, 1658), p. 84. The issue of English rusticity is well observed in Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller*, ch. 8.

<sup>24</sup> J. Gailhard, *The Complete Gentleman* (London, 1678), pp. 3–5.

<sup>25</sup> Francis Henderson to Sir John Henderson of Fordell, 15 December 1664 (NAS, GD 172/1325).

<sup>26</sup> For the importance of the French language in Britain see K. Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (London, 1921).

fellow Scot called William Macdougall, whom he found 'in good equipage w<sup>t</sup> horses & Servants.'<sup>27</sup> Macdougall told him he was going to Vienna to pay court to count Leslie, the nephew of the great Imperial general count Walter Leslie, 'by whose means he hopes to have employment.'<sup>28</sup> It was this vague hope of employment which drew many poor, younger sons away from their families in Scotland.<sup>29</sup>

The case of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries is an extreme example of this tendency. After an elementary education, which had introduced him to Latin, mathematics and literacy he set off for the Low Countries in the hope of making his fortune.<sup>30</sup> With precious little money he was not one of those Scots gentlemen who stepped over to the continent for their education or diversion. He had heard of the opportunities to be had in military service under foreign princes. Initially undecided about a military career he undertook voluntary service in a regiment after an entirely fortuitous meeting with a fellow Aberdonian, one major Garden, who after enquiring as to his birth and family, claimed kinship with him and was thereafter at pains to assist his employment.<sup>31</sup> Auchleuchries later found himself in Muscovy service, where the experienced foreign soldiers were eagerly sought, but poorly treated.<sup>32</sup>

Training for civil employment could also require travel abroad. Anne, duchess of Hamilton, sent all five of her sons to France for different reasons. Lord William Hamilton, the second son was sent to study Law, his parents perceiving that, possessing frail health, he would 'win his livelihood by his pen and by the endowments of the spirit.' His elder brother, the earl of Arran, was sent for wider training as the future first peer of Scotland.<sup>33</sup>

Travel, indeed, could shade into exile. France was a popular destination for royalists of all religious denominations after 1650. Sir George Hamilton, a younger son of the first Earl of Abercorn, retired there with his family from 1650 to the Restoration.<sup>34</sup> In so doing he established a dynasty of Hamiltons who served both the British and French court. His son, Sir George Hamilton, left Charles II's service after the dismissal of the King's Horse Guard, in which he held a commission. He offered his sword to Louis XIV and promptly obtained permission from Charles II to raise troops in Ireland for a regiment in French service. The English secretary, Lord Arlington, explained to Sir William Godolphin that:

The Conde de Molina complains of certain levies Sir George Hamilton hath made in Ireland. I have told the Conde he must not find it strange that a gentleman, who had been the king's page abroad, and losing his employment

<sup>27</sup> Padua was a particularly expensive city, outranking even the expensive Basel: see Maczak, *Travel* pp. 76 and 79.

<sup>28</sup> Tarras to Sir Gideon Scott of Haychester, Venice, 15/25 January 1669 (NAS, GD 157/2100/24).

<sup>29</sup> Maczak, *Travel* p. 108. The route between Vienna and Venice was 'about three hundred and fifty Italian miles': see E. Browne, *A Brief Encounter of Some Travels in Diverse Parts of Europe, viz. Hungaria, Servia ...* (London, 1685), p. 88.

<sup>30</sup> Latin was a vital accomplishment for Scots in foreign service. On his arrival in the Low Countries Auchleuchries could only communicate with the Dutch via Latin, which became essential when he entered Polish and ultimately Russian service: see *Passages from the Diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, in the Years 1635-1699*, ed. J. Robertson (Spalding Club, 1859). Latin was also a necessary language for international diplomacy.

<sup>31</sup> *Diary of Patrick Gordon* pp. 44-45. See also Rev. A. Mackay, 'General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries a Soldier of Fortune', *Trans. Buchan Field Club*, vol. xi (1913-1917). In fact the Gardyns are a quite separate family: see Black, *Surnames of Scotland* and R. Martine, *Scottish Clan and Family Names: Their Arms, Origins and Tartans* (Edinburgh, 1987; reprint 1998), p. 96.

<sup>32</sup> Good descriptions of contemporary Russia, and European perceptions of it, can be found in S. Baron, 'European Images of Muscovy', *History Today* (September 1986), pp. 17-22, R.O. Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia, 1613-1689* (Princeton, 1983) and R. Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy* (Chicago, 1971).

<sup>33</sup> Lord William Hamilton (1656-1681); see Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, pp. 143-45.

<sup>34</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, p. 53.

at home for being a Roman Catholic, should have some more than ordinary connivance towards the making his fortune abroad, by the countenance of his friends and relations in Ireland.<sup>35</sup>

Sir George ended his career in the French army Sir George's brothers were all prominent at the French court, especially after the Jacobite exodus following James VII and II's 'abdication' in 1688. Chief among them was Sir James Hamilton, who was described by the count of Grammont in his memoirs as:

the man who, of all the Court, dressed best; he was well made in his person, and possessed those happy talents which lead to fortune and procure success in love; he was a most assiduous courtier, had the most lively wit, the most polished manners, and the most punctual attention to his duty imaginable. No person danced better, nor was any one a more general lover; a merit of some account in a court entirely devoted to love and gallantry.<sup>36</sup>

