

## Robert Clive's Irish Peerage and Estate, 1761-1842

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This article examines the circumstances that led to Robert Clive's elevation to the Irish peerage and to his purchase of an estate in County Clare in 1761. Various aspects of the estate, including its management and eventual dispersal are discussed. Evidence for the suggestion that the estate included Plassey in the townland of Shreelane near Limerick city is also considered.

Robert Clive was born on 29 September 1725 at Styche Hall near Moreton Say, a village close to Market Drayton in Shropshire.<sup>1</sup> His people were 'small country gentry', part of the closely integrated world of the county's political and official life.<sup>2</sup> Amongst his father's acquaintances was a director of the East India Company, from whom a recommendation to the Company was arranged for seventeen-year old Robert. Duly appointed as writer, or clerk, the lowest grade in the Company, Robert sailed from London on 10 March 1743 for Madras, arriving there on 1 June 1744. Clive made his way up through the Company, becoming a factor or agent in 1746 and then quartermaster at Fort St George, Madras, the Company's principal base in south India. In 1749 he was appointed steward and the following year became commissary with responsibility for the Company's army supplies. On the outbreak of hostilities with France, Britain's principal European rival in India, he was commissioned as captain in the Company's army. He soon showed military effectiveness, most notably as commander of the force that seized Arcot in 1751. Soon after he married Margaret Maskelyne, the sister of a fellow officer: together they sailed for England on 23 March 1753 where their son Edward was born in 1755.

Clive returned to India in October 1755 and having been promoted as lieutenant colonel, and then colonel, took office as deputy governor of Fort St David, Cuddalore on 19 June 1756. Over the following months, a thousand miles to the north, an alliance of Siraj ud Daulah, the *nawab*, or ruler, of Bengal, and the French (in a Bengalese episode of the Seven Years War) forced the British from Fort William, their base at Calcutta. The prospect of losing an important source of revenue and of having to cede commercial advantage to the French required a decisive response.<sup>3</sup> Clive was eventually chosen to lead a force made up of Company men, Indian sepoys, soldiers of the 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, and a naval squadron against Siraj.<sup>4</sup> Fort William was reoccupied on 22 January 1757 and the French base at Chandernagore taken on 23 March. On 23 June, with a relatively small force of 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 Indians, Clive faced Siraj's army of 40,000 at Plassey on the east bank of the Bhagirathi, a tributary of the Ganges, about sixty miles north of

<sup>1</sup> The substantial Clive bibliography, initiated shortly after his death by Charles Caraccioli, *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, London 1777, is added to every few years, its most recent addition being Robert Harvey, *Clive: the life and death of a British emperor*, London 1998. None of Clive's biographies is as extensively documented as George Forrest, *The life of Lord Clive*, London 1918 or as readable as Mark Bence-Jones, *Clive of India*, London 1974. N.W. Chaudhury, *Clive of India*, London 1975 provides a penetrating examination from an Indian perspective.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase is from Bence-Jones, *Clive of India*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Huw Bowen, *Revenue and reform: the Indian problem in British politics, 1757-73*, Cambridge 1991, pp 22-3.

<sup>4</sup> 'A journal of the proceedings of the land forces commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive on the expedition to Bengal' (National Library of Wales, Robert Clive papers (hereafter N.L.W., Clive MSS), SB11/1).



Calcutta.<sup>5</sup> The odds against Clive seemed impossibly high, but mass defections from Siraj's army, an unanticipated rainstorm that spoiled his powder (but not Clive's), and devastatingly effective fire, gave him victory. Siraj was forced into a final retreat and Clive was left in control of Bengal and in a position to install Mir Jafar, his ally amongst the indigenous magnates, as *nawab*. To many, the victory at Plassey seemed a fluke and in military terms it may have been unsophisticated. But it would prove a critical stage in a process of extending Company influence in India, thereby providing one of the foundations for a British empire in the east. Clive returned to England in July 1760 for a period marked by political and social triumphs. His third and final spell in India commenced on 10 April 1765 when, with the rank of major general, he was appointed governor of Fort William. In that role he continued the consolidation of British military control over the indigenous population while reforming the administration of the Company. He left India for the last time on 29 January 1767.

Altogether Clive had spent fifteen of the previous twenty-three years in India. His achievements as an administrator and soldier and especially his victory at Plassey, assured him heroic status; to many of his countrymen and women, he was, in the words of William Pitt, 'that heaven-born general'.<sup>6</sup> Plassey would be compared with other overseas victories, particularly Churchill's at Blenheim and Wellesley's at Waterloo. It became a staple of military lore and tradition, and in time, one of the origin tales of empire. In the years after his death in 1774, Britons would invoke Clive's name as the personification of the spirit that ensured their greatness, while for many Indians, he became a symbol of unfettered greed.<sup>7</sup>

Clive did very well out of India. As a young writer his annual salary and allowances were meagre, but it was expected that company employees would earn the bulk of their income from commissions and private trading. His official salary grew with each successive promotion as did his trading opportunities and when his involvement in military and political enterprises increased, so did his acquisition of riches. On the successful completion of the Bengal campaign in 1757 he received a bounty of £234,000, unsolicited, he claimed, from the newly installed Mir Jafar. Jafar also agreed to give Clive an annual payment, a *jaghire*, of £27,000, secured on rents that he would receive from the Company for lands that he, as ruler, had leased to it.<sup>8</sup> He thereby gained indirectly from money expended by the Company. In addition, as commander-in-chief he became a major beneficiary of the exquisitely computed rules governing the taking and division of booty. On his return to England in 1760 he brought with him the equivalent of £230,000 in Dutch bills, £43,000 in Company bills and £30,000 in diamonds. The likelihood is that he had accumulated the largest private fortune to be taken from India in the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> When he was accused of avarice during a subsequent parliamentary enquiry, he retorted that he had been in a position where he could have obtained much more: 'By God, Mr Chairman, I stand astonished at my own moderation' he declared to his no-less astonished fellow members of parliament.<sup>10</sup> Clive accumulated his fortune somewhere in the murky borderlands between conventionally acceptable behaviour and corruption. He excited both envy and contempt. But he was also widely revered and when he was eventually exonerated by parliament of wrongdoing, it was because his peers were prepared to consider his personal greed alongside 'great and meritorious services' given to the Company and, ultimately, the state.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Robert Clive to the Secret Committee, 26 July 1757 (N.L.W., Clive MS CR1/8).

<sup>6</sup> Speaking in the House of Commons in December 1757; see Michael Edwardes, *Clive: the heaven-born general*, London 1977, p. 178.

<sup>7</sup> For treatments of Clive and the East India Company in Indian historiography, see B.K. Gupta, *Siraj-ud-Daula and the East India Company*, Leiden 1966; Rajat Kanta Ray, 'Colonial penetration and the initial resistance: the Mughal ruling class, the English East India Company and the struggle for Bengal, 1756-1800', *Indian Historical Review*, xii, 1985-6, pp 1-105.

<sup>8</sup> See John Malcolm, *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, London 1836, ii, p. 216; also, P. J. Marshall, *East India fortunes: the British in Bengal in the eighteenth century*, Oxford 1976, p. 236.

<sup>9</sup> Marshall, *East India fortunes*, p. 165.

<sup>10</sup> J. Debrett, *The history, debates and proceedings of both houses of parliament of Great Britain, from 1743 to 1774* (seven volumes), London 1792, vi, p. 493.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490-3.



Generous gifts to relatives and friends absorbed much of this wealth. He paid his father's bills and provided him with a £300 annuity to cover the cost of his coach. His father's mortgage on Styche Hall was paid off and William Chambers, probably the most prestigious architect at the time - and certainly the costliest - was employed to build a new house there.<sup>12</sup> His aunts were each given an annuity of £150, his brother one of £700, his sisters were each provided with an annuity and a dowry of £2,000.<sup>13</sup> He gave £10,000 to his brother-in-law, Edmund Maskelyne; his former commander, Stringer Lawrence, was given an annuity of £500; and smaller amounts were set-aside for others who had served him. Gifts and trophies, each a reminder of Clive's place in the unfolding imperial story, were given to friends and patrons: a tiger was shipped home as a present for the duke of Marlborough; a *shiyagosh*, rare, beautiful and lynx-like, received from Mir Jafar was passed on to William Pitt. The king received an elephant.<sup>14</sup>

The greater portion of Clive's expenditure was on land. As the rewards of the Bengal campaign were being gathered in he was already in correspondence with his father over the possibility of acquiring suitable properties at home.<sup>15</sup> On his return in 1760 he rented Condover estate in Shropshire and in 1763 he purchased the nearby 6,000-acre Walcot estate for £92,000 and again employed Chambers to remodel its house. His financial and social ascent was also reflected in his westward progress in London from lodging at his father's house in St Swithin's Lane, to a house leased in Queen's Square near Great Ormond Street, and, in 1760, to the sumptuously grand 45 Berkeley Square which he purchased from Lord Ancram. In 1767 he acquired two more Shropshire estates, Oakhampton and Usk. His quest for a grand country seat led finally to Claremont in Surrey, purchased in 1769 for £25,000. He ordered the demolition of the house designed by Sir John Vanbrugh, replacing it with a house by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. He purchased the lease of a house in the Circus at Bath, an essential acquisition, perhaps, for someone whose health had become his constant obsession.

