



View of R.C. cathedral, looking west, 1843 (Hall, iii, p. 413)

TUAM

Tuam is situated on the carboniferous limestone plain of north Galway, a westward extension of the central plain. It takes its name from a Bronze Age burial mound originally known as *Tuaim dá Gualann*. The name translates as ‘the burial mound of two shoulders’ or ‘the burial mound with two shoulders’, leaving it equally possible that the ‘shoulders’ were physical features of the vicinity or attributes of the mound itself. No trace of this mound or of the clay urn extracted from it in the 1880s has survived, but there is substantial evidence of their existence.¹ The mound surmounted a natural gravel ridge east of Shop Street that ran in an east–west direction. A small river, the Nanny, channelled its way westward along the northern base of the ridge and reached its closest point to the mound where Shop Street bridge now stands (Fig. 1). The Nanny apparently is called after the *eanai*gh or marshlands that flanked its course before the river merges with the south-flowing River Clare 2 km west of Tuam. Occasionally the Nanny has taken the name of its tributary, the Curragh, which is similar in meaning. Overlooking the mound on the opposite or north bank of the Nanny, Tullinadaly Road rises to c. 16 m above the river. But neither it nor any other neighbouring hill is sufficiently high to offer a comprehensive view of the low-lying town. The undulating landscape makes its descent south-eastwards from the crest of Tullinadaly Road to the flat precincts of Toberjarlath, all within a modest 30 to 60 m above sea level (Map 1).

Prehistoric Tuam was located at a crossroads. The southern approach was a bog-strewn route relieved by eskers and, at some subsequent time, by a causeway or ‘toghher’ from which neighbouring Toghermore derives its name. As suggested above, the fording point northwards across the Nanny was probably near the burial mound. Prior to the railway age this was the shortest and most convenient route from the south and south-east of Ireland to north-west Connacht.² The eastern exit is represented by the present Bishop Street. On crossing the Nanny in that direction the traveller encountered extensive marshland. Thereafter eskers determined the way into the north-east of the province.³ Using this esker trail in the opposite direction the Anglo-Normans reached Tuam on their first incursion into Connacht in 1177. Finally there was the western exit. It crossed the River Clare at Claretuam, some 4 km south-west of Tuam. In medieval times the crossing was equipped with a bridge and a castle (Map 9).

Sir William Petty’s atlas of Ireland (1685) illustrates how turloughs or lake-like sheets of water could in winter extend the River Clare beyond recognition (Map 5). Surviving archaeological evidence suggests that the fertile expanse between the Clare and Lough Corrib farther west had a comparatively numerous Bronze Age population. In historic times this area was known as Mag Seóla. From the fifth to the thirteenth century northern Mag Seóla was occupied by the Muintir Murchadha, later known as the O’Flahertys.⁴ On the advent of Christianity the site of Tuam belonged to the Conmaicne Cinéil Dubáin, a people settled immediately east of Mag Seóla in territory said to approximate to the barony of Dunmore of later times. Jarlath, one of the Conmaicne nobility, was said to have embraced the new religion a generation or so after St Patrick. It is claimed he founded a monastery at Cloonfush beside the River Clare on the Mag Seóla border, but ended his days at Tuam as bishop and abbot.

There are three sites in Tuam associated with Jarlath, namely Toberjarlath, Temple Jarlath and Tempelascreen. Toberjarlath, situated about 1 km south-east of the ancient burial mound, was a holy well ‘frequented on his festive day’⁵ prior to its concealment under the railway line around 1859. In the nineteenth century the pattern held there involved going once around a large station and nine times around a smaller station with nine pebbles in hand, one of which was thrown away on completion of each circuit.⁶ There is evidence of a church and an early ecclesiastical enclosure at Toberjarlath,⁷ but nothing by way of documentary evidence to confirm their existence. Indeed little is known of Jarlath himself. No biography of the saint survives, and his name is not mentioned in any of the annals. This may have been a consequence of

the turbulent Viking Age⁸ and lends credence to the local tradition that ‘the Danes’ plundered Tuam.⁹ Although the well has disappeared, the site is partly surrounded by grassland, a potential repository for material objects that may even go back to St Jarlath’s time. Minor rivers in the vicinity such as the Sruffán Bríde have also disappeared in the wake of urban development. These streams were once prominent on the local landscape. Indeed they formed the infrastructure of the early Christian era, providing monastic Tuam with a domestic water supply and sufficient power for whatever horizontal mills it might have possessed.¹⁰

The distribution of ringforts and early ecclesiastical remains in north Galway indicates a concentration of settlements in the territory of the Conmaicne Cinéil Dubáin, especially near Tuam.¹¹ Occasional obituaries of Tuam abbots in the ninth and tenth centuries attest to the survival of St Jarlath’s monastery. Early in the eleventh century Áed Ua Conchobair, nicknamed ‘Áed of the gapped spear’, became chieftain of Uí Briúin Aí whose ancient capital was at Cruachu in Mag nAí (north Roscommon). His first great rival was Ua Ruairc of Uí Briúin Bréifne. One of their encounters was at Turloughvohan some 4 km east of Tuam (Map 9).¹² This extensive turlough or marshland bounded medieval Tuam to the south-east and was strategically located at the end of a long chain of eskers in north-east Connacht. Nearby was the wetland site known to the archaeologists who excavated it in 1913 as ‘the Loughpark crannóg’.¹³ Domestic and military artefacts recovered from the site imply that it was a Gaelic stronghold in Áed Ua Conchobair’s time. Obviously its purpose was to guard the esker terminus.

Áed’s defeat of Ua Ruairc in 1039 earned him recognition in the annals as lord of east Connacht. Then in 1048 he marched against Ua Flaithbertaig of Uí Briúin Seóla, the lord of Iar (west) Connacht. In this campaign Tuam held a frontier position, Mag Seóla being Ua Flaithbertaig territory and Conmaicne Cinéil Dubáin an Ua Conchobair acquisition. After the overthrow of Ua Flaithbertaig in 1051 Áed Ua Conchobair could claim kingship of the province and, according to the *Annals of Tigernach*, he ‘took up his abode in the west of Connacht’. Some have taken this to mean that Tuam was now to become Áed’s ‘chief residence of the west’,¹⁴ but this conclusion has no supporting evidence. However, his conquest of Mag Seóla added to the status of Tuam in that it was no longer a border outpost but a bridgehead joining two substantial parts of the enlarged kingdom.

In the episcopal succession beginning with St Jarlath, Áed Ua hOissín was the first archbishop of Tuam to be invested with the pall in 1152. But according to Sir James Ware and others the six ‘coarbs’ of Jarlath immediately preceding Ua hOissín were for reasons not stated placed in a special category and sometimes called archbishops.¹⁵ The first of the six was probably another Áed Ua hOissín. His death is recorded in 1058,¹⁶ meaning he was a contemporary of Áed of the gapped spear. It seems reasonable to conclude that monastic Tuam was re-established under this king in the eleventh century and would be ruled by a succession of six ‘coarbs’ up to Áed Ua hOissín who became archbishop in 1152. Here may also be found an explanation for the six ‘mini ecclesiastics’ that surround a crozier-bearing figure on the ringed head of the twelfth-century market cross.¹⁷ The Temple Jarlath site was probably newly chosen for the re-established settlement. It has medieval ruins but is devoid of anything to suggest that it goes back to St Jarlath’s time. There is no holy well there nor any inscription or workmanship in stone to link it to the early Christian era. The word ‘temple’ in its name may suggest a connection with the twelfth-century reform movement, but the curving nature of the inner enclosure fossilised in Church Lane and Sawpit Lane indicates that the foundation predates that reform. The signs are that an important Gaelic settlement originated at Temple Jarlath in the eleventh century, eventually to be surrounded by an outer as well as an inner monastic enclosure (Fig. 1).

The Ua Conchobair kings of Connacht left a decisive mark on Tuam in both the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres. Flannacán Ruadh Ua Dubthaig, who died in 1097, is described as *fer léiginn* (lector) of Tuam, an indication that a monastic school had been established there under Ua Conchobair patronage, for Uí Dubthaig were a clerical branch of that dynasty. It is likely that the school also had a *scriptorium* and that the richly ornamented 'Corpus missal' now at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was produced at that institution.¹⁸ The fortunes of Tuam were further promoted when Toirrdelbach Mór Ua Conchobair became high-king of Ireland in 1119, an unprecedented achievement for a Connacht ruler. Toirrdelbach envisaged Tuam as a royal and an ecclesiastical showpiece. At the outset of his high-kingship he acquired custody of part of a reputed fragment of the True Cross which had been brought to Ireland for veneration. This he had encased at Roscommon in a reliquary originally known as the *bachall buí* and nowadays called the Cross of Cong. It took the form of a processional cross and was inscribed with the names of the high-king Toirrdelbach, of Bishop Domnall mac Flannacán Ua Dubthaig, presumably a son of the *fer léiginn* of Tuam already mentioned, and of Muiredach Ua Dubthaig, bishop of Tuam.¹⁹ Apart from enhancing Toirrdelbach's standing as high-king, this splendid reliquary would upgrade Tuam as a pilgrimage and an ecclesiastical centre. Shortly before this time Samuel Ua hAingliu, bishop of Dublin, provoked controversy by causing his cross to be carried before him 'as if he were a metropolitan archbishop'.²⁰ The case arouses a strong suspicion that the *bachall buí* was Toirrdelbach's way of raising a similar claim for the coarb of Jarlath.

As often happened in medieval Ireland the provision of a new reliquary coincided with the building of a new church.²¹ In 1127 the high-king,

accompanied by the coarb of Jarlath, laid out the enclosure for what eventually would be known as St Mary's Cathedral. The land in question apparently was a commonage (*coitchend*) and bordered the outer monastic enclosure to the south-west (Fig. 1). According to the annals the new enclosure extended 'from the southern end of *clad in renda* to *findmag*'. *Clad in renda*, meaning the corner dyke or trench, would have been a feature of the earlier, outer monastic enclosure. A segment of that enclosure can be detected in the course taken by Vicar Street as it turns southwards from Market Square. The convergence of street and enclosure ended at or before the entrance to The Mall with the boundary turning sharply westward or north-westward, thus giving rise to *clad in renda*. The cathedral enclosure presumably began at that point and extended westward to *findmag* or 'the white plain', a name descriptive of the marl-based marshland west of St Mary's.

Since Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair was high-king 'with opposition', anything he patronised was in danger of attack from his enemies. In 1132 Cormac Mac Carthaig in Munster openly aspired to the high-kingship and, in an attempt to win ecclesiastical endorsement, built a magnificent church on the Rock of Cashel. The Connacht clergy who attended the consecration of Cormac's chapel in 1134 came home 'in displeasure', presumably because of Mac Carthaig's use of the ceremonials to promote his political ambitions.²² Later that year Munster forces descended on Connacht and plundered Tuam's new cathedral. If, as was probably the case, the same foundations were used in the cathedral's reconstruction,²³ the motives for its building — and desecration — become manifest. The dimensions of the surviving twelfth-century chancel are not only greater than those of Cormac's chapel but greater than those of any surviving chancel from twelfth-century Ireland.²⁴

