The Centrality of the Galway Hooker to Dwelling in the Island and Coastal Communities of South West Conamara.

An exploration of the significance of the traditional sailing boat, the Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research Study 1

1.1 Context 1

1.2 South West Conamara – Topographical and Historical Reliance on the Sea 2

1.3 The Great Famine and lack of industrial/economic development giving rise to both migration and emigration. 5

1.3.1 The Land Commission movement of Conamara peoples 8

1.4 Loch Lurgan / Galway Bay 9

1.4.1 Ceantar na nOileán / The Region of the Isles 11

1.5 The Galway Hooker – Origin and Design 12

1.6 This Research Study 14

1.6.1 The main research question 14

1.6.2 The research objectives 15

1.6.3 The central concepts/theories 16

1.7 Thesis Organisation. 17

Chapter 2: The Literature 21

2.1 Introduction 21

2.2 Space, Place, Landscape and Seascape 22

2.2.1 Landscape 23

2.2.2 Seascape 24

2.3 Dwelling and Taskscape 28

2.3.1 Engagement with the landscape 30

2.3.2 Taskscape 32

2.3.3 Seascape as taskscape 32

2.3.4 Wayfaring by sea 34

2.4 The Knowledge(s) Attaching to Dwelling 35

2.4.1 Embodied knowledge *36*

2.4.2 Local knowledge *37*

2.4.3 Tacit knowledge *43*

2.4.4 Knowledge and practices within community *47*

2.5 Locality, Community, Attachment, Belonging and Identity 49

2.5.1 Community and identity *49*

2.5.2 Attachment and belonging *53*

2.6 Tradition and Culture Evolving 57

2.6.1 Culture and place-attachment *58*

2.6.2 Heritage, popular practices, tradition, and folklore *60*

2.6.3 Festivals, cultural pastimes and traditions *66*

2.7 Conclusion 68

Chapter 3: Methodology 70

3.1 Introduction 70

3.2 The Research Question 70

3.3 The Ontological and Epistemological Foundations of the Study .. 71

3.3.1 The constructivist approach *71*

3.3.2 Epistemology *72*

3.3.3 Interpretive research *74*

3.3.4 Deductive and inductive theory *74*

3.4 Methodology 74

3.4.1 Grounded Theory *75*

3.4.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory *76*

3.5 Qualitative Research 76

3.5.1 Qualitative interview methods: The In-Depth One-to-One Interview *77*

3.5.2 Intensive qualitative interviewing *79*

3.6 Outsider or Insider? 80

3.7 Ethical Issues around Conducting In-Depth Qualitative One-to-One Interviews 81

3.7.1 Overt research 82

3.7.2 Confidentiality and anonymity 83

3.8 Recruitment of Participants and the Interview Process 84

3.8.1 Criteria for inclusion 85

3.8.2 Study population 85

3.8.3 The recruitment process 86

3.8.4 The pilot interviews 88

3.8.5 The interview process 90

3.9 Study Sites & Interactions in the field 91

3.10 Language Issues 92

3.11 Data Management and Analysis 95

3.11.1 Transcribing 95

3.11.2 Thematic analysis 96

3.11.3 Benefits of using thematic analysis 99

3.12 Limitations of the Study 100

3.12.1 Elder hooker sailors 100

3.12.2 Scarcity of Published Information and other Archival Sources on the Galway Hooker 101

3.13 Discussion on the findings 103

3.14 Conclusion 103

Chapter 4: The Galway Hooker from a Local and Regional Perspective 105

4.1 Economic Travel and Trade Enabled by the Galway Hooker 106

4.2 Circumstances in Conamara and elsewhere at this time 109

4.3 Taskscape 109

4.4 Primary Trade – The Turf Trade 112

4.4.1 Doubling the work effort 113

4.4.2 Navigational Skills within the turf trade 114

4.4.3 Transactions within the turf trade 116

4.4.4 Distributing the earnings from the turf trade 117

4.5 The Seaweed Trade 120

4.6 The Shops Trade and Other Livelihoods 122

4.7 The War Years and the Later Demise of the Galway Hooker 125

4.7.1 The advent of the lorry played a major role in the decline .. 127

4.7.2 The emotional 'End of the Hooker Taskscape' 129

4.8 Conclusion 131

Chapter 5: The Galway Hooker at a Family and Community Level 133

5.1 "The hooker was the most important thing in our lives, outside of our mother and father!" 133

5.1.1 A Bádóir's love for the boat 137

5.1.2 Moral obligations and dilemmas 140

5.1.3 The hooker was sometimes a heavy burden 141

5.2 Community Pride and Community Ownership 142

5.2.1 Mainland and offshore island isolation 143

5.2.2 The community's emotional connection with the hooker 145

5.2.3 Social interaction and merriment 147

5.2.4 Collective memories 148

5.3 Language Continuity 150

5.3.1 Verses and placenames 151

5.3.2 Word loss leads to knowledge loss 153

5.4 The Seanchas/Folklore Attaching to the Galway hooker 155

5.4.1 Piseoga (superstitions) and the hooker 156

5.4.2 A lucky boat or an unlucky boat? *157*

5.4.3 Piseoga recited within the interviews *158*

5.4.4 The bád will always try and save you *160*

5.4.5 Spirits that travel and work in the boats *161*

5.5 Conclusion 162

Chapter 6: The Galway Hooker at the Level of the Individual/Self 164

6.1 Interanimation Between the Self and the Environment..... 165

6.1.1 Wayfaring by another way *167*

6.1.2 The time of the tides dictated what could be done *169*

6.2 Local Knowledge and Marcanna Talúin (Landmarks)..... 170

6.2.1 The marcanna talúin are being lost/forgotten *173*

6.2.2 Sharing of Local knowledge *174*

6.3 Sensory and Embodied Knowledge 175

6.3.1 Sailing with the senses *177*

6.3.2 Smell, sound and balance *179*

6.3.3 Communicating with your ancestors through the hooker *181*

6.4 The Tacit Knowledge Needed to Sail the Hooker..... 182

6.4.1 Being part of a crew of two *183*

6.5 The Anthropomorphic Tendencies of Bádóirí..... 187

6.6 The Spirit of the Hooker..... 189

6.6.1 Sailing in a traditional boat is a natural thing and a gift *190*

6.7 Is it (Hooker Sailing) 'In Your Blood'? 191

6.7.1 "Tá fuil i'm chuid feithicí mara", (there's blood in my sea veins) *192*

6.8 Saor Báid / Boat Builders 193

6.8.1 Ceantar na nOileán, the source of the saoir? *195*

6.8.2 Learning by doing *197*

6.8.3 The transformation of the bád-iomartha 198

6.9 Conclusion 199

Chapter 7: The Galway Hooker Recovery and Maintaining Community Heritage 201

7.1 The Revival of the Galway Hooker and Féile Mhic Dara 1976 .. 201

7.1.1 The elder bádóirí survived the hiatus in hooker sailing 203

7.2 The Formation and Work of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe (Galway Hookers Association) 205

7.2.1 The need to preserve the múnla/design of the hooker 206

7.2.2 The European Horizon funded programme to train hooker boatwrights 208

7.2.3 Scéim cothabhála na mbád seoil (Scheme for the upkeep of the boats) 209

7.3 Performing Culture and the Galway Hooker 210

7.3.1 Festivals and performing place identity 211

7.3.2 Continuity of heritage and the problem of participation 214

7.3.3 Learning to sail the hooker today 217

7.3.4 Organisation and contention 218

7.3.5 Féile an Dóilín –the example to all 220

7.4 The Ongoing Significance of Hooker Sailing to the Contemporary Bádóir in Terms of Lifestyle and Life Lessons 222

7.4.1 Never-ending learning and humility 223

7.4.2 Personal development and relaxation 224

7.5 Conclusion 225

Chapter 8: What has been the significance of the traditional sailing boat, The Galway Hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara? 227

8.1.1 The Galway Hooker 230

8.1.2 The creation of taskscape *231*

8.1.3 Ferrying the turf, trade goods, seaweeds and people *233*

8.1.4 The temporality of the taskscape of Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay) *235*

8.2 It was the creation, deployment and passing-on of both embodied and local knowledge(s) and the tacit skillsets of the bádóirí that allowed for the creation, maintenance and sailing of the Galway hooker, as the workhorse of Galway bay. 238

8.2.1 Sailing with the sensual and embodied knowledge(s) in a sentient seascape *238*

8.2.2 Local knowledge *242*

8.2.3 The passing/sharing of knowledge and a humility amongst the bádóirí *245*

8.3 The Galway hooker was central to dwelling in the region and it continues to occupy a central position in the community's performing culture. 248

8.3.1 Dwelling *249*

8.3.2 The fellowship with the hooker *250*

8.3.3 The Galway Hooker Continuing to Occupy a Central Position in the Community's Performing Culture. *253*

References **258**

Appendices **271**

Endnotes **277**

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1 Map of 'Hooker Country', Ceantar na nOileán, within Galway Bay. (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.152). Permission sought. 9
Figure 1.2 Picture of Galway Hooker 'An Tonaí'. Image from "Húicéirí" by Seanchaí Editions, Copyright Seanchaí Editions" (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.89). Used with permission. 12
Figure 4.1 Map showing the main trade routes of the Galway Hooker (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.39). Used with permission. 108
Figure 4.2 Unloading turf from a hooker in Inis Oírr in the 1940s. (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.162) Used with permission from The National Irish Folklore Archive. 116
Figure 4.3 Ferrying horses on board a hooker. (Galway Hooker Association, used with permission of Dara Darba O Donnell.)..... 123
Figure 4.4 When the trading days of the Galway hooker ceased very many boats were left to rot at quaysides throughout Conamara. Photographer, Conall Ó Giobúin. Used with permission. 127
Figure 4.5 Hooker making ready to pass through the open bridge at Béal a'Daingin (Ó Conaire, 2015, back cover) Seeking Permission. 129
Figure 5.1 American Mór. Image from "Húicéirí" by Seanchaí Editions (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.83). Used with permission. 135
Figure 5.2 The hooker fleet at Máimín, Leitir Moir, about 1943. A crew is about to step the mast. (Scott, 2004, p.26) Used with permission from Fáilte Ireland. 137
Figure 5.3 An Mhaighdean Mhara still going strong. Note the very large Tumblehome (apple-cheek-like rounded sides) creating a large cargo area. (Petroni and Dossena, 2017, p.68). Used with permission. 147
Figure 6.1 Awaiting the rising tide to float the turf trading hooker and enable sailing. (Scott, 2004, p.58) Used with permission of Fáilte Ireland. 170
Figure 6.2 Micil Pheter Bailey stepping between hookers. (Photograph by Eric Luke, used with permission) 180

Figure 6.3 Mount (le Pádraic Griallais) near the Béal a'Daingin channel. Note: only the bádóir and his leath bhádóir on board. (Used with the kind permission of the family.) 184
Figure 6.4 Máirtín Tom Deáirbé ag obair ar bháid. (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.164). Used with permission of Cian de Buitléir..... 195
Figure 6.5 Memorial to the Boat-builders of the area, Leitir Mealláin. Photographer, Andrew Kelly. Used with permission..... 196
Figure 7.1 Nothing missed by these sean-bhádóirí – from left, John Bhaibín Seoighe, Seán Cheoinín, Máirtín Seoighe and Pat Cheoinín (Seeking Permission)..... 204
Figure 7.2 Turfboat re-enactment at Kinvara's Cruinniú na mBáid (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.40). Used with permission. 212
Figure 7.3 Morning Star, An Tonaí, Naomh Cáilín, Mac Dara, An Mhaighdean Mhara taking part in a Hooker Race. 'Image from "Rásaí na Húicéirí" by Seanchaí Editions Copyright Seanchaí Editions' (Petroni and Dossena, 2017, p.111)..... 220
Figure 8.1 Master Bád Mhóir Johnny Bailey and a Galway hooker in Galway Bay. Used with Permission, Nutan Photography; (www.nutan.ie). 227
Figure 8.2 'An Capall', Being readied to sail from Céibh a Sruthán while laiden with a cargo of turf (seeking permission)..... 231
Figure 8.3 Johnny Bailey (1932 – 2004), hooker sailor and skipper of An Capall. Used with permission, Seanchaí Editions, Copyright, Seanchaí Editions. 236
Figure 8.4 John William Seoighe (1919 – 2015), hooker sailor and skipper of Bláth na hÓige. Used with permission of Turtle Bunbury. 242
Figure 8.5 Mike O'Brien (1916 – 1970) hooker sailor and skipper of An Tonaí. Used with permission, courtesy of the O'Brien Family. 246
Figure 8.6 Volunteer, 1924 Cloherty built Leathbhád. Used with permission, Seanchaí Editions Copyright, Seanchaí Editions. 253
Figure 8.7 Photograph by Ric O Reilly. Used with permission of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe..... 258

Table of Tables

Table 1.1 Population statistics for the centre of 'Hooker Country' (CSO.ie. Retrieved March 31, 2020). 7
Table 3.1 Portrait of the age categorisation of the interviewees in this study 87
Table 3.2 Portrait of hooker sailing experience amongst the interviewees in this study. 90
Table 5.1 Boats that have been kept within the family for whom they were built. 139
Table 8.1 Principal seasonal work of Hookers (in Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.156) 233

Glossary of Terms

An Bád Bán	The Emigrant Boat.
An Cheathrú Rua	(Carraroe)
An t-Oireachtas	The largest Annual National Festival of Irish Culture
Bádóir / Bádóirí	Boatman / Boatmen
Bád Iomartha	Small Strongly Built Hooker with no sail. It was oar driven.
Ballast	Weight (usually concrete kerbing or rounded stones, sometimes pieces of metal / lead) placed deliberately on the floor of the boat, to gain/maintain her balance in the water.
Boreen/Bothairín	Small road or track
Builín ar an mbord	Loaf of bread on the table
Caolaire	Firth
Carraig na nGall	The Rock of the Foreigner. A submerged rock, situated just West of the entrance to Cuan an Fhir Mhóir.
Ceann Léime (na Gaillimhe)	Slyne Head, off Chapel Island, and West of Ballyconneely.
Céibh a Srutháin	Sruthán Quay, An Cheathrú Rua (Carraroe).
Ceilp	Kelp (Type of seaweed)
Clocha duirlinge	Small sea-rounded stones found on the shore
Cnámh sparrainge	Bone of contention
Coiléir	Metal piece on the mast by which to secure the sail lines

Coirleach	Strapwrack (seaweed)
Conamara	Connemara
Corr na Runna	Headland at An Rinn ar an gCeathrú Rua (Carraroe)
Craic	Merriment
Cuan an Fhir Mhóir	Greatman's Bay, Large bay with Béal a'Daingin at its Northern head and is situated West of Cuan Casla.
Cuan Casla	Cuan Ros-a-Mhíl (Casla Bay and Rosaveal Bay are the same inlet, the most western before leaving the mainland.
Cúigéil,	A village straddling the bridge between Gorumna and Leitir Mealláin Islands in Ceantar na nOileán (3rd & 4th Island out from the mainland - within the island chain).
Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe	The Galway Hookers Association
Currach	16–20 foot Timber framed and timber finished fishing boat. For racing the currach is timber framed and the hull is finished with a tarred canvas. It is rowed with oars.
Na Dásachaí	Collection of rocks in the sea, just South of Leitir Mealláin
Deadwood	Filler timber used in boat construction. It is inside the keel and does not have to be as solid as the rest, since it is basically a filler and needs to be especially shaped.
Feamainn	Seaweed

Féile an Dóilín	The Festival at Trá an Dóilín, An Cheathrú Rua. One of the annual hooker regattas.
Féilte Báid	Boating Festivals
Fuirnis	The fifth island from the mainland, in the chain of five islands that form the backbone of Ceantar na nOileán.
Galún t-aosca	A bailing bucket for taking water out from within the boat
Garumna	The third island from the mainland, in the chain of five islands that form the backbone of Ceantar na nOileán.
Geall Báid	Boat Race (geallta bád – boat races)
Gleoiteog	The third category/class of hooker. (They are further divided into gleoteoig mór (big) and (gleoteóig beag (small)
Inis Meáin	'Middle Island', the middle island of Aran Islands group
Lá Patrúin	Pattern Day of local Saint, Saint's Feast Day.
Leath-bháid	(Half-boat, 30-35ft), the second largest of the hooker class. It could carry half of the tonnage of the bigger hooker class.
Leath-bhádóir	Fellow-boatman
Marcanna Talúin	Landmarks used to navigate the hookers
Muintir Chonamara	The people of Conamara
Muiríní	Scallops (shell fish)
Mullard	Fasting/fastening point on the hookers (2 front/2 rear)

Múnla	Design / shape.
Oileán Mhic Dara	St. Mac Dara's Island (off Cárna).
Omós	Respect or Praise.
Pléaracha	The title / Name of a local arts project, based in Ros Muc (no longer functioning).
Púcán	The only boat in the hooker family with a dipping lug sail. It's generally between 12ft and 20ft long. The hookers wore gaff-rigged sails.
Ráca	Rake, the angle of rudder to the waterline.
Rainn	Verses.
Rib/jarráil	Jovial verbal picking on one another.
Saor Báid	Boat builder.
Scód	Line / 'Sheet' to the main sail.
Scrúta	Stays for the mast, (usually metal lines keeping the mast erect).
Seanchas	Folklore / Oral History.
Siopa Uí Mháille	O' Malley's Shop (Siopa = Shop).
Slata Mara	Stalks or Strands of Seaweed.
Sleán	Spade-like implement with sharp edge on two sides, used to cut sods of turf from the bog.
Stiúr	Halmadóir or Tiller.
Tál	**(**Adze) – Implement for rough shaping/shaving of wood. Used by boatwrights–like an axe with the blade horizontal to the user.

Tír an Fhia	(the land of the deer). A large townland on Garumna Island.
Trimeálta/Trimmed	(see Ballast: when ballast is correct the boat is Trimmed).

Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work, except as otherwise acknowledged in the text. The material has not been submitted, either in whole or part, for a degree at this or any other university.

_____

Full name

Month, year

Abstract

This research explores the relational nature of the Galway hooker, a traditional carvel-built wooden sail-boat described by Scott (2004) as "The Workhorse of Galway Bay" (Scott, 2004, p.22). It focuses on the integral part played by the hooker in enabling the isolated communities of South West Conamara to dwell in the outer regions of Galway Bay in West Connacht. The Galway Hooker provided these communities with the opportunity to travel, trade and to ferry into the region all of the provisions that were necessary to live there. Using a grounded theory approach, this study is based on the narratives of thirty-three hooker sailors (bádóirí) and builders (saoir), along with documentary evidence to provide a rich empirical account and theoretical conceptualisation on the centrality of the hooker in the lived reality of families and communities within the region. The narratives of those whose biographies have revolved around the hooker over a long period of time allow us to trace the historical and present day significance of the hooker to the constitution of place and community in South West Conamara. The research is located within a 'dwelling' perspective and applies it to the working bádóirí of old and their communities. From this perspective, we gain insights to understandings of space, place, landscape/seascape and taskscape within the bádóir's 'domain' (Peace, 2001). It investigates a lifetime of engagement through his lived body (Merleau-Ponty, cited in Wylie, 2007) and his inter-animation (Basso, 1996) with all the other non-human elements within the same taskscape. The bádóir accounts allow a collective narrative to emerge about the assembly of economic and social life and livelihoods enabled by the hooker over time. It charts how the regional economy and everyday family/community life revolved around the craft.

The study investigates in particular the nature of the bádóir's knowledge(s) that enabled the sailing of the craft, along with the practices and knowledge(s) of the saoir that built the hooker. Analysis of the findings reveals that the bádóirí of old were viewed 'as one' with the seascape/taskscape within which they travelled and worked. They shared

sentient relations with the sea and held a considerable stock of knowledge(s) gained through their senses and from the elder boatmen before them. The natural elements utilised in constructing and sailing the hooker required a deep ‘readiness-at-hand’ (Carolan, 2008) and intimacy between the bádóir and the hooker.

This dissertation begins with a wider regional perspective on the economic significance of the hooker before delving into its meaning to everyday family/community life over generations. It then explores the meaning of the hooker at the more intimate, personal level of those sailing the craft. Finally, it identifies the collective efforts to revive and maintain the hooker as a vital part of the living culture of South West Conamara. The dissertation argues that the Galway hooker was integral to enabling dwelling within a region where the sea once played a highly significant role in the assembly of life there and that it continues to play a significant role in the lived material culture of this ‘gifted place’ (Bennett, 2014).

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THIS IS FOR YOU MAM.

The Unknown Shore

Sometime at eve when the tide is low,
I shall slip my moorings and sail away,
With no response to a friendly hail,
In the silent hush of the twilight pale,
When the night stoops down to embrace the day
And the voices call in the water's flow.

Sometime at eve when the tide is low,
I shall slip my moorings and sail away.
Through purple shadows that darkly trail
O'er the ebbing tide of the unknown sea,
And a ripple of waters to tell the tale
Of a lonely voyager, sailing away
To mystic isles, where at anchor lay
The craft of those who had sailed before
O'er the unknown sea to the unknown shore.

A few who have watched me sail away
Will miss my craft from the busy bay;
Some friendly barques were anchored near,
Some loving souls that my heart held dear
In silent sorrow will drop a tear;
But I shall have peacefully furled my sail
In mooring sheltered from the storm and gale,
And greeted friends who had sailed before
O'er the unknown sea to the unknown shore.

Elizabeth Clark Hardy

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research Study

1.1 Context

Having relocated to Ceantar na nOileán (The Islands Region of South West Conamara – See figure 1.1) in September of 1997 to begin working as a youth manager within a Gaeltacht education project there, I was immediately captivated, not alone by the grace of the traditional wooden craft (Galway Hooker) as it sailed upon the waters of the area, but equally so by the depth of homage, respect and love for it expressed by all peoples of the community, young and old. On the days of the geallta bád (sailing regattas), - which occur at least fortnightly (oftentimes more frequently) during the Summer months, throughout the waters of Ceantar na nOileán and the bays directly north of there - the people would come in their hundreds, perhaps thousands at times, to view, participate and to celebrate them. No parking spaces would be ignored on the approach-roads to the village, or nearest bridge or quayside to the regatta. Music would be heard from afar, as would the tannoy of the public address announcer as you got closer. The fun and contentment being experienced would be visible in the faces of everyone present and the hotels and bars would do a roaring trade, but two issues, more than others, always intrigued me:

> (1) The sheer awe and depth of love for this craft expressed in the faces of all who observed the races. The knowledge of and respect for the boats that can be observed amongst the older men on the shore was riveting, as they talked amongst each other, after acquiring for themselves the most comfortable vantage points from which to view the craft. Though they were no longer in the boats on race day, their patience and understanding of what was being played-out before their eyes was inspiring.
>
> (2) The presence of young people, especially those in their teenage years and no longer considered to be under the direct supervision of their parents. I was prompted to ask myself why these young people were here amongst the younger and elders of their community, on a

> Sunday afternoon, when they could quite easily be elsewhere. What was it that was enticing them to come here; what was the magnet?

Admittedly, there is usually currach racing also at the same venue and this is run closer to the shore, but the glue that binds these communities together on such occasions is the Galway hooker, now as in the past. After acquiring access to and the use of a gleoiteog mór (third biggest craft in the hooker family) for our work with youth in the education project, my knowledge of this craft continued to grow, but with every one question answered, a further three emerged. To say that the Galway hooker was entwined in the life of the communities of South West Conamara would be an understatement; it was central to them. It began to dawn on me that without understanding the Galway hooker it is impossible to understand this Gaeltacht region of South-West Conamara. Thus, I set out to examine what it was about the Galway hooker that enabled the survival of these communities in the South West Conamara region throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? What qualities did the hooker possess that facilitated the people or helped them to help themselves?

In this opening chapter, I set out the important context incorporating the distinct topography and history of South West Conamara, the region in which this research was conducted.

1.2 South West Conamara – Topographical and Historical Reliance on the Sea

Throughout history, the West of Ireland has always been barren and inhospitable to those who might seek rich fertile lands. So poor are the lands there, that as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, Oliver Cromwell (the leader of the re-conquering English army in Ireland) is reputed to have offered the terms of "To Hell or to Connacht" to many of the defeated Irish leaders in the East of the country as the English invasion swept westwards (Gibbons, 2004, p.80). Of course these terms were very one-sided, when the choice meant to die or to move to Connacht (the western province), including Conamara. The region occupies approximately 800 square miles on the west coast of Ireland, and has been described as "a

land of mountains, bogs, lakes, intricate coastal bays and offshore islands" (Whilde, 1994, p.9). It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, by Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay) to the south and its interior border with the rest of Ireland is created by two great loughs; Lough Corib and Lough Mask. "Three-quarters of Conamara is a barren desert of mountain and moor, with almost its entire population to be found on the fringes, at the coastline" (Ó Conghaile, 1988, p.62). Wilkins (2009) in writing of the works of Scottish Master Engineer, Alexander Nimmo, describes that Nimmo found that ninety percent of the population lived on the coastal strip between the mountains and the sea in the early 1800's (Wilkins, 2009). He also points out that Nimmo's sketch map from that time portrays that "a mere 7% of the landmass of Connemara was arable, 34% was bog, 57% mountain and upland pasture and 2% was bare rock" (Wilkins, 2009, p.88). Two mountain ranges are to be found within the area, the Beanna Beola and the Maumturks, encompassing a more boggy and wet flatland running south to the coastal regions of County Galway, An Cheathrú Rua, Ceantar na nOileán, Ros Muc, Iorras Aithneach and Cárna, the region where this study took place. Such is the bareness of the topography that Micheál Ó Conghaile quotes J.H. Tuke (1880) with the following description to be found within his writing, 'Irish Distress and its Remedies: A visit to Donegal and Connaught',

> It seems incredible that any sustenance can be gained at all amidst this wilderness of rock, rivalling Petra in its barrenness, and which at any rate, would seem only to afford food for goats; and yet here, in some places, a large population exists.
>
> (Tuke, cited in Ó Conghaile, 1988, p.66)

Today, local archeologist Michael Gibbons can point to evidence of a very substantial population in this South West Conamara region, as far back as 7,000 years ago. A series of middens (a heap/dump of domestic waste, usually consisting of mollusc shells, animal bone or other kitchen by-products) were uncovered along the southern Conamara coastline. Artefacts found within some of these middens have been carbon-dated. The middens found near Ros-a-Mhíl and in Trá Bháin, on Gorumna Island are those of periwinkle shells, which are generally older than those consisting of oyster

shells, according to Gibbons, in a series of reports (Gibbons and Gibbons, 2004).

Amongst the hooker sailors it is widely acknowledged that the piers, designed and built under the direction of Alexander Nimmo (early 1800s) are of a far superior quality than any being built today, that is, Nimmo demonstrated an ability to "think with the sea" (Peters and Brown, 2017, p.619). Of particular interest and notice to the hooker sailors and seaweed harvesting men is the design of the base of each pier, where it is gently curved to meet the taoile tuilleadh (filling tide) and facilitate the water running upwards with the pier wall and therefore, reducing its force, rather than allowing it to strike, weaken and damage the quayside walls with a full horizontal force. The design of Nimmo's pier walls are also shaped much more suitably to accommodate the mould of the local sailing craft, the Galway hooker.

Numerous saints are associated with Conamara and the Aran Islands (Colman, Macdara, Ciarán, Éanna, Breachán and Feicín amongst others), living, studying and praying there, up until the first half of the seventh century. Thus, Inis Mór (the largest of the Aran Islands) was commonly known as Árainn na Naomh (Aran of the Saints). Not long after this saintly period, the Conmaicne Mara (the conmaicne of the sea), - claimed descendants of Conmac, himself the son of the legendary Fergus Macraoi and Queen Maedhbh of Connacht - arrived on the scene and ruled over the region (Robinson, 1990a). This is how the region got its name, Conamara. The fact that the region was strongly associated with holy meditations and writings gives one an indication of the environment to be found here, very remote and facilitative to contemplation and learning. It also left a burgeoning legacy of Saints pattern days to be celebrated, and this always involved hooker racing. Conamara was regarded by the Norman-English invader as 'an inhospitable wilderness and (they) looked upon the Gaeil as backward and primitive savages' (Mac Garraidhe, 2009, p.327).

1.3 The Great Famine and lack of industrial/economic development giving rise to both migration and emigration.

Arising from the Great Famine (1845-9) the population of the island of Ireland was almost halved, through widespread death and emigration. An all-island population of 8,175,124 in 1841 was reduced to 4,456,546 by 1901 (Ferriter, 2005, p.28). Gibbons (2004) describes the potato crop failure as "the greatest calamity to hit 19th century Europe devastated the people of Connemara" (Gibbons, 2004, p.85). The population there continued to decline well after the famine because "enlightened landlords" assisted tenants willing to go to America and thereby cleared "unprofitable persons" from their lands, making it easier to sell on (Gibbons, 2004, p.89). In one single year (1889) 32,000 people emigrated, the highest rate of emigration in Europe at that time (Ferriter, 2005, p.30). At a local level many who struggled to survive the famine were driven from the 'starving' mainland onto the shorelines and small islands of Ceantar na nOileán where they could at least find fish and seaweeds to eat[i]. The daily grind of the people related to basic survival and this meant walking and working the shorelines for anything that might aid their quest (fish, shellfish and various seaweeds for both eating and using as fertiliser).

Even during the Great Famine in the mid-nineteenth century, the over-bearing hardships were merely adding to those already caused by present and absentee landlords still demanding their rents. This saw every last sod of turf being cleared from the shore-lines of South Conamara for direct home-use or possible sale in attempt to earn food in order to stave off death (Robinson, 1997). This forced the population to follow the turf-trail farther inland, which itself necessitated the carrying of the turf from the bogs to the quaysides and piers where the hookers awaited their cargo. Such was the extent of the plight in which the people of Ireland found themselves that 1891 saw the British Government setting up of the Congested Districts Board in an effort to alleviate their suffering, particularly those populations of the West of Ireland, as evidenced in the map of Ireland showing Congested Districts (O'Toole, 1999, p.11). All of this turbulence contributed to positioning the sea-faring Gaelic culture of South West

Conamara where we know it to be today, along the northern coastline of Galway Bay.

On the island of Ireland, Ulster stood out in its levels of both industrialisation and urbanisation, while Ferriter (2005) tells us that "the industrial revolution made little impact elsewhere (Ferriter, 2005, p.29). The Irish Free State's (established in 1922) economy was largely based upon agriculture and the emerging new state was based upon "a dualistic agrarian economy, characterised by large gaps in wealth, income and political power" (Share, Corcoran and Conway, 2007, p.59). Throughout the country, Irish farms tended to be smaller than those of their nearest neighbours in Britain and also less specialised in terms of output than they are today. Farming was more mixed, while cattle production was predominant "most farms operated a mixed production regime with some tillage, some dairying, pigs and poultry" (Share *et al.*, 2007, p.59). This was symptomatic of the smaller and poorer family farms all over the country, but especially so in the West and the North, with the larger and richer farms being mainly confined to the South and the East of the country. The young emergant state saw agricultural land as its greatest asset and began to adopt and implement policies to maximise returns from it. It is interesting to note that half of the country's labour force were engaged in agriculture in the 1920s, one eight in the mid-1990s and less than 7% by 2004 (Share *et al.*, 2007, p.63).

While there were and still are some hill farmers in Northern Conamara, the agrarian economy of the fledgling state meant little to the population of South West Conamara. Share *et al.* (2007) explain that Ireland was for trade purposes still "a peripheral region of the United Kingdom", right up the mid-1900s, with 66% of all her exports going to the British market. They add that "entry into the labour market for each new generation often meant emigration to Britian" (Share *et al*., 2007, p.70). This was particularly so for the populations of South West Conamara, which itself was a peripheral region of Galway, let alone Ireland or Britain. This last of Share et al's (2007) points holds true for every village in South West Conamara, where the land was so poor that each would temporarily lose their men and their women to seasonal work in Scotland and England, in order to earn and

bring/send home some monies so that their families might live. Geary (1951) highlights the uniqueness of the Irish situation, stating that it was the only country in the world whose population declined in the first half of the 1900s (cited in Share *et al.*, 2007, p.151). Robinson (2011) while writing of Ros Muc in South West Conamara in the late 1800s/early 1900s, describes it as "one of the poorest places in Europe" (Robinson, 2011, p.10).

The following table offers the reader a glimpse of Ceantar na nOileán's (3 main islands) population variation from the famine period and how it continued to steadily decline, throughout the 20th and into the 21st Century.

Table 1.1 Population statistics for the centre of 'Hooker Country' (CSO.ie. Retrieved March 31, 2020).

Year / Area	Leitir Móir	Garmna	Leitir Mealláin	Total
1841	844	1,910	587	3,341
1851	661	1,064	383	2,108
1861	669	1,109	433	2,211
1871	718	1,417	497	2,632
1881	890	1,798	626	3,314
1891	832	1,706	549	3,087
1901	747	1,620	533	2,900
1911	801	1,540	460	2,801
1926	721	1,451	346	2,518
1936	677	1,363	335	2,375
1946	815	1,418	329	2,562
1951	843	1,440	320	2,603
1956	820	1,412	315	2,547
1961	710	1,334	280	2,324
1966	600	1,211	245	2,056
1971	604	1,108	221	1,933
1979	597	1,122	216	1,935
1981	582	1,120	218	1,920
1986	542	1,080	211	1,833
1991	508	1,082	196	1,786
1996	503	1,057	204	1,764
2002	497	1,015	219	1,731
2006	528	1,010	213	1,751
2011	548	1,055	239	1,842
2016	513	1,019	264	1,796

1.3.1 The Land Commission movement of Conamara peoples

So poor was the land along the Western Seaboard that between 1935 and 1940 families from the West Coast, mainly Conamara, Mayo, Donegal and Clare were offered houses and land, farming implements, a cow and a horse in County Meath, notably Ráth Cairn and Baile Ghib, by the Government of Ireland in an effort to improve their situation. The lands of those who chose to move were then divided out amongst those who remained in the West, thereby improving their lot somewhat. On the seminal day of Friday, April 12th in 1935, 11 families from Ceantar na nOileán (Hooker Country), along with others from An Cheathrú Rua travelled on three busses, along with six lorries carrying all of their possessions, to Ráth Chairn, Co. Meath (Nolan, 2018). The total number of persons that travelled that day was 182, from 27 families (Ó Conghaile, 1988). Ó Donnchadha (1983) writes that pressure was put on the Fianna Fáil Government at the time to make such an offer, the result of which brought great heartache, both for those who travelled and those left at home in Conamara. He described this in a poem entitled Contae na Mí, which was first published in 'Ar Aghaidh' in June of 1936.

> Ar maidin dé hAoine, sea chuala mé an caoineadh,
> Is an gháir chrua ag daoine ag teacht chugaim sa tslí,
> Ag seanfhir is ag seanmhná a bhí ag fágáil na Gaeltacht',
> Le deireadh a gcuid laethanta a chaitheamh i gContae na Mí.
>
> (It was on Friday morning, I heard the crying,
> And the fierce summoning of the people coming towards me,
> Of old men and old women that were leaving the Gaeltacht
> To spend the end of their days in the County of Meath).
>
> (Ó Donnchadha, 1983, p.117)

Ó Conghaile (1988) tells us that those travelling asked questions of their destination, seeking to find out if there would be harbours, seas, gannets, fish and mountains in their new landscape, as the one they were leaving behind. Ó Donnchadha (1983) in the above poem goes on to write that the Government sponsored movement of peoples from the West to the fertile lands of the Eastern counties of Meath and Kildare was a reversal of the plantations. He writes that "the people of Leinster would welcome the Conamara people for they would understand that these are the people of those who were driven from here first day, by the Saxon Planters from

Britain" (Ó Donnchadha, 1983, p.118). Nolan (2018) makes reference to the fact that on that first Saturday morning (April 13th 1935), these peoples of Conamara awakened to a new reality; they were now the possessors of the land of their forefathers, perhaps evicted by Cromwell. However, if this indeed was so, an even greater and more personal transformation to a new reality had gained a hold of the hearts of these people of Conamara, who were used to living by mountain and sea, neither of which existed in Ráth Chairn (Nolan, 2018).

1.4 Loch Lurgan / Galway Bay

Figure 1.1 Map of 'Hooker Country', Ceantar na nOileán, within Galway Bay. (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.152). Permission sought.

Scott (2004) explains that Slyne Head, at the north-western corner of Galway Bay, is situated approximately 50 miles passage from Galway. However, were one to add together the coastline of all the bays from Casla westwards, one would find 120 miles of coastal fringe on the northern

shores of Galway Bay alone. The southern shoreline (from Galway city, through Kinvara and on to Ceann Bóirne (Black Head), not being as indented, adds a further 30 miles to this sum, bringing the total shoreline to 150 miles (Scott, 2004). The Conamara landscape is rock-strewn, broken and disjointed and only when one's consciousness understands this can we begin to comprehend the utter dependency that the people there had on the Hooker. While conducting his research in Ros Muc, Conamara, Robinson (2011, p.9) sincerely believed he "was being sent on a fool's errand when told that there was a shop at An Ghairfean", (at the very end of a peninsula of land, literally going nowhere or so he thought). However, upon further research and contemplation, he realised:

> But look at a map or better, a sea chart: Céibh an Gairfeanach is at the hub of a tentacular twenty-mile-wide complex of waterways winding north-eastwards to Scríb and Camas, north-west to Inbhear, south to an Cheathrú Rua and na hOileáin, and south-west to Cill Chiaráin and Carna.
> (Robinson, 2011, p.9)

This very shop, Tigh Chonraí (Conroys House/Place/Shop) was serviced by a hooker from Galway, one of the most famous of all haulage hookers, known locally as Bád Chonraí (Conroy's Boat, officially registered as Saint Patrick). In Ó Giollagáin's (1999) book of social history, subtitled From Máimín to Rath Cairn, Micil Conraí relates what life was like as a youngster in Ceantar na nOileán (The Island's Region) prior to the great migration of peoples to the East in 1935. He portrays how the ordinary people had no choice when needing to go to the shop, but to use the hooker. Every shop in this region had their own boats, or boats contracted to them, to ferry the goods needed within the community, from Galway to their shop's location. Ó Méalóid (1993) describes how important the bádóirí were to their region, remembering when he was nine years old and brought sailing on the American Mór by Maidhc Chití who had just purchased the boat. "They would bring turf to the Árainn Islands and Co. Clare and bring back with them potatoes, turnips, fish and much more at very little cost to the locals" (Ó Méalóid, 1993, p.10). One realises immediately that not alone did the boat owner benefit, the entire community did. In many coastal communities at that time, the entire community would feel that the boat within their

community was theirs, that the entire community had part ownership of it, though of course they did not.

1.4.1 Ceantar na nOileán / The Region of the Isles

The region of the isles is located at the heart of "Hooker Country" (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p151). It comprises five islands connected by a series of bridges and causeways, linking each to the other and then to the mainland at Béal a'Daingin, (see Figure 1.1). These islands are amongst the more than 100 in total in the area. In order of appearance as one leaves the mainland, they are: Eanach Mheáin (annaghavane), Leitir Móir (lettermore), Gorumna (gorumna), Leitir Mealláin (lettermullan) and Fuirnis (furnish). From these islands many others can be walked to at low tide or reached by an bád iomartha (row boat). This area is at the heart of this research, with a total of 25 of the 33 interviews conducted there with bádóirí and saor bháid who operated or still operate today in the bodies of water surrounding Ceantar na nOileán, namely Cuan an Fhir Mhóir to the South, Cuan Chill Chiaráin, Ros Muc agus Cuan Chamais to the North. Thus, for the entire population of these islands and the surrounding mainland, according to Long and Standún (2010, p.7), "the one great omnipresence in their lives was the sound of the sea, it permeated their lives - more than sun, moon, stars, or any mechanical timepiece, the sea like some hypnotic metronome, dictated the rhythm of their days and nights". In writing of the impact of such an omnipresence, Peters and Steinberg (2015) describe how as "background noise, the ocean subtly insinuates itself into ways in which we understand and organise subjectivity, temporality, and spatiality" (Peters and Steinberg, 2015, np). The surrounding seas of Galway Bay and the Atlantic Ocean impacted every aspect of the lives of these communities and such a location could not have facilitated 'dwelling' without the availability the Galway hooker.

1.5 The Galway Hooker – Origin and Design

Figure 1.2 Picture of Galway Hooker 'An Tonaí'. Image from "Húicéirí" by Seanchaí Editions, Copyright Seanchaí Editions" (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.89). Used with permission.

The relational nature of the Galway hooker is one of the major themes within this thesis. This traditional wooden craft forged relations between man, the environmental elements of sea, wind and the natural resources of seaweed and turf, in enabling him to dwell. The Galway hooker is a heavily-built timber sail-boat, described by Scott (2004) as The Workhorse of Galway Bay. The larger hookers carried an average tonnage from 12 to 15 tons of vital supplies, comprising building materials, foodstuffs, animals and cargos of turf and seaweeds (Scott, 2004, p.22). The hooker as a sail-boat falls into four different classifications:

1. Bád Mhór (big boat), 35ft to 44ft in overall hull length (gaff rigged)
2. Leath Bháid (half boat), 28ft to 35ft (gaff rigged)
3. Gleoiteog, 20ft to 28ft (gaff rigged)
4. Púcán, 23ft to 28ft (lug rigged)

(Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.170)

Nobody is sure from whence the hooker came or evolved. Speculation links it with England, Norway, Spain and the Netherlands, but without credible documentary evidence. After examining all ideas, proposals and claims,

Scott (2004) declares that “it is not unreasonable for Galwaymen to lay claim to the hooker as their own” (Scott, 2004, p.40). The Galway City museum facilitates a long-term exhibition on the heritage of the hooker, linking it with “hook and line fishing” and “to a seventeenth century Dutch boat called a Hoeker” (Galway City Museum, 2019). There is however, no evidence of such a link. The construction of the boat is simple and from natural elements. Everything that is needed can be attained in Galway and crafted locally. The boats were previously made as workboats and not built for speed or aesthetics. Yet when these boats get a strong breeze in a good body of water, they are unbeatable as sailing craft. With their unique ‘tumblehome’ (the belly of the boat to receive cargo), like two apple-cheeks, one either side, painted black and sporting the traditional maroon coloured sails, the hookers are very aesthetically pleasing.

Each different size of hooker had its reason for being and each had its own place in Conamara. If one didn’t have a berth deep enough for a bád mhór then you got a leath-bháid, a gleoiteog or smaller. Where there was no pier at all they beached their boats on the shore, on the clocha duirlinge (small sea-rounded stones). The bád mhór (big boat of 35-41ft) was the main cargo transport boat. The leath bháid (half-boat of 28-35ft), was so named because it could carry half of the capacity of the larger hookers and because of this, was usually not involved in the transport of foodstuffs from Galway. Rather, it was lighter, smaller and had a greater manoeuvrability in the narrower and shallower tidal passageways closer to the bogs, where often there was a lack of, or perhaps no, proper quayside facilities at all. The gleoiteoga were smaller boats (20-28ft) and were thus used for fishing, gathering seaweeds and transporting persons and goods between the islands. The Púcán (23-28ft) was the only member of the hooker family sporting a dipping lug rig, and normally also carried a pair of oars so the bádóir could lower the sail and row when necessary. A rarely mentioned member of this family of boats was an bád iomartha (a row-boat), built to the same design, but without a mast for a sail and smaller in dimensions than the hookers. These were often used to ferry the goods ashore from the larger hookers when their size or lack of water prevented them from docking at the smallest quays along the

South West Conamara coastline. The hooker family of boats are ideal for sailing in Galway Bay and whether or not the boat originated there or evolved/morphed from another boat is of little consequence. The fact is that no other boat could be more effective for doing the work that the hooker did in the past, ferrying people, hardware and foodstuffs, livestock, turf and seaweed in very large quantities, and yet maintained a low draught for sailing amongst the myriad of islands that comprise South West Conamara. Robinson (2011, p.15) writes of 'Léim Tíre and Léim Cam', saying that he doesn't "exactly know where these are, but to the boatmen they are no doubt as familiar and as negotiable or wearisome as are city roundabouts to the commuting car driver". These were just two of the many tidal flows between rocks near Ros Muc. This remark by author and cartographer Tim Robinson describes what the hooker meant to the people of the region; it was their car, their lorry, their bus, to be used for travel, for transport, for fishing, for trading, indeed, it enabled their life. One can conclude therefore, that Conamara man animated the environment and it responded in kind and facilitated this animation through the hooker. (For an explanation of the term 'man' used throughout this thesis, please see Endnote 1.1[ii].)

1.6 This Research Study

Against this backdrop, I set out to explore why the Galway hooker meant so much to these communities. Why was it held in such obvious high-esteem? Utilising my limited knowledge of the craft, I decided to adopt the concept of dwelling and various theories of knowledge as the guiding framework of analysis for my study. I set about exploring how dwelling was enabled in the region by the Galway hooker and how the community's attachment to and understanding of that boat enabled the creation, utilisation and passing-on of the various knowledge(s) of the bádóirí, that in-turn enabled the Galway hooker to play a central role in this dwelling process.

1.6.1 The main research question

What has been the significance of the traditional sailing boat, the Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara?

1.6.2 The research objectives

Within this research work, I examine the relations that existed between the hooker, the environment and the bádóirí, in enabling the community of South West Conamara to exist/dwell in that region. I examine the narratives of the bádóirí through the lens of 'the dwelling concept', in describing the relations and knowledge(s) that existed within the shared landscape/seascape/taskscape of the human and nonhuman, actors and actants. These relations were facilitated by the embodied and local knowledge(s) created and shared therein. Throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century the hooker was central in every aspect of these people's lives, from carrying passengers, to ferrying livestock, hardware, foodstuffs, turf and seaweeds, as well as for fishing. Alongside this work life, the hooker also facilitated the community's social and spiritual life, enabling them to attend Saint's pattern days, hooker races, pubs and dances, as well as attending masses on Sundays.

In addressing the main research question, I show:

1) How the presence of the Galway hooker enabled the sentient seascape that was Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay) to be temporarily transformed into a taskscape, through the facilitation of "an array of related activities" (Ingold, 2000, p.195)

2) That it was the creation, deployment and passing-on of both embodied and local knowledge(s) and the tacit skillsets of the bádóirí that allowed for the creation, maintenance and sailing of the Galway hooker, as the workhorse of Galway Bay.

3) That the Galway hooker was central to dwelling in the region and that it continues to occupy a central position in the community's performing culture.

1.6.3 The central concepts/theories

1.6.3.1 Dwelling

The dwelling concept represents a central hypothesis within this thesis. It originated within the writings of Martin Heidegger, who explored 'dasein', that is; presence or being in the world (Heidegger, 2010, p.105). The dasein characters of de-distancing and directionality need not have fixed value or measurement, rather what dasein means according to Carolan (2008, p.413), is that one actively shapes the world "through a readiness-at-hand" (e.g. by intentionally physically encountering/using/manipulating it), rather than "through a present-at-hand" (e.g. from a detached, intellectualised position). Therefore, to dwell is to be physically present and actively engaged with one's landscape. Ingold (2000, p.189) writes that for him the dwelling concept sees

> …the landscape constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing have left there something of themselves.
>
> (Ingold, 2000, p.189)

"Wayfaring", is the term used by Ingold (2011) when describing man's "embodied experience" with the landscape (Ingold, 2011, p.148). Where man was most regularly reciprocal in his engagement with the landscape, he called it "taskscape" (Ingold, 2000, p.192). For the purposes of this research the taskscape of the bádóirí and hookers of South West Conamara was Galway Bay, and in particular, Cuan an Fhir Mhóir, Cuan Chasla, Cuain Chill Chiaráin and Cuan Chamais. Dwelling, Taskscape and Wayfaring are central to the discussion chapters within this thesis.

1.6.3.2 Knowledge(s) relating to the Galway hooker

Another core concept within this thesis is knowledge. Without the transmission of the appropriate knowledge and skills it would not have been possible to sail the Galway hooker, particularly in the waters of Galway Bay. The fact that each bádóir had these in abundance gives testament to the integration of everything and everyone pertaining to the Galway hooker within that particular environment throughout the 1800s and 1900s. Everything there, not alone co-existed, but each animated and interanimated

the other, all natural elements of that seascape, man and hooker. While it is very doubtful if man could have dwelt or survived there without the hooker, it was his generated and acquired knowledge that enabled such interanimation (Basso, 1996) and dwelling (Ingold, 2000). The tacit knowledge needed to both construct and sail the hooker was passed down through the generations and learned on-the-job from a young age. These skills and knowledge did not suit everyone and there were those that had the chance to develop as both (saor and sailor), who opted for one or the other (Liam, 01A). Local knowledge, especially of the marcanna talúin (landmarks) that would grant safe passage through potentially dangerous waters, could only be learned by being at the location and witnessing first-hand their implementation (Joe, 05E). In the environment within which the hooker bádóirí found themselves, it was critical that they had developed and trusted their senses. Loch Lurgan was a sentient seascape (McNiven, 2008) and the Galway hooker facilitated the embodiment of knowledge within the bádóirí (Merleau-Ponty, cited in Wylie, 2007). The knowledge(s) relating to the taskscape of the Galway hooker will be extensively explored and discussed within Chapter 6.

1.7 Thesis Organisation.

This study is divided into eight distinct chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research (including Context and Background).

This chapter briefly outlines the context for this study. It explores how the topography of this region of Conamara forced a reliance on the sea and enabled both migration and emigration. South West Conamara, and in particular, 'Hooker Country' or Ceantar na nOileán, is focused upon, as the Galway hooker is introduced. Thereafter, the main research question and objectives are described, along with the central concepts dwelling and the knowledge(s) that frame this research. This first chapter closes with a description of the thesis organisation.

Chapter 2: The Literature

This chapter explores the relevant literature from within the studies of

Social Anthropology, Philosophy, Human and Cultural Geography and the Sociology of Place and Community. It addresses four key themes central this research, those of: space and place; dwelling and taskscape; knowledge(s) attaching to dwelling and cultural tradition and heritage within community.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes and justifies the particular research strategy that was employed in this study. The grounded theory method was implemented and all the research work that followed is described, interviews, use of NVivo software for data management and coding to assist in choosing the correct themes for the discussion chapters.

Chapter 4: The Local and Regional Context

In Chapter 4, I trace the historical engagement with/of the Galway hooker within a regional context. The discussion centres on the work, trade and livelihoods enabled by the boat, including both those positions within the boat and the various secondary jobs associated with this trading craft. The everyday lives of the bádóirí on the various trade routes of the hooker are discussed, including the differences in these work-practices brought about by the emergence of the lorry. Initially, the lorry was an aid to the bádóirí, but it reality it signalled the beginning of the end for the hooker as a workboat. Thereafter, the chapter discusses the loss of the hookers from Galway Bay, through intentional neglect and/or being sold as pleasure boats, out of the region.

Chapter 5: The Family and Community Context

This chapter focuses on the Galway hooker at a family and community level. The boats were mainly owned and operated by families, as a means of generating an income, and were treated almost as a member of that family. Along with earning for the family, the work of the hooker ensured that other members of the community could survive also, those that provided/supplied and received its cargos. There are numerous stories within this thesis expressing the love these families and entire communities had for the hooker in their midst. This chapter also discusses how the communities of

South West Conamara in their entirety were dependent upon the hooker for levity as much as for life. The saint's pattern days represented periods of merriment and the hooker was central to these too, enabling the communities to travel to the festivals and to participate in the hooker races there. The final items discussed in this chapter are the cultural and traditional connections between the hookers and the Gaelic/Irish language, along with the role of the hooker in the preservation of the Gaelic marine vocabulary. A discussion on the folklore and the superstitions attaching to the hooker closes the chapter.

Chapter 6: The Context of the Bádóir and the Saor Bháid

Chapter 6 examines the Galway hooker at the level of the individual bádóir/self. It discusses the knowledge(s) that enabled his engagement with the hooker and the elements within the landscape of South West Conamara and in particular those within the taskscape of Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay). It examines the tacit, embodied, sensory and local knowledge and how these were gained and implemented in the interaction between man, sea, winds, bogs and hookers that enabled dwelling for the entire community. The chapter also addresses the question of being born into hooker sailing or not. It also examines the skills of the saor báid (boat builders) and their importance to the entire community. It traces, in so far as possible, the source of the hooker building skills to Leitir Mealláin in Ceantar na nOileán and discloses how hooker sailing and hooker making are out of necessity so closely aligned that a number of bádóirí have themselves transformed old báid iomartha into gleoiteoga for sailing without any boat building classes to guide them.

Chapter 7: Recovery and Maintaining Community Heritage

This chapter traces the revival of the Galway hooker, after its forced reduction in numbers of seaworthy vessels due to the modernisation of vehicular carriage of goods and the decline in reliance upon turf for both cooking and heating amongst the populations of the Aran Islands and the Galway Bay region in general. It explores the formation of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe (The Galway Hookers Association), just two years after the now recognised seminal race at Oileán Mhíc Dara on July 16th 1976. The

chapter follows the progress of this cumann and its work in ensuring that the Galway hooker has survived to play a sporting/pastime and cultural role in contemporary Conamara and Galway. This achievement is partly due to the organisation of hooker sailing regattas/festivals throughout the summer months in Conamara, Árainn and Kinvara. These regattas are discussed at length within this chapter, which closes with an examination on what learning gains are achieved by bádóirí today that can be taken from hooker sailing and utilised in everyday life.

Chapter 8: The Research Question Answered

Chapter eight draws together the findings from chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, to address the overall research question - What has been the significance of the traditional sailing boat, the Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara? This chapter comprises three main sub-sections that collectively address the research question, each one being a listed research objective: (a) The transformation of a sentient seascape into a hooker taskscape; (b) Knowledge(s) involved with sailing the hooker and (c) The Galway hooker's enablement of dwelling and it's continued central role in the community's culture today.

Chapter 2: The Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on a diverse literature from Social Anthropology, Philosophy, Human and Cultural Geography and the Sociology of Place and Community. The four key themes explained are: (1) space, place, landscape and seascape; (2) dwelling and taskscape; (3) knowledge(s) attaching to dwelling; and (4) cultural tradition and heritage within community. While these overlap somewhat, they each remain integral to this research and will frame the review of the body of literature pertinent to this study.

Section 2.2 is the foundation for all that follows, by exploring the vital relationship between the concepts of space, place, landscape and seascape, portraying how one's personal relationship with the environment transforms it from 'space' to become a meaningful 'place' (Feld and Basso, 1996). By this creation of 'place', the community of bádóirí have experienced their lived realities and given rise to this research.

This is immediately followed by Section 2.3, which explores the twin concepts of 'dwelling' and 'taskscape'. Dwelling, proposed by the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), advocates one's "being in the world" (Heidegger, 2010, p.53), sees a sentient interaction between the human and the environment while facilitating all aspects of life, including the earning of food for survival and the social interactions that enable it. Taskscape is a concept, coined by social anthropologist Tim Ingold, to describe that part of the landscape with which the human most consistently engaged and became most intimately involved with, while enabling dwelling (Ingold, 2000, p.195) or habitation to take place (Ingold, 2011, p.12).

Section 2.4 considers the various categories of knowledge relating to the human interaction with landscape and seascape. Amongst the various knowledge(s) discussed are; local, tacit and embodied. Particular reference is made to the knowledge and skill of the craftsperson, who was central to enabling the performance of work and allowing dwelling to take place in

rural and isolated communities. This section closes with reference being made to the knowledge and practice-sharing that existed out of necessity within such rural and isolated communities and the evolution of Wenger and Lave's term "Community of Practice" (Farnsworth, Kleanthous and Wenger-Trayner, 2016, p.140).

The discussion of knowledge creation and sharing within community prepares the way for Section 2.5, on how such working and sharing within a taskscape fosters a sense of attachment, belonging and identity within the community. The added dimension of such taskscape being accommodated within a seascape entailing the constant use of boats for travelling and working is discussed, as is the attribution of human-like characteristics to animals or inanimate objects/work pieces, in attempt to substitute for possible lacking human connections (Epley, Waytz and Cacioppo, 2007).

The final Section, 2.6, explores the themes of culture, tradition and heritage and how these might be celebrated within such communities, often manifesting as festivals, long after the necessity for such original practices have ceased. This usually involves the re-enactment of the community's cultural practices, therefore, paying homage to their forefathers and passing on the relevant skills and knowledge to the next generation, simultaneously.

2.2 Space, Place, Landscape and Seascape

Place is a primary concept through which this research emerges, as they are our known, lived-in and intimate spaces. Tuan (1977) describes the relationship between space and place by referring to one's human tendency to like and seek out the openness of space, but requiring the value-added intimacy of place in order to relax and feel at home. He uses the concept of the 'pilgrim' in likening space to movement, or a journey, and 'place' as pauses along that journey, (cited in Cresswell, 2004, p.8). This analogy sees the pilgrim journey through space towards his destination, stopping along the way in places, eating, sleeping, interacting and getting to know the place. Taylor (1999) compares space to something that can be "commanded or controlled", thus seeing land as a commodity perhaps, while place, he says "is lived or experienced" (cited in Cloke and Johnston, 2005, p.81).

The use of the word 'experienced' is significant, in pointing to interactions or 'goings-on' that occur there, described by Casey (1996) as "Places not only are, they happen" (cited in Devlin Trew, 2009, p.31). Places, then, are significant to someone or something. Low (1994) describes place as being a space where the person is rooted and active there (cited in Hufford, 1994, p.66). Ryden (1993) sees that this activity or rootedness as granting a third dimension to space: creating place. That extra dimension he classifies as 'depth', being constituted by "knowledge, feeling and experience," which is generated by interaction within the environment (cited in Degnen, 2005, p.735). Therefore, we know that places are "dynamic entities", alive and facilitative to interaction amongst actants, human and nonhuman alike (Cloke and Jones, 2001, p.650). The geography of space will impact greatly upon what can or will happen therein, happenings that transform spaces into places. Devlin-Trew (2009, p.30) writes of landscapes enabling "shared meanings" and communities to grow. In thinking of place, many automatically see landscape in their mind's eye, leading one to ask what constitutes landscape?

