

The origin of the Portuguese Drummonds: a Scotsman in late medieval Madeira?

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the origin of the Drummond surname in the Portuguese archipelago of Madeira. Used by Portuguese subjects from the early 16th century, the name is claimed to derive from João Escórcio ('John the Scot' or 'Scottish John'), a settler of the 15th century. The first aim of this paper is to provide an initial analysis of Escórcio's existence in the record of the Council of Funchal, between 1470 and 1486, to contextualise his emergence in Portugal's first Atlantic colony. As part of this approach, the historiography of Scottish migration is engaged with drawing upon examples of Scots overseas.

The secondary purpose of this paper is to present the correspondence between Escórcio's descendants, the Chiefs of the Clan Drummond and their kinsmen in Scotland, spanning the 16th to 18th centuries, to complement the chronology of Escórcio in Madeira. This same correspondence reconciles his identity with that of John Drummond, considered a son of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall and Cargill and Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, and reveals a tie of kinship between the Portuguese Drummonds and their Scottish namesakes. Through the research presented, currently Escórcio could be considered the earliest known example of a Scottish settler in Portuguese history, written into the historical record of the Clan Drummond. As a result, this paper may be considered a contribution to the study of Scottish migration within the Iberian world during the late medieval period, a field that is largely unknown.

INTRODUCTION

From the 16th century, Portuguese subjects in the archipelago of Madeira ('the Madeiras') appear using a surname of Scottish origin.¹ The Drummond name was in use by 1536, if not earlier, and emerges in marriage records from 1541.² Given its origin, it seems reasonable to claim that the surname derives from a member of the Clan Drummond of the Scottish Highlands (Adam 1952: 213), whether that be of the Chief's family or a person who lived on their fief (Adam 1952: 397). Having piqued curiosity and interest for five centuries (Drummond 1889: 92–3), the

origin of the Portuguese Drummonds can, now, be situated within the historiography of Scottish migration in the late medieval period.

This paper explores the existence of the progenitor of the Portuguese Drummonds – João Escórcio ('John the Scot' or 'Scottish John') – in 15th-century Madeira (Noronha 1947: 242). The first section focuses on the emergence of Escórcio in the record of the Council of Funchal – drawing upon an authoritative transcript together with the original record – and offers an initial analysis of his name and an interpretation of his position in society, and provides some insight into his life and times between 1470 and 1486. A summary

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is also made of his genealogy, primarily based on the work of the 17th- and 18th-century antiquarian Henrique Henriques de Noronha, touching upon his marriages to Portuguese women and their issue. The possible aids to community integration are considered and the potential motivations behind his migration referenced within wider scholarship.

The second section concerns itself with the alleged identity of Escórcio. Having identified him as John Drummond in 1519, considered a son of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall and Cargill, Chief of the Clan Drummond, and Lady Elizabeth Sinclair (Drummond 1889: 94), the correspondence between Escórcio's descendants, the Chiefs of the Clan Drummond and their kinsmen in Scotland – spanning the 16th to 18th centuries – is set out. As a result, not only is Escórcio's emergence in the historical record provided with greater definition, but a clear tie of kinship is presented between the Portuguese Drummonds and their Scottish namesakes. This latter point is, perhaps, best demonstrated through a gift of armorial bearings by the Chief of the Clan in 1519. Shortly thereafter, Escórcio's descendants are seen to formalise their tie by petitioning for a grant of the Chief's arms in Portugal during his lifetime.

Much has already been written on the topic of Scottish migration within Europe during the 16th and 18th centuries, stretching from Norway (Løfsgård 2016) and Denmark (Christensen 1970) to Poland (Ozog 1995; Devine 2003; Bajer 2012; Kowalski 2015) and Germany (Dunlop 1942; Ditchburn 1988), as well as within the British Isles (Thomson 2000; Bennet 2018). The movement of Scots in the Iberian world is an area that has been subject to comparatively little focus (McLoughlin 2014), and it is a demographic that is almost entirely absent from Portuguese scholarship concerning the 15th century (Marques 1987; Albuquerque & Vieira 1988). Therefore, this paper could be considered to enhance the current understanding of the Scottish footprint in the late medieval period. The emergence of Escórcio in the 15th-century record of Madeira is clear-cut evidence of a settler who was associated with Scotland, for whatever reason, at the

very least. Better still, Escórcio could be considered the earliest known example of a Scottish immigrant in Portuguese history, written into the historical record of the Clan Drummond.

The *Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal* (the record of the Council of Funchal) for the 15th century provides the primary references to Escórcio. The transcript by Dr José Pereira da Costa, a former Director of the Portuguese National Archive and the Regional Archive of Madeira, was utilised and compared to the original record, kept in the Regional Archive (and digitised). The record is, perhaps, second only in quality to its counterpart in Oporto, Portugal (McCleery 2015) and provides rare insight into the development of the Madeiras between June 1470 and May 1498. The author is considered to be Afonso Anes, the clerk of the Council, and it is by no means a complete collection. Given that the nucleus of Madeira was Funchal, the primary settlement of the captaincy under the control of João Gonçalves Zarco, a squire to the Infante Dom Henrique, Duke of Viseu and Beja, the first lord-proprietor of the Madeiras (often known as Prince Henry the Navigator), it is unsurprising to find within the record references to their sister council – Machico – in the captaincy under Zarco's contemporary, Tristão Vaz Teixeira. The entries referred to in this paper, drawn from Costa's transcript, were written, first, into modern Portuguese, and translated into English by the author. Any loss of meaning or errors made is the responsibility of the author. Methods employed in this paper include the analysis of orthography, identifying writing conventions of the period (for example, the use of abbreviations for personal names) and the analysis of handwriting.

The digitised records of the Portuguese National Archive provide some evidence of commercial contracts from the early 16th century – believed to relate to Escórcio's son and therefore highlighting an element of his, and possibly his father's, interests – but their use in this paper is limited. It is accepted that a full interrogation of the contracts could, potentially, furnish additional context. The same repository contains the grant of arms awarded to the Portuguese Drummonds, kept in the *Chancelaria Régias*. The transcription

work of the Visconde de Sanches de Baena was utilised to uncover the specific references to the Drummond arms.

The source primarily relied upon, especially in the second section of this paper, was the 1889 edition of the printed book on the genealogy of the Drummond family by William Drummond, Viscount Strathallan, which contains copies of the correspondence between the Portuguese Drummonds and their Scottish namesakes. Given that this edition is considered a facsimile of David Laing's edition of 1831, who is known to have relied upon the 1689 copy of Strathallan's original work of 1681 (Goudie 1913: 164–5), it is unsurprising to discover a degree of inconsistency in the spelling and grammar of the copy letters compared to the language expected for the time. Nevertheless, while the English appears to have been refined, their use is still meaningful in the absence of the originals. Sources from the National Library of Scotland, the National Records of Scotland, and the National Archives at Kew, London supplement the correspondence and research. As this paper has depended, to a large extent, on digitised material, further research at the Portuguese National Archive and the Regional Archive of Madeira could, potentially, prove beneficial. Likewise, there may well be value in further exploring the repositories of Scotland.

TRACES OF JOÃO ESCÓRCIO

In the transcript by Costa, it is provisionally suggested that the name 'Joam Scorcio' appears in the proceedings of the Council of Funchal for 5 July 1470 (Costa 1995: 4). Having referred to the original record, the exact transcription of the name can be confirmed as 'Jº scoꝛcjo' (Parkinson, pers comm) (Illus 2), the modern equivalent of which is 'João Escórcio', translated as 'John the Scot' or 'Scottish John'. In this context, 'scoꝛcjo' is an *alcunha* (nickname or byname) that seems to refer to foreign origin (Vasconcelos 1928: 308), also used as an official identity. It is similar to the 14th- and 15th-century Portuguese words *scorciis*, *corciis* and *escorces* (Houaiss 2003)

and, considered a corruption of these terms, can be attributed to the family of the modern word *escocês* (Scots or Scottish) (Silva & Meneses 1998a: 407).