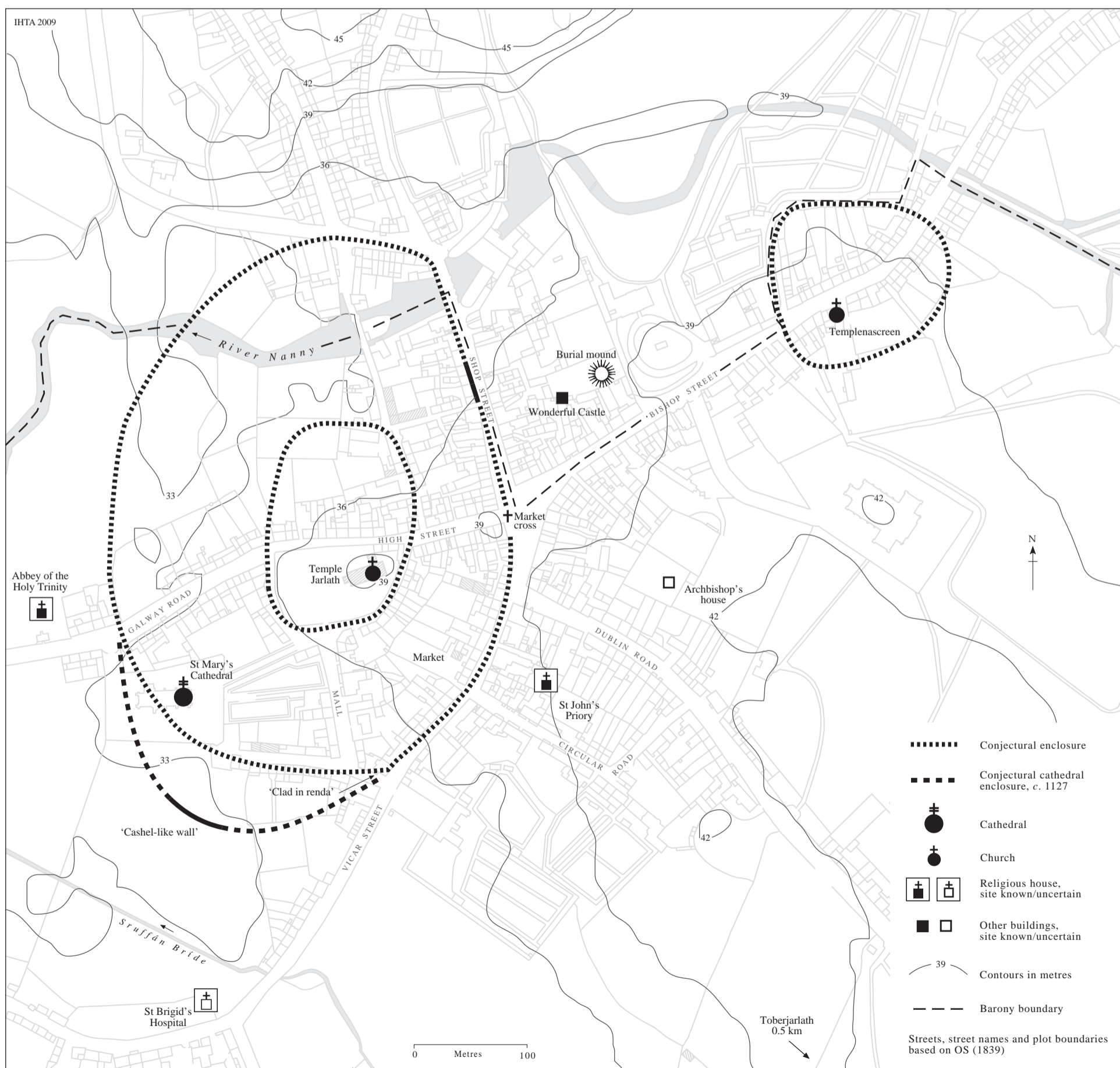


Fig. 1 Medieval Tuam

The cathedral enclosure failed to protect the building from the Munster onslaught of 1134. What seems to have been a robbed-out section of that enclosure was discovered in 1992 and referred to as ‘a thick cashel-like wall’ with an outer facing of large stones, a core of earth and small stones and an inner face of small stones embedded in a sloping embankment.²⁵ Apparently it remained a visible feature of the landscape even as late as 1499 when a papal letter described it as part of ‘the walls of Tuam’. Another papal letter of 1499 mentions town walls close to Templenascreen. It is, however, quite unlikely that these walls could have served their original purpose in the very different circumstances of the late fifteenth century. By the seventeenth century they were but a memory. Writing in 1672 John Lynch, archdeacon of Tuam, says: ‘That it [Tuam] was once surrounded by walls is shown by the foundations, quite frequently discovered by ditchers and by the writings of old. The incessant madness of war has levelled them to the ground’.²⁶

Having founded the cathedral in 1127 the king made provision for its maintenance, more specifically for the maintenance of the Uí Dubthaig clergy who should dwell in Tuam.²⁷ Taking a part of the neighbouring lands known as ‘Cluain’ he divided it in two and donated the south-western half as specified above. The other half he gave to the monastery. The monastic donation apparently stretched north-eastwards from the guesthouse. This arrangement implied that the monastery had to take second place to the new episcopal establishment. There are signs that Murgius Ó Níoc, hereditary coarb of Jarlath and *erenach* or administrator of the monastic property, did not take kindly to this arrangement. He died on Inchagoill, Lough Corrib, in 1128, his obit recalling that he had been coarb of Jarlath ‘for a time’, a phrase identical with that used for Niall, coarb of Patrick, who forfeited his position to the reforming St Malachy in 1139.²⁸

King Toirrdelbach then had a number of high crosses erected in Tuam. Inscriptions on the base of the market cross and on the cross shaft in St Mary’s Cathedral request prayers for the king and the abbot, later archbishop, Áed Ua hOissín, an indication that they were constructed in the second quarter of the twelfth century. One of these crosses was originally located in the market place, an area that in the twelfth century lay at the eastern entrance to the outer monastic enclosure. The inner enclosure has left its impression in the semicircular or D-shaped curve of Temple Jarlath graveyard (Map 11). It seems that it originally extended beyond High Street to the north-west and measured approximately 130 m x 110 m.²⁹ It would have encompassed the church, burial ground and domestic buildings of the monastic community. The present ruinous church is of a later era, although the massive stones in its lower courses may belong to its eleventh-century predecessor.

As mentioned above, Vicar Street on leaving Market Square delimits the outer enclosure of Temple Jarlath probably as far as the entrance to The Mall where the enclosure turns sharply westward at *clad in renda*. Continuing from The Mall entrance, Vicar Street runs east of another ecclesiastical enclosure associated with St Brigid and bisected by the Tuam to Claremorris railway line. Housing and other developments have obliterated all visible traces of the western segment of this enclosure but the curve of Vicar Street/Church View apparently delimits part of the bounds. The O’Donovan letters, obviously referring to this site, recall that a chapel and cemetery were situated a short distance south of St Mary’s Cathedral in the vicinity of Church View. The same source adds that according to an inquisition of 1586 the chapel, then in ruins, was thought to have been founded as a chantry dedicated to St Brigid. Locally it has been associated with the vicars choral.³⁰ Sruffán Bríde, the name of a nearby stream, corroborates the chapel’s association with the saint.

Around 1140 a house for Augustinian canons known as St John’s Priory, later to become St John’s Abbey, was established under the patronage of Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair. The priory lay east of the outer monastic enclosure or ‘in the suburbs of Tuam’, according to the papal taxation dated to about 1306, and within the present-day bounds of Vicar Street, Dublin Road and Circular Road. The Augustinians were endowed with lands in the locality and in Co. Mayo.³¹ Their local property was acquired by the earl of Clanricard at the dissolution. It stretched eastward from the monastery and is shown as ‘temporal lands’ on the 1720 map of Tuam (Map 6). Apparently this land had been donated to the monastery by King Toirrdelbach in 1127 and was subsequently reallocated to the Augustinians.

Twelfth-century Tuam was an important ecclesiastical centre vested in episcopal and monastic hands. In composition and layout it resembled other ecclesiastical centres such as Armagh or Kells.³² While not neglecting the early monastic settlement, Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair generously endowed its cathedral clergy and Augustinian priory, thereby in effect promoting the church reform movement that reached its climax in Ireland towards the middle of the century. Toirrdelbach had his chief fortress at Dunmore where, according to local tradition, he died in 1156.³³ However, he probably turned to Tuam’s ecclesiastical facilities for purposes of state ceremonial, thereby making it a royal ‘city’ and providing reasons why it should be chosen as the metropolis of Connacht at the synod of Kells in 1152. Connacht was arguably the most remote of the provinces at that time. It lacked the external connections enjoyed by Toirrdelbach’s predecessor in the high-kingship, Muirchertach Ua Briain, who adopted the Hiberno-Norse seaport of Limerick as his capital. Nevertheless the west was now involved in church reform and Toirrdelbach as high-king had direct political contact with Hiberno-Norse Dublin. His ambition was to distinguish his own capital with the largest cathedral, the tallest high cross³⁴ and the most magnificent reliquary in all of Ireland. As a pre-Anglo-Norman monastic town, Tuam had achieved pre-eminence.

Toirrdelbach’s son Ruaidrí, who was Ireland’s last native high-king, built a ‘wonderful’ castle at Tuam in 1164. This fortress gave an important civic dimension to the settlement, now of metropolitan status. The castle site was strategic, probably the location of an earlier Ua Conchobair fortress, east

of the monastic enclosure and beside the ancient burial mound. Because its foundations were greatly disturbed by eighteenth-century episcopal buildings it is impossible to know whether it was size, design or stone construction that gave rise to its impressive title. Reflecting his father’s attitude Ruaidrí wanted his castle to be the best of its kind, a sign of royal supremacy. The death of Áed Ua hOissín also occurred in 1164. His now lost tombstone was, in the seventeenth century, described as weather-beaten, curved, delicately carved, depicting his cloak and situated on the northern side of his cathedral.³⁵

Tuam’s importance as a place of pilgrimage is casually illustrated in 1170 by the death of the lord of Clann Cosgraigh ‘on his pilgrimage at Tuam’.³⁶ The Cross of Cong, the relics of St Jarlath and St Jarlath’s well were all likely pilgrim destinations. Jarlath’s feast day was celebrated on 6 June, not the anniversary of his death but the day commemorating the translation of his enshrined relics to the church called Templenascreen.³⁷ The translation probably occurred in King Ruaidrí’s time since he was also associated with enshrining the relics of St Monchan in 1166 and St Comman in 1170. The building of this church east of Ruaidrí’s castle indicates that Tuam, an entirely Gaelic settlement, had acquired an urban dimension by the late twelfth century. Indeed the eastern suburb became the separate parish of Skreen with Templenascreen as its parish church.³⁸

The synod held in Tuam in 1172 was the occasion on which the archbishop consecrated no fewer than three churches, all of which may have been in Tuam itself.³⁹ They are not named in the annals but circumstantial evidence designates them as, firstly, the cathedral that had been plundered by Munster forces in 1134 and, according to Ware, rebuilt by Áed Ua hOissín about 1152; secondly, the priory church of St John founded about 1140 and, according to the taxation of about 1306, situated ‘in the suburbs’; thirdly, the church of the relics of St Jarlath known as Templenascreen and said in 1499 to be ‘just outside the walls of Tuam’. Considering the valuable shrine it housed, Templenascreen probably had its own enclosing wall represented by the adjacent curve of the barony boundary. Thus the consecration ceremonies of 1172 celebrated the building achievements and grandeur of royal Tuam and its suburbs.

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For the inhabitants of Tuam the first coming of the Anglo-Normans was not a remote or an irrelevant event. King Ruaidrí’s unsuccessful attempt to prevent the forces of Miles de Cogan from capturing Dublin in 1170 attracted the invaders’ unwelcome attention to his own kingdom. Three years later in response to the gibbeting in Dublin of his executed ally, Tigernán Ua Ruairc, he had the severed hand of Domnall Ua Ruairc, a collaborator in the treachery, brought to Tuam and nailed to the top of his castle.⁴⁰ However, by now it was clear that the contest was unequal and Ruaidrí, despairing of military victory, gave allegiance to the English king in the 1175 treaty of Windsor.

The treaty did not bring peace to Connacht. In 1177 de Cogan, with the connivance of Ruaidrí’s son, Muirchertach, led a force of 40 knights and 500 soldiers across the Shannon.⁴¹ They plundered Mag nAí, then took the ‘highway’ (*slí mór*) by Templetogether and Dunmore to Tuam and, during Ruaidrí’s absence in western Connacht, used the town as a base to plunder Mag Seóla and beyond. The people took their own defensive measures. Having burnt the churches where food was stored and hidden the rest in local souterrains, a noted feature of the area,⁴² they retreated with their cattle and belongings into fastnesses where armed Anglo-Normans could not follow. The Tuam hinterland had many such fastnesses. One was Cloonfois,⁴³ another Cloonascragh, used as a refuge by the townspeople in 1798. Consequently the invaders found the town ‘emptied’ and in the end left ‘without food, without profit’ hotly pursued by Ruaidrí’s army.

The de Cogan onslaught prefaced a dark chapter in Tuam’s history. The tragedy was not so much that the place was destroyed — monastic centres in medieval Ireland experienced many such calamities — but that on this occasion it did not have the capacity to recover. Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair had already lost his high-kingship and dynastic conflict would lead to his prolonged detention at Cong Abbey where he died in 1198.⁴⁴ The archbishop, Cadla Ua Dubthaig, also repaired to Cong and died there in 1201,⁴⁵ leaving a controversial succession issue. Cadla’s father and grandfather had earlier held the see of Tuam and he himself had uncanonically consecrated his nephew in order to continue the succession.⁴⁶ The irregularity was resolved with the appointment of an Ulster Cistercian, Felix Ua Ruanada, as archbishop, much to the dismay of the Uí Conchobair establishment who thereby lost their say, at least in this episcopal appointment, to the English king.

The cathedral had its own misfortune. In 1184 it ‘fell in one day, both roof and stone’, one suspects because of its over-ambitious design. Roger Stalley holds the view that the twelfth-century chancel represents a rebuilding of around 1184–90.⁴⁷ Considering the difficulties then being experienced by both king and archbishop, rebuilding on such a grand scale is hard to imagine. Moreover, there are no physical signs of a rebuilt cathedral. It is much more likely that the chancel was the one part of the cathedral that did not collapse in 1184. According to Ware, the abbey of the Holy Trinity was used as Tuam’s cathedral.⁴⁸ This was a Premonstratensian foundation of the early thirteenth century situated on the western outskirts of the town. Later it was described as being ‘just outside the walls of Tuam’, i.e. the walls or cathedral enclosure constructed by Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair in 1127.

