

## The Graiguenamanagh Boatmen: a unique community

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### Introduction

By the time the Cistercians developed their monastic complex near the banks of the Barrow in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the River had long been an artery of transport and communication. Settlement evidence on the Barrow Valley dates back to at least the New Stone Age<sup>1</sup>. Early Christian settlement at St. Mullins, St. Michaels and Ullard no doubt used the river as a source of transport. Viking incursions up the river are recorded in A.D. 824/825 and A.D. 951<sup>2</sup> when they visited Teach-Moling, but not as pilgrims. In later Middle Ages, traffic on the river was monitored and controlled from fortified riverside castles at Coolahill, Clogaralt, Tinnahinch and Cloghastá both by the old Gaelic chieftains and also later by the new Norman conquerors. In 1537, it was stated that, a number of men along with Maloghlin O’Ryan (of Cloghastá Castle) *do take excessive customs of all such boats as goeth to Carlow and Athy with wares and merchandizes of you men of ye towne of Rosse to ye value of £20 –yearly above ye old customs.*<sup>3</sup>

The Monks of Duiske used the river for importing building materials (Dundry stone from near Bristol for example) during the construction of the Abbey and later it was by river that Abbey’s exports were channelled. The river by the late Middle Ages must have had considerable traffic of boats. On the sister river Nore it was stated in 1537 that *there be sixty boats belonging to Inistioge where the carriage of every boat was ever wont to be but 8 pence Irish.*<sup>4</sup> In 1540 in a letter to Lord Deputy Billingham from Thomas Allan in relation to a proposal to build a bridge between Duiske Abbey and Kavanagh’s County it was stated that five *claraneess (clarahauns) retained these twenty days past have brought more wood for the lime kilns than forty of their carts and wold to God it was stated all carriages laid by water.*<sup>5</sup>

By the 18<sup>th</sup> Century the river had developed as a very important commercial network of transportation allied to the newly constructed canals.<sup>6</sup>

The larger boats and extended network was an important impetus for market towns like Graiguenamanagh. Its location as the first inland Market Town after the port of New Ross possibly influenced its growth as a major provider of transport operators on the river network. Tighe's *Statistical Survey* published in 1810 stated that Graiguenamanagh was home to 60 boats in 1790; with each boat employing 4 people. By 1800, while the number of boats reduced to 40, they were of larger capacity: availing of the improved navigation. The *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* of 1845 states that *the town enjoyed an advantageous situation for both inland and seaward trade and it at one time owned all the boats on the Barrow*. The early boats were privately owned – sometimes called “hack-boats” and the Barrow Navigational Company, which was responsible for the improvement in the river's navigation, charged tolls at the locks to finance the cost of the improved navigation system. By 1849, the Company acquired their own boats after legislation enabling the companies to act as couriers on their own canal (Parliamentary Act of 1845).<sup>7</sup> Many of the old boat-owners became employees of the Company but some remained “hackmen” or “bye-traders” (hence the “B” boats). In 1895, Patrick O'Leary stated that *the hauling of lighters or 'Clarahauns' even in the early part of the present century was accomplished by gangs of men on ropes, the trackway being only complete in parts for horses*. These men were called hauliers and were paid 8d per day. Horses were used to pull the *Barrow Navigation Company's* boats and up to 4/5 horses were needed to pull the boats especially when pulling laden boats against the current in wintertime. In normal conditions two horses were sufficient to pull the boats on the Barrow. The boats at this period were the “long-tailed Barrow boats” so called

because of their long



**Figure 1 Jim FitzGerald; \_\_\_\_\_ and Johnny McDonald on a long Tailed Barrow Boat beside the Graigue Bridge in the 1930s**

rudders, which were most suitable for steering the boat when going with the current.

After 1865 steam tugs came into use on long stretches of the Grand Canal. They could tow up to six barges at one time<sup>8</sup>. Horses were still used on the short stretches. Steam tugs were used on the Shannon and on the tidal stretch of the Barrow, below St. Mullins. The *Lady Annett* worked the latter stretch of river down to Waterford and was manned in the wintertime by regular boatmen like Michael Bolger and James “Crow” Bolger.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, mechanical engine propulsion was introduced - with the installation of the *Bolinder* semi-diesel engine in some of the old horse boats; commencing around 1911. In all thirty of the older horse boats were converted between 1911 and 1923 and newly registered 1M to 30M (“M” for motorised) having formerly been known under a variety of names and numbers. In 1925 after the success of the motorised horse boats the new modern barge was built. Made with a steel hull and with a 15 HP *Bollinder* engine fitted as standard, this new and the final fleet of barges to work on the waterways commenced operations<sup>9</sup>. All the final fleet of motorised steel hulled boats were given consecutive numbers - 31M to 79M - and were known as the second “M” series of boats.

The early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century saw the river transport operations go into decline. The Grand Canal Company (G.C.C.), who had acquired the Barrow Navigational Company in 1894 (for £32,000), was amalgamated into the new State Transport Company, C.I.E. (Coras Iompair Eireann), by the Transport Act of 1950 (the Company had 800 employees and 55 trade barges at the change-over). But the decline of the canal transport operations continued - with only a short respite during the war years (Second W.W.). The Transport Act of 1958 authorised C.I.E. to disengage from the Canal carrying service and the boats finally ceased operation in December 1959<sup>10</sup>.

In a document, dated December 1959, outlining the compensation entitlement of the redundant boatmen, forty-one boatmen were listed from the Graiguenamanagh area.<sup>11</sup> Redundant boat-men were given “Compensation” in proportion to their years of service and the position of responsibility they held on the boat - masters, engine-men or deck-men. Essentially men with less than five years of service received a lump sum in proportion to their years on the boats - a deck-man, for example, with four years service got £189-15-7. The longer serving boatmen got a weekly compensation (a pension). Master boatmen with a long service got up to £5-10-1 per week and an engine-man with similar service got £5-8-3. This was the final dispersal of a community of boatmen who plied the Barrow providing a river transport service to Graiguenamanagh and its hinterland and indeed to many of the riverside communities on the Barrow and other waterways for centuries.

In the last two decades of the river transport operation, eighty-four boatmen have been identified as having worked on the G.C.C and C.I.E. canal barges out of Graiguenamanagh (see Appendix 1). Some of the younger men would only have worked for a short period before the closure in December 1959. Others, seeing the demise of the boat transport business, left in the years leading up to the closure. There are others, no doubt, who were not identified but 84 boatmen represents a large proportion of boatmen active in the last decades of the river transport operation. This sample gives a concept of the diversity of social relationships within the town population as a river community and provides an insight into this unique boating community. But first we will look briefly at what may have initiated that river transport business and its related community in the town of Graiguenamanagh.

