

**The Network of James Garden of Aberdeen
and
North-eastern Scottish Culture in the Seventeenth Century**

In April 1695 Hew Tod, the master of the Kirkwall grammar school, was writing about scurvy. “This season of the year”, he wrote, “could not but putt me in mind” of it for almost every “privat family or Tavern” in the Orkneys had its supply of ale fortified with herbs to prevent the disease. He described this and other local cures in a letter to James Garden, Professor of Divinity at King’s College, Aberdeen, who had been hounding him for almost a year for some account of his new home in the northern islands. Tod’s letter survives because Garden subsequently copied it into a letter which he wrote to the English antiquary and Fellow of the Royal Society John Aubrey in July 1695. Garden and Aubrey had been corresponding for several years and what had begun as a request from the Englishman for information on Scottish stone circles had become a rich exchange of antiquarian and natural philosophical material between the two scholars. In the process, Garden had mobilised a network of contacts which spread from Aberdeen to Tod’s Kirkwall schoolhouse, asking for information on everything from standing stones to second sight and from burial customs to scurvy cures.¹

When these letters were studied by Cosmo Gordon in 1955, he recognised them as important sources for aspects of early modern Gaelic culture.² Subsequently John Buchanan-Brown demonstrated their role in the development of Aubrey’s antiquarian works, and Michael Hunter teased out their key place in English debates over the existence and nature of second sight.³ As such, Garden’s correspondence is hardly unknown, but previous scholarship has tended either to focus on its English contexts or to mine it for information on contemporary Gaelic culture; Garden and his network of informants have been passed over.

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¹ These letters, all but one of which are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have been edited twice, first in Gordon 1960 and second in Hunter 2001, 118-159. This paper cites the letters from Hunter’s edition. Tod’s letter is at Hunter 2001, 156-157.

² Gordon 1955, 18-26.

³ Aubrey 1972, 396-400; Hunter 2001, 21-24, 42-44.

This article takes a new approach to the Garden–Aubrey correspondence by reading it as an invaluable source for understanding Scottish learned culture at the end of the seventeenth century. Although we only possess Garden’s letters to Aubrey, we can use them to reconstruct the web of scholarly contacts Garden possessed from Aberdeen to Orkney and beyond. Understanding who participated in this epistolary network and how it functioned can in turn shed new light on the learned communities of north-eastern Scotland. This article begins by recovering Garden’s own career and placing it within its larger contexts, before considering his network from a series of angles, mapping the extent of its geographical, theological, and political boundaries as well as examining the sorts of scholarship performed within it and the implications of this for our understanding of late seventeenth-century Scottish culture. Two appendices provide a prosopography of the network and reproduce the text of Garden’s final, hitherto unknown, letter to Aubrey.

James Garden (1645-1726) and His Networks

Who was James Garden, from what vantage point did he build his network, and why did an English antiquary turn to him for information in the first place? Garden had been born 3 May 1645 in Fren draught Castle near Huntly, Aberdeenshire, the site, only a few years before, of a fire which had killed two local noblemen and was memorialised in contemporary poems and ballads.⁴ His father, Alexander Garden, previously a regent at King’s College, Aberdeen, had been admitted minister of Forgue, a remote upcountry parish, in the previous year.⁵ His mother, Isobel Middleton, had taken shelter at nearby Fren draught “to avoid the insults of the strolling Parties that infested the country” during the civil wars.⁶ At the time, his family seem to have been good Presbyterians: his father was appointed one of the visitors to the University of Aberdeen by Parliament, 27 March 1647, and his

⁴ The only near-contemporary biography of Garden was written by his friend and mentee John Robertson and appended to Garden 1756, 3-19, which describes the circumstances of Garden’s birth at 3. Robertson’s biography drew upon his own knowledge, that of three of Garden’s children, “and some other Friends” (Garden 1756, 17). For the fire at Fren draught see *MLA*, i, 292-303, and Shuldham-Shaw and Lyle 1981, ii, 168-169.

⁵ Scott 1915, vi, 254; Temple 1894, 170, 174.

⁶ Garden 1756, 3. In 1645 the tower of Fren draught was still owned by James, 2nd Viscount Fren draught, but in 1647 much of the estate was wadset to John Gregorie, Minister of Drum oak, grandfather of the mathematician and astronomer (Tayler and Tayler 1933, 305-306).

probable uncle Major-General John Middleton fought for the army of the covenant against Montrose.⁷

By the time the young Garden graduated M.A. from King's College in July 1662, the situation was strikingly different.⁸ John Middleton had been ennobled as the Earl of Middleton and appointed by the newly-restored Charles II as commander-in-chief in Scotland, while another uncle, Alexander Middleton, had been admitted minister to the city parish of Old Machar, Aberdeen on 12 November 1661 and made principal of King's College in the following year.⁹ According to his biographer Robertson, Garden "applied himself to the study of Divinity" after receiving his M.A. and "at the usual age" was ordained on 19 May 1669; by 25 July 1672 he had already followed his father into the church as minister of New Machar in Aberdeen, a plum appointment at the centre of the north-eastern church.¹⁰ Thereafter his star was in the ascendant. He held a series of livings in quick succession, was presented by Charles II to Balmerino in 1676 and by Archbishop Sharp to Carnbee in 1678, before being elected Professor of Divinity at King's College on 14 October 1680.¹¹

By the time Garden began corresponding with John Aubrey in 1692, he had held one of the most visible positions in the university for over a decade and was part of an entrenched family network which occupied many of the most powerful positions within the Aberdeen establishment. His brother, George Garden, was minister of St. Nicholas in New Aberdeen, and his cousin George Middleton was principal of King's.¹² Already, however, the effects of the Williamite revolution were making themselves felt. Garden's brother-in-law John Cockburn – erstwhile editor of Scotland's first learned periodical, the *Bibliotheca Universalis* – was arrested for nonjuring and sedition in March 1693 and was in exile at the Jacobite court by the following year, while George Garden had been deprived of his benefice in February 1693 for refusing to pray for William and Mary.¹³ Garden hung on for some time after these initial purges, but was finally deposed from his chair by a parliamentary

⁷ Balfour Paul 1904, vi, 183-184. Circumstantial evidence strongly argues for Garden's mother Isobel being a daughter of Robert Middleton of Caldhome and thus sister to the general and Henderson 1937, 43, describes Caldhome's grandson George as a cousin to the Garden brothers but contemporary evidence of Isobel's parentage remains elusive.

⁸ Anderson 1893, 197.

⁹ Scott 1915, vii, 366.

¹⁰ Garden 1756, 4; Bertie 2000, 48; Scott 1915, vii, 371. Garden disappears from view between 1662 and 1669 while his brother George is absent between 1666 and 1673. It would be unsurprising if either or both had travelled or pursued further education on the continent, but no evidence of this has been found and the matriculation registers of the most likely continental university for their further education, Leiden, contain no Gardens (cf. Du Rieu 1875).

¹¹ Anderson 1893, 70; Scott 1915, vii, 371.

¹² Scott 1915, vi, 2 (George Garden), vii, 366 (George Middleton).