In order to make good his title to the lordship of Connacht, the Anglo-Norman Richard de Burgh undertook the widespread occupation of the province in 1237. The operation involved the building of castles for his barons. It also involved restricting Ua Conchobair to the King’s Cantreds, essentially north Co. Roscommon. Tuam was left in ecclesiastical hands under its archbishop, who until late in the century was of native Irish stock.



Fig. 2 Archbishop's and temporal lands in Tuam, 1720 (Morris), overlaid on 1838 (OS)

Presumably because it remained a Gaelic settlement, it was not given borough status like the Anglo-Norman towns of Athenry and Galway. Nor was it likely that the new rulers would allow its walls either by means of maintenance or repairs to serve a military purpose. Its hinterland in north Mag Seóla and Conmaicne Cinéil Dubáin became the baronies of Clare and Dunmore, respectively. Tuam's most powerful neighbour would be the de Bermingham baron of Dunmore who seemingly garrisoned the Loughpark 'crannóg' at an early stage of the occupation.⁴⁹ As in most of Connacht the native population formed the tenantry of these two baronies.

In 1244 a disastrous fire, perhaps deliberate, consumed Tuam, including four churches and all the houses of the town.⁵⁰ There is evidence that these churches — namely the church of the Holy Trinity (then acting as Tuam's cathedral), St John's, Temple Jarlath and Templenascreen — were rebuilt, but the ruins of only one, Temple Jarlath, still survive. Its three east windows are in the transitional style, indicating that they were built soon after the fire. Five carved heads, Romanesque in design, are incorporated into the wall beside these windows. They obviously belonged to an earlier building, perhaps the portal of the collapsed cathedral.⁵¹ The intention may have been to use this restored parish church as a pro-cathedral. In fact the seventeenth-century Archdeacon Lynch stated that Temple Jarlath was 'once a cathedral'.

The first official record of fairs in Tuam is a royal charter of 1260 granting an annual eight-day fair to Archbishop Tommaltach Ó Conchobair at his vill of Tuam from 29 December to 5 January. The charter probably marks the continuation rather than the beginning of local fairs. Typically the market place would have developed at the eastern entrance to the monastic enclosure. There is, however, a distinct possibility that the venue changed in the medieval period. The 1992 excavations discovered several hundred square metres of cobbled surface lying between Vicar Street and St Mary's Cathedral, which may well have been the fair green at the archbishop's vill.⁵²

Archbishop William de Bermingham had ambitious plans for a new cathedral. The choir would be 24 m x 10.5 m in area, the transepts a combined span of 41 m. De Bermingham's Anglo-Norman background gave hope for the success of the undertaking. However, by the time of his death in 1312 only the choir of the cathedral, 'the last great achievement of the [Irish Gothic] period',⁵³ was built and even a grant of papal indulgences failed to effect its completion.⁵⁴ The de Bermingham episcopate was impoverished by civil unrest.⁵⁵ The archbishop was accused of taking the law into his own hands and he himself admitted to having a gallows, trebuchet, pillory and

tumbrel at his disposal, possibly in Tuam.⁵⁶ The erosion of central authority had begun in his lifetime and was accelerated immediately afterwards by the Bruce invasion. The abjuration of English rule by the Connacht de Burghs in 1333 meant that the town of Tuam would be thereafter in the Mac William Uachter or Clanricard sphere of influence in the southern part of the diocese and the appointment of its archbishops would be made without feudal obligations to the English king.⁵⁷ Except for the Anglo-Norman towns of Athenry and Galway, the diocese was *ecclesia inter Hibernicos*. Being far beyond the reaches of the later Pale or its parliament, Tuam was unconcerned that its archbishop was an absentee from the lords⁵⁸ or that his charter left it unrepresented in the commons.

In the process of finding a successor to Archbishop Máel Sechlainn Mac Áeda, a reputed victim of the Black Death, the diocesan chapter elected its chancellor, Robert de Bermingham, as *dignissimus*, but Tomás Mac Cearbhaill of Cashel was eventually the papal choice.⁵⁹ In 1356, during Mac Cearbhaill's episcopate, the town was once again put to the torch, the culprits this time being Cathal Óg, son of O'Connor Sligo, and Mac William Íochtar, i.e. Mayo Burke.⁶⁰ While the influence of the de Berminghams in the archdiocese was not sufficient to gain episcopal positions for family members in the fifteenth century, they seldom if ever failed to ring-fence one or more of the lesser diocesan offices of deanery, archdeaconry or provostship throughout that period.⁶¹ For instance, in the 1490s Meiler de Bermingham was abbot of St John's and Archdeacon William de Bermingham was in illegal possession of the monastery of the Holy Trinity.⁶² The dominating influence of the de Berminghams in Tuam may explain the apparent tendency of its archbishops to dwell elsewhere from the early fourteenth century onwards. It has been contended that after the death of Archbishop de Bermingham his unfinished cathedral was sequestered by his relations and used as a fortress and stabling for animals.⁶³ But Ware with more credibility maintains that the de Bermingham choir was 'converted into the nave or body of the cathedral'.⁶⁴ Thus pre-reformation Tuam had a succession of four cathedrals or pro-cathedrals — St Mary's until 1184, the church of the Holy Trinity until 1244, then Temple Jarlath for approximately half a century and finally the de Bermingham cathedral of St Mary.

The earliest reference to an episcopal residence in Tuam is found in an inventory of the goods and chattels of Archbishop Stephen de Fulbourn, who at the time of his death in 1288 also held the position of justiciar of Ireland. Items relating to his ecclesiastical office — his vestments, religious books

and ornaments of his church in Tuam — were, on his demise, impounded in the castle of Athlone. The contents of his Tuam residence included coats of mail, halberds, esquire uniforms, eleven pairs of silken shoes, a wide range of silverware and a stable of fifteen horses. These were the trappings of Anglo-Norman authority. Back in 1238 when that authority was being imposed on Connacht, Archbishop Máel Muire Ó Lachtáin left Tuam on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁶⁵ The political outcome of the crusades had made his journey possible. Fifty years later their commercial outcome enabled de Fulbourn to stock his Tuam larder with oriental delicacies such as almonds, rice, figs, raisins and dates.

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As in our day, scarcer times would follow the good, in this case partly because of religious divisions of an unprecedented nature. The failure of central government, the Black Death, the monopolising influence of the de Berminghams and the great western schism were in turn severely debilitating influences on the town. Thus the residence that a century and a half earlier had displayed the power and influence of Stephen de Fulbourn is found in 1447 to be in need of no little repair and, because of its age and the absence of the archbishops who rarely dwelt there, almost totally collapsed and levelled.⁶⁶ It is difficult to establish the location of this residence in the pre-reformation town. Perhaps it was in Farranabox townland in the southern suburbs where, according to O'Donovan and a lease of 1723, a castle once stood.⁶⁷ The 1720 map does not extend to this site but shows the nearby Gortnacaslane, known as Castle Park in 1795 (Map 6). On the other hand, oral tradition places the archbishop's castle behind the Sisters of Mercy convent, i.e. on archbishop's land west of Gortnacaslane,⁶⁸ a more likely site since it was episcopal not temporal like Farranabox.

The settler town of Galway grew in wealth and influence during the fifteenth century but, on ethnic grounds, continued to resent ecclesiastical rule from Tuam. A royal charter of 1484 gave Galway full independence from Clanricard Burke and the establishment of a warden and collegiate church, also in 1484, made it virtually independent of the archbishop.⁶⁹ Tensions were relieved by this unique arrangement. Not only did the sixteenth-century archbishops accept the jurisdiction of the collegiate church but also they actively supported it as an institution, perhaps because they themselves were of Galway origin. In 1488 Galway-born Archbishop Uilliam Seóighe (Joyce) endowed it with five parishes, one of which was Skreen.⁷⁰ The only known parish of Skreen in the diocese was that forming the eastern section of Tuam which by 1488 no longer had the cure of souls. Nevertheless its alienation to Galway would have seriously downgraded the cathedral town. In the same year the citizens of Galway prevailed on the Athenry Dominicans to take possession of St Mary's in the Claddagh, a church that previously had belonged to the Tuam Premonstratensians.⁷¹

It seems that the centre of gravity of the diocese was shifting to Galway in the sixteenth century. Archbishop Seóighe may in fact have lived there; certainly he and his two immediate successors were buried in Galway. As for Tuam, its condition emerges from an enquiry into the orthodoxy of Archbishop Bodkin held in 1555 during Queen Mary's reign.⁷² The chief witness contrasted the town's past when it was large and populous with how it stood at that time — in ruins, without walls (*sine muris*) and almost uninhabited, in fact reduced to about twenty or thirty houses. On the positive side the cathedral is said to have been satisfactorily furnished with three altars, vestments and sacred ornaments, which is more than could be said for many other cathedrals in sixteenth-century Ireland. The enquiry concluded that both Tuam and its archbishop were wholly free from suspicion of heresy.

The sixteenth century saw the Ó Maolalaidh or Lally sept emerge as substantial de Bermingham tenants at Tullinadaly in the north of Tuam parish. Tomás Ó Maolalaidh became archbishop of Tuam in 1514 and in 1541 his nephew, Malachy, availed himself of Henry VIII's policy of 'surrender and regrant' to secure his title to Tullinadaly. Malachy's nephew, William, succeeded Christopher Bodkin as archbishop in 1572. Whereas Bodkin had brought Tuam to the threshold of the reformation, his Gaelic successor is regarded as its first Protestant archbishop. According to a report of 1574 on the general condition of the province of Connacht,⁷³ Tuam was one of those good market towns that had been afflicted by decades of turmoil at the end of which nothing had survived but its castle, the once 'wonderful' castle of Uí Conchobair now occupied by the archbishop.⁷⁴ Monastic Tuam fully shared in these misfortunes. It is indeed questionable how effective the two local abbeys could have been as religious institutions after their succumbing to the dominating influence of the de Berminghams in the late fifteenth century. Officially the end came in the 1570s when St John's was granted to the earl of Clanricard and the abbey of the Holy Trinity to one Thomas Lewes. At that time the earl's family was embroiled in a bitter succession dispute and the Tuam monasteries were in the hands of one of the Burke protagonists (Map 4).⁷⁵

In 1595 Hugh Roe O'Donnell entered north Connacht intent on imposing his inherited overlordship on its native rulers, principally O'Connor Sligo and the Mayo Burkes.⁷⁶ O'Donnell marched directly from north Connacht to Clanricard country, first stopping at Turloughvohan near Tuam where the Loughpark 'crannóg' of earlier times had been superseded by a de Bermingham castle. He besieged the castle and proceeded to dismantle its walls until the occupants, who included the leading men of the district, were forced to surrender. O'Donnell's men then rounded up the livestock of the Tuam hinterland — the resources for the town's fairs and main sustenance of the people — and quickly returned north with all this booty plus the 'wealth and treasure' acquired at de Bermingham's castle. Acquisitions such as these helped to protract the northern rebellion into the Nine Years' War.

Three Tuam inhabitants in addition to Isaac Lally of Tullinadaly are included in the general pardon issued by King James I in 1603,⁷⁷ an

indication that, notwithstanding the devastation of the Tudor conquest, a small community still existed in the ruined ecclesiastical metropolis. Nehemiah Donnellan, Archbishop William O'Mullally's successor, also resided in Tuam. He is credited with translating the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer into Irish.⁷⁸ The latter work, completed by William Daniel, raised Protestant expectations of missionary success among the native population, as did Daniel's succession to the see of Tuam in 1609. But few of his colleagues had comparable knowledge or zeal. The truth was that protestantism was virtually non-existent in the diocese of Tuam. Indeed the government was hoping that, with parliamentary approval, the diocesan headquarters could be moved from Tuam to the more anglicised atmosphere of the collegiate church, Galway.⁷⁹

These plans were revised when it emerged that parliament was on course for a Catholic majority. The king decided to counter that eventuality by creating forty new boroughs, each expected to elect two compliant M.P.s. On 30 March 1613 Tuam was incorporated as a borough consisting of a sovereign, twelve burgesses and commonalty. As the seat of an archbishop it was confidently expected that its two M.P.s would be Protestants.⁸⁰ Judging by the names of the original burgesses, seven were Irish, two Galway townsmen and two or three of English origin. Their charter allowed them to hold their meetings in any convenient place within the borough, a reasonable concession in an unbuilt town. It is quite possible that the archbishop gave the burgesses facilities in his castle for their inaugural meetings, which would explain the curious custom, as local tradition relates, of inaugurating the sovereigns on 'the chair of Tuam' in what was a flanking tower of the castle bawn.⁸¹

The Tuam charter did not contain any assignments of land to the borough or attach any urbanising conditions. It was granted for a purpose unrelated to the locality, namely the resolution of a parliamentary difficulty to the king's advantage. The uniformly-shaped holdings or burgages granted to the new burgesses have been recognised in the configuration of subsequent plots on the Bishop Street south and Vicar Street west sides of Market Square (Map 2). They were formed along the ancient route from north-east Connacht. Vicar Street detoured southwards around the monastic settlement on leaving Market Square, in that way marking the outer enclosure of Temple Jarlath. The street continued in a south-westerly direction to embrace the chantry of St Brigid before turning towards St Mary's. The advantages of a new road through the grounds of Temple Jarlath, to be subsequently developed as High Street, would have become obvious by the seventeenth century. It would make the Vicar Street detour unnecessary and directly link St Mary's with the archbishop's castle. The layout around High Street differs from the Bishop Street/Vicar Street alignment, suggesting it was a later development. Also different is the Shop Street layout. This street corresponds to the ancient route to the north-west, which in the seventeenth century went along the western side of the castle bawn.

