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Chapter 11

Editor's note: BHD Colclough had been instrumental in providing this source material for **Boyse v Colclough – Appellant's Case in Lords 1856**, which original documents were subsequently acquired by McPeake¹. McPeake's main interest was the Rebellion of 1798. Correspondence between John Colclough, writing from Co Wexford and Dublin, and his brother Caesar, writing mainly from London and the continent, covered the period 1791-1806 and included personal first hand experience of the Rebellion in Co Wexford. It is worth noting that the correspondence falls into two distinct parts. Items 1-43 cover the period from 1773, 1791- 1806/7. Items 44-90, correspondence from Caesar Colclough to his attorney, initially John C Martin, then Messers Reeves of Merrion Square, Dublin, covering the period 1832 to 1840.

A reading of the correspondence between John and Caesar 1791-1807 reveals a most warm and affectionate relationship between the two brothers, in which John keeps Caesar (detained right through the period) fully informed about their relatives, friends and neighbours, marriages and deaths within their circle, their own health problems and recommendations for therapies.

This chapter contains several items inserted by Bernard Colclough in 2002. To distinguish them from the original ms., the inserted items are highlighted, and have been verified against the original McPeake source.

27 August 1792

Caesar Colclough, Paris to John Colclough, Wexford about the present state of the Revolutionary Wars and about his financial affairs.

'I now begin to fear for the liberty of these people, as the combined armies have taken several towns on the frontiers and are marching towards Paris, which now begins to dread their approach and many who can quit it will, but there is at present no possibility of doing that, as all the posts are guarded, and no one suffered outside of the barriers.

When the conspirators shall all be taken, then the passports will be returned, and then I intend going to Rouen in Normandy, ready to pass into England in case any fracas should take place between England and France. There is at present no likelihood of such, but if by accident or design anything should happen to the royal family here, I fear George will contrive to join in the general suppression of liberty. Some thing is wanting much here. Really, there is too much licentiousness(?).

Have you received Kennedy's note which I enclosed to you from London. You never mentioned one word of it. £34 would be too serious a loss not to merit of its caution. Have you received my money from John Colclough, and did not Rowe pay you the year's annuity. (Sentence underlined for purpose of the subsequent lawsuit.) Send as much as you can to London, as I am sure of it there, and can have it from that, be

¹ http://www.proni.gov.uk/index/search_the_archives/ecatalogue.htm The online catalogue (eCATNI) contains a 90 page summary of the Colclough correspondence under the reference T3048/C, with the following introduction: http://www.proni.gov.uk/introduction_mcpeake_papers.pdf

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where I may (?). Should I be obliged to quit this, it will cost me a great deal, and oblige me to sell my things at a great loss. Remember me to my mother and all my friends.'

20 October 1792

Caesar Colclough, Paris, to John Colclough Wexford,

referring to a Wexford county meeting and discussing his need of money and news, the affairs of (Enniscorthy) borough and the war. '... as my father has promised to make you a burgess, you must get him to write to C Sutton to, or rather have the resignation ready, and a little money will easily get the rest done. If he accedes, as you say, to my proposal, all things will go peaceably otherwise we shall have the same ground as last time to go over again, though we shall now have whores and rogues to oppose us. I intend to hold out the idea to my father of not going at all to Ireland, if he makes you a burgess, but necessity of it otherwise. Furlong can be had at any time, and he is rascal enough to betray his maker for a greater sum whenever we want him...

The next meeting of a parliament will, I think, in both kingdoms be the last; for the question of reform will be so strongly agitated the nincompoop will run restive and Billy (Pitt) be no longer able to hold the reins. Overstreet will give you some idea of politics and if you wish economy, for he is in that a prodigy. He will also tell you the misrepresented situation of Paris, which though heard of in England and afterwards in Ireland, is not known in either.

**From Boyse v Colclough – Appended to Appellant's Case in Lords 1856.
Letter from Caesar to John, Paris – 21st January 1793.**

Dear John,

Say not one word of politics in future in your letters of business, as it will certainly prevent me from receiving them. There will be no war except one particular thing takes place. Before this is ten miles Louis the unfortunate will be no more. I attended his process for 11 hours yesterday, and he was condemned to death in the space of 24 hours by a majority of (I counted) 32. Adieu. You mentioned not what half years rent, but I suppose he has paid up to May '92. The King is going...

From same to same, Paris 17th March 1793.

My dear John,

I have not received one line from you this five weeks, the last was the 14th February. All things are quiet here and the recruiting business has not made any disturbance. I went to the Theatre last night (Sunday) and it was full, as if all France was in the State of Riches and Luxury that usually accompanies a continued and profound peace. The natural levity is such, that I could find numbers of characters like my father here, in fact my father as a Frenchman, would be called, a gallent et honnête homme, for vices here of the most enormous kind are not considered as such ... write to me every week, and I shall have a chance of receiving one letter every month. Remember me to my mother etc.,

Equity Exchequer Bill, New Record Court, Dublin.

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16th August, 1794.

Henry Colclough, Plaintiff.

John Newton, Sir William Vigors Burditte, Bart, Roger Ford, Richard Elliott, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, Vigors Harvey, Beauchamp Bagenal, John Smith, Mary Brown, Murtagh and William Ormsby, and Philip Newton, Defendants.

Recites that Bartholomew Vigors, Bishop of Ferns, being seized in fee of the lands of Bennekerry and Busherstown, Co. Carlow. Executed his Will dated 11th July 1750, devising said lands to his wife Martha Vigors, for her life, and after her death to be divided equally amongst the issue of his four daughters, one of whom (Catherine) was the wife of John Beauchamp.

Recites that the said Catherine had four younger children viz. Benjamin, Martha, Margaret, and Ellinor, all of whom were entitled to a share, That said Margaret after the death of her first husband Caleb Barnes, by whom she had issue a son Bartholemew Barnes since dead, intermarried with Henry Colclough of Kildavin, County Carlow, by whom she had issue amongst others a son, Beauchamp Colclough, to whom and his heirs, said Margaret, conveyed in the lifetime of her said husband, all her share in said lands, but the said Beauchamp Colclough died in the lifetime of the said Margaret, leaving suppliant, Henry Colclough, his eldest son and heir.

Recites that said Margaret having doubts that owing to her coverture said deed was void, executed a further deed of lease and release, 26th and 27th of November 1780, conveying said Margaret's proportion of said lands to Bridget Colclough, widow of said Beauchamp, in trust for his heirs after the death of said Margaret and as such heir suppliant claims said Margaret's proportion. Recites the rights of the other parties being heirs of the sisters of said Margaret and also the rights of the heirs of the aunts of said Margaret. Recites that said John Newton, one of the parties in the cause, retained suppliant's portion of said lands, of the yearly value of more than £130, and prays for redress.

Note: The eventual result of this bill was a decree for the partition of the property, Henry Colclough obtaining the part now known as Mount Sion, and on which he afterwards resided.

Boyse v Colclough Appellant to Appellants Case in Lords 1856, Letter from John to Caesar, August 10th 1794.

Dear Caesar,

The few opportunities of sending a letter that has any probability of reaching you, prevented me from writing to you since my father's death, which happened the 8th of last month. He died of a consumption that was kept a secret from me until a few weeks before his death. I understand he made a Will which the Councillor has not thought fit yet to produce. I hear he has left me £2000 and £2000 more to Mrs H. [*Harrington, his mistress*] and the boys. This you know he had not power to do. My Uncle John, Captain Rock and myself are the three new Burgesses [*of Enniscorthy*]. I need not tell you how necessary your presence is here. I shall neglect nothing that concerns your interest, but very little can be done as you are not on the spot yourself, Yours etc.,

à Monsieur Caesar Colclough, St.Germain en Laye Pres, Paris ---

Boyse v Colclough Appellant to Appellants Case in Lords 1856,

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30 January 1795.

Letter from John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne, Switzerland.

He expresses relief that the reports that Caesar Colclough has been executed in France were unfounded, and goes on to discuss Enniscorthy borough. '...I am happy to find what was done at Enniscorthy pleases you, particularly the appointment of Rock. You may guess I did nothing without the approbation of my mother and all my uncles, though there was one of your burgesses who did not approve of filling up the vacancies at all, to whom I had written (in answer to a most extraordinary letter of his) my reasons, which were unanswerable; and I think, that his own judgment be what it was, he should have admitted to the united wish of my mother, my uncle and myself at a juncture when yours could not possibly be known. But this however he did not think proper and though he would not be at the trouble of attending himself, send his veto by Pat Colclough who, with the most consummate assurance and villainy, proposed the Councillor, who was rejected by a majority of seven. I have deferred mentioning the name of the burgess who sent his veto because I know it will hurt you to find the world so deceitful. It was no other than William Harvey in whom all your friends join me in opinion that you were deceived but I trust will be for no longer-at least it shan't be my fault if you are. In addition to his extraordinary conduct as above, I must inform you that, though even Portrieve, he never attended but once (as well as I recollect) since you left this kingdom. ...'he adds that Harvey, as well as being a false friend, is an incapable lawyer.

'... I have been thus elaborate on this subject, lest you might think it extraordinary my employing Waddy to dissolve the custodiams and do some other necessary law business for you, consequent to my father's death. I had tried him before, and find him exceedingly clever, expeditious, cheap and successful.

He is now esteemed one of the first attorneys in Dublin, and though not of the same political interest as us, he does not pretend to be so, and you will find him a much more moderate man than the other. Out of 38 custodiams, he got consents to dissolve 34... William Sutton... you may truly call a friend and you may thank for now having the borough of Enniscorthy, as will you find hereafter. I pay Waddy 50, which went but a little towards dissolving the custodiams, for each of which I should have told you there was 10 shillings a year King's silver paid off of the estate, which is now done away, beside no rents could be received or anything done till they were all dissolved.

I sent two bills, one to Copenhagen, the other to O'Reilly at Basle in Switzerland, for your use, that amounted to £65. The reason I sent so little was because I was certain they would never reach you, and I believe I conjectured right. I paid my mother £100. I sent last Sunday to Stuck(?) Scimon (?) for Morres's £108. I paid for my father's funeral (by his dying request I was obliged to bring him to Tintern) and for his debts contracted for the necessaries of life during the four last months of his life (for, having sold his employment, he must have starve) £240, and there are still some unpaid. This is only a rough sketch. The items are too many to be contained in a letter, But, however, when you come over, you can see this account along with all others since our last settlement before you left this, and then you will find that that

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unfortunate unpunctuality was not entirely owing to me, and I trust that for the past, present and to come and you will find me not an unfaithful steward.

I do not recollect whether in a letter sent by Copenhagen I mention my father's having made a will some short time before he died, which was kept a profound secret from me till afterwards.