In 1761 Clive purchased an estate in Ireland for £30,315-18-10½, Irish currency.<sup>16</sup> The vendor was Henry Mitchell, a Dublin banker, sometime member of parliament for Castlebar and, subsequently, for Bannow.<sup>17</sup> Mitchell had become one of the casualties of the banking crisis of the 1750s and his resolve 'that I may acquit myself with the honour I wish' became so acute that he put his estate on the market sometime after November 1759.<sup>18</sup> The estate was made up of two separate portions purchased by Mitchell twenty years before from General John Thomas Fowke and the trustees of Henry O'Brien, earl of Thomond.<sup>19</sup> With the exception of three houses within Limerick city, 'next adjoining the south of Saint Mary's Church', the estate lay wholly in the southern part of County Clare.<sup>20</sup> The largest portion - that formerly owned by Fowke - stretched southward along the Fergus estuary from Knockmurrigha and Newmarket to Rineanna and from there westward along the north shore of the Shannon estuary to Tullyvarraha. It also included isolated holdings in the parish of Quin and across the Fergus estuary in the barony of Clonderalaw. Somewhat smaller was the portion acquired from Thomond, which consisted mainly of lands in the hilly country north of the Shannon, close to the western boundaries of Limerick city along with a distant farm overlooking the Atlantic at Killard. The estate therefore was widely dispersed and consisted almost entirely of rural farmland. Much of it was rich blue or black loams and clays - the highly profitable *corcasses* noticed

<sup>12</sup> Attorneys of Lord Clive to William Chambers, 20 June 1764 (N.L.W., Clive MS A2/1, 4).

<sup>13</sup> Attorneys of Lord Clive to Sir Francis Gosling, 8 June 1764 (N.L.W., Clive MS A2/1, 1).

<sup>14</sup> John Malcolm, *The life of Robert Lord Clive*, ii, London 1836, p. 187.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Clive to Robert Clive, 23 March 1758, and Richard Clive to Robert Clive, 29 July 1759 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 4).

<sup>16</sup> Registry of Deeds, Dublin, [hereafter R.D.] 213/95/139946 and 213/96/133947.

<sup>17</sup> For Mitchell's career see Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish parliament 1692-1800; commons, constituencies and statutes* (six volumes), Belfast 2002, v, pp 254-6.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Mitchell to third earl of Granard, 24 November 1759, Granard Papers H/8/15, Castle Forbes, Newtownforbes, County Longford (transcript supplied by Dr A.P.W. Malcomson and quoted from by kind permission of Lady Georgina Forbes). For the banking crisis see, Louis Cullen, 'Economic development, 1691-1750' chapter vi in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds) *A new history of Ireland: iv, eighteenth century Ireland 1691-1800*, Oxford 1986, pp 156-7.

<sup>19</sup> R.D., 213/95/139946 and 213/96/133947.

<sup>20</sup> R.D., 213/95/139946.



by Arthur Young when he visited in September 1776 - reaching inland from the estuary.<sup>21</sup> On higher ground were substantial swathes of good pasture that in places gave way to less-fertile uplands, best used, perhaps, for summer grazing.<sup>22</sup>

The deeds registering Clive's purchase of the estates gave the extent of some of its denominations in Irish or plantation acres.<sup>23</sup> For others, the older units of ploughland and its variants, cartron and quarter, were used. Such measures may have been descriptive of perceived grazing or harvest capacity rather than a precisely defined acreage, something that was often reflected in the varying size of any acre equivalent recorded. For example, Tullyglass and Leamnaleagha were described as sixty acres or two cartons in extent, while the 292 acres of rougher land in Ballykeelaun, Rosmadda, Glenlone and Gortatogher, were described as equivalent to three and a half cartons.<sup>24</sup> The use of acre, rood and perch to describe the extent of some denominations conveyed the appearance of careful and precise measurement while the extents of others were described as having been obtained 'by estimation'. The extents of thirteen denominations, if they were known, went unrecorded. As successive attorneys arranged for the conveyance of the lands from one owner to another, they copied the details recorded in the earlier deed. Consequently, the repeated use of archaic measures, or no measure at all, continued long after the means of trigonometric mapping and scientific measurement to a national standard became widely available. More important than a surveyor's computation of acreage to the everyday management of an estate was the actual name or denomination of the land and its annual rent. Known to chief tenant and subtenant, to farmer and labourer alike, a denomination's bounds were affirmed and effectively reinforced on a day-to-day basis by its actual occupancy and through the routines of local farming custom and practice. The lack of a map or survey might tempt the unscrupulous, but inherited knowledge, widely shared, was generally sufficient to keep boundary disputes at a tolerably low level.<sup>25</sup>

To date, neither a survey nor a map of the estate has been located: there is no indication that either ever existed. However, the locations of the various denominations, if not their boundaries as known to contemporaries, are set out in Table 1 and charted in Map 1. This map is based on several assumptions. First, that the portions of land referred to as denominations in the estate's eighteenth century deeds are the units that became the subject matter of the national townland survey - the Ordnance Survey - carried out between 1824 and 1841. Generally, a denomination that formed all or part of an individual tenancy may be linked directly to a particular townland mapped by the Ordnance Survey; the townland and the denomination being, in most cases, one and the same.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, where one or more townlands appear to have the name of a specific denomination, the identity (and location) of the denomination may be established by additional information such as its tenant, its location in a particular parish and barony, and the names of contiguous denominations. Thirdly, that changes from the form or spelling of a denomination, as given in the estate's deeds, to its name as assigned by the Ordnance Survey, may reflect the displacement of various aliases (for example, Ballymorto, Ballymurty and Ballymurry gave way to Ballymurtough); the modification of an existing form (Tiermaclane became Lismaclane), or a translation (or mistranslation) from Irish to English (Knocknabricky became Brickhill). Fourthly, that a small number of denominations have no direct

<sup>21</sup> 'The lands are called the *corcasses*. The soil of them is either a rich black loam, or a deep rich blue clay: and all the higher lands are lime-stone or lime-stone gravel.' (Arthur Young, *A tour of Ireland with general observations on the present state of that kingdom made in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778 and brought down to the end of 1779* (two volumes), Dublin 1780, i, p. 407).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 407-12.

<sup>23</sup> One hundred Irish plantation acres are equivalent to 161.98 English statute acres.

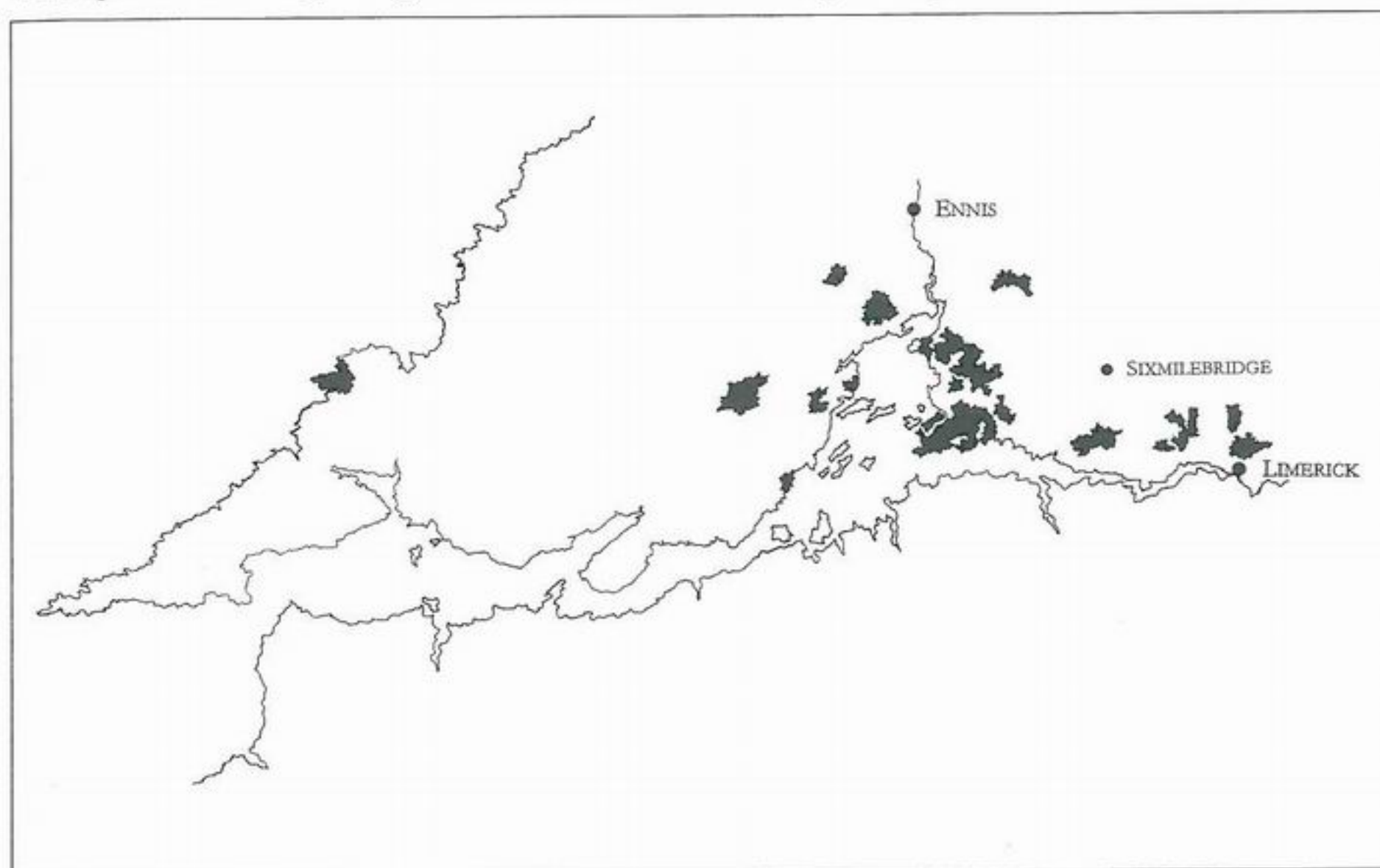
<sup>24</sup> R.D., 213/95/139946.

<sup>25</sup> Andrews, *Plantation acres*, pp 112-45.