2.2.1 Landscape

The meaning of 'Landscape' has preoccupied scholarship within philosophy and human/cultural geography for centuries. Adam (1998) wrote that "Landscape is a chronicle of life and dwelling" (cited in Ingold, 2000, p.189). Ingold (2000, p.190), himself, advises that landscape is neither 'land', 'nature', nor 'space'. Landscape is alive, all encompassing, it includes all that is in, on and interacting with it. From a phenomenologist's perspective one must actively sense the landscape, (s)he must experience it from the "inside" (Tilley, 2010, p.25). O'Donohue and Quinn (2018, p.49) attribute the term "first-born of creation" to the landscape, telling us that, "it was here for hundreds of millions of years before ever a plant or an animal arrived here. A number of authors appear to accentuate this timelessness of landscape, with Inglis (1977, p.489) telling us that of all the ways a history can proclaim itself, landscape is "the most solid", while Cloke and Jones (2001, p.649) write that "through processes of memory and imagination" it is ever-present, in the past and the future. However, landscape should not be

mistaken for land, nor air, or water, not even the human or the non-human elements, but must be thought of as all of these together. With so many disparate elements combined in constituting landscape and its presence here over many eons, then it is also always changing and evolving as both its animate and inanimate elements evolve over time. An important contribution to our understanding of landscape has been made by Ingold (2000), particularly with this eloquent description: "In a landscape, each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other" (Ingold, 2000, p.191). Similarly, Nogue and de San Eugenio Vela (2011) point out in their paper on the communicative landscape, "Landscape is at once the signifier and the signified, the container and the content, reality and fiction" (p.9). Landscape then is in a constant state of flux, with some constituent parts impacting upon others and being impacted upon by them, at the same time. The human is but one constituent part of landscape and can do nothing alone, as its myriad of constituents facilitate the day-to-day happenings of life, perpetuating what Ingold (2000, p. 189) refers to as 'the temporality of the landscape'. Agencies affecting cultural landscape change include both climate and man, prompting Schein (1997, p.662) to describe the landscape as 'always becoming', referring to its 'fluidity' as it affects change over some of its constituent parts and is changed by others. It interacts with "life and living".

2.2.2 Seascape

One might be extra mindful of the above subtitle and what Dalby (2007) has written of the under-consideration of such a scape. In calling for the development of "Blue Theory", he points out that "social scientists, and certainly many geographers, are guilty of 'terrestro-centrism' a focus on land rather than an understanding of ourselves as part of a biosphere dominated by oceans and atmosphere" (Dalby, 2007, p.113). Anderson and Peters (2016) tell us that "geography as earth writing has taken its etymological roots seriously" and "the discipline has been a de facto terrestrial study" (Anderson and Peters, 2016, p.3), while Peters and Brown (2017) proclaim "that geography has been a land-locked and terra-centric project (Peters and Brown, 2017, p. 618). The Oxford English Reference

Dictionary tell us merely that it is “a picture or view of the sea” (Pearsall and Trumble, 1996, p.1307). Mack (2011) supports what is previously written here, adding that “in practice the seas are portrayed either as the backdrop to the stage on which the real action is seen to take place – that is the land - or they are portrayed simply as the means of connection between activities taking place at coasts and in their interiors” (Mack, 2011, p.19). In light of this particular study I am engaged in, it is critical that “water worlds must move from the margins of geographical consciousness and inquiry” (Anderson and Peters, 2016, p.34). Therefore, I wish to proceed with an understanding of seascape as an extension of landscape, and a replication of all that is written of landscape thus far, but of course with one fundamental difference that is of great significance to this research, one cannot live in, or traverse the sea as (s)he can land, without the use of a boat or other sea vessel. Yet, a seascape will include the shoreline and any ancillary service parts such as piers and quayside developments that facilitate one’s dwelling there within that landscape/seascape. The human within seascape, as landscape, is an integral participant in that place. Casey (1996) highlights the need for familiarity with space, landscape or seascape for it to become “place” (cited in Feld and Basso, 1996, p.28). Fittingly, in the context of this research, McNiven (2008) defines seascape as “the lived sea-spaces central to the identity of maritime peoples” (cited in Bruno and Thomas, 2008, p.151). Therefore, a sense of attachment, or belonging, might indicate a level of interaction with/within a place. Relph (2008) when writing of the dualism of insideness/outsideness, wrote that “existential insideness characterises belonging to a place and the deep and complete identity with a place that is the very foundation of the place concept” (p.55). This level of ‘insideness’ indicates a sense of belonging, of being ‘at home’ and accepted and known in the region. He advises that at this level of insideness, the person “is part of that place, but more acutely, it is part of him” (Relph, 2008, p.55). Mack (2011) in writing on the salt-water engagement between the human and the sea, quotes a Pacific scholar Epeli Hau’ofa as declaring that “the ocean is in us” (Mack, 2011, p.73), explaining that the sea continues to provide pathways amongst us and acts as a major source of sustenance for us. Hau’ofa declared that “the sea has ontological

implications for many of those who live near it and trace their ancestry to voyages made across it" (Mack, 2011, p.73).

One's attachment to place at sea can surely replicate that of land, though it is experienced by a small minority of people and it is perhaps for this very reason that little attention has been paid to it as a definitive subject for study, resulting in little being written of it, thus far. Brown (2015) argues for the importance of studying seascape, stating that is part of a patchwork of spaces, along with earth and air that are all connected and dependent upon one another. To see constantly the land from vantage points at sea opens up a completely different view-scape. From the sea, one recognises things and places on land that are extremely difficult, if not impossible, to see while on the land. Cooney refers to Philip's (2004) explanation of the siting of megaliths on the Orkney Islands that were built by people of the sea at that very location because they were expected to be viewed from the sea, whereas, those on the Scottish mainland nearby (at Caithness) were sited in order to be seen from the valleys (Cooney, 2004, p.325). When the sea is one's highway it dictates where the 'axis of movement' will be, as exemplified by Robinson's initial disbelief at the siting of the local shop (Tigh Conraí) at An Ghairfean in Ros Muc, a seemingly end of the road spot on that peninsula. However, when viewed through 'seascape eyes' this shop and pier location is the focus of a complex of waterways stretching for 20 miles (Robinson, 2011, p.9). In a similar vein, Moffat (2008), when writing of the Sea Kingdoms between the Celtic nations, urges that one should divert from viewing disparate land nations and see them as gathered around the unifying Irish Sea (Moffat, 2008). Anderson and Peters (2016) further this openness and highlight that "the sea is a space intrinsically connected to and absorbed within a broader network of spaces (earth and air) which are also, likewise, open and convergent with each other" (Anderson and Peters, 2016, p.6). Undoubtedly, Robinson's seascape location promoted trade and communication via the water highway, creating also the conditions for the sentient interactions between the elements, man and boat, and the chance of outside influences on the evolution of the Galway hooker.

To dwell within seascape requires an intimacy and trust different from that necessary on land, as to move on or through water involves interaction with and reaction to, an extra dimension that is the constant motion of the sea. As Pálsson (1994) explained when writing of 'enskilment at sea', one has no choice but to adapt to the constant changes and rhythmic movements of the sea. Similarly, Cobb and Ransley (2009) highlight that within seascape individual identities are shaped and both materials and places are formed through the actions and re-actions therein (cited in Brown, 2015, p.23). Peters and Steinberg (2015, np) write of the ocean/sea that it is "not…a space of discrete points between which objects move but rather…a dynamic environment of flows and continual recomposition where "place" can be understood only in the context of mobility" (Peters and Steinberg, 2015, n.p). Couper (2018) points out that participation in seascape to many entails being in an "unfamiliar lifeworld" (p.287) to which we must adapt, requiring both a "cognitive know-how" and "an embodied know-how" (Couper, 2018, p.289). She explains that "being on a boat is to be in a confined space that is almost always in motion" and that that through time spent on board, "the space-in-motion" becomes "sedimented into conscious and unconscious actions" (p.290).

Landscape and seascape as taskscape, encompass a middle ground that falls within both scapes and its inclusion within this study adds an extra dimension, without a distinct boundary between them ensuring that all (actors and actants) have to be in a position to dwell within both. Ryan (2012) writes "the meeting of land and sea is a very specific and conceptually clear environment that has the potential to heighten awareness of spatial sensations", explaining that "Edge becomes centre. Movement along becomes movement within. The margin is transformed into vortex" (Ryan, 2012, p.115). Life within landscape might be more easily lived, being generally spent on ground that is solid and three-dimensional. Life within seascape however, necessitates interacting with another dimension, bringing with it many unknowns and uncontrollable extras that severely limit man's powers of control. Shields (1992) proposes that this has resulted in our seas being "afforded an inferior status" when compared to land and

being positioned "outside of academic study" (in Anderson and Peters, 2016, p.5). The bádóirí and communities of South West Conamara possessed a great selection of knowledge(s) that supported their ability to dwell within the middle ground between landscape and seascape. This study explores these knowledge(s) and examines the reasons behind the enforced migration of these communities from a life more lived within seascape to that of landscape.

2.3 Dwelling and Taskscape

The dwelling perspective refers to the living together in symbiosis of everything that exists in/on a landscape, including animate and inanimate organisms and all facets of nature. Theories of dwelling can be attributed to Martin Heidegger, a German philosopher (1889-1976), who wrote that dwelling is not only building, but also the manner in which mortals exist on earth, advising that man is but one part of the 'primal four' (earth, sky, divinities and mortals), all of which "belong together in one" and that man must respect the others and cause them no harm (Heidegger, 1993, p.351). Heidegger wrote of "being in the world" and having "characters of de-distancing and directionality", suggesting that we are engaged in shaping our world "by being physically present and actively engaged" with the landscape (Heidegger, 2010, p.105). Carolan (2008, p.413) further explains that to dwell, man must "actively shape the world through a readiness-at-hand, that is by physically encountering, using or manipulating them, rather than through a present-at-hand, that is from a detached, intellectualised position".

Using research into nonhuman agency, place and dwelling, undertaken at an Orchard in Somerset, England, Cloke and Jones (2001, p.651) proclaim that "Heidegger's notion of dwelling is complex and obscure" and tell us that dwelling is about the rich intimate ongoing togetherness of beings and things which make up landscapes and places, and which bind together nature and culture over time. They draw on Vycinas (1969) who studied the works of Martin Heidegger and wrote of a bridge "assembling" banks and countries on different sides of a river, and creating places. He proclaims that

creating or "assembling of places" is "spacing-in of space" and that, simply put, "dwelling is the manner by which we are on earth" (cited in Cloke and Jones, 2001, p.651). In dwelling, all things play their part in enabling others, according to Cloke and Jones (2001), as evidenced through their study of the "West Bradley Orchard" (Cloke and Jones, 2001, p.649). Heidegger used the example of a farmhouse in the Black Forest to illustrate dwelling (Harrison, 2007, p.633), just as Ingold (2000) used Pieter Brueghel's painting 'The Harvesters' for much the same purpose, but went further in also demonstrating the temporality of the landscape and how the taskscape may be made visible therein (Ingold, 2000, p.204). Their findings indicate that dwelling, together with time, sees "human actants embedded in this present landscape," as a result of what went before and will mould that which is yet to come (Cloke and Jones, 2001, p.664). Ingold (2000) further writes that for him the dwelling concept sees the landscape being "an enduring record of, and testimony to" everybody that dwelt or engaged there and everything that happened there, with the people leaving "something of themselves" within the landscape (Ingold, 2000, p.189). Thus, when considering place, landscape and dwelling, place is born out of all that it enables to happen there, that is, the "sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience" (Ingold, 2000, p.192). Urry (1999) uses the methaphor of a glacier, while writing of "a mode of time and dwellingness" (Urry, 1999, p.157), to explain how change in nature moves at a slow and gradual pace, often taking generations. He elaborates; "Such change depends upon the glacier's context and envoironment" and that menial changes over time can have a long lasting affect on the glacier which in turn "significantly impacts upon this environment" (Urry, 1999, p.157). Notably, Ingold (2011) begins to cool somewhat in his previous support for the use of the word 'dwelling,' to describe man's engagement with the landscape, believing it to be too "emplaced", or distant from the sense of "a movement along a way of life". He later declares that the concept of "habitation" best describes "the path and not the place of becoming" (Ingold, 2011, p.12). For the purposes of this research, I shall continue to refer to the dwelling concept, as I believe in this instance it is more suited to the working lives of the hooker bádóirí whom I interviewed. Despite their daily travel within and

engagement with the seascape/taskscape that was Galway Bay, they did return (almost) every evening to their houses alongside/within their seascape infrastructure, much like Heidegger's cottage in the Black Forest. As well as that portion of their lives spent sailing on the waters, much engagement was also achieved while working/remaining at the quayside, loading the hooker with its cargo or repairing and prepairing it for forthcoming journeys. However, I do appreciate the importance of movement to meaningful engagement with the landscape.

Resembling Heidegger (1971), Merleau-Ponty (1992), Tuan (1997) and Ingold (2000), and others, Carolan's (2008) attention to embodied knowledge claims that we cannot know the landscape from afar; that dwelling is practiced in engagement with the landscape as embodied activity (Carolan, 2008, p.413). Ingold (2011), cites Turnbull (1991), who wrote that "All knowing is like travelling, like a journey between the parts of a matrix" (cited in Ingold, 2011, p.160), in explaining that information is processed by a "complex process perspective", while one is on the move from place to place within the environment (Ingold, 2011, p.160).

2.3.1 Engagement with the landscape

Ingold (2011) coined the term 'Wayfaring', to describe one's movement within and engagement with the environment as the basic means "by which living beings inhabit the earth" (Ingold, 2011, p.21). He further explains that by doing so, both human and non-human beings, "contribute to the world's continual coming into being" (Ingold, 2008, p.81). Ingold (2011) sees every living being as moving in lines through, around, to and from spaces, and he represents where one meets with and engages with others as a knot in the line, thus a place where two or more lines meet. A number of lines and knots in life then construct what Ingold (2011) terms a 'meshwork', representing interactions on the landscape or people engaging with their environment and having embodied experiences by 'wayfaring'. This movement along paths represents where "lives are lived, skills developed, observations made and understandings grown" (Ingold, 2011, p.12). There are obvious similarities with Tuan's (1977) concept of a pilgrim on a

journey through space and where he pauses or interacts, creates a place, giving it a value (cited in Cresswell, 2004, p.8). Equally, Tilley (1994) would appear to agree with walking as a means of facilitating engagement with the landscape, when writing "Through walking, in short, landscapes are woven into life, and lives are woven into landscape, in a process that is continuous and never-ending" (cited in Ingold, 2004, p.333).

Merleau-Ponty does not suggest that one had to be moving or traversing a landscape in order to interact with it, yet he saw one's body as the medium through which such active engagement with the landscape occurred. Merleau-Ponty used the term 'Intertwining', to describe man's engagement with the landscape through "the lived body", seeing it as both the basis and the conduit for knowledge (cited in Wylie, 2007, p.151). He saw the inhabited world as being sentient, that is, one could engage with the world through one's senses (Ingold, 2011). Merleau-Ponty proposed that through an "inter-sensory entity" the goal for all of the bodily senses is the same and thus by a "bodily synergy of the senses" it functions as though the senses were co-joined (cited in Ingold, 2000, p.262). He wrote of "seeing with the ears", alluding to the picking up of the vibrations created by the sound through his "whole sensory being" and as a result being able to articulate a particular direction (cited in Ingold, 2000, p.262). This could only be achieved when one was actively engaged within the landscape.

From a philosophical perspective, John O'Donohue informs us that in the Irish psyche 'Landscape' has a unique presence and that it is 'alive' in the Celtic imagination (O'Donohue, 2009). He wished that everyone, when leaving home, believed that they were walking into a "living universe" rather than into "location" and proposed that in "bringing one's body into the landscape, one is bringing it home to where it belongs" (O'Donohue, 2009, 3-4 mins). Walking within a living universe, one gains "a change of mind and a change of heart", where, "the outer landscape becomes a metaphor for the unknown inner landscape" (O'Donohue, 2009). O'Donohue (2010) had a great respect and love for what he described as 'real work', that is working with one's hands within the landscape and likened this to having "a real conversation with the landscape" (O'Donohue,

2010, p.xii). Such engagement could only be achieved by movement within the landscape.

2.3.2 Taskscape

Where persons carried out their normal, everyday, skilled, livelihood operations, Ingold (2000) refers to this as a Taskscape, (the landscape in which they spend most of their task-related time, making it that place with which they become most intimate). Therefore, the taskscape represents the place of laborious goings-on in the lives that are lived there, those that have added "use-value" to their work (Ingold, 2000, p.194). It is only in the performance of these tasks of enabling dwelling, or habitation, that taskscape exists, and is therefore intrinsically tied to dwelling. He advises against the separation of naturalistic living from the culturalistic, since one's attempt to understand man's "ways of acting in the environment are also his ways of perceiving it" (Ingold, 2000, p.9). Therefore, one should not try to divorce man's work from his social life, as taskscapes are constructed by all actants therein, human and non-human and is a living process. In the words of Ingold (2000, p.199), "Taskscape exists not just as activity but as interactivity". A simple and highly effective interpretation of this is to be found in Cloke and Jones's (2001) paper, where they state that taskscape is a "performed landscape" (p.653).

2.3.3 Seascape as taskscape

While writing of lines in a two-dimensional world of travel, journeying and wayfaring, Ingold (2008) speculates that seafarers also make their way along invisible lines, while all-the-time looking out for the weather, winds, swells, tides and signs such as birds and others known to experienced boatmen, in guiding their craft safely without recourse to technical navigational aids. This equates very much with the perspective of O'Donohue concerning the landscape as being alive, since Ingold (2008) proceeds to distinguish between the mariner for whom seafaring is a way of life and those who merely seek to route across it, in wishing to get from one destination to another. He says in the latter case, "the ship is seen not as an organ of seafaring, but as a vehicle of transport" (Ingold, 2008, p.77).

One can easily believe that dwelling within a seascape might require more engagement with that environment than is necessary in order to dwell within a landscape. Cooney (2004) alerts readers to a major difference between land and sea, including coastal areas or seascapes, in that weather patterns have a much more local pattern, with the "local topography very important in determining the features of the tide" (p.325). The tide, for every sailor, is 'key' to the possibility of a taskscape being created in coastal areas. Having written earlier of the temporality of the landscape (Ingold, 2000), one might speculate that the fluidity of change in the seascape, would render it even more precarious in its ability to accommodate a taskscape. Adding to the widespread agreement portrayed above, in regard to the presence of 'movement' in enabling interaction and interanimation (Basso, 1996, p.108) between man and environment, Couper (2018) reminds the reader of the omnipresence of "movement", brought about by the "non-human agency of the sea" and of the dangers of the "invisible beneath" (p.291). In contrast, those who live within landscape generally travel in two dimensions. The sailor has an additional 'third dimension' to consider when travelling, that of the depth of the water he travels through and what lies beneath the viscous surface that supports the boat. Couper (2018) explains that every encounter on water "requires interpretation" (p.291). This is even more true of the sailor of a traditional sailing craft, being without modern technology and other such man-made sailing aids. Potentially, one must interpret the wind, the tide and the interplay between them, resulting in the availability (or not) of the required depth of water through which to safely travel without encountering any hidden dangers that lie unseen therein. If the sailor is local he will be aware of these 'dangers,' that exist in his "domain" (Peace, 2001, p.2), but even being aware, still requires "interpretation", most especially in attempting to gauge the speed of the vessel in attempting to dock. Couper (2018) advises that man must accept that the "water environment" is, as Eden and Bear (2011) termed it, "a different world," and that one can "never know" what Hollenberg (2012) termed the "Other", explaining it as the "impenetrability of non-human interiority" (both cited in Couper, 2018, p.291). In expressing his hypothesis on this 'non-human

interiority', Ó Beaglaíoch (2018), a traditional seafarer from the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht of West Kerry says of the sea

> It's a different world at sea, she's so vast and never befriended anyone. It doesn't matter if it's your first day at sea or your thousandth, she'll take you if you give her the chance, not out of malice, it's just what she does. You must be humble with the sea.
>
> (cited in Ó Céilleachair *et al.*, 2018, 23 min)

Fleming (1982) points out that the human cannot be at "home" and will remain "uneasy" on the sea as "it is too deep, too dark below, too boundless" (cited in Brown, 2015, p.14). Yet, there are accounts of others who preferred nothing other than to be at sea. When participating in an attempt at the first "non-stop sailing circumnavigation of the world", after seven months at sea Moitessier (Moitessier and Rodarmor, 1995) was the potential race winner, already after crossing his outward path, but he abandoned the race and carried on sailing for another three months communicating with the race officials to say "I am continuing non-stop towards the Pacific Islands because I am happy at sea, and perhaps to save my soul" (p.169).

Couper (2018) informs readers of the obstacles that sailors must overcome in order to engage in a seascape, those of having to deal with "the space-in-motion of the boat", the "sense of otherness" towards what lies beneath the boat (Couper, 2018, p.292) and the sheer "physicality of the job" when sailing (Couper, 2018, p.293). The requirement of these attributes and more, confirm the hardship endured by the sailors of yesteryear, who had neither the aids of technology or the comforts of today's sailor's clothing and equipment, as they engaged with seascape as taskscape.

2.3.4 Wayfaring by sea

Whether walking or sailing, one must engage with the landscape or seascape in order to dwell there. In his paper 'Culture on the Ground: The world perceived through the feet', Ingold (2004) makes a case for the feet to be acknowledged as playing the major role in man's interaction with the environment. Similar to Merleau-Ponty, he says that one's world is perceived through their whole body, and that it is in their everyday passage

through familiar terrain (their domain (Peace, 2001)) in their landscape/seascape/taskscape that enables the variations in the terrain of their "paths, textures and contours to be incorporated into their own embodied capacities of movement, awareness and response"; that is, their "muscular consciousness" (Ingold, 2004, p.333). While a sailor's sense of balance will be controlled by his ears, his primary contact with the boat upon the ever-moving seas will often be facilitated by his legs, carrying the sense through his lived body in the sentient world of Merleau Ponty's "Intertwining" (Wylie, 2007, p.151) and especially through his hands and "muscular consciousness" (Bachelard, 1994, p.11). It is primarily one's body senses, more than technology or any other such man-made devices that enabled the sailor of traditional sailing craft to dwell within the seascape and to interact with his taskscape. This brings us to the next key consideration, which is the knowledge dimensions attaching to dwelling.

2.4 The Knowledge(s) Attaching to Dwelling

Knowledge, in the context of this research, is that which one needs to have, to know or be able to do, in order to dwell in a landscape, seascape and/or to create a taskscape. Operating with a 'sentient ecology' is how Anderson (2000) describes the functioning of the reindeer herders and hunters in the Taimyr region of northern Siberia (cited in Ingold, 2000, p.25). By this, he is describing what one might recognise as 'intuition', a basic form of knowledge that all have and use to address the tasks faced in everyday life. This knowledge is attained through the act of living, interacting with one another and with everything else in the immediate environment, both animate and inanimate. Therefore, knowledge is gained socially, throughout the act of living one's life. Ingold (2011) explains that knowledge is gathered through 'wayfaring', that is "movement along paths where life is lived" (Ingold, 2011, p.69). Thus, knowledge is gained through interaction with others and/or with one's immediate environment, leading to a practical understanding of one's life-world. In this section, a number of key dimensions of knowledge are examined, beginning with embodied knowledge that is created and stored within one's being, through direct engagement and bodily involvement with the immediate landscape. Then

the local knowledge attaching to one's place is explained as one that is pertinent to and only of use there, such as place names and landmarks. Thereafter, tacit knowledge of skills and situated learning that enable life and dwelling are explored. In this instance, these are the skills of the craftsman that are best learned and mastered by doing. This section closes with an exploration of a community knowledge that was necessary for people's existence and can be viewed in the context of "Communities of Practice".

2.4.1 Embodied knowledge

As has been discussed and referenced thus far, one learns and comes to know their space/environment by living, experiencing and working in or interacting with it. It is appropriate then to introduce here the concept of embodied knowledge, because all persons involved in this research will have experienced to varying degrees the sensuous experiences that accompany the creation and deployment of embodied knowledge. From Merleau Ponty's sensory 'Intertwinning with the landscape' through the lived body, to Bachelard's 'muscular consciousness' developed by repetitive performance of a consistent action in a familiar space, to Ingold's 'wayfaring' engagement in the creation of taskscape, to Tuan's 'pilgrim's interaction in place, to Tilley's continuous weaving of landscape into life, and Couper's (2018) 'space in motion' encouraging sedimented conscious and unconscious actions, all of these perceptions propose an "inter-relationship between bodies, knowledges and environments" (Carolan, 2008, p.412).

The concept of 'affordance' proposed by Gibson (1986) sits comfortably within the discussion on embodied knowledge as he focuses on what the environment offers or affords the body, by way of "actions and sensations" (Gibson, 1986, p.127). He explains with examples of an environment containing objects, as one that "affords the body a sense of visual depth", while an environment of water affords sensations not available to those on dry land. Once more the central issue is that through active exposition to and engagement with the environment one senses place and becomes a part

of that environment to a point where they are sensually aware there and "think as a body" (Carolan, 2008, p.417). This concept is closely aligned to that of Merleau Ponty's lived body being "the basis and conduit of knowledge" (cited in Wylie, 2007, p.148). Thus one's embodied knowledge is greatly controlled by ones landscape and one's ability to survive, traverse and engage with that landscape. Another 'control' or factor of great influence on one's embodied knowledge is one's family, people, or community because it is from these that the individual learns what constitutes knowledge and gains a respect for knowledge, or not. Often, it is within these structures that lineages of embodied knowledge are built up and passed on through the generations.

These concepts of affordance and engagement with the landscape facilitating one's embodied knowledge harmonises with Urry's (1999) description of time as "a social institution" and "the category of time is not natural but social" (Urry, 1999, p.107). Time as we know it is a capitalist concept and alien to the natural senses. Clock-time was created in attempt to regulate the social life and travels of people/communities and replaced "Kairological time", which was more aligned to experiences of and engagement with one's environment (Urry, 1999, p.112). Due to their sensous engagement and participation within the landscape/seascape/taskscape rural people knew instinctively when it was time to do something, no matter what the clock or calendar might display. Accepting that the person is active within the environment, I shall proceed to discuss the various knowledge(s) that one might need in order to dwell within and to create a taskscape.

2.4.2 Local knowledge

Local Knowledge is that knowledge attaching to one's place and the accumulation of the learning gains through the wayfaring of each person in a group, family or a community at that locality/place. This act of 'sharing' one's learning will help to arm the individual with the knowledge for survival and development, while at the same time it helps to ensure the cultural continuity of that particular community. This local knowledge gain

is critical in developing aspects of one's own identity and gaining a sense of belonging to a community. Local knowledge can be shared or taught using formal, non-formal and informal instruction and might contain a mix of both codified/ (scientific) and the tacit knowledge of the local inhabitants and their cultural way of living. As co-created knowledge, it represents the learning by individuals within the community, who themselves have learned from the accumulated knowledge of others who had tread the same paths before them and sought out ways to solve the everyday practical problems encountered in their lives (Abercrombie, 1994). An example of this 'passing on of knowledge' might be as simple as the act of telling a story, which contains learning and understanding within the community that has been heard or learned over time, and subsequently passed on from one generation to the next. Degnen (2005) calls this 'memory talk', when a group of elders talk amongst themselves about the past. She advises that the present is not ignored, but rather it is woven into such stories as they flow forwards and backwards through time. Thus, memory talk awakens relations with the surrounding world, both physical and social, and "is inherently framed by shared memories, shared experiences, and place" (Degnen, 2005, p.734).

All human interaction within the community enables knowledge creation, knowledge acquisition and is, in one way or another, influenced by the topography of the region. Where they are situated will often dictate what the community will want or need to know in order to sustain themselves and be in a position to dwell. One's parents and siblings will also influence them, as their forefathers were influenced by theirs, and also by their own location. According to Prince (1961), "A knowledge of places is an indispensable link in the chain of knowledge" (cited in Relph, 2008, p.1). Nygren (1999) tells us that outside or 'expert' knowledge can certainly add to the available body of community knowledge, but it cannot 'replace' it. This local knowledge will have evolved over the lifetime of the entire past and present community and accordingly will be holistic to that location (Nygren, 1999, p.274). To allow an outside body to influence or decide actions for a community, risks such actions or decisions being ill informed by a knowledge that is not local to, or based upon past experiences of that

community and might prove ineffectual. Even within one townland, village or town, a person might encounter different specific or specialist local knowledge, needed in order to meet the various different needs and address issues encountered in everyday life at that particular location. Adrian Peace (2001), in his account of the social life in an Irish village/rural community, points out that within each domain of the village and its hinterland, the various families functioned within their own specialised cultural rules or mores. There were those who lived around the pier and were mainly 'fishing folk'; there were those who lived in the village, comprising mostly the 'business people', and finally, one encountered the rural folk on the fringes of or just outside of the village, generally of 'farming stock or country folk'. Each domain had its own stock of knowledge, which was normally kept amongst themselves and not put up for public consumption to the entire community (Peace, 2001, p.41). This suggests that despite the overall population being of the one village, each domain's stock of knowledge is influenced by the particular livelihood and resources found at that location and the people's efforts to dwell there.

Another view on local knowledge can be found in literature on 'memory'. Memories, according to Gaston Bachelard (1994), similar to that proposed by Degnen (2005), are fixed in the intimacy of space rather than time. In Bachelard's 'The Poetics of Space', he explores the nuances of intimate spaces and how the person is sheltered there in a natural setting and gains knowledge of that intimate space. Everything about that situation in space is so right that to even 'mention' the event can bring the memory alive and take the person back there in his imagination much more so than by mentioning times or dates. So knowing and safe is the person in that intimate space that the actions required (to walk a climbing road in his example) make it so easy to perform, that the actor in the text said "I am quite sure that the road itself had muscles, or rather, counter-muscles" (Bachelard, 1994, p.11). In the creation and routine expression of knowledge, an intimacy with one's familiar space can render a task or action so easy that it might seem as if the action or the place itself performs it, with minimal input from the person. This underlines the importance of the

relations between place and identity, as proposed by Peace (2001), when writing that "the lives people live and the context in which they live them are inseparable" (p.4). He further elaborates that specific sites where people enact their lives play an immense significance and influence over them, because they "are so context specific and situationally precise" (Peace, 2001, p.4). Local knowledge is related to place and the kind of livelihood engaged therein, and many of the residents within a community (especially a rural community) will be exceptionally familiar with all the economic, social and moral dimensions of the domain in which they reside (Howells, 2002). It is possible that the local knowledge of a community might even relate to a time or to a landmark that no longer exists, a fact that will not necessarily negate the learning therein. Ryden (1993), describes this kind of knowledge as the 'invisible landscape', as it is no longer there, except in the minds' eye of those who interacted with it at some time (cited in Degnen, 2005, p.738). One such example of this is related by Rodman (1992), in describing how he found nothing where an old woman interviewee had etched an x on the map, to indicate where an important event from her life had transpired. He explained that for the old woman "these memories were etched on the landscape as if they bore plaques," because they were based upon interactions/events with that landscape (cited in Degnen, 2005, p.738).

Basso (1996) suggests that 'place' is very significant to the development of the person, as he tells us that "knowledge of place is closely linked to knowledge of self" (Basso, 1996, p.34). He explains that places animate "the ideas and feelings of persons who attend to them", and "when places are actively sensed, the physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape of the mind" (p.107). This underlines the importance of the relationship between man and place, and the depth of place-knowledge that enables him to dwell there. In 'The Silver Branch' (Costello and O'Sullivan, 2017), a film depicting the "interconnectedness between man and the landscape" in the rugged and remote Burren region in County Clare, the farmer says "to find your place in the world is to let nature work on you". Also of significance, he says that within the natural landscape, "you can talk to the stream, talk to the woods and talk to the trees and leave your foot in

the earth" (Costello and O'Sullivan, 2017, 2.30 mins). An implication of the unambiguous message within this film is that while man is a player in the landscape/taskscape, he is never the master.

2.4.2.1 Place-names and landmarks

Basso (1996) opens his title-chapter within 'Wisdom Sits in Places', with these words from the writer Carson McCullers; " To know who you are, you have to have a place to come from" (cited in Basso, 1996, p.105). While living within a community for an extended period of time, one might be afforded the chance to absorb that community's richness, its culture and heritage. Basso (1996) writes of the wisdom contained in landscapes, a wisdom born of the coming together of landmarks within the landscape, their history and the wise-keepers of that history and stories, based on their knowledge of that particular place. He explains that the wise ones within the community learn of the stories attached to each landmark within the landscape of their community and make sure to pass on this store of knowledge to the next generation. Within this knowledge of their landscape, the wise know how life-events played out there previously and can forewarn or advise people thereafter of what is likely to happen there again, should circumstances repeat themselves. This is usually done by way of stories or in Gaeltacht Ireland, by seanchas (traditional history or ancient lore). According to Basso (1996, p.108) "people can only see in things, places and circumstance, what they know of them" and that "places can only display what those attending to them have enabled them to say". This latter point is critical to community as, has been written earlier, places are actively sensed and will likely support much more wisdom and seanchas than any one person within the community knows. Thus, in the context of the relationship between community and landscape, it is true to say that 'Wisdom sits in places'. It relates to a combination of circumstance, person and place that both enable and create local wisdom.

Adams (1998) writes that landscape is "a chronicle of life and dwelling" (cited in Ingold, 2000, p.189), while McElveen (2009, p.10) informs that "our stories and beliefs are born out of the landscape". In a similar vein,

Ingold (2000, p.189) advises, “landscape keeps alive for us images of the past generations who moved within and were partly responsible for its present form”. This suggests that as a person engages with the landscape today, they are in fact interacting “with an environment that is pregnant with the past” (Ingold, 2000, p.189). What one’s forefathers did, where they walked, leaves a pathway not alone on the environment, but also within their descendants, through their knowledge, learning and personal interaction with the same landscape/taskscape/environment. What one’s ancestors did, how they dwelt, impacted upon family thereafter, and what they themselves do will directly impact upon their future generations. One holds dear to themselves the ways and habits of one’s forefathers and they will often ‘walk the same paths’ that their people did. Often this is in fact imposed by the footprints of their forefathers leaving pathways and tracks across the landscape/taskscape and these tracks in turn “impose a habitual pattern of movement on the people afterwards” (Jackson, 1989 cited in Ingold, 2000, p.204). Arising from this ‘imposition’ of the tracks of their ancestors there will be an indirect imposition, or repeat of, the same movements requiring the same “muscular consciousness” (Bachelard, 1994, p.11). Often, these tracks are not really visible to the naked eye, but they still guide and pull one’s footsteps to them. Ingold (2000) refers to these sedimented networks as “the taskscape made visible” (p.204). Marshall III (2005) supports this, when writing of his grandfather’s trails and how they endure in one’s memories, along with trails from others with whom one has “crossed paths”. He explained that although the physical pathway might no longer be visible on the landscape, it remains in the mind, advising that the “land held many memories for both of my grandparents, as it does for me now” (Marshall III, 2005, p.50). This transaction between the generations of family highlights what Bennett (2014) says of an understanding of place, describing it as “an inalienable gift” that “may create a moral duty to nature and pass on places to subsequent generations” (p.658). Highlighting that such “gifts contain the essence of the giver”, she subsequently writes that “The gift of place creates a tangible relationship between generations through time” (Bennett, 2014, p.659)

The tendency of rural people in the past to put a name on everything of significance to their lives, every field, stream, track or passage-way and every large boulder that would act as a way-marker, as well as to places where important events transpired, have left today's generation as keepers of this local knowledge. Thus, place-names and landmarks represent an important well of local knowledge within the community often relating to what happened there. An example from Irish might be Loch na nAebha, meaning the 'lake of the liver', relating to the murder of a member of the Joyce family of Galway at Áth na Seoigheach (the Joyces' ford). The victim's liver was then thrown into the lake nearby, resulting in the lake gaining that name (Robinson, 1990a, p.89). Macfarlane (2015) having conducted an exploration of the linguistic and literary terrain of Great Britian, values the knowledge trove contained therein. He concurs with and references the cartographer and author Tim Robinson's deep regret that much of the knowledge contained within the place names and landmarks are being lost forever, as with each passing generation "some of the place-names are forgotten or becoming incomprehensible" (cited in Macfarlane, 2015, p.23). Robinson was writing of the Gaelic speaking West of Ireland, while Macfarlane was referring to the Gaelic speaking people of the Outer Hebrides, where he was told the "younger generations are losing a literacy of the land" (Macfarlane, 2015, p.23).

2.4.3 Tacit knowledge

Tacit knowledge is the learning one acquires throughout their lives, much of it by the agency of their socialisation from those family and community members closest to them. This will include "the intuition, perspectives, beliefs, and values that people form as a result of their experiences" (Saint-Onge, 1996, p.10). Therefore, one might conclude that tacit knowledge is that know-how that enables the practitioner to act 'out of habit' or with a 'sixth sense', the knowledge that is internalised from a person's/community's culture. While one's codified knowledge acquisition will be gained very much from the formal educational authorities, their tacit knowledge acquisition will be gained from others within their network and locality, that is, their family elders, their peers and other community

members. These family members and friends will themselves have emerged from the same locational influences, and their ability to transform learning into knowledge will influence their lives, quite often subconsciously. When one is young they freely mimic the actions of those around them and as they develop in later life, they may consciously decide to copy a practice and add it to their repertoire of knowledge and skills, or not. Polyani (1962) calls this process of "assimilating to ourselves things from outside as indwelling" (cited in Howells, 2002, p.872). He further describes another learning process, associated with tacit knowledge, as 'subception'. This is a process whereby one learns about or discovers the world subconsciously, almost unaware and without formal lessons, especially so in a community setting (cited in Howells, 2002, p.872). Bourdieu describes this process as 'The Theory of Practice' and declared that the learning was centred in the habitus (between the conscious and unconscious). He asserts that we learn from within the community and that the dispositions as learned are durable and transposable (Polanyi, 1966, p.6). Tuan (1977) refers to Eskimo children who learn to hunt without "explicit instruction', but by observing how adults do this (Tuan, 1977, p.200). An interesting aspect of the above-listed theories is that they each describe learning by doing and non-formal learning centred within the community. Whether formally (in a school) or non-formally (in a community setting), if one consciously attempts to learn a tacit skill, then it is the change in the understanding and/or ability of the learner that indicates if knowledge has been passed on. Sennett (2008) in a chapter entitled 'Expressive Instructions' outlines how it is critical that the learner gets the picture, by being physically present and/or through the verbal instructions given. His principle of instruction is "Show don't tell", advising that by being face-to-face, one can see that the other fully understands by their performance of the skill. A further benefit attaching to this learning/teaching process is that it enables either person to ask probing questions, making "the learning local" (Sennett, 2008, p.179). Sennett (2008) adds that when being present is not possible and perhaps the learner is reduced to merely following instructions, be they written out or even recorded, the words used should paint a picture in the mind of the reader. "Expressive directions connect technical craft to the imagination" (Sennett,

2008, p.193). If the learner/reader fails to get the picture, they will not master the skill. Pálsson (1994), Ingold (2000), Tuan (1977) and Sennett (2008) all agree that we master a skill by doing it, a methodology that is known as practice theory.

2.4.3.1 The tacit skills of the craftsperson

Sennett (2008, p.9) proposes that one of the virtues of craftsmanship is that it names the "basic human impulse" to do a job well for the sake of doing it well. Thus, with Sennett there is no mention of monetary reward taking precedence over the satisfaction of a job well done. This is evident from his declaration that a craftsman must feel-as-one with the material and "become the thing on which we are working" (p.174). This revelation however does not preclude Sennett from an awareness of the pressures of machines and the push for mass-production, about which he advises that if standards are to be maintained then it is much better that these come from within the craftsman than from "a lifeless static code" (Sennett, 2008, p.80). The hand is the most useful limb to the craftsperson in the expression of tacit skills, as, according to Bell (1883), it is the freest one from "restricted mind controlled movement" and he performed a series of experiments in attempt to prove that "the brain received more trustworthy information from the touch of the hand than from the eye" (cited in Sennett, 2008, p.150). The eye however, will still be integral to this work and Sennett (2008) relates as much, in claiming that the craftsperson with a good body awareness used "the triad of the intelligent hand - coordination of hand, eye and brain" (Sennett, 2008, p.174).

Craft/tacit skills learning is often achieved through the non-formal means of observation and participation within a group, especially so if that group contains a mentor. This fulfils the criterion of having face-to-face teaching and learning, also enabling teaching using demonstration rather than verbal instruction. Crucially, it can offer the possibility to involve the learner in the work, in a form of apprenticeship or legitimate peripheral participation. Pálsson (1994) while writing of the Icelandic fisheries college and the training achieved there, gives some recognition to what is learned in college

with regard to safety at sea, but unequivocally states that there is little, if any, connection between college performance and fishing success. He points out that even the skipper's advice means little when compared with how he enacts this acquired information, when faced with "situated learning" (Pálsson, 1994, p.917) and "immersion in the practical world" (p.901). He refers to Gatewood's (1983) reasoning on the difference between the 'learned' and 'reality', showing a clear pattern that "skippers' decisions are a matter of unspecifiable skill, of tacit knowledge" (cited in Pálsson, 1994, p.907). Pálsson (1994, p.907) clarifies, stating that people often employ "intuitive knowledge and situated practice" when working/acting. This would seem to provide clear support for the old adage that one learns what they live, or what they see rather than what they are told. The craftsperson must always be attentive and open to perception, as often they simply notice that something works. They may not know why or even how, but will just intuitively know and accept that it works. This is achieved through direct experience of participation in the craft over many years and can rarely be learned in college lessons. This enactment, perhaps seeming impulsive to an observer, is enabled because of a large store of corporeal or embodied knowledge, gained through constant practice and performance.

Building on the necessity to 'always be attentive', the craftsperson today must also be open to not alone embracing new technology, but to subsume it and utilise it as an extension of oneself. Polyani (1958) when writing of Icelandic fishermen's ability to use technology in order to add to their knowledge of the seabed, proposed that when doing so, one needed to learn to make such tools and technologies almost as an extension of themselves. He said that "we accept them existentially, by dwelling in them" (cited in Pálsson, 1994, p.910). The relevance of the term 'dwelling' should not go unnoticed here, as it serves to further highlight and embed the theme of man's participation in a landscape/taskscape as a partner. Therefore, one needs to transcend the pitfalls of engaging with technology as a 'superior', rather see it as an extension of oneself, and always be alert to the possibilities arising from engagement with it. Ingold (2000) in his essay entitled 'Tools, Minds and Machines' writes that pre-seventeenth century

technology meant 'the art and skill of reason', or one working, thinking and designing in order to achieve an objective. Today however, technology is often employed for the opposite purpose, that is, the reason of skill. Instead of freeing the operative to advance both his skills and reasoning, technology often robs the operative of any chance to utilise his knowledge to influence the production; rather s/he is enslaved to the line of production (Ingold, 2000, p.295). Pálsson (1994) poses a further question in regards to learning by mimicking, asking where then does "creativity come from" (Pálsson, 1994, p.903) and "how do we deal with the unfamiliar?" (p.904). In referring to Heidegger's belief in the necessity for 'readiness-at-hand' in order to dwell in the environment, one must understand that technology cannot replace intelligence, especially so for the traditional craftsman.

2.4.4 Knowledge and practices within community

As tacit knowledge develops within the craftsman, it guides his actions, arming him with his own set of beliefs and values. Within a community then, some of these (beliefs, values and assumptions) will be unique to an individual, although many will be common to all within a particular trade or even a community, particularly a rural community. Together, this knowledge will "create an auto-pilot response within these persons, acting like a lens that filters their interpretation and understanding of their personal experiences and communications" (Saint-Onge, 1996, p.10). At a time before the technological advances of today enabled the virtual connection of people who were geographically dispersed, the meeting at the local workshops, sheds, quaysides or public houses enabled the sharing of local and tacit knowledge, and what Amin and Roberts (2008, p.354) termed "the potential for creativity and innovation offered by Communities of Practice, ever wishful of articulating and harnessing the intangible, the tacit, and the practice". Rural and isolated communities were in many ways the precursors of the concept that Etienne Wenger is credited with naming as 'Communities of Practice'. Along with Jean Lave, they challenged the accepted norm that one's learning was individualistic, proposing instead that it was "a social process that is situated in a cultural and historical context" (Farnsworth, Kleanthous and Wenger-Trayner, 2016, p.140). They defined a

Community of Practice as "a system of relationships between people, activities, and the world; developing with time, and in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice" (Amin and Roberts, 2008, p.354).

This definition describes the type of shared learning that existed within rural and insular/isolated communities where the locally shared knowledge was based upon the existing resources and their uses in enabling dwelling. One learns from within community, absorbing the skills and habits that are witnessed daily. These are utilised and implemented until faced with a new experience that requires change. Ingold (2000, p.415) points out that with any skill, "the novice becomes 'accomplished', not by learning and knowing the rules and representations, but rather, by knowing when they can be dispensed with". It is only after numerous performances of the learned skill that the craftsperson will be in a position to perform it, seemingly without thinking, but always observant and in control of his movements. While Normative Theory of Learning (Socialisation), sees the learner assuming the knowledge and norms already stored in the community consciousness, Practice Theory encapsulates the "purpose, agency and dialogue" into the learning and thus involves the real world, not merely the learner's head (Ingold, 2000, p.415). One cannot simply divorce the act of learning or enskilment from the context in which the learning takes place; that is, the why, where and how it occurred. Ingold (2000, p.291) writes that a practice is mastered and becomes part of the body's "modus operandi through practice and experience in an environment". An example of this is presented by Pálsson (1994) in explaining how young fishermen gain their 'sea legs' in Icelandic fishing boats. He explains that it is not just a case of mimicking the others on board or merely "internalising a stock of knowledge or a cultural model", rather, they become "skilful by attending to the task at hand while actively engaged with a social and natural environment" (Pálsson, 1994, p.901). In an isolated community, much of the shared learning practices will be meaningful for the entire community, as very many members will be engaged with or dependent upon the few resources that exist therein. Such dependence and inter-dependence upon resources and

communal knowledge and practices can engender a sense of attachment, belonging and identity within a community. These attributes shall be discussed in the following section.

2.5 Locality, Community, Attachment, Belonging and Identity

This section explores community and how it is held together and functions as a symbiotic entity, despite or because of, the existence of 'micro-communities' and their distinctive 'domains' within the larger entity (Peace, 2001). It explores the need for individuals to live in "actively sensed places" (cited in Feld and Basso, 1996, p.55), and how it is through this engagement with and understanding of place that a sense of belonging is engendered (Pocius, 2004). The section concludes with a review of the body of literature to date pertinent to the concept of place within seascape, rather than as normally studied, within landscape, and how it hosts 'maritime peoples' (McNiven, 2008).

2.5.1 Community and identity

Within the literature on community, there is quite a range of perspectives on what constitutes community and for this study, understanding "community" is best captured from ethnographic studies of knowledge and performance. Delanty (2003, p.49) proposes that "community is not merely a matter of traditional values but of forms of social organisation and of belonging". He also declares that communities perform a major role in "the development of personal identities" (Delanty, 2003, p.71).

On the concept of development of identity, Devlin Trew (2009, p.31) argues that places are "much more than physical entities, they also act as repositories of experiences, languages, histories and thoughts". The interaction between these repositories and the human person is termed by Basso (1996) as 'interanimation', proposing that while tending to place, the person animates it with his own "ideas and feelings" and at the same time, he is animated within himself through having made whatever action he did upon that place he was tending to. Basso clarifies by saying that as "places are actively sensed, they become embedded in the landscape of the mind of the person who worked on them" (cited in Feld and Basso, 1996, p.55).

Such a connection with the landscape is strong among people who dwell there and the attachments made may live on within them, long after the topography might have changed. Despite the changes, one can awaken a strong sentiment of the learning and knowledge gained there, by re-tracing their steps or journey through that same landscape where the memories were made. Marshall III (2005) writes of this phenomenon amongst the Lakota leaders, as does Chatwin (2012) when writing of the 'Songlines' of the Australian Aboriginal Peoples. While the songlines referred to lines of travel through the lands in Australia, they represent the verses of knowledge and wisdom composed when following these lines on walkabout, each relating to events within and interactions with, the landscape along the way. McElveen (2009, p.10) cites Chatwin (2012), when writing that these "songs are a verbal map of a highly articulate culture". What appears to be repeatedly stressed in both writings is the importance of time spent in a place, interacting first-hand with everything therein, and it was this 'knowing' that enabled the nomadic travels. Subsequently, one might say that time spent in a place is very important in knowing that place. This necessity did not pose problems within traditional communities, especially so rural ones, as the inhabitants rarely left their own locality, quite often spending their entire lives in or around that one place. However, for modern humans and their mobility, this might pose a problem, and their experience of place might often be seen as 'superficial'. Tuan (1977) emphasises that one's knowledge of place is built-up by the consistent addition of small and 'un-dramatic' experiences over years and that this enables one's knowing of place, more so than the rare and big dramatic events. He writes that, "the feel of a place is registered in one's muscles and bones" (Tuan, 1977, p.184). Thus, it is the repeated little experiences of everyday life that enable a sense of home, belonging and community. This on-going activity that represents everyday life is "fundamental to human well-being", according to Low (1994), when writing of the "embeddedness of person, space and action" in place (cited in Hufford, 1994, p.66). Similarly, Pocius (2004) in writing of people within community working together, for each other and the community, explained that for the people of Calvin, their demarcations

were ones that showed where work began and stopped, and not the ownership of land.

An important contribution to the study of community in Ireland can be found in the work of anthropologist, Peace (2001). For Peace, a sense of community working together enables one to feel an "attachment to the community as a whole" and "build on a sense of shared moral obligation" (Peace, 2001, p.67). He elaborates that within a community one can find various micro-communities that may elude a visitor's attention, but to those living there, the different "internal cultural variations" are visible. He calls these "domains" based upon "fields of familiarity" (Peace, 2001, p.28). Thus, within his anonymised village community of "Inveresk", one could locate the fishing domain, the tradesperson's domain and on the village fringes, the domain of country folk and while each person was of Inveresk, each initially belongs to his own domain. Yet when a community need arises, the boundaries of these three domains open and coalesce to assume the boundary of the entire community, and the sense of belonging to community replaces that of the domain (Peace, 2001). A sense of belonging enables a feeling of care from family and friends and yet belonging is intimately related to one's culture and place. In Pocius' (2004) Calvert, people visited each other both in the houses at night to share news and stories, while they visited each other in the fields to share energies and resources (Pocius, 2004). Such was the sense of belonging within the community of Calvert that the culture around village–life tended to impose and guide the inhabitants' comings and goings, how they interacted with one another and their various personal and communal properties (Pocius, 2004). There is a great deal of similarity between life in Calvert and that of the communities of the Western Apache, of which Basso (1996) wrote, when explaining that such life is lived in "actively sensed meaningful places" (cited in Feld and Basso, 1996, p.7). One's sense of belonging in such places is proportionate to their engagement within the community, and the existence of shared spaces in Calvert meant the community had shared-ownership and shared-obligations, born not of material goods, but of those shared spaces (Pocius, 2004). Such obligations actively serve to bind the

community together. Likewise, Peace (2001) advises that one should not neglect the context within which people live their lives, and that spatial sites in a community acquire specific meaning and "symbolic properties", offering social opportunities to the community, benefitting the individual and the group identity, through gatherings and events there (Peace, 2001, p.4).

Similar to the aforementioned building and sharing of local and tacit knowledge within rural and isolated communities, Cohen (1982), the social anthropologist whose work on the 'symbolic construction of community' was highly influential, suggests that an individual's identity is often "publically allocated" within the community (cited in Devlin Trew, 2009, p.25). While writing of the public management of identity in Whalsay (Shetland), Cohen proposed that while there existed a regional or community ethos characteristic to those living in isolation and hardship, an individual's, or even a family's differing traits or abilities could be used to identify them within the community (Devlin Trew, 2009). This system of trait or trade identification was, and remains, in use in Conamara today, where an individual and often an entire family will have the trade or a description of the father inserted as a middle name or even replacing the surname of the family entirely. For example Micheál an Gabha, (Micheál the blacksmith), Pat Móir Mac Donnacha (Big Pat Mac Donnacha) or Seánín Cháit (taking the mother's name). Such a naming system is still prevalent amongst rural and isolated communities as often one, two or more surnames are very prevalent therein and this system allows for familial or personal identification.

In further demonstration of what 'local and inclusive' means, I refer once more to Devlin Trew (2009), who tells of dealing with deviations in characters and with deviants within the community in the Ottawa Valley. Such characters and their escapades will both be feted and told of again and again, "in a light-hearted, yet respectful way" (p.25). Relatively speaking, one would suspect that this is the case with most communities and though the other community members might complain about them publically, they still intrinsically accept them (deviants) as one of their own. For many, the

actions of such persons are a distraction, and even at times constitute a social event within the community. According to Peace (2001), an individual's knowledge or interpretation of local experiences and events within their domain is that which bestows a sense of belonging. Thus, he concludes that a domain or community boundary could be identified or drawn where inhabitants really struggle to understand, or to be able to contribute to, important local events (Peace, 2001). A community is the sum total of all its engaged members, and, according to Read (1996) everyone's response to an event within a locality can be different or individual, dependent upon the culture with which they are familiar (cited in Schofield and Szymanski, 2011). Communities exist through the engagement of all involved in efforts to address the mutual needs of its inhabitants and it is how these needs are addressed that moulds the culture of the community. Culture, thus, is one's way of reacting, of doing things and of living. It is "all that in human society which is socially rather than biologically transmitted" (Marshall, 1998, p.127). The next section of this chapter looks at culture and tradition, especially so from the perspective of the need to evolve in order to remain relevant to community life.

2.5.2 Attachment and belonging

While the taskscape represents the setting where the individual interacts most with the environment in enabling dwelling, it often represents a shared-space for many members of the community, or even that of a few communities, particularly so if it is water-based. With many members of a rural community present in the same taskscape, it will be an interactive location where local knowledge or culture is acquired, built up, shared and exhibited. This acquisition and sharing of local knowledge can only be experienced through actually being there (Pálsson, 1994, p.904). The consolidation of this 'local knowledge' or 'shared meanings' resonates very much with Pocious (2004), who asserts that, while the visitor to a place will often wonder at the chaos and apparent confusion in the layout of the settlement, the local will know the story of and reason behind each one, and through this local knowledge and understanding one is bestowed with a feeling of belonging. Such a feeling releases one to engage with and

contribute more freely in the acts of knowledge creation and sharing therein. This relationship with, or feeling for, place is expressed by Dinesen (1979) as, “People embrace the countryside and find the embrace returned” (cited in Basso, 1996, p.106). Basso (1996) further explains that the wisdom contained in landscapes and landmarks is born of a coming together of the landmark, its history and the mind of the wise person, (the keeper of the history/stories and knowledge of that particular place).

In the literature on place, there appears to be a general agreement that place is a social construct, that is, places emerge as a result of people conducting their lives and interactions within “socially constructed spaces” (Pocius, 2004, p.xix). Seamon (2014) in discussing the issue of place attachment, uses the term “Place Ballet” when referring to the habitual bodily movements of people in particular locations, as they interact with everything there, conferring a sense of “place”, “meaning”, and “attachment” on that location, and perhaps resulting in “communal exchange” (cited in Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014, p.13). Seamon (2014) clarifies that it is these exchanges amongst community members and the environmental dimensions of place that foster a sense of attachment, because each part-exchange opens up an opportunity for reciprocation and gradual sustaining within that location or place. Very many factors support a sense of attachment to place, such as duration of time spent at the location, the age of the persons involved, and each of these factors are important and helps to sustain the others (cited in Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014).

Regarding attachment or belonging, Merleau-Ponty (1968) saw “the self as not simply in the world but of it” (cited in Wylie, 2007, p.151). In proposing his theory of reversibility (seeing the body as both the subject and the object at the same time), he pointed out that parts of the body can be “touching and touched, observer and observed at the same time” (in Wylie, 2007, p.151). He further clarified that it is only through seeing the landscape that man acquires “a sense of himself as an observing subject” and belonging to it. It is this sense of belonging to it that allows man to see it (cited in Wylie, 2007, p.152). For Merleau-Ponty it was only by being present in the world that one saw it and he believed (similarly to Ingold afterwards) that within

the landscape one "is intertwined with an unfolding differentiation, enabling perception through this attunement with the landscape" (cited in Wylie, 2007, p.152).

Pocius (2004) reveals important observations in relation to 'belonging to place and community', through his study of a community of fewer than five hundred people in Calvert, Newfoundland. The residents rarely speak of living there, rather they speak of belonging to the community there. He explained that in Newfoundland, one is not asked "where do you live"? but "where do you belong to?" (Pocius, 2004, p.3). In the notes attaching to his book, the term 'belong' is explained within the Dictionary of Newfoundland English as meaning, to be related by blood, or also to be a native of, or to come from (Pocius, 2004). Relatively speaking, the same is true today of the small, rural and isolated communities in Conamara, on the West Coast of Ireland. There, upon introduction, one is still asked "Cé leis thú?", (that is "To whom do you belong"? or, "Who are your people"?) and not "where are you from?", in a geographical sense. Knowing, being active in and interacting with, are how spaces are shared and places and communities are constructed. Thus, it is both through language and the experience gained within a place (in Calvert, the sharing of common spaces and the knowledge generated within), that fosters a sense of belonging (Pocius, 2004). Relph (2008) points out that for the outsider (stranger) to sleep here it would merely constitute "a lived-space", but the insider (local) would experience "the essence of place" (Relph, 2008, p.49). This insight suggests that were one in a position to experience this 'essence of place', then they might at least begin to feel a sense of belonging. What, one might ask, if this place is constituted more by sea than by land? Maritime people's daily lives are constantly influenced by the fluidity of both their taskscape and also their social surrounds, a phenomenon not often encountered by those within landscape. McNiven (2008), in his paper on the sentience of seascapes, argues that "a key cosmological element of seascape construction and engagement is spiritscapes and the imbuement of the seas with anthropomorphic spiritual entities" (cited in Bruno and Thomas, 2008, p.149).

2.5.2.1 Anthropomorphism

When one feels so 'at home with' or 'attached to' an animal or an inanimate object/work piece, it is not unusual for the person to attribute human-like characteristics to it or even to talk to it. The essence of anthropomorphism has been described by Epley *et al.*, (2007) as: "Imbuing the imagined or real behaviour of nonhuman agents with humanlike characteristics, motivations, intentions, and emotions" (p.864). They argue that this is so as these anthropomorphised agents can enrich one's life by assuming the status of "powerful agents of social connection when human connection is lacking", having reasoned that the anthropomorphised agent will be treated with "respect and concern" as "moral agents", whereas the non-anthropomorphised agents remain treated "merely as objects" (Epley *et al.*, 2007, p.864). Therefore, through the anthropomorphisation of both/either non-human animal or inanimate agents, man is actually intentionally or un-intentionally putting in process the creation of not alone a replacement human connection but a social connection that is more a part of his taskscape than he is himself. Fessler (2017, p.1) writes that long ago when travelling by ship, one's life was "at the mercy of the vessel" and that "there are three primal reasons why we might anthropomorphize an object: the non-human subject looks like it has a face, we'd like to be friends with it, or we can't explain its unpredictable behaviour". That one's life was at the mercy of the vessel long ago, and even today to a somewhat lesser extent perhaps, cannot be disputed. However, Fessler (2017, p.1) continues to write that "Humans are unpredictable and if an object is, we tend to think of it as human too". Boats on water are very unpredictable and man usually likes to feel that he is in charge of the situation and thus seeks a method of controlling or at least giving guidance to the passage of the vessel, that they might both complete their journey safely. The passage of many long hours without the immediate company of another human being close alongside enabled, or perhaps encouraged, a relationship to grow between a man and his boat.