The worthy Counsellor was the person who had it drawn. I am left £8,000 on the particular condition that I should not hinder or prevent the other bequests, which were £1,500 to Mrs Harrington and to the boys, £500 to Parson Dudley. But this you know is all fudge. The rental of the estate at present is but £1,600. You see, you must therefore live with prudence and economy for only two years, then I will engage, if you will be guided by me, to increase it £1,200 per annum, and every tenant who lives on the estate have their land cheaper than what they now pay for it to those beasts, middlemen, who have always been the destruction of this country (perhaps you would hardly believe that Richards has set Ballyvoane at 20 shillings and 6 pence an acre all round-your rent is 4 shillings and 3 pence- and the man he has set it to has set the greater part of it for 30 and the remainder of it for what he pays himself, 2 shillings and 6 pence(sic).

In what a state must these wretched under-tenants be, you can very well imagine. In such a case as this (and there are many such on your estate) it is a duty you owe your tenantry and yourself to break such leases. Dear Caesar, you must be landlord of your own estate, and suffer no one to intervene between you and your tenants. You can then serve them: at present you cannot. As these were always your sentiments, and I believe you have not changed them, I hope you will not be displeased at my having led off the dance with Mr Richards, having served him with ejectment prior to the receipt of your letters. I am sure he will bring it to a trial next Assizes, when there is not a shadow of doubt of your succeeding, and he is cast, I think all the rest will submit at discretion.

So that if I had said one, instead two years, I don't think I would have been much out. This one farm will rise your rent roll £200 per annum and abate the rent £60 per annum to the under-tenants by which means 15 or 20 poor families will be able to live in comfort. The other farms that are to increase £1,200 are circumstanced exactly similar, and you must allow it would be unreasonable not to punish those rascals whose carriages have been so long oiled with the sweat of your poor tenantry, and therefore, my dear Caesar, you must not prevent me from finishing the task I have began, and for God's sake, don't let a word of your dislike to law escape you. If it did, you would be involved in litigation all your life. Leave these matters to my management. You shall have no trouble, nothing to do but re-set your lands. I will attend terms and see everything done right. All I ask is for you not to hinder me, and that you leave the conducting of the business to me; and therefore when there are applications made to you (of which there will be millions) both for your lands and law business, you will refer them to me. I will take all on my back. You know you are unacquainted with the situations of your affairs, and let them apply to me, which is I think a much better answer than Uncle Corneys, "I'll consider of it". Now as I have already engaged in less than 2 years to increase your income to £1,200, so I will now engage the same conditions that you never shall be involved in any law suit in which you will not succeed. You may think I speak with too much confidence, but you will find I do not...

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There can be no rent received out of the estate till after next Easter term, when there will be an agent appointed by the Court of Chancery, to which my mother and I applied for that purpose last November. This is much better than an agent of your appointment to act, because your agent's receiving would confirm leases, etc, etc. The Chancery you are in no way answerable for. The rents I can hand over to you... ' He urges Caesar Colclough to stay away and leave everything to him, and on no account to trust anything to Harvey. John Colclough is also to be watched carefully, for though a good fellow he now has nearly as good an income as Caesar Colclough himself. John Colclough (the writer of the letter) has given a small sum of money to Mrs Harrington, to keep the boys and her from want, and will continue to do so unless Caesar Colclough countermands the order.

5 February 1795

John Colclough (Killurin, Co.Wexford) to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne about detailed financial affairs, repairs to the house at Tintern and Enniscorthy borough.

'... since my father's death, I got the castle and crook (?) new-roofed. When the castle was stripped, it appeared a perfect miracle that the whole had not fallen in and destroyed us all. I escaped the falling of the cornice ceiling of the dining room that shattered my bed to pieces three years ago, and resolving not to run a like hazard, I moved to a new kitchen, which I have converted into a very snug parlour and good bed-chamber, and I am now (this spring) going to new-roof it (it was the roof of the old playhouse was put on it, which is now quite fallen in), and there be two nice little bed-chambers there. These will answer very well for a few years, until you can afford to fit up the castle, etc, as it ought to be. Beside, none of the floors, etc are nailed, so that the boards, etc will do again. I hope this will meet your approbation.

In case you should think it right to come over before the 24 June (which from my former letter I hope you do not), write word who you will have Portrieve. I would recommend Mr Sutton or my uncle John. I would prefer the former, as in all probability my uncle John will be going abroad...'

26 May 1795

John Colclough, Heathfield, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

about the money he has remitted. He warns Caesar Colclough that money is very tight at present, as the most he has got from the tenants is half a years rent, and from some no rent at all. Caesar Colclough, in these circumstances, should avoid expensive journeys. He asks for information about Caesar Colclough's escape from France to Switzerland, as he has received a claim for a reward from someone who alleges that he was instrumental in effecting Caesar Colclough's escape. Uncle John Colclough is enamoured of Miss Flood, but his namesake does not think she is interested in him. He refers to Enniscorthy corporation.

'... you know that a second resident burgess is a most material object to you, as we clearly have no right to a deputy. Solomon Richards will accept as a burgesship. My uncle approves of him and I am sure so do you. I intend to get Rock to resign, as he was never sworn in, and by the charter he should be sworn in seven days after his election, otherwise he must be re-elected. I have already spoken to him about it. You know we can elect him again the first vacancy. I say I intend to have Solomon

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elected in Rock's place, so that he may be portrieve the ensuing year, and then Furlong and he can serve alternately. Solomon will add much respectability to our corporation, I have serve some small ejections on middlemen.'

21 June 1795

Caesar Colclough, Lausanne, to John Colclough, Wexford,

about letters and remittances which have failed to arrive. There are now many Englishmen in Lausanne, on their way home from Italy. Much gambling goes on, but Caesar Colclough steers clear of it, and until he knows how his financial affairs stand, he is determined to spend no more that £300 a year.

5 July 1795

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

urging him to be less extravagant and to remember that the present rent roll is only £1.600. He reports on the progress of the lawsuits against the middle men, one of which will cost £100 in fees to counsel alone, which John considers to be money well- spent in view of the fact that about £1,000 is at stake. He disagrees completely with Caesar Colclough attitude to Enniscorthy borough and plans for the seats. '... as to the dissolution of parliament there is not the smallest probability of its taking place for two years, for our present House of Commons is as complying a House of Commons as the most absolute minister need wish. I do not approve at all of your idea about Enniscorthy. In the first place, there is not of our uncles fit men to go into parliament; if they would go in, which however I have some doubts of, they would never attend, so your very intention would be done away. Beside, they can't speak or do anything at all. As to yourself, I think you are much more respectable out of parliament than in it. For myself, I would just as lief go into a gaol as amongst such a pack. No, no. Sell your seats, and lay out the money for the good of your tenantry. Instead of two shillings a ton for lime stone, you pay the difference and let them have it for one. Give premiums to encourage manufactures, husbandry, planting and cleanliness, establish a school for the education of the poor gratis. I know you would endeavour to do all this as it is, but you never can accomplish it without the sale of the seats. Indeed, if you would take my advice you would sell the borough out and out....'

3 August 1795

John Colclough, Tintern to Caesar Colclough Lausanne,

reporting on the outbreak of two lawsuits to break leases granted by their father and referring to Co.Wexford politics. The most important of the lawsuits, that against Richards, has gone against the Colcloughs this time, because of a 'damned crotchet' on the part of the jury, but John Colclough is assured that he will ultimately be successful. He suggests that Caesar Colclough should write to the various lawyers concerned on their behalf to express his thanks for their endeavours, '... I will just put down the names of each, and for what they are most remarkable, as a guide for you on what point to touch each. And, first, to begin with, Henry Duquery: he is the most eloquent and elegant speaker at the bar, and what is very rare, is as good a lawyer as an orator. William Fletcher: a very good lawyer and speaker, clear and distinct and forcible; he is to be sure rough and abusive. Peter

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Burrows is next: he is a good lawyer, but a very bad speaker; he excels in cross-examining a witness. The next is John Byrne: he is a great favourite of mine; he is a very sensible man and, though not an orator, there is no one that goes the circuit to whose opinion there is a greater attention - besides he is indefatigable in making himself master of a case. These three men (you know Duquoy came down special (sic) are admitted to be the three first of the Leinster circuit. We had also Bagenal Harvey and Overstreet,...

He goes on to explain the financial shifts he has had to resort to in order to pay these lawyers.

'... it is reported, and I believe it, that Solomon Richards is to be a candidate for this county, and that Loftus supports him. My uncle Cornelius Grogan who might do something this time, because he would have the catholic interest, will not declare either one way or the other, as I am sure he will not stand. Richards I think will probably succeed. Sir Frederick [Flood] is also a candidate, but he so despised by everyone that he will not poll a single man but his own. My uncle John still continues to make a fool of himself about Miss Flood. Rickard is a burgess. ...

23 November 1795

John Colclough to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

reporting that the lawsuit against Richards has again unexpectedly gone against them, but the suit against Kennedy has gone in their favour, in spite of the fact that the jury which tried both was composed of virtually the same people. The success in the Kennedy suit was in large measure due to the fact that one of the jurors was a relation of Peter Burrows. John Colclough is now engaged in buying out the leasehold interest possessed by his name sake (not Uncle) John Colclough, who is 'the only one of the name' who deserves any consideration from, and whom therefore he does not want to deal harshly with.

He goes on to give an unflattering picture of the professional ability of (Jonah) Barrington. '... Keogh is a great rascal. He does nothing but exclaim against us for bringing the ejectments. John Colclough was going to kick him. Only think at the trials of his fixing himself up by the judge, and whenever there was anything he thought that made against us, he would say to the judge, "That is very strong, my Lord". This is all because we did not employ Barrington, and the reason why I did not employ him is that although our house was always open to him, and we paid him every compliment in our power, he never had the manners, as often as I have been in Dublin for months together these four years past, either to call or ask me to eat a bit in his house. In truth, I was glad of an excuse not to employ him, for he is the stupidest man in Ireland.'

10 December 1795

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

about the leasing policy on the estate. '...I have agreed with the tenants of Booley. They have all taken their land. The average price is 15 shillings an acre, to rise to 18 shillings in three years. This is not high, for I know it is not your wish to screw the vitals out of the poor ... ' He recommends that Caesar Colclough break through his established rule of never granting a lease for more than three lives and 31 years in favour of H.Cliffe, and that he grant Cliffe a lease for three lives and 60 years. '...

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you have not said a word this long time about the borough. I wish you would permit the patronage of it to me till this time two years, and you should see some of the estate come back again. ...'

14 December 1795.

Caesar Colclough, to John Colclough, Tintern, Fethard.

He must have £200 at the end of the year. Since John Colclough informed him that he could spend up to £600 a year, his manner of life has become more luxurious, He discusses his companions in Lausanne, who have now left for London.

Boyse v Colclough, Appellant to Appellants Case in the Lords 1856.

John, to Caesar, Dated Tintern Abbey, Dec. 10th 1795.

