In the case of the Drummonds, two traditions relating to their origins exist. The one which has generally been accepted by principal members of the family since at least the early 16th century is that their founder in Scotland was a Hungarian nobleman named Maurice, who settled here in 1066 and to whom the King granted the lands of Drymen, in the Lennox. The second is that they descend from Duncan, a younger son of Gillespick, the son of Gillecolm, son of Duyne Faldarg, Lord of Lochawe.

As the first of these originates from within the family itself, it is appropriate to commence there and explore its likely origins and the earliest period in time that its existence can be substantiated.

William, Viscount Strathallan

In his manuscript history of 1691, William Drummond, 1st Viscount Strathallan, adheres to the Hungarian descent and in his preface he narrates the following facts surrounding this gentleman's life and fortunes :

> In the traine of thefe Royal perfones who arrived fafe in that haven near to King Malcolms court at Dumferline, were many brave and worthy gentlemen, both Englifh and Hungarians, who have given beginning to divers families confiderable in the nation ; amongft whom was an Hungarian, eminent for his faithfull fervices, and particularly for his skilfull conduct of Edgar his mother, and his lifters, in that dangerous fea voyage. He was highly efteemed by the Queen, and earnestly by her recommended to the King, who for his merit honoured him with lands, offices, a coat of armes fuitable to his quality, and called him DRUMMOND.

He continues:

> The firft lands given to this Hungarian, Drummond, by the King, did ly in Dumbartonfliyre and jurifdiction of Lennox, a country full of

> rivers, woods, lochs and mountains, emblematicaly expreffed in the coats of armes then given to him, wherein hunting, waters, hounds, inhabitants wild and naked, are reprefented. He had in property the lands of Rofeneth, Cardros, Achindounan, the parifh of Drummond in Lennox and Balfron.

Then goes on to say :

> King Malcolm haveing beftowed upon this new Hungarian ftranger a competent inheritance, dignifyed him alfo with ane honourable office, and made him Thane, Senefcal, or Stuart heretable of Lennox; all which titles fignify the fame thing materially, but altered the denomination with the times ; the charge whereof was to be gufticiar and guardian of that country, to lead furth the men appointed for the war according to the rolls and lifts made up for that effect, and to be Collector or accomptor to the Abthane of the Kingdome for the Kings rents within that circuit.

Dealing with this tradition in the main body of his work, Strathallan's account runs thus :

> THE FIRST PARTITION.
>
> It being in the preface fufficiently made appear, that the Hungarian gentleman, Maurice Drummond (who came into Scotland with Queen Margaret the faint), was the firft root o that family, from whom have grown a numerous offspring ; the laws of orderly method will now requyre that the particular names of the cheef heads defcended from him, following the right lyne, whom they married, what children they begot, and how they were difpofed upon, with the times wherein they flourifhed, be all rightly marfchalled ; and with each cheef theire propper branches as they ifhewed from him, and how they profpered, in theire due places feverally difcufled ; that fo the Genealogie of the

> whole generation, with theire allies, may be (fo far as we have right) prettie well underftood.
>
> The Hungarian, Maurice Drummond, firft heretable Thane or Senefcall of Lennox, came to Scotland in anno 1066, where he lived about 27 yeares, and with his foveraigne Lord the King Malcolm Keandmore, and his fone prince Edward, dyed in the feild at Alnwick in anno 1093 ; as is in the preface before related. He left behind him, 1093. as fome fay, tuo young fones, the eldeft he called, after his mafter and benefactor the King, Malcolm, and the other Maurice. From this Hungarian are lineally defcended all the worthie families of the Drummonds, and by their daughters in feverall ages, not only the greateft and moft. ancient of our Nobility, but alfo the whole Royal Family fince King Robert the Third, befides many Queens and Princeffes of forraigne nations, as will appear by the enfewing relation.