¹³ ODNB, *ss.n.* For Cockburn's journal see Jackson 2003, 39.

commission in January 1697; his last letter to Aubrey relates this and his thoughts, never acted upon, of immigrating to Ireland.¹⁴

Despite his official deposition from the chair of divinity, Garden's actual status may have been more ambiguous.¹⁵ In early 1697, Garden's cousin, Principal Middleton, and Professor George Skene attempted to fill the vacant chair, electing Charles Gordon, Minister of Ashkirk, on 20 May, but Gordon refused to obey the summons and remained in his parish. No further action was taken for four years until, on 8 May 1701, electors were nominated for a second election. On 8 October they chose Thomas Hoog, minister of the Scottish church at Campvere, but once again Hoog "utterly declined" and the matter rested again until a new nomination of electors on 14 April 1703. They chose Allan Logan, Minister of Torryburn, on 28 April, this election taking place in the Cathedral Church – i.e., St. Machar's in Old Aberdeen – as King's College Chapel was denied them (suggesting internal divisions concerning the appointment). Once again, however, Logan did not take up the call, in the face of opposition by his local presbytery, and it was not until 14 December 1704, a full seven years after the parliamentary commission's deposition of Garden, that his chair was finally filled by George Anderson.¹⁶

During this time Garden was not idle. He had appeared in person to protest the election of Allen Logan in 1703, claiming the professorship under the Act of Indemnity promulgated in that year, and was still fighting his cause before the House of Lords in 1714.¹⁷ In 1699 his *Discursus academicus de theologia comparativa* – originally an academic exercise delivered in King's College which offered up an irenic, mystical theology built upon the love of God and the putting out of "the impure and muddy love of the world" – was anonymously published in London.¹⁸ This was part of the larger irenic and mystical tradition of north-eastern thought which stretched back to the Aberdeen Doctors in the early seventeenth century and was exemplified in the work of Garden and his brother George.¹⁹ While adherence to the French mystic Antoinette Bourignon allegedly cost George a bishopric in 1720, both he and his brother remained active in the hierarchy of the Scottish

¹⁴ Robertson's biography is somewhat confused here, suggesting that he was deposed "soon after" 1690 and "with humble submission . . . applied himself to husbandry" (Garden 1756, 8-9).

¹⁵ German 2010, 33.

¹⁶ Anderson 1893, 70-71.

¹⁷ Garden 1756, 10; *Lords' Jnl.*, xix, 630-631, 647, 671, 688.

¹⁸ Garden, 1699. Garden 1756, 15-16, claims that it was subsequently translated into German, and only reached English in the London edition of 1700. Numerous editions in both Latin and English followed.

¹⁹ Henderson 1934, 32-39; Riordan 2015, chap. 3. For the Aberdeen Doctors see Denlinger 2012.

Episcopal Church.²⁰ In his old age, James lived in Aberdeen where he became friends with a younger generation of Episcopalians including his future biographer, John Robertson, then studying for an M.D. at King's, as well as Archibald Seaton who composed his epitaph.²¹ Garden died aged eighty, still living in Old Aberdeen, on 8 April 1726.²²

Although John Aubrey's first letter is lost, from Garden's reply it is evident that Aubrey wrote to the Aberdonian with "Quaeres" on 9 April 1692.²³ Aubrey recalled that John Hay, Lord Yester (1645-1713) and Sir Robert Moray (1608/9?-1673), two Scottish members of the Royal Society, had told him that there were numerous megaliths and henges "in the north parts of this Kingdom" and wrote asking for confirmation of that fact. His friend Edmond Halley piggybacked on Aubrey's letter to send his own questions to Aberdeen concerning the tides there, at Fraserburgh, and Buchanness.²⁴

In fact, Aubrey's first letter was probably not meant for James Garden at all, but rather for his brother George, then minister of the East Charge in New Aberdeen, who had previously been in correspondence with other members of the Royal Society and had published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.²⁵ However, Aubrey, unaware that the two brothers were both active in Aberdeen (perhaps unaware that there were two brothers at all), directed his letter with sufficient vagueness that its intended recipient was not clear and George passed it to his brother James, "because the Direction seemed mor applicable to me then to him".²⁶ Despite Aubrey's cold-calling, Garden was fulsome in his response. He "not only went and visited sundrie of those antiquities . . . but also employed the assistance of my freinds, whereof some were going from this place to other parts of the countrey".²⁷ Over the following five years this grew into a complex intellectual exchange as the two men discussed first the origins of stone circles and then the nature of second sight, as well as a host of related topics. Garden's analysis of the former

²⁰ See Henderson 1934, 36, for the lost bishopric.

²¹ Garden 1756, 10, 18. John Robertson received his M.D. from King's, 20 December 1730 (Anderson 1893, 127) and later edited Garden 1756, at which time he was residing at Pitcomb, Somersertshire; he died there in May 1761 ("Deaths", *Universal Magazine* 28 [May 1761], 278). Archibald Seaton received his M.A. from King's, 15 April 1714 (Anderson 1893, 221), was a presbyter in the Episcopal church residing in Old Aberdeen, and was buried there on 18 November 1729 (Bertie 2000, 128).

²² Anderson 1893, 70.

²³ Hunter 2001, 118.

²⁴ Hunter 2001, 118, 122. For Moray and Lord Yester see *ODNB*, *s.nm*.

²⁵ Numerous communications from George Garden to the Royal Society had been published in the *Philosophical Transactions* from 1678 onwards (see Hunter 2001, 22).

²⁶ Hunter 2001, 122.

²⁷ Hunter 2001, 118.

problem was sufficiently innovative for the Welsh antiquary Edward Lhuyd, writing in the 1695 edition of William Camden's *Britannia*, to assign him scholarly priority in first associating stone circles with the druids.²⁸

The remarkable fruitfulness of the Garden-Aubrey correspondence derived in large part from the fact that Garden and his informants existed within a very different intellectual world from the London-based Aubrey, a world bound together by common academic and, in many cases, confessional ties and extending across the northeast of Scotland. Garden's networks were almost certainly shaped by his role as professor of divinity at King's College. Almost every informant who can positively be identified had a direct association with Aberdeen, usually as the site of their university education. Within that broad church, however, there existed two further sub-categories: "gentlemen" and a host of often struggling clergymen, school teachers, and scholars over whose time and energy Garden could exert some hold. In the first category were local landowners (**1-2**), on whom Garden drew for knowledge about specific localities, particularly in the context of his enquiries into Aberdeenshire stone circles.²⁹ Garden's engagement with them seems to have been limited to a single occasion and a single question. This contrasts with the second category, made up of a divinity student (**3**), three ministers (**5, 6, 11**), a school master (**8**), and two tutors of noblemen's sons (**9, 13**). In the instance of the school master, Hew Tod, Garden badgered him for the better part of a year (beginning at some point before he wrote his letter of 4 May 1694) until he eventually sent the letter, dated 16 April 1695, which Garden then incorporated into his response to Aubrey.³⁰ Garden's most communicative informant, a Strathspey divinity student whose name was probably Ludovick Grant (**3**), is given as a source in four letters written between January 1692/93 and May 1694, in two of which Garden provides transcriptions of detailed letters which Grant wrote concerning bards and second sight.³¹ It would appear that in these cases, Garden's informants were sufficiently beholden to him that he could mobilise them to undertake extensive and relatively onerous research on his behalf.

The picture that emerges is one of Garden carefully selecting his informants, based both on the degree of pressure he could bring to bear upon them and the extent of their likely knowledge and personal networks. That the latter played an important role in the successful collection of relevant responses is especially evident in the anecdotes collected in reply to Garden's queries on

²⁸ Camden 1695, cols. 636-637.

²⁹ Numbers in **bold** refer to the individuals identified in appendix I.

³⁰ Hunter 2001, 151, 156-157.

