

Symposium Colbert de Castlehill Toulouse- 8-11 December

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Colbert de Castlehill: La perspective d'Inverness

Colbert de Castlehill est peu connu à Inverness, mais il existe divers sources disponibles en Écosse qui peuvent aider à faire la lumière sur sa vie et sa famille. En utilisant mes connaissances et mon expertise locale dans les archives des Highlands et Écossaises, je souhaite présenter un article qui utilisera les sources existantes en Écosse, afin de les mettre à la disposition des autres chercheurs. Une connaissance de la famille Colbert / Cuthbert, de leur statut en Écosse, et de leurs antécédents religieux, peut aider à donner un sens aux décisions ultérieures de Colbert de Castlehill. Faire correspondre la recherche sur Colbert en France avec la recherche contemporaine Écossaise et la recherche dans les Highlands sur la même période historique donne des nouvelles perspectives. Placer la vie de Colbert dans le contexte de la rébellion jacobite de 1745 et ses suites donnera une vue différente, tandis que voir ses choix dans la Révolution française à côté des pensées de son frère favorable sur l'esclavage ouvrira aussi des nouveaux champs pour la discussion.

Cuthbert of Castlehill: A View from Inverness

Cuthbert of Castlehill is little known in Inverness, but there are various sources available in Scotland which can help to shed light on his life and family. Using my local knowledge and expertise in the Highland and Scottish archives, I aim to present a paper highlighting the existing information in Scotland, to make this available to other researchers. A knowledge of the Cuthbert family, their standing in Scotland, and their religious background, can help to make sense of Cuthbert of Castlehill's later decisions. Matching up the research on Cuthbert in France with contemporary Scottish and Highland research on the same time period gives new insights. Placing Cuthbert's life in the context of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and its aftermath gives a different perspective, while viewing his choices in the French Revolution alongside his brother's pro-Slavery stance similarly opens up new areas for discussion.

Symposium Colbert de Castlehill, December 2020

Cuthbert of Castlehill: A View from Inverness

Jennifer Morag Henderson

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I am a writer, writing about history through biography with a particular interest in the north of Scotland – and yet, until I saw the callout for this symposium, I had never heard of Seignelay Cuthbert of Castlehill. The symposium organisers say that “it would certainly be no exaggeration to assert that no other Scot exercised as much influence on events in France in the second half of the 18th century”, but when I first started to research him, one Scottish historian I spoke to even said that the thought had crossed their mind that the entire symposium, with its accompanying website, could be an elaborate spoof!

Seignelay Cuthbert of Castlehill genuinely is little known in Inverness, for various reasons, but there are sources available in Scotland which can help to shed light on his life and family. In this paper I aim to share local knowledge which may be of help to other researchers, and to highlight the existing information in Highland and Scottish archives. This includes the history of the Cuthbert family, their standing in Scotland and their religious background; their involvement in the Jacobite rising of 1745 and the Battle of Culloden; and Seignelay’s brother Lewis’ involvement in the Slave trade and financial problems in Jamaica. I have included full details of sources in the endnotes.

Seignelay grew up in Castlehill House, just outside Inverness, on the road to Culloden. This house still exists – I am very familiar with it, as I grew up very close by. However, researching ‘Castlehill’ immediately presents some problems, as there is more than one area locally associated with that name, and in fact confusion over names is the first barrier to researching Seignelay.ⁱ I’m sure others will know from their research that there are many variations of his name, something which is only increased because he is trilingual, speaking English, Gaelic and French, and the name is recorded differently by speakers of different languages. Meanwhile, there is more than one ‘Castlehill’ in Inverness: there is the hill where Inverness Castle stands – and there is Auld Castlehill. An area near the centre of Inverness, Auld, or Old, Castlehill was Cuthbert family land. The name Castlehill then in turn became associated with the area just outside the modern city of Inverness, on the road to Culloden, where Castlehill House was situated, even when the Cuthberts no longer owned that land. However, most of the local debate around the name (Auld) Castlehill centres around the idea that it may or may not refer to the original site of Macbeth’s castle.ⁱⁱ While Shakespeare’s play *Macbeth* is obviously the main place where most people encounter this name, the real Macbeth in fact ruled Scotland for a considerable time longer than his fictional counterpart. The local debate around Castlehill is full of layers of discussion of literature, culture and politics. None of this is strictly relevant to Colbert of Castlehill, but without that knowledge then searches through Scottish or Highland writings on ‘Castlehill’ make little sense.

Maps of the area from Seignelay’s time show the Castlehill House and lands clearly marked.¹ Castlehill house sits at the centre of the Cuthberts’ estate, which stretched from the eastern edge of

¹ The National Library of Scotland hold old maps: this military map from 1725 clearly shows “Cuthbert of Castlehill” <https://maps.nls.uk/military/186.html> (“A Generall Survey of Inverness and the country adjacent to

the burgh of Inverness up to the high ground of Drum Mossie Moor, and east towards the village of Croy. There was good farmland around Castlehill House, Muckovie and Stoneyfield, but Inshes is marshy, boggy ground. There were 49 named families listed on a 19th-century rent roll,² but the real number of people on the Castlehill land would have been much higher, as this list would not include sublets. Although it seems a large tract of land to modern eyes, it was relatively small for a Scottish landowner: it would have given the Cuthberts high status and power in the Inverness area, but far less so on a national or international scale.

Castlehill House itself, Seignelay’s childhood home, is a large dwelling place. It has been greatly altered and is now substantially Georgian, but part of the original building still remains.³ The building is still a family home, though the current occupants have no link to the Cuthbert family. Recently, Castlehill House and its owners were in the local news, during a debate over the naming of a nearby carehome – the carehome had first tried to call itself ‘Culloden House’ and then ‘Castlehill House’, both names of local well-known buildings, but there were several objections: I mention this not just for the passing local interest, but to show the emotive interest raised by historical houses in the Culloden area and what this means for filtering search results.⁴ In particular anything connected with the Battle of Culloden attracts notice, both locally and further afield: the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1746 was a massive turning point for the Highlands which has shaped this entire area, and attention remains focused on the Battlefield, particularly in the light of current political events around independence, and the massive impact of cultural and literary associations such as the ‘Outlander effect’ (tourism brought in by the Outlander books and television series). The ‘Outlander effect’ not only shapes some current thinking around the battle of Culloden but has a measurable economic effect on the major Scottish industry of tourism. (Though it remains to be seen what further effect the Coronavirus pandemic will have on the local tourist industry).