The first to hold the office of sovereign of Tuam was Isaac Lally, presumably a relation of Archbishop William O'Mullally. He had already established a public school for the humanities at Tullinadaly.⁸² The regal visitation of 1615 named some twenty students from the diocese of Tuam and nine from Clonfert diocese as then being in attendance at the Tuam or Lally school, where the master was funded by the prebend of Ballagh and rectory of Ballinrobe. It concluded as follows: 'And in regard Galway is a far more public and convenient place for the keeping of a school than Tuam is, we have ordered that Mr Lally shall at Michaelmas next begin to teach publicly in that city'.⁸³ The recommendation cannot have been implemented since two Donegal students entering Salamanca in the 1620s gave the Lally school 'close to Tuam' as the place where they learnt the humanities.⁸⁴

Isaac Lally's attitude towards the reformation was ambivalent. The town charter specifically states that, before initiation, the sovereign of Tuam was obliged to take the oath of supremacy. Yet the sovereign's school was regarded as a Catholic institution. John Burke, a future Catholic archbishop, is said to have acquired considerable knowledge of Greek and Latin under the paternal roof of Isaac Lally, but on returning to Ireland as a young priest around 1624 found that his pedagogue had turned Protestant. The roles of teacher and student were then exchanged with the result that the old man was finally 'rescued from heresy'.⁸⁵

Archbishop Daniel's zeal was tempered by acts of religious tolerance remarkable for their time. He is credited with handing over St Jarlath's reliquary, 'a pentagonal copper container', to Catholic authorities on its discovery in the floor of the ruined Templenascreen by his workmen threshing corn there.⁸⁶ He also deserves a large share of the credit for allowing prospective seminarians to be educated at Isaac Lally's public school, while on a practical level he co-operated with Francis Kirwan, the Catholic archdeacon, in the construction of what is generally believed to have been Bishop Street Bridge.⁸⁷ Crossing rivers was one of the perils of travelling in earlier times and prior to the construction of this bridge the River Nanny could not be forded in winter without risk.⁸⁸ This is the probable reason why the 1555 description of Tuam highlights the fact that a seemingly unimportant waterway flowed through the centre of town. In the inquisitions following the death of Archbishop Daniel in 1628 his Tuam manor is found to have a water mill, evidence additional to the threshing at Templenascreen that grain crops were grown on the episcopal manor and, it can safely be presumed, that the river had been harnessed by a vertical millwheel. The waterway was not, however, navigable and this left Tuam at a commercial disadvantage. While sea and water-borne routes in general were then undergoing steady development, the pattern of inland communication in Ireland remained unchanged from that inherited from earlier times.⁸⁹ Consequently Tuam was destined to be no more than a market town on an episcopal estate, albeit an estate with a resident archbishop.

Municipal records do not survive for the fledgling borough and so the details of its early corporate life are beyond recovery.

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The civil unrest of the 1640s discloses more about the borough of Tuam than do the earlier decades of comparative peace. On the outbreak of rebellion in November 1641 the archbishop left his castle in Tuam for the protection of Galway fort. There was no justification for this retreat according to the earl of Clanricard, who visited Tuam later in the month and found the archbishop's residence to be 'a fair and strong castle'. During his visit he received complaints from the sovereign and corporation against the archbishop for deserting the place and leaving them without protection.⁹⁰ The vacuum created by the archbishop's departure was soon filled by rebels who burnt the town and caused the Protestant inhabitants to leave and in due course claim compensation for the losses thus sustained.⁹¹ Among the applicants for compensation were Thomas Bagworth, an innholder and farmer, William Davis, gent., who claimed he lost animals and crops, seven merchants, a clergyman whose study was 'pillaged' and books destroyed and a clergyman's widow, Mary Hammond. In her depositions Hammond alleged that the goods she had forwarded to Galway were impounded at Richard Burke's castle of Ballinderry some 6 km south of Tuam and that her own flight to Galway ran into difficulties after passing Claretuam approximately 5 km south-west of the town where another Burke fortress, Belclare Castle, guarded the crossing of the River Clare. Thus in the seventeenth century the unwallled town was surrounded by four castles or potential outer defences — those of Tullinadaly, Turloughvohan,⁹² Ballinderry and Belclare.

The Protestant clergy who withdrew from Tuam at this time were replaced by their Catholic counterparts who prepared St Mary's Cathedral for the celebration of mass and continued to use the castle as an episcopal residence. The non-survival of pre-1641 diocesan records confirms that this was not a smooth transition. Structural improvements came in the course of the decade. Altars were erected, new furnishings were installed in the cathedral and an episcopal library founded. The castle was impressively restored, to which was added a three-storey building supported by strong beams, the hall and rooms being of elegant proportions.⁹³ Loughlin O'Connor of O'Connor Sligo ancestry was a prominent supporter of the Catholic clergy in these activities. He was a Tuam merchant with a house and plot in town⁹⁴ and numerous land holdings in the locality.⁹⁵ It is not clear whether the recovered relics of St Jarlath were intended for veneration at Templenascreen, their original location, or in an oratory adjoining the north wall of the cathedral. In any event the question would soon become irrelevant since, with the collapse of the rebellion, the town reverted to Protestant hands. In 1653 Cromwellian soldiers pulled down the high cross and the statues of the four evangelists at St Mary's Cathedral.⁹⁶ Before his deportation to France John de Burgo, the Catholic archbishop, entrusted a statue of the Blessed Virgin and the reliquary of St Jarlath to Loughlin O'Connor and his successors, an arrangement that unfortunately did not ensure their preservation.⁹⁷

In the Connacht transplantation of 1654–6 the greater part of the parish of Tuam was allocated to existing Connacht landholders, mostly Galway townsmen transplanted to holdings of reduced size. The Berminghams and Lallys were also in receipt of reduced allotments. Remarkably Loughlin O'Connor survived as a landholder and, despite his Catholic and Gaelic background, retained houses in Tuam⁹⁸ and land in the locality. In fact he was one of the few remaining local landholders of native Irish stock. His family, later known as the O'Connor-Donelans, were identified with the old religion to the extent that they allowed their mortuary chapel at Temple Jarlath to be a place of interment for the Catholic parochial clergy in the penal times that were to follow.⁹⁹ Church lands in the urban part of the parish were estimated at 46 acres in extent, temporal lands at 8 acres.¹⁰⁰ Apparently their boundaries were not in dispute since Archbishop Samuel Pullen, who had the outline of his diocese and its parishes charted in 1660, deemed a town map unnecessary.

The trade tokens issued by James Treacy in 1670 represent an unidentified local initiative.¹⁰¹ The particular business in which this Tuam merchant was engaged is likely to have been located on Treacy's plot, which is shown on the 1720 map as lying between the Tullinadaly and Ballygaddy roads (Fig. 2). A premises nowadays known as The Thatch is centrally situated on this plot. It is said to be the oldest public house in Tuam and may indeed go back to James Treacy's time. Further hints of an improving economy are found in the recollections of William King, a future archbishop of Dublin, who came to St Mary's as a young cleric in 1673. He was endowed with a number of benefices in the diocese and decided to live in Tuam where he had taken a house. He enjoyed the privilege of dining at the archbishop's table that was 'daily laden with sixteen dishes for dinner and twelve for supper with a very large variety of wines and a profusion of other generous liquors'.¹⁰² The people amongst whom he dwelt for five years were, he declared, entirely 'given to drinking parties and feasts'. It is not clear whether he intended to include the Connacht gentry in these excesses, but in any event they would acquire a reputation for good eating rather than good housing in the following century.¹⁰³

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The last two decades of the seventeenth century show signs of economic recovery at Tuam. John Vesey's succession to the see of Tuam in 1679 at first seemed to enhance the economic prospects of the town as a Protestant settlement. Tradition credits him with building an episcopal palace on the site of the later Grove House in Vicar Street,¹⁰⁴ which would provide him with a library that he prized highly and prove to be a comfortable residence for his many children, his numerous relatives and his retainers.¹⁰⁵ However,

by the end of 1680 he found it necessary to plead with the lord lieutenant that a company of foot be quartered in the town where, in his own words, the English were 'very thinly and insecurely planted'.¹⁰⁶ His anxiety was shared by Protestant Ireland in general and turned to alarm with the accession of King James II in 1685. Two years later the town received a new charter providing for a corporation of twenty burgesses.¹⁰⁷ The corporation was composed mainly of Old English, i.e. Galway townsmen, who were Catholic in religious persuasion. But Catholic moves to recover church property were firmly resisted by Archbishop Vesey, who chose this time to have the cathedral's medieval tower repaired and a steeple added. On completion of the work in 1688 Vesey had his name and that of King James II embossed in unique juxtaposition on a commemorative plaque. The native population was highly suspicious of the archbishop's motives, especially his plan to install six bells in the cathedral tower which, according to rumour, was intended to welcome the Williamite army to town.¹⁰⁸ Then in 1691, as Balldearg O'Donnell's soldiers of fortune made their menacing presence felt around Tuam, Archbishop Vesey was compelled to take flight. The battle of Aughrim followed on 12 July and while the fighting raged O'Donnell's men occupied and burnt Tuam.¹⁰⁹

Even though Protestant supremacy was firmly re-established in 1691, Vesey refused to reside in Tuam again and petitioned parliament to have the archiepiscopal see translated to Galway. The required bill was introduced¹¹⁰ and would have been enacted were it not for objections to the cost of building a new cathedral and palace.¹¹¹ This was the last attempted removal of the see from Tuam. Thereafter Archbishop Vesey resided on his own estate at Hollymount, Co. Mayo. His alienation from Tuam had adverse consequences for the town. Like Armagh, Tuam was an ecclesiastical borough under the immediate influence of its archbishop who reputedly held its charter.¹¹² In 1708 Archbishop Vesey divested himself of that honour when his daughter Susanna married Henry Bingham of Newbrook, Co. Mayo, and, to quote an eighteenth-century commentator, 'his Grace, by a very unclerical breach of trust, transferred the property of the borough [of Tuam] from the see to his son-in-law'.¹¹³ The 'property' here in question was the right, vested in the sovereign and burgesses, to return two members to the Dublin parliament. Henceforth until the Union the constituency would be controlled by the Bingham.

Vesey's successor, Edward Synge, lost no time in restoring good relations with his cathedral city. In the opinion of William King, contemporary archbishop of Dublin, Tuam had been neglected by its former archbishops, but with Synge 'it begins to change its face'.¹¹⁴ An act of parliament of 1717 facilitated the application of improving principles to the archbishop's demesne which, being over 500 Irish acres in extent, was deemed excessive for his domestic use.¹¹⁵ The act left him free to lease roughly half of these lands for an economically feasible term of years and to enclose the remainder as demesne land. A period of three years was allowed to survey and map the land for letting. The map, produced in 1720, outlined the town's ecclesiastical and temporal lands and all the plots on lease to tenants (Map 6). By then Archbishop Synge had embarked on building a new palace on a site partly occupying that of the Wonderful Castle of earlier times. The palace was a seven-bay three-storey-over-basement structure built in early Georgian style. It was not meant to stand in isolation but rather to be part of a comprehensive scheme that included out-offices, gardens, high enclosing walls and grounds laid out in natural landscape fashion. Successive archbishops continued the work of improvement and maintenance. The well-tended 'palace grounds' would remain an admired feature of the town for almost two centuries to follow. It is possible that Winifred Proven, a Tuam seed merchant, sourced her merchandise from the palace gardens. By 1756 she was retailing a wide range of vegetable and salad seeds and enjoying the custom of gentry from Co. Mayo.¹¹⁶

Archbishop's Synge's accounts for 1717–22 show that many people, from town fathers to labourers, actively participated in the building of the palace.¹¹⁷ Important municipal developments were also taking place in Tuam at this time. The construction of the market house in Market Square, begun in 1700, and the subsequent installation of a public crane enabled a weigh master to take up market duties in 1706. In the same decade the paving of Shop Street was undertaken (Plate 3). There are signs that all these activities were inspired by an integrated development plan for town and demesne. Shop Street, or North Street as it was then called, was paralleled to the east by the boundary of the archbishop's demesne and to the west by the embryonic Chapel Lane, the latter being in 1734 no more than 'a small lane leading down to the water'. At the same time a property known as Morgan's plot is described as bordering Shop Street to the west and having on its eastern border 'the wall that encloses the old bawn belonging to the archbishop's castle'.¹¹⁸ Evidently this section of bawn wall ran in a north-south direction. It would have been progressively demolished as Shop Street east was taking shape and being furnished with out-offices and back gardens. The most important of these buildings was the Mitre Inn, newly built in 1754 with stables, coach house and garden behind. According to the O'Donovan letters and 1839 Ordnance Survey town plan, part of the bawn wall survived in the front wall of two public houses on Shop Street (Map 2),¹¹⁹ but since this structure was on the west side of the street it is more likely to have been part of a medieval wall.