³¹ Hunter 2001, 125-127, 147-150.

second sight: Ludovick Grant relayed a narrative which he had received from Hector Mackenzie, Minister of the First Charge in Inverness (3b), while two ministers cited a variety of local informants in their responses, including some, such as “one Allen Miller” and the “man that served the Bishop of Catnes” who were themselves outside of larger networks of scholarly or aristocratic exchange.³² Elsewhere Garden appears to have specifically contacted one informant, the tutor to Kenneth Sutherland (9), due to his connection to Lord Duffus whose knowledge of a family legend Garden was pursuing.³³ While some of his informants may have become so simply due to chance or opportunity — as in the case of the King’s College regent Alexander Fraser (4) who happened to be “going from this place to on of the northern shires (Ross) of this Kingdome” when Garden required information on stone circles there — the majority appear to have been carefully selected for their knowledge and their willingness to conduct, in effect, unpaid research assistance for the Aberdonian divinity professor.³⁴

Geographies, Theologies, Politics

If Garden’s contacts with his informants can be traced back to his pedagogical role at King’s, is it possible to say anything further about the geographical extent of his network? There is a persistent claim that north-eastern Scotland had a culture which was recognisably distinct from that of the rest of the nation throughout the early modern period. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson have proposed a tripartite division of Renaissance Scotland into Lowlanders, Gaels, and “Scoti Boreali”, whom they identify as the inhabitants of “Aberdeenshire and Moray under Gordon dominion”.³⁵ Hugh Trevor-Roper famously and mischievously proposed that the Episcopalian and Catholic northeast, with its eyes firmly turned towards the continent, was both “the cultural bastion of Scotland” and the geographical zero-point of the Scottish Enlightenment.³⁶ Gordon Donaldson saw the lands north of the Tay as essentially conservative: royalist, Episcopal, and remote from English influence.³⁷ Nor is this limited to modern scholarship; Thomas Urquhart in 1653 was well aware of the decisive role that “such a fruitful seminary hath that otherwayes obscure climate of the world

³² Hunter 2001, 143, 146.

³³ Hunter 2001, 153-154.

³⁴ Hunter 2001, 127.

³⁵ Stevenson and Davidson 2009.

³⁶ Trevor-Roper 2010, 29.

³⁷ Donaldson 1966.

provided in the affording of excellent spirits both for armes and arts”.³⁸ Even leaving aside these broader claims to cultural difference, it is widely accepted that the north-east – broadly taken to mean the coastlands from Angus (if not Fife) in the south to Ross in the north – had a higher population of Catholics after 1560 and higher populations of Episcopalians and Jacobites after 1689.³⁹ Nonetheless, despite this tenacious historiographical tradition both the nature and extent of a theorised north-eastern culture remain underanalysed and surprisingly vague. What forms of cultural alignment – religious, political, or otherwise – characterised it and what was its geographical extent? As the Garden brothers have been seen as exemplary figures within it since G. D. Henderson’s study of George Garden’s mysticism in 1934, James Garden’s network offers an opportunity to test the existence and nature of this north-eastern culture. To begin with, *where* were Garden’s correspondents located?

Garden’s network both reaffirms and problematizes the concept of a distinctive north-eastern culture. His informants were all based in the north or north-east of Scotland, but Aberdeen, which might be supposed to be the centre of this network, is instead at its southern periphery; not one of this group was based less than 57.15° North. The same north-eastern heartland of Nairn, Elgin, Banff and northern Aberdeenshire which has been identified as a centre of Catholicism and conservatism is very much in evidence, but so are the lowlands around Inverness and the Black Isle, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkneys; the geography here is less north-east than simply north. Likewise, while the majority of Garden’s informants were living in the coastlands, often no more than a few miles from the coast itself, there were outliers far up the glens in Strathspey and Strathnaver, complicating any straightforward division between Lowland and Highland. These Lowland-Highland divisions have been broken down not only in Garden’s correspondence but in recent work on the economic and social activities which took place in the latter; as Aonghas Maccoinnich has observed, the use of “Hamburg” measures by salmon fishers on the Mackenzie estates in Strathconon as early as the sixteenth century suggests that Ross may have been a more integral part of the Baltic-facing northeast than has been previously assumed.⁴⁰

This is not, however, a deft elision of Highland with Lowland. Both Garden and his

³⁸ Urquhart 1983, 174.

³⁹ See Porter 1999. The overlap of geographical and religious divisions was noticed in contemporary pamphlet polemic as well, such as when Thomas Morer wrote of the “People especially Northward” being “so well affected to Episcopacy” (Morier 1690, 2).

⁴⁰ Maccoinnich 2010, 26. For further confirmation of the far north of Scotland’s location in Baltic trading networks see Brochard 2014.

correspondents were well aware that while individuals might traverse between the two spaces, while ships full of salmon might connect both with the ports of continental Europe (perhaps also taking on board a student or two bound for the Scots Colleges abroad), they remained distinct entities, each with their own unique cultures.⁴¹ Many of Garden's correspondents had their feet set happily in both – Ludovick Grant, Aberdonian cleric and recorder of bardic custom being an outstanding example – and exemplify the pluralistic process of Highland integration which has been recently mapped out by Thomas Brochard.⁴²

While this is only one network, it raises a number of questions which need to be asked when thinking about the north-east as a cultural unit: how strong were links over the Mounth, for example, given that Angus has often been associated with this region? They are not in evidence amongst this group. Likewise, the narrower definitions of this cultural region tend to centre it on Aberdeen and Moray, but a number of Garden's network came from further west in Inverness-shire and Ross. Do the coasts of these highland counties deserve closer attention? In this context, it is worth remembering both William Lauder, Minister of Avoch in the Black Isle and prolific poet in Latin and Scots earlier in the seventeenth century as well as Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and Dr. George Mackenzie, two members of an erudite tradition recognisably similar to Garden's who originated in Ross.⁴³ Finally, where do Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkneys fit into this scheme? It is difficult to imagine a more remote locale than the braes of Strathnaver if one is thinking in modern, London-centric terms, but in a time where sea travel was faster than overland routes and the Orkneys and Shetlands were at the centre of larger patterns of trade and shipping, far northern Scotland's place in this cultural sphere begins to seem not so unusual. Kirkwall's early modern library already provides extensive evidence of its key position in a scholarly network which stretched down to Aberdeen.⁴⁴

It is also worth interrogating Aberdeen's place in this network more closely. It was the regions' educational centre, providing the university, if not grammar school, education of almost every one of this group's members, but seeing in this an analogy with the position which Oxford or Cambridge held within similar networks in England would be a mistake. Of Garden's informants

⁴¹ For the salmon ships as a route to and from the centres of Scottish Catholicism on the continent see, for example, a letter from Thomas Innes to his brother Lewis, 16/27 May 1701, noting that their nephew Paul "is putting to school & will goe over with the salmon ships" (Scottish Catholic Archives PT1/3/1, p. 46).

⁴² Brochard 2015.

⁴³ For Lauder's copious but unstudied poetic output see Aberdeen University Library BK ms E. For the two Mackenzies see *ODNB*, *ss.n.*, and also Mackenzie 1708.

⁴⁴ Craven, 1897; Anderson-Smith 1995.

only Alexander Fraser and Hew Tod were still resident in Aberdeen when Garden contacted them and, of those two, both had significant links to Ross and Orkney respectively which led to travel on Fraser's part and a permanent move on Tod's. Aberdeen, then, was not an intellectual nexus in the way that, say, London was for Aubrey: a place where numerous scholars were located and where information was exchanged both in person and by letter. Instead, it was a common denominator which linked scholars who were dispersed across a large, predominantly rural geographical area. Its gravitational pull informed the contours of the network, but does not conceal the decentralised nature of this intellectual world, where acts of research, interpretation, composition, and correspondence occurred in the privacy of rural manses, island schools, and isolated tower houses in highland glens.