## **Development of industry and employment**

The economy of the Duiske/Barrow Basin as it no doubt developed with the influence of the Cistercian foundation was to provide a livelihood for a growing settlement within the vicinity of the Abbey complex. The eventual twin towns of Graiguenamanagh and Tinnahinch (hereafter referred to as

Graiguenamanagh or the town) on opposite banks of the river were, over the centuries, to foster many small industries, which were to promote a variety of skills and livelihoods for the growing local urban population. This growth of small industries and the development of an export of surplus farm produce may have been the impetus that fostered the growth of a substantial river transport business.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century iron smelting was carried out on ore imported from England. The widespread availability of suitable timber here attracted an industry that had depleted many of the suitable English forests.<sup>11</sup> The procurement of timber and limestone, necessary in the smelting process, provided valuable employment on the river. Limestone was also transported down river to the lime-kilns (at least one on the quays and another downstream at Carriglade), providing lime for both building and farm use in the area. The salt works, which was operated by James O'Leary on the quay in the 1880s, also gave custom to the boat owners in transporting rock salt from Waterford harbour and also needed timber or coal for the furnace. The product of the salt works –refined salt- was, of course, an essential ingredient of the food preserving process. The procurement of provisions for the trans-Atlantic crossings of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in particular, were an opportunity for farmers in communities like Graiguenamanagh to trade farm produce down river to the ports of Waterford and New Ross, important staging points for the busy trans-Atlantic sailings. Salted provisions, butter, corned beef and bacon in particular, in addition to oatmeal and flour from the local mills, were important products in the provisions trade, particularly in the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Wool was an important export commodity from the area in Cistercian times and continued even into modern times. *Cushendale Woollen Mills*, operated by the Cushen family for a number of generations and running a full wool processing enterprise in Graiguenamanagh, is unique in that it is one of the few surviving family woollen mills still in production in Ireland.

The dry dock (Graving docks) recently excavated and consisting of two chambers, was an integral part of the extensive boating business in the town. It provided the many timber boats that traded and fished up and down the

river in former times and also provided employment for a variety of trades and skills in the town. John Joyce in his account of the town states that:

the graving docks below the bridge had always been used for building the Claurauns and other boats, which were a feature of Graigue life way back before the canal era. But in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Washington family, who were boat builders on The Broads at Boston, Linconshire, came to Graigue to build boats there, and as time went by the dock became known as “ Washington’s Yard”. Later – in 1821 – The Barrow Navigational Company took over, and a fine new boat - yard, with two cut stone dry dock chambers, were constructed... In that yard many of the long-tailed wooden barges which plied the waterways of Ireland came into existence.<sup>12</sup>

John Connolly Sen., in his account of the old boatmen, suggested that *at one time there were twelve shipwrights and five boys, who were serving their time in the trade, working in the docks.*<sup>13</sup> Not many names survive of those that worked in the docks – Washingtons as already mentioned, the Seymore family were mentioned by Jack Prendergast in his recall of the river boating days,<sup>14</sup> and Ned Lee, a member of the Graiguenamanagh brass band in 1829, was described as a boat builder.<sup>15</sup> The last boat built in the docks was the 15B. Originally built for the Barrow Navigational Company in 1877, with the designation number 984, she was eventually purchased by her skipper Mick Maguire. He gave her the new number and she was last owned by Seamus Bolger, who worked her until she was wrecked on the weir beside the old graving docks in 1955.<sup>16</sup>

Many other initiatives and enterprises added to the potential of the river. John Kelly’s *Barrow Starch Works*, established in 1842, flourished for much of the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Initially using wheat, but eventually using imported Rangoon rice to manufacture his unique *Snow Flake Starch*, the starch works was conveniently sited beside Tinnahinch quay and, no doubt, used river transport. An assortment of corn mills, Walsh’s iron foundry, the growing number of merchants (including three wool dealers) and regular monthly livestock fairs all combined to promote the town as an important inland river port.<sup>17</sup> Those various industries, crafts and processes, although fluctuating in their importance and success over the centuries, helped to

fashion the urban settlement around the old abbey of Duiske, and also act as a stimulus in the growth of a river boating community.

### **Boatmen and their families.<sup>18</sup>**

Working on the boats accounted for a significant number of families livelihood in the towns of Graiguenamanagh and Tinnahinch. A number of those surveyed were first generation boatmen. But a significant number came from what could be classified as traditional boating families who worked the boats for several generations – Bolgers, Connolly's, Whelan's, McDonald's, Griffin's, Gill's etc. Indeed of those surveyed, thirty-six or over 40% at least, were third generation boatmen. John Connolly Jun. (1936 – 2002) was son of John Sen. (1901 – 1985) and grandson of Watt Connolly (1890 – 1950) and he, Watt, was son of John (1867 – 1901) who lived in No. 4, Main Street, Tinnahinch, and all were boat-men and the family maintained a lasting affinity with the river.

Many boatmen, both through the maternal and paternal family connections, have a long connection with the river going back not only generations, but centuries. In the *Barrow Anchor Society's* records, which date back to the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many family surnames are preserved that correspond to those surveyed. Bolger (Bulger), Murphy, Kinsella (Kinchla), Whelan, Ryan, Roche and Kelly appear at various times as members of the society. Maternal connections with old *Anchor Society* family's may also be seen in unions such as Jim "Crow" Bolger's marriage to Bridget McGuire, William Bolger's marriage to Bridget Hayden and John Connolly's marriage to Ellen Butler, all women with old boating family surnames appearing in the Society's records.

Within the core boating' families, those with at least three generations of boating or river association, we find a number of boatmen whose ancestors migrated into the town as boatmen bringing with them a long tradition of boating in their families. John Hoare Sen. came into Graignamanagh from Athy, Co. Kildare and married Anne Prendergast from Barrow Lane (whose

father, Patrick, was also a migrant boatman from Inistiogue). They settled in Barrow Lane and their sons, Pat, Eamon “Doc” and Sean served their time on 34M with their father John. Many of the boating families became associated with particular boats-“34M was a Hoare boat” When the river transport system closed and the boats became redundant, they were sold off and many were converted to other uses: 34M was converted to a house-boat and renamed *The Whistler*. John’s father, Patrick, was a native of Graiguecullen, across the bridge from Carlow town and was skipper on the hack-boat, 11B. He was married to Catherine Dooley (Athy) from a boating and lock-keeping family. His grandfather William also worked on the boats.



. Figure 2 Bridget & Patrick Gill with some of family  
- Tom, Paddy, Betty and Jim.

Patrick Gill was born in Killina, Co. Kildare and settled in Tinnahinch, living in No. 4, “The Hotel” with his wife Bridget Hynes. His father, Thomas “The Rock”, worked on the horse boats along with Paddy’s brother Jack, who in 2004 was living in Inchacore, Dublin. Indeed the family had

several boats transporting everything from turf and timber to porter and groceries along the Grand Canal. Jim, Patrick’s son, followed his father’s footsteps and spent practically his whole life on the river, retiring in 1997, when he was working with the O.P.W. (Office of Public Works) as maintenance staff on the river. Jim’s son, also called Patrick after his grandfather, now works with *Waterways Ireland* <sup>19</sup> as a Canal Ranger based at Clashganny Lock.