Sir James was well known to the Scottish community in France, and maintained friendships in Scotland itself; the young Walter Scott, Earl of Tarras visited him at the French court and reported to his father, Sir Gideon Scott of Haychester, that 'Old Sir James Kisses your hands' and said that he might accompany him 'and Visite Madame La Contesse de Hadinton', another expatriate Scot, before he left Paris.<sup>37</sup>

Educating a son in France presented problems. In both literature and reality the Protestant traveller was seen to be under constant threat of being diverted from his confessional faith. The strident nature of evangelical, counter-reformation Roman Catholicism was not lost on contemporary Protestant observers. The correspondence of Protestant Scots abroad is replete with encounters involving predatory priests in France. It conversely contains many laudatory accounts of co-religionists in the Low Countries. The level of anti-Catholic paranoia in Scotland was great enough to make the mere desire to send a son to France suspect. In 1670 Mungo Grant, the son of Sir John Grant of Freuchie, was accused of having 'Popish' leanings when it was discovered that he intended to send his two sons to study in France, under their kinsman, Father Grant, a seminary priest who was probably attached to either the college at Douai or that at La Flèche.<sup>38</sup>

Scotland was only slightly softer than England in its anti-French and anti-catholic sentiments. A travel account of 1673, by the Englishman John Ray, encouraged a poor view of the Catholic world by highlighting the disparity between the riches of the church and the poverty of the people of Italy.<sup>39</sup> In 1682 the English antiquarian and future Anglican cleric, George Wheler, emphasised the fact that the ancient world had descended into sloth and lethargy and presented 'some Observations which I made in my Travels into Greece; a Country once Mistress of the Civil World, and a most famous Nursery both of Arms and Sciences,' but now fallen into decay.<sup>40</sup> It was enough for a Scot to set foot in a Catholic

<sup>35</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, pp. 54 and vol. 2, 408.

<sup>36</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, p. 56.

<sup>37</sup> The Earl of Tarras to Sir Gideon Scott of Haychester, Paris, 24/3 January/February 1670 (NAS, GD 157/2100/36): see Sir William Fraser, *Earls of Haddington* (Edinburgh, 1889).

<sup>38</sup> Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, pp. 471–72.

<sup>39</sup> 'The riches of the Churches of Milan strike one with amazement, the building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every thing in the Convents ... are all signs of great Wealth and of a very powerful superstition ... to enrich their Churches and Convents, the people here are reduced to a poverty that cannot be easily beleaved by one that sees the wealth that is in their Churches': John Ray, *Observations Topographical, Moral, & Physiological: Made in a Journey Through part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France* (London, 1673), p. 115.

<sup>40</sup> George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682). His other publications include *The Protestant Monastery; or Christian Oeconomicks, Containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of the Family* (London, 1698): Wheler also seemed sympathetic to the cause of the oppressed Protestants of France, the

country for suspicions to be raised regarding his faith. In 1685, for example, prominent Scots heard that the Protestant cleric, Dr. Gilbert Burnet 'out of curiosity, stepped out of France over the Alps into Italy, and visited Rome and the Pope.'<sup>41</sup> The propaganda makers in Rome — probably led by the leading English Roman Catholic clergyman, Cardinal Howar — immediately gave out 'that he hes declared himselfe Papist.' So affecting was the news of this great Protestant turning Catholic that Protestant Scots said 'it's a great injury to raise this report, if it be false.' Fortunately it became clear that 'the report of Dr Burnet's being Popish was most false.'<sup>42</sup> In fact, the Scottish view of the Catholic world can be seen in his account of his travels, published in 1686. Burnet was thoroughly versed in the anti-Popish sentiments of his time.<sup>43</sup> His travel through France, Switzerland, Germany and Italy gave him ample scope to describe the decadence of the Catholic world, especially in Italy.<sup>44</sup> By contrast he praised the political economy of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, comparing them favourably to the Dutch republic.<sup>45</sup>

Despite antipathy towards the Catholic world, France and Italy maintained a central place in the educational and social development of young Scots. Some of the problems facing Protestant Scottish parents are visible in the case of the Protestant Sir James Lauder of Fountainhall who allowed his son to travel to France due to his 'inclining to study the French tongue & the Laws', in 1665/6. Fountainhall's son was sent to study under 'Monsieur professor of the Laws' at Poitiers.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps concerned for his son's welfare, Fountainhall himself travelled to France in 1666. Once there he engaged in the Protestant sport of Jesuit-baiting when he visited the Jesuit College at Orléans.<sup>47</sup> Here he 'discoursed with the *praeceptor Jesuitarus*', being eager to grapple with the priest on matters of theology.<sup>48</sup> There was a very real danger of religious seduction of Protestants by the Catholic world. Anna, Duchess of Hamilton, was alarmed to hear that her son, Lord William Hamilton, while in Paris, under the care of his uncle, the Roman Catholic Earl of Dumbarton,<sup>49</sup> had been accosted by a fervent priest as he lay on his sick bed.<sup>50</sup> William's tutor, James Fall, reported his condition to the duchess, saying:

As for his souls condition I have had Mons[ieu]r Claude twice with him much to both their satisfactions. The Romish priests here are become of late very insolent since they see the severity is used against the protestants of late by the court,<sup>51</sup> whereupon one came to L[ord] William's chamber when I was not

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Huguenot. He referred to the persecution of the Greek Orthodox church by the Turks in his Journey into Greece, and later made the point more specifically in his *An Account of the Primitive Churches, or Places of Assembly, of the Primitive Christians* (London, 1689), using his knowledge of the Eastern church.