Although the byname indicates an association with Scotland, variations of the name were in use in-country as early as the 13th century to refer to a broader concept of Scottish identity – beyond the Gaelic peoples – which incorporated English, French and Flemish immigrants (Hammond 2007: 37). Used in Piacenza, Italy in this same period, it is probable that, in this context, the byname was meant originally as a slur (Jones 1997), evoking well-known notions of wildness after the Gaelic Scots (Hammond 2007: 37, 45; MacGregor 2009: 21–2). It also emerges within the British Isles, as an adopted name, in a variety of contexts (Hammond 2007: 41–5). In another example, a family in 13th-century Soest, near Cologne, Germany, was known by the name of 'Schotte' (Scot) (Ditchburn 1988: 97). Given their commercial interests, it is suggested that the adoption of the name was due to their significant trading relations with Scotland rather than an indication of origin (Ditchburn 1988: 97). By the time of the 16th century, following the trend of the Scot as a merchant, the byname came to refer to any 'pedlar' in the western province of the Holy Roman Empire, irrespective of origin (Ditchburn 1988: 142–3). However, an alternative and perhaps more recognisable understanding of the byname is, simply, as a 'man from Scotland' (Hammond 2007: 42). In the Iberian world in the 16th to 18th centuries, it was not uncommon for men from the British Isles, including Scotland, to be recorded after their place of origin in official records (McLoughlin 2014: 7),³ and this, too, occurred throughout Europe from Paris in the 13th century (Devine 2003: 7) to Bologna in the 15th century (Dean 2019), and elsewhere (Thomson 2000; Løfsgård 2016; Bennet 2018; Havinga 2020; Ormrod et al 2020). The byname did not change from a suggestion of origin, in northern Europe, until the mid-17th century (Christensen 1970: 128).

Naming in the late medieval period was inherently descriptive (Steiner 2007: 248). In the absence of a heritable surname or as a way in

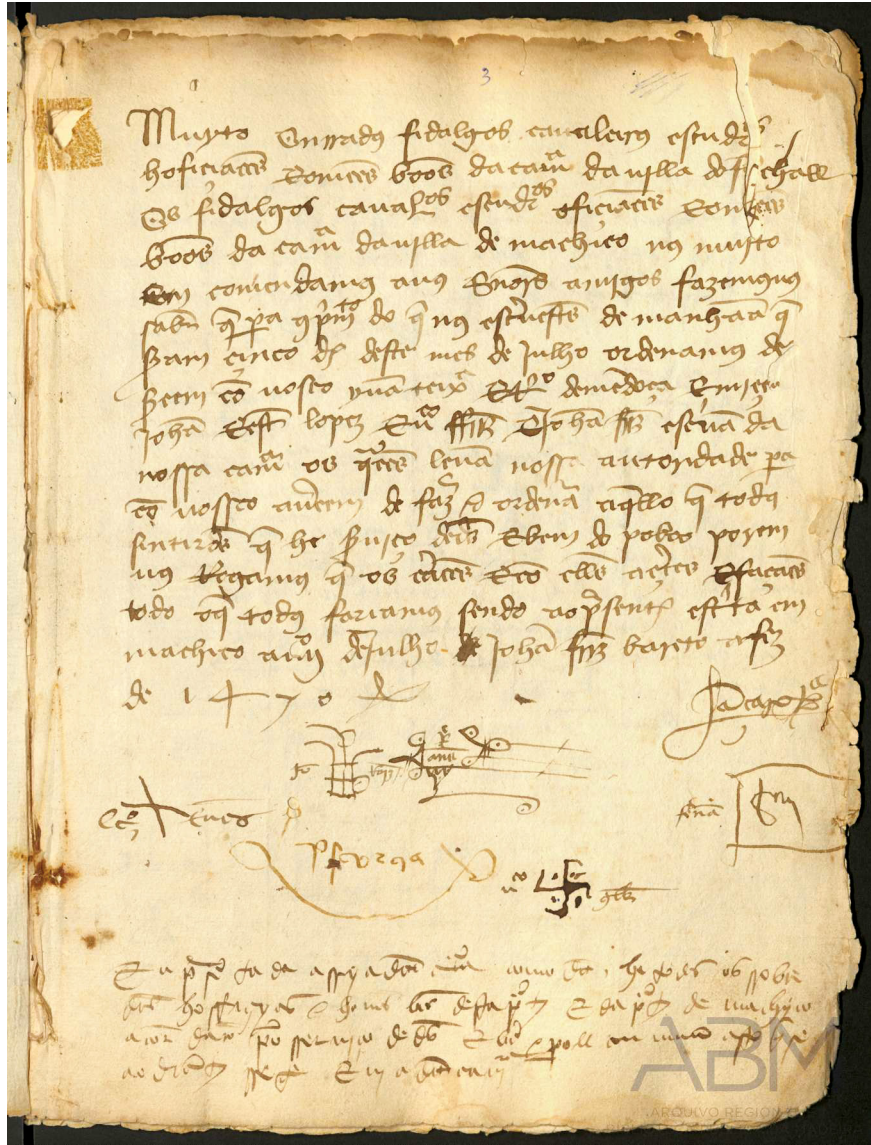
which to differentiate an individual from another, an identity could be formed on the grounds of origin or location, occupation, characteristic or patronym (Steiner 2007: 248; Hough & Izdebska 2016: 215, 224, 242, 244). Given this context, João Escórcio as a ‘man from Scotland’ seems plausible when we note the tendency for similar bynames to point to origin (Thomson 2000; Løfsgård 2016; Bennet 2018; Havinga 2020). In support of this view, Escórcio’s contemporaries are typically identified by Portuguese patronyms (for example, João ‘Rodrigues’ as the ‘son of Rodrigo’ or as indicating his progenitor) or locative bynames (for example, João ‘do Porto’ as ‘of Oporto’, Portugal) (Costa 1995: 4, 122), while, in contrast, his own identity is founded upon a deliberate association with Scotland. If it is known that the Infante Dom Henrique, the Duke of Viseu and Beja, lord-proprietor of the Madeiras, had ordered grants of land to be given to two men from Germany in 1457 (Russell 2000: 99), it is not improbable that others were shown preferential treatment (Russell 2000: 99). By the 14th century, Scots could be found across Europe as merchants, scholars and soldiers of fortune (Dunlop 1942: 5; Devine 2003: 7).

From the reading of Costa’s transcript of the original entry by the clerk, Afonso Anes, the Funchal meeting of 5 July 1470 was convened to officially recognise the commercial interests of the Lisbon merchant Martim Anes Boa Viagem in the Madeiran sugar market (Costa 1995: 4). His interests were confirmed in a charter issued in the name of the Infante Dom Fernando, Duke of Viseu and Beja, lord-proprietor of the Madeiras, which served as a forerunner to his monopoly of the industry in 1471 (Albuquerque & Vieira 1988: 51; Skoda et al 2012: 181). Some months previously, Boa Viagem had been granted a licence to buy and export sugar, honey and other goods without restriction.⁴ Held in Santa Maria Maior, the meeting was attended by men of both captaincies: Funchal and Machico. The record of the meeting reads that Machico was represented by a delegation led by Diogo Afonso, a *cavaleiro* (knight), who was vested with the power of the Council of Machico in a letter of authority of 5 July (Costa 1995: 4). It is in this letter (Illus 1)

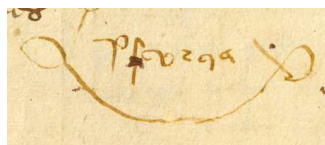
that Escórcio surfaces. He was one of the men who authorised the delegation together with the Portuguese *fidalgo* (noble), Lançarote Teixeira, son of Tristão Vaz Teixeira, the first Captain of Machico (Noronha 1947: 495), and four others: João Rodrigues, Lourenço Anes, Vasco Gonçalves and Fernão Gomes (Costa 1995: 4).

