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THE *VITA CRAGII* OF JAMES BAILLIE

LESLIE DODD

The following is a translation and Latin text of James Baillie's *De D. Thomae Cragii vita, scriptis et progenie brevis narratio* ("Brief report on the life, writings and family of Sir Thomas Craig"), which prefaces the 1732 Edinburgh edition of *Jus feudale*.¹ This short biography, notwithstanding its late date of publication, is the earliest literary account of Craig's life and was drawn upon liberally by later authors, such as Tytler.²

Although Craig was arguably a less obscure figure in 1732 than he is today, the details of his life were still not well known. Baillie's *Vita* served as a means of introducing Craig to an audience of lawyers whose entire awareness of the man and his life had been gleaned from their study of the *Jus feudale*.

The *Vita* is too short to constitute a true hagiography of Craig, but it certainly treats him with a degree of reverence that obfuscates the authentic story of his life. Whether in promoting the myth that Craig was a knight or in advancing the fiction that he was a scion of the Craigs of Craigston in Buchan, Baillie had a clear agenda of inflating Craig's social origins and standing. In reality, Craig sprang, on his father's side at least, from slightly less exalted beginnings.³ Baillie was also greatly concerned with identifying Craig's descendants among the landowners and jurists of early eighteenth-century Scotland. Indeed, around half of the *Vita* is devoted to that purpose. The text can therefore be construed as a means of linking then-contemporary Scottish families and figures, many of them well known, to Thomas Craig, the originator of Scottish legal literature. Baillie must have been concerned that few prominent Scots of his day would have embraced the idea that their famous antecessor, the Scottish Justinian, was the son of a tailor who was himself the son of a baker, hence the efforts at elevating the social standing of Craig's father.⁴

Another, arguably more valuable, function of the *Vita* was to advertise Craig's less famous writings. At the time Baillie was writing, none of Craig's literary works apart from the *Jus feudale* had been published in the original Latin. While English translations of the *De hominio* and the *De jure successionis regni Angliae* had appeared

1 Hereafter *Vita Cragii*.

2 P. Tytler, *The Life of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton* (Edinburgh, 1823).

3 See Dodd, "Historical introduction", *Jus feudale, Book 1*, Stair Society vol. 64 (Edinburgh, 2017), p. xiii.

4 Craig himself seems to have been singularly unimpressed by people who inflated the social status of their ancestors; see *Jus feudale*, 1.1.8.

in 1695 and 1703 respectively,⁵ the publication of these texts owed more to the complex and often antagonistic relationship between Scotland and England than to any abiding interest in Craig's literary product. The Union had been wildly unpopular in Scotland, leading to riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow,⁶ but it was a quarter of a century old by the time Baillie completed his edition of the *Jus feudale*, and popular animus had softened somewhat, leading Baillie to remark in the *Vita* that opinion on the Union tended to align with the personal interests of the individual. The general acquiescence in the new Great Britain stripped Craig's defence of Scottish sovereignty of much of the meaning it would have had even thirty years previously, while his unpublished, untranslated unionist manifesto, the *De unione regnorum Britanniae*, had been politically irrelevant since shortly after it was written and was therefore not particularly well known. If Baillie's *Vita* achieved nothing else, its discussion of the afterlife of these works provided a readership primarily consisting of Scottish lawyers with a more rounded vision of Craig and alerted them to the aspects of his work that were not directly related to the theory and practice of law.

As it stands today, the primary value of the *Vita Cragii* is in its illustration of how Craig was received and understood by an early eighteenth-century predominantly legal, predominantly Scottish audience. However, that is also its main shortcoming. Neither Baillie nor his readers were particularly interested in the elements of Craig's life that would be of greatest importance to modern legal historians, such as his experiences while studying law in France and the ways in which his understanding of Scots law was influenced by the French humanist scholars who taught him. Interesting and useful as the *Vita* may be, it is not an authentic or authoritative biography, and its value lies more in what it can tell us about Baillie's contemporaries than in what it reveals about Thomas Craig.

The 1732 edition of the *Jus feudale*, for inclusion in which the *Vita Cragii* was written, has become the most commonly cited edition of the text – partly because it is the most recent version, partly because it was a higher-quality printing than previous editions, and partly because Baillie's arrangement of the text into sections was so convenient. The Faculty welcomed the publication of Baillie's "handsome and correct edition" by stating that "the original book itself was one of the prime standard Books of the Scottish Law, and that this edition was vastly more correct, and had several other advantages above the former editions".⁷ Advocates were encouraged to purchase their own copies, and Baillie himself was advanced "the sum of Thirty pounds Sterling out of the ordinary annualrents or other Incomes of the Faculty" in response to the financial difficulties into which he had fallen in consequence of his work on the edition.⁸

5 T. Craig (trans. J. Gadderar), *The Right of Succession to the Kingdom of England in Two Books; Against Parsons the Jesuite, Who Assum'd the Counterfeit Name of Doleman; by Which He Endeavours to Overthrow Not Only the Rights of Succession in Kingdoms, but Also the Sacred Authority of Kings Themselves* (London, 1703); and T. Craig (trans. G. Ridpath), *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted, Being a Dispute Concerning Homage* (Edinburgh, 1695).

6 K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699–1707* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 139–40.

7 J. M. Pinkerton (ed.), *Faculty of Advocates Minute Book, Volume 2*, Stair Society vol. 32 (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 156.

8 *Loc. cit.*

One consequence of the popularity of Baillie's edition was that the *Vita Cragii* became readers' first point of contact with the life of Thomas Craig. While the text's particular shortcomings must be recognised, including its brevity and its preoccupation with issues that are not key to modern legal-historical research, it was nevertheless the historical starting point for the study of Thomas Craig's life.⁹ For much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Baillie's biography defined our understanding of Craig. A reading knowledge of Latin is, however, less ubiquitous now than in Baillie's day. It is hoped that this translation will bring the work to a wider audience and that, notwithstanding its problems, some academic value will be found in Baillie's work.

9 E.g., Tytler's 1823 biography. But compare Baird Smith, whose seminal 1915 article makes little use of the *Vita*; see D. Baird Smith, "Sir Thomas Craig, feudalist", *Scottish Historical Review* 12.47 (1915), 271–302.

De D. Thomae Cragii vita, scriptis et progenie brevis narratio

D. Thomas Cragius de Riccarton, eques, ex antiqua Cragiorum de Craigston (quod praedium est Buchaniae, septentrionalis Scotiae regionis) gente oriundus, patrem habuit Robertum Cragium, mercatorem Edinensem, illius quem diximus gentis principis filium natu secundum. Vitales primum carpsisse auras existimatur anno circiter Aerae Christianae MDXLVIII. Postquam vero cura et diligentia propinqui sui Joannis Cragii theologi id temporis celeberrimi educatus, prima linguarum et philosophiae in scholis et academiis patriis tyrocinia posuisset; in Gallias deinde ad majorem ingenii cultum capessendum profectus, jurisprudentiae praecipue animum applicuit; in qua, omnique elegantiore literatura, tantos progressus fecit ut plerosque aequales suos facile anteiret. In patriam post aliquot annos redux causis coram summis Scotiae tribunalibus orandis se dedit; quo in munere tanta cum laude se gessit, adeoque summa ejus tum eruditio, tum vitae integritas enituerunt, ut anno MDCIV cum Jacobus, apud nos ejus nominis sextus, duorum Magnae Britanniae regnorum, quae anno superiore sub ejus unius ditionem concesserant, coalitionem, sive unionem quam dicimus, obnixo animo moliretur, ille ab Ordinibus Scotiae unus interque praecipuos ad rem tam arduam tractandam promovendamque sit delegatus.