<sup>26</sup> See David Dickson, 'Middlemen' in Thomas Bartlett and D.W. Hayton (eds), *Penal era and golden age: essays in Irish history*, Belfast 1979, p. 178; Andrews, *Plantation acres*, p. 6; T. McErlean, 'The Irish townland system of landscape organisation' in T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hammond (eds), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland*, British Archaeological Reports (British Series), 116, Oxford 1983, pp 315-39.



townland equivalents. In some instances the Ordnance Survey ruthlessly divided a denomination and created two or more townlands: in others, a denomination slipped from view when the surveyors merged it with another to form a single townland.<sup>27</sup> However, a few such microtoponyms, especially those naming a prominent physical feature, were officially recorded, while others survive locally, within households and neighbourhoods.<sup>28</sup> Some denominations have not survived except as entries in the ledgers of the Registry of Deeds. On the basis of these assumptions, the forty-seven distinct denominations listed in the deeds may be provisionally classified as follows. Twelve have exact toponomical equivalence in modern townland names. A further eighteen show slight variation in spelling from the form officially assigned to the modern townland. Six may be described as having an etymologically related form of a modern townland name. Five have forms that may be identified as that of a topographical feature, officially or otherwise noted, within a modern townland. One denomination has been replaced by a townland name that suggests a mistranslation from Irish to English. Five denominations cannot be assigned modern townland equivalents or locations and remain unidentified. This classification must remain tentative, however, its status an inevitable consequence of attempts to give modern form and meaning to the practices of another era.



**Map 1.** Conjectual location of the Clive estate

If it proves possible to trace most of the estate's eighteenth century denominations to their official adoption or absorption as townlands, it should also be possible to provide an estimate of the estate's acreage. Like the map of the estate, an estimate of its acreage rests on the assumption that in accordance with prevailing custom, the estate was let by denomination. That widely reported practice is underlined in this instance by the use of the inclusive term, 'lands of', to describe forty-four of the estate's denominations, while the term 'part of', indicating the partible letting of a denomination, is used to describe the remaining three. Consequently, an estimate of the estate's extent may be computed from the acreage of the successor townlands of the respective denominations, while an estimated

<sup>27</sup> J.H. Andrews, *A paper landscape: the ordnance survey in nineteenth century Ireland*, Oxford 1975, p. 119.

<sup>28</sup> For this point see Nollaig Ó Muraile 'Settlement and place names' in P.J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250 - c. 1650: land, lordship and settlement*, Dublin 2001.



acreage for the five unidentified denominations may be derived from the mean acreage (312) of the identified townlands:

	<i>townlands</i>	<i>total acreage</i>	<i>mean acreage</i>	<i>estimated acreage</i>
Denominations having successor townlands	39	12,155	312	-
Part denominations having successor townlands	3	805		-
Unidentified denominations	5	-	-	1,560

These data suggest that the full extent of the estate may have been somewhere between 12,155 and 14,520 acres. Inevitably, given the assumptions on which they are based, these estimates are less than ideal. However, they may be no more so than those made for some other contemporary estates. For Clive, as for many of his fellow magnates, the key indicator of landed wealth was not a precisely computed acreage - something that would not be easily accomplished until the nineteenth century townland surveyors had completed their task - but the actual extent of their rent rolls.<sup>29</sup>

Clive left the management of his Irish estate entirely in the hands of Caleb Powell, scion of a comfortably circumstanced County Limerick family.<sup>30</sup> Powell too had spent time in India, having gone in 1754 as an officer in the 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment. His initial posting at Fort St David coincided with Clive's term as deputy governor.<sup>31</sup> On the successful completion of the Bengal campaign, Powell's regiment was recalled to Britain, but he took the opportunity given to officers to transfer to the Company's Bengal army. He was then appointed *aide de camp* to Colonel Francis Forde under the overall command of Clive.<sup>32</sup> When rumours of Clive's departure for England began to circulate in late 1759 Powell was one of eighty-seven residents of Fort William who petitioned him to stay in India.<sup>33</sup> Within a few months, however, both Clive and Powell had relinquished their posts and both were on their way home. In May 1761 Powell was in Dublin where he signed on Clive's behalf the deeds recording the purchase of Mitchell's estate.<sup>34</sup> Towards the end of July he obtained the collectorship of customs at Trim.<sup>35</sup> Growing in administrative experience and with access to important office holders, he was well placed to act as Clive's agent in Ireland: his local knowledge, his ties of blood and friendship to numerous Limerick and Clare families and his promotion as collector of customs at Limerick in January 1766 made him even more so.<sup>36</sup>

The estate consisted of seventeen chiefries, each a holding of one or more denominations let to a head or chief tenant.<sup>37</sup> Most were from families such as Spaight, Hickman, Rosslewin and Bindon who settled in the area from the second half of the seventeenth century, but a few - Charles MacDonnell, Stephen Wolfe, Piers Creagh, and James McInerney, for example - had either Old

<sup>29</sup> For rent roll and other details of fifteen eighteenth-century estates see, David Large, 'The wealth of the larger Irish landowners, 1750-1815', *Irish Historical Studies*, xv, no. 57, 1966, pp 46-7; see also the table compiled by Arthur Young of 196 absentee landlords having a rental of more than £500, ranked by the size of their respective rent rolls. (Clive is placed 132<sup>nd</sup> in the list). Young, *Tour of Ireland*, ii, part 2 pp 82-4.

<sup>30</sup> For the Powell family see John Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (7<sup>th</sup> edition), London 1886.

<sup>31</sup> 'Commonplace book of Caleb Powell of Limerick' (LM 2002.0041, Limerick City Museum).

<sup>32</sup> John Roach, 'The 39<sup>th</sup> regiment of foot and the East India Company, 1745-57', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester*, 41, 1, 1958, p. 135.

<sup>33</sup> 'To the honourable Robert Clive Esq., Governor of Fort William, 5 December 1759' (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 1).

<sup>34</sup> R.D., 213/95/139946.

<sup>35</sup> Commissioners of the customs, Minutes of proceedings, 22 July 1761, (Public Record Office, London, (P.R.O) Cust 1, 68 p. 140).

<sup>36</sup> Commissioners of the customs, Minutes of proceedings, 3 June 1766 (P.R.O., Cust 1, 92 p. 37).

<sup>37</sup> Apart from occasional mention in correspondence, the only rental materials that appear to have survived are a transcript from one of Caleb Powell's account books made in 1906, T.J. Westropp, 'Property of Robert Lord Clive in County Clare', *JRSAI*, xxxviii, 1908, pp 76-7 and relevant entries in two stewards books, N.L.W., Clive MS EG1/1 and EG2/1.



English or Gaelic roots.<sup>38</sup> Most leases appear to have been granted for 'lives in perpetuity', that is, the duration of the lives of three named individuals with a covenant that provided for perpetual renewal.<sup>39</sup> A specified fine, usually a substantial amount that might equal or exceed a year's rent, was payable on the occasion of each renewal, regularly producing what Powell referred to as 'casual profits'. Renewal was required on the death of the last surviving life and was attained by the 'writing in' of new lives: in practice each life was replaced as it 'dropped', thereby spreading the burden of fines over a lengthier period.<sup>40</sup> Leases for lives, renewable, gave tenants such rights that provided they paid the stated rent and fines their tenure was secure: they became owners in all but name. If a tenant fell into arrears, however, he or she could be forced to surrender the lease, thereby enabling the landlord to put it on the market.

Leases such as these were eagerly sought. When Harrison Rosslewin's ninety-nine year lease on Fortfergus with a renewal fine of £20 expired in November 1767 he applied directly to Clive to have it changed to one with named lives and a renewal fine of £8, arguing that such terms would bring benefit to both landlord and tenant.<sup>41</sup> A new lease at a yearly rent of £95 and a renewal fine of £20 on each of three lives was granted in 1769.<sup>42</sup> Solvent, long-term tenants paying rent promptly on the basis of such leases offered a landlord the prospect of security, especially during periods of uncertainty when economic prospects seemed poor.<sup>43</sup> Depending on his or her particular circumstances and the extent of the holding, the leasehold tenant became its sole occupier or its landlord, sub-letting all or part of it to under tenants. Sub-letting by such middlemen was usual where a holding was of such an extent that a single occupier could not farm it effectively. The rights of the under-tenants remained a matter for negotiation and agreement with the head tenant, generally from year to year, rather than by lease. Labour employed by a head tenant might be paid for in cash but more often by the casual lease on a small farm.<sup>44</sup>

In comparison with his property in England, income from Clive's Irish estate was modest. In 1768 his estates dispersed through Shropshire, Monmouthshire and Radnorshire had a combined value of £340,008 while his Irish estate was worth £28,500, a proportion of 92 to 8. Other property, including various residences, valuables, company stock and bank deposits brought his total assets at that point to £591,354.<sup>45</sup> Never gaining additions, the importance of the Irish estate lessened further as Clive continued to add to his holdings in England and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was and would remain a token investment. Prior to selling the estate, Henry Mitchell put its rental roundly at £1,300 Irish a year, a sum that would be remitted to Clive, more or less in the years that followed. In 1764, when some tenants pleaded for more time to pay, income was a little over £1,188. The following year it rose to £1,365 and in 1766 it fell back to £1,273.<sup>46</sup> In November 1767 Powell informed Clive that the situation had improved and that no more than £25 remained outstanding.<sup>47</sup>

The estate had few outgoings. Powell's annual fee as agent was £60, a sum that equated with the

<sup>38</sup> The names of the original chief tenants are printed in Table I.

<sup>39</sup> See references to Powell's correspondence with Clive regarding new leases and inserting lives; correspondence with Edward Dalton on lease and fine of Ballyards following the death of his uncle Michael Dalton; correspondence with W. Monsell regarding his nephew at Ballykilty, 19 February 1764; in Westropp, 'Property of Lord Clive', p. 77.

<sup>40</sup> Dickson, *Middlemen*, p. 174.

<sup>41</sup> Harrison Rosslewin to Robert Clive, 27 November 1768 (B.L. MS Eur G 37, 83.); for memorial of new lease of John Singleton of Ballyards, 10 February 1770, see R.D., 264/612/175971; lease of Patrick Bellew of Barnageehy, 17 November 1773, R.D., 299/243/198210.

<sup>42</sup> R.D., 276/513/179404.

<sup>43</sup> Louis Cullen, 'Economic development, 1750-1800' in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds), *A new history of Ireland; iv, Eighteenth century Ireland 1691-1800*, Oxford 1986, p. 173.

