### Memoir of William Douglas of Lochleven, 1559-1585

National Records of Scotland GD150/2234

Michael Pearce 3 October 2024

The text is bound in a booklet with William Douglas' will.

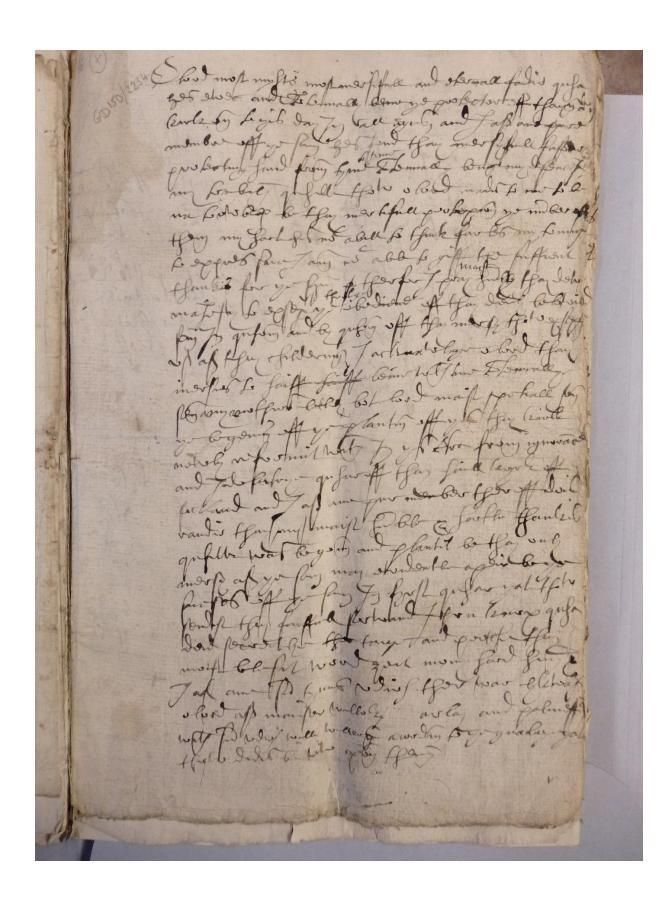
The narrative starts 1559-60, and after a blank page in the manuscript, continues 1561-1585. There is a separate copy of the story of the reformation crisis in a secretary hand.

Sir William Douglas is known as the jailer of Mary Queen of Scots. Here he gives his opinion of the Reformation Crisis, the murders of Riccio, Darnley, and his friend Regent Moray, the Ruthven Raid and Gowrie Regime, and his time in ward and exile.

The text was described and quoted by Margaret Sanderson, in her *ODNB* article on William Douglas. An encounter with David Rizzio has been printed or quoted several times.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thomas McCrie, *Life of John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1831), p. 289 fn.



### [1]

O lord most mychtie most mersifull and eternall fadir quha hes ewer and eternally bene ye protectour off thaim of ye kirk on to yis day in all ages and I as ane pure member off ye samyn hes fand thy mersifull fafour protecting hand from tyme 'to tyme' continually being my defence in my troubill quhilk thow O lord madis to me to be... na trowbills br thy mercifull protexioun ye number off them my hart his nocht abill to thank far les my toung to expres sua I am nocht able to giff the sufficient thankis for ye samyn & therfor I pray 'maist' humbly thy dew[ine] majesty to exsep 'us throw' obedience off thy deirly belowit son in guhom and by guhen off thy mersy thow axcept us as thy childering I acknowledge O lord thy mersies to haiff haiff bene with me continually sen my muthirs bellie but lord maist specially sen ye begening of ye plantin of yes thy kirk newly reformit with in yis countre from ignorance and idolatrye quharoff thy hail kyrk of Scotland and I as ane pur member ther off dois randir thay my maist humble & hartle thankis quhilk wes begun and plantit be thy only mersy as ye samyn may evidentlie apeir be ye sucses off ye samyn in first quhar yat thow sendis us thy faiffull serwand Jhone Knox quha deid secreitly the taiche and pretche thy maist blesit word zeit mony hard him<sup>2</sup> & I at ane said tymes udirs ther war lykways O lord as Maister Willok [blank space] arlay<sup>3</sup> and Pal Meffe[n] with sum udir, weill willing according to thee qualitie that thow didis bestow upon them

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'yet' – although he preached secretly many heard him preach.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'arlay' – William Harlay, see Knox, *History of the Reformation*, ii, (1842), 300.

bot thy lord ye devil ragit and his memberis quhilk ye idolatres preistis and ther assisteris quhill eftir prosedid to ane sentence aganis thy servands in place of him selff did burne his pictures but praysit be to thy M he was nocht hym self bot thow off thy mersy dedeis preserve him to ane better tyme quhill yat off mersy didis muffe ye harts off som off ye nobilatie and som baronis quhar I was ane to wrett for him quhilk letter doubtles prosedit only fra ye fontaine of thy mersy quhilk did muff ther harttis be syk menis as thow knawis quhdit resort shortlie to vis countre thereftir lykways be thy mersy gud lord and at his first entrie begane to preche and teche thy doctrine plenly quhar at ye devil and all his memberis be [-nk] to [?rore] lyk [?rampyng] [?lyons] be resson off ye reformation maid be his 'doctryne' at Donde & Sanct Jonston and war off porpos I mein ye quene regent with her Frensemen and divers off ye nobelatie thocht to haiff sacit the tounis bot thow lord reche in mersy [?ded inspire 'wt'] remaid and stay them off ther purpos and thy kirk optenit ressonable apointment at yat tyme off thay [?war] & quhilk apointment thy enemies thocht na wayes to keip quhilk cawsit many off yis countra draw to thy kirk and pass to SanctAs and mak ther reformation & dislogit [b-][-fas] Immediately ye quene ye bishop ye duc with mony nobilmen ye Frenese men rid to persaw thay flock zeit thow lord reche in maist infinit in gudnes deid giff thy pepill syk curage yat [a-] day instandly at thy wark being bot ane small number turns on off ye multitude off our enemies & warlyk men off

wair at cowbe muir<sup>4</sup> didis saiff thy flok and man ye enemenis harts to be content off ressonable appointment 2