Given the style of handwriting compared to the other entries written by the clerk, it would seem that the document shown in Illus 1 is the original letter from the Council of Machico written by João Fernandes Barreto, the clerk of the Council. The names at the end of the letter appear to be a combination of professional subscriptions by officials, evidenced by unique notary marks (including one by Afonso Anes, presumably applied on receipt of the letter), and possible ‘signatures’ by some of the councilmen (Parkinson, pers comm). In the case of Lourenço Anes, it is possible that his name was written by a scribe and the ‘X’ applied as his mark (Parkinson, pers comm). Escórcio’s subscription is distinctive. His first name is abbreviated as ‘J’, representing Portuguese João, and the byname written as ‘sco’cjo’ (Parkinson, pers comm). Compared to the other individuals, it is a subscription that is written almost by the letter, and it is strikingly different from the more recognisable Portuguese names. Like Anes’s possible cross, it could well be that the mark on the ‘s’ of ‘sco’cjo’ was also his own (Parkinson, pers comm). If so, this might suggest that Escórcio was unaccustomed to signing his own name, either in Portuguese and/or his own language, or it could indicate that he was validating his subscription, written by a scribe. Having presented the letter and considered its contents, the clerk of the Funchal council writes, in a note after the names, that the matter was progressed accordingly (Costa 1995: 5).

The Escórcio name next appears in the proceedings of the Council of Funchal for 3 January 1476 (Costa 1995: 122). From the reading of Costa’s transcript of the original entry, the Funchal meeting was convened by Brás Afonso Correia, the *ouvidor* (crown judge) to the lord-proprietor, the Infante Dom Diogo, Duke of Viseu and Beja, who resided in the town (Teixeira 2008: 65), to hold an election for a *terceiro* (mediator) (Costa



ILLUS 1 The letter from the Council of Machico, dated 5 July 1470, in the Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal, 1470, page 3. (© Arquivo Regional da Madeira)



ILLUS 2 The name 'Jaco', as above, in the Vereações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal, 1470, page 3. (© Arquivo Regional da Madeira)

1995: 122). Álvaro Anes had been elected to the position but was unable to fulfil his duties, creating a vacancy. The entry notes that Afonso Correia overlooked João de Florença for the role on account of his young age and instead nominated João Gomes, an *escudeiro* (squire), who was elected. Within the record, three men are recorded as holding the offices of *juiz ordinário* (judge), *vereador* (alderman) and *procurador* (attorney), respectively. Conversely, Escórcio is recorded as an *homen-bom* (a good-man), a position equivalent to a Justice of the Peace (Albuquerque & Vieira 1988: 59). Although the record of the meeting does not explicitly state that Escórcio was representing the Captaincy of Machico, this can be inferred from the previous entry.

João Escórcio does not re-emerge in the record of the Council of Funchal until 6 March 1486 (Costa 1995: 132), when he appears alongside his son – a decade since the last appearance – probably because of the fragmentary nature of the collection. From the reading of Costa's transcript of the original entry, the Funchal meeting was convened at the house of Fernão do Pó to respond to a letter issued in the name of the Infante Dom Manuel, Duke of Viseu and Beja, lord-proprietor of the Madeiras, relevant to the administration of both captaincies. João Teixeira, a judge, and Henrique Fernandes, a knight, represented the Captaincy of Machico, having been delegated authority by the Council of Machico in a letter of 5 March.

The letter of 5 March appears to have been copied into the record of the Funchal meeting by Afonso Anes, clerk of the Council.⁵ From Anes's entry, it appears that the original letter had been certified by the *tabelião* (notary public), Lourenço Vaz, in the presence of Tristão Vaz Teixeira, the second Captain of Machico.⁶ It reads that the Council of Machico had met in the Campo de Santa Catarina to consider the lord-proprietor's letter a second time (although it is unclear what precisely the terms were). Having previously agreed that four individuals would represent the captaincy on this matter, the Council instead decided on Teixeira and Fernandes as their representatives in Funchal. One of the four men originally chosen, Pero Aires, a notary public, was, by

this time, imprisoned. The Escórcios were present at the Machico meeting, differentiated from one another as 'Joam Escorçojo ho Velho', a good-man, and '(...) Escorçojo ho Moço', an alderman (Costa 1995: 132) ('the Elder' and 'the Younger' being the respective translations). Noronha writes of Escórcio's son as 'João Escórcio o Moço' (Noronha 1947: 242). In this regard, therefore, the use of 'the Elder' and 'the Younger' descriptors can be considered in the context of a father and son relationship. The final reference to the João Escórcio name in the surviving record of the Council of Funchal is in an entry for 6 June 1486, in which he represents Machico (Costa 1995: 152).

According to the digitised records of the Portuguese National Archive, a 'João Escórcio' entered into three contracts for wheat in Madeira between 1511 and 1513.⁷ The summaries show that he agreed to purchase 4 *moios* of wheat (approximately 160 bushels) at 8,000 réis on 3 November 1511, 1 *moio* of wheat (approximately 40 bushels) at 1,600 réis on 1 March 1513, and 30 *alqueires* of wheat (approximately 90 bushels) at 800 réis on 26 September 1513. It is believed that they refer to Escórcio the Younger, the son of the subject, because of the date range. Although Russell comments that many farmers in Madeira were primarily concerned with the cultivation of cereal crops for much of the 15th century (Russell 2000: 89), it is problematic to attribute a single agricultural activity to the Escórcios given the limited primary sources available. Nevertheless, the above are clear examples of not insignificant transactions, highlighting an element of his, and possibly his father's, interests.

What, then, is revealed by the traces of the João Escórcio name? If it is taken that the first entry (5 July 1470) refers to Escórcio the Elder, his social standing was quite obviously significant enough to permit involvement in the administration of the Captaincy of Machico (Roberts 2009: 63). His name suggests foreign origin but this does not affect his contribution to urban life. While Funchal was the nucleus of Madeira, Escórcio, for reasons unknown, settled in the alternative captaincy. His status is established as a

good-man in the second entry (3 January 1476) – a member of the governing elite (Monteiro 2003: 3; Roberts 2009: 63) – at which he represents the interests of Machico in Funchal, if it is taken to refer to Escórcio the Elder. By the time of the penultimate entry (6 March 1486), which refers to a meeting of the Council of Machico a day earlier, there is an inference that Escórcio was not only known by name to his feudal lord but in person, too, given the presence of Tristão Vaz Teixeira, the second Captain of Machico, at the meeting. It is at this juncture, in the absence of any earlier evidence, that the Escórcio byname materialises as a heritable surname with the appearance of his son. Escórcio is not, in the entries referred to, recorded as a Portuguese noble, knight or squire and he does not assume a particular office. The appearance of the Escórcios on the Council of Machico suggests at least a familiarity with the Portuguese language, which we can expect to have been the adopted language of Escórcio the Elder but the mother tongue of his children.

What can be said, then, of Escórcio's integration into a Portuguese-speaking community? For Escórcio to have flourished, as shown, it is thought that an individual sense of belonging would have to have been satisfied. Kowalski writes, in the context of Scots in Cracow, Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries, that an indication of successful integration was the degree of social mobility afforded to the outsider by the host community (Kowalski 2015: 132). Escórcio in a position of authority and real influence, involved in the administration of Madeira, is a case in point. His intermarriage with Portuguese women alone, however, is a clear indication of successful integration (Bajer 2012: 333). In some instances, Scots in Poland in the 16th to 18th centuries could secure prominent marriages only following ennoblement (Bajer 2012: 333–4). It is expected, in the case of Escórcio, that his position as a public figure secured his unions, as follows.