In 1722 Archbishop Synge leased a number of town properties to Edward Wilson including two gig mills situated below Shop Street bridge, two big grist mills and a tucking mill between Shop Street and Bishop Street bridges, a malt house that replaced what had been known as the upper mill near Bishop Street bridge, plus the accompanying mill houses, mill ponds and mill dams (Map 10).¹²⁰ Clearly milling had become an important element in the local economy by this time. A concentration of mills at Tuam was made possible

by a drop of 3.7 m in the river level between Bishop Street and Chapel Lane bridges.¹²¹ Moreover the Tuam hinterland had excellent corn-producing soil, enabling the town to gain a reputation in the early nineteenth century for the quality of its bread.¹²² Apart from milling, Edward Wilson was prominently involved in the building of the archbishop's palace, as was Timothy Dunne who was sovereign of Tuam in 1735 and had superintended the construction of a new bridge at Bishop Street. He commemorated its completion with an inscribed stone weighing twenty-seven hundredweight, unwrought and drawn for a wager from Temple Jarlath to the bridge on a common wheel car by a thirty-year old mule.¹²³ But the market cross was the town's focal point. A deed of 1734, drawn up before the streets acquired their present names, describes Bishop Street as the street leading from the market cross to Turloughvohan, High Street as the high street leading from the market cross to the parish church, and Shop Street as the high street leading from the market cross to the north bridge (Map 3, Plate 5).¹²⁴

Daniel Beaufort, who visited Tuam in 1787,¹²⁵ regarded the palace as old-fashioned, an indication of how rapidly architectural style had developed in the eighteenth century. But he was impressed by the palace garden with its very fine canal made by Archbishop Hort in the 1740s. The newly-built Mall House he described as 'very pretty' with a good garden opposite. He dined in 'an excellent house' at the diocesan school, Dublin Road, no doubt the master's house, but made no comment on the spacious residence of Mr Davis, later known as St John's, Vicar Street, which he also visited. Grove House, Vicar Street, and Mr Cheevers' residence opposite the palace were 'large, well-looking houses'. These, however, were exceptions in an 'ill-paved' town that, in his opinion, was not so well built as Loughrea. While Beaufort was in Tuam, preparations were afoot for the lord lieutenant's visit to Bermingham House. A new exploration of Connacht had begun. The Taylor and Skinner road maps, first published in 1778 (Map 7), facilitated a growing number of gentry given to travel and cross-country visits. The maps included routes from Tuam to Galway, Headford, Moylough and Sligo, plus houses of the gentry where in many cases the racing calendar would have provided the highlights of the year. After their transfer to Garrauns, some 4 km north-east of Tuam, in 1741 the Galway races grew in popularity and brought vitality to the town (Map 1). The Mitre Hotel, with its experience of the races, hosted major functions such as divisional meetings of Volunteers in 1783 and 1784. Similarly 'the saddle, cap and whip manufactory' of John Morris that began by serving 'nobility, gentry and public' went on to fulfil army orders in 1791.¹²⁶ By then the linen market for north Galway was held in Tuam.¹²⁷ Thus in many respects Tuam was extending its influence well beyond its limits as a market town.

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The nineteenth century was both kind and unkind to the inhabitants of Tuam, as they entered an era of mixed fortunes. The town's long association with the de Berminghams came to an end when Thomas, baron of Athenry and earl of Louth, died without male heir in 1799. Seán Rua or John Birmingham of Dalgin was one of those who unsuccessfully claimed succession to the title and, to advance his case, built an impressive town house in Bishop Street. In 1804 the house, then nicknamed Birmingham's Fancy or Folly, became headquarters of Tuam Bank, a private banking firm launched by Sir Thomas Ffrench.¹²⁸ Soon its notes were gaining preference throughout Connacht and its Dublin branch, opened in 1807, was foremost among the city banks. The omens for Tuam were positive. The Napoleonic wars had stimulated the economy, in particular the local fairs and markets, the linen trade and the demand for fighting men. But all of this would change with the scaling down of hostilities. The collapse of Ffrench's Bank in 1814 was the first in a catalogue of disasters. After Waterloo the army was demobilised and the town left without a single military detachment. Poor harvests in 1816 and 1817 brought famine, fever and typhus.

The failure of the 1821 harvest led to widespread famine in Connacht. In anticipation of that disaster Protestant Archbishop Trench purchased a vast stock of meal, took personal responsibility for Tuam and its neighbourhood, and used the local dispensary and a temporary fever hospital which he had set up c. 2 km north-west of the town in Ballygaddy House as important instruments of relief.¹²⁹ In May 1822 he estimated that there were 2,027 entirely destitute people living within 2 miles of the town and a further 2,047 who could afford provisions only at a reduced price. Oliver Kelly, the Catholic archbishop who also was doing everything possible to counteract the impending disaster, joined his Protestant counterpart on the Tuam Relief Committee. When harvest time arrived, a grateful multitude voluntarily assembled to cut, bind and stack Archbishop Trench's corn while a couple of hundred carts brought all his turf to the palace farmyard.¹³⁰

A third destitute group in 1822 consisted of large families mainly from Co. Mayo, some of whom were staying, others passing and re-passing through Tuam. Apparently the mendicant circuit was well established by then, since the Tuam select vestry had to take measures in 1814 and again in 1817 to keep 'strange beggars' out of town and in 1818 the sovereign had to purchase badges for town beggars.¹³¹ Migrants such as these helped to increase the urban population by 26% in the decade preceding 1831 and made nineteenth-century Tuam remarkable for the extent and poverty of its suburbs.¹³² In 1825 there were an estimated two hundred suburban houses¹³³ typified by a group of cabins originally thrown up against the demesne wall at Tullinadaly Road and later, with the encouragement of Archbishop Trench, transferred — thatch and all — to the other side of the road.¹³⁴ By 1841 the number of such cabins had increased to 825, located around Tierboy Barracks, along a 300-yard stretch of Tierboy Road, Chapel Lane, a 950-yard stretch of Galway Road and a 1,000-yard stretch of Bishop Street beyond St Jarlath's 'Old' College.¹³⁵

Conversely, the compact town centre was 'well edified' and considerably improved by the partial widening of the streets, the establishment of Fahy's drapery (or The Scotch Emporium) in 1830¹³⁶ and Daly's Hotel in 1832. The nearby Mall had handsome dwellings, Circular Road was newly built, while Dublin Road beyond the compact centre was overlooked only by the gaol, the courthouse, the glebe-house and, eventually, the Union Workhouse (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Valuation of residential buildings, 1855

In times of distress Archbishop Trench had generously helped the populace without distinction of creed, despite the fact that in 1816 he had converted to militant evangelism and thereafter actively promoted 'the second reformation'.¹³⁷ He was implacably opposed to the establishment of a Catholic cathedral in Tuam, something he made very clear to the tenants on his demesne.¹³⁸ But his writ did not extend to the Handcock estate, which included the once monastic lands on the eastern outskirts of the town. Here Archbishop Kelly found it possible to establish a diocesan college, an episcopal residence and, in 1827, to lay the foundation stone for a new cathedral.¹³⁹ The latter was the second Catholic cathedral founded in Ireland since the reformation, a foolish venture to some but on completion regarded as 'perhaps the most sumptuous ecclesiastical structure the Roman Catholics possess in the country'.¹⁴⁰ It was built of local limestone by Tuam labour on a greenfield site, ornamented by Connacht craftsmen and funded in part by Protestant donations. The Cathedral of the Assumption gave the town a new dimension. Convents and schools encircled it with remarkable spatial regularity as if Catholic emancipation had been accompanied by an urban development plan (Map 13). The town's charitable and educational facilities were greatly promoted by William Burke of Tuam who died in 1834. He bequeathed £10,000 towards the erection and endowment of a convent, the establishment of an orphanage, the relief of distressed housekeepers and widows, and the apprenticing of dutiful children.¹⁴¹ In furtherance of these objectives the Presentation Sisters came to town in 1835 and the Sisters of Mercy in 1846. An orphanage and schools for girls soon followed.

The Act of Union deprived the borough of Tuam of its parliamentary franchise, which was its *raison d'être*. A government enquiry found in 1833 that it was not 'lighted, flagged or watched'.¹⁴² Yet Charles Blake proudly marked his year as sovereign in 1820 by restoring and adding a cupola and clock to the market house. Blake was the foremost industrialist in town. He had acquired Keary's brewery and adjoining corn mills and added Bridge House, a five-bay three-storey residence, to the site.¹⁴³ By 1837 the Tuam Brewery was producing some 5,000 barrels of malt liquor annually and the malt house about 600 quarters of malt.¹⁴⁴ Blake's brewery with its associated milling and malting establishments were the main industries in early nineteenth-century Tuam. Many of the 481 families, chiefly employed in manufactures and trade in 1831,¹⁴⁵ would have been in the linen business. The extensive manufacture of coarse linen in the town and its neighbourhood can be traced back to 1761 when Boetius Egan of Dunblaney was Co. Galway's largest supplier of the product to the Dublin market.¹⁴⁶ In 1775 a great deal of sheeting was being sold 'at the inn' at Tuam.¹⁴⁷ A townsman, John Charles Miller, sought to improve its quality. He described himself in 1790 as a Swiss Protestant engaged for over eleven years in the extensive manufacture of linen on the

nearby Bermingham estate, keeping eighty looms constantly at work.¹⁴⁸ But the local industry continued to produce coarse linen for the lower end of the market. With strong demand for sailcloth during the Napoleonic war, 'the shuttle was to be heard in every quarter of the town'.¹⁴⁹ Thereafter coarse canvas from the area was used for packing bacon exports.¹⁵⁰ Weavers became redundant, and since they were unemployable in the town's other trades they worked as building labourers on the new cathedral.¹⁵¹ Finally, in 1846, the town's 139 linen weavers declared that the potato rot had ended the spade-work to which they had turned, leaving them and their dependants facing starvation.¹⁵²

John Bernard Trotter visited Tuam in 1817 when the October cattle fair was in full swing, probably in Market Square, and fever had gripped the surrounding countryside.¹⁵³ He found the town filled with 'a vast crowd of people, well dressed and respectable' — a reminder that the Connacht population was predominantly rural and that the town contained both prosperous and poor, the well fed and the starving (Plate 6). Tuam fairs were growing at that time. A record 40,000 sheep were said to be on offer at the October fair of 1838, and they sold briskly.¹⁵⁴ Regrettably this resource did not bring a woollen industry to the area but attracted Yorkshire wool-buyers instead. The first of these, Messrs Townsend and Thompson, erected a store for their purchases at Foster Place, Ballygaddy Road in the mid 1840s.¹⁵⁵ Improved road conditions had a bearing on these developments. The town's location at the gateway to Mayo on the Ballinasloe to Westport mailcoach road was commercially advantageous (Map 8). The link to Ballinasloe was described in 1831 as one of the best presentment roads in Ireland.¹⁵⁶ It was the route by which local linen had been taken to Dublin since the 1760s and Tuam flour since 1785.¹⁵⁷ This regular connection with the capital enabled the town's shopkeepers to stock an attractive variety of goods and thus enhance their business which, it was claimed, ranked next to that of Galway within the province of Connacht. With the development of road transportation in the early nineteenth century Tuam became the hub of daily car services to Dublin, Ballinasloe, Dunmore, Galway, Headford and Westport.¹⁵⁸