[3]

quhair off we did and nocht leis randir on to thy ,M, all laud and prays therfor, was it nocht thy hand yat didis win ye toun of Perthe quhar yat ye enemis haid left tua bandis off men off weir ther in by ye apointment and yat with wt blud quhar at thy kirk now and thay prysys thy mersy lykways quhilk grait cawss hes thy kirk to prayis thy majestye for yat thow gaiff them syk harts to pass shortlie ther eftir to Stirleving and maik ther reformation & straik syk feir and dredour in ye harts off ye quene & thays was with hir movit hir to retir fra Edr to Dunbar with hir company and befor our coming to ye toune 'of Edinburgh' thay haid reformit them selffis frely it may be callit thay wark for it was thy hand quhilk wrocht ye samyn for we war na company and becaus ye company quhilk we war culd 'byd' nocht all ye gidder ther wes ane order maid be thay [providence] yat syk suld remaine and ewerye man according to his abelate suld hald sa mony as mycht nocht remaine them selffs ye enemie knowing ye enemye sa hotlie ye Franche men with ther hail number with many off yis nation cum furth Dunbar all [instand] cum and in ye morning to Lieth sands and haid deleverit us haid nocht bene thy mersy quhilk to movit our harts to offir [faich] and [waik] [syk] [feir] in ther hartis quhat be occation off yer mistraist quhilk thay haid off ther awne company and udir motiounis

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Coupar Muir. The 'reasonable appointment' was a parlay with Henri Cleutin.

quhilk thow put in to ther harts for yat nesar off thy flok thay war content off ane ressonable apointment and thy kirk preservit from des[-] 3

[4]

quhar off thy kirk hes occatioun to randir thy M [-] all thanks and I for my awne part, bot shortlie eftir yis appointment thy enemies brak ye samyn be fortfing ye toune of Lethe quhilk muffit dyvers uders of ye nobelatie & baronis to joine with us as duk Hamilton and divers udirs in the sothe west [-] than we cam to Edinburgh [afor] ye allotit day ane grat host off men and mony we wer our enemies sa as ye natur off men his we began to traist sum the to our strenthe quhilk was mer folly and optenit na vantage at yat sege bot war constrenit to haiff ye samyn withwt ony mwer apointment but in yis samyn tyme we thy kirk haid divers occationes to randir the maist hartlie thanks for thay kirk was always off ane grait curage and thay didis preserwe them divers tymes in scarmissis & specially quha can bot render thanks on to thy devine M in yat we war off mynd to enter in Lythe on ye nycht at ane slop<sup>5</sup> we war advertise off was down and befor we cum nar ye toun thow day brak & [?we] [?seing] our company was nocht in number to fift part sa mony as our enemies was with in yer [-] sua we begane to thank thy M yat send us day & returnit to Edinburgh ye nyxt nycht we [?left] ye town perseving our few number and raid Lithkow and syn to Sterlewing<sup>6</sup> quhar we maid ane new band no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'slop' – a hole in the wall.

dowt be thy mersy yat quhat contra or ony off us war perwit be ye enemies ye rest suld war yer [-] in yer relief & sua we departit & away to our [?awn]

### [5][French operations in Fife frustrated]

than ye enemie began to rage and thocht utirlely to overthrow thy kirk and immediatlie plantit men off weir in Stirlewing the quhilk man off weir cum forwards to Fiff to pershw thy flok the quhilk ane grait and number off them yat war in Lyth mait them at the sands betuix Brentisland and Kinghorn quhar they war ther skermissit a litter be som men off wair and ye said off ye [?tounis] ther abowt being bot ane few unexperit company in respect off ye enemy bot thanks be to thay devine /m/ in preserving our company at yat tyme by thy mercifull hand as [I saw] quhair off I thank and ewer bound to giff ye thanks for ye samyn was it nocht thy only mersy yat muffit and number off thy flok to hald them selffs ye gidder and abid at Disert and ye Wemiss ye enemy being in Kinghorne quhilk was ane ane occation off ther stay ther ane space na dowt was by thy grait providence for ye weilfair off thay flok for quhow soune yat they tuke purpos to persew us & caws us to disloge nocht with wt grait skirmissis shortlie ther eftir thay passing to Sanctandirs being at Levinsmouth<sup>7</sup> did se som Inglis shipis off weir traisting thay haid bene France men and cuming to them deid giff ther [?wole] off rejusing bot praysit be to thy M ther joy turnit to sorrow & reternit backward with grait deligence to Lyth &

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 26 July 1559, Knox, ii, 381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'Levinsmouth' – in other versions of this story the ships were seen from 'Kincraig'.

ther company be Sterlewing quhar [?well] dowt bot this wark presedit from ye fontaine off thy mersy for thay thocht to haiff fortifiet Sanctandirs at that tyme and to haiff put fordir the Fery ondir[-] and Sainct Jonston with ye tounis in Fiff cost syd v

### [6][treaty of Berwick]

quhar off all in generalll and everie member in particular hes cawss continually to render thanks on to thy maist exsland /m/ for delivering us quhen thay aperit nothing to our eas bot destruction zeit lord [?thow] ryche in mersy didis provide ye remaid be ye [fewe number] off [?sups] off Scotland yat war off lait off oure enemies quhilk was ane begening off ye reconciliation amang us and yat the harts of them quhilk war in malic against them throw wand off yer predessirs in battell begoun to be slokenit as I knaw be experience in my self for ye want off my fadir at ye field off Py[nkie] war ye first occation yat I deit remit ye samyn to my hart quha dotis nocht therfor bot ye samyn prosedit off thy gudnes to jone ye harts off bayth theis countre the gidder quha sa lang tym haiff bene in continuall waris ye gidder, and muffit sertaine off us at yat tyme to pass to Berweik to maik contracte for suche off ye Inglis arme quhilk in yer eftir at ye spryng tyme to assist us for ping off our enemies forcis in Leith quha deid cum in in convoy and on ye samyn sonday ewin didis ly our camp quha can bot randir prays and thankis to thy devine /m/ for ye maist happe lying doun ther off be ane lang scarmiss with instant 'may' and sum lycht hors off Ingland togidder quhar be we ower[-]lit ye to stay ther scarmissis and we laid doune baith

divers off ther agbussers and compellit ye said furth our camps quietly with wt ony hurt on our part praysit be to thy omnipotent mersy

## [7][siege of Leith]

for ye samyn and ye conference off ye samyn 'sage' be mony grait scarmishe at mony andivers tymes and off ye many full braithe that thow muffit baithe off Inglis men and off ours to enter to leddir ye wallis quha althocht war repulsit it lord it straik syk ane feir in to ye harts off them with in ye toun yat shortlie ther eftir ye samyn wa agreit to be randerit with [gra-nd] off piece as the samyn beris in sertane artyclis ther deit at saige mony & diver Inglis man and mony ewell hurt and evil mal3velit<sup>8</sup> at ye braithe and at syndere uder scarmiss sis off befor ye samyn bot lord thow maid ye end happy and thay [-] word to cum to in still to & from tyme to tyme sen syne quhar off thy haill kirk and ewerie particular member theroff hes cawss to reforme and prays thy grait mersy & in special as ane pure member off ye samyn dois randir with all my hart maist hartle and h[-] was for perswing in particular thy luffing favour & mersy towards me thy unwrthy creature

<sup>8</sup> 'mengellit' in the copy.