In his manuscript history, Strathallan admits to there being an abject want of evidence for these remote ancestors, and by his further statements he confirms that he relied upon and promulgated the writings of previous authors including "the famous Mr. William Drummond of Hathornden" who "framed a breefe relation of the pedegree of the Family, and erected a goodly tree of the ftock, branches and neareft allayes thereof."

William Drummond of Hawthornden

Strathallan's comment that he drew upon William Drummond of Hawthornden's "pedegree" brings us to consider that source and although the current whereabouts of the original manuscript is unknown, a copy was inserted into a 17th century collection of such documents held by a Robert Mylne, an Edinburgh writer, who died in the first years of the 18th century. From that collection the following is extracted :

> Edgar Atheling, son to Edward, Prince of England, intituled the Outlaw, the nephew of Edward the Confessour, finding him selfe

weake to resist the power and violence of William Duke of Norraandie, who then was subdueing England, fearing to be impaired in honour and estate, with his mother, Agatha daughter to Solomon King of Hungarie, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christian, intendit a retreate into Hungarie, their native countrey. In their voyage they were driven by tempest on the coast of Scotland, and arryved on the northern syde of the river of Forth, at the place now named St. Margaret's Hope. Malcolme the Third, King o Scotland, having then his residence in Dumfermling, not farr from the haven, not only in all hospitable manner entertained them, his former sufferings in his exyle having taught him to compassionat others in lyke distresses, but with ane army assisting Edgar, raised great conmotions in the North against Duke William, entered into league with Edgar for the publict saifty ; and to inchaine it the stronger, took to wyffe Margaret, his sister, a lady indued with all blessed vertues. In the traine of thes Princes were many gentlemen, some English some Hungarians, who had used all endeavoures to recover the lost countrey : but the government being setled they prevailed nothing. Among which one eminent for his valour against the Normanes, who by his good service in the conduct of the Navie wherein the Royal strangers were embarqued, was gratified by King Malcolme with sundry lands, and honoured with a coat of armes, viz. Three ondes *id est* weaves gules in a feild of *or* ; crest, halfe ane gray hound, gules, with his colours, *or* ; two savadges for supporters. About this tyme surnames in Europe beginning, which necessity first found out, this gentleman was named Drummond which seemeth to have been the motto given unto him from the Tempests, Drum in the ancient language signifying hight, as the Drum of Athole, Blair, Lenrick, and other eminent places yet signifye ; and onde, in all languages which come from the Latine, a wave ; unless one would conjecture this name to have been given from the ships in which they were conveyed ; which some other before that were called Dromones, *Quasi cursoria navigia,* [for according to]

> Isiodorus, *Longae naves sunt quas Dromones vocamus :- cursmn enim Aponov Graeci dicunt.* The French yet call a caravall, or swift vessell used commonly by pirrates, a Dromant. Thus the Argonautae were named from the ship Argos, in which they sailed to Colchos. This happened about the year of our Lord 1067.
>
> Of this Drummond lineallie descended the race of the Drummonds of Stobhall.

The antiquity of this tradition back beyond Hawthornden should next be considered and in his statement that "Sir Robert Drummond of Midhoop left fome Memorialls upon this fubject" Strathallan gives a further useful clue as the Sir Robert Drummond in question was Hawthornden's paternal grandfather. In view of this it would not be unreasonable to presume that in his manuscript, Hawthornden simply reiterated those traditions promulgated by his grandfather. Sir Robert's Memorials being long lost, it is impossible to confirm those to be the source however if we consider content which, according to Strathallan, concerned the family's origins, it is doubtful that Hawthornden would ignore family traditions of some antiquity.

Sir Robert Drummond of Medhope

Sir Robert Drummond of Medhope died in 1592 aged 74 years, and therefore, was born about the year 1518. He is named by Strathallan as a source of information relating to the early origins of the family, however, as none of his texts are known to survive there is no evidence to confirm which sources and evidence he founded his assertions on, though it is reasonable to presume that whatever his work did consist of is identical in nature to that produced by his grandson, Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, of which we do have a record.