<sup>44</sup> 'The tillage of the county is carried on by either farmers from £20 to £100 a year; but most of it by the poor labourers, who are generally under-tenants, not holding of the landlords' (Young, *Tour of Ireland*, i, p. 407).

<sup>45</sup> 'Journal of general accounts, England and India, 1763-74' (N.L.W., Clive MS F2/1 p. 1, 40 and Clive MS F2/2 p. 6).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Caleb Powell to Robert Clive, 24 July 1767 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 45).



going rate for comparable estates.<sup>48</sup> He was allowed administrative costs such as the ten shillings spent on advertising a vacant tenancy over a one-month period in 1767.<sup>49</sup> Why that particular lease became available is unclear; a tenant who had built up arrears may have surrendered it or perhaps it was purchased from its tenant with the intention of setting it at more profitable terms. The ten shillings allowed annually between 1766 and 1768 for repairs to the embankment at Enismacnaghtan reveal a rare instance of landlord-supported improvement. Were it not for the likelihood that the repairs were probably essential to prevent flooding, it might even be regarded as improvident expenditure, given an annual rent of just £10-3-0 for thirty-seven acres.<sup>50</sup> In that, Clive's Clare estate contrasted with his estates in England where contrasting tenures and the ever-present possibility of changes in rent level, resulted in an ongoing scheme of repair, building and improvement. Powell had initially been described as a 'steward', as was Thomas Whitfield who resided permanently on Clive's Shropshire estate, but that was soon replaced by 'agent', a term that more accurately described the occasional discharge of routine duties. If Powell oversaw the estate, he did so at a distance but by holding sufficient rein to ensure that for its owner's purposes it functioned effectively. In general, rents and fines were paid on time, administrative costs remained low and income remitted fairly promptly to London. It was a trouble-free, somewhat somnolent investment set to produce between four and four and a half percent on its purchase price, a return that compared fairly with that of similar estates.<sup>51</sup>

While well-managed property provided an income for its owners, it also provided the basis of political power. Up to 1793 both the Irish and British county franchise was confined to protestant tenants of at least forty-shilling freehold - each held on leases for lives, renewable - while in the boroughs varying arrangements provided for voting by freemen, freeholders and, in a few cases, householders.<sup>52</sup> Thus, by controlling the number and nature of leases estate owners might have a significance influence on electoral contests. Clive's interest in politics reflected, in part, his familial obligation. On his first leave home from India in 1754, he was elected to parliament, to follow his cousin Edward as member for the Cornish borough of Mitchell.<sup>53</sup> However, following an inquiry into the conduct of the election he was unseated by a vote of the House of Commons. When he returned to India his father worked on his behalf to secure the agreement of the earl of Powis, who controlled the Whig interest in Shropshire, that at the next election Clive should be his nominee to represent Shrewsbury, the county town. Another magnate, the earl of Bath, intended that his son, Lord Pulteney, should have the seat, but fame and local connections gave Clive the greater advantage. The mayor, whose duty it was to convene the voters, wrote to the earl of Powis; 'The Colonel, being of a family of great antiquity and merit amongst us, having so remarkably distinguished himself in the service of his country, was agreed by all to be a proper candidate'. Pulteney withdrew and Clive was returned, unchallenged, on 27 April 1761. He would continue to represent Shrewsbury until his death. At the same election Clive expended substantial funds to ensure the election of his father for Montgomeryshire and John Walsh, a fellow member of the Company, for Worcester. Two years later, having purchased the Walcot estate, Clive was able to ensure the election of his cousin George Clive for Bishop's Castle, despite the opposition of Walter Waring, the borough's largest landowner. He

<sup>48</sup> For agents and their fees, see Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish protestants, 1649-1770*, New Haven and London 2003, pp 226-38; and Large, 'The wealth of the larger Irish landowners', pp 34-5.

<sup>49</sup> 'Stewards' books journal 1766-68' (N.L.W., Clive MS EG1/1, p.10).

<sup>50</sup> 'Stewards' books journal 1766-68' (N.L.W., Clive MS EG1/1, pp 12-14).

<sup>51</sup> Large, 'The wealth of the larger Irish landowners', pp 21-47; but also Peter Roebuck, 'Rent movement, proprietorial incomes and agricultural development 1730-1830', Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J. L. McCracken*, Belfast 1987, pp 82-91.

<sup>52</sup> J. L. McCracken, 'The political structure 1714-60' in T.W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds), *A new history of Ireland iv: Eighteenth-century Ireland 1691-1800*, Oxford 1986, pp 72-7.

<sup>53</sup> For this and subsequent details of Clive's parliamentary interests and career see Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons 1754-1790*, ii, London 1964, pp 225-8.



then purchased Waring's estate for £30,500, thereby securing the representation of the borough for his brother William and cousin George.<sup>54</sup>

As a wealthy and successful military commander, Clive may have expected ennoblement. In the summer of 1759, a full year before he arrived home, rumours of such an honour were circulating and they can only have increased after his father was told by his friend Sir Robert Henley, Keeper of the Great Seal, that Clive would probably become 'a lord in parliament'.<sup>55</sup> Such comments may have raised hopes that would not be fully realised. On 23 April 1761 the Duke of Newcastle, then leading a governing coalition, discussed with the Earl of Sandwich how he might gain Clive's support in the Commons. They sent Robert Jones, a director of the East India Company, to let Clive know that in return for his support Newcastle could deliver him 'two favours' when all that 'another' political manager could give was 'empty words'.<sup>56</sup> The precise nature of those favours do not appear to have been recorded but Clive felt able to inform Sandwich that he would be glad to accept them. He admitted that those others who sought his support had raised his hopes unrealistically: 'If less had been said, I should have been less ambitious and consequently less unhappy.'<sup>57</sup> Sandwich felt able to report to Newcastle that his negotiations would bear fruit.<sup>58</sup>

If a British peerage was outside his reach, Clive was glad to accept a peerage in the Kingdom of Ireland. The matter had been decided by October 1761 when Robert Jones contacted Clive for his view on how he might be styled. He replied that he had given orders for his Irish estate to be renamed Plassey, 'the name of the place where we gained our great victory in India to which I owe all my good fortune'. He suggested that if Newcastle approved he should be known as 'Robert, Lord Clive, Baron Plassey in the Kingdom of Ireland'.<sup>59</sup> Five weeks later the ennoblement of 'Lord Clive, Baron Plassey in the County of Clare' was announced from St James's Palace.<sup>60</sup> Clive wrote to Newcastle to thank him 'as the first cause and principal promoter' of his honour.<sup>61</sup> Letters patent confirming the grant were issued from Dublin Castle on 15 March 1762.<sup>62</sup> A month later the grant of a second honour, membership of the Order of the Bath, was announced.<sup>63</sup>

Clive appeared to flounder as he tried to explain his inferior prize. He felt that his claim to membership of the British peerage and to the highly prized Order of the Garter might have been advanced had he capitalised on his early successes;

If I, after the Battle of Plassey, had in India for myself as well as the Company acquired the fortune I might have done, by this time I ought have been an English earl with a Blue ribbon instead of an Irish peer (with a promise of a Red one.)<sup>64</sup>

Yet it is hard to imagine that Clive did not believe that his fortune had eased the path to ennoblement, just as it had helped him to secure a number of seats in the Commons. Yet, as he sullenly revealed both his ambition and his disappointment to his *aide de camp* John Carnac - 'I know I could have bought the title (which is usual)' - he tried to convince himself that his progress had been more dignified. He was, he insisted, above the purchase of a title; all of his honours had been 'free and voluntary'.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Richard Clive to Robert Clive, July 29 1759 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 4).

<sup>56</sup> Sandwich to Newcastle, 24 April 1761 (B.L., Add. MS 32922, ff. 181-2).

<sup>57</sup> Robert Clive to Sandwich, 3 May 1761 (B.L., Add. MS 32922, f. 348).

<sup>58</sup> Sandwich to Newcastle (B.L., Add. MS 32922, f. 346).

<sup>59</sup> Robert Clive to Newcastle, 13 October 1761 (B.L., Add. MS 32685 f. 66).

<sup>60</sup> Rot. Anno. 2 George III, 2 f. r. 31; John Lodge, *The peerage of Ireland*, London 1768, pp 206-9.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Clive to Newcastle, 1 December 1761 (B.L., Add. MS 32931 f.368).

<sup>62</sup> 'Grants and confirmations of arms', v 103, p. 88 (N.L.I., MS 103) and 'Lords Entries' ii, 18, (N.L.I., MS 184).

<sup>63</sup> G.E.C [okayne], (ed.), Vicary Gibbs, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, London 1913. iii, p. 325.

<sup>64</sup> Robert Clive to George Vansittart, 3 February 1762 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 4).