### [8][The personal rule of Mary]

was it nocht thow O lord yat it maid it knawin to ye warld yat we off ye religioun myndit na udir thing bot thay only sertaine and [?gudly] yat eftir ye daithes of king Francis of France quho wes husband to our queen James Stuart erle off Morray sensyn past to France be ye advis off ye rest off ws off religioun declaring to hir yer yat nane of yat religioun myndit ony thing bot ther due obedience to hir as natural princesse nixxt ther duetie to yeir god ther eftir shortlie sche arrivit at Lith and cam to ye Abbay quhair sche be can to haiff mes be sum preistis quhilk cam with hir owt of Fra[nce] to ye grait discontentment off mony yat servit 'god' fering yat na gud suld falow therby for all yat war papists war glad ther off as with it leik thay thocht to maik yer advantage therby for nocht lang ther eftir ye erle bothwell being off the faction off papists be ye advis an counsaill off udir, cam privallie to Falkland and their tocht to haiff slaine ye forsaid James being ane off ye principall off religioun bot ye samyn was revelit be ye erle of Arran [?Hamilton] quha movit off [?concience] and frendship to ye said James passit verray hardele fra [-] [haw-] with and cam with all deligience to Fiff to maik advertissisment<sup>9</sup> quha doutis bot ye samyn prosedit from thy gudnes and thy kirk did rander that in maist hartlie thanks

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Arran's journey to Falkland from Kinniel was represented as madness by Randolph, rather an attempt to save Moray's life. George Buchanan's version is close to Lochleven's narrative. James Stewart, earl of Moray was Lochleven's half-brother.

### [9]

ye erle Bothwell being commit In ward with In ye castell off Edinburgh for yat [actes] eschapit ye said ward and eftir being persewit at ane day befoir ye justice comperit nocht and tuik ye [?vyay] upon him abowt yat samyn 'tym' ane soun off ye erle of Huntles callit Jhone Gordoun eschapit ward wt off towbuth off Edinburgh being put therin for ye hurting off ye lord Ogillve being restand with his fadir ye quene and hir consaill passit to ye north to Innernes quhair ther wes divers interprises maid be ye Jhone Gordon & his fadir for ye skaithe off ye said James erle off Morray & divers udirs off ye quene [?his s awn] being off ye religioun bot allwais god maid them impediment giff ony occation to 'ye to fallen' them upon som better oportunatie quhen prosedit '[?divers]' of thay gudnes for ye saifftie off thy awne was it nocht thy mervelous wark for ye service off thayme alone kirk yat didis serff thayme pepeill at Corychie being sowld lyk sclavis zeit thow O lord mychte in powar and infinit in gudnes did schaw thay seff ya god off hostis in preserving ye best sort off thay kirk and nobilatie in Scotland fra yat most abominable tresson for nocht with standing off ye earl of Huntlie wardlie wod and grait force & friendship quhilk he haid off them on ane syd quha 'did' als mekill as [him] them lay to haiff [?dewrit -] and to the jugement off men the said erle was said to haiff gottin quene coutra nobilate in to his hands bot thow lord didis [-] 'rendir' ways to his ovir thraw and saiftie of thair flok quhair off thy kirk off 9

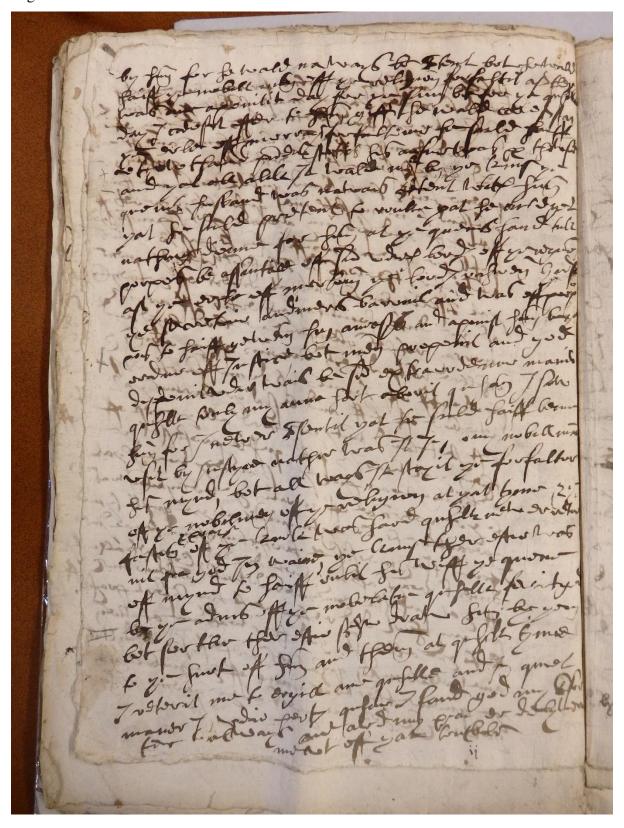
### [10]

Scotland and is in particular for my awne part hes cause to render thaym maist humble & eternall thanks for yat grait deliverance, nocht lang eftir my lord Darnley cam fra Ingland being ane Stuart and eldest son to ye erle lenox guhen ye quene tuik to husband quhilk was ane thing plesand to mony Scots men quha likit he wes off Stewarts and for my awnd part prysed god quhill ye quene muffit hym to pass to ye mes with hir ther was som conselors with ye quene yat counselit hir to put at divers off ye religioun as ye Duk Hamilton ye erlis off Argyll Murray Rothes Glengern ye lord Boyd and Ochiltree with divers baronis off ye religioun & provests off tounis as Doune Sanctandis Kekobre off Fiff and besyd ye barones yat list Scotland with ye lords all ye rest off them yat war in Fiff quhilk professit ye religioun war put in sundry wards yat to ye aperans off mony ye religioun was aperantlye to be extinguishit at ye quhilk tyme I fand thy mercifull perfecting hand toward me divers ways as my hart desyr & specially off yat quhilk enemies dewisit contrair me for my hart did returne to my comfort praysit be to the almychte god. ther wes ane etalien ane wekit man<sup>10</sup> quha wes greteist in credit with the quene ther was nane off the nobill men that mycht get moyens at ye quene hl hand [but] 10

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> David Riccio.

