IV.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF WILLIAM LITHGOW, TRAVELLER, 1582-1645.
BY THOMAS REID, M.A., ARNOLD HOUSE, LANARK.

The following notes on the life of William Lithgow, the Traveller, popularly known under the sobriquet of "Lugless Willie," are chiefly derived: (1) from fresh material available through the publication of the Records and Charters of the Burgh of Lanark, 1150-1722; (2) from an examination of the will of Lithgow's mother, of date 16th April 1603, unearthed at the Register House, Edinburgh, by the late David Laing, Esq., Keeper of the Signet Library; and (3) from notices regarding the family of Lithgows at Boathaugh, Lanark, contained in the MS. minutes of the Kirk-Session of Lanark.

Lithgow's Career.—The more important events in Lithgow's career may be here briefly stated. He acquired celebrity through the publication of the narrative of his travels in 1632, and by reason of the tortures inflicted on him by the Spanish Inquisition. Previous to 1609, in consequence of the opprobrium he had incurred in his native place from having his ears cut off, he left Lanark and made "two voyages to the Orcadian and Zetlandian Isles, in the stripling age of mine adolescency; and thereafter surveying all Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low Countries from end to end, I visited Paris, where I remained ten months." In March 1609 he set out from this town on the first of three journeys of "rare adventures and painful peregrinations of long nineteen years' travels from Scotland to the most famous Kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Africa." It was in the third of these travels, while passing through Spain, that he suffered a second outrage to his person, this time at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, at Malaga, in 1620. His outcry for reparation from the Spanish Government, at the court of King James, 1622, brought on him a long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and no satisfaction in the
end. Records of further travels are found under dates 1637, 1643, and 1645. From this last year all trace of him is lost. The date of his death and the place of his burial are alike unknown. There exists a tradition that he died at Lanark and was buried in the churchyard of St Kentigern there.

Date of Birth.—Dr James Maidment, who edited (1863) a volume of Lithgow's verses, in the course of his very interesting prefatory remarks, says, regarding the date of the Traveller's birth: "The exact period of Lithgow's birth has not been ascertained, but as the outrage upon his person was perpetrated when he was a minor, and as he left the place of his birth shortly afterwards, there are reasonable grounds for presuming that it took place between 1580 and 1590."

The Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen (Blackie, 1855) assigns the year 1583.

Lithgow himself, however, affords data for determining the date of his birth. Speaking of the Prince of the Sabunks, whom he met when traversing the Libyan Desert in 1615, he notes that the chief's "age was like my own, of thirty three years." And again in his work, The Present Surveigh of London, written in April 1643, he says that "he is past three-score years." From the first of these passages we arrive at the year 1582 as the date of his birth; from the second, which is not so precise, we obtain either 1582 or 1583 as his birth-year, according as we interpret the statement "past three-score" as meaning sixty or sixty-one years of age. It does not seem a forced meaning on his words to assume his age in 1643 as sixty-one. Both references would point to 1582 as the exact year of his birth.

Place of Birth.—The dictionary of biography, referred to above, states that he was born in the parish of Lanark. The late Mr Lithgow of Stanmore, Lanark, who claimed to be connected with the Traveller's family, used to maintain that Lithgow was born at Boathaugh on Clyde, near the Bonnington Fall. But the Traveller himself has distinctly said that he was born within the burgh of Lanark. In his verses, printed
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in Maidment's edition, and entitled "Farewell to Clyde," which was written in 1617, he makes the following definite allusion to Lanark town as his birthplace:

"And now, fair-bounded Stream, I yet ascend
To our old Lannerke, situate on thy Banks;
And for my sake let Corehouse Lin disbende
Some thundering noyse to greet that town with thanks;
There was I born; then, Clyde, for this my love,
As thou runnes by, her ancient Worth approve."

This quotation seems quite conclusive as to the exact birthplace. The question of Boathaugh will be treated of further on.

The House in which Lithgow was born.—The house where the Traveller was born was situated, according to tradition, at the foot of the High Street of Lanark (then called the Middlegait), in the corner formed by the projection of the old Town Hall, and near the still older Tolbooth. It had a thoroughfare between the High Steeet and the adjoining Wellgate. This reputed birthplace of Lithgow is not now in existence, having had to give way to a more modern building on the same site in 1878. A photograph taken about 1866 still preserves the appearance of this historic neuk of the old Lanark Middlegait.