Dear Caesar,

I received yours of the 27th October and confess you have every reason to be astonished at not hearing from me. I don't know how it is, but the longer I am without writing the more I hate it- do you know the last letter I sent you was written a fortnight or three weeks before I had a safe opportunity of sending it to Waterford. I never put a letter in the Wexford Post as they are always opened. You may now draw for £200 on London, as I only wait to put some way of remitting, having the cash ready. I have a fellow feeling for the misfortune you mention, but those that play at bowls must expect rubbers ... You have not said a word this long time about the Burrough. I wish you would commit the patronage of it to me till this time two years, and you should see some of the estate come back again. There are wooden bridges built over Waterford, Ross, and Ferrycarrig. Old Talbot is dead, and I fear his place will be but poorly supplied by our friend William. Young Adam of Duffry Hall died, a Captain of Artillery, last Summer. Watson who is now a Lieut. Col. has taken Mount Anna (*later killed in the 1798 rebellion in Wexford*) and is selling out. My Uncle John still fooling about Miss Flood. I believe I wrote to you before that the Miss Richards were come over, they are handsome enough, tho' not perfect beauties. I am sure you might have the eldest for asking, at the same time I hope you will never marry for mere fortune. Ebenezer and Richard Rowe go to Rathaspick six times a week, everybody is laughing at them, Richard is the worst minded boy this moment on the face of the earth. Ebenezer was with me a fortnight, the other day, it was the first time he was from his father. You may guess what a favourite I am to be trusted with him. He is well minded but a mere yahoo, and too stupid to mind. Be sure write about Cliffe as soon as you receive this.

Yours Sincerely,

à Monsieur Colclough, Lausanne en Suisse.

Inscription in Carrick Churchyard to Lieutenant Colonel Watson.

Had been actively employed for thirty years in the service of His Country. During which period his life had often been Preserved amidst the shock of Battle. But it pleased the Almighty that he alone should fall whilst Gallantly leading on the Yeomanry of this County to attack the Rebel force which was posted on the Three Rocks on the (30th) day of May, 1798. (The consequence of His fall was the immediate evacuation of Wexford by the Loyalists)

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22 February 1796

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

giving an account and explanation of how he has been handling Caesar Colclough's affairs, with particular reference to the remittances he has been sending. He begs Caesar Colclough not to lose heart over the lawsuits, and particularly not to give up the suit against Richards, which is regarded as a test case by the others with similar leases to Richard's (apparently perpetuities granted by their father in violation, as John Colclough alleges, of the family settlement). '... all I ask was two years to finish your lawsuits, and your patience is worn out before one is well over, ...' He refers to his wish that Caesar Colclough should sell the seats for Enniscorthy, and indeed sell the borough outright, and concludes by emphasising, in the most extravagant terms, his entire and selfless devotion to Caesar Colclough's interests.

4 April 1796

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne:

protestations that he is not a penny richer for managing Caesar Colclough's affairs, and discussion of Co. Wexford politics.

'... as to the county politics, they are as follows. Lord Loftus a candidate. Ogle declared he would never sit again for the county, because catholics had a right to vote, but he wants only to be solicited, but the farce won't do. Abel Ram and Maxwell have both declared themselves, the former supported by Loftus, the latter by Valentia. This prevents Sir Frederick from setting up to his great annoyance. Uncle Cornelius, as of old, neither off or on, waiting to be called on, and nobody will call on him, though if he exerted himself, he certainly would be returned, and he is the only one of the candidates who supported the catholic cause. But he will be that the course.'

7 June 1796

John Colclough Tintern, to Caesar Colclough,

about the Enniscorthy corporation, and about granting leases in time for the general election. '... your head must certainly be a wool gathering, or two or three of my letters must have miscarried, otherwise you would know that Sol Richards was elected a burgess and portrieve the 24th of last June, and that I wished you would consider of any other gentleman in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy who you might think fit for a burgess and portrieve for the ensuing year, so that he and Sol Richards might alternately fill that office; for, you know, Furlong is not in a line either to precede or follow Richards... as the elections will come nearly next spring, I thought as fit to write to Waddy to prepare a general letter of attorney to set leases, etc, for the one you sent me before, not being on a stamp, had no effect. ... after this summer Assizes, I expect we will have little trouble in the ejectment line; but we must have a touch at Pat Colclough, and after next Michaelmas our pecuniary difficulties will be pretty nearly ended ...'.

15 September 1796

John Colclough Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

about the lawsuits at the summer Assizes and about the borough of Enniscorthy.

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The lawsuits have not gone as well as we had hoped. '...the reason we did not get a verdict in Carlow was a bad jury, being all tenants, and most of them common farmers; and what is worse, there are but six men in the whole county who are not tenants, so that we must try if possible get it tried in some other county next time. ... As to the borough, prior to the Assizes, our finances were so much exhausted that I had not sufficient cash to fee the lawyers, etc for to go to trial. This obliged me to enter into treaty for one of the seats, which I included with Cornwall on these terms: he paid down £800, and is to pay on the return £1,000 more. This is looked upon as an exceeding good bargain on our part, the Duke of Leinster having sold his seats for £2,400 down and pay the interest till the return, which I do not. However, I expect by holding on (over?) the other, and some little manoeuvres, to get two or three hundred more. Harvey Hay is not at all a fit man for a burgess. He wishes to be a man of great consequence, to which he thinks nothing contributes so much as being on the grand jury or being taken under the arm by Lord Ely ...

7 November 1796

John Colclough Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Lausanne,

about encouragements he has held out to the tenants to build slate houses and about Co. Wexford politics.' ... as to county matters, my uncle Cornelius, in the old way, was off and on, "Would do what his friends advised, if he was called on", etc so that now he quite too late. It is probable we will support Maxwell. You have 164 freeholders, and I think we will be able to make up the £200. My uncle has about 19, so you see how active he is. Loftus and Ram go together ...

I was thinking, if we sold the other seat, to send you a good round sum of money to buy pictures, etc, as you will, I take it for granted, go to Italy before you return, and where you would now, I should think, get these for a song. You would want these things some time or another, and you would never have the opportunity again ...

16 January 1797

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough Neufchatel, Switzerland,

about the problems of sending remittances to him, particularly in view of the state of credit consequent on the French landing at Bantry Bay, about frauds committed by two people through whom he sent remittances and about his new threshing machine.

1 May 1797

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Neufchatel, Switzerland,

about the problems of remitting money and about obtaining a midshipman's post in the navy for the son of Mrs Harrington, who had just died.

'I cannot conceive the reason of my not hearing from you, I have not had a letter since your first arrival at Neufchatel in November last,.. I wrote you three letters since the first answer to yours. The second gave an account of the French being off our coast and the effect it had on the country. The third was a kind of sequel to the last, giving an account of the stoppage of the banks, the annihilation of all credit, trade and commerce, in short, I might call it a general bankruptcy, and I gave you a caution to live economically, as (I) could not tell the consequences, which, as I feared, turned out as bad as can be, everyone I owe a farthing to calling it in, and the

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rents not paid, for nobody would buy corn or cattle or anything. I myself knew barley sold this year for 5 shilling a barrel, which last year brought 25 shillings and everything else in like proportion. This is the reason I was not able to make the usual remittance in February.

On the 25th March I sent round the whole estate, for them that were in old arrear and all of those that could to pay part of the Michaelmas rent, to come in and pay something. I got but 34 guineas off of the whole estate. However, the times are mending...

17 September 1797

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Neufchatel,

about the Co. Wexford election. 'I yesterday received yours of 19 August. The irregularity of the post is wonderful, for the last letter I had from you was 7 weeks on its passage. I suspect that it is here the letters are stopped- I mean in Fethard- for the letters I wrote to you in May was (sic) put in the Waterford post. I wrote only since, shortly after the election, but as it was put in the Wexford, I take it for granted it never reached you, and therefore will go over the same ground again.

I wrote to you about a year ago that we would probable support Maxwell, which we did. By the bye, you must never give my Uncle Cornelius the disposal of the interest again, for such hodge podge work as he made never was known. You know his old way. First he would not come to any determination who he would serve till the very day, I may say, of the election. Then he was for making terms for the next election, and from the wonderful skill he displayed in their negotiation, I have christened him Lord Malmesbury, by which he is now known. In short, he brought me into that situation that I did not know whether to laugh or cry. He really vexed me to the heart.

But to give you (an) account of it. He first of all, in spite of all that could be said, writes to Lord Loftus, though he had not been asked by him, that he would support him. There was one voice disposed of then. With the other, he was to make Maxwell do anything he pleased. But Maxwell, knowing who he had to deal with, would not come into any engagement for the future, and my Uncle Cornelius, alias Lord Malmesbury, gave him his own interest unconditionally. But as to yours, he told him he could not think of disposing of that, and left me to make what terms I could. Maxwell and I immediately entered into negotiation, and I had offered terms which he might have complied with, and which would put the returning of one member at least on the next election into our hands. We were in treaty for two days. When he found he could not bring me down and that he could not do without your interest, for it turned the county, he and Col Rochford set out for Johnstown and, as I am certain, bullied him into saying that he had given your interest with his own, though the very day before he told me that, if Maxwell would not come into my terms, he would give Lord Aran's second votes (of which he made him the compliment) against him, though Lord Aran had written to my Uncle Cornelius that Maxwell was his first object. However, after all, I entered into secret articles with Maxwell, and gave him all the support in our power. Maxwell would certainly have been returned, but there was an objection made to the Roman catholic freeholders, which the

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sheriff (Jemmy Boyd) allowed, and returned Loftus and Ram. Maxwell is to petition, as he has the first opinions in the kingdom in his favour.

I was obliged to take securities from Cornwall for the greater part of what remained of his half of Enniscorthy. The other half is not yet disposed of. I believe Whaley will be the man - securities also there ...'

30 October 1797

Caesar Colclough, Neufchatel, to John Colclough, Tintern, Fethard,

apparently about the sale of the seats for Enniscorthy. '... I have nothing particular to recommend to you in this, but a particular care of the securities, etc, of those whom you mention, and particularly the latter, whose property in nearly exhausted from the paralytic movement of elbows; and I would even wish a smaller sum and sure, than the best prospect of a larger on any security whatsoever...' He refers to the signing of peace between France and the Empire.

12 November 1797

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Neufchatel,

about remittances and the Enniscorthy corporation. '... I wrote to you about the election, etc. Furlong of Enniscorthy is dead. I do not know who to appoint in his stead. He by rights should reside in the town, that he might act as portrieve or deputy. I was thing of Jos. Pouden or his brother, John, or Chabby Hill or Wolsley. Let me have your thoughts as soon as possible.

22 February 1798

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Neufchatel,

about the sale of the Enniscorthy seats, the proposed absentee tax, his own bad health, their various lawsuits and the filling up of Enniscorthy corporation.

'... I wrote to you before that I have nothing to say to Whaley. I have Cornwall's bond and a mortgage for the security. The same article would not now bring within 150 of half what I got. There is to be a tax on absentees of 2s 6d in the £. I hope this may turn your thoughts towards home...

A gentleman has just come in, who informs me from good authority that there will be no tax on absentees. Perhaps you would come to London about September or October.