According to Noronha, he is considered to have married Branca Afonso da Cunha, noted as the sister of the Friar Hércules da Cunha, the first priest of São Salvador, Santa Cruz, near the town of Machico (Noronha 1947: 242). It can

be deduced that the Cunha family was of some prominence and means, not simply through the social context of the clergy for the period (Oliveira 1971: 9), but, perhaps, because of the obtention of a *carta de legitimação* (letter of legitimacy) for Hércules's son (ACIHM II 1990: 164; Teixeira 1996: 431). Separately, Clode writes that Escórcio had been married, first, to Catarina Vaz de Lordelo (Clode 1952: 110), the widow of Tristão Vaz Teixeira, the first Captain of Machico (Veríssimo 2000: 127). Albuquerque and Vieira refer to Escórcio as an example of marriage of convenience (Albuquerque & Vieira 1988: 41). At the very least, such marriages demonstrate community approval. This societal acceptance is best exemplified by the union of Escórcio the Younger to a daughter of João de Freitas Correia (Noronha 1947: 243), a Portuguese nobleman, and granddaughter of Gonçalo de Freitas, the *monteiro-mor* (master huntsman) to the Infante Dom Fernando, Duke of Viseu and Beja, lord-pro-prietor of the Madeiras (Baena 1872: 116–17).

Ozog, writing of the Scots in Poland in the early-to-mid-18th century, suggests that a harmony of religion was of significant value in fostering integration, and something that was valued by the outsider (Ozog 1995: 72). Escórcio the Elder is believed to have instituted the original Chapel of São Pedro in Santa Cruz (Morna 2008: 59) – indicative of the area of his estate (Silva & Meneses 1998b: 280) – demonstrating a religious affiliation with much of the population of Madeira. Given the deeply rooted Catholic identity (Schwartz 2008: 94), a common belief system is considered a helpful aid to integration. Indeed, the Portuguese push for maritime exploration bore the cross of Christ (Russell 2000: 94).

What, then, were the possible factors that could have contributed to Escórcio's migration? Life in Scotland in the 16th to 18th centuries was plagued by disease and famine, made worse by its rural setting (Bajer 2012: 42, 341). The 15th century was no better; the land of the Scots was a barren territory (Dunlop 1942: 7; Gibson & Smout 1995: 12). Earlier still, it is stated that the Highlands and western regions of Scotland in the 14th century were particularly affected by plague depopulation (Grant & Stringer

2003: 104). Altogether, a bleak picture is painted and the grounds for migration laid bare (Devine 2003: 7). By contrast, Madeira was fertile (Russell 2000: 89), an ‘opening abroad’ (Devine 2003: 7). By considering the activities of Scots in other territories it is possible to elucidate additional factors for migration.

Løfsgård writes that compared to merchants of the Hanseatic League, Scots in Bergen, Norway in the late medieval period did not always return to their place of origin once they had established a web of business (Løfsgård 2016: 43–4). At the same time, Scots were present in Denmark as merchants and pedlars, and in southern Sweden (Christensen 1970: 128). In Cologne, too, in the 15th century, Scots were clearly attracted to the locality for mercantile opportunities (Ditchburn 1988: 328; Devine 2003: 8–9). Not only is this the case, but fellow countrymen frequented the universities of Paris, Cologne (Ditchburn 1988: 425) and Bologna (Dunlop 1942: 16–17) during this period. Evidently, there were both commercial and academic grounds for migration.

In contrast, if mercantile activity was discouraged compared to a career as a soldier in the 17th century (Bajer 2012: 306), the inference is that a desire for military service was a valid factor. Younger sons were prone to this course of action, in particular (Dunlop 1942: 9; Bajer 2012: 306; Bell et al 2013: 92). For the purpose of this paper, Scots as renowned swords for hire are best appreciated within the context of France and the Auld Alliance. As a cadre of mercenaries, they came to form the well-known *Gardes Écossaises* (Scottish Guards) in 1445, defenders of the King of France (Dunlop 1942: 5). As ‘gentleman adventurers’ they wandered where their blades could be used and their thirst for adventure quenched (Dunlop 1942: 7). It is apt, therefore, to mention the case of the Scottish Conquistador, post-dating Escórcio by almost fifty years.

Described as a hosier merchant, Tomás Blaque (Thomas Black or Blake) is considered among the first of the 16th-century Conquistadors (Mathers et al 2013: 55), having joined Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in exploring the area of modern-day Mexico and some parts of America in December 1540 (Villega &

Loeza 2022: 166). In 1533, he had joined Pedro de Heredia in his expedition which resulted in the founding of Cartagena, Colombia (Flint & Flint 2019: 125, 339). A footnote in the history of European overseas expansion, Escórcio’s own emergence in Madeira could, for comparison, be considered through the lens of Blaque’s journey. Like Escórcio, he is known to have integrated and been assimilated into his host community (Flint & Flint 2019: 339; Villega & Loeza 2022: 166). It is expected that the pull of commercial opportunities and an adventurous spirit were key factors in Blaque’s story.

By the time of Escórcio’s emergence in the historical record of the Council of Funchal in 1470, Madeira was a cosmopolitan crossroads at the forefront of exploration (Russell 2000: 97). It was a land of opportunity that appealed to enterprising individuals (Devine 2003: 7), particularly for its fertility and resources. In 1436, it was regarded as suitable only for hermits (Cunliffe 2017: 518) but by 1460, the year of the death of the Infante Dom Henrique, Duke of Viseu and Beja, the first lord-proprietor of the Madeiras, the Atlantic colony had evolved into an isle of prosperity (Russell 2000: 98). Not only can Escórcio be considered evidence of a settler from Scotland; he is probably so far the earliest known example of a Scottish immigrant in Portuguese history. Escórcio’s story does not end in 1486 but reaches its apex in the early 16th century, when his identity can be reconciled with John Drummond, believed to have been a son of the Chief of the Clan Drummond (Drummond 1889: 92).

THE CLAN DRUMMOND AND THEIR PORTUGUESE KINSMEN

In a collection of correspondence lasting until 1634, a tie of kinship emerges between the descendants of Escórcio and the Chiefs of Clan Drummond in Scotland. The first letter – issued in the name of Lord David Drummond (‘Lord Drummond’) of Drummond Castle, Crieff, to Manuel Afonso Ferreira Drummond (‘Ferreira Drummond’) of Porto Santo, Madeira’s sister island – is dated 1 December 1519 (Drummond

1889: 96).⁸ Held in copy form at the National Library of Scotland, in manuscript, it is also printed in the 1889 edition of the genealogical work on the Drummond family by Viscount Strathallan (Drummond 1889). It is a response to a letter from Ferreira Drummond of 2 July 1519, as follows.

Thomas Drummond, a kinsman of Lord Drummond, is said to have called at Madeira in 1519 (Drummond 1889: 92). He is said to have become acquainted with Ferreira Drummond (and his family) and learned of the alleged Scottish origins of Escórcio the Elder, who had confessed to the identity of John Drummond on his deathbed (Drummond 1889: 92–3). If true, such an act appears consistent with receiving the last rites (Boase 1972: 124). Drummond was asked, on his return to Scotland, to share the news of his discovery and return to the Madeiras with a letter of recognition of their Scottish ancestry (Drummond 1889: 92–3). In accordance with Ferreira Drummond's wishes, in a letter issued in the name of Lord Drummond, as Chief of the Clan,⁹ the following is stated:

according to youre plenarie and full information, I find that a certaine gentleman, John Drummond, about 100 years agoe, departed from Scotland, and fetled himselfe in the Ile of Madeira ... the faid John Drummond, youre prediceffor, concealed to his latter time from them of the Ifland, and thofe he converfed with, his name, blood, and generation, whereby the original of his extraction, and what belonged to his posterity therein, remained till then covered; fave that about his end, he difclofed to his ghoftly father in confeffion, and others called for witneffes, that he, accommodating himselfe to the Portugal tongue, went by the name of John Efcortio, whereas his own proper name was John Drummond ...