In the original correspondence I had with symposium organisers Andrew Moore and Professor Alain Alcouffe, the battle of Culloden was mentioned in passing: they thought that Bonnie Prince Charlie had stayed at Castlehill House the night before the battle. My research found that on February 18th 1746, Bonnie Prince Charlie marched to Castlehill. From the 18th February-3rd March, Bonnie Prince Charlie was in the area of Inverness, either at Castlehill or Culloden. He was apparently at Culloden on 19th February. On 3rd March he took lodgings in Inverness.⁵ Bonnie Prince Charlie’s brief stay at Castlehill is normally ignored in favour of his longer stay at Culloden House – particularly as Culloden

the foot of Loch Ness, ca 1725. MS.1647Z.02/76b) Their other online maps offer opportunities to compare over time.

² In papers relating to Lewis Cuthbert’s debts, bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313, p41.

³ There is a digital record of the Castlehill House on Canmore, the National Record of the Historic Environment (part of Historic Environment Scotland) here: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/13514/inverness-castlehill-castlehill-house>. This includes map references, a short description, further references, and photos. An archaeological evaluation of part of the surrounding area was carried out in 2000, prior to new housing being located there, but the finds were primarily from the Neolithic era. (SUAT Ltd “Archaeological Evaluation of Castlehill, Caulfield Road, Inshes”, 11th Dec 2000, Inverness Library reference MR/CAM/JN04). Castlehill House itself is substantially Georgian, and was the subject of research by local historian and author Norman Newton, formerly head of Highland Libraries, who delivered a talk at local book festival Ness Book Fest on 5th October 2019 on ‘The Georgian Mansions and Public Buildings of Inverness’ (unpublished).

⁴ <https://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/fp/news/inverness/1868696/new-cradlehall-care-home-finally-resolves-name-problems/>

⁵ Jacqueline Riding “The Jacobites” (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p383. I have seen the date of 18th Feb for a stay at Castlehill in other places, with no original source given.

House is closer to the battlefield, strategically important as being the home of Duncan Forbes (who was on the Government side), and currently operates as a hotel, drawing strongly on its links with the Battle of Culloden.⁶

Seignelay’s uncle Lachlan fought at Culloden, and there are several sources which shed more light on his life. Lachlan fought with the Royal Eccossois (Royal Scots), a regiment of French exiles on the Jacobite side: he was already living in France before 1746, and returned there afterwards, where he was a contact for Seignelay in Paris. Lachlan is specifically mentioned in a letter from Lewis Gordon to the Laird of MacLeod in the Culloden Papers. Lewis Gordon was the fourth son of the 2nd Duke of Gordon, and, in company with other families who made sure to have a foot in each camp, may have been a Jacobite as proxy for his brother (who remained officially on the Government side). Lewis Gordon was making plans to move wounded men and prisoners; writing from Aberdeen to the Laird of MacLeod, who was based at Culloden, he added a short postscript: “Colonel Colbert desires his compliments to be made to his Brother Castlehill”.⁷ It seems characteristic of the Cuthbert family that the reference is to Lachlan’s family ties. We don’t know whether Lachlan ever did manage to see his family, but he was captured at Culloden and “On 7th January 1747/8 [Lachlan]⁸ wrote from the Marshalsea Prison⁹ to Andrew Stone that John Gray, an officer, had been lying in irons in the New Prison, Southwark, ever since he came from Scotland...”¹⁰ In company with other French nationals, Lachlan was sent back to France.¹¹

Meanwhile, Seignelay and his family remained in Culloden, where they began to experience significant problems. Following in the family tradition, Seignelay’s father George Cuthbert was a prominent official in Inverness.¹² Previous Cuthberts had been Town Provosts (head of the local government)¹³, and the family name recurs frequently in Burgh Council records and church

⁶ In addition to his brief stay at Castlehill, on the night before the battle Bonnie Prince Charlie spent the night at Kilravock Castle, the home of the Rose family. Seignelay’s family were distantly related by marriage to the Roses of Kilravock, and of course family ties were very important to Seignelay.

⁷ “Culloden papers: correspondence from 1625 to 1748” ed H.R. Duff (1815), No. DXXII. (digital version available online).

⁸ “Colonel Colbert of the King of France’s Service”

⁹ Marshalsea was a notorious prison in London. It became well known later through the work of Charles Dickens: Dickens’ father spent time there.

¹⁰ “The Prisoners of the ‘45”, Volume 1, Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Vol 13 (ed Sir Bruce Gordon Seton and Jean Gordon Arnot, Edinburgh: University Press, 1928); available as a pdf through the NLS: <https://deriv.nls.uk/dcn23/1266/1380/126613805.23.pdf>

¹¹ Database of Jacobite officers, Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow: “COLBERT, Lancelot Cuthbert. Major, Royal Scots. T, Culloden. Banished.” <https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourresearch/jacobiteofficersdatabase/thedatabase/c/>

¹² A. Gerald Pollitt “Historic Inverness” (Perth: The Melven Press, 1981) pp139-142. This book was written by a former town councillor with an interest in history. It gives a summary of the Cuthbert family history with (crucially) references to where Pollitt found his information. Emphasis is placed on the Cuthberts who have served the town as Provosts, but at the end mention is specifically made of the French branch of the family, of the Bore Brieve which aimed to prove the historical links between the Scottish and French families, and, lastly, of the Bishop of Rodez (Cuthbert of Castlehill).