The Portuguese connection

Strathallan recites an incident which he considered related to the young David, Lord Drummond, (died 1571), and in which Lord Drummond was contacted by a Madeiran nobleman named Manuel Alphonso Ferreira Drummond, who requested information on "their" shared ancestry. Strathallan recounts the event in these terms :

> Manuel Alphonfo, by this meffenger, fent a relation of the ftorie of his prediceffor John Efcortio, according as himfelfe had revealed it at his death, and earneftly defyred ane accompt of the Family from which he was defcended, with a teftificat or borebreife of theire gentility, and the coat of arms pertaineing to the name. Whereupon David Lord Drummond, with his cheefeft freinds, made adrefs to the Councell of Scotland, who granted him his demand, and gave him a noble teftimony, under the great feal of the Kingdome, with the particular fealls appended, and fubfcriptiones added of every one of the councellors then prefent, wherein the defcent of the Drummonds from that firft Hungarian Admiral to Queen Margaret in her voyage to Scotland, is largely attefted.

Strathallan seems to have been confused with the finer points of this incident however existing evidence clarifies and adds more accurate detail. On 15th November 1604, a notarised copy was made of a letter by John, Lord Drummond, dated 1st December 1513, in which he thanked Manuel Alfonso from Madeira for his letter dated the previous 2nd July containing details of his own descent and requesting further information from Lord Drummond on the family's ancestry. Drummond's response alluded to the Hungarian descent of the family and also that the surname Drummond was derived from a combination of the Greek word for water and the Latin for mountain, then the arms were described thus: "sea waves of redd colour in a golden field with twoe wild men or sauvages for upholders or supporters of the shield."[1]

[1] NRS GD160/158/2

Origins of the Hungarian Tradition

What can be said of this tradition is that evidence proves its first appearance in written record to have been in December 1513, when it was included in a response to an enquiry received from abroad which sought information on the origins of the family.

Of its subsequent passage throughout the ages from that point onwards, its written descent - for want of a more suitable term - was most probably thus :

John, 1st Lord Drummond's response to his Madeiran kinsman in December 1519;

|

Sir Robert Drummond of Medhope, born circa 1518 and died 1592;

|

Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, grandson of the former, who died in 1649;

|

Sir William Drummond, 1st Viscount Strathallan, who by his own statements confirmed that he had incorporated Hawthornden's statements into his own manuscript published in 1691.

Evidence

Of evidence relating to this Hungarian nobleman, not only are extant documents silent on his existence but Strathallan admits to a lack of evidence and a degree of confusion in his time :

"It is very probable this Hungarian Drummond's propper name wes Maurice, albeit fome fay John, for it is originally a Dutch name, and wrytten Mauritz"

He then goes on to say :

> Bot the records of that, as alfo whom he married, and what children he left, are inlackeing, and thereby the names of tuo heads of the family who immediatly followed him not fo certaine as the reft of the generation"

Nevertheless, despite an admission of there being a dearth of evidence, in his chapter entitled "Concerning the Five first Heads of Cheefs of the Drummonds" Strathallan confidently asserts names and dates as follows :

1. Maurice, the Hungarian, "came to Scotland in anno 1066, where he lived for about 27 yeares, and with his foveraigne Lord the King Malcolm Keandmore, and his fone prince Edward, dyed in the feild at Alnwick in anno 1093."

He then continues to recite further generations :

2. Malcolm, who succeeded his father on his death and for whom "there is no certaine accompt to be made, through the defect of ancient wrytts."

3. John, succeeded his father and had issue ;

4. Sir Malcolm Drummond, who lived in the time of King Alexander II., of whom Strathallan states "We have nothing material recorded of this Sir Malcolm the father"

To Sir Malcolm, Strathallan asserts that his son, also Malcolm, commonly called "Malcolm beg," succeeded and it is with this Malcolm beg that the ability to compare statement with evidence from extant sources commences.