And that:

the youngeft John youre anceftor; who, being a gallant and heigh fpirited gentleman, according to the true information of the ancienteft of our trybe, about 100 yeares agoe, went to France to feek honor and reputation; of whom we never heard any tydings before youre letter, the contents whereof we have with the

oldeft men of our kindred, particularly examined, and after much fearch, it's found that he only about that tyme, and of that name, went from Scotland; fo that we are affuredly perfuaded, and, with the reft of our freinds, affirm, that the forefaid John Efcortio, youre grandfather's grandfather was fone to the faid John Drummond, lord of Stobhall, and brother to Walter Drummond, and that he defcended from our ancient Houfe and predeceffors ...

As Lord Drummond was in his minority (Paul 1910: 45), it should be noted that the letter was evidently issued on his behalf. From this letter, however, Escórcio is identified as the son of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall and Cargill, Chief of the Clan, and Lady Elizabeth Sinclair (Drummond 1889: 94). Sir John is known to have succeeded his brother, Sir Malcom, as head of the clan, in 1402 (Paul 1910: 39). His ancestry is well documented. Through his sister, Anabella Drummond, Queen of Scotland, he was an uncle of King James I of Scotland (Paul 1910: 39). Equally well documented, Lady Elizabeth was the daughter of Sir Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Roslin, and Lady Jean Haliburton, and is known to have renounced her claim to her father's holdings in Norway and the Orkney Islands in 1396 (Paul 1910: 39). Douglas, in his *Peerage* of 1764, refers to Escórcio as having 'settled in the Madeira Islands, where his posterity made a considerable figure' and recognises his proposed parentage (Douglas 1764: 278). Paul, in *The Scots Peerage*, ultimately based on Douglas's work (edited by John Philip Wood), makes no such reference.

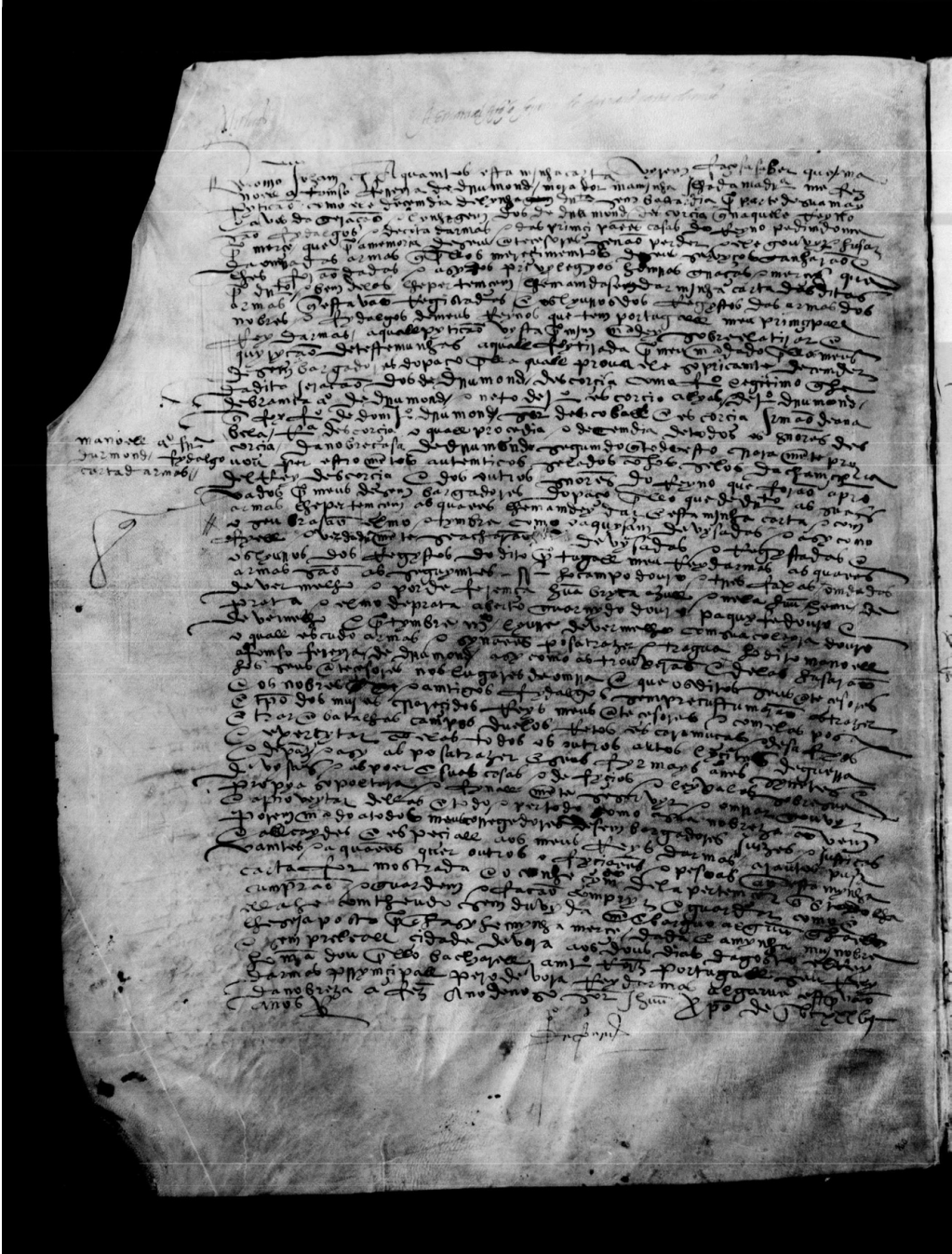
The suggestion that Escórcio fought in France, if he is one and the same as the proposed John Drummond, fits neatly around the latter part of the Hundred Years War. Some seventeen thousand Scots are known to have answered the call of Louis, the Dauphin of France, between 1420 and 1424 (Paul 1905: 264; 1906: 166). Archibald Douglas, 4th Earl of Douglas, landed with ten thousand men in February 1424 (Paul 1906: 166), and was slain at Verneuil-sur-Avre, Normandy in August (Dunlop 1942: 6). He was the husband of Princess Margaret of Scotland, a niece of the aforesaid Sir John Drummond (Paul

1906: 166). John Stewart, 2nd Earl of Buchan, landed in France with some seven thousand soldiers four years earlier, and also perished at Verneuil-sur-Avre alongside Douglas, his father-in-law (Paul 1905: 264; Dunlop 1942: 6). Dunlop writes that even after Verneuil, Scottish mercenaries were engaged across France under Joan of Arc (Dunlop 1942: 6), and freelance men-at-arms continued to be raised after the formation of the Guards in 1445 (Simpson 1992: 18–19; Bell et al 2013: 92). Between 1450 and 1500, it is believed that there was a presence of between five and seven hundred Scots in the official service of the King of France, not inclusive of the Scottish mercenary (Simpson 1992: 18–19).