Lithgow's Father.—It is probable that the name of Lithgow's father occurs in the Minutes of the Town Council of Lanark in connection with the following circumstances: In the spring of 1580-81 (the year before our Traveller was born) the burgesses of Lanark were summoned to attend a wapenshaw at the Castlehill, in obedience to a call to arms, issued by the Government of King James VI. to the whole realm, and rendered necessary by a threatened invasion of an English force (an invasion, however, which did not take place), intended by Queen Elizabeth to support the supremacy of Regent Morton. The wapenshaw was held on the 16th February, and a Roll or Row of it has been carefully preserved in the Burgh Records, containing 144 names, among which are found the names of two burgesses both called James Lithgow, both entered as able to furnish "jak, speir, suord and steill
bonat." One of these, it is quite likely, was father of our Traveller. We know from the "Retours" that he was a "merchant burgess of Lanark," and both from age and position was just such a person as would be in 1580-81 enrolled in the wapenshaw of that year. His name also may occur in connection with that of his younger son in the Burgh Records under date 1606-13, where we find the entry, "James Lythgow, son of James Lythgow, rentalled in two acres of the Burgh lands." The last mention of the father is obtained from the "Retours," where it is recorded that "William Lythgow was served heir to James Lythgow, Burgess of Lanark, 29 May 1623." He had thus lived to hear of his son's third and last great travel, of his torture at the instigation of the Spanish Inquisition at Malaga, and had died whilst his son was endeavouring to obtain reparation for his injuries from the Spanish ambassador in London through the intervention of the English court.

*The Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* says that the father "was a person of rather mean condition and poor circumstances"—a statement which does not seem consistent with the known position of the father as recorded above, or from the evidence deduced from the condition of the family as revealed in the mother's will, drawn up in 1603, where it is stated she died bequeathing of "frie geir," £1079, 16s. 8d. Scots, a large sum in those days.

**Lithgow's Mother.**—Her maiden name was Alisone Graham. It has been conjectured that she was of the same stock as the ennobled branch of the Grahams—the Marquises of Montrose. There is no direct evidence for this supposition; but it has been pointed out that her elder son, William, wherever opportunity occurred, spoke respectfully, and even affectionately, of the family of Montrose. Mrs Lithgow predeceased her husband by nineteen years, dying 16th April 1604. She left a family of two sons, William and James, and a daughter, called Marion. Her death must have taken place before her elder son had begun his wandering life, and probably also prior to the mutilation
of his person. A year before her death she made her will, of which a copy was unearthed by the late David Laing, Esq., Signet Library, Edinburgh, at the Register House, Edinburgh. The following is an abstract, omitting the inventory:

“Upon the xvj day of Aprile 1603, I, Alesone Grahame, seik in body and hail in mynd, makis my legacie and latter will in maner following:—In the first I nominat and constitutas James Lythgow, my husband, onlie execut* and intro* w* my guidis and dettis.

“Item, I leif of my part of geir xls. to be distribut to the pure be the Session.

“Item, I leif to Marionn Grahame, my sister, xls.

“Item, I leif to Wm. Lythgow, my sone, twa hundret merkis.

“Item, I leif to James Lythgow, my youngest sone, thrie hundret merkis with foure sowis and lambes.

“Item, I leif to Marionn Lythgow, my dochter fyve hundret merkis with quhat her fader thinks expedient to wair upon her quhen scho gettis ane honest mariage.

“Item, mair I leif to the said Marionn, sex pair of new scheittis, twa pair small and four pair round, twa new coueringis, twa kistis, four cuscheonnis, ane brass pott, ane pan, four peuder plaithis, the zoung kow, foure aulde schiep, with my hail lynning and wowin clayth.

“I ordaine my husband to infeft Wm, my eldest sone in the house and zairldiss, barne, and twa half aikers of land, Reservand his awn lifrent y'of.

“I leif overseiris to my bairnes Johne Weir, bailie; Wm Wakin, and James Lythgow, tailzour, to sie my husband fulfill this my legacie, and sua scillis up my latter will, day, place, and befoire the witnesses above written.