Ab omnibus fere sui aevi, sive eruditionis sive virtutis fama florentibus viris summo in pretio habitus fuit; eorumque multis aut sermone aut literis magno praesertim illo Angliae antiquario, Gulielmo Camdeno, familiarissime est usus.

- 1 This account of Craig's life appears in the 1732 Edinburgh edition of the *Jus feudale*.
- 2 The identity of Craig's father was disputed in days gone by. P. Tytler, *The Life of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton* (Edinburgh, 1823), pp. 1–2, believed that the father was William Craig of Craigintry; and this is followed by Howard and Crisp (eds), *Visitation of England and Wales*, vol. 5, pp. 184ff., where a detailed family tree is laid out for Craig. The name of Craigintry was later changed to Craigston, so Tytler and Baillie are not in complete disagreement. Current scholarly thought is content with Baillie's identification of Robert Craig as the father; see J. W. Cairns, "Thomas Craig (1538?–1608)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). However, Robert Craig, though affluent, was rather less socially exalted than either Baillie or Tytler imply; see L. Dodd, "Historical introduction", *Jus feudale, Book 1*, Stair Society vol. 64 (Edinburgh, 2017), pp. xiii–xiv.
- 3 This date seems unlikely, as Craig would have been just sixteen years of age when, in 1564, he was appointed justice-depute. A birth year of 1538 is more widely accepted, although ultimately it is unknowable. See Tytler (1823), p. 2; and "The life of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Jan. 1818), 384. Cf. also D. Baird Smith, "Sir Thomas Craig, feudalist", *Scottish Historical Review* 12.47 (1915), 271–302, at 279–80. Note that Craig's grandson-in-law, Robert Burnet, states explicitly in the *Ad lectorem* to the 1655 edition of the *Jus feudale* that Craig "died at nearly sixty years of age, in Edinburgh, in the year of Christ 1608 or thereabouts" (*Obiit fere sexagenarius Edinburgi, Anno Christi 1608 aut eo circa*), which may explain Baillie's birth date of 1548.

Vita Thomae Cragii
by James Baillie

translated and annotated by Leslie Dodd

**A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS AND
 FAMILY OF SIR THOMAS CRAIG¹**

Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, knight, was descended from an old family, the Craigs of Craigston (which estate is in Buchan, in the northern part of Scotland). He had as his father Robert Craig, an Edinburgh merchant and the second son born to the chief of that clan.² He is first thought to have drawn living breath around the year 1548 of the Christian era.³ After being educated with sincere care and diligence by his kinsman John Craig, the most renowned theologian of his day,⁴ he undertook his first instruction in languages and philosophy in the schools and colleges of his home country;⁵ afterwards he moved on to France in order to further the cultivation of his mind and applied himself in particular to jurisprudence, in which, as in all areas of classical literature, he made such progress that he easily outstripped most of his contemporaries.⁶ Having returned to his homeland after some years, he dedicated himself to pleading cases before the highest courts of Scotland. His professional conduct in this office was so praiseworthy, and his great learning and personal integrity stood out so much, that when James (the sixth of his name in our country), in 1604, resolutely endeavoured to form an association (or, as we call it, Union) of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, which in the previous year had fallen beneath his rule, Craig alone was appointed from the estates of Scotland and from among the most outstanding men for the purpose of facilitating and advancing so complicated a matter.

He was held in the highest regard by practically all his contemporaries due to his reputation for both learning and virtue. He was a close intimate to many of them, either through conversation or correspondence, but most particularly to William Camden, the English antiquarian.

4 John Craig (c.1512–1600) was initially a Dominican friar but was later converted to Calvinism. He was extremely active in the Scottish Reformation, and in 1570, 1576 and 1581 he acted as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. See Baird Smith (1915), 278–9.

5 Specifically, Craig attended St Andrews, where he graduated as a Bachelor of Arts instead of, as was more usual, becoming licensed as a Master of Arts. See A. I. Dunlop (ed.), *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413–1588* (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 406, for Craig's advancement to bachelor status. See also Tytler (1823), pp. 5–10, and Cairns (2004) on Craig's time at St Andrews. Tytler (pp. 27–8) and *Blackwood's* (384) both deny that John Craig could have educated the young Thomas on the grounds that the theologian departed Scotland two years prior to Thomas's birth and did not return for twenty-four years.

6 See Baird Smith (1915), 273, esp. n. 2 for Craig's time in France.

Primum doctrinae suae insignisque in omni jure peritiae documentum dedit hunc, quem jam tertia vice in lucem emittimus, *De feudis* librum; in quo, alter veluti Justinianus, leges suas patrias quae rudi hactenus ac indigesto chao fere similes confusae incultaeque jacuerant, in clarum distinctumque ordinem redegit; jureque non civili modo et canonico sed et variarum praeterea gentium consuetudinario, mirum in modum illustravit.

Postquam hoc pacto primos sui ingenii foetus patriae ac juris Scotici candidatis Cragius consecrasset, proximus ipsius labor patriae parenti, hoc est, regi suo Jacobo VI est dicatus; cujus hereditarium in regnum Angliae successionis jus, cum Parsonus quidam Jesuita, sub mentito Dolomanni nomine, libro de ea re edito impetere atque elevare ausus esset; ille forti elatoque animo in eum calamum stringens, regis sui jus tam doctis nervosisque rationibus stabilivit et confirmavit, adversariiue argumenta, vel potius cavillationes, diruit et convellit, ut omnium (nisi quos pontificiae religionis in Angliam contra jus fasque revocandae furor occaecaverat) iudicio, personatus ille Dolomannus causa prorsus victus et profligatus censeretur. Eruditissimi hujus operis exemplar in Bibliotheca Jurisconsultorum et plura forsitan alibi supersunt; nec dubium quin typis mandatum publicam quam magnopere merebatur lucem aspexisset, nisi pacificus qui mox sequutus est Jacobi VI ad regnum Angliae accessus ejus edendi consilium supervacaneum reddidisset. Non ita pridem tamen ex Latino sermone, quo illud Cragius conscripserat, in Anglicum a reverendo admodum viro Jacobo Gatherer conversum prae loque commissum, doctorum manibus versatur.