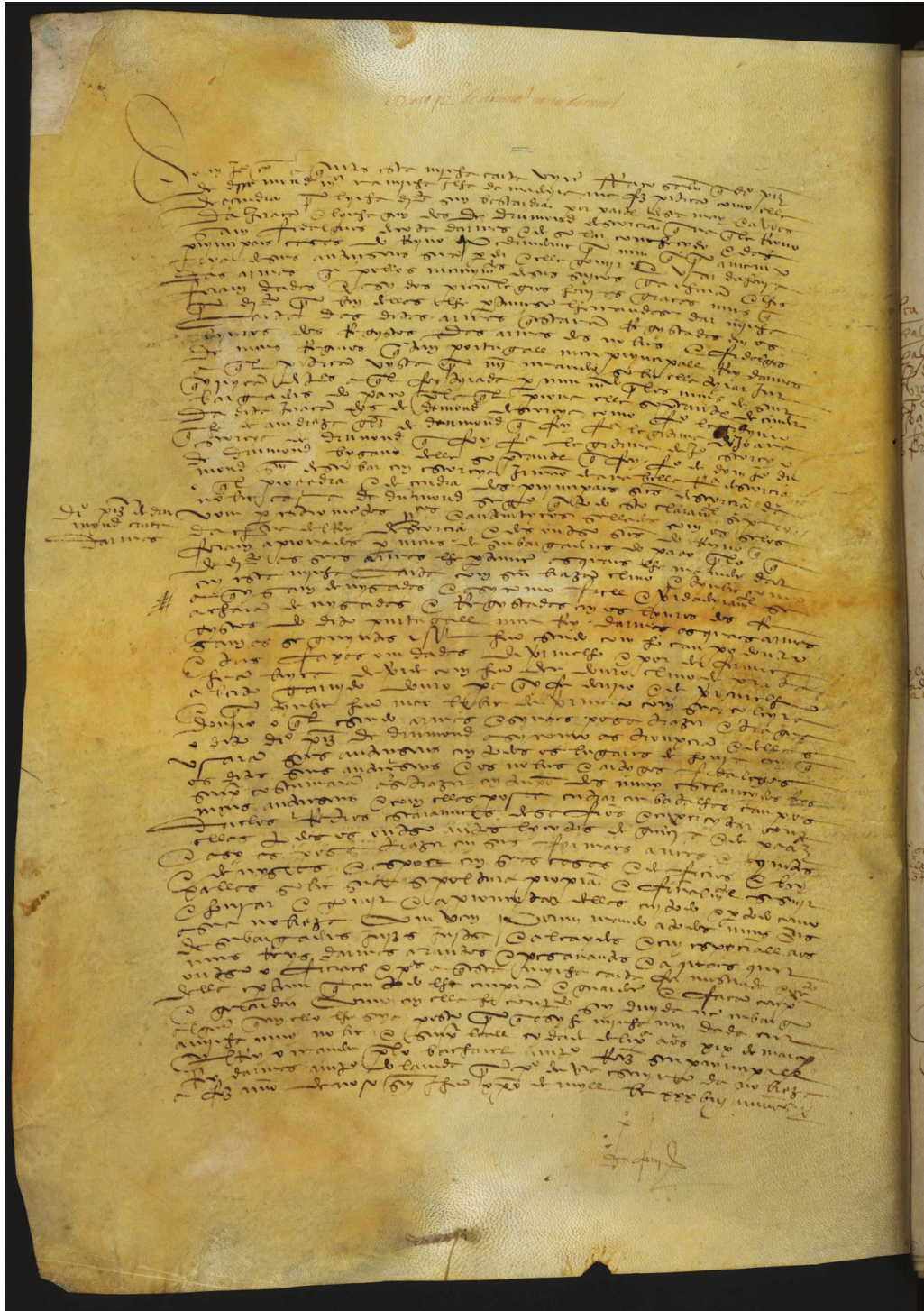
In what can only be thought of as an act of recognition (Adam 1952: 201), Ferreira Drummond and his kinsmen were made a gift of Lord Drummond's armorial bearings in the letter of 1519 (Drummond 1889: 95–6). An accompanying attestation outlined the origins and history of the family and contained a blazon of Drummond's armorial bearings (Drummond 1889: 95–6). The attestation was allegedly sealed with the Great Seal of Scotland, although no entry appears in the index for the Register of the Great Seal or the Inventory of Royal Letter Books (SP1) in the State Papers for the period. However, as referenced by Noronha (Noronha 1947: 239–41) and reproduced in *Ascendência Genealógica da família Drummond* (Vaz nd: 18–20) and in the *Supplement: Drummonds of Portugal* (Anon nd: xxviii), John Chapman, a notary for the Privy Council of Scotland, on 18 May 1525 writes of the attestation as having been sealed by Robert Barton of Overbarton, Controller of Scotland. Barton was the guardian of Lord Drummond, who was under the principal care of King James V of Scotland (Paul 1910: 45). Other subscribers were Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen; James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews; James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane; Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus; George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly; Colin Campbell, 3rd Earl of Argyll; John Stewart (of Darnley), 3rd Earl of Lennox; Cuthbert Cunningham, 3rd Earl of Glencairn; and John Lindsay, 5th Lord Lindsay (Noronha 1947: 239–41).

Following a petition to Dom João III of Portugal, Ferreira Drummond was subsequently issued a grant of Lord Drummond's arms on 2 August 1536 (Silva & Meneses 1998a: 173) (Illus 3).¹⁰ His arms were differenced with the letter 'M', in silver, in a blue canton (Baena 1872: 458). It is uncertain why there was a delay in the Portuguese recognition being sought. What is clear, however, is that the claim to Drummond ancestry was met with enough confidence to result in a grant of arms. Soon after, on 12 March 1538, a grant was made to Baltasar Gonçalves Pereira Drummond, the first cousin of Ferreira Drummond (Noronha 1947: 261). His arms consisted of the Drummond and Pereira arms differenced with a blue clover and adorned with gold decoration in a canton (Baena 1872: 99). Diogo Pires Drummond, cited in Strathallan's work, followed on 19 March 1538 (Silva & Meneses 1998a: 172) (Illus 4), whose arms consisted of Lord Drummond's differenced with a gold dice in a green canton (Baena 1872: 145–6).¹¹ Lastly, Miguel de Carvalho had featured, within his grant of 18 January 1544, the Drummond arms differenced by a gold clover with green decoration, complementing those of his Carvalho ancestors (Baena 1872: 528). It is worth recognising that the petitions and grants were made in Lord Drummond's lifetime during a period in which he was a prominent landowner. He would later declare for Mary, Queen of Scots. (Paul 1910: 46).

A second tranche of correspondence emerges between Martim Mendes de Vasconcelos Drummond ('Vasconcelos Drummond') and Lord James Drummond, later first Earl of Perth (Drummond 1889: 99–105). Drummond was a grandson of Lord Drummond (Paul 1910: 48) and Vasconcelos Drummond a great-grandson of Pires Drummond (Veríssimo 2000: 50). Having obtained a copy of the letter of 1519 from Henrique Coelho, a notary in Santa Cruz, Madeira, Vasconcelos Drummond wrote to Drummond in 1604 requesting a letter of recommendation from King James VI of Scotland and I of England to bring before Dom Felipe III of Spain and II of Portugal, and from the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of St James's



ILLUS 3 The grant of arms to 'Manuel Afonso Ferreira [de] Drumond', dated 2 August 1536, in the Chancelaria Régia de D. João III. Liv. 22, f79v. (© Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo)



ILLUS 4 The grant of arms to 'Diogo Pires de Drumond', dated 19 March 1538, in the *Chancelaria Régia de D. João III*. Liv. 44, f39v. (© Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo)