But he also wondered if it was his propensity to illness that had impeded his progress and that if he had not fallen ill soon after arriving home, whether he would have been made an English peer. His recurring spells of gout and depression prompted him to spend the winter of 1760 at Bath and he believed that his absence from London at a time when his ennoblement was being considered might have deprived him of the opportunity to promote his cause effectively. It may be that he hoped that a British peerage might come eventually and he may have been alluding to that when he confided to Carnac 'my ambition may hereafter be accomplished'.<sup>66</sup> It is possible, as some of his biographers have suggested, that Henry Fox may have been hinting at such a progression when he asked Clive during negotiations on the forming of a court party in November 1762 whether he had any favours to ask of the king. Recounting the overture to Carnac, Clive claimed that he told Fox that it would be dishonourable 'to take advantage of the times' but that when the present parliamentary negotiations had ended, he would be glad to receive 'any marks of the royal favour'.<sup>67</sup>

Clive's peerage took effect from the date of its patent.<sup>68</sup> Summonses to attend parliament were routinely issued to all peers at the start of a parliamentary session and any peer absent for a week or more without leave was ordered to attend or otherwise pay a fine. However, if a peer's duties required him to be elsewhere or if he was otherwise indisposed, he could seek to be excused and to register a proxy to vote on his behalf.<sup>69</sup> In November 1771 the Irish House of Lords agreed that any peer absent in Great Britain 'or elsewhere out of the kingdom' was excused from attendance.<sup>70</sup> Thus, as one of a dozen or so Irish peers ordinarily resident in Britain, there was little or no pressure on Clive to take his place at College Green and there is no evidence in the parliamentary lists that he ever did so. His Irish peerage was primarily a personal prize, a reward for service in India and none, least of all Clive, believed that it carried any responsibility to participate in the political affairs of Ireland.<sup>71</sup> For Clive the principal significance of his title was the honour and status it gave him. By bringing him and his family into the aristocracy, albeit on a lower plane than that of England, it fulfilled a deep-felt personal need. Through the remainder of his life he habitually used his title thus and it was as a peer of the king's realm that all addressed him. Whether or not he regarded an Irish peerage as a lesser honour than an English one, it provided him with the social *éclat* and other advantages of ennoblement while allowing him to retain eligibility for the commons at Westminster. As long as the affairs of the East India Company remained contentious and a central issue in British politics, Clive's capacity for effective use of his presence in the Commons, and particularly in the early 1770s when his role in India was investigated by a select committee, paid a rich dividend.<sup>72</sup>

It might be suggested that the purchase of an Irish estate facilitated Clive's ennoblement. However, ownership of land in Ireland was not in itself a requirement for membership of the Irish House of Lords. The grant of Irish titles to reward loyalty and service to the British state had increased markedly in the early seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup> The practice irked some Irish peers who felt their active participation in Irish political life devalued by such as 'having titles of honour in this Kingdom and no lands, have votes in parliament'.<sup>74</sup> An attempt to tie absentee peers more closely to Ireland was made in 1634 when a bill setting out the value of land to be held by Irish peers in Ireland

<sup>66</sup> Robert Clive to John Carnac, 27 February 1762 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 5).

<sup>67</sup> Robert Clive to John Carnac, 27 February 1762 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 5).

<sup>68</sup> Lord Clive to John Carnac, 23 November 1762 (B.L., MS Eur G 37, 5).

<sup>69</sup> Francis Beaufort Palmer, *Peerage law in England*, London 1907, p. 58.

<sup>70</sup> Francis G. James, *Lords of ascendancy: the Irish House of Lords and its members 1600-1800*, Dublin 1995, pp 87-98.

<sup>71</sup> *Lords' jn. Ire.*, iv, Dublin 1782, p. 587.

<sup>72</sup> For the political activities of absentee Irish peers see, A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Irish peerage and the Act of Union 1800-1971', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (sixth series), x, 2000, pp 289-327.

<sup>73</sup> See J. Debrett, *The history, debates and proceedings of both houses of parliament of Great Britain*, London 1792, vi, pp 193-228 and 486-93.

<sup>74</sup> J.L. McCracken, 'The political structure, 1714-60', T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds), *A new history of Ireland*: iv, Oxford 1986, p. 72.

<sup>75</sup> *Lords' jn. Ire.*, i, p. 142.



received a first reading.<sup>75</sup> No further progress was recorded and while resident peers continued to complain amongst themselves about absentees, they found that they could do little about it.<sup>76</sup> The use of the Irish peerage as a convenient source of honours, without any reference to Irish politics, would remain as long as there was a need to extend the ranks of the nobility without upsetting the fine balance of Westminster politics. In such circumstances ownership of an Irish estate would not prove an encumbrance. If nothing else, it provided a convenient rebuff to any Irish peer who might be tempted to relegate Clive to the cynical ranks of those without land in Ireland.

In deciding how he should be styled, Clive and his advisers incorporated a territorial designation, a practice that originated in feudal times when the dignity of baron was inseparable from the possession of specific baronial lands.<sup>77</sup> Such had long ceased to be the case, and it was not necessary for Clive to own lands denominated Plassey for him to include it as part of his designation. When he chose to be addressed as Baron of Plassey he was giving his description as a person, something that was separate and distinct from his title as a peer, which was simply Lord Clive. In choosing to commemorate a foreign battle with which his name had become synonymous Clive could appeal to precedent. James Stanhope, for example, was elevated in 1718 as Viscount Stanhope of Mahon in Minorca, thereby commemorating his part in the taking of that distant fort in 1708.<sup>78</sup> With the progress of empire there would be other instances of the insertion of foreign place-names in the roll of peers, each promising greater prestige than might derive from the name of an Irish townland.<sup>79</sup>

There is no evidence that Clive ever took up residence on his Clare estate. Thus he would have been unable to assume the duties in the county customarily discharged by its larger resident landowners. Neither did he use his position in Clare, as he had in Shropshire, to affect a decisive influence on its representation. Nonetheless he was prepared to lend his support, for what it was worth, to those better placed to participate in county politics. As the owner of a relatively small estate let largely if not entirely in perpetuity he might not have expected to have much electoral influence but his esteem would have undoubtedly carried weight amongst those seeking East India Company advancement for relatives. At the by-election brought on by the death of Sir Edward O'Brien on 29 November 1765 Crofton Vandeleur of Kilrush sought Clive's support against O'Brien's son-in-law, Charles O'Donnell of Newhall. Clive had just departed for India but a committee to whom he had given power of attorney wrote to Caleb Powell asking him to use his 'utmost endeavours' with the freeholders in support of Vandeleur.<sup>80</sup> Three years later Francis Pierpoint Burton of Buncraggy, an independent member for the county sought support in an anticipated contest. Clive was then travelling through France, but once again his attorneys asked Powell to solicit support for Burton amongst the freeholders.<sup>81</sup>

When Clive died on 23 November 1774 his title passed to his eldest son, Edward, who also inherited his father's estates when he reached the age of twenty-five in 1780.<sup>82</sup> In 1784 he married Henrietta, the only surviving daughter of Henry Herbert, first earl of Powis, a union that underscored the political and financial interdependence that had characterised relations between the Clive and Herbert families over many generations.<sup>83</sup> Edward Clive also assumed trusteeship of the Herbert estates spread mainly through the Welsh marches but also including the seignory of Castleisland in

<sup>75</sup> *Lords' jn. Ire.*, vi, p. cxxix (report 15 April 1758.), i, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup> James, *Lords of ascendancy*, p. 89.

<sup>77</sup> Velentine Heywood, *British titles: the use and misuse of the titles of peers and commoners with some historical notes*, London 1951, p. 41.

<sup>78</sup> G. E. C., *Peerage*, pp 652-4.

<sup>79</sup> See Malcomson, 'The Irish peerage', pp 289-307.

<sup>80</sup> Lord Clive's attorneys to Caleb Powell, 12 December 1765 (N.L.W., Clive MS A2/1, 34).

<sup>81</sup> Lord Clive's attorneys to Caleb Powell, 22 February 1768 (N.L.W., Clive MS A2/2, 4).

<sup>82</sup> Trustees of the late Lord Clive, 9 February 1780 (N.L.W., Clive MS T1/2, p. 55).

<sup>83</sup> For Powis indebtedness see the mortgage granted by Clive to Powis in 1764 (N.L.W., Clive MS MSA2/1, 8).



County Kerry granted to Sir William Herbert in 1586.<sup>84</sup> The neglect of the Castleisland estate by its agent resulted in the build up of arrears during the late 1780s and matters deteriorated further when lack of oversight led to the misappropriation of rents. This crisis prompted a visit to the estate by Clive and his fellow trustee, John Probert, in the autumn of 1790.<sup>85</sup> After two frustrating weeks in Kerry, taken up with vain attempts to disentangle the estate's complicated leasing arrangements (and only slightly relieved by some copper-prospecting in the hills above Listowel) Clive travelled north on 23 October to inspect his own estate in Limerick and Clare.<sup>86</sup>

Edward Clive's time with his Clare tenants provided a pleasant contrast with what he had endured in Kerry. From Limerick city he travelled out to visit some of them on their farms. Most lived in comfortable circumstances and over the space of a fortnight Clive became the appreciative recipient of their unpretentious hospitality. At Shepperton near Newmarket he was entertained by Charles Fitzgerald and from there he travelled on to Harrison Rosslewin's farm at Fortfergus. Clive was particularly taken with the house and parkland overlooking the Fergus estuary and he soon revealed an ambition to acquire it for his own use.<sup>87</sup> He then journeyed through the adjacent demesne of Paradise to a waiting boat that took him down the estuary to Kilkee from whence he travelled by car and by horse northwards along the Atlantic to John Singleton's farm at Ballyards. Clive considered consolidating the estate by selling off such outlying portions, but when his tenant at Barnanageeha, Mathias Finucane, sought to purchase 'at the highest rate', his offer was not taken up.<sup>88</sup>

Clive's most significant meeting was with Stephen Rice, a well-regarded and experienced lawyer from whom he sought advice on how the problems besetting the Kerry estate might be addressed.<sup>89</sup> Rice furnished a detailed analysis of the estate's title and leasing arrangements along with a set of proposals for its more effective and profitable management.<sup>90</sup> Clive was sufficiently impressed by the advice offered by Rice that he asked him to take over the agency of the Kerry estates. Rice appeared reluctant to do so and he suggested instead that his father might be able to act as agent. If such proved acceptable, Stephen would be willing to assist him.<sup>91</sup> In March 1791 the Rices, father and son, were appointed, each with power of attorney, as agents of the Kerry estate.<sup>92</sup> Sometime in the early 1770s the agency of Clive's Clare estate had passed from Caleb Powell to John Power of Tullamaine in County Tipperary.<sup>93</sup> Like Powell, Power had joined the 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment as an ensign and they had travelled together to India in 1754. A few weeks before the Battle of Plassey Power was promoted as Robert Clive's *aide de camp* with the rank of lieutenant.<sup>94</sup> When Power died in 1793, Edward Clive offered the agency of the Clare estate to Stephen Rice.<sup>95</sup>

Under Stephen Rice, the management of the Clare estate went on much as before. Leases were

<sup>84</sup> Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English migration to southern Ireland 1583-1641*, Oxford 1986, pp 46-69.