This drive to comprehend, make familiar or domesticate the seascape that hosts maritime peoples (their taskscape) is discussed by McNiven (2008), in

his “Anthropomorphic Construction of Seascapes as Spiritscapes” (in Bruno and Thomas, 2008). Anthropomorphism is a central component in this construction and according to McNiven (2008), it “socialises seas and marine environments so they are: (1) explicable and comprehensible; (2) domesticated and familiar; (3) historical and transformative; and (4) sociable and engagable” (David and Thomas, 2008, p.151) . He says “the sea, as a sentient realm, is capable of reacting consciously to human presence and action in much the same way that people are capable of reacting consciously to the presence and the action of the sea” (in Bruno and Thomas, 2008, p.151). This is a strikingly similar concept to that of ‘interanimation’, used by Basso (1996) when writing of places being animated by man, who in turn, is animated by the change in topography after working upon it (cited in Feld and Basso, 1996, p.55). Under the four points listed above, McNiven (2008) clarifies that the sentient seascape enables a knowledge and understanding on a “needs-based and engagement-dependent” basis. It allows a familiarity and a build up of a place-name vocabulary in a transformative, sociable and engaging place (in Bruno and Thomas, 2008, p.152). In essence, it enables dwelling in an otherwise harsh environment. The aforementioned shared knowledge(s)/skills of the community were implemented because they allowed dwelling and over time became the culture of the community and even the region, as shall be discussed in the following chapter.

2.6 Tradition and Culture Evolving

The hooker is no longer a community necessity and yet is alive and flourishing today because of the community’s love and respect for it. This final section closes the circle of the lifecycle of a community’s culture and examines how it is ever re-negotiating and evolving in order to remain meaningful. The communities of South West Conamara still proudly sail their hookers every summer and strive to remain true to their tradition, ignoring those who allege that to be modern means turning one’s back on tradition (Ó Giolláin, 2000; Anttonen, 2005). In trying to keep their heritage alive in the community’s consciousness those persons/families connected to the hooker have chosen a different platform through which to display it,

their sailing skills and their remaining local knowledge(s). The resultant regattas/festivals honouring and exhibiting the particular cultural practice in question are discussed, as are the upholding of piseoga (folk customs) surrounding it here and in many rural and isolated communities, despite claims to the opposite. This section closes with a debate concerning the unbreakable attachment of a community's culture, tradition and heritage to location/place and the importance of the local knowledge attaching to it.

2.6.1 Culture and place-attachment

As has been previously portrayed, culture is learned. Shils (1981) explains that traditions are crucial to "the worthwhile life", enabling continuity "with a sense of past and an attachment to locality and collectivity" (cited in Honko, 1995, p.131). Shils (1981) carries on to say that it is those "parts of tradition that are made relevant to the community today that become part of its culture and integrated into its way of life" (cited in Honko, 1995, p.134). As Devlin Trew (2009) tells us, it can be listed as "local knowledge", pointing out that it can only be found at that one place and for a person to have this local knowledge, it had to be gained by being actively experienced there (Devlin Trew, 2009, p.31). Thus culture and the place, space or context wherein it is found are inseparable, and one needs an understanding of these to attempt to understand the culture and behaviour of those within. According to Low (1994), it is from the context within place that "symbolic cues for one's behaviour" are given and should the contexts for these "culturally meaningful behaviours and processes" be lost, then all connections with and understandings of a people's past, present and possible future behaviours will be greatly limited (cited in Hufford, 1994, p.66). Therefore, one can accept a community's culture as arising from their dwelling requirements, within the landscape or seascape in which they are located. In their essay entitled 'Sense of place in a changing world', Schofield and Szymanski (2011) write of how places, objects, cultural traditions or landscape components are special because they are deeply engrained with local significance and special to those who live there. Often it will be merely the sound or smell within the place that makes it distinctive and special to those who use it a lot or dwell there. Cultural practices,

including traditional games and pastimes, and everything that can be considered as symbols of a tradition and heritage of a people have always been faced with the dilemma of co-existence and adaptability within modern Ireland.

When writing of a widening of the base in which sean-nós singing is practiced, Ó Giolláin (2000) alludes to the compromise that any tradition has to negotiate/facilitate in order to survive and to stay alive. He writes that:

> …the continuity of traditional cultural elements is not necessarily compromised by embracing, rather than resisting, modernity, even if the resulting 'second life' may not satisfy the purist.
>
> (Ó Giolláin, 2000, p.4).

A tradition, by definition, will have endured in the community over a long period of time, and therefore, represents a stable aspect of that culture. It will have managed to evolve successfully as the way of life of the culture changed over time. Tradition, therefore, is both durable and flexible (Devlin Trew, 2009). Anttonen (2005) claims that "to be traditional is to be modern in a different way", since modernism is born from the past, with its "older ways, beliefs, values and technologies" (p.40). He goes on to propose that tradition and folklore "may provide a psychological anchor in the experience of ephemerality, as it manifests permanence that lasts through time" (Anttonen, 2005, p.43). Tradition, it must be remembered, is born from within community and is therefore of that people in that place. It is in general a part of their "identity" (Ó Giolláin, 2000, p.8). Finnegan (1992) supports this claim regarding identity and further strengthens it by writing that "tradition can also contribute to transforming societies by re-activating elements from the past or giving voice to marginalised groups of society" (cited in Devlin Trew, 2009, p.80). Modernists, according to Ó Giolláin (2000), looked on tradition as prevention of progress, and thus "to be modern is to turn one's back on tradition, to live in the present and be oriented towards the future" (Ó Giolláin, 2000, p.13). Anttonen (2005) opposes this modernist view, outlining that tradition is not always seen to be in conflict with or resisting modernity, rather it is the guide by which

modernity is designed and therefore "calls attention to the temporality of modernity" (Anttonen, 2005, p.39).

2.6.2 Heritage, popular practices, tradition, and folklore

Heritage is anything deemed worthy of passing on and preserving for future generations. The 'anything' can include buildings, implements that were used in the past, books, or indeed pastimes or customs of yesteryear. Pastimes will, most likely, have begun as popular practices of work or dwelling and once replaced by more modern practices, were then thought of as traditional, before being deemed as heritage and folklore. Ó Giolláin (2000) makes the argument that by "the very act of choosing which cultural elements to preserve re-contextualizes them" (p.58), while Kockel (2002) explains that "cultural practices and artefacts only become 'heritage' once they are no longer in current, active use", and therefore, heritage "is culture that has (been) dropped out of the process of tradition" (cited in Kockel and Nic Craith, 2007, p.20). This is not to declare that heritage is dead, just that a change is needed in the way of its transmission as it is no longer actively used in the traditional manner. In identifying the source of Irish traditions, and indeed the traditions of most nations, Pearse (1906) proposed a link between traditionalism and peasantry, stating that "the traditional style was simply the peasant style" (cited in Ó Giolláin, 2000, p.123) and that "the only Irish arts, which have survived to us are peasant arts, just as the spoken Irish is a peasant speech" (cited in Ó Giolláin, 2000, p.123). Similarly, many years later, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, having acknowledged that folklore could be created and gathered everywhere, wrote of his home place (An Spidéal) and of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht, "There the old customs are practiced, it is there above all that folklore is. The Gaeltacht is only a branch of folklore" (cited in Ó Giolláin, 2000, p.151).

Outside of cities and large towns one finds that cultural practices and traditional pastimes invariably reside in an area that naturally suits the practice. The topography and natural resources of the locality dictated what form such 'practices/pastimes' would take. Invariably, they evolved out of the life-practices of the people, be that from fishing, growing crops or

hunting for food. Hunting, herding and growing crops might have involved horses, giving rise to pastimes of racing, riding-skills or horse-shoe pitching. After harvesting hay or straw, the gathering of the crops for storage gave rise to the practice of sheaf-tossing, later to become a world-wide competition. Rowing the currach for travel purposes or local fishing, saw the birth of currach-racing as a pastime. Sailing the local boats of an island community gave further rise to regattas. Thus, traditional practices and pastimes are associated with life's survival necessities and are of the people and their location. To attempt to understand a culture one has to research the historical perspective behind it and ideally to be within and to experience it. For these communities, the traditions have a pragmatic as well as an historical importance. Geertz (1983) stated that "rights are culturally constructed and are determined locally, by circumstance, by the knowledge, traditions, beliefs and the practices that lie behind them" (cited in Devlin Trew, 2009, p.21). Though Geertz (1983) was speaking of legal-rights, the main point highlighted by Devlin Trew (2009) is that what's right for a people/community is constructed/chosen locally. This is particularly true in relation to a people's cultural and popular practices, as it is they alone (the ordinary community member) will keep a practice alive by enacting it or let it die by not using it. As with the traditional practice concerned in this study, participants no longer gain an income through its implementation, in fact it costs a lot of money to maintain a Galway hooker. Yet, the practice is maintained by ordinary members of the community, and in particular, by those families who have had a hooker within their family line down through the generations.

As modern sport becomes more and more commercialised, engaging and rewarding only the very few elite practitioners, while leaving to one side the 'average participant', many communities are now realising that the practices of their forefathers were good for their peoples, their environment and their communities. Once more, this is particularly true of the communities in isolated South West Conamara, termed Hooker Country. Here, most of the regatta participants have little to no interest in winning the race. In fact, some of the interviewees involved in this study stated that they did not like

the races, but participate in order to enable the races to be maintained. Jaouen and Guibert (2005, p.1) write that "Elements of the identity of regional communities, such as their dances, music, gastronomy and traditional games are living laboratories of local democracy, of different human and intercultural relationships". Through such traditional practices one keeps in touch with the local knowledge of their forefathers, and having become part of the community's culture, they continue to be practiced long after their necessity is gone. Such traditional practices are often exhibited today within the form of a local festival, and because of this, many new practitioners are often induced to re-learn the cultural ways. Community activists have observed that the practice of their games and pastimes resonate with others who have lost touch with their own roots and are feeling a little lost without such guidance and direction. One community after another have expressed an interest in, or indeed begun to organise a local festival based upon, the traditional practices of their locality (Jaouen and Guibert, 2005).

2.6.2.1 Piseoga, folk customs or superstitious practices

Béaloideas is the Gaelic/Irish word for folklore, though a literal translation of the word would be understood as 'mouth teaching/education'. Ó Súilleabháin (1967) tells us that folklore is the collective term for a people's "popular beliefs and customs", along with "their traditional tales, legends, songs, proverbs, prayers, charms, riddles" and their "local history" (seanchas). Thus, it truly represented "any form of oral literature" that was accepted in that community (Ó Súilleabháin, 1967, p.7). A store of folklore was built up within communities and passed down through the generations before the time when recording or transcription was carried out. This was especially prevalent amongst rural and isolated communities, where everything changed and continues to change, very slowly. Such steadfastness resulted in communities that are slow to accept new ways of doing things, preferring instead to continue with what has worked in the past and delivered the desired results. Since it evolved within, and was manipulated directly by the community, folklore is, according to Ó Súilleabháin (1967, p.8) "one of the oldest and most international

inheritances of the human race" and "a link with the past in a deeper sense than are old records or archaeological remains" (p.9).

People held dear to cultural practices that were derived from successful work practices of their forefathers in the past. Cohen (1982) advocated that people do not uphold their cultural roots and practices merely because they were very important to them, rather they do so in order to point out their appropriateness to the community's needs "and to portray the ingenuity and skills" of their forefathers in addressing and overcoming those needs in the past (cited in Devlin Trew, 2009, p.23). With modern and technological advancements, new ways of addressing these same tasks might be invented, cultivated and dispersed. However, these 'advancements' were not readily accepted everywhere. Gradually those peoples who held dear to their old cultural practices were looked down upon, and their ways of doing things labelled as "impractical and absurd, if not pagan" (Ó Súilleabháin, 1967, p.12). This was sometimes so because the practices of today have evolved to such an extent that no semblance of commonality with the old practices remained and the observer today cannot understand them, though they were very practical and sufficient for their time (Ó Súilleabháin, 1967). The divide between accepting the beliefs and practices of one's forefathers and the idea of not being in a position to understand them often allowed superstition around these practices to build up.

While the word 'superstition' does not appear in the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (1998), it is to be found within the Oxford English Reference Dictionary, being defined as "(1) credulity regarding the supernatural, (2) an irrational fear of the unknown or the mysterious, (3) misdirected reverence, (4) a practice, opinion, or religion based on these tendencies, (5) a widely held but unjustified idea of the effects or nature of a thing" (Pearsall, 1996, p.1449). Piseoga (superstitions in Gaelic/Irish language) are today generally looked down upon and often labelled as nonsense. Yet, those who have been reared in a family or community where some of the older folk believed in and lived by them will not neglect them entirely. This was especially so whenever one's life might be under threat of danger. Then the folk beliefs and customs were generally engaged, often in a ritualised manner.

2.6.2.2 Because it works!

Vyse (2014) advises that one's perception of events is greatly affected by timing and spacing and that nobody is born superstitious, rather, it is an acquired behaviour "because our superstitions appear to work" (Vyse, 2014, p.74). When something randomly occurs and is noticed to coincide or closely align with an action by the person, then an association is perceived between the two. If a positive result follows then this pairing of events is repeated every time the same result is desired. Despite the fact that the action will not always produce the desired result, it will be repeated over and over and though not linked directly, the desired result will occur again at some point and reinforce that belief. Any witnesses and associates of the person involved might also believe in the association and so the superstition will grow and spread amongst the community. The 'positive result' might involve gaining something, or indeed might be deemed positive because something did not happen and the person remained 'safe'. Vyse (2014) writes "that human beings are very sensitive to coincidence" and when important events happen together, they can change our behaviour, alter our thought processes, and lift or dash our spirits (Vyse, 2014, p.74).

Thus it is no surprise that folk customs, rituals, superstitions or piseoga were (and often still are) very much alive and strongly adhered to by coastal communities who were dependent upon the often dangerous activity of sea travel in order to live. Hole (1967) explained that those living near the sea and having a connection with it have always viewed it as "a living, thinking entity" and that it could be very two-faced, both "malicious, cruel and unreliable and also a giver of benefits" (Hole, 1967, p.184). Very many superstitions were created about the sea and those who most frequently sailed on it. Hole (1967) listed many superstitions that are still known today, regarding the sailor on his way to the boat and what he saw or met that might make him turn around instantly and not go sailing/fishing that day at all. She also tells of the wish among sailors not to gain sight of priests or religious preachers in or near the boats, explaining that this was not because of any anti-religious tendency; rather it was most likely a recognition of the pre-Christian times and that many of the sailors would be mass-goers while

on land, but when at sea were fearful to upset the "Old Gods" (Hole, 1967, p.186).

She also explains why sailors and fishermen never learned to swim, as they believed that if they were in the sea and that if the water was of a mind to take them, then it was pointless to struggle against it as this would only succeed in painfully drawing out the inevitable (Hole, 1967). Though dated from 1948, Forester's paper on Sailors' Superstitions describes numerous superstitions that are still spoken of today, nearly three-quarters of a century later, and were regularly listed/mentioned during my study. Amongst the entries described here are: (1) the sight of a hare by a sailor on his way to the boat would see him promptly turn about and go home again without sailing; (2) A woman must not be aboard or spoken of while fishing as this would bring bad luck; (3) When fishing for a species that might rest at the bottom of a calm sea, a knife was stuck into the back of the mast in order to stir up the sea and thus move the fish; (4) A sailor might whistle for the wind, but should not do so too 'shrilly' in case he got one too strong (Forster, 1948, pp.51-54). Many of the piseoga highlight the strong relationship between belief in superstitions and the closeness of danger when working on the sea (Forster, 1948).

Chen and Young (2018) in their paper on the relationship between luck and superstition, tell us that "superstitious behaviour is generally socially unacceptable in modern industrialised countries", yet "it remains prevalent in all human societies" (p.1098). Reasoning why this is so, they often refer to psychological and situational factors, especially factors outside of one's control. Rituals were often devised in order to improve a person's chances for luck (Chen and Young, 2018, p.1099). This is still a widespread practice today, particularly amongst sportspersons. Many will have a set preparation routine, a favourite warm-up jersey or wear a 'lucky' charm, all in an effort to acquire luck in seeking to overcome an unknown quantity, an opposition or something that is outside of their control. Actually, superstitions aside, it has been stated that the effort and attention to detail required in enacting one's 'superstitious' routine in preparation towards taking a free shot or kicking off in a football game, gain an advantage for the player as it

regulates the psychological tension around the situation and thus relaxes the player to make a good shot (Damisch, Stoberock and Mussweiler, 2010).

2.6.3 Festivals, cultural pastimes and traditions

In attempting to keep the cultural heritage from their forefathers alive and to display it to future generations, many communities organise a local festival based on the particular knowledge, skills or practices therein. Kurin (1989, cited in Cantwell, 1991) understands the richness within the aspects of one's culture, observing that their practice within 'Cultural Festivals' today "represent not only a continuity with the past, but the ability to enact the future with a variety of proven approaches and sensibilities" (cited in Cantwell, 1991, p. 149). Cultural expressions that may have developed and endured over many lifetimes are lost to future generations if not learned, practiced, enacted and passed-on to each new generation. Lost within these expressions will be the knowledge, skills and wisdom that were initially created by the forefathers of today's community as they strove to overcome some adversity in their own lives. Such an occurrence leaves communities ignorant of possible remedies should a similar necessity arise in the future. Gorini (1994) writes in praise of traditional games and pastimes that "they are always wonderful and tell us about a past that is still very much alive; rich in tradition, history and culture" (p.8). Culture, born of tradition, evolves and grows with time, circumstance and context. Thus, keepers of tradition and organisers of traditional festivals are sometimes faced with difficult decisions that can lead to argument and heated debate because original implements from times past might no longer be available. This sometimes happens due to a temporary absence of the substance from which it was originally constructed or perhaps it has gradually been replaced with one that is easier and/or cheaper to mass-produce. Eventually, a dilemma will arise for those practitioners wishing to remain true to the original implement/substance. In her paper on local values associated with community/occupational sports, Kruckemeyer (2002) points out that the location of the identity is important, as well as the values and skills associated with the performance of cultural traditions.

Within an ever-changing world, it is not always possible to re-enact a tradition at the exact location. When exploring the how and the why of 'social imaginary' of the Goshen wood-chopping show and community, Kruckemeyer (2002) points out that although the woodcutters make reference to locality and place, today their "community is not necessarily place-based". Rather, during the festival, it is felt through "occupational skills and festive performance" (Kruckemeyer, 2002, p.303). For many of the 'festival performers' they are re-enacting that which was important and possibly critical to the survival of their forefathers. What the actors are experiencing or their performances demonstrating in local festivals, based upon the culture and heritage of the locality, is clearly portrayed by Basso (1996), when he writes that "they are forever performing acts that reproduce and express their sense of place – and also, inextricably, their understanding of who they are" (Feld and Basso, 1996, p.57). It is these re-enactments that keep not only the actors, but also many of the onlookers, in touch with their forefathers. For many who have left the community in search of life or employment elsewhere, it is often on the dates of festivals of traditional games and pastimes such as these, that they choose to spend their holidays at home once more in their own place amongst a people they can identify with. Jaouen (1994, cited in Barreau and Jaouen, 1998) argues that urbanised man is losing touch with the original environment from which traditional games and pastimes emanated. He writes that it was as a direct result of their existence in and working within the environment of their crafts, that such traditional games were born. So while the world outside was evolving, they were the masters and promoters of their own traditions and pastimes within their own place and their own communities. What he is highlighting for all is that to be immersed in or involved with such cultural traditions comes easiest to those who are within that community.

The very undertaking of organising such festivals, concerts and events also personifies the community knowledge that is a necessary prerequisite. Peace (2001) describes in great detail the organisation of the annual concert in Inveresk, which is "collectively produced", but is directed by just one person, Jamie. Peace attributes the ability of achieving such to this

resident's "political skills" and above all else "his accumulated knowledge of Inveresk and his continuing engagement in it" (Peace, 2001, p.102). It is, Peace (2001) continues, the most important date in the community's year, where "the community is representing itself to itself", as full of "talent, a sense of unity and an integrity of purpose which continue to make it a distinctive place in the world" (Peace, 2001, p.104). Once more, this serves to highlight the type of knowledge already highlighted by Merleau-Ponty, Ingold, Basso, Pocious and many others, whereby, to know and understand a community, one must live, experience and learn from within.

2.7 Conclusion

Having reviewed the literature around the themes of space, place, landscape, seascape, taskscape, dwelling, knowledge(s) and community's culture, tradition and heritage, this chapter has laid the theoretical framework for the thesis that is to follow. It has interpreted the concept of dwelling from the perspective of seascape rather than landscape, and elaborated on the role of taskscape in enabling dwelling to transpire. Though much of the material could be viewed and discussed within more than one of the various sections introduced, illustrating the complementarity of the key themes, an effort was made to address the various concepts and themes sequentially. Section 2.2 considered the four interacting themes of space, place, landscape and seascape. This was followed, in Section 2.3, by an examination of the concepts of Dwelling (Heidegger, 2010) and Taskscape (Ingold, 2000). Such study allowed Section 2.4 to analyse the various knowledge(s) that were created and employed in dwelling, and in contributing to a taskscape that enabled dwelling. Section 2.5 explored how the sharing of these common knowledge(s) within the taskscape fostered a sense of attachment, belonging and identity within the community. Finally, the themes of culture, tradition and heritage were studied in Section 2.6, with reference to how a community might seek to celebrate and pass onto the next generation, the knowledge(s) and practices of their forefathers; practices that are neither necessary, nor economically viable today.

These key themes were each significant to this study as they facilitated the analysis and discussion on the findings from the 33 interviews conducted with hooker bádóirí and saor bháid. The next chapter (3) 'Methodology' outlines and analyses the methodological strategy employed in conducting this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and analyses the research strategy employed in this study. After opening (3.2) with a recap on the research question, section (3.3) looks at the ontological and epistemological foundations of the study. The following section (3.4) outlines the philosophical principles of the Grounded Theory methodology, that being the chosen research method/approach. Section (3.5) discusses interpretive research and is followed by a discussion (3.6) on qualitative research. A section (3.7) is then devoted to aligning the position and role of the researcher with the particular research question, discussing the advantages and disadvantages attached to his status within the population being studied. The ethical considerations that must be addressed when conducting qualitative research are then explored in section (3.8). There follows a discussion (3.9) on the design of this study, including the data collection method, the recruitment of participants, sampling strategy and the interview process. A description (3.10) is then provided of the issues that arose and were overcome while conducting the fieldwork. Analysis of the collected data is then detailed and discussed (3.11), especially in relation to the use of thematic analysis and the use of NVivo in its development. Finally, this chapter closes with an exploration of the limitations of this study (3.12) from a methodological point-of-view.

3.2 The Research Question

Having witnessed first-hand the community adoration for the traditional working sailboat, ‘the Galway hooker’ and the power of attraction that it exerted over all ages within the community, the author set about finding out how it managed to do this. Being moderately aware of why the people loved the boat so much (without it most of today’s generation of hooker sailors would have been born elsewhere), I wanted to explore more fully just how this traditional timber sailing craft enabled the communities of South West Conamara to live here in this isolated and much un-serviced region of Ireland-West. Thus, I set out to examine what it was about the Galway

hooker that enabled the survival of these communities throughout the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. What qualities did the hooker possess that facilitated the people or helped them to help themselves? The research question read thus: What has been the significance of the traditional sailing boat, the Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara?

3.3 The Ontological and Epistemological Foundations of the Study

Thus, the main objective was to gain an understanding into how the social reality for the people of this isolated region was constructed. What was their relationship with their lived landscape like? Because there is no set of pre-ordained procedures to follow when conducting social research, it is necessary to initially establish what it is that we seek to add to and to then devise a range of strategies and procedures that will enable this addition to existing knowledge (Alasuutari, Bickman and Brannen, 2008, p.1). Blaikie (2000) wrote that "Ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality", (cited in Grix, 2002, p.177). Thus, this relates to what one believes can be researched and for me, it was intriguing to imagine what life with/in/on a Galway Hooker was like and what was the 'interplay' between all concerned constituent parts: the boat, the elements (wind, rain, tides, currents, rock formations) and the boatmen themselves? The very fact that I was asking these questions of myself, alerts the reader to my 'constuctivist' leanings; that is, my belief that there did exist an interplay between them and that each impacted upon the others.

3.3.1 The constructivist approach

Two contrasting major ontological positions are 'Objectivism' and 'Constructivism'. Objectivism asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors, while constructivism asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors (Grix, 2002, p.177), and even a researcher's accounts of the social world are constructions. Thus, knowledge is viewed as indeterminate (Bryman, 2008, p.19). In keeping

with the nature and terrain of the landscape within which this research is set, the researcher set about the task at hand from a constructivist point of view. I wished to enquire as to exactly what powers or special attributes the hooker had, that enabled it to hold the communities together and thus endeared (and still endears) itself to the people of South West Conamara. Thus, I directed myself towards eliciting the required data from the people's own practical experiences. Throughout their working lives, they have constructed their understandings from one generation to the next. They passed on, not alone their actual boats, but also their acquired knowledge, understanding and the skills necessary in both constructing and sailing them. As John Dewey, a pre-eminent proponent of education, in calling for it to be grounded in 'Real Experience' wrote

> In what I have said I have taken for granted the sound-ness of the principle that education, in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based upon experience – which is always the actual life-experience of some individual.
>
> (Dewey, 1963, p.89).

Thus, people construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world, through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences. As previously stated, I am a committed constructivist, believing that all actors play a part in the construction of their social world and so must be considered in the creation of knowledge. Logically then, I should proceed to state my epistemological position, portraying that which is acceptable as constituting knowledge, thus guiding how I should set about gathering data in a manner that would satisfy such an epistemological position.

3.3.2 Epistemology

"Epistemology means theory of knowledge, or how it is we can know anything about the world" (O'Reilly, 2005, p.47). There are two contrasting epistemological positions; 'Positivism' and 'Interpretivism'. Positivism advocates the application of the natural sciences methodologies to the study of social reality and beyond. Thus, data gathering would be managed and implemented as one would conduct a scientific experiment, all black and white, value free and totally objective. However, proponents of the interpretivist position believe that any study of the social sciences has to be

conducted differently, because their subject matter is so fundamentally different and the distinctiveness of humans needs to be reflected as against the natural order (Bryman, 2008).

Amongst those advocating an interpretivist position Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) was influenced by the works of Max Weber and Edmund Husserl before him. The beginnings of the phenomenological ideas within the social sciences are attributed to his works (Bryman, 2008). The main topics of Schutz' professional interest were the concepts of common sense, inter-subjectivity, action, projections and roles (Kuhinka, 1963, p.124). Schutz therefore believed that all actions by man were meaningfully informed by their perception of the social reality. Thus, it behoves all "social scientists to interpret and understand people's common-sense thinking and to attempt to see the world from their point-of-view" (Bryman, 2008, p.16). Therefore, that which happened (the phenomenon) was what was most important.

Phenomenology was termed as the study of 'Being-in-the-world', by Martin Heidegger, a student of Husserl's, who concerned himself with reflecting on one's experiences to learn its meaning (phenomenology). He believed that man and the world were mutually interdependent and that man could not experience life separate from the world. Heidegger was a strong proponent of hermeneutic-phenomenology, (which has sometimes been linked to Verstehen from Weber and to symbolic interactionism from George Herbert Mead in their interpretative stances (Bryman, 2008)). Hermeneutics sees the analyst of a text attempting to expose or portray its meaning from the perspective of its author (Bryman, 2008). Heidegger's hermeneutic-phenomenology attends to and describes lived experience, but acknowledges that this always involves interpretation (hermeneutics), because the worlds of the participant and researcher are always already experienced as meaningful, and because description and expression of experiences thus always involve memory, which their thirst for new experiences has moved (van Manen, 2017).

3.3.3 Interpretive research

A key element within interpretive research is to acknowledge from the outset that one's knowledge of reality is premised upon the experiences of others. The researcher's interpretation of that which is related to him will also be 'tainted' by his own previous experiences of the subject and thus the beliefs and understanding about it that he may already have. Influencing the interpretation-gained will also be the language used and whether or not the subject matter has its own specific vocabulary.

Language and vocabulary issues aside, Corbin and Strauss (2008, p.49) write that "researchers are translators of other person's words and actions".

While it is difficult sometimes to interpret exactly what is meant by one's research interviewees, yet research must continue as it sheds new light on experiences, events and stories from the community. Denzin (1998) states "Interpretation is a productive process, that sets forth multiple meanings of an event, object, experience or test. Interpretation is transformation. It illuminates, throws light on experience" (cited in Corbin, 2008, p.49).

3.3.4 Deductive and inductive theory

Deductive theory, representing the most common view of the relations between hypothesis and social research, sees one subjecting a hypothesis to empirical scrutiny. This approach is particularly useful to researchers within the positivist position. I decided to use a contrary approach, where I would gather my observations and induce the hypothesis from the inferences made. Of course, this strategy often involves collecting further data, after the process of reflection on the gathered data has been carried out, seeking to establish whether or not the emerging hypothesis will stand-up to scrutiny or not. This process of scrutinising, challenging and perhaps changing tack between data gathered and the possible hypothesis "is often called iterative and is particularly evident in grounded theory" (Bryman, 2008, p.12).

3.4 Methodology

Armed with this information, I decided that it was the real life experiences of the remaining boatmen and hooker-builders that I needed to collect, in

attempt to begin to understand how they made sense of their lives 'centred' around the comings and goings of the Galway hooker. Thus, the inductive approach was chosen as a 'best-fit' for this particular piece of research, utilising an Interpretive and Qualitative enquiry and the afore-mentioned grounded theory method.

3.4.1 Grounded Theory

> Grounded theory is a framework used to analyse gathered qualitative data. It's methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves.
>
> (Charmaz, 2014a, p.1)

The original method was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) "for the purpose of building theory from data" (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p.1). It sees the researcher attempting to immerse him/herself in the research setting and come to know what the lives of his participants are like, in relation to the research question. Thus, the data is constructed through the researcher's interaction with the participants, utilising that which is said, but also noting what one observes and feels. Thus, the data collection method might be classified as inductive. An added advantage with the grounded theory method is that follow-up visits / interviews are allowed. In fact, the data can be gathered in innovative ways at the discretion of the researcher (Charmaz, 2006, p.2). Thus theory derived through this method is grounded, not alone in people's 'real life' experiences, but also in existing sociocultural ideas at that time. A major benefit of utilising the grounded theory method is that it sees the researcher start out with a broad or general research question, one that guides or enables focus for the project, but not necessarily so specific as to exclude discovery. Glaser and Strauss, after a difference of opinion, took their grounded theory in different directions, with Strauss "preserving the emphasis on inductive, iterative inquiry" as per original (Charmaz, 2014a, p.11). Grounded Theory continued to evolve and by the early nineties a growing number of scholars moved away from the positivism of Glaser's and Strauss and Corbin's earlier versions of the method" (Charmaz, 2014a, p.12).

3.4.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Constructivists enquire into the hows and whys one constructs the meanings that they do and as such, grounded theory allows for this because it, according to Charmaz (2000) "addresses human realities and assumes that what we take as real, as objective knowledge and truth, is based upon our perspective" (cited in Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, p.324). "Constructionism treats research as a construction" and thus acknowledges "subjectivity and the researcher's involvement in the construction and interpretation of data" (Charmaz, 2014a, pp.14-15). Thus, in relation to my particular research question, the grounded theory method of data interpretation seemed to be a perfect fit, as, in this approach the researcher generally gathers the empirical data first and it is the analytical results of this that informs the on-going direction of his/her literature review, which, in turn, directs further research efforts towards the appropriate formulation of theory. Upon setting out to gather the empirical data, representing the initial steps in this type of research methodology, the researcher will often begin with unstructured or semi-structured interviews. This is, of course indicative of Qualitative Research.

3.5 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretative, and grounded in the lived experiences of people. Thus, in comparison to quantitative research and perhaps laboratory settings, the qualitative researcher will take himself into the life setting of his participants and be pragmatic enough to utilise as many and as varied a variety of methods as is necessary in order to explore the desired topic (Marshall and Rossman, 2011).

Qualitative Research allows the experiences, beliefs and knowledge of the participant to shine through, as can be understood below. Thus, the use of qualitative research was deemed most suitable for this research project.

Qualitative Research
Is enacted in naturalistic settings, Draws on multiple methods that respect the humanity of the participants in the study, Focuses on context, Is emergent and evolving, and Is fundamentally interpretive.
The Qualitative Researcher
Views social worlds as holistic and complex, Engages in systematic reflection on the conduct of the research, Remains sensitive to their own biographies/social identities and how these shape the study (i.e., they are reflexive), and Relies on complex reasoning that moves dialectically between deduction and induction.
Source: Adapted from Rossman and Rallis (2003), (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.2)

This student researcher would consider that he fulfils the pointers as laid out by Rossman and Rallis (2003) above.

3.5.1 Qualitative interview methods: The In-Depth One-to-One Interview

The main method used in the gathering of primary data for this research project was the in-depth one-to-one interview. In sitting down with each of my participants to discuss a 'theme of mutual interest', I was in fact visiting / creating as Kvale termed it "a construction site of knowledge" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, cited in: Marshall, 2011, p.142). Within these various "construction sites of knowledge", I was engaging with individuals of differing ages, and with differing degrees of experience, thus my research structure needed to offer some flexibility. This was necessary so that I might probe individual experiences, values, feelings and the various perceptions that hooker sailors and hooker makers held with regard to the role of the hooker in enabling dwelling and community. According to Rubin & Rubin (2004, cited in Berg, 2009, p.128), the qualitative interview differs from an

ordinary conversation, especially so, in the intensity levels with which the interviewer must listen to the participant responses "for key words, phrases and ideas". This will alert the researcher as to the participant's understanding of the questions being asked, and the extent to which both the interviewer and interviewee are of the same understanding. Berg (2009) also advises that the interviewer remain alert for nonverbal cues that can "identify the participant's emotional state, deference ceremonies and sometimes even lies" (Berg, 2009, p.128). In attempt to bypass these obstacles, Berg (2009) introduces the dramaturgical interview, which proposes a "differentiation between the interviewer's role and the roles an interviewer may perform" (Berg, 2009, p.128). He sees the aim of putting and keeping the respondent at ease to be a primary goal of any researcher. De Santis (1980, cited in Berg, 2009, pp.128-129) advises that interviewers be aware that the community being interviewed will always have, rightly or wrongly, an expectation as to how the interviewer should fulfil the role, in his "appearance, manner, style and language connected with that role". Thus, an interviewer will need to adapt his role dependent upon the interviewee he finds before him, and he must constantly review the participant's emotional state to alert himself of the need to steer clear from a certain line of questioning, or to apologise for having asked a seemingly inappropriate question or to perhaps take a break in the interview. "Reactivity and Rapport" are two areas stressed by Berg (2009, p.131), as maintaining a good rapport between interviewer and interviewee facilitates probing with open-ended questions and shared ownership of the research between researcher and respondent. Quite often, some of the richest responses are gathered when the participant is reminiscing while speaking of the time/incident in question. A depth of feeling expressed can enrich an idea or a response to a question more than mere words can. Often they will have travelled back there in their minds to an incident or an occasion and tell a story about it that weaves forwards and backwards through time. When an elder, or more especially a group of elders shares such memories, Degnen (2005) calls this 'memory talk'. They can, she says, awaken relations with the surrounding world, both physical and social. This method would also allow me to sensitively situate myself in the world of the hooker

sailor (temporarily at least), thus being in a position to pay attention to the contextual nature of the research.

3.5.2 Intensive qualitative interviewing

The researcher (where the opportunity arose) decided to conduct intensive qualitative interviews, in order to gather data, which when processed through the grounded theory method would deliver a very rich data source. This can only occur when the interviewer can read particularly well the body language and subtle unspoken communications of the participant. Once more, it was time to heed the ethical issues towards interviewee-care and that fine line between using and abusing one's interviewees when conducting research. Charmaz (2014a) tells us that the grounded theory method and intensive qualitative interviewing fit each other particularly well as both allow for 'an open-ended, in-depth exploration of an area in which the interviewee has substantial experience' (Charmaz, 2014a, p.85). It transpired that some of my interviewees responded very well to this and some very deep feelings and emotions were expressed. In one or two interviews, we were interrupted during the interviews, the first occasion being of little or no consequence. However when the interruption occurred in another interview, the interviewee was just about to relate to this researcher something that seemed very strong emotionally and of great importance to the interviewee, but he said we would visit it again. However, the interview was ended shortly after that and, as a consequence, I never did gain what might have been a 'nugget of data'. I am not sure if I could have done anything differently in order to ensure an improved outcome to this interview. To always hang signs up stating 'Interview in Progress – please do not enter', might have created a false or perhaps overtly formal atmosphere, which, I believe, would not have helped in the majority of my interviews, which were conducted in the interviewees' home. I did use such signs when conducting interviews in an institutional setting. Grounded Theory encourages the researcher to maintain constant interaction with their gathered data and play a hands-on role in enabling its on-going analysis to offer up a choice of theories that might explain their empirical findings (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). I have telephoned and/or met many of my

interviewees since conducting the initial interview and gained clarification or a deeper insight into what was said, discussed, and meant therein.

3.6 Outsider or Insider?

The act of situating myself in the world of the hooker sailor, however temporarily, revealed another dilemma upon which I had to ponder; that is, the advantages and disadvantages of being an Outsider or being an Insider. I write this because being a Corkonian (a person from Cork) living in Conamara, I am obviously an outsider. Yet, the fact that I am now living in Ceantar na nOileán for more than twenty years, have been working there amongst the people for ten of those years, am openly recognised as being the organiser and leader of the local Youth Club for twenty years now and have a third-share in one of the old working hookers (Volunteer: 33ft, built in 1924), I am almost accepted as local. Time is the greatest obstacle for many researchers, for me however, this was not so. As stated, I lived and actively participated amongst this population for many years prior to commencing this study. In referring to the work of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), who, according to (Macdonald 2001) is widely recognised as "the founder of modern social anthropological methods of fieldwork" (cited in O'Reilly, 2005, p.7), relates that Malinowski believed that time allowed the ethnographer to blend into the community he was researching, thus reducing the consciousness of his presence amongst them. It also afforded him the opportunity to learn and more closely understand the community members as an insider, as one of them. More critically, it facilitated the researcher in being able to add questions or to guide his research more appropriately towards that which he sought, than he might have been in a position to achieve if he did not have that time (O'Reilly, 2005). This third point is particularly relevant to this research project, as I was unsure of what exact hypothesis it was that I sought to research when I began the project, and it was the time I had that afforded me the chance to allow both theory and data to inform and interact with one another. As Malinowski (1922) put it: "The more 'problems' he brings into the field, the more he is in the habit of moulding his theories according to facts, and of seeing facts in their bearing upon theory" (cited in O'Reilly, 2005, p.13). In 'problems',

Malinowski was referring to the constant changing of one's views, as theories and evidence dictate during research. In my particular case, the knowledge gained through my lived experience in the area (having participated in hooker racing prior to conducting my primary research) often proved to be incorrect and was subsequently corrected/replaced by the 'clarified' knowledge acquired through the research. Only the researcher that had time and the status of 'insider' could afford the luxury of such 'problems'.

The status of 'insider' opened up many doors to me, especially so the link with the youth club, as there is hardly a single family in Ceantar na nOileán that has not had a son or a daughter, grandson, granddaughter, nephew or a niece in the youth club over the last twenty years. In fact, teenagers used to travel from even further afield (from Camus, Ros-a-Mhíl, Doireadh Neadh and An Cheathrú Rua) to be in the youth club on a Friday night. The fact that I was a member of the racing crew of Naomh Ciarán (Gleoiteog Mhór, built in 1997) and later of Volunteer (Leath-bháid, built in 1924) also added to the acceptance of this research process going ahead, so much so that during the interviewing process I was generally welcomed with open arms, as if I was almost one of their own. Shining like a beacon here also was the fact that the people of Ceantar na nOileán were enthusiastic to speak of the Galway hooker and their attachment to it. Upon first-contact with each of my participants, being conscious of the fact that I was an outsider, I very much emphasised that I was seeking their stories, their knowledge and their thoughts about the Galway hooker. I purposely played myself into the background. Yet, the fact that I had some knowledge of sailing in a hooker, allowed my participants the comfort and ease of expressing themselves with free usage of the hooker vocabulary, safe in the knowledge that I understood what they were saying.

3.7 Ethical Issues around Conducting In-Depth Qualitative One-to-One Interviews

Marshall and Rossman (2011), write of the critical importance of the following moral principles when conducting any interviews;

1) respect for persons,
2) beneficence; and
3) justice.

The issue of Respect for Persons centres on the fact that a researcher is in essence using the interviewee for the benefit of his study and can in fact get so 'caught-up' in his work that he might surpass the delicate threshold of using him/her as a means to an end, and not respect their rights to privacy, anonymity and to, or not to, participate. Beneficence, in this instance refers to a researcher's duty to do all in his power to ensure that the participant is not harmed by participating in the study. Finally, justice, in this case, refers to distributive justice, that is, that the researcher must maintain constant consideration as to who benefits and who does not from the study (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). This researcher was respectful at all times to each of his participants and has never told anyone what another had said previously, certainly not in a derogatory way. Perhaps upon listening back to an interview, I might have noted some point made as powerful or very meaningful and then it might arise again in a further interview. I might seek further clarification by saying that it had come-up previously in another interview and that I did not fully understand what was meant.

3.7.1 Overt research

Ethical considerations demand that all participants in research understand what it is they are participating in, what will become of their responses, that they are under no obligation to participate and that they may withdraw from the research process at any time they might wish to. After my initial explanations as to why and what it was that I was doing, participants were informed of the above listed ethical considerations. Allied to this is the fact that almost all of the participants (28/33) knew me before the research began and the others (5/33), knew of me through my involvement in the community, but had not met me. Thus, this research project fits into the overt research category, as, it was "conducted openly and the researcher's identity was known to all participants" (O'Reilly, 2005, p.60).

3.7.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

In addressing the ethical considerations demanding that all interviewees in research understand what it is they are participating in and what will become of their freely given data, all participants signed a consent form ('Foirm Toilithe Úsáid Ábhair Agaillimhe') for me, (Appendix A). By signing the given form each participant freely gave their consent: (1) to participate in the interview process, and (2) that I alone could use the gathered data for the purposes of completing my research thesis. Attaching to point B, the form stated that I would not use any participant's proper name and that the written text would be so constructed as to not allow the reader to make out who exactly said what.

To ensure confidentiality, I constructed a table and populated it with the names and ages of each of my thirty-three interviewees. Thereafter, I assigned a false-name to each person and also placed them into an age-category band, so that a reader would at least know if a given statement emanated from an older or younger hooker sailor. I purposely left these bands wide enough (10 years span in each), to ensure that a good number of interviewees would appear within each band and further ensure confidentiality. As O'Reilly (2005) advised, this process did indeed cause confusion for me as I attempted to draw on data gathered from thirty-three participants who had been assigned false-names and it was not easy to remember each one when writing. Another possible breaker of the promised confidentiality was the names of each hooker, as amongst the hooker communities of South West Conamara almost all of the population would know the names and owners of all the boats. Arising from this fact, I used the names of each boat sparingly and only did so when writing of something/an event that is widely known in the community and therefore, would not breach the confidentiality promise.

Anonymity, according to O'Reilly (2005), is almost undistinguishable from confidentiality within most ethical discussions. She writes that "an anonymous study is one in which nobody, not even the researcher, can identify who provided the data" (O'Reilly, 2005, p.65). For obvious reasons,

this is impossible to achieve when the researcher conducting the interviews and the writer of the research report / thesis are the one person. The researcher can retain anonymity for his participants through careful maintenance of the data gathered and ensure confidentiality. Conversely, some participants might wish to be identifiable and "wish to be mentioned in ethnographies" (Grinyer, 2002, cited in O'Reilly, 2005, p.65). The general advice given by O'Reilly (2005) is that "ethics is about balancing the rights of one group against those of another, including yourself" (O'Reilly, 2005, p.65). Therefore, the researcher must always be conscious of the necessity to maintain this balance, when planning, conducting and writing the report of the research process and findings. While conducting the fieldwork for this research, all participants were asked if the interview could be recorded on a dictaphone. Initially all agreed, but very shortly after commencing one particular interview it became apparent that the interviewee was feeling uncomfortable with the presence of the dictaphone. After just five and-a-half minutes I was asked to turn it off, which I duly did and we proceeded to drink tea and to talk about the boats (following much of my schedule of questions) for a further hour or more. Many clarifications were gained in this particular interview with regards to piseóga/superstitions that the hooker sailors lived by. Thus any points extracted from this particular interview were taken from my field-notes.

Issues of confidentiality in such a rural, remote and close-knit community were a constant presence in my mind when drawing upon the gathered data from the very personal narratives given. Despite my perceived 'insider' knowledge of many of my interviewees, I did not select who I believed would or would not mind their identity being revealed, but strove to uphold my promise of confidentiality at all times during the write-up.

3.8 Recruitment of Participants and the Interview Process

The process of locating suitable participants for this research necessitated careful consideration of the criteria to be employed in choosing participants for inclusion. Who were and where were my study population located? How would the participants be recruited? How to arrange and conduct the pilot

interviews that would refine and verify for me the suitability of the interview process, and the questions to be employed within the main interview cohort itself? (Please see Appendix B).

3.8.1 Criteria for inclusion

The overriding criterion for inclusion in this study was that the participants should have a deep knowledge of and experience on/with the Galway hooker. As the research question refers to the importance of the boats to the community in times past, it was very important to include within my cohort of interviewees as many as possible of the older hooker sailors who had worked on the boats and were still alive at this time. Thereafter, I would continue to seek to interview as many as possible of the more experienced hooker sailors of today, and/or especially those who had a family connection with the craft. I also set out to interview as many of the remaining hooker-builders as possible, as well as those hooker sailors of today who attempted to make a living from the hooker, usually by offering sailing lessons or tours on board the hooker. Finally, I wished to interview a few younger hooker sailors of today who would carry the torch forward to/for the next generation of hooker sailors.

3.8.2 Study population

The last trading hookers ceased to operate in the early 1970s, with a few having engines fitted in order to concentrate on fishing, some being sold as leisure craft / yachts, but the majority being left to decay along the shore's edge of Galway Bay (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008). This resulted in the death of hooker trader sailing as an occupation, so when I set about this research, there remained alive only two or perhaps three hooker sailors who actually traded in turf and foodstuffs with the hookers. There was but one full-time saor báid (hooker builder) still working, and perhaps up to half-a-dozen or so young men who had concluded an apprenticeship under the previously remaining two working soar báid on an European Horizon funded project some years back (see section 7.2.2, The European Horizon funded programme to train hooker boatwrights). Unfortunately the second soar báid had died-suddenly, some years previously to this research project. There

were (and still are) perhaps as many as thirty or so hooker sailors with good experience and ties to the craft, be they family-ties descended from sailors who had sailed and traded as a way-of-life, or that they took to sailing the hookers from a young age and are still doing so now. On commencement of this research, I knew of three persons who had tried to make a living out of sailing the hooker at that time, but each in turn have ceased their operation. I interviewed all three. There were, and still are, very many young people of the Islands Region involved in the crews of the hooker boat community and I had no doubt that I would engage with some of them.

The working population of the Galway hooker was predominantly male, because at that time the work was very physically taxing, loading turf by hand on the mainland and then unloading again the same turf after sailing to the Aran islands or further afield to Cinn Mhara, the Burren or even at times to the Shannon Estuary. This work had to be done in all weathers from early morning until late at night. Some of the bigger boats were used exclusively to transport goods and foodstuffs to and from Galway to shops and depots in Ceantar na nOileán, Ros Muc, Cárna and to Roundstone, again requiring much physical haulage in all weathers, and sometimes at night. The working hours were very long and most of the time was spent at sea. In one of my interviews it was related that commonly the skipper of the hooker would spend more time with his fellow boatman (leath bhádóir) than with his wife (Micil, 02B). At this time, the woman was the parent that kept the house and family together, thus it is more easily understood why the crews of the Galway hooker were predominantly male. Therefore, most of my interviews were conducted with male participants, with the exception of four.

3.8.3 The recruitment process

Having agreed on the research design, my first step was to contact three of my closest hooker sailor friends, one in each of three of the below named categories (A) Elder hooker sailor, more than 70 years of age, (B) Experienced hooker sailor, between 61 and 70 years of age, and (E) Young and upcoming Hooker Sailor, between 31 and 40 years of age, in order to pilot the interview. After each of these first three interviews was completed,

the interviewee better understood what it was that I was seeking to investigate and was asked to make recommendations from their own knowledge of the area, the hookers, the sailors, the saoir bád (boatwrights) and the families involved with the hookers, who in their opinion, I should seek to interview. I showed them my own list of intended interviewees and asked them to advise me as to who might be a good fit and/or who had I neglected to include in the list. Thus, the data that I hoped to gather would now, more than before, be guided not alone by my interactions with the interviewees, but also by the choice of interviewees being influenced from within the hooker community itself.

Table 3.1 Portrait of the age categorisation of the interviewees in this study

False name	**Interview**	**Age-range bracket**	**No.s Interviewed in this category**	**Example of Citation: Name, Interview and Age Category**
Liam	01	A = 70 + years	7 persons	Liam (01A)
Máirtín	08	B = 61 - 70 years	10 persons	Máirtín (08B)
Síle	17	C = 51 - 60 years	2 persons	Síle (17C)
Frank	23	D = 41 - 50 years	4 persons	Frank (23D)
Colm	16	E = 31 - 40 years	5 persons	Colm (16E)
Risteárd	32	F = under 31 years	5 persons	Risteárd (32F)

While attempting to investigate the significance of the traditional sailing boat, the Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara, the researcher was aware that much of this concerned the past and was now no longer the case. Thus when deciding upon sample populations with whom to conduct interviews, I chose to interview both younger and older hooker sailors. The older sailors would represent those populations who were utterly dependent upon the Galway hooker to enable them to survive there. The younger sailors of today, who were never dependent upon the hooker for their livelihood and sailed for pleasure only, would serve to highlight the differing levels of skills, knowledge and attitude amongst these sailors, that would be attributable to

the fact that they were in the hooker to enable livelihood (Boyatzis, 1998). The older sailors were on the sea almost six days a week for most of the year and even when the boat was grounded for repair, they were often the ones conducting the repairs. The sailors of today get the opportunity to sail once or twice a week throughout the summer months and most could not conduct repairs to the boat.

3.8.4 The pilot interviews

Having a little experience over some four summers sailing the hookers in Cuan an Fhir Mhóir (Greatman's Bay) amongst other locations, and having a third share in a 33foot leath-bháid (Volunteer, built in 1924), I set about designing the interview schedule. I composed two slightly differing versions of the questions to be used, one aimed at the older sailors, particularly those who had worked on these trading boats as an occupation. The second, a slightly moderated version, was aimed at the sailors of today who would have never worked on the boats as traders. (Please see Appendix B). I purchased a dictaphone and got a few lessons on how to record with it and how to download the recordings to my computer. I then made arrangements to conduct my first three interviews, in order to begin the process of primary data collection and also to act as pilot interviews, to test my equipment, my questions and myself as an interviewer. The first three interviews were conducted on consecutive days between the June 6th and 8th 2013, by prior arrangement in the homes of the interviewees. Prior to commencing these interviews I informed my interviewees of the necessity to ensure that they understood what was to happen and that they freely give their 'informed consent' by signing the appropriate form (Appendix A). I highlighted for my interviewees that their identities would remain confidential, that they could withdraw from the interview process at any time and that I hoped that a publication would ensue from the study. All participants were not alone agreeable, but in fact anxious to participate and urged me to create a publication on the Galway hooker, as there are very few publications about this craft.

I arranged my first interview for 6th June 2013, with a sailor who would have been a teenager when his father was working as a turf trader. Turning up at the appointed time, my interviewee offered to conduct the interview in Irish (Gaelic) or in the English language. I asked him to choose and without further discussion the interview was conducted in our native Irish language. The interview lasted for just more than one hour, though it seemed to pass like five minutes. On the following evening, the researcher met with his second interviewee. He was then aged 94 years and was one of the last trading hooker sailor's alive, for whom sailing the Galway hooker represented his sole means of income for most of his working life. Here was a man who would know every square inch of his boat and of the seascape within which he sailed daily. This interview lasted almost the hour and I left the old sailor with an invitation to return any time that I wished to. The third interviewee was a much younger hooker sailor, one who had actually participated on a hooker sailing course and was literally 'blown-away', by the experience. Later, by chance, he re-kindled a friendship with an old school friend who had access to a gleoiteog and the two have been inseparable since. They have sailed hookers and gleoiteogaí while making television documentaries, nationally and internationally. This interview lasted but 50 minutes and was intriguing, in that the interviewee expanded upon his answers more, as if he understood more, from my perspective, just what it was that I was looking for, even if I did not! Though the interviewee did not have a well of family-history and lore from the hooker-world to delve into for me, he identified with the elements and senses at play between the man and boat and supplemented these with insights into life in Conamara that I had not contemplated prior to this interview.

From a researcher's perspective, it was noticeable to me that from the first interview to the second and the third, some clarification was gained as to what type of probes allowed the interviewee free rein to develop and share their answer. The body of the schedule of questions remained the same for all of the interviewees, but it was noteworthy that different nuances or emphasis could encourage the interviewee to continue with his reflections, be they of gaining their livelihood from trading on the hookers, or the

insights of the younger hooker sailors who would not and could never have, experienced this 'hooker life'. With these three interviews conducted and appropriate learning gains made, I was in a much stronger position to expand my circle of interviews. No major changes were made to the interview schedule of questions. All questions remained, more as prompts and interview guides than as hard and fast, have-to-ask questions. Thereafter, each interview took on a life of its own, as I was determined to speak as little as possible and instead to allow the interviewee to enrich my gathered data as much as possible.

3.8.5 The interview process

During this 2013 hooker sailing season, this researcher met and renewed acquaintances with many other hooker sailors, young and old. I introduced them to the idea of participating in my interview process, sowing the seeds, as it were. As events transpired, I completed a total of thirty-three interviews, (including my initial three pilot interviews). The dictaphone recordings gathered a total of 30.85 hours of auditory data. Interviews were conducted on hooker persons in the following categories:

Table 3.2 Portrait of hooker sailing experience amongst the interviewees in this study.

Category A	Persons who were dependant on the boat for their income, be that through trade in turf, materials or fishing.	3 interviews (all males aged between 71 and 94 years)
Category B	Persons who had/have a direct family link to persons from category A. These people are all experienced hooker sailors and have learned from persons who qualify for category A.	11 interviews (9 males and 2 females, aged between 37 and 60 years)
Category C	Older Persons with good/moderate experience of Hooker Sailing and did learn from a direct family member or others from category A or B.	5 interviews (all males aged between 61 and 71 years)
Category D	Younger Persons with good/moderate experience of Hooker Sailing and did learn from a direct family member, others from category A, B, C or hooker-sailing course.	7 interviews (6 males & 1 female aged between 16 & 51 years)
Category E	Hooker Makers / Saor Báid, through direct experience or on the Horizon funded Apprentice Scheme.	4 interviews (all males between the ages of 36 & 60 years)

Category F	Persons who attempted to gain a living from the hooker today, through charter sailing or sail training (2 or 3 persons in other categories here, satisfy this category description also)	4 interviews (3 males & 1 female aged between 37 & 71 years)
Category G	Persons who might not have extensive hooker sailing experience, but have a vast knowledge of hooker life as their family / husband sailed in the hookers as a means of making a living.	2 interviews (both female, aged between 60 and 80 years)

3.9 Study Sites & Interactions in the field

A further thirty interviews were conducted between June 20th 2013 and February 28th 2014. The longest interview lasted one and three quarter hours, while the shortest was of half an hour's duration and the average interview lasted approximately one hour. The majority of interviews (24/33) were conducted in the homes of the participants, with the researcher travelling to these sites, after first pre-arranging the meetings. Four participants came to my home to be interviewed, believing that there would be a better chance to get the peace and quiet required to conduct the interviews. Three interviewees came to my place of work as this was convenient for them, while for another two participants, it was more convenient that I travelled to their separate places of work. Some days were very long, mentally and physically demanding, with much learning taking place about the hooker and indeed about the process of interviewing. A major learning point for me was to not attempt to complete more than two or three interviews on any given day. I had tried to conduct interviews with participants who lived in the same region of South West Conamara on the same day, in order to cut down on the time and expense spent on travelling to the interviews. However, such was the experience in some interviews that I was mentally drained after the interview and could barely remember if I had asked a particular question. Some interviews passed as if we had merely been in conversation, while in hindsight, I feel that more learning gains were made from the interviews that were more taxing. Nothing but positive interactions were experienced in each of the interviews that took place.

As previously stated, many interviewees proposed another possible respondent that might be beneficial to my research were I to interview

him/her, and proceeded to give me a phone number to call. While most worked out, some did not. On one such occasion, I called the phone number and spoke with the hooker sailor in question and we agreed a time and date that I visit his house. However, when the appointed time arrived and I stood at his doorstep, he told me that if no fee was being offered then no interview was taking place. I left his door data-less, but feeling that he was wrong to demand money in order to share his stories and experiences of hooker life. A similar experience was had with another hooker man in a different region, but this one stated that his recollection of stories and experiences of hooker life would be very dependent on the amount of alcohol available to him at the time. Once more I left his door, but this time with a lesser measure of regret. Yes, once more on a point of principle, I believe that he was wrong to demand payment in order to share his stories and experiences of hooker life. However, if I had come armed with alcohol as payment, perhaps his recollections might have been 'somewhat boosted' by the same alcohol. Another old hooker sailor, whom I did not personally know, seemed very much to play cat and mouse with me, un-intentionally, I believe. On our first telephone conversation he was agreeable to meet me and be interviewed, while the next time when I attempted to set a firm date that we might meet, he said that he wasn't sure that he wanted to do it and to call him back later. When we spoke again on the phone he said that he wouldn't do an interview. I later heard that he wasn't well at that time, so perhaps this was the reason for his declining to be interviewed by me. On one (previously mentioned) occasion I was asked to turn off the dictaphone recorder as the interviewee felt uncomfortable with it. We continued to have a cup of tea, discussed the Galway hooker at length and the interviewee was very engaging. I have used my field-notes, made after this particular interview. All in all I interviewed 29 hooker sailors, 1 wife of a hooker sailor and 3 hooker builders.