¹³ The word is originally from French ‘prévôt’.

records.¹⁴ Inverness Town House¹⁵ has one painting labelled ‘Cuthbert’, dating from 1730, when George was Sheriff-Substitute.¹⁶ George was second-in-command to Simon Lord Lovat, who is better known as the notorious ‘Old Fox’ of Jacobite legend. Lord Lovat was eventually beheaded in London.¹⁷ After Culloden, the Government army behaved particularly harshly in Inverness, and any official who thought to have helped the Jacobites would have been suspect. Government troops were stationed at Castlehill House, where, it is alleged, they caused considerable damage: “great numbers of... corn of all sorts destroyed, the tenants impoverished, so that they could not pay their rent, several thousand trees cut down for firing to the army, the manor house of Castlehill rifled, and [the Cuthberts’] house in the town of Inverness made an hospital of... the loss sustained thereby exceeds two thousand pounds at the lowest computation.”¹⁸ This is a considerable sum of money – although the Cuthberts may already have been experiencing debt problems.¹⁹ In 1739, fellow local landowner Duncan Forbes had written “The greatest part of my neighbours are in a very tottering condition. I am sorry that there is no great appearance that Castlehill, Clava and several others can keep their estates.”²⁰ However, things came to a head for the Cuthbert family when George died suddenly in a fall from his horse in 1748. He left a family of eight young children and considerable debts. Local hearsay talked darkly of a curse that had fallen on the Cuthberts to punish them for their behaviour, recalling with long memories the way the family had seized property in a “high-handed” manner after the Reformation, and a more recent occasion when the Cuthberts had been involved in the brutal and unnecessary burning of two local women suspected as witches.²¹

¹⁴ The Highland Archive Centre in Inverness holds the Burgh Council records (which start in the 18th century), and church records (from 1640). A search on Inverness Museum’s digital filing system brought up several results for charters that mentioned various Cuthberts, dating from the 1400s to 1600s. Most of these charters have been transcribed and could be accessed, but from the dates and names they don’t seem particularly relevant to Seignelay Cuthbert’s life, and would only provide background information about his family.

¹⁵ An impressive Victorian Gothic building which has just been refurbished

<https://www.highlifehighland.com/inverness-museum-and-art-gallery/inverness-town-house-2/>

¹⁶ The painting is dated 1730 and is the subject of some debate as it is hung with paintings of Provosts, but there was no Provost Cuthbert at this date, so it’s not known who is in the picture (“A Guide to Inverness Town House”, Highland Council, 2008). This picture is also available to view online at www.ambaile.org.uk. (reference: TITLE Provost Cuthbert EXTERNAL ID: AB_INVTOWNHOUSE07_51. ASSET ID 426. “This portrait of Provost Cuthbert hangs in Inverness Town House, in the Council Chamber. The date on the frame is 1730. The artist is unknown. There was no Provost Cuthbert serving in 1730 but ex-Provosts are given the courtesy title of Provost. The family of Cuthbert was one of the most powerful families in Inverness in its day and several Cuthberts served as Provost, often more than once, between 1556 and 1646. The painting could be any one of them.” Alternatively, I suggest that the possibility that it could be a picture of Seignelay’s father.

¹⁷ In the “Culloden papers: correspondence from 1625 to 1748” ed H.R. Duff (1815) CCCLXX, George Cuthbert is linked with the Old Fox; see also article “On the Site of Macbeth’s Castle at Inverness”, John Anderson, 1828, p240.

¹⁸ Petition of “Jean Cuthbert of Castlehill” to “Their Excellencies the Lords Justices of the Regency”, quoted in the *Northern Chronicle* Wednesday 30 March 1904, accessed through the British Newspaper Archive <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> (digital portal of the British Library).

¹⁹ The Cuthberts’ money situation is sometimes rather vague. There certainly were debts, but also a large amount of money coming in. See also Charles Fraser Mackintosh “Letters of Two Centuries, chiefly connected with Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815” (Inverness: A & W Mackenzie, 1890), p171.

²⁰ “Culloden papers: correspondence from 1625 to 1748” ed H.R. Duff (1815), p151.

²¹ “Reminiscences of a Clachnacuddin Nonagenarian” (Inverness: Donald Macdonald, 1886) pp93-101; Charles Fraser Mackintosh “The Cuthberts of Castlehill” (see note below).

However, Old Lady Castlehill, Seignelay’s formidable grandmother Jean Hay, stepped in to help her grandchildren.²² Jean Hay lived with her son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren at Castlehill House, and previously her own father, the Right Reverend William Hay (Seignelay’s great-grandfather), had also lived with the Cuthbert family.²³ The Rev Hay was the former Bishop of Moray, but had lost his position in the Glorious Revolution, after refusing to take an oath of fealty to William and Mary in 1689.²⁴ This strong Episcopal background might suggest why Seignelay and his family had some Jacobite sympathies – and why Seignelay (and earlier his uncles Alexander and Lachlan) later felt little qualm at converting to Catholicism, despite the fact that Seignelay was baptised in the Presbyterian church and his father was a prominent Freemason.²⁵

Jean Hay decided to appeal to her own family to help the Cuthberts of Castlehill. In about 1750 she carried Seignelay and his brother Lewis off down to London, where her own brother Dr Hay lived, to seek assistance.²⁶ In London, Jean Hay also set in motion an official complaint to the British

²² Charles Fraser Mackintosh “The Cuthberts of Castlehill”, the text of a lecture given by Fraser Mackintosh to the Gaelic Society of Inverness. This paper was passed on to me by Norman Newton (see above) but is available online here:

https://archive.org/stream/transactionsgae07unkngoog/transactionsgae07unkngoog_djvu.txt Fraser-Mackintosh (1828-1901) was a lawyer, local councillor and MP. He published many works on Scottish history, and amassed a library of historical works, which he left to Inverness. The library and the UHI are working on a project to fully explore the Fraser Mackintosh collection, and there is a website about the project here <https://invernessrarebooks.wordpress.com/fraser-mackintosh-collection/>. It is not fully digitised, but the index cards relating to the collection can be accessed via the Highland Libraries website here:

<https://www.highlifehighland.com/reference-and-local-history/special-collections/>. More information about Charles Fraser Mackintosh himself can be found on the Am Baile website (Am Baile is run by High Life Highland, part of Highland Council, and linked to both Inverness Library and the Archive Centre)