<sup>41</sup> Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, *Historical Selections from the the Mss. of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 236.

<sup>42</sup> Fountainhall, *Historical Selections*, vol. 1, p. 236.

<sup>43</sup> *Bishop Burnet's Travels through France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland* (London, 1750), p. 72.

<sup>44</sup> See J. Paterson, 'The First Travel Book of the Enlightenment: Gilbert Burnet's *Some Letters Containing an Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy etc* (1686),' Winner of the 1994 Beauchamp Historical Prize, Sydney University (Fisher Lib., RB, BK-PrEs). The influential reprints of Burnet's account only appeared after the ascendancy of William of Orange in England.

<sup>45</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *Some Letters Containing an Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy etc* (Rotterdam, 1686).

<sup>46</sup> Manuscript diary of Sir James Lauder, Lord Fountainhall (Aberdeen University Library, MS. 798, fol. 2).

<sup>47</sup> See Maczak, *Travel* p. 93.

<sup>48</sup> He argued that the true revealed religion was not an idolatrous faith: see 'Diary of Sir James Lauder, fol. 8).

<sup>49</sup> See M.R. Glozier, 'George Douglas, 1st Earl of Dumbarton, KT', *DNB* (Oxford, forthcoming).

<sup>50</sup> See Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, pp. 143–44.

<sup>51</sup> French Protestants, or Huguenots, were increasingly persecuted in the early 1680s. Reports of their persecution found their way to Britain, where they outraged Protestant opinion: see *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689–1690*, ed. J. Hogan (Dublin, 1934), pp. 284, 296, 552–53 and *Le Noble*

ther and proposed to him to change his Religion but finding that he was better grounded then to be so easily shaken, he went his way, I complain'd of this to Mr Saville<sup>52</sup> immediately lest we should be troubled with more visits of that nature, who coming to visit under that pretext come also to seduce, Mr Saville took it very ill that many should have come to disturb him so unseasonably, was glad it [had] fallen out upon such a persone whose family was so well known in the world.<sup>53</sup>

Lord William's experience was typical of the threat posed to young, Protestant travellers abroad. Both English and Scottish parents were anxious to impress the importance upon their children of not engaging in religious debate with Roman Catholic priests, among others, who were 'Brokers of Villany, whose Trade and Business it is to pervert, and do live upon the Spoils and Ruins of Young Gentlemen.'<sup>54</sup> Sickness laid the traveller open to particular danger; in one famous case a young Englishman converted on what he thought was his death bed.<sup>55</sup> The Inquisition forbade physicians and apothecaries to attend patients if they were discovered to be Protestant, so that even the most fervent Protestant might prove vulnerable for 'men ready to die can ill dissemble, neither is any waight so heavy, as that of a wounded conscience.'<sup>56</sup>

The most dangerous influence was thought to come from those Britons who had taken Catholic Holy Orders abroad; these people were particularly suspect to paranoid Protestant parents 'for as they have imitated the lapsed angels in falling from their first station [by adjuring their original faith], so they bear the like malevolence to all they despair of bringing into the same condemnation.'<sup>57</sup> Some Scottish Protestant parents, unlike English ones, went as far as to forbid their sons to travel into Italy and Spain from fear of religious infection.<sup>58</sup> Other anti-Catholic weapons included printed advice for Protestant travellers. This took the form of catechism-like reiterations of the basic tenets of the Protestant reformed religion, but could never provide the eloquence or cunning in argument displayed by highly educated travellers such as Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall. Printed confirmations of the Protestant faith did, however, give the young traveller some standard rote advice and instruction regarding his religion.<sup>59</sup>

de Tonnelière, *Pierre de touche politique*, vol. 10, pp. 35 and 39.

- <sup>52</sup> Henry Savile, British Envoy at Paris: see *Savile Correspondence. Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy at Paris and Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II and James II ...*, ed. W.D. Cooper (Camden Soc.: London, 1858); Burnet, *Some Letters*.
- <sup>53</sup> James Fall to the Duke of Hamilton, Paris, 16 July 1681 (NAS, GD 406/1/6193). Lord William later died, 23 September 1681: see Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, p. 144.
- <sup>54</sup> '... insomuch that scarce any Person of your Quality can travel into Foreign Parts, but he shall be mightily caress'd, and treated with so much respect and civility, as if it were a pleasure to be seduced. We know very well what Stratagems are used by some Men. to undermine the sacred Foundations of the Doctrin and Worship of the Church of England': see *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Of an Honourable Family, Now in His Travels Beyond Seas* (London, 1688), pp. 63–64.
- <sup>55</sup> Toby Matthew abjured his Protestant faith while ill in Naples in 1611: see Mathew and Calthrop, *The Life of Sir Tobie Matthew* (London, 1907), p. 76.
- <sup>56</sup> F. Moryson, *An Itinerary*, part 3, book 1, chp. 2 (London, 1617), p. 20 and C. Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London, 1987), p. 16.
- <sup>57</sup> D. Osborne, *The Letters of Dorothy Osbourne to William Temple*, ed. G.G. Moore (Oxford, 1928), p. 77; *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. G. Keynes, vol. 4 (London, 1964), pp. 3–49 and J. Heydon, *Advice to a Daughter* (London, 1658), pp. 99–100.
- <sup>58</sup> A.H. Mathew and A. Calthrop, *The Life of Sir Tobie Matthew* (London, 1907), pp. 41–42 and 74.
- <sup>59</sup> See *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Of an Honourable Family, Now in His Travels Beyond Seas* (London, 1688), pp. 67–95 and E. Leigh, *Three Diatribes* (1671), printed in *Social England Illustrated*, ed. A. Laing (Westminster, 1903), p. 416. The religious problems of travel for the Englishman are discussed in Warneke, *Educational Traveller*, chp. 6.