3.10 Language Issues

Charmaz (2014b, p.1078) in writing of conducting research, says that "language shapes meanings, fosters forming different types of meanings and clarifies or conceals connections between meanings and actions". From a

time before conducting my very first interview within this research project, I have had to address the issue of language. The language used in all aspects of life relating to the Galway hooker is and has always been, Gaelic (Irish Language). I am fluent in the Gaelic language and moved to live in the Conamara Gaeltacht more than twenty-five years ago in order to use Gaelic as my everyday living language, yet my mother-tongue is English. My Gaelic is of the Southern dialect, built upon my school-learned Irish and when the 'sean-leaids thiar' (old-men in West Conamara) get into their stride in full-blown conversation, I am often at a loss to fully understand what it is exactly that they are saying. Certainly, I will know the context of which they speak, but for the finer details, I can only guess what they mean, and cannot assume that I always do so correctly. Thus I found myself faced with a dilemma, to write-up my thesis in Gaelic or in English?

To enact proper reflection I had to consider how I would juggle between the two languages. Were I to choose to complete my thesis in English, this would require using qualitative data collected mainly through spoken Gaelic interviews and conversations, though sometimes they were bilingual. This path would require the conversion of field recoded verbal interviews to a textual form by transcription. The resulting texts had then to be translated, in preparation for use as a research text. I had to be cognisant of the fact that this conversion involved much more than the transformation of texts. According to Torop (2002, cited in Halai, 2007, p.345), "it is a cultural issue, as it involves converting ideas expressed in one language for one social group to another language for another social group, which entails a process of cultural decoding" . Halai (2007) advises that the words spoken in interviews are immersed in and representative of the culture of that place. Thus "when translating, one must keep the target social group/reader in mind" (Halai, 2007, p.345). Therefore, from a PhD completion and a theoretical perspective, it made more sense to write-up and submit in the English language, as the overwhelming majority of academic journals, publications, theories and terms that I might reference are in that language. Either way, I was faced with translating some of either my primary or secondary data, so I had an important decision to make. When translating,

one is often capable of arriving at the near-correct understanding out of knowing the context in which the others speak and from observing the body-language adopted by the speaker. However when translating without being in such a privileged position to see where and how something is said, one has to rely more on one's own interpretation of what is meant. Peirce strongly highlights the interpretive ingredient within the act of translation, seeing "translation as a synecdoche for interpretation," while Eco (2001) states that "translation is a species of the genus interpretation, governed by certain principles proper to translation" (both cited in Torop, 2002, p.597).

In helping myself to clarify my decision on which body of work to translate, I referred once more to Halai (2007), and gained a new understanding of research data by seeing it as being "generated by the collaboration between researcher and researched, rather than gathered" (p.345) as if it were available out there waiting to be picked, as it were. This 'collaboration' was the key that helped me to decide to conduct the extra work on the data with which I was most personally involved in its construction; that is the interviews. I was living and active within this community and involved in sailing the hookers, so I had a part understanding of, or at least a deep appreciation of, the culture and cultural space of my research participants. Therefore, I could save from not having to translate for the culture also. However, I did have to remain mindful of my target reader (academic and general audience) and yet strive to stay true to my source culture (hooker peoples of South West Conamara) too. It is a fine-line balancing act as Halai (2007) writes, "translation is essentially a boundary crossing between two cultures" (p.345). Thus, after much deliberation, I decided that from my personal perspective, all of my situational advantages pointed me in the direction of completing this thesis using the English language as my major medium of expression. In addition, the fact that I do have to interpret/translate what is being said in my interviews in order to utilise it as data within my texts is an enrichment and can be said to demonstrate an active culture (Torop, 2002). Lecturer and translator, Lorna Shaughnessy (2006, cited in Baranda, 2006, p.12) advises that "every act of translation is approached with trepidation", and after noting the cultural and language

issues involved, yet justifies such an act by reminding the reader that it enables the "possibility of real intercultural dialogue". She says that we, in the English speaking world "need to be reminded of the existence of other versions of our stories, and of the existence of other mythologies and histories".

3.11 Data Management and Analysis

3.11.1 Transcribing

Having completed the interview process, I proceeded to transcribe the interviews, and faced the thorny-issue of whether to automatically translate the gathered data to the English language or to type them in Irish, as they were spoken. I decided that it was better to type them as they were spoken, rather than translating them at the same time. I did so because I did not want to run the risk of missing out on any of the gathered data when concentrating on translating them. Added to this is the fact that the Galway hooker and all associated with it have their own peculiar vocabulary, and I did not wish to take it upon myself to place my own personally understood 'brand' on this. Apart from the issues of costs, which would have been prohibitive, I decided not to have the interviews transcribed and translated professionally. There was another major factor aside from the cost, which led to this decision; that being my fear of a professional scribe not being able to completely understand both the language and context within which it was being expressed. This would result in my working from the scribe's understanding and perhaps with 'false data'. While accepting as fact, that no researcher can ever provide an exact image of the social world that they are investigating, yet I wished to fulfil Silverman's (1993) research proclamation that "the primary issue is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences"(cited in Silverman, 1997, p.100). I believed that the experience of having to transcribe and translate the gathered data myself, would serve to deepen my familiarity and understanding of it and thus aid my ability to conduct the later thematic analysis.

After attempting to transcribe the first three interviews, I was introduced to a software package called HyperTRANSCRIBE by a friend, who downloaded it onto my computer and demonstrated its use for me. Thus, I was in a more favourable position to fully transcribe what was recorded. According to Vygotsky (1987), "Every word that people use in telling their stories is a microcosm of their consciousness", as they relate their memories and experiences (cited in Halai, 2007, p.348). I was anxious to understand them all and therefore, with this software running on my computer, I proceeded to listen once more to my recorded interviews and to type-up their spoken words over a period of many months. I also returned to the first three interviews and re-transcribed them using the hypertranscribe facility. Thus, I finished with 315 pages of typed conversations.

3.11.2 Thematic analysis

When setting out to conduct a piece of research, one is almost bound to have some theories, even vague ones in the back of their minds. However, with qualitative research one sets out to investigate the world around us and to generate understandings about its workings. Thus we are setting out to generate theory, more than to substantiate or prove an existing one. Thematic analysis aids this process and by the use of coding, it allows us to more accurately interpret what our gathered data is saying 'collectively'. Coffey and Atkinson (1996, cited in Boyatzis, 1998, p.5) summed it up succinctly, when stating: "Coding can be thought about as a way of relating our data to our ideas about these data". Thus, the researcher examines all gathered data and while doing so, strives to notice patterns of thought revealed therein, relating to a particular theme that he is perhaps interested in researching further.

According to Boyatzis (1998), the ability to use thematic analysis necessitates the researcher moving through four stages. Firstly, he "senses themes", (finds something interesting in his gathered research through what was said in the interview). He then advises that it helps if the researcher has a good knowledge or understanding of the subject or ideas being researched as this can give him pointers on where to look within the data for the more

important points and, as he says, for "what to be ready to see" (Boyatzis, 1998, pp.9-10). While I would not claim to be an expert, I did have a few years of experience of sailing in the hookers and of listening to stories from the older hooker sailors. Being somewhat knowledgeable in the subject area also makes it somewhat easier on the researcher to invest the extra time working on the data gathered and in maintaining a focus on the work. However, having a deep knowledge of the research area can also be a hindrance to proper analysis because it can lead the researcher to 'project' his own thoughts on what his interviewees have said, instead of what was actually said. The more knowledgeable one is, the greater the urge to project (Boyatzis, 1998). The second stage in thematic analysis necessitates the researcher being able "to see" or "to see as" with consistency (Boyatzis, 1998, p.10). That is, the researcher must be able "to recognise the codable moment and encode it", from within the interviews. (Boyatzis, 1998, p.10). He then needs to be able to read the same interview once more, at a different time, and to come to the same conclusion as to what constitutes the codable moment and what constitutes a good code to give it. The third stage is being able to develop suitable codes and Boyatzis (1998, p.31) advises that the label for a code "should be (a) conceptually meaningful to the phenomenon being studied, (b) clear and concise, and (c) close to the data". The researcher should minimise interpretation at this point and save it for the analysis (Boyatzis, 1998). The fourth stage in one's ability to use thematic analysis, according to Boyatzis (1998), is to recognise and interpret themes within the collected codes "in the context of a theory or conceptual framework" and this should allow the researcher "to contribute to the development of knowledge" (Boyatzis, 1998, p.11).

3.11.2.1 Basic/initial/open coding

I used the thematic analysis process while employing the software package Nvivo, which supports the data management process in building a qualitative database. Thus, in essence, the coding conducted on the data gathered from all thirty-three interviews evolved from this one source. The researcher availed of tutorials organised within the university (NUIG) on the use of NVivo, a computer aided data analysis system. The training

facilitator's style was very engaging and outlined how the use of NVivo could greatly assist in the data analysis process, specifically so, where the researcher is handling qualitative data. When conducting the initial coding process, termed Open Coding, the researcher reads / examines each of the interviews and the number of individual codes begins to rise rapidly. The researcher might name separate codes very similarly to previous ones, (perhaps forgetting that he had in fact used very similar codes some ten, fifteen or even twenty interviews back), resulting in a greater number of codes than would otherwise be the case. After the initial 'open coding' process was complete, I had created fifty-five separate codes, each relating to life in Conamara and the Galway hooker. Upon completing this initial coding process, a pattern of these 'codable moments' builds up to perhaps reflect a concept/pattern or theme that the researcher had not previously considered. It is about this point that he is beginning to formulate the core issues for his/her research.

3.11.2.2 Second level/axial coding

Once the initial coding was complete, I moved onto the second-level coding known as 'Axial Coding'. This level of coding sees the researcher focussing or 'firming-up' the recognised themes, a necessary process, as the researcher might have unwittingly created two or perhaps three individual codes which were very similar at the previous (open coding) level. In this instance, on completion of the second level (Axial) coding, the initial fifty-five codes arising from the Open Coding had been merged/focused or re-named under a more appropriate or new name, to eight major codes, most of which contained many sub-codes, in a hierarchical structure. Therefore, the themes and 'codable moments' were now beginning to come-together under relevant headings.

3.11.2.3 Third level/theoretical coding

The final coding level in the Nvivo process is called 'Theoretical Coding' and by the time the researcher is at this level, he will perhaps have already seen his gathered data in a new light and have decided what it is exactly that he wished his theoretical themes to be in his research. It is of this stage and

afterwards that Boyatzis (1998) writes of the researcher being in a position to choose some theoretical or conceptual framework around which to build his discussion arising from the gathered data and to add to the development of knowledge (Boyatzis, 1998,p.8). During this process of data analysis, I did begin to see my gathered data in a new light, as a conceptualisation towards 'Dwelling' emerged and the hooker remained firmly at the centre of the research in facilitating the relationships that enabled the population of South Western Conamara to Dwell. The titles or headings arrived at after three levels of coding were gradually evolving to closely resemble the chapter-titles that would be contained in my Literature Review.

It was incumbent upon me to generate my own codes throughout all the levels of coding, as, having set out with nothing else in mind, other than to examine the significance of the traditional sailing boat, the Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara, I realised that no such research into the Galway Hookers had been previously carried out. Thus, the option to use codes used by previous researchers did not arise and neither did the option to use someone else's code or framework to analyse the gathered data, an approach termed "template analytic technique", by Miller and Crabtree (1992), (cited in: Boyatzis, 1998, p.33).

3.11.3 Benefits of using thematic analysis

A great benefit arising from employing analysis in interpreting the results of research is that it enables the researcher to employ both latent and manifest-content analysis. Manifest-content analysis alludes to "the analysis of the visible or apparent content of something". For example, how many hookers delivered turf to the Aran Islands in a specific year. While latent-content analysis looks at "the underlying aspects of the phenomenon under observation", thus "it is more interpretive" (Boyatzis, 1998, p.16). It enables the researcher to interpret why that number of hookers were in a position to deliver turf to the Aran Islands in that specific year and is therefore closer to the heart of the qualitative researcher. Using NVivo allows the researcher to utilise both latent and manifest-content analysis, as the frequency of a

particular code being highlighted in the data generating process will signal to the researcher its considered importance within the research cohort, while the latent content analysis will allow consideration as to why it might be important (Boyatzis, 1998; Berg, 2009). I was in the privileged position to be able to utilise both.

3.12 Limitations of the Study

The two great limitations that needed to be surmounted in order to conduct this study were in affect two of the strongest reasons for conducting this research:

1) There were very few of the elder hooker sailors still alive, who would have made their living from this trade.

2) There exists a dearth of published information and other archival sources on the Galway hooker.

3.12.1 Elder hooker sailors

In writing that there were very few of the elder hooker sailors still alive when I conducted the pilot interviews for this thesis in the Summer of 2013, I am acutely aware of how fortunate I was to have had the privilege to interview one of the last hooker trading skippers. He spoke to me from a personal experience, which granted him a complete understanding of that which he spoke of. While others answered my interview questions politely, because they would have sailed in hookers laden with turf, helped to load and unload the boats for their fathers, or perhaps they had fished with them. They were in a strong position to relay to me that which they had heard from their fathers or perhaps that of which they themselves had gained a little experience. However, this great man lived that experience for most of his life, through the good times and the bad, and he narrated his first-hand experiences for me. Another of my interviewees lived most of his long life on the island on which he was born, obliging him to master the skills of rowing and sailing from a very young age. He never vacated the island for more than a few months at a time to go working in England, due to the scarcity of suitable paying-work on his island, in Ceantar na nOileán, or

indeed anywhere in Ireland. In his very last years he lived mainly in a house on the mainland that he himself had built more than half a century ago as a holiday home for his sisters in America (Fennell and Bunbury, 2013, p.168). Another one of my elder interviewees spent most of his life sailing and fishing. He began fishing with his father for lobster and crab and even partook in driftnet fishing at night with their own gleoiteog, a skill he believed that he was perhaps the last sailor to practice. He fished all his life and for a few years did not participate in the hooker sailing regattas, but when he resumed later in his life, it was as though he had never left, "I took to it like a duck to water, it must be in your blood" he said (Cóilín, 27A). All three of these participants in this study have since deceased and I was very fortunate to have been in a position to interview them.

3.12.2 Scarcity of Published Information and other Archival Sources on the Galway Hooker

There is but one publication that is dedicated solely to the Galway hooker that treats it in great depth, outlining its critical importance to Conamara, the Aran Islands and all of Galway Bay. That is the seminal book by Richard J. Scott entitled "The Galway Hookers: Sailing Work Boats of Galway Bay", first published in December 1984 (republished in June 2004). Two other publications address traditional boating and thus have sections dedicated to the Galway hooker. They are, (1) a book entitled "Glorious Galway: Hookers, Currachs, Lake & River-Boats", published by Meitheal Mara and Galway County Council in 2011, and (2) a book entitled "Traditional Boats of Ireland – History, Folklore and Construction", the result of a Traditional Boats of Ireland Project, which is edited by Criostóir Mac Cárthaigh and was published by Collins Press in 2008. These three publications are the shared efforts of the same authors, resulting in much of the same material being contained within all three of them. There is one other notable publication, a small 72-page collection of songs about the hookers and hooker life. This book entitled "Seoltóireacht Ghéar: Amhráin Sheáin Cheoinín" that was published by Cló Iar-Chonnacta Teo in 1988. The songs were collected by Eoin Rua Ó Néill and between them and the introduction written by Eoin, he paints a picture of hooker-life, completely in the Irish

language. Amongst academic papers, there appears to be but one devoted to the Galway hooker, that of Timothy Collins entitled "From Hoekers to Hookers: A Survey of the Literature and Annotated Bibliography on the Origins of the Galway Hooker, published in the Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society in 2001. In this paper Collins reviews all historical maritime papers that he can find and concludes that "the origin of the Galway hooker must remain a matter for conjecture, as there is almost certainly no written evidence currently known to exist" (Collins, 2001, p.77).

While some other publications have been acquired by the researcher, they are each telling a different story, such as (1) "Voyage – the first Galway hooker to America 1986" by Paddy Barry, relating the story of that very voyage to America. (2) "Turfboats - The Story of Cruinniú na mBád" by T. Quinn in 1979, telling the story of the Kinvara area in South Galway and how their annual regatta originated, centred around the Galway hooker as a result of their historic reliance on those boats to bring turf from Conamara as fuel to them. (3) "Ar Bhád Chonraí Go Meirceá" by Colm Dubh Ó Méalóid, published in 1993, telling the same story as Voyage, above, but in the Gaelic language and giving a little more history and background on the boat. (4) A new publication, in 2017, by Paddy Barry entitled "So Far So Good: An Adventurous Life", tells the story of his adventures, many of which are experienced on board a Galway hooker. (5&6) Two very new publications by Seanchaí Editions, (5) "Húicéirí" in 2016 and (6) "Rásaí na Húicéirí" in 2017 portray the modern-day Galway hooker through a collection of photographs. Some of these listed publications make mention of the historical past and the importance of the Galway hooker to Conamara, but do so in 'a passing' fashion while progressing towards their main objective, which is a photographic portrayal of the Galway hooker. Therefore, a dearth of published material on the Galway hooker still remains.

Raidio na Gaeltachta, the Irish language radio service under the auspices of the national public-service broadcaster Raidió Teilifís Éireann, produced and broadcast a radio series titled 'Báid agus Bádóirí' (Boats and Sailors) in

the mid-1980s. Staff at the Casla Station (Conamara) kindly copied the series for me, containing ten interviews with/about famous hooker bádóirí. Listening to these programmes certainly broadened my limited knowledge of the older boats and the bádóirí who sailed them. Sadly, all but two of them had passed away long before I arrived in Conamara or even knew of the existence of The Galway Hooker. I did interview the remaining two.

3.13 Discussion on the findings

Findings arising from the interviews are immediately used in the discussion, being interwoven with the theory derived from the literature review and elsewhere. This reduces the chances for duplication, were I to include a chapter portraying the findings, prior to discussing them. The discussion on the findings is broken-up into five distinct chapters, with each of the first four concentrating on a different aspect of hooker life. The first discussion chapter (4) traces the work, trade and livelihoods enabled by the boat at the macro level of Galway Bay. The second (5) focuses on the Galway hooker at a family and community level, while the third discussion chapter (6) examines the Galway hooker at the level of the self and discusses the enabling knowledge(s) of the bádóir in sailing, and the saor in building, the boat. Chapter 7 traces the Galway hooker after its revival, right up to its sporting/pastime and cultural role in contemporary Conamara and Galway. The final thesis chapter (8) draws on the findings and discussions from the previous four chapters and portrays the overall significance of the traditional sailing boat, The Galway hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara?

3.14 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodology and accompanying decisions regarding the research strategy employed in this study. The research question was outlined in Section 3.2, followed by the ontological and epistemological foundations of the study (Section 3.3), underpinning the use of Grounded Theory in Section 3.4. The focus on employing interpretive research methods (Section 3.5) and intensive qualitative interviewing skills was discussed and justified in Section 3.6. The position and role of the

researcher as an outsider living within the community for more than twenty-five years was discussed in Section 3.7. A discussion is contained in section 3.8, addressing the necessary appropriate ethical considerations that were employed throughout the primary data collection period of the project and thereafter. This data collection action was discussed in all its constituent parts, including the recruitment of participants, sampling strategy and the interview process itself (Section 3.9). Interactions while conducting the study, including the issues associated with language and the necessity for and impacts of translations and interpretations were discussed in Section 3.10. A detailed description of the data management and analytical process employed was given and justified, especially so in the use of NVivo, creating a bibliography of evidence given in Section 3.11. The limitations of this study were discussed in Section 3.12 and finally Section 3.13 outlined how the data collected through both the interview process and the literature review will be introduced and discussed to address the initial research objectives.

Chapter 4: The Galway Hooker from a Local and Regional Perspective

The following chapters explore and discuss the data gathered from thirty-three interviewees' in-depth knowledge of the Galway hooker. While almost all of the interviewees had a hooker in their family at some time, a small number were old enough to experience first-hand life towards the end of the 'livelihood' years of the Galway hooker. What is remarkable is the depth and extent of knowledge held by the interviewees concerning the history of the hooker in that community. It is through this knowledge that we can begin to understand the place biography of South West Conamara and the interanimation between the human, the hooker and the seascape/taskscape there in enabling dwelling.

Chapter 4 examines the trade and economic lifeline that the Galway hooker provided for the region, while Chapter 5 narrows the focus to explore the family and community life facilitated by that craft. Chapter 6 further focuses onto the individual bádóir and the saor who constructed the craft, while Chapter 7 portrays the contemporary hooker life and how this iconic boat is still a binding factor for the communities of South West Conamara today. In the final Chapter 8, I coalesce these findings to demonstrate how the Galway hooker was critical to enabling the communities of South West Conamara to dwell.

This chapter traces the historical developments of the Galway hooker within a regional context and explores the economic and livelihood dimensions of the craft. It demonstrates how the hooker was paramount to the community's survival, enabling trade and travel within the entirety of Galway Bay and so much more than the carriage of goods, for which it is renowned. The Galway hooker also gave rise to the gathering and preparation of much of that which it carried, such as turf, seaweed, fish and shellfish. The chapter opens by providing insights to the overall picture of economic travel and trade within Galway Bay as the vibrant and interactive location of the everyday working lives of the hooker communities, enabling them to dwell. It then describes in some depth the turf trade as the hookers'

primary trade, revealing many of the connected issues around it, such as sourcing the turf, payments connected with its sourcing and selling, and how any gains/profits were distributed within the boat. The chapter proceeds to explore the seaweed trade and that trade which made life more bearable for the communities of South West Conamara, the shops trade. Although the number of hookers engaged within the turf trade were more widespread, it was the servicing of shops throughout the region that enabled the populations to live locally. While most households had a currach, or a bád iomartha (row boat) with which to visit the nearest shop, they did not have a hooker with which to ferry the necessary goods from Galway City, the nearest large supply centre for many of life's essentials.

Thereafter, this chapter recounts the decline in the fortunes of the Galway hooker, no longer vital to the survival of the coastal populations, with the advent of the lorry and the creeping ever-closer of the road network opening up vehicular travel possibilities in the area. The outbreak of the Second World War is recounted as offering some temporary respite to the lives of the hookers as demands for turf and goods supplies surged once more amid a scarcity of petrol, oil, bottled gas and coal due to the war efforts. Although this re-activation of the hooker was for a relatively short period, it has since been credited with keeping the boats in 'ship shape' until the 1950s and 1960s. This proved to be critical to the survival of the hooker, as some of them were purchased as yachts and pleasure craft, resulting in their being maintained as sailing craft. For many other boats, the decline in the turf and goods trade meant that their "maintenance as a working sail craft was no longer justified on economic grounds" (Scott, 2004, p.58). This chapter concludes with a discussion on the end of the hooker taskscape.

4.1 Economic Travel and Trade Enabled by the Galway Hooker

The topography of South West Conamara is such that the sound of the sea is an omnipresent one to the ears of many inhabitants (Long and Standún, 2010). Within a landscape where the soil is too poor to provide a living (McElveen, 2009), the people there, up until the latter end of the twentieth century, were forced to sustain themselves from the fruits of the seas,

seashores and the surrounding wet bogland. The closeness of the sea and the lack of any suitable roads on which to travel (Ó Tuairisg, 1991; Wilkins, 2009), meant that all trade and travel within and without the region was, out of necessity, conducted by boat. In order to conduct trade and travel in any region, two major needs have to be met; in the first instance, one has to have the resources and means to produce or harvest something with which to trade. In the second instance, one has to be in a position to transfer or deliver this produce to a place where it is needed, so that it might be purchased or bartered with, in order to gain some payment or trade. In South West Conamara, these two needs were met by turf and the Galway hooker.

In order to be in a position to dwell in this treeless region, as a simple example, all lumber, building equipment and materials, other than natural stone, (of which there is an abundance in Conamara), had to be brought into the area by the sea. Much of the required foodstuffs, other than fish from the sea, shellfish from the shore and perhaps a few vegetables grown near the house, had to be brought into the area; flour with which to bake the daily bread, being a prime example. In an interview for the annual Pléarácha Arts Festival magazine, Frank a'Mháille of Siopa Uí Mháille in Ros Muc noted that his father always said that (in the 1930s) Maitias Ó Máille's hooker, the Morning Star (An Réalt), could carry 20 Tons of foodstuffs. Their product could be anything from building materials, lumber, or slate, to food, mainly flour for baking. Almost everything that was necessary for living came from Galway by sea (Uí Mháille, 2004). There were shops dotted all along the coastline of South West Conamara, from An Cheathrú Rua to Roundstone and all of these had to be served by the hookers. Add to this the number of boats necessary to conduct the largest trade of all sea-trading in the area, the turf trade, and one can begin to visualise the sea-traffic that existed in the Galway Bay area, especially so in Ceantar na nOileán (for place location see Chapter 1). Quinn (2003) tells us that in the 19th Century, one hundred and fifty wooden sailing craft operated out of Greatman's Bay alone. This concentration of boats was so because the main markets for almost all of the produce of the South-Western Conamara region lay to the south and south-east of Ceantar na nOileán, meaning that much of this sea-traffic had to pass

this way. In Figure 4.1 below, Greatman's Bay is that body of water between Leitir Móir and An Cheathrú Rua. Further information and understanding of the location for this study can be found in Chapter1.

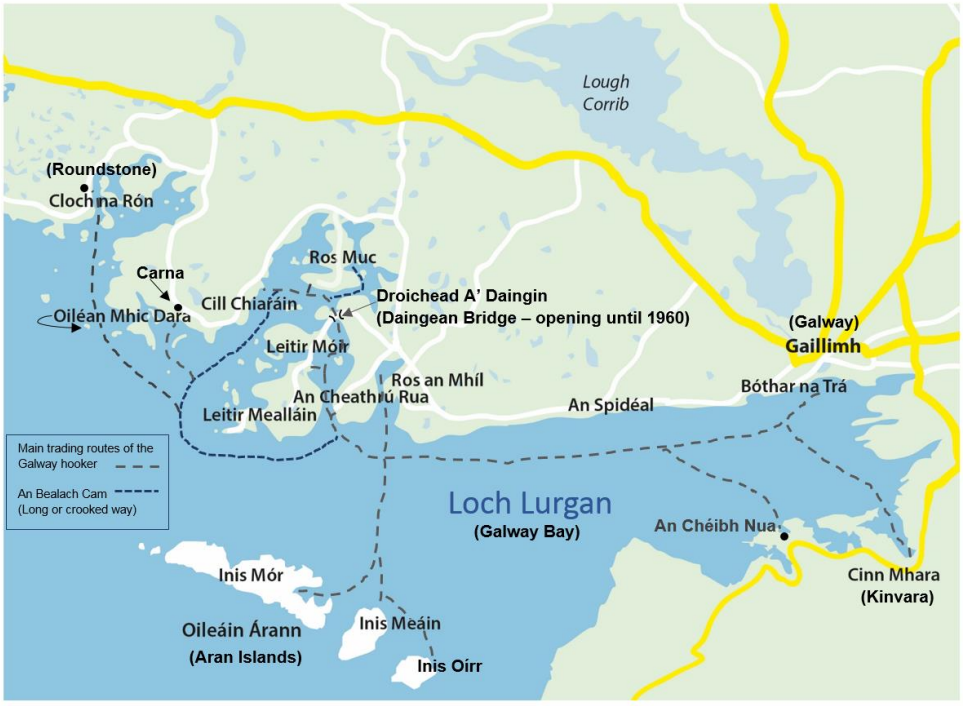

Figure 4.1 Map showing the main trade routes of the Galway Hooker (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.39). Used with permission.

Such was the exclusive value of turf as a cash-resource to the communities of South West Conamara that as early as the beginning of the 20th century the easiest-accessible "bogland near the coast had been stripped to bare rock" (Robinson, 1997, p.17; Gearóid, 13C). This forced the turf-cutters to travel further north in search of their product and then ferry it southwards through a shoreline of incredible complexity to reach their customers and receive their payment in cash or in kind. The foodstuffs and product which was not readily available in Conamara had to be ferried in the opposite direction and often the journey into Galway in search of these products saw the hooker take into the city a load of turf or seaweed so that a long sea-journey might not be made empty-handed, (see Figure 4.1). The next section explains the crucial role played by the Galway hooker in the evolution of Galway Bay from landscape/seascape into taskscape.

4.2 Circumstances in Conamara and elsewhere at this time

In the 1930s land holdings in the free-state were generally very small and poverty was most people's circumstance. Ferriter (2005) writes of this time that "of 380,147 holdings in the 26 counties of the free state only 80,000 were over 50 acres or more" (Ferriter, 2005, p.377). Emigration was a national issue, temporarily constrained by an international depression in the 1930s, it grew in intensity from the mid-1930s onwards with Britain as the primary destination (Ferriter, 2005). The sheer numbers of Irish citizens working in Britain at the outbreak of the war in 1939 raised many Anglo-Irish issues for the Irish Government as the Irish State declared itself neutral in relation to the war. The Government of Ireland tried to regulate the flight of people from the land at this time, with restrictions on the under 33s, people from poorly populated areas (of less than 5,000 persons), those already in employment and anyone with experience in agricultural work (3+ months experience) (Ferriter, 2005). However, with Irish citizens gaining employment by providing a labour pool for Britain's war effort both countries benefitted from the movement of Irish citizens (close to 100,000 by July 1944) to Britain. Two thirds of the travelling Irish males were aged less than 30 years and more than half of the women were aged less than 22 years (Ferriter, 2005, p.383). A loophole in the travel permit guidelines allowed those intending to emigrate, to complete the application by indicating that they were going on holiday or visiting relatives. Therefore, though the official work travel permit figures for 1943 alone were 48,324, these are most certainly very conservative. Ferriter (2005) continues to complete this portrayal on emigration to Britain by writing that "An estimated £21 million was remitted from emigrants in Britain to Ireland during the war" (Ferriter, 2005, p.383).

4.3 Taskscape

As introduced in Chapter 2, the concept of 'taskscape' coined by Ingold (2000) represents the area within the landscape or seascape, with which the person most regularly interacted in conducting their daily tasks. It would

therefore constitute the work-space in which these persons felt most at home. The taskscape of the hooker bádóirí was within Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay), principally centred in "Hooker Country", a place-name used to describe the waters surrounding Ceantar na nOileán (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.151). They sailed and worked here every day, creating, adjusting and maintaining an evolving pattern of enactment and animation with the other components of that landscape and seascape (piers, tides, swells, currents, winds, gusts, calms, rocks, rock-shores, seaweeds, fish and more). This taskscape then represents "the social character of the landscape, the interwoven goings-on of lives that are lived there and remains a taskscape just so long as the people dwell there" (Ingold, 2000, pp.189-200). Thus, taskscapes cannot exist without man living in and interacting with the immediate environment there. This particular taskscape was born out of the economic trade and the livelihood goings-on of the Galway hooker. For bádóirí involved in the trade of turf and shop goods/materials, their taskscape extended over the entirety of Loch Lurgan/Galway Bay. Being a bádóir during those trading years meant that one spent a considerable amount of one's time within that taskscape, creating an intimacy for this landscape, space and place. He learned of all the dangers to the boat and all of the 'marcanna talúin' (landmarks) that would help him to avoid damaging his boat, representing the gravest of all sins in the mind of the bádóir. The oldest bádóir that I interviewed, left me in no doubt about the gravity of hitting your boat, ***"Níl rud ar bith sa domhain níos measa ná do bháid a bhualadh"*** (there's nothing on this earth worse than to hit your boat) (Liam, 01A). Today, this taskscape is no more, but for a long period of time, it existed as a rich tapestry of workings and interactions between man, boat, all the elements of the sea and of the air. This was the landscape with which the bádóirí were not only familiar, but the one that enabled them and their communities to dwell within as co-participants.

The value of the hooker to the local community was highlighted by a comparison made with other such areas by one of my interviewees. He explained that Conamara having the Hooker was similar to other insular and island communities having their favoured boats for trade and access

purposes, such as the Manx Nobby, The Scottish Zulu and the Achill Yawl (Pádraic, 11B). Here in Ceantar na nOileán however, its value can be gauged by their most common saying concerning the hooker and livelihood, which was "the man who had a hooker always had a pound in his pocket" (Tomás, 33D; Micil, 02B). With regard to travel and transport, no alternative existed for the communities of South West Conamara. Every single item needed to enable living was transported by the hooker, such as; livestock to and from the fairs, kelp (type of seaweed) to the factory in Cill Chiaráin, flour, foods and shop items to the various shops in the region, turf to the Aran Islands, Kinvara and Clare and poteen to various locations. The hooker enabled all of these tasks to be carried out (Pádraic, 11B). With regards to earning a livelihood, the bád mhór or hooker generally held the upper-hand over the smaller boats as it could carry more (twice the tonnage of the leath bháid, which literally means half boat) and was also more seaworthy in bad weather. One could chance going to sea in it when it would not be possible to do so in the smaller boats. An interviewee recalled one such example, involving a turf trader who knew that the foreseen weather was not to be favourable and yet persisted with a turf run to Co. Clare. The weather was so bad that they lost some of their load and had trouble taking down the foresail. When questioned why he didn't wait until the following day, knowing the dangers that might ensue, the trader replied that he had to buy a ring and suits for a wedding and needed the money (John, 15B). This story, apart from highlighting the strengths and durability of both the bádóirí and the hooker, also serves to illustrate how hard it was in those times to earn a living. The more famous working boats were almost all from the Hooker Class (35 foot+), though quite a few of the leath bháid achieved notoriety amongst the communities also. The leath bhád had an advantage over the hooker as she was more nimble and didn't have the same draught. She could attend to more inshore work, making it more suitable for muiríní (scallop dredging), lobster fishing, and gathering seaweeds (Micil, 02B). Amongst my interviewees from around Cárna and further west, there was little involvement with the turf trade as it had finished there before their lifetimes. Their memories were of the hooker family of boats being used mainly for ferrying goods from Galway to the local shops and for fishing.

One interviewee told me that "the people there were very poor and two items were crucial to their survival, a boat and a horse, especially the boat to fish with" (Aindí, 07A). This statement highlights once more how critical the hooker was to the economic survival of the communities of South West Conamara, especially through its facilitation of the turf trade.

4.4 Primary Trade – The Turf Trade

The stories of the turf trade epitomise the previously related dwelling concept (Chapter 2). It brought the human being, the bog, the hooker and the elements together, forcing the human to physically encounter the bog and the seas, by being present-at-hand. The desperate need for fuel on the Aran Islands was recorded as far back as 1684, when Roderic O'Flaherty from Árainn wrote that sun-dried cow dung was the people's only source of fuel other than turf from Conamara, referring to it to as "the Western Continent" (cited in Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.161). A few lines later, in the same publication, the writing of Hely Dutton is referred to, a century and a half after O'Flathery, pointing out that "a good deal of turf was being cut on the shore and carried to Galway, or sold on the spot to boats from Aran and Clare". "Being cut on the shore" would tie-in with the fact that during the Great Famine years the people of the shoreline communities of South West Conamara cut their turf banks close to the edge of the water where they existed/lived and exhausted these by the end of the 1800s and beginning of the 1900s. By the 1930s there was only one trading fleet of hookers left in Galway Bay, that from Conamara, who continued to trade with Árainn and Clare (cited in Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.161).

The primary trade of this aforementioned fleet of hookers was the turf trade between the southwest Coast of Conamara and the Aran Islands, south Galway around Kinvara, New Quay in Co. Clare and down towards Loop Head, at the mouth of the Shannon Estuary. This trade existed because the rock-structure in Conamara mainly consists of marble to the north and granite in the south, structures that do not allow water to permeate, thus a wet surface build-up is gathered, facilitating the growth of boglands and resulting in the availability of turf. The predominant rock-structure of the

Aran Islands, South County Galway and County Clare is limestone, a permeable rock, which supports a dry karst surface as water will pass through and burrow its way down until meeting an impermeable rock underneath. On the surface there is no build-up of bog, with only a thin covering of soil and no turf. This resulted in a need for fuel and the basis for trade to take place. Conamara had an abundance of turf, available as a fuel for heating and cooking and the Aran Islands, South County Galway and County Clare had none. All that was needed was a means of moving the turf from the bogs to the customers on the other side of Galway Bay. From all that I have read and those persons that I have interviewed/spoken to, it would appear that this trade grew indigenously amongst the locals on the opposite shores of Galway Bay and the Aran Islands. To enable this trade the boatmen had to be sure of a supply of turf, all of which had to be cut and dried before it even left the bog. For the smaller traders this might have been a family enterprise, especially when cutting for themselves and maybe a few loads to sell, or to give to family relations (John 15B). In these cases little or no money might change hands. For the full-time traders a reliable supplier might have to be sourced and this man often had to be paid up-front (see 4.4.3 Transactions within the turf trade).

4.4.1 Doubling the work effort

For those families living on the offshore islands it was significantly more difficult to bring home the turf necessary for their year round cooking and heating needs. A similar sentiment was expressed within two different interviews given to me by people living on little islands where there were no longer bogs. They both described that when bringing home the turf from the mainland, one had to fight the hills at both ends (Jeaic, 25A; Gearóid, 13C). At that time each family was entitled to a share in the plot of bog on the mainland that was assigned to their island, a type of commonage. In the early days of summer, all the youth of the island would go out to the mainland in the evenings after school to turn each sod of turf for drying (Jeaic, 25A). Yet another trip was made in order to stand or ‘stook’ the turf, creating little open pyramids with a sod on the top to hold all of the other (3 or 4) ‘standing sods’ together. This method of standing allowed the bog

breezes to pass through each structure and to finish the drying process. When the turf was dried, it had to be collected and brought to the hooker and ferried home to the island. Upon arrival at the home/local pier, the turf had to be thrown up on the pier, gathered and carried upwards from there to where the family lived and would use it throughout the autumn, winter and spring for heating and possibly for cooking (Jeaic, 25A; Gearóid 13C). In a film made by Cine-Gael, it is reported that every sod of turf is handled 20 times before being burned (Quinn, 1979). This figure might seem high to the uninitiated, but throughout the readying process, can easily be reached. In the Figure 4.2, a turfboat is delivering its cargo. The bádóirí and helpers are having a tough time in the absence of any quayside infrastructure and have only a large rock that is higher than the boat, with which to work. Note that the end of the boom closest to the mast is raised out of the way in order to give those unloading, easier access to the turf.

4.4.2 Navigational Skills within the turf trade

Since this was very labour-intensive work, the hooker sailors were forced by circumstance to attempt to get as close as possible to the source of the turf, and therefore exhibit incredible sailing skills in bringing large and heavy (especially when laden with turf) hookers and leath-bháid into and out from places where the quay/landing area was little more than a stone pile in the water. Robinson (1997) describes these stone piles as providing an unending availability of tiny landing stages, built by removing stones from underneath the water line and piled upon one another to one side. Thus with one action both a deeper berth or “navigable passage” and a landing stage or “tiny quay” was formed (Robinson, 1997, p.20). After loading their boats, the bádóirí utilised all their tacit (learned/practical) knowledge to manoeuvre their craft in the seascape, through shallow waters and narrow passageways that really should not have been possible to navigate, so rugged and inhospitable is the coastline. A specific instance of this co-existence and ingenuity was related to me in the interview with one of the older interviewees. He was told by his uncle of a place to which they would ferry turf each year and there was no quay there against which to tie up the hooker or unload the turf. There was a beach there, so on a receding-tide,

the hooker was headed straight towards the beach and anchored while afloat. Then as the tide continued to recede, but was low enough for men to enter close-by the hooker, it would be propped up on both sides. When the tide was gone out revealing a dry strand about the hooker, donkeys with carts or creels were brought onto the beach and filled with turf from the boat. This process was continued as quickly as was possible, in effort to completely empty the hooker of its load before the tide came in again and lifted it from its supports. Once this work was completed the hooker could sail home once more (John, 15B).

Interviewees told me of places where people today would be amazed that boatmen were able get any craft to such a position and to dock there, let alone a hooker or a leath-bháid. One such place is Inis Aillte, where turf was taken from by a leath-bháid 'The Swan', to be brought to Árainn. My interviewee expressed total amazement, saying that it was 'unbelievable, that they must have known every rock, every corner and every current in there' (Joe, 05E). Another such place is Aill na gCraí in Doire Né, where it must have proven extremely difficult to bring a boat into, because of the numerous rocks which are only exposed at low tides and the absence of any quayside infrastructure there at that time (Jimí, 04B). These narratives highlight the raw and often harsh lived realities of these people as they lived within and as part of this seascape/taskscape.

Figure 4.2 Unloading turf from a hooker in Inis Oírr in the 1940s. (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.162) Used with permission from The National Irish Folklore Archive.

Note how the boom and rigging was raised on the mast to give clear access to the turf.

4.4.3 Transactions within the turf trade

The turf traders who did not have their own supply of turf had to buy it and usually had to pay for it up front, before they could sell it. This was explained to me in an interview, highlighting that it was the fairest option for both parties, since the supplier needed the money and the boatman couldn't promise to pay tomorrow for today's turf, as he might not get back for a few days, depending on the weather and tides. Also, the bádóir was not always sure what price he would achieve for the delivery and thus could not enter into an agreement that he might not be in a position to keep.
Therefore, it was better all-round if the turf was paid for on each leg of its journey from the bog to the hearth (Colm, 16E). Sometimes the bádóir had a

contracted-price with a definite buyer prior to delivery, but very often it was a case of sailing into the islands and bargaining with the islanders. My interviewee also explained that the buyer (in Aran, Kinvara or Clare) might actually pay him with fish, potatoes or wool, and he then wouldn't have the money to pay the supplier (Colm, 16E). Another turf trading interviewee said that when his father cut turf, he always cut two lorries for their own house, and five to sell. In this way he knew that he always had five loads to sell at the beginning of the season, before everyone else, when it was scarce (John, 15B). Prior to the general availability of the lorry and the development of the road and quayside infrastructure, all turf that was cut and dried in the bogs had to be carried from the bogs to the nearest pier where it could be placed in the hooker. It might be carried by pony or donkey carrying panniers or pulling a cart. Often it was carried by persons with a pannier on their backs (Pádraic, 11B).

4.4.4 Distributing the earnings from the turf trade

A necessary action that one (who had not been part of this landscape/taskscape) might forget in this scenario is that once transported over the sea the turf then had to be taken out of the hooker and brought to where it was to be burned as fuel for heating and/or for cooking. I was reminded of this part of the process in many of my interviews, and it was very important in terms of turf trading. When ferrying turf to the Aran Islands the bádóir and leath-bhádóir were usually the only ones in the boat, mainly out of economic necessity. The more hands that had to be paid, the less that everyone got. It took a minimum of two people to sail a hooker and so two was the number that worked together in the boat almost all of the time. The bádóirí might have family at home, possibly near to where the turf was to be put into the boat and some of these might be on-hand to help with loading the turf. If the turf trading bádóir happened to own or lease the bog from where the turf was to be cut, dried and sold, then he was most likely running the entire turf trading business as a family concern and would ensure to have family members on-hand to help with the loading of the hooker. If he was buying the turf from another person, as was previously

explained, he had to pay up-front and so the supplier might be there at the boat to give a hand with the loading, and also to get his money.

Upon delivery at the island, south Galway or Clare quaysides, anyone present there might come on-board and help with the unloading of the turf, and the bádóir would buy him a pint in the pub, as payment. Often, the buyer of the turf would also buy each helper a pint, resulting in the gain of two pints in the pub for one's turf unloading efforts (Colm, 16E). Sometimes, this could lead to the boat not returning to Conamara at the expected hour or even on the correct day. As a result, some of the bádóirí preferred to bring turf to Inis Meáin, as the pub was so far away from the pier there. "It was a case of dock, unload the turf and head away for home instantly" (John, 15B). When trying to sell the turf, the bargaining that went-on between the bádóirí and the Aran-islanders (na h-Arainneachaí) was fierce and often a deal would be lost for the sake of a crown (this was five shillings, or a quarter of a pound in old money, pre-decimalisation). I have been told in my interviews of stand-offs occurring, where the bádóir, not being satisfied with the price being offered, pulled out from the pier and waited a while for the prospective buyer to change his mind. If this wasn't forthcoming there was nothing left to do but to carry on east, past Ceann Bóirne and on into Kinvara to sell the turf there. My interviewee said that they would stay clear of Árainn then for a week and the islanders might not see a turf boat at all for that week, all for the sake of a few shillings. "The Arainneachaí (people from the Aran Islands) were tough and wouldn't give in", he said (Liam, 01A).

Money was scarce at the time of the turf trading and it happened sometimes that the bádóirí were paid for the turf with fish or even potatoes. Often, this was welcomed as the bádóir could make more money by selling the fish on the mainland, and thus increase his profit margin (Long and Standún, 2010; Liam, 01A). In the 1930s the structures for payment within the turf boat (splitting of the profits gained) was such that the bádóir got the profit from one load, the leath bhádóir got another, the boat-owner got another and the fourth was put aside for the upkeep and repair of the boat. However, it was usual that the owner and skipper of the boat was the same person and

therefore might end up getting three payments for every one that the leath bhádóir got. In the 1940s the cycle of payments was reduced to three, the bádóir, the leath bhádóir and the boat. When the boat was jointly owned by the bádóirí, as was the case with the leath bháid and turf trader Bláth na hÓige, the split between the two men was every second load (Ó Tuairisg, 2001). The usual profit made at that time was £1 for the trip to Inis Móir and £3 for the trips to Inis Meáin or to Inis Oírr. When the weather was good, the boats would make for the further away (smaller) islands and the better payments and then if the weather was broken they would go to Cill Rónáin on the big island. The bádóir (usually the owner) might try to engineer that he and the boat got the bigger profits by going to the further away islands and that the leath bhádóir got the smaller profit from going to Inis Móir, but this didn't always work out. In the end everybody got some big payments and some of the little ones (John, 15B). Ó Tuairisg (2001) informs readers that in the late forties, bádóirí were paid £7 in Aran and £8 in Kinvara for a load of turf and by the late fifties this had risen to £20. By the time the hooker turf trade was ending in the early 70s they were getting £30 a load, which was costing them £15 to the bog / cutter and £4 or £5 to pay the lorry to bring the turf to the quayside (Ó Tuairisg, 2001). Often, the bádóirí might be paid 'leath agus leath' (half/half), that is half the payment in money and half in dried fish. This was especially welcomed as the bádóirí would have earned some hard currency and still have the chance to raise their profits by selling the fish for a better price back on the mainland (John, 15B).

This scenario encompasses a large number of the present-at-hand interactions, that is; interactions that require hands-on and direct investment of effort at that time and in that place by the actants, that Carolan (2008) argues are a necessity in order to dwell. Examples here include (1): on the Aran Islands in either growing potatoes, involving soils, seaweeds and seed potatoes, or of engaging with the seascape in fishing, (2): on the bogs of Conamara, amongst the turf cutters, turf driers, turf porters and turf-traders, and (3) by the bádóirí in sailing to deliver the turf and also being involved in the re-sale of the fish received as payment, when back on the mainland. This scenario therefore, demonstrates how engagement with the Galway hooker

both promoted and enabled dwelling amongst the communities of South West Conamara. The turf trade was seasonal however, with many traders having to transfer to other work such as fishing and carrying seaweeds in order to supplement their incomes.

4.5 The Seaweed Trade

Another way to earn some money at that time was to collect and utilise the readily available seaweed in and around the plentiful shorelines of Galway Bay and the Aran Islands. There were three main uses/outlets for the seaweed, two of which gained a discernible payback for the work conducted, with the third seeing the seaweed remain at home. Certain seaweeds were widely used as a fertiliser by every family that lived within walking distance of the Conamara shoreline. Donkey and cart or creel would be used to ferry the seaweed back to homestead to fertilise the poor soil and enable the growing of potatoes and vegetables. During the Second World War, when both fertilisers and fuel for transport was extremely scarce, a type of co-operative shop was run by Delia Lydon in Quay Street in Galway City, where the bádóirí from Conamara would supply both fish and seaweed. The seaweed was in high demand by the farmers in the rich farming country of East Galway for use as fertiliser (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008; Pádraic, 11B). Of great importance also was the fact that such an outlet enabled the bádóirí to avoid travelling with an empty boat, as they could travel into Galway with a load of seaweed and return to Conamara with a load of foodstuffs or lumber and building materials. Bádóirí travelling to Galway from the south west corner of Conamara were often asked to provide passage to someone travelling to Galway and onto Queenstown (Cobh) to avail of passage to America, or onto Dublin to work or avail of passage to Great Britain. Throughout this research process, accounts of such journeys were related to me in interviews, and in the printed media. Peadar (18B) had always heard that when his own father was going to England, he got a lift into Galway on Mullins's boat and he had nothing with him but a suitcase and his new clothes and shoes. Though the boat was full of seaweed, it didn't bother him in the least and he was glad of the lift. When they got to Galway he put his suitcase aside and took up a

pike and continued to help with the unloading of the seaweed, new shoes and all (Peadar, 18B). Ó Giollagáin (1999) paints a similar picture when quoting Micil Conraí as saying that at that time (early 1930's), by boat was the only way to get to Galway from South West Conamara, ***"Sé an t-aon bhealach a bhí ann san am é"*** ("that was the only way at that time"). He further explained that whoever availed of a lift would have a duty to help with loading and unloading the turf or whatever cargo was carried in the boat (Ó Giollagáin, 1999, p.62-63).

According to one interviewee, in the 1960s there were small places all over Conamara, and one in Kilrush, County Clare, that used to buy all kinds of seaweed. He listed Ros Muc, Scríob and Roundstone, as well as the main one in Cill Chiaráin, that would buy both wet and dry seaweeds. The 'Slata Mara' (Stalks of the Seaweed) were much sought after, as was Coirleach (Straprack) and Ceilp (Kelp). Feamainn Bhúi (Yellow Seaweed) was more favoured for fertilising the land. As the sought-after seaweed is cut by hand and in such a way that the plant will continue to grow, this work can only be conducted just before, during and immediately after low tide. While the smaller boats, especially the currach and the bád iomartha were extensively used locally in and about the rock-strewn shorelines to collect seaweed and ferry it to the smaller local seaweed depots, the bigger sailing boats were needed to ferry the loads to Galway or to the factory in Cill Chiaráin (Peadar 18B). Many stories were related to me about the seaweed trade and how the bádóirí would work together to outwit the unfair practices sometimes employed by the seaweed factory in Cill Chiaráin. On one such occasion a boat that had been turned away because of the inferior quality of the cargo of seaweed according to the factory hand, was returned there shortly afterwards by another bádóir (the bádóirí had swapped boats) and achieved the best price from the factory (Long and Standún, 2010; Liam, 01A). In the next section, I explore the trade that endeavoured to make life bearable in the region; the carriage of household goods and foodstuffs to the local coastal shops and the other related livelihoods made possible by the existence of these trades.

4.6 The Shops Trade and Other Livelihoods

While most of the hooker traffic was engaged in ferrying turf across Galway Bay, many of the larger boats were engaged ferrying foodstuffs, household-goods and building materials to all the shops of South West Conamara. Many of these hookers were contracted to make these deliveries and the bádóir who was in possession of such a contract was greatly revered in the community. He alone, amongst the bádóirí, and probably the entire community, was sure of a steady income. The turf trade might have offered a little more freedom, but it was a seasonal, physically tough and a dusty, dirty trade. When the cut and dried turf had all been ferried, many of the bádóirí had to enter the fishing and the seaweed trades, until the following turf season came about once more (see Table 8.1). Though fish were more plentiful in times past, it was still an uncertain trade, when compared with the shops trade that represented the ultimate position that a bádóir could wish to be in.

An interviewee told me that there was once four shops in Tír an Fhia alone (a townland on Garumna Island, the biggest and middle island in the Ceantar na nOileán chain) and that hookers were "ferrying goods steady to these from Galway" (Cian, 21F). Another interviewee explained to me that his father once sailed the hooker called 'An Builín' (loaf of bread) and that it was so named because it belonged to Tí Conraí, the shop in Ros Muc and there they had a bakery. This boat was used to bring the bread down to An Cheathrú Rua and Leitir Mealláin (Jeaic, 25A). Some notable boats along with their bádóirí/owners were in this contracted situation, while other boats were owned by the shop-owners, and it was the skipper that was contracted to sail the boat. In another interview I learned of a noted hooker trader named Maitias Ó Máille who bought a hooker called The Morning Star for £100 in 1923/24 from Muintir Uí Chonghaile in Roundstone and had it decked by Michilín Shéamuis Ó Niadh, so that it could carry goods from Galway to Céibh an Sruthán Buí in Ros Muc for Siopa Uí Mháille. It is noted for once having carried 20 tonnes of foodstuffs and hardware from Galway. It ceased trading foodstuffs in 1952 and switched to transporting Slata Mara (Sea Rods) to the seaweed factory in Cill Chiaráin (Bríd, 29B).

Cattle and horses were often brought to and from the marts and fairs within the hooker. For a list of some of the most recent trading hookers, in the memory of today's bádóirí see Appendix C.

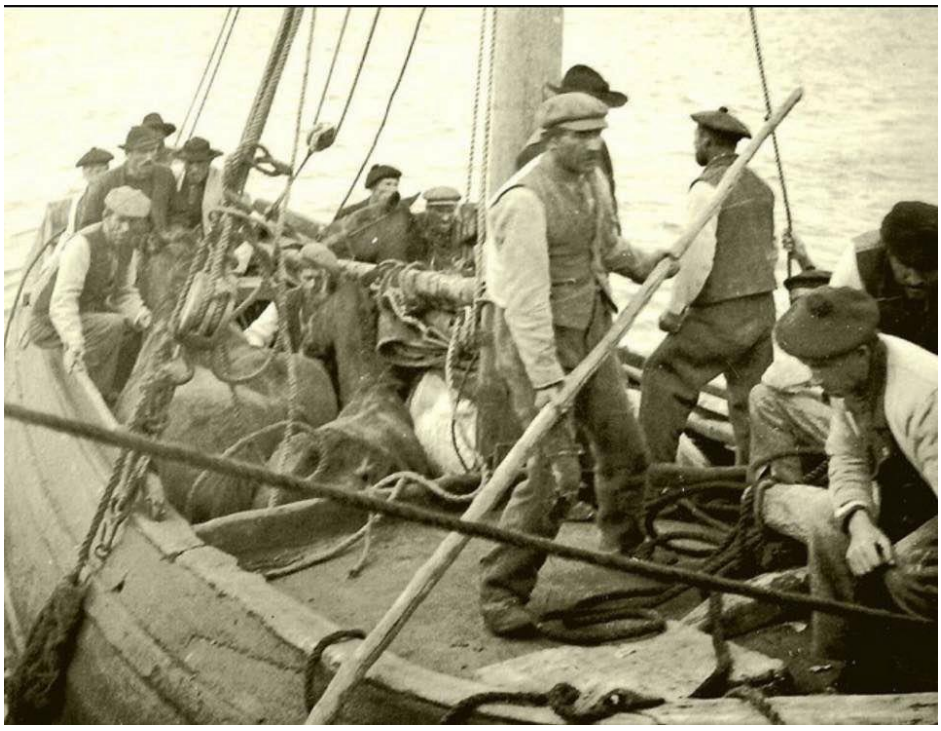

Figure 4.3 Ferrying horses on board a hooker. (Galway Hooker Association, used with permission of Dara Darba O Donnell.)

Prior to the advent of the lorry and the car, the Galway hooker was the focal point about which the entire community revolved. In a magazine-piece illustrating just what this 'workhorse' of Galway Bay meant to community, Ó Tuairisg wrote that more than 120 years ago it was An Mhaighdean Mhara that ferried all the building materials from Galway to An Cheathrú Rua (though on the mainland) for the construction of the church, the school and the priests house there (Ó Tuairisg, 1995). This happened due to the lack of a decent road structure then. An Mhaighdean Mhara is still sailing today. The community on the Aran Islands were dependent upon the hooker trade with Conamara for their fuel supplies in the form of turf. One of my interviewees who worked in this trade expressed the view that for him the importance of the hooker to the inhabitants of the Aran Islands was to be seen by the number of people available to assist with unloading the turf, on every occasion they docked there, especially on either of the two smaller

islands. “Often you couldn’t get a place yourself in the boat, they’d be that many there,” he said (John, 15B).

Another of my interviewees highlighted that apart from the directly involved bádóirí, the hooker enabled employment or a means of income for the boat-wrights (saor báid), sail makers, fishermen, shop-keepers and their porters of hardware and goods all over South West Conamara and on the quaysides in Galway City. It also enabled the livelihoods of the turf cutters and of those who carried the turf from the bogs to the quaysides (donkey and cart/pannier porters, later replaced by lorry drivers). The Galway hooker also enabled a wage to be earned by seaweed gatherers and workers at the various local seaweed stations, the factory in Cill Chiaráin and also those involved in the previously mentioned seaweed marketplace in Quay Street in Galway, operated by Delia Lydon (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008). The delivered hardware allowed builders to work in the construction of homes, community and business premises. “In one way or another, the Galway Hooker touched the lives of every member of the South West Conamara community and many more besides” (Pádraic, 11B). During the summer months the turf trading hookers would often carry people, locals and tourists alike, into and out from the Aran Islands. One of my interviewees said that each summer they would holiday in An Cheathrú Rua and often visited the Aran Islands, using both An Mhaighdean Mhara and An Tonaí (Colm, 14B). The visitors would have to make themselves as comfortable as they could alongside the load of turf and doubtlessly helped with the loading or unloading of turf thereafter. Though perhaps not directly related, it transpired that as the turf trade was waning, the number of visitors seeking passage to the Aran Islands continued to rise and from this early trickle the embryo of the Island Ferries, company was born (John, 15B). Today, this ferry company have many purpose-built ferries providing a year-round service to the Aran Islands, carrying thousands of tourists to the three Islands, but more importantly, providing a regular transport service for the Islanders themselves.

An older interviewee called attention to the fact that “the general population from Galway to Slyne Head (Ceann Léíme) were, and their descendants

today are, greatly owing to the Galway Hooker" (Pádraic, 11B). He accepted that most people would recognize that the communities of the Aran Islands and Ceantar na nOileán were dependent upon the hooker, but added, "If it wasn't for her, many of them would not be where they are today". "The Hooker was the artery or the heartbeat of Galway Bay and it did not exist out of the peoples love for it, rather it was needed there, as no alternative existed (Pádraic, 11B).