“In witness quhairof I have causit the Notar under written subscrybe these presentis at my command becaus I could not wryte myself. Sic subscribitur Ita est Gedioun Weir notarius publ. et testis in Premisis manu propria testant.

“Summa of the Inventar

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<td>Dettis awn be the deid</td>
<td>£1092 6 8</td>
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<td>Frie Geir</td>
<td>£1079 16 8</td>
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This will throws a clear light on the members of the Lithgow household, and testifies to the excellent social position which the family must have occupied in the burgh life of old Lanark. A few facts may be here stated regarding the persons mentioned in the will other than members of the family. These are John Weir, William Wakin, and James Lithgow, along with the lawyer who drew up the will.
John Weir was a bailie in the year 1603. In the following year he was present at the riding of the marches "on fuit and hors." He is, therefore, correctly designated "bailie."

William Watkin, or Wakin, or Walkin, had held office as bailie in 1592 along with his fellow-overseer, John Weir. He was not a bailie in 1603; hence the omission of the official title after his name in the will.

James Lithgow, tailzour, was treasurer of the burgh in the year of Mrs Lithgow's death, 1604. In 1606 he rented three acres of burgh land. He seems to have been a person of leading importance in the business of the town. It is not beyond the bounds of probability that he was a near relative of the Lithgow family.

Gideon Weir, the Notar Public, who drew up Mrs Lithgow's will, had held office for the previous eight years. The minute of his appointment to office, dated 18th November 1595, runs thus: "Item, it is ordanit that Jendioun Weir be persewer consarning the testamentis, within the brught and to haf XL d of ilk testament for his lawbour and procuring thairof."

Lithgow a Tailor.—Sir Walter Scott, in a short preface to William Lithgow's Surveigh of London (Somers Tracts, vol. iv. page 535), says that our Traveller was bred a tailor. He gives no authority for this statement. It has been adopted by Brockett in his reprint of Lithgow's Siege of Newcastle, 1820. Maidment casts doubts on the accuracy of this opinion, chiefly on the ground of the evident excellence of Lithgow's education. In view, however, of the close intimacy existing between the Lithgow family and the overseer, James Lithgow, tailor, and treasurer of the burgh, there seems nothing improbable or impossible for the son of a merchant burgess being apprenticed to the calling of a tailor, and Sir Walter's assertion may be perfectly correct.

Lugless Willie.—The circumstances attending the cutting off of his ears are surrounded with considerable mystery. His own refer-
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ences to the outrage, which form a preface to his Travels, though long, are obscure and illusive.

Thus (1) he calls it "that undeserved Dalida wrong." The epithet "Dalida" seems to have puzzled Lithgow's editors. A Dutch translation of Lithgow's Travels (to be referred to afterwards) has omitted the sentence in which the word occurs, as being, it may be supposed, hopelessly unintelligible. Maidment's reference to it forms a passage of very curious reading. He says: "The word Dalida should be read as Dalila, which we suspect it must be; for Lithgow had a very strange way of dealing with words, so much so that his volume of travels, which otherwise would be, even in this critical age, a very amusing book, is so much disfigured by his repulsive style that it requires more patience to wade through it than falls to the lot of most readers. Now, the term Delilah was used to designate a deceitful wanton. Minshew, in his very valuable folio published in 1628, includes the word in his dictionary,—thus 'Delilah or Dalilah nomen meretricis quam Samson deperiit, dicta a Dalal i. exhausit, exhaustus fuit, sunt enim meretrices lupæ, voragines, abyssi, putei, fouveæ, Scyllæ, Charybdes, mare, lues adolescentium, quorum loculos exhauriunt ipsumque adeo sanguinem.' Minshew then refers to Judges xvi. 4–21." If Maidment and Minshew had gone not to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament but to the Septuagint version, the use of Lithgow's expression, "Dalida wrong," would have been found to be due not to any idiosyncrasy of spelling on the part of the writer, but to a direct acquaintance with the Greek transcription of the Hebrew. "Dalal." Turning, then, to Judges xvi. 4 in the Septuagint, we read, "καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Δαλιᾶ." Maidment's conjecture was correct as to the meaning, but his investigations had not carried him to any assured conclusion regarding the form of the word.