Most Britons could not resist the attraction of seeing the French court and waiting upon Louis XIV. Versailles was one of the great tourist attractions for British travellers after the king moved there in the early 1680s. Much time, and not a little money, was expended on gaining access to the royal presence. One account of a failed attempt to be presented to Louis XIV, in 1673, became a diplomatic incident. The British ambassador to France, Lord Arlington,<sup>60</sup> was requested by three English officers in Paris to organise their presentation to the French king. Arlington told them that the best time to be received was after dinner, Louis 'being a king of not over easy accesse', and informed them of the correct time and place to wait for Arlington at St. Germain. The three officers, captains Skelton, Churchill and Sackville, lost their opportunity, however, when they decided to dine elsewhere. They kept Arlington waiting for an hour and lost their moment. The level of their disappointment may be gauged from the fact that they 'now revenge their disappointment in their complaints to my Lo[rd]'.<sup>61</sup> The young Earl of Tarras avidly reported news from the French court to his father in 1671, describing the fall of the Duke of Orléans' favourite, the chevalier de Lorraine, who was sent to the Citadel rather than the Bastille, and the subsequent retiring of Orléans and his wife to their villa at Courtray.<sup>62</sup> A typical account of the French court was left by Alexander Primrose in 1681, who

stayed about 3 weeks at Paris and during that time we saw all that was to be seen there and thereabouts we saw the Court at Versailles and the king & dine[d] there.<sup>63</sup>

After Paris and the royal court the duty of most young travellers was to see, preferably as fast as possible, the great buildings and sites of the countryside.<sup>64</sup> Vital to this exercise was the presence of a learned and experienced guide. Governors were routinely appointed to temper and guide their charges abroad. The contemporary writer, Jean Gailhard, believed the governor's influence was enough to control an enthusiastic young traveller, who would be 'easie to be dealt withal, apt and willing to be directed and advised.'<sup>65</sup> Primrose set out to see as much of France as he could. After leaving Paris, he says:

<sup>60</sup> Henry Bennet, 1st earl of Arlington, was a man who 'obliged his friends'. Sir G. Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660–1714* (Oxford, repr. 1992), pp. 461–62 and K.H.D. Haley, *Politics in the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1985), p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Francis Vernon to secretary Williamson, Paris, 13/23 March 1673 (PRO, GD 78/136/99).

<sup>62</sup> The Earl of Tarras to Sir Gideon Scott of Haychester, Paris, 24/3 January/February 1670 (NAS, GD 157/2100/36).

<sup>63</sup> Alexander Primrose was closely related to Archibald Primrose, who entered Imperial service in Hungary in 1680 before attaching himself to William of Orange's household. After 1688 he was a gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark. He was created Viscount Roseberry and Lord Primrose and Dalmeny, 1 April 1700: Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, p. 221.

<sup>64</sup> The Englishman, Henry Smith, was typical of young Britains in France. He describes seeing the famous château of Vaux-le-Vicomte saying 'I step'd aside to see Vaux, which formerly belonged to M<sup>r</sup> Fouquet, and certainly if the period of his fortune had not put a stop to his designe, the house and gardens might have surpassed whatsoever is in France': see Henry Smith to secretary Williamson, Paris, 7 July 1671 (PRO, SP 78/131/172).

<sup>65</sup> Gailhard, *The Complete Gentleman*, 18. John Locke hardly thought this would suffice, saying 'what can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet Governour, when neither he has Power to compel, nor his Pupil a disposition to be perswaded; but on the contrary, has the advice of warm Blood, and prevailing Fashion, to hearken to the Temptations of his Companions, just as Wise as himself, rather than to the perswasions of his Tutor, who is now looked on as the Enemy to his Freedom': see J. Locke, *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, ed. J.L. Axtell (Cambridge, 1968), p. 322.

we four came by the messaenger to beleans [Orléans] where we stayed two dayes from thence we went by the river to Blois from thence to Ambois then to Tours then to saumur: we stayed there two nights we went saw La fleche and then to Doway [Douai] where there is a Roman Amphitheatre, Chiron, Champigny, Richelieu, where we saw that famous house, Chattelhault and so to Poitiers.

It was important to lodge with Protestants, and fellow Scots as his tutors. So he:  
 entered into a pension here in a protestant house where we are treated very well and at a reasonable rate we have taken a language Master and also entred with M<sup>r</sup> Strachan to read the Institutions we resolve onlie to read the law now and to delay our exceises for a while.<sup>66</sup>

Primrose had no need to fear loneliness while he remained in France. His account of his education at Poitiers highlights the large number of Scots, travelling in company in France in the early years of the 1680s. Nor was there any want of Scottish instruction. Primrose was advised by a Mr. William Cunningham to study under his kinsman, Mr. Cunningham of Loudun. If he agreed to this arrangement he would have been studying alongside two other Scots, Messrs. Baillie and Hay.<sup>67</sup> Primrose did agree, but only returned to Poitiers when Mr. William Cunningham, and his companion Mr. Ker, had left the town. On his return, he found, to his surprise:

my Lord Drumlanrig my Lord William his brother and M<sup>r</sup> Fall their gouverneur lodged in our pension with whom we had a very sweet society severall days after which they went for Bourdeause and Caddell but because of M<sup>r</sup> Hay's sickness we could not make our litle tour with them.