In the early nineteenth century attendance of Catholics at the Tuam diocesan school was taken as a sign that the town's reputation for religious tolerance still held, although the archbishop's leases gave rise to bickering between landlord and tenant.¹⁵⁹ The Church Temporalities Act of 1833 reduced Tuam to a bishopric but offered the prospect of better tenures. Ultimately nothing changed and in 1852 the bishop's tenures were regarded as a major obstacle to town improvement since nobody was prepared to build on land with only a 21-year lease.¹⁶⁰ William Gannon, a prominent town commissioner, vented his frustration by noting the absence of any endowment by the Protestant bishop or his predecessors — 'not a single monument to attest their charity for the poor or their zeal for education of the people'.¹⁶¹ The 'second reformation' was apparently the underlying cause of this sectarian tension, the worst of which came with the renewal of the bishop's leases in 1858–9. The Christian Brothers were then evicted, which led to riots and the burning down of the abandoned schoolhouse.¹⁶² Through testy correspondence with Dean Seymour the town commissioners eventually, in 1874, negotiated the reassembly of the market cross in Market Square (Plate 4). By then the Church of Ireland had been disestablished and ecumenical relationships were on the mend. The building of a new cathedral designed by Sir Thomas Deane was begun in 1863 and completed fifteen years later. Following George Petrie's advice the twelfth-century chancel was incorporated into the modern building, designed with an Anglican congregation of over six hundred worshippers in mind.¹⁶³

During the 1850s the congregation at St Mary's included English and Scottish people who had purchased land in the locality through the encumbered estates court. The resentment aroused by such acquisitions elsewhere in Connacht¹⁶⁴ is not found in Tuam. Memories of these immigrants recorded by a townsman in 1918 describe them as industrious and charitable people living on the best of terms with their Irish neighbours and greatly contributing to the locality's commercial and social life.¹⁶⁵ In addition to farming on the eastern outskirts of town, the Rishworths and Strouts succeeded Messrs Thompson and Townsend as agents who sent thousands of tons of wool from Tuam to Yorkshire, especially Bradford. Their success in promoting cricket in the 1860s and 1870s was such that the Tuam Cricket Club was then rated as the best in Connacht.¹⁶⁶ The Rishworths also promoted local industry. They found adequate water power and timber on their own property at Curraghreen to manufacture fittings such as bobbins, reels and spools for cotton and woollen mills. The business grew and diversified over some twenty years until 1887 when the company opened a match factory known as the Curragh Mills. It succumbed to a price war in 1890, also the year of closure for the local brewery. Consequently the area was further drained by emigration and industrial prospects were not to return until the Tuam sugar factory opened in 1934.

The 1835 report on the municipal corporations did not exonerate the inhabitants of Tuam from the nepotism and negligence of their municipality, since they could have adopted the provisions of the paving and lighting act of 1828 to effect town improvement. This eventually happened when in 1843 the defunct corporation was succeeded by a board of town commissioners who strengthened their powers by adopting the towns improvement act of 1854. During their initial decade in office the commissioners established a fair green, upgraded or relocated the market places, attended to water and sewage requirements, laid footpaths and paved streets — very impressive work in the shadow of the Great Famine (Map 12). Construction of the Dublin Road footpath began in 1846 with the intention of giving employment to the poor, perhaps also to facilitate the Tuam Union Workhouse, which opened in that year with accommodation for 800 paupers. A fever hospital was

later added to the site. The succession of John S. Hancock to the temporal lands of Tuam in 1855 signalled the dawn of better times. Without delay he leased several plots in the centre of town, including a prime site at nominal rent for a town hall.¹⁶⁷ The contractor was Andrew Egan, whose many fine structures hastened the town's transition from thatch to slate.¹⁶⁸ Gas lighting was another development and, for the first time, a rate was struck to meet the expenses involved. The imposition of rates met with strong resistance, which eventually prevailed at the town board election of 1860.¹⁶⁹ Tolls at fairs and markets remained the board's only source of revenue. However, fairs grew steadily from 21,006 sheep and 5,790 cattle on offer at the October fairs of 1854 to 36,424 sheep and 8,613 cattle in October 1870.¹⁷⁰ In 1875 the board had to seek a larger fair green, 'or else', declared Commissioner Gannon, 'we shall have to do as other towns, levy a rate for municipal purposes'.¹⁷¹ This unfortunate mindset led the board in 1885 to avoid becoming an urban sanitary authority,¹⁷² in contrast to Ballinasloe which by then had achieved both urban sanitary and urban district council status.¹⁷³

The Dublin to Galway railway line was completed in 1851. It was locally assumed that its extension to Mayo would follow the traditional route through Tuam. However, landed influences directed it north-westwards from Athlone to Westport, leaving Tuam to fight for a spur line, the Athenry and Tuam Railway, opened in 1860.¹⁷⁴ Initially the railway promoted the town's fairs but disadvantaged local industry, particularly brewing. The refusal of the Midland Great Western Railway to book passengers, goods and livestock directly to Tuam in 1870 meant that the transport of seaweed from Galway for soil cultivation reverted to the carters, a severe loss to the struggling company.¹⁷⁵ Although the town was connected to the railway network it was merely a branch line. Even when the extension to Claremorris came in 1894 passengers could only travel in stages from Ennis to Sligo via Tuam.

* * *

Twentieth-century Tuam renewed its ancient standing as an important educational centre with eight primary and secondary schools, three of which accommodated boarders. Apart from The Mall Protestant school, closed in 1960, these institutions flourished and were supplemented by a technical school in 1938. By 1986 St Jarlath's College had completed its fourth enlargement of the century. Retrenchment soon followed and all boarding ceased by 2005. The town's housing problem remained unsolved in 1919 when most of its 262 thatched houses were deemed unfit for human habitation (Plates 1, 2). By 1942 the unsanitary houses were gone and their occupants re-housed. Moreover new housing schemes at Tubberjarlath and Athenry Road accommodated an influx of sugar factory workers, newcomers who invigorated the town. The closing of that factory in 1986 severely damaged the local economy. Its slow recovery showed a marked orientation towards Galway city and Tuam housing estates provided dormitory facilities for many of its workforce. The twentieth-century town lost one public building, the workhouse; another, the Town Hall, was destroyed in 1920 but subsequently restored. At the turn of the twenty-first century the courthouse was deemed dispensable but the synod hall and the Town Hall were commendably restored. Nevertheless the latter restoration is incomplete without a restored, re-inhabited and pedestrianised town centre adorned with a replica of the market cross. The present century also finds relevance in the ancient route to north Connacht upon which Tuam was founded. It is planned to transform that route into the Atlantic Road Corridor from Letterkenny to Waterford alongside which will run the reconstructed railway from Sligo to Limerick (Plate 7). The fortunes of Tuam hinge on these developments.

NOTES

1. Dr Thomas B. Costello (1864–1956), a noted antiquarian with a special interest in the Bronze Age, attested to the existence of the Tuam mound and its contents (*TH* 16.6.1973).
2. Coulter, p. 132.
3. *Atlas of Ireland* (Dublin, 1979), p. 21.
4. For material evidence on the prehistoric people of the area see Alcock *et al.*, pp 1–31. The Muintir Murchadha period is summarised in O'Flaherty, pp 147–9.
5. O'Donovan, p. 25.
6. Glynn notes, NLI, MS 7912, p. 15.
7. Alcock *et al.*, p. 330.
8. Gwynn and Hadcock, p. 25.
9. O'Donovan, p. 27.
10. A.T. Lucas, 'The horizontal mill in Ireland', in *RSAI Jn.*, lxxxiii (1953), pp 1–36. The River Nanny itself was unsuitable for horizontal mills.
11. Guerin, figs 3 and 4. See also Alcock *et al.*, sub 'ringforts' and 'ecclesiastical remains'.
12. *Hy Many*, p. 170.
13. Lyttleton, p. 151.
14. Knox, H.T., p. 77.
15. Ware, p. 603; John Colgan, *Acta sanctorum veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae* ..., 2 vols (Louvain, 1645); reprinted with introd. by Brendan Jennings as *The 'Acta sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan* ... (IMC, Dublin, 1948), p. 310, n. 2; O'Donovan, p. 21.
16. *AFM*, ii, p. 923.
17. Stalley, p. 183.
18. Claffey, 2003, p. 9.
19. Murray, G.J., i, pp 316–20.
20. Aubrey Gwynn, *The twelfth century reform* (Dublin, 1968), p. 35.
21. Ragnall Ó Floinn, *Irish shrines and reliquaries in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1994), p. 13.
22. *Ann. Tig.*, ii, p. 365 attributes these events to 1131, four years earlier than *AFM*.
23. Tuam Cathedral was said to have been rebuilt about 1152.
24. Peter Harbison, *The golden age of Irish art, 600–1200* (London, 1999), p. 346.
25. *Excavations*, 1992, p. 33.
26. Lynch, *De praesulibus*, ii, p. 213.
27. *Ann. Tig.*, ii, p. 355.
28. *AFM*, ii, pp 1029, 1063.
29. Swan, p. 89.
30. *TH* 3.10.1970. Lynch, *De praesulibus*, ii, p. 213 notes this as an infirmity. Alternatively it may have been a dependency of Kilreevanty convent, an Uí Conchobair foundation about 5 km north-west of Tuam (Gwynn and Hadcock, pp 318–19).
31. Knox, H.T., pp 264–5.
32. Swan, p. 98; Anngret Simms with Katharine Simm, *Kells* (IHTA, no. 4, Dublin, 1990), p. 3; Catherine McCullough and W.H. Crawford, *Armagh* (IHTA, no. 18, Dublin, 2007), p. 2.
33. Neary, p. 98.
34. The cross was 'raised to an unusual height' (Lynch, *De praesulibus*, ii, p. 214).
35. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
36. *AFM*, ii, p. 1179.
37. Ware, p. 601; John O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish saints* (9 vols, Dublin, 1875–c. 1901), vi, p. 208.
38. *Cal. papal letters, 1417–31*, p. 95.