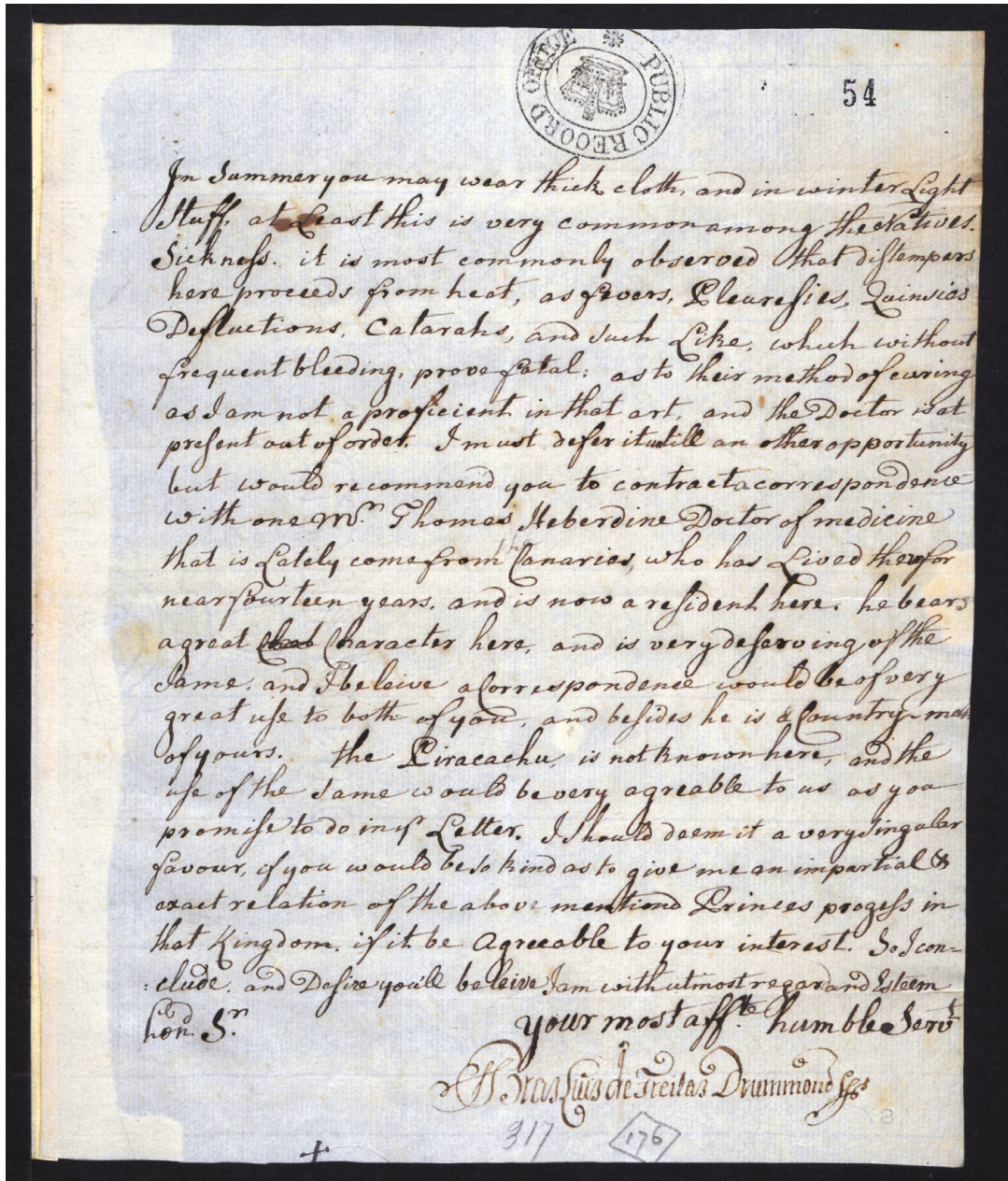
(Drummond 1889: 100–1). Drummond obliged with the request and had the king's letter couriered by a William Crawford. Crawford, however, had been captured by pirates and taken to the Barbary Coast on his journey to Madeira, arriving at his intended destination on 10 April 1614 (Drummond 1889: 101–2). In a letter to Drummond, Crawford writes that he had delivered the letter and that the recipient had, now, gone to the Spanish court with his newfound credentials. Noting that the correspondence was a decade old, however, the recipient asked for a fresh introduction (Drummond 1889: 101–2). Unknown to Crawford, by 1614 Drummond had been dead for a little over two years (Paul 1910: 48). Vasconcelos Drummond was soon appointed Governor of Porto Santo, a position attained probably, in part, by virtue of his origins (Veríssimo 2000: 49–50).

Following the above, three brothers wrote to Lord John Drummond, 2nd Earl of Perth, who succeeded his brother (Paul 1910: 47). Writing from Lisbon in 1623, António de Freitas Correa e Drummond, Remígio de Assunção e Drummond and Simão de Freitas Correa e Drummond asked Perth to approach Charles, the Prince of Wales, who was then in Madrid, for recognition of their lineage (Drummond 1889: 105–8). The brothers also sought validation from Perth of their ancestry, building on the previous correspondence. Vasconcelos Drummond wrote in similar terms in 1634 (Drummond 1889: 108–9). Emerging from their letter, the brothers claim that Escórcio left Scotland to assist Dom Fernando II of Aragon and Dona Isabel I of Castile in Granada (Drummond 1889: 105–6), before settling in Madeira. This same point is reproduced in the *Supplement: Drummonds of Portugal* (Anonnd: xxviii) and challenges the known chronology of Escórcio in Madeira, as documented earlier. This claim is repeated by multiple 19th-century antiquarians (Malcolm 1808: 233; Smibert 1850: 248; Anderson 1867: 62) and others have suggested his year of arrival in Madeira as 1425 (Azevedo e Silva 1995: 642; Silva & Meneses 1998a: 380).

Moving into the 18th century, there is the letter of a Jacobite sympathiser held by the

National Archives at Kew, London – the 'kin and kith' network in practice (Murdoch 2006: 6, 49). On 10 December 1745, Brás Luís de Freitas Drummond ('Freitas Drummond')¹² wrote to a Dr James Drummond of Crieff in response to his letter of 16 August 1744, received in May 1745. Freitas Drummond presents his sympathies to the Jacobite cause and considers Charles Edward Stuart 'King Charles the third', claimant to the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.¹³ He writes of the loss of Lord James Drummond, 3rd Duke of Perth, who, according to his intelligence, was believed to have died at Prestonpans in September 1745. Perth was a fifth times great-grandson of Lord Drummond (Paul 1910: 54) and had been one of Stuart's most fervent supporters (Wemyss 2003: 127). Comforted by writing to Dr Drummond who, Freitas Drummond says, was close to the duke, he expands, 'I had proposed to write to his grace in obedience to his request and satisfy him in regard to every thing that he is desirous to know touching his name here',¹⁴ no doubt referring to the Escórcio story. Freitas Drummond had, initially, planned on making the journey to England to meet with the duke but had been informed that he was in Flanders. It is this acknowledgement of a Portuguese Drummond, far away from Scotland, that underscores the view of Perth as having considerable influence over his kinsmen (Pittock 2001: 68). Freitas Drummond expands, most intriguingly, that he had alternative intelligence to suggest that Perth was, in fact, alive and well. Should he be in the 'land of the living',¹⁵ he would pledge his support to him. He goes beyond mere sympathy, stating that 'if he should have any commands this way, [I] should think myself very happy in obeying his orders'.¹⁶ He asks of Dr Drummond, before closing his letter: 'I should deem it a very singular favour, if you would be so kind as to give me an impartial and exact relation of the above mentioned Princes progress in that kingdom ...' (Illus 5). Indeed, Perth had not fallen at Prestonpans. He would die at sea on 13 May 1746 following Culloden (Paul 1910: 55).

On 10 February 1751, following a petition to Dom José I of Portugal (Silva & Meneses



ILLUS 5 The last page of the letter from Brás Luís de Freitas Drummond to Dr James Drummond of Crieff, Scotland, 10 December 1745. TNA SP 36/75/2/53. (© The National Archives)

1998a: 172), Freitas Drummond was made a grant of arms consisting of the armorial bearings of Lord Drummond as well as those of his Aragão antecedents (Baena 1872: 116–17). More

of his exchanges could potentially add to his association with Perth, but the very correspondence seems likely to have served as a means, at least in part, to his petition.

CONCLUSION

Can it be concluded that the progenitor of the Portuguese Drummonds – João Escórcio (‘John the Scot’ or ‘Scottish John’) – was, indeed, a Scotsman? It should be first appreciated that variations of his byname were adopted as surnames in Scotland, as early as the 13th century, by those of foreign origin undergoing a process of cultural assimilation; Escórcio could well be a descendant of such an individual. At the same time, the name ‘Scot’ can also be found within the British Isles in a variety of contexts. Synonymous with a slur, as described above, the name could carry the same meaning in Escórcio’s example. It could also, for whatever reason, indicate a general association with Scotland (for example, owing to mercantile connections or a play on stereotypes). So Escórcio could well be a Portuguese countryman. However, owing to the context in which his name appears, alongside individuals who are identified by normal Portuguese patronyms, locative bynames and family surnames, it is, on balance, reasonable to propose his identity as indicating foreign origin: a ‘man from Scotland’.¹⁷ His identity is strikingly different. If he was a Portuguese countryman, it seems unusual that he is only recorded as described, given the convention established in the record of the Council of Funchal.

