

How not to ‘Encourage People to take Lotts for Building’: the 18th-century non-development of Grangegorman by the Monck estate

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THE NORTH-WESTERN QUARTER OF DUBLIN HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN AS THE INSTITUTIONAL quarter of the city. A large swathe of these lands formed part of the Monck estate at Grangegorman, which covered 243 acres of land within a mile of the city centre. This paper examines the changing identity of Grangegorman and its surrounds as it evolved from a genteel quarter in the early to mid-eighteenth century, which housed a nunnery, a school for daughters of the Catholic nobility, a speaker’s house, a manor house and ‘lands designed to be laid out in building’, to become the location of choice for late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century institutional development in the north city, built to house the poor, the sick, the criminal and the insane.

The eighteenth-century building boom that occurred across the city and which saw other estates flourish had had little impact on the Grangegorman estate where lands were still laid out as pasture and orchards until the mid-nineteenth century. The family papers reveal that from the last decade of the seventeenth century to the last decade of the eighteenth century, a city estate was held in stasis, caused in part by a protracted timeline of inheritance and the gender of a child. Charles Monck, father of sons, had ambitions to develop Grangegorman, but he spent the first half of the eighteenth century living on the estate of his uncle Sir John Stanley only to inherit it as an elderly man seven years before he died. Charles Monck’s death in 1751 predated the House of Industry by over twenty years. Given his hopes for the Grangegorman estate, had he inherited it earlier, the estate and, in turn, the surrounding area might have developed very differently. The institutional development that occurred from the late eighteenth century onwards was not inevitable.

1 – Robert Pool and John Cash, A PLAN OF DUBLIN, 1780, detail showing Grangegorman Manor, located to the west of Stanley Street (courtesy Trinity College Dublin)



2 – Bernard de Gomme, map of Dublin, 1673

(© National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London)

Charles' son Henry Monck, father of daughters, did not develop the estate, although it was his to develop, in part due to the fact that his daughter would never benefit from such development. By the time Charles Stanley Monck, future 1st Viscount Monck, inherited Grangegorman from his uncle Henry in 1788, the House of Industry had been established on Channel Row, south of the Monck lands. The time for the residential speculative development characteristic of other Georgian estates across the city had passed.

In 1665, simultaneous with the development of areas around St Stephen's Green on the south side of the city, part of Oxmantown Green was annexed by the Corporation. New streets were laid out, a bowling green was established, and a large market place called Smithfield was created. Oxmantown became a desirable place to live, with members of the upper echelons of society such as Lord Dungannon and Countess Clancarty building city residences on plots they had leased around Smithfield.¹ This development was encouraged by its proximity to a seven-acre site, west of Oxmantown Green, which had been gifted to the Duke of Ormond, and upon which he intended 'to erect a mansion with extensive gardens'.² The site is outlined in red on Bernard de Gomme's 1673 Map of Dublin and labelled as 'Duke of Ormonds Ground' (Plate 2). Although Ormond built a wall around the site, he never built the mansion, already having vice-regal accommodation at Dublin Castle and the Phoenix Park.

The de Gomme map shows a short lane named ‘Grang Gormond’ located to the north of Channel Lane. Grang Gormond leads to one of the few buildings drawn on the map – the Manor House of Grangegorman. There were many ‘granges’ in the environs of Dublin, but Grangegorman had been an ecclesiastical grange, once owned by the Church of the Holy Trinity Christ Church. It was one of three originally located outside the city, the other two being at Glasnevin and Deansgrange. As a ‘home manor’ it was a large working farm with tenants, but unlike other manors involved in trade and the selling of foodstuffs, its primary function was to provide produce for Christ Church.³ The lands changed hands over time; in 1666 Charles Agar, descendant of the soldier and administrator Sir Francis Agar, sold ‘All that the moiety of the manors castles and townlands of Grangegorman with the appurtenances situate in the County of the City of Dublin’⁴ to Sir Thomas Stanley for the sum of £4,000. Sir Thomas Stanley, knighted by Charles II, was MP for county Louth for the years 1661 to 1666.⁵ The Stanleys lived in Grangegorman Manor, which was depicted on Rocque’s 1756 survey, along with Stanleys Street,⁶ named in their honour and located off Channel Row to the west of Grange Gorman Lane (Plate 3). The land in between formed a large open rectangular space with a green, with the manor house given as ‘Grange Gorman H’ on the survey.

Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight of Grangegorman, had three sons, Stephen, Thomas and John, and a daughter, Sarah. The eldest son inherited the estate upon his father’s death,⁷ and at some point it passed to the youngest son, John. Sir John Stanley was effectively an absentee landlord, spending most of his life in England. Leases held in the National Library relating to the Grangegorman estate in the first few decades of the eighteenth century were between Sir John Stanley and tenants of holdings in Grangegorman.⁸ He was made a Baronet of Ireland, and in 1699 he was made a Baronet of England by William III,⁹ when he was described as ‘of Grangegorman’.¹⁰ Although he married, there were no children.

The Monck involvement in Ireland dates from the early seventeenth century when, in 1617, Charles Monck was admitted to King’s Inns. He was appointed Joint Surveyor General of Customs in Ireland in 1627. He bought an estate in county Westmeath, and in 1639 was MP for Coleraine. Charles and his wife Elizabeth had one son, Henry, and it was his 1673 marriage to Sir Thomas Stanley’s only daughter Sarah that would see the estate at Grangegorman eventually become known as the Monck estate, operating well into the twentieth century.

While Sarah Stanley is generally described as being heiress to the estate, her inheritance was not straightforward. For while Sarah and Henry Monck resided in Sarah’s childhood home of Grangegorman Manor,¹¹ her brother, Sir John Stanley, still owned and ran the estate from England. This arrangement continued when Sarah and Henry’s son Charles resided in the ‘Mansion House of Grange Gorman’ with his wife Agneta Hitchcock.¹² In 1726 Charles Monck took a fee farm lease of a piece of land called the ‘mudd wall park’ from Sir John Stanley.¹³ ‘Between Sir John Stanley of North End in the parish of Fulham in the county of Middlesex Baronett of the one part and Charles Monck



3 – John Rocque, *AN EXACT SURVEY OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN*, 1756
 detail showing location of Grange Gorman House (courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

of the City of Dublin ... all that the mudd wall park meared and bounded on the east by Grange Lane on the south by Channel Row...¹⁴ With a rent of £27 ‘yearly and forever’, the ‘park’ was located directly to the south of the Manor House and amounted to approximately two acres. The Manor House itself did not form part of the lease. Sir John Stanley retained control over the rest of the 243-acre Grangegorman estate, and controlled it from his home in England. The boundaries and description of the land as described in the 1726 lease correspond to a 1793 map of the same piece of land (Plate 4).