Tradition of Descent from the Lords of Lochawe

Strathallan strenuously refuted all assertions that the Drummonds descended from the ancient Lords of Lochawe and maintained that the family tradition of descent from Maurice, the Hungarian, was correct. Responding to an alternative

tradition that the Drummonds and Campbells shared a common ancestry from within these Lords of Lochawe, he stated :

> There are fome of late who, contrary to what hath been faid and already cleared, doe alledge that the firft Drummond was one Duncan Drummach, a brother to Euen Campbell, firft knight of Lochaw, the fone of Gillefpick, the fone of Gillicallom, brother to Paul O duyne, the fone of Duyne Faldarg, all knights of Loch Crochan ; which Loch was firft fo called becaufe it lyes at the foot of the great hill Crochan-Ben, bot now called Loch Awah, from a daughter of Paul O duyne of that name, heretrix of the eftate, and married to Euen Campbell, the firft knight of Lochawah, her cufine ; and it is from this Paul O duyne that the tribe retaines the denomination to this day of Clan O duyne : bot the ftorie of this Duncan, they have founded upon as groundlefs and conterfit traditions, as the reafons they bring to prove the original of either name or arms of Drummond are weake and infignificant. This Duncan, fay they, defcending from the Highlands to the Low countrie, parted from his friends upon a remarkable place in his way called Carndrum, upon the confines of Argyle and Perthfhyres, where there is a Carn made up with three rifeing tops ; and as from Drumach or Carndrum they derive the name Drummond, fo doe they the armes from the three rifeing tops in the Carns ; and to gaine credit to the fable, they pretend a record wrytten in the Saxon character, preferved in Argyle and the Ifles fince the year 1085, wherupon this fiction is grounded ; and they add, that the old forbeares of both fydes haveing knouledge heireof, it produced mutual marriages and bonds of freindfhip, with a long continowed amitie betwixt the families.
>
> Bot to confute the whole alledgeance, thefe following confiderations may ferve. And, firft, as to the name :—It is known to be a conftant practife, both with us and elfe where, that alwayes the pofterity zealoufly retaines amongft them the names of theire famous anceftors,

> efpecially of thofe who have been the firft worthie authors of theire families ; whereof might be given innumerable inftances. Therefore, if any truth were in this matter, how comes it that never one of the Drummonds fhould have been named after this Duncan, theire firft devyfed parent ; nor have the names of Archbald, Ewen, Donald, Collin, Neil or Gillefpick, fo ordinary amongft the heads and other confiderable perfones of the Campbells, ever been once heard to be ufed by any perfon of quality called Drummond ; hot contrarywife, the names of Maurice, Malcolm, Walter, Gilbert, &c. much ufed amongft the firft of the Drummonds, are as unfrequently, if at all, to be found amongft the Campbells. Next, for the original reafon of the fyrname of Drummond, we have already given it a better and more rational derivation then from either Drummach or Carndrum ; and it had been a better fancy to have alledged that Drummond should be Tilmont, and the family Trimontanti, either from the three hills upon Carndrum, or from Duncan Drumach his goeing beyond the mountaines, if Italian had been in thofe dayes the language of Argyle.

He continues and bases further assertions on heraldic differences, then ends with the following summary;

> To fumme up the matter, the forefaid Colin, Earle of Argyle, had never fealed nor fubfcrived the teftificat from the Councell of Scotland, given to David Lord Drummond as a bore breiff for his Cufines in Madera, declareing ane other true original to the Drummonds, if they had been directly and lineally defcended from his own houfe. This long digreffion is extorted to anfuere a paper framed by Mr. Alexander Colvill, Juftice deput of Scotland, (otherwife a man well verfed in the antiquities of the nation), bot who, to flatter the late Marques of Argyle, his patron, was author or outgiver of the ftorie, that the Drummonds were come of this Duncan of Lochaw, brother to the anceftor of the Marques. What ever was Colvills miftake upon the poynt, yet in this he hes done the