Aberdeen was one shared point of connection between Garden and the majority of his informants; confessional allegiance was another. Although Garden remained in post at King's until the very end of his correspondence with Aubrey, battle lines had already been drawn between the Presbyterian church established after the Revolution and the Episcopalians, like Garden, who would soon be ejected. Many of Garden's informants fell with him into this latter camp: Alexander Garden of Troup (1), Hector Mackenzie (3b), James Fraser (6), John Stewart (9), James Sutherland, Lord Duffus (10), and Alexander Mowat (11) are all known to have been Episcopalian. To this list we can probably add Ludovick Grant (3), as a student of the Episcopalian Garden and the brother of James VII and II's advocate and solicitor general. Of the fifteen individuals in this network whose identities can be recovered, at least seven of them were Episcopalian. By contrast there is very little evidence of either Presbyterians or Catholics amongst Garden's contacts. If 2 was Alexander Gordon, Lord Auchintoul, rather than David Gregory (the more likely choice), then that would be one Catholic in the network and Hew Tod (8) ultimately became chamberlain to the Catholic Duke of Gordon (though the fact that he served as master in the Aberdeen and Kirkwall grammar schools strongly suggests some degree of conformation to the established church when Garden corresponded with him). Nonetheless, it is quite possible that there were no Catholics within this group at all. The case for a single Presbyterian is stronger. Alexander Fraser (4) held academic and civil offices in Aberdeen well into the eighteenth century and appears to have at least outwardly conformed. The confessional allegiances of another five individuals remain uncertain (3a, 7, 11a, 12, 13), but the overall picture suggests an overwhelming preponderance of Episcopalian. This in turn, may suggest that intellectual communities in this region at the end of the seventeenth century were still largely constructed along confessional lines. While both Garden, in his *Comparative*

Theology, and his brother George in his *Apology*, had pushed back against confessional division, that division was still very much in evidence in Garden's own network.⁴⁵

Identifying the political persuasions of Garden's contacts is a less useful exercise; for the vast majority we simply do not know whether they were Jacobites or government supporters. We can say with reasonable confidence that Alexander Garden of Troup (1) was a Hanoverian in politics, given his role as Deputy Lieutenant of Banff in 1715, and we can also be reasonably sure that Alexander Fraser (4), who was suspended from a regency at King's after the 1715 rebellion, had at least questionable sympathies. As John Stewart's (9) pupil, Kenneth Sutherland, is known to have been a Jacobite in 1715, it is possible that both he and Kenneth's father, Lord Duffus (10) were of the same persuasion, but beyond these uncertain indications it is impossible to make any larger claims. Insofar as this scanty data suggests anything, it may suggest that religious loyalties were more defining than political.

Northern Scholarship

At least half of the members of Garden's network had independent scholarly interests beyond the material they collected for the divinity professor or had links with persons who did. The astronomer David Gregory (2) and the polymath James Fraser (6) require little introduction, but besides these known stars in the late seventeenth-century Scottish scholarly firmament there were others whose activities attest to the richness of erudition in the north during this period. In 1683 Alexander Garden of Troup (1) had written an antiquarian-natural philosophical "Account of the North Side of the Coast of Buchan" in response to queries from the physician and antiquary Sir Robert Sibbald, who was then engaged in the gathering of materials for a vast (and never completed) natural history of Scotland.⁴⁶ Troup described the sea birds, fishes, and crustaceans of that coast, the farming customs and types of soil, and the frequent sightings of whales "of very great bigness".⁴⁷

If Troup was one type of natural philosopher, carefully observing his local landscape as he spoke with fishermen, measured sea-cliffs, and oversaw the farming on his estate, James Milne (7) was another. Milne, after a decade or more in France, had reinvented himself as "Jacques du Moulin", became a member of the Royal Society, and translated Thomas Sprat's *History* of the

⁴⁵ cf. G. Garden 1699.

⁴⁶ For the context of this see Withers 2001, chap. 3.

⁴⁷ Garden of Troup 1843, 106.

Society into French, before returning, now middle aged, to his native Inverurie to practice as a country physician. Not only do men such as Milne and George Garden provide evidence of northern Scotland's engagement outwith its own bounds, whether in the ferment of the Royal Society or elsewhere, Milne himself is also an example of how this engagement was not unidirectional. After years abroad, Milne returned to the Garioch, just as Garden of Troup's father had returned to Banff after a lifetime in the Swedish wars. We can only speculate as to how their individual contributions to this culture were indebted to their foreign experiences, but they and others like them provide important evidence that the north-east was neither isolated nor provincial, but enmeshed in larger networks which stretched across northern Europe.⁴⁸

Other members of Garden's network have left more fragmentary but tantalising indications of scholarly activity. Hector Mackenzie donated a collection of Greek and Latin texts to the Inverness Presbyterial Library, while Alexander Mowat was not only a neighbour and perhaps client of the antiquary Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran, but married a woman who may have been the daughter of the language planner George Dalgarno. Even those whose scholarship is not attested elsewhere were no strangers to its practices. Ludovick Grant, in particular, would have the reputation of an important antiquary had his letters on bards and second sight from which Garden quoted at length been unprompted compositions.

The old canard that pre-Union Scotland was intellectually impoverished and backward compared to the scholarly culture of the south of Britain has largely been put to rest in recent decades by the work of scholars such as Roger Mason, David Allan, Roger L. Emerson, and Clare Jackson, amongst many others.⁴⁹ But much still remains to be done, for while we now recognise that seventeenth-century Scotland had its own vibrant and complex intellectual culture, the contours of that culture are only beginning to be uncovered. The network revealed in James Garden's letters to John Aubrey gives us a window onto one corner of that culture, allowing for a sense of its interests, its geographical breadth, and its confessional and political divisions. The view from that window is partly familiar, partly new, but entirely invigorating: a far-flung intellectual community, based on a shared education in Aberdeen but stretching north and west to Inverness, to Sutherland, and to Kirkwall, largely Episcopalian, but straddling both sides of the post-1688 political divide, and devoting itself to subjects as wide-ranging as medicine, botany, theology, antiquarianism, and astronomy. The brief mention of James Garden and his druidic theories in the 1695 *Britannia* is only

⁴⁸ See Murdoch 2006.

⁴⁹ Allan 2000; Emerson 1988; Jackson 2003; Mason 1998.

the tip of the iceberg; far from the gloomy, kirk-dominated intellectual wasteland depicted by older scholarship, later seventeenth-century Scotland possessed in its north a vibrant, inquisitive, and innovative culture which is only beginning to be rediscovered.

Appendix I: Garden's Network

Recovering the identities of the persons named in Garden's correspondence with Aubrey was not entirely straightforward. He only occasionally gives their names in his letters, performing to refer to them obliquely as "a student of Divinity, and by birth a gentleman's son in Strathspey", "on of the Masters of our Colledge here", "an ingenious Gentleman who lives at a place called Troup", or similarly vague descriptors. Nonetheless, it proved possible to identify the vast majority of the persons Garden named. In this prosopographical appendix each entry begins with a quote from Garden's letters describing the person and is followed by as full a biography as could be recovered, together with a discussion of the arguments for their identity, if not obvious from Garden's text. Informants are numbered in the order in which they appear in Garden's letters and informants of informants are represented by their immediate contacts' number and a letter: thus Hector Mackenzie (**3b**) was an informant of Ludovick Grant (**3**) who corresponded directly with Garden.

1. *I was likewise told by an ingenious Gentleman who lives at a place called Troup . . .*⁵⁰

Alexander Garden, 2nd of Troup, was the son of Major Alexander Garden (d. 1662), an officer in the Swedish service who purchased the estate of Troup in the parish of Gamrie, Banff, in 1654.⁵¹ He was still a minor in 1672 and while a young man wrote a natural historical "Account of the North Side of the Coast of Buchan" for Robert Sibbald's planned history of Scotland in 1683.⁵² In it he discussed the "very great stones . . . brought together, and set on end: some, one way; and some, another; and, for the most part, on tops or risings of hills".⁵³ A decade later he communicated place-name evidence for stone circles being called "chapels" to Garden.⁵⁴ Troup was Hanoverian in politics, serving as Deputy Lieutenant of Banff in 1715, but was probably

⁵⁰ Hunter, 120.

⁵¹ *SSNE*, no. 2571; Tayler and Tayler 1933, 89.

⁵² Garden of Troup 1843, 99-107.

⁵³ Garden of Troup 1843, 103.

⁵⁴ Hunter 2001, 120.