Neque minus de regibus suis, totoque adeo nomine Scotico, meritis est Cragius tertio suo scripto, cui *Disputationi de hominio* titulum indidit; quo historicorum quorundam Anglorum, in primisque Raphaeli Holinshedii, qui Scotiam feudum Angliae clientelare, ipsiusque reges Angliae regum beneficiarios esse contendunt, calumnias redarguit, Scoticumque imperium liberum esse et absolutum, nulliusque praeterquam suorum regum sceptro subditum, solidissimis argumentis commonstrat. Quod autem hoc scriptum in apricum non prodierit, vix alia ratio reddi potest, quam quod quorundam animos metus teneret, ne vetusta inter duas gentes odia, quae placida jam unius principis dominatione consopita videbantur, hoc pacto recrudescerent et in novos forsitan motus erumperent. Caeterum, cum alii postea Angli scriptores, et in his ante annos complures Petrus Heylinus et nuper Thomas Rymerus historiographus regius, eandem Camarinam movere voluerint, causam inde sibi datam ratus est vir haud incelebris Georgius Ridpathus, ut hoc Cragii nostri scriptum, quod omnium telis retundendis par esset, Anglico sermone donatum typis evulgaret.

7 Burnet, editor of the 1655 text, also describes Craig as another Justinian in the *Ad lectorem*. See Dodd (2017), pp. lxxxiv (Latin) and lxxxv (English).

8 Robert Persons or Parsons was a Jesuit priest who, under the name Robert Doleman, wrote the *Conference about the next succession to the crowne of England* (1594), in which he insisted that the Catholic Spanish *infanta* Isabella Clara Eugenia was the rightful heir to the English throne. On this work generally, see Dodd (2017), pp. xxi–xxii.

9 *Profligatus* means “profligate” in the old, now obsolete, sense of “overthrown” or “ruined”.

10 Craig’s *De jure successionis regni Angliae* was never actually published in his lifetime, although an English translation by Gadderar appeared in 1703. See Dodd (2017), pp. xxii–xxiii.

11 The *Disputatio de hominio* (“Disputation on homage”) of 1604 was Craig’s response to the charge that Scotland was a feudal vassal of England.

12 Peter Heylin (1599–1662) was a prolific English historian and royalist; Thomas Rymer (c.1643–1713) was historiographer royal between 1692 and 1714.

He provided this book, *De feudis*, which we bring to light in this third edition, as evidence and proof of his learning and expertise in all law. Like another Justinian,⁷ he collected the laws of his country, which until that point had lain confused and neglected in raw or jumbled chaos, and arranged them in a clear and distinct order. He illustrated in marvellous manner not only the civil and canon law but also the customary laws of different nations.

Having dedicated the first fruits of his genius to his country and to students of Scottish law, Craig's next labour was dedicated to the father of his country, that is, to his king, James VI; whose hereditary right of succession to the kingdom of England the Jesuit Persons, under the assumed name Doleman, dared to attack and belittle in a book published on that topic.⁸ Having filled his quill in a steadfast and serious spirit, Craig secured and confirmed his king's right with learned and energetic reasoning and demolished and scattered the arguments (or rather jeering) of his adversary, so that in the opinion of all (except those whom desire for the return of the Papist religion to England had blinded against what was right and just) the counterfeit Doleman was considered utterly beaten and overthrown.⁹ A copy of this most erudite work survives in the Advocates Library and other copies perhaps elsewhere.¹⁰ No doubt the reason it was not brought to the public notice by being committed to print, as it so richly deserved, was that a peaceful accession of James VI to the English throne soon followed, rendering Craig's argument superfluous. Nevertheless, not long ago a translation into English from the Latin in which Craig had written was produced and printed by the Most Reverend James Gadderar which is of use to scholars.

With his third text, *Disputatio de hominio*, Craig earned himself no less a name in Scottish history than the kings to whom he dedicated the title.¹¹ In it, he refutes the lies of certain English historians (first and foremost Raphael Holinshed) who contend that Scotland is a feudal subject of England and her kings are vassals of the kings of England. He shows with unassailable arguments that the Scottish realm is free and entire, subject to no-one save the sceptre of her own kings. This text was not brought into the light of day, and hardly any other reason can be given other than that some anxiety arose lest deep-seated resentments between the two nations should break out again because of the union and perhaps erupt in new rancour at a time when they seemed to be under the peaceful and tranquil rule of a single monarch. However, after the union, English writers (Peter Heylin some years ago and Thomas Rymer more recently)¹² presented the matter as another Camarina.¹³ Judging that cause had been given by this, that well-known gentleman George Ridpath published an English edition of our Craig's text, and it was up to the task of blunting all their barbs.¹⁴

13 Camarina was a Greek city in ancient Sicily. It is most famous for having been sacked by the Carthaginians in 405 BC after it was abandoned by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. However, the present translator believes the reference is to the earlier conquest of the city by the tyrant Gelon, who brought all its people to Syracuse and enrolled them as citizens. See Herodotus, 7.156. Thus, the point being argued by the English historians was that the Union amounted to an English annexation of Scotland and that the Scots were now English subjects.

14 Ridpath's translation of Craig appeared in 1695 under the title *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted*. See Dodd (2017), pp. xxiii–xxv. In the Latin text, note that *ratus est* is the perfect active indicative of *reor*.

Quarto eique postremo doctissimi Cragii operi, quod *De unione regnorum Britanniae* inscripsit, occasionem itidem praebuit perennis illa et indefessa patriae charitas. Cum enim, quod toties votis optarat, scriptisque pro virili promoverat, insigni tandem Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio effectum videret, ut divulsa hactenus mutisque per plurima secula cladibus afflicta Scotiae et Angliae regna sub legitimo unius principis moderamine conquiescerent; cumque praeterea princeps ille serenissimus id unice operam daret, ut sua haec Britanniae regna arctiore adhuc necessitudinis vinculo conjungeret; ille, ut laudabili huic regis sui instituto obsecundaret, utque ejus coalitionis utilitatem, plurimaque in utrumque regnum inde redundatura emolumenta ostenderet, non voce solum in Delegatorum (inter quos unum eum et e primoribus missum diximus) consensu utendum ratus, sed hoc etiam scripto libello; in quo totas ingenii vires, egregiamque qua pollebat doctrinam et eloquentiam, id ut evinceret, praejudicatasque quae ei obstabant opiniones hominum animis eximeret, expromit. Huic quidem praeclaro regis Jacobi consilio, Cragiique nostri conatibus et votis eventus non respondit; neque res iterum imperante Carolo II tentata feliciorum sortita est. Haec demum gloria (si ita dicenda sit, res enim, pro variis hominum affectibus commodisque, varie probata aut improbata est) augustissimae Annae reginae temporibus est reservata, cujus auspiciis illa tantopere celebrata utriusque gentis in unam conjunctio perfecta tandem ac consummata est.

Sed, ut ad Cragium nostrum redeam, tot ejus tamque insignia in patriam et principem merita quin acceptissima omnibus fuerint non est dubitandum. Rex certe Jacobus gratum suum animum et benevolentiam vel hoc indicio testatus est, quod eum equestri dignitate (qui magnus illo seculo honos habebatur) ornandum volebat. Verum cum vir modestissimus, utpote qui non splendor istos et inanes saepe titulos, sed verum illud quod in sola virtute positum est decus appeteret, nunquam ut eum honorem agnosceret adduci posset; rex, quod proximum erat, omnibus praecepit, ut Cragium equitis nomine ubique salutarent.