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### [11][the murder of Riccio]

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by him for he wald na ways be content bot he wald haiff ye nobell men off ye religioun forfaltit as ther wes ane apointit day for ye samyn befoir ye quhilk day I cawsit offer to hym giff he wald caws stay the erle of murray forfeit [-] he sald haiff v thowsand pundis scotts his answer was xx thwsand and that all alik I wald nocht le, the king the quenes husband was nawais content with him that he suld pretend to roulle yat he oure yet nathing doune for him, at the quenes hand tuk purpose be assentall off said uders lords off the [?region/religioun] as the erle of Mortoun the lord Ruthven & [?lynsay] the secretair andivers baronis and was off purpois to haiff geven in sum [?anesh] and apunist him be ordour off justice bot men proponit and god disponit udir wais be said extraordinarie meanis quhilk surly my awn hart aborit quhen I saw hym for I never consentit yat he suld haiff beane usit by justyce nathir was it in ony nobillmen his mynd, bot all ways it stayit ye forfaltur off ye nobilmen off ye religioun at yat tyme & ye fasting & prayers off the kirk was hard quhilk [-][-] -nit fra god in vaine, the king ther eftir was off mynd to haiff ruld his wiff ye quene be ye advis off ye nobilate quhilk [-] bot shortlie ther efter sche draw him by [-] to ye hurt off him and them at quhilk tyme I reterit me to Ergill ane quhille and in quiet maner in udir parts quhar I fand god my comfort for always and [-] my praier delywer me wt off yat trouble

### [12]

and yat be his grait mersy quha maid ye mai[ns] be ye maid wiff yat was with ye quene at ye byrthe off ye king to be solister for my piece quhair off I am bound continually to rander the maist hartlie and humble thankis for yat amangs thay udir grait benefits yat I haiff resewit continually at thy hand. was nocht all thow Soctis hartlie glaid and deid rather thanks to thay m for ye byrth off ye price being off ane Scotis nobill m[an] begotten and off ane native princes borne quha being mariet off befor to ane [-] and haid na ische as for my awn part I deid rander thanks to thaym for ye samyn appering blessing to our nation and all [-] quha can nocht bot giff thy /m/ humble thanks for ye merfulws preserving off ye said prynce in respect off ye grait warienes quhilk was betuix his parents and In speciall off ye grait mistreatment yat his mother bure towards his fadir, yat sche shortlie eftir this pastyme died inter in famyliarite with ye erle Bothwell and ye said erle deid crwly put doun his fadir in ane maist abominable maner in Edinburgh to ye great schame and ignominar off the countra and religioun therin reformit quha can bot agknawlage it to be thy wark yat did so muiff ye hart off ye quene to desyre ye castell off Edinburgh fra ye erle off Mar and he for him hir sone then prynce is in

#### [13]

for 'custody' & keping and kepin off ye said erle and his frynds quha [-] bot ye samyn prosedit for his 'villanie' be thy providence for shortlie eftir yat echame was maid [ye quene] ye erle bothwell died ravis ye quene and marryd hir nocht by hir awin will, quhairby ane grait company off nobill men off ye prynsipall [?part] ye countra convenit at Stirlewing and ther maid ane band with the erle off Mar desiring him to keip the prince person ther in his [-] and thay sould all [?liv] ther guids and lands for presserving off ye pryncis person quhill thay suld [-] dayes be ye resson for said off ye murther off his fadir & ye marriage off ye erle Bothwell to his modir, quha Scots men then did nocht persaiff ye vaill off ye [-] in-+ 'nasent' prynce & ye religioun giff ye erle bothwell haid past forwards with wt stop, wast it nocht that god yat diddest muiff ye harts off divers nobell men & baronis to cam agait ward to Borthwick and ther [?thocht] to haiff gottin ye said erle murtherer att ye quhair upon prosedit shortlie Carbary Hill quhair ye quene ye erle Bothwell andivers company with them cam from Dunbar and ye nobilatie and baronis and f[orsai]d ye [?tounis] yat tenderit ye glore off god & punisment off yat murther cam fra Edinburgh quhar ye erle Bothwell murtherer refusit particular battel and tuik ye flight quhair ye quene was taine and be ye advis off ye nobill men yat wer at Carbary was ordenit to be conveit and to remaine in my place<sup>11</sup> ane shorte 'tym' quhill ye haile lords and nobilatie forsaid sald convene at Sterline quhilk I haid na like to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 'place' – Lochleven castle.

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### [14]

bot ye haill nobilatie culd nocht agre upon na udir part all togidder and I desyrit my lords Mortoun and Lyndsay with me I agriet to ane short space shortlie ther eftir ye quene being in my place did maik demission in faferis off hir soune ye prynce of ye croun off Scotland quhilk I knew nocht quhill ye samyn was doune, for<sup>12</sup>

[3 blank lines]

shortlie efter thay prosedit thereupon to ye coronation off ye king at Sterling and electit 'foure' regents according to ye said demission I desyrit at that tyme yat nobelatie wald haiff relevit me off my burden befor ye corwnation off ye king ye quhilk I culd nocht get optenit bot gaiff me ane new ordenance as ye samyn beris in it self shortlie ther eftir ye erle off Murray returnit fra France send for be ye nobilatie and burdenit him with ye our gouvment quha did axsep ye samyn be ye advis off ye nobilatie & kirk & quha was wand [-] dutifull serve to his soverane ye king and for ye welfair of ye kirk

### [15]

quhen ye quene haid bene now by ane zeir scho maid ye moyane to eschaipe quhilk wes ane

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Lochleven thought his trust as the queen's keeper had been broken by the demission. He took an instrument, see *Registrum Honoris de Mortoun*, i, 26.

off ye gretest displesures yat cam to me ever befor yat day zeit fynding na uder remaid off 'my' greiff bot 'to' cry to my gud god quhom I fand ever my comforter in my trwbills and dowdit nocht thy in to him bot yat is gudnes wal[d] send me comfort according to his loufit kyndnes quhilk sertainly I fand sartan ther efter at ye Lang Syd yat my gud god hard my prayers according to my harts desyre quhairby I am oblist for my awane part to render to his M, continuall prays during my liff and quhilk was ye haill kirk off Scotland and prynspally ye king of grases with ye 'king &' haill kirk of Scotland cawss to render thaym maist humble thankis for ye grait [?travaill] yat James erle of Morray with divers udir off ye nobel and did in during ye tyme his regiment as passing to Ingland for ye defens off ye king and passing throcht all ye countre in Scotland as suth northe west eist efter nor anis and maid all ye countre in guid obedience<sup>13</sup> towards god & ye king quhilk for my awne part dois agraitely thy benefits in speciall towards me