Jack Prendergast, as mentioned earlier, was son of Patrick and Johanna Kearney (Abbey Street). His two sisters, Ann and Molly were married to two boatmen- John Hoare and John Connolly Sen. His father came to Graignamanagh from Inistioge to work on the boat: working with the G.C.C.



and later with Thompson's boats of Carlow drawing timber in the Graiguenamanagh area. He later returned to the Canal Company working on 35M, from which he retired after fifty years on the river. His grandfather did not work on the boats, but his great-grandfather, Simon Rudkins, did (He was drowned off the old bridge in New Ross when a young man).

The core boating' families from the town contained a number of families who numerically have fostered a great tradition of service to the River. The Bolger family accounted for 22 boatmen with that surname in the survey and in the school record's inspection (see Appendix 2) they accounted for 34 or 27% of the children with boating fathers. Bolger (Bulger) appear on the *Barrow Anchor Society's* records in 1807, when Humphrey Bulger (sic) appears as a member of the Society. Later in 1809, Thomas joined the Society and both remained members until the late 1820s. Bolger boatmen intermarried with some of the old boating families – Kinsella, McGuire and Dunne. All the older generations mainly lived in Tinnahinch and in the Quay and Barrow Lane areas of Graiguenamanagh. An old Gaelic family (O'Bolguidhir), the surname is mentioned among the families of the Barony of Gowran in the 1659 "Census". At the demise of the boat transport operations in 1959 they were masters of three boats – Thomas "Guy" on 51M, "Piery" on 58M and James on 76M. Invariably they were assisted by members of their own families on the boats. Piery's boat was manned by his brothers William "Billy" (engine-man) and Christy who was described as temporary deck-man at the time. Piery started on the same boat, 58M, in 1942 as "Greaser" or apprentice when his father, William, was Skipper. He earned at that time 36/- (shillings) and when he became Skipper he earned £8-5-1, which he had regarded as good wages at the time. It was supplemented by what he called "tonnage" (extra payment for unloading the boat in aftertime) and some travelling expenses. James Bolger, on 76M was assisted by Patrick Whelan (engine-man) his brother-in-law and Robert Bolger, his cousin. On 51M with Thomas "Guy" Bolger was James "Pusheen" Bolger as engine-man and William Bolger was deckhand – all cousins.<sup>20</sup>



**Figure 3. Waterford Sep. 1949. 38M with John "Butt" McDonald at the tiller and nephews Pat & John McDonald (Shortall Collection)**

The McDonald family provided eight boatmen in the survey. They essentially descended from John (1849-1935) who was born in "The Hotel" area of Tinnahinch, and married Johanna Kinsella in 1863 and was living on the quay in 1901. He was buried in Duiske Cemetery after his death in 1935. The McDonalds skippered two boats at the close down in 1959. Pat skippered 37M with his brother Oliver and his brother-in-law Jim Gill. The other McDonald boat was 38M (both McDonald boats were built in Ringsend Dockyard in 1928 – the second series of "M" Boats). She was skippered by John "the Butt" at the closure, with only his nephew Thomas McDonald working on the boat at that time. His son, Gabriel, had worked on 38M before he left the boats prior to 1959. John "The Butt" McDonald, who died in 1993 at the age of 94, was the last surviving horse boatmen at that time. His father, Tom "Sacker" McDonald, also worked on the horse boats as did his grandfather John before him, who died in 1935 and is buried in the old Duiske cemetery.

Connollys, Dohertys and Fitzgeralds accounted for 19 boatmen surveyed and except for Dohertys who came from High Street, the other families were natives of Tinnahinch. Between them they provided skippers on five of the boats at the close of the boat transport operations on the river.

Tom and Patrick Doherty sen. who had also skippered the “Cooláwn” as already mentioned, skippered 31M and 68M. Michael and John Connolly Sen. were responsible for 52M and 79M. (79M was the last of the barges built in Ringsend Dockyard in 1939 and had slightly bigger dimensions (along with 77M and 78M) than the earlier “M” Series (61ft 9in in length and 13ft 3in wide as compared to 60ft x 13ft 1 ½ in wide on the earlier boats). Michael had Matt Duggan from Carlow (formerly from Allenwood, Co. Kildare) and his nephew Timothy (Tim) as crew on the 52M. This boat was skippered by John Connolly Sen. and John Jun. his son was deck-man. His brother Timothy manned the engine. The crew of 52M transferred to the Barrow tugboat, 6M, during the winters when the laden barges would have difficulty coming up against the stronger current and needed assistance. The tug would tow several boats.

Robert “Bobsy” Mahon, pronounced Mackan locally (Ir. Ó Macháin), was master of M77 at the closure. He was assisted by his brother, Patrick, and engine-man Patrick Delaney. Like many of the younger boatmen, Robert emigrated to England after the closure of the river transport operation: working for many years on the buildings, where he became a ganger. Of the eightyfour men surveyed, 29 or 35 per cent emigrated, all but one going to England- many to the London area, where they worked in an assortment of jobs; mostly in factories and on the buildings like Robert Mahon.

James Fitzgerald was Master of 46M and only Martin Foley was with him at the closure. Tom “Lucky” Roche had been a crew-man on this boat at an earlier time but left the boats in 1954. Tom also worked occasionally with the tug-boat –6M-on the Barrow.

Three families with ancestral links with Tinnahinch, Griffins, Whelans and Kinsella’s, accounted for another 13 of the surveyed boatmen. These families present an example of the complexity of intermarriage between boating families. Pat Whelan (who boated with his father Thomas “Bishop” Whelan on 66M) married Biddy Bolger of Tinnahinch, Timothy Kinsella married Kitty McDonald of Main Street, Graiguenamanagh and he was

engine-man to Tom Doherty, his brother-in-law on 31M who was married to Kathleen, sister of Timothy. Michael Griffin, son of James the Master of 33M, was married to Elizabeth Bolger of Barrow Lane and he boated with his father James and his uncle Patrick. So an interesting complex web of intermarriage within the boating community on both sides of the river.

Thomas Holden who was engine-man with Edward Hayden's boat 69M was married to Edward's Sister Bridget. Both men were first generation boatmen but Edward was connected to a well-established boating family through his wife, Sally Connolly from Barrow Lane. Both men, while on the river, worked on many boats – 51M, 31M, 33M and 70M. Men, who did not follow in a family tradition on the boats, tended to work on many boats during their career. In contrast sons and grandsons who apprenticed to their fathers or uncles tended to remain on family boats. Piery Bolger spent practically all his career on 58M. Family boats were well cared for and skippers like John Connelly Sen. had a reputation of having a well maintained boat and took great pride in the upkeep of his boat - number 79M.