Illud pene me praeterierat, quod tamen haud injucundum memoratu est, Cragium nostrum non adeo severioribus his studiis, operaeque forensi, quam illi negotiosissimam obtigisse credendum est, se totum tradidisse, ut non subinde amoenioribus literis animum suum oblectaret. Ejus rei luculentum specimen habemus, egregia illa ac ubere vereque lactea vena effusa, quae in *Deliciis poetarum Scotorum* locum sibi illustrem carmina invenerunt.

15 "On the union of the kingdoms of Britain". Sanford Terry produced a tolerable translation and excellent edition of this text in 1909, published by the Scottish Historical Society.

16 The *arctior necessitudinis vinculum* is Baillie's attempt at James VI's "more perfect union", in pursuit of which, in 1604, the two national parliaments appointed commissioners.

At last, perpetual and tireless affection for his country brought forth a similar occasion for the most learned Craig's fourth work, which he titled *De unione regnorum Britanniae*.¹⁵ Through the grace of Almighty God, Craig finally saw brought into being the thing for which he had so often prayed and which he had promoted vigorously in his writings when the heretofore divided kingdoms of Scotland and England, tormented by many centuries of destruction inflicted by each on the other, were united under the governance of one prince. Later, when that most serene prince endeavoured to unite this kingdom of Britain still further in a tighter bond of fellowship,¹⁶ Craig, in order to comply with the king's praiseworthy intention, demonstrated the advantage of the union and the many benefits which would abound in both kingdoms, and he did so not only verbally during the conference of the Commissioners (of whom Craig was one, having been chosen, as we said, from among the most prominent men) but also in writing this short book. Within the text, he displays such intellectual strength (for his learning and eloquence were outstanding) that he overpowered the prejudiced opinions which opposed him and banished them from men's minds. The outcome, however, did not match either the famous plan of King James or the efforts and prayers of our Craig; nor was there a happier result during the reign of Charles II, when the same plan was tried again. In the end, this glory (if such it should be called, for the matter is approved or disapproved of according to men's fluctuating moods and interests) was reserved for the times of the most august Queen Anne, by whose auspices the very celebrated joining of two nations into one was perfected and finally completed.

But, returning to our Craig, it cannot be doubted that his many distinguished services for his country and king were greatly appreciated by all. Certainly, King James showed his grateful sentiment and good wishes when he attempted to decorate Craig with a knighthood (which was considered a great honour at that time).¹⁷ Yet, being an extremely modest man who strove for that true glory which is located in virtue alone, and not for glittering but often empty titles, he could never be induced to accept that honour. To get around this, the king decreed to everyone that Craig should everywhere be acknowledged under the title of knight.

I almost overlooked the fact, though hardly unpleasant to recount, that our Craig must not be believed to have given himself over so completely to his more serious pursuits and to his legal work, which kept him extremely busy, that he did not occasionally amuse himself with more pleasant literature. We have a conspicuous example of his material in those outstanding poems, pouring forth from a rich and nourishing vein, which find for themselves an honoured place in the *Deliciae poetarum Scotorum*.

17 Note that *honos* is an archaic version of the more usual *honor*.

Neque, inter tot suae pietatis in patriam pignora, inter causarum forensium jurgia et strepitus, inter animi cum Musis remissiones, cultus divini et humanitatis officia, aut privatas suas necessitudines Cragius neglexit. Nam (ut alia omittam) cum ipsius pater Robertus ritibus pontificiis (quibus a prima quasi infantia innutritus fuerat) etiam in provecta (ut fieri solet) aetate addictissimus viveret; nunquam tamen destitit filius, donec patrem, salva qua decuit reverentia, hortando ratiocinandoque ad rectam viam, id est, ad puriorem religionem traduxisset; quod et summo ipsi gaudio fuit. Quanto autem studio et affectu religionem Reformatam amplecteretur, tabulis suis testamentariis, anno MDXCI septemdecim ante ipsius mortem annis confectis, insigniter declaravit. In iis enim sancte protestatur se ut in ea religione hactenus vixerit, ita in eadem, tanquam unica vera et incorrupta a Christo Salvatore nobis tradita doctrina, ad extremum vitae halitum perseveraturum. Deinde, postquam se suaque aeterno rerum Conditori ardentissimis precibus commendasset, uxori, unde se pro loco digne sustentaret, providisset; filium natu maximum, per Dei suumque amorem obtentatur, ut fratrum suorum parentis instar curam gereret.

Sed neque intra suam tantum (quod multis solitum) familiam Cragii nostri stetit benignitas; verum ille memor se hominem et, quod majus est, Christianum esse, nihilque adeo humani a se alienum putans, egenis suamque opem implorantibus facilem se praebebat et quoad potuit suppeditabat. Laudatur in primis ejus hospitalitas, quae tanta erat, ut ipsius mensa tenuioribus virtutisque vel literarum opinione cognitissimae assidue pateret. Hi mores, hi mentis habitus Cragio nostro fuere; cumque eodem tenore omnia recte vivendi munia implesset, decurso tandem mortalis aevi stadio, sanctissimam Deo animam reddidit, postridie nonas Februarias, anno partae per Christum salutis supra millesimum sexcentimum octavo, aetatis suae sexagesimo. At vivit adhuc viretque, non per Scotos suos modo, sed et omnes non barbaras gentes, late fusa viri fama,

Quam nec ventura silebunt
Secla, nec ignota rapiet sub nube vetustas.

Id solum laboris mihi superest, ut de ipsius sobole pauca adjiciam. Ex uxore, femina lectissima, Helena Heriota, comarchi de Trabrown in praefectura Hadintonana filia,

18 During the period of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, both Catholics and the various types of Protestant described their religion as *religio purior*, meaning the practice of Christianity that was closest to that originally preached by Christ.

19 The line *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* ("I am a man: I deem nothing human alien to me") originates in Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*, 77 (also quoted by Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.3). Nowadays, most people will be familiar with it either from the anthropologist Andrew Lang or from de Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*. In this context, Baillie is using it to mean that Craig believed he had a moral duty to ameliorate other people's problems, even if he had no direct relationship to them.

Even amid such commitments of loyalty to his country, amid the quarrels and clashes of court cases, amid the offerings of his mind to the Muses, Craig did not overlook either the pursuit of divine and secular duties or his personal relationships. For (passing by other matters) his father Robert, while he lived and even into his old age, remained extremely dedicated to the Catholic rites in which he had been raised since earliest infancy. Even so, the son never gave up until, through exhortation and logical argument tempered with proper respect, he had converted his father to the path of righteousness, that is to say the pure religion;¹⁸ this to him was the greatest joy. He had embraced the Reformed faith with so much zeal and devotion that he declared it prominently in his last will and testament in the year 1591, seventeen full years before his death. In that document, he professed zealously that he had lived heretofore in that religion and would continue in the same faith – the only true and uncorrupted teaching passed to us by Christ the Saviour – until his final breath. Then, after he had commended himself with the most ardent prayers to the Eternal Creator of the world and had provided for his wife, so that she could maintain herself in a manner appropriate to her station, he implored his eldest son, for his own love of God, to take his father's place in caring for his brothers.