<https://www.ambaile.org.uk/detail/en/11159/1/EN11159-charles-fraser-mackintosh.htm>. Through his work as a lawyer, Fraser Mackintosh gained access to many documents, and he knew many local families personally, allowing him access not only to written evidence but to personal stories. However, he is notorious for his somewhat cavalier attitude to primary sources: this article shows his access to legal documents such as wills, his access to the families he was writing about (he knew Lewis Cuthbert’s grandson and gives personal details I haven’t seen elsewhere), but also mentions that he had mislaid several documents including, frustratingly, “one or two letters” of Seignelay’s, which have “unfortunately disappeared”. The article gives details of how Colbert of Castlehill came to go to France (with the help of his grandmother), and also the text of a letter from Colbert of Castlehill’s uncle, Abbé Colbert, talking about buying back Castlehill House. There are several digressions into local stories – eg the meaning of the name ‘Cradlehall’, and a reprise of the story about the witches found in ‘Nonagenarian’ (see above) – but Fraser Mackintosh’s account gives the most information, especially to do with Lewis Cuthbert’s debts and how the family were seen locally. The article also includes supplementary information which followed on from its first publication, in the form of new genealogical information from branches of the Cuthbert family in America. Fraser Mackintosh also includes details of family by marriage.

²³ Charles Fraser Mackintosh “Letters of Two Centuries, chiefly connected with Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815” (Inverness: A & W Mackenzie, 1890), p122.

²⁴ There is a plaque (in Latin) commemorating William Hay in Inverness Cathedral, placed there by the Cuthbert family.

²⁵ The baptism record for Seignelay shows that the minister was presbyterian Alexander MacBean. There is a lengthy description of a mason’s meeting attended by George, Seignelay’s father, and a subsequent argument in 1740 in several local newspapers: Aberdeen Evening Express, Thursday 10 April, 1879 and Press and Journal Saturday 19th April 1879. Thank you to Prof Alain Alcouffe for sending me the details of the abjuration of ‘Lancelot’ (Lachlan). The Episcopal church in Scotland had retained many of the rituals of the Catholic church. The appointing of bishops was a particular sticking point in religious debates in Britain and especially Scotland.

²⁶ Charles Fraser Mackintosh “The Cuthberts of Castlehill”; Charles Fraser Mackintosh “Letters of Two Centuries, chiefly connected with Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815” (Inverness: A & W Mackenzie, 1890). I have had some correspondence with local researcher Jim Brennan, who has tried to find

government, asking for redress for the damage that government soldiers had caused to Castlehill House and Estate.²⁷ The Cuthberts were welcomed down south: an anonymous letter written from London in 1754 and full of gossip about “Inverness youths in London” particularly praised Seignelay’s brother: “Lewie Cuthbert is one of the sweetest-tempered, sensible, promising young boys I ever knew. I love him very much, and Dr. Hay continues to use him with the strongest affection, and is exerting himself to get him into the East India Service. Lewie cannot fail of doing well wherever he goes, and if he lives will do honour to all of his concerns.” The letter continued “and God grant that the rest of Lady Castlehill’s children when they grow up, may promise as well, and be as lustrous as those that are already abroad in the world.”²⁸ Dr Hay had told his sister Jean that he couldn’t help all her grandchildren, but had suggested applying to the well-known French branch of the Cuthbert family to see if they could do anything. Two of Jean’s sons, Lachlan and Alexander, were already in France, and now she sent Seignelay to join them.²⁹

Although Seignelay was given other baptismal names which he apparently sometimes used, his French name suggests how important his family rated the connection with the French Colberts.³⁰ The ‘Bore Brieve’ or Birth Brief of the Scottish Parliament of 1685, applied for by Colbert, Minister to Louis XIV, details the supposed history of the Cuthbert family, their links to other noble families, including the Scottish royal family, and then to the French Colbert branch.³¹ Though to some extent an “imaginary genealogy”³², it traces the family tree of the Cuthberts, going back to the Gaelic Mic Sheorsa of 1371. It was exactly what Jean-Baptiste Colbert in France had hoped for: his family were merchants, but he had become the Minister of Finances to Louis XIV, the Sun King. Colbert became one of the Sun King’s most trusted advisers, carrying out a programme of economic reform that helped to make France the dominant power in Europe but, despite his power and influence, he still felt the need to try and explain away his background as the son of a merchant. Even acquiring the barony of Seignelay did not make him a nobleman, he had to somehow prove that he had been born

out more about Dr Hay: his research was inconclusive, but he suggests that Dr Hay might in fact be Jean Hay’s nephew, rather than brother, and that he could be the same Dr Hay (1715-78) who was an MP.

²⁷ From internal evidence in the quoted petition, it would seem that it was written about 1751, and that Jean Hay had been in London for ten months. *Northern Chronicle* Wednesday 30 March 1904 (see ref above).

²⁸ Charles Fraser Mackintosh “Letters of Two Centuries, chiefly connected with Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815” (Inverness: A & W Mackenzie, 1890), p240.

²⁹ I have seen different dates for when Seignelay arrived in Paris: on the Colbert de Castlehill website timeline, 1746 is given, with a reference to Halloran’s book on the Scots College, with an alternative of 1750. If Jean Hay’s petition was c1751, and she had been in London for almost a year when that was written, the second date of 1750 seems far more likely, particularly as it would place it after Seignelay’s father’s death.

³⁰ The record of Seignelay’s birth records his name as “Seignelai Cuthbert”; records at the Scots College record “Antonius Johannes C de C-H”, according to the timeline on the Colbert de Castlehill website.

³¹ “Reminiscences of a Clachnacuddin Nonagenarian” (Inverness: Donald Macdonald, 1886) pp93-101; A. Gerald Pollitt “Historic Inverness” (Perth: The Melven Press, 1981); and First Statistical Account of Scotland (p633) (ed. John Sinclair) - The Statistical Accounts of Scotland are available online fully digitised and searchable through the University of Edinburgh here:

<https://www.digitalresearchservices.ed.ac.uk/resources/statistical-accounts-of-scotland> - though a fee is payable to access this. This site is also available online for free via the National Library of Scotland e-resources <https://www.nls.uk/> - you have to be a member of the Library to access this, which is free but must be arranged by an in-person visit. The relevant passage reads “A family likewise of considerable antiquity, the Cuthberts of Castlehill, derive their designation from the site of Macbeth’s castle. Though this family is here only incidentally mentioned, there may perhaps be no great impropriety in remarking, that Colbert, the prime minister of Lewis XIV, was a cadet of it, that his illustrious descendents recognised, and still recognise, their origins in the family, that sons of it ranked high in the church and armies of France, and that the bishop of Rodez, is brother to Lewis Cuthbert, Esq; Provost Marshal of Jamaica, the representative of the family.”