Episcopalian in religion.⁵⁵ Robert Keith, the future Episcopal bishop, was a “good acquaintance” during Keith’s time at Marischal College, 1696-1700, and Troup’s younger son William was apparently a member of the circle of mystically-inclined Episcopalians centred on George Garden and Lord Deskford.⁵⁶ Troup himself seems to have been at odds with George Garden for unspecified reasons in 1716 when Dr. James Keith, another member of the Deskford circle, reported on attempts to mediate between them.⁵⁷ He died, apparently an old man, in 1731.⁵⁸

*2. The first is of a monument of this kind in the shire of Banff and parish of Aberchirder; which as a gentleman that lives near by it doth informe . . .*⁵⁹

This site, unidentified by Gordon or Hunter, is probably identical to the Bellman’s Wood circle southwest of the village of Aberchirder. Adjacent to it is Kinnairdy Castle, the home of **David Gregory (1659-1708)**, the mathematician and astronomer.⁶⁰ He had matriculated at Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1671 and in 1690 had inherited Kinnairdy from his father, the physician and inventor David Gregorie.⁶¹ An Episcopalian and friend of the Episcopal Jacobite Archibald Pitcairne, Gregory had been elected Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford in 1691, but continued to reside at Kinnairdy in the vacations; he was elected to the Royal Society in the year of Garden’s letter, 1692.⁶² Less plausibly, this informant could instead be **Alexander Gordon, Lord Auchintoul**, whose estate of the same name lay two miles north of Bellman’s Wood and who had briefly been an Ordinary Lord of Session in 1688.⁶³ Although educated as a protestant, he had converted to Catholicism while living in France.⁶⁴ His son of the same name was a general in the Russian service and married a daughter of the military strategist and diarist Patrick Gordon.⁶⁵ This informant apprised Garden of the Bellman’s Wood circle and noted that it was

⁵⁵ Grant 1922, 350.

⁵⁶ Keith 1824, xix-xx.; Henderson 1934, 179.

⁵⁷ Henderson 1934, 134.

⁵⁸ Grant 1922, 350; National Archives of Scotland CC1/6/12, pp. 2685-2686 (Troup’s testament).

⁵⁹ Hunter 2001, 120.

⁶⁰ ODNB, *s.n.*

⁶¹ Scott 1915, ii, 239; Stewart 1901, 24.

⁶² ODNB, *s.n.*

⁶³ Bulloch 1903, i, 134.

⁶⁴ Blakhal 1844, xxxvi.

⁶⁵ Bulloch 1903, I, 140, and cf. Gordon 2009.

called Cairneduin.⁶⁶

3. *a student of Divinity, and by birth a gentleman's son in Strathspey*⁶⁷

The Strathspey divinity student was Garden's most prolific informant, writing important letters on bards and second sight as well as providing information on stone circles and oral traditions concerning the Picts in Strathspey.⁶⁸ The location of his father's house there can be pin-pointed from an anecdote given in his letter concerning second sight.⁶⁹ There it was specified that Culnakyle in Abernethy was two miles below the second town next to the house and that his father owned land at or very near the Milntown of Gartinbeg (Gartinbeg is about 3.5 miles up the Spey from Culnakyle).⁷⁰ Elsewhere his father was quoted as an authority on burials at Tullochgorum, about half a mile upriver from Culnakyle.⁷¹ This strongly suggests that the house lay somewhere along an approximately three-mile stretch of the Spey between modern-day Boat of Garten and Nethy Bridge within the lordship of Glencarnie.⁷² At the end of the seventeenth century almost all the lands along this stretch of the Spey were wadset or leased by Grant of Freuchie to various members of his clan, in this case the Grants of Tullochgorum and those of Gartinbeg.⁷³ Comparing these families against the exceptional old age of Garden's informant's father (aged ninety-six or seven in January 1692/93 and thus born *circa* 1595-1596), it is clear that no such man existed in the Tullochgorum family: Patrick Grant, 8th of Tullochgorum, died before 9 November 1688, probably only middle aged, leaving four young adult sons.⁷⁴ However, Swoyne Grant, 4th of Gartinbeg, was already an adult on 15 April 1630 when he had a renewal of the wadset of Gartinbeg given to his father and was still living on 9 June 1685 when he made a disposition of his lands to his son James.⁷⁵ It is entirely possible that he was still living, a very old man, in 1693 (see below). Moreover, his third son,

⁶⁶ Hunter 2001, 120-121.

⁶⁷ Hunter 2001, 124.

⁶⁸ Hunter 2001, 125-127 (bards), 128 (Picts), 137 (stone circles), 147-150 (second sight).

⁶⁹ John Buchanan-Brown recorded his unsuccessful attempt to identify this man in Aubrey 1972, 398-400. Hunter 2001, 42, summarised the current state of play, but was also unable to identify the man from Strathspey.

⁷⁰ Hunter 2001, 148-149.

⁷¹ Hunter 2001, 137-138.

⁷² Fraser 1883, i, lvi.

⁷³ Buchanan-Brown's suggestion (Aubrey 1972, 398-400) that the Grants of Lynchurn or Gartenmore were meant seems to be unlikely. Lynchurn had been wadset by Ludovick Grant of Freuchie to Sir James Grant of Dalvey on 15 October 1679 and was thus in the possession of the Grants of Gartinbeg until redeemed by Grant of Freuchie, 24 March 1691 (Fraser 1883, iii, 475-476); it is unlikely that any tenants of the Gartinbeg family would qualify as gentlemen.

⁷⁴ Fraser 1883, i, 518.

⁷⁵ Fraser 1883, i, 526, iii, 475.

Ludovick Grant, graduated M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen, 25 May 1683.⁷⁶ Nothing further is known of him until he was retoured heir male to his brother-german Sir James Grant of Dalvey, 1st Baronet – who had briefly been Advocate and Solicitor General for James VII and II in 1688 – on 14 May 1695.⁷⁷ This would have entitled him to succeed to his brother's baronetcy, but he does not appear to have done so and died without legitimate issue on 4 January 1701 when his estates were inherited by his second cousin Sweton Grant.⁷⁸ There is no evidence that he married. Although definitive evidence remains elusive, the circumstantial case for identifying him with the gentleman's son from Strathspey is strong.

3a. *his (my informer's) father (who is a man of nintie six or ninetie seaven years)*⁷⁹

This elderly gentleman appears regularly as a source in his son's letters for material as diverse as the burial of the poor in stone circles and an anecdote of his travels with a second-sighted man.⁸⁰ As discussed above, he was probably **Swoyne, Swene, or Sueton Grant, 4th of Gartinbeg (c.1596-in or after 1693)**.⁸¹ He had, for 3,500 merks, the wadset of the town and lands of Garthinbeg, the mill of Dummoyle and mill croft thereof, with multures of the whole cottars and crofts in the davachland of Tullochgorne, Clourie, Garthinbeg, Dummoylie, seven aughten parts of Kinveachie, the three aughten parts of Nether Duchharn, and six eighteen parts of Dachlaggie, with the knaveship of the foresaid lands from Sir John Grant of Freuchie, 15 April 1630.⁸² He signed a bond of combination between the Laird of Grant and the men of Badenoch, 30 March 1645.⁸³ On 24 May 1656 he had a wadset of part of Kinveachy-tepil with his wife Liliast Grant.⁸⁴ He and others entered into a bond of amity with Patrick Grant of Tullochgorum, 18 March 1669.⁸⁵ He witnessed a bond by Robert Grant of Auchterblair to keep peace towards Duncan Grant of Mullochard, 15 July 1675.⁸⁶ He granted his second son, Sir James, a

⁷⁶ Anderson 1893, 212.

⁷⁷ Thomson 1811, ii, inquisitiones generales, no. 7583.

⁷⁸ Cokayne 1900, iv, 358.

⁷⁹ Hunter 2001, 138.

⁸⁰ Hunter 2001, 138, 149-150.