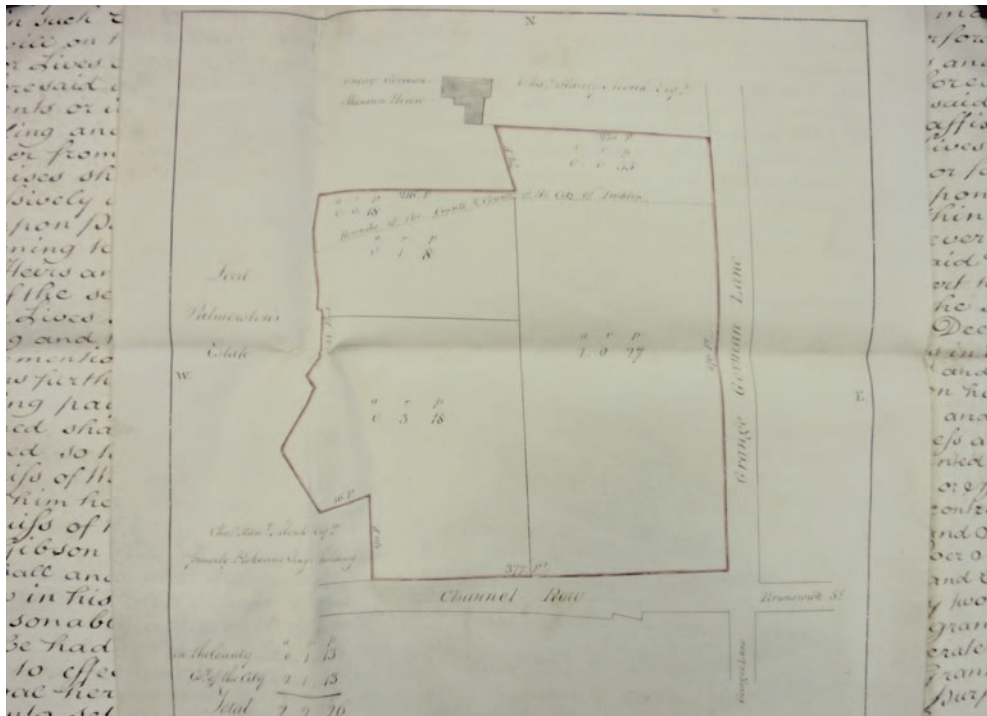
It was not until 1744, eighteen years after he took the fee farm lease, that Charles Monck inherited the Grangegorman estate from his uncle, Sir John Stanley. Sir John’s will, dated December 1737, bequeathed all of his Irish estates to his ‘nephew Charles Monk Esq’.¹⁵ The primogeniture future of the estates is then set by the stipulation that after

the death of Charles Monck the estates will pass ‘To Henry Monck eldest son of said Charles Monck ... and after the decease of the said Henry Monck to the use of the first and every other son of the said Henry in tail male ... i give and devise all the said manors messuages lands tenem[ents] hereditaments and premises in Ireland.’¹⁶ Charles Monck died in 1751, a mere seven years after he inherited Grangegorman.

That Grangegorman was Charles Monck’s principal city residence is attested to by his will of 1750 in which ‘Charles Monck of Grangegorman near the City of Dublin Esq.’ leaves his daughter Anne ‘all the Furniture in her Bed Chamber, together with the wrought Bed she lyes on, with everything there to belonging’.¹⁷ His will is crucial to understanding his intentions for the estate’s future development and the potential he saw in the Mud Wall Park.

The late Sir John Stanley having made me a Fee farm Lease of the Mudwall Park and other Lands designed to be laid out in building at Grangegorman, I do hereby devise all my Right Title and Interest in thes. Lands to my Son Henry and his Heirs forever, by which he will be Enabled to make long Leases thereof, in order to Encourage People to take Lotts for Building.¹⁸

4 – Thomas Sherrard, A MAP OF PART OF THE ESTATE OF THE MARCHIONESS OF WATERFORD IN THE COUNTY OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DUBLIN BEING PART OF THE MANOR OF GRANGE GORMAN, 1793 (courtesy Deputy Keeper of Records, PRONI, and Registrar of the Diocese of Armagh, DIO 4/13/10/1/15)



The location of the two-acre Mud Wall Park that was ‘designed to be laid out in building’ is significant as it was the only part of the 243-acre estate that lay within the city boundaries. It was also the only part of the estate that bordered Channel Row and its famous nunnery, associated with three different religious communities between the years 1688 and 1808. Shaded black on Rocque’s survey, opposite ‘Red Cow Lane’, the ‘Nunry’ was located on the north side of Channel Row to the east of Grange Gorman Lane. The convent and chapel were built for a Benedictine community of nuns in 1688, but they remained for only one year due to the sacking of the chapel and convent after the Battle of the Boyne. Although the nuns had departed, the chapel remained in continuous use until 1712 when a community of Poor Clares was established there. They remained for only three years and departed in 1715. In 1717 a Dominican community took up residence, remaining for almost a hundred years, only leaving in 1808.¹⁹ Surviving account books for the years 1717 to 1808 record the rise and fall of the convent. In 1717 the buildings mentioned included a large dwelling house and a chapel, together with gardens and an avenue. The convent chapel was the location for the 1736 consecration of the Bishop of Ossory. The consecration was performed by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Kilmore, while the Bishop of Meath lived in one of the convent houses from 1732 until his death in 1756.²⁰ The school and convent flourished and was a popular choice for the Catholic nobility when educating daughters. Pupils attending the boarding school for the year 1723²¹ included the daughters of Lord Mayo, Lord Dunsany, Lord Riverstown, Viscount Netterville, Lady Cavan and Lord Kenmare.²² By mid-century the convent had expanded and was renting a number of neighbouring buildings referred to as ‘ye little house’, ‘ye next house’, ‘ye back house’ and ‘ye Speaker’s house’,²³ some of which are shaded in black on the southern side of Channel Row opposite the original building, where the word ‘Nunry’ appears again (Plate 3). This period of growth and prosperity continued until 1759.²⁴ Therefore, when Charles Monck wrote his will in 1750 it coincided with a period when the neighbouring Channel Row Nunnery was flourishing and he was optimistic for the future development of the estate. Charles Monck died one year later, and the Monck estates, including Grangegorman, passed to his son Henry Monck. How much development Henry Monck would actually ‘encourage’ between 1751 and his death in 1777 (when his nephew Charles Monck inherited Grangegorman) can be determined by comparing two maps that bookend his tenure. The first is Rocque’s 1757 *Survey of the City, Harbour, Bay and Environs of Dublin* (Plate 5), and the second is a 1788 estate map drawn by Samuel Byron,²⁵ entitled *A Survey of the Manor of Grangegorman, In The County of Dublin, The Estate of Charles Stanley Monk Esqre* (Plate 6).²⁶

Evidently, very little development took place between 1757 and 1788 except for the construction of the North Circular Road, as seen on the Byron map. Brought about by an Act of Parliament in 1763 ‘for making more convenient approaches to the city’, the North Circular Road, which extends from the north-eastern docks to the Phoenix Park, was laid out by the 1780s.²⁷ The section between Prussia Street and the ‘Road to Glasnevin’ ran through the Monck estate. Similar to the South Circular Road, develop-