³² Charles Fraser Mackintosh “The Cuthberts of Castlehill”.

with noble blood in his veins. His link with the Scottish Cuthbert family gave him this. The Bore Brieve proved the importance of the Cuthberts to the lasting satisfaction of both the French and Scottish branches of the family. Two of Jean Hay’s sons, Lachlan and the Abbé Alexander, were already in France. The Abbé had bought back Castlehill House for the family following their problems after Seignelay’s father’s death, (though he himself was barred from holding property in Scotland because he was living abroad, and a Catholic)³³, but he also did his best to help his nephew.

Seignelay went to the Scots College in Paris,³⁴ where he excelled in languages – unsurprisingly, since he already spoke English, Gaelic and French. His letters are fascinating for their use of the three languages – for example a letter to the Duke of Buccleuch, where he writes in French, despite English being their native tongue, but throws in Gaelic words when he wants to talk obliquely.³⁵ A later letter, written when he was exiled in England, talks of the sensation he caused when he spoke Gaelic to Highland cattle drovers: “they were not a little surprised to hear a man they did not know speak Erse [Gaelic], but when they heard that it was by a French bishop, they could not temper their astonishment”.³⁶

Seignelay would not have been the only Highlander in France, as many Jacobites (including his uncle Lachlan) were exiled there, and Seignelay always made an effort to meet with Scots arriving in France, such as David Hume and Adam Smith, seeing their nationality as a common bond which transcended both religion and politics. It is possible that, through his contact with other Scots there are other individual letters or references in other Scottish archives, which I have not uncovered. It was unusual, however, for a Scot to be promoted within the French church as Seignelay was, and his appointment to the post of Bishop of Rodez did attract attention in Seignelay’s home and the English-speaking press: "On Sunday April 22. John Seignelay Colbert, or Cuthbert, was consecrated Bishop Rodez Rovergue, by Stephen Charles Lomenie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, assisted by John de la Croix de Castries, Bishop of Vabres, and John Augustus de Chastenot de Puysequi, Bishop of Carcassone, in the presence of a numerous assembly of persons of the first distinction in France, friends of the Bishop-elect, and of the principal nobility and gentry, British subjects, who were then in this city. This gentleman is the eldest son of the late Mr. Colbert of Castlehill, in Invernessshire, in Scotland. He came to France at the age of fourteen years, and was placed by his uncle, a Roman Catholic clergyman, in the Scotch college at Paris, where he remained some years. He was afterwards in the college of Harcourt, and in both these colleges always distinguished himself by his good behaviour, and diligent application to his studies. He returned to the Scotch college, received priestly orders, was made Vicar-General in the diocese of Toulouse, and on account of his extraordinary parts and great merit, has been raised to the episcopal dignity, which very seldom happens to a foreigner in France. He is not only Bishop, but also Count of Rodez, and

³³ Charles Fraser Mackintosh “The Cuthberts of Castlehill”. The Abbé supposedly bought Castlehill Estate in 1779, so this was a long-term project. Documents in the Highland Archive Centre relating to Lewis Cuthbert’s will (Lewis Cuthbert Executory Papers 1793-1824 D75/1-4) mention an Alexander Cuthbert who may be the Abbé.

³⁴ There are some Scottish archives relating to this which may bear further examination: Aberdeen University’s Special Collections include documents relating to the collection (undigitized): https://www.abdn.ac.uk/special-collections/documents/SLA_PDF/ca001.pdf. A book on “The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792” by Brian Halloran was published by Scottish publisher John Donald in 2001; this is based on Halloran’s 1996 PhD (available online). It contains several brief mentions of Colbert.

³⁵ Letter of 18 September 1766, provided by Prof. Alain Alcouffe.

³⁶ Letter of 21st October 1792, and English translation of original French, provided by Prof Alain Alcouffe. It would be a particular sensation given the suppression of Highland culture after Culloden.

President of the States of Rovergue. He is, at present, about 46 years of age, of a very becoming appearance, and is endowed with a solid judgement, and a remarkable good heart.”³⁷

Seignelay’s work as a published author is also now recorded in Scotland, with copies of his writings (in the original French) available in the National Library of Scotland.³⁸ However, most Scottish description of Seignelay’s time in France invokes his historical connection with the Colbert family through the Bore Brieve, and his achievement in becoming Bishop of Rodez, with no mention of his actions in Versailles. As the Revolution turned to the Terror, Seignelay may have wished to disassociate himself from voting with the Third Estate, so this may reflect how Seignelay presented himself. Charles Fraser Mackintosh’s comprehensive article about the Cuthberts says only that the Bishop of Rodez “on the breaking out of the French Revolution, had to fly from France”, with no indication that Seignelay had any agency or influence on events.³⁹ Alternatively, it may reflect the interests of the time and place: Inverness commentary on the Cuthberts focuses on what became of the whole family, particularly the fortunes of Seignelay’s brother Lewis, who became mired in debt: “sons of [the Cuthberts] rank high in the church and armies of France, and ... the Bishop of Rodez is brother to Lewis Cuthbert Esq., Provost Marshall of Jamaica.”⁴⁰

Since the brothers Lewis and Seignelay had left Castlehill together for London, they had remained close. There is a record of Lewis visiting Seignelay in Paris in 1792⁴¹ and shortly afterwards Seignelay went into exile in London, where he moved in with his brother.

Seignelay’s letter of 1793 movingly recounts his return to Scotland and his roots: “I was enchanted to see Scotland again, especially the place of my birth. I found, it is true, things very small in comparison with the images that I had in my head: but my heart had lost nothing there and all my affections were rediscovered, on seeing what I had left, 45 years ago”.⁴² He seems to have returned to Inverness several times⁴³: “The Bishop of Rodez, said to be the last foreign representative of the Cuthbert family, visited Inverness about the year 1803, and was obliged to prolong his residence in the country, owing to the hostilities then carrying on between Great Britain and France,” recalled one elderly Invernessian in his memoir. He continued, “[The Bishop of Rodez] took great interest in the success of the Inverness Academy and contributed towards its funds, he also procured the valuable services of M. Villimer, a Frenchman, as teacher of the French language at the Institution.”⁴⁴

³⁷ This same report appears almost word-for-word in several papers: Belfast Newsletter, 18-22 May 1781, p2; Scots Magazine, Friday 1 June 1781; Caledonian Mercury, Monday 14 March 1781.