(2) Who was Dalida?—A tradition preserved in the family of the late Mr Lithgow of Stanmore, Lanark, affirms that the lady was a Miss Cunningham, daughter of the Laird of Bonnington. If this
tradition represents the real truth, it is scarcely conceivable that Lithgow, on whom the outrage in all its deceitfulness and cruelty had left a permanently bitter recollection, should, in after years, have spoken so kindly of the Bonnington family. Length of years did not obliterate his boyish and pleasing memories of the intimacy existing between himself and his schoolmate, Colonel Robert Cunningham, who perished at the siege of Breda, 1643, and who must have been a brother, if this tradition be true, of the said Dalida.

(3) Who were the Assailants?—Tradition has also assigned the name of Lockhart to the "scelerate hands of four blood-shedding wolves," and further affirms that they were Dalida's brothers. Granting it was Miss Cunningham whose cause these Lockharts undertook to avenge, they were not her brothers. The Cunningham family, long before and long after the perpetration of the outrage, held possession of the Bonnington estate. There were, indeed, in Lithgow's youth, Lockharts at Lee and Castlehill—the latter a property on the banks of the Mouse water, now absorbed in the Lee estate. But here, again, as in the case of Colonel Cunningham, the fact confronts us that Lithgow makes honourable mention, in his Comments on Scotland, of both the Lockharts of Lee and the Lockharts of Castlehill. He tells us that the whole matter of the outrage was hushed up by the interposition of influential and powerful friends of the assailants—a step to which he, from inexperience, gave acquiescence, but one which he afterwards bitterly repented of. It does not seem likely that, with a morbid and lifelong recollection of the deed, he would bring himself to speak kindly either of the Cunningham or Lockhart family.

(4) The Scene of the Outrage.—The house in which his ears were cut off has been assigned by tradition to a building in the Wellgate. It was at one time the property of Mr Newbigging, Writer, in Lanark, 1793. He firmly maintained the accuracy of this tradition. Nothing can be said for or against the view. The house is still standing.

Boathaugh Lithgows.—Mr Lithgow of Stanmore, already referred to,
was wont to claim our Traveller as a member of his own family, the Lithgows of Boathaugh, a small estate—a bonnet-lairdship—in the parish of Lanark, on Clyde, now added to the Bonnington policies. This holding had been in the possession of Mr Lithgow's forefathers from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century,¹ and was disposed of about the middle of the eighteenth century. Dr Maidment supports this claim. He supposes that the Lithgows of Boathaugh and the Lithgows of the burgh of Lanark were one and the same family; that, like several neighbouring magnates, such as the Veres and Earls of Hyndford, they had a country summer residence and a winter town house in the burgh (two such town dwellings are still standing, Vere House and Hyndford House, both very substantially built); and this opinion was emphasised by the further supposition that William Lithgow might have been born at Boathaugh. As regards the place of birth, Lithgow's testimony, already quoted, is conclusive, viz. that the burgh, and not the out-parish, was his birthplace. But were the two families one and the same? A more minute investigation does not favour this supposition. The disproof is obtained from a curious and interesting correspondence preserved in the Register of the Kirk-Session of Lanark, under the date 22nd February 1730. In the end of the previous year a bookseller in Dantzig, George Marcus Knock, wrote to the Session of Lanark asking for information regarding a certain James Lithgow; “I am anxious,” he writes, “to ascertain whether William Lithgow, who was a citizen of Lanark, was brother or father of James Lithgow”; and adds that his happiness depends upon the information.

The Kirk-Session seem willingly to have undertaken the task of investigation. They turned their attention, not to any Lithgows within the burgh of Lanark, but to the family of Boathaugh, two members of which family were to be found in the neighbouring shire of Linlithgow. These were John and Daniel, cousins, persons in

¹ See Appendix I.
humble circumstances and well up in years. Their depositions were taken with all the formalities of law before Justices of the Peace. The purport was as follows: John Lithgow deponed that his grandfather, John Lithgow of Boatbaugh, had two sons by different marriages. The elder son, Thomas, succeeded his grandfather; the younger son, William, father of the deponent, went abroad about the year of the battle of Bothwell Brig (1679), returned in 1699, and went abroad again three or four years later, and had not been heard of since, till the present letter had been received from Dantzig. Thomas, the second laird of Boatbaugh, had three sons—William, who succeeded; Daniel, gardener to Sir James Cunningham (both still alive); and James, who, like his uncle, went abroad. John further depones that he cannot now tell whether his father, William, or his cousin, James, be alive. A family tree formed from this deposition would stand thus (the dates appended being the dates of last-recorded mention):—

John Lithgow (1603).