<sup>85</sup> 'Mr Probert's journal and memorandums when in Ireland' (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Mathias Finucane to Stephen Rice, 11 August 1791 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*; also, Stephen Rice to Thomas Probert, 13 August 1791 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>89</sup> Stephen Edward Rice of Cappa (but by then increasingly known as Mount Trenchard) son of Thomas Rice and Mary, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald 14<sup>th</sup> Knight of Kerry; married Mary Spring of Castlemaine; father of Thomas Spring Rice, M.P. Limerick city, first baron Monteagle of Brandon.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen Edmund Rice 'A sketch of a scheme for the more easy and advantageous management of the estate of the Right honourable the Earl of Powis in Kerry' (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>91</sup> Stephen Rice to John Probert, 2 November 1790 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>92</sup> National Archives, Dublin, MS D 6652/3; Earl of Powis to Stephen Edmund Rice, 6 March 1791 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>93</sup> John Power, third son of John Power of Barretstown County Tipperary and Jane daughter of Rev John Congreve. He married Jane Newman of Newberry County Cork; their eldest son Richard died without issue, the second son John created baronet, 1836, see, *Bourke's peerage and baronetage* 105<sup>th</sup> edition, London 1970, p. 1268. In 1770 Power, then at Clontarf, was in correspondence with Clive seeking his support for a pension from Viceroy Townsend; John Power to Robert Clive, 1 April 1770 (B.L., Eur 37, 61).

<sup>94</sup> *A list of the general and field officers as they rank in the army: of the officers in the several regiments of horses, dragoons and foot on the British and Irish establishments with the dates of the commissions as they rank in the army*, (London 1759, p. 86; John Power to Robert Clive, 1 April 1770 (B.L., Eur 37, 61).

<sup>95</sup> Lord Clive to Stephen Rice, 11 December 1793 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29); see also (N.L.W., Monteagle papers, MS D 6673).



usually renewed as they fell in, though not always without incident. For example, in 1809 when John Copley, chief tenant of Rossmada, sought renewal, Clive's advisers wondered whether the estate was receiving sufficient compensation in lieu of the three-and-a-half hogs, three-and-a-half muttons and three-and-a-half capons due annually from Copley by the terms of the original lease. These had long since been commuted to £2-12-6, but Clive's attorney suggested that their value had risen to around £16 and that some means of claiming the difference should be found.<sup>96</sup> Set originally at a level that reflected the uncertainties of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, negotiations on the casual profit that might be derived from readjusting the price of a capon was of more than passing interest.

Rents were usually remitted to Rice without much ado when, following custom, he attended the fair of Sixmilebridge on 8 December each year.<sup>97</sup> The rents and fines put little burden on the head tenants and in July 1814 Rice was able to report to Edward Clive that the rent due that year, £1332-14-6, had been remitted in full. From that Rice deducted £66-12-8 to cover his fee, as well as his costs and the quit rent due to the crown.<sup>98</sup> The following year was similarly satisfactory.<sup>99</sup> Notwithstanding the estate's even pulse, by early 1815 Rice was anxious to relinquish the agency he had discharged for the previous twenty-five years.<sup>100</sup> Among those who showed an interest in replacing him were his nephew Charles Fitzgerald who practiced as an attorney in Limerick city, and Thomas Studdart of Bunratty, the high sheriff for County Clare. When Clive sought Rice's advice on who should be appointed he tactfully replied that he knew little of either candidate. He then recommended a long-time associate, Anthony Bodkin, of William Street Limerick, whom he described as having 'strict integrity, excellent abilities for business and well acquainted with the local circumstances of the estate'. From Bodkin's local knowledge, he urged, 'many very peculiar advantages may be expected.'<sup>101</sup> Clive also sought the advice of his acquaintances amongst the Irish peers at Westminster, and despite the advice of one who cautioned him to beware of 'Limerick merchants', Bodkin was appointed agent.<sup>102</sup>

Edward Clive was elevated to the peerage of Great Britain as Baron Clive of Walcot in 1794, thereby gaining the honour that had eluded his father. Nothing in Edward's career suggested accomplishments comparable to those of his father. Thus his advancement into the peerage of Great Britain was not a case of outshining his father but rather one of benefiting from his achievements. Robert Clive had taken his family from the ranks of the English squirearchy into the Irish nobility. That, and his great wealth, facilitated his son's marriage to the daughter of an English earl. Without those accumulated qualifications Edward Clive's advance into the English peerage could hardly have taken place. When his brother-in-law George Herbert, second earl of Powis died unmarried in 1801 the earldom of Powis was extinguished, but it was given a second creation in 1804 in Edward Clive's favour. He served for five unremarkable years as governor of Fort St George Madras and when he was appointed as lord lieutenant of Ireland on 21 November 1805 it seemed that the Clive family might assume a more tangible and significant political relationship with Ireland. That

<sup>96</sup> Stephen Rice to Robert Probert, 6 November 1809 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29). For details of other lease renewals see Thomas Hickman to Lord Clive, 5 May 1810; James Read to Stephen Wolfe, 15 July 1818 (N.L.W., Powis MS 6562-3) and Robert Wogan to Thomas Ryder, 9 July 1822 (N.L.W., Powis MS 6292).

<sup>97</sup> Stephen Rice to Robert Wilding, 9 November 1806 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 26).

<sup>98</sup> Stephen Rice to Robert Wilding, 21 July 1814 (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 26).

<sup>99</sup> Thomas Ryder to Thomas Kemmis, 18 July 1815 (N.L.W., Powis MS 5005).

<sup>100</sup> Robert Wilding to Thomas Ryder, 28 May 1815 (N.L.W., Powis MS 6070).

<sup>101</sup> Stephen Rice to Robert Wilding, 22 July 1815 (N.L.W., Powis MS 5012).

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Ryder to Robert Wilding, 20 November 1815 (N.L.W., Powis MS 4989). No other details of Bodkin are given in the Powis papers. He may be the same as Anthony Bodkin, William Street, Limerick described as 'gentleman' in Pigot and Co.'s, *City of Dublin and Hibernian Provincial Directory*, London and Manchester 1824, p. 282, and the Anthony Bodkin, 'grocer' admitted as a freeman of the corporation, 13 October 1794; see 'List of freemen, 1730-1836' (Limerick Archives, on deposit at Limerick City Museum).



possibility evaporated, however, with a change of government in February 1806.<sup>103</sup> Edward Clive's son - also named Edward - had inherited the Herbert estate and the process whereby the estates and the identities of the Herbert and Clive families would become one and the same moved to completion in 1809 when he took the family name of Herbert by royal license. Further consolidation of these estates was anticipated when his father willed that all debts, mortgages and legacies outstanding on his death should be discharged with monies raised from the sale of his Irish estate. Any funds remaining should be used to augment the family's estates near Powis Castle, 'to be settled to the same uses as the Barony of Powis'.<sup>104</sup> The death of Edward Clive on 16 May 1839 set in train the process of disposing of the lands acquired in Ireland over eighty years before by his father, Robert.

The public cant of the estate in January 1842 followed general practice and offered each of the estate's chiefries separately. On payment of £1,300 Hugh Hickman of Feneloe became the outright owner of four denominations long held by his family. The Reverend Stafford O'Brien purchased Ennismacnaughton, of which he had been chief tenant for many years. The portion once held by the Rosslewins at Fortfergus (which might have become the Irish seat of the Clive family, had Edward Clive realised his ambition to acquire it in 1790) was purchased by its tenant Major William Hawkins Ball. Mathias Finucane, who had offered to buy out his farm at Barnageehy in 1791, now saw it pass into the ownership of Daniel Gabbett, scion of a well-established Limerick family. In all, Gabbett purchased twelve of the estate's forty-seven denominations. A Limerick solicitor Samuel Caswell purchased four denominations that lay near the western boundaries of the city, while Christopher Delmege of Castlepark took the opportunity to extend his estate by purchasing the adjacent townland of Cappantimore. J. Beauchamp Brady of Myshall in County Carlow, son of Henry Brady, a brewer of Limerick city and grandson of Hugh, the city's high sheriff in 1782, purchased six denominations.<sup>105</sup> Jeremiah Roseingrave of Rosemead in County Galway purchased twelve denominations. Thus the property of a single landlord was broken up and passed into the ownership of ten individual proprietors.<sup>106</sup> Within a generation or two the estate would fragment further, its individual holdings becoming, for the time being, the property of those who farmed them.

Since the 1940s the runways and factories of Shannon have spread over the lands once owned by the victor of Plassey and at nearby Ballykilty there is nothing to remind its inhabitants that more than two centuries before, their townland, to further its owner's pretensions, had fleetingly carried the name of a village in Bengal. However, a relic of that imperial moment persists twenty miles to the east in Plassey House, the name of the building that functions as the administrative centre of the University of Limerick. A number of authors assume a direct link between Plassey House and Robert Clive, most explicitly perhaps, Mr Mark Bence-Jones, in a note on the history of the House published in 1976:

The house is said to incorporate a late eighteenth century house of the Maunsell family. Earlier in the eighteenth century, the estate that was originally known as Ballykilty was owned by the great Robert Clive who renamed it Plassey after his famous victory. He was thus able to take the title of Baron Clive of Plassey county Limerick when he was made an Irish peer neatly commemorating the battle with the territorial designation of his peerage that had to be a place in Ireland.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *The Fortescue (Grenville) Manuscripts*, (10 vols.), H.M.C. London 1910, vii, p. 315.

<sup>104</sup> 'Heads of the will of L[ord] P[owis]' (N.L.W., Powis MS 16445).

<sup>105</sup> For the Brady family see Gerard Madden, *A history of Tuamgraney and Scariff since earliest times*, Tuamgraney 2000, p. 69.

<sup>106</sup> The deeds recording the individual sales by Powis to the respective purchasers are listed in Registry of Deeds, Dublin as follows: Gabbett, 1841/13/179 and 1842/18/148; Delmege, 1842/10/162; Mangan, 1842/10/164; Roseingrave, 1842/10/166; Brady, 1842/10/167-8; Ball, 1842/10/169; McMahon, 1842/10/171; Caswell, 1842/10/247; Wilson, 1842/10/248; O'Brien, 1842/18/183; Blood, 1842/18/185.