It can be said, with confidence, that Escórcio was established in Madeira by 1470 and that he had probably settled in the Captaincy of Machico much earlier. From the emergence of his name in the record of Funchal council, he was certainly accepted by his host community, if indeed Escórcio as an outsider is the view subscribed to. His origin was not an obstacle to community integration, and he was received into the ranks of the governing elite. Through marriages of convenience, in itself an indication of successful integration, his place in society was secured and his descendants were woven into the fabric of Portugal’s first Atlantic colony. It is to be expected that he embraced the Portuguese language and culture, and felt a personal sense of belonging, yet retained an identity as a person of foreign origin, given his byname, which was adopted as

an official identity. But what brought him to the Madeiras? His motives for leaving Scotland are likely to have been multifaceted and it is likely that Madeira, an island of fertility at the forefront of the Age of Discovery, was too appealing to pass over, given the chance. Scotland was a barren territory. How he heard about the archipelago or where he was, before settling in the Captaincy of Machico, are details lost to time. Perhaps the finer points do not matter so much. Instead, it seems fitting to treat his emergence as a soul who found his ‘opening abroad’ (Devine 2003: 7).

The idea that Escórcio revealed in a death-bed confession that his proper name was John Drummond, and that he was from Scotland, is not in itself unfathomable (Drummond 1889: 92–3). However, the secondary nature of the alleged testimony and the insufficiency of primary evidence does not go far to dispel residual doubt. The reconciliation of identity by the Chief of the Clan Drummond does not eliminate the need for caution, given the uncertainty surrounding the reliability of Lord Drummond’s letter (Paul 1910: 45). Nevertheless, the account should not be altogether rejected. Clearly, it was agreeable enough to result in four Portuguese grants of Lord Drummond’s armorial bearings during his lifetime. Indeed, it is only, really, following the first grant to Ferreira Drummond, in 1536, that the Drummond surname appears in active use by Portuguese subjects.¹⁸

Both the Escórcio and Drummond surnames remain in use to this day in the Madeiras, some five centuries since their first appearance. Thanks to Escórcio, the 15th-century settler, it is entirely possible that Madeira currently finds itself host to the earliest known example of a Scottish immigrant in Portuguese history, one that has been written into the historical record of the Clan Drummond.

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NOTES

- 1 The name can also be found in the historical record for other Lusophone jurisdictions (for example, the Azores, Portugal and Brazil).
- 2 ANTT PT/TT/L/1/22, Chancelaria Régia de D. João III: Liv. 22, f79v. | According to Miranda (1996), a 'Manuel Lopes Drummond' held office, as part of the Fazenda Real (Royal Farm), from 1534 to 1538, suggesting, perhaps, that the Drummond name may have been in use earlier than the petition of 1536. However, it is unclear when he first adopted the name. See also note 18. | ARM PT/ABM/PFUN10/002/00001/000109, Registo de Casamento: Paróquia da Sé: Liv 46, f34v.
- 3 McLoughlin (2014) does state, however, that there are examples of Englishmen disguising themselves as Scottish countrymen. Was this happening in the 15th century? 'John Rankin', who was active as a merchant in the Azores by 1587, is a good example.
- 4 ARM PT/ABM/CMFUN/C-A/001-001/00002/000005, Carta do duque em que dá licença a um Martinho Boa Viagem para carregar em esta Ilha.
- 5 ARM PT/ABM/CMFUN/B-A/001/00003, Verações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal, ff55v–57v.
- 6 Tristão Vaz Teixeira, the second Captain of Machico, succeeded his father in 1470 but was confirmed in the position only on 6 May 1486 (Veríssimo 2000: 127).
- 7 ANTT PT/TT/CC/2/29/46, Corpo Cronológico: Parte II, Maço 29, no. 46; ANTT PT/TT/CC/2/37/170, Corpo Cronológico: Parte II, Maço 37, no. 170; ANTT PT/TT/CC/2/42/63, Corpo Cronológico: Parte II, Maço 42, no. 63.
- 8 NLS Adv. MSS, 73.1.17, ff39v–44v: Walter Pringle, who made a copy of the correspondence in the 17th century, dates Lord Drummond's letter to 1513. Possibly an error?
- 9 In Paul (1910: 46), it is noted that Lord Drummond was 'served heir of his great-grandfather, the first Lord, 17 February 1520'.
- 10 ANTT PT/TT/L/1/22, Chancelaria Régia de D. João III: Liv. 22, f79v.
- 11 ANTT PT/TT/CHR/L/1/44, Chancelaria Régia de D. João III: Liv. 44, f39v.
- 12 He is noted as 'Capitão Mor Brás Luís de Freitas Drummond e Aragão' in a copy of his grant of arms made in 1755: ANTT PT/TT/AM/01/006/000050, Adília Mendes: Administração de Bens: 006 Maço 6 1719/1896.
- 13 TNA SP 36/75/2/53, ff53–54. [Brás] Luís de Freitas Drummond to Dr John Drummond, 10 December 1745.
- 14 Ibid, ff1–2.
- 15 Ibid, f2.
- 16 Ibid, f2.
- 17 Escórcio can be considered one of many individuals of foreign origin in Madeira at the time. His contemporaries are as follows: João de Florença ('John of Florence'); João de Bruges (John of Bruges); and Miguel de Salamanca (Michael of Salamanca). Within the record of the Council of Funchal, entries refer to the Florentines ('ffrolentijs'), the English ('engres') and the Breton ('bretões'), and Escórcio can specify 'the Scot'.
- 18 It is accepted that records may well have been lost or if they do exist, they have not yet been digitised. It is possible that there was, originally, earlier mention of the Drummond name in primary sources. It is accepted that the first copy letter in Strathallan's work dates to 1519, according to the 1889 edition, and therefore this could be considered the earliest use of the Drummond name.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACIHM II: Actas do II Colóquio Internacional de História da Madeira
 ANTT: Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo
 ARM: Arquivo Regional da Madeira
 NLS: National Library of Scotland
 TNA: National Archives, Kew

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- ANTT PT/TT/CHR/L/1/44, *Chancelaria Régia de D. João III*: Liv 44, f39v. The entry for a grant of arms to 'Diogo Pires de Drummond', dated 19 March 1538.
- ANTT PT/TT/CC/2/29/46, *Corpo Cronológico*: Parte II, Maço 29, no. 46. João Escórcio enters a contract to purchase grain from the Crown (4 *moios* of wheat at 8,000 réis), which has been collected as a tax. The contract is dated 3 November 1511.
- ANTT PT/TT/CC/2/37/170, *Corpo Cronológico*: Parte II, Maço 37, no. 170. João Escórcio enters a contract to purchase grain from the Crown (1 *moio* of wheat at 1,600 réis), which has been collected as a tax. The contract is dated 1 March 1513.
- ANTT PT/TT/CC/2/42/63, *Corpo Cronológico*: Parte II, Maço 42, no. 63. João Escórcio enters a contract to purchase grain from the Crown (30 *alqueires* of wheat at 800 réis), which has been collected as a tax. The contract is dated 26 September 1513.
- ANTT PT/TT/AM/01/006/000050, Adília Mendes: Administração de Bens: 006 Maço 6 1719/1896. Copy of a grant of arms to Capitão Mor Brás Luís de Freitas Drummond e Aragão, dated 1755.
- ARM PT/ABM/PFUN10/002/00001/000109, *Registo de Casamento: Paróquia da Sé*: Liv 46, f34v. Marriage record of Pedro Jorge and Maria Jorge, dated 25 September 1541, in which 'João Drummond' is a witness.
- ARM PT/ABM/CMFUN/B-A/001/00003, *Verações da Câmara Municipal do Funchal*, ff55v–57v. The entry for a meeting of the Council of Funchal, dated 6 March 1486, in which reference is made to both João Escórcio and his son, João Escórcio the Younger.
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