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<th>1st Marriage</th>
<th>2nd Marriage</th>
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<td>Thomas</td>
<td>William (1763)</td>
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Thus in the year 1603 the Boatbaugh Lithgows were represented by John Lithgow, and the Lanark family by James Lithgow. All evidence tends to demonstrate the fact that these families were not one and the same.

The letter from Dantzig and the Session's reply were both written in Latin. If the James and William of the Dantzig bookseller's letter be the same individuals as are mentioned in the deposition of John Lithgow (1730), the relationship was nephew and uncle, and

1 See Appendix II.
not brother or father, as noted in Herr Knock's letter. The result has not been recorded, whether satisfactory or not to the Dantzig bookseller.

The Dutch Translation.—As far as we know only two copies of this Dutch translation of Lithgow's Travels are to be found in Scotland—one belonging to the late David Laing of the Signet Library, and one in the possession of Mr John Marr Davidson, Braedale, Lanark. This translation was published in Amsterdam by Jacob Benjamin in 1652. The engraved frontispiece is by Christian de Pas, and purports to represent Lithgow on horseback, receiving the stirrup-cup from one hand of a fair lady, and with the other clasping Lithgow's in the act of bidding farewell, whilst Fame, flying above his head, is proclaiming the Traveller's wonderful acts with the aid of two trumpets, and displaying a scrolled banner containing a map of his wanderings. On one side in front Hispania is placed on a pedestal, and opposite is Vranerych (France). The former is portrayed as an elderly woman, conjectured to represent Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.

Death of Lithgow.—It has been asserted that Lithgow died and was buried in Lanark. Mr Lithgow of Stanmore claimed to possess his burial-place in the churchyard of St Kentigern, Lanark. All authentic information regarding Lithgow ceases with the year 1645. He may have returned to Lanark after this date, and may have died in his native place; but these are only statements due to local tradition.

APPENDICES.

I.

At the time of reading my paper at the April meeting I had adduced from John Lithgow's depositions (1729) that his grandfather was alive in Boathaugh in the early part of the seventeenth century, and therefore a contemporary of William Lithgow's father, James. I now quote direct evidence from a work published this spring, containing charters included among documents belonging to Sir Charles Ross, of Balnagown, Ross-shire, whose lairds are also possessors of Bonnington, which affords direct testimony to the existence of John Lithgow
in Boathaugh in the year 1603, viz. — "In the year 1603 there is a sasine to John Lythgow, portioner at Bathan at the eighteen shillings land (octodecim solidatorum terrarum antiquis extentus) of Baithauche within the parish of Lanark, in fulfilment of a clause of a matrimonial contract."

II.

The following is a copy of minute found in the Register of the Kirk-Session of Lanark under date 22nd February 1730, containing the correspondence between Herr Knock and the Session, and also the text of the deposition of John Lithgow:—

"Lanark, February 22, 1730.

"There was laid before the Session a letter from Dantzick, conceived in Latin, the tenor whereof follows:—being thus directed on the back: Summe Reverendo, Ecclesie Lanriensis in Scotia Ministerio, Domino Seniori ceterisque laudati Ministerii Assessoribus, Pateant, Landrick.

"Viri
"Summe plurimumque Reverendi,
"Fautores Honoratissimi.