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Letters to Lochleven from Robert Colville of Cleisch give some information on Lochleven's role. One mentions him as a potential keeper of Lord Seton; NLS Ms. 75 f.20 no. 23 [?1569] Sir efter commendations I resavit zour letter this Thursday at even & shaw the same to the chamerlan quha is content to do that lyis in him to put fordwart the weill of the causs that is on hand & presentlie bayth to keip the pleggs & presonars that ar in his hands quhill the counsel tak ordor thairwith at thair convention & quhen 3e can nocht weill cum heir for keping of the convention I for my opinion I wald think it meit & ze suld tary bot ane nycht & syclyk the chalmerlan desyris the sam that ze suld cum heir & anis shaw zour self that the toun & countrie mycht understand 30ur mening that 3e will shaw 30ur self friend to ye chalmerlan and at 30ur coming 3e will find heir my lady the lard of Pettaro & master Johne Wood, all togeddir 3e may [?[com]unicat] & find sum better order nor 3e can do & 3e meit nocht thair is ernist labour makand be ye secretar & the lard of Grang to have the lord Seton transported & tuiching this heid syclyk it wer guid 3our opinion wer had efter my coming he tuik suspicion heiring be bruit of 30ur heir coming & that he wald be deliverit in 30ur hands quhair at he tuik ane gret freg qlk I sippen movis him to suit his awin relief the rather & this for desiring 30w anis to shaw 30ur self heir presentlie qlk will do mair guid nor all the wreting 3e can wrett & sa for the present commits 30w to god fra Sanctandrs this Thursday at evin Be 30uris Robert Colvill of Cleishe

[16]

and quhen thy serwands and kirk was all at quietnes than Sathan be gud<sup>14</sup> off new to war I mene the enemies to ye king and kirk of Scotland and dedis dewis ye daithe off James erle off Morray and execat ye samyn in Lythkow be ane Hamilton quhilks wes dewisit be tha remanis off they to execut ye samyn taiking ye best occation in ye forsaid toun being in his way as he was passand ye said toun returning fra Dunbardan quhar yat he haid bene doand ye king his M and countre gud service quhat occatioun off sorrow I haid ther by god knawis bot fyndin na udir remaid bot to ryn to thy gud majeste in my trubellis as sone as I hard off ye samyn I past to Striveling to them guha haid ye king in kepin and be ye way maid my maist humble prayis on to thy gudnes prayand thy m yat ther wald be ye protector off thy awn kirk and innocent king quha haid his fadir maist cruellye murtherit haid nocht thy haill kirk off Scotland & in speciall ye kings g[race] hes and thays quhilk war his serwands grait caws to randir thanks on to thy M yat didis muiff ye harts as off ye nobalitie and divers udirs off thy kirk to be na les ernaist in yat gud cawss nor thay war off befor bot rather mony in ways to seik ye just revengement of yat bluid xvi sexteine

[17][Regent Lennox]

<sup>14</sup> 'be gud' – began.

with ye kings & ye defens off ye 30ng innocent king yat ye samyn was by thy providence defendit and Mathe erle of Lennox gudsire to [?your] king and fadir ye king his fadir murtherit off be foir was send for and cum in na dout be thy providence first maid lewtenant at Sterlewing and sone at Edinburgh maid Regent quha did use him self warray [-] ffra as well towards ye effaires off ye kirk king and countra & his serwands 'and' win the castell off Dunbartoun to ye grait weill off ye kings cawss and therein was taken Jhone Hamilton bishop off Sanctandres enemie to thy kirk & to ye kings [-] quha confessit at his daith off ye knawlaige off ye erle of Murray regents murther and yat he might haiff stayit ye samyn giff he plesit quhow can bot render radie thankis on to thy dewin /m/ for hering my prayer and maikin my pethe to cum to effer and preserwing my hands from blud anents thays quha war enemies to ye said erle off Murray and [?siklyk] ye mater say at thow didis saiff my honour and perser my hand fra blud quhill I may confes was divers tymes over for agaitwarts war nocht off thy mersy therto did as preserwe ye samyn quhar off I haiff grait occatoion to giff thy /m/ maist humble thanks many thy udir benefits xvii

[18]

was it nocht thow quhilk maid Brechen to [ ] sen was it nocht be thy providence yat ye castell of Breichin was win be ane [?prewit] raid<sup>15</sup> quhilk maid ye first stay efter ye erle Murray daithe<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> 10 August 1570,

was it nocht thy gudnes yat deid mak ye erle Mortoun and udir with him to win sarten grait scarmissis in the erle of Lenox regiment the ane betuix Daquaith and Edinburthe ye udir betuix Lyth and Edinburthe and lykwais my lord Lynsay ane being lewtenant in ye tyme off ye parliament off Sterlewing bot zeit lord quhen thow art maist fafourable to thy kirk ye dewell thay and his memberis begenis fastest to rage as they deid interit in Edinburth quhilk thay castell and toun war contrair to ye king and deid refok ther fra eftir my lord Murray daithe be resson off ye capitaine and shot off ye samyn cum ther ane company on ye nycht ye erle Huntlie and Glaud Hamilton being prynsipallis with som nyest and [?bocl-] quhar thay war delering nat to slay the erle of Lenox than regent as they deid eftir his taking maist schamfull as was confest be som quhilk was execut thay set fyre at my lord of Mortoun zeit and compellit him [-] and tuik him my lord Glengairne with som udirs bot quhen thay thocht all war ther awane thow diddis provid ane remaid be my lord of Maris servand in the castell at his command didis saiff ye king & releiff ye 'regent &' lords hes nocht thy hail kirk &in speciall ye king to render thanks to thy /m/ for your samyn for yat grait wark off [-]

18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Added in small handwriting at the top of the page. See a similar note on p. 30.

[19] In preserving him sa myraculaisly for giff my lord off Lenox haid nocht died off ye [?sout] ye lyk hes nocht bene sene & nocht be thy providence O lord yat muffit ye harts off ye nobelatie and uders to elect Jhon erle of Mar regent for preserving off ye king his /m/ quha haid preserwit him befor ye fra his byrth was it nocht thy gudnes yat didis preserve ye said Jhone all ye tyme off his cowernment and gaiff him and ye rest off nobill men yat watit upon him continuallye ye victorie ovir his enemies and speciallie off ye last [?tysdy] scharmiss giff thy gudnes haid nocht bene his protector and defens off yat cawss ye king kirk and countra haid bene all ye wars quhar off the king ye kirk and for my awne part hes continually cawss to giff to thy devine /m/ maist humble thankis was it nocht thy gudnes yat quhen yis said regent past to Hamilton and Glaskow for bringing som disobedient peple to obedience & left ye lord Mortoun in Lyth to his returning and be thy gudnes thays yat was in Edinburche quhen they cum forth did nether win vantage at yat tym mair [?ane] off be for ye erle Mar regent and ye erle Mortoun returnit fra ye west he seiking efter yat all thangs war at rest quhar they war praysit be to to god at quhilk tyme Adam Gordon brodir to ye erle off Huntlie persivid ye letenent for ye king in [b-nd ] bot [?na] thanks to thy /m/... 19