4.7 The War Years and the Later Demise of the Galway Hooker

With the aforementioned 'advent of the lorry', life was initially made easier for the turf traders as the turf could then be taken to the more accessible and suitable quaysides on the southern Conamara coastline (nearer to the Aran Islands). However, the availability of bottled gas, boat engines, cars and other petroleum-based advances, signalled the death-knell for the hooker. Bottled gas and coal became the favoured methods of cooking and heating on the Aran Islands, as elsewhere, and so turf became surplus to many of the islanders' needs. Even within the islands region of South West Conamara, the lorry began to replace the hooker as transporter of goods and foodstuffs. The turf trade started to decline from the late-thirties onwards and many of the hookers were being left idle, as they became surplus to the needs of those communities. However, this first decline was short-lived due to the outbreak of the Second World War. This reduced trade into Ireland to a trickle, while petrol-based fuels, related industrial products and coal became very scarce, resulting in a significant increase in demand for turf. In addition, the scarcity and rationing of petroleum meant that the hookers remained engaged in delivering goods to the shops and communities on the Aran Islands and in South West Conamara. The hooker's engagement with the community was thus re-invigorated and critically, boats were spared a longer period of idleness or of falling into total disrepair, which would surely have been their fate, were it not for the war (Síle, 17C; Noel, 06D). Although the turf trade was re-energised, in reality, this was merely a temporary reprieve. After the Second World War, when bottled gas and petroleum-enabled 'advancements' were rendering the Galway hooker surplus to the community's needs, those bádóirí who could adapt their

livelihoods did so. However, very many abandoned their hookers at the quayside, or took them to their homes and propped them up against a shed or a fence and left them there, not knowing what else to do with them. For most families the cost of their hooker's upkeep was too great since their means of generating an income with it was gone. Many hookers were sold to buyers from the Dublin region in the East and from England, mainly to be transformed into yachts and pleasure craft. There were, according to one of my interviewees, some bádóirí who declined offers of money for their boats, because they believed that they had a lucky boat and that their own good luck would change if they sold it (Peadar, 18B). The result was that "the hookers started to slip away big-time" (Pádraic, 11B). Likewise, many of the bádóirí and their leath bhádóirí emigrated to England, Scotland and America to take up paid-employment. There were some however, who could not leave the sea behind them and decided to turn to fishing as their full-time means of gaining a livelihood. "My father put an engine in the leath bháid and changed from the turf to fishing for lobster and scallops", according to one of my interviewees (Cathal, 19B). He went on to describe his father's regular "return home to the island with a boat half-full of scallops, about ten-dozen or so, as they were plentiful in those days". They would put out many lobster pots from county Clare to Arainn and back to Caisín Bay, selling their catch to the fish market in Cill Chiaraín (Cathal, 19B). Another interviewee explained that people that had gleotógaí or smaller boats would fish locally and sell their catch amongst their neighbours in the village, maybe getting a few pence for a bag of pollock. The gleotógaí were also used for drift-net fishing at night (Cóilín, 27A).

A younger interviewee (Colm, 16E) told me that after the turf-trade had finished up, his father couldn't leave the sea, and he failed in his efforts to get a loan /grant to buy a fishing trawler, since he was too young. He went to England and worked for a short period in a meat factory until he had saved enough to put a deposit on a trawler, and subsequently became the youngest captain of a fishing trawler anywhere in Ireland in 1959 at 27 years of age. "The sea was all that he knew", his son explained and that as soon as his father "was at sea you could actually see in his eyes that he was

at peace. If you could read his mind, it was saying that what's at home on land, stays at home, here I am at peace" (Colm, 16E). He was forced to utilise an engine-driven fishing trawler to maintain his livelihood and despite all the years spent doing so, he hated it. "When he spoke of 'the boat', it was of the hooker", according to his son (Colm, 16E).

4.7.1 The advent of the lorry played a major role in the decline

As the seascape had been temporarily transformed into taskscape by the enfolding activities between man, the natural elements and the Galway hooker there, the later built infrastructure and materiality of place brought about the end of that taskscape. In the case of South West Conamara, it was the advent of the lorry in particular that initiated three major changes, each contributing to the end of the Galway hooker taskscape. First, the vast majority of turf supplies were thereafter ferried from the most convenient piers to which the boats could get into and out from on all tides (Jimí, 04B). The three major quaysides of Caladh Thaidhg (in Cuan an Fhir Mhóir), Céibh a'Sruthán and Céibh Ros-a-Mhíl (both in Cuan Ros-a Mhíl) were the busiest turf trading centres thereafter. Thus, the numbers of people engaged in the turf trade elsewhere were greatly reduced.

Figure 4.4 When the trading days of the Galway hooker ceased very many boats were left to rot at quaysides throughout Conamara. Photographer, Conall Ó Giobúin. Used with permission.

Second, the almost complete transference of the turf trade to the southern ports and the primacy of the lorry now as the supplier of goods and

hardware to the local shops, meant that the bridge at Béal a'Daingin could be closed permanently to hooker traffic and remain open to vehicular traffic. This closure in 1960 forced many of the larger boats to circumnavigate Golam Head, adding greatly to the length and danger of their sea-journey. It represented another of the death-knells for hooker trading and thereafter the boats started to disappear more rapidly. One amongst the older bádóirí called it "a criminal-act" and never forgave the government for doing it (Colm, 16E). Other possible rationales behind the permanent closure of the swing bridge at Béal a'Daingin can be read in Endnote 4.1[iii].

Third, the sailing skillset of the bádóirí would thereafter decline, almost imperceptibly over time. No longer did they need to manoeuvre their boats through narrow passageways to small isolated quaysides that were not fit to accommodate them. When such skills are not being practiced with regularity, they slowly decline and cannot be passed down to the next generation of hooker sailors. The loss of these skillsets added to the effect of confining hooker sailing to the more-open bays and seas, and took the more intricate coastal routes out of the hooker taskscape (Joe, 05E; John, 15B). One of my older interviewees said:

> …that the house where he grew up was almost surrounded by water, if you looked east you saw one or two hookers going somewhere and if you looked west you saw a fleet of hookers rounding Golam Head and making for Árainn, or through the firth towards Galway. They would also be going towards Cárna, Roundstone, Cill Chiaráin or north-east towards the bogs. From the 1960s onwards such sights had fallen away and one might only see one or two hookers. By the 1970s there were none, you would not see a sail on the sea or if you did it was on a yacht, a white sail. This was strange to my eyes, it wasn't the old style", he said (Pádraic, 11B).

Figure 4.5 Hooker making ready to pass through the open bridge at Béal a'Daingin (Ó Conaire, 2015, back cover) Seeking Permission.

Note: The permanent closure of this swing bridge at Béal a'Daingin added greatly to the difficulties already facing the hooker sailors in their attempts to earn a living.

4.7.2 The emotional 'End of the Hooker Taskscape'

Another of my older interviewees (John, 15B), witnessed the boats leaving Conamara waters. He was in Árainn with his father and it was late in the evening, so they decided to stay overnight. Another boat arrived and tied-up alongside them. It was helmed by Denis Aylemer, who had purchased Bád Pheada (An Réalt / Morning Star) and he was taking her to the East Coast. This was about 1970 and it would later prove to be the first act in the story of the revival of the Galway hooker, unbeknown to everybody, including my interviewee, who arose early the next morning to find that Bád Pheada was already gone. Scott (2004) describes how she made her way up the Shannon to Dublin:

> …at Limerick Docks, Denis dropped the mast and, with no more than a couple of oars and a small outboard, he proceeded north through Ardnacrusha locks, into Lough Derg and from there eastwards into the Grand Canal. (Scott, 2004, p.75)

Shortly after that 'An Choirn' left for Dublin, but it only lasted a few months there before being broken up (John, 15B). The same interviewee witnessed 'An American Mór' and 'An Fancy' going down Cuan Ros-a-Mhíl as they left and he thought that he would never see any of those boats again (John, 15B). For most bádóirí, it was no longer economically viable to meet the cost of up-keep for the boats, that were at that time not trading and therefore, not generating any income. Many of the boats that stayed in Conamara were left to rot and slowly fall apart. Some became unwitting 'donors' of their nails and indirectly helped to extend the life of other boats. One of my interviewees said that, as youngsters they would usually be playing in the old rotting and neglected boats left at the quayside. At some time, his father was doing a repair-job on his own boat and the available 3.5 inch nails were of no use to him, so he sent my interviewee to relieve the old boat at the quayside of some of her nails (John, 15B). Only a few survived intact: those that had engines put into them and worked as fishing boats, and more especially, those that were kept by a handful of families who maintained their Galway hookers, and still do to this very day (An Capall, with the Bailey family; An Mhaighdean Mhara, with the Mac Donncha (Johnny Jimmy's) family; and An Tónaí, with the O'Brien family (see Table 5.1).

While the exit of many hookers to the east and elsewhere was witnessed and remembered as 'the decline' by many, a major obstacle to the future viability of the Galway hooker had already begun almost unnoticed much earlier. Due to the apparent future decline in the turf trade and the emergence of the automobile, no new boats were being built since the 1920s/1930s. These older boats were built for carrying cargo, with many of them being decked, partially or completely covered in (so that the goods being carried were kept dry and safe). They were all larger than 40ft, bigger than those that were carrying turf. They would race on public holidays or on the local saints' pattern days. But, by the early years of the twentieth century, even the days of these big boat races were dying out also. One of my interviewees (Micil, 02B) said that there were at least fourteen of these

great hookers and that he was able to name them and who owned them. (the list can be seen in Appendix C)

These boats would all have had famous crews from the Conamara coastline, many from Muigh Inis and Cárna. By the 1930s / 1940s, these races were finished. While a few places carried on the tradition of racing, such as Cill Chiaráin and Leitir Mealláin, the bigger boats were disappearing and the smaller turf carrying boats were not rigged properly for such racing. Pat Ciúinín (a famous bádóir) was born in 1915 and he related to my interviewee that the great races were gone in his time. “By the 1930s they were on the way out,” he said (Micil, 02B). The famous boatmen and the big sail-makers were all gone, being replaced by the engines and motorised vehicles. Only a few sailors from that generation were left, and these were the younger ones of their time. The strongest years of the great races were from the late 1800s to the early 1910s. “After that it began to wane” (Micil, 02B). Such was the decline in the numbers of hookers left that one interviewee explained to me that a committee was formed in the early fifties to try to organise a geall bád (boat race) for Lá Mhic Dara (16th July), the local saints pattern day, west of Carna. He said that “there were only three púcáin left of all the báid seol in that region, where there had been 500 boats there, 200 years previously” (Aindí, 07A).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the Galway hooker took centre stage in the trading and travel lifeline of South West Conamara, the Aran Islands and to a lesser extent, the coastlines of South Galway and North Clare. It examined the economic and livelihood dimensions of the craft and how its carriage of foodstuffs, building materials and other hardware from Galway city to the isolated parts of the region enabled communities to dwell there. The gathering and transport of turf, seaweed, fish and shellfish allowed the populations of turf-bearing Conamara to sustain themselves and to earn cash or payments in kind for these materials. By the same transfers, it also enabled the populations of the three Aran Islands and the coastlines of South Galway and North Clare to receive turf for heating and cooking purposes.

The chapter explored in detail this turf trade, describing the many labours associated with preparation and transference of the product from the bog to the place of collection by the hooker bádóirí. What transpired at the end of the turf deliveries and the payments received was also discussed.

The acclaim and wonders of today's bádóirí towards the skillsets of past bádóirí was expressed, in relation to the narrow and shallow passages of water that they managed to sail their hookers through in conducting their trade long ago. The shops and seaweed trades were also recounted here. The fact that the various sized hookers each had a specific purpose and place on the Conamara coastline demonstrated that the craft had everyday uses more widespread than for trade and economic purposes alone. It was also used for local business and social travel to the shops, the church, the pubs and to fairs and other gatherings. This shall be detailed in Chapter 5, which examines the Galway hooker at the level of family and community in South West Conamara and Galway Bay.

Chapter 5: The Galway Hooker at a Family and Community Level

Being 'active' and 'interactive' within a landscape/seascape in order to 'know and experience it' represents a consistent position within the writings of Ingold's (2011) wayfaring, Merleau-Ponty's intertwining (in Wylie, 2007), Carolan's (2008) 'readiness-at-hand' and Heidegger's (1971) dwelling perspective. Basso (1996) writes of animating the environment and in turn being animated by it, and it was the resulting creation of taskscape (Ingold, 2000) within Galway Bay, that enabled families and communities to dwell in South West Conamara.

This chapter discusses the findings from the perspective of the hooker families and their interaction with the seascape wherein they dwelt. It especially notes the respect that the bádóirí had for both the hooker and the sea where they worked in the knowledge that without the hooker their families, and perhaps their communities, might not survive. The chapter highlights the primacy of place the hooker held within the family and the community, to such an extent that some families have maintained their boats from the mid-1800s and still sail them today. The dilemmas sometimes posed by the almost obligatory 'handing-on through the family' of the hooker is examined and discussed. Adding to the previously discussed trading role of the hooker, this chapter highlights the community's dependence upon the craft for travel in relation to medical, welfare and educational needs, as well as social travel within the region and for many, the journey to Galway as their first steps on the emigration trail. Thereafter, this chapter traces the connection between the hooker and the Gaelic (Irish) language and how this craft facilitated that bond between the bádóirí and their taskscape, enabling the build-up and transmission of seanchas (folklore/oral history) and local knowledge.

5.1 "The hooker was the most important thing in our lives, outside of our mother and father!"

"The family that had a hooker or a leath-bháid could always put a 'builín ar an mbord" (loaf of bread on the table) (Colm, 16E). This sentiment was

repeated regularly throughout the interview process. The mother of another of my interviewees, upon witnessing her son buying back the boat that had been theirs throughout her younger years exclaimed "Sin í an bád a thóg muid" (that's the boat that reared us). The boat, in this case relates to a gleoiteóg beag, built in 1916. The owner (my interviewee's father) sold it and later bought it back again. He later it sold once more to a fisherman in Howth, who left it in Conamara rather than taking it to Dublin. After many years of neglect the hooker was located by my interviewee, as was its' owner in Howth. Upon enquiry if the boat was for sale, the fisherman replied "yes, on condition that it be repaired and sailed again, but that if it was going to be left to fall further into disrepair, then it was not for sale" (Seosamh 09B). My interviewee bought, repaired and has sailed the boat continuously since. He recently proposed to his own family that they sell this gleoiteóg beag in order to buy a bigger boat that would more easily accommodate their growing numbers in family. Their response was a resounding "refusal to sell, that the boat was not leaving the family again" (Seosamh, 09B). Another of my older interviewees emphasised the hooker's importance to the family and the community when stating categorically; "When I was growing up the hooker was the most important thing in our lives, outside of our mother and father" (Micil, 02B).

Figure 5.1 American Mór. Image from "Húicéirí" by Seanchaí Editions (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.83). Used with permission.

One of the more experienced hooker sailors, Johnny Pheter Bailey was noted for remarking about his hooker (An Capall), ***"Níor fhág sí riamh muid gan builín aráin nó muigín tae",*** (she never left us without a loaf of bread or a mug of tea) (Síle, 17C). Other interviewees expressed similar sentiments, such as: "the man who had a hooker always had a pound in his pocket" (Tomás, 33D), (Micil, 02B). Yet another interviewee quoted his father as saying, "if there's a boat in the house, that house is safe" (Colm, 16E). Those houses in the community that didn't have a boat were dependent upon the nearest one that did, in order to bring in from outside all that they needed to survive, enable work and possibly to ferry out any produce that they might have to sell, such as turf or seaweed. The reality for these isolated communities at the time placed the hooker as the focal point about which the entire community revolved.

Therefore, for a family that had a hooker, its' care and upkeep was of paramount importance. Often, it appeared to be more important than

anything else in the household, or so it seemed to everyone else therein, other than the bádóir. One of my interviewees told of his family having a partly leaking roof on their house, for what seemed like an eternity to the woman of the house (my interviewee's mother). The roof was put on in 1912 and "with every passing shower of rain, water was coming in and with every passing gale of wind, the woman of the house was scared that the roof would be lifted from the house" (Colm 16E). She was constantly asking her husband to have it repaired and always felt that her request was being ignored. "Yet, if the hooker had any piece of wood, any line, block or sail in need of repair, replacing or re-painting; it was given priority and completed promptly" (Colm, 16E). Another of my interviewees explained that the boat was looked after almost better than the children sometimes, because it was a way of making a living and keeping people alive. She said, "it is little wonder then that the people involved became very fond of them and created a sense of loyalty to the boats that kept their family going" (Síle 17C).

Any work directly involving the construction, repair or sailing of the hooker fell within the work domain of the man. One of my older interviewees said that when he was growing up the turf and the hooker were the work domain of his father, while his mother and themselves (children) were expected to look after the cutting of the grass and all other such household chores. If the weather was favourable, their father was gone to sea and they were (if not at school) expected to help with the loading of the turf and to be at the quayside when the boat was returning to dock from its travels. The hooker took precedence over everything else and that's how life was ordered (John, 15B). Another of my interviewees recounted his mother dying in her hospital bed. Many of the family members were gathered there and yet the topic of conversation was about changing the position of the mast on the hooker. My interviewee was staring at his mother as "She opened her two eyes and shut them again immediately and died". He strongly felt that "once she heard them talking about the hooker she thought to herself that there's no need for me here anymore, everything is as normal and it's time that I was moving on" clarifying, "that had been the story of her life, our family's life, the community's life, everything was about the hooker" (Cathal, 19B).

Figure 5.2 The hooker fleet at Máimín, Leitir Moir, about 1943. A crew is about to step the mast. (Scott, 2004, p.26) Used with permission from Fáilte Ireland.

5.1.1 A Bádóir's love for the boat

One story in particular illustrates the extent to which a deep 'ontological belonging' (Bennett, 2014) exists among those whose lives have revolved around the fortunes of the hooker. An older interviewee stood out in the expression of love and heartache for a hooker that through difficult circumstance forced him to sell it 50 years previously, as a consequence of having to emigrate in the early 1960s. The turf trade was all but ended, and circumstances beyond the bádóir's control meant that despite having had the boat fitted with an engine in order to convert to fishing, he could not continue in that trade either. The boat, a small leath-bháid, had been built in 1885, for their great-grandfather and in 1963, the bádóir, who was part-

owner, sold his share to his leath bhádóir (the other part-owner) and emigrated to Boston. While in America news reached him that the boat was sold out of the family. A few years later he returned home and made a number of unsuccessful attempts to buy it back. When I interviewed the elder bádóir for this research, he was clearly still grieving for his boat after half-a-century, declaring that if he "had known that the leath-bhádóir would sell the boat he would never have emigrated" (Liam, 01A). Looking up at a picture of the boat hanging on the wall of his sitting room, the old bádóir whispered "I must go back to see her again soon" (Liam, 01A). His son later told me that his father's "Heart is broken since the boat was sold out of the family", and that "I have also tried, unsuccessfully, to buy it back, as I would love to be in a position to give it to my own son" (Micil, 02B). However, in a further display of a sailors pure love for a boat, this man explained that what was once their boat "must after all this time be considered part of her new owner's family and that's the way things are" (Micil, 02B).

Almost every one of my thirty-three interviewees had a hooker somewhere in their family line. Many had one on both their father's and mother's sides of the family. Yet, such was the collapse in the trading life of the Galway hooker that there are only three families feted as having held onto their boats through each generation since the boat was built for their particular family. The hooker 'An Capall', built around 1860 and still in the ownership of the Bailey family for whom it was built, and which continues to be sailed by the fifth and sixth generations. Another is the hooker 'An Mhaighdean Mhara', built around 1852/53, and still in the ownership of the Mac Donnchadha Family for whom it was built, and continues to be sailed by the fifth and sixth generations. A pucán, also carries this distinction, that of the Barrett Family in Fuirnis, Leitir Mealláin. Their family had the púcán built in 1928 for Maitias Bairéad, the grandfather of the present owner of the same name, who still sails it with his adult children today. Another hooker, *An Tonaí was bought into the family of Máirtín Ó Brien in the early 1900s, having been built in 1892, and so is in this family now for more than one hundred years. All of these boats have been kept by these families through

good times and bad, enabling them and their communities to dwell in South West Conamara.

Table 5.1 Boats that have been kept within the family for whom they were built.

Name of Boat	Year Built	Family name, address	Present Generation
An Mhaighdean Mhara	1852/53	Mac Donnchadha, Cuileán	6th
An Capall	1860	Na Báille, Sruthán Buí	6th
Púcán Bharrett	1928	Bairéad, Fuirnis	4th
*An Tonaí	1892	Uí Bhriain, Sruthán	4th

Note: * While An Tonaí was not built for Clann Uí Bhriain (The O'Brien Family), it was built for Tony Sheán Mhaolra Ó Flaithearta by Patrick Brannelly. It was bought by Peadairín Ó Briain into that family about 1905/06 and has been in the family since, more than 110 years now.

This sense of belonging generated over time by the hooker ensured that it carried within it everything about its "history, people and place" that is about the bádóir, his family and all the memories created by those who sailed/worked in it (Miller, 2002, cited in Bennett, 2014, p.658). A story related in interview involves a famous hooker built more than 130 years ago. It was bought in the mid-1980s by a sailor, who afterwards died at a young age. Some years later, the sale of his boat was being considered by the family, as it was steadily falling further into disrepair and would cost considerable money to restore it. The family has another boat, which they continue to sail. However, on hearing that its sale was being considered, the younger generation of the family (nephews of the sailor who owned it) gathered together their own monies and had the boat repaired, rather than letting it leave the family. They continue to sail this boat every year since (Mairt, 08B).

Many interviewees related that they had sought to trace and attempted to buy back a family hooker that their relatives were forced to relinquish ownership of many years ago due to circumstances outside of their control. One of my older interviewees expressed such a wish, to find and sail once more the boat his family used to have at home themselves. He acknowledged however, that he could not see it ever happening because it

had left the family a long time and he admitted that he did not know where it is or if it had fallen into disrepair or even been broken up (Cóilín, 27A). Yet another of my older interviewees said that "it is to my eternal regret that my father sold the boat", explaining that he later tried to buy it back but the new owner refused to sell it, even though he never sailed it. He had in fact left it in a field to rot and it was later burned (Jeaic, 25A). A younger interviewee believed that the connection their relatives had with the hooker is what still drives the hooker community of today, not alone to hold onto, but to repair the boats and even to have new ones built (using any good timber that they could salvage from the old family boat). He said that "they are driven by an honour to fill the gap" (Noel, 06D).

Many of the older generation in Conamara today have never worked in 'a turf-boat', while the younger generation have never seen a fully-laden hooker, apart from the annual re-enactment of the 'Turfboats to Kinvara' for the Cruinniú na mBád Festival held there each August. Yet the hooker is revered in the region of South West Conamara, and despite being a very expensive hobby, those lucky enough to have one in their family continue to do all in their power to hold onto it. Jeaic, one of my older interviewees, informed me that there are only two types of people involved with the hooker today "those that have too much money, or those that are fools", clarifying that "anyone involved with a hooker today is doing so from their own pockets and its maintenance, insurance and servicing costs do not come cheaply" (Jeaic, 25A).

5.1.2 Moral obligations and dilemmas

The phrase ***"Ná lig di titim"*** – Don't let her fall (apart) is a sentence that was often communicated between the generations of family during the hooker trading years, as the boat ensured a means of income for the family and a lifeline for the community. One of my younger interviewees lamented that this command had been given within his family some generations previously and despite the wishes of the dying bádóir, the boat was left untended and fell apart (Eamonn 30F). However, some generations later when another member of the family (the father of my interviewee) was

having a boat built he sought-out the remaining good timbers from the original family boat. From amongst these he chose the best remaining timber to use as the 'deadwood' within the new boat and therefore, a part of the old family boat is still sailing within the newer boat today. These boats were so precious to families, they are in fact heirlooms and are still passed on down through the generations. For any island community, their very existence depended upon the hooker. As expressed by one interviewee, "The boat, the bádóirí and their families were as one, the boat was a part of them, they were very connected", Micil (02B). Another interviewee, a member of a famous hooker family declared that he and his siblings were all "born into it", that they knew nothing else, that "the boat was their home" (Colm, 16E).

> It grows under your feet and actually grows within you, even though you might not be aware of it…for the older generation of hooker sailors, once the morning tide came in, they could do nothing without the hooker.
> (Colm,16E).

While almost all of my interviewees claimed that a family that had a hooker would do all in their power to ensure that it didn't fall into disrepair, there was one interesting case where a father, on his deathbed, instructed his son to "sell the boat, if it became an unnecessary burden on the family" (John, 15B). As things transpired, the very boat in question was not only kept in the family, but is still being sailed by them to this day, having been built more than a century and a quarter ago. This same boat is partly responsible for the birth of the largest privately-owned passenger ferry service in the West of Ireland today. One of my older interviewees said that the boats were held in great regard, especially so if the family held it through a couple of generations. "It's honour multiplied exponentially", he said (Aindí, 07A).

5.1.3 The hooker was sometimes a heavy burden

For the people of Conamara and many parts of the rugged and remote West of Ireland, 'An Bád Bán' (the emigrant ship), was their 'safety valve' to survival. Families were generally large at that time and it was usual the first-born son would inherit the holding, however small or large. All others would leave, one way or another. The girls typically got married and the

boys would make their way to America (Boston or Chicago were the usual destinations for the people of Ceantar na nOileán) or to England (Leeds and Huddersfield welcomed very many from Leitir Móir) for long-term or for seasonal work. This 'first-born' privilege did not always extend to ownership of the hooker however, as it was usually left to the son who showed most interest and most promise/ability in handling it (John, 15B; Liam, 01A). When the turf-trade had ceased, however, the hooker became a liability, a family heirloom that could weigh heavily on the hearts and the minds of those who inherited it along with its attached instruction, ***'Ná lig di titim'***.

Retaining the hooker in the family could often generate strong emotional reactions. An interviewee from a family noted for maintaining their hooker said that he could never leave home like his siblings and cousins because he "could never 'not see' the boat on the water" (Tomás, 33D). This represents the other side of having a boat in the family, as he was tied to the homestead against any semblance of sustainable livelihood. Interestingly, he said that when his father was getting old, he (the father) wanted to sell the boat. However his brothers (uncles of the interviewee) didn't want it sold and there ensued "an almighty war between them" (Thomas, 33D). My interviewee was only eight years of age at the time and as things transpired, the boat was not sold. Despite the family-feud, none of the brothers (uncles) took it over after their sibling (this interviewee's father) died. This interviewee is now happy with how events turned out and looks forward to each new hooker-season. Like many of my interviewees, he expressed a common sentiment amongst the hooker bádóirí that "awaiting the hooker season is what gets him through the winter" (Tomás, 33D; Cathal, 19B).

5.2 Community Pride and Community Ownership

The love and respect amongst a community for the boat was understandable because it provided a means of transport that was important to the family, but was essential to the community. Without a direct means of transport, an insular or isolated community could not remain at that location.
Ó Giollagáin (1999) illustrates this while editing the oral history stories of

Micil Chonraí, who lived in Máimín, Leitir Móir between 1919 and 1935. In the year of 1935, his family moved to the Rath Chairn Gaeltacht in County Meath under a Government initiative. Many of his stories involve a hooker, from ferrying turf to collecting goods in Galway. He expressly states that there was no other way to get to Galway, other than by boat. It was possible to go some of the way with a horse and cart, but not all the way. He clarified that one's payment for the trip was to help the bádóir with the loading and unloading of the cargo, whether that was turf or seaweed on the way there and perhaps goods from the various shops in Galway, on the way home (Ó Giollagáin, 1999). One of my older interviewees, in expressing a deep understanding of and much experience with the hooker stated, "The existence and maintenance of the hooker did not come about because of the people's love for her, rather it arose from their absolute dependence upon her" (Pádraic, 11B). The hooker and all that it entailed represented for them a means of living, enabling them to dwell, to function and to be a community. One could almost go so far as to declare that in those times (before the Second World War) nobody could have survived in South West Conamara without it. The hooker carried more than people and food or hardware items, it also carried news and all of the community's communications to and from the outside world. Thus, the family that had a hooker held the key to the survival and functioning, not only of their family, but in many cases that of the entire community. For instance, it was the hooker An Tonaí that carried the postal services to the Aran Islands towards the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s (Ó Tuairisg, 1993).

5.2.1 Mainland and offshore island isolation

One of my interviewees explained that during his grandfather's life, there were no roads in parts of Conamara and therefore, by land, the people in South West Conamara were very isolated. "To them the boat meant everything, it was their car, their bus and their lorry" (Frank, 23D). The topography of the region meant that these communities were completely dependent upon the hookers for communication, for travel, in enabling a livelihood to be made, and for them to dwell there. Another of my interviewees, whose family had earlier moved to the offshore islands in

efforts to obtain some food from the sea and shore, when speaking of Inis Barrchain (an island off Leitir Móir within Ceantar na nOileán) said that there were about forty houses on that Island at the time of the famine (Micil, 02B). An older interviewee speaking of the same island and timeframe clarified that "a path/tidal causeway was put there in 1847, built by the hands of the people, using only wheel-barrows and crow bars. They were paid with a single penny a day and it was tough work as there was no machinery then" (Jeaic, 25A). He lamented the fact that in 150 years since, no Government has listened to the people of the island and connected it with Garumna Island, which is already connected to the mainland. He explained that frequently they would go out to the mainland with plenty of water, but when they wished to return (after mass, being at the shops or the doctor and other such necessary tasks), they might have to wait around for an hour or two until the boat would be afloat again. "It was terrible" (Jeaic, 25A).

Yet another interviewee explained that the community of Ceantar na nOileán at that time were living on at least fourteen offshore islands, perhaps more: Inis Mhic Cionaith, An Ros Rua, An Cnapach, Inis Oirc, Daighinis, An tOileán Iarthach (LM), Inis Bearcháin, Inse Ghainimh, Inis Treabhair, An tOileán Iarthach (RM), An tOileán Mór, Inis Eilte, Fínis, Oileán Máisean (Máirt, 08B). For many of these residents they would have had a known 'safe' passage through the rocks and pools, by which to walk to or from their home island when the tide was out. Of course, for some, this was never possible and they needed to use a bád iomartha, a gleoiteóg or a púcán, no matter what the tide.

In another interview I learned of a local solution to travel difficulties during the period of dirt roads and tracks, where there was no public bus service to or from Leitir Mealláin, (this did not start until 1959). After each weekend at home a young woman from Leitir Mealláin had to be ferried across Cill Chiaráin Bay to An Árd Mhóir in the family púcán at 4am. She was attending college in Mayo, and on the other side of the bay, she could catch the public bus from Carna to Galway and onwards to Mayo thereafter (Gearóid, 13C). In this fashion, it was the hooker that facilitated this woman's education amongst all the other tasks that were addressed by it,

including ferrying the family's turf from the mainland to the island, enabling carriage of goods, fishing and attending social occasions as the need arose. "The púcán enabled us to live here" my interviewee said (Geareoid, 13C). For many of my interviewees, their first time to leave home as infants and before, was by boat. As his mother was coming to full-term, Cathal (in the womb), made his first boat journey. His father was in England, doing seasonal work with the beet, as was customary for the men of Ceantar na nOileán at that time. There was no one else at home able to take his mother to the mainland, so she did it herself. A few days before giving birth to her son, she prepared the boat, made her way to the mainland and walked the track to Leitir Móir in the hope of getting a lift to Galway. A few days later, my interviewee was born (Cathal, 19B). Another of my interviewees told me that his first time in a boat was to be taken to the church on the mainland to be baptised (Mairt, 08B). Thus, dwelling in Ceantar na nOileán would have been impossible without the hooker family of boats.

5.2.2 The community's emotional connection with the hooker

The emotional connection experienced by those who had emigrated from Conamara is depicted effectively in a story conveyed by Barry (1986) about the reaction of emigrants from Ros Muc on seeing the hooker 'St. Patrick' tying up at Boston Pier. (Note of explanation: The Saint Patrick had been invited to take part in the parade of sail past the Statue of Liberty on the 4th July 1986, to celebrate its centennial and afterwards continued on up to visit Boston). The older Conamara folk there would have known this boat as 'Bád Chonraí', the hooker that served Tigh Chonraí, their local shop in Ros Muc, making available to them everything that they needed to dwell in South-West Conamara sixty years previously. With beautiful precision, Barry (1986) writes:

> Old people, some who hadn't seen Connemara this sixty years, stood silently by, tears running down their creased faces. A strong handshake, a quick soft 'comhghairdeas' – no words could describe what seeing *Bád Chonroí* again meant to these people.
>
> (Barry, 1986, p.129)

Occasionally, in some of the smaller outlying communities, it transpired that there might be only one hooker situated there resulting in almost the entire community feeling as though it was theirs, a community possession or representation. Aindí (07A) told me that this was the case for a period of his youth and if this boat (his father's) won a race the young boys of the village would try to fly a flag from its mast in celebration. His father was a shy man and would not allow this, but the young boys would climb the mast during the night and hang the flag there anyway, such was their love of and pride in the one boat in their village/community at that time (Aindí, 07A). It is necessary to have two persons on board to sail a gleoiteóg. As my interviewee's father got older and his children had emigrated, there was not always someone available to sail with him in the boat, so he traded it for a púcán. It is possible to sail the púcán alone and it is also easier to row it when necessary. While this trade transformed his working life, it also led to an immediate questioning by many persons within the village as to the sale/exchange of the particular gleoiteóg. "Their questioning grew to such an extent that one would think the boat belonged to the entire community and its' owner did not have the authority to sell it" (Aindí, 07A). Another depiction of such love amongst a community for a boat was given to me by Micil (02B) when speaking of the return of their boat that had been to Muigh Inis for repair and to have an engine fitted, in the late 50s. He said that while it was late in the evening, "yet the whole island stayed up to greet it" and "there was a magic about that night and a buzz on the island that I haven't felt since", (Micil, 02B).

Figure 5.3 An Mhaighdean Mhara still going strong. Note the very large Tumblehome (apple-cheek-like rounded sides) creating a large cargo area. (Petroni and Dossena, 2017, p.68). Used with permission.

5.2.3 Social interaction and merriment

One of the reasons that the hooker was revered by the wider community derives from its centrality to some of the community's collective stories/collective memories. Quite apart from the daily grind of life, the presence of a hooker in a village meant that the community had a means of travel for further social interaction, or even some welcome distraction. As previously mentioned, a social highlight in the calendar for the ordinary person was, and in many cases today still is, the local Lá Pátrún (the local Pattern or Saint's Day). During the interview, Aindí (07A) told me of one such memorable journey to Lá Patrúin Peadar's Pól (Saints' Peter and Paul's Pattern Day) in Roundstone (on the Conamara coast, south of Clifden). He was only a young boy when he stowed away in his father's boat that was taking people from his village to the festival. During the day there was great merriment and drinking, but when coming home in the night things were different. It was difficult to board the boat as the tide was out and a rope had to be used to help people down from the pier to the boat below. It was raining, the wind had turned southerly and was strengthening.

"The women were screeching and there was general mayhem", he said (Aindí, 07A). There were about 35 people in the gleoiteóg that night for the very hard journey from Roundstone to Mace Pier (near Carna). During the passage two men started to fight and my interviewee's father had to leave the tiller to intervene in the fracas. The women were screaming again and people on the land could hear the commotion, he said. Finally, they managed to get home safely. However, my interviewee said that it was days and nights like these that the people of the community would talk about throughout the year afterwards. "Such trips and gatherings as these from time to time gave their spirits a lift and kept them going for a while" (Aindí, 07A).

5.2.4 Collective memories

Mac an Iomaire (1985) in a piece entitled 'Geallta Bád i gConamara' (Boat Races in Conamara), depicts a wonderous picture of participation in a púcán race and all that went on that day in Carna in the early 1930s. The description of the race is given through the eyes of the bádóirí, but perhaps more importantly from a community perspective, as distinct from a bádóir's perspective, he also describes what was happening on the shoreline. Apart from races involving hookers, nobbies, gleoiteogaí and púcháin, there was also racing of báid iomartha and currachs. Huge crowds of onlookers occupied places on the piers and on the strand, where there were horse races and foot races and "all types of athletics and bravado" (Mac an Iomaire, 2000, p.125). There was even a thimble-rigger (trickster with/for whom the participant must bet money and guess under which of three thimbles the pea remains). All things considered, it was a day out for the entire community, for both those involved in the boats and those who were not. Interestingly, the winning crew were more interested in gaining the flag to hoist on their mast, proclaiming them as winners, than the ten pounds prize-money (a considerable sum at that time) (Mac an Iomaire, 1985). The note regarding the importance of the flag resonates with the story earlier of the "young lads" wishing to raise a flag in recognition of their 'village gleoiteog' winning a race, despite the reluctance of the boat owner to do so (see section

5.2.2). I have not read or heard elsewhere of this custom of raising a celebratory flag in the hooker regatta scene.

Féile Oileán Mhic Dara (St. Mac Dara's Island Festival) was (and still is) the highlight of the local social calendar for many throughout South West Conamara. The island is visited by hundreds of people, local and visitor alike, with very many returning immigrants making the journey every year on July 16th, the saint's pattern day. It has always been, and still is, a very important day in the calendar of Hooker festivals, with its races being recognised as the 'All-Ireland Championships' of Hooker Racing. My interviewee Aindí told me that two hundred years ago there would likely have been five hundred boats there. He knew of this from an old leath bhádóir who, at 16 years of age was already ferrying turf to Kinvara on his family's boat. Yet he was not allowed on the island on the pattern day, as children were not allowed visit on that day. He had to remain on the shorefront at Más, playing wrestling with the other children. However, he instilled a picture image in the mind of my interviewee, saying, that while looking towards the island from An Más, you couldn't see the oratory for the number of hooker masts there. So famous is this saints day that people from the area who have emigrated will return, taking their annual holiday to coincide with it, bringing cousins from America, England and other places along with them. They will try to get out to the island on boats particular to them, perhaps belonging to a family relation and have their picture taken with the boat. Upon return to America, England or wherever home is now, they will be asked on what boat they went out and they will proudly reply, 'An Mac Dara', 'Volunteer', 'An Faoileán', 'American Mór' or whatever the boat's name was (Aindí 07A). These events and stories of social occasions form part of the collective memories of the wider community, which continue to have meaning in the present. Furthermore, we can see that the hooker was the means through which language, place identity, distinct folklore and mythology were communicated. This is the focus of the next section of the chapter.

5.3 Language Continuity

As referred to in previous sections, the wider hooker community is now very thankful that some of the fleet were not out of the water long enough to dry-out, rot and disappear altogether with the end of the trading years. One of my interviewees explained that "An Mhaighdean Mhara was barely out of the water, one season or two when the revival began and she went straight back in again" (Noel, 06D). This however was more an exception than the rule, as very many of the hookers were pulled up out of the water and left to rot, since it was too costly to maintain a boat no longer enabling an income. That some of the hookers remained seaworthy and others were not far beyond repair enabled the revival from a material perspective. Perhaps more importantly, though, the fact that the old hooker sailors were still alive and able to oversee the restoration work on many of the hookers ensured that the sailing knowledge and the working-boat vocabulary remained attached to the hooker sailing landscape in Galway Bay.

Consequently, the language spoken in and around the hookers never changed to English. To this day, all sailing in the Galway hookers is conducted 'as ghaeilge', that is in the Gaelic or native Irish language. It was the working language of these boats and amongst my interviewees, there were many who connected the topic of the hooker sailing and the use of the Irish language. Dara, when speaking of the older hooker sailors expressed a "wish to be as good as them, not alone in their skills of sailing, but especially so in their knowledge and use of the old hooker sailing vocabulary, built up over the centuries in the region" (Dara, 14B). He explained that the sociolinguistic experts claim that in order to save and promote a language, it must be tied to an activity or a pastime where it is practiced socially and that is exactly what is happening between the hooker sailing and the Irish language. "This tie with the hooker community is very important and it must be promoted and supported, because ninety per cent of what's said within and about the hooker is said through the Irish language" (Dara, 14B). Kelly (2012), in a documentary film about the revitalisation of a Native American community's language, entitled 'We still live here – Âs Nutayuneân', quotes Chomsky, the noted American linguist, saying:

> A language is not just words. It's a culture, a tradition,
> A unification of a community, A whole history that creates what a community is. It's all embodied in a language.
>
> (cited in Kelly, 2012)

One of my younger interviewees verified that the only language that he has ever heard in the many hookers he has sailed in has been 'an Ghaeilge' or Irish. If a stranger or foreigner arrives at the football field, everything turns to English out of politeness to the visitor, but 'not so' he says of the hooker-sailing, it's an ghaeilge, all the way. Perhaps you might speak English to the visitor, but amongst the others on-board everything is done in Irish, that's the vocabulary that the bádóirí have on the tip of their tongues when the action begins (Learaí, 20F). Similarly, one of my interviewees said that while teaching in school he had noticed the decline in the social use of the Gaelic language amongst the pupils. He recalled that there was one particular boy who would not speak a word of Irish to him twenty years ago. Since then he has become more involved with the hookers and now he won't speak a word of English to him (Dara, 14B).

5.3.1 Verses and placenames

Folklore and tradition are intertwined and the hooker community told their stories and passed down much wisdom through little rainn (verses) and place-names. One of the more common little verses still recited today relates to the choice of routes that faced the bádóirí long-ago (before the swinging bridge at Béal a'Daingin was closed in 1960). The boatmen, when travelling in either direction, south to Aran and Galway or north to Cill Chiaráin and Ros Muc, could choose to sail through Cuan an Fhir Mhóir (Greatman's Bay) and the opening-bridge at Béal a'Daingin or to circumnavigate Ceann Golaim (Golam Head) and Cill Chiaráin. Both routes had their difficulties and hazards, but the shorter Béal a'Daingin route, though tidal dependent, offered more shelter. For a map of these boat-routes, see Figure 4.1, and for more information on the Daingin channel see Endnote 5.1[iv].

This is the verse still heard today;

Tá an dá bhealach ann,	There are two routes there,
an bealach direach ’s an bealach cam,	the straight way and the crooked,
tríd an Daingin, nó thar an gCeann.	through Daingin (bridge) or past the Head (Golam Head).

At the centre of ‘Hooker Country’ (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008), lies the aforementioned Cuan an Fhir Mhór (Great Man’s Bay) which is so named in the annals of the Four Masters at the year 1600 (Robinson, 2011). This bay is lined with place names that carry much local wisdom known only to the local speakers of the Gaelic language. At the mouth of the bay, under the water surface lies a large rock, named ‘Carraig Béal a Chuain’ (Rock at the Mouth of the Bay). This is a very large and dangerous rock at the mouth of Great Man’s Bay that has damaged many boats, since it is not visible most of the time, and can only be safely passed-over with the highest of tides. This rock is not far from another - one, named Carraig na nGall, or Rock of the Foreigner. This rock was so called because locals could, if needed, lead pursuing craft (coastguard/navy) to collide with it. For a narrative concerning this rock and how it got its’ name, which was collected by folklorist Seán Mac Giollarnáth from Pádhraic Mhac Dhonnchadha from An Coillín, Cárna and published in 1941, see Endnote 5.2[v].

As mentioned, everything pertaining to the hooker-life is in the Gaelic language from the place names to the boat parts. A place-name can outline to the listener what he is seeing and perhaps give an insight into its history or how it came to gain that name. As Robinson (2007, p.155) asserts, “Placenames are the interlock of landscape and language”. Coill Sáile, as an example, means the ‘Wood of the Sea Inlet’ (Robinson, 1990, p.92), while the English version of the name (Kylesalia) is merely an improper spelling and mispronunciation and as such has no meaning. Similarly, with An Cheathrú Rua, (the primary village/town of the region), meaning ‘the red quarter’, because of the reddish hue vegetation on very poor soils, lacking in nitrogen (Robinson, 1990, p.120). The English version of the village name is Carraroe, again being merely an improper spelling and mispronunciation,

having no meaning. Bádóirí, especially the older ones though not exclusively so, know the tales and histories behind the placenames throughout South West Conamara. A young bádóir recounted this tale of Loch Con Aoire, a little village of Iorras Aithneach, (close to Cill Chiaráin and the seaweed factory often mentioned in this research). It takes its name from an event that transpired there when St. Ciarán was passing through the areas while on his way to the Aran Islands. Mordán (of Cnoc Mordáin–the mountain behind the village) had a herdsman with a fierce hound and it attacked St. Ciarán. As the hound lunged, Ciarán ducked and the hound flew over his head and into the lake, where it drowned. This is how Loch Con Aoire (the lake of the hound of the herdsman) got its name (Robinson, 2011, p.236; Seán, 203E). As with any locality, a knowledge of the history and stories attaching to placenames often reveals and explains the intricacies of the particular sea and landscapes.

5.3.2 Word loss leads to knowledge loss

Language carries within it the stories of a people, of a community, their cultures and their traditions. For many, it thereby constitutes an expression of collective knowledge sedimented over time. Macfarlane (2015) advises that word loss from everyday use in a language, especially words used within the work venue of a landscape where ‘precise discrimination’ was necessary, would result in a loss of wealth and culture (Macfarlane 2015, p.5). So respectful and sometimes fearful were the people of Conamara towards their immediate environment that they named everything. Every hill, every field, every lake ‘Loch Bharr an tSrutháin’ (the lake at the top of the stream), every rock ‘Carraig na bPortáin’ (Rock of the Crabs), every stream ‘An Snáimhín’ (the Little Swim), and swell ‘Maidhm an Úrláir’ (the Swell of the Floor) in the sea were given a name, with reasoning and knowledge contained therein. In a moving piece narrated by O’Donoghue (2009), he tells of an old man he met while in America who had emigrated from Ireland when he was just 17 years old, and had never returned. Yet, he could name all the fields he had worked in during the early years of his life, and O’Donoghue believed that he had carried within his heart his native landscape, and retreated to there whenever he felt lonely. Some of the elder

bádóirí retreated in their minds to their often visited sailing spots, as I interviewed them, and would verbally describe these places, such as "ah! Ceann Golaim, droch áit" (Golaim Head, a bad place) (Liam, 01A). The naming of the headlands, fields and sea passageways, such as 'Bealach na Srathrach' (A Straddled Way, or a way of different depths), enabled the acquired knowledge within the name to be passed on to others at that time. Sometimes a name is retained and passed down through the generations within family and community, but the reason for the name and knowledge contained therein might be unknown or lost because it hadn't been explored, explained or told to the younger/future generations. Such a case is highlighted by O'Donoghue (2009), as he speaks of a Burren field, named, Fadán Cloch na gCat (The field of the stone of the cats). He advises that nobody knows now who named this place or why but the name remains.

In the view of Macfarlane (2015, p.24) "Language deficit leads to attention deficit" because we will lose the ability to see, accept and understand how things fit into the environment around us and thus lessen inter-animation between the human and non-human elements therein. Further elaborating, he quotes Tim Dee (BBC Radio Producer and Environmentalist), as saying: "Without a name made in our mouths, an animal or a place struggles to find purchase in our minds or in our hearts" (cited in Macfarlane, 2015, p.24). Thus, for several authors and commentators (Robinson, MacFarlane, Cox, Dee and Finlay) there exists an anxiety about the irretrievable loss of much community knowledge and oral history if the names and associated stories of landmarks are not learned or passed-on (all mentioned in Macfarlane, 2015, p.23). While agreeing with Chomsky's earlier articulation that a people's language is their culture and tradition, one might say that a shared language is an instrument that helps to bind a community together. The Galway hooker serves as a facilitator in the passing on of this knowledge and the maintenance of An Ghaeilge/Irish as a living language. The bádóirí have been reared with the Gaelic language as their medium of spoken communication within the hookers and they are passing this on to their children and down through the generations today.

5.4 The Seanchas/Folklore Attaching to the Galway hooker

It became evident very early in the interview process that every hooker has its own oral history attached, and amongst the hooker community, there is almost a mythology attaching to them. This is especially true of the families who kept their own boats down through the generations (Seán 03E). The hookers enabled the build-up or gathering of a collection/resource of narratives right along the entire coastline of Galway Bay. They attracted and kept alive a formidable local wisdom. One of my younger interviewees, who was introduced to hooker sailing through the sailing courses organised by Pléaracha, the Conamara Community Arts Project, related how the two sailing instructors attached to his particular course knew the entire area though which they sailed. They had stories of every little harbour or bay, about every hillock or prominent rock and particular names for places and superstitions about everything. "To me, they seemed to have fairy stories and altogether a great wisdom about another world that was on my doorstep, but I had not known it until I started sailing in the hookers" (Seán, 03E). He explained that he could travel from Carna in the west of the region right along the coastline or into Árainn and at every quayside along this route, though he is young in years, there are people there who will know him because of the hookers. "They'll know of the turf, the good and the bad, they'll know of the potatoes (Aran Banners), the sea breams and all the trade that was done through the boats. The hooker is indigenous to the Conamara community and the people's wealth is to be seen in their boats" (Seán, 03E). The hookers and their bádóirí are widely celebrated in verse with songs written of almost every one of the older boats and their great sailing feats. There are songs or poems of the boats collectively: Na Báid Mhóra, and also about many of the individual boats; An American Mór, An Tónaí, An Capall, Hunter, An Mhaighdean Mhara, and Volunteer. The following verse from a song in praise of the hookers, composed by Ciarán Ó Fátharta from Máimín in Leitir Móir, is an example.

Iad ag éirí leis an taoille,	They (bádóirí) rose with the tide,
Sa samhradh agus sa ngeimhreadh,	In the summer and in the winter,
Iad a coimhlint lena chéile,	Competing with each other,
Nó go ndíolfaidís an mhóin,	Until they had sold the turf,
Ó, a Dhia nach mór an feall é,	God isn't it a betrayal,
An tseantrádáil sin bheith bailithe,	That the old trading is all gone,
Is ag breathnú amach inniu air,	I'm left looking out there today,
Nach í an chaolaire atá ciúin.	On a very quiet firth (sea).

(Ó Fatharta, 2008, pp.53-55)

In one verse, Ciarán captures the sentiment of the 'Hooker Country' community and their regard for a way-of-life that is now no more. Many songs were written about the hookers, reflecting the high esteem in which they are held. These songs are still sung regularly in the local pubs and heard daily on the national radio platform of Raidió na Gaeltachta, effectively preserving and transmitting the seanchas of the hookers.

5.4.1 Piseoga (superstitions) and the hooker

Piseoga is the name given to folk beliefs, which in the time of their origin were practices or guides to address or alleviate the intricacies of human life and welfare. So entrenched in society were they that people were very slow to stray from the practices which had worked previously (Ó Súilleabháin, 1967). Piseoga were never written about and were passed down through the generations. While they might be directed at any aspect of life, they are particularly associated with boats, the customs of the sea faring people and their old ways of doing things. In addition, many of them had to do with Christianity and Pagan rituals before that. Hooker sailors are no different from sailors anywhere in the world when it comes to piseóga, but perhaps they linger here because the boats are traditional and wooden, remaining natural, without any mechanisation or generated power from elsewhere. Many of my interviewees declared that they did not believe in Piseoga and yet they said that they would not knowingly break them. The following are

some of the Piseoga most peculiar to the hooker, while others relate to all sailors and sea-life.

5.4.2 A lucky boat or an unlucky boat?

During the interviews, one of my questions to the bádóirí and saor báid asked if they knew any Piseoga about the hookers and if so, would they tell me about them? As events transpired this question harvested much more information than anticipated. I was aware of some Piseoga about turning the boat with the direction of the sun when leaving a quayside and not to whistle while on board and so forth, but I did not expect to learn that superstition is initiated with the first striking actions in the building of a hooker. It is said that the saor bád would know if a boat was going to be a lucky one from the moment that the keel was laid. After the first three strikes of the áil, if the wood shavings broke to either side, it was going to be unlucky, whereas if they sat up direct/straight it was going to be a lucky boat (Aindí, 07A). Different saor had different ways of discovering if the boat was going to be lucky and of course everyone wanted to be associated with a 'lucky boat', so if they learned that the boat they were working-on would be an unlucky one, various courses of action might be followed.

An older interviewee, who was also a saor, told me that on discovering the shavings to fall to the side while laying the keel of a new boat, a saor might pack his bags and leave the job entirely rather than complete an unlucky boat (Cathal, 19B). Another narrative tells of a saor learning that a new hooker was to be an unlucky boat and advising the owner to sell it. The owner of this boat was an important merchant in Galway called Ruadhán. He had invited Seán Ó Cathasaigh and Pádraic Cloherty to Galway to build him a boat and when the boat was complete Seán Ó Cathasaigh was washing his hands and though he wasn't cut there was blood in the water. He advised Ruadhán that it would not be lucky for him and that he should consider selling it and that it might be lucky for the next owner. Ruadhán agreed, but after he collected one consignment of barrels of herring that needed to be brought to Galway from Roundstone pier. They sailed to Roundstone, loaded the boat and put out again for Galway on a beautiful

afternoon. Shortly afterwards the wind died and they were taken by a current onto a rock which broke the keel in two halves and she sank to the bottom of the sea. Fortunately everyone managed to swim to safety (Aindí, 07A).

Within several narratives, hookers are often discussed as if they exercise their own agency, through the ways the boat may or may not cooperate with the bádóir's actions. This was then interpreted as if the boat was communicating some type of message that the bádóir should understand. Another incident confirmed for a family that their boat was to be a lucky one. The gleotóg Judeen (built in Baile na Cille in 1839 for Mharcus Judeen), while resting unladen, was lifted by a gale of wind and carried the length of herself forwards, beyond her buoy and was put down back into the sea again. The fact that the boat went forwards, rather than backwards, meant that it was considered to be a lucky boat and the soar báid advised them to "never leave it out of the family and she will always be lucky" (Aindí, 07A), (this advice proved true, see section 6.6). The following vignette might help to highlight the extent to which families were prepared to go in order to retain their 'lucky boats'. One of my older interviewees claimed that the people so revered their boats that they wouldn't sell their 'lucky' boats even when times were slack and money was hard to come by. This was because they thought that they might be selling out on their good-luck and even though people were approaching them with money in their hands, bádóirí and their families often preferred to ignore the money and to leave the boat rot and fall away, rather than to sell their 'lucky' boat. (Peadair, 18B).

5.4.3 Piseoga recited within the interviews

Sea-faring people respect the habits and customs of others, even if they proclaim to have no belief in them themselves. Many of my interviewees said that they did not believe in piseóga, but they would not break them either. Some of these beliefs or superstitions include:

Bean na Gruaige Rua (the red-Haired Woman): It is said that if you see a red haired woman on your way to put to sea, then you should remain ashore.

An Ghiorria (The Hare): It is said that if you should see a hare coming out of your boat that you should not put to sea in it. One interviewee declared that if this happened to him, he would rather sell the boat than to use it again (Micil, 02B).

Ag Feadaíl (Whistling): One was not allowed to whistle in the boat. It is believed that you are taking from the wind available to the boat, if you whistle. One of my older interviewees said that while they were scolded by their father for doing so, if a visitor/stranger started to whistle in the boat, their father would find a 'nice-way' of advising them to cease (Cóilín, 27A).

The Halmaide (tiller): This is always dipped in the water three times (representing - The Father, Son and Holy Spirit) before being set into the rudder and setting sail in the hooker.

Sticking a knife in the mast in order to induce a favourable wind

Throughout my practical research with bádóirí, very many of my interviewees had heard of a method of inducing favourable winds, involving a knife been stuck into the mast of the hooker. It is said that when a boat requires wind, particularly so if that boat is in peril or if more speed is needed to go to the aid of another boat, the bádóir sticks a knife in the mast at the direction from whence the wind is required. The higher up the mast the knife is, the greater the wind will be. This method of achieving wind and thus speed of movement for a boat is known to have last been used in the late 1970s off the coast of Carna, regrettably for racing purposes (Aindí, 07A).

Oileán Mhic Dara / St. Mac Dara's Island

When passing Oileán Mhic Dara, bádóirí would dip their main sail three times in reverence to the saint. They believed that if they did not do this something bad would come about. It is said of a bádóir who did not, that his boat was put up on a rock and all on board were drowned. One of my interviewees made reference to a relation between the sinking of The Armada and this belief (Síle, 17C).

Téann an aoine in aghaidh na seachtaine (Friday starts the week)

In Conamara, all work on land and at sea was very hard physical work, with lobster potting, turf cutting or even digging with a spade in preparation for planting potatoes. Different muscles were being used as you changed from one job to the next. With the different seasons, different patterns of work were practiced, but some part of every day was spent on the water/sea. Life developed a rhythm close to the sea (Jeaic, 25A; Jones, 2011). During my interviews it came to light that new projects in Conamara would always begin on a Friday. So one worked on Friday, through Saturday, rested on the Sunday and you were ready to continue on Monday. "If you started the new project on Monday, then you had a very long and tiresome week ahead of you" (Micil, 02B).

Aoine an Chéasta / Good Friday and work

No work would be done on Good Friday. However, if something absolutely had to be done, the people would sit down between 12.00 and 15.00 hours (Aindí, 07A). This interviewee confided that his next-door neighbour was of another faith and would ask why they didn't work between 12.00 and 15.00 hours? The neighbour told him that they worked as hard as ever on Good Friday, from early morning to late into the night, as they believed that "anything planted on Good Friday would yield a hundred-fold". Therefore, on the same road, you had one house in stillness on Good Friday, while their neighbours worked feverishly (Aindí, 07A). On Good Friday the soar báid would not work at all and if there was some emergency that had to be done, they could drive two nails but never the third (Aindí, 07A). For two pieces of Seanchas/Folklore relating to Conamara Coastal Life gathered within the interviews, see Endnote 5.3[vi].

5.4.4 The bád will always try and save you

Amongst my interviewees, it was the older bádóirí in particular who held an absolute faith in the Galway hooker and believed that it would always try and save you (bádóirí). They believed that if a block (used for raising or lowering the sails) or other parts of the rigging were to break, these would always break when the boat was somewhere safe (Micil, 02B). Another

bádóir related a story about his brother and himself sailing down Great Man's Bay one day and "everything that could go wrong was going wrong". He wondered if they should go out at all, and very shortly afterwards "the scrúta broke and the decision was made for them" (Seosamh, 09B). He explained that he was half-ready to go back anyway and had just said to his brother that they'd be turning back, when it broke. The notice had been received and understood, he said (Seosamh, 09B).

One of the oldest bádóirí interviewed concurred, that the boat will always try to save you. "It doesn't matter, he said, what faith, what skin colour or where you're from, if someone / something is going to save you, you're not going to question it or ask what religion they have" (Aindí, 07A). He elaborated on this point and portrayed his belief in the "people-of-the-sea", that they will always try to "save the boat and save the people" (see: *section 6.2.1*). He outlined his perceived differences between land and sea people, voicing a wish that the people on land were behaved like those of the sea, that is, to save one another, no matter what their religious beliefs. "Land people are not the same, watching each other, instead of watching out for each other", "The worst thing that ever happened was the drawing up of borders" (Aindí, 07A). This older bádóir believes that people who lived and worked with the ever-in-motion sea are always sensitive to change/movement and to danger, "they look out for one another more, they are a distinct people, those of the sea" (Aindí, 07A).