Twenty-six different surnames are represented among names of boatmen surveyed and a moderate intensity of intermarriage relationships within those families was found. A moderate degree of concentration in communities adjacent to the river was also evident -the Hotel area of Tinnahinch and the Quay and Barrow Lane area on the opposite bank of the river being good examples of such residency.

In analysing the boatmen in the survey we found that of the 84, thirteen did not marry and 25 or 30 per cent of the remainder married girls with known boating connections. The mothers of 33 of those surveyed had boating or river connections – a brother or father working on the river which at 39 per cent of the total survey was a greater proportion to those married to spouses with boating or river connections. When we examine the preference of boatmen when choosing wives we find 46 of them choosing girls from the Graiguenamanagh parish or 68 per cent preference. Their fathers did slightly

better because we find that 70 per cent or 61 mothers of boatmen were from the Parish mostly from the twin urban centres. So while the boatmen travelled more in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century than the average workmen in the town, when it came to choosing a wife they showed a remarkable preference for the local girl and a fair partiality to a boatman's daughter.

#### Distribution of boatmen's homes.

In the twin communities of Graiguenamanagh and Tinnahinch, the spatial distribution of boating families falls into essentially three areas. In the survey those areas were determined from the parent's home of those surveyed. Thirty (36%) came from the Tinnahinch area with twelve of those originating in "The Hotel" area. Twenty-three (27%) came from High Street and sixteen (19%) lived in the Quay/ Barrow Lane area. Fifteen other parents lived in various addresses in the town on the Kilkenny side of the river and only four were from outside the urban community.

In an inspection of national school records between 1872 and 1948 (not a continuous run), it was found that 44 per cent of children (125 children in total) whose fathers were described as Boatmen were from the Tinnahinch area. Barrow lane and the Quay area was home to 31 or 37% of boatmen's children and High Street accounted for a further 22 parent' addresses or 18%. The remainder were dispersed around the town of Graiguenamanagh and five addresses were in rural areas. (See Appendix 2.)

Many of the houses in these areas were in poor condition with no piped water, primitive toilet facilities and very few with significant gardens. In the 1930s new houses were built in High St.(1939), the Fair Green area (*Fairview* 1937) and Tinnahinch (*New Cottages* or *The Ring*,1939) and many of the younger boating families acquired new homes in these areas. These new three bed-roomed houses built of mass concrete with steel window frames, some tiled with distinctive high sloping roofs and with substantial gardens were a significant improvement on the congested, terraced, no garden houses that existed in the Hotel area, the Quays and Barrow Lane. These new housing schemes and subsequent developments dispersed the surviving

boating families into a wider spread throughout the urban area from their initial more concentrated location near the river.

“The Hotel” area, now practically obliterated except for some renovated or new buildings, was a complex of two-roomed dwelling houses built by the Barrow Navigation Company when Rowan McCombe was manager in the 1850s. There were built around one of the canal hotels, erected possibly in the late eighteenth century (1790s) and catering for the passenger service provided on the waterways in that period. Other hotels, erected on the canal at Robertstown, Sallins, Portobello, Tullamore and Shannon Harbour, were built by the Grand Canal Company in the early years of the 19th century. But, after some initial success, they failed to attract sufficient customers and were eventually leased by the Company. They went into decay or were used for other purposes when the Passenger Service ended about 1853. The Tinnahinch hotel was *a two-storied building of seven bays, with central porch entrance and an ornamental garden at the side*. It was incorporated into McCombe’s new housing for the boatmen in what Joyce called *a Cladah-like character all of its own, which sheltered from the cold east wind in the lee of Carrig na Gower and continued to be known as The Hotel*.<sup>21</sup>

Out of the boatmen surveyed 23% had some connection with the area: either through marriage or ancestral links.

Many observers suggest that most of the boatmen had come from the Tinnahinch area. In the survey fifty-two out of the total of 84 boatmen or nearly 62 per cent, had some connection with the Carlow side of the river. In the school records 44 per cent of children had boating fathers living in Tinnahinch area, suggesting a degree of truth in the widely held view.

### **Life on the boats.**

The social life of the boatmen was very limited especially up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century before the hours travelling on the river were reduced to daytime hours or 16 hours per day after the 1946 “Greaser’s” Strike. Of course the “Greasers” were then dispensed with and the crew was reduced to

three men. Living quarters were also very frugal on the boats. The “little cabin” contained three bunks, lockers, the “Caboos” (a solid-fuelled stove), a small primus (oil burning cooking apparatus) and an oil lamp. In the early days of the four man crews, when the boat travelled at night, the crews worked in pairs - the captain and the Greaser steering and maintaining the boat while the Engine-man and Deck-man rested and vice versa.

Boatmen in the early years were living away from social contact except with themselves and fellow river travellers. Nevertheless, Sean Hoare stated that:

We made our social life on the boats. When we were in Dublin we used to go dancing – Barry’s Hotel, Teachers, Eden Quay – we would meet all the country lads there. Other times we would go to the cinema – the Royal, The Regal or Queens. I often went to three cinemas on the one night if we were finished early. One night I remember going to the “Regal” to see “*The Jolson Story*” when that finished I went next door to the “Royal” to see “Jolson sings again”. I remember all the cinemas and theatres in Dublin and the old comedians – Danny Cummins, Mixer Reid, Jack Cruise, Maureen Potter and Jimmy O’Dea. I saw all of them. Danny Cummins, Paddy Tyrell and Gloria Green ‘The Happy Gang’ in the Queens. When the ‘Abbey’ burned down they went into the ‘Queens’. Dublin was a grand old place then”

As a footnote one might add that Sean, when finished on the boats, went on to form a successful Dance Band in the early 60s. called *The Barrow Boys*. This dance band also attracted other young men with river connections; Paddy Doherty from 68M and Jack Bolger, whose father, Michael, was a maintenance carpenter on the river.

The Cinema was a popular source of entertainment with many of the younger boatmen in particular and every effort would be made to reach a cinema town in time for films showing times. Carlow had *The Ritz* and the *Coliseum* and the capital had a variety of cinemas as Sean Hoare already mentioned, including the popular *Tivoli*. While the young men were interested

in the pictures and dances, older boat-men socialised in the many public houses convenient to the waterway - Bryans of Shannon Harbour, Wrafters or Kelly's of Tullamore, Kelly's of Leighlinbridge, Pat Losty with his shop and bar in Carlow, or the many other hostelries on their journey.

Boatmen particularly on week-ends would visit one another's cabins and exchange stories, on occasions play some music and maybe sample some of the liquid cargo in a procedure best described by Jim Gill:

To do that you'd have to have a gimlet. You'd rise up the covers on the hold, stick the gimlet into a barrel, have a peg handy. Pull out the gimlet and put in your bucket and then when you had three or four pints in your bucket, you'd bring up the porter to the cabin and we'd have a pint or two a piece.