⁸¹ His unusual given name appears elsewhere amongst the Grants of Strathspey in the early modern period and seems to be related to the Nordic name Sven.

⁸² Fraser 1883, iii, 475.

⁸³ Fraser 1883, iii, 239.

⁸⁴ Fraser 1883, i, 526.

⁸⁵ Fraser 1883, iii, 247-248.

⁸⁶ Fraser 1883, iii, 355-356.

disposition of most of the lands of Garthinbeg, 9 June 1685.⁸⁷ According to William Fraser he was bailie to Grant of Freuchie in Glencairnie.⁸⁸ While Lilius Grant was certainly his wife in 1656, George E. Cokayne (or his source, the herald Francis James Grant) believed that the mother of James and Ludovick was a daughter of Farquharson of Inverey.⁸⁹ Assuming this to be true and that the children of this marriage were born post-1656, perhaps in the early 1660s, she was probably a sister of John Farquharson, 3rd of Inverey, called “the Black Colonel”, who served with the Jacobite army before the battle of Killiecrankie and was the protagonist of the ballad “the Baron o’ Braikley” which records a memory of his murder of John Gordon of Brackley in 1666.⁹⁰

3b. *Two of them were in Mr. Hector Mackenzie minister at Inverness, his father’s house*⁹¹

Hector Mackenzie graduated M.A. from King’s College, Aberdeen, 22 July 1665, and was ordained minister of Kingussie, having been presented by Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, 30 November 1670.⁹² He was subsequently admitted to the First Charge of Inverness, 2 May 1688, and though an Episcopalian continued to preach there until at least 1694 (he may have subsequently conformed). He donated a collection of Greek and Latin books to the Inverness Presbyterial Library.⁹³ He recounted to Ludovick Grant a story of second sight which took place at his father’s house in Strathnaver, Sutherland.⁹⁴ Mackenzie’s father was Alexander Mackenzie, a brother of Murdoch Mackenzie, Bishop of Orkney.⁹⁵

3c. *One James Mack-coil-vic-Alaster alias Grant . . . that had this sight; who, I hear of severals that were well acquainted what him*⁹⁶

Grant’s proximate informants are not identifiable, but the man whose visions they related was **Seumas mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Alasdair Grant** in Glenbrown, near Kirk Michael in Strathavon, about nine miles southeast of Gartinbeg. He was presumably the James Grant in

⁸⁷ Fraser 1883, iii, 475.

⁸⁸ Fraser 1883, i, 526.

⁸⁹ Cokayne 1900, iv, 358.

⁹⁰ Michie 1901, 39-42; Shuldham-Shaw and Lyle 1981, ii, 176-177.

⁹¹ Hunter 2001, 148.

⁹² Anderson 1893, 200; Scott 1915, vi, 457.

⁹³ Scott 1915, vi, 457. See also Mitchell 1901 and its institutional archive at Aberdeen University Library MS 1066.

⁹⁴ Hunter 2001, 148.

⁹⁵ Mackenzie 1894, 492-493.

⁹⁶ Hunter 2001, 150.

Glenbrown who granted discharges for an annual rent of £80 Scots from a sum of 1,000 merks due by the late James Grant of Freuchie in 1665, 1666, and 1669, and must have been a younger son of Dòmhnall mac Alasdair Grant in Glenlochy.⁹⁷

4. *on of the Masters of our Colledge here (a north-countray man, both by birth, & education in his younger years) who made a journey in the harvest time, unto the shire of Ross*⁹⁸

The Regents active in King's College during the 1693-1694 academic year were William Black, Alexander Fraser, George Fraser, and George Skene.⁹⁹ Of these, William Black was described as "Aberdonensis" at his matriculation, George Fraser was "Moraviensis", and George Skene was a native of Aberdeen.¹⁰⁰ However, **Alexander Fraser** was the son of Donald Fraser, Minister of Urquhart or Logie Wester in Ross.¹⁰¹ He was a student in divinity when he became one of the Regents of King's, 18 November 1686; subsequently he was appointed Professor of Greek in 1700 and served until 1717 when he returned to the office of Regent.¹⁰² Although briefly suspended from office after the 1715 rebellion, his sympathies were ambiguous and he held both civil and academic offices in the wake of 1689, suggesting accommodation, if not active Presbyterian and Hanoverian sympathies. He served several times as bailie of Old Aberdeen and manager of Bishop Dunbar's Hospital and purchased both the rural estate of Powis and Kincardine's Lodgings in Old Aberdeen.¹⁰³ He reported on stone circles and second sight in Ross for Garden.¹⁰⁴

5. *The originall wherof this that I have written is a true copie, was sent by a Minister living within some few miles of Inverness, to a freind of mine whom I employed to gett information for me*¹⁰⁵

Neither the friend who collected the information nor the minister can be certainly identified, although the friend is presumably the same one who communicated with informant no. 6. The minister answered seven queries concerning second sight.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁷ Fraser 1883, i, 528, which, however, gives a different filiation.

⁹⁸ Hunter 2001, 127.

⁹⁹ Anderson 1893, 58, 317.

¹⁰⁰ Anderson 1893, 201 (Fraser), 205 (Black); Skene 1887, 133-134.

¹⁰¹ Scott 1915, vii, 46, viii, 662.

¹⁰² Anderson 1893, 58-59.

¹⁰³ Burnett 1951, 53-66.

¹⁰⁴ Hunter 2001, 127, 144.

¹⁰⁵ Hunter 2001, 144.

¹⁰⁶ Hunter 2001, 142-144.

5a. *One instance I had from a Gentleman here, of a highland-gentleman of the Mackdonalds . . .*¹⁰⁷

In other words, informant no. 5 spoke with a “Gentleman” resident in his vicinity who relayed him the story of a certain MacDonald whose second sight allowed him to foresee his brother’s execution. The anecdote does not allow for the gentleman’s identification, but the executed MacDonald was quite probably the Gaelic poet and free-booter Dòmhnall Donn mac Fir Bhohuntainn, executed at Inverness in 1692, whose brother **Alasdair Mòr MacDòmhnail, 5th of Bohuntin** in Lochaber would have been the probable seer.¹⁰⁸

6. *a minister living near Inverness to a freind of mine here*¹⁰⁹

He provided another set of responses to Garden’s seven queries on second sight.¹¹⁰ The friend is presumably the same intermediary who contacted informant no. 5 (see above). The minister “living near Inverness” twice gives anecdotes which link him to the parish of Wardlaw or Kirkhill on the river Beaul, suggesting that he is to be identified with the minister of that parish, **James Fraser (1634-1709)**.¹¹¹ Fraser was educated at the grammar school in Inverness and graduated M.A. from King’s College, Aberdeen in 1655.¹¹² He travelled through Britain and across western and central Europe, 1657-1660, later writing an account of his experiences in the *Triennial Travels*.¹¹³ After briefly serving as chaplain in the family of Lord Lovat he became minister of Wardlaw (now Kirkhill) in 1661 and remained there for the rest of his life.¹¹⁴ During that time he was a prolific scholar, writing a vast number of manuscripts, only a few of which have survived, including a genealogy of the Frasers, and books of poetry, theology, medicine, natural philosophy, and jokes, amongst others.¹¹⁵ He did not conform at the time of the Revolution, but nonetheless remained in his living until his death.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷ Hunter 2001, 143.

¹⁰⁸ MacDonald 1896, iii, 427-428. An air on Domhnall Donn is preserved in the Angus Fraser manuscript of Gaelic music (Edinburgh University Library MS Gen. 614).

¹⁰⁹ Hunter 2001, 145.

¹¹⁰ Hunter 2001, 145-147.

¹¹¹ Hunter 2001, 146-147.

¹¹² Fraser 1905, viii; Anderson 1893, 193.

¹¹³ James Fraser, “Triennial Travels”, Aberdeen University Library MS 2538.