# [20][the pacification]

thay gat na grait advantaige bot reterit bakwards [?hering]

off [?forcis cotening] to Dundie and off ye regent repairing ther with ye erle off Mortoun nocht withstanding yat thay 'he' haid put bak fra Breichen ye forsaid lieutenant no dout bot ye samyn prosedit fra thy gudnes yat didis muff the enemys harts to turne baikwards and ye udirs to cum forwards to Dundie being warray quiet was it nocht thy gudnes O lord yat muffit ye hart off ye enemies to 'agre to ane passefication abstinence +' taik ws and pacification and to aknwlage ye king als [-] + '[margin] & ye toun Edinburgh for [-] bad ye king [-] +' 'and did agre to ane pacificatioun with the quene' and yat then erle Mar being regent departit yis lyff to ye eternall [-] in his bed in ye feir off god & yat ye enemies haid no powar to use ther crueltye towards him as thy did to the udir thwa 'twa' regents befor him and to ye king fadir, no doubt bot ye samyn presedit fra thy grait mersy for I as ane off his frynds being ther did than & now dois acknawlage and gif thay /m/ maist humble thanks was it nocht thy providence O lord yat eftir ye daith off ye said Jhon erle off Mar didis muff ye nobelate and udirs to elect James erle Mortoun regent 'at quhilk tyme thy sewand Jhon Knokis didis depart yis present life to thy eternall [-]'17 quha for ye space off zeirs did reulle ye countre and common weill in the kings obedience in warray grait peic and quietnes ye forsaid space quha dois bot ye samyn prosedit from the fountain of thy gudnes and all Scotland hes experience ther off sensyne sen his demitting off ye couvernement at ye tyme yat ye said James resawit his [?contrernement] 2

## [21][John Knox eulogy: Morton resigns the regency]

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Inserted in margin.

quha did end his lyff in thy feir efter yat he haid prechit contenyally thay evangell in Scotland the pairt off [blank] zeir to thy glory and advancement off thy kirk off Scotland and 'to yat' evir ther with at idolatorye quha doutis bot ye samyn prosedit off thy gudnes yat nocht withstanding off his banishment tws from his natiffe countra and ye burning off his picture<sup>18</sup> zeit thow didis maik hym ane steiff instrument off ye setting forthe off thy glory and ye pluckin away off all that quhilk was contrair to thy word and endit his liff 'in thy feir' being minister of the evangell in ye prynsipall towne off ye rewelme quha did desyre to exsepit in his roume M James Lawson, may nocht the hail kirk consider quhat victory god did giff his faithfull serwand against all his enemis and ye enemies off his word, O lord quhow grait cawss haid thy kirk to reform and all thais yat war joinit in ye kings action for ye defens off his person and persut off cruell abominable murthir maid against his fadir off ye gud [?seises] geven to ye evangel sen ye begening off religioun on to ye day off my lord Mortoun demitting off his regiment, but thow gud god as thow art ane mersifull god to ye penitent so can nocht put punys quhair thy word is contempt [p-] it (h)is trew as we can nocht deny yat nocht withstanding off the lang crying in till our ears be thy minister quhen thow didest send off thy mersy to call us to repentance we haid never bene effectually muffit be ye samyn to turne to repentance & ther for off varray justice mycht thow vest us with thar plaigs

2i

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 'picture' – Lochleven also describes the burning of Knox's picture in 1558, he may have meant a three-dimensional effigy, the use of the word picture for sculpture is not uncommon.

### [22]

for ye manifest contempt of thy mersy sperit to us sa lang as swdently did apeir thow wald begin to straik imediatly efter ye foirsaid demission and yat first be ye slarter off my lord chanselair ane guid man quhilks prosedit upon ane sudane inesing off my lord erafurd<sup>19</sup> sudane accident quhat plaig and punissment off thyne hes falling apon our miserable countre and quhat apereis mair to fowlow hes nocht our hail land bene desylit with blud from ye ane end to ye udir sensyne and quhar fre prosedit ye samyn but for ye wekidnes off all estaits yat muffis aganis ane udir be malice hatrent sum for ambetion sum for greediness and all cheiflie for ye contemp of that word as assurit pleigs off thayme + '[marginal note, see below]' O lord giff us all grace be ye [?mercy] at ye hiest to ye lawest yat we may all truly repent and syn bruik thy mersie yat our just deserveit punishment may seis Immediatlie upon word of thy serwand Jhone Knox did sum yat he doutit nocht bot ye kings caws suld prefaill and all thays yat wald so be against him suld be over cum or wald resist his kingdom be resson off ye murthir off his fadir and yat on to ye tyme yat he ofendit god in his awne person, O lord I beseik thy gudnes to grant him ane thankfull hart for thy grait benefits quhilks he hes resewit at thy hand alsweill in preservation off his person as crone apon his haid and giff him grace to sais fra all offencis quhilk may prevoque thy anir aganis him and as thow maid thy kirk to 'be' instruments to preserw his liff and croune sa yat he may lykwais be cairfall for ye preservatioun off thy kirk in Scotland

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> John Lyons, lord Glamis, Chancellor, was killed by followers of the earl of Crawford in Stirling in 1578.

and be [?enemy] to all ye enemies thar off 2ii 29

[margin] '[-] all thais quhilk wes occation off ye allwcation off ye estait quhilk ye king /m/ haid cum to sextien [-g] consedir giff thay [-] [-] giff ye samyn prosedit wpon malice [?without] haiffin [?respet] to ye common will or thir [-] veill'

### [23][Esme Stewart, warded beyond Cromarty]

O lord prosedit it nocht from thy jugement to punis ye dis[obed]ead off thy word be ye Devition off yais mekill men quhilks war in ye king [?][?] ye gidder and ye maist part of them in ye religioun yat muffit them to send for [?Martine Abaynay]<sup>20</sup> in France to be ane meinis to acomplis ther [?malis] conssevit aganis udirs quhen in warray deid was ye king mar frynd giff yat he had [?comp-] in to ye intent to haiff shortlie freit ye king estait zefor ye wilfair ther off ye kirk and common weill off Scotland as towards his religioun be caws he was brocht up ane papist & doutit ther off at his in cuming bot as towards ye kings estait and cum in I declarit nocht ther off in respect [yer] was sa deir on to him self + 'at quhilk tyme it plesit ye to call to thy mersy my brodir quhilk wes thy serwand' bot shortly efter his cuming he gaiff me maist caws to doubt off ye last be his persewing for he fowlowit nocht ye wellfeir off ye king estait nor zeit off ye hows of Lenox as evidently mycht apeir, bot serweit ye derection off ye hws off Guis quhilk tendit mair ye welfair off ye king modir nor his estait and ye counsaill quhilks he usit war all maist off yat faction as deid will apeir but ye using off them quhilk war on ye kings part and contrar hes modir as to yat quhilks thay prosedit against James erle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Seems to be a stab at Esme sieur d'Aubigny.