5 – John Rocque, detail from *A SURVEY OF THE CITY, HARBOUR, BAY AND ENVIRONS OF DUBLIN*, 1757
(courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

ment took time, with the earliest development of a residential character located closest to the city. Such infrastructural development could have been viewed as a potential opportunity for a landlord; however, rather than welcoming the North Circular Road, Henry Monck objected to the original route proposed for the road as it would be lined with cabins, making it a ‘filthy suburb’ rather than ‘an agreeable road’.²⁸

The 1788 estate map lists the tenants, holdings, land use and acreage of the Grangegorman estate, and also identifies the neighbouring landowners. The estate roughly spanned the area between Manor Street and Prussia Street in the west, and the ‘Road to Glasnevin’ in the east. The northern boundary lay roughly along the line of the present Royal Canal, while the southern estate boundary lay north of Channel Row. The estate, as drawn, is a large parcel of land surrounded by the grounds of various landowners which slot, jigsaw-like, together. Neighbouring landowners included, to the east, the ‘Right Hon’ble Luke Gardiner’s Ground’, to the north ‘Christ Church Land’, to the west ‘Lord Palmerston’s Estate’, and to the south ‘Lord Palmerston’, ‘Christ Church’ and ‘Lady Tyrone’s Ground’. The map’s list of references numbers the plots from 1 to 49, giving each tenant’s name, the structures on their holdings and the land use. Plot sizes are recorded in acres, roods and perches. Along the southern boundary of the estate is a large structure shaded pink, by far the largest on the map, surrounded by a small plot which



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amounts to three roods. This is labelled as plot number one and given the title of 'Mansion House Court & Garden'. The Mud Wall Park, labelled as 'Lady Tyrone's Ground', can be seen to the south of the Mansion House bordering Channel Row (Plate 6a). The map's cartouche is one of a rural scene. It is summertime; the trees and hedgerows are in full bloom. A man rests his elbows on a gate by a tree, observing a passing horse-drawn carriage. The carriage carries a lady wearing an enormous hat; the man accompanying her has his whip raised in the air. The flick of his whip overlaps with the swirl of ink that surrounds the name of the cartographer, adding to the feeling of movement in the image. While the scene is rural in nature, in the distance, beyond the carriage, the silhouette of a church steeple and the city can be made out, depicting the estate as it was,

6 – Samuel Byron, A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF GRANGEGORMAN..., 1788 (courtesy National Library of Ireland, Monck Papers, MS 26,887)

6a – Detail showing Mansion House, Court and Garden. To the south is Lady Tyrone's Ground, which borders Channel Row.



a rural landscape at the edge of the city.

This 1788 estate map reveals how undeveloped the lands of the estate were at this time. The stretch of the North Circular Road from the turnpike at the crossroads at Phibsborough to the turnpike at the junction with Prussia Street has no buildings or other developments. From Broadstone up to Phibsborough and along the road to Glasnevin, some individual houses are drawn. A small road named 'Phibsborough' south of the crossroads is lined with dwellings. The map dates from two years before construction began on the Royal Canal nearby. With street names and the title omitted, it could be mistaken for a map of a rural estate, with a small main street and some associated dwellings. The land uses reveal that this was agricultural land, with repeated reference to fields, pastures, orchards and meadows. Many of the holdings do not contain structures, and those that do have them listed as either cabins or dwellings. Several of the holdings are less than one acre in size, while one is over forty-three acres, but the majority of the holdings are between three and eight acres. Therefore, while the city of Dublin was being developed, the manor lands north of Channel Row remained rural in nature. As noted by Colm Lennon, Rocque's survey has two cartouches, 'both taking up a considerable quantity of ground in what otherwise would have been rural or undeveloped land surrounding the city' (Plate 3).²⁹ The cartouche on the top of Rocque's survey is located directly over the Grangegorman estate.

Considering the estate's location and its proximity to the city centre, the lack of development is notable. The neighbouring Gardiner estate developed Henrietta Street in the 1720s, laid out Gardiner's Mall from 1749, and opened the 'New Gardens' on a four-acre site at the north end of Sackville Street, which had been leased by Dr Bartholomew Mosse in 1748, the entrance fees and subscriptions to which funded the construction of the Rotunda Hospital, a new lying-in hospital for the poor of the city.³⁰ The 1790s saw the completion of the Custom House and the continuation of Sackville Street to the River Liffey, along with the development of Mountjoy Square. Maps such as Wilson's *Modern Plan of the City and Environs of Dublin* of 1798, dating from ten years after the Monck estate map of 1778, show that the development experienced in Dublin during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had bypassed the Monck estate (Plate 7).

Although Henry Monck did not develop his own estate at Grangegorman, he was active elsewhere in the city. In 1756, five years after he inherited the Monck estates, Henry took a lease for '168 feet of Ground in Upper Merrion Street'³¹ to build a terrace of four houses, 'between Lord Blayney's and Fitzwilliam-lane',³² on the south eastern side of the street. Henry lived at no. 22 Merrion Street, the first of the four houses to be built and which became known as Monck House.³³ Abandoning Grangegorman, from this point on the Monck's city residence was Merrion Street Upper. The houses that Henry built were considered to be 'magnificent' and highly desirable, and in 1769 no. 24 was let to Lord Mornington.³⁴ Had Henry had an interest in developing the Grangegorman estate he might have remained living there, like the Gardiners and the Fitzwilliams who understood that by being resident, they encouraged others to follow suit. William



7 – William Wilson, *MODERN PLAN OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS OF DUBLIN, 1798*
 The approximate outline of the Monck Estate, taken from the estate map of 1788, is outlined in red.
 (courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

Fitzwilliam wrote to his brother Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam telling him that he proposed purchasing a house on the Fitzwilliam estate, although ‘in many respects the Situation may be inconvenient ... the getting a neighbourhood there will promote yr designs.’³⁵ That Henry Monck kept abreast of the building work is evident in a 1756 letter from William to Lord Fitzwilliam, where he writes that Mr Monck came ‘daily to overlook his workmen next door to me’, and that the works were ‘going on at a Quick rate, Johnson’s house is pulled down & his stables marked out where that stood & ye foundations of them are above Ground. They extend a front of above sixty feet; the foundations too for his vaults in front to the street are begun.’³⁶ It appears that Henry Monck was not honest in his dealings with his building contractor, a Mr Lacy. In 1760, Bryan Fagan, agent to Fitzwilliam, wrote to Lord Fitzwilliam, who was in his sick bed, explaining the situation to him and warning him of Henry Monck’s character: ‘As he has low Cunning ways, dare say he’ll write again ... he has not paid him one farthing towards the house he built for him, tho he knows it stands the man, in near two thousand pounds principal money; And had it not been for me, the poor man w(d) be undone by it...’³⁷

Henry Monck married Lady Isabella Bentinck, daughter of the 1st Duke of Portland, and while it is generally cited that they had only one child – a daughter,

Elizabeth – his will reveals that they had a second daughter, Ann: ‘if i shall happen to die in Dublin my desire is to be buried in my family vault in St. Michan’s Church near the remains of my dearly beloved wife the Lady Ann Isabella Monck and of my dear daughter Ann Monck with the rest of my near relations.’³⁸ When considered in the light of Sir John Stanley’s will, the lack of a male heir must have proven problematic. As set down, the estate had to pass through the male line of the family; therefore, Elizabeth Monck, sole surviving child of Henry Monck, could never inherit Grangegorman. After Henry’s death, all of the Monck estates would automatically transfer to his nephew Charles Stanley Monck, future 1st Viscount Monck, son of his deceased brother, Thomas.³⁹ Henry’s daughter would never benefit from any improvements or developments he made to the estate. Had he ‘sett long leases’ or implemented other strategies for the successful long-term development and management of his estates, these would have benefitted a nephew and not a direct heir.