The minute then proceeds in English: "The Session since the receipt of the foresaid letter, which had come to their hands some time ago, have endeavoured to obtain a full information anent the genealogy of these persons mentioned in it, and in return of their diligence have received the following letter from John and Daniel Lithgows, with the affadavits relative to that affair before two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, the tenor of which letter and affadavits follows:

"GENTLEMEN,—Being advised that our making faith to the genealogy of William and James Lithgows before two of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace is the proper way to its finding credit abroad, we have deponed before two of
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the Justices of the Peace accordingly, and presume to send our affidavits here inclosed, which instead of the declaration formerly given we beg ye'll transmit in yours to Dantzick, and are, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servants. Sic subscribitur, John Lithgow, Daniel Lithgow, Livingston, 27 December 1729. Comitat. de Linlithgow, 25 December 1729: In presence of Sir James Cunningham of Miln-Craig, Baronet, and James Carmichael of Potty-Shaw, two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, within the Shire of Linlithgow.

"John Lithgow solemnly sworn and interrogate upon oath depones, That his grandfather, John Lithgow of Beathaugh near Lanark in Scotland, had two sons of different marriages. The eldest son, Thomas, succeeded his father, and the younger son, William, father to the deponent went abroad. That the said Thomas, uncle of the deponent, had of sons, William, his successor, and Daniel, gardener to the said Sir James Cunningham, both still alive in Scotland, and a younger son, James, who also went abroad. That William, the deponent's father, and who is uncle to this James went abroad about the time of Bothwell Brig, which was about the year of our Lord 1685 [sic, for 1679], and till the dear years, which was about the year 1699, never returned, at which time he brought along with him to Scotland a wife, whom he said he married abroad, called Mary Crawford, of Scottish parents come of the family of Jordanhill in Scotland; giving out that in the course of his travels he had for some time resided in the Duke of Brandenburg's Dominions, and for three or four years after his return to Scotland he practised the trade of a tallow-chandler in the town of Lanark. That he and his wife again returned to their travels, and since that time has never been heard of by the deponent, till now that a letter from Dantzick to the magistrates and Kirk Session of Lanark gives account of one of that name. That the said James, cousin of the deponent, being bred a merchant traveller, went with the pack into England, about the Revolution, which was in the year of our Lord 1688; but since that time has never been heard of till now that the foresaid letter gives also an account of one of his name, and whether he and the said William, the deponent's father be dead or alive the deponent cannot tell. Which is the truth as he shall answer to God. Sic subscribitur John Lithgow, Daniel Lithgow. Jurat coram nobis James Cunningham, James Carmichael.'

"And accordingly [the minute continues] the Session in compliance with the desire of John and Daniel Lithgow in their said letter did and hereby do order the transmitting of the said affidavits to Dantzick in a letter conceived in Latin, the tenor whereof follows which is to be signed, and being thus directed:—

"Eximio Viro D. Georgio Marco Knock, Bibliopolæ apud Gedanenses celeberrimo; vir ornatissime, spectatissime:

Litteræ de Jacobo Lithgow, qui apud nos aliquando vixerat, tuas accepmus. In quibus scribis velle te certum fieri, num Guilielmus Lithgow civis olim Lanarcensis ejusdem Jacobi frater an vero pater fuert. Tibi igitur de hac re ut cumulatissimé si fieri potest, satisfaceremus omni quoad licuit scrutinio facto, pro re tandem comperta habemus, Joannem et Danielem Lithgow, fratres patruæs, eodemque nostrates adhuc superstites, Jacobo et Guilielmo Lithgow esse consanguinitatis vinculo conjunctos. Qui, ut fidem apud homines (quorum-cunque ha scire interesseret) inveniret, illorum super hac re declaratio, eam scripto consignatam solemní coram duobus iurearchis juramento firmare justi
faciunt. Hanc ergo ita sanctam, quæ rerum, quas ex nobis seire desiderabas,
narrationem continet, quæ penes nos est, maxime genuinam ac verissimam,
conceptis ipsorum verbis et juratis, huic involutam epistolio, ad te libenter
transmittimus. Longeva tibi tuisque vitam nec non omnia bona et fausta
precantes, spectatissime domine, fautores tui omnino benevoli et servi humillimi
Joannes Orr, pastor ecclesiae Lanarcensis et consistorii præses; Joannes Bannatyn,
presbyter; Archibaldus Smely, presbyter; Georgius Barclay, diaconos;
Gulielmus Robinson, diaconos; Lanarci, A.O.R. 1730 d. primo Martii,
St. veteris.\textsuperscript{72}