I would by no means have you come to Ireland, for reasons I don't think proper to mention.

As the burgesship, I find we must have a resident one, and therefore none of the Poundens or the other person who I mentioned in a former letter will answer. There is no person in Enniscorthy so eligible as Henry Hatton, the chandler. There is no person in the town at all in the line of a gentleman, for all the old inhabitants are gone. My uncle and mother approve of him. Indeed he is the only man, not a clergyman, in the town who is not under the influence of Lord Portsmouth. ...'

12 April 1798

Caesar Colclough, Ulm, to John Colclough, Tintern, Fethard,

repeating his doubts about the securities offered by Cornwall and Whaley, the members elected for Enniscorthy, and reminding him that in times when all property

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seems to be under treat, the greatest dependence is to be placed on things like John Colclough's mill, which provide the necessities of life. He discusses John Colclough's poor state of health, and recommends various beverages as remedies.

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Wexford Rebellion 1798.

John to Caesar.

Dated Fishguard June 15th 1798.

My dear Caesar,

Dreadful and horrid events have happened in the County Wexford since I wrote to you last. I went to Dublin about the middle of last month about Dunmain. A few days after my arrival Martial Law was proclaimed, and tho' every thing was perfectly quite, it was very unpleasant as there was no kind of business doing, and all persons should be in their houses by 9 o'clock. I therefore determined to return to the country, which I conceived to be quiet. Accordingly on Saturday evening the 26th I set sail in a Wexford Sloop for that town where I arrived on Monday morning, and found all there in utmost consternation. A party of insurgents to the amount of at least 4000 had assembled near our land; on Saturday night a party of the North Cork Militia amounting to 110 marched out against them. They fired two rounds when the insurgents began to give way, but the Officer most imprudently ordered his men to charge, the other party rallied and received the soldiers on their pikes which being two or three feet longer than the bayonets they killed every one of the party except four. (I should have told you my mother was in Dublin). The drawbridge was now the only protection of Wexford, for there was no more military there, or indeed in the county, except Yeomanry Corps which were so scattered up and down, that they could affect nothing. The insurgents proceeded to Enniscorthy having first destroyed all the county between Wexford and Gorey (The latter was taken by another party). They proceeded burning the houses and murdering the families of all that did not join them, till they came to Enniscorthy which after a gallant defence by about 220 Yeomen and Militia, they took the place and burned it to the ground. This happened on Monday. On Wednesday morning 2 Howitzers that were going from Duncannon to Wexford were surrounded at the mountain of Forth and taken and all the party, about 60, cut to pieces. There was a party of the Army amounting to about 500 on their way from Waterford, but on their hearing of this last business they retreated to Duncannon.

The whole county was now at their mercy, and Tom Mc Cord and I, and all the Protestants retreated into it also, not that I was a bit afraid of our own people for there was nothing they dreaded as much as being forced through dire necessity to join the insurgents, but Lord Ely's estate, and Lord Donegal's, and in short all the surrounding county was rising and as they must pass through Tintern, they would force every single male inhabitant along with them, or murder them and their families. The Army could afford them no protection for they were afraid to stir out of the Fort, so that any thing so dangerous as Duncannon was, cannot be conceived, for if they went to Duncannon, they must starve, and their families that they left behind would be murdered, and if they remained in their houses they would be carried off by the United men, so that their destruction was and is inevitable. On the retreat of the Army, all persons except those belonging to it were obliged to quit the Fort, so on Thursday Tom McCord and family and I sailed in his Sloop and arrived here on the Saturday following. When we left Ireland, we were sure Ross would have fallen, but since that there was a considerable force marched into it, so as to be able on the Tuesday following to repel an attack of the insurgents, with the loss of at least 5000

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of them, tho' many of our acquaintances have been killed, our relations have all escaped except poor Watson who was killed, (*shot by a rebel sniper*) and my Uncle Cornelius who is a prisoner in his own house.

I forgot to tell you that the day the Howitzers were taken Wexford was evacuated by the Army, and of course fell into the hands of the United men. I think it probable that there will soon be an end put to this business, and that we may soon return. I shall be able to send you £100 or £150, as I had 100 sacks of flour on board, for the Sloop was laden for Dublin. I was so sick that I was two or three days before I recovered, and I waited for some important news before I wrote. I am at Fishguard. Direct to me, care of W. Sutton, Haverford West, We have probably lost three or four of the Burgesses since I wrote. My Uncle Tom has been killed.
à Monsieur Colclough, Post Restante, Ulm.

Boyse v Colclough, Appellant to Appellants Case in Lords, 1856.

Letter John to Caesar.

Fishguard, July 3rd 1798.

My dear Caesar,

I take up my pen to write the saddest letter you ever did or I hope ever will receive. My poor Uncle Cornelius has fallen a victim to the barbarous policy of our Government. I wrote to you in my former letters from this, the progress of the rebellion to the time I made my escape, since that-thank God, they have all been cut to pieces and peace restored at least in our county. They were in possession of the whole country except Ross and Duncannon for three whole weeks, so that there is nothing but desolation to be seen, and what I shall do for money for you, I can't conceive. At all events I have 100 sacks of flour here, and when I sell them I will send Wright £150, but when I shall be able to make another remittance God only knows. I must tell you about Rowe, tho' he owed my mother, who is with me here, £100, he would not give her a single farthing, at the time she did not know where I was, and had not a penny herself, and he could not have less than £6000, with which he sailed off to Hollyhead.

I wrote to you before that my Uncle Tom was killed at Arklow, charging the rebels at the head of his troops. This, one would think, was sufficient misfortune, but now to freeze your very blood, my unfortunate Uncle Cornelius was surrounded and kept a prisoner in his own house by the rebels, when in order to save his own life he supplied them with provisions, for doing which, when the Army were victorious, and retook Wexford, they tried him by a Court martial for aiding and assisting the rebels, and he was hanged this day week. John Colclough of Ballyteige was also hanged, but he was always suspected of being a United man. William Hatton, John Hay, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, William Kearney Keogh, and many others are hanged, and I suppose all the Papist Merchants and Gentlemen of Wexford also suffer. One Roach a Priest who was the General is hanged.

Tho' one can hardly think that it was the original intention of the United men to murder all the Protestants, for many of the heads of them were of that persuasion. Yet when once the mob rose, they murdered almost all of them. I am told they burned upwards of 100 of them in a barn at Scullabogue, and they certainly would have served all their prisoners that were in Wexford the same way, had not the Army providentially and unexpectedly come time enough. There were many Protestants who to save their own lives, were christened by a Priest and pretended to side with

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the rebels, such as my Uncle Cornelius, William Hatton, Doctor Jacob, Tom Jones, Tom Richards, and many others. The women were not injured anywhere, but were christened. My Uncle John, after fighting at the head of his troops, five days and nights successively retreated with the Army to Duncannon and thence to Waterford, where he remained till within this day or two. There was the most dreadful plot discovered there, four days only before it was to have been put into execution, the town was to have been set on fire, and all the Protestants murdered, similar plots to this have been discovered elsewhere, indeed they seem to have universal. What an escape we have had. Castletown and Heathfield have been entirely gutted, Tintern has not I am told suffered much, but I have no certain intelligence, it was out of the gangway, and besides there was no body to touch it, but your own Tenantry and Lord Ely's, and as I was always very kind to both, I hope it may have escaped. I hear most of the old Protestants of Tintern who were not able to join the Yeomanry at Duncannon were burned at Scullabogue. There is neither car nor horse to be seen in the whole County, the cornfields eaten and trod down, and the County quite a desert. You might ride from end to the other without seeing a single man. What will become of us I can't think. We don't know whether my Uncles Tom or Cornelius made a Will. I suppose I need not inform you that as the property was settled, it can't be forfeited. As you say Ulm is a cheap place. I think you had better stay where you are till the troubles are over. My mother and I will be able to do on very little, and every penny we can raise and run shall go to you. This dreadful crash, has been hanging over us these eighteen months, and perhaps the Country may recover in a couple of years. God send it may is the prayer of J. Colclough. My mother is pretty well. Direct to me to Jemmy Simon, 205 Piccadilly, and he will forward it wherever I am.

à Monsieur Colclough, Poste Restante, Ulm.

Colclough's Farewell

Song for John Henry Colclough by P.J. McCall. Air; "Bunclody."

Farewell, Enniscorthy!

John Colclough takes a fond farewell

Green Hill o'er the Slaney!

Old Windmill where our heroes fell

Farewell, Town o' Wexford

Our capital thro' freedom's strife

On thy bridge o'er wide waters,

At morning I lay down my life!

Farewell, faithful Gorey!

Good Scarwalsh! Bright Ballaghkeen!

Whose sons first at Oulart

Uplifted high our flag of green

God foster your manhood,

From the Bann to Blackwater shore

Farewell, bright Ballaghkeen

True breed of the Macamore!

Farewell, bold Shelmalier,

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Whose trusty guns laid tyrants low
Ye ne'er knew dishonour,
Ye never quailed before the foe
How brave was your bearing,
At the Three Rock and Ross's walls!
Farewell, bold Shelmalier
Ye'll fight again when Ireland calls!
Farewell, stout Shelburne,
And wild Bantry, whose deeds were great,
By Boro and Barrow,
To The Three Bullet's bloody Gate
O souls robed in honor,
Fearless brethren in valour's fight,
More glad be your story,
When again ye raise the hand of right!

Farewell, Forth and Bargy,
From the Tuskar to Bannow sands
Who still fight unvanquished,
Afar in Meath's green-grassy lands
Ye sons of long fighters,
May victory yet crown your worth
Farewell, Bargy Barony,
And Ballyteige that gave me birth!

John Colclough, Insurgent leader, executed on Wexford Bridge, 28th June, 1798.

Boyse v Colclough, Appellant to Appellants Case in Lords, 1856. Letter, Caesar, Ulm to John, Picadilly, 22nd July 1798.

My dear John,

I received yours of the 3rd inst. this morning. Judge the horror of this perfidy that condemned one innocent, whilst two others were losing their lives in the service, but my dear John this is familiar to me. I saw many instances of nearly the same nature, and had you followed my hints you would have saved, not only our friends, but our finances from the present embarrassment. The farther I travel the more I see the progress of these opinions that have brought our unhappy Country to the state in which it is, and united with fanaticism, has produced the direful effects that we now are witness to, and I fear my dear John, the tears that we have already shed, are not to be soon dried, (for if I can judge by analogy) the passions once roused to the point they are, mutual vengeance and ferocity are long continued effects and I do not flatter myself with so speedy a conclusion to these miserable calamities. The only judgment I can form, is from the newspapers and opinions, that I must shut my ears not to hear, for here as elsewhere, one must listen and be silent lest you pass for the friend or enemy of one side or the other, and always take your precautions for the worst event, which I have done. And I can live a long time without drawing from you a farthing, therefore do not send any money to Wright until I write to you. Had you taken the counsel I gave you, the Mortgage, which now

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is but paper, would be in a state to guarantee us from any pecuniary inconvenience, but I know my dear John that you do all for the better. In future when I venture an opinion, and conjure you to adopt it, you will pay I am sure more attention to my advice. I shall remain here tho' the climate does not agree with me, because it is cheap, but I fear the recommencement of the War will oblige me to quit, and there is little doubt to one who listens with indifference, that in such a case, the French party here will, aided by their Arms intrigues money and principles, and the discontent of the Country, undermine the ancient authority, and produce the melancholy effects it has done in the neighbouring Country. Rowe's conduct does not at all astonish me, for he is like the rest of the world, except those few who are difficult to be found in the best of moments, as they are desirable and disinterested in the worst, but this is no moment for reflections or enmities, as I said already to you, the only recourse is to assiduously cultivate the pursuit we have adopted.