5.4.5 Spirits that travel and work in the boats

Another interviewee advised that the boat has its own spirit and "if it's telling you something, you listen to it", he said, explaining "the people always believed that the boats were alive and that it doesn't have to be classified as a superstition, there are other spirits there" (Seosamh, 09B). He related a story about "a boat in Muigh Inis, the Mary Joe and there was always 'a man' seen in it. When they were fishing at night the fishermen would make tea and they'd always set a cup aside for 'the man'. People could see him from land and he'd always be working, so the crew liked him, as long as he was busy he wasn't hurting anyone. One bad night they were

out and they didn't have much tea, so they left out a half-cup for 'the man', the next thing was the cup was thrown at the bulk head, he wanted his full cup that he'd earned" (Seosamh, 09B).

Another interviewee, an older bádóir had an unforgettable 'spiritual' encounter. When returning to Inis Barrchain from a turf run to Aran on a Halloween night, there were no other boats on the water and they wouldn't have been there either only for a break in a bad weather spell could not be ignored. As they neared Golam Head, the bádóir arose to adjust the main sail and noticed "something new in the water". On turning back towards the tiller he saw "a sister of his own boat, sailing parallel with them". He looked again to see who was sailing her and he saw that "there wasn't a sinner in her, just the tiller" (Liam, 01A). His leath-bhádóir observed it also and neither of them said a word, but prayed that she would not follow them to Inish Barrchain. She continued to "sail parallel with them getting no closer or no further away", until they turned east at Dinish Island towards Inish Barrchain, where they were both relieved to see the sister boat carry on up towards Cill Chiaráin. "I've been told, and I agree that she was out looking for a load to carry that night, a load of souls" (Liam, 01A).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter moved the discussion from the broader perspectives of the findings at a regional and trade level in Chapter 4 to a more focussed one encompassing communities and individual families within that seascape. It discussed the utter dependence of these isolated families and communities on the hooker to enable their interaction with and dwelling within the seascape/taskscape of Galway Bay. It was described here how this taskscape hosted not alone the trading within and without the immediate communities, but also the social gatherings and community interactions, especially the local saints or pattern days, which helped to alleviate the otherwise mundane everyday life. The second part of the chapter examined the connection between the hooker life and the native Gaelic language, revealing the everyday language within and about the hooker as being Gaelic. This fact is in no small way responsible for the maintenance and

dissemination of a vast body of local knowledge contained within the placenames of every swell, stream, river, inlet, bay, tidal passage, outcropping rock, quay, mountains and fields surrounding the seascape and their taskscape. The final section examined and discussed the seanchas/folklore attaching to the hooker and especially the many piseóga/superstitious beliefs found amongst the bádóirí and their families. While most say that they don't believe in them, they are reluctant to break them.

The next chapter (6) continues the stategy of narrowing the focus in exploration of the Galway hooker's facilitation of dwelling for the populations of South West Conamara, to the level of individual bádóir himself, and in particular, the embodied knowledge that enabled this interaction between an bádóir, the elements, and the Galway hooker.

Chapter 6: The Galway Hooker at the Level of the Individual/Self

Continuing to narrow the focus of this exploration of the relational nature of the Galway hooker in enabling dwelling in South West Conamara, this chapter explores the bádóir's relationships with his environment at the personal level. It examines his relations with those other humans he would constantly encounter, especially his leath bhádóir, and also his relations with the hooker itself and with those elements that enable sailing within their taskscape. The chapter opens with an examination of the bádóir's own acceptance of his position within the seascape of South West Conamara. This was at a time when the living conditions amongst the coastal communities there were extremely physical and unforgiving, resulting in very high emigration levels throughout the entire region. This is followed by a focussed analysis of the individual knowledge necessary for the bádóir to enable such engagement with, and participation in, the creation of this taskscape.

The tacit knowledge within hooker sailing is discussed, with a particular focus on how this was gained 'at sea', and implemented thereafter as part of a crew of two, who were completely dependent upon one another and on the hooker. Ingold's (2000) 'wayfaring' is then applied to the movement of the trading bádóirí within the taskscape, with the time of the tides highlighted as one of the master determinants over the hooker's ability to function. The research then considers the local stock of knowledge that existed within the communities and amongst families in particular. It explores how this was passed down through generations, especially the personal marcanna talúin (landmarks) that were used as navigational aids within the very confined tidal passages throughout South West Conamara. This chapter then explores the sensory and embodied knowledge that existed within and around the bádóir himself, how it was established and utilised to enable great sailing and navigational feats to be accomplished when interacting within the taskscape of Galway Bay. The senses of hearing, touch, smell sight and balance are all considered in respect of enabling and enhancing the bádóir's ability to function. In ending the discussion on 'knowledges' I ask the

bádóirí to relate to me any life-lessons they believe that hooker sailing has taught them.

The chapter then proceeds to portray and discuss the bádóirí's firm belief in the hooker having its own spirit and it's being 'alive'. So integrated was the lived reality of the bádóir with the hooker and all the natural elements about him that the concept of the boat having an innate ability to sail itself is discussed. The chapter closes with an examination of the specialist skills of the saor báid (hooker boatwright), while also highlighting that, for a multitude of reasons, all bádóirí had to be in a position to implement some of the saor-bháid's skills, especially in cases of emergency.

6.1 Interanimation Between the Self and the Environment.

Basso (1996) writes of an inter-animation between man and environment, outlining that it is through man's embrace of the environment and his growing awareness of the complex attachments linking him to features of the physical world that he begins to understand himself and his place in the environment more. I wished to explore this concept with my bádóirí interviewees, in an effort to learn of their understanding or positioning of themselves within the landscape/seascape of South West Conamara. One of my younger interviewees explained why he "loves the fact that he was born and reared in Conamara" (Seán, 03E). It is, he said, because Conamara represents one of the last bastions where the environment rules over man, pointing out that elsewhere in Ireland and much of the world, engineers decide how they would like their environment to accommodate them and set about changing it in order to do so. "However people in Conamara live where they can, that is, where the environment can accommodate them" (Seán, 03E).

There is a sense conveyed by the interviewees that the environment is the master and the people of Conamara respect this and have demonstrated it by naming every important landmark and tidal passage within their seascape/taskscape (Ingold, 2000). This has been the location of the lived reality of the hooker bádóiri for as long as the communities of South West Conamara can remember: the place where they spent their days and

sometimes their nights, working, socialising and dwelling. The older generation of hooker sailors have names for every submerged rock, every tidal passageway, even every swell and each would carry that name for a reason, with a story or an event attached to it. Couper (2018), (in her paper on encountering nature while on the water), collectively terms all of these dangers as the 'invisible beneath' (Couper, 2018, pp.291-295). She expounds that travelling on land requires concentration on items to the left, right, behind and in front, but on water, one must always be aware of what lies underneath the water surface and also above.

The coastline and waters of South West Conamara are full of submerged rocks, both seen and unseen, craggy headlands and islands, to such an extent that the British Admiralty designated an imaginary line drawn between Na Dásachaí (Leitir Mealláin) and Ceann Léime na Gaillimhe (Slyne Head), and called it the Gates of Hell (Joe, 05E). Yet, the local who knew and respected this same environment could make his way around it without too much discomfort, having knowledge of it through his engagement/inter-animations there. Fear and respect for that environment ensured he would never contemplate entering the area alone without having done so on a few occasions in the presence of another bádóir who had already gained extensive local knowledge there (Joe, 05E). Over time the names and stories concerning these various elements, constituting both the visible and invisible beneath, might be lost or changed as they were passed from one generation to the next. This is particularly so today, when this particular taskscape is no longer evident in South West Conamara, and so is not being used or spoken about.

Perhaps the older hooker sailors might not agree with the reference to 'too much discomfort' above however, considering they did not have the use of oilskins, life-jackets or any such protective clothing. Neither did they have compasses, sea-charts or scientific weather forecasts to give them guidance, both directional and ample warning of changing sailing conditions. They did not have access to flasks for tea or pre-made sandwiches (Seán, 03E; Joe, 05E). The working conditions aboard a Galway hooker filled with a cargo of turf, hardware or perhaps transporting seaweed or livestock required much

effort and endurance. The normal sustenance for such a long day (perhaps from dawn until dusk) was a half-loaf of home-made brown bread (cáca baile) and a bottle of milk (Cathal, 19B). Yet, my oldest interviewee who had spent most of his working life in such conditions, merely said "sin mar a bhí, (it was as it was), and one got used to it" (Liam, 01A). These sailors lived very physically tough lives at the heart of the environment, in unison with nature and its elements and not as masters of it. They were wise enough to respect the sea and the knowledge gained from the older bádóirí that went before them. In prolonged poor weather conditions they did not put to sea, but would set about the maintenance/repair of their craft, or face the jobs that always awaited them at their homes. According to my oldest interviewee "No work was done on Sundays unless it was an emergency", displaying a respect for their body's need for a day of rest and/or respecting their faith (Liam, 01A).

6.1.1 Wayfaring by another way

Ingold (2008, p.81) describes wayfaring as "The most fundamental mode by which living beings, both human and non-human, inhabit the earth" and elaborates that the inhabitant is one who "participates from within in the very process of the world's continual coming into being". This fittingly describes how the bádóirí and their hooker communities lived/dwelt in South West Conamara, being enabled to do so by the Galway hooker. While Ingold writes of interacting on/with the land, I believe that the traditional hooker sailor had the same attachment to/with his own taskscape, which was of course within seascape. They were not merely moving 'from a to b', but were enabling life, utilising what was already there and doing so in such a way that was non-threatening to the environment. The seaweed was cut by hand in a learned fashion, that would enable the fronds to continue growing afterwards. The turf was also cut by hand using a sleán (turf spade), without any mechanisation that might destroy the bog, a typical occurrence with more industrial, mechanical forms of extraction.

For the hooker sailor during the trading years, spending his life within the intimate setting of his taskscape meant that he was a constituent part of that

seascape, helping to fashion it, while simultaneously being fashioned by it. Such relationships might have been true of other aspects of his life, but it was acutely so within his taskscape, where all of his senses were in constant use. Without the bádóir, the hooker couldn't function, without the hooker, the bádóir couldn't function and without the elements, neither could function. The comings and goings of the bádóir within his taskscape aligns very closely to Ingold's wayfaring, where he proposes that knowledge is acquired and carried-on by following 'paths of movement'. Living, and participating within one's taskscape allows this knowledge creation between "places, things and persons" (Ingold, 2011, p.143). For the bádóirí and particularly for the families with a boat, their paths of movement would remain fairly consistent, always using the knowledge created by their ancestors and only adding to it or taking from it as things within their immediate environment changed. This knowledge of the locality and particularly of the taskscape where they interacted with the environment, forced them to be intimate with that of which they themselves were a constituent part.

One particular bádóir was so intimately attached to and aware of the taskscape that was Galway Bay that his store of local knowledge and appropriate navigation skills meant that people would always seek him out for advice before sailing somewhere they had not previously been. Often they would even try to get him to accompany them on such journeys. It was said of him that there wasn't anything he didn't know about or couldn't do in the hooker (Micil, 02B). Basso (1996, p.107) wrote, "Sensing places, men and women become sharply aware of the complex attachments that link them to features of the physical world. Sensing places, they dwell, as it were, on aspects of dwelling". For the people of South West Conamara, their landscape/seascape changed very little throughout their lives and those of the generations before them. The advent of the motor vehicle and the permanent closure of the bridge at Béal a'Daingin in 1960 to facilitate this, were the changes that interrupted and signalled the end of this relational way of life. Infrastructurally, nothing much has changed since and while much of Ireland, both urban and rural, is changing constantly and rapidly,

the landscape of Conamara, especially that of Gaeltacht Conamara, changes very little and very slowly, once more.

6.1.2 The time of the tides dictated what could be done

Long and Standún (2010, p.7) share an excellent insight into the lives of the people of South West Conamara, when they declare that, "The one great omnipresence in their lives, from their first moments in this world, had been the sound of the sea", and "from the cradle the sound of the sea had permeated their lives". My interviewees awakened to the sound of the sea, and often in bad weather, were awakened by it. One of them remembered the sea coming into their house on the island on nights of the spring tides or of wild storms (Micil, 02B). Another interviewee was in awe of the instinctive skills of an older hooker-sailor friend of his, who, when approaching his 80th year, could use the timing of the tides to do much of the work for him when rowing long distances in his currach, distances "that someone much younger could only dream about" (Joe, 05E). These older bádóirí were so participative in their seascape/taskscape as to live on 'kairological time' (Urry, 1999, p.112), that is a natural time based on movements/happenings within the environment and not on the clock as we know it today. Turf traders would often load their boat with the turf on the evening before a trade-journey and then put it out at anchor in a spot that was not tidal dependant, for easy passage on the following morning. This act enabled him to circumvent the diktat of the tides and leave earlier in the morning than might otherwise be possible. They arranged their sailing directions as much as possible to sail with the currents and tides rather than having to fight against them. Such actions were guided by nature rather than by the clock and increased the chances to make more than one turf run on fine days.

Jones (2011, p.2288) writes that "Tides do not simply mean a constantly rising and falling sea level; they result in complex geographies of the sea". An understanding of the tides added to a bádóir's local knowledge meant that he knew both when and where temporary opportunities and/or dangers would appear within his taskscape with certain tides. He knew where and

when certain submerged rocks were traversable and when this shouldn't be attempted, and he knew narrow channels were to be avoided. By availing of these opportunities as shortcuts, the bádóir could gain an advantage of others in the race to be the first boat into Árainn and gain the best price for his turf. A noted trading hooker skipper Johnny Bailey (Figure 5.1) managed to bring three loads of turf to Aran on the same day by using this procedure and had actually loaded the turf in attempt to make a fourth journey, but had to be dissuaded from attempting it, as it was already dark (Colm, 16E). The next section will examine and discuss the local knowledge(s) that enabled the bádóir to navigate and work within the taskscape of Galway Bay.

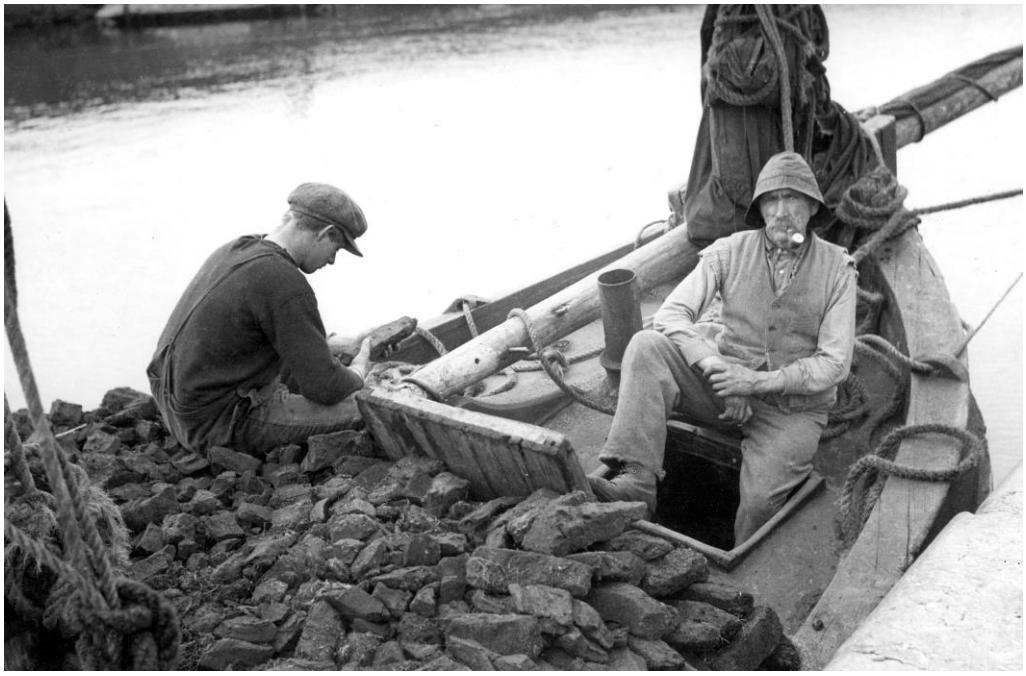

Figure 6.1 Awaiting the rising tide to float the turf trading hooker and enable sailing. (Scott, 2004, p.58) Used with permission of Fáilte Ireland.

6.2 Local Knowledge and Marcanna Talúin (Landmarks)

So intimate was the local knowledge possessed by the sean-bhádóirí (older boatmen), that they knew the names for every rock, every passage, every swell and every tide that they engaged with (Joe, 05E). This knowledge of their taskscape was gained not through books or charts, but by a working engagement that engendered respect for (and often fear of) these elements. On the land also, where they built their houses, every field, every

outcropping rock, every hill and boreen had its own name. Invariably the given name had a story behind it, a story born of knowledge concerning that place.

The water level of the sea is constantly changing, ebbing and flowing, revealing hidden rocks and covering them over again. Waves are also being created, swells are changed by the strength of the driving winds and tidal conditions, meaning that the taskscape of the Galway hookers was in a constant state of flux. This makes sailing a "very different experience to travelling by car, where you can pull-over and study the two dimensional map should you fear that you are lost or gone a little astray" according to Joe. This you cannot do in a boat, so it is critically important to have "a basic knowledge of the hidden rocks and dangers should you wish to make a safe passage through a body of water that is fraught with hidden rocks and swells" (Joe, 05E). One of my older bádóirí told me that when rounding Golam Head in certain tides "there wouldn't be more than the thickness of the sole of your shoe between the bottom of the boat and the rock" (Liam 01A).

Another bádóir narrated a dangerous scene on the water that highlights the advantages in both the versatility of the gleoiteog and the use of local knowledge. Often the fishermen have to put out the lobster pots in places where it's difficult to get to and as a result of this they would especially hope to get a few lobsters there every time. The place, in this instance, was very close to an extremely dangerous group of rocks, whereupon many lives have been lost. The two fishermen had both been there before and arranged between themselves that my interviewee was to count until the ninth wave and then they would try to lift the pot. Local knowledge had taught them that at this particular spot there was always a longer time-gap between the waves after the ninth one and that any boat bigger than a gleoiteog had no business being there, as it would be too cumbersome and slow-moving (Aindí, 07A). As with life at that time, local knowledge was vital to survival.

Back in the days of trading, and in particular the turf-trade, where the first boat into Árainn commanded the best price for their load, every sailor had his own or his family's landmarks (marcanna talúin), to guide one's boat safely through narrow passageways or perhaps short-cuts. These were chosen markers (such as chimney pots of houses, lines of stone walls and such, or in latter days telegraph poles) on the landscape that were visible to the eye from the sea. When these markers were correctly aligned and intersected with one another, they would display a line of safe passage for the boat through a narrow or shallow straight between, or clear of, rocks and other such hazards. These markers were passed down through the generations, sometimes changing as the surrounding topography changed, but more often than not remaining the same. All of the older bádóirí could draw upon a store of such landmarks for every bay and inlet in which they worked and/or travelled. These marks represented a vital-knowledge for them, as one of my interviewees said "it was the first thing they sought to learn if going to sail in an area for the first time" (Seosamh, 09B). Another interviewee said that "fear alone wouldn't let you try a passage or short-cut until you had done it a couple of times with someone who knew their way" (Joe, 05E). The elder bádóirí today revere the bádóirí who went before them and the store of such knowledge that they had both constructed and collected throughout their lives. They openly admit that today they have very little of this knowledge and regret that their sean-bhádóirí have now passed-on and taken with them much of this collected local knowledge (John, 15B).

The importance of such traditional local knowledge of one's environment was also very much alive amongst the Native American Peoples as experienced and later portrayed by Basso (1996) in his book 'Wisdom sits in Places'. Within it, he records his studies of placenames amongst the Western Apache of Cibecue in Arizona, highlightling the linkeages between the physical landscape and the "spatial conceptions of history" that places and their names "endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the way they think" (Basso, 1996, p.34). Mention should be made once more of the 'Songlines' of the Australian

Aboriginal Peoples (see section 2.5.1 Community and identity), who gathered/created knowledge about/by their interactions with their landscape as they travelled within it. This would appear to be a common theme amongst all native/aboriginal peoples who saw themselves as a constituent part of the landscape/taskscape, rather than as masters of it.

6.2.1 The marcanna talúin are being lost/forgotten

More than one of the now 'respected elder hooker sailors', admitted to me of their regret at not having learned the marcanna talúin when they were younger. One explained that this happened because they did not need to, as "there was always some of the sean-leaids (old fellows) there who knew them all" (John, 15B). Most of my older interviewees agreed that the marcanna talúin should have been collected and written down. "Today, the younger sailors are not bothered with marcanna talúin" (Seosamh, 09B) and are almost totally reliant on their Global Positioning Systems (GPS) and sea-charts accessed via their mobile devices. While everyone welcomes something that can improve safety for all, at the same time many of the elders ask the question, "what happens on the day that it's not working?" (Seosamh, 09B). This example from today of the onward march of technology divorcing man from the natural world merely echoes similar observances and fears portrayed by Raban (1999) of similar circumstances that occurred almost a century previously. Referring to the possession compass (invented in the early to mid 12th century), he wrote that it

> " rendered obsolete a great body of inherited, instinctual knowledge, and rendered the sea itself – in fair weather, at least – as a void, an empty space to be traversed by a numbered rhumb line" (cited in Anderson and Peters, 2016, p.9).

An example of 'underestimating local knowledge' was related to me in an interview with an elder sailor. His story concerned three 'young' sailors who managed to sail to Inis Oírr. As they tied-up at the pier they were advised by an old local man that if the wind shifted to the north, the north-east or to the east, they should not let the boat there at that pier. Being

'young lads' they paid him no heed and set off on a walk around the island. Upon returning to the pier they saw that everyone from the village was there, trying to save their boat. It was by this time full of water and the locals had pulled it (my interviewee's boat) by currach to the beach where it spent the night. My interviewee said that he learned many lessons that night and primary among them was "to never again underestimate local knowledge" (Dara, 14B). The second lesson he learned was the level of esteem in which the people of the islands held the Galway hooker, that they saved a boat from destruction even though they did not know anything of its owners or sailors (Dara, 14B).

6.2.2 Sharing of Local knowledge

It was intriguing to learn from all of my interviewees that the elder boatmen had no hesitation in passing on their gathered knowledge to the newer and younger hooker sailors who cared to listen and learn. Not one interviewee claimed to have ever encountered any hesitation on the part of an older sailor to pass on their wisdom. This 'openness' was justified for me by an elder sailor who told me that all of them knew that one day they would need help when their bodies wouldn't be as fit or as strong as they once were, so the more they helped and educated the younger sailor now, then the more able that young sailor would be to help them later. He said that the older man would feel a lot safer and more comfortable in the knowledge that he knew and trusted the judgment of the young sailor, after teaching and sharing his own learning with him (Bertie, 26A). While this would not satisfy the definition of altruism, I have acquired many stories of the elder sailors helping-out or advising the younger sailor with absolutely no self-interest. One such narrative concerns a project at a quayside near An Cheathrú Rua, where a young sailor was working on the family's hooker that he had just taken charge of and was trying to do as much of the 'refit' as he could himself. A large number of older sailors would come regularly to monitor the progress, and as they left, maybe one (or two) might delay a little, quietly approach the young sailor and discreetly say something like, "it might do no harm to put a little curve on the mallard" (line-fasting post, two forward and two at the back of the boat) (John, 15B). As the young

sailor (who thought that he was doing a great job) went to examine the mullards on the other hookers closeby, he saw that the old bádóir was correct. Every one of them had curves cut into them on their exposed necks, to help keep the halliard/lines in place when the main-sail is being changed to come-about (turn the boat). Without these curves the lines could too easily slip off and were this to happen, all the speed needed to 'come-about' would be lost or even worse, control of the main-sail might be lost, placing the boat itself and all in it, in danger. What this younger sailor was most impressed with however, was not the information given, but the way that it was proffered, "discreetly and respectfully" (John, 15B). He said of one old sailor, that he was brilliant at telling him things, "it's a shame", he said, "that I couldn't keep a third of what he told me in my head" (John, 15B). Another of today's hooker sailors spoke of his father taking over as skipper of the family working-boat when he was just 20 years of age, quite young for such an onerous task. He said that all of the older skippers around him "looked after him" and he always did likewise afterwards, making sure to "share his knowledge and skill with everyone and not to take anything with him to the grave" (Colm, 16E). With such knowledge being available, the next section focuses on an examination of the tacit knowledge attaching to the Galway hooker.

6.3 Sensory and Embodied Knowledge

"Intertwining" is how Merleau-Ponty described man's relationship with the landscape (Wylie, 2007, p.151). "The lived body" is at the core of this philosophy, with the body as both the basis and conduit for knowledge, resulting in the creation of embodied knowledge. Hence, active engagement with one's environment is required in order to gain this knowledge, representing how the bádóirí of Conamara acquired the necessary tacit knowledge to both sail and carry out the running repairs on their hookers (Wylie, 2007, p.151). The aesthetics of the seascape aided this 'intertwinning', the vast majority of interviewees said that they were captivated from the first time they set foot in the boat. Brady (2003) argues that one's connection with or value of the natural world (aesthetic appreciation) "begins with multi-sensory perceptions" (cited in Mack, 2007,

p.377). Familiarisation with and participation within the taskscape for bádóirí engendered very high sensory perception levels within them. Much of the bádóir's knowledge will have been passed onto him through the generations of bádóirí within the family, but all of it will have been learned/gained on site, that is, in the place where it was implemented, the seascape/taskscape where he dwelt. There the bádóir will have encountered, touched and been touched by the seascape, and through his continued repetitive performance of the necessary practices he will have assimilated the learning within himself through a process labelled by Polyani (1962) as "indwelling" (cited in Howells, 2002, p.872). Often this knowledge will have been gained subconsciously within the taskscape, without formal lessons or even an awareness of this occurrence, in a process labelled by Polyani (1962) as "subseption" (cited in Howells, 2002, p.872). These imperceptible processes would explain why all of the older bádóirí claimed that no particular individual had taught them to sail, that they had 'picked it up'. Ingold (2000) writes that the constant and regular implementation of these learned skills within their taskscape would see them being incorporated into the bádóirí's "modus operandi" (p.291). These processes gave the bádóirí a store of embodied knowledge that enabled their actions and guided their responses to changing circumstance within the seascape, often making it seem as if they were functioning on autopilot. In the remainder of this section, I explore aspects of sensory knowledge that are embedded in the experiences and collective memories of the bádóirí and the meaningfulness of this knowledge. While many interviewees spoke of the sight of the hooker sails in Galway Bay, one in particular referred to a number of the senses:

> I still remember how big and deep the boats were to me when I was young and the smells of oakum and natural smells in the boats …I loved that! Seeing where they lit the fire and made the tea. They'd light the fire below deck and open the scuttle to leave the smoke out. When I'd hear the blocks and pulleys as they were getting the boats ready to sail, I'd ask the teacher's permission to go to the toilet and once I rounded the corner he couldn't see me and I'd stand there staring at the boat and all the preparation activity. The size of the sail then was 'unbelievable' to me. I'd try to imagine what the places the boat might be going to looked like, Árainn, Cinn Mhara, East to Galway etc!
>
> (Micil, 02B).

Regular and repetitive working in one's taskscape creates a familiarity with and a sense of, place, even when it is the sea. Tuan (1977) writes that one can easily appreciate the visual quality of a place, but that it takes longer to get a feel for a place. He writes that this takes constant, perhaps daily exposure to the unique blend of sights, sounds, smells and a unique harmony of natural and artificial rhythms. "This feel is registered in one's bones and muscles" and "develops a subconscious kind of knowing" (Tuan, 1977, pp.183-184).

6.3.1 Sailing with the senses

According to some of my interviewees, the older bádóirí were so familiar with their natural environment that they could tell where they were in Galway Bay by the sounds of the waves on particular rock surfaces or in particular bays or inlets on the south Conamara coastline as they sailed out from or into Galway in the pitch black of night.

"Cloisfidh tú an sean-dream gur athainn siad chuile 'sound' a bheadh ann san oiche leis na farraigí ag briseadh i chuile cuain ó Gaillimh go Leitir Mealláin" ("You'd hear how the old folks recognised every sound at night with the sea breaking in the different bays from Galway to Leitir Mealláin") (Gearóid, 13C). Another interviewee explained that he believed that his predecessors could tell where they were, even in the black of night because they would have been there and made the same turns so often. "They might be a little east or west of the exact spot, but they would be roughly in the same place, trying to catch the same wind or current in the same place" (Cathal, 19B). He felt that this came from experience and is a skill that can't be instilled in someone except through experience. One interviewee said of a particular older hooker sailor "there was nothing about his world that he didn't know, he knew the position of all the rocks and could bring a boat in at night, in darkness, as well as in daylight" (Micil, 02B). This example of knowledge acquisition highlights the interaction necessary between man and the environment within taskscape and resonates with the work of Mack (2011) who recounts how Pacific mariners used their senses rather than instruments to navigate. He writes of mariners feeling the particular

signature of the waves from the different swells arising from islands still a long way off. He also recounts of a blind mariner having a stronger sense of taste and how this heightened sense enabled him to know his location.

So in-tune were the bádóirí and the hooker that the tiller was effectively like an extension of their muscled arm. The constant repetition of the familiar task gave them knowledge of the necessary amount of pressure to be applied to the tiller. They knew each swell associated with the tides and the influence of the submerged rocks on them. Bachelard (1994) wrote that action enters into the muscular consciousness after many repetitions of familiar tasks within intimate spaces. It is as if the acted upon, in this case the tiller, had muscles, or rather "counter muscles" to absorb and reciprocate the actions upon it (Bachelard, 1994, pp.11). When one constantly repeats an exercise, over an incalculable number of times, it becomes so familiar that it is accepted as being completely understood, while often it is not and sometimes the original reasoning/understanding behind the action is lost or forgotten and it continues to be implemented because 'it works'. Yet, this muscular consciousness, with practice, is exactly right every time, once more aligning with Tuan's description (as above in section 6.4) it becomes "a subconscious kind of knowing" (Tuan, 1977, pp.183-184). As explained earlier, the bádóir sits at the back of the boat with the tiller in one hand and the scód (line to the main sail) in the other and through these he can feel and hear everything that is going on about him, though he cannot see what's directly in front of the boat (one of the main reasons why he is dependent upon his leath-bhádóir). It is through this hands-on connection that the bádóir communicates with the boat and it is of this connection that my oldest interviewee spoke when he declared of his hand, "***Oh! Bhí chuile move inti sin agamsa a dheartháir, Chuile orlach le mo lámh, bhí a fhios agam cad a bhí ag teastáil"*** (saying that his 'hand had every move, he knew every inch of his handling that the boat needed') (Liam, 01A). Another of my interviewees said that he knows his boat through feeling first-hand its' strength and power (Noel, 06D).

As with Merleau-Ponty's 'Intertwining', it is through these practical engagements and embodied interactions with the environment that

consciousness is attained within taskscape, as being more-than-representational. Carolan (2008) portrayed this through his study of how farmers and non-farmers know the countryside differently, both through their bodies and also how their different engagements with/through technologies, mobilities and habituations constitute differeing awarenesses and being-in-the-world .

6.3.2 Smell, sound and balance

Some of the strongest sentiments expressed within this research have come from bádóirí expressing feelings arising from memories gained through their senses. Verbeek and van Campen (2013) tell us that "Sense memories are more tangible; they are filled with sensory impressions and emotions", continuing to inform that experiments have demonstrated that "Actual smells triggered older memories than reading smell-related words" (pp.135-139). One of my older interviewees (now well into his sixties) said that he still remembers the first time he stepped into the hooker (when he was a national school pupil), in under the deck and of getting the smell of the oakum, used in caulking the boat. This was a method used to waterproof wooden boats and involved pushing loose fibres (untwisted old rope), along with a tar-like substance into the gaps in its planking or hull and rendering them watertight. He described it as the smell that's in the hooker. "It's a natural smell and I like it" (Micil, 02B). A younger interviewee declared her love for the same smells and sounds about the hooker, saying "they have a peculiar smell from the wood and the creaking noise that they make carrying the sails and the blocks" (Máire, 22E), clarifying that the 'creaking noise' creates the effect that when sailing the hooker, there is a constant conversation between the bádóir and the boat. Some bádóirí profess to speaking directly with their boats (Noel, 06D). One narrative helps to illustrate the point. It concerns the first sailing of a newly built hooker with its crew and passengers on board, Quite some time had elapsed and yet the expressions on the face of the bádóir were not good and it was evident that he was troubled. When questioned about his demeanor he did not answer, rather he chose to give orders to his leath bhádóir with regard to securing the rigging, such as "slacken this" or "tighten that". Some more time

elapsed and after further adjustments to the rigging a noticeably quieter flap was heard from the mainsail and "with a radiant smile of inner contentment, the bádóir expressed to all on board, Ah, she's talking to me now" (Síle, 17C).

Figure 6.2 Micil Pheter Bailey stepping between hookers. (Photograph by Eric Luke, used with permission)

A saor amongst the interviewees explained "how a boat sits on the water tells you if she's trimmed properly" (Cathal, 19B). He was referring to the 'balance' of the boat, especially in relation to where the ballast is placed, because this exerts a drag on the boat, as it moves through the water. While balance and stability are necessary to sail, to minimise the drag was/is also sought to aid the faster delivery of turf or goods, and in later years, a faster sail in the regattas. The trim/balance of the boat is so important that some bádóirí actually instruct their crew 'exactly' where to sit or stand when sailing, so that the balance is not hindered by their body-weight, resulting in more drag and slower sailing (Pádraic, 11B). The ease with which the experienced bádóir is able to utilise a very practiced sense of balance represents another example of tacit and embodied knowledge. Figure 6.3 portrays an older hooker sailor Micil Pheter Bailey stepping between boats

without using his hands to grip onto lines as one would be tempted to do. These older sailors were at home within the hookers and the experience of walking within a moving space was "sedimented" within their bodies (Couper, 2018, p.289). A lifetime of engagement through their "lived bodies" (Merleau-Ponty in Wylie, 2007, pp.148) within a sentient seascape enabled such movement upon an ever-moving platform and fostered a sense of balance to levels that a land-based person would surely envy. Humberstone (2016) exalts "sea-water people" for their manifestation of this sense, explaining that it allows "for continuous awareness and presence to the minute and subtle shifts of wave, water, elements, body, board or vessel" (Brown and Humberstone, 2016, p.31).

6.3.3 Communicating with your ancestors through the hooker

Many of my interviewees, both young and old, expressed a feeling of being closer to their muintir (people/forefathers), when sailing in the hooker, especially in a boat that was passed down through the family. One said that he talked with his boat and even asked it and his muintir for help and guidance, especially when he was somewhere he should not be, near rocks or other dangers at sea, for example (Noel, 06D). Another said that though he also enjoyed nothing more than to sail down Cuan an Fhir Mhór (Greatman's Bay), his main reason for sailing the boat was to keep the memory of his muintir alive. He said that while doing this he feels like he's speaking with his ancestors who had sailed the boat before him and perhaps he's "seeking their guidance when doing this" (Cian, 21F). When passing long days in the hooker, often alone at the opposite end of the boat from one's leath bhádóir, as well as communicating with one's ancestors the bádóir would often speak with and even stroke the side of the boat as if it was human (Aindí, 07A). Seeing nonhuman agents as possessing human characteristics is called 'anthropomorphism' and such practices aided the bádóirí in the creation of a sentient landscape and helped foster a social and engaging place in the otherwise harsh environment of their taskscape/seascape. The next section explores such anthropomorphic tendencies.

6.4 The Tacit Knowledge Needed to Sail the Hooker

This section explores learning by doing and how the hooker entailed different role relationships and accompanying skillsets and knowledge. Whether young or not so young, and whether under course instruction or the watchful eye of an older sailor, all interviewees were agreed that the only way to learn to sail the Galway hooker was to go out and 'do it'. Saint-Onge (1996) advises that one's behaviour, or their pattern of behaviour is an expression of their tacit knowledge, that is the "intuition, perspectives, beliefs and values that have been formed as a result of their experiences" (p.10). On being asked if they could name the person from whom they learned to sail the hooker, almost all of my elder interviewees said that nobody taught them, that they "just picked it up" (Tomás, 33D; Micil, 02B; Liam, 01A). Most would have been sailing with 'experienced others' and indeed have "picked it up", by the time they would get a chance themselves on the tiller. Polyani (1966) describes this process of subconscious learning as 'subseption' (cited in Howells, 2002, p.872). When probed further, it was very discernible that the elder interviewees (70+ years old) would have at least witnessed or played an active part in the end of the trading years of the Galway Hooker fleet. They would have been drafted in through family, beginning with helping to load the turf, as soon as they were physically able to do that work. Afterwards they might have been brought on-board when school was not in session, 'for the spin', and perhaps to help with the unloading of turf on the Aran Islands'. In one of my interviews, it was mentioned that this happened sometimes even when the school term was on going. The leath bhádóir to my interviewee's father was temporarily unavailable and he (the father) didn't want to employ someone else for the short absence. In this case the necessity to maintain the trade took precedence over the formal education system and my interviewee was pressed into service (John, 15B). Another interviewee explained that his father waited not so much for him to finish his formal schooling, but more so until he had a strong (developed) body and had expressed an interest in being part of hooker trading lifestyle. It was then that he got the chance to become part of the crew (Liam, 01A).

6.4.1 Being part of a crew of two

It should be clarified here that during the working years of the hooker (namely 1930s - 1970s), the crew of the boat was normally two persons, the 'bádóir' (boatmen/skipper) and his 'leath bhádóir' (his fellow boatman/mate). While working it was rare to have more than two persons on-board. One of my interviewees informed me that amongst the hooker community, it was accepted that "the bádóir and leath bhádóir would spend more time in each other's company than either would with their wives" (Micil, 02B). The bádóirí had to be paid and there were various ways in which this was achieved. A hooker cannot be sailed by just one person, so two was the minimum required and this combination was the best arrangement when it came to splitting the profits/earnings gained. Even for the purposes of structuring and maximising the gains from the human resource, two persons knowing exactly their individual duties in order to sail the craft and to be able to depend entirely on one another, represented a very solid figure. The skipper would engage his own leath bhádóir and more often than not the position was kept within the family, thereby keeping two wage-packets coming into the one house, or at least the one family. Often, it was a brother or an uncle, though crucially, it was always somebody who was physically able for the work and was very skilled in the required aspect of hooker sailing, since the skipper would never put the boat, their lives, or their trade/cargo at risk by working with someone who was not able for the job.

Traditionally, there are two distinct sailing tasks in the hooker: the bádóir's role on the tiller and the mainsail, and the leath bhádóir's role on the jib and keeping a watch out from the front of the boat. While the leath bhádóir in particular might be required to move about the boat, the bádóir very seldom vacates the aft-deck where he is seated at the tiller.

Figure 6.3 Mount (le Pádraic Griallais) near the Béal a'Daingin channel. Note: only the bádóir and his leath bhádóir on board. (Used with the kind permission of the family.)

Their respective roles require, for the most part, that they be positioned at opposite ends of the boat, (between twenty and thirty-foot apart) which means that the bádóir with his hand on the tiller cannot see what's on/in the water directly in front of the boat. He is dependent on his leath bhádóir to act as his eyes and to guide him on a safe passage avoiding rocks, nets, lines and other obstacles that may be in the sea, or under the surface of the sea

directly in front of the boat. The leath bhádóir is also required to judge distances and sailing speeds when coming into or leaving quaysides, berths and buoys. Thus, a skipper wouldn't dare to work with someone who could not function in this position for him, even if he was 'family'. Sometimes the skipper might bring a young son or nephew with him to help with little tasks, such as bailing the boat (taking out any water (rain or sea) within the boat by using a 'galún t-aosca (a bailing bucket) or a pump, helping to manoeuvre the big mainsail, or loading/unloading the cargo. This served to gauge whether the boy was up to the tasks (or not) that would await him if he became part of the crew later. Simultaneously, it offered the boy a taste of hooker life, so that he could see from his own perspective if he wished to enter into such a career. There were many who chose not to, even when the chance was there for them (Liam, 01A; Tomás, 33D).

6.4.1.1 The distinctiveness of the two roles

One of my interviewees, who did make his living by trading with the hooker, explained how distinctly different the two tasks on-board were, and at the same time highlighted the need for 'teamwork' and understanding the need for different characters and their attributes on board the hooker. He narrated that while returning past Ceann Bóirne (Black Head) from one particular trading voyage he was feeling tired, having already spent a long day on the water, so he thought he'd take a break and stand up for a while. He switched positions and had his leath bhádóir take the tiller. After a very short time it became evident that they were getting nowhere, despite the fact that they were two of the most experienced hooker sailors at that time and he had to resume his position on the tiller. His leath bhádóir, who was excellent on the jib and working the front of the boat, had no experience on the tiller and could not make any headway there (Liam, 01A). Both of these very experienced sailors had their own jobs-on-board and in all probability, neither would have been as good as the other in doing what they did. Tacit knowledge enables the practitioner to act 'out of habit' or with a 'sixth sense'. This depth of learning/knowledge will firstly have been gained from others, but will have been mastered through a process of learning by doing,

which is known as ‘practice theory’, (see Pálsson 1994; Sennett 2008; Ingold 2011).

While all older interviewees said that no one actually taught them to sail, Liam went so far as to say that he had never sailed with anyone prior to taking over sailing a hooker himself. His father stopped sailing quite abruptly due to reasons of ill health (Liam, 01A). Another interviewee said that he had never taken the tiller until after his father had died and thus started more-or-less afresh when he decided that he was taking over the boat afterwards (Tomás, 33D). Yet another said that he learned verbally from his father at home and put into practice on the sea the next day what he had been told the night before. He would continue to practice until it became second nature to him, or part of his body’s “modus operandi” (Ingold, 2011, pp.294-300). It is however, crucial to learning that the practice takes place in the environment in which the skill will be utilised. Pálsson (1994) highlighted as one of the major weaknesses of learning to sail in maritime college, that quite a lot of what was studied can be forgotten when on-board, and it is only on the sea and within the social and natural environment, that one can say that they have become skilful in sailing. Hence, learning by doing within the seascape is the key to hooker sailing. Time spent practicing is also important to learning as highlighted by Liam, who asked if I was a sailor and made light of my admitted in-experience in sailing by saying that I could master it “no-problem, all that it needed was time and practice” (Liam, 01A).

Hooker sailing today is a pastime, about pleasure and keeping the links with the past alive. All of my interviewees pointed out that what one most needs in order to learn to sail the hooker is time and an interest in doing so. It was very interesting to me how the word ‘interest’ slipped into our conversations when we spoke of today’s hooker sailors and sailing students. The word ‘interest’ would have rarely been used in the working years of the elder hooker-sailors, because in ‘their time’ (pre 1950s), they really did not have much choice in being interested or not; this was their means of earning a livelihood, their means of ‘putting bread on the table’. Every interviewee praised the older generation and recognised that their time (sailing hours)

spent on the sea was much greater than any of today's sailors could possibly give there. Arising from this fact, today's hooker sailors, (the descendants of hooker sailors past) openly recognise that they can never be 'as good' as their forefathers. No longer are hooker bádóirí required to be in their boats all day, six days each week, through ten or eleven months of the year. The hookers in the past were only taken out of the water, for repair, towards Christmas time or if there was a prolonged period of bad weather.

This completes the section on tacit knowledge and the next section will focus on the acquisition and deployment of sensory and embodied knowledge in sailing the Galway hooker.

6.5 The Anthropomorphic Tendencies of Bádóirí

In portraying the attachment that the bádóir had with/for his boat, one of my interviewees declared "to say the bádóir was attached to his hooker is an understatement, the hooker and the bádóir were 'as one'", continuing with "They had a great pride in their boats, they were connected to them" (Micil, 02B). Epley *et al.* (2007) describe the essence of anthropomorphism as: "Imbuing the imagined or real behaviour of nonhuman agents with humanlike characteristics, motivations, intentions, and emotions" (p.864). They propose that such practice is often enacted to replace the absent human connection, a very common scenario found within a seascape, especially so within a Galway hooker, where the bádóir might spend an entire day and well into the night on the sea. Of course, as has previously been portrayed, he would always be accompanied by his leath bhádóir, whose duties would see him moving freely about the boat, albeit spending much of his time at the bow (front), working the jib. The duties of the bádóir forced him to remain seated astern with one hand on the tiller and the other ready to adjust the scód (main sheet) at all times. Therefore, it could be a very lonely place, for very long periods of time. One of my older interviewees knew other bádóirí who would rub the side of their boats affectionately and speak directly to them, as one would to another person (Aindí, 07A). He elaborated on the anthropomorphic connection between the bádóir and his boat, revealing that "the boat was akin to a lady in the house, always

addressed to as she/her and her sails were her clothes (éadaigh). When they were preparing to sail they would say ***"cur uirthi a chuid éadaí"*** (put on her clothes), the boat to these people was alive" (Aindí, 07A).

Bádóirí, spending so much time in their boats gained a communicative awareness with them and it was commonly said of the older bádóirí that "they could make their boats talk to them" (Micil,02B). Many believed that this was so because "it was how they were brought up and their fathers before them" (Colm, 16E). Another interviewee, a saor (boat builder), said that one must always listen to the boat and "she'll tell you what's right and what's not". He said that "how she sits on the water will tell you if she's happy or not" and that "you must learn to communicate with her" (Cathal, 19B). Yet another interviewee said that "it's the fact that the boat creaks and groans and makes all sorts of noises, it's a living breathing thing almost" (Síle, 17C). In a spirit of non-judgmental acceptance, while placing man at the centre of the interanimations that create taskscapes within both land and seascapes, Ingold (2000) explains that apportioning such human qualities to non-human objects serve merely to highlight instances of "metaphorical construction" within man's "practical involvement with the world" (p.45). Thus, in keeping with Epley *et al.* (2007), Ingold (2000) portrays that anthropomorphic tendency is something that man is not averse to practicing in efforts to make more bearable his engagement with the world through a readiness-at-hand (Carolan, 2008), and by extension, to dwell.

Another interviewee believes that their old hooker could nearly sail herself. He narrated how they brought her back home very late one night and it was so dark that they could not see the mast from the back of the boat (five or six metres apart). They went in and docked her, took down the sails and went home for the night. Upon awakening the following morning, nothing would satisfy their father until they had come out to the boat again to ensure that they had done everything properly, in the darkness of the night before. My interviewee, now with daylight revealing their route/passage of the night before, could not believe/understand how they had come in with the amount of rocks evident in the middle of the channel. In response to his questions as to how they got in, his father responded, "Do you think we could come in

against her will?" Therefore, he was saying that the boat has her own senses and was obviously happy with the directions given by the bádóir! My interviewee believes that the boat has its own soul, saying "it's something that you can't shout about or people will think that you're mad, but I think it has anyway" (Colm, 16E).

One of my older interviewees likened the hooker to a 'bean cantallach' (troubled woman) explaining that, "on her day she would do anything for you, but on other days, well!" (he left it at that). "The boat is alive, and will do anything for you, but to ask it properly" (Cóilín, 27A). Another interviewee explained that there was "a spiritual relationship between the bádóir and the boat and that if it had passed through a couple of generations of his family, then its' respect was multiplied exponentially". He believed that "the boat was alive, that there was a magic about her" (Aindí, 07A). Another of my elder interviewees summed-up the relationship between bád and bádóir, saying that they are "an extension of each other, half and half" (Jeaic, 25A). The next section discusses this commonly held belief that the hooker has its own soul or spirit.

6.6 The Spirit of the Hooker

Many of my interviewees said that they treat their boat as a living thing, something with a soul. One such interviewee spoke of the soul of the boat and his habit of talking to his people, his elders through the boat saying that "there's a bond there, somehow, for sure there is, it's inside you" (Noel, 06D). Another of my older interviewees likened the boat to a nurse or a doctor, proposing that the boat should be seen as a means of saving people from the sea and so deserves to be treated as one would a nurse or a doctor (Aindí, 07A). Some interviewees believe that the hooker has of itself, brought them home safely in spite of 'stupid things' that they did while sailing when they were younger (Seán, 03E; Joe, 05E). The following narrative, from Aindí (07A), concerns such an incident where a 'lucky' hooker quite possibly saved the lives of its bádóirí, (why this boat was considered lucky is explained in section 5.4.2). The family in this narrative were advised by their saor (boat-builder) to never to let the boat out of the

family and that it would always be a lucky boat for them. Thus they had always listened to/took notice of the boat and on a certain night, it certainly repaid them. It was in 1886 in Leitir Mealláin that a cargo boat 'Julia' carrying lumber hit the rocks at Ceann Golaim (Ó Confhaola, 2008, p.5). The family of the lucky boat 'Judeen' were preparing to go out and take some lumber from the stricken ship as many others in that locality were doing at the time. But as they put on her sails in preparation to go out the Judeen wouldn't co-operate. They tried to leave the pier and come about (turn the boat) and it pulled strongly on the tiller, not enabling them to turn. They tried again to leave the pier and got a half-length out when it pulled again. On the third attempt, with the same result they relented and decided that the boat didn't want to go out that night, so they left it and went home (Aindí, 07A). The following morning they were informed that the coastguard were guarding the cargo ship that night and shot dead two others as they took lumber from it, one man from An Aird and another from Mason Island who died from his wounds while on the way home (Ó Confhaola, 2008). Most interviewees said that the hooker had a spirit of her own (particularly amongst the older ones).

6.6.1 Sailing in a traditional boat is a natural thing and a gift

One particular interviewee who was both a sailor and a boat maker expressed a belief that there was something spiritual about being in a bád seol (sail boat). He pointed out that to sail a traditional boat was "to do a natural thing", adding, "perhaps it's because the people came from the sea and they have the ***'mianach na farraige iontu'*** (the substance of the sea in them), it's natural to them" (Frank, 23D). Continuing to speculate, this sailor and saor pointed out that "most of the people involved with the Galway hooker are doing something that their people have done through the generations and that it might be in their DNA?" (Frank, 23D). Completing this particular piece, the interviewee said that "to sail in a hooker feels right, you're a part of something that's much bigger than you. You're a part of and sharing in a culture, making a statement of who you are and who your people were/are" (Frank, 23D). Within these interviews, another speaker was firmly of the opinion that the bádóir is not the master of the boat, rather

it is the hooker itself that gifts the bádóir the opportunity to guide it (Seán, 03E). It is worth reflecting upon the ideas of these two interviewees and equating them to the work of Bennett (2014) who wrote of the "social and material relationships embodied by place" as "an inalienable gift creating a moral duty to nurture and pass on places to subsequent generations" (p.658). While my interviewees saw sailing in the hooker as the 'gift', this can be understood as having arisen out of the history, life circumstance and the ensuing social practices of the communities on the shores of what was/is their place, Galway Bay. It was the interanimation between hooker, bádóir and seascape that created the taskscape and with it the 'gift' or way of being-in-the-world/ontological belonging (Bennett, 2014, p.658). Such a gift cannot be possessed by anyone and yet brings with it a moral duty to be passed on to future generations. Many interviewees spoke of this 'duty', with some stressing that apart from the pleasure experienced, it was one of their primary reasons for hooker sailing today, the need to keep alive the practice of their forefathers and to pass this 'gift' onto the next generation (Micil, 02B; Jimí, 04B; Pádraic, 11B; Gearóid, 13C; John, 15B; Cian, 21F; Frank, 23D; Cóilín, 27A; Oliver, 31F, Tomás, 33D).

6.7 Is it (Hooker Sailing) 'In Your Blood'?

As related in section 6.6.1, one of my interviewees questioned if hooker sailing, after being practiced by their people through the generations, might now "be in their DNA?" (Frank, 23D). When questioned about this, the vast majority of interviewees were of a similar view to that of Ingold, who believed that children, by growing up in environments created by the previous generations as resulting in children actually carrying "the forms of their dwellings in their bodies – in specific skills, sensibilities and dispositions" (cited in Jones, 2009, p.268). What he is saying is that if one is born near and playing within a hooker as a child, then everything that they practice or learn to do will appear to come naturally to them. When one considers that many of the existing hookers have been passed down through the generations of family (see Table 5.1), then it is little wonder that to some interviewees it appeared that the hooker sailing skills were within the children born to these 'hooker' families. All bar two of my interviewees

stated that they learned how to sail informally, while in the boat with their grandfathers, fathers, brothers or uncles. This form of learning concurs with the thoughts of both Ingold (2011) and Pálsson (1994), that real learning takes place by continuing to practice until it appears to come as 'second nature' to the person (Ingold, 2011, pp.294-300) and to be useful this practice must be performed in the environment in which the skill will be utilised (Pálsson, 1994). One of the elder boatmen said that he was never in the boat with anyone else until he took it out himself, declaring that he "learned from the sea" and that he was able to sail her from the first day, without any bother. "It was in me, in my hands and in my mind", (Liam, 01A). However, even this bádóir said that anyone can learn to sail the hooker, but to have the time and the interest, (Liam, 01A). Another interviewee put it quite simply, "like anything else, if you start it young enough, it's in your blood" (Gearóid, 13C). Of course as Liam (01A) said "anyone can learn to sail it" and to start young is a major advantage. However, what the older hooker bádóirí had attained will, most assuredly, never be replicated. That taskscape is gone, the interdependence and much of the intertwining is gone. Where once the Galway hooker culture enabled dwelling, now they are a pastime and used to race against one another.

6.7.1 "Tá fuil i'm chuid feithicí mara", (there's blood in my sea veins)

A narrative given in response to this question concerned a hill farmer going by hooker to Galway to sell his wool. It was this farmer's first time to set foot in a hooker and he was so traumatised by the experience that he walked all the way home from the city, a distance of more than 30 miles (Seosamh, 09B). This interviewee, having spent much of his young life helping older fishermen, witnessed an old neighbour explaining why he still continued to go to sea, declaring "Tá fuil i'm chuid feithicí mara", (there's blood in my sea veins) (Seosamh, 09B). In an attempt to explain why/how the people of South West Conamara appear to have hooker sailing in their blood, another interviewee stated that it could be likened to "a house that had a cordín (an accordion) in it, that one or two in the house will be able to play music. But if there's not a cordín there, then they won't know about it" (Bertie, 26A).

He believed that it was the pleasure that one got from sailing the hooker that was within them, rather than sailing being in their blood and explained that "The Conamara people, the hooker and the sea are all intertwined, as one" (Bertie, 26A).

After learning of and discussing the knowledge and skillset of the bádóirí in being able to assist the hooker in harnessing both wind and tide so that they could enable the carriage of goods for their isolated communities in South West Conamara, in the next section I discuss the remaining participant in the life of the Galway Hooker, the one who creates them, the Saor Báid.

6.8 Saor Báid / Boat Builders

The building of a Galway Hooker or any craft amongst its family of boats (bád mhór, leath-bháid, gleoiteog mór or beag, or a púcán) requires a very special skillset as no exact measurements or draughtman's plans are made or adhered to. The term 'saor' means 'free' and in Conamara particularly, it refers to a craftsperson, most notably a saor báid (boatwright) and/or a saor chloch (stonemason). Both these craftspersons work 'by eye' and decide their final cuttings, measurements or placements depending on the raw material available to them with which to work. No two Galway hookers are exactly the same as no two stone walls are exactly the same. One of the saor's I interviewed pointed out to me that while all hookers are based on a general model, each while being built takes on its own exact shape and size. I interviewed two full-time saor-bháid and two younger practicing saor, who had participated on the Horizon funded programme (see section 6.9.2), set up by Cumann na Húicéirí and aided by Údarás na Gaeltachta to assist in enabling the craft of the boat builder to be passed on to a younger generation. In this section I write of the critical work of the saor bháid, who built the Galway hooker that allowed the communities of South West Conamara to dwell.

In keeping with Sennett's (2008) statement that "the craftsman sets to work using a triad of hand, eye and brain", this particularly applies to the saor bháid, who like many craftspeople feel "as one with the material on which he works" (p.174). The saoir that I interviewed still work in the traditional

style with no given master plans or industrial style ready-to-assemble pre-cut lumber. Everything from laying the keel, upon commencement of building a hooker, to creating the finished boat is still done by hand and by eye. Indeed some of the older bádóirí still sew their own sails and many of the older boats still proudly use these hand-sewn sails on special occasions. The raw materials that are available at the time, along with the necessary symmetry to be achieved when building a hooker, especially so for the rounded tumblehome (the holding-space within, that allows the hooker to carry goods for trade), dictates that it is the eye that informs the hand and the brain, telling the saor whether each piece is correctly fitted. In keeping with the absence of any formal drawings and plans, each hooker and each saor báid is so unique that it is possible for an experienced bádóir to tell who built the boat by the proportioning, shape and positioning of the tumblehome, the mast and the rake (angle of the transom entering the water). Some saor had more tumblehome, some had less, while some positioned it more forward in the boat and some had it further back. Likewise some soar had a greater or lesser ráca (rake, the angle of rudder to the waterline), usually 35 to 40 degrees (Scott, 2004). It is generally accepted that the steeper the ráca with the water the faster the boat can travel, as there will be less drag asserted upon it. Thus, each hooker is a unique craft and as a boat builder so is each saor just that, unique and ‘free’/unfettered by plans and dimensions.

Figure 6.4 Máirtín Tom Deáirbé ag obair ar bháid. (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.164). Used with permission of Cian de Buitléir.

6.8.1 Ceantar na nOileán, the source of the saoir?

From both my interviews and my literature research it would appear that Ceantar na nOileán was the primary source of the saor bháid in the recent past. In the 1860s, Seán Ó'Laoidhe lived in Baile na Cille in Ceantar na nOileán. While working in Galway, at the Long Walk, he took an apprentice from there, one Micheál Ó Cluanáin (Jennings) and returned home to work and to teach him the trade. After some years as an apprentice, Micheál Ó Cluanáin was supplying another type of boat to all in Leitir Mealláin, a 'Galley'. Comfortable in the knowledge that Ó Cluanáin would serve the local needs in Leitir Mealláin, Seán Ó'Laoidhe moved further west to Carna and set about teaching the trade of saor báid to the Caseys (Scott, 2004). In time (mid 1800s onwards) the same Caseys, along with the neighbouring Cloherty family (Figure 6.4) would constitute the formidable hooker-building dynasties in Conamara. Within my interviews I have learned that for various reasons, notwithstanding the fact that there is no great market today for newly-built Galway hookers, that both of these dynasties are now no more. My interviewee said that there are only two full-time working saor bháid today. One of these was Joe Reaney in Leitir Caladh, (see Horizon Programme 7.2.2), and the other was also from Ceantar na nOileán, Joe

John William Seoighe. (Note: the second teacher mentioned in relation to the horizon project, Colm Mulkerrins, died on 16/12/2009, R.I.P.).