<sup>107</sup> Mark Bence-Jones (ed.), *Burke's guide to country houses*, i, *Ireland*, London 1978 and 2nd revised edition, *A guide to Irish country houses*, London 1990 reprinted 1996. In his 1974 biography of Clive, Bence-Jones stated that Clive took his title from a small estate 'near Limerick'. See also the comment by Williams: 'The original estate was acquired by Robert Clive, who renamed it Plassey after his Indian victory in order to become Lord Clive of Plassey in the peerage of Ireland' Jeremy Williams, *A companion guide to architecture in Ireland, 1837-1921*, Dublin 1994, p. 272.



That view was reinforced two years later by Mr Kevin Hannan, who suggested that in order to qualify for a seat in the Irish House of Lords, Clive travelled to Limerick and then to Clare to purchase an estate.<sup>108</sup> Hannan noted correctly that Clive's style as a peer located Plassey in county Clare, but finding the denomination, 'Plassey alias Ballykilty' in Westropp's 1908 transcription of the estate's rental, assumed that it and the site of the University must be one and the same.<sup>109</sup> However, there is nothing in the surviving rentals, nothing in the estate's title deeds and nothing in Clive's own papers that might in any way support a claim that he was once the owner of the present site of the University. Each contemporary source locates Robert Clive's property, 'Plassey, alias Ballykilty', in the parish of Quin, barony of Bunratty and county of Clare.

While there is no historical basis for ascribing either occupancy or ownership of Plassey House or its adjacent lands to Robert Clive, there is, nonetheless, a direct link between the house and the battle. It was alluded to in 1972 by Mr T. J. Moran who noted that various members of a family associated with the place, the Maunsells, had served the East India Company. He suggested that it was renamed in the late eighteenth century by Thomas Maunsell to commemorate the role of an unidentified family member in the battle, a possibility that drew the authoritative support of Dr A.P.W. Malcomson in 2000.<sup>110</sup> The likelihood is that it was his own participation at Plassey that Thomas Maunsell wished to have remembered. Maunsell had gone to India as a seventeen-year-old Company writer in 1751.<sup>111</sup> In 1756 the select committee of Fort St George appointed him civil commissary 'to act in all things' under Clive on the expedition that sailed for Calcutta on 10 October.<sup>112</sup> In preparation for what would be the final battle of the campaign the Company's men commandeered the *nawab's* hunting lodge in a grove overlooking the Bhagirathi at Plassey. They dubbed the grove Plassey Grove and the house Plassey House.<sup>113</sup> From its roof, Clive and his men viewed the ranks of Siraj's army on the eve of battle.<sup>114</sup> When the campaign ended Maunsell organised the shipping of the campaign booty from Calcutta to Madras, to which he returned in August 1757.<sup>115</sup> As commissary, he was deemed to enjoy the rank of captain and he shared with the others of that rank half of the 'prizes' taken.<sup>116</sup> He subsequently ascribed his good fortune directly to the favour shown him on that occasion by Clive.<sup>117</sup> He embarked on the Company's ship *The Warren* on 14 August 1759, arriving in England on 27 March 1760.<sup>118</sup> Prior to leaving Madras Maunsell had received a letter from his father outlining opportunities in the Irish property market, 'so favourable' that he believed he would soon purchase an estate near Limerick 'bounded by the Shannon.'<sup>119</sup> His goal was realised in 1763 by the purchase of Shreelane, the townland in which Plassey House is located, from Francis Pierpoint Burton.<sup>120</sup> Maunsell became a member of the Irish House of Commons in 1768 representing Thomastown until 1776 when he was returned for Granard.<sup>121</sup> Along

<sup>108</sup> Kevin Hannan, 'How Plassey got its name', *Old Limerick Journal*, 1, 1978, pp 8-9; and also Kevin Hannan, *Limerick: historical reflections*, Limerick 1996, pp 121-3.

<sup>109</sup> Hannan, *Limerick*, p. 121.

<sup>110</sup> Terence J. Moran, 'The Plassey estate in retrospect' in *National Institute for Higher Education, Official opening souvenir booklet*, Limerick 1972; Malcomson, 'The Irish peerage', p. 304. For the Maunsell family see, *Burke's Irish family records*, London 1976, pp 811-23.

<sup>111</sup> 'Writers' petitions' (B.L., MS J/1/1 177-81) and Government of Madras, *Records of Fort St George* (87) *Diary and consultation book* (Public Department) 1757, (Madras, 1947) p. 302.

<sup>112</sup> Secret committee, Fort St George to Colonel Clive, 13 October 1756 (N.L.W., Clive MS SB11/1).

<sup>113</sup> John Malcolm, *Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, London 1836; Michael Edwardes, *Clive*, p. 157. For an illustration of the now demolished lodge see, B.L., Oriental and India Office Collection, D.825-'99.

<sup>114</sup> *A list of the military transactions of the British nation in Indostan from the year MDCCXLV*, ii, London 1778, p. 174.

<sup>115</sup> Robert Clive to Robert Maunsell and others, 5 July 1757 (B.L., MS Eur Orme, x, pp 119-21).

<sup>116</sup> 'Minutes of a council of war taken 6 April 1757 by John Walsh acting as secretary' (B.L., MSS Eur, G 37, 1, 3).

<sup>117</sup> Thomas Maunsell to John Carnac, 10 May 1759 (B.L., MS Eur F 128, 48).

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Maunsell to John Carnac, 10 May 1759 (B.L., MS Eur F 128, 48); Ship's log *The Warren* (B.L., Oriental and India Office, L/MAR/B/571).

<sup>119</sup> Thomas Maunsell to John Carnac, 12 August 1759 (B.L., MS Eur F 128, 48).

<sup>120</sup> See Johnston-Liik *Irish parliament* v, p. 219; also R.D., 224/353/146215 and 258/99/167986.

<sup>121</sup> For Maunsell's parliamentary career see Johnston-Liik, *Irish parliament*, v, pp 218-9.



with his brother Robert (who had also served the Company in India) and his brother-in-law, Matthew Blackiston, he founded a bank in Limerick in 1789, in which capacity he remitted Clive's rents to his London bankers.<sup>122</sup> He died in 1814.<sup>123</sup>

The imperial game, played by the rules of the 1750s, brought great wealth and fame to Robert Clive. It also provided lesser players such as Caleb Powell, John Power and Thomas Maunsell with opportunities which as younger sons in minor families they might not have gained at home. The exigencies of the imperial project in Madras and Bengal brought each of them into close contact with Clive at various points between 1755 and 1760 and regardless of their circumstances and personal ambitions, that shared experience fashioned bonds that would remain for long after. It is not surprising that when Clive needed someone to look after his affairs in, what for him was an unknown country, he should have turned to men who had served him in the past and who, through their connections and local knowledge, were now in a position to serve him again.

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<sup>122</sup> Eoin O'Kelly, *The old private banks and bankers of Munster*, Cork 1959 pp 98-109; 'Mr Probert's journal and memorandums when in Ireland' (N.L.W., Powis MSS, unsorted box, formerly cupboard 29).

<sup>123</sup> Reported in *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 23 July 1814.



**Table 1 The Clive estate in Clare and Limerick 1761-1842**

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Tenant, 1761</i>	<i>Tenant, 1841</i>	<i>Extent</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Purchaser, 1842</i>	<i>Sale Price</i>
Castlekeal <sup>1</sup>	Sam. Monsell	-	475 acres	£341-8-6	J.B. Brady	£8,336
Urlan More and Urlan Beg <sup>2</sup>	Sam. Monsell	-	492 acres	(included above)	J.B. Brady	(included above)
Knockmurrough <sup>3</sup>	Sam. Monsell	-	9 acres	(included above)	J.B. Brady	(included above)
Corkabane <sup>4</sup>	Sam. Monsell	-	9 acres	(included above)	J.B. Brady	(included above)
Garrynamona <sup>5</sup>	Thomas Spaight	-	3 cartons	£43-18-5½	J.B. Brady	(included above)
Breams Est and Bream West <sup>6</sup>	John Higgins	-	30 acres	£11-1-6½	J.B. Brady	(included above)
Limnelaghy <sup>7</sup>	John Higgins	-	39 acres	(included above)	J. Roseingrave	£2,975
Killula <sup>8</sup>	John Higgins	-	376 acres	£73-16-11	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Banaghan <sup>9</sup>	-	-	60 acres	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Both Rinannas <sup>10</sup>	Edward Fitzgerald	-	(included above)	£48-14-6	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Enrode <sup>11</sup>	-	-	281 acres	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Clonetrim <sup>12</sup>	-	-	(included above)	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)

The above denominations, extents, rents and tenants are taken from the 1761 deed recording the purchase of the estate by Clive and the deeds completed at its sale in 1841 and 1842, supplemented, where appropriate, by data in Westropp's rental transcript. Money standardised to English; acreage is plantation. In the notes below the extents of modern townlands (in brackets and rounded to the nearest acre) and its location by civil parish are as in Census of Ireland, *General alphabetical index to the townlands and towns, parishes and baronies of Ireland*, Dublin 1861.

Sources: T.J. Westropp, 'Property of Robert Lord Clive in County Clare', *JRSA*, I xxxviii, 1908, pp 76-7; Registry of Deeds, 213/95/139946, 213/95/139947, 1842/10/247-48 and 1842/10/162-171.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the lands adjacent to Castle Keal recorded in Henry Pelham's map of Clare (1787) in the modern townland of Ballysallagh West parish of Kilnasoolagh.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Urlan More and Urlan Beg (332 and 204) parish of Kilmaleery.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Knockmurrigha (20) parish of Kilnasoolagh.

<sup>4</sup> An alias D Corkabane D given in 1761 deed; presumably the modern townland of Carrowbane (169) parish of Kilmaleery.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Garrynamona (177) parish of Kilconry.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Breaghva East and Breaghva West (96 and 377) parish of Kilchreest.

<sup>7</sup> An alias D Lemlagh D in the 1761 deed; Limneleaghy listed in the 1761 rental; presumably the modern townland of Leamnaleaha (587) parish of Kilchreest.