³⁸ A search on the records of the National Library of Scotland, for Colbert of Castlehill brought up 16 results, viewable here: https://search.nls.uk/prime-explore/search?query=any,contains,colbert%20of%20castlehill&tab=tab1&search_scope=TAB1_SCOPE1&vid=44NLS_VU1&offset=0

³⁹ Charles Fraser Mackintosh “The Cuthberts of Castlehill”.

⁴⁰ A. Gerald Pollitt “Historic Inverness” (Perth: The Melven Press, 1981) pp139-142.

⁴¹ Charles Fraser Mackintosh “Letters of Two Centuries, chiefly connected with Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815” (Inverness: A & W Mackenzie, 1890), p171.

⁴² Letter of 5 November 1793 provided by Prof Alain Alcouffe; my translation. Original reads “J’ai été enchanté de revoir l’Ecosse et surtout le lieu de mon berceau, j’ai trouvé, il est vrai, les objets bien petits en comparaison des images que j’en avais dans la tête : mais mon cœur n’y a rien perdu et toutes mes affections se sont retrouvées, à la vue de ce que j’avais quitté, il y a 45 ans.”

⁴³ The letter just quoted is from 1793. ‘Nonagenarian’ mentions a visit of 1803. Inverness Courier Tuesday 28 October 1884 mentions an 1806 visit. Files on Lewis Cuthbert’s debts (bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313) state Seignelay was in Scotland (Edinburgh) on 1st August 1806 (p112).

⁴⁴ “Reminiscences of a Clachnacuddin Nonagenarian” (Inverness: Donald Macdonald, 1886) pp93-101.

The Inverness Royal Academy was (and is) a well-known school in Inverness, which had been set up only a few years before – prior to that, boys like Seignelay would have been educated at home, or in a small private establishment with only a handful of pupils.⁴⁵ The Academy, under that name, came into being after 1787, but the kernel of the school existed, and it’s possible that the Cuthberts were already linked to the institution that became the Academy because they had been educated there. However, because the Cuthbert family were one of the leading families in Inverness, they may well have just wished to subscribe to the project as the idea for a good school grew. Seignelay and Lewis were typical of Invernessians of their generation and standing in that they contributed funds to it.⁴⁶ The history of the school has been traced in detail.⁴⁷ Pierre Villemer, the teacher recommended by Colbert of Castlehill, took up his position in 1810 or 1811. Described as a “French exile” and “a man of culture”, he taught French, Spanish and Italian at the school, earning an annual salary of £30, plus extra fees from private pupils. He published a long poem, in French, some time before 1824, entitled “Astronomie”, the cost of printing of which was covered by subscription from friends and former pupils. Pierre Villemer petitioned the school for an increase in his salary, claiming that he was having to take on private pupils and teach til late at night and this was affecting his health. The school did not increase his salary, and he fell into debt. He died on the 1st December 1825, and his wife and daughter were given £15 to cover the expense of their return to their home of London.⁴⁸

However, the majority of recent study into the families donating to the Inverness Royal Academy, including the Cuthberts, has been into how their money was made through the slave trade.⁴⁹ Lewis Cuthbert was a slave owner and slave factor in Jamaica.⁵⁰ Around the time that Seignelay returned to London in 1792, Lewis gave evidence to a Westminster enquiry into slavery, where he stated that he believed that slave owners did a good job of looking after their slaves for good commercial

⁴⁵ See early chapters of Robert Preece “Song School, Town School, Comprehensive: A History of Inverness Royal Academy” (Inverness: For the Right Reasons, 2011) for descriptions of these schools. I haven’t been able to identify where Seignelay was educated.

⁴⁶ Although actually Lewis Cuthbert did not contribute all the money that he had promised to the Academy, and the school was listed as a creditor in the court case and dispute over Lewis’ will, asking for £10 16 4d (papers relating to Lewis Cuthbert’s debts, bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313, p35).

⁴⁷ Robert Preece “Song School, Town School, Comprehensive: A History of Inverness Royal Academy” (Inverness: For the Right Reasons, 2011); Bannerman, Charles (2010) “Further Up Stephen’s Brae: the Midmills Era at Inverness Royal Academy”.

⁴⁸ Robert Preece “Song School, Town School, Comprehensive: A History of Inverness Royal Academy” (Inverness: For the Right Reasons, 2011), p108, p131.

⁴⁹ Major recent Highland studies of northern Scottish links to the slave trade include the work of David Alston, which focuses on Scots in Dutch Guiana: personal webpage:

<http://www.spanglefish.com/slavesandhighlanders/index.asp?pageid=446643>

Online article on Grenada mentions Lewis Cuthbert as raising money for charities in Scotland:

<https://grenadanationalarchives.wordpress.com/2016/03/01/grenada-heritage-from-the-caribbean-back-to-scotland/> as does this similar article <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/rural-history/article/from-the-caribbean-to-the-scottish-highlands-charitable-enterprise-in-the-age-of-improvement-c1750-to-c1820/CABF4A077D56E23D217A13F73F573990> (partial access only)

and the work of Professor David Worthington of the University of the Highlands and Islands, which looks at very early involvement of the Highlands in slavery, eg “Sugar, Slave-Owning, Suriname and the Dutch Imperial Entanglement of the Scottish Highlands before 1707”

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03096564.2019.1616141>.