> Drummonds fome right, to make theire beginning in this nation as ancient as the firft knight of Lochaw, which wants nothing in effect of fex hundreth yeares, and to obferve the many tokens of freindfhip betwixt the tuo houfes long agoe ; when the truth is, the Drummonds were Thanes of Lennox as foone as the Campbells were Knights of Lochaw ; and the tyes of mutual freindfhip betwixt the Families entertained by theire predecefsors, is not for any thing known as yet difcontinowed.

Malcolm beg

Malcolm beg is not only named in Strathallan's manuscript but he is also the first of the ancestors named by him who appears in extant documentation and for whom we can begin to gather definite evidence relating to he, his ancestors and his immediate progeny. As "Malcolm beg," he appears as a witness to a number of charters relating to various land transactions in the Lennox region. These include:

1. Charter by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox, granting the Island called Clarins to Absalon, son of Macbed, dated 1225.[2]

2. Charter by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox, granting the carucate of land named Muckraw, in the Earldom of Lennox, to Sir David de Graham, dated circa 1248. An additional witness is Malcolm's son John.

3. Charter by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox, granting the half carucate of lands called Kynhern to Stephen of Blantyre, dated circa 1248.

4. Charter by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox, granting his lands of Cochnach, Fynbalach and several others, to the Abbey and Convent of Paisley, circa 1248.

[2] GD220/1/D/5/1/1

5. Charter by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox, confirming the grant by his brother Amlec to God and Saints James and Mirren of Paisley and the monks thereof, of the church of Roseneath, dated circa 1250.

6. Charter by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox, granting the lands of Colquhoun to Humphrey de Kilpatrick. Dated circa 1250.

All of the above notwithstanding, of the most significance to the establishing of Malcolm beg's parentage and also in verifying the veracity of the two traditions is the following single entry which appears in the Chartulary of the muniments pertaining to the Bishopric of Glasgow Cathedral :

> Charter by Maldwin, eldest son and heir of Alwin, younger, Earl of Lennox, and son and heir of Alwin, elder, Earl of Lennox, granting the church of Campsie to William, Bishop of Glasgow, and the brothers there dated 1208x1217. The list of witnesses include Malcol[m] begge "fil[ius] Gilascop."[3]

Putting this entry into context, it must have been executed when Malcolm was still a young man and in his father's lifetime, and confirms that he was the son of a man named "Gilascop."

Comparison

In reviewing these two traditions with all their associated assertions and comparing them with evidence to hand, the following is of specific note :

1. Strathallan admits to there being no evidence to corroborate those of his statements which relate to the earliest ancestors included in his manuscript account;

[3] Reg. Glasgow. No. 102.

2. There is no evidence to support the existence of any ancestor named by Strathallan prior to the time of Malcolm beg, nor could Strathallan refer to such;

3. Strathallan confirms Malcolm beg as a direct male ancestor of the family;

4. The tradition of descent from the Lords of Lochawe refers to the founder of the Drummonds being a son of a "Gilespic";