Figure 6.5 Memorial to the Boat-builders of the area, Leitir Mealláin. Photographer, Andrew Kelly. Used with permission.

An uncle of the grandfather of one of these saoir, Joe Reaney, called Micheál Ó Ráinne moved from Ceantar na nOileán into Galway and later from there he moved south to The Weir, Kilcolgan on or before 1880s and began building hookers there. Perhaps the most famous hooker he built, is the Capall, a working boat still sailing (built in 1860). His son was also building boats, near the Spanish Arch in Galway (Bob, 24D). Thus, along with all the other saoir mentioned in Endnote 6.1[vii], it would appear that much of the knowledge and the skilled craftsmanship of hooker-building, at least for this present age, emanated from Ceantar na nOileán. While I cannot locate any documented/published proof of this, the location of the boat-builders memorial (Figure 6.5) would lend its support, as would an examination of a map or a nautical chart of South West Conamara and

Galway Bay, showing it to be at the centre of 'Hooker Country' (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008).

6.8.2 Learning by doing

The narratives of the boat builders (saoir) as well as those of other interviewees helps to construct a window on the world of the traditional saor báid. When interviewing the two full-time hooker boat-builders, I asked them to identify who taught them their trade and both replied "no-one had taught them how to build a hooker" (Cathal, 19B; Bob, 24D). Neither of their fathers was a saor báid (hooker builder). As previously stated, most hooker sailors, especially those involved in trade with, were out of necessity capable of conducting running repairs. This was necessary since, in interacting with the elements, they never knew where or at what time they might need to repair or replace some part of the boat in order to be able to conduct trade or sometimes to get home. Added to this, in most cases they did not have the time to wait for a saor to repair their boat, losing trade and perhaps customers also. Another obvious reason for self-repair was the necessity to save their hard-earned money. One of my 'saor' interviewees explained that although his father was primarily a fisherman and did not build boats, he could always tell him what he was doing wrong when building a boat (Bob 24D). His grandfather's brother built a boat, called Catche, which he used to collect corlaí (seaweed). It was his grandfather's uncle who moved to Galway and further south afterwards, that built An Capall. So, as he said himself, his family were "always dabbling, in and out at making boats" (Bob, 24D). Yet, he had no formal schooling, apprenticeship or training in boat building. The other full-time soar-bád that I interviewed, (coincidently, also from Ceantar na nOileán) proved almost identical in his experiences, whereby nobody had taught him how to build a boat, although his father was always carrying out the little repairs to their boat and always sewed his own sails also. His uncle was a saor and spent his life repairing boats for people, while his grandfather could also repair his own boat (Cathal, 19B). Both of these saor are indeed self-taught.

Prior to the mid-1900s, when a boat was to be built, the saor travelled (many walked) with his bag of tools to the family for whom he was to build the boat (Bríd, 29B). He would stay with them until the job was finished, perhaps returning home to his own family once or twice only; often he would not leave his place of work during this period at all (Liam, 01A). Thus the children in the house could observe the saor at work and learn from him and if the saor thought that a child had a special interest, he might even teach him a little. This was the case with the father of one of my soar interviewees: "not alone was my father (as a child), picking things up, but the saor was teaching him, as he knew he was interested and it was in him, in the breed, somewhere" (Bob, 24D). When asked if he preferred to be on the sea or in the boat-building shed, he replied that a bit of both suits him perfectly (he liked to be on the sea when the weather was good and to be in the shed when the day was cold and wet). He explained that one informs the other: being on the sea points out changes or improvements that might be made in the shed, while work in the shed dictates what can be achieved outside of it, on the sea, afterwards. He particularly likes to make a boat from new as you are "then creating something, something that was not there before you made it" (Bob, 24D). By way of supporting this statement he explained that boats built by a saor retain his name as the unique saor forever, irrespective of the number of times that the boat might be repaired or even totally re-fitted by another saor afterwards. My interviewee explained "even after one repairs a boat that has fallen into disrepair, people like to keep the original shape and it shall always be spoken of as a boat of the original saor, the man who first built or created it" (Bob, 24D).

6.8.3 The transformation of the bád-iomartha

Throughout my interviews, I was intrigued to often hear of the bád iomartha, (rowing boat), as I could not recall seeing one or of knowing their links within the hooker family of boats. It appears that these smaller boats were very plentiful at the time of hooker transportation, especially more than one-hundred years ago, when the hookers were of much larger proportions than the largest surviving hookers of today (Micil, 02B). Because these hookers were so big and the quaysides of that time were not

of todays' standards or proportions, the hookers would often have to moor in the deeper waters outside in the harbour and away from the quay. Then the locals would row out to them in their bád-iomartha and transfer the goods from them to the locals on the quays or strands awaiting the produce. From there the goods would be carried on the last-leg of their journey to the local shop or their houses using a donkey (or pony) and cart. Thus, the bád-iomartha was a small working-boat and like the hooker, when the need for transportation by sea declined, so too did the need for the bád-iomartha.

In addition to most bádóirí of old being able to carry out 'running repairs' on their hookers, I have heard numerous accounts from, and of, people who transformed old bád-iomartha's into gleotógaí beaga, simply by adding a weatherboard and a mast. Often the bád iomartha would be sawn/cut in half and one or two foot added in the middle to extend them a little and to make accommodation for the mast. This work was often carried out by someone who had never built a boat or a currach before and would probably never do so, being more a sailor than a saor. It would appear that even in the general population, most people had the ability to fashion wood into something connected with the sea (Pádraic, 11B; Gearóid, 13C).

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined the more personal experiences as part of the relational nature of the Galway hooker in enabling dwelling in South West Conamara. It explored the knowledge and skillset of both the bádóir, in being in a position to sail and conduct trade with this craft, and that of the saor bháid (boatwright), in building the hookers and therefore enabling the existence of the boat. The chapter opened with an exploration of the setting of the bádóir within the boat and the taskscape that they co-created in the seascape of Galway Bay. It explored the myriad of relationships that had to be successfully enacted in order to enable trading to take place and dwelling to exist. The bádóir's personal relationships with everything about him (his leath-bhádóir, the hooker and the elements that enable sailing) were the initial focus of the chapter, while the main body examined the various knowledges that enabled the creation of their taskscape. These included the

local knowledge necessary for trading and the sensory and embodied knowledge of the bádóir himself that enabled the skill of sailing to be accomplished. Thereafter, the question of the hooker having its own spirit and the anthropomorphic tendencies of the bádóir towards it were discussed. The chapter closed with a focus on the saor bháid, without whom the Galway hooker would not exist and perhaps the isolated communities of South West Conamara either.

The next chapter follows the revival and growth in numbers of both the Galway hooker and hooker regattas to contemporary times. It describes how the hooker remains as a cultural icon amongst the populations there.

Chapter 7: The Galway Hooker Recovery and Maintaining Community Heritage

The survival and present day living traditions of hooker sailing are due to events of the 1970s. This chapter traces the revival of the Galway hooker from the seminal race at Oileán Mhic Dara in 1976, through the formation of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe (Galway Hookers Association), to the organisation of the hooker regattas today. It explores the fears of the older bádóirí that the emphasis on winning these races is bringing about a change in the design of the Galway hooker. The great success of the hooker association in enabling the training of more saor báid (hooker boatwrights) and the dissemination of grants towards the restoration of old hookers are elaborated upon. These successes however, have contributed towards a greater number of boats on the water, mirrored by a lower number of spectators at the regattas and the need to reverse this decline is also discussed. The chapter closes with a return to the theme of knowledge(s), when exploring both: how interested people learn to sail the hooker today and also the on-going significance of hooker sailing to the contemporary bádóir in terms of life style and life lessons.

7.1 The Revival of the Galway Hooker and Féile Mhic Dara 1976

In an almost contradictory way, it was those boats sold out of Conamara that were largely responsible for the revival of the Galway Hooker. One of my older interviewees contends that if Bád Pheada/An Réalt had stayed in Conamara and fell into disrepair, like so many others, then perhaps there might not have been a revival at all (Pádraic, 11B). The next act in the story of Bád Pheada, and ultimately the revival of the Galway hooker, was the selling of the afore-mentioned ‘Morning Star’ by Denis Aylemer to Johnny Healion at the end of 1975, after 5 years as an unconverted yacht (Scott, 2004, p.75). Healion completely re-fitted the boat to its original state and did not try to transform it into a yacht, as had been done to many of the other hookers that had been sold. Less than a year after acquiring it, he put ‘the star’ on the back of a lorry and transported her to Carna to take part in the revived Féile Mhic Dara on 16th July 1976. This very race, in which

only four boats took part, - The Morning Star (a hooker), Hunter and Volunteer (two leath bháid), and the Naomh Anna (a gleoiteog) - is credited with igniting the revival of hooker racing and ultimately with the preservation, re-generation and the maintenance of the Galway hooker fleet itself (Scott, 2004, p.75). There is little doubt that the revival of the Galway hooker re-invigorated more than the number of seaworthy boats, as one of my interviewees declared, "when the revival came it gave the entire community a lift" (Aindí, 07A). Similarly, the American Mór, having been seen leaving Cuan Ros-a-Mhíl (see section 4.6.2) by one of my interviewees (John, 15B), was taken north-east to Strangford Lough (Scott, 2004, pp.75-86), and brought back west, some years later, to take part in Rásaí Cúigéil in 1978 by Brian Hussey, where it was sailed by John William Seoighe and Seán Pheait Ciúinín (Bob, 24D). Slowly but surely, more boats followed the lead of these first ones and were repaired and later returned to Conamara. However, the vast majority of those that had stayed were left slip further and further into disrepair.

For many of the interviewees, it was felt that this re-awakened the boat in the hearts and minds of the people of Conamara (Aindí, 07A). Where previously many bádóirí were reluctant to spend monies they could ill afford on the up-keep of their boats, now at least there appeared to be a reason to do so, even if it would henceforth represent a pastime for them rather than a means of generating an income. Nobody with any association to a hooker wished to see them 'fall into disrepair', but when they had no economic use for them, "what else could they do, they couldn't afford to pump money into them" (Bob, 24D). However, despite this fact remaining true, once a bádóir saw another's boat re-emerge, one by one they began to cut back the briars that were engulfing their old boats and set about repairing them. A central tenet of the community's culture was re-awakening and many people felt compelled to get involved, even when they could barely afford to. One of my older interviewees expressed this very sentiment when saying that he "took to it like a duck-to-water when they started back again" (Cóilín, 27A). He went on to explain that a local man bought Pat Ciúinín's boat (An Bádóir Mór / St. Mary) and that it was in this boat that he spent most of his

racing years. He said that he "Fell in love with that boat, somehow" (Cóilín, 27A). The Galway Hooker, after being absent for so long, was like the missing piece of a jigsaw in the people's lives and upon seeing them return to the waters of Galway Bay, the people flocked to the quaysides and vantage points along the coast just to see them sail once more. Another of my interviewees who had spent more than ten years working with an engine in his leath-bháid, had it removed shortly after the revival began and had it rigged-out once more for sailing in the regattas (Bertie, 26A). He said that there were fewer boats and more people/on-lookers coming to the quaysides for the races then, but "now it's hard to get people to come out to the quays and watch today" (Bertie, 26A). Another interviewee supported this observation, saying "when the revival began there was an excitement about the community and people would talk of nothing else". He also said that his "uncle would visit every Monday morning, solely to discuss the races of that weekend" (Noel, 06D).

7.1.1 The elder bádóirí survived the hiatus in hooker sailing

Fortunately the hiatus in hooker sailing had not lasted for too long a period and once the news of the seminal race in 1976 was spread, people began to get back on the water themselves. Where four boats had participated in 1976, the 1979 Féile Mhic Dara race saw seventeen traditional sailing-craft take part, including two Achill yawls (Scott, 2004, p.77). The momentum of the revival of the Galway hooker kept building and it was regaining an importance within its community once more. When one considers the role that these boats had played in the lives of their communities, everybody had an emotional investment in them, and now the rásaí were giving them a chance to reconnect with the Galway hooker. The able bádóirí were on the water and those that were too old or too young to be in the boats would gather on the banks and the shore's edge to watch them.

For many sean-bhádóirí and their families the revival of the hooker races gave them a reason to repair, maintain and sail once more in the boats that had "reared their families" (Seosamh, 09B). Thankfully, many of the older hooker sailors survived through the quiet period, crucially resulting in the

community retaining their hooker sailing knowledge. These practiced men returned to the boats and willingly shared their knowledge with anyone who showed a keen interest in the boats and cared to listen. For some hooker sailors who returned home from abroad after the revival got under way, it was a case of playing catch-up in hooker sailing, to satisfy their passion. A few of these stated "the boats and coastlines of America weren't a patch on Conamara and the hooker" (Micil, 02B; Cathal, 19B). One interviewee admitted to cajoling and questioning his father (an older hooker sailor) about different sailing manoeuvres and how they were achieved. He would then go out on the sea the next morning and keep on attempting the described manoeuvres until they were mastered. He claimed to have "spent two years on the water like this, in all weathers, as if on a 'crash-course' in hooker sailing" (Micil, 02B).

Figure 7.1 Nothing missed by these sean-bhádóirí – from left, John Bhaibín Seoighe, Seán Cheoinín, Máirtín Seoighe and Pat Cheoinín (Seeking Permission).

In the early days of post-revival hooker racing, there were only three or four notable races, Cill Chiaráin, Leitir Mealláin, Dóilín and Oileán Mhic Dara. The reaction amongst the public was incredible and according to one of my interviewees (Noel, 06D), "the prizemoney was very generous and very well received". He highlighted that the bádóirí had been used to earning with

their boats and this prize-money now represented an alternative source of earnings. The money received could be used to pay off any debts entered into in the restoration and running costs of the boats (a practice still being carried out today). He said that for Féile Mhic Dara the prize money was about £300, a lot of money back then and Cill Chiaráin had a big prize at the time also (Noel, 06D). Another of my interviewees said that today the bádóirí are still very dependent upon the monies they get as a race participation fee in order to keep their boats in good repair or to help with transferring the boats from one race location to the next (Colm, 16E). Many miles are driven by car between race locations and to and from home each weekend. Sometimes this transference of the boat is carried out during the week, again incurring costs in petrol/diesel and time. Notably, the same interviewee said that when the races re-started there were only 5 or 6 races there and that the monies received at that time were worth 10 times more than they are today (Colm, 16E). This, in essence was in a way the start of a commodification of the Galway hooker, though it came about perhaps as a result of attempts to try and save it. Now that the revival had been initiated, it quickly became clear that a steadying and guiding structure was needed to maintain and grow this impact. The next section explores the role played by Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe (Galway Hookers Association) in the revival of the Galway hooker.

7.2 The Formation and Work of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe (Galway Hookers Association)

Less than two years after the seminal race at Oileán Mhic Dara, a meeting was called in An Cheathrú Rua, during Easter of 1978, in order to try and put some organisation on what was happening with regard to hooker races that seemed to be springing-up all over south-west Conamara (Scott, 2004, p.76). One of my interviewees stated that when Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe was formed it had two main objectives: (A) the restoration and (B) the preservation of the boats (Seosamh, 09B). At that time people were recovering, acquiring or buying old boats and restoring them. A few were even having new boats built, as there were not enough old boats then. Among the bádóirí, however, there were concerns about a number of issues

and to this day there are mixed perspectives about the contemporary aspects of the hooker. One of the concerns is how the emphasis on racing was driving some participants to alter the múnla/design of the boats (Seosamh, 09B). While speaking of today's boats being built for speed, one interviewee asked

> Where will it all stop? If they were put out beyond the harbour, out to the caolaire (firth), they'd sink there. They'll change the múnla (design), It's only a joke.
>
> (Cian, 21F)

This interviewee went on to explain that he continues to sail as he does and isn't bothered whether he's placed first or last, that it's more important to him to "keep the tradition" (Cian, 21F). When questioned further on this, he explained that the joy he gets from sailing down the bay with a light breeze, could not be quantified in monetary terms. He loves sailing and fishing and feels duty-bound to keep his boat as well as he can, for as long as he can and to keep the tradition alive (Cian, 21F). He said that this conflict between 'duty' and 'pleasure' is like the classic 'chicken' and 'egg' scenario, that you can't really have one without the other (Cian, 21F). Another interviewee 'calls it as it is', saying that perhaps the newer boats are a little bit lighter, but that there's very little change. However, he said that "they are being made for the races, we have to face the truth" (Frank, 23D). One of my oldest interviewees (Dara, 14B) agrees that the boats are being changed, being made lighter and with maximum waterline length in order to get maximum speed. "There's a mathematical formula out there for this and as things are going now, people are beginning to stray from the original design and thus are changing a tradition" (Dara, 14B).

7.2.1 The need to preserve the múnla/design of the hooker

One of the more 'studied' hooker sailors (Seosamh, 09B) believes that things are certainly changing, for instance that the sails are getting bigger all the time and that efforts must be made to get them back to a size that fits the boat. He says that there were many well-known rules in force before and that these should be brought back once more and enforced / encouraged by

giving any boat that employs them a 'three-minute head-start' in the races, over those that do not. Examples of these rules included:

1) That the mast should be no longer than the length of the boat itself.

2) The bowsprit should be no longer than the span from the mast to the gripe and likewise for the boom going back.

My interviewee, in proposing that the cumann give a three-minute bonus to those boats that follow their rules, said that "bit-by-bit the bádóirí would show interest in and respect for them, at this time there's too much sail on the boats" (Seosamh, 09B). Like all the other interviewees he believes that it is thanks to the races that so many boats are in good shape and that it is through these same races that the cumann should make every effort to get the sizes and amount of sail being carried back into line (Seosamh, 09B). Many of the older hooker sailors are of the opinion that the Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe are not strong enough in their stated aim of preservation of the hooker (Seosamh, 09B). Another interviewee, himself a long-time hooker sailor, believes that the cumann are only planning for today and not for tomorrow or the future. He described them as "being asleep", and said that "we need a visionary now to come up with a long-term plan for the future of the Galway hooker" (Pádraic, 11B). An interviewee, who was at the founding of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe said that they were never interested in Conamara, but only in the races, setting down of rules and implementing them as rigidly as they could (Jimi, 04B).

Despite the negative comments expressed above, there were also interviewees who praised the very important work undertaken by Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe. Indeed, without this work and the benefits gained as a result, there might not be any hookers left today, or if there were, the hooker scene would certainly not be nearly as vibrant as it is now. One of my interviewees described the hooker scene of the late 80s and early 90s "while most of the boats were kept well enough for a few races each year, they weren't in a healthy state" (Noel, 06D). He described one of the greatest challenges for Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe as that of persuading

the boat owners of the need for insurance cover for their boats. While they found it easy enough to persuade the organising committees of the various regattas of the need for insuring their event, it was very difficult to persuade the personal owners of the boats to follow suit. They were more inclined to continue doing what they always did, as they felt that their hard-earned money would be better spent on new sails or rigging. My interviewee finished this point by saying "the cumann stuck to their guns and pushed on with ensuring that all boats and festivals had insurance cover" (Noel, 06D).

7.2.2 The European Horizon funded programme to train hooker boatwrights

The great task of the Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe was to look towards the restoration and preservation of existing boats and perhaps to have some new ones built. At this time (late 90s), there remained only a handful of saor báid (boat builders) practicing and it was generally acknowledged that more than this number was needed if the desired workload was to be achieved. The cumann successfully applied through the offices of Údarás na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht Authority) (see Endnote 7.1[viii]) for a European grant under the Horizon Programme (see Endnote 7.2[ix]). The cumann secured funding to place twelve apprentice boat builders with two full-time saor báid: Colm Mulkerrins in Leitir Árd and Joe Reaney in Leitir Caladh. While the course initially was to run for three or four years, in reality it finished in less than two years, as the funding was exhausted due to the downturn in the Irish economy. However, with regards to the aim of multiplying the numbers of soar báid available in the Conamara region, the scheme proved very successful and to this day their remains five or six of these new saoir still practicing. The project also resulted in the building of two new hookers and as events transpired, one of those boats, the 'Naomh Ciarán', was first launched in Kiel, Germany, at Kiel Week (an annual international boat show held there). According to one of my interviewees who attended the launch, "the Naomh Ciarán acquitted herself very well, gaining rave reviews amongst those in attendance" (Máirt, 08B). He added that special comment was made about the traditional methods used to cut the sails it wore for that trip, made by an 83 year old bádóir Pat Jennings. "The public and boat-

builders there were very impressed that only traditional methods were employed and not computers in designing both the sails and the boat" (Máirt, 08B).

7.2.3 Scéim cothabhála na mbád seoil (Scheme for the upkeep of the boats)

The very successful outcome of the Horizon programme in training more soar báid enabled Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe to successfully negotiate another scheme with Údarás na Gaeltachta. This scheme enabled hooker owners to apply for a grant to refurbish their craft. My interviewee explained that

> …the historical fact that most of the hookers were privately owned and kept within families made these negotiations difficult because the structure, policies and conditions of Údarás na Gaeltachta typically enabled them to provide grant aid to businesses/companies, rather than to private individuals.
>
> (Noel, 06D)

It was these families who had privately maintained the hookers and this fact was acknowledged in these negotiations. Cleverly, a way was found to circumvent this policy, by grantees having to ensure that all restoration work was carried out by professional soar báid being employed through a registered company. The scheme saw the Údarás contributing €1 towards every €2 spent (after prior agreement on a repair schedule) by the individual/family owners of the hooker. The Údarás, therefore, were grant aiding these listed companies, rather than the individual families. Although the agreed scheme was not entirely what the cumann were seeking, it proved very effective thereafter. This scheme enabled very many old boats to be refurbished; boats that would have remained idle or would have fallen further into disrepair, and perhaps, beyond the point of repair otherwise. My interviewee added that when stripping down some of the older hookers in preparation for restoration, it was evident and agreed that the remaining boat structures were beyond repair. Thus, "further negotiations were conducted with the Údarás and it was agreed that the owners of old boats that were deemed unfit to repair, could apply for a grant towards a new boat being

built in its place" (Noel, 06D). This scheme lasted for 10 years, until a downturn in the economy prohibited its continuance.

Without Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe, neither of these successful schemes could have been initiated or followed through, and very many of the hookers that remain in seaworthy condition today would not be here. Equally so, this could not have happened without the co-operation and willingness of Údarás na Gaeltachta to recognise the needs of the hooker bádóirí. Both of these organisations demonstrated a knowledge of and respect for the place biography of South West Conamara, to the extent that they were willing to negotiate in seeking ways to circumvent policies and procedures that would otherwise have prevented these schemes from happening. The present healthy state of the number of hookers on the water would most certainly not be the case, and a central artefact of the place biography of the region might have been lost. Having negotiated a way to keep the numbers of seaworthy hookers at a healthy level, the next section examines the culture surrounding the Galway hooker in the contemporary lifestyles of the inhabitants of South West Conamara.

7.3 Performing Culture and the Galway Hooker

This section examines the significance of contemporary lifestyle aspects of hooker racing, the regattas and festivals. It can be argued that the re-emergence of hooker racing, played-out upon the community's strong relationship with the hooker is primarily what saved these boats, the oral history surrounding them and the distinct knowledge, culture and traditions inhering through them. As the boats are no longer necessary to enable trade, livelihoods or dwelling, the hooker has moved from being an economic bread-winner, to being a financial drain on the hard-won resources of the family. This section discusses the part the races have played in keeping the hookers afloat and therefore in keeping the tradition and culture of this iconic boat alive within the community. However, it also highlights a growing awareness that too much success in growing the numbers of participating boats has led to a reduction in the numbers of on-looking public and supporters of these regattas. It examines the role of the

organising body Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe in realising that a greater effort must be made to cater for the general public if the hooker is to remain centre stage in the consciousness of future communities of South West Conamara.

Culture, as tradition, evolves in circumstance and context over time and as these change so too must the practitioners of the culture and traditional ways, habits or pastimes. Organisers of cultural festivals are often faced with a dilemma, to evolve or to see that culture die. This need (to evolve with the times) usually gives rise to debates and even arguments between the practitioners wishing to remain steadfastly within the traditional elements of the practice and those that are willing to change a little and evolve in order to survive. Many of my interviewees explained that they are involved in the hooker racing because their family has always been involved and they do not want to represent the generation that breaks the link. Despite the time and economic burden involved in hooker racing, they persist out of the deeply-held respect and love that the community of South West Conamara have for these boats.

7.3.1 Festivals and performing place identity

In her research on the local values associated with community occupational sports, Kruckemeyer (2002), while writing of the performances of logging/lumberjacking in Goshen, Connecticut, outlines and discusses issues very similar to those faced by Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe, with their stated dual-aims of restoration and preservation of the Galway hooker. With the disappearance of the traditional handcrafted logging trade, replaced by mechanised tools and machines, the community of Goshen began to hold an annual festival of traditional lumber-jacking skills, to celebrate their past. This festival enabled local past practitioners to participate alongside professionals, with everyone having to use traditional implements that once facilitated the performance of occupational skills. Once the festival is complete, the participants return to their day-jobs the next morning, with very few involved in the logging/lumberjack trade as their profession (Kruckemeyer, 2002, p.302). This is equally so for the

hooker sailing community in Conamara, where by 1978 there was no one left sailing professionally, and these geallta báid (regattas) were organised in order to celebrate the part played by the hookers and their bádóirí in the lives of their communities and forefathers. Simultaneously, these festivals offered the community a reason to keep and sail their boats once more. The number and frequency of the regattas grew as did their geographical spread all over Galway Bay, where these iconic boats had once served as the workhorses of this community. The numbers attending as viewing public were considerable, particularly so in the early years.

Figure 7.2 Turfboat re-enactment at Kinvara's Cruinniú na mBáid (Petroni and Dossena, 2016, p.40). Used with permission.

These festivals, to the outsider represent fun, beauty and skill. They are a throwback to olden times when all consumer goods were brought to the island folk by the hooker and by the báid iomartha (traditional working rowing boat of the area). Parlebas (2005) writes that when a community's cultural games or pastimes are "performed according to traditional rites and ceremonies, inspired by practices from a past everyday life, then these physical pastimes or games now form an exuberant exhibition of one's heritage" (Parlebas, 2005, p.15). He further advises, "a community's cultural games or pastimes are the fruit of their history" and are "emerged from their homeland", reflecting the deep social roots of different ways of

living and being in contact with their environment (Parlebas, 2005, p.16). Today the visitor watches and admires the beautiful ruggedness of location, the skill and the passion of the competitors. However, for the locals, these are the moments that they've waited for all through the winter months (Cathal, 19B), the moments they've worked and practiced endlessly for, all through the spring and early summer. At the festivals throughout the summer months, many worlds overlap: the observant visitor to the area; the local community member; the returned diaspora (for summer holiday or perhaps to stay) and the race participant. For some returning this is as much to get the 'fix' of place, culture, tradition and heritage as it is to see one's family once more. Kruckemeyer (2002), while writing of the 'logging festival' pointed out that the location of the identity is also important, along with the values and skills associated with the performance of cultural traditions (Kruckemeyer, 2002). Likewise, Basso (1996) wrote of "placed-based thoughts about the self, leading to thoughts of other things, other places, other people and other times", explaining that many associations are engendered by place (in Feld and Basso, 1996, p.55). An elder interviewee said that he preferred to re-trace the old routes of the turf and goods traders amongst his people than to participate in the regattas. He has started to do this and still recognises and remembers the names for all the various rocks that he hasn't seen since he was a boy, tapping into the place memories and associations laid-down so many years ago (John, 15B). Even as he spoke, his mind was being directed by shared memories of place (Degnen, 2005; Bennett, 2014), as he related how he had discussed these places with his uncle and other older bádóirí in a bid to be in a position to re-trace these old voyages.

Since 1976, as the numbers of boats being returned to the sea grew, so did the number of regattas. Those sailing were, as described by Basso (1996) "performing acts that reproduce and express their own sense of place – and also, inextricably, their own sense of who and what they are," (cited in Kruckemeyer, 2002, p.303). Where there were four boats at that seminal regatta at Oileán Mhic Dara on 16th July 1976, today there are somewhere between 40 and 60 boats within the hooker family sailing off the Galway

coastline. In parallel with the logging festivals of which Kruckemeyer wrote, the festival organisers are sometimes challenged with having to take decisions on what they might change in their programme in order to 'brighten it up' and keep their audience engaged. With the hooker regattas this is especially topical as the numbers of observers watching from the shores has declined dramatically in the last five to ten years. Initially, the growth in the number of festivals was partly consumer/tourism driven as the number of onlookers was very large and the potential for selling alcohol and snacks was equally so. Sponsorship monies were very forthcoming and the number of festivals reached saturation point, to an extent where festivals located in adjoining bays were competing to attract boats and onlookers/tourists on the same weekend (for example at Ros-a-Mhíl and Trá Bháin). The festivals became elongated, where once each lasted for two days and one night, now they were running from Friday evening until late on the Monday night when the prizes were given out, forcing boat crews, winners and followers to return to a pub/hotel for one more night. This pace and growth (commodification) couldn't last and the numbers of onlookers tapered off and declined very much.

This has brought with it difficulties in gaining sponsorship from local shops and pubs because they don't see or get to serve the dwindling numbers of public onlookers. Also an irony, not lost on Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe, is that the success of the restoration and preservation project was such that many more people are now taking part in the regattas and this has also contributed to the insufficient numbers of spectators. Most interested and involved parties are now sailing and gaining a deeper understanding of their own cultural heritage and the community life of their forefathers, through the shared public performance of the values and skills attaching to hooker sailing.

7.3.2 Continuity of heritage and the problem of participation

Today, although the sailing of the hooker is no longer critical to the economic-life of the area, it is representative of a traditional practice, a practice it could be argued that is vital to the youth of South West Conamara

in knowing who their families and their community are and how the hooker enabled them to dwell there. Hooker sailing remains a significant cultural pastime of this region. The transformation of hooker sailing from being a 'bread-winner' to being a sporting leisure however, has meant that all hooker sailors today (both young people and the not-so-young) must choose to engage with the hooker, if they are in a position to have that chance. Many of today's younger hooker sailors have come into sailing by a different route than that of their parents or grandparents. One of my interviewees described deciding to take up the offer of a place on one of the Pléaracha's hooker sailing courses as "the best decision of my life". He said that he "has not looked back since, making many life-long friends and visiting other countries by way of the hooker" (Seán, 03E). Pléaracha were a community arts group based in Ros Muc who organised hooker sailing courses, amongst other arts projects, over many years, but have now ceased to function because of a cessation in Government funding. Some private hooker owners also attempted to deliver hooker sailing courses, but these ventures also ceased due to being economically unviable. Others amongst the younger interviewees can point to the school sailing classes at An Scoil Chuimsitheach Chiaráin in An Cheathrú Rua as their alma mater in hooker sailing (Risteard, 32F). Five of my interviewees specified that they (as individuals or as part of a committee) had worked towards making the opportunity to sail in a hooker available to young people, who might not otherwise have that chance. In Conamara in the mid-1990s, apart from gaelic football, there was little else to do by way of pastime.

Such decisions and the work that ensued have indeed launched another generation of hooker sailors. At some point in their interview, every single one of my 33 interviewees said that the regattas/races are the primary reason that the Galway hooker is still with us today. While paying due regard to that seminal race at Oileán Mhic Dara (16 July 1976), and the subsequent revival, to this day, all sailors and saor agree that "without the races, boats would dropout and the situation would be back to where it was a few years ago" (John, 15B). The previous statement came from an older, and highly respected bádóir who openly declares that he doesn't like the races in

particular and only goes to the races because of the other boats being there and the banter/fun amongst the crews. He did warn that, "they almost disappeared and we got them back, but if we let them go again, they'll be no coming back, the hooker will be gone forever" (John, 15B). Were this to happen, the hooker community of South West Conamara would find itself facing the same trials as other parts of the world where traditional aspects of heritage have been in decline, such as those of the Western Apache, when parts of their culture were lost (Basso, 1996). The hooker communities of South West Conamara would also be reduced to 'imaginings' from the artefacts/materials left to them, just as Basso (1996) wrote of the Western Apache, saying that the memories in 'paths or trails' of the past generations of the Western Apache, can only be ever studied now by imaginings or perhaps reconstructions, using materials left to us, labelled "footprints or tracks" (p.31). These might be "Apache place names, songs, stories or perhaps relics of cut stones" (Basso, 1996, p.31). Another hooker sailor said that he preferred more to sail and fish than to participate in the races (Micil, 02B), while another declared that he loved meeting all of the other sailors after the race in the pub. "During the race everyone is watching each other, but once the race is finished, it's everyone into the pub and meeting old and making new friends" (Frank, 23D). Yet another of the older hooker sailors stated that he relishes the social element attached to sailing the hooker and not the competitive buzz that others get from contesting the races. He pointed out that he preferred the sailing that was necessary to take the boat to the site of the next race, more-than the race itself (John, 15B). For other sailors this is a 'bother', but for this bádóir and others like him, this is the pleasure, "two or three boats heading in the same direction without there being a race. Sometimes the boats would sail alongside one another and shout and rib/jarráil one another, other times they would try to best one another for a part of the way and then sail together once more" (John, 15B). Another older hooker sailor highlighted that for him the greatest pleasure in being in the hooker was to sail to Corr na Ronna, his favourite and most peaceful place after a day's work. He explained that some of the most patient and reasonable sailing instructors can lose these qualities during the races (Jimí, 04B). When speaking solely of hooker sailing instruction, one

interviewee said of the more fondly remembered hooker-sailing teachers/skippers, “they never gave formal instructions and they treated all on-board as equals, within reason and safety constraints, of course” (Seán, 03E).

7.3.3 Learning to sail the hooker today

Today, there are no organised hooker sailing classes available. Adults and youths wishing to enter into hooker sailing can only travel the paths of their parents and grandparents once more; that is to find a bádóir willing to take them on board and to teach them the necessary skills. This is difficult, due to the fact that the hookers are most active at weekends throughout the summer months, engaging in the league-style competition of the regattas/races. Most boats today have set crews for these races, with the bigger boats needing five persons on board to comfortably address all the rigging and other duties that a race entails. Due to inexperience, it is hard for a person starting out to get into a boat on race day. When you do manage to get in, your first tasks are usually very menial, bailing and helping the skipper with manoeuvring the very large main-sail, which requires a lot of very organised effort, while the skipper must still maintain his tack with the tiller. Later you might be allowed help with the fore-sail (seol-tosaigh) which needs changing simultaneously, with the jib and the main-sail and its lines can often get entangled on the coiléir (metal piece on the mast by which to secure the sail lines). If you’re tasked with looking after the jib you have become a trusted member of the crew. However, the ultimate aim of (almost) everyone who sets foot in a hooker is to be allowed to take the tiller, and everyone I interviewed still remembers the day and place that they were first invited to take it. One of today’s older hooker sailors still describes the first time that he took the tiller as “the most beautiful thing he ever did” (Pádraic, 11B). As you gain more experience and are being seen at the races, it becomes easier to get into a boat and you might actually be sought-out and invited to join a boat-crew.

7.3.4 Organisation and contention

One of my older interviewees compared the hooker races to another issue of contention in Gaeltacht communities, known as an t'Oireachtas (the national Gaelic competitions of music, song, dance and storytelling –as ghaeilge). Many people from the Gaeltacht do not support or attend the annual Oireachtas festival, feeling that it is too competition based. However, this sailor explained his understanding on the situation by saying that "it's because of the competitions being there that the youth are coming through in these artistic forms, without them perhaps the art forms would die-out with the elders" (John, 15B). One of my younger interviewees says that "it's natural for people to try and best each other, people like competition", while also reminding everyone that "before the races the number of sailing boats had not alone fallen, but were in fact almost totally gone" (Seán, 03E). A majority of my interviewees said that there are too many hooker races taking place at the moment. One of the older interviewees claimed that there are three types of bádóir there at the moment, the one who is in it for the racing and will not miss a race, the one who loves the peace and tranquillity of sailing the hooker and the intrepid adventurer who sails around Ireland and further afield (Jimí, 04B). While another interviewee (Bríd, 29B) said that she has always told Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe at their meetings, that there are too many races, pointing out that the high-number of races are: (1) taking from one another, and (2) taking from the on-looking public.

All interviewees acknowledged that everyone, bádóirí and every regatta organising committee, was suffering from a lack of funding. All local regatta committees are voluntary and must raise funding for their own local festival. As more than one interviewee pointed out, in the waters of Cuan an Fhir Mhóir alone (Great Man's Bay, includes Leitir Móir and An Cheathrú Rua), there are up to six or seven regattas every year (Dónal, 28E). This means that the businesses sited around this bay can be asked to sponsor a regatta six or seven times each year and/or allow the organising committees to sell their raffle tickets/cards/lines at the counters of their shops or businesses. This situation also ensures that the local public in these areas are constantly asked to support these regattas by buying raffle

tickets/cards/lines, or attending quiz nights and other fund-raising events throughout the year. There are two regattas using the same dates every year: Cruinniú na mBáid in Kinvara and Féile na nOileán in Leitir Móir. While some sailors and businesses say that the arrangement works, there are as many who cannot understand why one committee will not give up the date and move to another 'free' weekend, of which there are some available. What transpires most years is that the bigger boats (hookers and leath-bháideanna) go east to Kinvara and the smaller boats, gleotógaí móra, beaga, and púcáin remain in Ceantar na nOileán. Many of the bádóirí themselves would like to be able to attend both events, and some members of the public also.

Apart from the aforementioned drain on economic resources, the locals are also subject to hooker race fatigue. One might consider that it was common until very recently to have up to 15 races on the calendar between May/June and August/September, leaving but a few weekends without a regatta. One interviewee (Bríd, 29B) pointed out, "if you miss this weekend's races, sure you can always get them next week". One must also consider what happens on land during the races. Amongst the regatta locations, there are a few where those on-land can keep sight of the boats for much of the race, however, it is more usual that the on-looking public will be offered only temporary glimpses of the passing craft. Such locations then must offer the public other attractions to keep them occupied while the races are going on, and often out-of-view. Yet, another interviewee (Síle, 17C) pointed out that "todays public are busy now at weekends" and highlighted that "it is very costly to take a family to see a race, between the pub and the price of minerals, tayto's and so on". Hence, while conditions for the bádóirí might not be completely satisfactory, it seems that their needs are catered for, far more than those of the on-looking public, an insight evidenced by the growing numbers of bádóirí in the races and the reductions in the numbers of viewing public attending the regattas (Noel, 06D).

Figure 7.3 Morning Star, An Tonaí, Naomh Cáilín, Mac Dara, An Mhaighdean Mhara taking part in a Hooker Race. 'Image from "Rásaí na Húicéirí" by Seanchaí Editions Copyright Seanchaí Editions' (Petroni and Dossena, 2017, p.111).

7.3.5 Féile an Dóilín –the example to all

However, one example of how a more dynamic approach can be taken was identified by many of my interviewees. This was the very successful Féile an Dóilín ar an gCeathrú Rua some years back, where due to 'the trojan-work' put in by both the local committee and the Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe, a great number of boats took part and the numbers of the general public attending were at record levels for recent years (Noel, 06D; Joe, 05E; Jimí, 04B). One interviewee explained that Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe were trying to answer a question for themselves, as to how many boats were seaworthy, or could be on the water at the one time. Out of a possible 60 boats at the time, they managed to get 34 participating at this féile, which represented the highest number of boats at any one event yet. He worked out that if each boat had its working compliment of crew, that there could have been 150 people on the water. This, he said, "was a very strong sign, considering the amount of preparations needed and monies that was necessary to spend on these" (Noel, 06D). As part of this same Féile an Doilín, another interviewee stated that the organising committee made great efforts to involve the onlookers too, preparing a bar-b-que at the quayside and having a parade down through the village (An Cheathrú Rua). A music

concert was also arranged in the local hotel, headlined by the Gaelic super-group, Kila (Joe, 05E). This féile proved immensely successful and created a great awareness around the hookers. It was the closest a Conamara féile came to impacting on the public consciousness, to that of Kinvara's Cruinniú na mBáid. A highly respected sailor and cumann member bemoans the fact that although the boats in question are Conamara boats, that Kinvara and Roundstone get most publicity for their festivals and make the most money from the attraction of the boats. He said "no regatta in South West Conamara has impacted as much upon the tourists" (Noel, 06D).

While all interviewees are not agreed that there are too many races, all do agree that there has been a substantial decline in the numbers of people looking on at the races. From a mere sailing perspective, one might be inclined to write this off as inconsequential, due to the fact that there are now a greater number of boats participating in the races than at any time in the recent past, and this actually signifies a growth in húicéireacht (hooker sailing). However, there are weaknesses within this scenario, and the majority of interviewees highlighted that something must be done in order to get the viewing public back. Perhaps the greatest consequence of this 'falling-off' in the numbers of on-land viewing public is that it results in fewer numbers visiting the area/village/community of the regatta, and negatively impacting available sponsorship. Many of the bádóirí who participate in most of the regattas do so because they enjoy it and/or are seriously engaged in trying to win the league-style competition in their particular class of hooker. However all bádóirí greatly welcome the stipend that they receive from the organisers for taking part. It might be only €50, it might be €100, but all boat owners welcome it, if not depend upon it, towards the maintenance of their boat, to pay the insurance and/or also to help defray the costs involved in getting the boat and crews from one regatta location to the next throughout the sailing season. Thus the húicéireacht is in danger of suffering from its own success because in attracting greater numbers into the boats, it has perhaps drawn from the numbers who might otherwise be amongst the onlookers. Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe recognises that steps are necessary to re-establish its community

engagement and importance in the minds of the population of South West Conamara, "before the tide goes-out on this iconic emblem of Conamara" (Joe, 05E). For several, there is a deep sentiment that it is necessary to act now in order to save the hooker, stating that there will not be another revival if the boats are lost once more (Pádraic, 11B; John, 15B; Colm, 16E). One interviewee stressed the importance of the hooker to the communities of South West Conamara in saying:

> The hooker remains as a connection with the generations that went before us, with those that sailed them, those that made them and those that cut their sails. The language and the particular vocabulary used, that would all be gone if it weren't for the hookers, they remain today as a connection to that part of our heritage.
>
> (Pádraic, 11B)

Having explored the contemporary engagement of the Galway hooker with the communities of South West Conamara, the final section of this chapter portrays the personal significance of hooker sailing to the contemporary bádóir in terms of lifestyle and life lessons.

7.4 The Ongoing Significance of Hooker Sailing to the Contemporary Bádóir in Terms of Lifestyle and Life Lessons

Having already explored the concept of interanimation between man and the environment (Section 6.1), and the knowledge(s) gained and employed while sailing the hooker (Sections 6.2, 6.4, 6.5), I sought to further explore these connections and to learn of the knowledge and insights sailors today believe that they have gained through their time spent sailing the hooker. The answers received were varied, fascinating and rich. Almost everybody responded that patience has been added to their list of virtues practiced, apart from one exception, an interviewee who had actually worked during the final days of the turf trade, stated that he believed sailing had taught him the opposite, and actually had made him more headstrong. "When in a race and you see another's bowsprit coming at you, you can't keep quiet, calm and patient", he said, "it actually woke me up!" (John, 15B). For most hooker sailors however, it has taught them that nature cannot be rushed or commanded. When sailing in the hooker one is at the behest of the tides, winds and currents and cannot do much about any of these elements, so it's

best to accept this and to let nature take control, albeit as a sailor one should remain calm and attentive at all times.

7.4.1 Never-ending learning and humility

Many of the older and more accomplished hooker sailors amongst my interviewees told me that they are still learning, and it is this humility, perhaps, that sets them apart from younger sailors today. However, some of the more-experienced younger hooker sailors also said that one should always be open to learning and adding to one's knowledge. Another sailor said of his openness to learning, "There's no one who knows everything about sailing and no two days on the sea are the same". He added, "You could be in the boats yourself for fifty years and learn something from someone who's standing in one for the first time in their life" (Dónal, 28E). Throughout the interview process, it was mentioned that the more experienced and learned sailor ought to be wise enough to say, "it's too rough, I'm not going out today". The following narrative was given by one of my oldest and more experienced interviewees and spoken with honour and in awe of one of the most famous and able hooker sailors of the past generation who, after the Cruinniú na mBáid races in Kinvara, bade his goodbyes and left that pier to sail back to Conamara. However, some hours later his boat was seen to be returning to the quay at Kinvara. He had decided to turn back and wait until a better weather window would allow him to return to Conamara more safely. According to the interviewee, the bádóir claimed "It wasn't too bad, but I was afraid that if I needed to, she mightn't come-about quick enough and I wasn't going to put my crew or my boat in danger" (Cóilín, 27A). This action, taken before the entire hooker-sailing community, by perhaps the most revered hooker sailor alive at that time, gave testimony to the older hooker sailor's deep respect for the power of the sea and recognition of their mere participant position in the frame of Galway hooker sailing. Another interviewee epitomised the relationship between the wind, the sea and the bádóir thus, "compared to the wind and sea, we are nothing, mere specks", he said (Frank, 23D). Hooker sailors, being at sea in traditional wooden boats, know that they cannot avoid altering their course in order to accommodate the nuances of the sea

(Pálsson, 1994). Within his interview, this same young sailor pointed out that when an older sailor spoke, it was imperative that one listened, because the elders had been out at sea in more rough days than you had, and they had more experience and understood the elements better than you (Frank, 23D).

7.4.2 Personal development and relaxation

One of my interviewees revealed that he had learned 'humility' from sailing in the hooker. In his early sailing days, if the sea "got angry", he would be afraid, but now he says that "the angrier the sea, the more serene he feels" (03E). He believes that the sea is pointing out to him that he is only something very small in the greater scheme of things and consequently, that any problems he might have are only very small. Of course, these problems are very real to the person and still need to be resolved, but that there are bigger powers at play in life. He felt that it keeps one's ego in check and it has taught him to live with and by others. When at sea, the bádóir and leath bhádóir must depend on each other totally and each must literally put their lives in the hands of the other. This, he said, had taught him to always "open your eyes and your ears and you'll learn something" (Seán, 03E). Some of my interviewees highlighted that there were great opportunities for personal development to occur through hooker sailing (Jimí, 04B; Joe, 05E). One said that being at sea offered the chance to make very important decisions and to accept that they are one's own decisions. "They carried with them the chance of applause if things worked out, but also the acceptance to suffer the consequences if things went wrong… Such opportunities greatly boost ones sense of self-autonomy and self-confidence" (Joe, 05E). Another interviewee claims that sailing in the hooker is like "a master-class in reality, it's like meditation". By way of explanation he said that he had learned "how to get and keep my head clear and peaceful while sailing and now I can do this anywhere, it has been one of my life's great lessons from the hooker" (Seán, 03E).

For very many of today's crews, going out in the hooker is their way of relaxing (Learaí, 20F). For some, it's a place to go after work to get away

from the daily stresses of life and many sailors have their own favourite spots to sail to, bringing an inner tranquillity for them (Jimí, 04B). Others have said that once they are "fifty metres from the pier, working life and stresses just dissipate" (Seán, 03E). Another interviewee said that sailing in a hooker brings a "peace-of-mind" and leads one into a "natural wildlife richness" (Máire, 22E). Some of my younger interviewees stated that they wouldn't know anyone if it wasn't for the hookers and sailing (Eamonn, 30F; Frank, 23D; Seán, 03E). For many, in rural and still somewhat-isolated Conamara, coming together to sail the hookers is a very important social outlet for them, providing the opportunity to meet like-minded people. They travel to these gatherings by hooker from their own doorsteps and return likewise, through the intricate waterways of Conamara and Galway Bay. For these sailors and indeed most hooker sailors, young and old alike, "these summer weekend gatherings are what they most look forward to throughout the dark and dreary winter months" (Cathal, 19B).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter locates the status of the Galway hooker in South West Conamara today. It opened by outlining how the physical revival of the hooker came about and perhaps more importantly how the passion in the hearts and minds of the communities was re-ignited by the sight of their iconic boat sailing once more in the Oileán Mhic Dara races in 1976. What followed was exponential, in that anyone with a past-connection to the craft sought-out abandoned hookers to have them repaired and returned to the water. People flocked in great numbers to view the hastily organised races. So great were the numbers of craft returning and the people wishing to be involved that an organising body was formed in An Cheathrú Rua during Easter of 1978, a mere 20 months after the seminal race. The chapter proceeded to relate how this new body 'Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe' succeeded in stewarding two grant-aided schemes that would play a critical role in maintaining a seaworthy state amongst the existing and newer hooker craft. It highlighted the vital, albeit contentious role of collective action in maintaining a living tradition.

The growth in both the numbers of craft and of local regattas was then discussed, as was the heightened emphasis on the winning of races. Many of the older bádóirí do not like this and are fearful of the resulting influences that are being brought to bear on the design of new builds. The number of regattas today and the rise in the numbers of gleoiteogaí taking part in them has itself created new problems for the cumann, and these were discussed. The chapter closed with a return to the issue of knowledge(s), on how people learn to sail the hooker today and what contemporary bádóirí believe that they have learned through the sailing of the Galway hooker. It highlighted the changing lifestyle role and the anxieties it provokes/invokes amongst those keen to maintain tradition.

Chapter 8 re-examines the findings discussed in the preceding chapters, coalescing and distilling them in order to demonstrate that it was the presence of the Galway hooker within the sentient seascape of Loch Lurgan that facilitated dwelling for the isolated communities of South West Conamara.

Chapter 8: What has been the significance of the traditional sailing boat, The Galway Hooker, to the community, culture and dwelling experiences of South West Conamara?

It is the summer of 2019 and I am standing once more on the same headland at Cuigéil Bay, upon which I stood when I first came to live in Ceantar na nOileán so many years ago. I am watching the hookers gliding through the waters, while jostling to be in the most favourable position before the starting line as the race begins. While the number of spectators has diminished, the number of boats taking part has flourished. I would not be standing here but for our boat 'Volunteer' needing some repairs, that now sits on Céibh Leitir Calaidh awaiting the attention of the local saor. I could have crewed in another boat but sometimes I prefer to watch in awe, the cultural performance of the various boats and their crews. Some are deeply serious about winning the race, some are here because they feel a deep obligation to uphold the tradition of their forefathers/families, while others are here despite the fact that they do not like the races, but enjoy being in the company of fellow bádóirí and the "craic".

Figure 8.1 Master Bád Mhóir Johnny Bailey and a Galway hooker in Galway Bay. Used with Permission, Nutan Photography; (www.nutan.ie).

While watching the hookers before me, my mind wanders to a scene depicted by one of my older interviewees, that of a Galway hooker ferrying a cargo of materials across Galway Bay. He particularly liked that the boat could carry its load from one destination to another by harnessing the wind

and sailing on the sea without any chemicals or pollutants being emitted. He marvelled at the knowledge associated with the creation and sailing of these boats (Pádraic, 11B). Another interviewee spoke of his father's own distaste for the engined trawler, saying that you could see the difference in his father's expression when he was sailing the hooker, that "he was totally relaxed and didn't have a care in the world" (Colm, 16E). Similar scenes were painted in many of my interviews and each, knowingly or unknowingly alluded to the interanimation (Basso, 1996) between the bádóirí, the Galway hooker and the environment that co-existed within and about Galway Bay. It was this interanimation that enabled dwelling here and the Galway hooker was a key element in these interactions.

In this chapter, I coalesce and distil the previously discussed findings and make a number of key arguments:

(A) The presence of the Galway hooker enabled the sentient seascape of Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay) to be temporarily transformed into a taskscape.

(B) It was the creation, deployment and passing-on of both embodied and local knowledge(s) and the tacit skillsets of the bádóirí that allowed for the creation, maintenance and sailing of the Galway hooker, as the workhorse of Galway bay.

(C) The Galway hooker was central to dwelling in the region and it continues to occupy a central position in the community's performing culture.

Despite the fact that 70% of the earth's surface is sea, most of its population only ever experienced the terrestrial changes of life (McNiven, 2008, p.149). However, in times past the topography of the Galway Bay area ensured that ninety percent of the population there lived along the coastal strip from Galway to Clifden (Wilkins, 2009). Little or no road infrastructure existed in the region, forcing the communities there to travel by sea for the majority of their daily movements. Robinson (1997) describes a coastline that is so complex that "the two main fishing villages of Ros-a-

Mhíl and Roundstone are only 20 miles apart", yet "there are at least 250 miles of coast between them" (Robinson, 1997, p.17). In the world that existed in Hooker Country (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008) prior to the mid 1900s, the bádóir was an integral part of a sentient seascape that was Galway Bay. In this instance, the term seascape refers to the sea and all it encompasses, including the land spaces along its shorelines and any marine infrastructure therein. A sentient landscape/seascape is one that allows/facilitates engagement therein by utilising a "power of perception by the senses" (Pearsall and Trumble, 1996, p.1320). Together, Galway Bay, the Galway hooker and the bádóirí combined in the creation of a sentient seascape. The interactions and inter-animations between them temporarily transformed the seascape that was Galway Bay into a taskscape (Ingold, 2000, p.197). A greater appreciation of seascape and all that it affords maritime peoples who engage with and within it through their senses is provided by McNiven (2008), when describing seascapes as:

> …the lived sea spaces central to the identity of maritime peoples. They are owned by right of inheritance, demarcated territorially, mapped with named places, historicized with social actions, engaged technologically for resources, imbued with spiritual potency and agency, orchestrated virtually, and legitimated cosmologically.
>
> (McNiven, 2008, p.151)

McNiven (2008) was particularly concerned with a study of the Torres Strait Islanders of North East Australia, and he asks of them and similar peoples, "how is it that maritime peoples whose social realm is mostly the sea construct their identity, through seascapes resonating with memories, deep knowledge and symbolic meaning?" (McNiven, 2008, p.149). The peoples of South West Conamara were such a maritime people and their engagement with the seascape of Galway Bay presents a similar story. Everything about this seascape offered the opportunity of engagement to those who could utilise the natural resources there, along with their local and embodied knowledge(s) in order to sustain themselves. The necessity to engage with/travel by sea, in a traditional timber-framed boat meant that the bádóirí had to "intertwine" directly with this environment in order to open up there a "lifeworld to live in" (Merleau-Ponty, cited in Wylie, 2007, p.149). The population's poverty and endurance of the Great Famine (starvation,

sickness and emigration) meant that those inhabiting this harsh region were adept at sourcing food on the seashore and in the sea. Entire families moved from the mountains to eventually settle on the shores or on one of the small offshore islands in South West Conamara so that they could live (Fennell and Bunbury, 2013, p.163) and (Micil, 2B). These coastal waters required a unique boat by which to travel and work. Such a boat was the Galway Hooker.

8.1.1 The Galway Hooker

The Galway hooker was a key element in the community's quest to survive in South West Conamara until the second half of the 20th century. No written or copied plans of a Galway hooker existed until the very recent past. The boat is still built today in the traditional way, primarily by hand and by eye. The saor/boat builder cuts and finishes everything by hand and the boat morphs into shape under the guidance of the trained eye as the building process continues. It is a heavily-built, carvel boat with a large tumblehome, designed to accommodate the carriage of cargo (Lynch, 2011, p.48). Its wide design aided its ability to sail without as much depth of water as might otherwise be necessary to carry such a large/heavy cargo. It also enabled the boat to be beached on the gravelled or sandy shores of Conamara where there was not a quayside to accommodate its loading/unloading. Narratives of great feats of sailing skills and ingenuity employed in overcoming difficulties and hardships during the trading years of the Galway hooker have been discussed in chapter four. The hooker was built in many different sizes, ensuring that an appropriate size was available to accommodate various weights/sizes of cargo and to navigate in all different bodies and depths of water found within Galway Bay (Joe, 05E). These various-sized craft within the Galway hooker family and their cargo carrying capacities have been discussed in section 1.5. The fact that White Oak, Black Birch and Red Pine were the main timbers used in the construction of the Galway hooker (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.169), made it particularly suitable to the sentient seascape of that time within Galway Bay. The calico (raw cotton) sails deployed during those trading years were of a lesser sail-area and this aided the bádóirí since these cotton

sails held the water much more than the terylene sails used today, making them more susceptible to water-logging and to capsizing the boat. The sean-bádóirí were alert to this possibility at all times within this seascape where, according to Ingold (2000) "each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other" (Ingold, 2000, p.191). Despite not knowing from whence the hooker originated, all involved with this craft, especially all of my interviewees, are agreed that its design and specification were eminently suitable for use in Galway Bay.

Figure 8.2 'An Capall', Being readied to sail from Céibh a Sruthán while laiden with a cargo of turf (seeking permission).

8.1.2 The creation of taskscape

A major conceptual theme explored in this study is that of 'taskscape', created by Ingold (2000) to describe more intimately that part of the landscape/seascape where those interactions/inter-animations between human and non-human agencies took place. There existed no demarcation, fences or boundaries about taskscape, it was wherever the routine tasks towards dwelling were performed and for the purposes of this research and for the life of the hooker trading bádóir, their taskscape was within Loch Lurgan/Galway Bay.

The contrasting rock structures to the north and the south of Galway Bay provided the possibility for trade to ensue. The granite of Conamara (to the north) being largely impermeable, hosted boglands, providing the inhabitants there with an ample supply of turf as fuel. For the peoples of the Aran Islands, South Galway and North Clare (to the South of Galway Bay), the rock structure was predominantly of Limestone (a comparatively soft and permeable rock), meaning that with no bogs they were starved of such a fuel source. The Galway hooker fulfilled the transportation need for such a trade to occur. The numbers of hookers involved in the turf, seaweed and fishing trades, along with those involved in supplying the shops dotted along the coastline and on the offshore islands meant that there was constant hooker traffic sailing within Loch Lurgan/Galway Bay (see Figure 4.1). In the 19th century, we are told that there were 150 sailing craft operating out of Greatman's Bay alone (Quinn, 2003, p.14).