But as Tim Connelly observed *Guinness would put in a few extra points for the boatmen*

Piery Bolger, like many of his county colleagues, was fond of the game of hurling. Croke Park was always an option when the boat was tied up in James' Street Harbour on week-ends. To get to other match locations needed some extra work and travelling. In an interview, published in *Through the Locks*, Piery recalled:

I remember once Watt Connolly and myself stayed up two nights on the boat getting to Birr to watch Kilkenny playing in 1947. We walked from Shannon Harbour to Banagher for Mass and then we had to hire a car to go to Birr. There was Watt, myself, *Chappie* McDonald and my father.

The boat-men always had a good rapior with the lock-keepers and a certain amount of bartering was carried out between them – a bag of turf for a bucket of porter. Jim Gill recall's with some affection Mrs. Conroy, lock-keeper at Lowtown for many years, as was her father (Tom Murphy), grandfather and brother before her.

She was a great lock-keeper, said Jim, And the tay would always be ready for you when you'd pull up there. As well she'd always have a bit of meat left out for you - even though she wouldn't know you'd be coming at all. She still lives in the old lock-house, which was built around 1790.



## Trade guilds and the Barrow Anchor Society

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when all the boats were privately owned a degree of competition and rivalry may have prevailed. There is a suggestion that boatmen organised themselves in different areas to protect their livelihood. In an editorial in the *Carlow Morning Post* of the 1<sup>st</sup> April 1822, the editor, commenting on a trial of the accused boatmen in the assault on Henry Walker (employed on boat No 610 belonging to William Singleton of Bagenalstown) suggested that *the Navigation between Dublin and Waterford is now in the hands of a formidable conspiracy and that their union of traders was controlling trade on the river*, or as the prosecution attorney, Lord Norbury, suggested in his summing up address:

the system that had so long existed on the River Barrow where a set of ruffians setting themselves up as legislator to prosecute who should trade on one part of the River and who on another; one man must not work in this part of the county because he is a stranger.<sup>22</sup>

In 1835 David Burtchaell wrote to Dublin Castle that *it appears that the boatmen of Carlow (Tinnahinch) and Graigue have formed themselves into two contending parties, each being determined to murder the other and proceeding to demand that a force of Carlow police be stationed at Tinnahinch where these outrages generally take place.*<sup>23</sup>

Patrick Nolan of Ballyellen was attacked in the summer of 1837 by a number of men at Ballynockcrump (on the Carlow side of the Barrow opposite Coolhill Castle) where he was unloading limestone. Constable Francis Smyth, of Bagenalstown, stated in his report that, *a number of persons threw stones at and threatened to destroy both Nolan and his boat if he would ever bring stones to that place any more*. He ascertained that the culprits felt that Nolan was underselling the regular supplies of limestone to the area.<sup>24</sup>

The development of the *River Anchor Society*, which was essentially based on the Medieval Trade Guilds, was possibly a collective bonding together of boatmen to protect their “trade”. There is no evidence that the

Society was active in this regard at the time of the above incidence. But, in 1835, a organisation of Barrow, Nore and Suir fishermen founded the short-lived *St. Peters Society* in New Ross, expressly *to protect the interests of the ordinary fisherfolk by preventing all kinds of illegal fishing.*<sup>25</sup> While the Barrow Anchor Society appears to have been established in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (at least as early as 1729<sup>26</sup>), surviving records only exist from 1806 when it was revived. Those records show it to be basically a mutual benevolent society.<sup>27</sup>

The membership in 1807 was 60 with a fee of 12s per year and grew to 104 paid up members in 1813. After that it slowly declined and by 1850 there were only 26 private boat owners in the areas paying 10s per year in four instalments (with an initial entrance fee of 10s. From this period the Society become more concerned with the maintenance of the boatman's Gallery in the north transept of Duiske Abbey. This was one of two galleries constructed inside the newly re-roofed building in 1813 by the two trade societies in the town- the afore-mentioned Boatmen's Society and the Tradesmen's Society. They were located respectively in the north and south transepts of the Abbey up to the renovations of the 1970s. (The third or *Front* Gallery was built later in the century, around 1829) Membership numbers remained relatively stable between 1850 and 1890 at between 22 and 36 yearly subscribers. By 1918 there were only 16 members of whom 12 were described as boatmen: the other four subscribed *for use of the gallery only*. New members after this period, including women, were only subscribing for the use of the gallery and by the 1960's there were eleven boatmen and eleven *gallery only* members. The Society at this stage was totally concerned with the upkeep of the Gallery and by 1971, when the Society was disbanded, there were still twenty members, all men, including Michael Bolger who had worked as a maintenance carpenter on the river and was possibly the only member, at that period, who had worked on the river.

### **Some boatmen and their boats.**

In 1859 the Rev. Mark Brady, Protestant Minister of Graiguenamanagh, was ordering building materials from a New Ross Merchant and wrote that

*Blanchfields Boat will be in Ross on Friday so I expect you will give him the Timber, Lead also Ridge Tiles”*.<sup>28</sup>

When Navigation on the River was being improved in the 1760s, downstream from Graiguenamanagh, Michael and Martin Farrell, James Murphy, Loughlin Freeman, Thomas and Darby Rourke, , Edmond Pendergast, Thomas and Patrick Doran, Patrick and Oliver Walsh, Lawrence Martin and John Corcoran were employed as private boatmen delivering materials to workmen on the project. For the same enterprise Martin Ryan was described as a “ship’s Carpenter” and William Moore was paid £24-16-1½ for a boat – did he build boats in the Graignamanagh Docks?

When Thomas Cloney wanted to deliver personal luggage to Dublin from his home in Graiguenamanagh, he sent it “by Joseph Geoghegans boat”.<sup>29</sup>



**Figure 4 Mick Hayden on an excursion to St. Mullins Pattern with the Graiguenamanagh Brass Band included, c. 1920.**

In the latter years of the river transport operations the private owners gradually ceased to operate from the town. The Hayden family, who were reputed to have had at least six boats working from the town at one stage, were the last private boat owners to operate in the town. Patrick Hayden had 85B and his brother Michael had 31B, 8B and a boat called 947. Jack Prendergast remarked that *these boats just faded out as the people died*.