The Mill and Commerce are your occupations, and I omit not an opportunity to enrich my stock in the mechanical line that has already been serviceable to me, in hopes in a more happy moment, to bring back to my unhappy desolate Country, the fruits of my endeavours, and there reap the now unpromising harvest in serving the surviving industry that may secure me in conciliating the friendship of all, by an universal utility. Your letter is so full of melancholy events, and my health so impaired by the attacks of the bile, that I scarce remember all, and dare not read it again, such are the sentiments of horror it inspires and on which I will at this moment make no comment.

Remember me to my mother, the surviving consolation of this dreadful catastrophe, continue to write the havoc it has made, and amongst all those we know. Adieu my dear John, my blood is indeed frozen with the events you mention. In case the war begins again, I think of going to Hungary by the Danube, being the cheapest country in Europe and removed from immediate danger, but I shall not take a resolution without deliberately considering it. Adieu again, write to me and pray that my mother do the same.

22 August 1798

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Ulm,

about his arrest on suspicion of [having] been implicated in the rebellion. ' From a letter to my mother in London, I conjecture she has informed you of my situation. I wish she had not done so, as it could only tend to make you uneasy and be of no use, as I shall probably be discharged before you receive this. I cannot conceive on what charge I was apprehended (at Fishguard on the 9th July), and am still continued in confinement; for it is utterly impossible there can be anything against me, though there have been several attempts made by Tottenham of Ross and the protestant Ascendancy party to suborn witnesses to swear against me-but in vain. I long since petitioned twice to be tried, even by a court martial, but could not obtained it, which I conceive to be a tolerable proof that there is nothing against me, and that I am only kept in confinement through the malicious importunity of Tottenham and the above-mentioned party, who first cause my apprehension. Tom Mc Cord was also implicated in the warrant with me, but he has gone to London, and so escaped being arrested where he continues still, rather choosing to be his own keeper until I am disposed of, when he means to give himself up.

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I should long since have lodged the money I mentioned, but the sloop and cargo are under seizure, and probable will not be released till I am at liberty. I must apprise you that I understand Tintern has not suffered much, that very few indeed of the people have been killed, and the rest have all returned to peace and industry; so that things are not so bad as I dreaded, nor will my dear brother, I trust, ever be obliged to earn your bread with the sweat of your brow, and I hope this unfortunate country will soon be at peace with itself and the rest of the world. I shall a short time give you an account of the rise and progress of the rebellion, etc.

I think you should by all means remain where you are, until all is quite here. At least I am very comfortably situated in the back(?) House in Castle Street, where you used formerly (to) get soap (sic-?). I had the liberty of seeing my friends and am well used every way, and it costs me nothing. I deferred writing to you from day to day, still expecting to get out. I had began (sic) a letter to you, but I did not intend letting you know my situation, but my mother's letter has put that out of the question. ...'

9 December 1798

Caesar Colclough, Ulm, to Lady Colclough, Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, London,

about John Grogan's memorial and about the rebellion. '... the agreeable tidings of Lord Cornwallis's conduct to John is another proof of John's innocent persecution and the infamous conduct of party against Lord C. in secreting John's memorial in order to make enemies to the system that is now established. ...'

I do not know what can be the reason of our letters miscarrying. However, I believe it may be the vigilance of government, to prevent any political intercourse with foreign countries, and probable the negligence of the offices, when they have opened and read our letters, not to take the trouble of re-sealing them. However, I am glad that this consolation results from their precaution, that we shall be known and of course esteemed for our moderation, attachment to order and philanthropy, and notwithstanding the ills our property and relations have suffered from the rebels, the former sentiments of humanity are unshaken; and though on the other hand we have been equally chagrined, never did we impute it to the intentions of government but the unlucky intolerance of a petty faction, which is extinguished by the firmness of Lord Cornwallis's administration.

I dare not speak of the union, but I can only say that the forfeiture of my borough would be a trifling consideration for the purchase of so great an advantage to my country

20 December 1798

John Colclough to Caesar Colclough, Ulm,

a long complaint about the shabby behaviour of William Harvey in a financial transaction, and reflections on the rebellion. '... I have been here three weeks, and can't bear to look out, on account of my meeting the villains of this place, for such a horrid set of hell-hounds never inhabited any country.'

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They were intent on nothing but plunder and murder. The greatest savages of Africa and America were civilisation itself compared to them. You cannot, nor did I, conceive that man could be so ferocious, and I am convinced that, had the country remained another week under them, a single protestant, in particular a gentleman of any kind, would not have been left alive. As it was, Bagenal Harvey, Keogh and John Colclough were repeatedly in the most imminent danger. Keogh was twice taken out to be piked.

I will send money to Wright twelfth day, as that is the day I have given notice to the tenants to pay, which they are very unwilling to do. Do you know, or could you believe, that during the troubles that no man dare show the least concern or sorrow insomuch that, if any man were seen at work, it was as much as life was worth. I desired my mother to write you the news, which she can do much better than I, as I am in one continual passion and fret from morning till night with the sight of the rascals. So much as a barrel of wheat they would not send into the mill, least it might be placed to the credit of their rent,'

8 January 1799

T. Jenkins, General Post Office. London, to Caesar Colclough,
about arrangements for ensuring that letters to Colclough arrive safely.

3 March 1799

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Ulm,

about his difficulties with the tenants, the return for Enniscorthy borough and the forfeiture of the Grogan estate as a result of Uncle Cornelius's attainder.

Description: directed to Jemmy Simon.

I will send you money immediately, as the tenants are now beginning to think about paying something, not seeing another rising likely to take place, and fearing to be treated as Lord Ely treated his whole tenantry, and as I threatened, vis., to eject them. All those protestant women who lost their husbands, I shall take such care of it as I am certain you would wish -I mean those that are worthy of it, which I am sorry to say are very few.

If anything was wanting to confirm my aversion to middlemen, it is the way Jack Hill served me within these few days, He came down here, picked up every penny and marched without paying a farthing, though he owes two years' rent, that is £210. Besides, if his tenants were in arrear he could make them pay without danger to himself, as he lives out of the neighbourhood, which is not my case. Besides the religion of his wife's family is no mean point in his favour.

You will probable have a letter from my Uncle John, complaining of me. Whatever little sense he once had, he has none at all now. He wrote to me something or another about Enniscorthy. The mails were stopped, and I never got his letter, and of course could not answer it. He never considered this, and the post after wrote me a most extraordinary letter (I am sure he must have been drunk), threatening me to represent the matter to you, etc, etc, since I did not answer his letter, and you may be sure I did not take this very quietly, for I conceive myself rather too old to be whipped.

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He wishes to come to into Enniscorthy the first vacancy, to which there can be no possible objection, provided he engages to vote against a certain measure, which in my opinion, if carried, would ruin this country, and without your explicit orders to the contrary, no person shall be returned for it that will not engage the same, and I trust such orders you will never give, I do not know what put it into his wise head, but I think there is (not) the least likelihood of dissolution of parliament.

I believe I wrote to you before that, only for their own fault, the estates would not have been forfeited, which I fear will now certainly take place. Sir Frederick Flood is my Uncle John's prime minister. From that you may guess how well things are managed. He and Overstreet will I think, soon be at variance, My mother, I suppose, writes you all those matters.'

25 March 1799

Caesar Colclough, to Lady Catherine Colclough, Great Pulteney Street, London

mainly about the sale of Enniscorthy borough. '... I don't wish to write about E, nor is it necessary. I submit all to yourselves. For I, John and my Uncle John, as myself, and have no occasion to write on the subject, or if I did it would be to remonstrate against his imprudent intention, particularly at this moment, nor can I concur in the execution of his wishes, though for my emolument, without regret, and advise you to dissuade him from such a career. "When vice prevails and wicked men bear sway, The post of honor is the private station." I will write to him and my brother. ... You must have already received my letters, and can see that I foresaw all that has since occurred, through my ignorance of the local circumstances renders me incapable of judging of the detail. I pray you to request John, and wrote to him at the same time, on no account to take any consideration in paper mortgage and other security for whatever he sells on my account. However with respect to my Uncle John, I prescribe no injunction; but for the rest, hope my brother will not, as with Whaley and Cornwall, contrary to my desire and request, prefer the offer of any future, though enormous, profit to the ready, moderate nay even trifling certitude of not starving or perishing through cold or hunger ere the turf be dug and dry or the bread sown, reaped and baked ...

8 August 1799

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough

about the sale of Enniscorthy borough. 'I enclosed this letter to my mother, to be directed and forwarded by her. My Uncle John is now a complete millstone about your neck in the disposal of the Boro, he is certainly the most unreasonable man I ever met with, and were I at total liberty, I would not hesitate a moment in rejecting his proposals for the Boro. He first offered £8,000, that to [be] paid in the most unpleasant kind of way, that is £3,000 in November next and the remainder at £1,000 a year. I desired my mother to write you this, and I find by your letter to her she did. Since that (within this week) there has been £10,000 offered down. This I informed him, and I also showed him your letter, where you mention that as a sum you would sell for, and also your determination to take nothing but ready money, and that I expected to get £11,000 (which, if not obliged to sell to him, I am tolerably certain of). Notwithstanding this, he is so ungenerous as to expect you to make him

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a compliment of £2000, but he will not give more than £9,000 holding out the chances of the reversion, etc, as a compensation for the difference, though I know he is intent on marriage, and that if he was not legally tied up as to settle the reversion (which you know he could not be), the chance of it, depending on his caprice, would not be worth three pence, for he is as unsteady as the wind. And what makes it worse still in him is that he has the promise of the government, as he tells me, to be made compensation in case the Boro should be done away on a union. I told him that I would write to you his proposal, which indeed is no proposal, for except £2,000 of my Uncle Tom's money, which is in Sir Hercules Langrishes's hands, I don't think he can command two pence, and you know, from my grandfather's will, he is a tenant for life, and therefore no personal security, and on the whole he would be a most unpleasant man to have any dealings with, should he even give as much as another, let alone his giving £2,000 less.