He added also that M<sup>r</sup> Alexander Hay of Blackbaronie and Patrick Hume of Polwart<sup>68</sup> were here the last week and are now returned again to Angers. Despite agreeable society Primrose concentrated earnestly upon his studies, reporting that

in the afternoon I plied the language both by composition and reading of good french books and some french conversation. [He reported also that [Lord] Dalmenie is entered into Bernardie's Academy I have letters both from him and D<sup>r</sup> Hatton, his tutor.<sup>69</sup>

So common was it for Scots to associate in France that when Lord Drumlanrig and his brother decided to move south for the winter months, in 1681, their cousin, the ailing Lord William Hamilton, feared that he would be left

destitute of those helps and comforts he has received from his fellow countrymen ... and ... it very much weighs his spirit to be left among strangers.

This matter was thought so serious that Lord William's tutor begged the duke of Hamilton to despatch some trusted servant to keep him company in Paris.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Primrose to Sir John Foulis, Poitiers, 22 June 1681 (NLS, MS. 6141, fol. 5).

<sup>67</sup> Andrew Hay of Blackbarony: see Primrose to Foulis, Poitiers, 4 October 1681 (NLS, MS. 6141, fols 5, 6).

<sup>68</sup> Patrick Hume of Polwarth went into voluntary exile during the reign of James VII & II. He joined the personal guard of William of Orange, accompanying him to England in 1688: Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. 6, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> See Primrose to Foulis, Poitiers, 4 October 1681 (NLS, MS. 6141, fol. 6). This academy belonged to Major John Bernardi, a veteran of the Anglo-Dutch brigade: see J. Bernardi, *A Short History of the Life of Major John Bernardi* (London, 1729).

<sup>70</sup> Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, p. 144.

A similar account of a Scot abroad, for the sake of his education, can be found in the travel journal of the young Walter Scott, Earl of Tarras<sup>71</sup> who made his grand tour of Europe between 1667 and 1671. One of the first communications he had with his father, Gideon Scott of Haychester, expresses the loneliness he felt at such a sudden removal from his familiar environment of relations and friends in Scotland, complaining that he had 'received noe answer' to the many letters he had written from Loudun.<sup>72</sup>

Another consequence of travel abroad was debt. Learning to manage money was seen as one of the most important reasons for sending young gentlemen abroad.<sup>73</sup> The Earl of Tarras often complained of his poverty to his father.<sup>74</sup> In February 1668 he wrote informing his father of his need for money, saying 'I can say nothing now bot what I say allways, y<sup>t</sup> I have need of money.' He attempted to ease his father's pain at this fact by proudly announcing that his stay in France was proving to be of some benefit as

I have learned to read franch I understand it a litle, and I beginne [to] speak it a litle, in fin I had presently enough french as I had lattin when I left Scotland.<sup>75</sup>

In order to ensure this constant supply of money to Tarras, Haychester allowed him to appoint a factor, in the shape of Monsieur Doull, a fellow Scot, with whom the Earl of Oxford was lodging in March 1668.<sup>76</sup> Other fellow Scots assisted Tarras, including such high ranking individuals as lord George Douglas, the future first Earl of Dumbarton.<sup>77</sup> Part of his financial outlay was due to the necessity of maintaining his status amongst his peers. He wrote to his father from Paris in 1670 saying

Since I am known of our Ambassadeur and all the English & Scotts in Towne ... I am obliged to spend in clothes & other extraordinaries which I needed not else to have done.<sup>78</sup>

Like Primrose, Tarras had no need to feel deprived of the company of his peers; he was in fact surrounded by them. At Angers he associated with Lord Drummond, the future fourth Earl of Perth,<sup>79</sup> and his brother, the future Earl of Melfort,<sup>80</sup> with whom he conversed daily, finding them 'two persons of very much honour & worth.'<sup>81</sup> Tarras took advantage of the

<sup>71</sup> Tarras' career, relations in Scotland and political activities are discussed in M. Lee, *The Heiresses of Buccleuch* (London, 1996), pp. 33 *passim*.

<sup>72</sup> Tarras to Sir Gideon Scott of Haychester, Loudun, 10/20 December 1667 (NAS, GD 157/2100/4).

<sup>73</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century it was estimated that a gentlemen needed £80 p.a. to survive. With the addition of servants and horses this could be as much as £150 p.a.: see R. Dallington, *A Method of Travel; Shewed by Taking the View of France. As It Stoode in the Year of Our Lord 1598* (London, 1605), sig. C, quoted in Maczak, *Travel* p. 78 n5.

<sup>74</sup> The receipt of monies was reliant upon a banker-agent who could honour a bill of account. Finding such an agent was not always straight forward. Even at the end of the seventeenth century the traveller still relied upon the rhythm of the markets which determined the date when he could collect his money: see Maczak, *Travel* p. 86. The mechanics of obtaining notes of credit was highlighted as early as by Giacomo Fantuzzi, a nuncio's secretary and expert on travel: see G. Fantuzzi, *Diariusz podróży po Europie* (1652), trans. W. Tygielski (Warsaw, 1990), p. 224 reproduced in Maczak, *Travel*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>75</sup> Tarras to Sir Gideon Scott of Haychester, Loudun, 6/16 February 1668 (NAS, GD 157/2100/7).