The Haydens were a numerically dominant family in the *Barrow Anchor Society* with three members in 1807 (Thomas, Michael and Michael Junior) rising to seven in 1860 with addresses on the Quay, Main Street, Turfmarket, Barrow Lane and the “Mill”. They were an enterprising family involved in merchandising coal, timber and general goods and coopering. Also, they acquired some farming land in the vicinity of the town. In 1901 Martin Hayden lived in Barrow Lane, Michael lived on the quay and another Michael lived in Lower Main Street and was described as “Boat Master” and Bernard, another brother, lived in Upper Main Street. There were over twenty Haydens (not all related) listed as boatmen in James M. Hayden’s history of the Hayden family.<sup>30</sup>



**Figure 5 A day's family outing on Mick Hayden's 28B and the Coolawn, belonging to J. M. Murphy of the Graiguenamanagh merchant family.**

The “Coolawn” owned by Murphys, a merchant family of Graiguenamanagh, in the 1940’s and early 50s, was skippered by Patrick Doherty and assisted by members of his family. This boat, the remains of which are on the riverbank opposite Ballingrane lock, worked mainly in the Lower Barrow drawing grain and timber. After she ceased trading she was used in the building of Redmond Bridge in New Ross. The “Coolawn” was also used in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to transport Irish volunteers during the War of Independence. Sean Hartley and Nicholas Mullins were brought from

Waterford to Graiguenamanagh on the eve of the Coolbawn ambush (11<sup>th</sup> June 1920) on the boat skippered by James Doherty. Christopher “Kit” Ennis, who was lock-keeper of Upper Tinnahinch Lock in this period, was Company Captain of the Graiguenamanagh Volunteer Company and his residence was used as a safe house during the 1920s. Some of the boatmen of the period were involved in the Volunteers and the boats were used to transport munitions from Dublin to the Graiguenamanagh region.<sup>31</sup>

## Conclusion

Located on the edge of a fertile hinterland, where the Barrow enters the steep rugged gorged out final descent to the sea, the emerging town benefited from the proximity of the great medieval ports of Waterford and Ross. The presence of an enterprising and influential European monastic foundation also played a part in the development of an inland port: an industrious settlement and a boating community. The survey has identified a core brotherhood of river boatmen conscious and reminiscent of their lost way of life. Bound to an extent by inter-marriage and a degree of residency close to the river as in the *Cladagh-like* settlement around the old Hotel, they have, never-the-less, filtered out into the wider world of work and community. The river has continued on its way: sometimes oblivious to the hurried world around it, but in recent years it has rekindled a new fraternity and again is astir with the bustle of boats and people.

## Appendix 1

The following is the list of Boatmen surveyed and many were interviewed over the year's 2002/4. It formed the basis of the analysis of the people from the Graiguenamanagh area who worked on the river barges in the last decades of the Barrow and canal transport operations-1950s and 60s. Some have died in the intervening period but information on their connection with the boats and the community was gathered from family and former colleagues as well as from documented sources. Addresses (where parents lived) are from the town of Graiguenamanagh, except where otherwise stated.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 Christy Bolger, Barrow Lane.                         | 39 James FitzGerald sen. The Hotel.        |
| 2 Martin Bolger, Main Street.<br>Tinnahinch.           | 40 Paddy FitzGerald, The Hotel.            |
| 3 Thomas "Lawlor" Bolger, Main Street.<br>Tinnahinch.  | 41 James FitzGerald, The Hotel.            |
| 4 Michael Bolger, Tinnahinch.                          | 42 Martin Foley, The Quay.                 |
| 5 Richard Bolger, Barrow Lane.                         | 43 Jim Gill, The Hotel.                    |
| 6 Robert Bolger, High Street.                          | 44 Michael Griffin, Whitehall.             |
| 7 Billy Bolger, Barrow Lane.                           | 45 Patrick Griffin, Barrow Lane.           |
| 8 James Bolger, Barrow Lane.                           | 46 James Griffin, Barrow Lane.             |
| 9 Paddy Bolger, High Street.                           | 47 Lawrence Griffin, Whitehall.            |
| 10 William "Cull's Bill" Bolger,<br>Tinnahinch.        | 48 Edward Hayden, Coolroe.                 |
| 11 Michael "Darkie" Bolger, Upper<br>Tinnahinch.       | 49 John Hoare sen. Co Kildare.             |
| 12 Thomas "Twin" Bolger, Upper<br>Tinnahinch.          | 50 Patrick Hoare, Barrow Lane.             |
| 13 Tom "Old Bolinder" Bolger, The Quay.                | 51 Eamon Hoare, Barrow Lane.               |
| 14 Pierce Bolger, Barrow Lane.                         | 52 Séan Hoare, Barrow Lane.                |
| 15 William "Patsy" Bolger, Main Street.<br>Tinnahinch. | 53 Thomas Holden, The Hotel.               |
| 16 Thomas "Guy" Bolger, Upper<br>Tinnahinch.           | 54 Ned Hynes, High Street.                 |
| 17 James Bolger, Upper Tinnahinch.                     | 55 Johnny Kelly, High Street.              |
| 18 William "The Man" Bolger, Upper,<br>Tinnahinch.     | 56 Maurice Kelly, High Street.             |
| 19 Séan "Long" Bolger, The Quay.                       | 57 Timothy Kinsella, High Street.          |
| 20 Paddy Bolger, The Quay.                             | 58 Michael Kinsella, High Street.          |
| 21 Jimmy Bolger, Upper Tinnahinch.                     | 59 Johnny Kinsella, High Street.           |
| 22 John "Locks" Bolger, Barrow Lane.                   | 60 Robert Mahon, High Street.              |
| 23 Walter Connolly, Main St. Tinnahinch.               | 61 Patrick Mahon, High Street.             |
| 24 Thomas Connolly, The Hotel.                         | 62 Patrick McDonald, Upper Main Street.    |
| 25 John Connolly jun. Fairview.                        | 63 Gabriel McDonald, Upper Main Street.    |
| 26 John Connolly sen. Main St<br>Tinnahinch.           | 64 Thomas McDonald, The Hotel.             |
| 27 Michael Connolly, Main St Tinnahinch.               | 65 Oliver McDonald, Upper Main Street.     |
| 28 Timothy Connolly, Main St.<br>Tinnahinch.           | 66 Simon McDonald, Upper Main Street.      |
| 29 Patrick Delaney, Upper Tinnahinch.                  | 67 John "The Butt" McDonald, The Hotel.    |
| 30 Patrick Doherty sen. Whitehall.                     | 68 Thomas "Sacker" McDonald, The<br>Hotel. |
| 31 Paddy Doherty, High Street.                         | 69 Thomas McDonald, Barrow Lane.           |
| 32 Jimmy Doherty, Whitehall.                           | 70 Louis McDonald, Upper Main Street.      |
| 33 Thomas Doherty, Whitehall.                          | 71 John McDonald, Upper Main Street.       |
| 34 Jimmy Doherty, High Street.                         | 72 John Meany, High Street.                |
| 35 John Doherty, High Street.                          | 73 Jim Meany, High Street.                 |
| 36 Martin Finn, Whitehall.                             | 74 Séan Murphy, The Quay.                  |
| 37 Piery Grace, Tinnahinch.                            | 75 Kieran Phelan, Knockbodaly.             |
| 38 Pierce FitzGerald, The Hotel.                       | 76 Patrick Prendergast, Inistioge.         |
|  | 77 Jack Prendergast, Barrow Lane.          |
|  | 78 Tom <i>Lucky</i> Roche, Tinnahinch.     |
|  | 79 Ned Ryan, High Street.                  |
|  | 80 Thomas "Bishop" Whelan, The Hotel.      |
|  | 81 Patrick "Long" Whelan, The Hotel.       |
|  | 82 Patrick Whelan, High Street.            |
|  | 83 John Whelan, High Street.               |
|  | 84 Daniel Whelan, High Street.             |

## Appendix 2

On the roll books of the national schools in Graiguenamanagh, between 1872 and 1948, the following list of children, whose fathers were described as Boatmen (except where otherwise stated), is given. The pupil's year of birth and place of residence is also shown. All addresses are in Graiguenamanagh except for Tinnahinch where the address was never more specific. Inspection of records was at the courtesy of the respective principals of *Scoil Mhuire gan Smál* and *Graiguenamanagh Boys National School*.