Nor did our Craig's benevolence extend only to family (as is the case with many people). Deeply mindful that he was a human being and, what is more, a Christian, to the extent that he considered nothing human was alien to him,¹⁹ he willingly offered his own money to the needy and provided them with as much as he could. His hospitality, which was praised to the utmost, was so great that his table was always open both to the poor and to those famed for their virtue or learning. These customs, these habits of mind, were innate to our Craig; he held to the same course in carrying out all his duties while he lived until, having run the course of mortal life, he gave his most holy soul back to God on the day after the Nones of February, in the year 1608 at the age of sixty.²⁰ Yet still he lives and flourishes, not just among the Scots but among all civilised nations, spreading his fame widely, "about which the coming centuries will not be silent; and which antiquity will not drag beneath the cloud of obscurity".²¹

The only task remaining to me is to add a little about his progeny. He had four sons and three daughters by his wife, the most learned lady, Helen Heriot, daughter of the laird of Trabroun in the vicinity of Haddington.²² The eldest son,

20 The day after the Nones of February would be the 6th of the month using the old lunar calendar; under the Gregorian calendar, it would be 26 February – and, in fact, documentary evidence exists indicating that Craig died on that date. See Cairns (2004) and Dodd (2017), p. xviii, n. 52.

21 The lines of poetry are from Claudian's *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*, 33–4.

22 Do not mistake this Trabroun for Trabrown in the vicinity of Lauder (even though, in older texts, they are generally spelled identically). Baillie is actually referring to what is now called Trabroun Farm, between Tangle Muir Wood and Elvingston just west of Haddington. Cf. *Oliver and Boyd's Scottish Tourist* (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 141. Note that Helen Heriot was the niece of George Buchanan's mother, Agnes Heriot.

quatuor filios, tres filias suscepit. Filius, quem diximus, natu maximus Ludovicus, vivo adhuc patre, in senatorium ordinem, hoc est, inter supremi fori Scotici iudices ab Jacobo VI est allectus, et equestri dignitate titulo domini de Wrightshouses honestatus, idque (raro iis temporibus exemplo, quibus pauci admodum, nisi quos, praeter alias dotes, longa rerum experientia commendabat, ad tanti muneris fastigium eveherentur) cum annum tantum ageret trigesimum quartum. De quo etiam et illud memoria dignum narratur, quod quoties ipsius pater aperto (ut moris est) capite coram eo causas oraret, ille, ut pium filium decuit, parentem aperto item capite et reverenter audiret. Secundus ei filius erat D. Jacobus Cragius de Castle-craig et Craigston in Comitatu Cavanae et Letrumi in provincia Ultoniensi Hiberniae, qui strenuam adversus rebelles Hibernos anno MDCXLI operam navavit; atque pro patriae defensione fortiter sine prole occumbens, amplam suam hereditatem fratri suo minori reliquit Joanni Cragio; qui Jacobo VI medicus ordinarius, Carolo I archiater fuit. Quartus Cragii nostri filius fuit Robertus a quo duo filii generati, Thomas, qui absque sobole decessit; et Joannes, qui uxorem duxit <Janetam> Heriotam comarchi de Ramorgnie heredem; cujus posterii, sed mutato primogeniti cognomine, terras de Ramorgnie in Fifa adhuc tenent.

Ex filiabus D. Thomae Cragii natu maxima, Margarita, matrimonio collocata est D. Alexandro Gibsono de Durie, equiti et senatori; unde florentissimae Gibsonorum de Adiston et Durie, indeque Moraviorum de Polmais et Fotheringamiorum de Powrie familiae materno genere sunt propagatae. Secundo genitam, Elisabetham, conjugem duxit Jacobus Johnstonus et ex ea pater factus D. Archibaldi Johnstoni de Warriston, equitis et senatoris; cujus filius Jacobus Johnstonus, summus quondam Scotiae secretarius, viridi adhuc placidissimaque senectute in amoeno suo praedio rustico apud Anglos fruitur. Fuit et praedictae Elisabethae et ex eodem thoro genita filia Rachel Johnstona, quae Roberto Burneto, tum jurisconsulto, postea supremae

- 23 Lewis Craig was born in 1569 and admitted an advocate on 11 June 1600. He was made Lord of Session (as Lord Wrightshouses) on 25 February 1604.
- 24 It was the tradition for judges to have their heads covered, while pleading counsel had bare heads.
- 25 Sir James Craig was part of the Plantation and received lands at Tullyhunco and Croghan in Co. Cavan. It was in fact his younger brother John who received Castle Craig, also in Co. Cavan, and Craigston, in Co. Leitrim; see *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum Repertorium*, vol. 2 (Dublin, 1829), Cavan Car. I, 27.
- 26 Craig was defending the castle at Croghan. The Irish rebels, unable to take the castle by force, starved it out instead; Craig seems to have died, along with many other defenders, from disease and/or starvation.
- 27 This Thomas Craig appears to have received his MA at the University of Glasgow in 1617.
- 28 The print edition has a lacuna for the first name of John Craig's wife, so the present editor has supplied the correct name based on extant marriage records. Ramornie is close by Ladybank, just south of Heggie's Muir Wood.
- 29 Robert Craig had a son, John Craig of Ramornie (d. 1681). It was his son, Robert Craig of Ramornie (d. 1751), who changed the family name to Heriot.
- 30 Sir Alexander Gibson (d. 1644) was a Scottish judge (under the title Lord Durie) and a moderately famous kidnap victim. He compiled a set of practicks known as Durie's Practicks, the earliest digest of decisions of the Session, covering the years 1621 to 1642. These practicks were subsequently published by Gibson's grandson as *The Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session, in Most Cases of Importance, Debated and brought before Them; From July 1621, to July 1642 ... Observed by Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, then one of the Senators of the College of Justice ...* (Edinburgh, 1690). Gibson also seems to have been a close intimate of Robert Burnet, Craig's grandson-in-law and editor of the 1655 edition of the *Jus feudale*, to judge from the *Ad lectorem*. See Dodd (2017), pp. lxxxvi (Latin) and lxxxvii (English).

Lewis, during his father's lifetime, was chosen by James VI to be a member of the Senate (that is, one of the judges of the Scottish supreme court) and was honoured with a knighthood and title of Lord Wrightshouses, all when he was only thirty-four years old (a rare occurrence in those days, when few men were elevated to so lofty an office unless long professional experience recommended them in addition to their other talents).²³ A story is still told about him that when his father was pleading cases with an uncovered head (as is the custom), Lewis, as befits a dutiful son, heard his father respectfully with his own head uncovered.²⁴ His second son, Sir James Craig, of Castle Craig and Craigston in County Cavan and Leitrim in the province of Ulster,²⁵ earnestly resisted Irish rebels in the year 1641 and died bravely in the defence of his country without issue.²⁶ He left his full inheritance to his younger brother, John Craig, who was physician-in-ordinary to James VI and archiater to Charles I. The fourth son of our Craig was Robert, who produced two sons, Thomas, who died without issue,²⁷ and John, who took as wife <Janet> Heriot, heiress to Ramornie,²⁸ which lands in Fife his descendants still own, although their name has been changed.²⁹