Henry inherited Grangegorman and continued to let it operate as it had during the time of both Sir John Stanley and Charles Monck, and he did this at a time of conspicuous development elsewhere in the city. Existing tenants remained and paid their rents twice a year, and life continued as if there had been no change of ownership. Although ‘designed to be laid out in building’, Henry did not develop the Mud Wall Park with its Channel Row frontage. In 1766 the land was leased to James Kearney, a ‘Horse Manager’, on a thirty-one-year lease at an annual rent of £6 16s 6d.⁴⁰ Had Henry set about developing his estate in a more improving frame of mind, those who took leases would have been encouraged to build well on their plots, while he as landlord would have had to provide and invest in the necessary infrastructure, such as roads and drainage. Henry did not invest money in his Grangegorman estate; his priorities lay elsewhere.

The Monck estate at Grangegorman performed reasonably well. A 1754 estate rent roll, written in Henry Monck’s hand, names the tenants, the yearly rent due and observations (Plate 8). Most of the entries are positive, with comments such as ‘good’, ‘pritty good’, ‘pritty good pay’, ‘good pay for a small merchant’, ‘a good tenant’, ‘a very honest old man & long under our family’, ‘a good sort of old woman and an old tenant’, ‘a secure snug fellow’, ‘a very punctual man’, ‘generally pays well’, ‘an honest good sort of man but a little backward of late’, ‘willing but not always punctual’ and ‘a punctual man, a gardener’. Those that earn negative comment are fewer and are often personal in nature. They include ‘a sharp cunning fellow but backward at paying’, ‘generally tardy and idle, hucksters his land to others’, ‘a careless fellow’, ‘Williams is crack brained’, ‘An idle drunken dog that never pays’. Michael Monaghan is ‘a cunning fellow but of late pays well’, while Thomas Monaghan son of Michael is a ‘good for nothing savage’.⁴¹ The forty-eight holdings on the 243-acre estate produced an annual rental income of approximately £1,064.⁴²

Although Henry Monck now lived at Merrion Street, he did not rent out Grangegorman Manor or its adjacent gardens, and it appears that the house was left uninhabited. In the 1784 rent roll, which dates from three years before his death, he wrote his

Michl Monaghan Robt Jeigh Esq	15:0:0		good
Christ ^r Reegan	12:12:0	0:6:0	pritty good
Patrick Horish	20:0:0	0:5:0	good
Michl Monaghan	20:0:0		this is a cunning fellow, but of late pays well
Jane Justace now Michl Monaghan	11:0:0	0:1:0	Ditto
Thom ^s Monaghan	10:0:0		son to Michael, a good for nothing savage
Christ ^r Lynch	10:0:0	0:6:0	pritty good
Wick ^s Jenkins	30:0:0	1:0:0	generally tardy & idle hucksters his land to other his lands in glenorm, & they who prey him best get it
Mrs Homer	32:0:0	0:1:0	good sort of old woman & an old tenant
Mrs Pierson	4:10:0		pritty good
carol now Homer a highway	0:6:8		
Brown now Jeigh	0:13:4		
Coffy now Mathew weldon	30:0:0	0:5:0	a very backward fellow, & always stalks of so calandry, you must have his key watch soon.
Mathew white	10:0:0	0:6:0	a good sort of man, good pay
Athen Reading 3 holdings	55:10:0	0:5:0	the bailiff, you will soon know him.
John Hinn	26:0:0	0:1:0	pritty good
Matt Birmingham	22:0:0	0:6:0	his own tenement is put 20 years or 6 Octy. a scarce snugg fellow.
Ashworth now Robt Jeigh Esq	26:0:0	1:0:0	good.

8 - Grangegorman
Estate Rent Roll for
1754, written by
Henry Monck

9 - Grangegorman
Estate Rent Roll for
1785

(both: courtesy Deputy
Keeper of Records,
PRONI, and Registrar of
the Diocese of Armagh,
8 - DIO 4/13/10/2/1,
9 - DIO 4/13/10/2/29)

a bad Tenant, the Houses going to ruin.
this House going to ruin and must fall. Craig so
rent to be had from him nor distress to be had.

will not pay the Rent nor give up the passage.
£3-5 -- due by Reading the old Tenant.
reduced, no rent to be got, the House falling do

A bad Tenant, those Houses Burned.
this House gone to ruin before my time, still more

own name under the ‘Tenant’ heading, and ‘The Mansion House, gardens and Fields at Grangegorman’ are listed under the ‘Observations’ column, occupying a land area of three acres.

The estate rent roll from 1784 shows that problems had emerged on the estate in the intervening thirty years. The title of the document highlighted the issue: ‘A Rent Roll of the Estate of Henry Monck Esq, in the Manor of Grange Gorman & Co of Dublin, Shewing the Arrear each Tenant Owed on the 25th of March 1784, the half years rent due on that day with an Amount of the rents received to the 29th September 1784 and the Arrears outstanding on that Day’. There were now fifty-three tenants on the estate, but twenty-six, or almost half of them, were in arrears. The ‘Observations’ related to those who were in arrears and included the following: ‘Will not pay the arrear’, ‘this house gone to ruin’, ‘will not pay’, ‘two gardens waste’, ‘being ejected’, ‘Ejected’, ‘reduced no rent to be got house gone to ruin’. There were two half-yearly payments of £678, amounting to a yearly income of £1,356. The annual rental income for the estate had increased by £292 over the course of thirty years. The following year, 1785, the situation was much the same, but the comments included: ‘this house going to ruin and must fall, Craig so poor not able to repair it, no rent to be had from him nor distress to be had’, ‘will not pay the Rent nor give up the passage’, ‘the house falling down’ and ‘a bad tenant, those Houses Burned’ (Plate 9).⁴³ This timeline of decline coincided with the fortunes of the convent on Channel Row and with this north-western region of the city in general.