<sup>76</sup> Tarras to Scott Saumur, 10/20 March 1668 (NAS, GD 157/2100/8).

<sup>77</sup> Tarras to Scott, Saumur, 13/23 May 1668 (NAS, GD 157/2100/10).

<sup>78</sup> Tarras to Scott Paris, 24/3 January/February 1670 (NAS, GD 157/2100/36).

<sup>79</sup> James Drummond, 4th Earl of Perth (1648–1716), Sir J. Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, pp. 51–52. Perth's own travel letters are contained in James Drummond, 4th Earl of Perth, *Letters to his Sister, the Countess of Erroll and other Members of his family*, ed. W. Jordan (London: Camden Society, 1845).

<sup>80</sup> John Drummond of Lundie [London], 1st Earl of Melfort (c. 1649–1714). Second son of James Drummond, 3rd Earl of Perth, he was Deputy-Governor of Edinburgh Castle (1680), Treasurer-Depute for Scotland (1682) and one of the Principal Secretaries of State for Scotland (from September 1684).

<sup>81</sup> Tarras to Scott, Angers, 4/14 July 1668 (NAS, GD 157/2100/13).

instruction afforded by France in the gentlemanly arts.<sup>82</sup> Horsemanship was one of the most useful and respected skills which a young gentleman was expected to acquire so popular was dressage at the French court. Tarras so liked France that he chided the Drummond brothers for not staying long enough abroad; they had only been in France one year, and had seen nothing of the rest of Europe.<sup>83</sup>

Given the cost of maintaining one's status the absence of Britons both English and Scots from Blois was decidedly attractive to James Forbes,<sup>84</sup> tutor to the titular third duke of Hamilton's son, the Earl of Arran.<sup>85</sup> He reported to the duke that at their arrival at Blois they 'found the town so empty of English' that it 'made me resolve to settle there for 3 moneths.' Sadly for him he had to report that they then began 'to come thick.'<sup>86</sup> Arran's educational experience was full of money-squandering and licence, and is a fitting guide of his future life of indolence and foolishness. He also neglected to write home; his father remarked that if Arrah had seen the letters written him by his second son, Lord William, 'he would think shame of his own.'<sup>87</sup> Arran's experience perhaps proves the wisdom of John Locke's belief that young men should not be sent abroad between the age of sixteen and twenty-one, which were thought to be the most 'boiling boistrous' years of their lives.<sup>88</sup> Indeed the English envoy to France, Henry Savile, sent his own son off to see the historical and instructive sites of France in order to cool his temper.<sup>89</sup> The educational experience of travel could sometimes have negative, and long-lasting, effects. The case of the English Lord Lincoln is pertinent; Savile reported to his brother that 'My Lord Lincoln lives here [in Paris], but sees no English; rails at England, and admires France.'<sup>90</sup>

The kind of cultural immersion experienced by these young men proved highly valuable to their education; Tarras's study of the French language progressed rapidly. He could write to his father in May 1669 claiming that his French was so good that he also hoped to overcome the problems of the Italian language:

in part in two moneths tyme, for it should be ane Eternal vexation to me to have gone through all Italy from th'one end to th'other & in Sicilia & Malta & not able att the Lest to understand all [that is] written in ane Italian Book.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Tarras to Scott Angers, 15/25 August 1668 (NAS, GD 157/2100/14). Riding schools were popular among those seeking a military career. They first emerged in Italy, but were established as military academies in France by Henry IV. They taught subjects including horsemanship, fencing, dance, languages, and mathematics. The French marshal Turenne had been at one in 1626, when he was fifteen years old, and the prince of Condé attended one in 1636. They were never, however, formalised as military academies and had largely disappeared by the time of the Nine Years War (1688–1697); only two survived in 1691: see A. Corvisier, *Louvois* (Paris, 1983), p. 338, A. Babeau, *La vie militaire sous Louis XIV*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1890), p. 45 and J. Lynn, *The Giant of the Grand Siècle; The French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 269.

<sup>83</sup> Tarras to Scott, Saumur, 12/22 September 1668 (NAS, GD 157/2100/19).

<sup>84</sup> Forbes was a Scottish gentleman who doubled as a professional tutor, or governor. He had earlier been governor to the young English Lord Derby, who kept such bad company abroad that Forbes was obliged to survive two assassination attempts. He was replaced by a governor more skilled in swordsmanship: see Lady W. Burghclere, *The Life of James First Duke of Ormonde*, vol. 2 (London, 1912), pp. 234–46.

<sup>85</sup> A. Arran's experiences abroad can be found in Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne*, pp. 134–46.

<sup>86</sup> James Forbes to the duke of Hamilton, Blois, 11/21 June 1676 (NAS, GD 406/1/5978).

<sup>87</sup> Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, p. 144.

<sup>88</sup> Locke, *Educational Writings*, pp. 321–22.

<sup>89</sup> Savile *Correspondence: Letters to and From Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy at Paris, and Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II and James II including Letters from his brother George, Marquis of Halifax*, ed. W.D. Cooper (London: Camden Society, 1858), pp. 41–42.

<sup>90</sup> Edward Clinton, 5th Earl of Lincoln. He had attended upon Charles II, as Lord Clinton, 23 April 1661: see *Savile Correspondence*, ed. Cooper, 41–42, and J. Haydn, *The Book of Dignities* (London, 1894), p. 763.

<sup>91</sup> Tarras to Scott, Rome, 20/2 May 1669 (NAS, GD 157/2100/25).