However, I think I have hit upon a scheme to get yourself completely and me tolerable well out of the business. It is this, To write to my Uncle John that I had written you word of his and other proposals, and that I had declined interfering between you, and that you should therefore appoint W. Sutton (to whom write) to transact the business of the sale of the borough with him, and if they can agree I shall write you, a letter which I will show my Uncle John, but you are not to mind that letter at all. Preparative to the sale, write a letter to the burgesses requesting they may resign their burgesship at the joint request of W. Sutton [and] my Uncle John, and as I wish to have them joined with me in the commission, as I don't like to act entirely by myself. You will keep it in mind the unpleasantness of the proposed mode of payment from my Uncle John, and as to my opinion, I think the difference between that mode and ready cash, (sic) would be a compliment and ready cash sufficient to pay him, not to mention anything else. I will endeavour to get an English purchaser, if I can. Enclose all your letters to my mother.'

11 December 1799

John Colclough, Dublin, to his mother, Lady Catherine Colclough

about their compensation as suffering loyalists, the sale of Enniscorthy borough, particularly as it will be affected by the proposed union, and about his quarrel with Mr. Tottenham of Ross. 'You will forward the enclosed memorials. The affidavits, surveys and estimates accompanied our original one to the Duke of Portland, and what has become of them, the Lord knows; for though it was referred to the government of this country, yet we never heard anything concerning it till, after waiting time out of mind, we memorialled the Lord Lieutenant, by whom we were referred to the commissioners for Suffering Loyalists, and on application to them, they informed us it was not within their cognizance, and it was only our memorial to the Lord Lieutenant and not that to the Duke of Portland, that was handed over to them ...

As to the borough, I fear my Uncle John has lost us the sale of it. You know, by his folly and nonsense, he kept me from selling it till he knew whether Caesar would sell it to him for £2,000 on credit less than he could then get ready money for it. Then, Caesar's undecided answer at first caused such delay, that now the gentleman who

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was about it is off on account of the union, and I can't get a chap for it, high or low. The government of this country are not disposed to serve us, but rather the contrary, though God knows whether we have given them any reason to be so. But private spleen guides the measures of this government, I am therefore advised by my most sensible and best friend to make over the borough in trust, so that in case of an union it should not appear to be our obnoxious property. But who to entrust I know not. I threw out the hint to my Uncle John, but he is either too stupid or unwilling to take it. Let me know your advice on the subject ...

I wish you would write to Caesar, either to enclose my letters to Bagenall Robinson, W. Harvey and Pat Colclough to resign, or that he would overpower my Uncle John and I to make the demand of them (none of them, except Mr. Robinson ever attended, except to vote for the Counsellor on the first election after my father's death). I am afraid, in case of an union, some of these might be looking for compensation for themselves, and the government will be very likely to reward Harvey for evidence he gave about the property at Newtownbarry on the inquisition, under the colour of his being a burgess and having a share in the Boro, at our expense.

My Uncle John's affairs are not yet come on, nor need you expect anything decisive this length of time. Had he employed another attorney, it is probable he would be in the peaceable possession of his estate before now. Overstreet and he are quite to pieces. Caesar will find that neither he, Overstreet nor Betty are the same people he once knew them. Would you believe it, I have been almost three weeks in town, and they never asked me to eat a bit with them.

Last Monday, I met Charles Tottenham at Waddy's door. I told him he was the greatest rascal in Ireland, but I knew he would not take notice of it a gentleman ought. He never made the smallest reply, and on Friday following I met him in the same place, and told him the story, when he mustered up passion enough to call me a rascal. I told him he should hear from me, but he was resolved he should not; for he went to Judge Downes himself, and gave information of the matter, and that evening I was taken into custody by the sheriff, and brought before the judge, and bound in £6,000 to keep the peace for three years ...'

30 January 1800

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Dresden,
protesting his innocence of any serious mismanagement of Caesar Colclough's affairs, although he does admit to making some mistakes in the leasing policy he adopted on the estate. '... you will by find the rent rolls what a very small sum you had to spend, after deducting all drawbacks, when my father died. The farms which had been evicted, I found set in very small divisions at a high rent. I continued all the tenants, and lowered the rents a little. Prices were still high for grain etc. In the year '96, when these rise-rents should have been felt, prices of every kind fell more than one-half. If I pressed the tenants, they must have given up the land. I certainly wish that I had then done so, as it must be probably the (sic) done year. Another great error was in setting in small divisions, where there are not manufacturers, the whole

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of the produce goes to support the family of the occupier, and leaves none for the rent ...'

24 February 1800

John Colclough, Dublin, to Lady Catherine Colclough,
domestic matters, and the reluctance of W. Harvey to resign as burgess of Enniscorthy, which John Colclough has a plan to surmount.

March 28th 1800

Tintern. Letter, John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Dresden, Colclough's personal financial situation.

My dear Caesar,

Having something worth communicating I lose no time in doing it. The Boro' (Enniscorthy) is at length sold to Lord Lismore, and Sir William Gleadows, acceptances for £8000, payable in 91 days, and £5000 payable with interest in one year, are lodged for me as soon as the old burgesses resigns and new ones are elected, which with our utmost speed will take up a month at least. William Harvey's not resigning is of no consequence, I promised that two probably would not resign. However, he is the only one that refuses, I have already obtained P. Colclough, Bagenall's, and Billy Robinson's. This last cost over 25 guineas. I cannot say that I entirely approve of your intention of laying out the money in annuities, except perhaps for my mother's life... I must now mention some of my own affairs to you. My father by his will directed that my £8000 should bear but an interest of 5 per cent until it should be paid, tho' it was payable on his death. At that time I had not heard from you for 15 months, and therefore advised how I could entitle myself to legal interest of 6 per cent, but finding the process would be very expensive and tedious, I gave up the intention and resolved to wait until I could apply to yourself on the subject. When I could at first do so, I deferred it because the property could not then afford it, and I had not so well earned a compliment, as I have since done. It is now far otherwise, and I hope (I know) I shall be no loser by my forbearance. ... What I wish in future is to sink all these kind of charges, and to take common agents fees in lieu thereof.

à Monsieur Colclough, Gentilhomme Anglais, Dresden.

13 April 1800

Caesar Colclough, Dresden, to Lady Colclough Suffolk Street, Charles Cross, London. He explains the terms in which he has written to William Harvey asking him to resign as a burgess of Enniscorthy. He is not surprised at the conduct of Robinson, but is surprised that Pat Colclough agreed to resign, considering that they are at litigation with him over Dunmain. He is glad now that he did not spend one-third of the money which John Colclough told him was at his disposal, since this has turned out to be very optimistic figure. He discusses the way in which the English are sought after and caressed on the continent, because of the large sums of money they are prepared to spend.

21 April 1800

Letter, Caesar to John, dated Dresden, 21st April, 1800.

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My dear John, I received yours of the 28th March. ... The Rent Rolls of the Estate is at present but £1600, the purport of this will (Sir Vesey's Will) was evidently to try our attachment on the corrupted touchstone of Separate or self interest, and profit by my absence, or our mutual quarrels, but these despicable efforts will prove abortive, and their reaction ultimately turn against the Authors. I therefore mention the danger of receiving the £2000 more under the Will (which you seem to say is invalid) lest it might raise the pretensions of the others therein mentioned, but at the same time, my dear John, do not question your right to whatever you demand, because I am sure you are incapable of an act not clearly and conscientiously legal, honourable, and generous, and as a "proof that my words and my doubts are the same," the £8000, that you say is lodged, and payable in 91 days, I authorise you by this, to retain, and for which you will send me a receipt in due form, and leave a duplicate with my Banker for the same, as an acquittance for your fortune, and whatever is due to you of interest, etc., at 6%, as you demand, debit me with in account. You therefore are Master of this sum, to do what you please with it on your account. If you accept the Agents fees for the receipt of my rents until now it is but just that I should pay McCord, until you begin to undertake the offices, which will give double pleasure, as it proves you are not tired of conducting them, and authorises me to demand regularly an account etc., I am sure you will prove what you said, a faithful Steward. ... I am extremely exact in accounts, nor do I ever confide to my memory, the transactions of the preceding day, regularly writing at night, whatever I spent, or other occurrence worth notice, nor is it possible (at least for me) to think an object worth reflection if we must embarrass our mind with what a scratch of a pen records ineffaceably, and leaves the imagination free.

To: John Colclough Esq., Tintern Abbey.

June 13th, 1800

Letter, John to Caesar, Dated Dublin.

Dear Caesar, I received yours of the 21st April last Friday at Tintern. I mean to go from this to Harrowgate, and from that to London, and to return in about 10 weeks, when I shall fully answer all your queries, that is all that can be answered, this procrastination will in no way, I hope, incommode you.

From your letter I am afraid you think me selfish, if you do you are greatly wrong. Self commendation was never a favourite theme of mine as you must know. I can't however avoid saying that the contrary of selfishness is my fault. As a proof of this, whatever poorer, I am certainly not richer than my father's death made me. Three fifths at least of my income has been expended in the improvement of Tintern. It is the only passion or hobby horse I have, and while Tintern is in my hands I shall never be worth a groat to indulge myself in this way. I deny myself what some people are foolish to look on as almost necessities of life. They are none however to me. ... However, if on a review of your affairs, you think my portion unproportioned to yours, I shall relinquish any advantage I might legally desire under the will, and bow to the equity of your breast.

Another thing, I am afraid you think I had some view in recommending you not to lay out the money in annuities, and that I wanted it myself, else why so suddenly change your intention of laying out the money in some other country, and appropriate it to the discharge of my portion! However you shall still have the command over the

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money without any risk, for when I receive it (the Bills are not yet due) I will send you such an accountable receipt, as that you can either place it to the debit of my portion, or my own personal account.... It was the admirable William Sutton got Patrick Colclough and Bagenall to resign. The former will not be damned for it, for he repents most sorely his having done so. My Uncles are still at war, Uncle John (Grogan) is not at all pleased with me, because he did not get the Boro' £4000 less than what I got for it, I am dear Caesar ever yours

John Colclough, à Monsieur Colclough Dresden

Cause Papers, New Record, Court, Dublin.

Colclough v Carleton, Launcelot Carleton, December 1800.

Order of citation to Thomas Colclough, natural and lawful brother and one of the next of kin of Launcelot Carleton late of the Island of Jamaica, deceased without a widow, or lawful issue, or father or mother now living, dated November 3rd 1800, to other cause why administration, to goods of said Launcelot should not be granted to Beauchamp Colclough and Alexander Crawford Esqs., they having an interest in the effects of said intestate.

Letter John to Caesar, dated Dublin June 18th 1801.

My dear Caesar,

Your last letter has given me and all your friends, most infinite satisfaction, particularly that part of which it shows how unfounded a report that was which was communicated to my uncle John by a friend of his and yours from Lismore, and on which I understand, my mother and he wrote to you, and tho' it is the wish of my heart to see you married, and have one of our own name and blood to succeed us both (for it is probable unless when doating, that I shall never marry). Yet from the character of the person spoken of, I think you could not be happy with her as a wife. I feel this is a very delicate point for me to mention at all, and therefore request when you answer this letter, that you will take of no kind notice of the foregoing part

...