⁵⁰ In partnership with Samuel and David Bean, two other Scots (possibly, as indicated by their names) with connections with the Highlands. Legacies of British Slave Ownership project, through University College London: Lewis Cuthbert page: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650219>. See also <https://www.ijhc.info/cuthbertlewis1802>

reasons, and that the system of slavery should be maintained.⁵¹ The affirmation of the Revolution in France that ‘all men are created equal’ had been taken up by the slaves in the Caribbean, and the Haitian Revolution had surely contributed to the British government’s examination of the system of slavery in the neighbouring island of Jamaica. Lewis Cuthbert’s attitude to the slaves, although it was entirely typical of the times, can be compared and contrasted with Seignelay’s somewhat unusual support of and vote along with the Third Estate in Versailles.⁵²

Lewis’ fortunes fluctuated. There were huge fortunes to be made and lost in Jamaica. Lewis Cuthbert stated that he fully bought back the estate of Castlehill in 1780, for £14,000, and between 1792 and 1795 he maintained a house in the north at Cradlehall.⁵³ Cradle Hall was a big house on the Castlehill lands – there is no record of why Lewis chose to stay there rather than Castlehill House itself, but perhaps it was more modern or more suited to his family. However, by 1796 Lewis was in considerable debt, due to “severe dry weather” which would “greatly affect the Crop”⁵⁴, and also to unrest in Jamaica (the Second Maroon War, part of the ongoing bloody conflict over slavery and British rule): in a letter of 17th April 1796 Lewis wrote “Martial law [has now] ceased... and business is resumed once more; and I trust that matters will come round again in the course of the present year. Not one individual in this island has experienced greater inconvenience and real loss than I have done; the latter exceeds upwards of L.7000 Sterling.”⁵⁵ In particular, Lewis Cuthbert owed a large sum of money to his London banker Abram Robarts. Lewis made over Castlehill to Abram Robarts, with the provision that Robarts did not do anything with the estate for two years – Lewis seemed to believe that his fortunes would rise again, and he might have been able to buy back Castlehill, ending the letter quoted above by saying “If I live some years longer, and remain capable of attending to business, I have no doubt of bringing up my lee-way.” Unfortunately for Lewis, however, when he died in 1802 a large balance was still due to Robarts. Robarts began to portion up and sell off not only the Castlehill lands, but also the contents of Lewis’ former family home, including personal items from Cradlehall: local Inverness lawyer and historian Charles Fraser Mackintosh records, in his article on the Cuthberts of Castlehill, that he bought Lewis Cuthbert’s tea service. A good portion of the Castlehill lands were sold to neighbouring landowner Duncan Forbes, but Lewis Cuthbert’s other creditors objected to Robarts selling off his assets before their debts were paid, and further sales were halted. A lengthy court case over Lewis Cuthbert’s debts dragged on for thirty years until 1832.⁵⁶ Seignelay was involved in this court case both as a creditor – as Lewis

⁵¹ <https://www.jjhc.info/CuthbertLewis1802>. “Minutes of the Evidence taken at the Bar of the House of Lords”, 1792, available online. The evidence given by Lewis Cuthbert is lengthy and makes for interesting, and sometimes shocking, reading. There is no reference to his brother, although he does criticise the clergy in Jamaica, which might indicate some of Lewis’ thoughts on religion.

⁵² One of Seignelay and Lewis’ other brothers, James, moved to Georgia, where he also kept slaves. There is a record of him offering a reward for a runaway slave. See <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~rykbrown/cuthbert-castlehill.htm#George%20Cuthbert,%2010th%20of%20Castlehill>.

⁵³ The information on Lewis’ purchase of Castlehill comes from the papers relating to his debts, bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313. The Abbé Alexander had been involved in the purchase, so it was more complicated than Lewis makes it appear. Charles Fraser Mackintosh’s article “The Cuthberts of Castlehill” mentions that he lived at Cradle Hall. The area of Cradlehall is very close to Castlehill, on the road from Culloden to Inverness.

⁵⁴ Highland Archive Centre, D75, letter from Lewis Cuthbert – see next footnote for full details of source.

⁵⁵ Papers relating to Lewis Cuthbert’s debts, bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313, p8 of appendix.

⁵⁶ There are details of Lewis Cuthbert’s debts, and the original attempts by both Abbé Colbert and Lewis Cuthbert to buy back Castlehill House in Charles Fraser Mackintosh’s article, including the text of a letter from the Abbé to his sister.

had left him in his will provision for £150 per annum – and also as a mediator: he met several times with Abram Robarts in London, and then on the 1st August 1806 Seignelay arranged a meeting of Lewis Cuthbert’s creditors at the Royal Exchange Coffeeshouse, Edinburgh. The meeting, held in a place where the prominent members of the Scottish Enlightenment had often gathered, was successful, with the creditors able to agree a way forward – though this did not shorten the court proceedings, as more creditors appeared, and the death of Robarts caused further delays and involved further people.⁵⁷

Debts did not mean that the Cuthberts were penniless, however – Lewis’ position in Jamaica had brought considerable money, and they had substantial properties in both Edinburgh and London.⁵⁸ Although Castlehill had been bought originally for £14,000, the sale of the estate brought in £52,321.⁵⁹ Seignelay continued to live with family, and to embark on various visits to others of his social class, as well as his work within the schismatic church. There are snippets of information from various sources which show glimpses of his life: he was involved in discussion over the possibility of emigrating to Canada with Catholic Highlanders from the island of Uist;⁶⁰ a memoir written by one of Seignelay’s nephews⁶¹ records that Seignelay gave him the gift of a cheque for £50 when he embarked on his career as a solicitor – a substantial amount of money for the time, which brings up some questions over how Seignelay was funding his life⁶²; while in contrast a rather couthy sketch of

Original papers from the 1832 court case, occasioned by Lewis’ death, are bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313.

The Highland Archive Centre contains the Lewis Cuthbert Executory Papers 1793-1824: refs: D75/1 Papers re process of Claim by William Brooke, Lt. Colonel 5th Dragoon Guards vs the Estate of Lewis Cuthbert of Castlehill [1 bundle] 1793 - 1809

D75/2 Papers re process of claim by the estate of Thomas Hankey against the estate of Lewis Cuthbert [1 bundle] 1804 - 1809

D75/3 Papers re process of claim of estate of Peter Franklin, late collector of customs in Jamaica Against the estate of Lewis Cuthbert of Castlehill [1 bundle] 1800 - 1824

D75/4 Papers re process of claim by Rev. Charles Wallington of Ealing (Later Worthing) on the estate of Lewis Cuthbert [1 bundle].