### Records of boys school (1870-1884):

Pat Fennell (born 1867), Tinnahinch.  
James Farrell (1867), Tinnahinch.  
Danial Baker (1866), Tinnahinch.  
John Baker (1860), Tinnahinch.  
Thomas Baker (1869), Tinnahinch.  
Richard Bolger (1868), Tinnahinch.  
Owen Pierce (1869), Barrow Lane.  
Michael Curran (1869), Barrow Lane.  
Michael Byrne (1868), Tinnahinch.  
Edward Kinsella (1869), Tinnahinch.  
Patrick Kinsella (1873), Tinnahinch.  
William Bolger (1869), Tinnahinch.  
James Meany (1868), Main Street.  
John Farrell (1869), Tinnahinch.  
Robert Baker (1872), Tinnahinch.  
William Baker (1875), Tinnahinch.  
James O'Neill (1874), Whitehall.  
Patrick Baker (1878), Tinnahinch.  
William Bolger (1879), Tinnahinch.  
Michael Whelan (1879), High Street.  
Thomas Bolger (1881), The Quay.  
James Whelan (1881), The Quay.

### Records of girls school (1887-1897):

William Bolger (1884), Tinnahinch.  
William Bolger (1885), Barrow Lane.  
Patrick Phelan (1885), High Street.  
James Bolger (1885), Barrow Lane.  
James Bolger (1886), The Quay.  
John Phelan (1887), High Street.  
Michael Bolger (1888), Tinnahinch.  
Lawrence Phelan (1888), High Street.  
Patrick Bolger (1889), The Quay.  
Lawrence Phelan (1889), High Street.  
James Bolger (1890), Tinnahinch.  
Michael Bolger (1891), Barrow Lane.  
William Bolger (1891), Tinnahinch.  
John Phelan (1891), High Street.  
William Bolger (1892), The Quay.  
William Bolger (1893), Tinnahinch.  
Kate Butler (1881), Tinnahinch.  
Anne Bolger (1881), Tinnahinch.  
Alice McGuire (1881), Tinnahinch.  
Anne Phelan (1882), High Street.  
Bridget Bolger (1882), Barrow Lane.  
Bridget McDonald (1883), Tinnahinch.  
Anne Bolger (1884), The Quay.  
Maggie McGuire (1885), Tinnahinch.

Mary Bolger (1885), Tinnahinch.  
Bridie Bolger (1885), Barrow Lane.  
Mary McGuire (1887), Tinnahinch.  
Mary Bolger (1887), Barrow Lane.  
Kate Bolger (1887), Barrow Lane.  
Anastasia McGuire (1890), Tinnahinch.  
Kate Bolger (1890), Barrow Lane.  
Bridget Curran (1891), Tinnahinch.  
Johanna Curran (1892), Tinnahinch.  
Kate Connolly (1892), Tinnahinch.  
Bridget Bolger (1892), Tinnahinch.  
Mary Phelan (1892), High Street.  
Anne Kinsella (1893), Tinnahinch.  
Anne Bolger (1894), Barrow Lane.

### Records of girls school (1907-1948):

Martin Kinsella (1904), High Street.  
Michael Curran (1904), Tinnahinch.  
James Murrey (1905), Tinnaslee, (Lock Keeper).  
Martin Bolger (1906), Tinnahinch.  
Pierry Kelly (1906), High Street.  
Paddy Kelly (1905), High Street.  
James Doherty (1906), Whitehall.  
Michael Kinsella (1905), Tinnahinch.  
James Neill (1906), High Street.  
James FitzGerald (1907), Main Street.  
Richard Hayden (1907), Barrow Lane, (Boat owner).  
Michael O'Donald (1908), Main Street.  
John Curran (1908), Tinnahinch.  
Timothy Connolly (1910), Barrow Lane.  
William Butler (1910), Tinnahinch.  
Michael Doherty (1910), Tinnahinch.  
Michael Codey (1908), Mooneen.  
John Pender (1908), Barrowlane.  
Mathew Doherty (1910), WhiteHall.  
Thomas Doherty (1912), White Hall.  
Richard Hayden (1913), High Street.  
James Bolger (1913), Tinnahinch.  
Dick Curran (1913), Tinnahinch.  
Thomas Bolger (1913), Tinnahinch.  
Robert Curran (1914), Tinnahinch.  
Jimmy Griffin (1915), Barrow Lane.  
Michael Bolger (1915), Tinnahinch.  
Thomas Connolly (1915), Barrow Lane.  
Michael Griffin (1915), Barrow Lane.  
James Kinsella (1916), Tinnahinch.  
William Curran (1915), Tinnahinch.

Michael Kinsella (1916), High Street.  
 James Bolger (1916), The Quay.  
 Martin Bolger (1917), The Quay.  
 John Kinsella (1918), High Street.  
 Michael Hayden (1918), Knockbodaly.  
 John Connolly (1920), Barrow Lane.  
 John FitzGerald (1921), Tinnahinch.  
 John Butler (1921), Tinnahinch.  
 Christy Griffin (1921), Barrow Lane.  
 Patrick Griffin (1923), Barrow Lane.  
 John Connolly (1923), Main Street.  
 John Pender (1921), High Street.  
 Dan Whelan (1926), High Street.  
 Noel McDonald (1939), High St.  
 Christy Bolger (1938), Fairview.  
 Liam Hoare (1939), High Street.  
 Michael Gill (1939), Tinnahinch.  
 Thomas McDonald (1939), Tinnahinch.  
 Pat Connolly (1941), Fairview.  
 Michael Hoare (1942), High Street.  
 Donald Kinsella (1945), Cottage Row.

Dan Kinsella (1927), High Street.  
 Larry FitzGerald (1926), Tinnahinch.  
 John Connolly (1930), Barrow Lane.  
 Seamous (Jim) Gill (1931), Tinnahinch.  
 Eddie Coady (1930), Tinnahinch.  
 Pat Hoare (1931), Barrow Lane.  
 Sean Hoare (1933), Barrow Lane.  
 Patrick Bolger (1935), Bohermore.  
 Liam Bolger (1933), Bohermore.  
 Sean Connolly (1936), Turfmarket.  
 Thomas McDonald (1937), Tinnahinch.  
 Edward Hoare (1937), High Street.  
 Patrick McDonald (1939), Tinnahinch.