The eldest of Sir Thomas Craig's daughters, Margaret, contracted a marriage to Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, knight and senator.³⁰ The daughters born to the Gibsons of Adiston and Durie connected the Murrays of Polmais and the Fotheringhams of Powrie to their mother's family.³¹ James Johnston took as his wife Elisabeth, the second daughter, and, through this marriage, he became the father of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, knight and senator.³² His son, James Johnston (at one time Secretary of State for Scotland), enjoyed his pleasant rural estate in England from youth until his peaceful old age.³³ A daughter, Rachel Johnston, was born from this same marriage to the aforementioned Elisabeth, and she married Robert Burnet, then an advocate and later a senator of the supreme court under

31 Margaret's eldest daughter Elizabeth married Murray of Polmais; her second, Margaret, married Fotheringham of Powrie.

32 Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston (1611–63), was a major figure in seventeenth-century Scottish history. He led the radical Presbyterian Kirk Party against the Engagers (the Covenanters who had "engaged" with Charles I following his imprisonment on the Isle of Wight). Although politically close to Cromwell, he objected to the execution of Charles I and, in February 1649, supported the proclamation of Charles II as king; yet, in May that year, it was he who passed sentence of death over the Marquess of Montrose. With the Stuart Restoration, he fled to the Continent, only to be arrested in Rouen and sent to London, whence he was transported to Edinburgh for trial and, on 22 July 1663, hanged at the Mercat Cross for high treason.

33 James Johnston (1655–1737) was Secretary of State from 1692 until 1696, sharing the office with the infamous John Dalrymple of Stair (son of the 1st Viscount Stair, of *Institutions* fame). He held a number of other political offices during his lifetime, including that of envoy to Prussia. Upon retirement, he built a large mansion in Twickenham, complete with extensive pleasure gardens. Known since 1813 as the Orleans House (after its most famous inhabitant, the then Duke of Orleans and future Louis-Philippe I of France), it was, for the most part, demolished in 1926. Only an octagonal tower, designed by James Gibbs and built in 1720, still stands, currently used as an art gallery by the local council.

curiae senatori titulo domini de Crimond nupsit. Is est Robertus Burnetus qui prosoceri sui D. Thomae Cragii opus feudale typis primus mandandum, praefatione sua addita, curavit. Ex hoc autem matrimonio bini ei filii prognati, D. Thomas Burnetus, eques ac medicus regius, et D. Gilbertus Burnetus, sacrae theologiae primum in Academia Glasguensi professor, postea Sarisburiensium episcopus, scriptis multifariis ingentique nominis fama celeberrimus. Utrique liberi aliquot nepotesque supersunt; e quibus unus tantum, utpote meritis nobis magis cognitus, memorabitur, D. Thomae filius, Gilbertus Burnetus, jurisconsultus, et ex quinqueviris regiis tributis (quam vulgo Excisam vocamus) in Scotia praefectis unus. Tertia Cragii nostri filia, Janeta, Joanni Belchisio de Tofts nuptum data, deque eo D. Alexandri Belchisii de Tofts, equitis et senatoris, duarumque filiarum, Helenae et Janetae, mater facta.

Ut ad D. Ludovicum Cragii nostri primogenitum revertar; ei unica tantum proles mascula fuisse memoratur, cui, a nomine avi, Thomae nomen impositum; tres autem filias habuisse dicitur; quarum una, Alexandro Brodio de Lethen connubio juncta, unicam tantum filiam superstitem reliquit; quae Ludovico Grantaeo de eodem, familiae suae principi, nupta, quatuor ei filios, Alexandrum, Jacobum, Georgium et Ludovicum; totidemque filias, Elisabetham, Annam, Janetam et Margaritam enixa est. E filiis (quod natu maximus absque prole defunctus, alii duo conjugio soluti militarem vitam agant) solus D. Jacobus nobis memorandus; qui nunc primos suae familiae honores tenet, atque et uxore, D. Humfredi Colchonii de Luss filia unica et herede, non suae solum Grantaeorum sed et Colchoniorum etiam genti heredem protulit; ut filias aliquot omittam, unam Gulielmo Duffo de Bracco, omnium Scotiae

34 Robert Burnet (1592–1661) was the editor of the first print edition of the *Jus feudale* in 1655. He was admitted advocate on 20 February 1617 and became a judge in the Court of Session on 1 June 1661 but had little time to enjoy his office, as he died on 24 August that year.

35 Gilbert Burnet was named Professor of Divinity at Glasgow in 1669 (without his permission having been sought) and was, from Easter 1689, Bishop of Salisbury. A few days after that, he was also appointed Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. His literary output was significant and covered both historical and theological topics; of the former, the most significant is probably his *History of My Own Time* (begun in 1683, first published in 1724), which treats English history from the Civil War until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

the title Lord Crimond.³⁴ This is the same Robert Burnet who first arranged for the *Jus feudale* of Sir Thomas Craig (his wife's grandfather) to be set down in print, with the addition of his own preface. From their marriage, two sons were born: Sir Thomas Burnet, knight and royal physician, and Sir Gilbert Burnet, who was first of all professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow and later Bishop of Salisbury and was surpassingly famous for his many writings.³⁵ Each brother was survived by children and grandchildren. Of these, only one is brought to mind, famous to us for his talents, the son of Sir Thomas: Gilbert Burnet, an advocate and one of the five royal appointees in charge of taxes in Scotland, whom we collectively call the Excise.³⁶ The third daughter of our Craig, named Janet, was given in marriage to John Belches of Tofts and, from that marriage, she became mother to Sir Alexander Belches of Tofts, knight and senator, and to two daughters, Helen and Janet.

Returning to Lewis, the first-born son of our Craig, it is recounted that he had only one male offspring (to whom was given his grandfather's name, Thomas). However, he is said to have had three daughters, one of whom was joined in wedlock to Alexander Brodie of Lethen, leaving behind only a single daughter, who married Ludovic Grant (chief of that clan), by whom she had four sons, Alexander, James, George and Lewis;³⁷ and the same number of daughters, Elisabeth, Anne, Janet and Margaret. Of the sons (the eldest of whom died without issue, while two others never married and pursued military careers), only Sir James is remembered by us. It is he who now holds the foremost honours in his family; and, from his wife, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, he brought forth an heir not only to the Grants but also to the Colquhouns. While I will pass over several of the daughters, one of them married William Duff of Braco, easily the wealthiest of

36 Baillie is being unfair. The Burnet brothers produced some extremely successful sons. One of Bishop Gilbert's sons, for example, was William Burnet, a colonial administrator in North America (and variously Governor of New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts), while one of the physician Thomas Gilbert's sons (also called Thomas and also a physician) became a friend and correspondent of the philosopher Leibniz. Leibniz, of course, quarrelled extensively with Isaac Newton – and Newton, in turn, had been a tutor to the aforementioned William Burnet.