These papers show the claims made on Lewis Cuthbert’s estate after he died, with increasingly belligerent letters from creditors. There were huge amounts of money to be made in Jamaica, but also huge amounts to be lost – investors were used to large fluctuations, and Lewis seems to have died at a point where his fortunes were going down, even though he and his family had every expectation of them rising again. A letter from his son George then describes how he has “sustained the misfortune of losing my father who died... [letter ripped]...severe illness”. George’s following letter dissembles somewhat, but faced with persistent creditors, the debts were eventually paid after “considerable parts of the Scotch Estate [were] sold to an amount exceeding £20,000”.

The Archive Centre also holds a Cuthbert family tree, drawn up by the Centre’s professional genealogist, and based on the information in the Bulloch book.

⁵⁷ Original papers from the court case are bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313. For creditors’ meeting see page 112, and minutes of the meeting in appendix p20.

⁵⁸ On the Legacies of British Slave Ownership website run by UCL, two addresses are given for Lewis Cuthbert: Castlehill in Inverness, and 63 George Street, Edinburgh. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650219>

⁵⁹ Papers relating to Lewis Cuthbert’s debts, bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313, p189.

⁶⁰ See “Emigration from the Scottish Catholic Bounds, 1770-1810 and the Role of the Clergy”, PhD by Kathleen Toomey, University of Edinburgh, 1991, p217; ‘Some Refugee French Clerics and Laymen in Scotland, 1789-1814’ by James McGloin in the Innes Review, (1965.16.1.27).

⁶¹ Actually the relation was more distant than nephew: George Pinnock was the grandson of Lewis Cuthbert’s father-in-law.

⁶² <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/MemoirGeorgePinnock.htm>; Legacies of British Slave Ownership webpage Home Page: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>. Seignelay would have had an income as Bishop

him visiting John Gibson Lockhart (Walter Scott’s son-in-law), presents him as a harmless and rather incongruous figure of some fun: “the Abbé de Colbert, who was by birth a Scotsman... he so endeared himself to his flock that during the Revolution he was, for a long time, safely hidden. When, at length, obliged to leave his see, he was aided by a lady of frail virtue in Paris, who from the liking she had to the good Bishop, hid him in her lodging and then procured his escape... he made his way to Britain carrying nothing with him but a huge wig-block without which he never afterwards travelled...”. The story continues with the wig-block being misplaced and Seignelay coming down to dinner in his own “venerable grey hair, which being much admired by the ladies, the Bishop never again resumed the wig.”⁶³

The Cuthberts were connected with Scots peer and politician Lord Gray by marriage, and it was at his house that Seignelay died.⁶⁴ Family connections were always important to Seignelay, and through various genealogies, popular both in the 19th century and today, we can find out more about his life.⁶⁵

Meanwhile in Inverness, the Cuthberts became viewed as a tragic family and the story of the witches’ curse that brought down their fortunes was often invoked. The sale of the Castlehill estate by the Cuthbert family would have affected hundreds of people in the local area.⁶⁶ And the very public nature of the sale by Abram Robarts, which included the sale of household items from Cradlehall, and the ensuing court case, would have done much to damage the Cuthberts’ reputation, and would have given the impression locally that the family was now penniless.⁶⁷ The Highland News of Saturday 9 April 1904 described one of the last remaining members of the Cuthbert family in Inverness: Peggy ‘Cubbart’ was in the Fish Market, “anxious to make a bargain for a fresh haddock for dinner for herself and her brother... As you look into Peggy’s time-worn face you see at once that she is the scion of a noble family. Would you be surprised to know that the old woman is among the last of the Cuthberts of Castlehill, a family that for centuries was held in high esteem in Inverness

when he was in France – would part of this have been continued, or did he live off his family’s money? The £150 per annum left to him in his brother Lewis’ will seems to have been eventually forthcoming, but only after a long wait.

⁶³ Marion Lochhead “John Gibson Lockhart” (London: John Murray, 1954), p176-177.

⁶⁴ Andrew Moore had specifically asked if any of Lord Gray’s correspondence was extant: it appears there are a couple of his letters in Edinburgh University’s Special Collection:

<https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/df5df2f8-c7a0-391b-8d51-33bef686411a> However, from the catalogue description these do not appear to be relevant to Colbert of Castlehill. (For interest, there is a picture of Lord Gray on the National Galleries website (on display in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery): <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/104410/francis-gray-14th-lord-gray-1765-c-1842>). An obituary of the Dowager Lady Gray in the Perth and Cupar Advertiser of Friday 7 January 1859 specifically mentions the Cuthbert / Colbert family link, suggesting that the Gray’s were proud of the connection.

⁶⁵ See J.G.B.Bulloch “The Cuthberts, Barons of Castle Hill & Their Descendants in South Carolina & Georgia” Washington D.C.: 1908. Online genealogies brought up several references to Seignelay Cuthbert of Castlehill, with the most informative being <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~rykbrown/cuthbert-castlehill>, the personal site of a Canadian called Ryk Brown who was related to the Cuthberts of Castlehill, and <https://www.jjhc.info/cuthbertlewis1802>.

⁶⁶ Based on the fact that there were 49 named families on the rent roll given in the papers relating to Lewis Cuthbert’s debts (bound in the Fraser Mackintosh collection in Inverness Reference Library, item 3313). The estate also paid contributions to local ministers and schoolteachers, so their influence was wide.

⁶⁷ Historian Charles Fraser Mackintosh records, in his article on the Cuthberts of Castlehill, that he bought Lewis Cuthbert’s tea service at the sale – personal family items were available for their neighbours to view and buy.

and the surrounding district: but, alas! It is little heard of now.” The life of Seignelay Cuthbert of Castlehill has been half-remembered and forgotten in the Highlands – until now.

ⁱ ‘Castlehill’ is very difficult for French speakers to pronounce the way it is said in Scotland, and I have seen French sources with variations like ‘Gast-Le-Hill’ which effectively mask who they are talking about. I will refer to ‘Seignelay Cuthbert of Castlehill’ in this paper, as being the name he was generally known by in Scotland, at least towards the end of his life.

ⁱⁱ See for example “On the Site of Macbeth’s Castle at Inverness”, John Anderson, 1828