There is a very fine smart little boy of yours by E. Hays that I am thinking of sending to some cheap school in England, he is about 11 or 12. I am afraid the mother has brought him up with a turn for the Army, and in that opinion I think we should after he has been a little time at school try and get him a Midshipman place, the allowance to the mother at present is 12 guineas a year schooling and clothes, but the last not regular. I am always in advance to her. There is another most ingenious little fellow [City Debtor's] your own son, but he has a turn in his eyes, and is so near sighted that he can hardly see to read. This little fellow I mean for a Head Gardener, that being a business that does not require good sight, tho' he has the most mechanical turn in the world & he lives with me at Tintern since the Rebellion. There is also a brother lives with me, he about 19 (one of Poll Connors) him I intend for a miller, he is the honestest, best but stupidest boy in the world I have at school, going over and over again Arithmetic to indeed but little purpose. I offered £100 fee with him to the Miller at Mercers Mills, but it would be not taken. Of Mrs. Harringtons sons, who are both fine lads, the eldest is a Lieut. in a Fencible Regt. now in Halifax. I had a letter from him. The Barrack and every hapenny worth he possessed of, has been burned, and in consequence I was obliged to remit him £20, the only

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remittance since he joined a year and a half ago. The other son is a young surgeon, his allowance is 12 Guineas a year for clothes, 2 for Lectures, and 2 for Washing. There is a sister of Poll Wards, and another of our own, that stands me in about 5 Guineas. This a sketch of the encumbrances. ...

John Colclough, à Monsieur Colclough, Frankfurt, am Main.

3 September 1801

John Colclough, Harrogate, Yorkshire, to Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt, giving a very long and detailed account of his conduct of Caesar Colclough's financial affairs since their father's death, pointing out that he has spent large sums of his own money on Tintern, which is of course Caesar Colclough's property, discussing further improvements which are necessary, but which he cannot pay for except out of Caesar Colclough's money, and concluding with a reference to Co. Wexford politics.

'I want to know, did you lend me £100 (queried in the original) of Longfield's money in 1790, for I find in my old accounts that I credited you for that sum, for I have not the smallest recollection of the matter. You know, there is a fatality attending our accounts.

As it is probable we shall have a general election, you should turn in your mind what you will do. The present members and Sir Frederick are the only candidates. It is my decided opinion that, unless one could make some kind of bargain that would tend (or indeed to a certainty) to open the county at a future period, your freeholders should not vote at all, which would save a considerable expense to you, an inconceivable deal of trouble and anxiety to me and a very great loss of time and inconvenience to the people themselves. The merits of the candidates are in my mind so near a par, that I should not give sixpence to name the successful ones. My Uncle John will, I suppose, support Flood and Loftus, but he is very cool about it. If anything occurs to [you] let me know, and I will explain it, if I can.'

1 December 1801

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt, about an impending lawsuit over whether the lease of Dunmain which Pat Colclough claims John and Caesar Colclough's father made him is a forgery or not, in which John Colclough is confident of success.

22 December 1801

Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt, to James Simon, Piccadilly, urging him to send the accounts left with him by John Colclough, since their failure to appear is delaying Caesar Colclough's departure from Frankfurt. '... my anxiety to receive them is prodigious, not having the smallest notion of the state of my affairs since the death of my father, more than 7 years, and stinting myself in even some of the necessaries of life, many of the aisances and all the luxuries, through fear of being taxed with hereditary imprudence, or the regret of embarrassing my property or prolonging my 'wished - for return to my native country, ...'

24 February 1802

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt,

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about Co. Wexford politics, the Dunmain case and other matters. 'Last night's post probably took you a letter from a new and unexpected candidate for our county, George Car. He was always foolish, but this act of his is absolute madness. I am very certain that, were he to stand the poll, and he said he is determined to do it, he will have not a single vote except his own freeholders, who may amount to 16 in number. He was with me yesterday, and absolutely made me sick with his nonsense. I thought it prudent to contain myself, and keep him on good terms with us. I told him that we were tired supporting unsuccessful candidates, and that, unless there was a strong probability of success, I was sure you would not interfere in supporting any candidate. I also quoted your letter to my mother, where you mentioned that you would not go to any expense or put your tenants to any inconvenience or loss of time in supporting any of the candidates. I referred him to you, and gave him your address, and although I did not contradict any of his nonsensical positions and arguments, he was not half pleased because I did not promise to support him. You will answer his letter with some plausible excuse for not interfering in this election. N.B. He is very touchy and easily affronted.

I think, my dear Caesar, the time has at length arrived that you may return to your own country with some degree of satisfaction and credit to yourself and friends. Newspapers will inform you that Mr. Wickham is appointed Secretary for Irish affairs and also Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. He is expected over here immediately. From some of your former letters, I judge that there was a degree of intimacy subsisted between ye, when you were at Lausanne. If this should be the case, and that I was not wrong in my conjecture, the moment the season gets sufficiently mild you should set off for this country, for you cannot imagine what an influence it would have in the verdict of a Co. Wexford jury. ... You speak of building walls like my grandfather, but you forget that there is not a quarry in the whole country, and that the Castle itself is composed of field-stones. Therefore, instead of walls which I also would have wished to have build, I have been obliged to run good ditches. ...

19 March 1802

Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt, to James Simon ('my dear friend and relation'), Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, London,

urging him to choose and pursue some sort of career in life, and reminding him that, until Sir Vesey Colclough's death, Caesar Colclough himself had had to earn his own living.

23 May 1802

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt:

a very long letter about the Dunmain case. John Colclough is still confident of success, but the hearing has been delayed by the death of the Chancellor.

26 May 1802

Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt, to John Colclough, Tintern, Fethard,

about the state of the accounts between them and about a long and complicated tale of James Simon concerning £40 which Simon alleges that Caesar Colclough owes

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him. Caesar Colclough transcribes most of the letter which he has received from Simon on the subject, in the course of which Simon insinuates that he is more concerned for Caesar Colclough's welfare than John is.

30 May 1802

Caesar Colclough, Frankfurt, to John Colclough Tintern, Fethard,

there can be no doubt of James Simon's dishonesty, not only in the matter of £40, but the more serious matter of his having embezzled £200 intended for Caesar Colclough.

29 June 1802

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Lyons France,

about the villainy of Jemmy Simon, who has been embezzling their money and trying to blacken John Colclough in Caesar Colclough's eyes ... "My mother and all friends are well. Lord Lismore wants to sell the Corporation of Enniscorthy. He asks £500, probably he would take £400, to be sure it is now but a feather, but I think you ought to buy it, on some occasion or another it might be of weight. If you go to Bordeaux enquire for a Mr. Casey, and you will hear of Mary Colclough and her husband (Fitzhenry)."

I am dear Caesar, yours ever, J. Colclough.
à Monsieur Colclough à Lyon, France.

16 July 1802

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Neufchatel, France,

about necessary outgoings on account of relations, illegitimate children etc, improvements on the estate which he considers desirable and the expense of the Dunmain lawsuit.

17 August 1802

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Lyons, France,

lamenting that due to the prejudice of a Wexford jury, they have suffered a reverse in the Dunmain case, referring to a tithe dispute and discussing other estate and financial matters.

28 November 1802

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough, Vans, France,

reporting that the Chancellor has reversed the verdict of the Wexford jury in the Dunmain case, and discussing the money he has spent on buying a new commission for George (apparently a bastard of their father's) in the army.

1 February 1803

Caesar Colclough (of Duffry Hall, a namesake and cousin), London, to Caesar Colclough, Vans, France.

He explains that during Sir Vesey Colclough's last illness, when he had few friends left in the world but the writer, the writer lent him £60 to enable him to go and drink goat's whey in the mountains. Sir Vesey shortly afterwards died, and the debt was

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never paid. The writer would not ask for it now, but for his own pressing financial embarrassments, which arise from his being disappointed of money promised him by Lord Pelham for his services before the rebellion.

22 February 1803

Letter John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough,

denying Caesar Colclough's charge that he is unnecessarily litigious, and pointing out that he has only lost one lawsuit of all that he undertook, and would win even that one if it were worth the winning. He goes on to defend himself for the amount of money he has spend on the bastards, and protests that it would be right to make them "tinkers and tailors". He concludes by suggesting that Caesar Colclough should join him and others in setting up a bank in New Ross. ... My Uncle John is married to a Miss Fitzgerald, she says a relation of the Duke of Leinster. She is certainly a Gentlewoman, and tho' neither young nor handsome, he thinks her both. I doubt whether he got any fortune, tho' he says he got a large one. This has been a very hard year on you, George's Commission and rigging out (for he came absolutely naked) will nearly close £200. Anthony has been appointed Assistant Surgeon to the 6th Dragoons-this will cost £30 commission and Regimentals etc., These are the last charges of any consideration that you will have to pay on these lad's account. To balance these, I have Dudley apprenticed to the first Miller in Ireland, Mr. Sparrow of Marfield near Clonmel for Ten Guineas and ten more in three years. Bob, I mean to make a Gardener. John, Peggy Hays boy, I don't know what to do with. I wish to send him to school to Whitehaven, where I hear there is a good one, but I suppose the mother would not part with him. ... I wish you would come over, you would increase your property considerably, I am afraid to bring an ejection there is such a prejudice against me, which your mixing with the Gentleman of the County would do away with.

I am dear Caesar yours ever, John Colclough.
à Monsieur Colclough, Department d'Ardeche.

Letter Caesar (Barrister) to Caesar, London April 2nd, 1803.

Dear Sir,

Not until late last night did I receive your highly valued letter owing to the person whose care was directed, being out of the town on his employers business. However I assure you upon my honour I most-----
-----course, than the most unqualified acquiescence with my request for demand I made none. I have enclosed it to your brother, he will act as he thinks proper, I shall only add that it would at present be most material to me, for I really do not know where else on earth to turn me. Having said so much on that point I shall conclude it by promising that, let his or your decision be what it may, you shall never hear from me another syllable on the subject. Permit me however, in one or two points to show you that I had at least had in one sons claim, and in the other certainly had no desire or means of benefiting me. I mean the allowance your father made me while at the Temple, in fact that transaction took place in the following manner, Your father gave me at the instance I dare say of some of my friends, a lease of Mangan, and I was to have got old Ferry out of it. Immediately

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after he gave a lease of the same to Mr. Shea, and I believe to Mr. Kavanagh. This made a great rout between us, which was accommodated by the late Mr. Savage and Conor Haughton, on my giving up the lease and accepting an annuity of £100 a year, which I did, and you may recollect I did not even impede the sales by trying to bring in that 100 a year on them. As to the will, I was certainly about him, and even procured the Gentleman who prepared it, but I declare the contents or purport of it I was ignorant of until it had been executed, and you will find that I by no means benefited thereby, as I was precisely in the same situation before as since. I mention these facts merely to do away with any idea you might have that I acted in any manner to your prejudice, which I take God to witness I never did, and I was convinced that by getting a Professional Gentleman of respectability to draw his will, I would prevent any gross conduct, was such intended by any party, which I do not think ever was. Many thanks to you for your kind profession which I look upon as a future great use to me, as I can have no doubt but you will return and resume the rank and character in the County that your talents and your name entitle you to. Whilst I lament the loss of your friend, I have heard it said you were intimate with Mr. Dicksham, who is at present an Irish Minister, if so I will thank you for an introduction to him, as in politics I suppose the less said of them the better. However, I will venture to mention that the wish of the County is peace, but if War must be, it will be one hand and one voice. God avoid the evil, favour me with a line as soon as you conveniently can, and believe me to be

Yours very truly, Caesar Colclough.