39. *Ann. Tig.*, ii, p. 432.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
41. For de Cogan's expedition to Connacht see *ibid.*, pp 444–5; J.F. Dimock (ed.), *Geraldi Cambrensis opera*, v (London, 1867), p. 346.
42. Costello, 1902–4, pp 1–10.
43. O'Connor, G., p. 69.
44. *ALC*, i, p. 203.
45. Ware, p. 604.
46. John Watt, *The church in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), p. 97.
47. Stalley, p. 181.
48. Gwynn and Hadcock, p. 206.
49. Lyttleton, pp 156–71.
50. *ALC*, i, p. 367.
51. Andersen, p. 98.
52. *Excavations*, 1992, p. 33.
53. Geoffrey Hand, *The church in the English lordship, 1216–1307* (Dublin, 1968), p. 34.
54. *Cal. papal letters, 1305–42*, p. 109.
55. Burke, pp 31–8.
56. *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295–1303*, pp 316–17.
57. Burke, pp 43–5.
58. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *Parliaments and councils of mediaeval Ireland* (Dublin, 1974), pp xxvii, xxix.
59. *ALC*, ii, p. 13.
60. Lynch, *De praesulibus*, ii, p. 224.
61. Edwards, pp 93–5.
62. J.F. O'Doherty (ed.), 'Obligaciones pro annatis provinciae Tuamensis', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxvi (1963), p. 103; *Cal. papal letters, 1495–1503*, p. 107.
63. Burke, pp 86–7.
64. Ware, p. 602.
65. Burke, p. 23.
66. *Cal. papal letters, 1447–55*, pp 333–4.
67. Tuam sub Caisleán a' Bhosca, Ordnance Survey name books, Tuam, Co. Galway (Galway City and County Library); RD 38/191/23927.
68. *TH* 24.8.1974.
69. Mac Niocaill, 1984, p. 8.
70. Burke, p. 61.
71. Ó Héideáin, p. 13.
72. Moran, pp 52–4, 413–14.
73. *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601–03*, p. 476.
74. Nolan, p. 117.
75. *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601–03*, p. 473.
76. *The life of Aodha Ruaidh Ó Domhnaill transcribed from the book of Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh*, xlviii, ed. Paul Walsh and Colm Ó Lochlainn (Dublin, 1948), pp 97, 99.
77. *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas. 1*, p. 19.
78. Knox, H.T., p. 126.
79. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611–14*, pp 81, 189.
80. *Cal. Carew MSS, 1603–24*, p. 146.
81. *TH* 25.8.1979; O'Donovan, pp 18, 31.
82. Egan, 1960, p. 69.
83. Royal visitation; NAI, RLFC/15/4.
84. O'Doherty, pp 94–5.
85. C.P. Meehan, *The rise and fall of the Irish Franciscan monasteries* (Dublin, 1872), p. 121.
86. Lynch, *De praesulibus*, ii, p. 213.
87. *TH* 23.11.1918; Lynch, *Pii ant. icon*, pp 43–4.
88. Lynch, *Pii ant. icon*, p. 43.
89. *NHI*, iii, p. 163.
90. *Memoirs and letters of Ulick, marquis of Clanricard* (London, 1757), pp 20–21.
91. G.W. Story, *An impartial history of the wars of Ireland: with a continuation thereof* (London, 1693), p. 152; Depositions 830, ff 136, 144, 148, 172, 175.
92. Later known as Bermingham Castle.
93. Lynch, *De praesulibus*, ii, p. 256.
94. RD 76/465/55424.
95. Simington, 1962, pp 286–7, 291, 299, 304, 307.
96. Costello, 1936, p. 23.
97. Kelly, 1901, pp 101–02.
98. O'Connor Donelan papers, James Hardiman Library, National University of Ireland, Galway, LE10/36.
99. Ó Murchú, p. 12.
100. Simington, 1962, p. 290.
101. R.A.S. Macalister, 'A catalogue of Irish traders' tokens', in *RIA Proc.*, xl, C (1931–2), p. 112.
102. C.S. King, *A great archbishop of Dublin, William King, D.D., 1650–1729* (London, 1908), pp 13–17.
103. Simms, p. 121.
104. Ó Murchú, p. 42.
105. Richard Mant, *The history of the Church of Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1840), i, pp 747–50.
106. *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle* (new series, 8 vols, London, 1902–20), v, p. 562.
107. *Mun. corp. Ire. rept.*, p. 432.
108. Robert Dunlop, 'John Vesey, 1638–1716', in *Dictionary of National Biography* (69 vols, London, 1885–1912), lviii, pp 290–91.
109. Story, *An impartial history*, p. 152.
110. *Commons' jn. Ire., 1662–96*, p. 886.
111. Hardiman, p. 249.
112. Claffey, 2005, p. 5.
113. Falkland, p. 39.
114. Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii, pp 380–81.
115. *Stat. Ire., 1310–1768*, iv, pp 480–83.
116. Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641–1770* (Yale, 2004), pp 215–16.
117. Synge accounts.
118. RD 76/465/55424.
119. O'Donovan, p. 31. The premises in question — Savage's and Cloonan's — are now known as Grogan's and McDonagh's (*TH* 23.6.1973).
120. RD 66/75/45185. To these can be added two windmills on the eastern outskirts of the town, said to have been built by Archbishop Hort (1741–51), probably to complement the water mill at Bohernagreena.
121. This figure, kindly supplied by the Office of Public Works, refers to the level of the Nanny prior to the Corrib drainage scheme of the 1950s.
122. Dutton, pp 12, 17.
123. Ó Murchú, p. 33. The inscribed stone still stands at the bridge.
124. RD 76/465/55424.
125. Beaufort 1.
126. *CJ* 20.8.1783, 7.1.1784, 27.9.1791.
127. *LBM*, 1787–1805, show Co. Galway bleachers regularly meeting at Tuam and the county's linen markets being held at Tuam and Loughrea.
128. C.M. Tenison, 'The old Dublin bankers', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, i (1895), pp 227–8.
129. Archbishop Trench's exertions during the 1822 famine are detailed in *Sirr*, pp 99, 142–5.
130. *Ibid.*, pp 46–7.
131. Comerford, p. 110.
132. Coulter, p. 135.
133. *Second report from select committee on the state of Ireland*, HC 1825 (viii), p. 254.
134. *TH* 28.3.1857.
135. *Parl. gaz.*, iii, p. 400.
136. 'Harp sheds crown', NLI, MS 25.530, p. 126.
137. Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland, 1800–70* (Dublin, 1978), p. 71.
138. Archbishop Kelly correspondence, dated 9.2.1824 in *TH* 1.4.1916.
139. Burke, p. 237.
140. *Slater*, 1846.
141. *TH* 17.8.1974.
142. *Mun. corp. Ire. rept.*, p. 435.
143. *TH* 1.12.1917.
144. Lewis, ii, p. 646.
145. *Parl. gaz.*, iii, p. 403.
146. Cronin, p. 31.
147. John Horner, *The linen trade of Europe during the spinning wheel period* (Oxford, 1920), p. 111.
148. *LBM*, 16.2.1790.
149. *Galway Free Press* 29.2.1832.
150. Dutton, p. 427.
151. *Galway Free Press* 29.2.1832.
152. *British parliamentary papers, famine, Ireland* (8 vols, Dublin, 1968–70), v, p. 276.
153. J.B. Trotter, *Walks through Ireland in the years 1812, 1814 and 1817 described in a series of letters to an English gentleman* (London, 1819), p. 525.

154. *TH* 20.10.1838.
155. *TH* 2.7.1977.
156. *Minutes of evidence before select committee on turnpike roads*, HC 1831–2 (xvii), p. 91.
157. *Commons' jn. Ire.*, xii, app., p. cci; xiii, app., p. cclviii.
158. *Slater*, 1846.
159. Dutton, pp 152, 327, 409.
160. *Fairs and markets rept.*, p. 69.
161. *TH* 25.6.1853.
162. *Nation* 25.6.1859; *TH* 2–30.7.1859.
163. *Irish Times* 24.1.1862.
164. *NHI*, v, p. 341.
165. *TH* 18.5.1918.
166. *Ibid.*
167. *TH* 17.2.1855.
168. Deirdre Goggin, 'The mark of a man, the life of Andrew Egan', in *JOTS*, i (2004), pp 39–46.
169. Laheen, 2002, chapters 12 and 13.
170. TCM 1.11.1856, 7.11.1870.
171. *TH* 6.3.1875.
172. TCM 2.3.1885.
173. Egan, 1953, p. 99.
174. The fortunes of the Athenry and Tuam Railway are outlined in O'Meara.
175. *TH* 24.4.1858.

Topographical Information

The following information relates not to any single administrative division or the sheet lines of any particular map, but to the built-up area of Tuam at each of the dates referred to.

All grid references used are derived from the Irish National Grid. This grid appears at 100 m intervals on Map 3. In the Topographical Information grid references are included where possible for features not named on either Map 2 or Map 3: they are given in eight figures (the last four figures respectively of the eastings and northings shown on Map 3) and indicate the approximate centre of the feature in question.

The entries under each heading, except for Streets, are arranged in chronological order by categories: for example, all lime kilns are listed before all mills, because the oldest lime kiln pre-dates the oldest mill.

In general, dates of initiation and cessation are specified as such. Where these are unknown, the first and last recorded dates are given, and references of intermediate date are omitted except where corroborative evidence appears necessary. Features originating after 1900 are listed only in exceptional cases. In source-citations, a pair of years joined by a hyphen includes all intervening years for which that source is available: thus 1838–1927 (OS) means all Ordnance Survey maps from 1838 to 1927 inclusive.

The list of early spellings in section 1 is confined to the earliest and latest examples noted of the variants deemed to be the most significant. Where necessary the earliest noted attestation of the commonest spelling in each of these categories is also given.

Street names are listed in alphabetical order. The first entry for each street gives its present-day name according to the most authoritative source, followed by its first identifiable appearance, named or unnamed, in a map or other record and the various names subsequently applied to it in chronological order of occurrence. For names remaining unchanged on successive Ordnance Survey maps, only the first occurrence of the Ordnance Survey spelling is cited.

The section on residence is not intended to embrace more than a small fraction of the town's dwelling houses. The main criteria for inclusion are (1) contribution to the townscape, past or present; (2) significance in defining critical stages in the history of urban or suburban housing; (3) abundance of documentation, especially for houses representative of a large class of dwellings. Biographical associations are not in themselves a ground for inclusion.

Abbreviated source-references are explained in the bibliography on pages 18–20 or in the general list inside the back cover.

1 Name

Early spellings

Tuaim da Ólann A.D. 781 (*AU* (2), 237). Tuaim dá Ualann; Tuama da hUalann; Tuama dá Ualann early 17th cent. (*Mart. Don.*, 167, 348; *AFM*, iii, 128; i, 560; ii, 660).

Tuaim da Gualann A.D. 949 (*AU* (2), 395), c. 1160 (*Bk Leinster*, v, 1697), 1247 (*Ann. Conn.*, 88), 1407 (*ALC*, ii, 122). Túaim da gualand 1164 (*Ann. Tig.*, ii, 409). Tuaim dá Ghualann 1201, 1407 (*ALC*, i, 221; ii, 123). Tuaym da Gualand 14th cent. (Plummer, i, 102). Tuaim da Ghualann 1328 (*Ann. Conn.*, 264). Tuaim dá Ghualann, Tuaim dá Ghuálan early 17th cent. (*AFM*, ii, 1056, 1114; iii, 50; vi, 1974).

Tuaim 1127, 1177 (*Ann. Tig.*, ii, 354, 444), early 17th cent. (*AFM*, ii, 961; iii, 354). Túaim 1201 (*ALC*, i, 220).

Thuemia 1177 (Giraldus, 183).

Tuaym 1223 (Sheehy, i, 239). Tuayn 1441 (*Cal. papal letters, 1431–47*, 175). Tuaym 1447 (*Cal. papal letters, 1447–55*, 294).

Tuamensis 1233 (Sheehy, ii, 46), 1487 (O'Flaherty, 217).

Twem' 1260 (*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252–84*, 109).

Tuamia 1312 (*Cal. papal letters, 1305–42*, 108).

Toame mid-16th cent. (*Cal. Carew MSS, 1601–03*, 476). Tome 1570; Toam 1577 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 1581, 3117).

Thombe 1553 (O'Flaherty, 212).

Tuam 1560, 1578 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 287, 3419), 1613 (Comerford, 99) to present. 'Tuam, antiently called Tuaim da Gualand' 1739 (Ware, 601).

Thome c. 1566 (Nicholls, 1970, 150), 1574 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 2575).

Tweme 1570 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 1581).

Tuamen' 1585 (Galway inquisitions, 138).

Tuame 1590 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 5451), 1620 (Galway inquisitions, 302, 308).

Touam 1591 (Browne).

Tomma Daolann early 17th cent. (*AFM*, i, 380).

Twaime, Twayme, Twayne early 17th cent. (*Ann. Clon.*, 217, 241, 220, 230, 286, 299).

Current spellings

Tuam

Tuaim

Derivation

(1) Tuaim dá Ghualann: burial mound of the two shoulders (Room, 122).

(2) Tuaim dá Ualann: burial mound of the two altar tombs (Bourke, 208). The shoulders or altar tombs were perhaps features of the burial mound (see **21** Entertainment, memorials and societies).