in forme of justice I can nocht say bot that cryme desert maist vyall punishment giff he was giltie ther of bot the eternall god quha knawis all harts knawis quhilk thay prosedit be synsser justice or fra malice and hatret quhilk thay burne at ye said James I meine ether haill memberis off justice syk all yat henteris ther in for we may nocht juge on udir sulles comsbut laiffe ye samyn to him quha hes saye ther off but in all yis truble I am nocht forzeit thy luffing favour towards me as quhen I was chargit to compeer befor ye counsaill as I deid quhen thay culd get na raissonable [-] to lay to my charges thay ordenit me to fynd [?ordesing] apon ane grait sum yat I suld enter in person bezond water off Cronmardy with ane warray short day 2iij

### [24][floods, sails to Tarbert, a friend influences the king, warded beyond Dee]

ye quhilks haid nocht bene nocht thy providence culd nocht weill haiff performit in respect off ye wadir and ye stop of waters yat mycht nocht pas ther be land for efter I and my company was stopit and synderit at waters quhen I cam to yer water winderne ther culd be na maner off passage and seeing ye samyn I past to ye toun [?place name] and tuik yer ane fychen bot and past our to [?Tarbert] as na dout be thy syngulat favour and gudnes quhar off I am bund eternallie to rander maist humble thanks to thy /m/ as well off ye passage be land as se and off ye appy arrival quhar I fand warray grait fryndship in ye counte and that by ther expectation yat ordenit me to pass ther and lykways ye king g[race] beir me at all the tyme warray gud will nocht withstanding off sum quhilks war about him yat prest him in ye contrair quhilks war nocht ther part, na doubt gud lord bot ye king gud will towarts me at yat tyme cum

from thy gudnes be muffing his hart and lykways yat my frynd haid acses to remember me on to him at quhilk tyme ther was na thing spoken to ye king off ane bot he declarit to my frynd in [continently] and eftir my lord off Mortoun execution I was wis fred off yat ward and extenit ane lerger ward bezond [?De] in ye quhilk ward I remanit mair nor ane half zeir fyndand always thy favwr towards me to my comfort quhilk thow it muffit ye king hart and ye counsaill to grant me libertie and com to my awne [-] quhar off I gaiff thy m humble thanks and now dois ther efter I remanit still in my awne plaice ane lang space on remission quhar many my frynds cum to weshe me welcum my hame, being off mynd nocht to remuiff kept [?hwsshold] quietlie my awne previe affaire bot the O lord quha hes all harts in thy hands ziiij

### [25][his son joins the Raid of Ruthven]

didis muff ye harts off sum off ye nobilatie and ye kirk to mi[shl] off yeis quhilks war abowt ye king na douts apon ane just occation for ye duc off Lenox was off mynd to haiff put all ye principallis off ye religioun and thays quhilks haid bene trew serwands to ye king in fast ward ye duc of Lenox past to Edinburt to haiff put order to sum things quhilk was [d-] in Edinburt to = M Robert Montgomery his bishop off Glasgow at quhilks tyme off his absence my lords Glencairne Gowry Mar and divers udirs that to hald ye said duc fra ye king quhar apon my lord off Mar cum to my place from Stirleng & desirit me with his L to Rewen quhar ye king was quhilk I aluter refusit exsept it haid bene ye kings gud will in respect off yis onlyknes off ye purpos udir wais but be resson my lord off Mar in so far by

his way to haiff haid me with this I did ane stay me soune quha wes beand to pass with him at quhilks efter [-] off James Stewart erle off Arrane is taken and yat ye foirsaid lord and kirk haid 'urtuall' optenit ye king yat will & yat he wald be content thay suld laiff his company be in send for be ye 'my' lord off 'Mar' I past to Sainct Jonston with my gud soune and ther endit ane apointment betuix ye erle Gowry and him quha was be for at war[ne] and ther eftir past to Stirlewing with ye king and ye rest quhair ther was ane nother band maid amongs all ye nobell men off ye regioun and mony baronis & and ye haill menisters in all perts past with ye said band to all yer countrais quhar apon ye duc off Lenox was muffit to laiff Scotland and ye king and haill etaits died<sup>21</sup> fynd ye samyn gud serwice was dunne bot as aperit well sensyne ye king was nocht content with yat<sup>22</sup> bot giff the nobill men haid haldin fast at ther mark quhilk tha be guded anenst my lord of Arran be aperance the kirk and nobill men and countre haid bene at ane better point 25

### [26][Earl of Gowry on his knees]

for som of ye prynsipall begeners of yat mater socht pardon at ye king is imediattly 'at Sanct Jonston' and did promis frayndship to the said erle off Arran by the rest of yer Marr wes at Sterleving quha be yat menis optenit prevelaige to remain In Keneill and remanit ther quhill on ye tyme he fand ye menis be Colonnell Stewart to draw ye

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> News of the death of Duke reached Edinburgh on 5 June 1583, sent to Lochleven by Robert Colville, NLS Ms. 75 no.22: '... thair is ane bruit in this toun that that the duik suld be deid bot ʒit we have nocht hard the contrir man, the clerk of register is to be in coupir in fyff on Saturday nixt & mynds & if he dow possibilly win to com & speik with ʒow in his returning tuiching the mat[er] he referit to him & me for the lard of Towy I sall meit him as I appoyntis me And this with my hartle comendation commits ʒow to god fra Edinburgh this thurisday the v of Junj, Yrs at his power R Colvill of Cleische'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> These words encircled with pen.

king to his efter quhilk Crownall cam in, writ to ye king ondir ye wrtings of the lords quhilks enterprysit ye raid of Ruthven quhair in thay war nocht wis as weill yat as ye favor that sum died shaw to ye erle off Arran by ther marowis fra yat was ye occation undir god yat the king deid mak ye alteration at Sanctandres at quhilk tyme I was passand norwards with my dochter to hir hows with her gud man hering off ye alteration I was desyrit be som syndrie to com bakwards to Sanctandres quhilks sould me for divers ressons shortlie efter being in my gud sones plaice hering my lord off Gowry haid syd doun on his kneis and desyred pardon off ye king ther cum ane charge for me [margin note here: two words] charging me to enter beyond ye water of Nes under ye paine off rebellion and ane uder to deliver my placis quhilk all war obeit, shortlie efter I being in Ross notwithstanding of my obedience thay war off pourpos to giff me ane nother charge to compeir befoir ye counsaill super in commandis ye quhilk charge ane frynd off myne optenit he be supersedit quhilk wald returnit bakwart fra me giff I wald be content to giff to Crowner Stewart ye ward and marriage off my brodir soun and I suld haiff all ye fryndship off court ye quhilk I for nawayes off contened nor kyndnes I cowlde for I wald nocht by ye fryndship off [-] 26