Overseas travel could, however, alienate the young from their roots and here travel to England must be included. Residence at the royal court in England could lead to ignorance of Scotland and her laws, as one kinsman of the Scottish Secretary of State, the Earl of Lauderdale, complained to Lord Gosford<sup>92</sup> sometime before 1673, saying:

My ignorance in the laws of Scotland and the little acquaintance I have with any of the nation that resid there; rendering it difficult for me to find any person whos Knowledge an[d] integrity I might Confid in in order to some agreements between my lord Middleton an[d] my Selfe; I took the Confedance to adresse my Selfe to y<sup>r</sup> lo[r]dship... to desire you would please to derect some lawyer there [in Scotland] to draw a lease for me, the tenure of which was inclosed in each letter; but having never hard any reply to Either of them, I apprehend they have not come to y<sup>r</sup> hand, or that I have comitted some fault to y<sup>r</sup> lo[r]dship's] present dignetty.<sup>93</sup>

A similar story can be told of Sir Robert Murray, the learned Scottish antiquarian, soldier and occultist.<sup>94</sup> After commanding a regiment in the French service in the early 1640s he had retired to life in London. This had so affected his opinions that his correspondents in Scotland thought of him as thoroughly anglicised.<sup>95</sup>

If they did not enter military service, most Scottish travellers abroad usually returned home. And when they did so, they brought back with them rare and expensive curiosities and gifts. The Earl of Tarras devoted much of his energy to the acquisition of curiosities and presents for his family and friends. Before entering Flanders, Tarras reported to his father that he was keeping hold of some things he had bought for fear of theft 'for ther's nothing more ordinaire in that Cuntry.' Indeed he reported upon his arrival in Brussels that 'it was ten to one but we had been Robbed yet we came off with paying only a Little money not worth the speaking of.'<sup>96</sup> He had bought his sister a trinket in Rome, and for himself a fowling piece and some volumes of *Mirandola's* works, but had not yet acquired all he sought, promising to 'come by the rest in Holland.'<sup>97</sup>

More mature travellers sought other rarities. Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall sought books. He catalogued his searches in book shops where he bought books ranging from Thucydides to legal commentaries and theological and religious works. Books useful to the traveller also appeared in his library, such as Francesco Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, Jacques-Auguste de Thou's *Histoire Universelle*, the Duc de Rohan's travel diary and Roger Ascham's *Le cose meravigliose della città di Roma* as well as the Earl of Essex's instructions

<sup>92</sup> Sir Peter Wedderburne of Gosford, clerk of the secret council (NLS, MS. 6409, fol. 60).

<sup>93</sup> M. Middleton to Lord Gosford, London, 22nd day of an unknown month sometime in the 1670s (NLS, MS. 6409, fol. 61).

<sup>94</sup> For Colonel Robert Murray and the 'gardes écossois', circa 1647, see Bibliotheque. St Genevieve, MS. 2072 [Suppl.L.f.in-4<sup>o</sup>.638], fol. 4. Sir Robert Murray (d.1673) was knighted by Charles I in 1643. He was one of the treasurers of Scotland and a chief promoter of the Royal Society. His character was such that though 'accused by the Chancellor and others among his enemies of sorcery, and of being against the king, it did him no harm at all.' The same observer noted that his 'whole weakness consists of a hatred, too aparent and of a completely unnecessary intensity, of Rome and the Pope. He always carried with him a catalogue of all the scriptural texts that can be stretched to consider Roam as Babylon, and the Pope as Anti-Christ. The King is in the habit of calling him by that name, in jest': see W.E. Knowles Middleton, *Lorenzo Magalotti at the Court of Charles II; His Relazione d'Inghilterra of 1668* (Waterloo, Canada, 1980), p. 47. A more general consideration of his life and career can be found in A. Robertson, *The Life of Sir Robert Murray* (1922) and D. Stevenson, *The First Freemasons; Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members* (Aberdeen, 1988) and *The Origins of Freemasonry; Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge, 1988; repnt. 1996).

<sup>95</sup> Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, p. 132.

<sup>96</sup> Tarras to Scott, Brussels, 24/6 February/March 1670 (NAS, GD 157/2100/38).

<sup>97</sup> Tarras to Scott, Paris, 2/21 February 1670 (NAS, GD 157/2100/37).

for travellers. Not all his purchases were necessarily serious; he bought two volumes of Rabelais.<sup>98</sup> As he moved about France his books cost him as much to transport as the sum total of his other travel expenses put together!<sup>99</sup> A similar story can be told of the acquisitions of Lord George Douglas, a younger son of William Douglas, first Duke of Queensberry, who went to France to study law. He acquired books in France, Germany and the Low Countries. His purchases ranged broadly, but maintained a strong central focus on law. He acquired many rare and important legal texts which were later bequeathed, after his unexpectedly young death, to the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh, which forms the basis of the National Library of Scotland.<sup>100</sup>

The acquisition of foreign luxuries was so important to the Scottish nobility that those of them who were deprived of the opportunity to travel themselves commanded commissions from friends and acquaintances on the continent. Andrew Rutherford, a veteran colonel in the French service, oversaw the construction of a coach for the Scottish secretary of state, the Earl of Lauderdale in 1661.<sup>101</sup> Rutherford complained bitterly to Lauderdale of the expense of the coach.<sup>102</sup> In the end, Rutherford found the coach so handsome that he was inclined to keep it for himself, telling Lauderdale that if he 'will not have hir' he would 'make use myself als.'<sup>103</sup> Similar commodities were provided for Lauderdale from 'the almost Frozen zone' of Russia, by Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, a Scot in Muscovy service, who sent him 'a piece of unsophisticated Cavear in its Mothers skin which will make a cup of good liquor tast the better' and which he said had 'an extraordinary strengthening quality.' Auchleuchries was keen to thank Lauderdale for the services rendered to himself and his father-in-law, who was now general of a 'Litle Army [sent] against the Cosaks & Tartars.'<sup>104</sup>