Twenty years earlier, in 1765, Henry Monck had written to his lawyer seeking his assistance. He explained that Lord Tyrone had ‘a desire for my daughter’,⁴⁴ and that he needed to ascertain Lord Tyrone’s financial situation. His papers were to be requested for inspection by Henry’s lawyer. The results of the inspection revealed that Lord Tyrone had debts of £40,000. The resulting ‘settlement’ was to take a further four years to agree, as the couple did not marry until 1769. Andrew Malcomson sees this as being an example of both ‘paternal vigilance’ and the strong ‘bargaining position’ held by heiresses.⁴⁵ Armed with his knowledge of Lord Tyrone’s finances, Henry Monck then became involved in Lord Tyrone’s financial affairs and tried to control his loans. However, this offer of help seems to have come with conditions, as Henry Monck wanted his daughter and Lord Tyrone to live with him. The language below suggests that this offer was rejected and that Henry Monck did not take the rejection well.

Mr Monck’s and Lady Bells kindness might possibly upon a proper behaviour have paid the interest of the dept if prudently managed and things conducted with respect and agreeable to their discrete wishes and very friendly intentions but now alas on the other hand My Lord is to pay at the rate of 5 or 6 per cent for the 40,000 besides what other money he may have borrowd lately, which will be the difference of more than 2000 a year besides the loss of the pleasure of living in harmony with a virtuous, discrete and a good natured couple.⁴⁶

It seems that managing his own finances, however troubled, and being his own master

were more important to Lord Tyrone than reducing his debt under the terms offered by his father-in-law, Henry Monck.

Henry's meddling continued. Lord Tyrone planned works to his own family seat of Curraghmore, county Waterford, and Henry had his opinion as to how works should proceed. He proposed using monies from the rent of Monck Woods to gradually make and purchase building materials, it being a 'prudent' way of building,

...then the money that periodically comes in for the woods might be apply'd to make bricks, bying of cut stone and timber as such materials offerd cheap and when all are gradually collected the expense of putting them together wou'd be but a trifle for an house at that charming place Curraghmore. A fine elegant house of eleven windows in front woud not cost above ten thousand pound with the old materials and the new procurr'd in the above prudent way...⁴⁷

Henry Monck's involvement extended to his grandchildren as he made calculations of the cost of an English versus an Irish education. He lists the cost of the journey, servant, writing master, apparel, lodgings and books. 'Pocket money and Play things' and 'Accidental Expenses' were allotted an expenditure of zero. By these calculations, an English education would cost £615 while an Irish one would cost £260, most of the difference being the £100 cost of travel, two journeys being accounted for per annum.

While Grangegorman and the other Monck estates would pass to her cousin Charles Stanley Monck, during Henry's lifetime Elizabeth could be gifted money and could inherit money upon his death. She may have been the 'by-passed heiress to the Monck patrimonial property', but she was also the 'heiress-apparent to her father's large and growing personal estate'.⁴⁸ Henry Monck's money and interest lay firmly with his daughter and her family. Rather than improving his estate, he improved his daughter's financial situation and gave her stability, something that must have concerned him considering her husband's financial situation. His will of 1784 listed the

money I have given her and Lord Tyrone in my lifetime which is at this time about or near twenty two thousand pounds besides the money coming to her by the will of her aunt Lady Ann Paul,⁴⁹ and I have that confidence in Lord Tyrone that he will act honourably to my daughter and her children for mine and my dear Lady Bell's tender attention to them all and their interests.⁵⁰

By the time of Henry's death in 1787 he had gifted Elizabeth £24,600. In addition to this, he left her money and goods to the value of £58,473. All items considered, the grand total of Elizabeth, Lady Tyrone's fortune from her father Henry Monck's estate was £100,073.⁵¹ Elizabeth, and in time her children, were very aware of the scale of their inheritance from their maternal grandfather. In a letter of 1801, the widowed Elizabeth wrote to her son, Henry Waterford, in a distressed state, seeking assurances as to where she would reside. She implored him to respect the memory of her father who was 'so bountiful to us'.⁵²

Henry Monck died in December 1787. On 15th January 1788, and as executor of

his will, his daughter Elizabeth, Lady Tyrone delivered the title deeds and all other papers relating to the Monck estates to her cousin Charles Stanley Monck.⁵³ Elizabeth inherited the Mud Wall Park (Plate 4), and the two-acre plot continued to earn her a good rent, with a lease from 1793 recording a rent of £80 per annum.⁵⁴ In her own will she noted that her father left all of his money, goods, chattels and estate to her ‘for my separate use and for the use of my children’, bequeathing the ‘Mudd Wall Park’ and ‘Archbolds Holdings’ to her second son, John George Beresford. She noted that her husband, the late Marquis of Waterford, ‘stood indebted to me’, that monies were paid to the Archbishop of Tuam in trust for her, and that there was ‘now due and owing the sum of fifty thousand pounds and part of the fortune left me by my father’. She divided the sum between each of her six children.⁵⁵ Long after his death, Henry Monck was still taking care of his daughter and his grandchildren.

Elizabeth’s cousin Charles Stanley Monck MP was created ‘Baron Monck of Ballytrammon, County Wexford, in the Peerage of Ireland’ in 1797, and 1st Viscount Monck in 1801. His enjoyment of the title was short-lived however, as he died the following year. The Monck estates then passed to his son Henry Stanley, 2nd Viscount Monck, future 1st Earl of Rathdowne, who began to develop the estate at Grangegorman, but not as might have been expected.

While Oxmantown had been considered a desirable place to live in the late seventeenth century, this changed over time. From the building of the Royal Barracks in the opening years of the eighteenth century, and its gradual expansion to the cattle and hay markets at Smithfield and fish and poultry markets a little further east at Ormond Market, this area gradually became the central barracks and market area of the city. The Royal Barracks was built to accommodate 1,500 troops; however, numbers increased, and by 1753 there were over 3,000 men and 1,000 horses.⁵⁶ The issue of numbers and their accommodation was highlighted in the Dublin City Assembly Roll of 1767 where it was proposed that Palantine Square be rebuilt and enlarged, the result of which would allow for the whole garrison of Dublin to be housed at the Royal Barracks. The expanding barracks ‘created a new micro-economy in the surrounding district to service the needs of man and horse’,⁵⁷ and such associations, along with the establishment of ‘institutions of confinement’ in the vicinity of Oxmantown Green, ‘probably deterred more affluent private residents from setting up home in the area’.⁵⁸

Whitelaw’s 1798 survey of Dublin ordered and counted the city’s population by class, with each person recorded as being of the ‘Upper and Middle Classes’, ‘Servants of Ditto’ or ‘Lower Classes’. It is therefore possible to see where the various classes lived and the percentage of class per parish. What emerges is a clear distinction between class distribution running in a west-east direction across the city on both the north and south sides of the river. ‘Dublin was divided into three more or less distinct zones spreading either side of the river – upmarket residential to the east, middle class/commercial in the middle and proletarian to the west.’⁵⁹ While Whitelaw’s survey had taken place in 1798, the western quarter saw a gradual deterioration from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

This corresponds with the nunnery on Channel Row, which prospered and expanded up until 1759, then fell into steady decline.⁶⁰

In 1772 an Act of Parliament provided for the establishment of ‘Houses of Industry’; the site chosen on the north side of the city was at Channel Row. The following year, in 1773, four years before the death of Henry Monck and seven years after he leased the Mud Wall Park to a horse-trader, the House of Industry opened in a disused malthouse, located east of the Channel Row Nunnery, south of the Monck estate on the north side of the street. It is annotated on the Pool and Cash *Plan of Dublin*, which dates from 1780. Grangegorman Manor stands alone, shaded black, to the west of Stanley Street, while Grange Gorman Lane is still a short street off Channel Row (Plate 1).