¹¹⁴ Scott 1915, vi, 473.

¹¹⁵ A catalogue is reproduced in Fraser 1905, xlv-xlv.

¹¹⁶ Scott 1915, vi, 473.

7. *A Scotch Gentleman of my acquaintance ; who lived severall years in England, being known there by the name of Dr. Du Moulin a Phisitian, & was often in company with the Earle of Berkeley living at St. John's*¹¹⁷

Du Moulin provided no information to Garden, but recalled having met Aubrey in London and tendered his respects to him via Garden's letter. He had begun life as **James Milne**, son of James Mill or Milne, Minister of Inverurie, where he was born on 2 October 1630.¹¹⁸ When he was incorporated M.A. at Cambridge, 17 September 1667, he claimed that this was on the basis of an M.A. granted by "Academia Abredonensi" in 1650, suggesting that he was probably the "Jacobus Milne" admitted to Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1646.¹¹⁹ He was in Nîmes, reviving a postboy by unorthodox means, in the winter of 1657-58 and was living in Montpellier in 1665, where he met Philip Skippon and the naturalist John Ray. On 7 April 1666 he was arrested in Paris, apparently for his protestant sympathies, but had been released and "bid . . . begone out of France" by the king at some point before he incorporated his M.A. at Cambridge.¹²⁰ In England he was a client of George, 9th Baron Berkeley, was proposed Fellow of the Royal Society by him, 28 November 1667, and admitted 5 December, when he signed himself "Jaques du Moulin".¹²¹ He had translated Sprat's *History* of the Royal Society into French, 1668-1670, but was anticipated by a rival translation published in Geneva in 1669.¹²² In 1682 he was expelled from the Royal Society for non-payment of dues and was by 1696 practising as a physician in Inverurie, where he lived with his wife Marie Irvine and their family.¹²³ He was still living in 1705 when he sold land within the burgh of Inverurie to the Earl of Kintore.¹²⁴

8. *I have just spoken to a person who not only hath acquaintances in that countrey, but also entertains some thoughts of going thither himselfe, to gett me an account of the cures usually practised there*¹²⁵

The identity of this informant is proven by the letter he wrote to Garden from Kirkwall, dated

¹¹⁷ Hunter 2001, 122, 151.

¹¹⁸ Scott 1915, vi, 160; Davidson 1878, 161. Proof of his connection to this family comes from the simultaneous creation of him and his brother Alexander, minister at Glasgow, as burgesses of Aberdeen, 8 August 1675 (Munro 1908, 443).

¹¹⁹ Morris 1991, 5; Scott 1915, ii, 213. His brother Alexander was admitted to Marischal in October 1652, suggesting that this was the family's preferred university (Scott 1915, ii, 218).

¹²⁰ Morris 1991, 4, 7.

¹²¹ Morris 1991, 1.

¹²² Morris 1991, 8.

¹²³ Morris 1991, 1; Davidson 1878, 384, 391.

¹²⁴ Davidson 1878, 395.

¹²⁵ Hunter 2001, 151, 155.

16 April 1695, and signed “Hu Todd”.¹²⁶ In it he gave accounts of Orcadian scurvy cures and sent with it a “book written by the late Minister of Kirkwall which I believe will inform you of all & more”, i.e., Wallace’s *Description of the Iles of Orkney* (1695).¹²⁷ Garden clarified that Tod had formerly been a master at the grammar school in Aberdeen, “& now discharges the like office in Kirkwall”.¹²⁸ **Hew Tod** had graduated M.A. from King’s College, Aberdeen, 8 July 1684, having had the canonist Robert Forbes as his regent, and was one of the procurators at the election of John Haliburton as Civilist in King’s College, 1 June 1687.¹²⁹ At some point after 1695, when his letter places him in Kirkwall, and before about 1711, he became chamberlain of the lordship of Huntly for the Catholic aristocrat George Gordon, 1st Duke of Gordon, and died in 1720.¹³⁰

9. *Mr. Stuart (so is the gentleman called)*¹³¹

He was named in Garden’s letter of 25 March 1694/95 as tutor to the eldest son of Lord Duffus and was the source for an anecdote of miraculous transportation dating back to his time as a school boy in Forres. **John Stewart**, “Moraviensis”, had graduated M.A. from King’s College, Aberdeen in 1682.¹³² While in the Duffus household he was already giving sermons to the Episcopal congregation there in 1693, was ordained by William Hay, Bishop of Moray, assisted the controversialist Robert Calder with the Episcopal congregation at Elgin in 1706, and became Episcopal minister at Duffus in 1707.¹³³ He opened the first Episcopal meeting house at Keam, was censured by the Presbytery of Elgin for praying for James VIII and III in 1716, and died about 1734.¹³⁴ His sometime charge, Kenneth Sutherland, succeeded his father as 3rd Lord Duffus in 1705, fought for the Jacobites in 1715, and ultimately entered the Russian naval service.¹³⁵

10. *the present Lord Duffus*¹³⁶

¹²⁶ Hunter 2001, 157.

¹²⁷ Hunter 2001, 156-157.

¹²⁸ Hunter 2001, 157.

¹²⁹ Anderson 1893, 32, 213. For Forbes see Anderson 1893, 30, 317.

¹³⁰ National Archives of Scotland, GD44/51/75/6. For the Duke of Gordon and his estates see Robertson 2011.

¹³¹ Hunter 2001, 154.

¹³² Anderson 1893, 212.

¹³³ Bertie 2000, 134.

¹³⁴ Bertie 2000, 134.

¹³⁵ Balfour Paul 1904, iii, 212.

¹³⁶ Hunter 2001, 153.

James Sutherland, 2nd Lord Duffus (d. 1705), succeeded his father in 1674 and died 24 September 1705. He was heavily in debt in the 1680s and his hot-headed murder of a creditor, William Ross, younger of Kindeace, in 1688, resulted in a temporary flight to England. By 16 March 1689, however, he had subscribed the act legalising the meeting of the Estates summoned by William of Orange and he took the oath of allegiance to the new king in the following year.¹³⁷ His wife Margaret Mackenzie was a sister of the Jacobite Kenneth Mackenzie, 4th Earl of Seaforth.¹³⁸ Theologically, his patronage of informant no. 9 indicates that he and his family were Episcopalian. He was the source of an anecdote (which he did not believe) concerning the miraculous transportation of one of his ancestors from Moray to Paris.¹³⁹

11. Mr. Alexr. Mowat . . . minister at the church of Lesly¹⁴⁰

Alexander Mowat graduated M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1665 and was one of the procurators at the election of Mr. William Johnston as Civilist in King's College, 8 June 1669.¹⁴¹ He had been admitted to the living of Leslie in the Garioch by 24 April 1674, contrary to the wishes of John Leslie, the patron, but refused the Test Act, suggesting high church, if not crypto-Catholic, sentiments, and was deprived in 1681. Afterwards he retired to Foveran and died 28 October 1735.¹⁴² His presence there may indicate that he was a client or friend of the antiquary Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran (1653-1717), author of a *Description of Aberdeenshire*.¹⁴³ His wife Jean Dalgarno (c.1651-1736) may have been a daughter or other near relative of George Dalgarno, the language planner, given the rarity of the surname.¹⁴⁴ Their daughter Helen married Nathaniel Craig, factor on the estate of Alexander Forbes, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, the philosopher, mystical Episcopalian, and patron of Garden's brother George.¹⁴⁵ In November 1694 he related to Garden a story which had been told by **11a**.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁷ Balfour Paul 1904, iii, 209-210.

¹³⁸ Balfour Paul 1904, vii, 509-510.

¹³⁹ Hunter 2001, 153-154.

¹⁴⁰ Hunter 2001, 154.

¹⁴¹ Anderson 1893, 32, 200.

¹⁴² Scott 1915, vi, 171.