	2). Ballygaddy Road 1863 (Bourke map). Ballygaddy New Road 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–1927; Ballygaddy Road 2007 (OS). Ballygaddy Road/Bealach an Ghadaí 2009 (nameplate). For another Ballygaddy Road, see Old Road.
Ballymote Road/ Bhaile an Mhóta	0.5 km E. of town. Unnamed 1839–1927; Ballymote Road 2003 (OS). Ballymote Road/Bóthar Bhaile an Mhóta 2009 (nameplate).
Barrack Street	See Liam Mellows Street.
Birmingham Road/ Bóthar Mhic Fheorais	0.75 km E. of town. Road to Torloughan 1720 (Morris). Unnamed 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 211), 1819 (Larkin 2), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839–1927; Birmingham Road 2003 (OS). Birmingham Road/Bóthar Mhic Fheorais 2009 (nameplate).
Bishop Street/Sráid an Easpaig	Unnamed 1720 (Morris). Street leading from market cross to Turloughvohan 1734 (RD 76/465/55424). Unnamed 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 211). Bishop Street 1789 (RD 491/472/319976). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Bishop Street 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>), 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>), 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Bishop Street/Sráid an Easpaig 2009 (nameplate). For another Bishop Street, see Bohernagreana or Sun Street [west].
Bohernagreana or Bohernagreanagh or Sun Street [east]	Road to Turloughan 1720 (Morris). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2), 1838 (OS). Bohernagreana or Sun Street 1855 (Val. 2). Bohernasgrine 1863 (Bourke map). Shrine Street 1864 (TCM 8.7.1864). Bohernagreanagh or Sun Street 1877 (Val. 3). Bohernagreana or Sun Street 1892–2007 (OS). Traditionally known as Bóthar na Scríne late 19th cent. (<i>TH</i> 10.11.1877).
Bohernagreana or Bohernagreanagh or Sun Street [west]	Bridge Road 1720 (Morris). Bishop Street c. 1722 (<i>TH</i> 10.11.1877). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Bohernagreana or Sun Street 1838 (OS). Bishop Street c. 1839 (Val. 1). Bohernagreana or Sun Street 1855 (Val. 2). Bohernasgrine 1863 (Bourke map). Shrine Street 1864 (TCM 8.7.1864). Bohernagreanagh or Sun Street 1877 (Val. 3). Bohernagreana or Sun Street 1892–2007 (OS). Traditionally known as Bóthar na Scríne late 19th cent. (<i>TH</i> 10.11.1877).
Bohernasgrine Bohren Clancy	See previous entries. (33502960). Bohreen Clancy late 19th cent. (<i>TH</i> 13.4.1918). Unnamed 1927, 2007 (OS).
Borheen	See Weir Road.
Bóthar na Scríne	See Bohernagreana or Sun Street.
Brewery Yard	Shop Street E., site unknown. Brewery Yard 1870 (<i>TH</i> 9.7.1870).
Bridge Road	See Bohernagreana or Sun Street [west].
Byrne's Lane	Near Chapel Lane (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Byrne's Lane 1848 (TCM 16.6.1848).
Castlebar Road	See Ballygaddy Road.
Chapel Lane/Lána an tSéipéil	(35051980). Back lane that leads down to river 1734; lane to little mill 1776; Chapel Lane 1794 (RD 76/465/55242, 311/55/206259, 486/163/306750). Unnamed 1808 (Larkin 1). Chapel Lane 1819 (Comerford, 115), 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>). Unnamed 1838 (OS). Chapel Lane c. 1839 (Val. 1). Unnamed 1839 (OS). Chapel Lane 1855 (Val. 2). Old Chapel Lane 1863 (Bourke map). Chapel Lane 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Chapel Lane/Lána an tSéipéil 2009 (nameplate).
Chapel Road	See St Jarlath's Road.
Church Lane/Lána na hEaglaise	Unnamed 1720 (Morris). Church Lane 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>), 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Church Lane/Lána na hEaglaise 2009 (nameplate).
Church View/Radharc na hEaglaise	(32001640). Unnamed 1720 (Morris). Galway Road 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 214). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2), 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS). Galway Road (Vicar Street) 1855 (Val. 2). Galway Road 1863 (Bourke map). Church View 1881 (<i>Slater</i>), 1892–2007 (OS). Church View/Radharc na hEaglaise 2009 (nameplate).
Circular Road or Row/ An Cuarbhóthar	Unnamed 1808 (Larkin 1). Circular Road 'or new extended street' 1809 (RD 632/266/433071). Circular Row 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>). Circular Road c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>), 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Circular Road/An Cuarbhóthar 2009 (nameplate).
Cloontooa Road/ Bóthar Cluáinn Tua	Unnamed 1819 (Larkin 2). Unnamed 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1). Teerboy Road 1839 (O'Donovan, 37). Unnamed 1839 (OS). Tirboy Road 1855 (TCM 7.2.1855; Val. 2). Unnamed 1863 (Bourke map). Tirboy Road 1877 (Val. 3). Cloontooa Road 1882 (TCM 25.9.1882), 1892–2007 (OS). Cloontooa Road/Bóthar Cluáinn Tua 2009 (nameplate).
Corcoran's Lane	Location unknown. Corcoran's Lane 1880 (TCM 4.10.1880).
Culkin's Lane	Location unknown. Culkin's Lane 1875 (TCM 1.2.1875).
Dr Dwyer's Lane	Location unknown. Dr Dwyer's Lane 1875 (TCM 1.2.1875).
Dublin Road/Bóthar Bhaile Átha Cliath	Road to Dublin 1720 (Morris). 1734 (RD 76/465/55424). Dublin Road 1766 (RD 267/13/168321). Unnamed 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 214), 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Dublin Road 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>), 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>),

10 Streets

Athenry Road/Bóthar Baile Átha an Ríogh	(40001450). Road under construction 1850 (<i>TH</i> 3.8.1850). Unnamed 1863 (Bourke map), 1892; Athenry Road 2007 (OS). Athenry Road/Bóthar Baile Átha an Ríogh 2009 (nameplate).
Avenue to St Mary's Cathedral	See Stable Lane.
Back Lane	(37702235). Possibly medieval (Gosling, 123–4). Back Lane 18th cent. (<i>TH</i> 6.7.1889). Unnamed 1839–2007 (OS).
Ballygaddy New Road	See Ballygaddy Road.
Ballygaddy Old Road	See Old Road.
Ballygaddy Road/ Bealach an Ghadaí	Road from county of Mayo 1720 (Morris). Castlebar Road 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 211). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2), 1838, 1839 (OS). Ballygaddy (New) Road 1855 (Val.



Circular Road, early 20th cent. (postcard)

	1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Dublin Road/Bóthar Bhaile Átha Cliath 2009 (nameplate). See Tullinadaly Road.
Dunmacreene Road Dunmore or Dunmore Road	‘Dunmore’ 1720 (Morris). Dunmore Road 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 214). Unnamed 1819 (Larkin 2), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS). Dunmore Road 1855 (Val. 2). To Dunmore 1863 (Bourke map). Unnamed 1892–1927; Dunmore Road 2007 (OS).
Egan or Egan’s Lane/ Lána Mhic Aogáin	Unnamed 1720 (Morris), 1808 (Larkin 1), 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS). Lane at Mr Egan’s 1851 (TCM 1.8.1851). Egan’s Lane 1855 (Val. 2). Egan Lane 1863 (Bourke map). Egan’s Lane 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Egan’s Lane/Lána Mhic Aogáin 2009 (nameplate). Also known as Herring Lane 20th cent. (TH 6.4.1968).
Fraser’s Lane	(36401970). Fraser’s Lane 1826 (<i>Ir. educ. rept</i> 2, 1206). Waldron’s Lane 1873 (TH 19.7.1873). Fraser’s Lane 1877 (<i>Local govt inq.</i> , 168). Unnamed 1892–2007 (OS).
Galway Road	Road to Galway 1720 (Morris). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Galway Road c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846, 1856 (<i>Slater</i>). To Galway 1863 (Bourke map). Galway Road 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). For another Galway Road, see Church View.
Herring Lane Hession’s Lane High Street/An tSráid Ard	See Egan’s Lane. See Stable Lane. Unnamed 1720 (Morris). High Street 1734 (RD 76/465/55424). Unnamed 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 211). High street 1787 (RD 393/11/259623). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). High Street 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>), 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>), 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). High Street/An tSráid Ard 2009 (nameplate). For another High street, see Shop Street.
Killaloonty Road	0.5 km S. of town. Unnamed 1839, 1927; Killaloonty Road 2003 (OS).
Lane at Mr Egan’s Liam Mellows Street/ Sr. Liam Mac Maoil Íosa	See Egan’s Lane. Unnamed 1808 (Larkin 1), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS). Barrack Street 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892, 1927; Liam Mellows Street 2007 (OS). Liam Mellows Street/Sr. Liam Mac Maoil Íosa 2009 (nameplate).
Mall Lane Mall, The/An Meal	See Sawpit Lane. Unnamed 1720 (Morris), 1808 (Larkin 1). Mall 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>). The Mall 1855 (Val. 2). Mall 1863 (Bourke map). The Mall 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). The Mall/An Meal 2009 (nameplate).
Market Place or Square/Cearnóg an Mhargaidh	Unnamed 1720 (Morris), 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2), 1839 (OS), 1855 (Val. 2). Market Place 1858, 1874 (TCM 4.5.1858, 20.1.1874); The Square 1861, 1874; Market Square 1880 (TCM 20.5.1861, 9.3.1874, 4.10.1880). The Square 1881 (<i>Slater</i>), 1889 (TN 29.7.1889). Market Square 1892 (OS), 1894 (<i>Slater</i>), 1927–2007 (OS). The Square/Log an Mhargaidh, Market Square/Cearnóg an Mhargaidh 2009 (nameplates).
Market Street	Possibly same as previous entry. Market Street 1784 (Mulveen, 59).
Mary’s Walk	(33752190). Unnamed 1839–1927 (OS). Mary’s Walk 1970 (Ó Murchú, 25). Unnamed 2007 (OS).
Newtown Morris or Newtown Morris Street/Baile Nua Mac Muiris	0.25 km E. of town. Newtown Morris 1838; unnamed 1839 (OS). Newtown Morris Street 1855 (Val. 2), 1877 (Val. 3). Unnamed 1892; Newtown Morris 1927, 2003 (OS). Newtown-morris/Baile Nua Mac Muiris 2009 (nameplate).
North Street	See Shop Street.
Old Ballygaddy Road	See Old Road.
Old Chapel Lane	See Chapel Lane.
Old Road/An Seanbhóthar	Road from Co. Mayo to Tuam 1720 (Morris). Great road from Tuam to Bellagaddy 1738 (RD 94/94/65491). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Old Ballygaddy Road 1824 (RD 800/551/540486). Ballygaddy Road 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>). Unnamed 1838, 1839 (OS). Road to Ballygaddy 1846 (<i>Parl. gaz.</i> , iii, 400). Ballygaddy Road 1846 (<i>Slater</i>). Ballygaddy (Old) Road 1855 (Val. 2). Ballygaddy Road 1863 (Bourke map). Ballygaddy Old Road 1877 (Val. 3). Old Ballygaddy Road 1892–2007 (OS). Old Road/An Seanbhóthar 2009 (nameplate).
St Jarlath’s Road	(37602020). Unnamed c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1863 (Bourke map). Chapel Road 1892; St Jarlath’s Road 1927; unnamed, widened by 2007 (OS).
Sawpit Lane/Lána na Claise	Unnamed 1720 (Morris), 1808 (Larkin 1), 1839 (OS). Mall Lane 1855 (Val. 2). Unnamed 1863 (Bourke map). Sawpit Lane 1870 (TCM 4.4.1870), 1892–2007 (OS). Sawpit Lane/Lána na Claise 2009 (nameplate).
Shop Street/Sráid na Siopaí	North Street 1702 (<i>Mun. corp. Ire. rept.</i> , 435). Unnamed 1720 (Morris). High street 1734 (RD 76/465/55424). Unnamed 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 211). Shop Street 1784 (Mulveen, 59). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Shop Street 1779 (RD 317/522/218671), 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>), 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>), 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Shop Street/Sráid na Siopaí 2009 (nameplate).

Shrine Street Square, The Stable Lane	See Bohernagreana or Sun Street. See Market Square. Avenue to St Mary’s Cathedral (see II Religion) 17th cent. (TH 6.4.1968). Unnamed 1720 (Morris), 1808 (Larkin 1), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS). Stable Lane 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Also known as Hession’s Lane 20th cent. (TH 6.4.1968).
Sun Street Tallynadaly Road Teerboy or Tirboy Road	See Bohernagreana or Sun Street. See Tullinadaly Road. See Cloontooa Road.
Tullinadaly, Tullindaly or Tullynadaly Road/Br Thulach na Dála	Road from Tullindaly 1720 (Morris). Dunmacreene Road 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 214). Tullinadaly Road 1793 (RD 465/476/298973). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Tullindaly Road 1819 (Comerford, 115). Unnamed 1838 (OS), c. 1839 (Val. 1), 1839 (OS). Tallynadaly Road 1846 (<i>Slater</i>). Tullynadaly Road 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3). Tullinadaly Road 1892–2007 (OS). Tullinadaly Road/Br Thulach na Dála 2009 (nameplate).
Vicar or Vicars Street/ Sráid an Bhíocáire	Unnamed 1720 (Morris), 1777 (Taylor and Skinner, 214). Vicars Street 1780 (RD 334/150/222389). Vicar Street 1796 (RD 501/549/327003). Unnamed 1808, 1819 (Larkin 1, 2). Vicar Street 1824 (<i>Pigot</i>). Vicars Street c. 1839 (Val. 1). Vicar Street 1839 (OS), 1846 (<i>Slater</i>), 1855 (Val. 2), 1863 (Bourke map), 1877 (Val. 3), 1892–2007 (OS). Vicar Street/Sráid an Bhíocáire 2009 (nameplate).
Waldron’s Lane Weir Road/Bóthar na Cura	See Fraser’s Lane. Unnamed 1720 (Morris). To Headford 1839 (OS). Borheen 1855 (Val. 2). Unnamed 1863 (Bourke map), 1892–1927; Weir Road 2007 (OS). Weir Road/Bóthar na Cura 2009 (nameplate).
Widow Berry’s Lane	Location unknown. Widow Berry’s Lane 1796 (RD 496/446/319978).



Temple Jarlath church. Identified as Abbey of the Holy Trinity, 1792 (Grose)



Junction Ballygaddy Road/Tullinadaly Road, early 20th cent. (postcard)



Archbishop's palace, Bishop St N., c. 1870

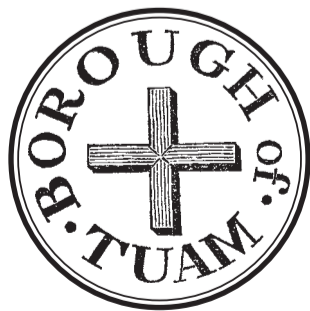
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(Other abbreviations are explained on the back cover.)

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Borough seal



Archbishopric seal