While Channel Row enjoyed a ‘high dry healthy situation’, by the turn of the century its proximity to the markets directly to the south was presenting public health problems. An ‘Account of the Proceedings of the Governors of the House of Industry’ from 1801 noted:

The site of the House of Industry, elevated, presenting its declivity to the south, and lying within 200 paces of the Royal Canal, is favourable to health and cleanliness—but the vicinity of slaughter houses, and such like nuisances of a populous city, counteract those natural advantages, generate noxious effluvia, retard the cure of diseases, and augment mortality.⁶¹

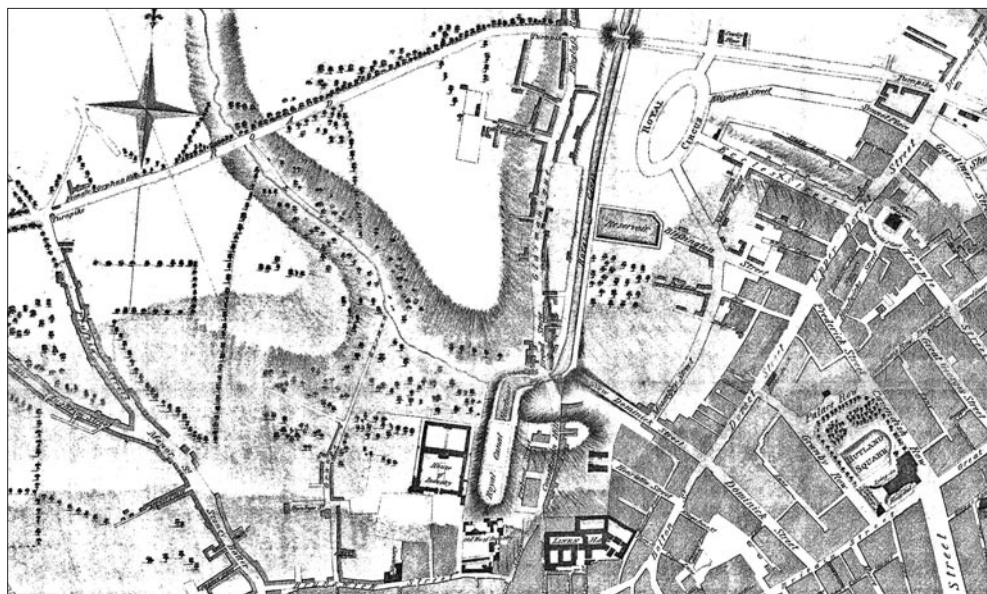
The House of Industry continued to operate from the old malthouse, but the building itself was not large enough, structurally unsound and in danger of collapse. The 1801 report recommended to ‘attach to the House of Industry, the grounds covered by those nuisances, on valuation by a Jury, and to extend their present limits, which comprise four acres and an half’.⁶² The 1772 Act had allowed for half-acre sites for the establishment of Houses of Industry; however, this area was not large enough for the Dublin houses and a further Act in 1787 allowed for an additional four acres.⁶³ As the building works continued and the House of Industry and its associated hospitals expanded, this was eventually increased to eleven acres.

The original House of Industry addressed the street on Channel Row, but having bought the land surrounding the malthouse and having cleared the site of offending structures, the new house was constructed at a remove from the street, north of the original house. Wilson’s 1798 map of Dublin captures this move and the rebuilding of the House of Industry. The ‘Old House of Industry’ is labelled on Brunswick Street, while the ‘New House of Industry’ is drawn to the north of the site, although this new building has not been drawn to scale (Plate 7). Although only ten years after the 1788 estate map, some major infrastructural developments had taken place. The North Circular Road frames the northern edge of the city’s development. The Royal Canal and the Broadstone Branch of the canal have been constructed, and, although depicted on the map as being water-filled, the Broadstone Basin was at the stage of preparatory works and would not be completed until the opening years of the nineteenth century. Foster’s Aquaduct (c.1800) brought the

canal above the Phibsborough Road to the Basin. The site for the Basin was chosen due to its proximity to the markets,⁶⁴ and it was from here that boats carrying passengers and produce communicated with and travelled westwards to the River Shannon. Grangegorman Manor House and Stanley Street still stood. In 1806 the Bedford Asylum for children opened immediately north of the House of Industry,⁶⁵ Campbell's *Map of the City of Dublin*, dating from 1811, showing both asylums (Plate 10). The House of Industry 'spawned a succession of hospitals and asylums established to rehabilitate its growing number of inmates',⁶⁶ and by 1817 it comprised a fever hospital, 'lunatic' accommodation, a surgical hospital and a general hospital located on a strip of land between it and Brunswick Street.

Henry Monck did not lease out the Manor House or gardens while he lived on Merrion Street, as is borne out by the rent rolls. A reference document dating from 1819 reveals that by September 1788, eight months after Charles Stanley Monck inherited the estate from his uncle Henry, he had leased a plot that measured one acre, three perches and twenty-seven roods to Robert Mallet for three lives, or ninety-one years, for an annual rent of thirty pounds.⁶⁷ The plot is listed as containing a 'House of Refuge, Stanhope Street, Gardens & Several Houses & Gardens in Stanhope Street and Grangegorman Lane', and stated that 'on this holding stood the ancient mansion of Grange Gorman'.⁶⁸ The area of 1.3.27 coincides with the areas given singularly and collectively on the 1788 estate map comprising plots 1, 'Mansion House, Court & Gardens', 2, 3 and 4 (see Plate 6). The House of Refuge, established on Ashe Street in 1809, was relocated to the site of

10 – Thomas Campbell, *MAP OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, 1811*, detail showing the House of Industry and Bedford Asylum (reproduced courtesy Richview Library, University College Dublin)