### [27][evades warding in Inverness, takes ship]

with the hurt of my cautionar and broder haiving and to my grait dishonor, but gaiff ane flat anser I wald nocht with ye [?grace] of my lord god sa lang as I haid liff bot expit in god yat he wald 'not' laiff 'me' as often tymes I haid fand his pardoun of befor, shortlie eftir ye returne off my ansir thay send ane nothir charge to me to entir my person

In ward within ye castell of Innerness under ye paine off horning nochtwithstanding I being be northe ye samyn in for ward being far fra my frynds to haiff ther open3on quhilk was ane grait strait to me to entir in yat hws for divers respects as ar nesar to ye said [-] and nocht to entir I thocht it ane greter strait nocht by my pryncis charge quhar yat I haid bene ever maist willing and effectionat to his service nyxt my dwtie to my god be for all things in ye quhilks I never parit to hassart my liff and spmy pains to ye uter maist off my powar and wes therfor off mynd to entir be my awne jugement and being weill nar ye plaice '& [?ane]' off my [?enter-] aproching ther cum ane man in ye [?close/street] to me apon fyt send be my wiff to me be ye advar off said udir frynds and gaiff ane express counsaill nocht to entir exsep I wald wilfully giff my lyff and sa I turnit ane udir way and did commit my self on such mychte [pro[m]seping] and fand thy eternall favoure with ane quha didis send me ye advertisement quhilk I onderstud since be ye mainis off ane [?drwing] man fra the wildest countra in Scotland yat died cum to me in sa short ane spaice sa lang ane way and to cum nocht thow [-] be for ye tyme quhilk I [per]sevit to be off thy gudnes towarts me undesservit guhar off I am bund eternally giff thy /m/ maist humble thanks as lykways in [-] off me all yat mycht and in ye mainis off optaning off ane bot ye nixt nicht quhair I past ane way be so in ye litle ane vessel haiffand bot ane plaid to our sells and off ye happ off ye [?Ros/rest] off Morray befoir ye [?co]rais zvii

[28][in a wilderness where houses are built from turf] quhar we lay at ane ancor off thar stanis ondir ly off ye said 'cost' quhill ye '[-]' he gave to change it being verray grait yat we suld nocht remain ether the maister off ye bot inquirit giff I wald pas with ye wind for it was nocht possible ly langar ther I was content as he pasit quhar we passit with the wind it being verray grait and lang way and landit appelye betwixt tua graiin ye se syd quhair ther was nether hws nor toun yat mycht se us exsep hirds quhar off thy I did giff thy /m/ maist humble thanks nocht doutant lykways bot at lenth thow wald brying ws to yat landing place quhilks thow he preparit for thy serw ands eftir yat we haid passit thraw yis vaill off meserye I remanit be syd ye[-] quhil ye glowring off ye nycht at quhilk tyme I passit ane sertaine tyme trawaling being on sertaine quhair to taik login quhill we cam to ane swbir hws quhair their was nochther stane nor lym and all ye wallis begit with awthe always we gat sufficient repast fra ane gud wiff was it nocht thow gud god yat didis [-] all ye way betuix yat and find at to awekint be in quhilk ane ... quhilkis + [-] It plesit 'god to muiff' the king & counsaill be ye menis sum of ye mynisters and said barones yat did and optane ane dispensatioun for my nocht entering in ward and ane [-] to pass fra ye countre quhilk thay grantit to conform yat I suld fynd caution under ye panis of xx thowsand pundis to retyre me furth off ye countre off Scotland Ingland and Irland betuix yer ane last day of Dissember and thes efter extenit ane new [-] to ye xx day off Januar nixt and yat I suld remaine with ane bands my awn hws quhill ye said day

[margin, 28] quhar we did [-] exsep the [-ment] off thar word quhilks watit fra myne entering in ward [-] cum to Duns & ther was ye [exs-] off ye falt bot all ye tyme I fand thy confort at ye [p-] davidis hand

[margin 28] quhar we did [-] nothing exsep the [-] out off thar ward quhilk watit fra myne entering in ward [-] cum to Duns

### [29][at La Rochelle]

thay ressetting with my selff quhilk countre I wald derect me I to [-] pas to thais parts quhar the religioun was [-] techit and reformit be resson I haid na langage yat understood exsep ye French I desyrit my self to cum [?d-] to ye Rochell quhar I onderstod ye regioun was ther nane at [-] in ony part of France swa I imberkit ye xviii day of January at Ferre fornent Dunde guhen I was ane moneth apon ye se in ane warray laik vessell for our peins war ewerye our p[-] in ye ferrie tuenty ouris bot prysit be to god [I] said all the tyme prayers twys in ye day & qu[hen] our marinellis and landit at ye Rochell ye xv day off february quhar off I did render to thy m my humble and hartlie thanks for ye preserwing us and happy arryvaill, quhair I did fynde ye word off god praychit and sacraments mynisterit [?nather] mor my expectation bot mekle mair for I haiff haid daylie preching and ye [?sacents] myn[?ster] at ye supper off ye lord everye quhairfor quhar off I haiff experienced off ane zeir and mair thanks be to thy devine /m/ yat sen It hes plasit thy gudnes yat I am furthe off my nativ countra yat hes with faiffull on me thy onworthy creatur to be perticipant off syk excellant bondship

as to hir syk notable serwants of thyne daylie and administration off thy sacraments eftir as I haid bene at my awne hws or countre quhar off I haiff grait caws to rejois and therfor dois giff thy gudnes all lawd and prays be spoken the maist humble never suffer me to fall to seik onkyndnes as to forzeit thir thy benefeits bot rather

### [30][end]

yat thy may 'be' ane space to me eternall to depend apon thy gudnes in tymes to cum in full assurance yat thow wilbe my lord my god & protector in ye mercies off thy derlie belovit soune Jesus Crist all ye rest off ye houres off my pelerynage ontill thow call me to yat eternall kyngdome quhar off I doubt nocht I [?with] thy soune Jesus Cryst ...

### [space]

+ was it nocht thy gudnes lykways yat muffit ye regent erle of Lenox and ye nobilatie and barones with him to pas to Bryschen and ther [-] ye [-] Brechen and put ye [-] for ye quene to [-] and did execut divers off ye kepars off yat place and stepill theroff quhilk maid ye fyrst [-] off ye enemies for ye erle moray in [-]<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See a similar note at the top of page 18.