5. Evidence proves Malcolm beg to have been the son of a Gilespic.

<u>Summary</u>

Strathallan admits his lengthy and strenuous defence of the Hungarian descent was a "long digreffion" which had been "extorted to anfuere a paper" which refuted his own position and promulgated that of the "Marques of Argyle" who was "author or outgiver of the ftorie, that the Drummonds were come of this Duncan of Lochaw, brother to the anceftor of the Marques." Strathallan also asserts that "nor have the names of Archbald, Ewen, Donald, Collin, Neil or Gillefpick, fo ordinary amongft the heads and other confiderable perfones of the Campbells, ever been once heard to be ufed by any perfon of quality called Drummond" although evidence now to hand proves him to have been in error. The question as to whether or not Strathallan was aware of an alternative ancestry to the Hungarian version he went so far to defend is unanswerable but from his other comments, it is clear that he placed a considerable degree of reliance upon statements given by John, Lord Drummond, to his Portuguese relation, in 1513. This is borne out by his assertion: "To fumme up the matter, the forefaid Colin, Earle of Argyle, had never fealed nor fubfcrived the teftificat from the Councell of Scotland, given to David Lord Drummond as a bore breiff for his Cufines in Madera, declareing ane other true original to the Drummonds, if they had been directly and lineally defcended from his own houfe." To Strathallan this attested to the veracity of information from a previous Chief

which corresponded with that contained within his principal source, the "memorials" of Medhope and Hawthornden.

But what of the tradition of descent from the Lords of Lochaw? This formed part of an Argyleshire tradition which, in his refutation, Strathallan recounts thus: "bot the ftorie of this Duncan, they have founded upon as groundlefs and conterfit traditions, as the reafons they bring to prove the original of either name or arms of Drummond are weake and infignificant. This Duncan, fay they, defcending from the Highlands to the Low countrie, parted from his friends upon a remarkable place in his way called Carndrum, upon the confines of Argyle and Perthfhyres, where there is a Carn made up with three rifeing tops ; and as from Drumach or Carndrum they derive the name Drummond, fo doe they the armes from the three rifeing tops in the Carns ; and to gaine credit to the fable, they pretend a record wrytten in the Saxon character, preferved in Argyle and the Ifles fince the year 1085, wherupon this fiction is grounded ; and they add, that the old forbeares of both fydes haveing knouledge heireof, it produced mutual marriages and bonds of freindfhip, with a long continowed amitie betwixt the families."

The tone of each is worthy of consideration: first of all the Hungarian descent is haughty in its assertions that the ancestor, Maurice, was gifted lands and high royal offices by the King of Scots and was thrust into a position of national importance albeit there is no evidence to prove any of this, whereas, the Argyleshire version is passive and ends with a praising of the long years of unity and friendship that had existed between both families on account of a knowledge of their shared ancestry.

In attempting to understand where the truth lies it is important to consider the request for ancestral information in 1513 and to place Lord Drummond's response to it within the wider context of social politics at the highest echelons of Scottish society. On the one hand, in a time when ancestry was revered and even the common man could recite multiple generations backwards from themselves, it is highly unlikely that anyone so high-born as a Chief of Lord Drummond's stature would have no knowledge of ancestors who lived barely two hundred or so years before him nor of the

wider kin-group to which he belonged, although, on the other hand it would certainly not be in his interests to endorse a written declaration that placed he and his kinsmen in a subordinate position within a rival noble house, the Campbells of Argyle, via a descent from a younger son. Therefore, the narration of a descent from a foreign house with links to Royalty and tales of royal favour from a remote age would provide suitable stature as well as a convenient independence from any origins within the indigenous population and the extended familial ties that that would bring. As much as others knowledgeable of the facts may protest, denials, declarations as well a general acceptance within the family itself would be sufficient to establish the tradition and perpetuate it down through successive generations, thereby, the Drummonds set themselves apart and gave themselves an ancestral status worthy of any peer of the realm.

That is not to rule out possible ulterior motives on the part of the Marques of Argyle as by taking advantage of a pre-existing tradition of common ancestry with other families of national stature and including the inference that he was senior to them then within a system of society which was already top-heavy in favour of primogeniture, he could attempt to increase the general perception of having a pre-eminent position.

At this point in time, although further evidence to prove the parentage and ancestry of Gilespic, father of Malcolm beg, is required, it is now possible to discount the Drummond's version of their own remote origins and to conclude that on a balance of probabilities they descend from native aristocracy rather than a Hungarian sea captain with Royal connections.

Gordon MacGregor
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