<sup>8</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Killulla (380) parish of Clonloghan.

<sup>9</sup> Unlikely to be the townland of Ranaghan, Barony of Inchiquin and more likely the microtoponym in Carrigoran townland known locally as The Ranaghan. I am indebted to Máire Ní Ghrúagáin for this suggestion.

<sup>10</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Rineanna North and Rineanna South (596 and 461) parish of Kilconry.

<sup>11</sup> Not listed in rental transcript; listed along with Clonetrim in 1841 deed. Not identified.

<sup>12</sup> See note 11 above.



Stonehouse <sup>13</sup>	-	-	4 acres	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Ballymoreen <sup>14</sup>	-	-	-	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Lessibane <sup>15</sup>	-	-	-	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Knockroe <sup>16</sup>	-	-	-	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
East and West Ballysallagh <sup>17</sup>	-	-	-	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Cragan Fadreen <sup>18</sup>	-	-	-	-	J. Roseingrave	(included above)
Leminagh <sup>19</sup>	Maj. Miller	-	60 acres	£28	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Tullynaglass <sup>20</sup> (part of)	William Miller	John R Miller	(included above)	(included above)	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Ballymurtough <sup>21</sup>	William Miller	John R Miller	200 acres	£121-4-6	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Knocknakelly <sup>22</sup>	William Miller	John R Miller	(included above)	(included above)	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Tullyglass (part of) <sup>23</sup>	William Miller	John R. Miller	(included above)	(included above)	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Limerick <sup>24</sup>	John Higgins	-	-	£25	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Barnagihy <sup>25</sup>	Piers Creagh	Mathias Finucane	-	-	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Tirevicklane <sup>26</sup>	Stephen Wolfe	Peter Wolfe	2 ½ ploughland	-	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Ballyveskill <sup>27</sup>	Stephen Wolfe	Peter Wolfe	(included above)	-	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Ballymacregan <sup>28</sup>	Stephen Wolfe	Peter Wolfe	1 ploughland	-	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Ballykelty <sup>29</sup>	William Monsell	W. T. Monsell	-	-	Daniel Gabbett	Not recorded in deed
Ballyards <sup>30</sup>	Edward Dalton	John Singleton	580 and 1 ploughland	-	Daniel Gabbett	£1,500

<sup>13</sup> See note 11 above; the aliases, Stonehouse, and Old Stone House, listed in deeds; listed with Rinana in the rental transcript; possibly the modern Stonepark townland (99) but more likely an earlier form of Stonehall townland (330) in parish of Kilconry.

<sup>14</sup> No aliases listed in deeds; possibly the lands in Rineanna North adjacent to Ballyvorry recorded on Pelham's map and known until recently as Ballymurry. I am indebted to Máire Ní Ghruagáin for this suggestion.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly the lands adjacent to Cahirbane House recorded on Pelham's map, the same as the modern Carrowbane townland (169) parish of Kilmaleery.

<sup>16</sup> One of the commoner townland names, six of the seventy-two recorded in the *Townland index* being in county Clare. This is likely to one of the two in Bunratty Lower, either that in the parish of Kilfintinan (88) or that in Killelly (108).

<sup>17</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Ballysallagh East and Ballysallagh West (400 and 458) parish of Kilnasoolagh.

<sup>18</sup> Presumably the Cragane Padreen included with Carrigoran, East Ballysallagh and Ranaghan in a landed estates court sale, 5 July 1873; see Landed Estates Court, 83, no 2; National Archives of Ireland.

<sup>19</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Leamaneigh More and Leamaneigh Beg (215, 96) parish of Clonloghan.

<sup>20</sup> In the 1841 deed Tullyglass is divided between two holdings; the two parts presumably constitute the modern townland of Tullyglass (279) parish of Cloonloghan.

<sup>21</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Ballymurtagh (78) parish of Clonloghan.

<sup>22</sup> Knocknakelly listed in the rental transcript; listed in 1841 deed along with Ballymurtough and Tullaglass as part of a holding; presumably an earlier form of the modern townland of Ballycally (517) parish of Kilconry.

<sup>23</sup> See note 20 above.

<sup>24</sup> The 1761 deeds record 'Three tenements in the city of Limerick, next adjoining the south of St Mary's Church, the former possession of Samuel Taverner and now of late in the possession of the heirs of John Higgins'.

<sup>25</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Barnageecha (397) parish of Killone.

<sup>26</sup> The aliases D Trivicklane, Tiermaclane D listed in 1761 rental; Lismacklene recorded in Pelham's map, all, presumably, earlier forms of the modern townland of Lismaclean (110) parish of Clonloghan.

<sup>27</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Ballyveskil (417) parish of Clareabbey.

<sup>28</sup> Ballymacregan listed in the 1761 rental and listed in 1841 deed as part of a holding along with Trivicklane and Ballyveskell; not identified.

<sup>29</sup> The 1761 rental and the 1841 deed both list 'Plassey otherwise Ballykilty'; presumably the modern townland of Ballykilty (597) parish of Quin.

<sup>30</sup> Location given in deed as barony of Ibrikane; presumably the modern townland of Ballard (967) parish of Killard.



Ennismacnaughton (part of) <sup>31</sup>	Charles MacDonnell	Stafford O'Brien	7 acres	£10-3-1	Stafford O'Brien	£300
Conesceagh <sup>32</sup>	James Wilson	-	-	£26-16-0	John McMahon	£600
Knockbeagh <sup>33</sup>	James Wilson	-	-	(included above)	John McMahon	(included above)
Ballysallagh Corcass <sup>34</sup>	James Wilson	-	-	(included above)	John McMahon	(included above)
Smithstown <sup>35</sup>	Luke Hickman	Hugh P. Hickman	174 acres	-	Hugh P. Hickman	£1,300
Moylendod <sup>36</sup>	Luke Hickman	Hugh P. Hickman	(included above)	-	Hugh P. Hickman	(included above)
Carrigoran (part of) <sup>37</sup>	Luke Hickman	Hugh P. Hickman	(included above)	-	Hugh P. Hickman	(included above)
Carrigoran (part of) <sup>38</sup>	Luke Hickman	Hugh P. Hickman	108 acres	£49-14-8	Hugh P. Hickman	(included above)
Cahrteige <sup>39</sup>	James Mackenhery	Hugh P. Hickman	107 acres	-	Hugh P. Hickman	(included above)
Fortfergus <sup>40</sup>	Harrison Rosslewin	Benjamin Ball	1½ ploughlands	-	William H. Ball	£2,600
Ballycalla <sup>41</sup>	Harrison Rosslewin	Benjamin Ball	256 acres	-	William H. Ball	(included above)
Cappoge <sup>42</sup>	Harrison Rosslewin	Benjamin Ball	(included above)	-	William H. Ball	(included above)
Ballynacraggy <sup>43</sup>	Harrison Rosslewin	Benjamin Ball	1 ploughland	-	William H. Ball	(included above)
Knocknabreeky <sup>44</sup>	Henrietta Maglin	David Roche Jnr	665 acres	£111-18-0	Ed. Maglin Blood	£3,400
Cappantimore <sup>45</sup>	Catherine Bindon	Rev. Dean Benson	260	-	Christopher Delmege	not recorded
Ballykelan <sup>46</sup>	Anthony Copley	Philip McAdam	292	-	Samuel Caswell	£2,500
Rossmadda <sup>47</sup>	Anthony Copley	Philip McAdam	-	(included above)	Samuel Caswell	(included above)
Glanlone <sup>48</sup>	Anthony Copley	Philip McAdam	-	(included above)	Samuel Caswell	(included above)
Gortatogher <sup>49</sup>	Anthony Copley	Philip McAdam	-	(included above)	Samuel Caswell	(included above)

<sup>31</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Inishmacnaghtan (285) parish of Kilconry.

<sup>32</sup> Treated along with Knockbeagh and Cortachs in the 1761 deed; presumably an earlier form of the modern townland of Knocknaskeagh (221) parish of Killeely.

<sup>33</sup> Presumably the lands adjacent to Knockbeagh Point, townland of Rineanna South.

<sup>34</sup> Not listed in 1761 deed or in rental transcript; listed in 1841 deed; the landed estates court disposed of 'part of Ballysallagh West, now known as Corcass of same' see Landed Estates Court, 83, 2, National Archives.; presumably part of the modern Ballysallagh East and Ballysalagh West townlands.

<sup>35</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Smithstown (310) parish of Drumline.

<sup>36</sup> An alias - Mullindod - given in the 1761 deed along with Smithstown and Corcanegore/Carrigdorran (notes 24 and 26); not identified.

<sup>37</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Carrigoran (241) parish of Kilnasoolagh.

<sup>38</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Carrigoran (241) parish of Kilnasoolagh.

<sup>39</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Caherteige (400) parish of Clonloghan.

<sup>40</sup> Various aliases for Fortfergus - Liskalogues, the two Liskallogus D given in 1761 deed; presumably the modern townland of Fortfergus (179) parish of Kilcreest.

<sup>41</sup> An alias - Dangan, otherwise Ballycalla - listed in 1761; Ballynacalliuagh listed in 1841; presumably the modern townland of Ballynacally (213) parish of Kilchreest.

<sup>42</sup> An alias, Cappoge, given in 1841 deed; presumably the modern townland of Knappoge (44) parish of Kilchreest.

<sup>43</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Ballynacragga (201) parish of Killadysert.

<sup>44</sup> Probably the modern Brickhill East and Brickhill West townlands (252 and 564); see Hugh Weir, *Houses of Clare*, (Ballinakella Press, 1986) pp 43-4.

<sup>45</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Cappateemore East and Cappateemore West (260, 181) parish of St Munchin.

<sup>46</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Ballykeelaun (265) parish of St Patrick.

<sup>47</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Rosmadda East and Rosmadda West (181, 139) parish of St Patick.

<sup>48</sup> Presumably the modern townlands of Glenlon North and Glenlon South (175 and 173) parish of O'Brien's Bridge.

<sup>49</sup> Presumably the modern townland of Gortatogher (149) parish of St Patrick.