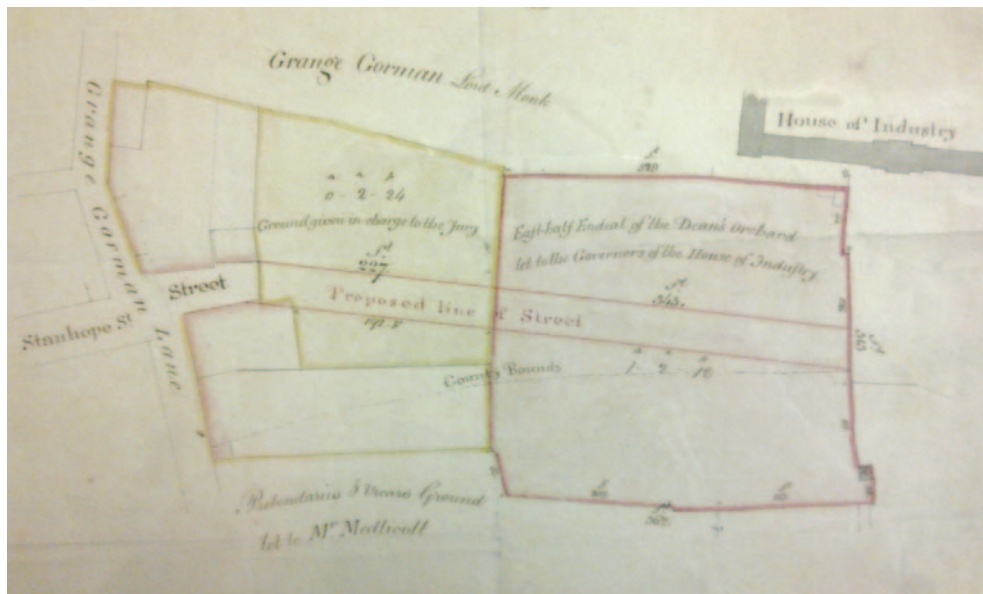


the Manor House in 1814,⁶⁹ and handed over to the Sisters of Charity the following year. By 1814 the site of the Manor of Grangegorman had been subsumed into an institution.

Although building and development throughout post-1800 Dublin slowed, the House of Industry continued to expand and its surrounds were further developed. The increasing demand placed on the lunatic cells of the Hardwick Fever Hospital saw the governors of the House of Industry present a memorial to the House of Commons in 1809 stating that ‘the number of lunaticks and ideots for some time passed transmitted from all parts of Ireland to this institution has so much increased as to render additional and appropriate buildings indispensably necessary’.⁷⁰ The lands that had been purchased and cleared of slaughter houses and on which the new House of Industry and its hospitals were constructed had been fully developed and could not accommodate the asylum. Therefore additional lands were now required for the building of the new Richmond Lunatic Asylum.⁷¹ Directly west of the House of Industry lay the south-eastern boundary of the Monck estate at Grangegorman, a blank canvas, ready and perfectly located for institutional development. A survey of the area made by Brownrigg in 1803, but copied in 1812 and entitled ‘*Map of a piece of Ground called the East-half Endeal of the Dean’s Orchard*’ (Plate 11), shows the relationship between the House of Industry, the lands of Christ Church and the land belonging to ‘Lord Monck’. In 1810 this land was purchased from the second Viscount Monck as the site of the Richmond Lunatic Asylum. Over the following decades, and as the asylum expanded, further tracts of land were purchased for the

11 – John Brownrigg

MAP OF A PIECE OF GROUND CALLED THE EAST-HALF ENDEAL OF THE DEAN’S ORCHARD,
(courtesy National Library of Ireland, Monck Papers, MS 21/F/86/47)



construction of the Richmond Penitentiary and Richmond District Lunatic Asylum as institutional development spread in a piecemeal manner in a north-west direction across Monck lands. The Richmond District Asylum grew and evolved throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as over time close to seventy-three acres of the 243-acre estate were purchased from the Moncks. Institutional development continues to the present day, with Grangegorman now the location of the new city campus of the Dublin Institute of Technology and a primary care centre for the HSE.

The morphology of the north-western quarter of Dublin was strongly influenced by the vicissitudes of a single family, the Moncks. Owing in part to the timing of inheritance and the gender of a child, the Monck estate at Grangegorman remained undeveloped and was still functioning as pasture, farmland and orchards in the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the Gardiners or the Fitzwilliams, the development of Grangegorman was not the result of a master plan or a grand urban-design vision. For successive viscounts Monck, the non-development of the estate in the eighteenth century resulted in their lands being available for others to develop in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Personal family circumstances affected the eventual form of Dublin city.

ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

Monck Papers	National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Collection, Monck Papers
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

- ¹ Colm Lennon and John Montague, *John Rocque's Dublin: a guide to the Georgian city* (Dublin, 2010) 5.
- ² Mairéad Dunlevy, *Dublin Barracks: a brief history of Collins Barracks Dublin, National Museum of Ireland* (Dublin, 2002) 10.
- ³ Margaret Murphy and Michael Potterton, *The Dublin Region in the Middle Ages: settlement, land-use and economy* (Dublin, 2010) 308.
- ⁴ Monck Papers, MS 26,899. The primary sources for the Moncks are not located in a single repository. The Monck papers that are held in the National Library of Ireland consist mainly of leases and deeds relating to their Irish estates. Those that are held in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI) as part of the Armagh Diocesan Registry Archive relate to Henry Monck, grandfather of Primate Lord John George Beresford, Elizabeth Monck's second son. Family papers from the 18th century are believed to have been destroyed in the 1792 fire at Charleville, the Enniskerry estate. Some family papers are held in a private collection in England, while later papers relating to the political life of the 4th Viscount Monck, governor General of British North America and later Canada, are held in Canada.
- ⁵ *Irish Builder*, 1st November 1893, 250.
- ⁶ While the street appears as Stanleys Street on the 1756 *Exact Survey of the City of Dublin*, it is later given as Stanly Street on the 1760 *Survey of the City, Harbour, Bay and Environs of Dublin*.
- ⁷ Monck Papers, MS 26,899.

- ⁸ Monck Papers, MS 26,883 and MS 26,884.
- ⁹ *Irish Builder*, op.cit., 250.
- ¹⁰ <http://www.chaptersofdublin.com/books/ball1-6/Ball6/ball6.8.html>
- ¹¹ They were well placed in Dublin society and their son George married Mary a daughter of Robert, 1st Viscount Molesworth. When Viscount Molesworth was away on one of his frequent and long visits to London, he wrote a letter to his wife Letitia who was then staying with their son-in-law at ‘Coll. Stanley’s House of Grangegorman, near Dublin’.
- ¹² Agneta was heir to her brother’s estate ‘Charleville’, located outside the county Wicklow village of Enniskerry and bordering the Powerscourt Estate. Charleville became their country estate.
- ¹³ PRONI, Armagh Diocesan Registry Papers, DIO 4/13/10/1/3.
- ¹⁴ PRONI, DIO 4/1/10/1/2.
- ¹⁵ Monck Papers, MS 26,825.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, MS 26,899.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*, MS 26,827.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 22, no. 3, October 1968, 232.
- ²⁰ *ibid.*, 238.
- ²¹ This coincided with when Charles took the fee farm lease on the Mud Wall Park.
- ²² *Dublin Historical Record*, op. cit., 235.
- ²³ The house is thought to have belonged to the Speaker of Parliament. At this time Parliament sessions were held in the Blue Coat Hospital nearby. *Dublin Historical Record*, op. cit., 233.
- ²⁴ *Dublin Historical Record*, op. cit., 239.
- ²⁵ City Surveyor 1782-1795, www.dia.ie.
- ²⁶ Monck Papers, MS 26,887.
- ²⁷ Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland – Dublin: the city within the Grand and Royal canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park* (London, 2005) 205.
- ²⁸ David Dickson, *Dublin, the making of a capital city* (London and Cambridge, MA, 2014) 598. *JHCI*, VI, 1760-65, 279.
- ²⁹ Lennon and Montague, *John Rocque’s Dublin*, 1.
- ³⁰ Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland, Dublin*, 220.
- ³¹ Monck Papers, MS 26,890.
- ³² *Irish Builder*, op. cit., 249.
- ³³ The houses built by Henry Monck now form part of the Merrion Hotel.
- ³⁴ *Irish Builder*, op. cit., 249.
- ³⁵ Finola O’Kane, “‘Bargains in view’: the Fitzwilliam family’s development of Merrion Square”, in Christine Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House: form, function and finance* (Dublin, 2010) 99.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, 100.
- ³⁷ National Archives of Ireland, Pembroke Estate, MSS, Box 97/46/1/2/8/28i, a letter from Byran Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, Dublin, 14th February 1760.
- ³⁸ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/1/12.
- ³⁹ Thomas Monck died in 1772, fifteen years before Henry Monck’s death in 1787.
- ⁴⁰ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/1/10
- ⁴¹ RPONI, DIO 4/13/10/2/1.
- ⁴² When seen in relation to the Moncks’ other estates, Grangegorman, although a small estate, performed well financially. A document in the National Library dating from between 1822 and 1843