¹⁴³ Printed in Robertson 1843, 31-59. For Forbes see Cokayne 1900, iv, 389, and Young 1992, i, 248.

¹⁴⁴ Scott 1915, vi, 171; cf. Cram 2001.

¹⁴⁵ ODNB, *sub* Alexander Forbes, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo; Scott 1915, vi, 171.

¹⁴⁶ Hunter 2001, 154.

11a. *the late Earle of Cathnes who was married to a daughter of the late Marquis of Argyle*¹⁴⁷

George Sinclair, 6th Earl of Caithness (d. 1676) who had married Mary Campbell, daughter of the Marquess of Argyll. He had been briefly imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for killing an exciseman in 1668 and in 1672, deeply in debt, he made a disposition of his estate to Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy. After his death without issue in 1676 this disposition was disputed by his cousin, the seventh earl, leading to the Battle of Altmarlach in 1680 and an eventual legal resolution in 1681.¹⁴⁸ He told a story to Alexander Mowat of a man with second sight who had predicted the return of one of Sinclair's ships.¹⁴⁹

12. *Mr. John Rose, merchant in Aberdene*¹⁵⁰

Mr. **John Ross**, merchant, was admitted a burghess of Aberdeen, 22 June 1691.¹⁵¹ His title may indicate that he was the John Ross, "Moraviensis" who graduated M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen, 4 July 1682, although gaps in the register of King's during this period make such an identification uncertain.¹⁵² He transported a letter and book from Garden to Aubrey's friend Thomas Gale in London.

13. *Mr Hugh Grant . . . tutor to a Gentlemans son who lives sometimes in Murray & sometimes in Ross*¹⁵³

Although given the honorific "Mr", this man does not appear in the printed matriculation and graduation registers of any of the Scottish universities, the Scots Colleges, or the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His degree must have either been granted abroad or, perhaps, date from the 1688-1693 gap in King's College, Aberdeen's graduation register.¹⁵⁴ Given the rarity of the name "Hugh" amongst the Grants, it is plausible that **Hugh Grant** was related to the Grants of Moyness in Nairnshire, who used the name at least twice in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century.¹⁵⁵ Garden had proposed him as a Gaelic-speaking assistant for Edward

¹⁴⁷ Hunter 2001, 154.

¹⁴⁸ Balfour Paul 1914, ii, 344-345.

¹⁴⁹ Hunter 2001, 154.

¹⁵⁰ Hunter 2001, 155.

¹⁵¹ Munro 1908, 467.

¹⁵² Anderson 1893, 212.

¹⁵³ Bodleian MS Rawlinson Letters 107, fol. 224r (edited below).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Anderson 1893, 215.

¹⁵⁵ Grant and Leslie 1798, 26-27. He could not, however, have been the Hugh Grant, "lawful son to umquhile John Grant of Moynes" whose testament was recorded 15 February 1703 as that man already had several married daughters at his decease (National Archives of Scotland, CC16/4/1, pp. 370-371).

Lhuyd in the latter's philological projects.

Appendix II: Garden's Last Letter to Aubrey

This letter was probably overlooked by previous editors due to its location in Bodleian MS Rawlinson Letters 107 rather than with the main Garden-Aubrey correspondence in Bodleian MS Aubrey 12. It is, however, of particular importance as the final letter in the correspondence and the only one in which Garden discusses his difficulties as an ejected Episcopalian. In this transcription I have preserved the orthography of the original text in all instances save contractions (q^{ch}, f^r, y^t, etc.) which have been silently expanded. Square brackets indicate reconstructions of words at the edge of the page where there is slight damage to the text.

Bodleian MS Rawlinson Letters 107

fol. 224r

Old Aberdene May. 27. – 97

Honoured Sir

I have your last of the 5th current, as also that of November 14 – 96 wherein was enclosed Mr Lhwyd's proposall for publishing a British dictionary¹⁵⁶ &c three copies likewise of your miscellanies,¹⁵⁷ & of Mr Love's Scripturall rules¹⁵⁸ mentioned in that letter came all safe to hand. And I acknowledge my selfe faulty in delaying so long to return you my thanks. But some traverses I have mett with of late, will I hope excuse that neglect in some measure. For on the 29 of January last, by a sentence of the Commission of Parliament for visiting Schools & Colledges, I was deprived of my office and my living, for not obeying an act of Parliament, that requests all Masters of Schools & Colledges to take the oaths of alleagaunce & assurance, to

¹⁵⁶ Lhuyd 1695.

¹⁵⁷ Aubrey 1696, to which Garden had substantially contributed (see Hunter 2001, 23-24).

¹⁵⁸ Christopher Love, *Scripture Rules to be Observed in Buying and Selling*, a broadside first printed in 1652. This may be the 1696 edition, known only from a single exemplar in the Beinecke Library, Yale, BrSides By6 1696, which has the contemporary manuscript note "Printed 1647. Reprinted Octob. 1696."

subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith, & to declare there submission to the present church government. In obedience to your friend Mr Lhwyd's desire¹⁵⁹ I have enquired for, & found out an ingenuous young man that understands the Irish language at least as it is spoken in our Highlands & is willing to do him all the service he can; his name is Mr Hugh Grant & he is tutor to a Gentlemans son who lives sometimes in Murray & sometimes in Ross.¹⁶⁰ I have nothing ~~before~~ ready at present that could be of use for enlarging the second impression of your miscellanies; but if any thing of that nature come to my hand timously I shall not fail to acquaint you. A strange passage hath fallen out of late near the town of Glasgow,¹⁶¹ where a gentleman's daug[h]ter of about 12 years of age, hath been miserably tormented by various distortio[ns] of her body swoonings, hanging out of her tongue to a great length, which is sometimes again pulled back into her throat casting out of her mouth straw, horse-dung, hott coals &c all which shee sayes is performed by witches whom shee senses and hears tho none else of the company doe, shee hath accused many who are in prison but now have confessed save two boyes. Some Judges are named to view them & how soon the triall is perfected we expect the history of the whole affair in print.¹⁶² My brother gives you his service, & thanks for your book. Being resolved to leave this place where I have neither business nor means of subsistance, I had thoughts of going to Ireland there to take a farme, but the difficulty of transporting so numerous a family of young children as mine is & some other considerations discourage me, so that I am not as yet determined, how to dispose of my family or where to settle but wherever I be I shall ever study to approve myself

I pray you remember me kindly
to Doctor Gale.¹⁶³

Sir

Your faithfull friend and humb[le]
servant

¹⁵⁹ On 12 November 1696 Aubrey had written to Lhuyd that "I have desired Dr. Garden (to whom I have sent your printed Design) to looke-out for an ingenious Highlandish youth that is master of the Irish language" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 1829, fol. 78r). I am grateful to Michael B. Riordan for drawing my attention to this letter.

¹⁶⁰ In the end, however, Lhuyd's northern Scottish informant was not Grant, but one Robert Stewart "of Inner Ness" who gave Lhuyd details of the Inverness-shire Gaelic dialect (Campbell and Thomson 1963, 92-93). As Hunter has observed (2001, 42), there is no reason to conflate this man with Garden's informant no. 3.

¹⁶¹ This was the well-known Paisley witchcraft case, for which see McLachlan and Swales 2002.

¹⁶² Grant 1698.

¹⁶³ Thomas Gale (1635/6-1702), Master of St. Paul's School and long-time friend of Aubrey (*ODNB*, *s.n.*).

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To thee honoured
Master John Aubrey fellow
of the Royall Society to be sent
to Mr Churchill¹⁶⁴ Bookseller at the
black swan in Pater noster row
London

Two postmarks: "TV/4" and "My/29".

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¹⁶⁴ Awnsham Churchill (1658-1728) was to have been the publisher of Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica*, but Aubrey died before the work could proceed (see Hunter 1975, 90-91).

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