### **Appendix 3**

In 1761 much work was carried out on the river Barrow between Graiguenamanagh and St. Mullins as part of the overall river navigation improvements of the period. Many people from the area were employed or were paid for services in relation to this work. Over £740 was expended in the area between March and October of that year and much of it was paid out to the following named people. Money was also paid to overseers and possibly labourers who were not identified.

John Semple, overseer of the project, was paid £57-14-10 in salary and various expenses including travel during the same period.

Christopher Roebuck (nailer).

Pat Ryan (Smith).

Laughlin Freeman (sawyer).

Martin Lawler (carpenter).

Danial Lawler (stone cutter).

William Birmingham, (carpenter).

Patrick Walsh (boatman).

Thomas Rourke (boatman).

John Gorman (carpenter).

James Murphy (boatman).

Michael Farrel (boarman).

Nicholas Bailey (mason).

Oliver Walsh (boatman).

John Corcoran (boatman).

Edmond Pendergast (boatman/  
carpenter.).

Thomas Freeman (sawyer).

----- Codd (sawyer).

-----Slattery (sawyer).

James Carpenter (mason).

Martin Mullowney (carpenter).

Martin Ryan (ship carpenter).

Thomas Doran (boatman).

Lawrence Martin (boatowner).

Darby Rourke (boatman).

Patrick Doran (boatman).

Martin Farrel (boatman).

Daniel Dunn (labourer).

Thomas Rourk (labourer).

Allan Rainge (labourer).

----- Kennedy (labourer).

----- Kavanagh (labourer).

Martin Kelly (labourer).

John Morissy (labourer).

Thomas Neill (labourer ?).

George King (clark of works).

William Birmingham (carpenter)

The following received payments for various goods and compensations.

William Moore (boat builder).

Elizabeth Byrne (eight ash trees).

George Faulkner (advertising).

Martin Ryan (oak and ash timber).

William Hammond (fir of sir ?).

Thomas Kavanagh (land -£20).

Michael O'Brien (damage to meadow).

Martin Mulloy (timber).

Richard Murphy (damage).

Ignatious Rossiter (timber merchant).

William Rossiter (iron monger and grocer).

Anthony Grogan (merchant-sand riddles).

John Green, Waterford (lime).

Irish House of Commons Journal, xii, pp. 371-375.

## **Appendix 4**

Mr Thomas Omer, Director of the Barrow Navigation project, gave the following estimated cost of finishing the work on the river up to Graiguenamanagh. This estimate was given to the House of Commons committee, which was inquiring into the state of navigation on the river Barrow, on the 9th of November 1761. The costing did not include an estimated 22 acres of land needed for the canal and trackways from Graiguenamanagh to St. Mullins.

Digging of a canal at Bahana on hundred and twenty six perches in length, at two pounds five shillings per perch.	£ 283 0 0
Building one bridge over canal at Bahanna.	£ 100 0 0
Building one Weir and pen lock to throw water up to Carriglade.	£ 500 0 0
Digging canal half a mile in length to avoid a long ford and rocks at Wilkinson's fall.	£ 360 0 0
Removing rocks and other obstructions at Cushnadarragh and Curraghgely fall.	£ 200 0 0
Building one lock at Carriglade fall.	£1000 0 0
Digging a canal on mile in length from Lacy's fall to Graigenemanna (sic).	£ 720 0 0
Building two locks on same.	£2000 0 0
Building one bridge over above canal.	£ 100 0 0
	£5263 0 0

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- <sup>1</sup> William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny History and Society*, (Dublin, 1990), pp 1-32.
- <sup>2</sup> P. O'Leary, *St. Mullins*, (Graiguenamanagh 1895).
- <sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p.7.
- <sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p.6.
- <sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p 7.
- <sup>6</sup> see Delany above.
- <sup>7</sup> R. Delany, *Ireland's Inland Waterways* (Belfast 2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 217
- <sup>8</sup> G D'Arcy, *Portrait of the Grand Canal*, (Dublin 1997), p. 16.
- <sup>9</sup> *ibid*, p.16.
- <sup>10</sup> *ibid*, p.16.
- <sup>11</sup> Ms in the possession of Paddy Grace, whose father, James, was branch secretary of the I.T.G.W.U. for the Graiguenamanagh area at the time the of transport operation closed.
- <sup>12</sup> John Joyce, *Graiguenamanagh A town and its People*, (Graiguenamanagh 2001), pp 23/25.
- <sup>13</sup> Joe O'Reilly and Caitriona Killally, *Through the Locks*, (n.d.) p. 105.
- <sup>14</sup> Owen Doyle and Colm Walsh, *Tinnahinch*, (Graiguenamanagh 2003), p.126.
- <sup>15</sup> Patrick O'Leary, *Old Time Bands*, (Graiguenamanagh 1904), p. 6.
- <sup>16</sup> Joyce p. 178.
- <sup>17</sup> George H. Bassett, *Kilkenny City and County guide and directory*, (Dublin 1884), pp 215-235.
- <sup>18</sup> Information on the boatmen surveyed was acquired through interview with the person involved or his family, colleagues and friends. Various records-Church registers, cemetery (Co Kilkenny Tombstone Inscriptions, volume 5 (1988-89) and other cited sources were also used.
- <sup>19</sup> *Waterways Ireland* was established in 2000 with the responsibility of the maintenance and future development of most of the inland waterways of the island of Ireland under the North /South Implementation Bodies agreement of that year.
- <sup>20</sup> Nicknames or pseudonyms are a feature of Irish use and no doubt are found in other areas also, especially, where there is a concentration of similar surnames in the workplace or community.
- <sup>21</sup> Joyce, p 76
- <sup>22</sup> Carlow Morning Post, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1822.
- <sup>23</sup> Burtchaell to Dublin Castle, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1835, (National Archives, Outrage papers).
- <sup>24</sup> Smith to Millet, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1837, (N.A., Outrage papers, 9018 c)
- <sup>25</sup> Nolan and Whelan (eds.), p. 543.
- <sup>26</sup> Joyce, p. 131.
- <sup>27</sup> The Mss. minute and account book of the society, now in private trust.
- <sup>28</sup> Mss. letter dated March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1857 in Graiguenamanagh library.
- <sup>29</sup> Cloney letter **no.** **in** John Joyces, *Some Cloney Correspondence*.
- <sup>30</sup> J.M.Hayden, *The Presence of the Past*, (Canada 1996).
- <sup>31</sup> Michael O'Carroll, Document no. W.S. 1609, File no. S.2934, Military Archives, Cathal Brugha Bks. Dublin.

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