reveals that at that time the annual combined income from all the Monck estates amounted to £11,377. The combined income from the Wexford, Kilkenny and Wicklow estates was £9,048. The income from the Dublin estate at Grangegorman was £2,226. The Monck estates in Ireland amounted to over 14,000 acres. At that point in time the Grangegorman estate was just over 193 acres, one seventieth of their total lands, yet it yielded one fifth of their annual income. Monck Papers, MS 26,839.

⁴³ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/2/31.

⁴⁴ PRONI, DIO T2519/4/251.

⁴⁵ Andrew Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress: aristocratic marriage in Ireland 1740-1840* (Belfast, 2006) 60

⁴⁶ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/4/1.

⁴⁷ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/4/2.

⁴⁸ Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress*, 60.

⁴⁹ As the sole surviving child of Henry and Lady Bell, Elizabeth would go on to inherit lands and money from the Bentinck family, as illustrated in her aunt Lady Ann Paul's will of 1748. PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/1/7.

⁵⁰ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/ 1/12, Will of Henry Monck 1784.

⁵¹ Malcomson, *The Pursuit of the Heiress*, 106, 'Lord Tyrone's family was advantaged because Monck's loose cash was plentiful enough to portion the Tyrones' younger children, and Monck's family was not disadvantaged because Monck's landed property (which was already settled on his nephew, the collateral heir) was large enough to entitle the nephew to be raised to the peerage (in 1797), and the nephew's son to be further advanced to an earldom (in 1822).' Elizabeth's inheritance of £100,073 equates to £5,600,000 in today's currency, as per <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>, accessed 3rd June 2012.

⁵² 'My Dearest Henry ... but still the delay distresses me ... Meara came to town about a week ago, we have talked over many things but he has not told me how the accounts stand, nor til yesterday when we had John in town, came to any sort of determination where I should have my residence, as I can not exist without having a settled home for myself, they both agreed that you would not, nor could not, sell Tyrone House, that you had little use for it, & that it would cost you a good deal to keep it in proper repair, pay the taxes, & the servants necessary to take care of it, and that you would be glad to accommodate me with it, if it was agreeable to me instead of taking another house. Tho it is much larger than I want, & will require more expense in keeping, & servants, than I should otherwise want, but still I think, that if I pay all those necessary expenses for you, it will come to much the same as the rent for a less house, & accommodate us both, if this method is pleasing to you. As I do not yet know what the Mill gives me at Curraghmore, I can not give or take anything at present, but may venture to assure you, that making all my children as happy as I can, is my first wish, though I think supporting a proper appearance in the world, is a respect due to my dear Lords widow, & a respect to the Memory of my dear Father who was so bountiful to us, I am almost grown impatient for your return....Adieu my Dear Henry and believe me always, Yours most affectionately, E Waterford, Tyrone House, April-24. PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/6/1 (underlining as per letter).

⁵³ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/5/29.

⁵⁴ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/1/15

⁵⁵ PRONI, DIO 4/13/10/6/3.

⁵⁶ Dunlevy, *Dublin Barracks*, 27.

⁵⁷ Dickson, *Dublin*, 123.

⁵⁸ Lennon and Montague, *John Rocque's Dublin*, 5.

⁵⁹ Tommy Graham, 'Whitelaw's 1798 Census of Dublin', *History Ireland*, II, no. 3, Autumn, 1994, 14.

- ⁶⁰ Monies were owed and the buildings that been rented during the expansion years were no longer required and therefore given up. The original lease on the convent and chapel building was renewed every thirty-one years, this being the longest lease allowed to Catholics under the Penal Laws. However, having renewed the lease in 1777, the community tried to renew again in 1808, but the lease was not renewed and they had no choice but to vacate Channel Row, moving to Clontarf. *Dublin Historical Record*, op. cit., 239.
- ⁶¹ T.M. Bates, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Governors of the House of Industry in Dublin* (Dublin, 1801) 42.
- ⁶² *ibid.*
- ⁶³ Hugh Campbell, 'Contested Territory, Common Ground, Architecture and Politics in Nineteenth Century Dublin', PhD thesis, UCD, 1998, 50.
- ⁶⁴ Ruth Delany, *Ireland's Royal Canal 1789-1992* (Dublin, 1992) 36.
- ⁶⁵ Designed by Francis Johnston, architect for the Board of Works.
- ⁶⁶ Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland – Dublin*, 238.
- ⁶⁷ There is a simple addition below the 1788 lease commencement date adding ninety-one years, to give an expiration date of 1879.
- ⁶⁸ NLI, Monck Papers, MS 26,892, reference to the Manor of Grangegorman in the County of Dublin, the Estate of the Right Honble Henry Stanley Viscount Monck, 1819.
- ⁶⁹ While the Monck reference file states that the Manor House was no longer standing, other sources suggest that the House of Refuge was located within the Manor House, 'The House of Refuge, the old Manor House at Stanhope Street' (Stanhope Street Primary School, *A History of Our School*, www.stanhopestreetprimary.ie). 'A spacious house was purchased in Stanhope-street (Grange Gorman Lane), and fitted up for the reception of females of this description', John Warburton, James Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin: from the earliest accounts to the present time*, 2 vols (London, 1818) II, 793. While the results of an excavation carried out in 2014 would support the Monck reference file, 'The likely remains of Grangegorman House, possibly dating back to the 16th/17th century, were observed surviving in-situ close to the existing ground surface ... Two masonry walls, which predate the main convent buildings, are likely belonging to structures initially erected for the girls Refuge but then replaced when the main structure itself was erected c.1830' (2014:091-Stanhope Green, Stanhope Street, Dublin 7, www.excavations.ie).
- ⁷⁰ Thomas King Moylan, 'The District of Grangegorman', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 7, no. 1, December 1944 – February 1945, 2.
- ⁷¹ These lands were purchased from the ground landlords, Lord Palmerston and Christ Church.