While most of the notoriety and publicity around the Galway hookers depicts them as 'Turfboats' (Quinn, 2003), the shops trade offered the most secure contract to those bádóirí involved, as it existed all year-round. The turf-trading calendar was a relatively short one, as turf was usually cut from May or June onwards, if the weather was good. Then the bádóirí had to wait until it had been well dried and delivered to the quaysides for shipment. The turf-delivery season continued until November or December, when the weather turned very bad or until all of the dried turf had been delivered. Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, (2008) inform us that fishing was a main occupation of the hooker owners, highlighting that line and net fishing was the most usual work, especially of the smaller gleoiteogs and púcáins (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.156). This they did for their own families, cousins and neighbours, or perhaps to market at a local level (Aindí, 07A). Seán Mac Giollarnáth outlines that the owner of a hooker did not work the land because his time would be taken-up entirely with his seafaring activities (cited in Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.155). He wrote that "Commercial fishing and Coastal Trading were the preserve of the Báid Mhóra" and thereafter he described "the six principal seasons in the fishing and boating calendar as follows;

Table 8.1 Principal seasonal work of Hookers (in Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.156)

	Principal Seasonal Work of Hookers (according to Seán Mac Giollarnáth)
1	Winter herring from December
2	Running Seaweed to County Clare in Spring
3	Hunting of basking sharks in May
4	Gunard fishing throughout the Summer Months
5	'Autumn' herring in August September
6	'Running' turf from then until December

8.1.3 Ferrying the turf, trade goods, seaweeds and people

Turf was the most usual cargo to be ferried southwards from the various bogs, through the opening bridge at Béal a'Daingin (prior to its permanent closure in 1960), or from the various quaysides on the South Western coastline of Conamara. Being ferried in the opposite direction were seaweeds for the factory at Cill Chiaráin and building materials and foodstuffs from Galway city to the shops and communities of South West Conamara. The bádóirí sailed these waters in all weathers, working six days a week and perhaps to attend mass or other social gatherings on Sundays. When the bádóirí were not ferrying turf, seaweed, animals to the mart or did not have a contract to supply a coastal community shop, they would, (as outlined above) be engaged with fishing, using trams, lines and pots. Therefore, they were on the water for most of the year (weather dependent) and only stopped towards Christmas time. Even then, while taking a break from the sea, the bádóir and his leath-bhádóir worked together on repairing and preparing their craft for the next season. This fact gave rise to a common acknowledgment amongst the community, that "the bádóir and his leath bhádóir spent more time together than either of them did with their wives" (Micil, 02B). Such a working calendar saw the bádóirí traverse the same waters daily, in places perhaps weekly and to outlying places maybe only once or twice a year. However rare these visits were, it must be acknowledged that they facilitated the dwelling of these families in their various locations. The bádóirí became so attuned to this sentient seascape as to become part of it. They, together with the hooker and the natural

elements, constituted this taskscape. A complete discussion on the various trades of the Galway hooker is to be found in Chapter 4.

Demand for turf was always greater than the supply, as it was a difficult, labour-intensive business. Aside from the turf trade, the hooker family of boats also enabled the collection of and sale of seaweeds, from both the shoreline and a little further out to sea, from underneath the water where the sea rods grew. These seaweeds were sold to the Arramara factory in Cill Chiaráin for the first processes of iodine extraction, and they were also sold to a seaweed co-operative of Delia Lydon on Quay Street in Galway City (Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.163). From there it was sold to the farmers of East Galway to be used as land fertilizers. This was especially significant during the war-years when no other fertilisers were available. Feamainn Bhuí (yellow seaweed) was the best for use as a land fertiliser.

The very existence of a hooker in the village/community meant that others who did not have a boat or only had a very small boat could engage in the seaweed cutting business and then pass/sell/trade-on what they possessed to the bádóirí to ferry to Cill Chiaráin or to Galway. Those bádóirí, contracted to ferry goods from Galway city to the various shop-keepers dotted along the Conamara coastline, were the envy of all in the hooker community, as theirs was the most secure position of all, their services being required constantly. They did not have to worry what next week might, or might not, bring. If the contracted bádóir owned the boat then his contract was worth more. Often, it was the shop owner who also owned the boat and the bádóir was contracted to him as skipper of that boat. Whether paid in cash or in kind, these bádóirí were well looked after. The hooker trader ferried everything from foodstuffs, clothes, hardware for building with, to oil for their lamps.Without such transference, the population of South West Conamara would not have survived there.

Even after the bridges and causeways were built, linking the islands that interconnect Ceantar na nOileán with the mainland, the Galway hooker remained the principal means of travel and trade for the entire population of South West Conamara, most critically so for those on the offshore islands

(Endnote 8.1[x]). "The hookers were used to get to the shops, the church and the post office, to carry out their bits of business there and to get anything that was needed for their homes" (Cathal, 19B). They were sometimes used to ferry people in order that they connect with the public bus on the other side of Cill Chiarán Bay from Cárna to Galway (Gerard, 13C) (see section 5.2.1 on this). The hooker also represented the population's means of attending social or community events such as saints' pattern days, where they would gather, exchange news, perhaps have a drink and some dances or to participate in a hooker or currach race. For any business or survival needs the Galway hooker family of boats was the only transport system for the people of South West Conamara, prior to 1959/1960. In Micil Conroy's memoirs of life in Leitir Móir, prior to 1935, he said ***"Ar ghóil go Gaillimh i mbáid, 'Sé an t-aon bhealach amháin a bhí ann san am é"*** (On going to Galway by boat, it was the only way at the time), (in Ó Giollagáin, 1999, p.62).

8.1.4 The temporality of the taskscape of Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay)

After the Second World War and the greater availability of diesel as fuel for the lorry, turf was delivered from the various bogs directly to the more accessible quaysides and the shortest routes from which to sail to the Aran Islands, Co. Clare, Kinvara and Galway City. These were Céibh Ros a Mhíl, Caladh Thaidhg (An Cheathrú Rua) and Céibh an Sruthán (Claidhneach), (see Figure 4.1). Therefore, much of the more intricate hooker sailing in order to reach the remote/isolated bogs or places with little or no marine infrastructure was no longer necessary and the task was more defined and the wayfaring reduced. The delivery of turf was now becoming more of a destination driven freight service, always running along the same co-ordinates and not offering the seafaring/wayfaring freedoms that the older bádóirí enjoyed or perhaps endured (Ingold, 2011). What this and previous transformations of the hooker taskscape highlight is that its saga of life was enabled by the creation and implementation of embodied and local knowledge(s) from the first moment that its keel is laid down by the saor (hooker boatwright) to the final moments of the turf delivery days, that saw

the bádóirí loading tomorrows fill of turf and putting the hooker at anchor so as to not to be tidal bound in the morning. Every detail about the hooker had to be learned and embodied in this most sentient of seascapes/taskscapes.

Figure 8.3 Johnny Bailey (1932 – 2004), hooker sailor and skipper of An Capall. Used with permission, Seanchaí Editions, Copyright, Seanchaí Editions.

The temporality of the Galway hooker taskscape was highlighted definitively with the secure welding of the Bridge at Béal a'Daingin, connecting the chain of five islands with the mainland, in 1960. The finality of this closure to hooker traffic had the effect of opening the route permanently to pedestrian and vehicular traffic and forced the hooker traffic to endure a very long and dangerous detour around the "Droch Áit" (bad place) that was Golaim Head (Liam, 01A). The turf-trade and the cargo trade with Galway city was all but ended by that time, due to the more widespread availability of coal and bottled gas for cooking and the lorry for delivery of shop goods. The closure of this shorter north/south route was not welcomed by bádóirí or anyone connected with them. Johnny Bailey (figure

8.3, owner of An Capall) described it as **"An Peaca is mó in Éireann"** (the greatest sin in Ireland);

> It was a sin to close it, there was no need to do that, putting us in danger now of going around Ceann Golaim. But those that closed it won't have to worry about Ceann Golaim, because they don't even know where it is.
>
> (Johnny Bailey in de Buitléir, 2005)

While the permanent closure of Béal a'Daingin bridge did not of itself cause the demise of the Galway hooker's trading years, it represents a very significant event in the lifetime of the Galway hooker as the workhorse of Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay) and a marker near the end of that taskscape. What will have been playing on the minds of the bádóir above, all bádóirí and all connected to the Galway hooker at that time - equating to the entire community - was the changing of 'their relationship' with place. This was their "gifted place" (Bennett, 2014), where they belonged and now they knew that their relationship with this place was changing utterly. They knew that the dependence upon turf had been in decline for some decades previously and the bridge closure represented a public declaration that the lorry was to replace the hooker. Now there was an increasing probability that this landscape would no longer be performed in and therefore no longer constitute a taskscape (Cloke and Jones, 2001). Where now would their memories be created, what would constitute their 'intimate space' (Bachelard, 1994; Degnen, 2005)? What now would they pass on to the next generation? Were they to be guilty of possessing or keeping this gift for themselves (Bennett, 2014)? These questions are recognised in the facial expressions of, and heard in the voice of, the bádóir speaking in the DVD by de Buitléir (2005) mentioned above.

The key ingredient that enabled the bádóir and saor báid to engage in the transformation of this seascape into taskscape was knowledge; that is, the creation and application of an embodied knowledge, specific to this unique taskscape and the store of local knowledge necessary to sail and function therein. The successful application of this knowledge facilitated the communities of South West Conamara in dwelling there. The next section

shall discuss these various knowledge(s) that were critical to sailing the Galway hooker.

8.2 It was the creation, deployment and passing-on of both embodied and local knowledge(s) and the tacit skillsets of the bádóirí that allowed for the creation, maintenance and sailing of the Galway hooker, as the workhorse of Galway bay.

Everything that the bádóir did was informed by knowledge, much of which was passed down through the generations of family and by community members within the work setting. I have previously mentioned the use of their senses by the bádóirí in engaging the sentient seascape, this section furthers this knowledge debate by discussing an embodied knowledge, gained and mastered while on the water and the importance, acquisition and use of local knowledge in enabling bádóirí to engage with this taskscape. Finally, the passing on of this knowledge, to the next generation of hooker bádóirí is discussed.

8.2.1 Sailing with the sensual and embodied knowledge(s) in a sentient seascape

Referring back to the end of the statement on the permanent closure of Daingin Bridge, by Johnny Bailey, “because they don’t even know where it is”, demonstrates how the bádóirí were connected to everything within the seascape/taskscape about them. These connectivities are generally expressed in sensory and emotional terms because they will be of an embodied nature/character, termed ‘affinities’ (Mason, 2018). These affinities therefore, stem from within, as their knowledge is embodied and most often gained through the senses. The Galway hooker hosts no mechanically propelled parts and being built almost exclusively of wood contributed to the composition of a sentient seascape at that time. It also offers a natural feel or resonance when touched directly by the human hand, enabling an almost unique relationship between bádóir and hooker. Many of my interviewees spoke openly of the exhilaration they felt on the first occasion of their taking the tiller and feeling in touch with the natural power of the boat and the elements (Máirt, 08B; Pádraic, 11B; Noel, 06D). Due to their extraordinary lengths of time spent on the water, the older bádóirí who had

worked on the 'turf and goods trades' acquired an in-depth knowledge of and relationship with everything about them. Amongst my interviewees, one bádóir in particular stood out in this regard, when speaking of his use of the tiller in guiding his boat. He claimed to be able to find "every inch" needed for its guidance and was able to traverse waters with "only the thickness of the sole of your shoe" to spare over the rocks (Liam, 01A). This old bádóir was (as most hooker bádóirí were), a living embodiment of Merleau-Ponty's concept of intertwining, seeing the person engage with the environment through their whole body being "immersed in the world".

The bádóir "perceived through an attunement with landscape"/seascape (in Wylie, 2007, p.152). Bachelard (1994) furthers this interplay between man and environment when proposing that repeated actions within intimate spaces enter into the muscular consciousness of the actor and upon receiving the same/familiar response each time, makes it seem as if the acted upon (tiller in the water current) had counter muscles in response to the actor (Bachelard, 1994). The hooker bádóirí of old were particularly sentient and utilised all of their senses all of the time, drawing upon their store of local, sensual and embodied knowledge. For them, every sense was connected. Gibson (1986) points out that one does not see solely with the eyes, rather one perceives with the eyes that are in one's head, which is tied to the body and to the legs which are on the ground. In writing of how one sees the world he explains, "The perceptual capacities of the organism do not lie in discrete anatomical parts of the body but lie in systems with nestled functions" (Gibson, 1986, p.205). He pays particular attention to what the environment allows/enables/facilitates the body to perceive by way of "actions and sensations", calling this 'affordance' (Gibson, 1986, p.127). The older bádóir was so accustomed to spending long days at sea that he was afforded much and saw with the touch of his hands, the smell of the sea, the sound of the sail, the rocking of the boat felt through his legs and body, along with the eyes of his leath-bhádóir and with his own eyes. This involves, as Tilley (2010, p.25) wrote, "studying the landscape/seascape from the 'inside'", having gained the learning or experience "through the medium of his/her sensing and sensed carnal body".

The sense of touch/feeling was critical to the bádóir as it informed him of things he couldn't see. By immersing himself between the agencies of water and weather within that sentient seascape, through the touch of his hand on the tiller he gained an understanding of the currents and tidal movements within the "invisible underneath" (Couper, 2008). Bell (1883) believed that in the expression of a tacit skill, "the touch of his the hand gave the brain more trustworthy information than images from the eye" (cited in Sennett, 2008, p.15). This is the case for the hooker bádóir as he sits there at the back of the boat using a combination of touch, sight and hearing to communicate with the hooker in discerning if the sails are working properly with the wind, or if too much pressure is being applied on the tiller for the amount of sail in the particular elemental conditions at that time. The older bádóirí also used their senses of hearing when setting directions for sailing without daylight or in fog (Síle, 17C). The hooker bádóirí have to be in an ongoing 'physical' conversation with the boat, especially so the older ones who did not have any technological aids to sailing. While today, the older bádóirí recognise the safety benefits attaching to the newly available GPS and other electronic communication devices, it was their sentient nature that facilitated their being in a position to sail and utilise their gathered sensory and local knowledge(s) to sail safely, for the benefit of their entire communities in times past.

Humberstone (2015, p.31) writes of the balance senses amongst sailors, as being "significant and allow for continuous awareness and presence to the minute and subtle shifts of wave, water, elements, body, board or vessel". She was particularly referring to their ability to remain calm knowing/accepting in their fluid and ever-changing environment. The sense of balance and the assuredness gained, in knowing which way a boat will move underneath your feet when stepping into or out of it, or even when walking within a boat is one of the foundation skills for sailing. It is a primary sense upon/through which the other senses are mastered and through which one's embodied knowledge(s) is created. In writing of "embodied sea persons", Humberstone (2015, p.33) describes how "the sea engages the balance senses with all of the other senses in a co-creation of

sensuous relations with a mobile sea space". If one does not develop a comfortable sense of balance, it is difficult to remain engaged with the sea and/or sailing long enough to develop and master the other senses. The creation and employment of these senses to facilitate sailing in a natural wooden vessel functioned particularly well for the older hooker bádóirí because they were engaging with the natural environment within a sentient seascape.

As stated previously, this 'intertwining' (Merleau-Ponty, cited in Wylie, 2007) and inter-animation (Basso, 1996) between human and landscape/seascape is unusual in today's world of mechanisation and manufactured materials. This point was supported by one of my interviewees telling of an internationally recognised yachtsman/sailing instructor declaring to have "learned to sail again" because of sailing in a hooker (Noel, 06D). All of the bádóirí's embodied knowledge was acquired within the seascape and in particular while on the water, through learning-by-doing (Pálsson, 1994). The body was their means of interacting with the seascape and the means by which learning and understanding of their world was achieved. They might not have always known why something did or did not work, but they knew what worked and what did not work "through the sedimentation of experience in their bodies" (Couper, 2018, p.289). Many of my interviewees said that "the older bádóirí could converse with their boats", such was their embodied knowledge and understanding of them (Micil, 02B). So attuned to the seascape and their taskscape were the bádóirí that they knew where the hidden dangers lay beneath the waters and where the currents were that would bring them home safely, even when they could not see them. A much wider and more complete discussion on these points can be read in Section 6.4.

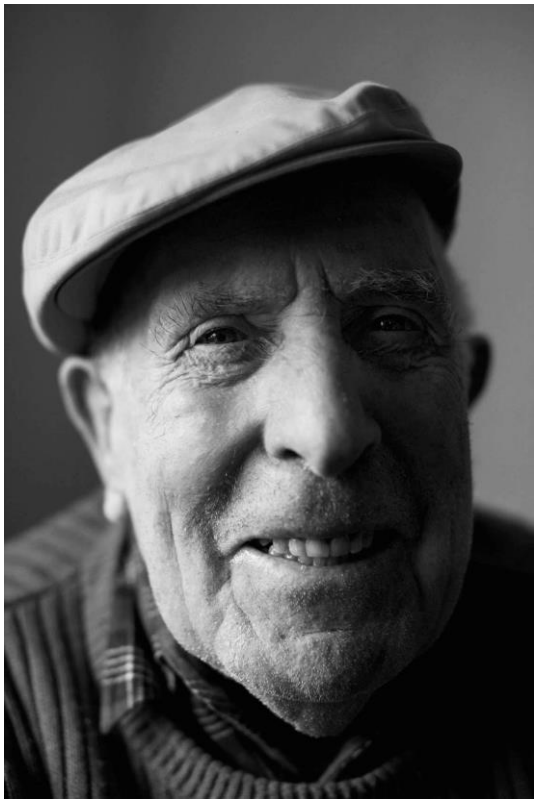

Figure 8.4 John William Seoighe (1919 – 2015), hooker sailor and skipper of Bláth na hÓige. Used with permission of Turtle Bunbury.

8.2.2 Local knowledge

Embodied knowledge(s) is cultivated primarily through repeated interactions with the local nature of the seascape in which the hooker sails and functions. It is this very functioning that creates the particular taskscape and without a local knowledge, the bádóir could not engage effectively therein. So critical was the local knowledge to sailing that many of the older bádóirí said that it was the first thing that they would seek to learn if they were to enter an area of water for the first time. If one couldn't gain this knowledge, then he set about learning/creating his own store of local knowledge and marcanna talúin (landmarks) for himself (Seosamh 09B). A younger bádóir declared that fear alone wouldn't let him travel through a dangerous tidal passageway without having first sailed it a few times under the guidance of an experienced/local bádóir (Joe, 05E). My oldest interviewee said that one had to learn firstly of all the rocks, swells and hidden dangers for fear of damaging his boat. "There's nothing on this earth worse, he said, than to damage your boat" (Liam, 01A). The marcanna

talúin were one of the primary examples of local knowledge in the hooker taskscape. These were lines of clearance that enabled the bádóir and boat to avoid the 'hidden dangers' of submerged rocks and shallow passages (see Section 6.2). To create or learn of, and to be in a position to use such marcanna talúin displays a deep intimacy and respect for their environment on the part of the bádóirí and earned further respect from the sean (old) bádóirí, as these markers were handed down through the generations of bádóirí. Sometimes changes in the landscape forced the bádóirí to choose new marcanna or risk damaging their boat or going onto the rocks (John, 15B). Their constant presence on Loch Lurgan (Galway Bay) meant that the bádóirí were so 'in-tune' with their taskscape that as time passed, they knew every submerged-rock, swell and current within it. Conversely, they knew every possible 'safe' shortcut too.

8.2.2.1 The tides

As has been previously referred to, the tides, or tidal movements of the sea, represent one of the major factors in this taskscape because it is the element without which nothing else can happen. Yet, it is in a constant state of flux, always filling (rising) and ebbing (lowering), twice each day. It is so important to the taskscape that, for the bádóirí and the entire hooker community, it held the importance reserved for the 'clock' by the land-based person. Local knowledge allied to knowing the time of the tides allowed the bádóir to know when he could go through certain passages or over certain submerged rocks. The times of the tides was the dictating factor for the movement (or not) of the bádóirí, allowing him to work within the taskscape (Colm, 16E). Even with the best local knowledge and the times of the tides, every time a bádóir puts to sea also requires interpretation because of the fluidity of water creating an omnipresence of movement and an "invisible underneath" (Couper, 2018, p.290). The bádóir with a high degree of embodied and local knowledge could utilise the tides not just in order to avoid dangerous obstacles, but also to reduce the workload on himself, his crew and the boat. The cyclical nature of the tide can be used to help carry/drive the boat and can also offer the bádóir a flexibility about his time and routes of travel, ensuring enough water is present to traverse areas that

might otherwise be too shallow to enter. Running with the tides will also lessen his dependence upon favourable winds. Hooker bádóirí, through their embodied and local knowledge of all about them and their working hookers were not "simply in" Loch Lurgan, they were "of it" (Wylie, 2007, p.151).

8.2.2.2 Confinement and memory

In normal circumstance one might perceive the seas as offering an expansive freedom upon which to sail, however, in the context of the Galway hooker as a trading vessel, the seas around Galway Bay were quite confining. This encouraged a mastery in sailing skills by the bádóirí, and the use of all their senses as enablers of embodied knowledge that when added to the local knowledge facilitated his working with and within that taskscape. Having accepted that he was not the boss/controller of the environment that constituted his immediate taskcape, the bádóir learned that it was the tides of Galway Bay that dictated the time and terms of engagement between him, the hooker, the elements and therefore, the possibility to trade. Although the boat had a peculiar shape that allowed it to sail in a somewhat more shallow draught than might otherwise have been the case, it was also confined by the frequently rough weathers, tidal currents and passages that are fraught with dangerous rocks, along a coastline that was so rugged as to be christened 'The Gates of Hell' by the British Admiralty (Joe, 05E). Further confinement was added by the lack of seascape infrastructure throughout South West Conamara, right up until the very last years of its working life.

Even within the hooker, the bádóir, supposed master of the craft was himself further confined in his positioning, as he had to have a hand on the tiller at all times and also be in a position to adjust the main sail (seol mór) on the boom. Therefore, he was bound to sit at the stern (aft or back) of the boat and this very location meant that he could not see what was directly before the bow (front of the boat). Arising from all of the aforementioned constraints, the bádóir, utilising all the senses and sailing skills that he possessed - allied to his depth of local knowledge - was able to manoeuvre the craft into quays and landing places that in reality they had no right to be

able to access (Joe, 05E; John, 15B). So much of the bádóir's day was spent there in that one position that it became 'almost home' for him, a place he knew every inch of, knew its capabilities and what it could be depended upon to do. The very movement and space restriction that he was under served to heighten his sensory awareness and added to his affinities that grow from a sense of space and the sensory-kinaesthetics, including those fostered through memory (Mason, 2018). One of the interviewed bádóirí was still able to express his astonishment, perceived more than 50 years earlier, at the size of the boat and its sails (Micil, 02B). What remained most strongly with him was the smell of the oakum (see Section 6.4). Another, even older interviewee, was still able to describe his sitting position at the tiller and moved his hand in working fashion, while outlining for me that his hand knew every inch of movement that was necessary in order to manoeuvre the hooker safely (Liam, 01A), (see Section 6.4). Yet another interviewee explained that it is through the eye-brain-hand connection, the mastering technique (Sennett, 2008) that "the bádóir feels first-hand the strength and power of the boat and through this, he knows the boat" (Noel, 06D). In fact so much of the bádóir's life was spent engaged with the sea that he stood-out when on land. "You'd know them by their funny walk and you'd never see the bádóir without his leath-bhádóir" (Micil, 02B).

8.2.3 The passing/sharing of knowledge and a humility amongst the bádóirí

Very tellingly, the older bádóirí knew when they were able for the work and when to start thinking about training in replacements and passing on the local knowledge. There were two key ingredients required by young men in order to be seen as ready for this; an eagerness to want to do it and a developed/strong enough body to be able to do the job. Only when these were in place would the older bádóirí invite the younger ones on-board and offer them the chance to learn all that they themselves knew. One of my interviewees reasoned that the older bádóirí were very open to sharing their knowledge because they knew that the day would come when they would not be able for the job without help from younger and stronger bodies. Therefore, it was in their own interests to train them properly so that they

could then relax in the knowledge that the young ones knew what they were doing later (Bertie, 26A). My oldest interviewee knew that his father did not offer his chance in the boat until he saw that his body was developed enough and that the interest was there. He had an older brother, who could make and repair boats, but didn't have the interest to sail them. So the father waited until the younger son was ready before allowing him to start (Liam, 01A).

Figure 8.5 Mike O'Brien (1916 – 1970) hooker sailor and skipper of An Tonaí. Used with permission, courtesy of the O'Brien Family.

Bádóirí understood their limitations and always put safety first. They knew that they were no match for nature. As one gaeltacht-seafarer, Ó Beaglaíoch, proclaimed:

> It's a different world at sea, she's so vast and never befriended anyone. It doesn't matter if it's your first day at sea or your thousandth, she'll take you if you give her the chance, not out of malice, it's just what she does. You must be humble with the sea.
>
> (cited in Ó Céilleachair *et al.*, 2018, 18 mins)

This bádóir had learned that time meant nothing in the greater scheme-of-things. He respected his boat and feared the sea, which could not be trusted. Each of my interviewees related that they respected and feared the sea/tides and the elements. Steinberg (2015) advises that upon sensing "the awesome power of an undertow or a crashing wave or a glistening horizon, we are changed and our understanding of the world is changed, whether or not we get wet" (Steinberg, 2015, p.xiii). This experience alone, surely sensed by all of the working bádóirí, alerted them to the fact that they were not the masters of the sea. This humility is key to the development of sentient relations between the bádóir and the seascape about him. It leads to his understanding of the "need to let the sea embed itself in me rather than rely on any ability on my part to impose my will on the sea" (Brown, 2017, p.689). This situation cannot be forced by a sailor, as his body needs to adjust to the fluid environment and a knowledge and acceptance of this is part of the enskilment process. They learned to be reflective and to conduct the necessary preparations before sailing. Because of the fluid nature of their taskscape, where it is not possible to 'pull over' and consult a map or to plan the next steps, "one must have everything planned for, including the unknown", according to one of my interviewees (Joe, 05E). Every single interviewee amongst my entire cohort readily accepted that they were but one element within the entirety of the seascape and that, within this elemental grouping, the tide was the master. Very frequently the interviewees acknowledged that they (bádóirí) were "mere specks in the greater scheme of things" (Seán 03E) and that "the sea was the master" (Cian 21F; Frank, 23D; Joe, 05E).

This critical acceptance/understanding was affirmed by the previously related story of a most highly regarded trader hooker bádóir, who, due to adverse winds turned his hooker back towards Kinvara after departing there for Galway (see Section 7.4). Yet, another very experienced/skilled bádóir,

many years earlier, knew that although the weather was bad, he had to sail as he needed the money to pay for his wedding suit and while he succeeded, he lost some of his cargo of turf (see Section 4.3). Both of these experienced bádóirí revealed such a depth of embodied knowledge and accomplishment that Ingold (2000) might have been referring to them when he wrote "The novice becomes skilled not through the acquisition of rules and representations, but at the point where he or she is able to dispense with them" (Ingold, 2000, p.415). Both of these trading hooker bádóirí had accumulated a lifetime's immersion in and expression of embodied knowledge and skill. They knew their boats and were so comfortable within them that they were "as one" with them (Micil, 02B; Colm, 16E). If one can understand enskilment amongst these trading bádóirí in terms of craftsmanship, then it becomes possible to understand what Sennett (2008) meant in advising that to become a master craftsman it is necessary to lose all self-awareness and to concentrate entirely upon that on which one works. This must be done to such an extent that "one becomes the thing on which they work" (Sennett, 2008, p.174).

8.3 The Galway hooker was central to dwelling in the region and it continues to occupy a central position in the community's performing culture.

Having established that by boat was the only means of travel and conducting trade between the isolated communities of South West Conamara and Galway and with the Aran Islands in the 1800's and first half of the 1900's, it is fair to say that the Galway hooker enabled those communities to exist within, and as part of, that environment. A saor báid amongst my interviewees declared "building a hooker was a natural thing to do and this action allowed the community the chance to remain here" (Frank, 23D). In this final section, I demonstrate that what the hooker, the bádóirí, the saor báid, the taskscape and all of the gathered knowledge enabled interanimations facilitated was for the communities of South West Conamara to dwell there. Firstly I explain the dwelling concept from the perspective of the bádóir and his interaction within the environment as an integral and physically functioning component therein. Then I outline the

relationship that existed between the Galway hooker, its bádóirí and their communities.

8.3.1 Dwelling

Dwelling describes the active living in symbiosis between all actants within an environment: human, non-human and natural. Both Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty place man, the person and his body at the centre of being-in-the-world. That does not imply centre of control, but that they exist as active hands-on elements within that world. To portray 'dwelling', Heidegger referred to a farmhouse in the Black Forest and how it might be sited - facing the sun and avoiding the winds/snows (Harrison, 2007, p.633) - as an integral part of that landscape. According to Cloke and Jones (2001), in dwelling "all things are assemblers" (Vycinas, 1969), that is all things play their part in enabling others, as portrayed in their study of the "West Bradley Orchard" (cited in Cloke and Jones, 2001, p.651). Ingold (2000) refers to Pieter Brueghel's painting "The Harvesters" to portray dwelling, demonstrating the "temporality of the landscape", and how it encompasses the changes that it enables to happen there (Ingold, 2000, p.192). A finer distinction is given by Carolan (2008, p.413), where he outlines that to dwell is to participate in the shaping of one's world "through a readiness at hand", that is by intentionally physically encountering/using/ manipulating the landscape, rather than "a present at hand", that is from a detached, intellectual position". Heidegger sees the self and the world merging in the activity of dwelling; that is, the two become as one and cannot be separated. Therefore, in dwelling, man has an embodied presence and this is precisely as Merleau-Ponty (1962, cited in Ingold, 2000, p.169) saw it: "the body is the vehicle of being in the world". He uses the term "Intertwining" to describe man's relationship with the landscape, seeing the lived body at the core of the relationship between man and the environment and as the basis and conduit for 'embodied knowledge'.

Ingold (2008) labelled the engagement of man with the environment as 'wayfaring', (in agreement with Heidegger's concept of dwelling, though Ingold now supports the term habitation as opposed to dwelling, (Ingold,

2011, p.12). Ingold (2008) describes man's movement along "bundles of lines" of engagement with/through the environment as wayfaring. He uses knots on these lines to signify where people engage and therefore, create what he terms a "meshwork" of wayfaring (Ingold, 2008, p.81). He also attributed this 'wayfaring' to seafarers, distinguishing between those sailors for whom it represented a way of life and those "who merely route across it" (Ingold, 2008, p.77). While these turf, seaweeds and goods trading bádóirí surely 'routed' through/across Loch Lurgan, it was their 'way of life' and was only possible through the active-employment of their gathered local and embodied knowledge(s), allied to their tacit skillsets that facilitated such engagement with this taskscape/seascape. Each 'engagement' within every crossing necessitated a drawing upon such knowledge(s) enabling relationships between "what is stable and fixed, (the land), and what is fluid and changing, (the sea)" (Ryan, 2012, p.115). When one's taskscape is a boundry-less and un-demarcated mix of landscape and seascape an active engagement with and within such landscape/seascape is necessary to live, to learn and ultimately to dwell there. There could hardly be a more accurate description of the life and engagements of the old working bádóirí within the taskscape of Loch Lurgan/Galway Bay.

8.3.2 The fellowship with the hooker

Amongst the hooker bádóirí there still exists a saying "you look after the boat and she'll look after you" (Joe, 05E: Seán, 03E). Undoubtedly, this was the sentiment amongst the trading bádóirí, who were absolutely dependent upon their boats to enable them to earn a living and to return home safely afterwards. Although turf and the materials and foodstuffs necessary to the survival of coastal communities are primarily land-based commodities, they had to be transported by sea because of the non-existent road infrastructure in the region at that time (prior to the mid to late 1900s). It was out of this utter dependence upon the hooker and the very long days passed in and around the hooker that the bádóirí not alone befriended it, but in very many instances saw it as possessing human characteristics or traits. The anthropomorphisation of hookers is particularly understandable as Epley *et al.* (2007) propose that anthropomorphised agents can constitute/replace a

strong social connection, especially where "human connection is lacking" (Epley *et al.*, 2007, p.864). This scenario was very familiar to a bádóir enduring a very long day at one end of a hooker with his fellow bádóir at the opposite end of the boat. Epley *et al.* (2007, p.864) also point out that anthropomorphised agents are usually treated with more "respect and concern" than an agent that has not been anthropomorphised. It was often stated throughout the interviews that the bádóir took greater care of the hooker than of anything else about the house.

As stated earlier, because the bádóirí were sailing of a natural wooden boat within a sentient seascape, they were obliged by necessity to maintain a 'physical conversation' with the boat. A bádóir explained that one had to learn to communicate with the boat by observing how it was behaving in the water, telling you if it was 'trimmed properly' (Cathal, 19B). Many bádóirí spoke of the movement or flapping sound of the sail as communication between the boat and the bádóir (Síle, 17C). Therefore, it does not represent a major step for them to address the boat. One interviewee said that some bádóirí spoke directly/openly to their boat, while others said that they felt in communication with their past generations of elders through the same boat that they would have sailed in (Noel, 06D). Another spoke of a bádóir caressing the side of his boat as they sailed and how they always addressed the boat as she, a woman, and referred to the sails as "her clothes" (Aindí, 07A). These expressions of anthropomorphic tendencies were/are not unusual in the boating world.

Throughout the interview data gathered, there was a strong expression/sentiment of the hooker as having its own spirit, even to the point of having its own control. To varying degrees, every respondent said that the hooker has its own spirit and when asked to explain what this meant, the answers ranged from the bádóir knowing the boats capabilities extremely well and therefore could/would push it to the limits if it was necessary in cases of safety, to others who believed that the boat had its own mind and because of its design, materials and construction, allowed it to sail and manoeuvre in tides and conditions that other boats could not.

Many interviewees related instances where the bádóirí took their lead from the boat and if it appeared that she did not want to go somewhere, they didn't attempt it against the boat's wishes. Other interviewees related stories of how the hooker aided/allowed their guidance of her through rock strewn waterways in the pitch black of night. All of my interviewees were unanimous that one should heed and obey any messages/inclinations/ideas being received from the boat because the boat has its own spirit. Similarly, many bádóirí believe that the hooker will never put them in danger, that is, "if something breaks, a block, part of the rigging or whatever, it will always do so when and where it's possible for all on board to get back to land safely" (Micil, 02B). One interviewee, an older bádóir, reasoned that "a boat will always try to float and save itself, so if man puts his trust in her and stays on board, then he will visualise that the boat is also trying to save him" (Aindí, 07A). Whether the hookers had their own spirit or not, it appears that the older bádóirí and their boats were as one. To close this section I wish to re-iterate a statement from one of the first interviews conducted in this study where my interviewee said that "When I was growing up the hooker was the most important thing in our lives, outside of our mother and father" (Micil, 02B).

Figure 8.6 Volunteer, 1924 Cloherty built Leathbhád. Used with permission, Seanchaí Editions Copyright, Seanchaí Editions.

8.3.3 The Galway Hooker Continuing to Occupy a Central Position in the Community's Performing Culture.

8.3.3.1 The revival of the Galway hooker

The Féile Mhic Dara race on July 16th in 1976 is credited as being the spark which ignited the revival of the Galway hooker (see Section 7.1). It was as if the hooker families/communities had been living in denial for the previous twenty years, while secretly wishing to find some way to re-live their heritage and to perform their culture once more. Year-on-year the numbers of old boats being repaired and making their way back into the waters of Loch Lurgan grew exponentially. The older hooker sailors were happy to express their tacit skills and utilise their embodied and local knowledge(s) once more. One of my interviewees explained that to return to the helm was no bother, "I took to it like a duck to water", he said (Cóilín, 27A). Thankfully, the break in sailing had not been for so long as to lose that last skilled generation of trading hooker sailors. One of my interviewees proclaimed that that is exactly what has happened in Brittany (North West France), they have skipped a generation of sailors and boat-wrights of their traditional boats and now they are lacking that skilled direction (Dara, 14B).

The revival also ignited the imagination of entire coastal communities who had not witnessed the maroonish-brown hue of the hooker sails on the horizon for some decades (Pádraic, 11B). Over the next few years the numbers of races continued to grow and the size of the crowds drawn as observers was huge (in their thousands). Two years after the initial race at Oileán Mhic Dara, Cumann na Húicéirí (The Hooker Association) was set up to manage the 'Restoration and the Preservation of the boats' (Seosamh, 09B). Today, on the 41st Anniversary year of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe, the numbers of boats, especially in the smaller classes (Gleoiteógaí Beaga), are so considerable that most interested people are now participating, leaving the numbers amongst the on-looking public to diminish greatly. Overall, this situation expresses the respect of the younger community for the heritage of their forefathers.

8.3.3.2 The Hooker culture and heritage

This expression is not merely something to do other than to play football. The people involved are putting all of their spare-cash and then some more into these boats. A telling observation was made some years ago by a visitor to Conamara from Tipperary (who had spent most of his adult life in Australia), declaring "the wealth of the Conamara people is visible in the care that they give to their traditional boats" (Seán, 03E). He was not speaking of economic wealth, but of the culture of the people, their respect for the way-of-life of their forefathers and the love they have for the boats that enabled the community to dwell there. One of the strongest impressions made upon me during this research was the number of interviewees, both young and old, who spoke of being in communication with their people/forefathers while sailing the hooker. Some spoke of seeking guidance from them, while others said that they experienced strong feelings of communication with them and felt very proud to sail and care for the boat that their fathers/people sailed before them while enabling their family to live in the Islands Region (Noel, 06D; Pádraic, 11B; Cian, 21F; Frank, 23D; Oliver, 31F).

As discussed in Chapter 5, the living language of the hooker community is still Gaelic (Irish language), as it always has been. All the terms associated with the craft are in Gaelic, as of course are all of the place-names to and through which the boats travel. These names contain within them a wisdom pertaining to the origins of these localities and the region, or act as "the interlock of landscape and language" as termed by Robinson (2007, p.155). The little sea-verses still portray the wisdom contained within and celebrate those in the community that composed it. As the onward march of the language of economics, English, encroaches more and more into the Gaeltacht regions, the role of the Galway hooker in keeping this spoken native language - a record of dwelling - alive and available to us, becomes more and more pronounced.

Today, Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe oversee the annual calendar of regattas throughout Galway Bay. They also organise insurance cover for the hooker owners and for the regatta committees. Each regatta is organised locally and is dependent upon the local committee raising a required amount of funding to host the event. In the very recent past, the number of regattas has fallen as the effort involved in both hosting and in raising the required finances has risen. Many of the local committees today are trying to involve the on-looking public more and are trying to diversify and change the format, as they struggle with the very fine line between remaining totally loyal to the past and perhaps dying a slow death, or embracing some change and maintaining interaction/buy-in from both participants and on-looking public. Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe find themselves at the centre of this debate, as discussed in Section 7.3.1 on Place Identity, while realising that they must seek agreement amongst all parties, since the organising/hosting of the regattas is completed by volunteers. In so far as possible a majority of hooker owners/bádóirí would appear to favour maintaining performances as close as possible to "traditional rites and ceremonies, inspired by practices from a past everyday life", so that these races "form an exuberant exhibition of one's heritage" (Parlebas, 2005, p.14). However, there will always be some hooker sailors who continue the practice for the fame attaching to winning the races. As expressed earlier in the thesis, many bádóirí,

especially amongst the older ones, expressed an aversion towards the races (Micil, 02B; John, 15B; Pádraic, 11B), but continue to sail and participate to keep the memory of their forefathers alive and also in recognition of their beliefs that without the revival of the races there would not be hooker sailing today.

8.3.3.3 The future for the Galway hooker?

Today, the Galway hooker is iconic, it is the chosen symbol of the Galway County Council and the locally brewed Galway Hooker Ale. It is also the symbol at the centrepiece of the local Naomh Anna Leitir Móir Gaelic Football Club's crest, and the sails of the hooker are represented in the Galway Hooker Monument in Eyre Square in the centre of Galway City. However, such an iconic status will not keep the boats in sailing condition and their owners are finding it increasingly difficult to fund the very expensive maintenance and repair costs of this traditional wooden craft. Various efforts have been made in attempt to generate some level of income through the hooker, such as daily/weekly leasing of the boats (including a crew of two), or the provision of hooker sailing classes. However, neither of these options has proven economically viable. Water-based activities are very difficult to attain an economic break-even level in, let alone from which to make a profit or a living. For the long term sustainability of this iconic boat, something will have to be done. Funding, even for maintenance and repair, will have to be attained from somewhere, perhaps the Irish Heritage Council or collectively with other traditional boating associations, from the European Union? These boats while still on the water are performing a living and enduring part of Galway's culture and South West Conamara's heritage. In doing so, they perform a very important function because, by portraying the community's past we can better understand today's community there.

I conclude with the heartfelt lines from one of my interviewee's:

> The people of Conamara and indeed further afield, to every corner of Galway Bay owe a depth of gratitude to this boat for enabling their past generations to dwell there, for without it they would most likely not be living there today.
>
> (Pádraic, 11B).

Figure 8.7 Photograph by Ric O Reilly. Used with permission of Cumann Húicéirí na Gaillimhe.

Evocative beyond mere words,
in fine weather or foul,
they are Conamara;
Conamara is them,
Indivisible

(Mac Cárthaigh *et al.*, 2008, p.151)

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Consent Form, Irish

Foirm Toilithe Úsáid Ábhair Agallaimhe

Pádraig Ó Sabhain is ainm dom agus táim i mbun taighde faoi scéala na bád mhóra (Húicéirí na Gaillimhe) chun Céim Dochtúra ar an bhFealsúnacht (PhD) a bhaint amach le Roinn na hEolaíochta Polaitíochta agus Soceolaíochta in Ollscoil na hÉireann Gaillimh faoi láthair. ’Sé an dochtúir Brian Mc Grath atá mar maoirseoir taighde agam agus is féidir teagmháil a dhéanamh leis más mian leat tríd an roinn céanna nó direach ar an líne guthán, ag 091- 493405.

Táim ag iarradh léiriú a thabhairt ar an tábhacht a bhain leis an Húicéara do Cheantar Iar-Dheisceart Chonamara agus taispeáint gur í a lig do mhuintir an cheantar sin maireachtáil ann. Chuige seo táim ag iarraidh breathnú ar na gaolmhaireachtaí a chruthaigh agus a cheadaigh an húicéara, na gaoil a chruthaigh an Húicéara idir na daoine a bhí ag obair uirthi, agus idir na daoine sin agus muintir na h-áite. An gaol a bhí ann maidir le trádáil agus maireachtáil, idir na siopaí agus taisteal agus go háirithe an gaoil a cheadaíonn sí inniú idir muintir na háite agus iad siúd a ndeachaigh roimpú.

Bá mhaith liom _____ a léiriú agus a geallúint do lucht stiúrtha na dtráchtais seo in Ollscoil na hÉireann Gaillimh:

A. Gur ghlac mé páirt sna h-agaillimh seo go deonach.... agus
B. Go bhfuil cead ag Pádraig Ó Sabhain, amháin, pointe(í) ón agaillimh liom a úsáid ina thráchtais, le na ghná coinníolacha leanta, ‘sé sin nach mbeidh ainm ar bith luaite leis/leo agus go mbeidh sé scríobhte i shlí nach féidir le léitheoir a dheánamh amach cé dúirt é.

Táim ag síniú an fhoirm seo lé léiriú go bhfuil sé léite agam, go dtuigim a bhfuil ann, agus go n-aontaím le na pointí/coinníolacha thuasluaite.

Sínithe.....

Interview Consent Form, English Translation

Interview Consent Form

Pádraig Ó Sabhain is my name and I am conducting research at present on the Galway hooker towards a PhD within the School of Social and Political Science in the National University of Ireland Galway. My research supervisor is Dr. Brian McGrath and he can be contacted through that department or directly by phone, 091-493405.

I wish to investigate the importance of the Glaway hooker in enabling the communities of South West Conamara to dwell in that region. Towards this I wish to explore the relational nature of the Galway hooker in creating/enabling relations between the bádóirí themselves, between them and the hooker and the communities within the region. I also wish to investigate the relationships that existed between trading, travelling and enabling dwelling. I especially wish to explore relationships that might exist between sailing today and the bádóirí of the trading days.

I, _____ wish it to be known to the organisers

and supervisors of PhD research in NUIG, that:

A. I participated in this research voluntarily, and

B. Pádraig Ó Sabhain, alone, may use the information/data given within his thesis, under the normal conditions thereof, that everything shall remain anonymous and that in so far as possible, it shall not be written-up in a way that shall facilitate identification of the speaker.

I sign here to show that I have read and understood this form, that I agree with and accept the conditions as laid out above.

Signed _____

Appendix B: Possible Questions for Research

Possible Questions for Research

Na Sean Bhádóirí / *Bádóirí Eile (athruithe beaga)*

(01) When you were young what did the HOOKER mean / represent to you and to your Family? Did it represent your means of communication with the world outside your island? The means to bring food in, trade? Was it your survival? (Please tell me about it?)

(02) At what age did you first work / help with sailing the hooker? Who else was there, father, siblings, cousins? How many would travel at once? At what age did you first stiúr a hooker yourself? (Please tell me about it?)

(03) To have a hooker in the family, did it set your family apart, how important did it make your family within the community? Was there a recognition of you (a standing) because of having a boat? Why did your family have a boat? Did others on the island / in the locality have a boat? Did having a working boat in the family mean that you didn't have to emigrate to find a job? Did it tie you down to the sea? Was it an advantage / a disadvantage? (Please tell me about it?)

(04) What was a typical working day like in the hooker? What did you carry mostly? How were you normally paid for your work, with cash or goods in kind? What was the longest trip you made in a hooker and what was your 'worst' trip? Did you ever feel 'this is it…the end?' did you ever say to yourself that if you got home safely from this trip that you were not going to sail in a hooker ever again? (Please tell me about it?)

(05) When you were at sea, was the hooker a part of you? Was it in your blood? Was it a friend / family or something that had to be 'mastered' at all times? Was there a partnership between you, the boat and the sea, or was it strictly between the boat and the sea? Did it evolve over time or was it automatic? (Please tell me about it?)

(06) When you were learning how to sail the hooker, was it from your father / family member / cousin / another person? Did this instruction / guidance / mentoring bring you closer together? (Please tell me about it?)

(07) Did you find / encounter any resistance / reluctance to the passing on of the hooker sailing skills to you (representing the younger generation?) Do you think that the older sailors there at your time, fully understood the need to pass on the skills and accumulated knowledge that had been gained from a lifetime

of hooker sailing / trading? (Generation Gap, Knowledge is Power, Trading advantage etc!) (Please tell me about it?)

(08) Did you learn of life lessons / of places & events while sailing the hooker? Did you learn of being patient, attention to detail, not to be greedy and so on, values that would be applied widely throughout life and not just on board the hooker? Did you learn through the eyes, ears and stories of other's events / happenings / accidents and successes? (Please tell me about it?)

(09) Do you think that 'Wisdom sits in Places'? Do our hinterlands, shores, carraigeachaí, pasáistí, contain / offer-up wisdom within stories relating to events that happened there? Please explain?

(10) What does the Hooker mean to your family / community today? Is it important to you that your family is still involved with the Hooker? Does it bestow high regard or any regard? How do you feel about this? (Please tell me about it?)

(11) Amhráin agus Piseogaí bainteach le na Báid

Do you know of any amhráin / dánta faoi na Bád Seoil / Cósta Chonamara? Can you sing them or tell me where / from whom I might record them or where I might find the words? Do you know of any Piseogaí about Hooker Sailing, can you tell me of some, please?

(12) Cruinnithe na mBáid / Regattas and Hooker Racing Festivals

Are you happy with the current festivals of Hooker Racing?, Are there too few / many?

How important do you think they are? What do you think of having rásaí currach inneal within the festivals? Should there be more land-based events within the festivals? More items to attract younger people to participate? (Please tell me about it?)

(13) If you could arrange / achieve, one major event/item to commemorate / celebrate the hooker and its value to the soul of Conamara / Árainn, what would it be? (Please tell me about it?)

(14) Na Daoine Óga,

Why should young people today bother with Hooker sailing?

(15) Please explain what the Hooker means to Conamara / Árainn in one word/sentence?

Questions that might be used…….

(A) When the absolute dependence on / necessity for the hooker passed, did you experience regret? Do you still? (Please tell me about it?)

(B) Do you think that the youth after you (your own sons etc!) have the same interest / understanding of the HOOKER that you have/had? How does this make you feel? (Please tell me about it?)

(C) Do you feel that you have passed on life lessons / of places & events while teaching the skills of, and sailing in, the hooker? If yes, how and why did you do it?

Likewise: if no, how and why did you not do it? Are many of these life lessons tied to particular places on the sea or on the hinterland? (Please tell me about it?)

Appendix C: List of Hookers and Who Owned Them

Table 4.1 Some of the most recent trading hookers, in the memory of today's bádóirí.

Bád (Boat name)	Siopa (Shop)	Áit (location)	Céibh (Quay)
Erin's Hope (Bád Mhonica)	Tigh Mhonica	Tír an Fhia	Glais na n-Uain
St. Jude (Bád Mhicí)	Tigh Mhonica	Tír an Fhia	Glais na n-Uain
An Mhaighdean Mhara	Larry Farmer	An Trá Bháin	Glais na n-Uain
St. Patrick (Bád Chonraí)	Tigh Chonraí	Ros Muc	An Ghairfean
An Réalt (Star) Pre 1923	Tigh Uí Chonghaile	Roundstone	Roundstone
An Réalt (Star)Post 1923	Tigh Mháille	Ros Muc	An Sruthán Buí
An Réalt (Bád Pheada)	Tigh Pheada	Tír an Fhia	Glais na n-Uain
An Mhaighdean Mhara	Tigh Sé	An Cheathrú Rua	Caladh Thaidhg
An American Mór	SiopaUíDhómhnaill	An Cheathrú Rua	Caladh Thaidhg
An Builín	Tigh Chonraí	Ros Muc	An Ghairfean

Table 4.2 Older trading hookers, some of which were active 160 years ago and are still alive in the stories, poems and songs of the older bádóirí today. This fact alone serves to expresses the admiration and loyalty felt by the communities of hooker country.

	An Bád	Úinéir / Clann
01	Bád na bhFiadóirí	Ó Cuaig, Ros Dugáin
02	Bád Ciaráin Choilm,	Mac an Iomaire, Meall Rua, Muigh Inis
03	Morning Star (An Réalt),	Uí Chonghaile, Roundstone
04	Mary Anne	Greenes, Galway
05	Mayflower	Séamus Mongáin, Carna
06	Rutha	Máímím, Leitir Móir
07	An Caolach	Muintir Caola, Leitir Árd
08	An Stail Móir	Petie Ó Conaire, Cill Chiaráin
09	St. Patrick – Bád Pháidín Choilm	Mac an Iomaire, Meall Rua, Muigh Inis
10	Bád Dara Mhóir	Clann Uí Laoi, Máimín, Leitir Móir
11	Fág a' Bealach Mháirtín Tommy	Mac Donnchadha, Galway
12	An Pearl	Sonaí Ciaráin Choilm Mac an Ionaire
13	An Airc	Ciarán Choilmín Shéamuis Mac an Iomaire
14	An Connor	Clann Uí Chonchubhair, Leitir Móir

[i] It was not just a case of surviving there and not moving elsewhere, such as to Galway city, for example, as to live there on the little off-shore islands and the mainland shoreline offered them access to shellfish, sea fish, sea-weeds for sale, for eating and also to fertilise the poor rock-strewn lands. Many of the Seoighe of Inis Bara, Leitir Móir are direct descendants of Patrick Joyce who came down from the mountains to live near the shore during the famine. This move granted access to fish, shellfish and seaweeds (Fennell, 2013: 163). Above all else, it granted to them direct access to the only realistic trading-route available, the sea. People of Northern and Western Conamara made use of the Connemara Railway from Galway to Clifden (opened in 1895 and closed in 1935). However the vast majority of the sixty thousand inhabitants of Conamara did not have access to this line as they lived predominantly along the coast-line. This should have been the route taken by the line and was reportedly favoured by the Midland Great Western Railway Company (MGWRC), but for some undisclosed reason the it was run on a more northerly route (a passage directly through the estate of Mr Berridge of Ballynahinch Castle for all of twenty miles), thereby neglecting the majority of Conamara's population (Villiers-Tuthill, 1995: 35-37). Thus, while some residents of South Conamara could use the railway stop at Recess, the vast majority of Conamara residents were left almost entirely dependent upon the sea lanes and thus the Galway Hooker (and it's family of boats, leath-bhád, gleoiteoga, púcáin, bád iomartha and currachaí), for their survival.

[ii] At this point, it must be noted that I use the term 'man' not as offence to woman but rather in acknowledgement and recognition of the domain (Peace, 2001) that was the Galway hooker. At the time about which I research (early to late 1900s), it was almost unheard of for a woman to have anything to do with the hooker. I write of the normal domains of work within a household that had a hooker in section 5.1, pointing out that within the hooker-trading season the boat took priority over all else for the man of the house. The woman of the house along with the children took responsibility for all other tasks at home.

[iii] Endnote 4.1: Mac Aodha (1996) offers another insight into the bridge closure. In an historical piece about the parish of Leitir Móir, he refers to the bridge at Daingin as that "bridge that brought in the big world and let out the wanderer" (Mac Aodha, 1996, p.12). He explained that the bridge was the people's lifeline and without it, the community would face the same death as did the Blasket islands. The bridge was often left open to boat traffic at night time for the convenience of the bádóirí and this custom lead to a tragedy once when a young boy fell from the bridge and drowned (Mac Aodha, 1996, p.12). Other near tragedies have been related within my interviews and many had heard of one involving a bus being on the bridge that opened, almost sending the bus into the channel. Apparently there was a priest on the bus who immediately started to administer the last rites to all on board. Another interviewee told me that a few years before the permanent closure that the bridge was in such a state of disrepair that on any night of high winds it could be heard rattling from his family home, some miles away (John, 15B). All of these factors

may have added support to the decision to close the bridge permanently to marine traffic and thereby leaving it open to vehicular and foot traffic.

[iv] Endnote 5.1: Prior to the deepening of the Daingin channel by the British Authorities using gun-powder blasting in 1836, boats could only sail there on full-tides. Afterwards it was possible to travel on half-tides, extending greatly the time available for passing through there (Ó Confhaola, 2012). There was no bridge there at that time as it was not built until the 1890s. There was a ford for people to cross to the island, at low tide, approximately 30 metres south of where the bridge is today (Ó Confhaola, 2012).

[v] Endnote 5.2: Pádhraic spoke of a Tóna Mhac Con Fhaola, a saor bháid (boat builder) who was born and raised in Leitir Mealláin. He could also, like all of the older bádóirí, make her sails, rig the boat out and sail her. Apparently, one day when he was out with a load in his boat he saw the coast-guard boat coming towards him and deemed it better not to be stopped on this occasion. It was getting late in the afternoon and having favourable winds with him, he made for Cuan an Fhir Mhóir. There's a rock there within half-a-mile west of the mouth of the cuan named Carraig na nGall (The rock of the foreigner), which Tóna skipped past and with the oncoming darkness the bád-faire/coastguard boat hit the rock, was broken-up and the crew were drowned. Tóna Mhac Con Fhaola was unhurt and saved his load on that journey, and this was how the rock got its name, according to Pádhraic Mhac Dhonnchadha (Mac Giollarnáth, 1941).

[vi] Endnote 5.3:***An Crann Caorthainn (Rowan or Mountain Ash).***

The Milesians (Clanna Míleadh, are believed by some to have come to Ireland around 2361 B.C., from Galicia, the North-Western province of Spain. These peoples respected the Rowan Tree (Mountain Ash) as their lucky tree (Ó Confhaola, no date: pp.39-40). One of my interviewees was advised at his wedding to take his wife to a Rowan Tree, so that they would have luck with children (Aindí, 07A).

I was told that to this day you can distinguish from the crugaí (hard wooden peg in a currach to hold the oar), from whom the owner is descended, either the Milesians or the Muintir Bheola. The descendants of Muintir Bheola are still to be found West of Great Man's Bay (Leitir Móir, Garumna, Leitir Mealláin and the Aran Islands), while the descendants of the Milesians are to be found from Mace Head to Bearna (Aindí, 07A).

An Caiseal Doininne / St. Brendan's Castle

The Tuatha de Danann or the Druids as they are better known, achieved great magical feats. One of these was the ability to induce favourable winds. This was done by constructing a little castle two or three feet tall, for example, starting at the bottom with seven pieces of stick, sea-rods or in later years, turf. A door was left in the side from which direction the wind was desired. The castle would be completed upwards, coming to a point and then the stations (prayers or exultations) would be performed seven times around the castle. A third of the castle would then be

knocked off, resulting in light-winds being drawn from the desired direction. If two-thirds were knocked-off, a strong wind was drawn and if it was knocked to the ground a storm of wind in the desired direction was created. St. Brendan the mariner is said to have used this method to create favourable winds and that is why it was later known as St. Brendan's Castle (Ó Confhaola, no date).

When the hooker bádóirí needed an excuse to stay drinking and were otherwise engaged, they would say that there were no favourable winds to bring them home. So the women working at home would make a St. Brendan's Castle with sticks or with turf, make seven rounds of the castle and knock off one third to create the desired wind to bring the boats west from Kinvara or other destinations. It was reported by an old woman in Aill na Brún, that this practice last took place in the 1880s and innocent people were drowned. Arising out of this, the people there are reported to have taken a decision themselves to stop using it. This narrative was given to my interviewee by an old man from Feenish Island in 1964 and he participated in building the last one there, when he was just ten years of age (Aindí, 07A).

[vii] Endnote 6.1: Other saor báid from Ceantar na nOileán included Na Flaitheartaigh, Willie Phaithcín Mhyla's and also the Trayers, Jimmy and Colm. Mike Tom Flathartaigh from Leitir Mealláin built An Caolach and other boats (Bob, 29D). I was also told of another saor from the Leitir Mealláin area, Micheál Sheáin Mhaorla Ó Flatharta (from Inis Éirc), who went East to Baile na Cúirte in Clare, in the mid 1800's and started to build hookers there (Peadar, 18B).

[viii]Endnote 7.1: Údarás na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht authority) is a government body responsible for the economic, social and cultural development of the gaeltacht (the Gaelic/Irish speaking regions of Ireland). It's overall aim is to ensue that populations can continue to live in these regions so that Irish continues to remain as the language of these communities into the future. It was established in 1980.

[ix] Endnote 7.2: The Horizon Programme was a community grant-aiding initiative of the European Commission. Cumann húicéirí na gaillimhe, through the offices of Údarás na Gaeltachta successfully applied for a grant under the Horizon initiative in order to ensure the instruction/training of apprentice saor báid and therefore, not lose this unique aspect of the heritage attaching to the Galway hooker.

[x] Endnote 8.1: There existed a ford which could be crossed on foot from the mainland at Béal a'Daingin to the first island of Eanach Mheáin, prior to the building of the Swing-bridge 20 or 30 metres to the North of this ford crossing point. However, even after reaching the mainland at Béal a'Daingin, there was no proper road to Galway. The hooker was the island community's principal means of travel and many accepted and paid for this means of travel by helping to load and unload whatever cargo it was that was being carried on that journey (Peadar, 18B).