Wine, in constant demand for the tables of Scotland's nobility, was also procured by Scots on the continent. French wine was by far the preferred beverage. Lord George Douglas procured a great amount of good French wine in the 1670s for Charles II's natural son, the duke of Richmond. Lord George wrote in February 1670, regarding the wine:

I have receved yo<sup>r</sup> Graces Letter by my Lieut Colonele<sup>105</sup> at Guise wher I was with my regiment, w[hi]ch is now at Lille in flanders, my Lieut Colonele told me that yo<sup>r</sup> Grace had ordered him to go to Creny, [to] Le mestre de La Pomme Pain,<sup>106</sup> for to know the prece of his win d'hermittag, my Lord I have been with him and he hes given me a natt under his hand of the preces of all the sorts of vins w[hi]ch dow send yo<sup>r</sup> Grace; so you may choisse what you will have and give order to wan at Rouen for to receu them and pay ther the sorts

<sup>98</sup> Fountainhall's purchases are recorded in J. Lauder, *The Journals of Sir John ... Lord Fountainhall With His Observations On Public Affairs and Other Memoranda 1665–1676*, ed. D. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1900), esp. pp. 110–11 and Maczak, *Travel*, pp. 184–85.

<sup>99</sup> Maczak, *Travel* p. 185.

<sup>100</sup> A detailed analysis of Lord George's acquisitions can be found in W.A. Kelly, *Lord George Douglas, 1667/8–1693*, W.G. Gordon (gen. ed.) (Stair Miscellany: Edinburgh, 1992).

<sup>101</sup> Coaches were a vain, expensive luxury, but they could be viewed as an economy in the sense that one coach could accomodate four or five people, with their luggage, and took only four horses. Their popularity spread as far as Scotland by the mid-century: see J. Taylor, *The World Runnes on Wheelles: Or Oddes betwixt Carts and Coaches* (London, 1623) and J. Markland, 'Some Remarks on the early Use of Carriages in England and on the Modes of Travelling Adopted by our Ancestors', *Archaeologia*, vol. 20, p. 1824.

<sup>102</sup> Andrew Rutherford to the Earl of Lauderdale, 22 September–6 October 1661 (BL, Add. MSS. 23116, fols. 148–49).

<sup>103</sup> Rutherford to t Lauderdale, 23 September / 7 October 1661 (BL, Add. MSS. 23116, fol. 130v).

<sup>104</sup> Gordon of Auchleuchries to Lauderdale, Moscow, 15 July 1668 (BL, Add. MSS. 23129, fol. 231).

<sup>105</sup> Alexander Monro, Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment by March 1670.: see *State Papers Scotland, Warrant Book 1*, p. 23 and L. Weaver, *A History of the Royal Scots* (London, 1915), p. 31.

<sup>106</sup> M. de Pomponne, French secretary of State for War: see F.M.A. de Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV*, trans. F.C. Green (London, 1961), p. 312.

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Richmond was slow to reimburse him, forcing Douglas to plead with him, that:

if the mony war my ouin, I dow offour yo[ur] Grace I should not have demandit it till you had thocht [thought] fitt to pay it, but my Lord I am pressed hier to give in a n'account of the monyes I have receved, and being defficient of that company yor Grace undertak for Mr Stuart, I most both for my honnor and credit repay presently the mony or give a n'account of what I have doun with it, so I most ernistly intraitte yor Grace to casse pay the Mony to mon[sieur] du Livier.<sup>108</sup>

Indeed this was the ultimate dilemma for the Scottish foreign resident. While a traveller could return home, albeit with empty pockets, after a sojourn abroad, the foreign resident could not. In ordering goods for a distant client, payment could often be slow.

Scottish experience of travel shared a great deal with the better studied English travel experience. Both Englishman and Scot travelled for education and personal betterment. Many of those who benefitted from this formation became prominent government ministers in later life. Both also travelled for diversion, and to see the great sites of Europe. Two differences between Scots and English emerge from a study based purely on Scottish travellers. The first is a reminder that the Scottish nation remained a separate entity from the English. The result of this fact is that Scottish travellers were often at pains to avoid English travellers, whom they occasionally found objectionable, and bad company. More important still was the Scotsman's traditional association with France. Though highly problematised by religious differences, many Scots continued to follow traditional family practices in regard to the education of their children in France. Such traditional associations were strongly fostered during Charles II's reign. This king's pro-French stance was vital to the impetus behind French travel for Scots. Connections between the English and French courts were strong. A large body of British soldiers served in the French army up to 1678, after which connections between France and Scottish ex-servicemen and young civilian travellers remained strong. While many Scots were equally eager to see Rome and the German states, France therefore remained a vital touching point for young, well-born Scottish travellers throughout the seventeenth century.

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<sup>107</sup> Lord George Douglas to the Duke of Richmond, Paris, 8 February 1670 (BL, Add. MS. 21947, fol. 290).

<sup>108</sup> Douglas to Richmond, Paris, 2 December 1671 (BL Add. MS. 21948, fol. 138).