13 September 1803

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Vans,

about a man called Bingham whom Caesar Colclough knew on the continent, who had fallen on evil times and who claims that Caesar Colclough is under financial obligations to him. He goes on to discuss a lawsuit over the lands at St. Molins and the letting of Dunmain.

'...we went down to trial again at Summer Assizes, and though we had a most excellent case and the court was most decidedly with us, the jury would not agree (some of them were common rascals), unless we forgave the mesne rates. We kept the blackguards in four-and-twenty hours, and considering the few gentlemen of estate in the county (Carlow), and that every jury would be growing worse and worse, I thought it best to take the hint, and came upon terms... These two trials cost about £600. We had special counsel, a great bar and a cloud of witnesses, and kept open house at Borris and Carlow for a week previous to the Assizes. There are still obligations to be repaid that I calculate £400. I cannot in a letter enter into the particulars, but there were some of our witnesses who, by coming forward to serve us, brought on themselves difficulties, out of which I can see we are bound in honor to extricate them. ...

I advertised Dunmain, but produced but one bidder. The people know, notwithstanding all my treats that I would not turn out the old tenants. I will advertise it again,...

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13 December 1804

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Vans,
urging him to stand for Co. Wexford. '... from your long absence, you have lost probably all ambition to represent the county, but you are something to your friends, and must support their exertions. You will certainly be returned for the county. Cliff of Ross, Hore, Goff, Heatly, Savage, Car and Harp of Ross have declared for you, beside all the old independent interests that were always in opposition to Lord Loftus. We want an address from you to the freeholders. Leave the forming of it to me, and write me a letter thanking your friends for their exertions, and desiring the address which you enclose (a blank) may be published. Whatever may be your own opinions on the subject, you must give up to your friends. You will see by your accounts, which are ready as soon as I go to Dublin, that you can afford some expense, should there be a contest which I am inclined to think there will not.'

1 February 1805

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough,
Hamburg: the same – repeat of letter of 13 Dec above.

13 November 1805

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Vans,
complaining that he has not heard from Caesar Colclough for a year.

4 January 1806

Caesar Colclough, Vans, to Lady Catherine Colclough, Dawson Street, Dublin,
about the frequency with which their letters go astray, and about Caesar Colclough's reluctant to stand as a candidate for Co.Wexford.
'... I wonder you do not mention the project that he (John Colclough) has conceived of offering me a candidate for the seat my father and his ancestors occupied during such a series of years. As he assures me of the invitation and solicitation of my friends, he must include you and my uncles, etc. I have ceded to their wish, contrary to my own sentiments, which have long since abandoned all the vanity and inutility of ambitious views, and (for) many years past are absorbed in the tranquil researches of useful arts and sciences. ...' In particular, he has been making experiments in the use of pit coal in the manufacture of silk.

11 April 1806

John Colclough, Tintern, to Caesar Colclough, Vans,
about a Co.Wexford bye-election. '... the death of Lord Ely, which happened a few days since, will bring on sooner than we expected the trial of the cause in which we are engaged with his son and the other partners in the house, Mr.Ram But for the death of the old Lord, our chief concern would be the junior partner. But now his Lordship has put forth Henry Alcock's son in his place, and he is the person we have now to contend with. We shall however gain the cause, the Chancellor and other higher authorities having giving their opinion in our favour. Beside, the voice of the country is with us, which is no immaterial matter. I wish you could obtain leave to come home. Surely a small ransom ought to obtain the liberty of so insignificant an individual as you are. ...' In the margin Caesar Colclough has written:) "If I had not

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been thus fatally honoured, I could have got a congé; but being one of the hostages under aviete of First Consul, became now too great a stake.'

Letter, John to Caesar, Dated 4th July 1806.

Dear Caesar,

I wrote to you from Wexford immediately after the determination of the election to inform you of our success. There has been a petition lodged upon the grounds of long absence, but it will end in nothing, and it is probable the cause of petition may cease before it comes to be heard. Some friends of yours have made such applications to Mr. Fox as to induce him to endeavour (as I am informed) to obtain your liberation or exchange. I fear your being so far distant from the Grand depot of English prisoners may occasion a delay and difficulty in carrying his intentions into effect. I wish you well along with the others. English Communications would be then much more easy and certain I believe, as letters are frequently received from persons at Verdun and etc., My mother and all friends well.

Yours John Colclough,

Addressed Caesar Colclough, aux Vans, Departement d'Ardeche.

Marginal note by Caesar: Elected for County Wexford, the greatest misfortune that ever befell me.

25 August 1806

John Colclough, Dublin, to Caesar Colclough. Vans,

expressing hopes that Caesar Colclough's release will be effected. '... Bob Carew will be the other member for this county on the general election.'

(Beneath this copy of the letter, Caesar Colclough has noted:) 'This was the last I received from my brother (who stood at the general election instead of Caesar Colclough, and was killed in 1807 in a celebrated election duel).

The following is copied from the original memorandum of John Colclough, now in my possession: "Finding the words I made use of in my reply to Mr. Alcock's address conveying my opinion of the Political Conduct of the Loftus family, have been construed by the Marquis of Ely and his friends into direct and personal insult to his Lordship, I can feel no difficulty in declaring that by these words I meant no personal offence whatever to his Lordship, my allusion being merely political and not personal. **John Colclough**
True copy November 22nd 1806.

Mr. Harvey then waited on Lord Ely, with the following message,

My Lord, I come from Mr. Colclough to you, his feelings being hurt by a proposition which he understood came from your Lordship, and I am directed by Mr Colclough to ask your Lordship whether you intended to hurt his feelings by such a proposition. To which his Lordship replied. Mr. Harvey, the proposition did not come directly from me, but whether it did or not, I did not mean to hurt Mr. Colclough's feelings, Mr. Harvey then said, does your Lordship explicitly say, you did not mean to hurt Mr. Colclough's feelings, to which his Lordship replied upon my Honor I did not. Then said Mr. Harvey, I am perfectly satisfied on the part of Mr. Colclough.

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Letter from John to Henry, copied from the original, Wexford 18th May 1807.

Dear Harry,

I hope the Carlow election will not prevent you being with us, particularly the first day (next Saturday). I have not a doubt of success. I wish you would write, or if he is in the country, speak to Bagenal to use his good offices with Mr. Savage. I have reason to know that it would be decisive. Did you get Col. Latouche to write to Browne?

Yours truly, John Colclough.

If Beauchamp is in Carlow, I beg you to tell him that I expect to have him with us on Saturday. You know we should muster as strong as possible, to show that the losing of the Government interest has not lost us many friends.

Addressed, Henry Colclough Esq., Sion Lodge, Carlow.

Wexford Journal, Wednesday May 27th, 1807

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Wexford. Gentlemen, By the dissolution of Parliament, this is the third time within twelve months that I have had the honour to solicit your support, either for my brother or myself, to represent this great and independent county in the Imperial House of Parliament.

You have, upon the two former occasions, sanctioned our pretensions by your marked approbation. Should I again be the object of your choice, rest assured, that the study of my life shall be to promote the prosperity and welfare of this county, which cannot fail to add to the strength and defence of the United Kingdom, in the arduous contest in which she is engaged.

Believe me, Gentlemen, to be, with sentiments of the most unalterable attachment and esteem, Your obliged devoted, and obedient humble servant,

John Colclough.

Tintern Abbey, May 5th 1807.

Lines on the Death of John Colclough Esq., of Tintern Abbey who fell in a duel with Mr. William Congreve Alcock Esq., on Saturday 30th May 1807.

(By a relative of the deceased)

Lamented Friend! thy sorrowing family boast,
Nor valued truly but when wholly lost.
Tho' joined by Kindred, and by blood allied,
Thro' lifes rough path we travelled side by side.
Nor blood nor Kindred, my affection drew,
Intrinsic worth I found, and loved in you.
This was the heart that felt the widow's grief,
The ready hand that stretched the kind relief.
The breast that beat with friendship throbs sincere,
The pitying sigh, the sympathetic tear.
Yet, killing sight! these eyes beheld thee fall,
For whose dear life thy friends would part with all.
Curs'd be the *fiends, by endless ages scorn'd,
(Howe'er by Sceptres or by crowns adorned,)
Who sanctioned first the Duel's bloody strife,
Which, for a giddy word, would ask a life.

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Forbids the tender charities to feel,
But plunge in friendships breast the vengeful steel.
How many Sires their murder'd sons deplore,
What orphan children weep their Sires, no more.
How many widows, daughters, cease to share,
The husband's fondness or the brother's care.
Such, honour, are thy fruits, beneath whose shade,
Love, friendship, gratitude, and duty fade.
Who own thy laws, their reason must resign,
And spurn all statutes human and divine.
Did'st thou in sweet retirement still remain,
Nor seek the heights of public life to gain.
At Tintern spread the hospitable board,
Lov'd by the wealthy, by the poor adored
Still had thy virtues beamed on all around,
And peace and joy, the happy circle crown'd.
Apprenticed orphans still thy bounty blessed,
And age and infancy thy care confessed.
But now no more the sheltering hut shall rise,
To shield the shivering witch from wintery skis.
No more by thee, as delegate from heav'ns,
Food raiment learning to the poor he joins,
No more thy praises charm a mothers ear,
Thy filial duty draw the ecstatic tear.
Yet shall thy friends, and chiefly he whose grief,
Now seeks in mournful strains a soft relief.
Of thy loved worth the faithful guardian, be,
And when they seek a model, think on thee.

*Francis the First, King of France, and Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, who challenged each other and from whose example commenced the practice of dueling in modern Europe.

Brief in Colclough v Colclough, Wexford, 1865.

The following Documents given at large in the above named brief, need not be transcribed here, the more especially as they seem to have been inoperative, for I find that years afterwards (about the time of his marriage, 1818) Caesar Colclough went through a similar process of barring the Entail.

Writ of entry, dated 13th July 1807

Recovery Suffered, Michaelmas Term 1807.

Commission, dated 13th July 1807.

Deed, 14th September, 1807, making tenant to the freehold.

Warrant of Attorney, dated 14th September, 1807.

And Affidavit, proving execution of Warrant.