37 Ludovic Grant (d. 1716) was eighth laird of Freuchie and first laird of Grant. Among his other claims to fame, he was a member of the Convention which, in 1689, declared that James VII had forfeited his rights to the throne by fleeing the country. He had more sons than Baillie lists, but at least one (the eldest, John) died in childhood. Of the others, Alexander briefly succeeded him as laird of Freuchie. James had a parliamentary career and, in 1719, succeeded Alexander as laird of Freuchie. George joined the army, held the rank of major and became governor of Inverness castle before dying unmarried in 1755. Lewis also served in the army and fought for the Crown during the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion. He married, had at least one daughter (Anne Grant) and died, on 11 March 1742, in Kingston, Jamaica. There was also a sixth son, David, of whom nothing is known, including the date of his death.

comarchorum agri facile ditissimo; alteram D. Henrico Innesio de eodem, equiti, nuptum elocatas. Ex filiabus autem Ludovici domini de Grant, maxima pervetustae Rosaeorum gentis phylarchae Hugoni Rosaeo de Kilravock conjunx data; secunda Gulielmo Grantaeo de Balindalloch, cohortis quam independentem vocant praefecto; tertia D. Roderico Mackenzaeo de Scatwell, equiti; quarta Simoni Fraserio de Beaufort, nunc regulo de Lovat. Hae utriusque Grantaeorum filiae pulchrae et numerosa sobole amplissimas in quas innuptae sunt familias auxerunt.

Thomae II Ludovici filio uxor desponsata est Elisabetha Cranstona, Gulielmi reguli de Cranston filia; quae ei unum filium, Ludovicum; sex autem filias, Helenam, Janetam, Margaritam, Annam, Mariam et Saram procreavit. Harum maximam uxorem accepit Thomas Lermontius advocatus; qui trina ex ea sobole auctus; Ludovico, centurione; Gulielmo, medicinae doctore, qui coelibem adhuc vitam agunt; et Margarita, quae D. Gulielmo Calderwodio de Polton, equiti, summique fori senatori, nupta, trinis minimum liberis eum beavit, filio nimirum Thoma Calderwodio, jurisconsulto, duabusque filiabus; quarum altera Gulielmo Congaltonio de eodem, jurisconsulto, altera D. Roberto Stuardo de Tillicultrie, equiti et jurisconsulto, sunt elocatae. Secunda Thomae II Cragii filia in conjugium data <Gulielmo> Borthuico de Crookston, materque ex eo facta Joannis Borthuici advocati. Tertiam uxorem habuit Gulielmus Calderwodius, vir devotus, apud Dalkethenses minister. Quartam Georgius Mentethus, mercator Edinburgensis. Quintam Jacobus Donnius de Smellum. Sextam denique Jacobus Cancellarius de Shielhill. Hae omnes praeter ultimam progeniem post se reliquerunt.

- 38 William Duff (1696–1763) was also, from 26 April 1759, the first Earl Fife. Despite appearances, this was part of the Irish (not Scottish) peerage. Similarly, his title Baron Braco (received in 1735) is an Irish peerage despite referring to the village of Braco in Perthshire. Jean Grant (daughter of Sir James Grant) was Duff's second wife. He married her in 1723 following the death in 1720 of his first wife (Janet Ogilvie, daughter of the Earl of Findlater).
- 39 This daughter was Anne Grant, who married Sir Henry Innes on 9 October 1727. They had two sons, Harry Innes and Sir James Innes-Ker, who, after many years of litigation, succeeded as 5th Duke of Roxburghe in 1812 (at the age of 76).
- 40 This daughter would be Elizabeth Grant, who married Hugh Rose of Kilravock, Croy and Dalcross on 15 January 1704. The Roses remained loyal to the Hanoverian cause during the 1715 Uprising.
- 41 William Grant died in May 1733, just a year after his wife, whom he had married on 30 October 1711. He acquired the estate of Ballindalloch from the creditors of John Grant.
- 42 The Independent Highland Companies were the forerunner of the 42nd Regiment of Foot (that is, the Black Watch). As with the previous daughter, this highlights the way in which the Grant family were cleaving to clans that were opposed to the Jacobite cause.
- 43 This was Janet Grant (1687–1761).
- 44 This daughter is Margaret Grant (?–1729). Simon Fraser became the 11th Lord Lovat in 1699. Unlike the other Grant marriages, this one was to an unabashed Jacobite. Indeed, some fifteen years after Baillie published this *Vita*, Lord Lovat became the last man to be beheaded in England for his part in the '45 Rebellion. His title then lapsed until it was resurrected in 1854. Their son – Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat – became a successful officer in the British Army, despite having fought for the Jacobite cause at Culloden. He later raised the 78th (Fraser) Highlanders for service in North America, where they fought at the Siege of Louisbourg, the Plains of Abraham and Signal Hill. He died in 1782 with the rank of general. In the period after Culloden, he studied law at Glasgow and later acted as counsel for the widow of Colin Roy Campbell of Glenure during the Appin Murder trial.

all the landowners in Scotland.³⁸ Another was given in marriage to Sir Henry Innes of Innes, knight.³⁹ From among the daughters of Ludovic, laird of Grant, the eldest was given in marriage to Hugh Rose of Kilravock, chief of the ancient Clan Rose.⁴⁰ The second married William Grant of Ballindalloch,⁴¹ a colonel in an independent company.⁴² The third married Sir Roderick MacKenzie of Scatwell, knight.⁴³ The fourth married Simon Fraser of Beaufort, now Lord Lovat.⁴⁴ These daughters of both the Grants strengthened the wealthy families into which they had married with numerous and beautiful offspring.

Elisabeth Cranstoun, daughter of William, Lord Cranstoun, was given as wife to the younger Thomas, the son of Lewis Craig.⁴⁵ She gave him one son, Lewis, but six daughters, Helen, Janet, Margaret, Anne, Mary and Sara. The advocate Thomas Lermont took the eldest of these as his wife and had three children by her: Lewis, a captain;⁴⁶ William, a doctor of medicine who has lived his life as a bachelor thus far; and Margaret, who married Sir William Calderwood of Polton, knight and senator of the highest court,⁴⁷ and blessed him with three children, a son, the advocate Thomas Calderwood, obviously, and two daughters; of these, one was married to William Congalton of Congalton, advocate, and the other to Sir Robert Stewart of Tillicoultry, knight and advocate. The second daughter of the younger Thomas Craig was given in marriage to <William> Borthwick of Crookston and, through this, became mother to the advocate John Borthwick.⁴⁸ William Calderwood, a man of the cloth and minister of Dalkeith, took the third daughter as his wife; George Monteith, an Edinburgh merchant, the fourth; James Don of Smailholm the fifth; and James Chancellor of Shieldhill the sixth. All of them left surviving children behind them.

45 William Cranstoun (d. 1664) was the third Lord Cranstoun and a prominent royalist. Despite the certainty of Baillie's *Vita*, most other sources are confused over the name of the younger Thomas Craig's wife. While some give it as Elisabeth, others give it as Margaret (e.g. Tytler (1823), p. 319), and still others as the almost certainly false Margaret Elisabeth. The problem stems from William Cranstoun having had six daughters, one of whom was named Elisabeth and one Margaret; one married Patrick Cockburn and the other the younger Thomas Craig.

46 There are extensive records for Lewis Lermont in War Office lists. He served with the Duke of Schomberg's Regiment at Steenkerque (1692), where he was badly injured by a musket ball to the thigh and sabre cuts to the head. In consideration of those wounds, he was appointed an ensign in John Gibson's Regiment (which would later become the 28th Foot and later still the Gloucestershire Regiment) in 1694 and a lieutenant in 1695, accompanying the regiment to Newfoundland in 1697. While War Office records from 1698 state that he "prays a cy. in the New Levies" (i.e., he was requesting command of a company and captaincy in one of the newly raised regiments), he was still with the same regiment (renamed first Lalo's Regiment, after Sampson de Lalo took command, and then Mordaunt's Regiment after John Mordaunt became colonel) when, in 1707, he was promoted to captain and promptly captured at the Battle of Almanza (during which the regiment lost over 300 officers and men out of a total strength of 532). For all this, see *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714*, vol. 4, 1694-1702 (London, 1898), pp. 106, 151.

47 William Calderwood, Lord Polton (?1660-1733) was appointed Lord Ordinary and Lord of Justiciary in 1711.

48 The 1732 text has a lacuna before *Borthuico*, but sasine records from 1671 show that Janet Craig's spouse was William Borthwick of Crookston.

Ludovico II (Thomae II filius, Ludovici I nepos, Thomae I pronepos) ex uxore Margarita Dalglesia, Roberti Dalglesii de Lauriston filia, quinque filii, quatuor filiae sunt susceptae. Filiorum maximus, Thomas, ante multos annos decessit, unica filia relicta, Helena; quae Gulielmo Carmichaeli de Skirling, jurisconsulto et comitis Hyndfordiae fratri, in conjugem data, duos ei filios, totidem et filias peperit. Secundus Robertus itidem jurisconsultus fratri Thomae in praedium de Riccarton, quod feudum esset masculinum, successit; qui vinculi conjugalis expertem vitam elegit. Joannes natu tertius peregre profectus militiae nomen dedit; ubi locumtenentis, quem vocant, honores adeptum, ne altius assurgeret praematura mors prohibuit. Quartus Jacobus, causarum etiam patronus, jurisque civilis in Academia Edinburgena professor; quod munus cum multos annos summa cum assiduitate obiisset, proximo mense Augusto, magno sui desiderio relicto, satis concessit. Ex prima uxore, Mariona Frasieria, Alexandri Frasierii de Strichen filia, unam tantum, sed primo aevo extinctam, filiam habuit; ex secunda autem, Christiana Dundassia, Roberti Dundassii de Arniston, senatoris, filia, duo ei filii, Thomas et Robertus (Cragiae familiae spes altera), duaeque filiae, omnes impuberes, supersunt. Quintus et natu minimus Ludovici II filius est Gulielmus Cragius, qui Londini mercaturam exercens, conjugem quidem sed nulla jam viva sobole habet. Ex quatuor, quarum meminimus, Ludovici II filiabus, primam Joannam matrimonio sibi junxit Georgius Dannistonius, mercator Dublinensis; secundam Elisabetham, D. Joannes Gibsonus de Adiston, eques; tertiam Helenam, Alexander Brandius de Redhall; quartam denique Margaritam, Joannes Falconerius, jurisconsultus. Hae omnes maritos suos multa jucundaque prole parentes fecerunt.

Haec sunt quae de clarissimi D. Thomae Cragii progenie dicenda habuimus. E quibus liquido apparet, plurimas quae nunc in Scotia florent illustres potentesque familias (ut alias inferioris quidem sed honestae tamen sortis praeteream) ex illius semine prognatas, atque inter ejus posteros paterna maternave sanguinis serie censendas esse. Atque hoc egregiae viri pietati et meritis a Deo Optimo Maximo magna ex parte datum videtur; cujus, in sacris literis, ut multis aliis locis, Psalmo CXII promissum extat, *Deum timentium semen potens fore in terra; proborum nationem fortunatam futuram.*

- 49 This Lewis Craig died on 28 January 1681. He had married Margaret Dalgleish (only daughter of, and heir to, Robert Dalgleish of Lauriston) on 23 January 1662. Her date of death is not recorded, but she was still alive in 1708.
- 50 Born on 14 October 1663, he died on 22 July 1690 some months short of his twenty-seventh birthday.
- 51 The couple married on 17 April 1709, but the groom's brother (James Carmichael) did not inherit their father's earldom of Hyndford until 20 September 1710. Thus, at time of marriage, John Carmichael was the son, not the brother, of the earl. William Carmichael was admitted an advocate in 1695 and died on 29 December 1759 at the age of 88.

To the younger Lewis (son of the younger Thomas, grandson of the elder Lewis and great-grandson of Thomas Craig), five sons and four daughters were born from his wife Margaret Dagleish.⁴⁹ The eldest of the sons, Thomas, died young,⁵⁰ leaving only a daughter named Helen. She was given in marriage to William Carmichael of Skirling, advocate and brother to the Earl of Hyndford,⁵¹ and produced two sons and just as many daughters. The second son, Robert, was likewise an advocate and succeeded his brother Thomas to the estate of Riccarton, since it is a masculine feu; he chose a life free from the matrimonial bond. John, the third son, served in the military and died abroad, having attained the rank of Lieutenant, his premature death preventing him from rising further. The fourth son, James, was an advocate and professor of Civil Law at the University of Edinburgh;⁵² for many years, he executed his duty with the utmost diligence, until August just gone by when he passed away, leaving behind tremendous grief. From his first wife, Marion Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Strichen, he had only one daughter, but she died in infancy.⁵³ From his second wife, Christiana Dundass, daughter of Robert Dundass of Arniston, senator, two sons survive him named Thomas and Robert (another prospect for the Craig family), as well as two daughters; all are still children.⁵⁴ The fifth and youngest son of the younger Lewis is William Craig, who is involved in commerce in London, and who, though definitely married, has no living issue as yet. Of the four daughters of the younger Lewis Craig, whom we mentioned, George Dennistoun, a Dublin merchant, married Joanna; Sir John Gibson of Adiston married the second, Elizabeth; Alexander Brand of Redhall married the third, Helen; and finally John Falconer, advocate, married the fourth, Margaret. All of them made their husbands fathers to many joyous offspring.

These are the things we had to say about the descendants of the famous Sir Thomas Craig. It is abundantly clear that many famous and powerful families which now flourish in Scotland are descended from him (and I pass over some of a lesser yet equally honourable lot) and must be counted among his descendants through a paternal or maternal bond of blood. This seems to have been given by God Almighty in large part for his outstanding piety and virtues. This promise exists in Holy Scripture, as in many other places, through Psalm 112: the seed of the man who fears God will be mighty on the earth; the nation of honest men shall be blessed.

52 James Craig was Professor of Civil Law from 1710 until his death, at age 60, on 14 August 1732. This was the first Chair of Civil Law in Scotland, and James himself was the first active teacher of law at Edinburgh University. It seems appropriate that one of Sir Thomas Craig's descendants should have held the post, since he himself lamented the lack of professors of Civil Law in Scotland (see *Jus feudale*, 1.2.14).

53 James Craig married Marion on 22 February 1715. Their daughter, Elizabeth Craig, was born on 15 February 1716.

54 James Craig left behind Thomas (1729–1814), who died unmarried; Robert (1730–1823), who was an advocate and judge of the Commissary Court; and Elizabeth and Margaret, both of whom died some time before 1749.